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A Grammar of Kwaza

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by

Hein van der Voort

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voor mijn ouders

kwazanaheredu

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Hein van der Voort
Amsterdam, February 2004.

Preface

This is a description of a language. More specifically, this is the first comprehensive documentation and study of the Kwaza language of Brazil. It is based on research and interviews with native speakers between 1995 and 2002 in the Guaporé region. This book is a corrected and thoroughly revised version of my doctoral dissertation. Although no description of any language will ever be complete and definitive, I believe nevertheless that the present work provides a representative and reliable outline of the language. Even though this book concerns the indigenous heritage of Brazil, it was for several reasons necessary to publish it in English. I hope that there will be a Portuguese version one day, that is accessible to both the indigenous peoples of Rondônia and a wider Brazilian public.

Without the cooperation of native speakers, I could not have written this grammar. In this sort of work native language consultants of field researchers have often been called "informants". Lately the term "collaborators" has been proposed because that correctly reflects a more active role in the research on the part of the consultant, and also because "informants" has developed a pejorative connotation in certain contexts. However, since "collaborators" has at least as pejorative a connotation in certain other contexts, I have avoided the use of either one of them. Therefore I refer to the native speakers I worked with as my "consultants" or, where it does not sound awkward, as my "teachers". Whatever connotation these terms may develop in the future, in this book they intend to convey reference to highly intelligent, kind and active participants in scientific research.

Contents

Acknowledgements vii
Preface xi
Index of contents xiii
Abbreviations xxv
Index of tables xxix
Maps xxx
Plates xxxii

Part I: Grammar

1. Introduction 1
1.1. The geographic and linguistic location of Kwaza 1
1.2. The traditional context of the Indians of Southern Rondônia 2
1.3. History of contact with the Westerners / Euro-Americans 4
1.4. Scientific expeditions 6
1.5. The present context of the Kwaza 9
1.6. The sociolinguistic situation of the Kwaza 13
1.7. Fieldwork situation and methodology 15
1.8. The speakers of Kwaza 18
1.8.1. Family I 18
1.8.2. Family II 20
1.8.3. Other Kwaza people 22
1.9. Structural characteristics of Kwaza 23
1.10. The classification of Kwaza 26
1.11. Organisation of the present work 27
1.12. Previous documentation of Kwaza 28
1.12.1. Lévi-Strauss' 1938 glossary 30
1.12.2. Zack's 1943 glossary 33
1.12.3. Carlson's 1984 glossary 42

2. The sounds of Kwaza 45
2.1. Phoneme inventory 45
2.1.1. Vowels 45
2.1.2. Consonants 46
2.2. Value and status of the symbols used 46
2.2.1. Vowels: minimal pairs, contextual pairs and variation 47
2.2.2. Consonants: minimal pairs, contextual pairs and variation 51
2.3. An excursus on affricates and their phonetic constituents 59
2.4. Remarks on some oppositions 61
2.5. Nasality 62

2.6. Interpretation of the glides 63
2.6.1. Glides, diphthongs and syllable structure 63
2.6.2. Vowel-glide combinations 65
2.6.3. Consonant-glide combinations and consonant inventory 66
2.7. Syllable structure 69
2.8. Stress 69
2.9. Length 73
2.10. Intonation 74
2.11. Exceptional sounds 75
2.12. Loan phonology and phonetics 75
2.13. Variation 77
2.14. Phoneme fluctuation 80
2.15. Morphophonemics 82
2.16. An orthography for the speakers of Kwaza 86
2.17. Orthography and alphabetical order in the present work 86
2.18. Inventory of phonemes and allophonic correspondences 87

3. Parts of speech and constituent order 91
3.1. Parts of speech 91
3.1.1. Nouns 92
3.1.2. Verbs 92
3.1.3. Adverbs 93
3.1.4. Particles 93
3.1.5. Unattested categories 94
3.1.6. Problems with the criteria 95
3.2. Types of morphemes 96
3.2.1. Bound morphemes 96
3.2.2. Distribution of morphemes 98
3.3. Remarks on word order 99
3.3.1. Introduction 99
3.3.2. Predicate and arguments 100
3.3.3. Predicate and satellites 103
3.3.4. Predicate and adverbs 103
3.3.5. Noun and modifier 104

4. The noun phrase 105
4.1. Case 105
4.1.1. Animate object *-wã* 105
4.1.1.1. Transitivised verbs 110
4.1.1.2. Ditransitive verbs 112
4.1.1.3. Verbs which contain classifiers 114
4.1.1.4. Optionality of animate object marking 115
4.1.1.5. Interrogative objects marked by *-wã* 117
4.1.1.6. Word order and the optionality of *-wã* 117
4.1.1.7. Case marking of embedded objects 118

4.1.1.8. Inanimate objects marked by *-wã* 119
4.1.1.9. Concluding remarks 120
4.1.2. Locative *-na* 121
4.1.3. Instrumental *-ko* 122
4.1.3.1. Cislocative function of *-ko* 123
4.1.4. Beneficiary *-du* 125
4.1.5. Comitative *-dynỹ* 126
4.2. Class 128
4.2.1. The distribution of classifiers 129
4.2.1.1. Nominalisation of bare verb stems 129
4.2.1.2. Classification of derived attributive verb stems 130
4.2.1.3. Classification of derived noun stems: possessive 130
4.2.1.4. Classification of bare attributive roots 131
4.2.1.5. Classification of adverbial stems 132
4.2.1.6. Classification of demonstrative roots 132
4.2.1.7. Classification of interrogative roots 133
4.2.1.8. Classifier incorporation 133
4.2.1.9. Classifiers attached to nouns 134
4.2.1.10. Lexicalised classifiers 135
4.2.1.11. Free lexical forms and the empty root 136
4.2.2. The types of classifiers 137
4.2.2.1. The nominaliser *-hỹ-* as a neutral classifier 137
4.2.2.2. Etymologically opaque classifiers 138
4.2.2.3. Etymologically transparent classifiers 146
4.2.2.4. Etymologically unrelated classifiers 151
4.2.3. The nature and productivity of classifiers in Kwaza 175
4.2.4. The dimensions of classification 177
4.2.5. Ambiguity between classifiers and directionals 179
4.2.6. Correspondence with neighbouring languages 179
4.3. Attributive modification 180
4.3.1. Possessive 181
4.3.2. Attributive (adjective) 187
4.3.2.1. The attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* 189
4.3.2.2. Attributive roots with obligatory classifier 195
4.3.3. Comparison 199
4.4. Other nominal morphological categories 200
4.4.1. Third person possession *-tjate* 200
4.4.2. Associative *-mɛ* 202
4.4.3. Feminine *-uty* 203
4.4.4. *-tydy* ‘grub of’ 203
4.4.5. Emphatic *-le* ‘only’ 204
4.4.6. Additive use of repetitive *-e* 206
4.4.7. Prioritive *-rata* 207
4.4.8. Intensifying *-te(te)* 207
4.4.9. Zero verbalisation 208

4.5. Numerals 213
4.5.1. Cardinal numerals 214
4.5.2. Finger counting gestures 219
4.5.3. Ordinal use of numerals 219
4.5.4. Adverbial use of numerals 220
4.5.5. The causative element *-dy-* 221
4.6. Demonstratives 223
4.6.1. Orientation: *ỹ-* and *ay-* 223
4.6.2. Distance: *na-* and *jã-* 226
4.6.3. Location: *-hỹ-ko* and *-xuko* 228
4.6.4. Time 232
4.6.5. Summary 232
4.7. Pronouns 234
4.7.1. Personal pronouns 235
4.7.2. Some remarks about the inclusive form 237
4.7.3. Comparison with neighbouring languages 239
4.7.4. Interrogative pronoun 240

5. The verb phrase 243
5.1. Person cross-reference 244
5.1.1. Remarks on the cross-reference forms and further examples 248
5.1.1.1. Subject cross-reference 248
5.1.1.2. Object cross-reference 250
5.1.2. Inclusive reference 256
5.1.3. Exclusive reference 258
5.1.4. Indefinite reference 259
5.1.4.1. Indefinite subject 259
5.1.4.2. Indefinite object 268
5.1.4.3. Extension to inclusive object reference 272
5.1.5. Impersonal reference 273
5.1.6. Non-personal use of first person plural *-a-* 278
5.1.7. Impersonal use of the verb root *jã-* ‘to be’ 278
5.1.8. Future second person object cross-reference 280
5.2. Mood 283
5.2.1. Declarative 284
5.2.1.1. Distributional characteristics of *-tse* vs. *-ki* 285
5.2.1.2. Semantic characteristics of *-tse* vs. *-ki* 287
5.2.1.3. Pragmatic characteristics of *-tse* vs. *-ki* 292
5.2.1.4. *-tse* vs. *-ki* in verbalisation of nouns 293
5.2.1.5. *-tse* and reported speech 295
5.2.1.6. Possible cognates of *-tse* 296
5.2.1.7. Final remarks about *-tse* vs. *-ki* 296
5.2.2. Interrogative 297
5.2.2.1. Emphatic uses of the interrogative 298
5.2.2.2. Gerundial *-tsy-* in the interrogative 300

5.2.3. Imperative 301
5.2.3.1. *-tsy-* as an imperative element 303
5.2.3.2. *-ta* as an imperative element 304
5.2.3.3. The problem of imperative *-ca* 304
5.2.3.4. Imperative particles 307
5.2.4. Exhortative 308
5.2.4.1. *-nĩ-* as a causational bound modal morpheme 309
5.2.4.2. Exhortative paucal *-ja-* 311
5.2.4.3. The exhortative particle *hỹdɛ* 312
5.2.4.4. Beneficiary exhortative 313
5.2.5. Volitive 313
5.2.5.1. *damỹ* as a lexeme and as a bound modal morpheme 315
5.2.6. Précis: persuasive 317
5.2.7. Negative imperative 319
5.2.8. Negative exhortative 321
5.2.9. Monitory 322
5.2.9.1. *-tsi-* as a preventive bound modal morpheme 326
5.2.10. Précis: prohibitive 326
5.3. Directionality 328
5.3.1. Directional morphemes 328
5.3.2. Structural comparison of directionals and classifiers 346
5.3.3. Ambiguous elements 347
5.4. Valency and valency change 355
5.4.1. Number of arguments 355
5.4.2. Transitivisers 357
5.4.2.1. Transitiviser *-ta-* 358
5.4.2.2. Transitiviser *-tja-* 361
5.4.2.3. Transitivisers *-xote-*, *-dwate-* and *-xete* 363
5.4.3. Causative *-dy-* 366
5.4.4. Benefactive use of *wady-* 373
5.4.5. Detrimental *-ty-* 373
5.4.6. Reflexive and middle *-nỹ* 376
5.4.7. Reciprocal *-lɛ-* 379
5.4.8. Comitative *-ete-* 381
5.4.9. Valency changing effects of *-hỹ* 382
5.4.10. Argument number 383
5.5. Tense, modality and aspect 388
5.5.1. Zero marking of present and past 389
5.5.2. Past *-ky-* 389
5.5.3. Remote past *-ĩʔĩ-* 391
5.5.4. Remote past by cross-reference reduplication and *-hỹ* 392
5.5.4.1. Nominal properties of the remote past construction 396
5.5.5. Future *-nã-* 397
5.5.5.1. Overlap between modal categories and future tense 399
5.5.6. Potential *-tsy-* 401

5.5.7. Gerundi(v)al *-tsy-* 401
5.5.8. Volitional *-damỹ-* 401
5.5.9. Causational *-nĩ-* 401
5.5.10. Preventive *-tsi-* 402
5.5.11. Quotation 402
5.5.11.1. Ellipsis as the origin of the quotation construction 405
5.5.11.2. Other uses of the quotation construction 408
5.5.11.3. Indirect speech 409
5.5.11.4. Exceptions to the logic of quotation: the second person 410
5.5.12. Purposive *-te-* 412
5.5.12.1. Apparent exceptions to the quotative interpretation 414
5.5.13. Desiderative *-heta-* 415
5.5.14. Conjectural 417
5.5.14.1. Antithetic conjecture: intentional *-here-* 418
5.5.14.2. Deductive conjecture: apparential *-tehere* and *-cehere* 420
5.5.14.3. Appellative *-herejã-* 425
5.5.15. Degrammaticalisation of mood inflexion to modal derivation 427
5.5.16. Irrealis *-rydy-* 428
5.5.17. Resignation *-tsy* 429
5.5.18. Modal and aspectual uses of frustrative *-le-* 431
5.5.19. Procrastinative *-tara-* 434
5.5.19.1. Persuasive mood in combination with *-tara-* 437
5.5.19.2. Interrogative mood in combination with *-tara-* 439
5.5.19.3. Modal interpretations of *-tara-* 440
5.5.19.3.1. *-tjara-* as an alternative of *-tara-* 442
5.5.19.4. Tentative conclusion 444
5.5.20. TMA effects of nominaliser *-hỹ* 445
5.5.20.1. Past interpretation of *-hỹ* 446
5.5.20.2. Progressive interpretation of *-hỹ* 448
5.5.20.3. Tentative conclusion 449
5.5.21. Aspect *-nãi-* as opposed to *-hỹ-* with *asa-* ‘to leave’ 450
5.5.22. Perfect adverb *ja* ‘already’ 451
5.5.23. TMA effects of verb compounding 452
5.5.24. Habitual *-ĩ?ĩ-* 452
5.5.25. Intensive habitual *-tjarjỹ-* 454
5.5.26. Habitual by cross-reference reduplication 455
5.5.27. TMA effects of (partial) root reduplication 456
5.5.28. Temporary contrast *ihĩ-* 457
5.5.29. Contrastive *-hehỹ* 459
5.5.30. Intensifying *-te(te)-* 461
5.5.31. Repetitive *-(je)?e-* 462
5.5.32. Consecutive *-dutu-* 463
5.5.33. Unidentified *-ri-* 464
5.6. Nominalisation 465
5.6.1. Nominaliser *-hỹ* 466

5.6.2. Nominaliser *-nãi* 470
5.6.3. The first person plural cross-reference morpheme *-a-* 471
5.6.3.1. The ambiguous interpretation of *-a-* 475
5.6.4. Agent noun *-hỹ-wã* 477
5.6.5. Collective noun *-nahere* 479
5.6.6. Nominaliser *-te* 480
5.6.7. Instrument noun *-nite* 482

6. Adverbs and adverbial expressions 485
6.1. Basic adverbs 485
6.2. Adverbial morphology 495
6.2.1. The adverb formative root *a-* 495
6.2.2. Reduplication in adverbs 500
6.2.3. Other categories used as adverbs 501
6.2.4. Adverbial affixes 507
6.2.4.1. Temporal adverbialisation/nominalisation *-wy* 507
6.2.4.2. General adverbial nominalisation *-nãi* 510
6.2.4.3. Predicative adverbialisation involving *-hỹ-wã* 515
6.2.4.4. Intensive extension *-te(te)* 515
6.2.4.5. Manner cosubordination *-tja* 517

7. Other morphosyntactic structures 519
7.1. Negation 519
7.1.1. The negative suffix *-he-* 519
7.1.1.1. Negation by *-he-* 520
7.1.1.2. The counter of presupposition by *-he-* 522
7.1.1.3. Negation under nominalisation 525
7.1.1.4. Negation in different moods 527
7.1.1.5. Negative *-he-* and ellipsis 528
7.1.1.6. Negative *-he-* in compounds 531
7.1.1.7. Miscellaneous constructions involving *-he-* 532
7.1.2. The emphatic negative element *-ĩ-* 534
7.1.3. The negative habitual element *-hỹsi* 537
7.2. Morphemes not limited to word class 539
7.2.1. Paucal *-ry-* 540
7.2.2. Contrastive topic *-mãjã* 541
7.2.3. Contrastive focus *-txitxi* 542
7.2.4. Emphatic *-txetxi-* 'really' 543
7.2.5. Simulative *-nãixwa-* 'resemble, pretend, fake' 545
7.2.6. Lamentative *-ʔwỹtɛ-* 547
7.2.7. Expletive *-rai-* 'damned!' 547
7.2.8. Focus *-rati-* 550
7.2.9. Historical narrative use of *-rati-* 552
7.2.10. Exclamative *-tady* 554
7.2.11. The verb root *jã-* 'to be' 556

7.3. Reduplication 559
7.3.1. Root reduplication 560
7.3.2. Syllable reduplication 561
7.3.3. Reduplication of bound morphemes 563
7.3.4. Lexicalised reduplication 564
7.3.5. Pseudoreduplication 566
7.4. Composition 567
7.4.1. Verbal compounds 567
7.4.2. Other compounds 573
7.5. Morphological ellipsis 575
7.5.1. Ellipsis of inflexion 576
7.5.2. Ellipsis of roots 578
7.5.2.1. Elliptic responses 579
7.5.2.2. Resumptive particles 581
7.5.2.3. Cliticisation 585
7.5.2.4. Abstract ellipsis 588
7.5.3. Nominal ellipsis 590
7.5.4. Discontinuous predicates 591
7.6. Special roots 594
7.6.1. Empty roots *a-* and *e-* 594
7.6.2. Dummy roots *jã-* and *nãi-* 595
7.6.3. Bound roots 596
7.7. Particles 596
7.7.1. Successional *tana* ‘then’ 597
7.7.2. Tail-head linking *hehỹsi* ‘well’ 598
7.7.3. Selective *hele* ‘or’ 699
7.7.4. Hesitation *haryky* ‘uhh..’ 600
7.7.5. Impressive *tsɛh* ‘why!’ 601
7.7.6. Exclamative *kukui* ‘wow!’ 601
7.7.7. Expletive *kwy* ‘yecch!’ 602
7.7.8. Delay *jale* ‘wait!’ 602
7.7.9. Exhortation *hỹdɛ* ‘let’s go!’ 603
7.7.10. Minimal expressions and responses 603

8. Subordination and coordination 605
8.1. The form *-tsy-* 605
8.1.1. Potential *-tsy-* 606
8.1.1.1. Potential and person marking 608
8.1.1.2. Potential and the expression of inability 610
8.1.1.3. Potential under nominalisation and in adverbial clauses 610
8.1.2. Gerundi(v)al *-tsy-* 614
8.1.2.1. Gerundial *-tsy-* in the interrogative 617
8.1.2.2. Coordinative function of the nominalised gerundial 619
8.1.2.3. Gerundial in reported speech 621
8.1.2.4. Gerundial in nominalisations and adverbial clauses 622

8.1.2.5. Third person and gerundial 623
8.1.3. Summary and final remarks 625
8.2. Adverbial clauses 627
8.2.1. Conditional 628
8.2.1.1. Open conditional with *-kywy* 628
8.2.1.2. Counterfactual conditional with *-kywy* and *-rydy-* 630
8.2.1.2.1. Counterfactual concessive with *=wara* and *-rydy-* 631
8.2.1.3. Conditional with *-lɛ* 632
8.2.1.3.1. Preconditional clause 632
8.2.1.3.2. Complement of cause or reason 633
8.2.1.3.3. The element *-tsy-* in third person adverbial clauses 636
8.2.1.4. Chaining of conditional clauses 637
8.2.2. Concessive 638
8.2.2.1. Concessive *-lete* 639
8.2.2.2. Frustrative and antithetic *-le-(hỹ)-* 640
8.2.2.3. The concessive element *-wara* 645
8.2.3. Additive *-dykytɛ* 648
8.2.4. Absolutive and general manner *-tja* 649
8.2.5. Temporal *-wy* 651
8.2.6. Adverbial nominalisation *-nãi-(ko)* 652
8.2.7. Contemporative *-nãi=hedy* 652
8.3. Cosubordination: medial clauses 653
8.3.1. Basic formal aspects of same subject medial clauses 656
8.3.1.1. Identical subjects in cosubordination 657
8.3.1.2. Second person marking in imperative cosubordination 658
8.3.1.3. Second person marking in interrogative cosubordination 659
8.3.1.4. Third person marking in medial clauses: *-tja* and *-ta* 660
8.3.1.5. Indefinite subject marking in medial clauses: *-(c)wa* 663
8.3.1.6. Object marking in cosubordination 664
8.3.1.7. Functions of the medial clause 665
8.3.1.8. Morphosyntactic aspects of cosubordination 666
8.3.1.9. Lengthy medial clause chains and discourse particles 668
8.3.1.10. Coordination through cosubordination 670
8.3.2. Different subject medial clauses and switch reference 672
8.3.2.1. Different subjects in cosubordination: *-dy-* 672
8.3.2.1.1. Different subject in other subordinate clauses 675
8.3.2.1.2. Functions of different subject clauses 676
8.3.2.1.3. Different subject clauses and comparison 676
8.3.2.1.4. Different subject *-dy-* and causative *-dy-* 676
8.3.2.1.5. Discourse particles and discontinuity 678
8.3.2.2. Indefinite different subject: *-dwa-* 679
8.3.2.3. Switch reference mood: *-si* 681
8.3.2.3.1. Switch reference and pragmatic discontinuity 685
8.3.3. Summary 686

8.4. Nominal clauses 687
8.4.1. Attributive clauses 687
8.4.1.1. Accessibility to "relativisation" 688
8.4.1.2. Headless attributive clauses 689
8.4.1.3. Case marking in attributive clauses 692
8.4.1.4. Context dependent heads 693
8.4.1.5. Multiple attributive relationships 695
8.4.1.6. Restriction in attributive clauses 696
8.4.2. Complement clauses 697
8.4.3. The overlap between attributive and complement clauses 701
8.5. Coordination 704
8.6. Specific constructions 708
8.6.1. Habitual 709
8.6.2. Explicative 710
8.6.3. Indignant 711

9. Lexico-semantic categories 715
9.1. Children's language 715
9.2. Colour terms 716
9.3. Some expressions for geometrical shapes 718
9.4. Kinship terminology 720
9.5. Brother-sister terminology 724
9.6. Age terminology 725
9.7. Social roles 725
9.8. Personal names 726
9.9. Ethnonyms and mythological names 729
9.10. Dog names 732
9.11. Hydronyms 733
9.12. Ideophones 734

Part II: Texts

1. Introduction 739
2. Traditional tales 739
2.1. *hakainahere* 'The Old People' 739
2.2. *hakai kotorɛ* 'Grandfather Toad' 743
2.3. *jerexwa arewahỹ* 'The jaguar who had turned into a man' 747
2.4. *tsilotokuty mãreritsa arewahỹ* 'The latex which turned into a man' 751
2.5. *kaitaynahere* 'The women of old' 755
2.6. *were?ojataynahere* 'The rebellious runaway women' 766
2.7. The word for 'jaguar' as used by the women 782
3. Historical personal accounts 782
3.1. The story of the initiation of girls 782
3.2. The languages and peoples known to the Kwaza 789

4. Modern personal accounts 797
4.1. The story of Zezinho about when he was bitten by a snake 797
4.2. The history of the settlement of Barroso 800
4.3. The dislocation of an old house 802
5. Translated text 804
5.1. *pju ahami hadotõinãi* 'About Pju piercing his eye' 804
6. Songs 806
6.1. Introduction 806
6.2. Maria Tadeu's songs 807
6.3. Wari's songs 813

Part III: Dictionary

1. Introduction 815
2. Kwaza-English vocabulary 817
3. English-Kwaza index 968

References 997

Indices of affixes 1009

Subject index 1019

Abbreviations

Most Kwaza language data are in italic type.

A:	answer
ADDI	additive
AIK	Aikanã
AKU	Akũtsũ (Tuparí of Omeré)
AMB	ambiguous
AN	Antonhão (family II)
ANI	animate referent
AO	animate object
APPL	appellative
APPR	apparential
ARI	Arikapu
AS	associated person
ATT	attributive
BER	beneficiary (nominal case marker)
C:	comment
C:22	Carlson (1984), entry no. 22
C2	Carlson's Aikanã field-notes, vol. 2
CA	Carlos (family I)
CAU	causative/benefactive (verbal derivation)
CAUS	causational modality
CD	classifier/directional
CHS	children's speech (early aquisition phase of first language)
CHT	children's talk (special register, also used by adults as child-directed speech to children until about 3 years)
CL	classifier
COL	collective
COMIT	comitative
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
CONS	consecutive
CONT	contrastive
CONTRA	contrastive focus
CSO	cosubordination
CX, cx	context
DC	directional/classifier
DEC	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
DESI	desiderative
DET	detrimental
DIST	distal
DR	directional
DS	different subject
ED	Edileusa (family II)
EMP	emphatic (of the imperative)
EMPH	emphatic
EX	exclusive
EXCL	exclamative
EXH	exhortative
EXP	exhortative paucal
fam	family (biological classification)
FEM	feminine
FOC	focus
FRUST	frustrative
FUT	future
gen	genus (biological classification)
GER	gerundi(v)al
GUA	Guarani
H	hearer
I	Family I, i.e. ME's and MA's family
II	Family II, i.e. AN's and ZE's family

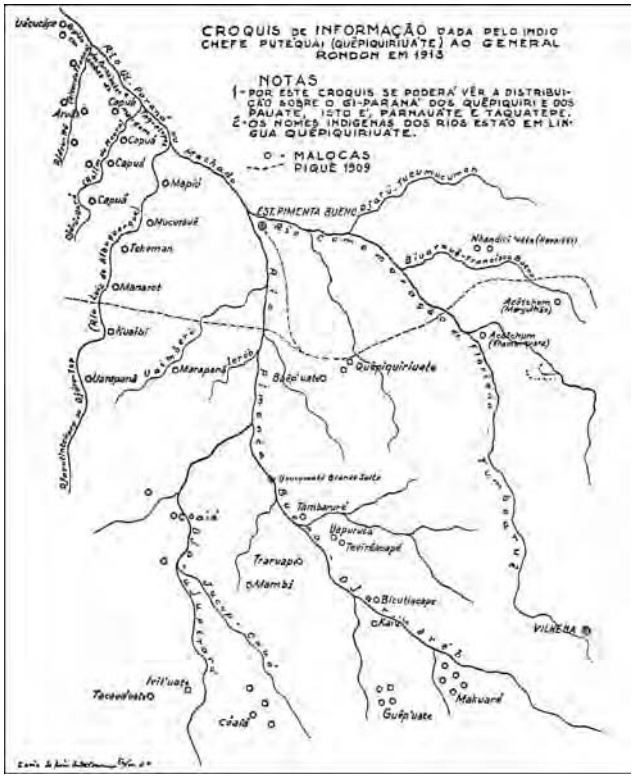
IDS	indefinite different subject
IMP	imperative
IN	inclusive
INGR	ingressive
INS	instrumental case
INSTR	instrument nominaliser
INT	interrogative
INTENS	intensiviser
INTL	intentional
IO	indefinite object
IR	Iracema (family I)
IRR	irrealis
IS	indefinite subject
JEO	Jeoromitxi
JO	João (family II)
KAN	Kanoê
KIN	kinship term
KWA	Kwaza
L:41	Lévi-Strauss (1938), entry no. 41
LAT	Latundê
LEK	Leko
LOC	locative case
MA	Mario (family I)
MAK	Makurap
MASC	masculine
ME	Maria Edite (family I)
MEK	Mekens
MON	monitory
N/n	noun
NAM	proper name
NAMB	Nambikwara
NARR	historical narrative
NEE	negative exhortative
NEG	negative
NEI	negative imperative
NOM	nominaliser
ONO	onomatopoeic origin
ord	order (biological classification)
PA	Paikere (family II)
PART	particle
PAST	past
PAU(C)	paucal
pdem	demonstrative prefix
PL	plural
PLO	plural object root
PLS	plural subject root
PO	plural object
POR	Portuguese
POS	possessive
POT	potential
PREC	preconditional
PROC	procrastinative
PROX	proximate
PTG	Proto Tupi-Guaraní
PURP	purposive
Q:	question
R:	remark/reply
R:97	Rodrigues 1986, p. 97
RECI	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REF	reflexive
rel	related
REM	remote past
RES	resignation
RO	Roberto (family I)
S	speaker
SAL	Salamãi
SETT	within the very settlement
SG	singular
SGO	singular object root
SGS	singular subject root
SIMU	simulative
snn	denominal suffix that yields noun
snv	denominal suffix that yields verb
sxa	suffix for more than one category that yields adverb
sxv	suffix for more than one category that yields verb
spp	various species of same genus or family
SP	certain species (biological classification)
SS	same subject

SU	Suely (family II)
svn	deverbal suffix yielding noun
svv	deverbal suffix yielding verb
SWR	switch reference mood
(t)	example from text
TE	Teteru (family I)
TG	Tupi-Guarani
TMA:39	TMA questionnaire (Dahl 1985) phrase no. 39
TOP	topic
TRA	transitiviser
TUP	Tuparí
TUPI	Tupi
V/v	verb
V:	long vowel
V-etym	etymological, or bound verbal root
VOL	volitive
WAY	Wayuru
'CV	syllable with stress; monosyllabic words are always stressed
"CV	syllable with main stress
Z:222	Zack (1943), entry no. 222
ZE	Zezinho (family II)
1O	first person object
1P	first person plural
1PO	any subject, first person plural object
1S	first person singular
3S.2O	third person subject, second person object
321	alternative word order to 123 (sentence with three words, first being "1", second "2", third "3")
???	unknown gloss
*	ungrammatical or non-existent
*?	anomalous or uncertain
***	gloss of mistaken utterance
(x)	with or without element x
(*x)	ungrammatical with element x
*(x)	ungrammatical without element x
<x	etymon or borrowing from x (word, morpheme or language)
±iso	isolated use, restricted
-	morphemic boundary
.	separates semantic units in a portmanteau morpheme
=	composition or clitic boundary
/x/	phonemic x
[x]	phonetic x
<x>	orthographic x

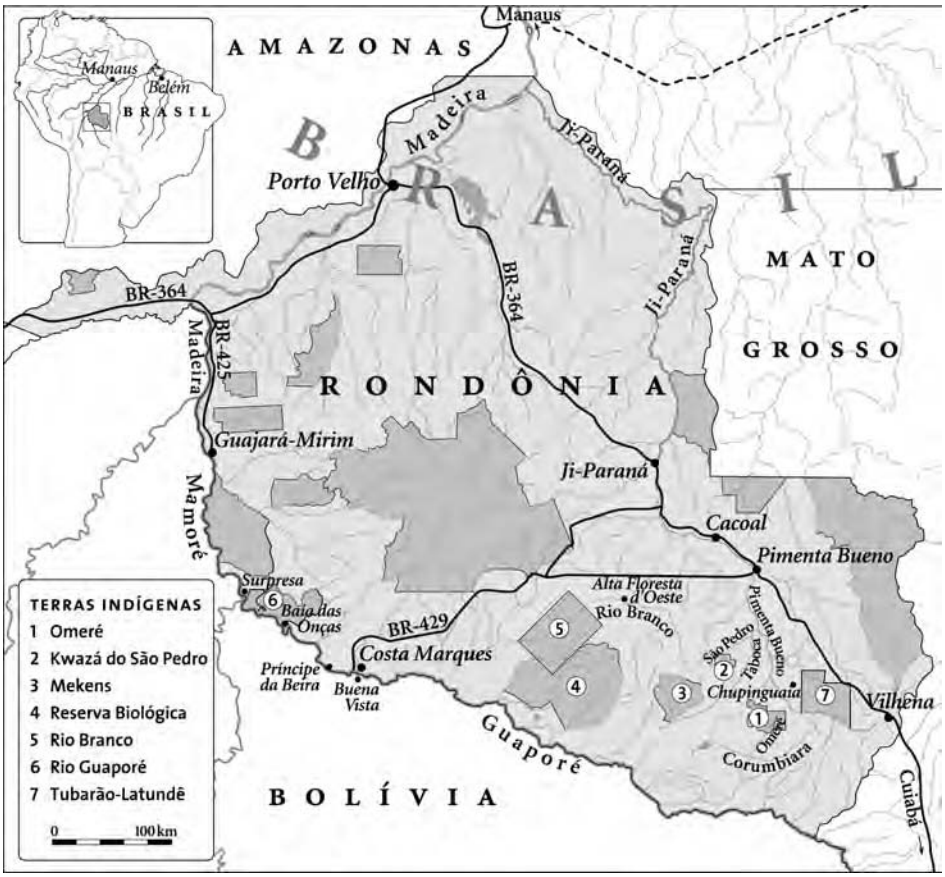
Index of tables

Table 1. Kwaza vowel phonemes 45
Table 2. Kwaza consonant phonemes 46
Table 3. The environments of affricates, sibilants and dental or apical 60
Table 4. Some consonant oppositions and the absence of "voice" 62
Table 5. Oral vowel-glide combinations 65
Table 6. Nasal vowel-glide combinations 66
Table 7. Consonant-glide combinations in a limited consonant inventory 67
Table 8. An alternative analysis of consonant-glide combinations 67
Table 9. Definitive inventory of possible consonant-glide combinations 68
Table 10. Vowel phonemes and their allophones 87
Table 11. Consonant phonemes and their allophones 88
Table 12. Types of Kwaza morphemes 97
Table 13. Morpheme positions in the noun 98
Table 14. Morpheme positions in the verb 98
Table 15. Morpheme positions in the adverb 99
Table 16. Morpheme positions in nouns based on bound roots 99
Table 17. The Kwaza demonstrative system 234
Table 18. Locative demonstratives 234
Table 19. The Kwaza personal pronoun system 235
Table 20. Pronouns and subject cross-reference morphemes 237
Table 21. Personal pronouns and person cross-reference markers 245
Table 22. Subject and object person cross-reference forms 248
Table 23. Subject and object person cross-reference forms 256
Table 24. Compatibility of inclusive and exclusive reference 258
Table 25. Mood markers of Kwaza matrix verbs 284
Table 26. Verb control and the relative grammaticality of the volitive 314
Table 27. Persuasive mood and subject cross-reference 319
Table 28. Prohibitive mood and subject cross-reference 327
Table 29. Overview of distribution of procrastinative *-tara-* 445
Table 30. The negative suffix *-he-* in the declarative mood 520
Table 31. Person cross-reference marking with declarative potential *-tsy-* 610
Table 32. Overview of adverbial clause morphology 628
Table 33. Medial clause markers and switch reference 672
Table 34. Subject continuity in cosubordination constructions 687
Table 35. Association range of colour terms for 'red' and 'black' 717
Table 36. Approximate ranges of Kwaza colour terms in Portuguese 718
Table 37. Kinship terminology: *'sinahere* 'the family' 723
Table 38. Brother-sister terminology 724
Table 39. Age terminology 725

Maps



Map 1: The earliest (1913) localisation of the Kwaza (from Rondon and Faria 1948)



Map 2: Fieldwork locations of the author (map by Willem Doelman, 2003)

Map 3: Reserve of the Aikanã, Kwaza and Latundê (map by Willem Doelman, 2003)

Plates

Photo 1: Maria Edite in Gleba (1996): "*kawɛ kuira!*"

Photo 2: Mario and his family in Barroso (1998)

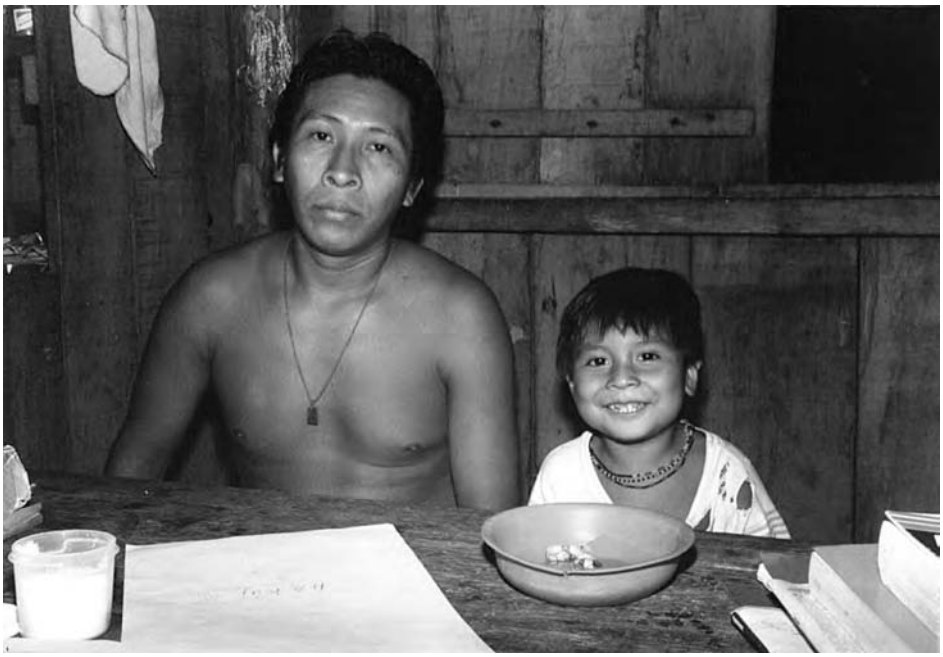


Photo 3: Mario and his son Maurílio at my table in Barroso (1996)

Photo 4: Antônio and his father Canderé in Gleba (1997)

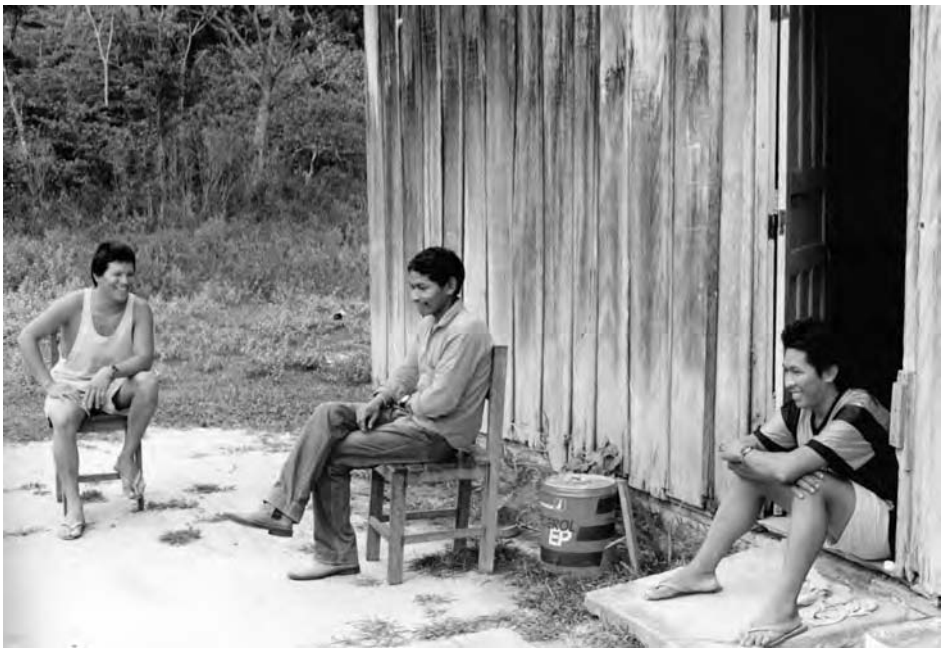


Photo 5: Antônio, Zezinho and Mário in Gleba (1997)

Photo 6: Antonhão and his son Zezinho by the Toyota in Barroso (1998)

Photo 7: Antonhão and his grandson Paikere in Barroso (1996)

Photo 8: Edileusa and her daughters Edineide (left) and Edilene (right), Barroso (1998)

Photo 9: The family of Kwaba in the new reserve Rio São Pedro (2002)

Photo 10: Maria Tadeu recording songs in Rio do Ouro (2002)

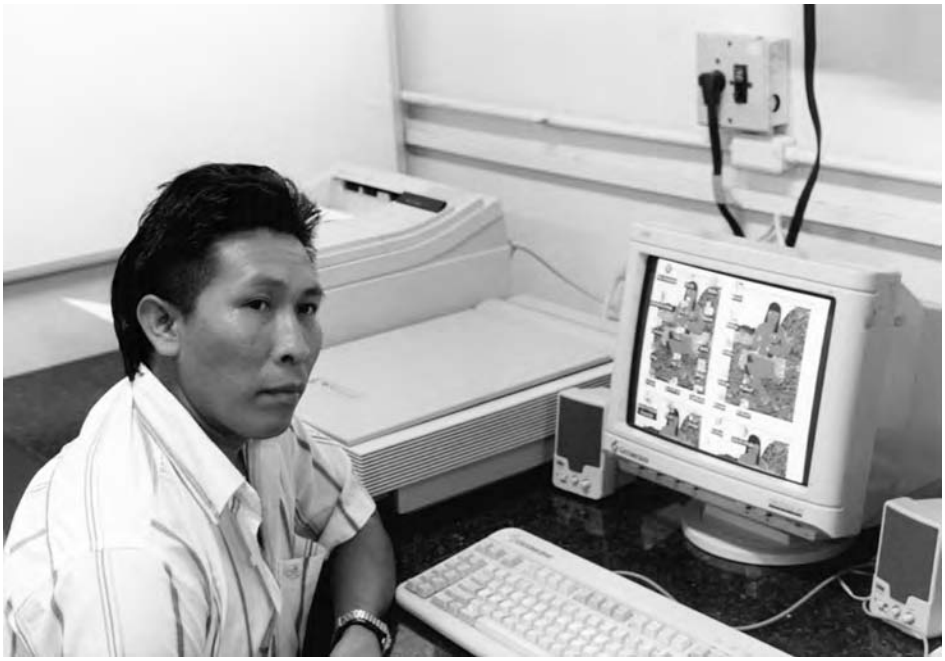


Photo 11: Mario at the Museu Goeldi in Belém (1998)

Chapter 1
Introduction

Kwaza is an unclassified indigenous Amazonian language that is spoken by 25 people. The speakers of Kwaza live in the indigenous reserve of Tubarão-Latundê on the headwaters of the Apediá or Pimenta Bueno river in the South-east of the federal Brazilian state of Rondônia. In traditional times the Kwaza must have formed a fierce nation of a few thousand persons subdivided into various groups. They lived in a huge area, as neighbours of the Aikanã nation which was of similar size and structure.[1] It is not known when exactly the Kwaza met representatives of Western cultures for the first time.

1.1. The geographic and linguistic location of Kwaza

Although the state of Rondônia is one of the smaller Brazilian states, it is still over five times the size of the Netherlands.[2] While the western border of the state forms a national border with Bolivia, which is defined by the Guaporé or Iténez river, the eastern border is a state border with Mato Grosso, close to which runs the Pimenta Bueno river. Further downstream, the Guaporé river is named Mamoré and the Pimenta Bueno river Jí-Paraná or Machado. Both river systems, which embrace the major part of Rondônia, discharge into the Madeira river, which again flows into the Amazon river. With its rivers, its tropical rainforests and its elevation of between 150 and 650 metres, Rondônia belongs to the Amazonian lowlands.

Rondônia is part of the greater Guaporé region, which represents one of the linguistically most diverse parts of South America. This region covers the tropical lowlands of North-Eastern Bolivia and the centre-West of Brazil. Today, the Guaporé region harbours over 40 indigenous languages, which belong to at least eight different "stocks", or "macro-families", and which may include about ten linguistic "isolates", i.e. languages which do not belong to any known stock, and which therefore form single-member stocks by themselves. The concentration of this diversity, and the time depth between the members of the various stocks, indicate that the Guaporé region may have been one of the starting points of the dispersal of South American peoples (cf. e.g. Urban

1. Carlson (1985) estimates the Aikanã to have numbered about 2000 to 3000. The Indians who Dr. Dequech (pc, cf. section 1.4.) met also used to mention such figures, but since they did not have a clear idea about what "2000" meant, the estimation may not be dependable. The Aikanã language can also be considered as still unclassified.
2. 238.512 km^2 vs. 41.526 km^2.

1992). Culturally speaking, the Bolivian part of the Guaporé region is one of the transition areas between Andean and Amazonian cultural complexes. Many languages of the Guaporé region are endangered with extinction and very poorly documented.[3]

1.2. The traditional context of the Indians of Southern Rondônia

In olden times, the South of Rondônia was populated by some 20 different nations, or "tribes" (in a linguistic rather than ethnic sense), which consisted of maybe several thousand members each, and which spoke mutually unintelligible languages. Irrespective of the linguistic differences, the majority of these "tribes" (excluding e.g. the Nambikwara) must have shared a common culture. Lévi-Strauss (1948) was the first to give an overview of this culture area and Maldi (1991), in a more detailed study, gave it a name: "the Marico cultural complex", after the *marico*, the characteristic carrying net made of fibres from the leaves of the tucuma palm tree (Astrocaryum standleyanum) which is common to these peoples. Their subsistence economy was based on gathering (fruits, nuts, ants, insects, larvae, roots, honey), hunting (monkeys, armadillos tapirs, deer, birds, rodents, swine, alligators, fish, rarely snakes and feline mammals) and swidden agriculture (maize, yam, manioc (cassava), bananas, peanuts, cotton, pumpkins, calabash, melons, tobacco, peppers, sweet potatoes and papayas). Several of these crops, such as maize, manioc and bananas, could function as the basis of different types of the sifted and fermented drink known as *chicha*. Breeding of animals (wild pigs, dogs, monkeys, macaws, toucans and other birds) was also common, but the animals were not killed. The indigenous nations were divided into groups which lived separately from each other along the tributaries of the Guaporé and Pimenta Bueno rivers. It appears that these groups formed or were part of autonomous "clans" often referred to by animal names. Clans formed unstable alliances against other alliances across linguistic borders and plurilingualism was not uncommon. There were frequent visits, festive contests, and trade between allied clans. At intertribal parties headball, which involved a ball of inflated natural rubber of about 15 cm diameter, was one of the most important games. The stakes consisted of arrows and ornaments. Furthermore, different types of music were played, all of them characteristic for the complex. Shamans, who could be either male or female, played a central role and made use of the hallucinogenic powder of paricá seeds

3. With its indigenous languages (about 30) belonging to five different "stocks" and including three possible isolates, the state of Rondônia alone harbours a much greater linguistic diversity than the whole of Europe with its paltry two linguistic stocks and one isolate. This diversity is much endangered, however, as more than 50% of these languages have less than 50 speakers. Meanwhile, less than 25% of these languages can boast of a reasonably comprehensive study, either published or not.

(Anadenanthera peregrina) in order to acquire and wield supernatural power. To a certain extent, cannibalistic practices constituted a part of the culture. Intermarriage was often instrumental in the establishment of relations between families and clans. Between non-allied groups relationships were generally hostile. The political structure of these societies was more or less egalitarian. Many groups, including the Kwaza, lived in settlements of a small number of huge beehive-shaped straw huts.

Although any reference to the Kwaza, under whatever name, is usually lacking in the sources, the Aikanã, Tupari, Kanoê, Salamãi and others can be encountered in various manuscripts and publications since the beginning of the 20th century.[4] If the Kwaza are encountered at all in earlier sources, they are invariably mentioned in one breath with the other groups, without any discussion of their specific characteristics.[5] Yet, it is clear from what the Indians themselves claim today, that the Kwaza formed an integral part of the intersocietal cultural complex, although it is not confirmed whether they were divided into clans bearing animal names.

According to the sparse existing historical documents and the oral traditions of Indians I interviewed, the Kwaza used to live along the São Pedro and Taboca rivers and other left (in this case west) side tributaries of the Pimenta Bueno river. They were neighbours of Aikanã groups who used to live along the Tanaru tributary, some 20 kilometres south. Other neighbours were the Kanoê who used to live to the south on the headwaters of the rio Verde and Omeré, the Tupari and Jeoromitxi peoples who lived to the west and the Salamãi and Kepkiriwat tribes who lived to the east. Note that this was the situation in the early contact period and that it is very difficult to give more exact specifications about a world that almost completely disappeared before any serious documentation was done. It is furthermore important to note that the various indigenous groups lived a semi-nomadic life and did not live in permanent settlements, as a consequence of the slash-and-burn type of agriculture. A tract of cleared rainforest loses its fertility after a few years and its cultivators have to move on. Only after many decades does the clearing turn into forest again and can be cleared again for cultivation. In this way indigenous groups must have circulated over a considerable distance through Southern Rondônia throughout the centuries.

---

4. The Kwaza (autodenomination) are usually known in the literature as Koaia. The Aikanã (autodenomination) are also known in the literature as Masaká, Kasupá, Mundé, Huari, Corumbiara or Tubarão, in various spellings. The Kanoê (autodenomination), who also speak an unclassified language, are sometimes also referred to as Kapixana. The Salamãi, who speak a Tupi-Mondé language, are also called Sanamãika or Mondé. The Tupari speak a language of the Tupi-Tupari linguistic family and are known under various names and synonyms.
5. Except Rondon (1916) who discusses remarks by the Kepkiriwat about the Kwaza that they practised cannibalism.

The cultures of most of the Southern Rondônian groups are nearly as undocumented as their languages and their fate at the present moment is worse than that of the languages. Most of the aboriginal cultural traits have disappeared along with the Indian peoples during the last 90 years through genocide and especially by introduced diseases. Besides conscious attempts by missionaries and other "civilisers" to eradicate the indigenous material, intellectual and spiritual traditions, these fundamental components of culture were especially affected by the fact that introduced diseases usually killed the adults and were mainly survived by children.

1.3. History of contact with the Westerners / Euro-Americans

The first contacts between Westerners and peoples of the Guaporé region may have occurred as early as the middle of the 16th century in Bolivia, as a result of Spanish expeditions such as Cabeza de Vaca's (Hemming 1978, Maldi Meireles 1989). Around the middle of the 17th century Jesuit missionaries settled in North-Eastern Bolivia and influenced the local Mojo cultures. In the 18th century, the Bolivian Indians formed a buffer between the Spanish and the Portuguese empires (Maldi Meireles 1989). Relationships between the Brazilian Indians and the Portuguese were generally hostile or characterised by avoidance. It is likely that the first non-Indians temporarily to explore the Rondônian side of the Guaporé region were gold-seekers and marooned slaves in the middle of the 18th century (Price 1972, Roquette-Pinto 1950). It is from this episode that the legend of the gold mines of Urucumacuan on the Corumbiara river originates (Dequech 1943). At the end of the 18th century the region was deserted by the Westerners, because no gold was found and because of the ongoing independence struggles.

The rubber boom at the end of the 19th century was a reason for non-Indians to settle permanently in Southern Rondônia. Initially, the Brazilian Indians usually withdrew to the headwaters of the tributaries of the Guaporé, while the rubber entrepreneurs hired or enslaved acculturated Indians from Bolivia (Fawcett 1953, Hemming 1987, Maldi 1991, Nordenskiöld 1915). Later, local Indians were also involved as labour force in the rubber enterprise. Around 1913, the Italian rubber entrepreneur Americo Casará brought a number of acculturated Quechua Indians from Peru to Barranco Alto on the Corumbiara river. Later he settled at Cascata 15 de Novembro on the Pimenta Bueno river, working also with the local Aikanã and Kanoê Indians (Dequech 1943). In 1930 the rubber market collapsed and many entrepreneurs deserted the region, until World War II, which resulted in a renewed rubber boom. Because the rubber enterprise involved many Bolivians and Peruvians, Spanish was a language of some importance in Southern Rondônia (Zack 1943).

During most of the 20th century, large rubber exploitation concessions in Southern Rondônia were in the hands of a few individuals and private companies. They used the local Indians on the rubber estates as slaves, prostituted the

women, and uprooted and exterminated their traditional societies. Because of their thousands of years of isolation from the rest of the world, the Indians had no immunity to influenza, measles etc., diseases which were imported by the newcomers (to whom these diseases were relatively harmless). Because of the loss of labour force in these southern rubber estates the territorial government made an effort in 1940 together with the SPI[6] to deport the indigenous societies on the headwaters of the Pimenta Bueno mostly by canoes to the headwaters of the Guaporé. During this voyage many Aikanã, Kanoê, Kwaza and Salamãi fled and starved to death under way. The remainder were concentrated on the SPI settlement Posto Ricardo Franco, which was not equipped to house the Indians, where no vegetable gardens had been laid out, and where the Indians were immediately put to work on the rubber estates. In combination with unprevented measles epidemics, the effect was truly genocidal, as a result of which the Kanoê became practically extinct.[7] Hereafter, the proprietors brought in Makurap, Tupari and Jeoromitxi Indians (Maldi 1983). Later, the SPI transported many Indians to the Ministry of Agriculture station, south of Porto Velho called DEMA[8]. After some time, a number of Aikanã were transported to their original lands on the Tanaru river. These fertile lands were then sold or ceded to farmers by the INCRA[9], wich in 1973 tricked the Aikanã into accepting the poor soils of the Tubarão-Latundê reserve as compensation.

From 1940 to 1960, Indians continued to be enslaved on the rubber estates. In this period, several waves of epidemics further decimated the Indians of Southern Rondônia. There are indications that epidemics were sometimes attributed to sorcery by other groups, which led to bloody clashes between the Indians. Already in 1945 the Kwaza had been reduced to only a tiny group. From the 1970's onwards most of the Indians were transferred to indigenous reserves.

Large-scale ecological destruction of Rondônia began in the 1960's with the opening of the BR-364 road from Vilhena to Porto Velho, and the misguided policies of local and national governments which led to the invasion of impoverished Brazilians, logging companies and cattle ranchers. By the end of the 1980's 50% of the state was deforested. Today, its indigenous population num

6. The S.P.I. is the *Serviço ao Proteção dos Índios*, the Brazilian federal agency for the protection of the Indians, which was established in 1910 under the altruistic leadership of Cândido Rondon. In 1967 this service was replaced by the F.U.N.A.I. or *Fundação Nacional do Índio*, the national foundation for the Indians.
7. Like so many sources, Maldi (1983, 1991) fails to mention the Kwaza, but according to my consultants, the Kwaza were also victims of the practices involved in the rubber exploitation.
8. Divisão Estadual do Ministerio de Agricultura, the state division of the federal ministry of agriculture.
9. Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária, the national institute for colonisation and agrarian reform. The sometimes criminal roles that such governmental institutions played in Rondônia, especially at the time of the dictatorship, have been thoroughly documented by amongst others Leonel (1995).

bers little over 5000 people, on a total of approximately 1.500.000 inhabitants. The majority of the unacculturated Indians of Rondônia live in indigenous reserves. Nevertheless, there are still uncontacted groups in Rondônia (dos Santos 1996).

1.4. Scientific expeditions

In the beginning of the 20th century the first scientific expeditions to Rondônia were organised, during which ethnographic and linguistic observations were made. The famous explorer lieutenant Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon contacted many local indigenous nations during the construction of the telegraphic line from Cuiabá to Porto Velho from 1907 to 1915. He was the first to mention the Kwaza (as *Coaiá*, in Rondon 1916:155-156) and located them on the São Pedro river on a map drawn in 1913 (Rondon and Faria 1948:183). Rondon was one of the most important defenders of the Indians of this century. He was of partial Bororó ancestry himself and he was one of the founders of the SPI. At the instigation of the Brazilian anthropologist Edgar Roquette-Pinto (1950), the region that now forms the state of Rondônia was named after Rondon.[10]

In 1913 and 1914 the Swedish ethnographer Erland Nordenskiöld (1915) explored the Andean and Guaporé regions, accompanied by his wife Olga. He was the first person to record data from the Aikanã language (his *Huari*) and photographed its speakers. The indigenous names of the chiefs he met and heard about are still in use among the Aikanã today.

In 1933 and 1934 the German ethnographer Emil Heinrich Snethlage (1937) explored the Guaporé region where he met many different tribes, among which were the Makurap, the Tupari, the Arikapu and the Jeoromitxi. The musical instruments he (and Nordenskiöld) described and drew pictures of in Snethlage (1939) are still in use today among the Aikanã and Kanoê.[11]

In 1938 the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss visited (among others) the Salamãi in the Pimenta Bueno region. Among them was a boy from the São Pedro river from whom he elicited a list of words. Since all entries - except for maybe one - are pure Kwaza, this word-list represents the first known documentation of the Kwaza language. A selection of his photographs showing

10. Until 1943, one part of the state belonged to the state of Mato Grosso under the name O Oeste de Mato Grosso (the West of Mato Grosso) and another part to the state of Amazonas under the name O Sul de Amazonas (the South of Amazonas). In 1943 president Getúlio Vargas made the region a separate federal territory named Território Federal do Guaporé. In 1956 it was renamed Território Federal de Rondônia. In 1982 Rondônia acquired the status of "federal state", under the name of Estado Federal de Rondônia. The capital is Porto Velho.
11. Snethlage did not visit the Aikanã, but he met one Aikanã woman through whom he was able to identify the name *Massaka* as a "Huari" (i.e. Aikanã) family name (1937:107).

material aspects of the Marico culture complex can be found in Lévi-Strauss (1994). Prof. Lévi-Strauss' main anthropological and historical work at that time and place, however, concerned the Nambikwara, with whom he lived for a year (Lévi-Strauss 1955).

Another important expedition to Rondônia was the Commissão para o Estudo das Jazidas Auríferas do Urucumacuan[12] led by the geologist Dr. Victor Dequech from 1941 to 1943. This expedition set out to localise the legendary gold mines of Urucumacuan.[13] After two years of intensive mineralogical fieldwork, during which he only occasionally found very small grains of gold, Dequech concluded that the mines of Urucumacuan neither existed on the Pimenta Bueno, nor on the Corumbiara. The expedition worked in close cooperation with the local Indians, who were paid in kind for their services as regards alimentation, transport and maintenance of waterways and forest paths, and without whom the expedition would probably not have been possible. Among them was the group of the Salamãi chief Bakét, or Batiak, also Telemaco,[14] who died in 1991 in Porto Velho. One of the last three known speakers/rememberers of Salamãi, Wãzerip, who now lives in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve, had been married to him long ago. Furthermore, the Aikanã Arytimun, or Mundé Atsatsaré, also Capitão Pedro, who is the oldest man living in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve today, assisted the Urucumacuan expedition. The Kwaza A'we who was the brother of Wa'ri, or Antonhão, my oldest male consultant, was part of the expedition as well, besides many others who are still remembered by their descendants in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve and elsewhere. Being a man of broad education and interests, Dequech recorded ethnographical and linguistic data of many tribes he encountered, including the Kwaza,[15] whom he also locates on the São Pedro river (Dequech 1942). Un

12. The 'commission for the study of the ore deposits of Urucumacuan'.
13. The expedition had already been planned in 1914 when Rondon thought that his assistants had discovered the approximate region where the gold deposits should exist. However, the first world war had prevented the realisation of these plans, until 1938, when president Getúlio Vargas launched the idea of colonisation of the western parts of Brazil. This campaign, which was named 'Marcha para o Oeste' (march to the West), resulted in governmental funds for the colonisation of Mato Grosso, Goiânia and Rondônia, and for related projects.
14. The stress in this Portuguese name *Telemaco* is on the second syllable. Dr. Victor learnt the Salamãi name *Batiak* only in the late 1980's after much begging. He said the Salamãi used to be very reluctant to reveal their true personal names. Telemaco's nickname in Aikanã is *kuku'ju* 'hawk'.
15. Dr. Dequech insists that the Kwaza were called ['kɔ^{w}aja], but that this is not necessarily their original autodenomination. In his popular account of the expedition (1993b) he mentions Aikanã speaking of a feared tribe called Arara on the left side of the Pimenta Bueno at the height of the São Pedro tributary. If these were Kwaza too, this would be the first documented occurrence of *Arara* 'parrot' as the nickname which the Kwaza themselves despise.

fortunately the boat which contained the physical ethnographical collection was bombarded by the Americans[16] off the east coast of Brazil in 1943. However, there still remains an impressive photographic archive, some of which was published in Rondon (1946). Dr. Dequech is still healthy in his eighties and at the present he is writing up his memoirs in Belo Horizonte. During the last decades, Dr. Dequech has visited the Aikanã on various occasions to show photos of olden times, and he has published a popularised partial account of the first year of the expedition with photographs in a Porto Velho daily (1988a, 1988b, 1993a, 1993b). When I interviewed him in 1996, he said that one can hardly begin to imagine how much of the indigenous past of Rondônia has disappeared and has been destroyed and forgotten, and he lamented how little of it was properly documented, if at all. Dequech was accompanied by SPI personnel such as the interpreter José Aucê from the Ki-Apyr subgroup of the "Guaratira tribe",[17] who was born on the Rio Verde, tributary of the Corumbiara, and who had been educated in Rio de Janeiro.

In 1942 and 1943 another expedition joined Dequech's, the Turma de Exploração no Oeste de Mato Grosso,[18] headed by his friend, lieutenant Estanislau Zack.[19] This expedition was set out to assist the other expedition in the contact with the Indians, and to inspect the local SPI posts, and the situation of the Indians and their relationships with the Westerners. In his report of 1943, Zack describes the ethnic constitution, the recent history, the means of subsistence etc. of nine indigenous settlements in the region between the Pimenta Bueno and the Mequens rivers. Most of the settlements were ethnically highly mixed, but very small, with a few scores of people at the most. The appendix of the report consists of a 222-entry comparative word list of Aikanã, Salamãi, Kwaza and Kanoê.

When ethnographic expeditions were realised in the 1950's by Becker-Donner (1955), Caspar (1975), Hanke (1956) and others, the peoples they visited were already starting to adapt to Western culture. The explorers did not mention the Kwaza at all and only visited their neighbours. The Kwaza were not heard about any more until they were "rediscovered" in 1984 by the late North American linguist Harvey Carlson, who visited the Tubarão-Latundê reserve to conduct fieldwork on the Aikanã language.[20] Carlson was a student of Leanne Hinton at the University of California, Berkeley, where his field notes on Aikanã and recordings are now kept, and where study of this material by

16. They did this in order to make it appear as a hostile action by the Germans, with the objective of involving Brazil in the second world war as an ally.
17. Which again is a subgroup of the *Mekens*, who speak a Tupi-Tupari language.
18. The 'exploration team of the West of Mato Grosso'.
19. Zack died in the early 1990's in Porto Velho. He is known in the literature as Stanislav Zach, via Loukotka (1963).
20. Before he went to the field, Carlson had read practically all relevant literature on the history and the languages of Southern Rondônia and had written an admirably accurate survey of this subject (1983).

Hinton's research group resulted in a collection of papers on many aspects of the Aikanã language (Hinton ed. 1993). Carlson noted the presence of at least five speakers of Kwaza and recorded a small word-list (Carlson 1984, 1985). Lévi-Strauss', Zack's and Carlson's data are presented and analysed at the end of the present chapter, and the ethnonyms for the Kwaza are discussed in (9.9.). In the late 1980's and early 1990's, the Brazilian linguist Ione Vasconcelos did fieldwork in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve on the Aikanã language. She noted the presence of 13 Kwaza in the reserve and recorded two interviews with speakers of Kwaza on audiotape (Vasconcelos n.d.).

Carlson made efforts to bring the Kwaza to the attention of the linguistic community. As an indirect result of his efforts, Kwaza and Aikanã were proposed as suitable topics for a pilot-project on endangered South American languages in February 1992, during an experts' meeting organised by the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (CIPSH) and the International Permanent Committee of Linguists (CIPL) at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Subsequently, a proposal for a descriptive study of the Kwaza language was submitted to the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), who decided to fund the project in 1994. This has resulted in the present work.

1.5. The present context of the Kwaza

Today the majority of the remnants of the original tribes of South Rondônia live in reserves. These reserves are all in different phases of the official procedures to become legally protected areas.

The majority of the Kwaza live in the Área Indígena Tubarão-Latundê together with the Latundê and the majority of the Aikanã,[21] on the right side of the Pimenta Bueno or Apediá river in the municipality of Chupinguaia.[22] Most of the Aikanã and Kwaza were taken to the reserve in 1973. A small group of

21. Nowadays, the Aikanã are locally known as *Tubarão*, which explains the name of the reserve. The Portuguese word *tubarão* means 'shark', but this is not the origin of the name *Tubarão*. According to Dr. Dequech, the name *Tubarão* is a corruption of a Salamãi personal name *Gubalum*, which was sometimes also pronounced as *Subalum*. Gubalum was apparently a brother of Telemaco. According to the Kwaza Antonhão, a certain *Tuparão* was member of Telemaco's group. According to the Aikanã Canderé, who claims to be of "true Tubarão" descent (pronounced by him as [tuba'ðãw]), the name is probably related to the ethnonym *Tupari*.

22. Chupinguaia, or Xupinguaia, is a small loggers' town of about 2000 inhabitants. It is named after the river Chupinguaia, in older sources also Chupingáu, which is a tributary of the Pimenta Bueno. The town, and the surrounding region, became an independent municipality in 1996. Before that date, it was part of the municipality of Vilhena. Vilhena is a city of around 75.000 inhabitants in the southeastern corner of Rondônia, situated on the BR-364 highway half-way between Cuiabá and Porto Velho.

Aikanã under Aru'?i Uhu'nei who already lived in the area since the late 1960's, were unexpectedly rediscovered in 1979. The Latundê, who have no information on how long they have inhabited the region, were first contacted by Westerners in 1976 (Galvão 1980, Price 1977, Telles 2002a). The reserve was physically demarcated in 1983 and was "ratified" (*homologada*) in 1991. It measures roughly 35 by 40 kilometres and it is covered by roughly 50% of tropical rainforest and 50% of savannah. The soil is generally of the less fertile sandy type. The Indians were driven off their original lands which were characterised by a more fertile soil of red clay. But, as Carlson (1985) wrote, they were "lucky to have secured any lands at all". In 1997, the reserve had about 225 inhabitants. The reserve has always been under the general leadership of the Aikanã until recently, when this position was assumed by a Kwaza.

The reserve can be entered from the west, via Chupinguaia, which lies on a dirt road, the RO-391, 50 kilometres southwest of the entrance to the asphalted BR-364 highway, from where Vilhena lies 100 kilometres to the southeast. There are five basic settlements in the reserve: Gleba is a central Aikanã village on the western demarcation line, 18 kilometres from Chupinguaia, with around seven families, a church, a primary school, a FUNAI post and an often deserted medical post. The other Aikanã village, Rio do Ouro, lies some 15 kilometres to the northeast. It forms a cluster of about five families where also a school building (often out of function) is located. About five other families live more dispersed. Barroso is mainly a Kwaza settlement. It is located between 15 and 25 kilometres to the south and southeast of Gleba and consists of five families in a row at an average distance of five kilometres. Latundê is the most isolated settlement. It is inhabited by three Latundê families and it is situated near the eastern savannah, at about ten kilometres distance from the easternmost Barroso family. The last village is called Veado Preto and lies in the southeastern corner of the reserve, with Portuguese speaking Sabanê descendants. It is only accessible via a short dirt road exiting the asphalted RO-399 at some 40 kilometres from Vilhena. It is the only settlement in the reserve I have never visited. Inside the reserve, and to Chupinguaia, one usually travels on foot or bicycle. Between the reserve and Vilhena people usually travel in a FUNAI four-wheel drive Toyota pick up truck, or they hitch a ride.

Certain aspects of traditional subsistence economy are still relatively intact. Nowadays the economy often extends to the production and trade of rice, beans, chicken, sometimes cattle, and previously rubber, but this is always in addition to hunting, gathering and planting traditional crops, so that people manage to survive during times of scarcity. With the rubber trade the Indians have entered the international money economy and it has made them dependent. The small profit it used to bring was spent on beans, sugar, coffee, clothes, alcohol, gunpowder and other things that were not provided by the rain forest. Rice is also bought because many Indians do not plant (enough of) it. In 1997 the rubber market collapsed once again and there has not been any trade in Vilhena since.

Other surviving aspects of traditional culture are ornaments such as bracelets, earrings and necklaces.[23] People above 55 often have a pierced nose septum and pierced lips but do not wear any ornaments in them any more. Whereas formerly every few weeks traditional music was played, today people listen to the popular Brazilian Forró and Sertanejo music on Radio Amazônica and a year may pass without any traditional musical performances. Knowledge of traditional medicine has been almost fully replaced by dependency on the health service by the FUNAI, which in its turn deteriorated until the responsibility was partially taken over by the Fundação Nacional de Saúde in 1997.[24] Fortunately, malaria has become rare in the immediate vicinities and there have not been any lethal epidemics of measles and influenza since the 1980's. Chicha is still a very popular drink, and on certain festive occasions, children are still painted with annatto and genipap.

Today the inhabitants of the reserve all wear clothes, listen to the radio, hunt with shotguns and visit Vilhena once in a while. There is a Protestant church on the reserve, established in the early 1980's by the Terena Evangelical Mission. This organisation, which was set up with the help of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), is based on the idea of Indians converting Indians and has a strong acculturating effect. The missionaries, who also have a church in Vilhena, are often Terena Indians from the state of Mato Grosso do Sul. In spite of the fact that most of the people under 35 seem to be firm believers, the mission has not succeeded completely in eradicating "superstition" and "heathen" practices, such as traditional music and dance, shamanic consultation, food taboos and small rituals to ward off illness, cold periods and to improve the hunt. One of the positive effects of this mission has been the decrease of alcohol abuse.[25]

During the last few years the often illegal industrial exploitation of "palmito", or palm heart, i.e. the cabbage of assai, pupunha and of other palm trees, has reached Rondônia and the reserve. Like the timber trade, which had stripped the reserve of most of the valuable species of wood already in 1995, the palmito trade is a danger to the local ecological environment. Having no

23. These ornaments are identical to the Huari ornaments photographed by Nordenskiöld (1915).
24. Or FUNASA, the Brazilian national health foundation.
25. I had the opportunity to note certain striking differences between the Tubarão-Latundê reserve on the one hand and the Rio Branco and Rio Guaporé reserves on the other. In Tubarão-Latundê the native languages are all still quite alive, but many aspects of the traditional cultures have become obsolete. The situation on the Rio Branco and Rio Guaporé reserves can to a certain extent be considered as the reverse. There, chicha is still brewed and consumed almost daily in immense quantities, shamans are still in high esteem and take paricá, but the languages have nearly disappeared. Also, the people in these latter reserves are notably more extroverted in their behaviour. Of course many other factors must be involved in the explanation of these differences, but I find it conspicuous that the Tubarão-Latundê reserve has been christianised by Protestant missions whereas the other two reserves were christianised by Catholic missions.

thorough understanding of the market, money and mathematics, the Indians are constantly being swindled and are left with very little in return for the ecological damage. Because of the destruction of the natural resources, game becomes scarce and therewith the traditional self-sufficient way of life of the Indians becomes more difficult, while dependency on the Western style economy increases. As it turns out, this downward spiral is already coming to an end in the muddy slums of Vilhena, where several Aikanã families have settled permanently and are employed irregularly as cleaning maids or garbage men, if they are lucky.

There is one speaker of Kwaza in the São Pedro region, which is about 70 kilometres to the northwest from the Tubarão-Latundê reserve. She is called Kwa'ba and she is married to an Aikanã. Together with their children and grandchildren, they represent the last indigenous family there. The Indians of the São Pedro region had been cooperating with Brazilian rubber tappers since the 1940's. Later the region was legally declared a rubber extraction area (*Área Extrativista*) and its inhabitants lived on the hunt, vegetable gardens and rubber, while preserving the tropical rainforest. During the last decades logging companies are illegally but successfully robbing the area of its mahogany resources and in their wake cattle farmers follow, who cut down the remaining trees and lay out pastures. As they destroy the hunting grounds and the rubber groves, this is a serious threat to the inhabitants' means of subsistence. This happens without their consent and they are not indemnified. Today, most of the Brazilian rubber tappers have been persuaded to sign "declarations of desistence" by the illegal farmers in exchange for a little cash. They are now jobless in the town of Pimenta Bueno. The Indians continued to refuse to sign and were physically threatened by the farmers' gunmen. The ranches and timber companies are owned by rich people from the South of Rondônia, where most of the available rainforest has already disappeared. As nothing was done by local police and politicians to relieve the Indians' predicament, they turned to the FUNAI and the Conselho Indigenista Missionário[26] for help, in the beginning of 1996. Since contemporary documents and eyewitness accounts confirm that the region was the habitat of the Kwaza at the time of contact (Dequech 1942, Lévi-Strauss 1938, Rondon and Faria 1948, van der Voort 1996b, 1997b), it merits the official status as "Indigenous Area", as granted by the Brazilian constitution. Through both archival and new documents of the Kwaza language, in combination with the knowledge that the remaining Kwaza woman still had of her native language, the FUNAI and the CIMI could be provided with crucial evidence that the São Pedro region was legal Kwaza territory. The CIMI brought its lawyers into action on behalf of the Indians, and FUNAI scientists organised an expedition to the region in order to initiate the establishment of an indigenous reserve for them, in spite of the political climate. The initial process of identification and delimitation of an indigenous reserve for the Kwaza was

26. Or CIMI, the Brazilian non-governmental Catholic missionary council for indigenous affairs.

concluded in December 1998, and the reserve was named Terra Indígena Kwazá do rio São Pedro (Souza 1999). On 15 June 2000 the reserve was officially demarcated.[27] Other publications that concern the context of the Kwaza are van der Voort (1996a, 1997c, 1998, 2000a).

1.6. The sociolinguistic situation of the Kwaza

Four languages are spoken on a daily basis by all generations of the Tubarão-Latundê reserve: Aikanã being the dominant language (± 150 speakers, unclassified), Kwaza (25, unclassified), Latundê (± 20, Northern Nambikwara) and Portuguese (with ±10 monolinguals). There is one person of Salamãi (Tupi-Mondé) origin and two of Kanoê (unclassified) origin who do not speak their languages any more. There is one person of Sabanê (Nambikwara) origin (not counting the population of Veado Preto), and one person of Tawandê (Northern Nambikwara) upbringing who still speaks the language. Until recently, there was one small Brazilian family of which one daughter speaks fluent Aikanã. There was some education in Aikanã as a native language in Gleba until several years ago. As far as we know, the Latundê language is spoken exclusively in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve (the last speaker of the closely related Lakondê dialect lives in Vilhena, see Telles 2002a). Some speakers of Kwaza live in the São Pedro region and some have moved to Chupinguaia in recent years.

About half of the 25 Kwaza speakers are not of the Kwaza nation and the majority of these speakers identify themselves as members of the Aikanã nation. They are descendants of an Aikanã father named Kude're, or Canderé, and a Kanoê mother, Towe'nwe, or Maria Edite, both from the Tanaru region. Maria Edite had been brought up by other Kanoê when her family had been massacred. Later, at the age of seven, after her step-family had been massacred as well, she was raised by Kwaza until they also became decimated by disease and violence. It is only thanks to her that some of her grandchildren speak Kwaza, as her own children, now adults, do not pass it on to their children and speak Aikanã or Portuguese instead. She consciously tries to preserve the Kwaza language and she deeply regrets not being able to speak Kanoê any more.[28] In this family, which I refer to as family I, the majority is trilingual in Kwaza, Aikanã and Portuguese.

The other half of the Kwaza speakers belong to a different family that consists of descendants of a Kwaza father called Wa'ri, or Antonhão, from the São Pedro region, where Kwaza intermarried with Kanoê and Salamãi. Half of this family, to which I will refer as family II, is practically monolingual in Kwaza.

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27. Even though this was realised exceptionally quickly, the reserve still does not receive the protection that it deserves. At the present, about 25% of its modest expanse has been occupied and deforested by an illegal cattle rancher, and the local authorities do not seem to lend any priority to correcting this situation.
28. She remembers some 50 words of it at the most.

Some members of this family are bilingual in Kwaza and Aikanã, while the rest have only a passive knowledge of Aikanã. Some are bilingual in Kwaza and Portuguese. This family claims Kwaza ethnic identity and is very reserved towards the Aikanã and anyone else, including the other Kwaza speaking family. Family II has closer relationships with the Latundê than family I and the Aikanã. However, there are no people bilingual in Latundê and one of the other indigenous languages, except for the head of the Latundê group, who, being of Tawandê (Northern Nambikwara) upbringing still speaks his mother tongue.

Within family I, Kwaza is used mainly between representatives of the penultimate and antepenultimate generation. Within family II, Kwaza is the vehicle of verbal communication for all generations. Furthermore, Kwaza is the language of communication between the two families. However, because of the little contact between these families, they cannot really be considered to constitute a "speech community". Hence, Kwaza can be said to be a family language of two separate families. As far as I can estimate, both families I and II have been speaking Kwaza as a first language under these circumstances maybe for some 30 years, and at the most four generations were involved.

Half of Maria Edite's family lives in Gleba. Another part of the Kwaza speakers live in the different settlements of Barroso. Recently, members of family II have been moving to the town of Chupinguaia. Only one Kwaza semi-speaker, Kwa'ba, or Marlene, who is related to family II, lives with her Portuguese and Aikanã speaking Aikanã-Kwaza family in the original region by the São Pedro river. There may be a few Kwaza in the town of Pimenta Bueno and in Porto Velho but it is not very likely that they still speak the language. It may not be excluded that there are still Kwaza living in the remaining forests avoiding all contact.

In spite of the fact that Kwaza looks quite seriously endangered with respect to the number of speakers, it is not endangered with respect to the range of different generations of speakers. In Antonhão's family, it is acquired as a native first language by all children, some of whom are very young. In Maria Edite's family it is more endangered because only half of the youngest generation learns to speak it as their "grandmother's tongue". Also, with respect to figures from 20 years ago (±1984) indicating that there were no more than fourteen speakers at that time (Carlson noted seven), the number of speakers is slowly increasing: there are 25 speakers today. This is probably due to childbirth and improved health conditions during the past decennium. Nevertheless, it will be hard for the language to be transferred to future generations because the members of family I and II do not intermarry. Furthermore, a part of family II has now moved to the nearby town of Chupinguaia, where the Kwaza children will not get education in their native language.

1.7. Fieldwork situation and methodology

Due to the previous lack of linguistic data, the present work is based almost entirely on linguistic fieldwork with native consultants. Since practically all speakers of Kwaza live in the indigenous reserve Tubarão-Latundê, my fieldwork involved the acquisition of authorisations by the FUNAI to enter the reserve. Since scientific research was the objective, permission had furthermore to be obtained from the Brazilian national research council CNPq[29]. One of the prerequisites for this permission is affiliation with a scientific institution in Brazil, which was in my case the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi in Belém. Between February 1995 and March 1998 I spent a total of 14 months in the reserve, accompanied by my girlfriend Marga van der Schaaf. We were there three times, from February to May 1995, November 1995 to July 1996 and November 1997 to March 1998. In May 1996, my main consultant Mario and I visited the recently contacted Akũtsũ and Kanoê in the Omeré region. In July 1996, Marga and I visited the Kwaza in the São Pedro region. In the second half of March 1998 Mario was invited to Belém by Denny Moore, to make digital audio and video recordings at the linguistics department of the Museu Goeldi.

In 2001 and 2002 I did fieldwork on another indigenous language of Rondônia, Arikapu (Yabuti family), but I had the opportunity to visit the Kwaza again and work with them on a language primer and a revision of my previous work.

In the field, I made analogue recordings on audiotape of running texts and of several elicitation sessions. Most elicitation, however, was only recorded on paper. One text was also recorded on videotape. Besides Kwaza, I have also collected some documentation of Aikanã, Akũtsũ, Kanoê, Latundê and Salamãi. Furthermore traditional Kwaza songs and Aikanã music were recorded. Finally, many photographs and slides were taken. Since the speech community of Kwaza is so small and fragmented, one rarely has the chance of overhearing conversations in the language, let alone that one can become immersed in spoken Kwaza on a day to day basis and learn the language. Therefore, I never acquired any level of proficiency in Kwaza to boast of, and most of the fieldwork had to take place via Portuguese, a language in which my main consultant is much more articulate than I am.

Fieldwork manuals (e.g. Samarin 1967) always caution the researcher to choose consultants carefully. In my case, there was no choice, since the community had decided that I should work with Mario, who had volunteered to be my consultant. This was only fortunate since he turned out to be an excellent teacher and a very considerate friend. Although I also did fieldwork with other speakers of Kwaza, we lived mainly with Mario and his family in Barroso. Another important warning in fieldwork manuals and from experienced field

29. *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico*, 'national council of scientific and technological development'.

workers is that the linguistic data should be processed right away in the field. This was hardly possible in my case because of the attention we got from the many children and the way we were involved in community life.

The different sessions in the field consisted of formal elicitation of word lists and minimal pairs. These were recorded on tape for phonological documentation and analysis. Furthermore, I asked for translations into Kwaza of series of Portuguese sentences which I had based on Comrie and Smith's (1977) and Dahl's (1985) questionnaires, and on the three volumes edited by Shopen (1985). Already in the first weeks in the field some texts in Kwaza were recorded and transcribed and an attempt was made to gloss the texts with the help of the consultant. Later, as Mario became more accustomed to my questions and as my understanding of the language advanced, morpheme-by-morpheme translation became less laborious and the analyses became more dependable. Part II of the present work contains a number of glossed and translated texts, of several different types. Outside of the fieldwork sessions, I learnt much about the language by accompanying Mario and others on hunting and fishing trips and work in the forest. Such occasions were ideal for collecting specific terminology relating to the local flora and fauna, both in Kwaza and in Aikanã. Many hours of linguistic sessions were devoted to verification and correction of the data from previous sessions. Besides linguistic interviews with speakers of Kwaza, I spoke with elderly people whenever I had a chance. Not only is the Kwaza language undocumented and endangered, but also the traditional culture and history of the entire region.[30]

My teacher Mario belongs to family I. As depicted above in (1.6.), the ecology of the Kwaza language in family I has been adversely affected by the low number of speakers as far as the domain of its use is concerned. Furthermore, there are some differences between the language as spoken in family I and in family II. It may be that some differences have a dialectal basis, but on several occasions there were also indications for a difference in linguistic knowledge. This became apparent in the knowledge of specialised vocabulary such as kinship terminology.[31] On several occasions, members of the different families said that the other family speaks "different". Mario once said that family II members speak in an "old-fashioned" way. Sometimes, members of family II even claimed to speak "better" themselves. This was not confirmed by the members of family I, but with questions regarding specific lexical items, Mario sometimes referred me to Antonhão, the oldest member of family II. He also told me that he himself had learnt words and expressions from Antonhão which his mother Maria Edite did not know. Circumstances like these might constitute a ground to prefer consultants from family II over those from family I. However, I did not, for several reasons: the first reason being that I had no choice. In order to conduct fieldwork of reasonable quality I would probably have had to move and live with family II, which was impossible if I also wanted to

30. What the old people have to tell requires more research and merits a separate study.
31. This situation is discussed further in section (9.4.).

maintain good relationships with the rest of the reserve. Furthermore, the members of family II were rather reserved towards other people. I visited family II often and although we became good friends, and I learnt a lot from them about Kwaza, they always remained very shy and insecure as linguistic consultants. Finally, my impression on the whole is that the grammar of the language is identical in both families. Phonological differences, which may be of dialectal nature, were documented in several recorded texts and wordlists.

In the reserve there is no electricity but I did not have the time to select and test solar energy equipment for computers or video cameras. I was relatively lightly equipped with a professional stereo walkman tape recorder Sony WM D3 with a stereo lapel microphone Sony ECM 144. This was kept in an airtight bag with reheatable colour-indicator silica gel at all times except when in use. I used TDK CrO_2 cassette tapes I had brought from the Netherlands and AA size batteries bought in Vilhena. In case the professional walkman broke down, I had two spare Sony dictaphone type walkmans, which were much cheaper. I used these also in transcription work. During my more recent visits I have used a portable minidisc recorder Sony MZ-R70, with a hand held omni-directional Sennheiser MD 22 microphone.

While I was conducting fieldwork, Marga set up a literacy project in Barroso. The necessity of this was obvious, since the closest and only operating school was in Gleba, which was only attended by five children. Barroso had more than 15 children but no teacher wanted to live there and the responsible municipality was not willing to invest in these children. Of course, in view of the present pace of acculturation one must reckon with a much higher degree of dependency on the towns a few years from now. Fifteen years ago few people spoke Portuguese, whereas today even the youngest children speak it as a second language. Therefore it is sad that most people in Barroso are illiterate and are not able to count, let alone that they would be able to do basic mathematic operations. Consequently, in the future they will become even more dependent on the good intentions of the Brazilians whereas the experiences leave no room for much optimism in this respect so far. The alphabetisation project functioned about five months in total, during which several children acquired basic reading and writing skills. Had there been more time Marga would also have been able to reach the Latundê children and I might have managed to teach Antonhão's family to write Kwaza.

Because we were not able to hunt, and there was no time to make a clearing and till it, we were dependent for our supplies on one- or two-monthly trips to the supermarket in Vilhena. In Vilhena we became friends with Hans Kompier, a Dutch immigrant with an "all-Brazilian" family who had been running a dairy farm in Vilhena and at Perobal on the RO-399, nearby Veado Preto, for over 20 years. His untimely death in May 1999 is a tragic loss to many people in the region. Whenever we were in Vilhena, we visited him. As we were focusing almost all our attention on the life of the Indians and had very little time for Brazilian life we would never have learnt so much about Brazil and the Brazilians without him and his family. I always left the photocopies of my A_4 size

note books with him, since I could not afford to lose them. In Vilhena I also developed my films because photos served as excellent presents for the Indians.

As regards payment of consultants, there was little else I could think of to offer but money. Basing myself on considerations like e.g. the salary of the schoolteacher I chose to pay averagely R$ 3,5 an hour, which corresponded to a salary of around three Brazilian minimum wages. On several occasions I could pay in kind, such as clothing and once a horse. In general, when people on the reserve needed medical assistance or asked for presents or food, we were never reluctant. Certain people would sometimes ask for a small loan, which I would usually give. Sometimes I would be asked for a contribution to reparations or petrol for the car.

A more elaborated account of the setting and the period of fieldwork between 1995 and 1996 is to be found in van der Voort (1996a). Besides fieldwork in Rondônia, (archival) research was done in Belém in December 1994, in Cuiabá and Rio de Janeiro in October 1995, and in Belo Horizonte and Brasília in July 1996. During the remaining intervals I lived in the Netherlands, digitising and studying the Kwaza data. Copies of all tape recordings have been deposited at the Museu Goeldi in Belém.[32]

1.8. The speakers of Kwaza

Several speakers of Kwaza were mentioned in the previous subsections. In the following, I will present them all briefly, in separate subsections according to the respective families. Within each subsection, I will first discuss those persons with whom I did substantial fieldwork. Thereafter, I will list the other speakers, from the oldest to the youngest. In the last subsection, other known former speakers of Kwaza are briefly mentioned for the sake of completeness.

1.8.1. Family I

Members of family I sometimes use the surname Aikanã or da Silva Aikanã.

Towe'nwe, in Aikanã: *Inũtɛ Txawamãi*, or Maria Edite, was born around 1935 to a Kanoê man named *'Wateteru*, or in Kwaza: *Tete'ru*, and a Kwaza woman named *Dudu'ru* or *Durudu'ru*. When her original family was massacred, she was brought up by a Kanoê stepmother (Teresa or Pirawe, of whom a picture is found in Becker-Donner 1955). Later, when she was about the age of seven, her step-family was killed as well, reportedly by Aikanã.[33] She was then raised

32. Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Lingüística, Departamento de Ciências Humanas, Caixa postal 399, CEP 66040-170, Belém, Pará, Brazil.
33. Apparently her Kanoê stepmother survived and lives nowadays in a slum in Guajará-Mirim. She has been one of the consultants of Laércio Bacelar for the Kanoê

by a Kwaza woman named *Maky'txa*, or Madalena. This woman brought up many other orphans, including Antonhão from family II. Maria Edite is married to the Aikanã man *Kude're*, or Canderé. They live in Gleba and they have seven children. Their oldest son, Augusto, who was born around 1958, left for Porto Velho at an early age and was never heard of again.

Maria Edite speaks Kwaza and Aikanã fluently, and Portuguese with some difficulty. She remembers only a few Kanoê words. Although she played an important role as a consultant for Kwaza, I did not work with her in formal sessions. Having lost her parents so young, she had never learnt much of the traditional mythology and stories. However, being brought up in traditional times, she was subjected to the traditional rites of passage into nubility. I recorded and translated her account of this experience with the help of her son Teteru.

Kyi'kãu Mã'dɛ, or Mario, son of Maria Edite and Canderé, was born in the Tanaru region in 1964. He is married to the Aikanã woman *Da'dü Kwã'?i*, or Raimunda and they have five children together. The family lives in Barroso where they hunt and cultivate a cleared tract in the forest. The language used at home is Aikanã, but with his mother, sister and brothers, Mario speaks Kwaza. Furthermore, Mario speaks the local variety of Portuguese fluently. Mario is a highly intelligent and independent worker, and being a respected man in the community he is involved in political matters of the reserve. In his early teens he attended primary school in Gleba for two months. He taught himself to read and write from a booklet. Much of his knowledge of Kwaza history and culture he learnt from Antonhão. He learnt much of Aikanã history and culture from his father and his wife, and he is an excellent storyteller himself.

Since Mario was my main consultant, we lived mostly in Barroso, in one of the old houses on the clearing where Mario and his family had lived before. Mario got used to my endless questioning very soon and became a friend and outstanding teacher to me, who showed an active interest in the language, did not lose his patience and who often thought ahead of me, spontaneously volunteering alternative constructions, urging me to record certain tales, and keeping up the pace in tedious matters to get it over with. Mario appears to have the greatest interest of all Kwaza in the history of the Kwaza and Aikanã and he was happy to teach me about all these things.

Tete'ru, or Antônio, son of Maria Edite and Canderé, was born in 1974. Antônio lived in Vilhena for a number of years during his teens. Now he lives in Gleba and is married to Vera de Oliveira, a Brazilian woman from Rio de Janeiro, who has been working in the reserve as a primary schoolteacher for many years. They have a nine year old son named Almir. The home language is Portuguese. Antônio is fluent in Aikanã, Kwaza and Portuguese.

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language (Bacelar 1997, 2004). A part of the biography of Maria Edite was also given in section (1.6.).

Whenever we were in Gleba, Antônio often worked with me as a consultant and we stayed with his family. Although Antônio's active interest in the history and traditions of the Indians is limited and his knowledge of the Kwaza language is less than that of Mario, he is highly intelligent and possesses a certain level of abstraction that made it easy to discuss certain linguistic issues with him. He assumed general leadership of the reserve in 2000.

The other children of Maria Edite and Canderé are also all trilingual in Kwaza, Aikanã and Portuguese. Among each other, with their mother, and with members of family II they speak Kwaza. Although I never did any formal linguistic fieldwork with them, I consulted them occasionally. I have listed them below:
Durudu'ru Hareko'ce, or Iracema, daughter, born in 1968. She lives in Barroso with her Sabanê husband João and their six children who only speak Portuguese. Some of them may understand a little Aikanã and/or Kwaza.
Txi?a, or Roberto, son, born in 1971. He lives with his Aikanã wife Nazaré and their six year old son Robinson in Gleba. Their home language is Aikanã.
Tawi'wi Woro'kãu, or José, son, born in 1976. He has recently married with a Sabanê woman and lives in Gleba.
Duka'ria Pɛpɛ'?i, or Carlos, son, born in 1979. He has recently married with an Aikanã woman and lives in Gleba.

The children of Mario and Raimunda speak Aikanã as their mother's tongue. They understand Kwaza, which they have learnt from their grandmother Maria Edite, but their active command of the language seems to be limited. They also speak and understand Portuguese, which is used in contact with the children of their aunt Iracema, with the Latundê, and with the school teacher and the missionary in Gleba. The younger the children, the weaker their command of Kwaza and Portuguese. I have listed Mario and Raimunda's children here:
Kude're, or Maurício, son, born in 1983.
Duka'ria Ma?a'ru, or Marcio, son, born in 1985.
Awo'wa, or Fabrícia, daughter, born in 1988.
Mũ'dɛ Itsira'ra, or Maércio, also *Pju*, son, born in 1989.
Txiri'dü, or Maurílio, son, born in 1992.

1.8.2. Family II

Members of family II have sometimes been referred to by the surname Ramos.

Wa'ri, or Antonhão, was born in the São Pedro region in traditional times, from a woman named *Waruwa'ru Awa'wa* and a Kanoê man named *Turu'we* or *Turuwe'xu*, around 1930. They seem to have been part of the group of the Kanoê *Tjã'rɛ*, or *Tija're*, and of the group of the Salamãi Telemaco (see 1.4.). On one occasion Antonhão said that his father was a brother of Telemaco. Turu'we was killed by Aikanã who thought he had killed one of them through sorcery, in this

case the father of Capitão Pedro mentioned in (1.4.). The same story was told independently by Dr. Dequech (pc) who probably came to know it through Antonhão's brother A'we. This and other incidents have been the cause of the present difficult relationship with the Aikanã.

At a certain stage, Antonhão was brought up by a woman named *Maky'txa*, or Madalena. Makytxa, who died in 1985 at the approximate age of 83, brought up many Kwaza, including Maria Edite. She is said to have been one of the most knowledgeable persons of the Kwaza culture. Antonhão was married to the Kwaza *Ko'nã* or *Konã'xu*, or Nazaré, until she died of measles in 1982 at the approximate age of 40.

Besides Kwaza, Antonhão speaks some Portuguese and probably Aikanã, but I worked with him mostly through his son Zezinho. With Antonhão I recorded traditional stories and personal history. On the last days of my stay in the reserve in 1998, we recorded traditional Kwaza songs. His children had never heard those before.

Turu'we, or Zezinho, son of Antonhão and Nazaré, was born in 1967. Zezinho is single and lives with his father in Barroso, living off the hunt, the land and some cattle. Zezinho is the local chief of Barroso and his car serves as the main means of transport to Chupinguaia and Vilhena for three families and for the Latundê. This transport goes via a different road of access to the reserve and avoids the main Aikanã settlements. Since the Aikanã tend to look down upon the Latundê, Zezinho used to be the principal intermediary between the Latundê and the outside world. In exchange for goods and his assistance, Latundê boys worked for him on the land and in the forest. Presently, Zezinho and his family also own a wooden house in Chupinguaia, where they spend much time and where some of the children attend the local school.

Besides his native language Kwaza, Zezinho speaks fluent Portuguese and possibly Aikanã. In 1984 he was Harvey Carlson's consultant of Kwaza. Even though Zezinho and I got along very well, he was always shy and insecure as a consultant. In fact, family II is very quiet in general and although they clearly have a strong sense of Kwaza identity, and find the study of their native language very important, I found it difficult to get them to talk about it. Initially I thought this was because of my close ties with family I, but later I noticed that this did not change in times of a détente between the families. I had several breakthroughs with Zezinho, especially when he mediated between his father and me.

Waruwa'ru, or Edileusa, daughter of Antonhão and Nazaré, was born in 1973. Edileusa is a single mother of three children, who lives with her father and brother in Barroso and Chupinguaia. Often, Edileusa was present at my interviews with Zezinho and she would sometimes quietly prompt him. In this way, she was of great help when I tried to unravel the system of kinship terminology. These are her children:

Paike're, or Edivaldo, son, born in 1989, is a lively and talkative young boy who speaks some Portuguese. I recorded a long rambling monologue in Kwaza by him about his hunting experiences.
Ko'nã, or Edilene, daughter, born in 1992.
Kidjo'ro, or Edineide, daughter, born in 1994.
Wa'ri, or Edinaldo, son, born in 1998.
Ku'da, or Edilaura, daughter, born in 2000.

Txa'tay, or Suely, daughter of Antonhão and Nazaré, was born in 1958. She is married to the Aikanã *Haru'?i*, or Arino, and they live with five of their children in Barroso, by a creek half-way between Mario and Zezinho. This nuclear family is probably the most withdrawn family of the whole reserve and I was never able to exchange more than a few words with them. The home language is Kwaza, but I have only rarely heard them speak among one another, whispering that is. Also when Marga taught the three oldest daughters to read and write, they would not speak, neither when she visited them nor when they visited her. Marga did overhear Suely speak in Aikanã once with Raimunda. Her husband speaks Aikanã and Portuguese, and may understand Kwaza. Some of her children have recently moved to Chupinguaia where they speak Portuguese. These are the children of Suely and Arino:
Kona'xu, or Alzira, daughter, born in 1982.
Wamũ'ro, or Simone, daughter, born in 1983.
O'?e, also *Inũ'te*, or Arizalda, daughter, born in 1987.
Haru'?i, or Edson, son, born in 1994.
Domaka'ru, daughter, born in 1997.

Wa'ri, or João, nickname Perereca, born around 1977, is a son of Suely and Arino. When I first met him years ago he lived at Zezinho's place. However, in 1997 he had moved to Chupinguaia, where he was married to a Brazilian woman. Remarkably, João is one of the most extroverted Kwaza I have met. If he were there when I visited Zezinho, he would always be eager to partake in the discussion. He speaks fluent Kwaza, Portuguese and probably also Aikanã.

1.8.3. Other Kwaza people

Kwa'ba, also Marlene or Mussolina, born around 1942, lives in the region of the São Pedro and Taboca rivers. Her nickname is *Hareku'ty* 'bald head' because she is said to have been born with a bald head. Her Kwaza mother was called *Ko'na*, or Raimunda. Her father who was a Salamãi from the group of Telemaco adopted Kwaza identity. Together with her brother Antoni and her uncle Antonhão and two or three other Kwaza children, she survived a series of epidemics between the 1940's and 1960's. She was brought up with the Portuguese language since she was around 10 years old. She is married to the Aikanã *Duka'ria Zja'na*, or Fernando from the Tanaru region. The majority of their

children are married to Aikanã women, all daughters of Maria Tadeu and Severino Aikanã, from the Tubarão-Latundê reserve. Marlene and Fernando hardly speak their native languages, and Portuguese is the native tongue of their children. The daughters-in-law all speak Aikanã, which they pass on to their offspring and which their husbands are now trying to learn.

Da'kai, also *Da'kyi*, or Antoni, born around 1940, is a relative of Marlene and Antonhão. He used to be a shaman, but he adopted Western lifestyle and went to live in the town of Pimenta Bueno. After a cerebral haemorrhage he has become partially paralysed and mute. It was said that he had lost his native Kwaza language, but still understood it. Since the demarcation of the Kwaza reserve in the São Pedro region in 2000, Da'kai has started to speak a little Kwaza again.

Ju'pe, nickname *Doutor* (‘doctor’), born in the São Pedro region around 1925, was a powerful shaman who is said to have both healed and killed many people with his powers. He lived in Rio do Ouro until he (was?) drowned “a few years ago”. On one occasion, Mario suggested he could have been the boy with whom Lévi-Strauss worked in 1938. He was married to Aikanã women twice: to a relative of Raimunda (the wife of Mario) and to Maria Tadeu (mother of Kwa'ba’s daughters-in-law). Maria Tadeu still knows a number of Ju'pe’s traditional Kwaza songs and we recorded them at the end of 1997 (see section 6.2. of the text part).

1.9. Structural characteristics of Kwaza

The Kwaza vowel system comprises eight oral vowel phonemes and seven nasal vowel phonemes. The central close-mid vowel /y/ also occurs in semivowel position. Nasality may spread to neighbouring vowels. There are 19 consonant phonemes, among which implosive and apico-alveolar stops. Basic syllable structure is Consonant-Vowel, and glides may occupy consonant position, either together with other consonants or not. There is no phonemic tone, stress or quantity. Main word stress tends to fall on the ultimate syllable of the stem. A provisional analysis of the phonology of Kwaza was published by van der Voort (1997a).

The grammatical categories of Kwaza are verbs, nouns, adverbs, particles, ideophones and auxiliary-like roots. There are no adjectives. Constituent order in Kwaza is relatively free, although Subject-Verb-Object and Subject-Object-Verb patterns prevail. Morphologically, Kwaza is a highly complex language and most of the grammatical load is to be found on the verbs. There are over 300 derivational and inflexional suffixes and the distinction between these categories is gradual rather than absolute. There are no complex morphophonological processes. Reduplication and compounding occur frequently.

Nominal morphology is fairly simple. Nouns, including pronouns, demonstratives and numerals, are not inflected for number or gender. Only a third person possessor may be morphologically marked. Nouns may receive animate object case marking or one of the oblique case markers: instrumental, locative, beneficiary and comitative. Nouns can be zero-verbalised by attachment of person and mood marking. Nouns can be modified by other nouns which are placed in juxtaposition. Because complex verb forms can be nominalised and function as nouns, nouns can of course be morphologically complex.

Verbs are obligatorily marked for subject and mood, whereas overt pronominal or lexical arguments are optional. Both the subject agreement system and the personal pronoun system contain a distinction between first person inclusive and first person exclusive. Since the system explicitly indicates exclusive agreement, by the form *-xa-*, the notions "singular" and "plural" are used for convenience sake, even though the system is analysed as being based on distinctions of "association". Third person agreement is zero-marked. Indefinite argument agreement has no lexical counterpart. Mood inflexion comprises declarative, interrogative, the three persuasive moods imperative, exhortative and volitive, which complement one another, and three prohibitive moods negative imperative, negative exhortative and monitory. In the imperative and negative imperative, second person "singular" subject agreement is zero-marked. Object agreement of the verb is optional and can perhaps be regarded as derivational. Negation, valency and valency change, and tense, modality and aspect are also marked by a wide array of (probably derivational) verbal morphemes. Some morphemes of modality are etymologically related to mood markers, such as the causational morpheme *-nĩ-* and the exhortative mood marker *-ni*. Verbs can be turned into nouns or adverbs by the highly multifunctional stem-final nominalising morphemes *-hỹ* and *-nãi*.

Two quite prominent morphological categories in Kwaza are those of class and directionality. Classifying morphemes have a very wide distribution and may have nominalising and agreement properties. They can have a very general meaning and refer to shape, substance and texture, but the majority are semantically rather specific. In the present analysis, there are close to 150 classifiers. Directional morphemes have a more limited distribution. They either occur on verbs, where they indicate the direction in which an action or event takes place, or they are used to form directional adverbs. There are nearly 45 directionals. The distributions of classifiers and directionals overlap partially, and a small number of these morphemes are ambiguous in this respect.

The moods mentioned earlier are restricted to matrix clauses. In Kwaza several different types of subordinate clauses may be formed. Subordinate clauses usually precede matrix clauses. The predicates of subordinate clauses contain the same subject agreement forms as mentioned earlier, but they have different "mood" markers. Among the adverbial clauses there are two types of conditional clauses, two basic types of concessive clauses, and additive, manner, temporal and contemporative clauses, all marked by different predicate-final morphemes. Among the nominal clauses there are attributive (relative) clauses

and complement clauses. These involve the same nominalisers as referred to above. Kwaza does neither have infinitives nor conjunctional particles. However, long chains of medial clauses can be constructed through the cosubordinative "mood" marker. In these constructions a distinction is made between same subject and different subject. The different subject marker is always found on the subordinate clause, whereas it indicates that the subject of the *next* clause is going to be different. When one of the different subjects is a non-third person, a special switch reference mood marker is required.

A special phenomenon in Kwaza, rare among the Amerindian languages, is morphological ellipsis. Although verbs are canonically obligatorily marked for person and mood, these inflexions can be omitted if the context permits. Inversely, the inflexional complex of person and mood marking can occur freely without a verb stem under similar circumstances. In both situations the hearer can be expected to deduce from the context which verb stem or which inflexions were intended by the speaker. On a more grammatical level, independently occurring person and mood inflexions can also function as resumptive particles, and double layers of person and mood inflexion are instrumental in morphologically complex constructions which have "complementising" functions such as desiderative and quotation. A discussion of these phenomena from the perspective of grammaticalisation was also the subject of a separate article (van der Voort 2002a). Other unique grammatical phenomena in Kwaza concern morphologically motivated reduplication of bound person markers to express tense distinctions, and alternative morpheme orders to formally express the distinction between canonical negation and negation of a presupposition.

In the lexicon of Kwaza many items are encountered which show morphological structure. Often, formally similar roots without such morphological complexity are semantically related, but not in an entirely productive way. Therefore, such apparent morphological complexity is considered as lexicalised and such roots are treated as monomorphemic. Nevertheless, there are certain roots which are (semi-)lexicalised with morphemes that retain some productive properties, such as those of the verb stem *haka-(hỹ)-* 'to be old'. In the present work I refer to these latter roots as bound or etymological roots.

The following text excerpt is to illustrate some of the phenomena mentioned in the present section:

(1)

hary'ky	*hãrã-dy-'ja-wa-si*	*hary'ky*	*bui-tsy-'rjỹ-a-ta*
now	stop-CAU-IO-IS-SWR	now	leave-GER-CD:area-1P-CSO

hyhyrwa-he-'ky	*tẽi'ca*	*du'mã*	*du'mã*	*mẽ-hata-'tsi=tja*
move-NEG-IMP	alone	snake	snake	hit-3S.2O-MON=CSO

'ta-ja-wa-hỹ-lɛ	*haryky*	*hyhyrwa-'he=jã-ta*
talk-IO-IS-NOM-PREC	now	move-NEG=be-CSO

'a-a-ta	*kje'ro-a-ta*	*haka-'hỹ*	*are-'a-wy*	*hary'ky*
exist-1P-CSO	prohibit-1P-CSO	old-NOM	turn-1P-time	now

hyhy'rwa-a-ki=cwa-ra'ti-hỹ-tsy *tsywydy'te-a-wy*
move-1P-DEC=IS-FOC-NOM-RES girl-1P-time
'now, they cause one to stop, then, we leave seclusion, (and) when they say to one "don't walk alone far, lest the snake will hit you!", well, one refrains from walking far and we observe the taboos, and when we turn older, then we walk freely it is said, when we were nubile girls' (t)

A short grammatical sketch of the language was presented in van der Voort (2000b). Aikhenvald and Dixon (1999:363-364) contains a brief typological characterisation of the language.

1.10. The classification of Kwaza

If mentioned at all, Kwaza is usually classified as "isolated" (e.g. Loukotka 1963, 1968 and Rodrigues 1986). In two recent sources, Kwaza is even registered as an extinct (Kaufman 1990:49) or possibly extinct (Campbell 1997:198) isolated language. For the lack of sufficient comparative data, solid proof for the classification as isolated has been absent so far. Therefore, Kwaza is in reality an unclassified language.

In some sources, the language is affiliated with other languages. In Loukotka (1950:128), Kwaza is under the name "language of the São Pedro creek" grouped together with Kapixana (i.e. Kanoê) as a Kapixana language, probably because of the apparent cognate lexeme *aki* 'stone' (1950:141). In the same article, however, the language is considered as an unclassified language, under the name *Quaia* (1950:137). In 1957, Loukotka identified the São Pedro language on the basis of Zack's manuscript (1943) as Kwaza and classifies it under the names "Koaiá or Quaiá" as isolated (Loukotka 1963:12).

Greenberg (1987) classified Kwaza on the basis of a few lexemes as belonging to the Macro-Tucanoan linguistic stock: *e'cũi* 'eye', *mani'ni* 'fish', *ha'ki* 'stone', *hi* 'fire', *co'ha* 'foot', *cuku* 'tongue' and *e'tay* 'woman'. The word *ha'ki* is probably correctly related to Kanoê (Capixana) and Aikanã (Huari), but the other words, which he compares to forms in Puinave, seem far-fetched. If these words should point to a relation with Macro-Tucanoan, then a score of other words can be added to the list with an equal degree of plausibility, such as *hoi* 'bat', *mã'bi* 'arrow', *jã'si-* 'hear', *tai* 'lizard', *e'kãi* 'mouth' and others (compare also the Proto-Tucanoan forms as reconstructed by Waltz and Wheeler 1972). In fact, several of these words, and many others, can be related to Aikanã and Kanoê as well (the inclusion of which in Macro-Tucanoan or any other stock is as questionable as of Kwaza). Note furthermore that a number of words could be just as well related to languages from other stocks proposed by Greenberg. The correspondences are fascinating but the long dis

tances combined with the sparse evidence make Greenberg's claims premature. In van der Voort (fcb), the linguistic correspondences and possible relationships between Kwaza and neighbouring languages are discussed.

1.11. Organisation of the present work

This book consists of three parts: a grammar (part I), texts (part II) and a dictionary (part III). It is an attempt to describe the Kwaza language. It neither follows a specific theoretical model, nor does it examine theoretical implications of the analysis. Its primary concern is to prevent the Kwaza language from disappearing without leaving behind representative documentation. The description is intended to be comprehensive and dependable, so that theoretical issues can be dealt with in later studies.

The basic orientation of this grammar is formal rather than functional, that is, the structure of the present description is determined by the productive forms of the language and the way they are used, rather than by possible grammatical functions and the way these are realised by the grammatical system. Nevertheless, the sections are not always located where they could be expected to be on formal grounds. The subsection about classifiers (4.2.) is relevant both for nominal and verbal morphology. Since classification is important for a complete understanding of attributive modification, numerals and demonstratives, I have discussed it prior to these. The subsections which concern adverbial affixes (6.2.4.) have been placed together, because I deemed it convenient to have all adverbial morphology in one place rather than scattered throughout the book. Finally, the chapter on complex constructions (8.) also has a basis in verbal morphology. However, since that morphology is characteristic for subordinate clauses, its grammatical domain is greater than that of the verb alone. Therefore, I have discussed it after the sections on nouns, verbs and adverbs. The subsections of (8.) together provide a complete account of subordinate clause formation. If a strictly formal arrangement were followed, the discussion of subordinate constructions would become highly fragmented. Additionally, some minor subsections have been assigned to chapters on functional grounds, such as (5.1.7.) on the impersonal use of the special verb root *jã-* 'to be', although they are also mentioned in chapters where they belong formally (in this case 7.6.2.).

In the present work the subject of morpheme order has not been discussed thoroughly. Its basic characteristics are dealt with briefly in (3.2.) as a separate issue. Otherwise, it is only discussed in an ad hoc manner in those places where it is of immediate importance for identification or proper understanding of a specific morpheme, such as e.g. the negative morpheme *-he-* in (7.1.).

With regard to the internal organisation of the subsections, I have striven to discuss the most common constructions, and the examples which serve to illustrate them, first, and the more exceptional ones towards the end of these subsections.

The examples are as much as possible in a phonemic spelling, but phonetic variation is sometimes indicated. I found this necessary since not all questions that concern the underlying phonological structures of Kwaza may have been answered satisfactorily yet.[34] Word boundary is symbolised by a space < > and morpheme boundary by a hyphen <->, or, in the case of compounds (and sometimes cliticisation), by the equation sign <=>. A dot <.> occurs between multiple component elements of an English gloss corresponding to a single morpheme in Kwaza. The presence of a glottal stop <?> is not indicated in automatic positions, provided that these positions are preceded by a space, hyphen or equation sign (see the discussion concerning the glottal stop in 2.2.2.).

The main stress of polysyllabic words is usually symbolised by an apostrophe <'> preceding the stressed syllable (see 2.8.).[35] In chapter (2.) stress is only indicated in the phonetic transcriptions, since it is not analysed as phonemic. However, because the proposed rules of stress placement are sometimes not consistent with stress placement in actual spontaneous data, main stress as observed is always indicated in the rest of the work, even though the notation of the glossed examples is largely phonemic. When a word contains two stress markers it has not been possible to determine which one of them was main and which one was secondary. Very long derived or compounded words may contain several main stress positions. The precise determination of the rules with regard to stress is a matter of future research.

The free translations of the examples are based as directly as possible on the Portuguese translations given of the Kwaza phrases by the consultants themselves. Because the notion "sentence" in Kwaza has not been thoroughly explored I have avoided the use of capitals and full stops in both the Kwaza material and the free translations. The main exceptions to this concern proper names and quoted utterances in the free translations.

1.12. Previous documentation of Kwaza

For the project that resulted in the present description of the Kwaza language, the first data were gathered and analysed in the beginning of 1995. Until that time, no knowledge existed about its grammar, except with its own few speakers, however not in written form. The only knowledge that existed about the language at all, outside of its speakers' community, and in written form, was lexical. Early explorers and scientists of the previous unmapped territory that is now called the state of Rondônia took down words from the indigenous languages they encountered.

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34. All the main entry forms in the dictionary are strictly according to the phonemic analysis proposed for Kwaza.
35. Monosyllabic words are always stressed, which is why this is normally not indicated by an apostrophe in the Kwaza material.

As related in section (1.4.), first documented mention of the Kwaza people was made in 1913 by the famous marshal (later a general) Cândido Rondon on his telegraph line expeditions in what then was still the West of Mato Grosso (Rondon 1916:155-156, Rondon and Faria 1948:183). As far as the Kwaza language is concerned, the meagre history of its documentation started around 65 years ago, and has known only few episodes, with many decades in between.

The first written sources of Kwaza stem from the late 1930's when a number of Kwaza words was taken down by the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who lived with the Nambikwara at that time and place. This material was never published in its entirety.

The next episode of documentation was in the early 1940's, when the S.P.I. agent Estanislau Zack (Stanislav Zach, of Czech origin), who was on a reconnaissance expedition in the West of Mato Grosso, listed words on standardised enquiry forms that had been especially developed for this purpose. This material has not been entirely published either and resides today in the archive of the Museu do Índio in Rio de Janeiro (Wallace 1982). Because of their standardised format, these lists allowed for easy lexical comparison between the multitude of different languages the explorers encountered. No conclusions possibly drawn from the comparison between Kwaza and neighbouring languages such as Aikanã, Kanoê and Nambikwara, were ever published at that time.

Some of Zack's and Levi-Strauss' data were published in Loukotka (1963) where both are compared, and in Loukotka (1968:164) where a selection of core terms, taken from Zack, is published to aid comparison with other languages and consequently, to illustrate the language's possible classification as an isolated language.

The third episode in the documentation of Kwaza is formed by an unpublished word-list from 1984 by the late Harvey Carlson. For three months Carlson did linguistic fieldwork, as an M.A. student of Leanne Hinton at Berkeley, among the Aikanã. He took down some 50 Kwaza words in passing. This was possible as the Kwaza had been living since the mid-1970's as a very small minority among the Aikanã, who themselves represented a fraction of what they once used to be. A few items from Carlson's list were published in Rodrigues (1986), together with some of the material from Loukotka (originally Zack and Lévi-Strauss).

The fourth episode for the documentation of Kwaza was around 1993, when Ione Vasconcelos, researcher of the Aikanã language as Ph.D. student of Adair Palácio (Federal University of Alagoas), recorded two unpublished fieldwork interviews with speakers of Kwaza on tape.

In the present subsection, I have reprinted all the existing sources of written documentation on Kwaza known to me, which was not a great enterprise, since there is so little of it. On the other hand, it is worthwhile to be able to dispose of these rare sources here, for they may represent, together with my own data, the only possibility there will ever be to look at the language through time.

1.12.1. Lévi-Strauss' 1938 glossary

The following word list represents the oldest source of data from Kwaza we know of. It was collected by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss around October 1938 from a young captured boy in a "Mundé" village on the Pimenta Bueno river. It is the transcription of a handwritten copy of 25 December 1995 by the anthropologist from several pages in one or more of his notebooks. The Czech linguist Čestmír Loukotka had access to, among others, another undated manuscript of Lévi-Strauss (to which I had no access), from which he drew information for his classification of South American languages (1963, 1968). It seems that the 1995 manuscript copy transcribed here is a different one, as it shows some differences from the material printed in Loukotka's work. It is without doubt, however, that both date from the same time, as Lévi-Strauss did his fieldwork among the "Mundé" in the South of Rondônia only in 1938. It is not impossible that they are also from the same place and consultant, as the word for 'dog', which occurs in both lists is actually a proper name (however common) for a dog.

The consultant was a boy of around 10 years old from the São Pedro river area, a traditional Kwaza region. My consultant Mario suggested this could have been a Kwaza called Ju'pe, who died a few years ago at the approximate age of 70. It is likely that Lévi-Strauss' "Mundé" were not Aikanã (see section 9.8. on personal names) but Salamãĩ, because he notes in his work "Tristes Tropiques" (1955:382) that they speak a language in which words often end in *zip, zep, pep, zet, tap, kat*. According to Zack's report on the S.P.I. expedition to Western Mato Grosso (1943) and Dequech's reports of the Urucumacuan expedition (1943, 1988-93), and according to the Kwaza themselves, there were Salamãi settlements which also included Kwaza, Kanoê and Aikanã.

The transcript manuscript consists of two numbered pages, containing a total number of 51 French entries and Kwaza equivalents. Entries 01-41 are on page 1, divided over two columns, and the remaining entries are found on page 2. The columns are further divided into five parts, separated by horizontal lines. This subdivision probably derives from the corresponding pages from the original notebook(s), resulting in a grouping of entries 01-19 as the first section, 20-34 as the second, 35-39 as the third, 40-41 as the fourth and 42-51 as the fifth (note that the entry numbering is not original, but was added by me).

The following pages are a transcription of the manuscript and contain the original Kwaza entries in Lévi-Strauss' orthography. They are compared to transcriptions from my own fieldwork in 1995 and 1996 with Mario (from family I) and Zezinho (from family II), present-day speakers of Kwaza. For most entries, Lévi-Strauss did acquire the information he wanted, although there were misunderstandings about what was intended in a number of cases. Here, I first give Lévi-Strauss' Kwaza entry, followed by an English translation of Lévi-Strauss' French gloss, concluding with a present day Kwaza rendering of Lévi-Strauss' gloss. Where a misunderstanding occurred, and Lévi-Strauss' Kwaza form has a different sense from what was recorded, this sense is in

serted on a second line immediately below Lévi-Strauss' translation, and is followed by its modern Kwaza translation. In that case, the Kwaza forms on the first line are not identical, which is obviously because Lévi-Strauss' Kwaza form did not correspond with the gloss he provided. Information between square brackets is added by me. Also, any information on the second line of an entry, and everything in the first and fourth rows, was added by me. If alternatives are given, separated by dash (/), the form to its left is by Mario and to its right by Zezinho. In the few cases where forms were not recognised by my consultants, I wrote *(n.a.)* 'not attested'.

Loukotka (1963:13) contrasts lexical data from Zack's and Lévi-Strauss' manuscripts. Entries of which the number code is here marked with a <+> represent corresponding or alternative forms from the early Lévi-Strauss manuscript used by Loukotka (1963). The final five entries represent forms that occur only in the latter manuscript and not in the 1995 manuscript.

The inverted commas generally look like centred or high dots in the manuscript. In most cases they probably represent a glottal stop or preglottalisation. Acute accents on vowels most likely represent primary stress. The value of the diacritics is not explained. Lévi-Strauss (1995), however, adds a remark to the effect that the young consultant "pronounced the [r] in the back of his throat, while nearly, so it seemed, pressing his tongue against the bottom of the palate, but this may have been an idiosyncrasy"[36]. If this refers to the same feature as to which the diacritics on <ŕ> in the manuscript used by Loukotka refer, this is one more indication for the fact that both manuscripts may be from the same time, place and consultant.

ENTRY	LÉVI-STRAUSS	GLOSS	PRESENT DAY KWAZA I/II
(01)	ešoi	hair	*e'xyi*
(02)	lokota	forehead	*eta'hĩ*
		face	*loko'tja*
(03)	etoni	eye	*e'cũi*
(03+)	ẹtoni	eye	*e'cũi*
(04)	za`e	nose	*tsurwa'nĩ, tsa:(r)'ni*
			(n.a.)
(05)	zarone	nostril	*tsurwa'ni*
(06)	ekain	lip	*e'kãi*
(07)	miki	tooth	*mĩ'ki*
(07+)	tokó	tooth	*mĩ'ki*
		tongue	*cu'ku*
(08)	tokọ	tongue	*cu'ku*
(08+)	tọkọ́	tongue	*cu'ku*
(09)	erori	chest	*exu'ri*

36. *articulait le son r dans l'arriére-gorge en bloqueant presque, semblait-il, la langue contre le fond du palais, mais c'était peut-être une idiosyncrasie*

(10)	itene	breasts	*cẽ'rẽ*
(11)	ela^{n}tã	belly	*e'tɛ*
		belly-fat	*elo'cõ, enõ'tjõ*
(12)	eloin	navel	*e'lũi*
(13)	eromo̱	thigh	*ero'mũ*
(14)	ekai	leg	*e'kai*
(15)	tcoro	arm	*tso'ro*
(16)	eromutca	hand	*tso'je*
		wrist	*eromũ'tsa*
(16+)	eŕumažą́	hand	*tso'je*
(17)	tcoie	finger	*tso'je*
(18)	tcoince	nail	*cwã'sĩ*
(19)	to`a̱	foot	*co'ha*
(19+)	to̱`ą́	foot	*co'ha*
(20)	kurišri	penis gourd	*kuri'xyi, kuri'syi*
(21)	tconi`aro	nose bar	*tsurwani'xu, 'tsurjỹ'xu*
(22)	akito	labret	*he'ty*
		stone/maize grain	*haki'to*
		short labret under	*(h)aki'tsu*
(23)	aure	bracelet of cotton	*awy'ri*
(24)	dete-uno	necklace of shells	*ɛ̃rjỹ'sɛ̃*
		earring of shells	*dɛtɛhu'nu, dere'wa*
(25)	ilewa	earring of shells	*kile'wa*
(26)	uirokace	feather [parrot]	*we'roka'si*
(27)	ko`reia	knife	*kore'ja*
(28)	koreia	machete	*kore'ja*
(29)	asre	hut	*a'xy*
(29+)	a̱šŕé	hut	*a'xy*
(30)	itco	hammock	*i'tso*
(31)	warika`ne^{n}	bench [wooden type]	*warika'nɛ*
(32)	ururira	basket	*ururi'rɛ*
(33)	pila^{o}	bow	*bi'lo*
(33+)	pilá	bow	*bi'lo*
(34)	koreiari	Pan flute	*haxyi'rje*
		plate	*koreja'ri*
(35)	aki	stone	*ha'ki*
(35+)	a̱kí	stone	*ha'ki*
(36)	mamã	tree trunk, wood	*mã'mã*
(37)	tcana	earth	*tsã'rã*
(38)	emorien	water	*hã*
		wet- (surface)	*emũ'rjỹ*
(39)	i`i	fire	*hi*
(40)	iribe^{n}	monkey [cuchiú]	*hyribe'hỹ*
(40+)	iŕibe̱`ú	monkey [cuchiú]	*hyribe'hỹ*
(41)	waikara	dog [NAM]	*waika'ra*

(41+)	wainkáṛą	dog [NAM]	*waika'ra*
(42)	uišrú	tobacco	*ui*
		tobacco branch	*ui'xu*
(42+)	ui	tobacco	*ui*
(43)	ačičito'oi	maize [plant]	*atxitxito'hoi*
(43+)	ačičitọ	maize [grain]	*atxitxi'to*
(44)	iọ	manioc	*jo*
(44+)	í-ọ́	manioc	*jo*
(45)	iono	flour [manioc]	*jono'nĩ*
		soup of manioc	*jo'nũ*
(46)	ariisru	bean	*hari?i'xu*
(47)	o`o	bean (of?)	*kumã'da, hari?isutu'kwe*
		manioc/yam (type)	*o'ho*
(48)	acuri, dokurú	palm tree	*haka're, coku'ru*
(49)	čiã	calabash	*ku'dy*
		big one	*txihỹ'te*
(50)	doročí	rubber [milk]	*dodo'txi(mũ)*
(51)	warikadne	plant (unidentified)	*warika'nɛ*
(a+)	mã-bí	arrow	*mã'bi*
(b+)	ąlẹ́	axe	*a'le*
(c+)	yaidakí	eat [I ate]	*'jadaki*
(d+)	n'ącí	ear	*ñã'si*
(e+)	kąsá	sun	*ko'sa*

In the manuscript, Lévi-Strauss draws attention to the striking similarity of entries (27) and (28) to (34). The translation of (34) is obviously incorrect, but even with the correct translation, this formal correspondence is hardly explainable by semantic correspondence. It seems excluded that the common characteristic of the objects referred to would have been the material of which they are made, although there must have been some exogenous iron at that time. There is a classifier for sheet metal: *-ty'xa*. However, its etymology and the etymology of *kore'ja* and forms that are apparently based on it remains obscure.

1.12.2. Zack's 1943 glossary

There are two versions of the word list by Zack. The one found on microfilm 308, doc. no. 85, is the eight-page manuscript *vocabulário* appended to Zack's 13-page *relatório* ('report') on the S.P.I. expedition to Western Mato-Grosso (now Rondônia), of which he was the responsible *tenente* ('lieutenant'), and it is dated on 20 April 1943 at Porto Velho. The one found on microfilm 316, doc. no. 99, is a five page undated typescript undersigned by Zack. It is practically identical to the manuscript version.

Estanislau Zack is apparently of Czech ancestry, as Loukotka (1963) mentions him as his *compatriote* and writes "Stanislav Zach". He himself writes his

own name after Brazilian conventions as "Estanislau Zack", however, and the name is also encountered in other Brazilian sources in this spelling. In only few cases does the list show indications of historical change in the Kwaza language. The majority of the differences are caused by the fact that Zack used a makeshift Brazilianised phonetic spelling and that my own transcriptions are based on a more consistent phonological analysis.

The heading on the first page of the glossary, page no. 00344, reads: *Ministério da Agricultura*; *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios*; *Turma de Exploração no Oeste de Mato Grosso.*; *Vocabulario das tribus Massacá, Salamãin, Coaiá e Canoê*. At the top of each page, immediately above the vocabulary columns, the languages are mentioned in the following way: *Português Massacá Salamãin Coaiá Canoê.*

The number codes of the present transcription also count the 27 untranslated entries, and erroneous ones like (120), which probably is a Salamãi word. So there are 222 entries, but 194 Kwaza items at the most. Page 00344 of the original contains entries (001-029), page 00345 entries (030-058), page 00346 entries (059-087), page 00347 entries (088-116), page 00348 entries (117-147), page 00349 entries (148-175), page 00350 entries (176-201) and page 00351 entries (202-222). The vocabulary is divided into seven rough categories: "human body": (001-037); "tools, utensils and material of use": (038-066); "food, vegetal products and fruits": (067-107); "animals, nature, etc.": (108-165); "objects fabricated by the Indians": (166-185); "verbs": (186-205); "miscellaneous": (206-222).

In the typescript entries (014) and (015) are transposed, just as (169) and (170). Furthermore, page 00724 of the typescript contains entries (001-041), page 00725 entries (043-094), page 00726 entries (095-150), page 00727 entries (151-193) and page 00728 entries (194-222). Each page is headed by the following printed information: *M.A.* (i.e. *Ministério da Agricultura* 'Ministry of Agriculture'); *Conselho de Proteção aos Índios* ('Council of Protection to the Indians'); page number. On page 00724 the typographical error *tribus* is corrected to *tribos* ('tribes') and the final "n" of the two occurrences of *Salamãin* is crossed out, but not on the subsequent pages. Unlike in the manuscript, each word in the typescript is numbered in handwriting in the left margin of the pages, but the order is entirely a-numerical. The typescript ends on page 00728 with an observation in handwriting that the numbering derives from the *Glossário Geral* ('general glossary'), the standardised Portuguese elicitation wordlist of close to 750 entries which was part of the standard S.P.I. outfit for personnel going into the field. The document is signed: *Estanislau Zack - Tenente - Encarregado da Turma*. The manuscript vocabulary is not undersigned, but the "relatório" which is in the very same hand and immediately precedes it, is.

The following pages contain a transcription of the manuscript and contain the original Kwaza entries in Zack's orthography, without their Aikanã, Salamãi and Kanoê equivalents. Instead, they are contrasted with transcriptions from my own fieldwork in 1995 and 1996 with Mario and Zezinho. Also Zack

did acquire the information he wanted, and the same conventions hold as in the section with Lévi-Strauss' word-list. In some cases in the manuscript, the dash <-> seems to represent a glottal stop.

Loukotka (1963:13) contrasts data from Zack's and Lévi-Strauss' manuscripts. Entries of which the number code is here marked with a <+> were also used in Loukotka (1963). In general, the differences between Zack's material and Loukotka's representation of it are systematic: <ss> becomes <s> in Loukotka; <tch> becomes <č> (and in 1968:164 <ch>); and <ô> becomes <ō>. In some cases there is a slight non-predictable but probably intended difference, such as a word final <m> instead of <n> and a word initial <y> instead of <i>. In one case there is a clear mistake: entry (140) became *taluñan* in Loukotka (1963). The most striking deviation concerns entry (001), which became *isotē* in Loukotka (1963). From the perspective of the original documents and present day Kwaza this would be a mistake, but the word initial *i-* resembles the dummy root *e-*, which is found on many other body part words in Kwaza (see 7.6.1.). Because it is unlikely that Loukotka had access to other, unknown, Kwaza documents, and because the *e-* form would require a subsequent classifier morpheme *-kuty* in this case, I consider *isotē* also as a mistake. It must be noted, however, that the form also occurs in Loukotka (1968:164) as *i-sote:*, where the dash creates a (justified) resemblance with contrasted Kanoê forms. Maybe the form came from the original manuscript by Lévi-Strauss (to which we had no access) and was mistakenly placed in the column with Zack's forms.

The other forms in Loukotka (1968:164), which all are included in Loukotka (1963:13), are most probably from Zack and are marked here with a <±> following the entry number code. Entries (003), (030), (108) and (150) were also published in Rodrigues (1986:97).

ENTRY	ZACK	GLOSS	KWAZA I, II
(001±)	tsotê	head	*tsu'ty*
(002)	essikilé	forehead	*eta'hĩ*
		eyelids	*ɛsiki'lɛ*
(003±)	gassí	ears	*ñã'si*
(004+)	étoin	eyes	*e'cũi*
(005)	tsarní	nose	*tsurwa'nĩ, tsa'ni*
(006)	tchekãin	mouth	*rwỹ'tɛ*
		beard	*exe'kãi*
(007)	locoté	face	*loko'tja*
(008)	esrí	hair	*e'xyi*
(009)	chikãin	moustache	*exe'kãi*
(010)	etchekãin	beard	*exe'kãi*
(011)	ecocó	throat	*eko'ko*
(012)	essikí	arm	*tso'ro*
		clothes	*esi'ki*

(013±)	enurí	hand	*tso'je*
		palm of the hand	*enu'ri*
(014)	tsaiê	finger	*tsoje'xu, tso'jeto'ju*
		hand	*tso'je*
(015)	tsoansin	nail	*cwã'sĩ*
(016)	ebarí	shoulder	*eba'ri*
(017)	éssorí	chest	*exu'ri*
(018)	étô	back	*e'tu*
(019)	été	belly	*e'tɛ*
(020)	toirí	buttock	*ecũi'ri*
(021)	éramún	thigh	*ero'mũ*
(022)	éssín	knee	*e'sĩ*
(023)	ékai	leg	*e'kai*
(024)	aorí	ankle	*ecore'we*
		ankle bracelet	*awy'ri*
(025+)	tohá	foot	*co'ha*
(026)	tassô	penis	*xo'xu, co'xu*
(027)	itchí	vagina	*i'txi*
(028)	itiéné	breasts	*cẽ'rẽ*
(029+)	tokô	tongue	*cu'ku*
(030±)	mikí	tooth	*mĩ'ki*
(031)	essedí	heel	*ese'di*
(032)	eriló-sú	jaw	*eri'lo*
		jawbone	*erilo'xu*
(033)	ekaín	lips	*e'kãi*
(034+)	essoá	man	*tswa*
		husband, ant-hill	*e'xwa*
(035±)	etál	woman	*e'tay*
(036)	tohá	toe	*coha'xu, cohato'ju*
		foot	*co'ha*
(037)	etahói	child	*eto'hoi*
(038+)	aré	axe	*a'le*
(039)	coraiá-cané	machete	*ko'rejaka'nɛ*
(040)	-	hoe	*txa'da* (<POR *enxada*)
(041)	-	scythe	*lo'loi?ỹhỹ*
(042)	coraiá-tchohói	knife	*korejatxo'hũi*
(043)	úinãn	scissors	*wi'nỹ, wi'nỹ*
(044)	mabí	shotgun	*bilo'tswa*
		arrow	*ma'bi*
(045)	mabí-tonói	bullet	*mabito'rõi(txu'hũi)*
(046)	etaká	cartridge	*mabilo'txwɛ, mabito'rõi*
		arrow	*mabita'ka, eta'ka*
(047)	énô	gunpowder	*hi'nũ*
		powder	*e'nũ*

(048)	essên	lead	*mabi'sĩ*
		seed	*e'sĩ*
(049)	ékanaté	primer	*mabikarã'tɛ*
(050)	matkará	sieve	*mana'ry*
			(n.a.)
(051)	toharí	pan [ceramic pan]	*towari'lo*
(052)	coráia-rí	plate	*koreja'ri*
(053)	coráia-ro	mug [modern pan]	*koreja'ro*
(054)	dété-hú	spoon	*di'hu*
(055+)	arroha-káin	canoe	*ka'nwã*
		canoe hole	*eroha'kãi*
(056)	érí	oar	*e'ri*
(057)	itá-sessí	rope	*i'tsosi'si*
(058)	manenê-ôi	line	*manini'?yi*
(059)	itsó	hammock	*i'tso*
(060)	lolotí	lamp	*dodo'txi*
(061)	hí	match	*hitu'kwe(sumãĩ)*
		fire	*hi*
(062)	uluá-tení-teró	hat	*ururi'sikje*
			(n.a.)
(063)	essikí	clothes	*esi'ki*
(064)	rzeinê	needle	*xyi'ni*
(065)	manenê-tsumãin	hook	*mani'nitsu'mãi*
(066)	-	harpoon	*'hatsini*
(067)	atchetchí-on	rice	*atxitxi'?ũ*
(068)	-	sugar	*atsuka'nũ*
(069)	-	coffee	*kawɛ'nũ*
(070)	arissô	bean	*hari?i'xu*
(071)	dariró	pumpkin	*dari'ro, txuru'mũ*
(072)	ió	manioc	*jo*
(073)	apará	banana	*apa'ra*
(074)	babacalá	pineapple	*babayka'lo*
(075)	tal	papaya	*cay*
(076±)	atchetchí	maize	*atxi'txi*
(077)	atchetchí-rukú	sugar cane	*atxitxixu'ku*
(078)	suremiá	sweet potato	*xuri'mjỹ*
(079)	notê	honey	*nũ'ty*
(080)	atchitchí-rí	bread	*atxitxi'ri*
(081)	iaronê	manioc flour	*jono'nĩ*
(082)	miún	chicha	*mĩu*
(083)	akoamá	yam	*akwa'mã*
(084)	tení	peanut	*cẽ'rĩ*
(085)	adé	tucuman	*wa'de*
(086)	iriú	assai	*wiri'?u*
(087)	tsotsé-není	cotton	*tsotsĩnĩ'ñɛ̃*

(088)	adé	pepper	*ha'de*
(089)	cointé	nut	*kũ'cẽ*
(090)	comú	rubber milk	*hu'mũ, dodotxi'me*
(091)	taratchimé	rubber	*tsilo'to*
		rubber milk	*dodotxi'me, hu'mũ*
(092)	aué	paxiuba	*wy'xyi, wiri'?ukanɛ*
		rain	*a'we*
(093)	mabí	bamboo	*nũrũ'rũ*
		arrow	*ma'bi*
(094)	etahái	cob maize	*atxitxi'ke, atxi'txitose*
		little	*eto'hoi*
(095)	íri-ô	leaf maize	*atxitxi'xy, 'atxitxixyi'tsa*
			(n.a.)
(096)	-	stick	*ywynwỹ'tsu*
(097+)	eunoá	tree	*ywy'nwỹ*
(098)	í-daira	firewood	*hi('tsu)*
		get firewood!	*hi dai'ra*
(099)	uanontsué	ipecacuanha	*ywynwỹ'tswe*
(100)	doliân	melon	*cay*
			(n.a.)
(101)	-	garden bean	*kumã'da, hari?ixutu'kwe*
(102)	acaré	straw	*hakare'xy*
		burití	*haka're*
(103)	codê	calabash	*ku'dy*
(104)	bessoité	tucumá	*bexyi'ce, wade'xyi*
(105)	atchitchinôn	porridge	*atxitxi'nũ*
		flour	*atxitxi'nũ*
(106)	datchité	rubber ball	*dodotxi'te, (hu'mũku'ty)*
(107)	-	tortilla	*atxitxi'rje, barɛ'rini(tɛ)*
(108±)	aruín	tapir	*a'rũi*
(109)	dotoré	swine	*dutu're*
(110)	iéré	peccary	*haje're*
(111)	arú	curassow bird	*o'lu*
(112)	auêh	parrot	*a'wy*
(113+)	uassín	parrot species	*wã'sĩ*
(114+)	iritsoá	jaguar	*jere'xwa*
(115+)	iritsoá	dog	*jere'xwa*
(116)	bitadê	hawk	*ũca'dy*
(117)	catetsô	guan species	*hako'ro*
		guan species	*kuty'xu*
(118)	uí	cicada	*ku'ku*
		tobacco/smoke	*ui*
(119)	katál	agouti	*katay*
(120)	jarú-picáp	butterfly	*tsetseri'tse*
			(n.a.)

(121)	notê	bee	*e(taja)nã'ko*
		honey	*nũ'ty*
(122)	perô	ant	*ka'ka* (etc.) (n.a.)
(123)	tété	borrachudo	*tɛ'te*
(124)	tété-tchuín	flea?	*tɛtetxu'hũi*
(125)	itsoé	mosquito	*ĩ'tswẽ*
(126)	kimé	turtle	*kẽ'wẽ*
(127)	iará	capybara	*ja'ra*
(128+)	tsotô	snake [fer de lance]	*tsu'tu*
(129)	edá	anaconda	*de'da (txihỹ'te)*
(130)	á-ún	deer	*a'?ũ*
(131+)	arikoró	spider monkey	*hyriko'ro*
(132)	ôrí	trumpeter	*aratsa'bi* (n.a.)
(133)	damún	duck	*da'mũ*
(134)	urí	paca	*hu'ri*
(135)	caracorá	chicken	*kuraku'ra*
(136)	kôtossô	guan species	*kuty'xu*
(137+)	manení	fish	*mani'ni*
(138+)	kassá	sun	*ko'sa*
(139+)	acorí	moon	*haku'ri*
(140+)	tatunhã	star	*txitu'jɛ̃*
(141)	-	rain	*a'we*
(142±)	há	water	*hã*
(143±)	í	fire	*hi*
(144)	uandakí	cold	*awy'rjỹki*
		cook (3rd person)	*wã'dyki*
(145)	konaiãn-dakí	heat [I am hot]	*konãjã'daki*
(146)	-	heaven, sky	*hanã'wã*
(147)	uvanharikí	wind [blows]	*wywy'rjỹki*
(148)	tsanãn	earth	*tsã'rã*
(149)	gítcun-uãn	sand	*tsũrũrũ'nĩ*
		sand grain	*ha'kitxu'hũi*
(150±)	akí	stone	*haki'dwa, ha'ki*
(151)	hái-tchuhúin	river	*tximũ'te*
		creek	*'hãtxu'hũi*
(152)	tsoá	cock	*kurakura'tswa*
		man	*tswa*
(153)	tchikiré	parakeet	*txu'kui*
		woodpecker	*txike're*
(154)	-	ox	*arũi?ekje'?e*
(155+)	takuá	alligator	*ta'kwa*
(156)	aruráí	armadillo	*haru'rai*
(157)	ôdê	owl	*hu'dy*

(158)	tsôtêi	louse	*xy'tyi*
(159)	-	animal	*'rai?ỹhỹ*
(160)	-	bird	*awto'rɛ(nahe're)*
(161)	curé-curé-tohói	chick	*kurakurato'hoi*
(162)	tchitamún	rapids	*tsita'mũ*
(163)	-	clay	*haku'ñũ*
(164)	keriá	thunder	*kyry'ja*
(165)	-	warm	*ki'kje-, babarɛ̃'rjỹ-*
(166)	étê	resin lip bars	*he'ty*
(167)	tenassú	nose stopper	*tsurwani'xu, tsurjỹ'tsu*
(168)	aorí	cotton cord	*awy'ri*
(169)	tchiô	mug	*txi'jo*
(170)	tsôi	marico bag	*xui*
(171)	ororí	basket	*ururi'rɛ*
(172)	azelotché	flute	*haxyilo'txwɛ*
(173)	bessôkié	comb	*bexu'kje*
(174)	-	pipe	(n.a.), *ui'tɛ*
(175+)	bilá	bow	*bi'lo*
(176)	uetsêi	simple arrow	*we'si*
(177+)	atsení	arrow w. harpoon	*hatsi'ni*
(178)	ikié	arrow w. 3 points	*e'kje*
(179)	-	war arrow	*hou'rje*
(180)	karé-tsuí	penis gourd	*kuri'xyi*
		tanga	*hakare'xyi*
(181)	tchitó-tsuí	tail of burití fibre	*txitu'xyi?ỹhỹ*
(182)	arôraí-ró	bracelet of cotton	*harurai'ro*
(183)	iria-sên	necklace of shells	*ɛ̃rjỹ'sɛ̃?ỹ'hỹ, ɛ̃rjỹ'sɛ̃*
(184)	kilélinon	belt of shell	*kileini'ñũ*
(185)	tôcané-sô	porcupine bead cord	*(ta)kanɛ'xu, tu'kanɛ'su*
(186)	okiá	walk	*hyhy'rwa-*
		walk, hunt	*o'kja-*
(187+)	iadamãin	eat [I will]	*'jadamỹ*
(188)	oín-damãin	sleep [I will]	*wã'wỹidamỹ*
(189)	kurêi-tchiré	row [IMP]	*ku'ry(ca)'ra*
(190)	-	urinate	*tsu'tsu-*
(191)	-	defecate	*hady'tɛ-*
(192)	miún-kuidamãin	drink [chicha I will]	*mĩu 'kuidamỹ*
(193)	ekái-dauãn	swim	*'tsũ-*
		I'll lie down	*ũ'kaidamỹ*
(194)	tomá-dãuan	bathe [I will]	*to'mãdamỹ*
(195)	atsái-tchiré	speak	*pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-*
			(n.a.)
(196)	uária-tchará	bring	*wajanỹ-*
		bring (IMP)	*waja(ca)ra*

(197)	darié-tchará	come	*ojanỹ-*
		quick (IMP)	*da'rje(cara), darje're*
(198)	énanakí	go	*oja-*
		I'm leaving	*e'nãdaki*
(199)	tcharirá	kill	*hu'hui-*
		shoot (IMP)	*cari'ra*
(200)	ohoiére-kí	cough [3rd person]	*o'hoki*
			(n.a.)
(201)	uaderé	give [IMP]	*wady'ra*
(202)	emáre-kí	cry	*e'mã-*
		my, he is crying!	*emãraiki*
(203)	êtsêre-kí	die [3rd person]	*isi(ri)'ki*
(204)	-	dance	*babai'ce-*
(205)	-	wash	*ha'ha-, ha'hanỹhỹ-*
(206)	oatchiriré	lie	*ki'tse-*
		really?	*wa'txi(rai)'re*
(207)	uí	cigar	*ui*
(208)	nhãntsêi-dahakí	not understand	*ũcenãi'he-*
		I don't hear	*jãsi'hedaki*
(209)	kôkoí-irikí	illness	*kukui'hỹ?anãi*
		has pain in liver	*kukui(?i)'riki*
(210)	kôkoí-irikí	hurts	*ku'kuiki*
		has pain in liver	*kukui(?i)'riki*
(211+)	tchuhúi-irikí	small	*txu'hũi?ỹ-*
		it is a small plate	*txu'hũi?ỹ'riki*
(212+)	nãn-hurikí	big	*nỹ'hỹ-*
		it is a big plate	*nỹ'riki*
(213)	itchekí	leather	*esi'ki*
(214)	-	hive	*ha'xo*
(215+)	uí	tobacco	*ui'nũ*
		smoke	*ui*
(216)	-	distant	*ãi*
(217)	-	close	*tja?a'tje-*
(218)	-	good day	*wai'nãi tu'ruxare*
			(you awoke well?)
(219)	-	farewell	*mama'ja?anãi, 'ɛdaki*
(220)	bilók	shot	*buce'hỹ- (V)*
		bow	*bi'lo*
(221)	-	mirror	*loko'tja*
(222)	cahãn-céré	how do you say?	*ti'nãi mã?a're*
		are you old?	*ha'kahỹxa're*

1.12.3. Carlson's 1984 glossary

The last written field data of Kwaza come from the late Harvey Carlson, a linguistics student of Leanne Hinton from the University of California at Berkeley (Carlson 1984, 1985). He was in the Área Indígena Tubarão-Latundê from April to July 1984 for linguistic fieldwork among the Aikanã. He noticed that among the Aikanã there were living at least five speakers of Kwaza, locally known as "Arara" (a nickname by which the Kwaza do not want to be referred). At the end of his stay in the reserve Carlson managed to record some words and phrases in "Arara" from José Ramos (Zezinho from family II), who was 17 years old at that time (the manuscript is dated "6-30-84"). He showed these data to Aryon Rodrigues, who compared them to those in Loukotka (1968:164). Rodrigues identified the language as "Koaiá", a language that was presumed to have been extinct. Being himself required to devote all his time to Aikanã only, Carlson tried to draw attention to this language hoping to find a fieldworker to describe Kwaza. The present description of Kwaza is actually the indirect fruit of Carlson's concern (see also van der Voort 1996a).

The manuscript is a Kwaza-Portuguese word and phrase list of 47 entries from six pages in Carlson's fourth field notebook. Entries (01-06) are found on page 51, entries (07-14) on page 52, entries (15-22) on page 53, entries (23-30) on page 54, entries (31-39) on page 55 and entries (40-47) on page 56 (entry numbering is not original). Carlson's material is in an American style phonetic alphabet, which is characterised e.g. by a <y> having the value of the IPA [j], which is normally used throughout the present work. The material is in a relatively narrow transcription showing aspirated <kh>, long vowels and word-final glottal stops. There are some misunderstandings in Carlson's translations, and some untranslated entries which he marked with an asterisk <*>.

I was in the lucky position that I could go over Carlson's data with the very same person whom he had consulted and who had produced the data 12 years earlier. I have presented the manuscript as much as possible in the same way as Lévi-Strauss' and Zack's. Where Carlson crossed out parts of Kwaza and replaced them by alternatives, I give the crossed out part in between [square] brackets. Where Carlson gave equivalent alternatives, I presented these in between {curly} brackets, separated by a backwards slash <\>.

There is, however, a difference between Carlson's orthography and that of the present transcription, due to software limitations. Carlson noted stress differences through different types of underlining of syllables. The underlining of primary stressed syllables occurred immediately below the syllable, and secondary stressed syllables were marked by an underlining a little further down below the concerned syllable. So different stress is marked by Carlson through underlining on different heights. In the present transcription, the primary stressed syllables are underlined, as in the original manuscript. All the other syllables, which in the manuscript are underlined in a lower position, are not underlined here.

It turns out that there are some mistakes in the translations (e.g. entries 26, 27, 30) and in phonetic interpretations (the [u] in 32 and the [s] in 18, 38). Some nasalisations were omitted (e.g. 07).

Some of the items below have been published in Rodrigues (1986:97) (these are here marked with a <+>) with some minor adaptations, e.g. <ɨ> written as <y> and long vowels expressed as double vowels.

ENTRY	CARLSON	GLOSS	KWAZA I, II
(01+)	tsotɨʔ	head	*tsu'ty*
(02+)	tsɔyɪʔ	hand	*tso'je*
(03)	tyɔhaʔ	foot	*co'ha*
(04+)	ʔɛ:tõyʔ	eye	*e'tõi*
(05+)	ɛk^{h}[ã]yʔ	mouth	*e'kãi*
(06+)	tsaɾoaniʔ	nose	*tsurwa'nĩ, tsa(r)'ni*
(07+)	tsa:naʔ	earth	*tsã'rã*
(08)	hanawãʔ	sky, heaven	*hanã'wã*
(09+)	k$^{(h)}$ɔ:saʔ	sun	*ko'sa*
(10+)	hakoɾiʔ	moon	*haku'ri*
(11)	hakaɾɛ$^{(ʔ)}$	burití	*haka're*
(12+)	hã:ʔ	water	*hã*
(13+)	hiʔ	fire	*hi*
(14)	kɔɾayə	machete	*kore'ja*
(15)	ʔa:lɛʔ	axe	*a'le*
(16)	*	string, rope	*i'sosisi*
(17)	i:tsɔʔ	hammock	*i'tso*
(18)	ʔa:sɨʔ	house	*a'xy*
(19)	hiyɔ(ʔ)	manioc	*jo*
(20)	a:tʃitʃiʔ	maize	*atxi'txi*
(21)	[miy] mĩwʔ	chicha	*mĩu*
(22+)	ñɛɾɛtsɔʔ	jaguar	*jere'xwa*
(23)	ʔapaɾaʔ	banana	*apa'ra*
(24)	yaʔdaki ʔapaɾaʔ	(I) ate banana	*'jadaki apa'ra*
(25)	yasak[a]i ʔapaɾaʔ	(you) " "	*'jaxaki apa'ra*
(26)	tsɨy yatsaki `apaɾaʔ	(he) " "	*'jaki apa'ra*
		you ate banana	*xyi jaxa'ki apa'ra*
(27)	tsi yaʔdaki (ʔapaɾaʔ)	(we) " "	*'ja?a(xa)ki apa'ra*
		I ate banana	*si 'jadaki apa'ra*
(28)	baʔbayt[ɨ]ɪdaki	I danced	*babai'cedaki*
(29)	(ba)ʔbayt^{y}ɛnaʔ(daki)	I'm going to dance	*babaice'nãdaki*
(30)	ñãʔahĩʔahaʔ	Antônio is my father	*wa'ri 'sidy'hỹ a'haki*
		that one father	*na?ay'hỹ a'ha*

(31)	mã[ɛ]y isitsɛ ya	my mother already died	*mã i'sitse ja*
(32)	aweytsutsɛʔ	it is going to rain	*a'wetsy'tse*
(33)	ʔawɛhɛ{(ə)\u}tsotɛʔ	it is not going to rain	*awe'he?ỹtsy'tse*
(34)	hɨ̃ʔdɛ tomaya	let's take a bath	*hỹ'dɛ toma'ja*
(35)	tsitõñɛʔ	star	*txitu'jɛ̃*
(36)	hayak^{h}iʔ	day	*ha'ja*
		it is day	*ha'jaki*
(37)	haʔdɛyak^{h}iʔ	night	*hadeja*
		it is night	*hade'jaki*
(38)	ʔɛsɨyʔ	hair	*e'xyi*
(39)	m{au\ɔ}ruʔ	woodpecker	*mau'ro*
(40)	ãʔũ	deer	*a'?ũ*
(41)	yãkɨʔ	sister [younger, of male]	*jã'ky*
(42)	waʔdeʔ	tucumá nut	*wa'de*
(43)	hiʔ	firewood	*hi*
(44)	*	river	*tximũ'te*
(45)	mãmãñɛ danty		*mãmã'ñẽdaynãi*
	ʔarɛta^{h}dak^{h}i	I can sing	*are'tadaki*
(46)	*	thanks	*jana'nãitaraki*
(47)	awsɔnaʔ	meat	*auxwa'na*

Chapter 2
The sounds of Kwaza

The indigenous phoneme inventory of Kwaza comprises eight oral vowels, seven nasal vowels and 19 consonants. There are ten loan phonemes; one vowel and nine consonants. In addition, stress is not fully predictable and can be used under certain circumstances to distinguish word forms.

Kwaza has several glides or semi-vowels, which can be nasalised. These semi-vowels occur in non-syllabic positions after a full vowel. They are best assigned to the vowel phonemes to which they are phonetically most related. Prevocalic glides are treated as separate approximant consonant phonemes.

Kwaza syllable structure is predominantly (C)V. When the syllable contains one or more glides, then the structure is more complex: (C)(G)V(G).

Vowels and consonants can be phonetically long in Kwaza; however, quantity is not distinctive.

2.1. Phoneme inventory

All Kwaza phonemes are listed in the following tables. The symbols correspond to the phonemic orthography used in the present work. Borrowed phonemes have not been included here.

2.1.1. Vowels

In the following table, all Kwaza vowel phonemes are listed:

Table 1. Kwaza vowel phonemes

	oral vowels			*nasal vowels*		
	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
CLOSE	i		u	ĩ		ũ
CLOSE-MID	e	y		ẽ	ỹ	
OPEN-MID	ɛ	œ	o	ɛ̃		õ
OPEN		a			ã	

2.1.2. Consonants

In the following table, all Kwaza consonant phonemes are listed:

Table 2. Kwaza consonant phonemes

	LABIAL	LAMINO-ALVEOLAR	APICO-ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p	t	c		k	?
IMPLOSIVE	b		d			
AFFRICATE		ts		tx		
FRICATIVE		s	x			h
NASAL	m		n	ñ		
TRILL/TAP			r			
LATERAL			l			
APPROXIMANT	w			j		

2.2. Value and status of the symbols used

The phonemes of Kwaza are described in the following manner. Each phoneme is listed according to its orthographic representation. The order is in principle alphabetic, but in order to preserve unity of exposition, there are exceptions to this practice. As a consequence, /y/ is treated after /ĩ/, /x/ after /s/, and /c/ after /t/. The digraphs /ts/ and /tx/ are treated after /c/. The remainder follows the order of the Roman alphabet. Subsequently, for each phoneme the manner of articulation of its commonest phonetic appearance, i.e. its most frequent allophone, is characterised. Then, the phonemic status is illustrated whenever possible by means of minimal pairs. Finally, all possible allophones, whether free or conditioned variants of the phoneme under discussion, are described.

In the present chapter on phonology, I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), version 1993, for phonetic notation. For phonemic notation, which is also employed in the other parts of the description of Kwaza (grammar, lexicon and texts), I use a practical orthography, partially because of software related considerations, which I will make explicit in section (2.17.). In order to meet the needs of the speakers' community still another orthography has been designed, which is introduced in (2.16.).

In the phonology chapter, syllable structure is indicated whenever considered of importance to the phonological analysis that is being discussed. The symbols used are <#> to indicate word boundary, <+> to indicate morpheme boundary, and <$> to indicate syllable boundary. However, in interlinearily glossed translations, syllable boundaries are never represented, while word boundary is symbolised by a space < > and morpheme boundary by a hyphen <->, or, in the case of compounds, by the equation sign <=>. In other parts of the present work, the symbols <#>, <$> and <+> are not used.

2.2.1. Vowels: minimal pairs, contextual pairs and variation

/a/ is an open central "tense" vowel [a], as in */apara/* [apa'ra] 'banana'. It stands in contrast with all the other vowel phonemes. Some of the oppositions are illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

/a-e/	[ɗe'ɗa]	'snake'	[ɗe'ɗe]	'crab'
/a-y/	[a'ɾeɗaki]	'I transform'	[aɾe'ɗɨki]	'he transforms'
/a-o/	[a'wɨ]	'parrot'	[ɔ'wɨ]	'jenipapo'
/a-ã/	[wa'ɗɨki]	'he gives'	[wã'ɗɨki]	'he cooks'
/a-ỹ/	[tjɔ'ha]	'foot'	[tjɔ'hɪ̃]	'much'

The rare allophone [ɑ] is an open back "lax" vowel. It is usually analysed as an allophone of /a/, although in some environments it is assigned to /o/. It occurs in a syllable-internal position immediately preceding the tautosyllabic bilabial glide [u̯], i.e. /a/ = [ɑ] /_[u̯]$, e.g.: */tauta/* [#tɑu̯$'ta#] 'sloth'. It does not occur in positions preceding syllable boundaries, where /a/ = [a] /_$[w], e.g.: */awyki/* [#a$'wɨ+ki#] 'lay, get (egg, child)'.[37]

/ã/ is the nasal equivalent of oral /a/ and has phonemic status, as the following minimal pairs show:

/ã-a/	[e'kã̯ĩ]	'mouth'	[e'ka̯i]	'leg'
/ã-ỹ/	[aɾuu̯'nãɗaki]	'I will cross'	[aɾuu̯'nɪ̃ɗaki]	'I cross hither'

From a perceptual point of view, the difference between [ɪ̃] and [ã], as in the latter pair, is difficult to distinguish.

/e/ is a close-mid front vowel [e], as in */ereweki/* [eɾe'we̯ki] 'he is writing'. Its phonemic status is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

/e-a/	[e's̲ɨ]	'ambush, paper'	[a's̲ɨ]	'house'
/e-ɛ/	['we̯ki]	'he fears'	['wɛ̯ki]	'he got, brought'
/e-i/	['we̯ɗaki]	'I'm afraid'	['wi̯ɗaki]	'I cut rubber'
/e-y/	[ui̯'s̲e],[ui̯'ʃe]	'tobacco leaf'	[ui̯'s̲ɨ]	'cigarette paper'
/e-o/	[a'ɾeki]	'he transformed'	[a'ɾɔki]	'he hit (target)'

Some examples suggest a tendency to centralisation of [e] > [ɪ] when following the retracted apico-alveolar consonant [s̲], as in: */jerexwa/* [jeɾe's̲wa] ~ [jɪɾɪ's̲wa]

37. A potential counter-example to this claim was found in [ɑwɨ'hɪ̃] ~ [owɨ'hɪ̃] ~ [ɔwɨ'hɪ̃] ~ *[awɨ'hɪ̃] 'cold' in which the front [a] pronunciation was once explicitly excluded in favour of [ɑ] ~ [o] ~ [ɔ]. According to our analysis, the phonemic interpretation of this very example is rather */#o$wy+hỹ#/* than */#a$wy+hỹ#/*.

'jaguar', or in the environment of /[ʔ]_ in */etɛ/* [ʔe'tɛ] ~ [ʔɪ'tɛ] 'belly'; [+ʔete'ja+] ~ [+ʔɪte'ja+] '(1PO/us)'.

There is tendency to (optional) variation between the two close front vowels [e] and [i] after an apico-alveolar or palatalised consonant: */erice/* [eɾi't̲e] ~ [eɾi't̲i] 'hole of the mouth'; */eke/* [e'kje] ~ [e'kji] 'horn'.[38]

/ẽ/ is the nasal equivalent of oral /e/. It has phonemic status, as is shown by the following minimal pairs:

/ẽ-e/	['tsẽ̲ĩki]	'ripped'	['tse̲iki]	'started'
/ẽ-ĩ/	[t̲ẽ'ɾ̃ẽ]	'breast'	[t̲ẽ'ɾ̃ĩ]	'peanut'

/ɛ/ is an open-mid front vowel. Its phonemic contrast with /e/ and /i/ is demonstrated by the following minimal pairs:

/ɛ-e/	[kwɛ'ɾa]	'enter!'	[kwe'ɾa]	'string!'
	['ɛki]	'he went'	['eki]	'he has'
	[ɛʔɛ'hɨ̃ki]	'he is nailing'	[eʔe'hɨ̃ki]	'he is doing'
/ɛ-i/	[ko'ɾɛɗaki]	'I broke it open'	[ko'ɾiɗaki]	'I mashed it'

The most common allophone is [ɛ], as in */ɛtɛrwɛdaki/* [ɛtɛ'ɾwɛɗaki] 'I'm rounding (the cattle) up'. This pronunciation is obligatory after [c] or [j], but is subject to optional variation in other environments.

The allophone [æ] is of a more open quality than [ɛ]. The following pair suggests free variation between [ɛ] and [æ] and their consequent opposition with /e/: */ɛhỹra/* ['æhɨ̃'ɾa] ~ ['ɛhɨ̃'ɾa] 'spike!' versus */ehỹra/* ['ehɨ̃'ɾa] 'do/make!'.

/ɛ̃/ is the nasal equivalent of oral [ɛ], which probably has phonemic status. An analogous pair was encountered:

/ɛ̃-ɛ/	[kɛ̃ĩ̲'mũ]	'oil, fat, grease'	[kɛ̃i̲'ɲũ]	'jatobá tree'

In one case, an opposition was only obtained through a grammaticality judgement between /ẽ/ and /ɛ̃/: */cẽʔasadaki/* [t̲ẽʔa'saɗaki] 'I wipe my nose' (*[t̲ɛ̃ʔa'saɗaki]).

The only minimal pair found shows contrast with another nasal vowel:

/ɛ̃-ĩ/	['mɛ̃ki]	'he beats'	['mĩki]	'tooth'

/i/ is normally a close front "tense" vowel [i], as in */iriti/* [iɾi'ti] '(mushroom species)'. See /ɛ/ for minimal pairs other than:

38. This variation may represent an explaination for the uncertainty about the correct phonemic interpretation of the initial consonant of the interrogative root *ti-* 'what': */tirjỹ/* [ti'ɾjɨ̃] ~ [t̲i'ɾjɨ̃] 'where?' vs. */tihỹre/* [tihɨ̃'ɾe] ~ [tehɨ̃'ɾe] 'where is it?'. Maybe *ti-* 'what' should hence be analysed as */ci-/*.

/i-e/	[i's̲i̯i̯]	'poison vine'	[e's̲i̯i̯]	'hair'
/i-y/	[ku'ɾiɗaki]	'I was silent'	[ku'ɾɨɗaki]	'I paddled'
/i-ĩ/	[si]	'I'	[sĩ]	'tinamou'

In falling diphthongs /i/ is a voiced palatal semi-vowel [i̯], as in /*hoi*/ [hɔi̯] 'bat'. Immediately after a nasalised vowel, this palatal semi-vowel is nasalised too, [ĩ̯], as in /*etũi*/ [e'tũĩ̯] 'little ball, fruit'. Due to the automatic character of this nasalisation, it is not necessary to mark it in a phonemic notation or in the orthography.

/ĩ/ is the nasal equivalent of oral /i/, which has phonemic status, as the minimal pair given under /i/ and the following contextual pair show:

/ĩ-i/	[tsĩ'ɾ̃j̃ɛ̃]	'stick, glue'	[tsi'ɾ̃j̃ɨ]	'tread, step'

/y/ is an unrounded central close-mid vowel, [ɨ], as in /*manary*/ [mana'ɾɨ] 'sieve'. Although I write it using the IPA symbol [ɨ], it approaches rather an unrounded vowel somewhere between IPA [ə] and [ʊ]. The following minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic distinction between /y/ and other vowels (no pair involving /ɛ/ was found):

/y-a/	[t̲a̯ɨtɨ'ɗɨ]	'mamũi grub'	[t̲a̯ɨta'ɗɨ]	'ah, a mamũi!'
/y-o/	[a'wɨ]	'parrot'	[a'wɔ]	'honey bee'
/y-u/	[tsu'tɨ]	'head'	[tsu'tu]	'snake'
	[hɨ'ɾi]	'monkey'	[hu'ɾi]	'paca'
	[s̲i̯i̯]	'you (SG)'	[s̲u̯i̯]	'marico'

In unstressed position /y/ is centralised to [ə] (schwa). The only word in which the allophone [ə] occurs in stressed position is in the expletive particle /*kwy*/ [kwə] 'how horrible!, yecch!, damn!'.

After /a/ in syllable-final position, /y/ is non-syllabic, and resembles a voiced velar approximant: [ɨ̯] as in /*cay*/ [t̲a̯ɨ̯] 'papaya'. There are furthermore some pronunciations of /*djy*/ 'older brother', [ɗi̯ɨ̯] and [ɗi̯ɨ̯], in which /y/ emerges as a non-syllabic semivowel. /y/ contrasts with /i/ in the final position of a falling diphthong:

/y-i/	[wa̯ɨ̯'ɾ̃j̃ɨki]	'is wiping clean'	[wa̯i̯'ɾ̃j̃ɨki]	'nice weather'

Glides are discussed further in section (2.6.).

/ỹ/ is the nasal equivalent of oral /y/. It is realised as [ɨ̃] and has phonemic status. Minimal pairs were given under /a/ and /ã/.

After a consonant-glide cluster there may be variation with [ã]: /*wairjỹki*/ [wa̯i̯'ɾ̃j̃ɨki] ~ [wa̯i̯'ɾ̃j̃ãki] '(sky) is clear'.

/o/ is an open-mid back round "lax" vowel [ɔ], as in /*dodotxi*/ [ɗɔɗɔ'tʃi] 'rubber'. Minimal pairs were given under the other vowels. Some further examples are:

/o-a/	[ɔs̱e'hɨ̃ki]	'he smiled'	[as̱e'hɨ̃ki]	'he met'
	[be'tɔhɨ̃ki]	'roast seed'	[be'tahɨ̃ki]	'hang to dry'[39]
/o-u/	['ɗɔtsɛ]	'he knocked'	['ɗutsɛ]	'he closed'

Before the bilabial semi-vowel [u̯], [ɔ] varies with [ɑ]: /*ousisiti*/ [ɑu̯sisi'ti] ~ [ɔu̯sisi'ti] 'monkey of the night', /*houtswe*/ [hɑu̯'tswe] ~ [hɔu̯'tswe] 'harpoon arrow', /*outorɛ*/ [#ɑu̯$tɔ$'ɾɛ#] ~ [#ɔu̯$tɔ$'ɾɛ#] 'bird'. Such variation is not permitted before the bilabial approximant [w]: /*owy?ỹki*/ [ɔ'wɨʔɨ̃ki] ~ *[ɑ'wɨʔɨ̃ki] 'is painted with jenipapo'. This can be related to the fact that there is no syllable boundary before [u̯], whereas there is before [w]: the phoneme /o/ = [ɔ] ~ [ɑ] /_[u̯]$ (as in /*#ousisi$ti#*/), but across syllable boundaries no such variation is possible: /o/ = [ɔ] /_$[w] (as in /*#o$wy+?ỹ+ki#*/) (but see note 1).

The close-mid back round vowel [o] is very probably not in phonemic contrast with [ɔ]. It is likely to be an optional variant of /o/ in the environment of /_w, as in /*#to$wy#*/ [to'wɨ] 'field' and /*#o$wy$to#*/ [ɔwɨ'tɔ] ~ [owɨ'tɔ] ~ *[ɑwɨ'tɔ] 'miraringa (tree and berry species)'.

In the pronunciation by one consultant (ME) of one specific word, [ø] occurred:[40] /*lowɛ̃koro?ỹhỹ*/ [løw̩ɛkɔ'ɾɔʔɨ̃hɨ̃] 'twisted arm', also: [lw̩ɛkɔ'ɾɔʔɨ̃hɨ̃]. Kwaza probably does not have a phoneme */ø/, and the above pronunciation with [ø] was rejected by MA. It could be an allophonic consequence of the combination of [l] and [w̩], or a fronting effect of [ɛ]. Phonetically speaking, there is a nasalised variant of the root /*lowɛ̃*/, which occurs in combination with different classifiers: /*lowɛ̃koje?ỹhỹ*/ [lɔw̩ɛ̃kɔ'jeʔɨ̃hɨ̃] 'twisted hand'. Maybe this is the result of incidental lexical variation. Note that the root of the latter example was also encountered with an [ɔ̃] because of nasal spread.

/õ/ is the nasal equivalent of oral /o/. It is realised as [ɔ̃] and has phonemic status. The following minimal pair shows contrast with another nasal vowel:

/õ-ũ/	['mɔ̃ki]	'he is strong'	['mũki]	'he pushes / pulls'

/œ/ is an open-mid rounded vowel. It is usually realised as [œ], but it may also be somewhat more centralised as [œ̈]. It has been found only in two or three specific lexemes. First it was encountered in [s̱ɨ'tɨ̯i ɗœ:'ɾa] 'eat the louse!'. A pronunciation as [ɨ] or [ø] was rejected. The verb ['ɗœki] means 'he bites making it burst inside his mouth (ticks, louse eggs etc, but not plant seeds)'.[41] Another item in which it was attested is children's talk: ['tʃœs̱atsi] 'take care not to fall into the water!'. This form is probably based on the onomatopoeic root [tʃœ:] 'murmur (of water)'.

39. For a fuller context of this pair see the examples in section (5.5.20.2.).
40. In addition to denasalisation of the /ɛ̃/.
41. If the word is a loanword it is not from Aikanã, where it is *kutu'?ɛ̃* 'eat (the louse)!'.

It is clear that, if [œ] is an allophone of something, no corresponding phoneme can be singled out. Therefore, it is analysed as a phoneme of rare occurrence. It contrasts with the other vowels:

['ɗœki]	'he bites'
['ɗɨki]	'he hits'
['ɗiki]	'he breaks'
['ɗuki]	'he is closing / finishing'
['ɗɔtsɛ]	'he knocked'
[ɗeɗa'nũ]	'snake poison'
[ɗakɔ'ɾɔ]	'caterpillar'
[ɗɛtɛhu'nu]	'shell earring'

/u/ is a close back rounded vowel [u], as in */ururu/* [uru'ɾu] 'cleg'. There is phonemic contrast with, among others, /o/ as the following minimal pairs show:

/u-ɨ/	[a's̲u]	'porcupine'	[a's̲ɨ]	'house'
/u-o/	[tu'ɾuki]	'he wakes up'	[tɔ'ɾɔki]	'it's soap'

The close-mid rounded back vowel [o] occurs as a free variant of /u/: */turuki/* [to'ɾoki] ~ [tu'ɾuki] 'wakes up'.[42]

The front vowel [y] occurs between apico-alveolar plosives as an optional allophone of /u/: */isicucwanãi/* [i'siṯyṯwa'nãĩ̯] 'a (case of someone's) death'. In this combination, the plosives (the [ṯ]'s) before [ɨ] may lose their apical character: */cucucudyki hudy/* [tyty'ṯuɗɨki hu'ɗɨ] 'the owl is singing'.

In falling diphthongs, the voiced bilabial semi-vowel [u̯] occurs as an allophone of /u/: */hourje/* [hɑu̯'ɾje] 'arrow of war'. Immediately after a nasal vowel, [ũ̯] is nasalised too, as in: */kãutsɛ/* [kãũ̯tsɛ] 'it is broken'. It is not necessary to mark this nasalisation in the orthography.

/ũ/ is the nasal equivalent of oral /u/, and has phonemic status. The only minimal pair found was also shown above under /õ/:

/ũ-õ/	['mũki]	'pushes / pulls'	['mɔ̃ki]	'is strong'

2.2.2. Consonants: minimal pairs, contextual pairs and variation

/b/ is an implosive voiced bilabial consonant [ɓ], as in */bõbõnito/* [ɓɔ̃ɓɔ̃ni'to] 'boiled maize'. There is a phonemic contrast between /b/ and voiceless plosive /p/:

42. In the spelling of Brazilian Portuguese <ô> indicates a close-mid back [o]. In Zack's (1943) manuscript Kwaza words are written more or less according to a Portuguese orthography. Consequently, Zack's <ô> usually corresponds to /u/ in Kwaza.

/b-p/	[ɓu'ɾa]	‘put hat on!’	[pu'ɾa]	‘moth’

Implosive [ɓ] and plosive [b] are in free variation. This has been noted in particular in the following words: */bõrõki/* [ɓɔ̃'ɾɔ̃ki] ~ [bɔ̃'ɾɔ̃ki] ‘pierced’; */bwa/* [ɓwa] ~ [bwa] ‘finished’. [b] does not occur frequently, but it is always possible in fast speech.

Before nasal vowels and especially in reduplicated morphemes, the implosive /b/ may sound as preglottalised and nasal [ʔm]: */bõbõki/* [ɓɔ̃'ɓɔ̃ki] ~ [ʔmɔ̃'ʔmɔ̃ki] ‘it is swollen’.

/d/ is an implosive voiced alveolar consonant [ɗ], as in */dodotxi/* [ɗɔɗɔ'tʃi] ‘rubber’. It ranges between apical and laminal. Alternatively, it may sound as an implosive alveolar tap. The implosive quality may range from very strong to nearly absent. Kwaza /d/ is normally implosive in all positions, word-initially as well as word-internally: */deda/* [ɗe'ɗa] ‘anaconda, rainbow’; */djy/* [ɗi̯i̯] ~ [ɗi̯i̯] ~ [ɗji̯] ‘older brother’. There is phonemic contrast between /d/ and voiceless plosive /t/:

/d-t/	['ɗa̯iki]	‘he took’	['ta̯iki]	‘it is a lizard’
	[ku̯i'ɗi̯ki]	‘he gives drink’	[ku̯i'ti̯ki]	‘he drinks (from X)’

Plosive [d] is a rare but free variant of /d/. It occurs more often in unstressed syllables than elsewhere: */duture/* [ɗutu'ɾe] ~ [dutu'ɾe] ‘pig’, */kuinãdaki/* [ku̯i+'nã+da+ki] ‘I’m going to drink’.

As a concluding remark about /b/ and /d/, it can be said that Kwaza does not have phonemes that are voiced and exclusively plosive.[43] Loan phonemes are an exception to this (see 2.12.).

/h/ is generally a voiceless glottal fricative [h]: */hã/* [hã] ‘water’, but voiced realisations [ɦ] and nasalised realisations [h̃] also occur, as here, in between (nasal) vowels: */hoho?ỹhỹ/* [hɔ'hɔʔɨh̃ɨ̃] ~ [ɦɔ'ɦɔʔɨh̃ɨ̃] ‘black, dirty’.

/j/ is a voiced palatal approximant [j], which occurs in onset position or as the second element in a consonant cluster: */ja ojaki/* [ja#ʔɔ$'ja+ki] ‘he went already’; */bjurutɛ/* [ɓjuɾu'tɛ] ‘(bird species)’.

Monosyllabic words beginning with /j/ are sometimes pronounced with a preceding [ʔi] sequence: */jo/* [ʔijɔ] ~ [jɔ] ‘manioc’[44].

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43. As appears from his fieldnotes, Carlson (1984) interpreted the implosives of Kwaza like Aikanã as preglottalised plosives, e.g. *<hĩ'ʔdɛ>* ‘let’s go’ (C:24), *<'jaʔda'ki>* ‘I ate’ (C:34). Even though Vasconcelos (2002) also analyses Aikanã preglottalised voiced plosives, they are probably implosive phonemes /ɓ/ and /ɗ/ that have plosive allophones [b] and [d] and that contrast with voiceless plosive /p/ and /t/. It should be noted that Purubora also seems to have [ɓ] and [ɗ] (Tupi, Moore pc). In Kanoê implosive [ɗ] occurs as an allophone of /r/ (Bacelar 2004).
44. Note Carlson’s (1984) *<hi'yɔ(ʔ)>* (C:19).

Immediately before a nasalised vowel, /j/ is nasalised too: [j̃]. It is therefore not necessary to mark this nasalisation in a phonemic notation or in the orthography.

/k/ is a voiceless velar plosive [k], as e.g. in */kikiñũ/* [kiki'ɲũ] 'chigger'. Here is a minimal pair for contrast with /h/:

/k-h/	[ku'ɗɨ]	'calabash'	[hu'ɗɨ]	'owl'

The [k] is usually palatalised before [e] and sometimes before [i] and [ɛ̃]: */ki?ỹhỹ/* ['kiʔɨhɨ̃] ~ ['kʲiʔɨhɨ̃] 'red (one)', */kɛ̃imũ/* [kɛ̰̃i'mũ] ~ [kʲɛ̰̃i'mũ] 'oil, fat, grease'.

/l/ is a voiced lateral apico-alveolar approximant [l], as in */elele/* [ele'le] '(emphatic particle)'. There are minimal pairs for phonemic contrast with /d/ and /r/:

/l-d/	[lɔ'teki]	'it is a door'	[ɗɔ'teki]	'he shed (it)'
/l-r/	[a'le]	'axe'	[a'ɾe]	'has he?'

/l/ and /r/ are subject to phoneme fluctuation (see 2.14.) and they are involved in morphophonemic alternation (see 2.15.).

/m/ is a bilabial nasal consonant [m], as in */mwɛ̃mãtɛɗaki/* [mwɛ̃mã'tɛɗaki] 'I sank him down into the water'. There is evidence for phonemic contrast with /b/, /n/ and /ñ/:

/m-b/	[muku'wa]	'(tree species)'	[ɓuni'tɛ]	'hat'
/m-n/	['mɛ̰̃ĩki]	'he gnaws'	['nɛ̰̃ĩki]	'he presses'
/m-ñ/	[kɛ̰̃ĩ'mũ]	'oil, fat, grease'	[kɛ̰i̯'ɲũ]	'jatobá tree'

/n/ is an apico-alveolar nasal consonant [n], as in */nuhai/* [nu'ha̯i̯] '(bird species)'. There is evidence for phonemic contrast with /m/ and /ñ/:

/n-m/	['nãki]	'it stinks'	['mãki]	'he shouts'
/n-ñ/	[nũ'tɨ]	'honey'	[ɲũ'sɛ]	'anus'

The [n] can be optionally preglottalised: */nana?u/* [nana'ʔu] ~ [ʔnaʔna'ʔu] 'ipe tree'.[45]

/ñ/ is a palatal nasal as in */ñũsato/* [ɲũsa'tɔ] 'beetle'. The palatal [ɲ] has to be considered as a unit phoneme by itself for phonotactic reasons, which will be dis

45. This must have already been noticed in the late 1930's by Lévi-Strauss: <*warikadne*> (L:51) in which the <d> probably represents [ʔ] (*/warikanɛ/* 'tree'). As far as I am aware, preglottalisation of [m] and [n] is relatively common in Aikanã, e.g. [ʔmaʔma'ʔĩ:] 'chicha'.

cussed in (2.6.3.). /ñ/ is definitely distinct from nasalised /j/ [j̃] as in /*jãsiki*/ 'he hears':

/ñ-j/	[ɲã'siki]	'it is an ear'	[j̃ã'siki]	'he hears'

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial plosive [p], as e.g. in /*pura*/ [pu'ra] 'moth'.

/p-b/	[paɪ̯'ɾa]	'nightshade'	[ɓaɾa'ja]	'tree species'
/p-m/	[pɛ̃ɾɛ̃'j̃aki]	'he speaks'	[mɛ̃'ɾ̃ũ̯ĩʔɨki]	'it is blue'

/r/ consists of a single apico-alveolar tap [ɾ], as in /*roroiki*/ [ɾɔ'ɾɔ̯iki] 'he mashes'. It differs from /d/ by its non-implosive character. Minimal pairs between /d/ an /r/ were not encountered, but the difference is clear and obligatory in similar environments:

/r-d/	['ɾaɪ̯ʔɨh̃ĩ]	'animal'	['ɗaɪ̯iki]	'he took'
/r-l/	[mũ'ɾi]	'rope'	[mũ'li]	'(bird species)'

The dental non-plosive [d] is an optional allophone of /r/ word-internally.

[t̪ẽ'ɾe]	~	[t̪ẽ'de]	'breast'
[apa'ɾa]	~	[apa'da]	'banana'
[ã:'ɾ̃ũ̯ĩ]	~	[ã:'dũ̯ĩ]	'tapir'
[paɪ̯'ɾa]	~	[paɪ̯'da]	'jurubeba'
[kuɪ̯'ɾa]	~	[kuɪ̯'da]	'drink!'

The nasalised allophone of /r/, [ɾ̃], occurs optionally in a nasal environment. In that case, it turns out difficult to distinguish /r/ from [n], [ɲ] or [j̃]: /*mãrɛ̃ritsa*/ ['mãɾɛ̃ɾi'tsa] ~ ['mãɾ̃ɛ̃ɾi'tsa] ~ ['mãnɛ̃ɾi'tsa] 'human'; /*wairjỹki*/ [waɪ̯'ɾ̃j̃ãki] ~ [waɪ̯'ɲãki] '(sky) is clear'; /*nỹkarwarjỹki*/ ['nɨ̃kaɾwa'ɾ̃j̃ɨki] ~ ['nɨ̃kaɾwa'ɲãki] '(the river) became wider' / '(the weeds) are covering a bigger area'; /*wayrjỹra*/ [waɪ̯j̃ã'ɾa] 'sweep!'. However, in careful speech the distinction is always made. This is corroborated by the following minimal pair:

[waɾa'ɲɨ̃ɗaki]	'I worked'	[waɾa'ɾ̃j̃ɨɗaki]	'I touched place'

/s/ is a lamino-alveolar fricative consonant [s] of rather 'sharp' quality, as in: /*sirisiri*/ ['sirisi'ri] 'ant-eater, small tamandua'; /*sururu*/ [suru'ɾu] 'fern tree'.

/s-x/	['diʔasaki]	'he cut it up'	['diʔa$\underline{s}$aki]	'we cut it'

/x/ is an apico-(post-)alveolar fricative [$\underline{ʂ}$] (henceforth symbolised as an extra retracted [$\underline{s}$]), as in /*xoxoto*/ [$\underline{s}$ɔ$\underline{s}$ɔ'tɔ] 'bacuri palm tree'. The tongue holds an intermediary position somewhere between apico-palatal [$\underline{ʃ}$] and alveolar [$\underline{s}$]. Because of its apical feature it may make the impression of a retroflex [$\underline{ʂ}$], but the apex

never goes back that far. In one family (family II) the /x/ is not always a clearly apical [s̻], but can be realised in a more frontal (laminal) position, where it coincides with [s], e.g. */exyi/* [e'sɨ̟i̯] ~ [e's̻ɨ̟i̯] 'sting'. Although the distinction between [s̻] and [s] is clear and obligatory, very few minimal pairs were encountered:

/x-s/	[hesɨ's̻e]	'leaf'	[hesɨ'se]	'broom'
	[s̻ɨ̟i̯]	'you (SG)'	[si]	'I'
	[kuɨ̟'nãs̻aɾe]	'want to drink?'	[kɔ'sa]	'sun'

There is no complementary distribution between /s/ and /x/, and the consultants always correct forms in which the wrong sibilant is used. However, the combination /xi/ was not encountered on a phonemic level. It only seems to occur as a sort of "apical harmony" in the following word: */mũsixu/* [mũ:s̻i's̻u] 'pestle (lit. 'mortar-stick')' (cf. */mũsi/* [mũ:'si] 'mortar'). The pronunciation [mũ:si's̻u] is accepted but difficult to produce with its rapidly changing tongue positions. The sparsity of [s̻i] sequences confirms the fact that [s̻] is not a palatalised /s/, as [ʃi] sequences are generally not avoided in languages that do have palatalised /s/.[46]

Alveopalatal [ʃ] is an optional allophone of /x/, as the result of a tendency of /x/ to lose its apical feature when adjacent to a subsequent [e] or [ɛ]: */uixɛ/* [uɨ̟'ʃɛ] 'tobacco leaf' as opposed to */uixu/* [uɨ̟'s̻u] 'tobacco branch'; */ũxeki/* [ũ'ʃeki̟] ~ [ũ's̻eki] 'he remains'; */axehỹhedaki/* [aʃehĩ'heɗaki] ~ [as̻ehĩ'heɗaki] 'I didn't find it'; */terjaxɛki/* [teɾja'ʃɛki] 'leaf is smooth'; */tuxe/* [tu:'ʃe] ~ [tu:'s̻e] 'capitiú' or 'negramine';[47] */tsɛ̃xe/* [tsɛ̃'ʃe] ~ [tsɛ̃'s̻e] 'salt leaf (plant species)'; */uitsixe/* [uɨ̟tsi'ʃe] ~ [uɨ̟tsi's̻e] '(plant species)'; */hetsyxe/* [hetsɨ'ʃe] ~ [hetsɨ's̻e] 'leaf'. As regards the latter examples this variation may be explained by the fact that /x/ has been adapted to the non-apical tongue position as required by [ts] in the preceding syllable, which results in [ʃ]. In other contexts replacement of [s̻] by [ʃ] is rejected: */xui/* *[ʃui̯] 'marico bag', as [ʃ] instead of [s̻] is characteristic of children's speech (CHS) and for second language learners, like the Aikanã, whose language does not have /x/.

/t/ as in */tauta/* [tau̯'ta] 'sloth', is a voiceless dental plosive [t]. There is contrast with implosives and other plosives and affricates:

/t-d/	['kuɨ̟taki]	'drank my (blood)'	['kuɨ̟ɗaki]	'I drank'
/t-c/	[e'tũĩ̟]	'fruit'	[e't̻ũĩ̟]	'eye'
/t-ts/	[tɔ'ɾɔ]	'urucum, soap'	[tsɔ'ɾɔ]	'arm'

46. Both Zack (1943) and Lévi-Strauss (1938) have symbolised [s̻] with (among others) <sr> on several occasions: <*asre*> (L:29), <*ąšŕé*> (L:29+) */axy/* 'house', <*ariisru*> (L:46) */hari?ixu/* 'bean', <*esrí*> (Z:008) */exyi/* 'hair'. This further corroborates the fact that [s̻] is not a palatalised /s/. Once, I even observed a contemporary pronunciation of /x/ as [sɾ]: */ixyi/* ME: [is'ɾi] 'poison vine'.
47. It is not certain whether this is the same plant species.

/c/ is a voiceless post-alveolar apical plosive [t̻] (but not as apical as [s̻]), as in /*cutɛki*/ [t̻u'tɛki] 'he felled (a tree)'. It may be slightly palatalised. There may be an (only very slightly) ejective quality to /c/. The /c/ could be considered as the plosive counterpart of the fricative /x/, with which it is in phonemic opposition:

/c-x/	[ũ't̻eki]	'left aside'	[ũ'xeki]	'stayed behind'

The /c/ is very common but few minimal pairs with /t/ were encountered:

/c-t/	[ãwãnɨ̃'t̻eki]	'showed himself'	[ãwãnɨ̃'teki]	'is sad'
	[et̻e'ɾj̃ɨki]	'it is close'	[ɛte'ɾj̃ɨki]	'it is bright'
	[t̻u'ku]	'tongue'	[tu'ɾuki]	'woke up'

Other pronunciations than [t̻u'ku] 'tongue' are rejected, e.g. *[tu'ku], *[tju'ku], *[tʃu'ku]. Note that the pronunciation [e'tõi̯] 'eye' was also encountered instead of [e't̻ũ̃ĩ̯] 'eye'.

The combination [tj] is to be interpreted as a realisation of /c/ in many cases. It seems that before [a], /c/ has a tendency to be pronounced less with the tip of the tongue and more with the blade of the tongue, i.e. more like a palatalised /t/ would be pronounced: [tʲ]. Although sound spectrographic investigation indicated a considerable phonetic difference between [tj] and [t̻], no minimal pairs were attested.

/ts/ is an alveo-dental affricate [ts], as in /*tsiritsa*/ [tsiɾi'tsa] 'in the middle', /*tsetseritse*/ [tsetseɾi'tse] 'butterfly'.

/ts-s/	[t̻si'ki]	'younger sibling'	['siki]	'he ties it'
	[j̃ãt̻si'ɾe]	'is it fat?'	[j̃ãsi'ɾe]	'did you hear?'
/ts-t/	[t̻sɔ'ɾɔ]	'arm'	[tɔ'ɾɔ]	'urucum, soap'
	[t̻se'ɰ̣eki]	'he throws'	[te'ɰ̣eʔɾɨki]	'it is slanting'

/tx/ is often an alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ], as in /*txitxilu*/ [tʃitʃi'lu] 'grasshopper', /*txatxarwa*/ [tʃatʃa'ɾwa] 'now (emphatic)'.

/tx-t/	[iɾi't̻ʃiki]	'it is capped'	[iɾi'tiki]	'it is mushroom'
/tx-c/	['t̻ʃuɗamɨ̃]	'I'll heal'	['t̻uɗamɨ̃]	'I'll fell'

On many occasions, /tx/ was pronounced clearly as a sequence of an apico-alveolar [t̻] and a very sharp lamino-alveolar [s̻]: /*txisĩte*/ [t̻sis̻ĩ'te] 'big bullet'. This suggests that /cs/ would be a more adequate phonemic representation, but in order not to deviate too much from the proposed practical orthography the symbol /tx/ was chosen throughout.

/w/ is a voiced bilabial approximant (in IPA terms: a voiced labio-velar approximant) [w], which occurs in onset position or as the second element in a consonant cluster: /*wywyrjỹki*/ [wɨwɨ'ɾj̃ɨki] 'wind blows'; /*akwamã*/ [akwa'mã] 'yam'.

The unrounded voiced bilabial approximant [ɰ̨] is a conditioned allophone of /w/ before /e/, /i/ or /ɛ/: */aweki/* [a'ɰ̨eki] ‘it rains’, */wiri?u/* [ɰ̨ɪri'ʔu] ‘assai’, */winỹ/* [ɰ̨i'nɨ̃] ‘scissors’, */wɛki/* ['ɰ̨ɛki] ‘took away’. Although the [w] can be encountered syllable-initially before /e/, e.g. */were/* [we'ɾɔ] ‘parrot (sp)’, and, rarely, before /i/, usually [ɰ̨] occurs. Between /o/ and /i/ there is some free variation: */owi/* [ɔ'ɰ̨i] ~ [ɔ'wi] ‘maggot of the buriti’. [ɰ̨] was not encountered before /a/, /o/ or /u/. [ɰ̨] is also found to replace the Portuguese loan phoneme (see 2.12.) /f/ in the borrowed lexeme [ka'ɰ̨e] ‘coffee’ (POR *café*).

[ɰ̨] does not normally succeed syllable-initial consonants as an onset glide. Instead, [w] occurs, and in that position it can be followed by any vowel, e.g. */akarwɛ/* [akaɾwɛ] ‘over there’, */hykwɛki/* [hɨ'kwɛki] ‘he enters’, */ɗwiɗwi/* [ɗwi'ɗwi] ‘flycatcher’ (bird of the fam. Tyrannidae).

A syllable-initial combination of *[wu] (or *[ɰ̨u]) was never encountered.

Immediately before a nasal vowel [w̃] is nasalised. It is not necessary to mark this nasalisation in the orthography.

/ʔ/ is a glottal plosive [ʔ].

Glottal stop occurs at the periphery of the syllable. It occurs intervocalically both at morpheme boundaries, and elsewhere.

For reasons of transparency, a morpheme-internal glottal stop is treated as phonemic in the present work. The following examples, which cannot be analysed further morphologically, contain a phonemic glottal stop: */hari?ixu/* [haɾiʔi's̲u] ‘bean’, */ĩ?ĩta/* [ʔĩʔĩ'ta] ‘always’, */jã?ũ/* [j̃ã'ʔũ] ‘menstruate’, */kuja?u/* [kuja'ʔu] ‘curiangu bird’, */mãrɛ̃?a/* [mãrɛ̃'ʔa] ‘ghost’, */xa?u/* [s̲a'ʔu] ‘beetle’, */a?ũ/* [ʔa'ʔũ] ‘deer’, */wiri?u/* [ɰ̨iri'ʔu] ‘assai’.

In other contexts, the glottal stop should be considered as automatic. Therefore, it need not be written in word-initial and word-final positions in a phonemic orthography. Consequently, words like [ʔa'ʔũ] ‘deer’ and [ʔi'tsɔʔ] ‘hammock’ are written respectively as: */a?ũ/* and */itso/*.[48] The glottal stop is also automatic at word-internal morpheme boundaries followed by a vowel-initial morpheme:

(2) [mḭ̃ṵ̃ ‘kuiʔas̲aki]
/mũu kui-a-xa-ki/
chicha drink-1P-AS-DEC
‘we were drinking chicha’

(3) ['ʔaʔaʔa'wɨ]
/a-a-a-wy/
exist-1P-1P-time
‘since the time when we started to live here’

48. Even in phonetic transcriptions I did not write it in word-initial position, except in the present argument about the glottal stop itself.

Nor is the glottal stop written in the phonemic orthography in this position, *provided that the morpmeme boundaries are indicated by hyphens*. Where there are no such indications of morpheme boundaries, it should be written in word-internal position. Furthermore, it should always be written in this position in a practical spelling in order to avoid ambiguous boundary readings by its intended users. Morpheme-internal glottal stops are always written.

Word-initial [ʔ] followed by a glide is extremely rare and occurs only in sound symbolic expressions: */ʔwoʔwoʔwoki/* [ʔwɔʔwɔˈʔwɔki] ‘(dog) is barking’. Among non-symbolic expressions, very few combinations of glottal stop and subsequent glide were attested, word-internally: */ukiriʔwaʔwa/* [ʔukjɪɾiʔwaˈʔwa] ‘ant species’, */-ʔwỹtɛ-/* [ʔwɨ̃ˈtɛ] ‘pity’, and morpheme-internally: */ĩʔjɛ̃hỹ/* [ʔĩɛ̃j̃ɛ̃ˈhɨ̃] ‘body’.

The glottal stop can also be the result of optional preglottalisation of nasal consonants: */daỹ nanãidaki/* [ɗaˈnɨ̃ ʔnaˈʔnãi̯ɗaki] ‘I’m still like this’.

There is a tendency for Kwaza non-inflected words in isolation to end in an unreleased post-vocalic glottal stop, e.g.: */jo/* [jɔʔ] ‘manioc’. It may even occur after glides, e.g. */mũu/* [mĩu̯ˀ].[49] Word-final [ʔ] may be related to phenomena of stress, which in non-inflected words in isolation falls on the ultimate syllable: */jerexwa/* [jereˈswaʔ] ‘jaguar’. It is not heard word-finally that often in inflected words, even if the last syllable bears stress: [kui̯ˈnãɗaˈki] ‘I’m going to drink’. The glottal stop rarely occurs word-finally after nasal(ised) vowels, e.g. in */kɛiñũ/* [kɛi̯ˈɲũʔ] ‘jatobá tree’, but sometimes lengthening of the vowel is heard: */kɛ̃imũ/* [kɛi̯ˈmũ(:)] ‘oil, fat, grease’.

Sometimes, the word-final glottal stop sounds as an unreleased plosive consonant: [kˀ] or [pˀ]. This occurs especially in narratives at the end of a subparagraph, i.e. as if to mark a narrative boundary when a chain of events is terminated and the next subsection will deal with a different or parallel chain of events within the same story. In the second line of the following excerpt from a traditional tale (section 2.6. of the text volume), the verb root */oja/* [ʔɔˈjakˀ] ‘go’ is at the end of a chain of events and is followed by a transition to the perspective of another party:

(4)	[wãrã:t̪aˈra	ˈtawaˈsi	ɗaˈmɨ̃ tja	wɨrahɨ̃j̃ã	ɗuhɨ̃ˈj̃ã	ɗwa]
	/”warahỹ-ca-ra”	*ta-wa-si,*	*“damỹ”-tja*	*warahỹ-ja*	*duhỹ-ja,*	*/dwa/*
	touch-EMP-IMP	say-IS-SWR	want-CSO	touch-IO	all-IO	IDS

[ɗwata	tɔwɛ̨ˈnɛ tɨwasi:	ʔarũi̯ˈle	ʔaˈɾe	ʔarũi̯ˈtja	ʔɔˈjakˀ]
/dwa-ta	*towɛnɛ-ty-wa-si.*	*ãrũi-le*	*are*	*ãrũi-tja*	*oja,/*
IDS-CSO	arrive-DET-IS-SWR	tapir-only	turn	tapir-CSO	go

[ʔĩʔĩˈta ɗɨˈta	kuˈjaʔuu̯ˈle	ˈɗai̯tsaˈsita	ʔaˈwɨ̃i̯ˈ ta	ˈnãi̯ˀ]
/ĩʔĩta-dy-ta.	*kuja?u-le*	*dai̯=tsasi-ta*	*awỹi-tja*	*“nãi/*
always-DS-CSO	Curiangu-only	rise=follow-CSO	see-CSO	like

49. This was already noticed by Carlson: *<hi'yɔ(ʔ)>* ‘manioc’ (C:19). He also writes glottal stop after word-final glides, e.g. *<mỹwɨʔ>* ‘chicha’ (C:21).

[twata'nãĩ	'ʔawɨhĩwa'ɾa	ʔɔ̃ti'nãĩʔa'ta	ʔaʔahe'hĩta'dɨ̃]
/cwa-ta-nãi"	*awỹi-hỹ=wara*	*"ũcenãi-a-ta*	*a-a-he-hỹ-tady".*/
IS-CSO-NOM	see-NOM=but	know-1P-CSO	exist-1P-NEG-NOM-EXCL

'"embrace us!" they said, "yes!" he said and he made love to everyone, then, they returned from him. Tapir, now, turned into a tapir again and went, as always. Now Curiangu had flown up and followed them and saw everything "ah, that's what they were doing", he saw, "but we didn't know anything of it!".' (t)

Aside from narrative discourse-bound occurrence of unreleased stops, one contrast between verb roots was encountered, which involved a root-final unreleased stop inside of isolated words: /*aruu*/ 'cross' was observed without stop in /*aruura*/ ['ʔaɾu'ɾa] 'cross!', and /*aru*/ 'jump' with stop in /*arucara*/ [ʔa'ɾup̚t̲a'ɾa] 'jump!'. The distinction between [uu̯] and [u] is difficult to perceive and it is possible that it is emphasised by adding an unexploded stop to the latter. The roots /*aruu*/ 'cross' and /*aru*/ 'jump' are semantically rather close, but there is also a morphological difference in the examples: the latter contains an emphatic morpheme *-ca-*, which is used in combination with the imperative. This would imply that there may be a morphophonological process involved. However, there seems to be also free variation with respect to the presence or absence of an unreleased stop in the root /*aru*/ 'jump': [ʔa'ɾujetɔtɔ'ɾa] 'jump on it!, jump upwards!', [ʔa'ɾuk̚je'tɔtɔ'ɗowt̲a'ɾa] 'jump onto it!'.

It is possible to consider the glottal stop not as a phoneme, but as an automatic phonotactic phenomenon that is generated by the basic CV syllable structure of Kwaza. Word-initial vowels are automatically preceded by a [ʔ]. And when an open syllable (this means in principle: all syllables) is followed by a vowel-initial syllable, a [ʔ] is automatically inserted. However, it is impossible to do without the symbol <ʔ> in writing and meanwhile to keep syllable structure and morphological boundaries unambiguous. A word like /*wiri?u*/ 'assai' could either be read correctly as [ʋiri'ʔu] or wrongly as *[ʋi'ɾiu̯], /*tsida?uty*/ 'daughter-in-law' as [tsiɗaʔu'tɨ] or *[tsiɗau̯'tɨ], and /*ekai*/ 'leg' as [ʔekai̯] or as *[ʔekaʔi]. Furthermore, as was illustrated above, some glottal stops are lexically determined. As [ʔ] shares important functions with other consonants in the Kwaza phoneme system, there is reason to treat it as a phoneme.

2.3. An excursus on affricates and their phonetic constituents

Kwaza has two affricate consonants, /ts/ and /tx/. They must be analysed as unit phonemes rather than as phoneme sequences for distributional reasons. There are only two of them and they occur in contexts and positions otherwise occupied by non-complex consonants. A biconsonantal sequential interpretation of affricates in Kwaza would complicate the canonical syllable structure (see 2.7., cf. Van der Voort 1997a).

There is good evidence for /ts/, which is in opposition with both /t/ and /s/ (minimal pairs were presented in section 2.2.2. above). The only situation in which one comfortably could do away with affricates as monophonemes would be if a complementary distribution with other consonant phonemes were found.

There is some variation between /ts/ and /x/, but only in certain words (see 2.14.). In the majority of possible environments /ts/ and /x/ are in opposition, and consequently, they cannot be assigned to a single phoneme. Minimal pairs were not encountered so far.

In general, it should be said that the status of /s/ is somewhat less prominent than that of /x/ or /ts/. In an opposition with /x/ we find more cases of /ts/ than of /s/. Table (3) lists the attested consonant-vowel combinations containing affricate and sibilant phonemes. For completeness sake, /c/ and /t/ are included as well (/tx/ is discussed further below):

Table 3. The environments of affricates, sibilants and dental or apical plosives

	a	e	ɛ	i	y	o	u	ã	ẽ	ɛ̃	ĩ	ỹ	õ	ũ
ts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
s	+	+	+	+	[+]	[+]	+			+	+			
x	+	+	+	[+]		+	+					+		+
tx	+	+	[+]	+	+	+	+	+			+			+
c	+	+	+	[+]	+	+	+		+	+			+	+
t	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

Note that the "+" marks do not refer to the availability of minimal pairs, but indicate that a word was encountered in which, say, /*tsu*/ is a syllable. The "[+]" marks indicate attested phonetic combinations whose phonemic status is ambiguous. As mentioned above, /x/ is often pronounced as [s], especially in family II, which is also where the /sV/ combinations marked [+] mainly come from, e.g. /*xyico*/ [sɨi'to] 'chigger'. The other [+] marking refers to the sequence [si], which was explained above as a possible case of apical harmony. Also it appears that there is an overlap between /s/ and /ts/: /s/ can be pronounced as [ts] and /ts/ as [s]: /*sileta*/ [sile'ta] ~ [tsile'ta] 'afternoon'; /*itsosisi*/ [i'sosisi] ~ [i'tsosisi] 'hammock rope', /*tsicwa-*/ [tsitwa] ~ [sitwa] 'to begin, start' (see also 2.14. on phoneme fluctuation).[50] Despite these considerations, the evidence shows that /ts/, /x/ and /s/ are distinct phonemes in Kwaza.

The affricate /tx/ is not as frequent and does not occur in as many contexts as does /ts/. It could be interpreted as an affricate combination of [t] and [s], which results often in the pronunciation [tʃ]. Minimal pairs with /t/ and /c/ were presented in section (2.2.2.) above. Note that there are not very many lexemes, such as [tu'ku] 'tongue', in which [t] is never pronounced as an affricate or a

50. Note that it is not uncommon among the Amazonian languages to have variation between [s] and [ts]. In Aikanã, the /s/ is usually pronounced as [ts], and in Bacelar's (1994, 2004) analysis of Kanoê phonology, [s] is an allophone of /ts/.

palatal consonant. And in some words there is rather much variation: /*tswãsĩ*/[51] [t̲swã'sĩ] ~ [tʃwãsĩʔ] ~ [tˢwã'sĩ] ~ [tswã'sĩ] 'nail'. The distribution of [t̲] and [tʃ] is partly complementary: no *[tʃɛ] and *[tʃɨ] combinations were found, but [t̲ɛ] and [t̲ɨ] are encountered. And only a few [t̲i] combinations were found, e.g. in /*aricini*/ [arit̲i'n:i] 'Chupinguaia river', which is possibly a loanword from Kanoê: ['aritsi'ne], whereas [tʃi] is very common, e.g. /*itxi*/ [i'tʃi] 'vagina'. Nonetheless I propose that /tx/ is a phoneme, analogous to /ts/, because both /tx/ and /c/ are frequently encountered nearly in all positions.

There is a distinct [tsj], as the result of a combination of /ts/ and /j/ or a syllable [tsi] followed by a /j/-initial syllable.

/tx-tsj/ [tʃi'tʃeki] 'he patched' [tsi'tsjeki] 'he grabs many'

In the first member of this pair both sibilants are palatal, yielding [tʃ]. In the second member, both are clear sharp [s]'s. These examples form a minimal pair as far as the initial syllables are concerned, unless the second syllable of the latter example is to be analysed as having an extra syllable: [tsi'tsijeki] 'he grabs many'. The reduplication points to such an analysis, through the fact that both the non-reduplicated forms ['tsijeki] and ['tsjeki] 'he grabbed' also occur. However, upon closer interrogation MA always rejects *[tsi'jeki] as pronounced with two distinct root syllables, in favour of ['tsjeki] 'he grabbed'. The verb /*ce*-/ 'weave', is sometimes pronounced as [tʃe], and on one occasion, the following contrast with /*tsje*-/ was offered by MA:

/c-tsj/ ['tʃeki] 'he wove' ['tsjeki] 'he grabbed'

Note, however, that a nine-year old boy from family II (PA), pronounced the second word of this pair as ['tʃeki] 'he grabbed' and once even as ['t̲eki].

The only other cases where MA insisted on [tsj] are /*tsjatoro*/ 'coral snake': [tsjatɔ'ɾɔ] vs. *[tʃatɔ'ɾɔ], *[tsijatɔ'ɾɔ], and /*etsjenũ*/ 'feathers of bird's tail': [etsjenũ] vs. *[etʃenũ], *[etsiʔenũ], *[etsijenũ], although in the latter case morphophonemic variation may be involved in relation to [e't̲ĩ] 'rear (of bird)'.

In some words there is free variation between [tʃw] and [tsjw]: /*hãxyilotxwɛ*/ [hãs̲ɨ̯ilɔ'tʃwɛ] ~ [hãs̲ɨ̯ilɔ'tsjwɛ] 'flute'.

I analyse [tsj] as a sequence of /ts/ and /j/, possibly as the effect of a contraction of two syllables, but it does not seem justified to assign phonemic status to [tsj].

2.4. Remarks on some oppositions

The lamino-alveolar /s/ and dental /t/ are in contrast with apico-alveolar /x/ and /c/. The implosive /d/ is also apico-alveolar, but is not in minimal contrast with

51. or /*cwãsĩ*/ or /*txwãsĩ*/, but no decision was taken as to its phonemic analysis

another voiced obstruent. It seems that voice is not a more prominent phonological parameter in Kwaza than plosiveness. There is no [z] or [g] which could provide for a contrast with [s] and [k] on grounds of [±voice] distinction. The difference between /b/ or /d/ on the one hand and /p/ or /c/ on the other can partly be defined in terms of implosiveness of the former and the absence of this feature in their voiceless counterparts. The /t/ is also plosive, but it is not in minimal contrast with an implosive or voiced counterpart. In the following figure, the phonemes occupy their prototypical positions as regards the parameters of manner and place of articulation:

Table 4. Some consonant oppositions and the absence of a "voice" parameter

	Bilabial	Lamino-alveolar	Apico-alveolar
Fricative		s	x
Plosive	p	t	c
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ

As regards consonant-glide combinations, there are no minimal pairs for [t̲] and [tj]. The same holds for [s̲] and [sj]. Nevertheless, there is phonetic distinction between these sounds, e.g. imperative [t̲a] as in /*daicara*/ ['ɗa͡it̲a'ra] 'take it!' is distinguishable from cosubordinating [tja] as in /*hoitja*/ ['ho͡itja] 'being sweet'.

2.5. Nasality

Nasalisation is partially lexical-phonemic. As was seen in the phoneme inventory, nearly all oral vowel phonemes have nasal counterparts. Not for every nasal vowel minimal pairs were found for the contrast with their oral equivalents.

Although there are many instances of nasal vowels following a nasal consonant, nasalisation of vowels is apparently not conditioned by a preceding or a following nasal consonant: [ɗɔɗɔt͡ʃi'me] 'latex', [ɗuma'ɾu] 'ladle', [hiɗi'mɛ] 'sisters', [muku'wa] 'tree species', [aɾa͡ikɔ'ni] 'weed species', [aɾuni'te] 'bridge', [ɓwɛ'nɛki] 'he returned', [ɗɛtɛhu'nu] 'earring of shells', [enu'ɾi] 'handpalm', [hiɾi'ni] 'shaman', [kɔna's̲u] '(proper name)', [ɗuni'hɪ̃] 'all of them', [nɨtesi'kje] 'mat', [aruɲɔni'te] 'hinge', [ɲahu'tɔ] 'placenta', [ɔri'ɲeki] 'he is coming'.

Nevertheless, nasality may spread to adjacent syllables. Consider the following examples involving the suffix /*-terjɨ̃-*/ 'cinder, fire':

(5) [ku͡ite'rjɪ̃ɗaki] [tsãtẽ'r̃j̃ɪ̃ɗaki]
/*kui-terjɨ̃-da-ki*/ /*tsã-terjɨ̃-da-ki*/
swallow-CD:cinder-1S-DEC strew-CD:cinder-1S-DEC
'I swallowed fire' 'I strew (it into the) fire'

Glides can be nasalised if the nucleus of the syllable is a nasal vowel, regardless whether the glide is preceded by a (non-nasal) consonant or not (see 2.6.3.). This nasalisation may affect the glide only partially, as seems to be the case in [e'taɪ̯tja'tewã] 'his wife', in which the animate morpheme /-*wã*/ consists of a relatively oral [w] and a nasal [ã].[52]

2.6. Interpretation of the glides

[ɪ̯], [ʊ̯], [j] and [w] are glides. In the present analysis, [ɪ̯] and [ʊ̯] are treated as non-syllabic variants of the respective vowels /i/ and /u/ occurring in syllable-final position. The end of the syllable is either a nucleus containing a single syllabic vowel, or a nucleus containing a falling diphthong of which the second part is non-syllabic. Apart from [ɪ̯] and [ʊ̯] in this non-syllabic position, /y/ may also occur as a velar glide [ɨ̯]. [ɨ̯] must be preceded by /a/ (i.e. it is a syllable-final semivowel in /ay/).

Syllable-initially, glides occur as onsets, and for reasons of exposition we treat them as semiconsonant phonemes /j/ and /w/. They are phonetically quite close to the semivowels [ɪ̯] and [ʊ̯]. In onset position, there is no semiconsonantal velar approximant [ɯ̯] as a counterpart of syllable-final [ɨ̯]. The glides [j] and [w] are the only consonants which can form clusters with other consonants (in which case they always occupy the second position; /Cj/ and /Cw/).

So, glides occur only at the periphery of the syllable, where they hold the middle between consonants and non-syllabic vowels. In the following subsections the glides are treated in more detail.

Although glides in onset position and glides in syllable-final position are treated here as phonemically distinct, it is also possible to consider them all as allophones of vowel phonemes. This would require the consistent indication of syllable divisions (involving the notation of predictable glottal stops) and syllable peaks at every level of the description. For reasons of exposition, we have chosen not to follow this course.

2.6.1. Glides, diphthongs and syllable structure

The nature of glides is ambivalent and their phonemic status remains open to discussion. They occur in nearly all environments at the periphery of the syllable, and they can be subject to phonetic nasalisation:

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52. Also, the nasalisation of /r/ when occurring between nasal vowels, and the many cases in which nasal consonants do precede nasal vowels, suggests interaction between adjacent segments with regard to nasality. Nasal spread, although not productive, may have been of some importance in the development of Kwaza. However, it seems to be less important than in other South American languages like Guarani (Adelaar 1986) and the Tukanoan languages (e.g. Gómez-Imbert 1980).

[j]	[ja'ɾa]	'capybara'	[w]	[wa'ɗe]	'tucuma palm tree'
	[jeɾe's̲wa]	'jaguar'		[wɨ'tsɛ]	'tempest'
	[tsɔ'je]	'hand'		[a'wɨ]	'macaw parrot'
	[j̃ã'kɨ]	'younger sister'		[w̃ã'w̃ɨki]	'is sleeping'
[i̯]	[e'kai̯]	'leg'	[u̯]	[mou̯'ɾu]	'woodpecker'
	[pai̯'ɾa]	'jurubeba'		[tau̯'ta]	'sloth'
	[e'kãĩ̯]	'mouth'		[mĩũ̯]	'chicha'

The interpretation of the glides depends on their position in the syllable. When basic syllable structure is considered as /(C)V/, the onset slot may be filled by [j] or [w]. If all the glides are treated as consonants, words ending in consonants would have to be assumed in Kwaza. The problem then is that they are the only consonants that may occur both word-initially and word-finally, which would yield a complicated basic syllable structure: (C)(C)V(C). If, on the other hand the glides are treated as vowels there would be no reason to distinguish them from the vowels /i/ and /u/ respectively. From the point of view of phonological economy this is tempting, but the consequence would be that basic syllable structure is complicated in a different way: (C)(V)V(V).

In the present analysis, no exclusive choice was made for either of these interpretations. Rather, the ambivalent status of the glides is acknowledged: in the initial position of the syllable they are treated as consonants, whereas in the final position of the syllable they are treated as vowels. The glides in onset position [j] and [w] are represented as consonantal phonemes /j/ and /w/, while the glides in syllable-final position [i̯] and [u̯] are interpreted as allophones of the vowels /i/ and /u/ respectively. This approach is justified among other things by the behaviour of another semivowel, [ɨ̯], which is an allophone of the vowel phoneme /y/. Apart from /i/ and /u/, that is the only phoneme which can occupy a syllable-final position. Unlike /j/ and /w/, the /y/ does not occur in onset position or in a consonant cluster. The /y/ will be further discussed below. Another justification for the distinction between allophonic semivowels and glide phonemes is the fact that an obligatory glottal stop /ʔ/ is found in the hiatus that arises after a falling diphthong[53] when the following syllable has no initial consonant: */kui?ani/* ['kui̯ʔani] 'let's drink!'. A third justification lies in the fact that there is morphophonemic variation between e.g. the consonant /tx/ and /j/ with respect to the noun */txahỹ/* and its classifier */-jãhỹ/* (see 2.15.).

As a consequence of this analysis, Kwaza has vowel sequences that can be considered as falling diphthongs. Glides which precede vowels are interpreted as consonants, and therefore do not form (rising) diphthongs in a phonological sense. Basic syllable structure is then (C)(C)V(V), i.e. /(C)V/.

Falling diphthongs containing combinations of high vowels (except /y/) are optionally replaced by their rising counterparts, resulting in a secondary ar

53. As well as after any other vowel, e.g. *ma?ỹtɛ* [*maʔɨ̃'tɛ*] 'cousin', *nana?u* [*nana'ʔu*] 'ipe tree'.

ticulation (palatalisation or labialisation) of the preceding consonant. It is difficult to hear whether the combinations involved in the following examples contain falling diphthongs, or labialised and palatalised consonants:

[kuɨ̯'ɾa]	~	[kwi'ɾa]	'drink!'	/kui'ra/
[mɛ̃'ɾũɪ̯ʔɨhɨ̃]	~	[mɛ̃'ɾwĩʔɨhɨ̃]	'green / blue'	/mɛ̃'rũi?ỹ'hỹ/
[t̪uku'ɾuɨ̯]	~	[t̪uku'ɾwi]	'bacurí (sp)'	/cuku'rui/
[mĩʉ̯]	~	[mj̃ũ]	'chicha'	/mĩu/

Note that the sequences *[ji] and *[wu] were not encountered.

2.6.2. Vowel-glide combinations

If we decide that the canonical syllable structure of Kwaza is /(C)V/, combinations of syllable-initial glides with a vowel do not represent diphthongs, but CV combinations. However, as syllable-final consonants are not permitted in this structure, Kwaza must have vowel-glide combinations, and consequently, falling diphthongs. Therefore, the principal formants of the diphthongs are the vowel, which always represents the first element of the syllable's nucleus, and the semivowel, which is only found in syllable-final position.

In the following figure all tautosyllabic nuclear vowel - vowel combinations are listed and marked "+". The one marked "[+]" is from [pɨʉ̯'ra] 'eat!', which is a children's register word, and those marked "-" are possibly expected, but were not encountered.

Table 5. Oral vowel-glide combinations

V1\V2	a	e	ɛ	i	y	o	u
a				+	+		+
e				+	-		-
ɛ				+	-		+
i				+	-		+
y				+			[+]
o				+	-		+
u				+	-		+

As was suggested above, the combination /ay/ is a falling diphthong, when we realise that /y/ in this position behaves as a semivowel. In fact /y/ does not occur as a glide in other contexts than /ay/.[54] The only combination that may be ambiguous is found in the word /*djy*/ [ʤɟɨ] ~ [ʤɨ̯] 'older brother of male'. The

54. In one of the early wordlists of Kwaza (Zack 1943), this diphthong is interpreted as /al/, probably because of some similarity in tongue position, e.g. /*etay*/, Zack: <*etál*> 'woman'; /*cay*/, Zack: <*tal*> 'papaya'.

phonemic analysis of this combination, /jy/, is based on the most frequent pronunciation and on the fact that this is the only word that contains this potential ambiguity (but see 2.15.). The fact that /yV/ combinations do not exist indicates that /y/ cannot occupy a consonantal position.[55]

In rapid speech, [ɨ̯] is easily transformed to [i̯]: [e'tai̯tja'tew̃ã] 'woman-his-AO' (/*#e$tay+tja$te+wã#*/).

The inventory of nasalised diphthongs is less complete than the one of oral diphthongs (here the one marked "[+]" is the result of phonetic variation with [ɨ̃ĩ̯] in the verb /*ãwỹi-*/ [ã'wɨ̃ĩ̯] ~ [ã'wĩĩ̯] 'see'):

Table 6. Nasal vowel-glide combinations

V1\V2	ã/a	ẽ/e	ɛ̃/ɛ	ĩ/i	ỹ/y	õ/o	ũ/u
ã				+			+
ẽ				+			+
ɛ̃				+			-
ĩ				[+]			+
ỹ				+			-
õ				+			-
ũ				+			-

Triple combinations of vowels and glides are rare, but they do exist, and not only in onomatopoeic words like [j̃ãũ̯] 'cat': [a'wɨ̃ĩ̯tsɛ] 'he saw'; [wai̯'ɾj̃ɨ̃] 'nice weather' etc. Due to the analysis of [w] and [j] at the beginning of the syllable as consonant phonemes, Kwaza does not have triphthongs.

2.6.3. Consonant-glide combinations and the Kwaza consonant inventory

Consonant-glide-vowel combinations are monosyllabic. Even when pronounced slowly their constituing elements always form a single phonetic syllable, e.g. in /*txarwa*/ 'first': [tʃa$'ɾwa] / *[tʃa$ɾu$'a] / *[tʃa$ɾu$'wa].[56] Nevertheless, onset glide and vowel elements combined were, just like proper diphthongs, found to have longer duration than monophthongs (in a proportion of ± 2:1) in a try-out of WinCecil sound spectrographic software.

With respect to a [j] or [w] immediately following a consonant, it is sometimes hard to decide whether we are dealing with either a phonetic "secondary stricture" (Lass 1984:87) of the preceding consonant, a separate segment, or an intrinsic feature of the onset consonant as a unit phoneme. I encountered a cer

55. Note that Kwaza does not have the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] which according to Key (1993) serves as the consonantal counterpart of /y/ in several Amazonian indigenous languages.

56. There are only a few instances where there is apparent uncertainty about syllable structure: [ɗwa'ku] ~ [ɗuha'ku] 'molar, back teeth', [ɗwi'ɗwi] ~ [ɗu'wiɗu'wi] 'tesoureiro bird'.

tain variety of what may be analysed as either consonant clusters or palatal(ised) and/or labialised consonants. Some examples are listed below:

[kʲɛ̃i̯'mũ]	'oil, fat, grease'	/kɛ̆imũ/
[e'mj̃ẽ]	'wound'	/emjẽ/
[wai̯'ɾj̃ɨki]	'it is clean'	/wairjỹki/
[ai̯'ɾj̃ɨ]	'that place'	/ayrjỹ/
[ĩʔ̂j̃ɛ̃hɨ̃]	'body'	/ĩʔjɛ̃hỹ/
[t̲wa'ki] ~ [tjwa'ki]	'they say (that ...)'	/cwaki/

Remember that the phonemes /c/ and /x/ have optional palatalised allophones. An alternative analysis, would consider /c/ and /x/ to be combinations of /t/ + /j/ and /s/ + /j/, respectively. Table (7) below gives the combinations of consonants followed by one or more glides that would obtain under such an analysis:

Table 7. Consonant-glide combinations in a limited consonant inventory

	b	d	h	k	l	m	n	p	r	s	t	ts	ʔ
w	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
j	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
jw	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-

In the presentation in table (7), the contrast between [tsj] and [t͡ʃ] as discussed in (2.3.) remains unaccounted for. Therefore, we reject this analysis. Alternatively, if we were to take the labial and palatal features in [s̲], [t̲] and [t͡ʃ̲] as constituents of unit consonants, the primary articulation parameter would be more diversified, while the secondary articulation parameter would exhibit a more defective pattern:

Table 8. An alternative analysis of consonant-glide combinations

	b	d	h	k	l	m	n	p	r	s	x	t	c	ts	tx	ʔ
w	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
j	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
jw	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[+]	-	-

In table (8), /ts/ and /tx/, /t/ and /c/ and /s/ and /x/ are phonemes and the distinctions between [tsj] and [t͡ʃ], and [tj] and [t̲] are accounted for.[57] The table shows furthermore that the combinations of consonants with /j/ or /w/ occur frequently, but the combination of both glides together remains limited to /njw/ (/nwj/ does not occur). For this reason we consider /nj/ as monophonemic (/ñ/) because it can be "labialised" through a subsequent glide: /nj/ + /w/. So [njw] is

57. The symbol *[+]* in table (8) represents the phonetic occurrence of [tsjw]. Because it is in free variation with [t͡ʃw], its phonemic representation is /tx/ + /w/ (see 2.3.).

really /ñw/.[58] This approach is represented in the consonant inventory in table (2) above.

In this discussion we have seen that the Kwaza phoneme system could be analysed as having a series of special palatal consonants. Furthermore, it was shown that there are no combinations of consonants with double onset glides in Kwaza. Finally, it has been demonstrated that it is reasonable to presume that Kwaza has a palatal nasal consonant phoneme: /ñ/.

This analysis views most consonant-glide combinations as sequences of consonants. These are distinct from consonants with phonetic secondary strictures, such as [kʲ] in /*kẽimũ*/ 'oil', or consonants with a palatal flavour, like /c/ in /*cwaki*/ 'they say' (lit. 'IS.DEC'). Palatal consonants, such as /j/, and palatal flavoured consonants, such as /c/, cannot again be followed by a palatal glide. The sequences /nj/ and /sj/ do not occur in our approach, because such sequences are interpreted as monophonemic /ñ/ and /x/, respectively. In the following table, consonant glide combinations which were never attested are marked "-", and those which do not occur according to our final analysis are marked "*":

Table 9. Definitive inventory of possible consonant-glide combinations

	b	d	h	k	l	m	n	ñ	p	r	s	x	t	c	ts	tx	?
w	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
j	+	+	+	+	-	+	*	*	-	+	*	*	+	*	+	*	+

From the point of view of phonetics, there is great variation in the pronunciation of apico-alveolar consonants such as /c/. Likely, assimilatory processes are involved in the pronunciation of palatal consonants, e.g.: [tja'na] ~ [t̲a'na] 'we (inclusive)'. One consultant was not very consistent in his pronunciation of this pronoun (and of the second person plural, see /x/ ~ [ts] in 2.2.2.): [tja'na] ~ [tʃa'na] 'we (inclusive)'. This is possibly also caused by differences in stress placement and speech rapidity. When pronounced clearly and in isolation, the monosyllabic word /*cay*/ 'papaya' is pronounced as if the consonant is a lamino-alveolar [t] without subsequent palatalisation, and nearly as if the word was bisyllabic: [tia̯i̯]. It may be that the more rapidly pronounced, and the more remote from the stressed syllable, the more variation becomes possible, so that even the difference between /t/, /c/ and affricates gets blurred: [t̲wã'sĩ] ~ [twã'sĩ] ~ [tswã'sĩ] 'nail' (possibly /*txwã'sĩ*/, see note 14). For morphophonemic variation with respect to palatalisation see the examples in (2.15.).

58. Note that Aikanã has even /rjw/.

2.7. Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure that is proposed in this work is /(C)V/. Only the glides and the glottal stop disturb this picture. In the present analysis, they do not present a counterexample to the statement that all Kwaza syllables are vowel-final. All vowel-initial syllables are preceded by a phonetic [ʔ] as a default onset. The patterns which were encountered are:

V	[ʔa]	'exist' (verb root)
CV	[sɪ]	'I'
VG	[ʔuɪ̯]	'tobacco
GV	[jɔ̯]	'manioc'
CVG	[t̪aɪ̯]	'papaya'
GVG	[j̃ãw̯̃]	'cat'
CGV	[tswa]	'man'
CGVG	[djeɪ̯ʔũɾjɪ̃]	'squat' (verb root)

Considering the glides as allophones of /i/, /y/ and /u/ in syllable-final position, and as realisations of /j/ and /w/ in onset position, I assume Kwaza syllable structure is as follows:

$$\left\{\begin{matrix} C(G) \\ G \end{matrix}\right\} \quad V \quad (G)$$

or:	(C)V
where:	C = C / G / CG
and:	V = V / VG

With respect to G there are the following phonotactic conditions:

G = j/w /(C)_V
G = i/u/y /(C)V_
G ≠ j /n, ñ, s, x, c, tx _
G ≠ j /_i
G ≠ w /_u
y = G /a_

The present analysis also implies that the syllable in Kwaza has no coda.

2.8. Stress

Graphical expression of stress is realised in the present work through an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable: ['CV]. Relatively heavy stress is sometimes expressed by double quote: ["CV]. Usually I have marked main stress by

an apostrophe, but if one encounters multiple stress marking inside the word, main stress is often represented by a double quote: ['CVCV"CV]. In some cases, especially when the morphological structure or status was not perfectly clear to me, I have not used the double quotes to distinguish the types of stress but multiple apostrophes only: ['CVCV'CV]. Kwaza monosyllabic words usually bear stress, which is not marked here.

Polysyllabic non-inflected words in isolation always bear main stress on the last syllable. In verbs, main stress lies (preferably, but notice stress shifts and clash also discussed here) on the last syllable of the (extended) stem, or on certain specific morphemes, when present (like the negation morpheme /*-he-*/). Counting from the main-stressed syllable, sometimes in both directions, every other syllable usually gets automatic rhythmic stress, which is normally not as heavy as the main stress. Argument agreement morphemes usually do not bear stress, and mood markers often have inherent stress. People are aware of the fact that Kwaza main stress placement is typically on the ultimate syllable. Sometimes the speakers jokingly contrast it with Aikanã, which often has main stress on the penultimate syllable.

Kwaza stress characteristics also occur in the different adaptations of loanwords and proper names from Portuguese: [kal'sa] 'pants' < POR ['kalsa]; [ʃənɛ'ɾa] 'slippers' < POR [ʃi'nɛla]; [aʊ̯'ku] 'alcohol' < POR ['awku]; [paʊ̯'lu] 'Paulo' < POR ['pawlu]; [wɛ̨'ɾa] 'Vera' < POR ['vɛɾa]. However, there are many exceptions, including Portuguese proper names, e.g. ['taʊ̯ba] 'board' < POR ['taw̨ba];[59] [ze'zĩju] 'Zezinho'.

In case of further derivation of words, stress may shift to the last (pre-inflexional?) syllable of the derived word: [ha'ku] 'cajá tree' vs. [haku+'tõ̰ḭ̃] 'fruit of the cajá'; [ɗutu'ɾe] 'pig' vs. [ɗutuɾe's̲u] 'pig bone'; [e+mũ+'hḭ̃+ki] 'it is wet' vs. [e+mũ+ɗɨ+'hḭ̃+ki] 'he/the thing got/was made wet / he wet it'; [iɾi't͡ʃi+ki] 'he capped (it)' vs. ["ɗu+ʔi'ɾit͡ʃi+'ɾa] 'turn over and close!' (if a cup is placed upside down on something it is 'closed' in a way).

In phrases, stress is sometimes co-determined by the position of a word in relation to other words in the phrase. Therefore, stress may shift: [ta'na#huɾu'ja+ɗu"hḭ̃+ʔeteja+s̲a+ɾa] 'well, we do like one another', vs. ['tana#huɾu'ja+ɗu"hḭ̃+ʔeteja+s̲a+ɾa] 'well, you have to make love to us all' (part II, text 2.6., line 5-6); [tsɔ'je] 'hand' and [tsɔje+'kɔ] 'hand.INS' vs. [ɨkɨ'wɨ#tsɔ'je+kɔ#'daɪ̯+ʔɔ'tje+tɔ'tɔ+mã+s̲a+'le] 'then, while you throw it on dry land with your hand'.

Often, however, it is the case that rhythmic word stress overrules possible interference from the stress of adjacent words, resulting in stress clash. In the following examples two adjacent stressed syllables occur: [hetsɨ's̲e+tja'te#'wɨ+tsɛ] 'the tree its leaves are rustling in the wind'; [kɔɾeja+'ɾɔ#wa'ja+nḭ̃+ɾa] vs. [kɔɾeja+'ɾɔ#'waja+"nḭ̃+t̲a+ɾa] 'bring the pan!', [ãḭ̃#a+ka'ɾwe#'a+ɗa+ki] 'I live further away'. Note that since no adjacent stressed syllables may occur within one word, the stress clash in the latter example provides additional evidence for the fact that [a+ka'rwe] functions as an independent adverb.

59. This is a non-standard variant of Portuguese *tábua*.

In running discourse, stress variation is usually determined by pragmatic factors. Notice for example extra heavy stress on the classifier of the demonstrative adverb in: [aɨ̂+"hĩ#'ɗaɨ̂+t̪a+ɾa] ‘take this one there! (i.e. the one over there close to you)’.

I encountered some possible pairs for phonemic stress. There is, however, a morphological difference between the following examples (where ["] is heavier stress than ['']):

['huɗa"hĩki] ‘it’s humming’ ["huɗa'hĩki] ‘I gave / sold’

Note that the first word should be analysed as /*huda+hỹ+ki*/ ‘it is humming’, and the second as /*hu+da+hỹ+ki*/ ‘I gave/sold’.[60] The following is undeniably a minimal pair:

[a'hĩki] ‘it banged’ ['ahĩki] ‘he lives, he has’

Yet there is a difference in morphological analysis again: /*ahỹ+ki*/ ‘it banged’, /*a+hỹ+ki*/ ‘he lives (progressive aspect)’. The following is also a minimal pair for stress:

[hɔ'nĩ] ‘bubo’ ['hɔnĩ] ‘let it rot!’

The first word is an unanalysable noun /*honi*/ and the second word is an exhortative statement /*ho+ni*/ ‘let it rot!’. The same goes for the next pair:

['ute'taɨ̂] ‘tinamou bird’ [u'tetaɨ̂] ‘female storyteller’

The first word is the unanalysable name of a bird species, the second word contains a verb stem and a nominalising classifier: /*ute+tay*/ ‘tell-woman’. The next example is somewhat similar. The first word is an archaic form of the noun /*haki+dwa*/ ‘stone’ and the second word is a verb:

[ha'ki] ‘stone’ ['haki] ‘it is clean’

Note again that one of the words is monomorphemic: /*haki*/ ‘stone’ whereas the other one is an inflected word /*ha+ki*/ ‘clean-3.DEC’. In the following pairs the difference is between the inflexional first person singular object marker /*-ta-*/ and the derivational transitiviser /*-ta-*/:

[waɨ̂'ɗɨtaki] ‘(the pill) got me better’
[waɨ̯ɗɨ'taki] ‘he is honest, good to him'[61]

60. The difference between the two is lexical in case the first of them can be shown to contain a glide: [huu̯ɗa'hĩki] ‘it is humming’, in which case this example does not represent a minimal pair.

[wa'jataki] ‘he took me’
[waja'taki] ‘he is taking it there to him’

It is important to note the following stress pair, which also involves a difference in morphological structures:

[a'wɨ] ‘parrot’ ['awɨ] ‘the time he is home’

When no explicit contrast was requested, */a+wy/* ‘exist-3.time’ (‘the time at which he is there’) was just pronounced identical with */awy/* ‘parrot’: [a'wɨ]. Only when the speaker was confronted with the homophony obtaining between the two words he tried to disambiguate them by using the contrasting stress patterns illustrated above.

I have found minimal pairs for stress only in cases where a difference in morphological analysis was involved. Of course, that cannot be considered a legitimate argument against phonemic status. But it must be recognised that Kwaza stress, whether it is phonemic or not, is predictable on the basis of the rules for rhythmic stress placement combined with knowledge of the morphological structure. Another way to look at the pairs presented above could be that they constitute evidence against the bound status of the morphemes which they supposedly contain. Consequently, there is no morphological structure, and the presumed morphemes might rather be cliticised elements or independent words, e.g. */awy/* ‘parrot’ vs. */a wy/* ‘the time he is home’.

The above examples seem to suggest a difference between derivational and inflexional extensions of roots. The first are part of the domain for stress placement, the latter fall outside the scope of stress rules. This principle is, however, not always upheld, as verbs in the interrogative or especially the imperative mood have automatic or sometimes main stress on the last syllable (i.e. the mood marker): ['ɓɔ+ta+ki] ‘is mending clothes or a hole in the roof’ and ['tsẽĩ̂+tsɨ+hĩ#ɓɔ+'ta+ɗa+ki] ‘I patched up the tears (in the clothes)’ vs. [ɓɔ̂+ta+'ɾa] ‘patch (the clothing!)’; [ɗe'ɓa+ki] ‘he turned (it, e.g. roasted steak)’ vs. ['ɗeɓa+'ɾa] ‘turn it over (e.g. frying meat)!’; [ʒwə̃+'wə̃#enãĩ̂+'t̲a+ɗa+ki] ‘I’m quarreling with João’ vs. [ɗi'le#e'nãĩ̂+t̲a+ta+'ɾe] ‘who is arguing with me?, who is speaking badly of me?’; [pɛɾɛ̃jã+"s̲ɨ+ki] ‘he reads’ vs. [pɛɾɛ̃"jã+s̲ɨ+'ɾa] ‘read!’.

Some words show variable stress: [ɓi'ɓit̲e'nũ] vs. ['ɓiɓit̲e'nũ] ‘bird species’; ['ɨmĩ+'ki] ~ [ɨ'mĩ+ki] ‘he lay down with her; [tsu'ɾitsa'tu] vs. ['tsuɾitsa'tu] ‘slope’; [u'nɨteta+'ɾa] vs. [unɨ'teta+ɾa] ‘tell a story! / converse!’.

Yet, as we saw above, differences in stress position may lead to differences in interpretation. In some cases, no interpretation is available under a certain stress pattern, and the result will be ungrammatical. This is the case with the future morpheme */-nã-/* ‘FUT’, which in the declarative can only be combined

61. cf. also [waɨ̯ɗɨ'tataki] ‘he is honest to me, he treats me well’.

with the morpheme /*-tsɛ*/ 'DEC', and not with its equivalent /*-ki*/ 'DEC': ['tuɾu+'nã+tsɛ] 'he is going to wake up' vs. *['tuɾu+'nã+ki]. When we do find the element /*-nã-*/ in combination with declarative /*-ki*/, it represents another morpheme, meaning 'we, one'. This is indicated by a different stress pattern: [tu'ɾu+nã+'ki] 'we woke up'. A similar situation might underlie the following contrast: [nĩ+'ɾɔ+hĩ+ki] 'the cup is big(ger)' vs. *[nĩ+ɾɔ+'hĩ+ki].

Finally, certain specific morphemes, e.g. /*-nã-*/ 'FUT' (as we have seen above), /*-ta-*/ 'TRAnsitiviser', /*-wã*/ 'Animate Object' practically always receive the word's main stress: [a'wɪ̃ɪ̃+ta+ki] 'he saw me', vs. [awɪ̃ɪ̃+'he+ta+ki] 'he didn't see me'. The negative morpheme /*-he-*/ 'NEG' is always stressed in certain functional positions. Where the negative morpheme follows person marking, it is in unstressed position. As demonstrated in (7.1.1.), this goes consistently together with a countersuppositional meaning:

(6) [ɗa'mũ-ɗa-he -'s̲wa]
duck -1S-NEG-CL:man
'I'm not a duck (i.e. I am not going to take a bath)'

Where /*-he-*/ does not mean 'NEG' at all, it will not receive stress unless it is the ultimate sullable of a root: e.g. /*-heta-*/ 'DESIderative' in [kuɪ̯+he'ta+tsɛ] 'he (João) wants him (Pedro) to drink' vs. /*hahe*/ 'mushroom (SP)' [ha'he].

In the present section it was shown that Kwaza stress placement is predictable if morpheme structure is taken into account. Main stress falls on the ultimate syllable of roots. Other, secondary stresses fall usually on every second syllable counted in both directions from the main-stressed syllable. Certain morphemes attract stress whereas others reject stress. The minimal pairs for stress encountered all have different morphological analyses. These pairs may contain proof that their morphological structures rather involve cliticised or independent words than bound morphemes.

2.9. Length

There seems to be some variation in quantity (length). The only minimal pair encountered is between a long and a short /*œ*/, in the onomatopoeic verb root [tʃœ:] 'continuous murmuring of water' vs. the children's talk verb root [tʃœ] 'fall into the water', which is based on the same onomatopoeia. I have not regarded this as solid evidence for phonemic quantity in Kwaza.

Unstressed initial syllables of bisyllabic words (in isolation) may have long vowel duration: [e:+'ɾi] 'liver' vs. [eɾi'to] 'heart', [tu:'ʃe] 'capitiú leaf', [ã:'ɾũɪ̃] 'tapir', [mũ:'si] 'mortar' vs. [mũs̲i+'s̲u] 'pestle'.

Utterance final vowels are sometimes lengthened as a stylistic device to mark a change of topic, sometimes intending to convey a sense of friendly sarcasm: [ɔ'nɛ+s̲a+'ki:] '(so) you have arrived', [ja+'nã+ɗa+'ki:] '(now) I'm going to have some food'.

Long consonants exist phonetically: [tsutɨ'm:ɛ] ‘brains, cerebrum’, ['ɔnɛ+ki] ~ ['ɔn:ɛ+ki] ‘come, arrive’, [kan':w̃ã] ‘canoe, boat’, [ɗut:u'ɾe] ‘pig’, [sile't:a] ‘afternoon’.

2.10. Intonation

Intonation contours may have an illocutionary function in Kwaza. Actually verbal moods such as declarative, interrogative, imperative etc. require a formal expression and are often accompanied by a specific intonation. From a formal point of view, verbs without morphological person and mood marking are incomplete. In the proper context, however, such marking can be omitted. It appears that in such cases, the accompanying intonation pattern becomes more prominent as if to make up for the omitted morphemes.

In the interrogative mood, tone rises at the end of the utterance, and more distinctly so, in the case of ellipsis of person and interrogative markers (and it sometimes also influences the placement of stress). It is symbolised here by an upw ard arrow <↑> preceding the syllable with rising pitch:

['ɓwaʔa'sa͟sa'ɾe]	‘have you finished?’
['ɓwaʔa'↑sa]	‘have you finished?’
[ku'ku̯inãĩ̯ʔenɨ̃'ɾja͟saɾe]	‘did you suffer pain?’
[ku'ku̯inãĩ̯ʔenɨ̃'↑ɾja]	‘you suffered pain?’
['s̱i̯i̯ɗɨ'ɾj̃ɨ̃'ɾe]	‘is it your place?’
['s̱i̯i̯ɗɨ'↑ɾj̃ɨ̃]	‘your place?’
[ha'tsiʔũ]	‘heliconia flower’
[ha'tsiʔũ'ɾe]	‘is it a heliconia flower?’
[hatsi'↑ʔũ]	‘(you mean/is it) heliconia flower?’
[ha'hanɨ̃mãĩ̯'nãdaki]	‘I’m going to brush my teeth’
[ha'hanɨ̃mãĩ̯'↑nã]	‘are you going to brush your teeth?’

When information is provided without the use of the declarative morpheme, intonation (and stress placement) differs from the ordinary. The following pronunciation of the word [lɔ'nɛ] ‘hole’ was heard as an answer to the question 'what do you call the hole (i.e. mouth) of the basket?’:

['lɔnɛ]	‘just “hole”’

As we saw in section (2.8.) above, the negative morpheme /-*he*-/ usually gets main stress. In short context-dependent replies it also gets a high tone.

Note that in the following example of a question and the answer to it, the verb stem is omitted:

[dɨ'↑ɓwa]	'have you finished cutting (rice)?'
["↑hedʼanɨ̃ hakɔ'ɾe dɨ'ɓwa]	'not yet, tomorrow we will finish to cut'

Maybe because of their semantic content, some words always get high pitch and heavy stress on the first syllable:

["↑tsiʔarj̃ɨki]	'it is (completely) silent'

2.11. Exceptional sounds

It is a known fact that ideophones often contain sounds which may in principle be considered as phonemes but which otherwise do not occur in the language's ordinary vocabulary. The same goes for specific sounds in loanwords, and may hold for specific registers too.

/ng/ [ŋ] is encountered in the ideophone [tu'pũŋ] 'splash!'. It is probably a (velar) continuation of the nasal feature of the preceding [ũ].

/ü/ [y] is encountered in the ideophone [hy:'ɾyp]. This ideophone symbolises the chant of the iriwa bird species. Note that /ü/ is also a loan phoneme from Aikanã, and that a similar ideophone is probably the basis of the name for the iriwa bird in Aikanã: *hü'rüdü'dü*.

2.12. Loan phonology and phonetics

Kwaza has a number of loanwords from Portuguese which denote introduced concepts and names. Furthermore, many words for animals, and names of persons and places originate from neighbouring indigenous languages (see also van der Voort fcb). These words often contain sounds which are absent in native Kwaza phonology and lexicon. As loan words are used in daily speech by everyone, they can be said to have introduced a number of loan phonemes in Kwaza. They are listed below.

/ü/ [y] is a loan phoneme that originates from Aikanã. It is encountered in (e.g.) personal names, as [ɗa'ɗy] (AIK *ɗa'ɗü*).

/B/ [b] is a loan phoneme. In loanwords from Portuguese, plosive [b]'s cannot be replaced by implosives: [bisi'kleta] (POR *bici'cleta*) 'bicycle', ['kɾeba] (POR *Gleba*) '(placename)', [ba'lade'ɾa] (POR *bala'deira*) 'catapult'.

/D/ [d] is a loan phoneme. In loanwords from Portuguese, plosive [d]'s are not replaced by implosives: [ɛs'kada] (POR *e'scada*) 'ladder'.

/f/ [f] is a loan phoneme. It occurs for example in Christian names borrowed from Portuguese, e.g. [fa'brisija] (POR *Fabricia*). It is often rendered as [p], especially by the older people and the younger children, e.g. [pa'bɾisija] (POR *Fabricia*); ['pɾɛʃa] (POR *flecha* 'arrow'); ['pɾiju] (POR *frio* 'cold').[62]

/g/ [g] is a loan phoneme both in Kwaza and Aikanã. Although it is often replaced by [k] in loanwords from Portuguese, e.g. ['kreba] (POR *'Gleba* 'field, (village name)'), it is sometimes encountered: [i'gɾeʒa] 'church' (POR *i'greja*), [gwaɾa'na] 'guaraná (soft-drink flavoured with Paullinia sorbis)' (POR, from Tupi or Nheengatú *guaraná*).

/ng/ [ŋ] is a loan phoneme which occurs in words originating from Portugese such as ['mãŋka] 'mango' (POR *'manga*).

/v/ [v] is a loan phoneme. It occurs for example in Portuguese names, e.g. [vi'lena] (POR *Vi'lhena*), ['ɛdʒi'vau̯du] (POR *'Edi'valdo*).

/z/ [ð], or [z]. [ð] is a loan phoneme originating from Aikanã (see Hinton 1993). It may be replaced by [z], which occurs in Aikanã as well as in Portuguese. It occurs in the autonym [kwa'za] ~ [kwa'ða], the origin of which is unclear, though it is probably Aikanã (this is confirmed by AN). The Tsãrãmãĩ (Salamain, Tupí-Mondé) used to say [koa'ja], the Aikanã say [kwa'ða]. According to all older sources the autodenomination was [kwa'ja] <koaiá>, but this is rejected today even by those who are not friendly with the Aikanã. Furthermore, [z] usually occurs in Portuguese loanwords such as ['mɛza] 'table' (POR *'mesa*).

/zj/ [ʒ] is a loan phoneme which is encountered in Portuguese loanwords: [i'greʒa] 'church' (POR *i'greja*), [ʒwãũ̯] 'John' (POR *João*).

As expected, the <r> in certain Portuguese words is pronounced as [h] both by Brazilians and Kwaza, e.g. [ba'hozo] (Barroso), and is not realised as [ɾ] (or [ɾ]) by the Kwaza.

There is some variation between [ɔ] and [u] in Portuguese loanwords, e.g.: [ɔɾɔ'pa] ~ [uɾu'pa] 'honey bee' (Brazilian POR *oropa*, which is derived from *Europa* since this bee species is supposedly of European origin).

Kwaza as well as Aikanã have difficulty pronouncing the Portuguese [Cl] combinations, and often replace them with [Cr], as in ['kɾeba] (*Gleba*) 'field, (village name)', [pɾan'ta] (*plantar*) 'to plant' and ['fɾeʃa] (*flecha*) 'arrow'. Yet my impression is that the few local Brazilians inside the reserve and large parts

62. and in Aikanã: ['pita] 'tape' (POR *fita*)

of the national population pronounce Portuguese [Cl] combinations similarly. The word [bisi'kleta] (POR *bici'cleta*) 'bicycle' forms an exception to this.

As can be observed in the examples cited above, loanwords often bear stress on the same syllables as in the language from which they originate.

2.13. Variation

The 25 speakers of Kwaza belong to two different extended families. Family I lives among Aikanã speakers and is intermarried with Aikanã and Portuguese speaking Brazilians. The Kwaza speaking members are trilingual, speaking Kwaza, Aikanã and Portuguese on various levels of proficiency. Only half of the members of family I speak Kwaza fluently. The members of family II live in more isolated places, and in spite of the fact that one member is married with an Aikanã speaker, Kwaza is spoken almost exclusively. Some members of this family are monolinguals, some are bi- or trilingual in Kwaza, Portuguese and Aikanã. Members of family II often deny knowing any Aikanã.

There is some phonetic variation between the speech of family I and the speech of family II. It is not clear whether this variation reflects dialectal difference, age-determined difference, language change, or phoneme fluctuation. As an example, it was noted in (2.1.2.), (2.3.) and (2.14.) that /x/ is often pronounced as [s] in family II. There are several other differences.

/x/ tends to be pronounced as [ʃ̰] in family I and more as [s̲] in family II. This probably explains why fluctuation between [s̲] and [s] is most frequent in family II, e.g. */xyico/* [sɨ̰i̯'t̲ɔ] 'chigger'; */exyi/* [e'sɨ̰i̯] ~ [e's̲ɨ̰i̯] 'sting'; */wadexyi/* [waɗe's̲ɨ̰i̯] ~ [waɗe'sɨ̰i̯] 'fibre of tucum'; */-axa-/* [a̰s̲a] ~ [asa] 'we (exclusive)'; */kaxari/* [kasa'ɾi] 'file'; */bexuke/* ['ɓesu'kje] 'comb'[63]; */xoro/* [sɔ:'ɾɔ] 'ant'; */xyini'tõi/* [s̲ɨ̰i̯ni'tõ̰ĩ̯] ~ [sɨ̰i̯ni'tõ̰ĩ̯] 'lemon'; */axyhi/* [a̰s̲ɨ̰'hi] ~ [asɨ'hi] 'parica'; */tukanɛxu/* [tu'kane'su] 'porcupine bead cord'[64]; */kurixyi/* [kuɾi'sɨ̰i̯] 'babaxu', 'penis gourd'[65].

Sometimes, /x/ is pronounced as [ts] in family II: */hãxyilotxwɛ/* [hã'(t)sɨ̰i̯lɔ't͡ʃwe] '(flute type)'[66]. Variation between [s̲] and [ts] was also attested in family I: */konaxu/* [kɔnã's̲u] ~ [kɔna'tsu] '(female proper name) Konaxu'; */xoro/* [tsɔ:'ɾɔ] 'ant'; */-xa-/* [s̲a] ~ [tsa] '(second person subject)', as in: ['ũ̃ñ̃te'ta 'ɔ̃t̲enã̰ĩ̯ɗuhĩ̃tsaɾe] 'you know all stories?'.

/s/ can be replaced by [ts], especially but not exclusively, in family II: */sĩ/* [sĩ:] ~ [tsĩ:] ~ [tsḭ̃ĩ̯] 'tinamou bird'.

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63. (Z:173: bessôkié)
64. (Z:185: tôcané-sô)
65. (L:20: kurišri)
66. (Z:172: azelotché)

/ts/ can be replaced by [s] especially in family II: /*tse*/ [tse] ~ [se] 'yes!'; /*aratsabi*/ [arasa'ɓi] 'jacamim'; /*tsu*/ [tsu:u̯] ~ [su] 'bone'. Note that AN's pronunciation of [s] in /*tswa*/ is very slight.

Sometimes, /ts/ is pronounced as /x/ in family II: /*tsuty*/ [s̲u'tɨ] 'head'.

/tx/ can be replaced by [ts] or [s] especially in family II in some words: /*txitujẽ*/ ['tʃitu'jɛ] ~ ['tsi:tɔ̃'jɛ] ~ ['siu̯tɔ̃'jɛ̃] 'star'.[67]

/c/ in family II can sometimes be replaced by [tj] or, especially when people are tired, by [t]: /*coha*/ [tjɔ'ha] 'foot'; /*ecũi*/ [e'tɔ̃ĩ̯] ~ [e't̲ɔ̃ĩ̯] 'eye'.[68] On the other hand, in certain words where family II generally has [tj], family I may pronounce [t̲]: /*lokoca*/ [lɔkɔ't̲a] 'face'. Furthermore, the [t̲] of familiy II sometimes has a slightly ejective quality (indicated by <`>) in: /*cuku*/ [t̲`u'ku] ~ [t`u'ku] 'tongue'.

/r/ is normally a tap [ɾ], but it may approach common plosive [t] when family II members are tired: /*awyrwa*/ [awɨtwa] 'blue parrot', /*txarwa*/ [tʃa:'twa].

/d/ In the speech of family II, especially SU's, plosive articulation of /d/, [d] instead of [ɗ], is more often heard than in the speech of family I: /*dihu*/ [di'hu] 'spoon'; /*kuidaki*/ [ku̯idaki] 'I drink'.

/j/ In the speech of family II, word-initial /j/ may be replaced by /ñ/, as in /*jerexwa*/ [ɲeɾe's̲wa] 'jaguar'.[69]

/h/ in family II is sometimes omitted word-initially, and replaced by a glottal stop: /*hakitsu*/ [ʔakitʃu] 'short labret'[70]; /*hakikanɛxy*/ [ʔakikanɛ's̲ɨ] 'roof'.

/ɛ/ and **/e/** are sometimes pronounced more open in family II, as [a] and [ɛ] respectively: /*tɛte*/ [tatɛ] 'borrachudo'.

/i/ Variation with [e] in family II is probably also a consequence of the tendency to centralisation /*tsitutjehỹ-*/ [tsetwate'hĩ] 'to bar'; /*sisiketɛ*/ [(ha)'tisekje'tɛ] 'headdress'.

/u/ and **/ũ/** fluctuate with [ɔ] and [ɔ̃] in: /*cuku*/ [t̲ɔ'ku] 'tongue'[71]; /*ecũi*/ [e't̲ɔ̃ĩ̯] 'eye'; /*tsuty*/ [tsɔ'tɨ] 'head. The correspondence of [u] in family I with [a] in family II in /*tsurwanĩ*/ [tsarwa'ni] 'nostril' may also have a historical and mor

67. (Z:140+: tatunhã)
68. (Z:004+: étoin)
69. Zack (1943) has <*iritsoá*> (Z:114) and Carlson (1984), who used a consultant from family II, has <*ñere'tsɔ(ʔ)*> (C:22)
70. (L:22: akito)
71. (L:08: tokọ)

phophonemic background.[72] Pronunciation of /u/ as [ɔ] or [o] was also attested for some members of family I, especially in rapid speech: /*turu-*/ [tɔ'ɾɔ] ~ [toɾo] 'wake up'.

Denasalisation occurs more often in family II than in family I: /*ũcady*/ ['i:tja'dɨ] 'hawk'[73]; /*tomã-*/ [tɔmã] ~ [tɔma] 'swim'; /*ɛsitokõrõ*/ [esu'takɔɾɔ] 'elbow'; /*nũtesike*/ [nɨ'tese'kje] 'mat', 'flag'; /*ãrũi*/ [a'ɾũĩ] 'tapir'[74]; /*cẽxu*/ [t̲e:'s̲u] 'colibri'. In family I denasalisation of vowels occurs most frequently in the speech of the oldest member: /*kã-*/ [k̲a] 'to roast'; /*inỹsixwe-*/ [inat̲i's̲wa] 'to medicate oneself'; /*ãwỹinite*/ [awini'te] 'photo'; /*ãwãtarjỹ-*/ [awata'ɾj̃ɨ] 'to watch', 'wait'; /*lowɛ̃*/ [lɔ̃'ʋ̥ɛ̃] ~ [lɔ'ʋ̥ɛ] 'bend'.

Laryngealisation - creaky voicing of vowels occurs often in final syllables of some speakers in family II (indicated by a <~> beneath the concerned vowel): /*tsojexutsu*/ [tsɔ'jḛs̲u'tsuṵ] 'knuckle'; /*tsilototɛ*/ ['tsilɔtɔ'tæ] 'latex tree fruit'; /*kanɛku*/ ['kane'ku] 'cup'. It was also encountered in the first syllable of /*waiki*/ ['wa̰iki] 'it is good'; /*eki*/ ['eki] 'he has'; /*weki*/ ['ʋ̥eki] 'he fears'. SU especially speaks with laryngealisation, while she also has the habit of omitting syllables: /*tyjekywy*/ [tɛ'ky] 'when the rain has stopped' (laryngealisation on the last syllable only).

Insertion of vowel (and hence of syllable) in consonant-glide combinations is very rare in normal non-decelerated speech, but it does occur in family II: /*tswa*/ [tsu'wa] 'man'; /*tswãsĩ*/ [swã:'sĩ] ~ [sũwa'sĩ] 'nail'. Because of [h]-insertion in one case the families may have different forms in the lexicon for the same concept: family I: /*tsoroi-*/ 'run', family II: /*tsohoroi-*/ 'run'.

Omission of syllable occurs in rapid and less careful pronunciation, especially in family II: /*dumakaruxe*/ ['makaɾu'ʃe] 'plant species'; /*hakitsu*/ [ʔaki'tʃu] ~ [ki'tsu] 'short labret'; /*damũ*/ [ɗam:] 'duck'.

Schwa: There is a tendency both in family I and II to centralise vowels in the direction of schwa [ə]: /*aretadaki*/ [a:ɾə'taɗaki] 'I know', /*esiki*/ ['esə'ki] 'skin'.

Some of the variation described above, may not be dialectally or ideolectally limited to one family. Variation between [s̲] and [ts], variation between [u] and [ɔ] or [o], and denasalisation were also encountered with speakers of family I. Furthermore, centralisation of vowels towards schwa was attested in both families. Such traits may reflect a more general tendency.

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72. (L:05: zarone), /*tsɛni*/ [tsa(ɾ)ni] 'nose', /*-karwanĩ-*/ 'nostril (CL)'.
73. Notice also the fact that /ũ/ was pronounced fronted as [i] in this word, which was also found in Zack (1943) (Z:116: bitadê). In family I, the pronunciation is [ũt̲a'dɨ].
74. (Z:108±: aruín)

As regards age-determined variation, it may be the case that certain "marked" sounds of Kwaza which are not found in surrounding languages are also relatively difficult to acquire for children. Kwaza adults claim that [ʃ] instead of [s̲] for /x/ is characteristic for children's speech, although the adults themselves have also been attested to use the [ʃ] pronunciation, however seldom. The same goes for [ts] instead of [s̲], which is often found in children's speech, where it is considered as simplified: /*exyitaki*/ [e's̲i̯̲itaki] ~ [e'tsitaki] '(wasp) stung me'.

2.14. Phoneme fluctuation

There are several phonemes between which there is optional fluctuation. This concerns usually only certain specific words and the occurrence of neither phoneme is predictable on the basis of (morpho)phonological rules. This also implies that it is sometimes difficult to establish which phoneme is basic. Extensive phoneme fluctuation is attested in various other South American languages, e.g. in Bolivian Chama (Tacana) (Key 1968, 1979:86-87), and in Latundê (Nambikwara) (Telles 2002a:90). In relation to the fluctuation phenomena described here, no differences in pragmatic meaning or stylistic connotation were attested.

/a/ and **/o/**: In some cases free variation [a ~ ɑ ~ ɔ] seems to be possible before [u̯]: [au̯tɔ'ɾɛ] ~ [ɔu̯tɔ'ɾɛ] 'bird'. In these cases, the difference between the phonemes /a/ and /o/ is neutralised in the initial position of this word and both pronunciations are allowed.

/e/ and **/ɛ/**: The phonetic ranges of both /e/ and /ɛ/ overlap. In order to establish the phonemic status of the sounds [e] and [ɛ] in each particular instance it was necessary to check both possibilities with the consultants. It appeared that /ɛ/, rather than /e/, was the odd one out because of its relatively low frequency of occurrence. The phoneme /e/ is often pronounced [ɛ] in rapid speech, whereas /ɛ/ is hardly ever pronounced as [e].[75] For instance, /*weki*/ 'he fears' can either be pronounced as ['ʍeki] or as ['ʍɛki]; only in an explicit contrast with /*wɛki*/ 'he brought', the /e/ of /*weki*/ is obligatorily realised as [e]. Notice furthermore /*eni*/ 'egg': [e'nĩ] ~ [ɛ'nĩ]. The overlap between /e/ and /ɛ/ can be represented as follows:

/e/	[e]	~	[ɛ]
/ɛ/	[æ]	~	[ɛ]

75. There is only one example of /ɛ/ being pronounced as [e]: /*ɛtɛrwɛdaki*/ 'I'm rounding them (the cattle) up' was once attested as [ete'ɾwɛɗaki].

/j/ and **/ñ/**: The [ɲ] very rarely occurred as a variant of [j]: [jere's̲wa] (MA) ~ [ɲere's̲wa] (ZE) 'jaguar'. The difference between [j̃] and [ɲ] in */ñãsiki/* 'it is an ear' and */jãsiki/* 'he hears' is obligatory, although the words are semantically related.

/l/ and **/r/**: In one word there is variation between /l/ and /r/: */apara/* [apa'ɾa] ~ [apa'la] 'banana'. We know that [ɾ] is basic in this word, as the pronunciation [apa'la] is very rare.

/n/ and **/ñ/**: [n] seems to be incidentally a free variant of /ñ/: */kɛiñũ/* [kɛî̯'nũ] ~ [kɛî̯'ɲũ] 'jatobá tree'.

/s/ and **/ts/**: [s] (/s/) is in some cases in free variation with its affricate counterpart [ts] */jãsi-/* [j̃ã'si] ~ [j̃ã'tsi] 'to hear'.[76] Furthermore, [ts] (/ts/) is in some cases in free variation with [s], e.g. */eromũtsa/* [erɔmũ'sa] ~ [erɔmũ'tsa] 'wrist', */itsosisi/* [isosisi] ~ [itsosisi] 'rope'.[77]

/x/ and **/s/**: In one family (family II) [s̲] (/x/) is often realised as plain [s], e.g. */exyi/* [e'sî̯] ~ [e's̲î̯] 'sting' (see also 2.13.).

/x/ and **/ts/**: [ts] is in some rare cases in variation with [s̲]. In general this variation depends on the speaker: */alexunwỹ/* [aletsu'nwɨ̃] 'tree species' for TA; */-xa-/* [tsa] '(second person singular inflexion)' for ME.

In several specific words /x/ alternates freely with /ts/, with all consultants, e.g.: */tsũhũ/* [s̲u'hũ] ~ [tsu'hũ] 'what?'; */tsyitsu/* [s̲î̯itsu] ~ [tsî̯itsu] '(fish species)'; */xyitsɛ/* [s̲î̯'tsɛ] ~ [tsî̯'tsɛ] 'you (PL)'. For such words it is difficult to decide about which phonemic interpretation is best. Note, however, that the second variant of the latter example could be a result of contamination by the exclusive pronoun */tsitsɛ/* [tsi'tsɛ] 'we'. Also, the pronunciation [tsî̯'tsɛ] 'you (PL)' is not considered correct for fluent adult speakers.

[ts] instead of [s̲] is often found in children's speech, where it is considered as simplified: */exyitaki/* [e's̲î̯taki] ~ [e'tsitaki] '(wasp) stung me'. The latter variant is considered as children's speech.

So there are some indications that /x/ is a phoneme with two possible realisations. Furthermore, it should not be left unmentioned that some morphophonemic variation, although not necessarily productive, may also be involved (see 2.15.).

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76. This variation may date back a long time, which is suggested by the following forms from about 60 years ago: <*nhãntsêi-dahakí*> 'I do not understand' (Z:208) vs. <*gassí*> 'ears' (Z:003).
77. In such cases, the old word-lists by Lévi-Strauss and Zack provide extra arguments for decisions about which phonological analysis to choose. Here <*eromutca*> 'hand' (L:16) and <*itá-sessí*> 'rope' (Z:057) indicate that the [ts] pronunciation was encountered in these specific words already 60 years ago.

/c/, **/tx/** and **/tj/**: [t͡] (/c/) is in some words in free variation with its affricate counterpart [tx] and with the biphonemic sequence /tj/, e.g. /*txana*/ [t͡a'na] ~ [t͡sa'na] ~ [t͡ʃa'na] ~ [tja'na] 'we (inclusive)'.

Nasality: There are several instances of fluctuation between oral vowels and their nasal equivalents. Vowels of which it is established[78] that they are oral, may become nasalised, especially in the environment of nasal consonants, e.g. /*mouru*/ [mau̯'ru] ~ [mãũ̯'ru] 'woodpecker', /*hidimɛ*/ [hiɗi'mɛ] ~ [hiɗi'mɛ̃] 'sisters'. As discussed in (2.13.), the contrary also occurs, especially in family II. Vowels of which it is established that they are nasal, may become denasalised, e.g. /*tomã-*/ [tɔmã] ~ [tɔma] 'swim'.

2.15. Morphophonemics

There are several phonemes between which there is fluctuation due to morphophonological factors.

/ĩ/ and **/e/**: There is morphophonemic variation between /ĩ/ and /e/ between a palatal affricate consonant and a subsequent classifier with respect to the following words: /*e-txĩ*/ [e't͡ʃĩ] 'rear of bird' vs. /*e-tsje-nũ*/ [etsje'nũ][79] 'feathers of rear of bird'.

/i/ or **/j/** and **/y/**: As illustrated in (2.6.1.), there may be some difficulty to distinguish between glides and syllabic vowels. For example, the fact that both /i/ or /j/ and /y/ are potentially high vowels makes it difficult to distinguish which of them represents a glide. As was noticed in (2.6.2.), the syllabic nucleus of the word /*djy*/ 'older brother of male' is likely [ɨ]. However, the fact that /*djy?uty*/ 'wife of older brother of male' is usually pronounced as [diʔu'tɨ] goes against this and favours the vowel-glide analysis /iy/ in which /y/ [i̯] functions as a semivowel. On the other hand, the morpheme /*-uty*/ is hardly productive and may be a lexicalised element of the stem of the few words in which it occurs. Furthermore, my consultant MA rejected my pronunciation [diʔu'tɨ]. If the phonological structure would have beeen /*diy*/ it would have represented a counterexample to the assumed exclusive occurrence of [i̯] in the context /ay/.

78. The question whether a specific vowel in a certain word is phonemically nasal or oral was solved through comparing the number of occasions on which it occured as oral and as nasal. If it was nine out of ten times nasal, then I concluded it was phonemically nasal. In case of equal frequencies, I presented the consultant with both oral and nasal versions of that word and let him decide which pronunciation was best.
79. *[e$t͡ʃĩ$nũ], *[e$t͡ʃe$nũ], *[etsiʔe$nũ], *[e$tsijenũ]

/j/ and **/h/**: On one rare occoasion, morphophonemic variation was observed between /j/ and /h/ in the following (elliptic) expression based on /*kahɛ-he-*/ 'bite-not-': [kajɛ'he] 'it does not bite'.

/j/ and **/tx/**: There is morphophonemic variation between /j/ and /tx/ in the classifier system. The following example contains both the classifier /*-jãhỹ*/ 'path' and its full noun equivalent /*txahỹ*/ 'path':

(7) *ba-jã'hỹ-da-ki* *txa'hỹ*
cut-CL:path-1S-DEC path
'I'm clearing the road'

/l/ and **/r/**: There is some morphophonemic alternation involving /l/ and /r/ in the classifier system. The following example contains both the classifier /*-rote*/ 'door and other holes' and its etymon /*lote*/ 'door':

(8) [lɔ'te nĩ+ɾɔ'te+ki]
door big-CL:hole-3.DEC
'it is a big door/the door is big'

There are some /lo/-initial lexemes which have a corresponding /ro/-initial classifier: /*lokoca*/ vs. /*-rokoca*/ 'face'; /*lonã*/ vs. /*-ronã*/ 'hole'; /*lonɛ*/ vs. /*-ronɛ*/ 'valve', and the one already illustrated above. There are also some words containing the element /*-lo*/, which may be a lexicalised relic of the productive classifier /*-ro*/ 'cup, vessel': /*kũhjɛ̃lo-*/ 'to fold a cup'; /*towarilo*/ 'earthenware pot'.

/ts/ and **/k/**: There is morphophonemic alternation between /ts/ and /k/ in the classifier system. The following examples contains both the classifiers /*-koje*/ 'hand' and /*-koro*/ 'arm' and their respective etyma /*tsoje*/ 'hand' and /*tsoro*/ 'arm':

(9) [tsɔ'je nĩ+kɔ'je+ki]
hand big-CL:hand-3.DEC
'it is a big hand/the hand is big'

(10) [kunĩ+kɔ'je+ki]
put-CL:hand-3.DEC
'he puts on gloves'

(11) [tsɔ'ɾɔ nĩ+kɔ'ɾɔ+ki]
arm big-CL:arm-3.DEC
'it is a big arm/the arm is big'

/c/, **/t/** and **/d/**: There is morphophonemic variation between voiceless /c/, /t/ and voiced /d/ in the classifier system. The following examples contain both the classifiers /*-djo*/ 'foot' and /*-toha*/ 'track' and their lexical counterparts /*coha*/ 'foot':

(12) [t̲ɔ'ha] 'foot'
[akɨ+'ɗ̥ɔ+tsɛ] 'two feet' (lit. 'two-CL:foot-3.DEC')
[jeɾes̲wa+tɔha] 'jaguar track' (lit. 'jaguar-CL:foot')

(13) [konã+'ɗ̥ɔ+ki]
put-CL:foot-3.DEC
'put on shoes'

(14) [tsu'hũ+ɾa'ti+tɔ"ha+ɾe]
what-FOC-CL:foot-3.INT
'it is the tracks of what?'

Other classifiers are /*-tuku*/ 'tongue' and /*-tukwe*/ 'pod' and their respective lexical counterparts /*cuku*/ 'tongue' and /*cukwe*/ 'pod box'.[80]

Note that the morphophonological variation between [t̲] and [dj] (and [t]) in the above examples represents an additional indication that [t̲] has a palatal flavour. However, no other instances of synchronic variation between /c/ and /dj/ were attested.[81]

/ts/ and **/x/**: The variation encountered between [ts] and [s̲] is morphophonemic with respect to the classifiers [s̲wa] ~ [ʃwa] /*-xwa*/ 'human' and [s̲u] /*-xu*/ 'bone' (CL) on the one hand, and their respective full lexical counterparts, /*tswa*/ 'man' and /*tsu*/ 'bone' on the other:

[tswa] 'human'
[e+'s̲wa] 'husband' (lit. 'Ø-CL:man')

[tsu] 'bone'
[ɗutuɾe+'s̲u] 'pig-bone' (lit. 'pig-CL:bone')

[e]-insertion: An [e] is inserted between the root /*ou-*/ and the indefinite object marker /*-ja-*/: /*oujaki*/ [oe̯'jaki] 'it got tangled up (in something)'.

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80. Note that the word [t̲u'kwe] 'pod' itself can also occur as a classifier.
81. It is possible that some diachronic variation exists between /c/ and /d/: at the end of the 1930's, the word /*cokuru*/ [t̲ɔku'ɾu] 'urucurí tree' was written by Lévi-Strauss as: <*dokurú*> (L:48, the manuscript does neither reveal whether the <d> was implosive, nor whether the <o> was open).

Metathesis: One possible instance of historical metathesis of [j] and [m] was encountered. The established directional suffix for 'into the water' is /*-mã-*/, as in *tsamãteki* 'he strews it into the water'. The verb root for 'fall' is /*tui-*/ [tu̯i], as in *tuihỹki* 'he fell on top'. There are some words in which 'fall' is /*tu-*/ without the subsequent palatal semivowel [i̯]. In *turiki* 'it fell over', the stem seems to have lost [i̯]. In most other words /*tu-*/ without [i̯] is followed by a directional morpheme starting with apico-post-alveolar /c/, which has a certain palatal flavour absorbing the [i̯]. When followed by /*-mã-*/ 'into the water', however, the [i̯] is not lost but may have changed place: *tumjỹteki* 'he fell into the water'. There is no reason to suppose that the metathesis outlined here represents a currently productive morphophonological process.

Concluding remarks: The morphophonemic variation patterns illustrated above involve semantically related forms. This includes classification or other morphological derivation, although that is not necessarily productive: [ɖjɔ] 'foot (CL)' vs. [t̲ɔ'ha] 'foot'; [tsɔ'je] 'hand' vs. [kɔje] 'hand (CL)' vs. [t̲wə̃'sĩ] 'nail'; [tɔhɔ̯i] 'small' vs. [tʃuhũ̯ĩ'tsɛ] ~ [t̲ɔhũ̯ĩ'tsɛ] 'is small'; [j̃ã'si(+ki)] 'heard' vs. [ɲã'si] 'ear'.

In some cases this variation seems to point to relations with neighbouring languages. Compare abovementioned [tsɔ'je] 'hand' to Kanoê *<ikɔ'sɔ>* / *<i'tsɔ>* 'hand' (Bacelar 1996). And the Kwaza classifier for [tsu'tɨ] 'head' is the etymologically related form [kutɨ]. Meanwhile, the Kanoê independent word for 'head' is [iku'ta] (Bacelar 1996). There are more words which point to a correspondence between Kwaza /ts/ and /k/ and Kanoê /k/, and in Kanoê itself there is an alternance between /t/ and /k/ as well, as [kɨ] 'bamboo' and its corresponding classifier [tɨ] 'bamboo' show:[82]

(15) Kanoê: [kɨ ‘bɛ+tɨ+k+ɛ+ɾɛ]
bamboo clean-CL:bamboo-NEG-DEC-AUX
'the bamboo is black'

Also phoneme fluctuation may point to relations with neighbouring languages. With respect to fluctuation between /j/ and /ñ/, it is interesting to note that some Aikanã words that begin with a [j] (≠ [ʔi]) were spelled [n]-initial by Carlson: *<nyapo'ri>* 'manioc' (C1:18), AIK [japu'ɾi] ~ [njapu'ɾi] 'manioc', and I heard an Aikanã child say [napuri'nu] 'manioc flour' (Lorivaldo), *<nyapori'nó>* manioc flour' (C1:4). Could it be possible that [j]-initial words are underlyingly [n]-initial? Could this be the case for Kwaza as well as for Aikanã? Could it be a contact phenomenon? There are many indications that

82. The rare phenomenon of alternance between /t/ and /k/ has also been observed in Tacanan languages such as Chama (Key 1979:87). So far, there are no indications that Kwaza and its neighbouring unclassified languages belong to the Tacanan family. See also van der Voort (fcb).

comparative research may be fruitful. Unfortunately we still lack thorough descriptions of Aikanã and many other languages of Rondônia.

2.16. An orthography for the speakers of Kwaza

A practical orthography of the Kwaza language for use by its speakers was developed in cooperation with the Kwaza themselves (Kɨikãu Mãdee and van der Voort 2002). The practical orthography is presented, in Kwaza alphabetical order, in the first and third lines below, and its phonemic equivalent in the second and fourth lines:

Orthographic:	a	ã	b	d	e	ẽ	ee	ẽẽ	h	‘	i	ĩ	y	ɨ	ɨ̃	k	l	m
Phonemic:	a	ã	b	d	e	ẽ	ɛ	ɛ̃	h	?	i	ĩ	j	y	ỹ	k	l	m

Orthographic:	n	ny	o	õ	ö	p	r	s	x	t	ty	ts	tx	u	ũ	w
Phonemic:	n	ñ	o	õ	œ	p	r	s	x	t	c	ts	tx	u	ũ	w

2.17. Orthography and alphabetical order in the present work

In the present chapter on phonology, I have tried to stick to the IPA tradition for phonetic transcription as of 1993. The phonemic transcription is the same throughout both the phonology and the rest of the present work. For the transcription of loan phonemes some additions had to be made.

As there is no phonological opposition in Kwaza between [ɓ] and [b], and between [ɗ] and [d], I will write <b> and <d> respectively. For those instances of plosive [b] and [d] which occur in loanwords, I write <B> and <D> respectively. Notice that in the present work, the plosive [b] and [d] in examples from other languages than Kwaza are written as <b> and <d>. For similar reasons, I write <y> for [ɨ], <ỹ> for [ɨ̃], <o> for [ɔ] and <õ> for [ɔ̃]. Furthermore, I write <?> for [ʔ], <x> for [s̲], <c> for [t̲] and <tx> for [tʃ]. With respect to the glides in falling diphthongs, they are written in accordance with their phonological analysis: <i>, <u>, <y>.

The alphabetical order, when including loan phonemes, is as follows:

a ã b/B d/D e ẽ ɛ ɛ̃ f g h i ĩ j y ỹ k l m

n ñ ng o õ œ p r s x t c ts tx u ũ ü v w z zj ?

2.18. Inventory of phonemes and allophonic correspondences

In the following tables, all Kwaza phonemes and their allophones are listed. Loan phonemes are integrated, as are allophones which neutralise the distinction with other phonemes.

Table 10. Vowel phonemes and their allophones

PHONEMES	PHONETIC AND ALLOPHONIC RANGE	
/a/	[a]	
	[ɑ]	
	[ɔ]	fluctuation with /ɔ/
/ã/	[ã]	
/e/	[e]	
	[ɪ]	
	[i]	
	[ɛ]	fluctuation with /ɛ/
/ẽ/	[ẽ]	
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	
	[æ]	
/ɛ̃/	[ɛ̃]	
/ɨ/	[ɨ]	
	[i̟]	
	[ɪ̟]	
/ɨ̃/	[ɨ̃]	
/y/	[ɨ]	
	[ə]	
	[ɨ̟]	
/ỹ/	[ɨ̃]	
	[ã]	fluctuation with /ã/
/o/	[ɔ]	
	[o]	
	[ɑ]	
	[ø]	
/õ/	[ɔ̃]	
/œ/	[œ]	
/u/	[u]	
	[o]	
	[y]	
	[u̟]	
	[ʊ̟]	
/ũ/	[ũ]	
/ü/	[y]	loan

able 11. Consonant phonemes and their allophones

PHONEMES	PHONETIC AND ALLOPHONIC RANGE	
/b/	[ɓ]	
	[b]	
	[ʔm]	
/B/	[b]	loan
/d/	[ɗ]	
	[d]	
/D/	[d]	loan
/f/	[f]	loan
	[p]	fluctuation with /p/
/g/	[g̱]	loan
/h/	[h]	
	[ɦ̱]	
	[h̃]	
/j/	[j]	
	[j̃]	
/k/	[k]	
/l/	[l]	
/m/	[m]	
/n/	[n]	
/ñ/	[ɲ]	
	[n]	fluctuation with /n/
	[j]	fluctuation with /j/
/ng/	[ŋ]	loan
/p/	[p]	
/r/	[ɾ]	
	[d]	
	[l]	fluctuation with /l/
	[ɾ̃]	
/s/	[s]	
	[ts]	fluctuation with /ts/
/x/	[s̱]	
	[ʃ̱]	
	[ʃ́]	
	[s]	dialectal
	[ts]	dialectal/fluctuation with /ts/
/t/	[t]	
/ts/	[ts]	
	[s]	fluctuation with /s/
/c/	[ṯ]	
	[tj]	fluctuation /t/ + /j/
	[ṯʃ]	fluctuation /tx/

/tx/	[tʃ]	
	[t͡s]	
	[tsj]	fluctuation /ts/ + /j/
/v/	[v]	loan
/w/	[w]	
	[w̥]	
	[w̃]	
/z/	[ð]	loan
	[z]	loan
/zj/	[ʒ]	loan
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	

Chapter 3
Parts of speech and constituent order

The complexity of Kwaza grammar resides to a large extent in its morphology. Kwaza morphology is predominatingly suffixing. By contrast, the syntax of Kwaza is fairly simple. Both SVO and SOV word orders occur frequently, but alternative orders are often allowed. Possibly, Kwaza word order is determined by discourse-related factors.

The Kwaza word may consist of roots, derivational morphemes and inflexional morphemes, in that order. Of several categories, e.g. the classifiers and the object markers, it may be difficult to say whether they are inflexional or derivational. So far, over 300 suffixes were identified.

Kwaza word classes include nouns, verbs, adverbs and several "particles". Although the distinction between nouns and verbs may not be absolute in Kwaza, it is justifiable to say that verb morphology is more complicated than noun morphology, especially with regard to inflexion.

The present chapter deals with parts of speech, types of morphemes and constituent order. It is relatively brief since it really only serves to define the basic concepts that are required for the understanding of the grammar of Kwaza, the complexity of which I regard as mainly morphological in nature. In (3.1.) the parts of speech of Kwaza will be introduced and discussed, (3.2.) represents an inventory of different types of morphemes and their distribution, and in (3.3.) basic characteristics of Kwaza word order will be discussed and illustrated.

3.1. Parts of speech

Trying to decide upon the question of what should be regarded as a "word" in Kwaza, I have in the present work used a combination of phonological and grammatical criteria. If an element may contain a stressed syllable and can occur in different positions in an utterance, I regard it as a word.

In general, main word stress tends to fall on the last syllable of the root. A number of roots appear to coincide with monomorphemic stems which can occur as syntactically free elements in the clause. Another group of roots require attachment of other elements before they can be syntactically free.

As it happens, this division between different kinds of roots can provide the basis for a distinction between parts of speech in Kwaza. The coincidence of certain formal and functional properties of free elements in Kwaza justifies a major distinction of the grammatical categories of nouns, adverbs and particles as opposed to verbs.

There is no justification for adjectives, articles and adpositions as separate categories.

3.1.1. Nouns

Nouns form an open class that is characterised by a number of properties, some of which contrast with those of other grammatical categories, such as verbs. Pronouns and proper names are regarded as closed subclasses of nouns. Nouns have the following properties:

a) Nominal roots can occur as free morphemes, and this is the most important formal property that distinguishes them from verbal roots.
b) Nouns can function as arguments of a predicate or as attributive modifiers of other nouns.
c) Nouns can be inflected for case, whereas they are not inflected for gender, definiteness and number.
d) Nouns can be the result of nominalisation of verbs. Since the grammar of Kwaza is characterised by great verbal morphological complexity, this means that nouns can be internally quite complex. Note the object in the following example sentence:

(16) *ũcenãi-'he-da-hỹ* *ere'we-da-ki*
know-NEG-1S-NOM write-1S-DEC
'I'm writing what I don't know'

e) Nouns can consist of the semantically empty root *e-* and a bound classifying morpheme, which is an important formal property that distinguishes them from adverbs. Note the following example:

(17) *e-'mũ*
Ø-CL:liquid
'liquid'

Note that predicative use of nouns in Kwaza is realised through zero-verbalisation, by direct attachment of verbal morphology. In order determine whether the root of a certain predicate is a noun, one needs to know whether it also has properties *a)*, *b)* and *c)*. Zero-verbalisation is discussed in (4.4.9.).

3.1.2. Verbs

Verbs form an open class and share a number of properties which members of the other categories do not have:

a) Verbs consist of roots which cannot occur as free elements. This forms a basic difference with nouns, adverbs and particles.
b) Verbs require person and mood inflexion.
c) Verbs can be nominalised by attachment of nominalising suffixes or classifiers. Note the following example, ending in a classifier:

(18) *'ha-ỹ-xy*
clean-ATT-CL:leaf
'white paper'

d) Since arguments do not have to be expressed by independent nouns or pronouns, and are always referred to by person inflexions, a verb can be the sole constituent of a complete sentence.

3.1.3. Adverbs

Adverbs are a distinct class, with the following properties:

a) Adverbial roots may occur as free morphemes. This distinguishes them effectively from verbal roots. Note the following example:

(19) *ka'tsy ehỹ-'ra wãnỹ'dy*
soon make-IMP food
'make the food quickly!'

b) Adverbs can productively be formed by the semantically empty root *a-* and a bound directional morpheme, which is an important formal property that distinguishes them from nouns. Note the following example:

(20) *a-to'to*
Ø-DR:upward
'upward, over, on top'

In fact, directional morphemes can be distinguished from classifiers in Kwaza on the basis of their different attachment possibilities with either one of the alternative empty roots, adverb formative *a-* and noun formative *e-* respectively (see section 7.6.).

3.1.4. Particles

Particles form a small but heterogenous closed class, and have the following properties:

a) Particles may occur as monomorphemic utterances. Certain particles that originate from frequently occurring morpheme combinations can be inflected.

b) Certain particles may occur as clause linking elements. Note the following example:

(21) *'kui-da-ta ta'na 'kui-da-ta ta'na i'si-da-ki*
drink-1S-CSO then drink-1S-CSO then die-1S-DEC
'I drank and drank (the whole night) until I passed out'

c) Certain particles may occur as minimal expressions or responses.

3.1.5. Unattested categories

There is no reason to distinguish adjectives, articles and adpositions as separate categories in Kwaza.

With regard to adjectives, "adjectival" concepts are usually expressed in Kwaza by verb roots followed by the canonical verbal inflexions. Attributive modification is realised by juxtaposition of nouns, which includes nominalised "adjectival" verbs. Note the following example where the nominal head is modified by a nominalised dependent:

(22) *'mangka 'ki-hỹ 'ja-da-ki*
mango ripe-NOM eat-1S-DEC
'I ate a ripe mango'

Definiteness and indefiniteness are not expressed in the form of articles. There are, however, special bound verbal person morphemes that mark indefinite object and indefinite subject. Furthermore, specificity can be indicated by demonstratives, pronouns and proper names, which are all expressed as free nouns, and by bound verbal person markers and bound classifiers.

With respect to adpositions, their function is fulfilled in Kwaza by "oblique" case suffixes that may express location, instrument, beneficiary and comitative. Note the following locative example:

(23) *i'tso-na 'cutsẽrjỹ-ki*
hammock-LOC lie-DEC
'he lay in the hammock'

3.1.6. Problems with the criteria

As mentioned above nouns can be zero-verbalised, which makes them indistinguishable from verbs at first sight. In the example below, a noun occurs in the place of a verb root:

(24) *ka'we-ki*
coffee-DEC
'it is coffee'

This is not a real problem for the distinction between nouns and verbs, however, since the formal and functional criteria listed in (3.1.1.) solve the apparent incongruity.

A real formal threat to the category distinction, however, is the phenomenon of morphological ellipsis. This can occur under specific pragmatic circumstances. One type of morphological ellipsis concerns the ellipsis of verbal inflexions. In this case, verb roots occur as independent morphemes, while the absent inflexions of person and mood are understood in the pragmatic context by speaker and hearer. Note the following example, in which the root lacks the expected second person subject and interrogative mood inflexions:

(25) *ka'we* *kui*
coffee drink
'did you have coffee?'

Another type of ellipsis is ellipsis of verbal roots, in which case the complex of person and mood inflexions occurs as an independent word. Note the following example:

(26) Q: *'ja-xa-'re* A: *da-'ki*
eat-2-INT 1S-DEC
'are you eating?' '(yes) I am'

Of course, morphological ellipsis is completely dependent on the speech context from which the ellipsed elements have to be "understood". Nevertheless, this phenomenon is not just an exception to criteria (in this case a and b) that define verbs and distinguish them from nouns; it also represents a problem for the analysis of Kwaza as a morphologically complex language in general. There are, however, reasons to stick with this analysis. All this is discussed in section (7.5.) on morphological ellipsis.

3.2. Types of morphemes

In this section, a schematic overview is given of different types of parts of words, i.e. morphemes, and how they relate to specific parts of speech. There are two basic morpheme types: free morphemes and bound morphemes. The free morphemes can be further divided in monomorphemic stems, which may represent either nouns, adverbs or particles, and morphologically complex stems, which can represent any independent word, including inflected verbs.

3.2.1. Bound morphemes

There are three types of bound morphemes in Kwaza: roots, suffixes and prefixes. The roots have usually a lexical semantic content, whereas the affixes tend to have a more abstract grammatical content. From a semantic perspective, the distinction is not absolute, since there are also affixes with a highly lexical content, which is in contrast to certain semantically rather empty roots.

Roots can be subdivided further. The canonical verbal roots constitute one of the two big open word classes. The bound roots represent a specific type that consists of three closed classes of specific verb roots which require further derivation by a nominaliser, a classifier or an attributive morpheme. Only thereafter may they (non-obligatorily) receive person and mood inflexions. This type includes genuine numeral roots, demonstrative roots and a number of roots which have an "adjectival" semantic content. A third type is represented by the two dummy roots *nãi-* 'to be like' and *jã-* 'to be', which have auxiliary functions in the sentence and which also occur in many expressions. The final type is represented by the noun formative empty root *e-* and the adverb formative empty root *a-*.

Suffixes can be further subdivided into inflexional and derivational suffixes. Although there is no sharp boundary between these categories, one can roughly say that derivational suffixes are facultative and their application modifies the meaning and/or the category of the word, whereas inflexional suffixes are in principle obligatory and do not modify the word's meaning but indicate the syntactic function of sentence constituents. In the present work the inflexional suffixes are considered not to have category changing properties, because when attached to noun roots, they form inflected nouns, and when attached to verb roots they form inflected verbs. However, noun roots may receive verb inflexions and then function as verb roots without any other grammatical marking. I considered this as zero-verbalisation, i.e.: verbalisation is the default value of category change in absence of a specific verbalising morpheme. This approach is possible, because change into one of the the other categories is always accompanied by specific nominalising or adverbialising morphemes.

The demonstrative proximal and distal prefixes are the only proper prefixes in Kwaza. Apart from these, certain concomitants of compounded roots may behave as either prefixes or suffixes.

Note that in Kwaza, reduplication is not only defined by phonotactic boundaries, i.e. it does not exclusively concern reduplication of roots or syllables. Also certain bound morphemes such as person markers can be reduplicated, as a special grammatical means to express aspectual and temporal differences. This is discussed in section (7.3.).

The different types of morphemes in Kwaza are listed in the table below:

Table 12. Types of Kwaza morphemes

free	monomorphemic stems		nominal adverbial particle
	(morphologically complex stems)		
bound	roots	canonical verbal	(v-)
		bound	numeral (v-)
			demonstrative (v-)
			other (v-)
		dummy	(v-)
		empty	noun formative
			adverb formative
	suffixes	derivational	attributive (x-x)
			possessive (n-n)
			classifier (x-x) (incl. v-n)
			directional (v-v)
			valency (v-v)
			tense, modality, aspect (v-v)
			object person (v-v)
			negation (v-v)
			nominalisers (v-n)
			adverbialiser (v-adv)
			zero (n-v)
			other (n-n)
			other (x-x)
		inflexional	case (n-n)
			person (v-v)
			mood (v-v)
	prefixes	demonstrative (n-n)	
		compound (v-v)	
		other (n-n)	
reduplicated	root (v-v, n-n) morpheme (v-v) syllable (v-v)		

3.2.2. Distribution of morphemes

Within the word, the facultative derivational morphemes occur basically between the root on the left and the inflexions on the right. The example below shows the canonical relative position of morphemes inside the noun and the verb:

(27) *atxitxi'mu* *kui'nãxare*
atxitxi-mu *kui-nã-xa-re*
maize-CL:liquid drink-FUT-2-INT
Noun-Classifier Verb-Tense-Person-Mood
ROOT-DERIVATION ROOT-DERIVATION-INFLEXION-INFLEXION
'do you want to drink maize chicha?' *(HYPOTETICAL EXAMPLE)*

Although much more research still has to be done with regard to morpheme positions, it is possible to make a few general statements.

In nouns, the first morpheme is usually the obligatory noun root. Thereafter derivational morphemes may follow, such as possessive and attributive. In the subsequent positions classifiers or a nominaliser or other derivational morphemes may occur. If relevant, the noun may be terminated by an object argument case or oblique case inflexion. The obligatory slots are in bold print:

Table 13. Morpheme positions in the noun

ROOT	DERIVATION	DERIVATION	INFLEXION
root	possessive attributive classifier other	nominaliser classifier	object case oblique case

In canonical verbs there are more positions. First comes an obligatory root. Thereafter optional derivational morphemes follow, such as directional, classifier, attributive, tense, modality, aspect, valency change, object person and negative morphemes, more or less in that order. Thereafter come the obligatory subject person and the word-final mood inflexions. In certain constructions, derivational elements such as the negative morpheme and a tense, modality or aspect morpheme occur between the person and mood inflexions.

Table 14. Morpheme positions in the verb

ROOT	DER	DER	DER	DER	DER	**INF**	DER	DER	**INF/DER**
root	DIR CL ATT other	valency	tense modality aspect CL DIR	object	NEG	subject EXP	NEG	tense modality aspect other	mood modality aspect other

In adverbs, only the root is obligatory, but certain suffixes can be attached. The following table contains the canonical morpheme slots of adverbs:

Table 15. Morpheme positions in the adverb

ROOT	DERIVATION	DERIVATION
root	directional classifier other	classifier

There is a limited number of bound roots that are considered as verbal, but that often occur nominalised. In two cases there may be a demonstrative prefix.

Table 16. Morpheme positions in nouns based on bound roots

DERIVATION	**ROOT**	**DERIVATION**	INFLEXION
prefix	root	nominaliser classifier other	object case oblique case

Note that category change can occur recursively in Kwaza, so that the structure of words can be much more complex than the above tables suggest. Nevertheless, no examples have been documented of words in which all established morpheme slots were occupied. Note furthermore that the tables do not account for morpheme slots in specific constructions such as compounds, reduplication, quotation and certain others.

3.3. Remarks on word order

Being a morphologically complex language, with obligatory argument agreement on the verb, Kwaza has a fairly simple syntax. Although it still remains to be investigated thoroughly, word order appears to be quite free, and seems to depend mainly on pragmatic factors. This will be briefly discussed in the present section.

3.3.1. Introduction

The order of placement of the constituents in Kwaza clauses and phrases is relatively free. In several footnotes throughout the present description, alternative word orders have been indicated by numbers. In such footnotes, word order in the original sentence is implicitly symbolised as 1, 2, 3, etc., in numerical order from left to right. When an alternative word order of the same example is attested, this is represented by a non-numerical order of these numbers,

e.g. in notes such as "order 3-1-2 is also permitted" or "order 2-3-1 is ungrammatical". Notice the footnote that goes with the following example:

(28) *ũmã'tɛ-da-ki* *manini-tsu-'mãi* *'ko-hỹ-tɛ*
fish-1S-DEC fish-CL:bone-CL:tooth empty-NOM-NOM
'I fished without a hook'[83]

The footnote indicates that the constituents of example (28) can occur in the following alternative order:

(29) *manini-tsu-'mãi* *'ko-hỹ-tɛ* *ũmã'tɛ-da-ki*
fish-CL:bone-CL:tooth empty-NOM-NOM fish-1S-DEC
'I fished without a hook'

No goal-oriented research was done on word order in Kwaza. In most cases it is not known what the exact semantic or pragmatic difference is between the alternative word orders. In some cases it was observed that the first constituent of a sentence receives focus. Of alternatives which were declared by my consultant to be ungrammatical, or less felicitous than others, it has not been established to what extent this is the case, and whether this really depends on word order or on other factors.

3.3.2. Predicate and arguments

In intransitive sentences, subject-verb (SV) order is encountered more often than verb-subject (VS) order, but upon explicit inquiry both are usually allowed. Note the following sets of examples:

(30) *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *'kopu* *ko-'ro-tse*
you-POS-NOM cup without-CL:cup-DEC
'your cup is empty'

(31) *ko-'ro-tse* *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *'kopu*
without-CL:cup-DEC you-POS-NOM cup
'your cup is empty'

(32) *e'tay* *xyi-dy-'hỹ-re*
wife I-POS-NOM-INT
'is she your wife?'

(33) *xyi-dy-'hỹ-re* *e'tay*
I-POS-NOM-INT wife
'is she your wife?'

83. The order 2-3-1 is also permitted.

In transitive sentences, object-verb (OV) order is encountered more often than verb-object (VO) order, but upon explicit inquiry both are usually allowed. Note the next pairs of examples:

(34) *kreBa-'na ã'rũi waja-'nã-da-ki*
Gleba-LOC tapir bring-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to take the horse to Gleba' (riding it or not)

(35) *kreBa-'na waja-'nã-da-ki ã'rũi*
Gleba-LOC bring-FUT-1S-DEC tapir
'I'm going to take the horse to Gleba' (riding it or not)

(36) *tsɛ̃ hedy-'ra*
salt mix-IMP
'put salt (on the food/drink)!'

(37) *hedy-'ra tsɛ̃*
mix-IMP salt
'put salt (on the food/drink)!'

In transitive sentences with an overt subject and an overt object, the order is usually SVO or SOV. No difference in meaning has been discovered between these different orders:

(38) *kanwã=ekai-'e o'tsi-ki zjwãu*
canoe=leg-too kill-DEC João
'the car killed João'[84]

(39) *kanwã=ekai-'e zjwãu o'tsi-ki*
canoe=leg-too João kill-DEC
'the car killed João'

About an OSV equivalent of the above examples, my consultant remarked that this would be nonsense:

(40) *?*zjwãu kanwã=ekai-'e o'tsi-ki*
João canoe=leg-too kill-DEC
'João killed the car'

Apparently then, in a construction where subject and object precede the predicate, the first position is likely to be reserved for the subject.[85]

Other word orders have also been attested. Notice the following SVO example:

(41) *ho'Bɛto aure-da'mỹ-tse hita-'wã*
Roberto marry-want-DEC Rita-AO
'Roberto (says he) wants to marry Rita'

84. Animate object marking was not considered as very grammatical: **zjwãwã*.
85. If 'car' would be marked as an animate object: *kanwã?ekai'?ewã*, the OSV order would be acceptable, according to my teacher, but the meaning of the sentence would be nonsense.

The constituents of this example can occur in the following alternative OVS order, apparently without change of meaning:

(42) *hita-'wã aure-da'mỹ-tse ho'Bɛto*
Rita-AO marry-want-DEC Roberto
'Roberto (says he) wants to marry Rita'

The order in (42) was considered as the "clearest" alternative, so this does indicate that word order is not totally free. However, it does not necessarily mean that SVO order is in general better than OVS. Notice the following example:

(43) *kuraku'ra 'tsje-ki jere'xwa*
chicken close-DEC jaguar
'jaguar grabbed chicken'

As mentioned in (4.1.1.6.), there may be a relation between the presumed optionality of the animate case marker and word order. The nature of this relation, however, has not been established so far. Note that on the application of an animate case marker, VSO and SOV equivalents of (43) are also allowed:

(44) *'tsje-ki jere'xwa ku'rakura-'wã*
close-DEC jaguar chicken-AO
'jaguar grabbed chicken'

(45) *jere'xwa kuraku'ra-wã 'tsje-ki*
jaguar chicken-AO close-DEC
'jaguar grabbed chicken'

The range of word order variability may not only depend partially on case marking, but also on overt cross-reference agreement of subjects and the emphatic use of pronouns. Compare the following examples:

(46) *si 'kui-da-ki hã*
I drink-1S-DEC water
'it is me who is drinking/drank water'

(47) *hã 'kui-da-ki*
water drink-1S-DEC
'I am drinking/drank water'

(48) **si hã 'kui-da-ki*
I water drink-1S-DEC
'it is me who is drinking/drank water'

Example (48) was considered ungrammatical, but it is not clear how that should be interpreted. In ditransitive sentences, the order relative position of the direct and indirect objects is also variable:

(49) *mĩu* *marju-'wã* *'hai-da-ki*
chicha Mario-AO drench-1S-DEC
'I gave Mario chicha to drink'

(50) *mĩu* *'hai-da-ki* *marju-'wã*
chicha drench-1S-DEC Mario-AO
'I gave Mario chicha to drink'

The following order is also permitted, although it is considered as less well-formed:

(51) *marju-'wã* *mĩu* *'hai-da-ki*
Mario-AO chicha drench-1S-DEC
'I gave Mario chicha to drink'

3.3.3. Predicate and satellites

The relative order of predicate and local satellites seems to be free. Compare the next example to (34) :

(52) *ã'rũi* *waja-'nã-da-ki* *kreBa-'na*
tapir bring-FUT-1S-DEC Gleba-LOC
'I'm going to take the horse to Gleba' (riding it or not)

Notice also the following set of alternatives:

(53) *ẽrjãwã-'na* *o'nɛ-ki*
forest-LOC return-DEC
'he came/went out of the forest'

(54) *o'nɛ-ki* *ẽrjãwã-'na*
return-DEC forest-LOC
'he came/went out of the forest'

3.3.4. Predicate and adverbs

The relative order of predicate and adverbs is variable. The adverb occurs often at the beginning or at the end of a clause:

(55) *la'to* *tsu'ty* *kukui-'dy-da-ky-hỹ-ki*
yesterday head hurt-CAU-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC
'I had a pain in the head yesterday'

(56) *la'to* *kukui-'dy-da-ky-hỹ-ki* *tsu'ty*
yesterday hurt-CAU-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC head
'I had a pain in the head yesterday'

(57) *kukui-'dy-da-ky-hỹ-ki* *tsu'ty* *la'to*
hurt-CAU-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC head yesterday
'I had a pain in the head yesterday'

The adverb does not necessarily occur at the periphery of the clause:

(58) *a-ri'tsa* *a'wỹi-da-ki* *coha-si'ki*
Ø-DR:outside see-1S-DEC foot-CL:skin
'I saw a shoe outside' (S outside (looking in))

(59) *a'wỹi-da-ki* *a-ri'tsa* *coha-si'ki*
see-1S-DEC Ø-DR:outside foot-CL:skin
'I saw a shoe outside' (S outside (looking in))

3.3.5. Noun and modifier

The usual constituent order of modification constructions is head-dependent:

(60) *txa'hỹ* *tsi'cwa-rjỹ* *'ũi-da-ki*
path begin-CD:area lie-1S-DEC
'I rested at the beginning of the road'

However, an alternative order is also attested. Compare these examples:

(61) *'tauBa* *a'xy-dy-a-'hỹ*
board house-CAU-1P-NOM
'boards to build a house'

(62) *a'xy-dy-a-'hỹ* *'tauBa*
house-CAU-1P-NOM board
'boards to build a house'

The following set of examples shows how the relative order between a noun and a demonstrative modifier order may vary, and even how a matrix predicate may be inserted between an argument and the demonstrative:

(63) *ko'sa* *ỹ-'hỹ* *si-dy-'hỹ-ki*
sun this-NOM I-POS-NOM-DEC
'the / this lantern is mine'

(64) *ỹ-'hỹ* *ko'sa* *si-dy-'hỹ-ki*
this-NOM sun I-POS-NOM-DEC
'the / this lantern is mine'

(65) *ko'sa* *'si-dy-hỹ-ki* *ỹ-'hỹ*
sun I-POS-NOM-DEC this-NOM
'the / this lantern is mine'

However, it may be possible that the demonstrative in (65) stands in extraposition.

Chapter 4
The noun phrase

Kwaza nouns are not inflected for number, gender or definiteness. Kwaza nouns may take case markers and possessive markers. Nominalisation of verb stems is important in Kwaza, and it may involve the use of classifiers. Some nouns, such as *'rai?ỹhỹ* 'thing, animal' are based on non-existing verb roots. There are no articles. There is no formally marked category of adjectives in Kwaza. Attributive noun modification is realised through juxtaposition of nouns, be they bare nouns or nominalised verbs.

In the present chapter, Kwaza nouns and noun morphology will be described. In section (4.1.) I will discuss case marking and its functions. Section (4.2.) contains a thorough presentation of classifiers, including their verbal characteristics. In (4.3.) I present the basic properties of attributive modification, which includes a discussion of possessive constructions. Section (4.4.) deals with a number of relatively heterogenous nominal suffixes. In (4.5.) the Kwaza numeral system is discussed. In (4.6.) the demonstrative system is discussed. Finally in (4.7.) Kwaza pronouns are discussed.

4.1. Case

Kwaza does not make a clear-cut obligatory morphological distinction between the subject and object function of nouns or pronouns. Nevertheless, Kwaza nouns may be inflected for case.

There is one case which is partially the consequence of a syntactic government relation between verb and argument. It is expressed by the suffix *-wã*, which I have termed the "animate object" case.

Furthermore, there is a small number of "local" or "oblique" case markers which express semantic relations between the verb and optional nominal satellites. The suffix *-na* expresses "locative" case, *-ko* expresses "instrumental" and "locative", *-du* expresses "beneficiary" and *-dynỹ* expresses "comitative". Kwaza does not have adpositions.

4.1.1. Animate object -wã

The animate object case ending *-wã* marks certain animate non-subjects of transitive verbs. It is applied under circumstances that are not fully clear. Often it attracts stress.

With most verbs, the animate object marker is obligatory for animate nouns in direct object function:

(66) *jere'xwa 'kay-ki natau-'wã*
jaguar scratch-DEC Natal-AO
'the jaguar scratched Natal'

(67) *'ay-hỹ 'kay-ki*
that-NOM scratch-DEC
'that one scratched (him)'

(68) *ay-hỹ-'wã 'kay-ki*
that-NOM-AO scratch-DEC
'(he) scratched that one'

(69) *wã-'wã ka'taja-ki pju*
bee-AO tether-DEC Piu
'Piu tethered a wasp'

(70) *aha-'wã ãwỹi-'ra*
father-AO see-IMP
'go and see your father!' (t)

Besides indicating which animate argument is object, the case marker *-wã* also has the effect of disambiguating between subject and object itself, especially when both are third person arguments:

(71) *wã zjwãu-'wã e'xyi-ki*
bee João-AO sting-DEC
'a wasp stung João'

(72) *hiri'ni zjwãu-'wã isi'xwe-ki*
shaman João-AO medicate-DEC
'the shaman is treating João'[86]

(73) *zjwãu-'wã cari-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
João-AO shoot-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'aha! it's him who killed João'

(74) *zjwãu cari-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
João shoot-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'aha! it's João who killed'

(75) *sa'mweu zjwãu-'wã tja'ta-dy-ta*
Samuel João-AO say-DS-CSO
'Samuel spoke thus to João'

(76) *e'tay hyri-'ra tjata-'ki zjwãu-'wã*
woman steal-IMP say-DEC João-AO
'the woman wanted João to steal the chicken'

The case marker is not always absolutely indispensable to distinguish between subject and object. This is because the subject, and with some verbs the object

86. Compare this example to the following:

hiri'ni zjwãu isi'xwe-ki
shaman João medicate-DEC
'shaman João is treating (someone)'

too, is obligatorily expressed by verbal cross-reference.[87] For third persons, the subject cross-reference marker is zero, but for first and second persons it is not (see 5.1.). Nevertheless, the case marker *-wã* is obligatory in the following examples, even though the cross-reference agreement markers alone would have been sufficient for the identification of subjects and objects:

(77) *zjwãu-'wã tsa'si-da-ki*
João-AO follow-1S-DEC
'I went after João'[88]

(78) *wã si-'wã e'xyi-ta-ki*
bee I-AO sting-1O-DEC
'(a) wasp stung me'

(79) *zjwãu 'mɛ̃-hata-ki xyitsɛ-'wã*
João beat-3S.2O-DEC you.PL-AO
'it was João who beat you'

(80) *zjwãu-'wã ja'hɛ-da-ki*
João-AO hide-1S-DEC
'I hid João'

(81) *si-'wã ca-'ra 'ta-ta-ki*
I-AO EMP-IMP talk-1O-DEC
'he sent me'

(82) *zjwãu ca-'ra 'ta-ta-ki*
João EMP-IMP talk-1O-DEC
'João sent me'

(83) *zjwãu-'wã ca-'ra 'ta-da-ki*
João-AO EMP-IMP talk-1S-DEC
'I sent João'

(84) *hã mũi-'ra tja'ta-da-ki mau'rilju-wã*
water submerge-IMP say-1S-DEC Maurilio-AO
'I ordered Maurilio to get water'

Note that the following examples do not contain *-wã*, whereas all involve overt subject cross-reference. However, disambiguation is not the principal function of *-wã*. Comparison with the previous examples, where there is both cross-reference and case marking, shows that *-wã* rather marks the object as animate. Since the principal function of *-wã* is animate object case marking, its application is ungrammatical with inanimate objects, which apparently includes plants, seeds etc.:

(85) *atxi'txi aru'ce-da-ki*
maize put-1S-DEC
'I put maize into the mortar'

(86) *haki'dwa atymã'tɛ-da-ki*
stone throw-1S-DEC
'I threw a stone into the water'

---

87. In this work I have used the term "cross-reference" as in Shopen (1985) in the sense of "agreement" or "concord".
88. Without the case marker, the interpretation of this example would be different:

zjwãu tsa'si-da-ki
João follow-1S-DEC
'João, I went after (you)'

(87) *kanwaka'nɛ bo'ta-da-ki axy-'na*
board cover-1S-DEC house-LOC
'I closed the hole in the roof'

(88) *lo'nɛ̃ bo'ta-da-ki axy-'na kanwakanɛ-'ko*
hole cover-1S-DEC house-LOC board-INS
'I closed the hole in the roof'

(89) *esi'ki budy'hỹ-da-ki*
leather stretch-1S-DEC
'I stretched the clothes'

(90) *auxwa'na dai-da-'nãi bu'ru-da-ki*
flesh take-1S-NOM remember-1S-DEC
'I remembered my buying meat'

(91) *ywy'nwỹ dai?o'ce-da-ki*
tree clear-1S-DEC
'I grabbed and threw the log aside'

(92) *kũ'cẽ 'dji-da-ki*
brazil.nut break-1S-DEC
'I broke Brazil nuts'

(93) *ywy'nwỹ dai=txi'te-da-ki*
tree take=pile-1S-DEC
'I erected the log'

(94) *hãxyilo'tswɛ ha'bja-da-ki*
flute blow-1S-DEC
'I play the flute'

(95) *tso'je-ko ha'bja-da-ki*
hand-INS blow-1S-DEC
'I whistle through my fingers'

(96) *lo'nã 'je-da-ki*
hole dig-1S-DEC
'I dug a hole'

(97) *apa'ra ko'ri-da-ki*
banana mash-1S-DEC
'I mashed banana'

On several occasions during more recent fieldwork the distincion was spontaneously made explicit by the consultant. With respect to the impossibility of *-wã* in the following example, which I had smuggled into my repetition of it, MA said: "**manga'wã* doesn't exist, because it doesn't have life!":

(98) *aky-'hỹ e'mã-tja 'dai-ki zjwõ 'manga-(*wã)*
two-NOM more-CSO take-DEC João mango-AO
'João took three mangoes'

Without *-wã* there is syntactic ambiguity. However, there is no semantic-pragmatic ambiguity when there is a difference in animacy. Note the following examples where the subject is animate and the object inanimate and both are third persons:

(99) *uru'hu xare'ja-ki au ho-'tɛ*
vulture search-DEC flesh rotten-NOM
'the vulture is looking for rotten meat'

(100) *zjwãu ywynwỹ-ko'ro to'wɛ-ki*
João tree-Cl:arm break-DEC
'João broke a branch off the tree'

Nevertheless, there are a number of verbs of which even animate objects do not receive a case marker. In this situation, one could say that only cross-reference marking disambiguates the sentence. Note the following examples:

(101) *kata'ja-da-ki ã'rũi*
tether-1S-DEC tapir
'I tethered a horse'

(102) *ã'rũi 'hou-da-ki*
tapir take-1S-DEC
'I took the horse'

(103) *hyriko'ro jã'si-da-ki*
monkey hear-1S-DEC
'I heard a monkey'

(104) *jere'xwa he'?ai-xa-tehe're-da-ki*
jaguar not.want-2-APPR-1S-DEC
'I think you don't want a dog'

(105) *xyi'tsɛ mani'ni a're-e-xa-xa-hỹ-ki*
you.PL fish turn-again-2-AS-NOM-DEC
'you are created by/as fish' (t)

There may even be gradual differences in animacy. The animate object of some verbs like *ca'ri-* 'shoot, kill game' is not case-marked, unless the object is a person:

(106) *ze'zĩju dutu're ca'ri-ki*
Zezinho pig shoot-DEC
'Zezinho killed a wild pig'

(107) *zjwãu-'wã cari=a'sa-wa-'si hary'ky e'tay-tjate jã'si -ki*
João-AO shoot=leave-IS-SWR now woman-3.POS hear-DEC
'they killed João but now his wife found out'[89]

In principle, all living animals belong to the Kwaza category of animates, but vegetable beings and lifeless things do not. Apparently there is uncertainty whether the moon belongs to the animate category:

89. The last word of this sentence may, alternatively, also have been *ũce'nãi-ki* 'know-DEC'.

(108) *de'da* *ũceta-'tõi-ki* *(haku'ri(-wã)* *kui-da'mỹ-tja)*
anaconda divide-CL:eye-DEC moon-AO drink-want-CSO
'lunar halo'

The literal translation 'snake encircling (the moon in order to swallow it)' is based on traditional mythology.

4.1.1.1. Transitivised verbs

The animate direct objects of verbs containing the transitivising morpheme *-ta-* (see 5.4.2.1.) are obligatorily marked with *-wã*:

(109) *zjuze-'wã* *oja-'ta-da-ki*
José-AO go-TRA-1S-DEC
'I visited José'

(110) *magariDa-'wã* *'bu=ũ-rjỹ-ta-ki*
Margarida-AO put=be-CD:area-TRA-DEC
'it is sitting close to Margarida'

(111) *e'tay-tjate-'wã* *honjẽ-'ta-ki*
woman-3.POS-AO hide.self-TRA-DEC
'he hid himself for his wife'

(112) *marija'Dite-wã* *ute-'ta-da-ki*
Maria.Edite-AO notify-TRA-1S-DEC
'I told to Maria Edite'

(113) *xyi-'wã* *ute-'ta-nĩnã-da-ki*
you-AO notify-TRA-2O-1S-DEC
'I told to you'

(114) *ã'wỹi-ta-tay-hỹ* *hãte-ta-'hỹ-xa-hỹ-re* *maga'riDa-wã*
see-1O-1O-NOM try-TRA-NOM-2-NOM-INT Margarida-AO
'did you show the photo of me to Margarida?'

When intransitive verbs are transitivised with causative *-dy-* (see 5.4.3.) also only the animate objects are marked:

(115) *luzeu-'wã* *xarere-'dy-da-ki*
Luzeu-AO crazy-CAU-1S-DEC
'I'm making Luzeu mad'

(116) *kudɛrɛ-'wã* *mãmãñẽ-'dy-da-ki*
Canderé-AO sing-CAU-1S-DEC
'I made Canderé sing (*for X)'

(117) *e'tay-nahere* *ărũi-'wã* *tswa* *are-'dy-ĩ?ĩta-ʈja*
woman-COL tapir-AO man turn-CAU-always-CSO
'the women always made the tapir turn into man'

(118) *zjwãu samweu-'wã* *acwa-dy-'hỹ* *mũi-'dy-ki*
João Samuel-AO force-CAU-NOM submerge-CAU-DEC
'João makes Samuel fetch water'

(119) *ywy'nwỹ* *lowɛ̃-'dy-da-ki*
tree bend-CAU-1S-DEC
'I'm bending the wood'

(120) *wai-'he-hỹ-'dy-da-ki* *cu'cu-a-nãi*
good-NEG-NOM-CAU-1S-DEC walk-1P-NOM
'it isn't good for me to walk' (e.g. because my foot is hurt)

(121) *barɛrini'tɛ* *nỹ-dy-'hỹ-da-ki*
tortilla big-CAU-ATTR-1S-DEC
'I made the cake big'

(122) *bi'lo* / *koreja-'yi* / *mã'bi* *koiloi-'dy-da-ki*
bow / knife-CL:thread / arrow bend-CAU-1S-DEC
'I'm twisting/bending the bow/wire/arrow'

(123) *esi'ki* *kara-'dy-da-ki*
leather dry-CAU-1S-DEC
'I dried the clothes'

(124) *auxwa'na* *de'ba(-'dy)-da-ki*
flesh turn-CAU-1S-DEC
'I turned over the (frying) meat'

(125) *kore'ja* *mãrɛ̃'dy-da-ki*
knife show-1S-DEC
'I showed/produced the knife (*to X)'

However, the causative animate object does not always receive case. Compare the following pairs of examples:

(126) *eto'hoi* *ku'nũ-ki* *(*malene(wã))*
child suckle-DEC
'the child suckles (*from Marlene)'

(127) *ma'lene* *kunũ-'dy-ki* *etohoi-'wã*
Marlene suckle-CAU-DEC child-AO
'Marlene nurses the child'

(128) *eto'hoi* *o'ho-ki*
child cough-DEC
'the child is coughing'

(129) *si* *oho-'dy-da-ki* *eto'hoi*
I cough-CAU-1S-DEC child
'I made the child cough'

Again, it is possible that the case marker has especially a disambiguating function. In (129) there can be no doubt about which argument is the subject because subject cross-reference makes this clear. In (127) there is only zero cross-reference to both arguments. Nevertheless, similar causative constructions were attested in which the animate object did not receive case:

(130) *ma'rija* *turwe-'dy-hỹ-ki* *hy'riko'ro*
Maria heal-CAU-NOM-DEC monkey
'Maria cured the monkey'

The following example suggests that case marking of causative indirect objects is probably optional:

(131) *zjwãu(-wã)* *ja-'dy-da-ki*
João-AO eat-CAU-1S-DEC
'I fed João'

4.1.1.2. Ditransitive verbs

With common ditransitive verbs it is the indirect object which is usually marked with the animate object marker, while the direct object remains unmarked:

(132) *zjwãu-'wã* *ãwã'txi-da-ki*
João-AO show-1S-DEC
'I'm showing it to João'

(133) *zjwãu* *ãwã'txi-da-ki*
João show-1S-DEC
'I'm showing João to him'

(134) *tsu'hỹ-da-ki* *lu'zeu*
jealous-1S-DEC Luzeu
'I'm jealous of Luzeu'

(135) *tsu'hỹ-da-ki* *etay-'wã*
jealous-1S-DEC woman-AO
'I'm jealous because of a woman'

(136) *luzeu-'wã* *wa'dy-xa-ki*
Luzeu-AO give-2-DEC
'you gave to Luzeu'

(137) *luzeu(*-wã)* *wady-'ja-xa-ki*
Luzeu(-AO) give-IO-2-DEC
'you gave Luzeu away/to someone'

(138) *lu'zeu* *wa'dy-eteja-hỹ-ki* *txana(-wã)* / *tsitsɛ-'wã*
Luzeu give-1PO-NOM-DEC we-AO / we-AO
'Luzeu gave to us (IN/EX)'

(139) *kurakura-'wã atxi'txi wady-'ra*
chicken-AO maize give-IMP
'give the chickens maize!'

Note that under coordination of objects, only the last one is obligatorily case marked:

(140) *'masju lu'zeu-tsy-hỹ-'wã wa'dy-xa-ki*
Marcio Luzeu-GER-NOM-AO give-2-DEC
'you gave to Marcio and Luzeu'

(141) *lu'zeu wa'dy-eteja-hỹ-ki maga'riDa((-tsy-hỹ)-wã)*
Luzeu give-1PO-NOM-DEC Margarida-GER-NOM-AO

'xyi((-tsy-hỹ)-wã) 'si-tsy-hỹ-wã
you-GER-NOM-AO I-GER-NOM-AO
'Luzeu gave to Margarida, you and me (us)'

When transitive verbs are derived with causative *-dy-* it seems that the animate indirect objects are marked:

(142) *akũ'cũ-nahe're-wã a'wỹi-xa-xa-ki*
Indian-COL-AO see-2-AS-DEC
'you are looking at the Indians'

(143) *'si-wã ãwỹi-'dy-ta?ỹ-'ra*
I-AO see-CAU-1SO-IMP
'show it to me!'

In Kwaza, the transitive verb *waja-* 'bring' does not allow the expression of an indirect object. It is made ditransitive through the morpheme *-ta-*. This introduces a recipient object which then gets case marking:

(144) *dodotxi'mũ wa'ja-da-ki Ba'hOzO-na (*'mariju(-wã))*
kerosene bring-1S-DEC Barroso-LOC (Mario-AO)
'I brought kerosene to Barroso (*for Mario)'

(145) *dodotxi'mũ waja-'ta-da-ki wãzeri-'wã*
kerosene bring-TRA-1S-DEC Wãzerip-AO
'I brought kerosene for Wãzerip'[90]

90. *Wãzerip* is a personal name in Salamãi which may be related to the word *wanzet* 'woman, wife' (Zack 1943, entry 35, Becker-Donner 1955:306).

4.1.1.3. Verbs which contain classifiers

Also the animate objects of transitive verbs which contain classifying morphemes do get *-wã*, whether the classifier is lexicalised to the verb stem, as seems a likely explanation for *-ro* in (127), or when it is not, as in (147):

(146) *luzeu-'wã hãrũ'ro-da-ki*
Luzeu-AO strangle-1S-DEC
'I strangled Luzeu'

(147) *zjwãu-'wã hado-'ri-da-ki*
João-AO pierce-CL:flat-1S-DEC
'I pierced João through the chest'

(148) *marija'Dite-wã haje-'kai-da-ki*
Maria.Edite-AO smear-CL:leg-1S-DEC
'I smeared oil on the leg of Maria Edite'

(149) *(axy(*-wã)) haje-'hỹ-da-ki*
house(-AO) smear-NOM-1S-DEC
'I painted (the house)'

In the above examples one could argue that the animate objects are indirect objects. Some verbs which contain classifiers do not allow case marked objects at all, however, whether direct or indirect, whether animate or inanimate:

(150) *wara-'hỹ-da-ki 'paulu*
touch-NOM-1S-DEC Paulo
'I touched Paulo'

(151) *'marju wara-'tu-da-ki*
Mario touch-CL:back-1S-DEC
'I touched Mario's shoulder'

(152) *pororõ'tɛ kui-'hỹ-da-ki*
fly drink-NOM-1S-DEC
'I swallowed a fly'

(153) *kuraku'ra haki'dwa kui-'dwa-ki*
chicken stone drink-CL:stone-DEC
'a chicken swallowed a stone'

(154) *kuraku'ra atxi'txi kui-'to-ki*
chicken maize drink-CL:seed-DEC
'a chicken swallowed a maize grain'

(155) *atxi'txi dudu-'ñũ-da-ki*
maize pound-CL:powder-1S-DEC
'I pounded the maize'

(156) *atxi'txi kã-'to-da-ki*
maize roast-CL:seed-1S-DEC
'I dried maize'

4.1.1.4. Optionality of animate object marking

There are some transitive verbs of which the animate object is only optionally marked:

(157) *deda(-'wã)* *ha'dai-da-ki*
anaconda-AO cut-1S-DEC
'I cut up the snake'

(158) *hu'ri(-wã)* *oxote-'hỹ-da-ki*
paca-AO stalk-NOM-1S-DEC
'I'm waiting for a paca'

(159) *hu'ri-(wã)* *o'xote-'rjỹ-da-ki*
paca-AO stalk-CD:area-1S-DEC
'I'm waiting for a paca'

(160) *'oniBus* *oxote-'hỹ-da-ki*
bus stalk-NOM-1S-DEC
'I'm waiting for the bus'

(161) *jere'xwa(-wã)* *'hẽu-da-ki*
jaguar-AO smell-1S-DEC
'I smelled dog'

(162) *tsũhũ-'du* *e'tay(-tjate-wã)* *a'sa-re*
what-for woman-3.POS-AO leave-INT
'what a pity he left his wife!'

(163) *zjwãu pedro-'wã* *txa* *kui-he'ta-tsɛ*
João Pedro-AO tea drink-DESI-DEC
'João wants Pedro to drink tea (but he is not saying it)'

(164) *(zjwãu* *peDro(-wã))* *kui-he'ta-tse.*
João Pedro-AO drink-DESI-DEC
'he (João) wants him (Pedro) to drink'

But often this optionality is not unconditional:

(165) *zjwãu(-'wã)* *butxi-'nã-da-ki*
João-AO free-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to free João'

(166) *xyi-'wã* *butxi-'nã-da-ki*
you-AO free-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to free you'

If the object of the latter example were not marked for case it would make the impression of a second person singular subject with wrong cross-reference marking on the verb.

With regard to the following examples, it may be that there is a different sense involved in the presence and absence of *-wã*:

(167) *zjwãu(-wã)* *axe'hỹ-da-ki*
João-AO find-1S-DEC
'I met (with) João'

(168) *si(-wã)-'e*
I-AO-too
'I want (for me) too'

Depending on the verb stem to which it is applied, the (transitivising) verbal morpheme *-tja-* (see 5.4.2.2.), which probably introduces objects of reason, may allow or may require that the object is case marked with *-wã*. In the following examples, case marking is optional:

(169) *hu'ri(-wã)* *ũ'ca-da-ki*
paca-AO ambush-1S-DEC
'I'm hiding from the paca (ready to get it)'

(170) *hai'munDa(-'wã)* *we-'tja-da-ta* *dyry'ry-da-ki*
Raimunda-AO fear-TRA-1S-CSO tremble-1S-DEC
'I tremble with fear for Raimunda'

In example (171) below and (1744) in section (5.4.2.2.), the obligatory combination of *-tja-* together with case marking yields a specific or determinate sense:

(171) *de'da* *'we-ki* / *'we-tse*
anaconda fear-DEC / fear-DEC
'the snake is afraid'

(172) *deda-'wã* *we-'tja-ki*
anaconda-AO fear-TRA-DEC
'he is afraid of the snake' ("only when seeing it", not in general)

Comparing the following examples, the combination of *-tja-* with case marking is dependent on animacy:

(173) *wãwãwỹ-tja-'hỹ-da-ki* *magariDa-'wã*
dream-TRA-NOM-1S-DEC Margarida-AO
'I dreamt of Margarida' (*-wã* required because object is a person)

(174) *'marju* *wãwãwỹ-tja-'hỹ-ki* *tsũrũrũ'nĩ(-wã)*
Mario dream-TRA-NOM-DEC sand-AO
'Mario is dreaming of sand' (*-wã* optional because not a person)

In the following examples containing *-tja-* applied to verbs of saying and ordering, the object is obligatorily marked for case:

(175) *pẽrɛ̃jã-'tja-da-ki* *paulu-'wã*
speak-TRA-1S-DEC Paulo-AO
'I said to Paulo'

(176) *ra.'tja-da-ki* *maurilju-'wã*
order.TRA-1S-DEC Maurilio-AO
'I ordered Maurilio'

(177) *'erme 'mã-ta-ki teteru-'wã pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'ra ta-ta-'ta*
Hermes call-1O-DEC Teteru-AO speak-TRA-IMP talk-1O-CSO
'Hermes called me over for me to speak with Teteru'

4.1.1.5. Interrogative objects marked by *-wã*

It seems that interrogative constructions with verbs of saying require question words to be marked with *-wã*:

(178) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-wã jari'mã jã-'re*
what-FOC-AO jarimã be-INT
'what does "*jarimã*" mean?'

(179) *ti-'nãi mã-a-'re ỹ-hỹ-'wã*
what-like call-1P-INT that-NOM-AO
'what is that called?'

(180) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-wã hã 'ta-a-re*
what-FOC-AO water talk-1P-INT
'what does "*hã*" mean?'

(181) *kuraku'ra 'ta-a-ki*
chicken talk-1P-DEC
'we call it chicken'

(182) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-wã mã-a-'nãi-re*
what-FOC-AO call-1P-NOM-INT
'what does that (word) mean?'

(183) *ti-hỹ-'wã ũce'hỹ-xa-re*
what-NOM-AO know-2-INT
'which one is it you knew?'[91]

(184) *ti-'hỹ ɛ-'re*
what-NOM go-INT
'which one of them went away?'

4.1.1.6. Word order and the optionality of *-wã*

Word order was encountered as a possible determining factor only in certain cases, which were not tested for further shades of meaning:

(185) *jere'xwa 'tsje-ki duture(-'wã)*
jaguar close-DEC pig-AO
'the jaguar grabbed the pig'

(186) *tsje-wa-'ki ku'rakura(-'wã)*
close-IS-DEC chicken-AO
'someone grabbed the chicken'

(187) *ku'rakura 'tsje-ki jere'xwa*
chicken close-DEC jaguar
'jaguar grabbed chicken'

91. *tihỹ'wã* was pronounced as [tĩ'w̃ã].

(188) *'tsje-ki jere'xwa ku'rakura-'wã*
close-DEC jaguar chicken-AO
'jaguar grabbed chicken'

(189) *jere'xwa kuraku'ra*(-'wã) 'tsje-ki*
jaguar chicken-AO close-DEC
'jaguar grabbed chicken'

(190) *ũce'nãi-da-ki jere'xwa 'tsje-ki kuraku'ra-wã*
know-1S-DEC jaguar close-DEC chicken-AO
'I know that the jaguar killed the chicken'

(191) *e'tay watxi-'ki-tse jere'xwa kurakura-'wã tsje- a-'nãi*
woman true-DEC-REP jaguar chicken-AO close-1P-NOM
'the woman believes that the jaguar killed the chicken'

4.1.1.7. Case marking of embedded objects

Notice that case marking stays intact under nominalisation. If the verb is an embedded nominalised phrase, its animate objects may receive case:

(192) *ã'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki hoBeto-'wã ã'wỹi-xa-xay-hỹ*
see-1S-NOM-DEC Roberto-AO see-2-2S-NOM
'I saw that photo you took of Roberto'[92]

(193) *zjwãu-'wã ca'ri(-wa)-nãi hary'ky e'tay-tjate*
João-AO shoot-IS-NOM now woman-3.POS

jã'si-ki / ũce'nãi-ki
hear-DEC / know-DEC
'they killed João but now his wife found out'

Also animate arguments embedded in attributive clauses are case marked. This is discussed in (8.4.1.).

92. Without animate object marking, the sentence would be interpreted as follows:

ã'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki ho'Beto ã'wỹi-ja-xa-xay-hỹ
see-1S-NOM-DEC Roberto see-IO-2-2-NOM
'Roberto, I saw that photo you took (of someone)'

4.1.1.8. Inanimate objects marked by *-wã*

From the following examples it appears that *-wã* is preferred on an inanimate object in some instances:

(194) *(axy-'wã)* *ywy'nwỹ* *o'tsi-ki*
house-AO tree kill-DEC
'a log fell onto the house'

(195) *axy-'na* *ywy'nwỹ* *o'tsi-ki* *zjwãu(-wã)*
house-LOC tree kill-DEC João-AO
'inside the house a log fell onto João'

Maybe the first example (194) is a figure of speech, as houses are often smashed by trees. Note also that the consequences of this can be serious since it regularly leads to tragic deaths of the inhabitants.[93] Note furthermore that traditionally a house is destroyed (through fire) if a beloved resident has died. In some cultures, inanimate objects that can contain people, such as ships, houses and villages, may be treated as animate, which may find expression in grammar. The only attested instance of this in Kwaza may be example (194).

In relation to the second example (195) my teacher explained that the object could not have been **mesa-wã* 'table-AO', because "a table is not a human". Note that in the next example (196) an unmarked animate object is considered more grammatical than a marked one. The consultant noted that an inanimate object marked with *-wã*, as in *kanwã?ekai'?e-wã* 'car-AO', is possible though nonsensical:

(196) *kanwã=ekai-'e* *o'tsi-ki* *zjwãu(-wã)*
canoe=leg-too kill-DEC João-AO
'The car killed João'

In the following example *-wã* is applied to an inanimate (be it vegetal) object that is the object of the matrix verb:

(197) *atxitxi'?ũ-wã* *du'dunjũ-da-mỹ*
rice-AO pound-1S-VOL
'I'm going to pound rice'

However, in the situation where that object is embedded in a nominalised phrase, *-wã* does not seem possible:

93. The recent death of one of the Kwaza children in the São Pedro reserve is a sad example of this.

(198) *atxitxi'?ũ* *du'dunjũ-a-hỹ*
rice pound-1P-NOM
'pounded rice'

The possibility of object marking in (197) is not understood, but its impossibility in (198) can probably be explained in relation to the fact that this phrase represents an attributive construction. The object of the verb root is the head of this attributive construction (see also 4.3.2. and 8.4.1.).

4.1.1.9. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, we can say that objects of transitive verbs tend to be case marked in the first place because they belong to the animate category. When they are inanimate, case marking is ungrammatical. From a formal point of view, case marking is not strictly necessary in order to distinguish between the subject and the object, because the subject is identified by cross-reference marking on the verb. However, if all arguments are third persons there is room for ambiguity. In the absence of case marking, if both subject and object are animate third persons, there would be no way to know on the basis of the syntax alone which would be what. From a pragmatic point of view, the absence of case marking generally does not create ambiguity when the verbal object is inanimate. The same holds for indirect objects of semantically ditransitive verbs: it is usually people who give things to living beings. So, if the case marker *-wã* were an animacy marker alone, the disambiguation function would be an automatic side effect. Nevertheless, it is essential when the arguments of transitive verbs are equal in animacy and person. Therefore *-wã* is bifunctional: it serves to mark both animacy and objecthood. At the same time, it reflects the much attested pragmatically based tendency to prefer to give subject function to animate beings (see e.g. Comrie 1989:128). From the contrast between certain verbs, remember the pair (106) and (107), it appears also that in the grammar of Kwaza, human beings are higher on the animacy hierarchy than non-human animate beings.

The occurrence of *-wã* on inanimate nouns, as in (197), is not understood in the light of the present analysis.

For some verbs no information was obtained regarding the question whether animate object marking is optional, obligatory or ungrammatical:

(199) *dilɛ-'wã* *oi'tsi-tsy-hỹ-'re*
who-AO copulate-GER-NOM-INT
'who's he going to fuck?'

(200) *ã'rũi-wã* *'mũ-ki*
tapir-AO pull-DEC
'he is leading the donkey'

(201) *owe'te-da-ki* *ma'rija-wã*
comb-1S-DEC Maria-AO
'I'm combing Maria'

(202) *marija-'wã hẽto'tɛ-da-ki kanwã=ekai-'e*
Maria-AO suspend-1S-DEC canoe=leg-too
'I helped Maria (climb) onto the car'

(203) *ã'rũi-wã mã?audy'nɛ̃-wa-si*
tapir-AO call.come-IS-SWR
'they called tapir to come' (t)

(204) *apa'ra hadotxe'ta-da-ki*
banana support-1S-DEC
'I supported the banana tree'

(205) *ywy'nwỹ-ko hado'txa-da-ki a'xy*
tree-INS support-1S-DEC house
'I supported the house with a piece of wood'

In combination with the element *-a-* and the nominaliser *-hỹ*, *-wã* may have an adverbialising function. This is discussed in (6.2.4.3.).

4.1.2. Locative -na

The locative case ending *-na*, also pronounced often as [nã], basically expresses the sense of 'in'. It is also used as a general marker expressing other locational senses as 'into, under, from, etc.', often in combination with verbs bearing a directional suffix (see 5.3.).

(206) *a'xy-na*
house-LOC
'in the house'

(207) *mau'ru haka're-dũ'rũ-na*
woodpecker buriti-CL:stump-LOC
'woodpecker in a buriti stem'

(208) *ho'lanDa-na 'a-xa-re*
Holland-LOC exist-2-INT
'were you born in Holland?'

(209) *ẽrjãwã-'na o'nɛ-ki*
forest-LOC return-DEC
'he came/went out of the forest'[94]

(210) *ʃupi'ngwaja-na oja'nỹ-ki*
Chupinguaia-LOC arrive.here-DEC
'he came from Chupinguaia hereto'

(211) *ʃupi'ngwaja-na ojabu'ru-da-ki lato*
Chupinguaia-LOC arrive.there-1S-DEC yesterday
'I arrived there in Chupinguaia yesterday'

(212) *erilo-'na kukui-'hỹ-da-ki*
jaw-LOC hurt-NOM-1S-DEC
'I have a pain in the jaw'

(213) *e-'ja txana-'ricwa-na*
go-EXP we.IN-CL:place-LOC
'let's go to our town'

94. Alternative order 2-1 is also permitted.

(214) *de'da 'hã-na-ỹ-'hỹ*
snake water-LOC-ATT-NOM
'anaconda'

(215) *ẽrjãwã-na-'hỹ*
forest-LOC-NOM
'(it is) from the forest'

(216) *korejaro-'na-ỹ-hỹ 'tsicwa-ta 'hã'dote-ki*
pan-LOC-ATT-NOM begin-CSO water shed-DEC
'water began to leak from the pan'

As will be seen in (4.1.3.), the locative can also be expressed by the instrumental ending *-ko*.

In some instances a locative or instrumental object is already understood from the pragmatic context or from the semantic content of the verb, in which case it is not considered acceptable to add one:

(217) *(*? xui-'na / xui-'ko) atxitxi boi-'dy-da-ki*
bag-LOC / bag-INS maize fill-CAU-1S-DEC
'I put the maize (in the bag)'

In the above example the bag is a "local" object, and not a subject or (in)direct object. One may inquire about the local object:

(218) *tsũhũ-rati-'na*
what-FOC-LOC
'in what?'

Only nouns which function as locative adverbs may occur without locative or instrumental case marking. Such nouns often bear the classifier/directional *-rjỹ* 'area' (see 4.2. and 6.2.3.).

4.1.3. Instrumental -ko

The ending *-ko* marks the noun as an instrumental argument of the verb.

(219) *prego-'ko'twe-ki lo'te*
spike-INS pierce-DEC door
'the spike went through the door'

(220) *co'ha-ko 'dai?oce-'ra*
foot-INS clear-IMP
'kick it aside with your foot!'

(221) *ho'ho-ỹ-mũ-'ko ha'je-wa-ki*
black-ATT-CL:liquid-INS smear-IS-DEC
'it is painted black'

Instrumental *-ko* can also be omitted. One would expect that arguments without instrumental or locative case marking are nuclear arguments instead of

local arguments. With some verbs the omission of *-ko* may indicate an alternative valency interpretation:

(222) *mĩu-(ko)* *nũ'ri-da-ki*
chicha-INS satiate-1S-DEC
'I'm full of chicha'

Because verbs are often not morphologically marked for transitivity, it is not certain that (222) is transitive when *-ko* is omitted. With respect to the arguments in the following examples my teacher explained that "they are more correct with *-ko*, but if you are lazy or you don't feel like talking, you leave it out":

(223) *awe-mũ-(ko)* *haha-nỹ-'djo-xa-re*
rain-CL:liquid-INS wash-REF-CL:foot-2-INT
'are you washing your foot with rainwater?'

(224) *awe-mũ-(ko)* *haha-'djo-hata-ni*
rain-CL:liquid-INS wash-CL:foot-3S.2O-EXH
'let the rainwater wash your foot!'

The consultant's remark probably indicates that the omission of the case marker does not reflect increase of the verb's valency. Note the following ungrammatical example:

(225) **awe-mũ* *haha-ki* *xyi-dy-hỹ* *coha*
rain-CL:liquid wash-DEC you-POS-NOM foot
'the rainwater washes your foot'

The consultant explained that this sentence was incorrect because "the rain did not place me here, in order to wash me"[95]. This remark indicates that the rain is not considered a proper agentive argument of the verb.

Although grammatical omission of instrumental *-ko* does not necessarily imply that the noun is a nuclear argument of the verb, it is not entirely optional either. Omission of *-ko* does have an influence of the meaning of the sentence:

(226) *awe-mũ-'ko* *toma-'ra*
rain-CL:liquid-INS bathe-IMP
'take a bath with rainwater (from the barrel)!'

(227) *awe-'mũ* *toma-'ra*
rain-CL:liquid bathe-IMP
'take a bath (standing) in the rain!'

95. In POR: *A chuva não me colocou aqui para lavar mim*.

The fact that certain arguments are considered as nuclear and other arguments as local depends probably mainly on the subcategorisation of the verb root.

When it follows the nominalising suffix *-nãi* the instrumental marks the content of the nominalised verb as a reason complement of a main verb. In a way, it functions as an adverb or an adverbial clause (see 6.2.4.2.):

(228) *hu'hui=asa-ty-taxwa-nãi-ko* *mã* *e-'he-da-ta*
kill=leave-DET-IS.1O-NOM-INS mother have-NEG-1S-CSO
'through their killing and taking away from me, I have no mother' (t)

As a case marker, instrumental *-ko* is characteristically applied to nouns. Nevertheless, the attachement of *-ko* to a verb root was attested on one occasion:

(229) *lo'loi-ỹ-ko* *hu'hui-da*
scythe-ATT-INS hit-1S
'I killed it (the ant-eater) with a scythe'

It is possible that this example, which is from an eight year old monolingual boy, represents a slip of the tongue. The word for 'scythe' is *lo'loi?ỹhỹ*, which suggests that the (unidentified) root is verbal and that the stem contains an attributive morpheme and a nominaliser. Often, classifiers occur in the place of the nominaliser *-hỹ*. It is true that the instrumental case marker is homophonous with the classifier *-ko* 'fruit', but in the context of the example it seems unlikely that this caused the assumed mistake. Note that the example is elliptic, because the declarative mood marker is omitted. Maybe the nominaliser *-hỹ* was hardly audible because of rapid pronunciation. *lo'loi?ỹhỹko* 'by scythe' would be grammatical here.

4.1.3.1. Cislocative function of *-ko*

The ending *-ko* can also mark the noun as a locative argument. This is given as an alternative to a construction involving the ending *-na*. According to the consultant this use has identical semantic value, as the following examples suggest:

(230) *i'tso-na* *'cutsẽrjỹ-ki*
hammock-LOC lie-DEC
'he lay in the hammock'

(231) *i'tso-ko* *'cutsẽrjỹ-ki*
hammock-INS lie-DEC
'he lay in the hammock'

However, note the difference in meaning between the following examples:

(232) *axy-'na* *'bukwa-xa-tsy-tse*
house-LOC stay-2-POT-DEC
'you will stay inside (your house)!'

(233) *axy-'ko* *'bukwa-xa-tsy-tse*
house-INS stay-2-POT-DEC
'you will stay inside (my house)!'

Maybe the difference between locative *-na* and *-ko* in a locative function is that *-na* is a general locative marker and *-ko* can be used in a specific cislocative sense. The following examples corroborate this:

(234) *jere'xwa ywynwỹ-'na bukja-rja'tɛ-ki*
jaguar tree-LOC lie-beside-DEC
'the dog is lying behind the tree (stump or log)'

(235) *ywynwỹ-'ko bukja-rja'tɛ-da-ki*
tree-INS lie-beside-1S-DEC
'I'm lying (here) by the side of the log'

(236) *ho'lanDa-na 'a-da-ki greBa-'ko 'a-da-ki*
Holland-LOC exist-1S-DEC Gleba-INS exist-1S-DEC
'I live in Holland (but now) I am in Gleba'

(237) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko 'a-da-ki holanDa-'ko*
this-NOM-INS exist-1S-DEC Holland-INS
'I am here in Holland' (calling Brazil on the telephone)

(238) *greBa-'ko 'a-da-ki*
Gleba-INS exist-1S-DEC
'I am here in Gleba' (calling Holland on the telephone)

Note also the occurrence of *-ko* with (cis-)locative demonstratives as in (237) and in the next example (and see also 4.6.3.):

(239) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko ti-'nãi ỹ-'hỹ 'mã-nãi 'e-xa-xa-re*
this-NOM-INS what-like this-NOM call-NOM have-2-AS-INT
'how do you (PL) call this place here?'

However, the cislocative hypothesis does not hold in the next example:

(240) *hiri'ni-tay-(dy)-xy-'ko 'ũi-da-ki*
shaman-CL:woman-(POS)-CL:house-INS lie-1S-DEC
'I slept in the missionary's house'

4.1.4. Beneficiary -du

A beneficiary argument is marked with the morpheme *-du*.

(241) *maga'riDa-du 'wɛ-da-mỹ*
Margarida-BER bring-1S-VOL
'I'm going to take (it) for Margarida'

(242) *tsũhũ-'du 'nãi-xa-re*
what-BER thus-2-INT
'why did you do that!?' (complaining)

The noun ending in *-du* is often used as a basis for verbalisation, e.g. of *si'du* 'for me':

(243) *dilɛ-'du-xa-re*
who-BER-2-INT
'for whom are you doing that?'

(244) *si-'du-re*
I-BER-INT
'is it for me?'

In combination with the exhortative *-ni* (see 5.2.4.) it expresses the notion of 'wanting' or 'claiming':

(245) *kanɛ'xu 'si-du-'ni*
bracelet I-BER-EXH
'I want a bracelet for me'

(246) *si-ra'ta a'wỹi-da-hỹ-'ki 'si-du-'ni*
I-first see-1S-NOM-DEC I-BER-EXH
'I saw it first, it's for me'

Note that the object of the following ditransitive benefactive verb compound is not marked with a beneficiary case:

(247) *dutu're cari=wady-'nã-da-ki magariDa-'wã*
pig shoot=give-FUT-1S-DEC Margarida-AO
'I'm going to kill a pig for Margarida'

This may be because of the combination of grammatical and semantic factors (the object is not oblique, and the beneficiary relationship is inherent to the semantics of *wady-* 'to give').

4.1.5. Comitative -dynỹ

A comitative argument is marked with the morpheme *-dynỹ*. The matrix verb may be transitive or intransitive.

(248) *jere'xwa-dynỹ hyhy'rwa-da-ki*
jaguar-COMIT move-1S-DEC
'I'm walking with the dog (on my side)'

(249) *axe'hỹ-da-hỹ-'ki e'tay-dynỹ*
find-1S-NOM-DEC woman-COMIT
'I found him with a woman'

(250) *di'lɛ-dynỹ o'ja-xa-re*
who-COMIT go-2-INT
'with whom did you go?'

(251) *koreja'ro arwa-'hỹ mã-'nỹ-ta-tɛ-'dynỹ o'nɛ-hỹ-ki*
pan new-NOM call-REF-TRA-NOM-COMIT arrive-NOM-DEC
'the new pan came with the ordered goods'

(252) *sam'weu onɛ-'ki zjwãu-dy'nỹ*
'Samuel arrive-DEC João-COMIT
'Samuel is coming and João too'

(253) *hyrikoro-xwa'na-tja atxitxi'?ũ-tja hari?ixu-dy'nỹ 'ja-da-ki*
monkey-CL:flesh-CSO rice-CSO bean-COMIT eat-1S-DEC
'I'm eating monkey meat, rice and beans'

(254) *'mangka-dy'nỹ nũ'ty ja-da-'he-tsy-tse*
mango-COMIT honey eat-1S-NEG-POT-DEC
'I'm not going to eat mangoes with honey'

(255) *baru-ta-lɛ-'mũ-ki sjupi'ngwaja-dynỹ*
end-TRA-RECI-CL:liquid-DEC Chupinguaia-COMIT

hã txi-mũ-'tɛ
water big-CL:liquid-NOM
'over there the Chupinguaia river merges with the Pimenta Bueno'

(256) *koreja'ri-dy'nỹ-ki di'hu*
plate-COMIT-DEC spoon
'the spoon is together with the plate (by its side)'

The comitative morpheme *-dynỹ* is also found in combination with the verbal applicative comitative morpheme *-ete-* as in:

(257) *teteru-dy'nỹ tomã-(e'te)-da-mỹ*
Teteru-COMIT bathe-COMIT-1S-VOL
'I'm going to take a bath (together) with Teteru'

This verbal comitative morpheme seems to have lexicalised with the verb root *ja-* 'to eat' in *jete-* 'to eat mixed'. The object of this verb is obligatory marked for comitative case:

(258) *ka'wɛ-dynỹ jete-mũ-'ra*
coffee-COMIT eat.mixed-CL:liquid-IMP
'drink coffee with it!'

The comitative case marker was furthermore encountered in a sentence which contained the reflexive morpheme *-nỹ-*:

(259) *tete'ru-dy'nỹ* *do-nỹ-hỹ-'nã-a-xa-ki*
Teteru-COMIT leak-REF-NOM-FUT-1P-AS-DEC
'I'm going to make us wet, with Teteru'

The verbal comitative is discussed in (5.4.8.), and the reflexive in (5.4.6.).

4.2. Class

Many Kwaza nouns belong inherently to specific classes. These classes are indicated by particular morphemes usually called "classifiers". In Kwaza the system of morphological classifiers is very elaborate. Their function is two-fold. They mark class-membership of an argument of a verbal phrase on the predicate. They also also mark class affiliation of nouns or nominal expressions. These classifiers are bound morphemes which cannot occur by themselves. Classifiers show a resemblance to verbal cross-referencing morphemes.[96] In constructions involving classifiers, a nominal expression, here called the referent or head noun, is optionally present. As classifiers may have an anaphoric function in Kwaza, the referent can be omitted.

Class membership of nouns is referred to by classifying morphemes on the verb in principally two ways. A verb may "incorporate" a classifier, or a verb may be nominalised by a classifier. Furthermore, classifiers can be attached to a noun itself, creating a derived noun. Finally, class membership is often expressed in words with semantically attributive roots such as numerals which must always contain a classifier. These and other types of constructions do not involve different types of classifiers; in principle the same set of classifiers is used everywhere. In this way, Kwaza corresponds to the observation made about Amazonian classifier systems in Derbyshire and Payne (1990:246, number 4), to the effect that there is often a single integrated system, rather than separate systems.[97]

Many nouns do not belong to specific classes. These are indicated by a "neutral" class marker *-hỹ*, which can act as a substitute for specific classifiers. This neutral class marker has a variety of uses, such as nominalisation (see 5.6.), which exceeds the area of class. Here I will only discuss its function as a neutral classifier.

Because classification is important for the understanding of attributive modification, numerals and demonstratives, I have dealt with it here, prior to subsections (4.3.), (4.5.) and (4.6.), rather than elsewhere.

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96. Consequently, according to Rijkhoff (pc), classifiers can be considered as dummy pronouns.
97. Consequently, Kwaza belongs to their category of numeral + concordial + verb-incorporated systems (Derbyshire and Payne 1990:261-263, section 3.7).

4.2.1. The distribution of classifiers

In the following subsections, the different types of constructions in which class is expressed are dealt with only briefly. The first subsection only illustrates the nominalisation morpheme *-hỹ*, which in the other subsections functions as a classifier.

4.2.1.1. Nominalisation of bare verb stems

One of the most common nominalising morphemes is *-hỹ*. When it "replaces" the mood marker of a verb, it functions as a nominaliser. The result can occur independently as a noun:

(260) *ka'hɛ-ki*
bite-DEC
'he bit'

(261) *ka'hɛ-hỹ*
bite-NOM
'the one who bit/was bitten'

As a nominalised verb keeps most of its verbal properties (arguments, person marking etc.) it can also function as the Kwaza equivalent of a (headless) relative clause:

(262) *ũcenãi-'he-da-hỹ* *ere'we-da-ki*
know-NEG-1S-NOM write-1S-DEC
'I'm writing what I don't know'

(263) *jere'xwa 'ekai 'dwỹ-hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
jaguar leg break-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the/a dog with broken leg'

It is not clear whether the semantically neutral nominaliser can be replaced by a specific classifier in the above constructions. The following verbalised example, which involves the classifier *-ro* 'cup', suggests that it can:[98]

(264) *si 'kui-da-ro-ki*
I drink-1S-CL:cup-DEC
'it is my (own) cup I drink from'

The nominalising functions of *-hỹ* are discussed further in sections (5.6.) and (8.4.).

98. Note that no similar example without verbalisation was encountered.

4.2.1.2. Classification of derived attributive verb stems

In other constructions than the ones shown above, *-hỹ* may function as a Neutral classifier. In that position, it can be substituted by any other classifier, e.g. *-mũ* 'liquid', depending on the grammatical context. In the following examples, the attributive (4.3.2.1.) morpheme *-ỹ-* has to be added to the verb stem before a classifier may occur:

(265) *ho'ho-ỹ-hỹ*
black-ATT-NOM
'(a) black (one)'

(266) *ho'ho-ỹ-mũ*
black-ATT-CL:liquid
'black liquid'

(267) *ho'ho-ỹ-nũ*
black-ATT-CL:powder
'gunpowder'

(268) *ho'ho-ỹ-siki*
black-ATT-CL:skin
'black clothes'

4.2.1.3. Classification of derived noun stems: possessive

Due to the properties of attributive constructions in Kwaza, nouns can be juxtaposed to a referent and act as a modifier (see 4.3.2.). The concomitant nouns may be bare nouns or not, and the modifier may be an argument of the verbal stem of a nominalised referent or not. In the following example, *wade'xyi* 'straw' can be considered as an argument of the verb *bu-* 'to put':

(269) *wade-'xyibu-ni'te*
tucuma-CL:hair put-INSTR
'straw hat'
(lit. 'thing of straw of tucuma to (be) put (on the head)')

The Kwaza possessive construction consists of a noun extended with the morpheme *-dy-* (homophonous with verbal causative/benefactive) and a final classifier (see 4.3.1.). The result can either function as an independent nominal expression, as in example (270) below, or attributively as a modifier to a referent head noun, as in (271) and (274). Sometimes a choice is possible between a Neutral or a more specific classifier. When the specific classifier is etymologically related to the referent it classifies, the referent may be omitted, as in (272) and (275), as if the classifier were a cross-reference morpheme (note that word order difference probably does not have influence here):

(270) *'si-dy-hỹ*
I-POS-NOM
'mine / my one'

(271) *'si-dy-hỹ a'xy*
I-POS-NOM house
'my house'

(272) *(a'xy) 'si-dy-xy*
(house) I-POS-CL:house
'my house'

(273) *'kopo 'si-dy-'hỹ-ki*
cup I-POS-NOM-DEC
'the cup is mine/it is my cup'

(274) *tawi'wi-dy-hỹ a'xy*
Tavivi-POS-NOM house
'Tavivi's house'

(275) *tawi'wi-dy-xy*
Tavivi-POS-CL:house
'Tavivi's house'

Note that the possessive element *-dy-* is absent or optional under circumstances described in (4.3.1.) and (4.2.1.9.).

4.2.1.4. Classification of bare attributive roots

Kwaza has a small group of bound roots which are always followed by a classifier. They have often an adjectival meaning, such as "new", "cold" etc. Numerals also belong to this group, which is further discussed in (4.3.2.2.). These roots cannot occur as bare independent words, since they must be minimally derived as nouns through the application of classifiers. Neither can they be used as verb stems without intervening classifiers.

(276) *arwa-'hỹ* (**arwa-ki*)
new-NOM
'new one'

(277) *a'xy arwa-'hỹ*
house new-NOM
'new house'

(278) *(a'xy) haka-'xy* (**haka-ki*)
(house) old-CL:house
'old house'

(279) *aky-'hỹ* (**aky-ki*)
two-NOM
'two (ones)'

(280) *(a'xy) aky-'xy*
(house) two-CL:house
'two houses'

(281) *ka'nwã aky-'kai e'mã ele'le-tse*
canoe two-CL:leg three very-DEC
'the car has four wheels'

(282) *awy-'hỹ*
cold-NOM
'cold (one)'

(283) *awy-'hỹ-ki* (**awy-ki*)
cold-NOM-DEC
'he is cold'

(284) *awy-'mũ*
cold-CL:liquid
'cold liquid'

(285) *ereri-'tay-da-ta awy-mũ-'dy-da-ki*
grow-CL:woman-1S-CSO cold-CL:liquid-CAU-1S-DEC
'being an old woman I find the water cold'

Not all verb roots which display this characteristic of boundness are semantically attributive, such as *ãrũ-* 'to rub', which furthermore never occurs without verbal inflexion (see the last examples of 5.6.1.).

4.2.1.5. Classification of adverbial stems

There is a group of directional affixes (see 5.3.) which frequently form free (positional) adverbs when applied to the semantically empty adverbial root *a-* (see 6.2.1.). They can be derived further by classifiers and become nouns:

(286) *a-toto-'mũ*
Ø-DR:upward-CL:liquid
'riverside'

The adverbial stem in the following example does contain a lexicalised directional, *-ritsa-* 'outside' (see also 6.2.1.), but not the empty root *a-*:

(287) *tsiritsa-'mũ*
middle-CL:liquid
'the middle of the river'

Classified adverbs may also remain functionally adverbial (see 6.2.). As adverbs, the result indicates the position with regard to the item to which the classifier refers:

(288) *a-toto-'xy*
Ø-DR:upward-CL:house
'on top of the house'

4.2.1.6. Classification of demonstrative roots

The classifier *-hỹ* as well as the other classifiers can be applied to a demonstrative root, e.g.:

(289)	*ỹ-'hỹ*	'this one'	*ay-'hỹ*	'that one'
	ỹ-'ro	'this cup'	*ay-'tay*	'that woman'
	ỹ-'rjỹ	'over here, this place'	*ay-'rjỹ*	'over there, that place' (t)

Demonstratives may be juxtaposed to nouns and form an attributive construction:

(290) *ay-'rjỹ* *o'ja-tsy-rjỹ*
that-CD:area leave-GER-CD:area
'that place where he would go to'

Also here, specific classifiers allow the omission of the head of the attributive construction:

(291) *(ywy'nwỹ)* *jã-ỹ-'nwỹ*
tree DIST-this-CL:tree
'the tree (over) there'

4.2.1.7. Classification of interrogative roots

Kwaza has bound interrogative roots which are always followed by a classifier. In this respect, they resemble attributive, numeral and adverbial roots. Compare the following examples:

(292) *ti-'hỹ*
what-NOM
'which one?, where?'

(293) *ti-'wy*
what-time
'when?, what time?'

(294) *ti-'tay*
what-CL:woman
'which woman?'

4.2.1.8. Classifier incorporation

The most common occurrence of classifiers is as an "incorporated" element within verb stems. In this context they represent a trace of an argument of the verb, and may not nominalise the verb. The root of the verb can also be used as a verb stem by itself, but usually with a slightly different meaning. The involved semantic change is idiomatic. Compare e.g. *wai-ki* 'it is (or tastes) good' and *nỹ-ki* 'he is fat' to the following examples:

(295) *wai-'hỹ-ki*
good-NOM-DEC
'it is beautiful'

(296) *wai-'xy-ki*
good-CL:house-DEC
'it is a beautiful house' (not: 'a good house')

(297) *nỹ-'hỹ-ki*
fat-NOM-DEC
'he is big'

(298) *koreja'ro* *nỹ-'ro-ki*
pan fat-CL:cup-DEC
'the pan is big' (not: 'the pan is fat')

One indication that classifiers do not necessarily nominalise verb stems, but that they can also be incorporated without changing the category, is the possible attachment of the instrument nominaliser *-nite*. This nominaliser is never attached to a noun, and it is only found attached to a classifier if this classifier is preceded by a verbal stem:

(299) *de're ũ-nã'si-ni'tɛ*
shell be-CL:ear-INSTR
'earring' (lit. 'shell for being put into the ear')

The verb root *awỹi-* usually means 'to see' but sometimes also 'to watch'. The verb root *awãta-* 'to watch (it)' is probably derived from a combination of *awỹi-* and the transitiviser *-ta-*. This combination is lexicalised because it has to be succeeded by a directional or a classifier, unlike other verbs marked with *-ta-*.

(300) *awãta-'hỹ-da-ki*
see-NOM-1S-DEC
'I'm looking at him', 'I'm watching'

(301) *awãta-'xy-da-ki*
see-CL:leaf-1S-DEC
'I'm looking at the paper'

Multiple classifiers can be "incorporated" into the verb and cross-refer to its arguments. The verb *hay-* 'to cut' is normally limited to the cutting of wood, but it may form a relatively fixed combination with certain classifiers:

(302) *hay-xy-nũ-ko'ro-da-mỹ*
cut-CL:hair-CL:powder-Cl:arm-1S-VOL
'I'm going to cut hair off the arm'

In this example, the classifier *-xy-* refers to the hair that is being cut off, and *-koro-* to the arm of which it is cut off. The classifier *-nũ-* is probably not an "incorporated" argument, but it further specifies hair as a powder-like substance and may as such specify the manner of hair-cutting.

4.2.1.9. Classifiers attached to nouns

Classifiers may be attached to nouns, and can act as second members in compounds. The result is a noun either with a related, or with a rather different meaning, e.g.:

(303) *uruhu-'ro*
vulture-CL:cup
'headdress of vulture feathers'

(304) *haki-'xy*
stone-CL:house
'house made of stone'

(305) *atxitxi-'to*
maize-kernel
'kernel of maize'

(306) *atxitxi.'?ũ*
maize .grain
'rice'

(307) *jo-'mũ*
manioc-CL:liquid
'manioc beer'

(308) *kawe-'nũ*
coffee-CL:powder
'ground coffee'

Some possessive expressions may also be turned in to noun-classifying constructions, but this is not very productive either:

(309) *o'lu(-dy)-ku'ty*
curassow-POS-CL:head
'head of curassow'

In the following example, the classifier does not change anything but seems to be there only to further describe the meaning of the stem.

(310) *koreja-ka'nɛ*
knife-CL:oblong.object
'(wooden) machete'

(311) *ka'wɛ*
coffee
'coffee'

(312) *kawɛ-'mũ*
coffee-CL:liquid
'coffee'

A similar construction, in which a Portuguese noun is combined with a Kwaza classifier, is found in *'tauBa-kanɛ* 'washing-up platform' (lit. 'board-CL:oblong' or 'board-CL:board').

4.2.1.10. Lexicalised classifiers

With several nouns, especially names of plant species, a classifier is combined with a noun root. The noun root and the classifier cannot occur as independent words. Although such words cannot be analysed (any more?) semantically, the classifier may remain formally identical to its productive equivalent e.g.:

(313) *kuri.'xyi*
quiet?.hair
'penis flag' (fibre penis gourd for virgin boys)

(314) *uke.'sĩ*
xxxx.seed
'wild piqui tree and fruit'

vs.

uke.'nũ
xxxx.powder
'piqui tree and fruit' (bigger)

(315) *kaxa.'ri*
xxxx.flat
'stone file'

vs.

kaxa.nu'je
xxxx.xxxx
'bull's tongue (Ajugareptans)'[99]

(316) *hãkũi.'sa*
grub.xxxx
'beetle of palm tree grub'

vs.

e.'sa
0.xxxx
'wood louse'

99. Plant species with a rough-textured stem.

(317) *haki.'dwa* *nỹ-'dwa-ki*
stone.stone big-CL:stone-DEC
'the stone is big'

The word *ha'ki* 'stone' is considered as obsolete nowadays, but it was used by the old people, and closely similar forms are found in Aikanã (*ha'ži*) and Kanoê (*a'ki*) today.

The unidentifiable root *kaxa-* may be etymologically related to verbs like *kay-* 'scratch', *kakani-* 'itch'.

Some verbs also contain lexicalised classifiers, such as *-ro* 'cup, container' in the verb root *bobo'ro-* 'make dents'. The element *-ro-* cannot be omitted nor replaced by another classifier.

4.2.1.11. Free lexical forms and the empty root

In Kwaza, a classifier is a bound morpheme that never occurs by itself as an independent word. The closest it can get to independent occurrence is when attached to the empty word-formative root *e-*. In this position, classifiers create a general or a prototypical noun belonging to the corresponding class.

(318) *e-'mũ*
Ø-CL:liquid
'liquid'

(319) *e-'sĩ*
Ø-CL:seed
'seed'

(320) *e-'kai*
Ø-CL:leg
'(its) lower leg'

(321) *e-'ri*
Ø-CL:flat
'(its) liver'

(322) *e-'tay*
Ø-CL:woman
'woman, wife'

The empty root in Kwaza often occurs in words which denote things or beings which are part of something. For example, there is no "leg" without it being the leg of someone. However, there is no systematic contrast between alienable and inalienable possession involving the respective absence or presence of the prefix *e-*. In case the empty root would once have had its origin in inalienability phenomena as in Tupi languages (e.g. Gavião in Moore 1984:146-152 and Mekens in Galucio 2001:32-33), no such distinction belongs to the grammar of Kwaza today. The empty root strongly resembles the Kanoê prefix *i-*, both in form, function and distribution. This prefix is provisionally analysed in Bacelar (2004) as an element to express inalienability, but there are also alienable items where it occurs and inalienable items where it does not occur.

A practically identical root *ĩ-* is mentioned for Latundê (Northern Nambikwara) in Telles (2002a:96) where it is analysed as a semantically empty root that lends independent nominal status to bound classifier morphemes in the very same way. The empty root is also strikingly similar in form and use to the prefix *e-* in Tacanan languages, such as Ese Eja (Chavarría 2000) and Cavineña

(Guillaume 2004) where it occurs in the same position with the same function. The empty root may be an areal trait (see van der Voort fcb). It is absent in Aikanã.

On a synchronic level, and unlike the other languages of the region, the empty root *e-* can be associated with the verb root *e-* 'to have' in Kwaza. There is a parallel with the word-formative empty root *a-* in Kwaza to which directional morphemes can be attached in order to form adverbs. That root can be associated with the verb root *a-* 'to have' (see 6.2.1.). I have seen no equivalents of this in other languages, even though there are also directionals in Kanoê.

4.2.2. The types of classifiers

The morphemes illustrated above appear to behave like classifiers, but are they truly classifiers? The answer to this question is important for the assessment of the nature of Kwaza morphology. Many Kwaza classifiers behave as if they were the second element in a compound, which is otherwise practically only attested with Kwaza verbs. In other constructions, the behaviour of classifiers shows resemblance to incorporation. In order to determine whether some essential differences emerge, I have roughly ordered the morphemes I consider to be classifiers into sections according to their etymology.

In the very first subsection (4.2.2.1.) I discuss the use of the nominaliser *-hỹ* as a neutral classifier. The following three subsections contain an inventory of all known specific classifiers. In section (4.2.2.2.) I listed the classifiers which have no fully transparent etymological relation to the nouns they classify. In the next section (4.2.2.3.) I listed those which seem to be only slightly adapted or reduced versions of the independent nouns with which they are referentially identical. The final section (4.2.2.4.) lists those classifiers which can only appear as an independent noun when attached to the empty root *e-*.

4.2.2.1. The nominaliser *-hỹ-* as a neutral classifier

The element *-hỹ-* has many functions, which are probably related to its semantically zero, or "neutral" nature as a classifier. As was illustrated above, it may have a nominalising effect, and it can be replaced by a specific classifier:

(323) *aky'nỹ-day-hỹ*
friend-1S-NOM
'(my) friend'

(324) *aky'nỹ-xay-tay*
friend-2S-CL:woman
'your FEM friend'

The neutral classifier may also have valency changing effects (see 5.4.9.). These are probably the consequence of the process of incorporation of the classifier into certain verbs. In some cases, the neutral classifier can then be re

placed with a specific classifier. Intransitive verbs like *'ha-ki* 'it is clean' or *o'xote-ki* 'he is waiting' can "incorporate" an object in the form of a classifier:

(325) *ha-ha-'hỹ-ki*
clean-clean-NOM-DEC
'he washes things'

(326) *ha-ha-'ro-ki*
clean-clean-CL:cup-DEC
'he washes pans'

(327) *ônibus(*-wã)* *oxote-'hỹ-da-ki*
bus(-AO) wait-NOM-1S-DEC
'I'm waiting for the bus'

The nominaliser *-hỹ-* may be used to form a clefted construction and thereby create an intensified sense (see 5.5.20.) which results in comparatives and superlatives:

(328) *nỹ-'ro-hỹ-ki* (**nỹro'hỹki*)
big-CL:cup-NOM-DEC
'the cup is bigger / biggest'

This looks like reduplication when the root contains *-hỹ-* as a neutral classifier:

(329) *nỹ-hỹ-'hỹ-ki*
big-NOM-NOM-DEC
'it is bigger / it is the biggest'

Note, however, that the verb root *nỹ-* without a subsequent classifier means 'to be fat'. I regard *-hỹ-* as semi-lexicalised in the root *nỹ-hỹ-* 'to be big' because this meaning is retained when *-hỹ-* is replaced by a specific classifier. There are in fact many instances of (semi-)lexicalised or lexicalising neutral classifiers. A more lexicalised example is *ku'kui-ki* 'it hurts' vs. *kukui-'hỹ-ki* 'he is ill'. When the neutral classifier is replaced with a specific classifier the original sense of the stem returns and a corresponding specific illness has to be expressed in another way:

(330) *kukui-ko'ko-ki* 'his throat (*ekoko*) hurts'
kukui-ko'ro-ki 'his arm (*tsoro*) hurts'
kukui-'tõi-ki 'his eye (*ecõi*) hurts'
kukui-mjã'ka-ki 'his belly (*emjãka*) hurts'

4.2.2.2. Etymologically opaque classifiers

The following classifiers are at best etymologically only partially related to certain specific independent nouns.

djay ‘elongated animate being’; full noun: *deda* ‘snake’.

(331) *aky-'djay-tse*
two-CL:snake-DEC
‘there are two snakes, centipedes, etc.’

When the classifier is attached to the empty root *e-*, the result *e'djay* can refer to any independent object that is elongated and animate. This classifier cannot refer to inanimate beings such as a garden hose. In that case the classifier *-yi* ‘string, thread’ must be used.

djo ‘foot’; full noun: *coha* / *toha* ‘foot’.

(332) *kunỹ-'djo-ki*
dress-CL:foot-DEC
‘he puts on shoes’

(333) *ko-'djo-da-ki*
lack-CL:foot-1S-DEC
‘I’m barefoot’ (t)

djoju ‘toe’. This classifier may originate in an analogy with *-toju* ‘finger’ (see 4.2.2.4.).

(334) *coha-djo'ju*
foot-CL:toe
‘toe’

ỹi ‘flesh, tissue, fabric’.

(335) *kũcẽ-'ỹi*
brazil.nut-CL:flesh
‘flesh of Brazil nut’

(336) *'xui txi-ỹi-'tɛ*
bag big-CL:flesh-NOM
‘big bag (of cloth)’

(337) *itxi-'ỹi*
vagina-CL:flesh
‘vagina of little girl’

kalo ‘hollow leaves and stems of certain plants’. Maybe related to *-ka* ‘bark of palm heart’ and *-lo* ‘tube’. See also *-siki* ‘skin’.

(338) *a'tsuka-ka'lo*
sugar-CL:leaves
‘sugar cane’

(339) *bay-kalo-'yi*
sour-CL:leaves-CL:thread
‘liana species’

(340) *by-ka'lo-ki*
cut-CL:leaves-DEC
‘he cuts all leaves or all stems, finishes with it’

(341) *hã'xyi* *by-ka'lo-da-mỹ*
bamboo cut-CL:leaves-1S-VOL
'I'm going to cut bamboo'
(shaman's speech when wishing to smoke tobacco)

The classifier also occurs as a lexicalised element in *babayka'lo* 'pineapple, sansevieria'. It probably refers to the leaves on the pineapple fruit, but the origin of its root is unclear.

kawa 'inside a round vessel'. Probably related to (or maybe even identical to) the directional morpheme *-kwa-* 'inside'.

(342) *txi'jo* *nỹ-ka'wa-ki*
mug big-CL:inside-DEC
'the calabash plate is big'

(343) *kori-'ce-kawa-'ra*
mash-CL:hole-CL:inside-IMP
'mix (all left-overs) in one hole (pan to eat from)!'

(344) *(*korejaro(-na))* *dai-ka'wa-cwa-ki*
pan-LOC grab-CL:inside-IS-DEC
'they took (e.g the last cake) from the vessel (pan)'

There may be a relation to the verb *eka'wa-ki* 'it fills up'. In example (344) the element *-cwa-* may be either the indefinite subject morpheme or the directional 'up' (see 5.3.).

kwadu 'molar'; attested e-form: *ekwa'du* 'molar'.

(345) *nỹ-kwa'du-ki*
big-CL:molar-DEC
'they are big molars'

May be related etymologically to the noun *dwa'ku* 'molar'. The form ??*'sidyk-wa'du* 'my molar' was considered by MA as anomalous, because "no-one else can use yours".

lo 'tube'. This classifier is difficult to interpret. It occurs inside other classifiers which refer to pipe or cane-shaped things. Some of these are probably further analysable, such as *-kalo*, which could mean literally 'hollow bark' and *-xyilo* 'pipe, reed, beak', which is literally 'hairy cane'. Others are not that easily analysable, e.g. *-lotswa* 'rifle tube' and *-lotxwe* 'flute'. Furthermore, *-lo* also occurs in *erilo-'xu* 'jaw-bone', which possibly could be analysed as *e-ri-lo-xu* 'Ø-flat-tube-bone' or more figuratively: either 'the hollow bone in the cheek',

or maybe ‘the bone protruding from the cheek’. It also occurs in *-siki-lo* ‘shield’, where it may either be explained as ‘bone-like skin’, or as ‘skin protruding (through the hair)’, or ‘skin in a hard hollow shape’. Cf. also *-loi* ‘flabby’.

loi ‘soft, flabby, flexible’. The pronunciation [lɔ̃ĩ] was rarely attested, and is usually rejected.

(346) *itxi-'loi*
vagina-CL:flabby
‘vagina of old woman’

(347) *tsoxu-'loi* *nỹ-'loi-ki*
penis-CL:flabby big-CL:flabby-DEC
‘the penis is big’

Maybe the verb *koiloi-* ‘twist, bend’ historically contains the classifier *-loi*. It seems a nasalised variant is present also in unanalysable *-sa'lõi* ‘snout’ (see 4.2.2.4.).

lotswa ‘tube, rifle’.

(348) *aky-lo'tswa-tse*
two-CL:tube-DEC
‘there are two rifles’

lotxwɛ ‘flute’. Possibly related to *-lotswa* ‘tube’.

(349) *hãxyi-lo'txwɛ* *nỹ-lo'txwɛ-ki*
bamboo-CL:flute big-CL:flute-DEC
‘the flute is big’

mãi ‘tooth’. Possibly related to *mĩ'ki* ‘tooth’, and to AIK *mũi* ‘tooth’ (C1:12). See also *-tsumãi* ‘pointed stick, hook’ in (4.2.2.4.).

(350) *hyri-'mãi*
monkey-CL:tooth
‘monkey teeth / tooth’

(351) *'si-dy-mãi*
I-POS-CL:tooth
‘my teeth’

natai ‘armpit’. Note about example (352) that the classifier is attached to a noun, whereas it is attached to a verb root in (353):

(352) *tsoro-na'tai*
arm-Cl:armpit
‘armpit’

(353) *huxe-na'tai*
hairy-Cl:armpit
‘armpithair’ (lit. ‘one which is hairy in the armpit’)

ñɛ̃ ‘leaf type’. This classifier refers to a certain type of leaf. It is also found as a part of the roots *beñɛ̃* ‘herb’ and *tuituiñɛ̃* ‘sedge’.

(354) *'beñɛ̃ hɛdɛ-'ñɛ̃-a-ta*
herb burn-CL:leaf-1P-CSO
'we burn herbs' (t)

nĩ 'needle, thorn'. Cf. also *-ni* in *tsurwani* 'nose' and *oluke'ni* 'curassow beak'.

(355) *xyi'nĩ txi-nĩ-'tɛ*
thorn big-CL:thorn-NOM
'big needle'

nwỹ 'tree'; full noun: *ywy'nwỹ* 'tree, wood'. Cf. also the directional *-ñwỹ* 'tree, onto wood', which may be related.

(356) *tay-'nwỹ*
papaya-CL:tree
'papaya tree'

(357) *mwã'si-dy-nwỹ*
Moacyr-POS-CL:tree
'Moacyr's timber'

(358) *'cu-wa-nwỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
cut-IS-CL:tree see-1S-DEC
'I saw a tree felled by someone'

(359) *ywynwỹ(*-wã) 'cu-tsy-hỹ*
tree(-AO) cut-GER-NOM
'the one who felled the tree'

(360) *e'tay ywy'nwỹ 'cu-tsy-hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
woman tree cut-GER-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw that woman who felled the tree'

(361) *e'tay 'cu-tsy-'nwỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
woman cut-GER-CL:tree see-1S-DEC
'I saw (that) tree which was cut down by (that) woman'

rati 'man'. This is a male sex marker. It is unclear whether it is a true classifier. It may occur in the same position as a classifier, when applicable to humans. It is an alternative to *-xwa* 'human'.

(362) *'dota-rati*
wild-CL:man
'wild man, police'

'dota-tay
wild-CL:woman
'wild woman'

(363) *towe'ñẽ ta-wa-'xwa* / *towe'ñẽ ta-wa-ra'ti* /
Toweñẽ say-IS-CL:man / Toweñẽ say-IS-CL:man /

towe'ñẽ ỹ'nỹ-wa-ra'ti
Toweñẽ call-IS-CL:man
'that man called Towenjẽ'

(364) *tãjã a'rwa-ra'ti*
chief new-CL:man
'vice-chief' (lit. 'young man chief')

The classifier is homophonous with morphemes which have narrative and emphatic functions. In some cases, it may be difficult to distinguish between the two (or the three):

(365) *hay'dy-wa-ra'ti*
cut-IS-FOC/man
'that same man who cut' (t)

(366) *'tswa-wa-'hỹ hay'dy-wa-ra'ti erewe-herejã-re*
man-IS-NOM cut-IS-FOC/man scratch-APPL-INT
'the very man who cut it decorates it, you see' (t)
'whoever is the man who cuts it, decorates it, you see'

rjỹ 'area, surroundings, all over, room, place'. This classifier has some directional properties (see 5.3.3.). It cannot be distinguished from a directional suffix in e.g. *tsã-'rjỹ-da-ki* 'I sowed' (lit. 'strew around'). Maybe its meaning is so abstract that it always has a tendency to lexicalise with verb stems: *awỹi-rjỹ-ki* 'he is looking / seeing', *awỹi-rjỹ-he-tse* 'he is blind' and:

(367) *dutu're areta-'rjỹ-ki*
pig know-CD:area-DEC
'the pig has grown tame' (lit. 'it knows the environment')

It is also used with verbs concerning the weather and time of the day or year:

(368) *awy-'rjỹ-ki*
cold-CD:area-DEC
'the weather is cold'

(369) *haja-'rjỹ-ki*
day-CD:area-DEC
'the sky is clear (it's become day everywhere)'

(370) *kikje-'rjỹ e-'wy*
hot-CD:area have-time
'hot season'

Furthermore, it is used with words relating to the earth or environment:

(371) *wace-rjỹ-'he-ki*
grow-CD:area-NEG-DEC
'the bush is very impenetrable'

(372) *'ɛ-damỹ-da-ki 'si-dy-rjỹ*
go-want-1S-DEC I-POS-CD:area
'I'm going to my house (place)'

Note that with certain verb stems it seems to have an intransitivising effect:

(373) *si jãsi-rjỹ-'he-da-ki*
I hear-CD:area-NEG-1S-DEC
'I can't hear (because of some accident/illness)'

Maybe this is also the case in (367).

I treat *-rjỹ* as a classifier because it mainly occurs in positions characteristically occupied by classifiers. Maybe *-rjỹ* can be analysed etymologically as *-ri-ỹ-* or *-ri-hỹ* involving *-ri* 'flat'.

(374) *a'xy xare-ka'rwa-tsy-rjỹ*
house turn-DR:away-GER-CD:area
'behind, on the other side, out the back, of the house'

(375) *do-ka'ce=du-'rjỹ-da-ki meza-na*
leak-DC:wood=all-CD:area-1S-DEC table-LOC
'I spilt water all over the table'

(376) *e-'ja tjana-'rjỹ*
go-EXP we.IN-CD:area
'let's go to our house'

(377) *akwa'te nỹ-'rjỹ-ki*
inside big-CD:area-DEC
'the room is big'

(378) *atxi'txi anũ-'rjỹ awe tsoi-'hỹ-ki*
maize plant-CD:area rain soak-NOM-DEC
'where he was planting maize, the rain soaked him'[100]

rwa 'round, hole, nostril'. May be related to the classifiers *-ro* 'cup', *-ronɛ* 'hole, valve' and *-rote* 'door'. Note the difference between *tsarwani* 'nostril, nose' and *tsani* 'nose', and see *-karwani* 'nose'.

(379) *tsurwa'ni nỹ-'rwa-ki*
nostrilbig-CL:round-DEC
'the nostrils are big'

sa 'beetle'. This is a lexicalising element which may originate from a classifier, e.g. *e'sa* 'wood louse', *hãkũi-'sa* 'beetle of palm tree grub'.

se 'tick'.

(380) *'kjei txi-se-'tɛ*
tick big-CL:tick-NOM
'very big tick (carrapato de anta)'

100. The constituent *atxitxi anũ'rjỹ* functions probably as an adverb of place here.

sɛ ‘arse, anus’; full noun: *ñũ'sɛ* ‘anus, buttock’ (*ñũ* ‘faeces’).[101]

(381) *uri'pyi* *nỹ-'sɛ-ki*
Uripyi big-CL:anus-DEC
‘Uripyi has a big arse hole’

(382) *uripyi-'wã* *oitsi-'sɛ-da-ki*
Uripyi-AO copulate-CL:anus-1S-DEC
‘I fuck Uripyi in the arse’

sisi ‘chaff’.

(383) *atxitxi-'ũ-si'si*
maize-CL:grain-CL:chaff
‘grain of rice with chaff/whole rice’

xɛ ‘leaf (small)’; full noun: *'hetsy'xe* ‘leaf’. Also [sɛ], [se] and [ʃe].

(384) *mẽsĩ-'xɛ* ‘straw of najá’
wiri?u-'xɛ ‘leaf of assai’
ui-'xɛ ‘tobacco leaf’
kurixyi-'sɛ ‘straw of babaçu’

(385) *hetsy'xɛ-tjate* *huda-'xɛ-ki*
leaf-3.POS hum-CL:leaf-DEC
‘its leaves are rustling in the wind’

xuku ‘stem’. Probably related to *-xu* ‘bone’.

(386) *apara-xu'ku*
banana-CL:stem
‘banana tree’

(387) *ha'tsi-xu'ku-rje*
heliconia-CL:stem-CL:bunch
‘bunch of heliconia-like leaves on little stems’

xwana ‘meat’; full noun: *auxwa'na* ‘flesh, meat’.

(388) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-xwana-re*
what-FOC-CL:flesh-INT
‘what kind of meat is it?’

(389) *hyriko'ro-xwana* *ja-du'tu-da-ki*
monkey-CL:flesh eat-on.top-1S-DEC
‘I ate monkey meat on top’

This classifier is mostly encountered as a classifier for ‘flesh, body, etc.’. However, this analysis does not seem to be compatible with some occurrences of *-xwana-*:

101. My consultants understood very well that for a reliable description of their language, we had to discuss all aspects of the language. The two examples cited here do not reflect any “real” states or events, but originate from the discourse context of joking relationships.

(390) *ka'wɛ* *nỹ-xwana-'mũ-ki*
coffee big-CL:flesh-CL:liquid-DEC
'the coffee is strong'

See also the classifier *-xona-* in (4.2.2.4.).

tsa 'hand'; full noun: *tsoje* 'hand'.[102]

(391) *haha-nỹ-'tsa-tara-mỹ*
wash-REF-CL:hand-PROC-VOL
'I'm going to wash my hands first'

Another example containing *-tsa* is (566). The same element is also encountered in the classifier *-romũ'tsa* 'wrist'. The classifier *-sĩ* 'knee' and *-tsa* are possibly also encountered in *esi'tsa* 'shin'. The element *-tsa* also occurs in *ko-ho'nũtsa* 'that which is chewed and spat in the palm of one's hand', but note that it also occurs in the verb root *iritsa-* 'vomit', which betrays no connection with 'hand' at all. Maybe *-tsa* is related to the directional *-ritsa* 'middle', and contributes the sense of 'middle section' to limbs like the wrist and the shin.

ũ 'grain'. Since *atxitxi?ũ* means 'rice', the following example shows both a lexicalised and a productive occurrence of *-ũ*:

(392) *atxitxi.?ũ-'ũ*
maize.grain-CL:grain
'grain of rice (without chaff)'

wa 'shell'. This classifier occurs in the word *derewa* 'shell earring', which is derived from *dere* 'triangular piece of shell, bracelet of shells', and in *kilewa* 'shell earring', which is derived from *kile* 'periwinkle'.

(393) *txi-wa-'tɛ*
big-CL:shell-NOM
'necklace of large mother-of-pearl triangles'

4.2.2.3. Etymologically transparent classifiers

Many classifiers have a very limited distribution, and they resemble certain full nouns to such an extent that they can be suspected to be compounded, incorpo

102. Both *-tsa* and the other more transparent classifier for 'hand', *-koje* (see also example (398) point to an etymological relation with Kanoê *-ko'tso* 'hand'. Note that Zack wrote for 'hand' <*tsaiê*> in Kwaza and <*itchó*> (which contains KAN *-tso* 'finger') in Kanoê (Z:14).

rated or "reduplicated" morphophonological variants of the corresponding full nouns.

jãhỹ 'road, path, trail'; full noun: *txa'hỹ* 'road, path, trail'.

(394) *ha'kã-jãhỹ*
old-CL:path
'old trail'

(395) *ywy'nwỹ a-ja'hỹ-ki*
tree exist-CL:path-DEC
'there is a log in the way'

(396) *ba-jã'hỹ-da-ki txa'hỹ*
cut-CL:path-1S-DEC path
'I'm clearing the road'

karwanĩ 'nose'; full noun: *'tsarwa'ni*/*tsurwani* 'nose, nostril'.

(397) *nỹ-karwa'nĩ-xa-ki*
big-CL:nose-2-DEC
'you have a big nose'

koje 'hand, fork'; full noun: *tso'je* 'hand', *ko'je* 'fork'.

(398) *haha-nỹ-ko'je-tara-mỹ*
wash-REF-CL:hand-PROC-VOL
'I'm going to wash my hands first'

koro 'arm'; free lexical form: *eko'ro* 'tree branch'; full noun: *tso'ro* 'arm'. Note the chain of classifiers in the following example:

(399) *hay-xy-nũ-ko'ro-da-mỹ*
cut-CL:hair-CL:powder-Cl:arm-1S-VOL
'I'll cut hair off the arm!'

It seems here that *-xy* represents an incorporated object, *-nũ* characterises the object's substance, and *-koro* represents an incorporated locative satellite argument.

Note AN *esu'ta-koro* 'elbow' and ME *esitokoro* 'elbow', of which MA insists it should be [ɛsi'tokõrõ], which makes it less analysable.

kuty 'head'; full noun: *tsu'ty* 'head', *ku'dy* 'calabash'.

(400) *jere'xwa-ku'ty*
jaguar-CL:head
'jaguar head'

(401) *esa-ku'ty-ta-ki wã*
sting-CL:head-1O-DEC wasp
'bee stung me on the head'

(402) *txi-kuty-'tɛ*
big-CL:head-CL:round
'big gas canister'

nãsi 'ear'; full noun: *ñã'si* 'ear'. *jãsi-* 'hear (v)'.

(403) *ñã'sĩ nỹ-nã'si-ki*
ear big-CL:ear-DEC
'it is a big ear'

(404) *de're ũ-nã'si-ni'tɛ*
shell be-CL:ear-INSTR
'earring' (lit. 'shell for being in the ear')

nãwã 'sky'; full noun: *hanãwã* 'sky'.

(405) *tsiri'tsa-nãwã*
in.the.middle-CL:sky
'midnight' (may be a partial calque on Portuguese *meia noite*)

(406) *bu=ũ-nãwã-to'to-ki*
put=be-CL:sky-DR:upward-DEC
'midday' (lit. '(the sun) stands still above in the sky')

rokoca 'face'; full noun: *loko'ca* 'face, mirror'.

(407) *hã do-roko'ca-da-ki ĩ-'wã*
water leak-CL:face-1S-DEC he-AO
'I spilt water on his face'

(408) *loko'tja nỹ-roko'ca-ki*
face big-CL:face-DEC
'the face is big'

ronã 'hole'; full noun: *lo'na* 'natural hole in the ground, cave'.

(409) *'nỹ-ro'nã-ki*
big-CL:hole-DEC
'it is a big hole (in the ground)'

ronɛ 'hole'; full noun: *lo'nɛ* 'hole, valve'. Refers to a hole that is a necessary property of something. Usually encountered in words for facial orifices such as nose and ear. May be related to the classifier *-ro* 'cup' or *-rwa* 'nostril'. There is much variety in pronunciation [ronɛ ~ ɾwanɛ ~ ɾwonɛ].

(410) *lo'nɛ nỹ-ro'nɛ-ki*
hole big-CL:hole-DEC
'big hole'

(411) *e-mũ-tay-ro'nɛ*
Ø-CL:liquid-CL:vessel-CL:hole
'mouth, hole of the tin'

(412) *e-ro'nɛ*
Ø-CL:hole
'opening (of mouth of bottle)'

(413) *amũ'tay-ro'nɛ*
glass-CL:hole
'rim of mouth of bottle'

(414) *hakitsu-rwa'nɛ*
labret-CL:hole
'hole in upper or lower lip for labret'

(415) *tsurwanĩ-rwa'nɛ*
nostril-CL:hole
'hole in septum'

rote 'hole, door'; full noun: *lo'te* 'door, hole in the house'. Cf. also the classifier *-ro* 'cup'. Or *-ronɛ* 'hole'. May contain the nominaliser *-te* '(NOM)'. *-rwote* may be a variant.

(416) *cu=txicɛ-rwo'tɛ-da-ta* *'bui-da-mỹ* *a'xy-na*
step=pile-CL:door-1S-CSO leave-1S-VOL house-LOC
'I'm going to place (the broom) standing at the door and leave'

swãsĩ 'nail'; full noun: *tswã'sĩ* 'nail'.

(417) *txi-swãsĩ-'tɛ*
big-CL:nail-NOM
'big nail'

xy 'house'; full noun: *a'xy* 'house'; free lexical form: *e'xy* 'ambush hut'. This classifier is homophonous to the classifier *-xy-* 'leaf', and may be etymologically related.

(418) *ko-xy-'tɛ*
lack-CL:house-NOM
'empty house' (also 'white paper')

(419) *hirini-'tay-dy-'xy*
shaman-CL:woman-POS-CL:house
'the female missionary's house'

(420) *a'xy asa-'xy-nã-da-ki*
house leave-CL:house-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to leave the house (i.e. move out)'

xu 'bone, stem, finger'; full noun: *tsu* / *su* 'bone, stick'. See also *-tsu*.

(421) *erilo-'xu*
jaw-CL:bone
'jawbone'

(422) *duture-'xu*
pig-CL:bone
'pig bone'

(423) *kẽwẽ-xu*
turtle-CL:bone
'turtle bone flute'

(424) *jo-'xu*
manioc-CL:bone
'manioc stem'

(425) *mũxi-'xu*
mortar-CL:bone
'pestle'

The word *erohaxu'xu* 'spine' may contain a reduplication of *-xu* symbolising the repetitive occurrence of the vertebra.

xwa '(hu)man'; full noun: *tswa* 'man'; free lexical form: *e'xwa* 'husband, man'. Maybe related to similar forms in other functions and senses throughout deri

vational and inflexional grammar. The following example is an expression an probably does not represent a productive construction:

(426) *damũ-da-he-'xwa*
duck-1S-NEG-CL:man
'I'm not a duck!' (i.e. I won't take a bath)

The classifier is homophonous and probably related with the element *-xwa* in *tsile'xwa* 'saúva ant hill', *e'xwa* 'ant hill'.

tehu 'spoon'; full noun: *di'hu* 'spoon'. It is noteworthy that Zack recorded the full noun *di'hu* 'spoon' in the 1940's as <*dété-hu*> (Z:054).

(427) *di'hu nỹ-te'hu-ki*
spoon big-CL:spoon-DEC
'the spoon is big'

(428) *ãrũ-te'hu-ki*
rub-CL:spoon-DEC
'he is cleaning the spoon'

toha 'foot'; full noun: *co'ha* 'foot'.

(429) *dilɛ-dy-to'ha-re*
who-POS-CL:foot-INT
'whose trace is it?'

Note that the possessive morpheme *-dy-* seems to function as an independent stem in: *dy-toha* 'foot'. Together with *dy-kudji* 'hoof', this is the only independent occurrence of *-dy-* attested.

tuku 'tongue'; full noun *cu'ku* 'tongue'.

(430) *ke-tu'ku-xa-tsi*
burn-CL:tongue-2-MON
'take care not to burn your tongue'

tsu 'stick, bone'; full noun: *tsu* 'stick, bone, skeleton'. It is unclear whether *tsu* in *manini-tsu* 'fishing rod' is a compounded form or a classifier. Also, the classifier *-xu* 'bone' is semantically very similar, and may be only a (morphophonological?) variant of *-tsu*. Remember that there is some free variation between [ts] ~ [s̲] ~ [s]. See also e.g. *-tsumãi* 'hook', and *-tsurje* 'board' in (4.2.2.4.).

(431) *hi-'tsu*
fire-CL:stick
'firewood'

cake 'wing'; full noun: *ca'ke* 'wing'. This is a bare noun which may behave as a classifier itself, or sometimes take the shape *-takje* in that function. The ele

ment is glossed as an ordinary noun, but the variation [t̲] ~ [t] when it occurs in classifier position is conspicuous.

(432) *o'lu-dy-ca'ke* / *o'lu-ca'ke*
curassow-POS-wing / curassow-wing
'wing of curassow'

cukwe 'pod box'; *cu'kwe* 'ingá fruit'. This is a bare noun which may behave as a classifier itself, or take the shape *-tukwe* in that function. Also here the element is glossed as an ordinary noun, but the variation [t̲] ~ [t] when it occurs in classifier position is conspicuous.

(433) *keiñũ-cu'kwe*
jatobazinho-pod
'fruits (beans) of jatobazinho tree'

(434) *hi-tu'kwe*
fire-pod
'matchbox'

(435) *e-xy(i)-tu'kwe*
Ø-CL:leaf-pod
'photo' (SU)

txi 'vagina'; full noun: *i'txi* 'vagina'.

(436) *i'txi* *nỹ-'txi-ki*
vagina big-CL:vagina-DEC
'the vagina is big'

(437) *ãwãta-'txi-da-ki*
see-CL:vagina-1S-DEC
'I'm looking at a vagina'

(438) *wara-txi-le'ja(-da-ki)*
touch-CL:vagina-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I want to touch your vagina'

4.2.2.4. Etymologically unrelated classifiers

Many classifiers do not seem to show any relation at all to specific independent nouns. In contrast, however, these classifiers form free lexical nouns when suffixed to the empty root *e-* (see 4.2.1.11.).[103] A number of e-initial Kwaza nouns seem to refer to inalienable properties. It is a telling fact that many e-initial nouns refer to body, plant or thing parts. Yet not all e-initial nouns do so, and not all body part nouns are e-initial. Half of the classifiers which denote shape or type of substance are also those that form e-initial nouns (the other half is predominantly from the opaque group described in 4.2.2.2.).

103. And in this they differ from classifiers like *-rjỹ-* 'area', which can neither be related to independent nouns nor can they be turned into free forms by *e-*.

Note that some of the classifiers listed in (4.2.2.3.) (and one, *-djay*, in 4.2.2.2.) can also occur with the empty root *e-*. Usually a slightly different sense is involved: *a'xy* 'house' vs. *e'xy* 'ambush hut'. There are furthermore independent nouns which may be attached without further adaptation to the empty root: *rwỹ'tɛ* 'mouth' vs. *erwỹ'tɛ* 'mouth of bottle etc. (things which are not *ekarã* 'rim')'. Note in this regard that *ecũi'ri* 'bottom, buttock' was recorded in the 1940's by Zack as <*toirí*> (Z:020). Note also the conspicuous similarities between the verb *tokoi-* 'to be soft' and *eto'koi* 'hollow of the knee'.

bari 'shoulder'; free lexical form: *eba'ri* 'shoulders'.

(439) *'si-dy-bari*
I-POS-CL:shoulder
'my shoulders'

dũrũ 'stump, bare stem, smooth or bald object'; free lexical form: *edũ'rũ* 'bare stem'.

(440) *ywynwỹ-dũ'rũ*
tree-CL:stump
'tree without branches'

(441) *'tai-dũrũ*
lizard-CL:stump
'white salamander'

dwa 'stone, block'; free lexical form: *e'dwa* 'kernel, stone, pellet (of flour)'.[104]

(442) *hakidwa txuhũi-ỹ-'dwa (-ki)*
stone small-ATT-CL:stone-DEC
'(it is a) small stone'

(443) *jonõnĩ-'dwa*
manioc.flour-CL:stone
'bar of manioc'

(444) *toro-'dwa* / *to'ro e-'dwa-tsy-hỹ*
urucum-CL:stone / urucum Ø-CL:stone-GER-NOM
'bar of soap'

(445) *haki'dwa nỹ-'dwa-ki*
stone big-CL:stone-DEC
'stone is big'

(446) *haki'dwa txi-dwa-'tɛ*
stone big-CL:stone-NOM
'immense stone'

jã 'root'; free lexical form: *e'jã* 'root'. There appears to be a variant *-kã'jã* 'root'; free lexical form: *ekã'jã* 'root'.

104. Note that *hakidwa* 'stone' is today considered as monophonemic. Yet a part of it still has a productive life as a classifier. It is possible that *-dwa* is etymologically related to AIK *wawa* 'file'.

(447) *toro-(kã)'jã*
urucum-CL:root
'urucum root'

(448) *ywy'nwỹ-dy-hỹ e-'jã*
tree-POS-NOM Ø-CL:root
'tree root'

yi 'string, thread, grub'; free lexical form: *e'?yi* 'thread, string'. This classifier is lexicalised in *'itso'?yi* 'liana' (lit. 'hammock/net-thread').

(449) *koreja-'yi*
knife-CL:thread
'metal fence (of thread)'

(450) *ã'rũi tsitucehỹ-cwa-'yi*
tapir fence-DR:high-CL:thread
'thread to bar cows' (i.e. fence or corral)

(451) *'owi 'ki-ỹ-yi*
grub red-ATT-CL:thread
'grub of a tree called *pau amarelo*'

(452) *elũi-'yi*
navel-CL:thread
'umbilical cord'

ka 'bark'; free lexical form: *e'ka* 'bark of palmheart'. Maybe related to *-kalo* 'leaves'.

(453) *by-'ka-hỹ-ki*
cut-CL:bark-NOM-DEC
'he cut bark off the palmheart'

kai 'leg'; free lexical form: *e'kai* 'lower leg'.

(454) *o'lu-dy-hỹ e-'kai*
curassow-POS-NOM Ø-CL:leg
'leg of curassow'

(455) *o'lu-dy-'kai*
curassow-POS-CL:leg
'leg of curassow' (**olu'kai*)

kãi 'mouth, large opening'; free lexical form: *e'kãi*.

(456) *arwa-'kãi-ki*
new-CL:mouth-DEC
'bucket, canoe is new'

(457) *nỹ-'kãi-xa-'ki*
big-CL:mouth-2-DEC
'you have a big mouth'

(458) *exyi-'kãi-hata-'re wã*
sting-CL:mouth-3S.2O-INT wasp
'a wasp stung you on the mouth?'

kãjã 'root'; free lexical form: *ekã'jã* 'root'. See *-jã* 'root'.

kanɛ 'flat oblong inflexible'; free lexical form: *eka'ne* 'board'.

(459) *wyxyi-ka'nɛ*
assai-CL:oblong
'plank of assai palm tree wood'

(460) *kore'ja 'txi-kanɛ-'tɛ*
knife big-CL:oblong-NOM
'big knife/machete'

(461) *mwɛ̃jã-a-ro'te-dy-hỹ* *e-ka'nɛ*
open-1P-CL:door-POS-NOM Ø-CL:oblong
'window boards' (t)
(lit. 'the oblong ones of the door which one opens')

(462) *oitsi-'lɛ-tsy-hỹ* *e-tsy-ka'nɛ*
copulate-RECI-GER-NOM have-GER-CL:oblong
'pornographic video tape'

kãrã 'rim, edge'; free lexical form: *ekã'rã* 'rim of certain things'. Note *ekã'rã* also means 'side of the head'.

(463) *e-kãrã-'tɛ* / *mãbi-kãrã-'tɛ*
Ø-CL:edge-NOM / arrow-CL:edge-NOM
'shotgun shell or primer'

(464) *kuru-kã'rã-da-ki*
swell-CL:edge-1S-DEC
'I have a swollen jaw'

kãrãi 'rim, edge'; free lexical form: *ekã'rãi* 'rim of bigger things'.

(465) *towy-kã'rãi*
clearing-CL:edge
'edge of the plantation/field'

(466) *a'xy ẽrjãwã-rja-ka'rãi-ki*
house forest-DC:rim-CL:edge-DEC
'the house was on the edge of the forest'

karu 'scale, scaly, plate'; free lexical form: *eka'ru* 'scaly one (animal)'. Note that it has not been explicitly established whether the following example refers to the big scales of an animal or to the scaliness of a big animal, but the latter is probably the case:

(467) *nỹ-ka'ru-ki*
big-CL:scale-DEC
'it is a big scaly animal'

kasi 'wing feathers'; free lexical form: *eka'si* 'feathers of wing'.

(468) *hako'ro-dy-ka'si*
jacu-POS-CL:wing
'jacú feather'

ke ‘horn, cob’; free lexical form: *e'ke* ‘horn, cob, point’.

(469) *atxitxi-'ke*
maize-CL:cob
‘corncob’

(470) *boboi-'ke-nã-da-ki* *(atxitxi)*
boil-CL:cob-FUT-1S-DEC maize
‘I’m going to boil cob (of maize)’

keni ‘beak’. This may be a lexicalised combination of the classifiers *-ke* ‘cob’ and *-nĩ* ‘thorn’.

(471) *olu-ke'ni*
curassow-CL:beak
‘curassow beak’

(472) *hy'ri* *ki-'keni(-ỹ)-hỹ*
monkey red-CL:beak-ATT-NOM
‘cuchiú monkey’ (has a red nose)

kjɛ̃ ‘prickly bristle’; free lexical form: *e'kjɛ̃* ‘bunch of prickles’. Refers to texture of the hard hair of a pig or the fibres of a chopped off piece of paxiuba palm tree.

(473) *'hajere* *haka-'kjɛ̃*
tayassu old-CL:bristle
‘old bristly haired tayassu pig’ (AN’s nickname of Jaime) (t)

ko ‘fruit (big), bunch of fruits’; free lexical form: *e'ko* ‘fruit’.[105]

(474) *wade-'ko*
tucuma-CL:fruit
‘bunch of green coconuts of the tucuma palm tree’

koke ‘root’; free lexical form: *ekoke* ‘root’.

(475) *ywynwỹ-ko'ke*
tree-CL:root
‘root of tree’

(476) *'jo-koke*
manioc-CL:root
‘root of manioc’

koko ‘throat, neck’; free lexical form: *eko'ko* ‘throat’.

(477) *e-ko'ko-xu*
Ø-CL:throat-CL:bone
‘clavicle’

(478) *kuru-ko'ko-da-ki*
swell-CL:throat-1S-DEC
‘I have a swollen neck’

105.Probably related to KAN *-ko* in e.g. *karana'ko* ‘patua seed’, see (4.2.6.).

koce ‘back of neck’; free lexical form: *eko'ce* ‘back of neck’.

(479) *hay-xy-ko'ce-da-ki*
cut-CL:hair-CL:neck-1S-DEC
‘I’m cutting hair off the head’

kudji ‘paw with nail, hoof’; free lexical form: *'ekudji* ‘pig’s paw’. Note that you can say *'ekudji* ‘pig’s paw’ only when you have a severed one in your hand. This would suggest that *e-* has an alienising function.

(480) *duture-(dy)-ku'dji*
pig-POS-CL:paw
‘pig paw’

Like *-toha*, this classifier occurs also in a lexicalised construction which involves nominal root ellipsis (see 7.5.3.):

(481) *dy.ku'dji*
POS.paw
‘paw, hoof’[106]

kwa’rɛ̃ ‘side of chest’; free lexical form: *ekwa'rɛ̃* ‘side of chest’. Also [kwã'ɾɛ̃].

(482) *kukui-kwa'rɛ̃-da-ki*
hurt-CL:chest.side-1S-DEC
‘the side of my chest hurts’

The form ??*'sidykwa'rɛ̃* ‘the side of my chest’ was rejected by MA as anomalous, since “no-one is going to take it away and give it to someone else”.

loco ‘fat of belly’; free lexical form: *elo'co* ‘fat of belly’. The following example was produced by myself, and considered correct by the consultant:

(483) *nỹ-lo'co-ki*
big-CL:belly.fat-DEC
‘he has/there are big rolls of fat around the hips’

lũi ‘navel, core’; free lexical form: *e'lũi* ‘navel’. Also [lõi]. The suggestion of a possible relationship to the classifier *-loi* ‘soft, flexible’ was rejected by the consultant. The following example was produced by myself, and considered correct and translated by the consultant:

106.(see also the remark under *-toha* in 4.2.2.3.)

(484) *kukui-'lũi-da-ki*
hurt-CL:navel-1S-DEC
'my navel hurts'

Apparently, it can also be used in the sense of 'core' of a leaf, or of a stem: *co-kuru'lũi* 'bacuri leafstalk', *wiri?u'lõi* 'palm heart of assai',*hakuku'lõi* 'palm heart of pupunha'.

mɛ̃ 'porridge'; free lexical form: *e'mɛ̃* 'porridge of maize residue from chicha'. Also [mɛ].

(485) *tsuty-'mɛ̃*
head-CL:porridge
'brains'

(486) *atxitxi-'mɛ̃*
maize-CL:porridge
'liquid maize porridge' (POR *canjica* or *curau*)

(487) *atxitxi-'mɛ̃* *'ha-ỹ-mɛ*
maize-CL:porridge clean-ATT-CL:porridge
'porridge of white maize' (hypothetical)

mjãka 'intestines, belly'; independent form: *emjã'ka* 'intestines, belly'.

(488) *kukui-mjã'ka-ki*
hurt-CL:intestines-DEC
'his belly hurts'

mjãku 'stump, stub, hook'; independent form: *emjã'ku* 'tree stump'. As a classifier this morpheme is attested so far only as *-simjã'ku* 'tree stump', see example (557).

mjẽ 'wound'; independent form: *e'mjẽ* 'wound'.

(489) *nỹ-'mjẽ-ki*
big-CL:wound-DEC
'he was heavily wounded'

(490) *hehe-nỹ-mjẽ-'ra*
cover-REF-CL:wound-IMP
'cover the wound!'

mũ 'liquid'; free lexical form: *e'mũ* 'liquid'. This classifier often refers to juice, lemonade or fermented beer of anything.

(491) *(nũ'ty)* *jẽjẽkydy-'mũ*
honey bee-CL:liquid
'oropa bee honey'

(492) *hã* *a-toto-'mũ*
water Ø-DR:upward-CL:liquid
'riverside' (lit 'upwards from the water')

(493) Q: *tsuhũ-rati-'mũ-re*
what-FOC-CL:liquid-INT
'what's the chicha made out of?'

A: *jo-'mũ*
manioc-CL:liquid
'chicha of manioc'

mũro ‘curd’; free lexical form: *emũ'ro* ‘its curd’. This morpheme probably consists of *-mũ* ‘liquid’ and *-ro* ‘container’. It denotes curd inside coconuts.

(494) *wade-mũ'ro*
tucuma-CL:curd
‘curd inside nut of the tucuma palm tree’

nãko ‘bee’; free lexical form: *enã'ko* or *etajanã'ko* ‘honey bee’. This morpheme may consist of an unidentified element *-nã-* and *-ko* ‘fruit’, possibly referring to a multitude of small objects.

(495) *nũty-nã'ko*
honey-CL:bee
‘honey bee’

ni ‘egg’; free lexical form: *e'ni* ‘egg’. Often also [nĩ].

(496) *nỹ-'ni-ki*
big-CL:egg-DEC
‘it is a big egg’

(497) *txi-ni-'tɛ*
big-CL:egg-NOM
‘a big egg’

The meaning of this classifier may also be extended metaphorically to testicles, and there seems no reason to suppose that calqueing on Portuguese is involved:

(498) *xoxu-'ni*
penis-CL:egg
‘testicles’

(499) *si mɛ̃-ni-'nỹ-da-ki*
I beat-CL:egg-REF-1S-DEC
‘I’ve hit myself in the balls’

nũ ‘powder, smoke, hair, feathers, porridge, earth’; lexical form: *e'nũ* ‘powder’. Maybe related to *-rũ* in *tsũrũrũnĩ* ‘sand’ and in *tsakarũ* ‘sting ray’ (KAN *tsãkaw'nũ* ‘sting ray’).

(500) *hi-'nũ*
fire-CL:powder
‘gun powder’

(501) *to'ro e-'nũ-tsy-hỹ*
urucum Ø-CL:powder-GER-NOM
‘powder soap’

(502) *jo-'nũ*
manioc-CL:powder
‘manioc soup’ (KAN *tsjuwenũ*)

(503) *kũcẽ-'nũ*
brazil.nut-CL:powder
‘grated Brazil nut’

(504) *nũty-'nũ*
honey-CL:powder
‘beeswax’

(505) *'be-ỹ-nũ*
black-ATT-CL:powder
‘black hair’ (e.g. of a dog)

(506) *hanãwã-'nũ*
sky-CL:powder
'fog'

(507) *ui-'nũ*
tobacco-CL:powder
'tobacco-ashes'

The classifier is found lexicalised as *ñũ* in the following verb:

(508) *atxi'txi* *duduñũ-'ra*
maize pound-IMP
'pound the maize (to powder)'

ri 'flat'; free lexical form: *e'ri* 'paddle, liver, field'.

(509) *koreja-'ri* *nỹ-'ri-ki*
knife-CL:flat big-CL:flat-DEC
'plate is big'

(510) *txuhũi-ỹ-'ri-ki*
small-ATT-CL:flat-DEC
'it is a small plate'

(511) *arũi-'ri* / *a'rũi-dy-'ri* / *a'rũi-dy-hỹ* *e-'ri*
tapir-CL:flat / tapir-POS-CL:flat / tapir-POS-NOM Ø-CL:flat
'the tapir's liver'

This classifier is lexicalised in *kẽwẽdo'ri* 'water turtle' in which it probably describes the flat disc-like shape of the animal. It also seems to be part of the classifiers *-rihi* 'flat oval seed' and *-ritsu* 'flat thin wood', which refer to flat shapes.

rihi 'flat oval seed'; free lexical form: *eri'hi* 'seed (e.g. of calabash)'.

(512) *ku'dy-ri'hi*
calabash-CL:seed
'calabash seed'

This classifier may also refer to beans, pumpkin seeds, sunflower seeds, but not to maize grains because they are round (and hence require *-to*). It may be lexicalised in *tyri'hi* 'wasp species' in which it probably describes the flat seed-like shape of the insect.

ritsu 'flat thin wood'; free lexical form: *eri'tsu* 'flat thin wood'. Contains obviously the classifiers *-ri* 'flat' and *-tsu* 'stick'.

(513) *hu'dai-ri'tsu*
fig.tree-CL:flat.wood
'adventitious root of fig tree'

This classifier refers to thin flat wooden shapes such as the adventitious roots of certain trees. It does not refer to man-made wooden boards or planks, but it can refer to the butt of a rifle.

rilo 'jaw'; free lexical form: *eri'lo* 'jaw'. May contain the classifiers *-ri* 'flat' and *-lo* 'tube'.

(514) *kukui-ri'lo-da-ki*
hurt-CL:jaw-1S-DEC
'my jaw hurts'

rice 'hole of mouth'; free lexical form: *eri'ce* 'hole of mouth'. The following example was produced by myself, and considered correct and translated by the consultant:

(515) *kukui-ri'ce-da-ki*
hurt-CL:mouth-1S-DEC
'it hurts inside my mouth'

This classifier refers to the hole, the inside of the mouth.

ricwa 'inhabited place'; free lexical form: *'eri'cwa* 'inhabited place'. This classifier may be composed of *-'ri* 'field' and *-xwa* 'human, man', and maybe the verb *acwa-* 'whole' is related as well if its etymology would be **a-xwa-* 'exist-CL:man'.[107]

(516) *acwa-ri'cwa* *nỹ-ri'cwa-ki*
whole-CL:inhabited big-CL:inhabited-DEC
'city is big'

(517) *txana-ri'cwa*
we.IN-CL:inhabited
'the place where we live'

rjana 'rim of the groin, thigh'; free lexical form: *ɛrja'nã* 'thigh, rim of the groin'. Also [ɾjanã].

(518) *kukui-rja'na-da-ki*
hurt-CL:thigh-1S-DEC
'I have a pain in my thigh'

This classifier is lexicalised in *erja'nãsiki* 'shorts'.

107. Compare Tupi *(r/t)etam(a)* 'inhabited place, land, settlement' (Willem Adelaar pc, Lemle 1971).

rje ‘bunch, grating’; free lexical form: *e'rje* ‘mesh, honeycomb, Pleiades’.

(519) *manary-'rje*
sieve-CL:bunch
‘mesh of sieve’

(520) *hãxyi-'rje nỹ-'rje-ki*
bamboo-CL:bunch big-CL:bunch-DEC
‘the panpipes are big’

(521) *apara-'rje*
banana-CL:bunch
‘group of banana trees’

(522) *kũcẽ-'rje*
brazil.nut-CL:bunch
‘group of Brazil nut trees’

This classifier is lexicalised in *hou'rje* ‘arrow with several points’. It is sometimes, but not always, lexicalised when combined with *-tsu* ‘stick’ (see also *-tsurje* ‘board’ in 4.2.2.4.):

(523) *e-tsu'rje*
Ø-CL:board
‘board’ (lit. ‘row of sticks/planks’)

rjẽ ‘side’; full noun: *e'rjẽ* ‘ribs’. Note that there is a strong tendency for the nasalisation to spread to preceding empty root *e-*, both in [ẽ'rjẽ] and the following examples:

(524) *e-rjẽ-'hỹ*
Ø-CL:side-NOM
‘side’

(525) *e-rjẽ-'xu*
Ø-CL:side-CL:bone
‘rib’

(526) *e-rjẽ-'tõi*
Ø-CL:side-CL:eye
‘one-eyed wink’

(527) *e-rjẽ-'tõi a'wỹi-ta-ki*
Ø-CL:side-CL:eye see-1O-DEC
‘he winked at me’, ‘looked at me from aside’

(528) *e-rjẽ-'tõi-ỹ-ki*
Ø-CL:side-CL:eye-ATT-DEC
‘he is someone who screws up his eyes (e.g. out of illness)’

(529) *e-rjẽ-xɛ-'tõi-tse*
Ø-CL:side-CL:hair-CL:eye-DEC
‘he looked with his eyes closed (through the eyelashes)’

rjỹsɛ̃ ‘necklace of shells’; free lexical form: *ɛ̃rjỹ'sɛ̃ni'te* ‘necklace of shells’. The e-noun without the instrument nominaliser was rejected. The following example was ventured by myself and accepted by the consultant:

(530) *nỹ-rjỹ'sɛ̃-ki*
big-CL:necklace-DEC
‘it is a big necklace’

ro ‘cup, container, ring-shaped item’; free lexical form: *e'ro* ‘container, radio’.

(531) *koreja-'ro*
knife-CL:cup
‘pan’

(532) *papeu-'ro*
paper-CL:cup
‘paper box’

(533) *uruhu-'ro*
vulture-CL:cup
‘headdress of vulture feathers’

(534) *ki-'ro-ỹ-ki*
red-CL:cup-ATT-DEC
‘the cup is red on the inside’

(535) *ki-ỹ-'ro-ki*
red-ATT-CL:cup-DEC
‘it is a red cup’

(536) *do-'ro-ki*
leak-CL:cup-DEC
‘water entered into the bucket’

This classifier may also refer to the underside of the chin:

(537) *kuru-'ro-da-ki*
swell-CL:cup-1S-DEC
‘I have a swollen throat (right under the chin)’

rohaxu ‘spine’; free lexical form: *'eroha'xu(xu)* ‘spine’.

(538) *kukui-roha'xu-ki*
hurt-CL:spine-DEC
‘the spine hurts’

rokotay ‘abdomen’; free lexical form: *'eroko'tay* ‘abdomen’.

(539) *kukui-roko'tay-ki*
hurt-CL:abdomen-DEC
‘the abdomen hurts’

romũ ‘upper and lower thigh’; free lexical form: *'eromũ* ‘upper and lower thigh’ (see also *tatsitswa* in 5.3.1.). Note the possible varieties including the classifier *-sĩ* ‘knee’: *eromũ'sĩ* / *esĩro'mũ* / *helomũ'sĩ* ‘upper leg (from hip to knee)’.

romũtsa ‘wrist’; free lexical form: *eromũ'tsa* ‘wrist’. This morpheme probably contains the element *-tsa-* as a classifier for ‘hand’.

(540) *txõ-romũ'tsa-ki*
kiss-CL:wrist-DEC
‘he kissed the hand’

(541) *jere'xwa* *e-romũtsa-ni'te*
jaguar Ø-CL:wrist-INSTR
‘dog with a bracelet’

(542) *jere'xwa kane'xu e-romũ'tsa-ki*
jaguar bracelet Ø-CL:wrist-DEC
'the dog wears a bracelet'

salõi 'snout'; free lexical form: *ɛsalõi* 'wet pig, dog, tapir, etc. nose'.[108]

(543) *dutu're-da-hỹ-ta nỹ-sa'lõi-da-ki*
pig-1S-NOM-CSO big-CL:snout-1S-DEC
'being a pig, I have a big snout'

sanũka 'tip of house'; free lexical form: *esanũ'ka* 'tip of house'. This classifier refers to the top of the central pole of the traditional hive-shaped straw house, e.g. in:

(544) *onɛ='djẽtsje-sanũka*
arrive=clasp-CL:tip
'(vine hanging down from the sky is) touching the top of the roof'

(545) *tsikja-sanũ'ka-da-ki*
stand-CL:tip-1S-DEC
'I stand on the top of the house'

sedi 'heel'; free lexical form: *ese'di* 'heel'. Note that the /d/ does not seem to be implosive: *[esed̰i].

(546) *ku'kui-se'di-da-ki*
hurt-CL:heel-1S-DEC
'my heel hurts'

sexu 'spine'; free lexical form: *ese'xu* 'spine'.

(547) *kukui-se'xu-(tu)-da-ki*
hurt-CL:spine-CL:back-1S-DEC
'I have a pain in the spine'

Often combined with the classifier *-tu* 'back': *ɛsɛxu'tu* 'spine of the back', IR [esa̲sutu'tsu] 'vertebra'.

sĩ 'knee'; free lexical form: *e'sĩ* 'knee'. Relatively lexicalised and occurs in words such as *eromũ'sĩ* or *esĩro'mũ* 'leg from hip to knee' (lit. 'thigh-knee'). Probably related to *-sĩ* 'seed, nut'.

108.Only humans have a *tsɛni* 'nose'.

sĩ ‘seed’; free lexical form: *e'sĩ* ‘seed, grain’.

(548) *wade-'sĩ*
tucuma-CL:seed
‘seed inside the nut of the tucuma palm tree’

siki ‘cloth, bark, skin’; free lexical form: *esi'ki* ‘leather, skin’. In rapid speech this classifier is often pronounced as [ski], [sɪki] or [səki].

(549) *mury'cy-siki*
mahogany-CL:skin
‘bark of mahogany’

(550) *ekwa'rɛ̃-siki*
chest-CL:skin
‘shirt’ (lit. ‘neck-cloth’ or ‘side of chest-cloth’)

(551) *maga'rida-dy-si'ki* / *maga'rida-dy-hỹ* *e-si'ki*
Margarida-POS-CL:skin / Margarida-POS-NOM Ø-CL:skin
‘clothes of Margarida’

Note that an element *-lo* can be added. Maybe it is related to *-lo* in *-kalo* ‘leaves’, in *-xyilo* ‘tube, beak’ and in *-rilo* ‘jaw’.

(552) *harurai-siki-'lo*
armadillo-CL:skin-CL:tube
‘armadillo shield’

(553) *kẽwẽdori-siki-'lo*
water.turtle-CL:skin-CL:tube
‘shell of water turtle’

(554) *hare-siki-lo-'ỹ-ki*
disappear-CL:skin-CL:tube-ATT-DEC
‘he had got bald’

sikilɛ ‘thin shell, eyelid’; free lexical form: *ɛsikilɛ* ‘eyelid’. Consists of the classifier *-siki* ‘skin’ and unidentified *-lɛ*. The following example was ventured by myself and accepted by the consultant.

(555) *kukui-siki'lɛ-da-ki*
hurt-CL:thin.shell-1S-DEC
‘I have pain in the lid of my eye’

(556) *cɛ̃'rĩ-siki'lɛ*
peanut-CL:thin.shell
‘peanut shell’

Note the following equivalent of (556): *cɛ̃'rĩsiki'lo* ‘peanut shell’.

simjãku ‘tree stump’; free lexical form: esimjã’ku ‘tree stump’.

(557) *ywynwỹ-simjã'ku* *hado-(co'ha-)ta-ki*
tree-CL:stump pierce-(foot-)1O-DEC
‘tree stump perforated my (foot)’

sinĩ ‘skewer, stalk of leaf (treated), bird-arrow’; free lexical form: *esi'nĩ* ‘man-made bird-arrow out of the stalk of a bacuri leaf’.

(558) *si-dy-si'nĩ*
I-POS-CL:stalk
‘my bird-arrow of bacuri leaf stalk’

(559) *ywy'nwỹ-si'nĩ*
tree-CL:stalk
‘wooden skewer, toothpick’

According to MA the classifier does not refer to leafstalks that sprout in the forest since “they are not man-made”. The classifier *-nĩ* is probably part of *-sinĩ*.

siñũ ‘tail’; free lexical form: *esiñũ* ‘tail, fin’.

(560) *jere'xwa-(dy-)si'ñũ*
jaguar-(POS-)tail
‘tail of jaguar’

siñwã ‘yard’; free lexical form: *esi'ñwã* ‘yard’.

(561) *e'mũ-si'ñwã-ki*
wet-CD:yard-DEC
‘the yard is wet’

(562) *jere'xwa 'cutsikja-siñwã-ki*
jaguar stand-CD:yard-DEC
‘the dog is standing in the yard’

sitokorõ ‘elbow, elbow point’; free lexical form: *εsi'toko'rõ* ‘elbow’. Consists probably of the classifiers *-to* ‘kernel’ and *-koro* ‘arm’. The following examples were ventured by myself and accepted by the consultant.

(563) *kukui-sitoko'rõ-da-ki*
hurt-CL:elbow-1S-DEC
‘I have pain in my elbow’

(564) *nỹ-sitoko'rõ-ki*
big-CL:elbow-DEC
‘it is a big elbow’

sitsa ‘shin’; free lexical form: *esi'nĩ* ‘shin’.

(565) *nỹ-si'tsa-ki*
big-CL:shin-DEC
‘he has a big shin’

xy ‘skin, leaf’; free lexical form: *e'xy* ‘paper, plastic, bag’. When referring to leaves, only big leaves which are a continuation of the stem, like banana leaves, are intended, while smaller leaves are *-xε* (see 4.2.2.2.). This classifier is homophonous to *-xy* ‘house’, and there may be an etymological relation through the many leaves which are required to build the traditional thatched bee-hive shaped house. Note in this respect also *e'xy* ‘ambush hut’ (see 4.2.2.3.).

(566) *hetsy'xe-tjate* *wy='wy-xy-'tsa-ki*
leaf-3.POS blow=blow-CL:leaf-CL:hand-DEC
'(the tree) its leaves (hands) are rustling in the wind'

(567) *atxitxi-ũ-'xy*
maize-CL:grain-CL:leaf
'sack of rice'

(568) *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa* *aru-'xy-da-ki*
human cross-CL:leaf-1S-DEC
'I'm drawing a person (on paper)'

xyi 'hair, fibre'; free lexical form: *e'xyi* 'hair'. Note that the classifier becomes reduced to *-xy*, *-xɛ* or *-xe* word-internally. Note also that *-nũ* 'powder' can also function as classifier for hair.

(569) *maga'riDa-dy-'xyi* / *maga'riDa-dy-hỹ* *e-'xyi*
Margarida-POS-CL:hair / Margarida-POS-NOM Ø-CL:hair
'hair of Margarida'

(570) *hay-xy-ko'ce-da-ki*
cut-CL:hair-CL:neck-1S-DEC
'I'm cutting hair'

(571) *e-xe-'kãi*
Ø-CL:hair-CL:mouth
'beard, moustache'

(572) *ha-xe-'kãi-ki*
clean-CL:hair-CL:mouth-DEC
'it is a white beard'

(573) *ɛ-xɛ-'tõi*
Ø-CL:hair-CL:eye
'eyelashes'

The element *-xe*, which is encountered in several forms, may be a variant of the present classifier. The stem of what may be a verb *huxe-hỹ-ki* 'it is hairy' cannot occur without a classifier: **huxe-ki*. Furthermore, there are nominal variants of this stem, including *huxe-koro* 'arm hair' and *huxe-'to* 'male pubic hair'. However, it is conspicuous that *-xe* is attached (and apparently lexicalised) on the nominal empty root in: *ɛxe'to* 'female pubic hair'. One could then argue that the combination *-xe-'to* means 'pubic hair'. The element *-to* is likely to represent the classifier *-to* 'seed, sex organ'. An answer to the remaining question of the origin of the element *hu-* can perhaps be procured from the verb *hu-ki* 'it sprouts'. Another meaning of *hu-ki* is 'he/she/it smokes'. Note in this respect, then, that *exyi'lu* means 'fog' (it is unclear what *-lu* means here), and that there also exist more descriptive words for it, like *hanãwã-'nũ* 'fog' (lit. 'heaven-powder') of which *-nũ* is a classifier which is also associated with 'hair', as we saw above in (502). So probably *huxeto* 'male pubic hair' has originally meant 'hair-growth in the groin'.

xyilo 'pipe, tube'; free lexical form: *exyi'lo* 'pipe, reed, camera lens'. Refers to protruding things like a little pipe, bird's beak, lens of the camera.

(574) *ui-xyi'lo*
tobacco-CL:tube
'cigarette, cigar'

It is likely that *-xyilo* could be further analysed as *-xyi* 'hairy substance', like tobacco in example (574), and *-lo* 'tube'. A bird's beak is a tube protruding from feathers. An item which would then not comply with the "hairy" part is *exyi'lo* in the sense of 'camera lens'. We do not have to resort to the argument that "camera lens" is an exogenous item, as it does, on the other hand, comply with *-xy* in the sense of 'skin, leaf, paper'. The word for "photo", namely, is:

(575) *a'ru-xy-nite*
cross-CL:leaf-INSTR
'photo'

So the free lexical form *exyi'lo* has two different analyses: 'hair' and 'tube' resulting in e.g. 'cigar'; and 'paper' and 'tube' resulting in 'camera lens'. The presence of a /i/ then presents us with a phonological problem, as *-xy* 'skin' does not have one. On the other hand, the absence of an /i/ in some variants of *-xyi* 'hair' is problematic as well.

xỹiro 'throat, gullet'; free lexical form: *exỹi'ro* 'throat, gullet'.

(576) *emũ-nỹ-dy-xỹi'ro-da-mỹ*
wet-REF-CAU-CL:throat-1S-VOL
'I'm going to wet my throat'

xyico 'feather'; free lexical form: *exyi'co* 'bird's feather'.

(577) *ũcady-xyi'co*
hawk-CL:feather
'hawk feather'

(578) *olu-xyi'co(-ta'ke)*
curassow-CL:feather-CL:wing
'feather of curassow (wing)'

xykãjã 'froth or foam-like matter'; free lexical form: *exykã'jã* 'froth from the wound of a recently killed animal', 'lungs'.

(579) *dytyito-xykã'jã*
spider-CL:froth
'cobwebs'

(580) *e-ri-xykã'jã*
Ø-CL:flat-CL:froth
'lungs'

xytõi 'foam'; free lexical form: *exy'tõi* 'foam, froth, toad's eggs'.

(581) *iri'tsa(-da-ki)* *e-xe'tõi-hỹ* *ho'ho-ỹ-xytõi-ele'le-da-si*
vomit-1S-DEC Ø-foam-NOM black-ATT-foam-very-1S-SWR
'I vomited foam, nothing but black foam (I gave)' (t)

xona ‘body’. Full noun: *exona'hỹ* ‘body’. This is an incomplete morpheme which can never occur without a further derivation, usually another classifier. May be related to the classifier *-xwana* ‘flesh, meat’. There is much variety in pronunciation [s̲o ~ s̲u ~ su ~ s̲wa].

(582) *wai-xona-hỹ-'he* *tãi-xona-'hỹ-da-ta*
good-CL:body-NOM-NEG hard-body-NOM-1S-CSO
‘my body felt bad and got hard’ (t)

(583) *'koxona-ku'ty-da-ki*
itch.body-CL:head-1S-DEC
‘it itches on my head’

xũjẽ ‘beak’; free lexical form: *exũjẽ* ‘beak, fuse, nipple’.

(584) *xowy'wy-dy-hỹ* *e-xũjẽ* / *xowy'wy-xũjẽ*
toucan-POS-NOM Ø-CL:beak / toucan-CL:beak
‘toucan beak’

xuri ‘chest’; free lexical form: *exu'ri* ‘chest’. Probably includes the classifier *-ri* ‘flat’.

(585) *e-xu'ri* *nỹ-xu'ri-ki*
Ø-CL:chest big-CL:chest-DEC
‘it is a big chest’

(586) *kara-xu'ri*
dry-CL:chest
‘dry chest’ (unproductive breasts)

xuro ‘cheek’; free lexical form: *exu'ro* ‘cheek’. May contain the classifier *-ro* ‘cup’.

(587) *aky-xu'ro-da-ki*
two-CL:cheek-1S-DEC
‘I have two cheeks’

(588) *kuru-xu'ro-da-ki*
swell-CL:cheek-1S-DEC
‘I have a swollen cheek’

xuto ‘hip bone, buttock’; free lexical form: *ɛxu'to* ‘hip bone, buttock’. Consists probably of the classifiers *-xu* ‘bone’ and *-to* ‘kernel’.

(589) *kukui-xu'to-da-ki*
hurt-CL:hip.bone-1S-DEC
‘I have a pain in my hip bone’

tahĩ ‘forehead’; free lexical form: *eta'hĩ* ‘forehead’.

(590) *xuru-ta'hĩ-ki*
soften-CL:forehead-DEC
‘he frowns’

tay ‘vessel, bottle’; free lexical form: *e'tay* ‘hole of container’.

(591) *txi-'tay-tɛ*
big-CL:vessel-NOM
‘big gas canister’

(592) *dodotximũ-'tay*
kerosene-CL:vessel
‘small gas canister’, ‘lamp’

tay ‘woman’; free lexical form: *e'tay* ‘woman, wife’. This is a female sex marker that contrasts both with *-xwa* ‘human’ and *-rati* ‘man’. It is probably also used as a buxom shape classifier for bananas and manioc tubers.

(593) *were=oja-'tay-nahere*
revolt=leave-CL:woman-COL
‘the angry women who left’ (t)

(594) *durudu'ru ta-wa-'tay* / *durudu'ru ỹ'nỹ-wa-tay*
Duruduru say-IS-CL:woman / Duruduru call-IS-CL:woman
‘that woman called Duruduru’

taka ‘stem of arrow’; free lexical form: *eta'ka* ‘stem of arrow’.

(595) *mã'bi-taka*
arrow-CL:stem
‘whole arrow, arrow stem, bunch of arrows’

tejũ ‘braided eye’; free lexical form: *ete'jũ* ‘the braided eye of a hammock by which it is tied or hung onto a hook’.

(596) *i'tso-tɛ'jũ*
hammock-CL:braid
‘eye of the hammock’

Maybe the meaning is more general, like ‘decorative braided string’, since on one occoasion the fringing on the side of a hammock was referred to.

terjỹ ‘cinder, fire’; free lexical form: *ete'rjỹ* ‘fire, cinder’. The identification of this classifier is uncertain.

(597) *hi-te'rjỹ-(*ki)*
fire-CD:cinder-(DEC)
‘cinder’

(598) *e-te'rjỹ-ki*
Ø-CD:cinder-DEC
‘it is light (sun is shining on the ground)’

(599) *kui-te'rjỹ-da-ki*
drink-CD:cinder-1S-DEC
‘I swallowed fire’

The first syllable of the classifier becomes nasalised when preceded by a nasal vowel, as in (600) and (601):

(600) *hi* *nỹ-te'rjỹ-(hỹ)-ki* ([tẽr̃j̃ɨ])
fire big-CD:cinder-(NOM)-DEC
'the fire is big (spread out)'

Example (601) shows that the distinction between classifiers and directionals cannot always be made (see also 5.3.3., example 1698):

(601) *tsã'rã* *tsã-te'rjỹ-da-ki* *hi-'na* ([tẽr̃j̃ɨ])
earth strew-CD:cinder-1S-DEC fire-LOC
'I threw sand into the fire'

tɛ 'round, belly'; free lexical form: *etɛ* 'belly'.

(602) *kudy-'tɛ*
calabash-CL:round
'big(-bellied) calabash'

(603) *dodotxi-'tɛ* *nỹ-'tɛ-ki*
rubber-CL:round big-CL:round-DEC
'ball is big'

(604) *nỹ-'tɛ-da-ki*
big-CL:round-1S-DEC
'my belly is growing'

Note that *tɛ-* also seems to behave as an adjective-like verb root (see 4.3.2.1.). Maybe it is ambiguous.

(605) *'tɛ-ỹ-ki*
round-ATT-DEC
'it is round (ball, calabash)'

(606) *e-'tɛ-tsy-hỹ* / *'tɛ-ỹ-hỹ*
Ø-CL:round-GER-NOM / round-ATT-NOM
'small gas flask'

tyxa 'sheet iron, metal'; free lexical form: *'ety'xa* 'iron, tin, aluminium'.

(607) *'si-dy-hỹ* *koreja-'ro* *nỹ-ty'xa-ki*
I-POS-NOM knife-CL:cup big-CL:iron-DEC
'my can is big (only when cut and bent open, put down flat)'

(608) *ỹ-ty'xa*
this-CL:iron
'that aluminium, metal'

(609) *ho'ho-ỹ-ty'xa*
black-ATT-CL:iron
'black iron'

(610) *a'xy-ty'xa* / *kore'ja-tyxa*
house-CL:iron / knife-CL:iron
'roof plates'

to 'seed, fruit'; free lexical form: *e'to* 'maize shell'. This classifier refers to small round objects or insects, which, as the consultants insist, have to be quite small.

(611) *koreja-'to*
knife-CL:seed
'small glass beads'

(612) *dytyi-'to*
spider-CL:seed
'very small spider'

Maybe *-to* is related to *-co* in *syi'co* 'chigger', a small insect that penetrates the sole of the foot and grows a small seed-like pellet filled with eggs.

In contrast, *-to* is also applied in *mangka-'to* 'mango fruit', which is a big fruit. This exception may be related to the fact that *mangka* is a loanword, as is the concept. However, it is possible that the native word *eri'to* 'heart' also contains the classifier:

(613) *eri'to nỹ-'to-ki* / *nỹ-'hỹ-ki*
heart big-CL:seed-DEC / big-NOM-DEC
'the heart is big'

The words *etori* 'corner of table', *etoko'je* 'knuckle' and *esi'tokoro* 'point of the elbow' probably also contain this classifier. The classifier is furthermore used for the sex organ. Note for example *ɛxe'to* 'female pubic hair' and:

(614) *isi-nỹ-'to-ki*
secure-REF-CL:seed-DEC
'he holds, grabs his own penis'

tohoi 'small youngling'; free lexical form: *eto'hoi* 'child'. Probably etymologically related to *txu'hũi* 'small'.

(615) *e'tay-tohoi*
woman-CL:child
'girl child'

'tswa-tohoi
man-CL:child
'boy child'

(616) *dutu're-to'hoi*
pig-CL:child
'foetus of pig'

(617) *nỹ-to'hoi-ki*
big-CL:child-DEC
'it is a big child'

(618) *jere'xwa-to'hoi*
jaguar-CL:child
'little jaguar, jaguar kitten'

jere'xwa txu'hũi
jaguar small
'(wild) cat'

(619) *dara-to'hoi*
green-CL:child
'baby'

(620) *awãnỹ'ce-tohoi*
show.self-CL:child
'orphan'

(621) *txi'rja-to'hoi*
everyone-CL:child
'all the children'

(622) *di'le-dy-to'hoi-re*
who-POS-CL:child-INT
'whose is (this) youngster?'

tõi 'fruit, star, eye (ball)'; free lexical form: *e'tũi* 'fruit' and *e'cũi* 'eye'. For both 'fruit' and 'eye' the classifier is the same, in spite of the fact that the latter employs a different consonant; the /c/. Note that it also is used as the classifier for 'moon' (see example in 4.1.).

(623) *aky-'tõi-tsɛ*
two-CL:eye-DEC
'they are two fruits/be two fruits'

(624) *tẽjãwỹ-'tõi-da-ki*
dark-CL:eye-1S-DEC
'my view is dark' (I'm about to faint)

toju 'finger'; free lexical form: *eto'ju* 'finger'. The element *-djoju* 'toe' is possibly related (see 4.2.2.2.).

(625) *tsoje-to'ju*
hand-CL:finger
'finger'

tori 'corner, point'; *etori* 'corner, point'.

(626) *mesa-to'ri*
table-CL:corner
'corner of table'

e-karã-to'ri
Ø-CL:edge-CL:corner
'corner of a table, board etc.'

Maybe this classifier is related to *ecore'we* / *'etore'we* 'ankle+heel+lower shin'.

torõi 'cylinder'; *eto'rõi* 'cylinder'.

(627) *ko'sa-torõi*
sun-CL:cylinder
'lantern battery'

ma'bi-to'rõi
arrow-CL:cylinder
'cartridge'

totse 'bunch'; free lexical form: *eto'tse* 'bunch, hand of bananas'. Refers to a small bunch, e.g. of banana. The classifier *-totse*, seems to contain the classifier *-to* 'fruit'.[109]

109.Maybe the *-tse* part is really *-tse* 'DEC'.

(628) *apara-to'tse*
banana-CL:bunch
'hand of bananas'

tu 'shoulder'; free lexical form: *e'tu* 'back'.

(629) *'marju wara-'tu-da-ki*
Mario touch-CL:back-1S-DEC
'I touch Mario's shoulder' (t)

tutɛ 'mountain range'; free lexical form: *etu'tɛ* 'back'.

(630) *nỹ-tu'tɛ-ki*
big-CL:mountain.range-DEC
'the mountain range is big'

tsurje 'board, plank'; free lexical form: *etsu'rje* 'board'. The following example refers also to the floorboards of a house on stilts (which is not indigenous architecture).

(631) *a-toto-tsu'rje*
Ø-DR:upward-CL:board
'ceiling, the top boards' (t)

The morpheme may derive from a semi-productive combination of the classifiers *-tsu* 'stick' and *-rje* 'bunch':

(632) *au-tsu-'rje*
flesh-CL:bone-CL:bunch
'meat grill'

tsumãi 'pointed stick, hook'; free lexical forms: *etsu'mãi* 'hook of something' and *exu'mãi* 'straw, match'. This classifier derives from a combination of the classifiers *-tsu* 'bone' and *-mãi* 'tooth'.

(633) *mani'ni-tsumãi*
fish-CL:point
'fishing hook'

cf. *manini-'tsu*
fish-CL:bone
'fishing rod'

(634) *hi-xu'mãi*
fire-CL:point
'charcoal'

(635) *hi-tu'kwe-sumãi*
fire-pod-CL:point
'match'

It is also part of the noun *korjetsumãi* 'drill', which may originate from a derivation from the noun *koreja* 'knife, iron'.

tswe ‘root’; free lexical form: *e'tswe* ‘long root’.

(636) *e-'kai nỹ-'tswe-ki*
Ø-CL:leg big-CL:root-DEC
‘it is a long leg’

This classifier also has the connotation of ‘medicine’:

(637) *ywynwỹ-'tswe*
tree-CL:root
‘poáia (as a medicine)’

(638) *nũty-'tswe*
honey-CL:root
‘medicinal honey from the forest’

This classifier is lexicalised in *hou'tswe* ‘arrow with harpoon point for monkeys etc.’. As in *hourje* ‘arrow with several points’ (see under *-rje*), the root is unidentified. Furthermore, it is unclear whether *-tswe* here characterises the length of the arrow (point) or the possible poison on it. It may be that an allomorphic variant of this classifier is lexicalised in the verb *isixwe-* ‘to medicate’ (see also 5.4.6.).

ce ‘big hole’; free lexical form: *e'ce* ‘hole’. See also *-kawa* ‘inside’.

(639) *hɛ nỹ-'ce-ki*
mortar big-CL:hole-DEC
‘it is a big chicha mortar’

Unless it is lexicalised, the function of *-ce* may be difficult to distinguish from directional in:

(640) *atxitxi(*-wã) aru-'ce-da-ki*
maize(-AO) place-CL:hole-1S-DEC
‘I put the maize into the mortar’

corewe ‘ankle + heel + lower shin’; free lexical form: *ecore'we* ‘ankle, wrist of the foot’, also [etoɾe'we]. The following example was ventured by myself and accepted by the consultant.

(641) *kukui-core'we-da-ki*
hurt-CL:ankle-1S-DEC
‘I have pain in the wrist of my foot’

txĩ ‘rear (of bird)’; free lexical form: *e'txĩ* ‘rear end of bird’. This classifier does not refer to the feathers but to the flesh. It is probably represented by the element *-txe-* in *etxe'nũ* ‘feathers of the bird’s tail’.

(642) *o'lu-dy-txĩ*
curassow-POS-CL:rear
'tail of curassow'

(643) *uki'ri-dy-txĩ*
parakeet-POS-CL:rear
'flesh of tail of parakeet'

ũ 'flower'; free lexical form: *e'?ũ* 'flower'.

(644) *ỹ-'ũ*
this-CL:flower
'this flower'

(645) *itso?yi-'ũ*
liana-CL:flower
'liana flower'

4.2.3. The nature and productivity of classifiers in Kwaza

Many Kwaza classifiers are semantically rather specific. They often refer to very limited or even single-member classes, such as *-tehu* 'spoon'. Only a few classifiers are more generally applicable, such as *-mũ* 'liquid' and the neutral classifier *-hỹ*, which has also various grammatical functions beyond the classifier system.

As regards productivity, there are many irregularities and unexpected behaviour. As an example, the class of *-rote* 'hole of house, door' is applied productively to numeral expressions: *aky-ro'te-tse* 'two doors'. This comes as no surprise, as numeral expressions are famous cross-linguistically for their agreement with nouns through classifiers (Payne 1997:108). In fact, the class of *-rote* 'hole, door' is not a closed class, since it also includes non-native items referred to by loanwords, like Portuguese *janela* 'window':

(646) *lo'te nỹ-ro'te-ki*
door big-CL:door-DEC
'the door is big'

(647) *zja'nela nỹ-ro'te-ki*
window big-CL:door-DEC
'the window is big'

In contrast, there is an indication that the classifier is losing productivity, and that analytic forms are sometimes preferred:

(648) *txuhũi-ro'te-ỹ-ki*
small-CL:hole-ATT-DEC
'it is a small hole'

(649) *lo'te txu'hũi-ỹ-ki*
door small-ATT-DEC
'it is a small door'

The word for 'hole' is *lo'nɛ̃*, while it is most likely that the classifier *-rote* is etymologically related to the word *lo'te* 'door'. Nevertheless, the classifier *-rote* refers to 'hole' when the item to which it refers is not made explicit, as in (648). An alternative explanation for this example is that the classifier's most generic sense is not 'hole of the house, door', but in fact 'hole', and that this comes to the fore when a referent or head noun is omitted.

The opposite is the case with the classifier *-xy*, which has the specialised meaning of 'house' and a more general sense of 'leaf, bag, sheet'. If the referent is omitted, the specific sense is implied:

(650) *aky-'hỹ* 'two things'
a'xy 'house'
a'xy aky-'xy 'two houses'
e-'xy 'paper'
e-'xy aky-'xy 'two papers'
aky-'xy 'two houses', *'two papers'

This is further corroborated by the following examples:

(651) *haka-'hỹ* 'old one'
(a'xy) haka-'xy 'old house'
(a'xy) haka-'xy-tse 'there is an old house'

Yet, this pattern is not "hermetic". There are many attributive roots to which the application of a general unmarked classifier is preferred instead of *-xy*:

(652) *arwa-'hỹ* 'new'
a'xy arwa-'hỹ 'new house'
? *a'xy arwa-'xy* 'new house'

Furthermore, there are examples of verb phrases in which the classifier *-xy* refers to 'leaf' when no lexical argument is specified, as in example (301). An explanation could be then that referents are not so principally omissible as it seems after all. In case it is omitted, the proper pragmatic context, rather than the semantic content of the morpheme, determines the exact reference of the classifier. In addition, the meaning of the classifier seems to be co-determined by the specific lexical root to which a classifier is- or has to be- applied. In such cases one may assume that the classifier is on its way towards lexicalisation with a specific verb stem.

Nevertheless, I presume that there is enough evidence for the anaphoric faculty of classifiers in Kwaza as there are innumerable examples of omitted referents without semantic change. It is only natural that the more generic the nature of a classifier is, the more important the pragmatic context becomes for its interpretation in case the referent is omitted. Moreover, most classifiers display a predictable meaning in most constructions.

Some facts suggest that, although being highly productive, the Kwaza classifying system must be very old. Firstly, the classifiers occur in a wide range of different constructions (as demonstrated in 4.2.1.). Secondly, many classifiers are grammaticalised to a great extent. Thirdly, the Kwaza classifying system resembles that of other Amazonian languages in different respects (see 4.2.6.).

4.2.4. The dimensions of classification

No clear patterns emerge from the different types of classifiers in (4.2.2.) as to their semantic nature.

The factors which determine or define the group of nouns to which the classifier is limited seem to be partially of semantic and of euphonic, i.e. sound associative, nature (but there may be other aspects involved as well, which requires further study).

There are many classifiers which strongly resemble their referents phonetically. Usually these classifiers represent quite limited or even single-member classes, especially the ones that may form e-initial nouns, e.g. *-koko* 'throat', which can only refer to throats. Other classifiers seem to have a larger reference potential, e.g. *-lo* 'tube', *-mũ* 'liquid', or may be phonetically reminiscent only of the most "prototypical" member of the class they define, e.g. *-mãi* 'tooth' c.f. *mĩ'ki* 'tooth'.

There are nearly 150 classifiers. No readily identifiable systematic semantic contrasts between specific groups of classifiers were revealed. I have tried to group the classifiers together in a typology of classifiers on the basis of the following nine provisional semantic characteristics:

Semantic type	*Instance*
1- shape	*-rje* 'bunch'
2- substance / texture	*-dwa* 'stone', *-dũrũ* 'smooth', *-kjɛ̃* 'prickly'
3- part-whole / body part	*-kai* 'leg'
4- direction / space?/shape?	*-rja* 'round', *-rjỹ* 'area'
5- function	*-tay* 'vessel'
6- specific	*-tehu* 'spoon'
7- neutral	*-hỹ* 'NOM (neutral)'
8- sex	*-tay* 'woman'
9- metaphorical / ambiguous	*-kuty* 'head' (shape and size)

When one keeps separate the basic morphological groups as defined etymologically above by the sections (4.2.2.2.), (4.2.2.3.) and (4.2.2.4.), the following observations can be made with respect to the semantic groups listed here.

There are no ambiguous classifiers from section (4.2.2.2.). All fit neatly into semantic categories. Here are some examples of which the numbers correspond to the abovementioned semantic types:

1	*rwa*	'hole, round nostril'
2	*ỹi*	'flesh, tissue, fabric'
3	*djo*	'foot'
4	*rjỹ*	'area, all.over, room' (space)
6	*day*	'snake'
7	*hỹ*	'neutral'
8	*rati*	'man'

Classifiers from the other sections may also belong clearly to only one of these types, but many do not. Note how the following classifiers may be assigned to different semantic types at the same time:

1/3/9	*kuty*	'head'	(4.2.2.3.)
4/6	*jãhỹ*	'road, path, trail'	(4.2.2.3.)
1/6	*xy*	'house, hut'	(4.2.2.3.)
3/6	*cukwe*	'pod box'	(4.2.2.3.)
1/3/9	*ke*	'horn, cob'	(4.2.2.4.)
1/2/3	*siki*	'cloth, bark, skin'	(4.2.2.4.)
3/5/9	*kai*	'leg'	(4.2.2.4.)
3/6/9	*mjãka*	'intestines, belly'	(4.2.2.4.)
1/3/8	*tohoi*	'small youngster'	(4.2.2.4.)

There are no "substance/texture" classifiers (no. 2) in the section of etymologically transparent classifiers (4.2.2.3.).

There are no "part/whole" classifiers (no. 3) in the section of etymologically transparent classifiers (4.2.2.3.).

Each of the etymological sections contributed one unambiguous "sex" classifier:

8	*rati*	'man'	(4.2.2.2.)
8	*xwa*	'(hu)man' man'	(4.2.2.3.)
8	*tay*	'woman'	(4.2.2.4.)

The neutral classifier can be regarded as belonging to the etymologically opaque classifiers, i.e. section (4.2.2.2.).

It is unclear what the criteria would be in Kwaza for a category of "function" as perceived in other Amazonian languages by Payne (1986:117). All "function" classifiers can be also considered alternatively as "shape", "direction" or "specific" classifiers:

1/5	*ro*	'cup, container'	(4.2.2.4.)
1/5	*taka*	'stem of arrow'	(4.2.2.4.)
1/5	*ricwa*	'inhabited place'	(4.2.2.4.)
4/5	*siñwã*	'yard'	(4.2.2.4.)
5/6	*te'hu*	'spoon'	(4.2.2.3.)

Note that there are no "function" classifiers (no. 5) in the section of etymologically opaque classifiers (4.2.2.2.).

In this section I have tried to find correlations between the groups/types of classifiers and semantic categories. These three groups and nine categories are motivated independently from one another, by etymology and semantics respectively. Maybe it is then legitimate to reinterpret the groupings on the basis of this list and to assign both specific classifiers *-day* and *-xwana* from the

opaque section (4.2.2.2.) to the transparent section (4.2.2.3.). This would mean that there are no specific classifiers from section (4.2.2.2.), which would make the opaque group more classifier-like than the other two. It may be justified by the fact that *-day* and *-xwana* are not as etymologically opaque as the others from section (4.2.2.2.).

As was demonstrated in the preceding sections, all classifiers have in principle the same wide distribution. This means that no specific position is reserved for a certain semantic type of classifier. This goes against the typological generalisation cited in Craig (1992:289) to the effect that "each morpho-syntactic type (of classifiers in a sample of 29 languages) was linked to an identifiably dominant semantic domain". This is apparently because Kwaza has only one morpho-syntactic type of classifier, in which respect it seems to be a typical Amazonian language.[110]

4.2.5. Ambiguity between classifiers and directionals

Some classifiers have distributional properties which strongly resemble those of directionals (see 5.3.). They occur both in positions where they function as classifiers and in positions where directionals characteristically are found. Apart from being a nominaliser and a classifier, the morpheme *-hỹ* has several verbal functions as well, but it has not been established whether it may function as a directional. The clearest example of a specific classifier with directional properties is *-rjỹ* 'area'. Other morphemes are less clearly ambiguous, and may rather be directionals with some resemblance to classifiers as regards their behaviour. Most of the ambiguity between classifiers and directionals is of semantic nature, however. The ambiguous morphemes will be treated in (5.3.3.).

4.2.6. Correspondence with neighbouring languages

The Kwaza classifier system may be one of those features which could throw light on the language's possible genealogical classification and/or its history of language contact. It appears that classifier systems are of considerable importance in Tupian Karo (Gabas 1999) and Munduruku (in contrast to most other Tupi languages, Moore pc), in several Maipuran Arawakan (Aikhenvald 1999, Facundes 2000, pc), Macro-Carib and Macro-Tucano languages (Derbyshire and Payne 1990), as well as in the Yanomami languages (Goodwin Gómez 2000), the Witoto language Miraña of Colombia (Seifart 2002) and in several languages of Bolivia, such as Movima (Grinevald 2002) and the Tacana language Cavineña (Guillaume 2004). Payne (1987) suggests that correspondences between the classifier systems in some languages of Western Amazonia

110. Cf. also the remark in the introduction of the present section (4.2.) about the observations by Derbyshire and Payne (1990:246;261-263).

point to language contact. It appears that Aikanã (possibly isolated) and Kanoê (possibly isolated) have a classifier system similar to that of Kwaza. These two languages have probably been in close contact with Kwaza for a long time.

There are both structural correspondences and formal similarities between the Aikanã, Kanoê and Kwaza classifier systems. The Kwaza classifier *-ko* 'seed, fruit' is identical to its Kanoê equivalent (Bacelar pc):

(653) Kanoê: *ope'ko* *wo'ro-ko-e-re*
kernel black-fruit-DEC-AUX
'the seed is black'

And Kwaza *-xu* 'bone' as in *kẽwẽ-'xu* 'turtle bone' is quite similar to Aikanã *-zu* in *kiripatsa-zu* 'turtle bone'. Some forms are shared by the three languages, e.g. *-nũ* 'powder', as in e.g. Kanoê *mapiti'nũ* 'gunpowder' (Bacelar pc), and *-mũ* 'liquid' as in the following parallel examples:

(654) Kwaza: *kawe-'mũ* *hoho-ỹ-'mũ-ki*
coffee-CL:liquid black-ATT-CL:liquid-DEC
'the coffee is black'

(655) Aikanã: *ka'pe(-mũ)* *'vi-mũ-'ẽ*
coffee-CL:liquid black-CL:liquid-3.DEC
'the coffee is black'

(656) Kanoê: *'opeko-'mũ* *wo'ro-mũ-e-re*
kernel-CL:liquid black-CL:liquid-DEC-AUX
'the coffee is black'

These examples, which are also discussed in van der Voort (fcb), indicate that it is important to study dependable information on this and other grammatical aspects of especially Aikanã and Kanoê.

4.3. Attributive modification

Kwaza does not possess a grammatical category of adjectives. All attributive noun modification is achieved through the juxtaposition of a modifying noun to a head noun. The modifying noun may be a bare noun, or a noun derived from another noun, a verb or an adverb.

There are two important subtypes of noun modification. In the first place, Kwaza has possessive constructions which involve noun-noun derivation by the possessive morpheme *-dy-*. Secondly, the lack of adjectives in Kwaza is compensated by the possibility to juxtapose nouns. The result of this is a construction in which a dependent noun modifies a head noun.

In relation to the second type of modification, it should also be mentioned that there are demonstrative, numeral and attributive roots which are neither clearly verbal nor nominal and which always require the application of a nominalising morpheme, either *-hỹ*, another classifier, or another nominaliser, in order to form a complete stem/word and occur as such in an attributive construction. In a number of cases, a special attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* is required. It should furthermore be added that nominalised verbs represent verb-noun derivations which may range in complexity between a morphosyntactically very simple predicate with a semantically attributive root, to a fully-fledged relative clause-like finite verb phrase with case marked arguments and all.

The basic principle is always the same: attributive modification of a noun is realised by juxtaposition of another noun. Under the proper circumstances the modified head noun in a noun phrase may be omitted, leaving the dependent modifying noun to represent the referring noun phrase. In this section the various ways in which modifiers are formed and applied to head nouns are discussed. Many additional examples of noun modification can be encountered in section (4.2.) on classifiers. Kwaza attributive constructions are also the subject matter of a separate article (van der Voort fca).

4.3.1. Possessive

One important form of nominal modification is possessive modification. Kwaza has no possessive pronouns. The possessor- the modifier in the Kwaza possessive construction- is a personal pronoun or a noun. These constructions require a derivational possessive morpheme *-dy-*, which must be applied to the possessor and which must be followed by a classifier, usually the nominaliser *-hỹ*, which functions as a semantically neutral classifier. Some examples are:

(657) *'si-dy-hỹ ecũi'ri*
I-POS-NOM buttock
'my buttock'

(658) *'si-dy-hỹ 'kopu ko-'ro-tse*
I-POS-NOM cup without-CL:cup-DEC
'my cup is empty'[111]

(659) *ko-'ro-tse 'xyi-dy-hỹ 'kopu*
without-CL:cup-DEC you-POS-NOM cup
'your cup is empty'[112]

(660) *'kopu 'ĩ-dy-hỹ ko-'ro-tse*
cup he-POS-NOM without-CL:cup-DEC
'his cup is empty'

111. The phrase is ungrammatical with *-ki* 'DEC'.
112. The order 231 is also possible.

(661) *'si-dy-hỹ-ki* *'kopu*
I-POS-NOM-DEC cup
'the cup is mine/it is my cup'[113]

(662) *'si-dy-hỹ* *'kopu-ki*
I-POS-NOM cup-DEC
'the cup is mine/it is my cup'

(663) *ha'rwi-dy-'hỹ* *kanwã=ekai-'ɛ*
Luiz-POS-NOM canoe=leg-too
'Luiz' car'

(664) *haru'rai-dy-hỹ* *lo'te*
armadillo-POS-NOM door
'entrance to the armadillo's hole' (not *lo'ne* 'hole'!)

(665) *lu'zeu-dy-hỹ* *ko'sa* *hyri-'ty-da-ki*
Luzeu-POS-NOM sun steal-DET-1S-DEC
'I stole Luzeu's lantern / from Luzeu'

As seen in example (661), the dependent noun may be verbalised: *'sidyhỹki* 'it is mine'. In the proper discourse context the head noun may be omitted: *'sidyhỹ* 'mine'. Note the following example:

(666) *na-'ay-hỹ-dy-hỹ* *i'si-ki*
PROX-that-NOM-POS-NOM die-DEC
'that person's (son) has died'

Case marking in the following example shows that the possessive construction functions as a single noun phrase in the sentence:

(667) *'si-dy-hỹ* *etay-'wã* *duky'ri-da-ki*
I-POS-NOM woman-AO long-1S-DEC
'I'm longing for my wife'

Instead of the nominaliser *-hỹ* in the function of a neutral classifier, other, semantically specific classifiers may be encountered in possessive constructions as well. They were amply discussed in the previous section on classifiers, so I will limit the evidence here to only few examples:

(668) *'si-dy-ro* *'dai-xa-ki*
I-POS-CL:cup grab-2-DEC
'you took my cup'

(669) *'si-dy-mãi*
I-POS-CL:tooth
'my teeth'

The combination of these possibilities, the omission of the head noun and the use of a classifier, allows for two alternative possessive expressions, which are equivalent in meaning and context-(in)dependence:

113. Order 21 is also possible.

(670) *maga'riDa-dy-hỹ* *e-'xyi* / *maga'riDa-dy-'xyi*
Margarida-POS-NOM Ø-CL:hair / Margarida-POS-CL:hair
'Margarida's hair'

(671) *di'lɛ-dy-hỹ* *a'xy* / *di'lɛ-dy-xy* *(a'xy)*
who-POS-NOM house / who-POS-CL:house (house)
'whose house?'

In both examples, the first alternative is an analytic expression involving the neutral classifier (see 4.2.) and the second alternative is a synthetic headless construction involving a specific classifier. Here is an example of the latter in a sentential context:

(672) *di'lɛ-dy-xy* *wai-dy-'hỹ-xa-re*
who-POS-CL:house good-CAU-NOM-2-INT
'whose house are you repairing?'

The possessive morpheme *-dy-* is homophonous with the benefactive morpheme *-dy-*, but it has a different distribution and behaviour. It forms a root that neither exists independently as a nominal stem, nor can it form a verb stem like the benefactive does:

(673) *'si-dy-hỹ* / **si-dy* / **(kopu) si-dy-ki*
I-POS-NOM / I-POS / (cup) I-POS-DEC
'mine'

We have seen in examples (661) and (662) that concomitants of the possessive construction can be verbalised through e.g. the declarative marker *-ki*:

(674) *'si-dy-hỹ* *kanwa=ekai-'e*
I-POS-NOM canoe=leg-too
'my car'

(675) *si-dy-'hỹ-ki* *kanwa=ekai-'e*
I-POS-NOM-DEC canoe=leg-too
'it is my car/the car is mine'

During elicitation sessions in fieldwork doubt was expressed by MA at the grammaticality of the non-verbalised possessor as an answer two an open question, like to: 'whose car is that?', A: *[ʔ]*'marjudyhỹ* 'Mario's' instead of *marjudy'hỹki* 'it is Mario's'.

Other verbal moods than the declarative are also possible. Note that in some of the following interrogative examples, word order is reversed apparently without semantic consequences:

(676) *e'tay* *'xyi-dy-hỹ-re*
wife I-POS-NOM-INT
'is she your wife?'

(677) *'xyi-dy-hỹ-re* *e'tay*
I-POS-NOM-INT wife
'is she your wife?'

(678) *'xyi-dy-hỹ e'tay-re*
I-POS-NOM wife-INT
'is she your wife?'

Here are some further examples:

(679) Q: *di'lɛ-dy-ro-re*
who-POS-CL:cup-INT
'whose cup is it?'

(680) A: *'si-dy-ro-ki*
I-POS-CL:cup-DEC
'it is my cup'

(681) *di'lɛ-dy-hỹ-re*
who-POS-NOM-INT
'whose is it?'

(682) *di'lɛ-dy-xy-re*
who-POS-CL:house-INT
'whose house is it?'

Note that not with all pronouns the possessive morpheme *-dy-* is possible, that is, not with the pronoun *txana* 'we.IN':

(683) *txana(*-dy)-'hỹ-ki 'kopo*
we.IN(-POS)-NOM-DEC cup
'it is our cup/the cup is ours'

(684) *'kopo txana-'ro-ki*
cup we.IN-CL:cup-DEC
'it is our cup/the cup is ours'[114]

(685) *ɛ-'ja txana-'rjỹ*
go-EXP we.IN-CD:area
'let's go to our place!'

An explanation for the behaviour of *txana* is that it is of Tupi-Guarani origin, unlike the other pronouns. All other pronouns require *-dy-*, although TE rejected also the combination of the possessive morpheme with *xyitsɛ* 'you.PL':[115]

(686) *tsyitsɛ(*-dy)-'hỹ-ki 'kopo*
you.PL(-POS)-NOM-DEC cup
'it is your cup'

In headless possessive constructions which contain a classifier and which refer to animal body parts, the possessive morpheme *-dy-* is often, but not always, optional. The resulting construction is one of noun classification as described in (4.2.1.9.):

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114. Once I ventured **kopo txana-dy-ro-ki* 'our cup' wherupon MA said in Portuguese: *'ta certo, mas não existe* 'It's correct, but it doesn't exist'.

115. This is probably caused by uncertainty on the part of TE. Notice in this respect that TE also pronounced the second person plural pronoun differently from normal *xy-i'tsɛ*: [tsɨi̯̊tsɛ] probably in analogy with *tsitsɛ* 'we.EX'.

(687) *arũi(-dy)-'ri* / *a'rũi-dy-hỹ* *e-'ri*
tapir-POS-CL:flat / tapir-POS-NOM Ø-CL:flat
'the tapir's liver'

(688) *o'lu(-dy)-ku'ty*
curassow-POS-CL:head
'head of curassow'

(689) *o'lu(-dy)-ta'ke*
curassow-POS-wing
'wing of curassow'

(690) *o'lu*(-dy)-'kai* / *o'lu-dy-hỹ* *e-'kai*
curassow-POS-CL:leg / curassow-POS-NOM Ø-CL:leg
'leg of curassow'

(691) *jere'xwa(-dy)-si'ñũ*
jaguar-POS-CL:tail
'tail of jaguar'

(692) *xowy'wy-xũjẽ* / *xowy'wy-dy-hỹ* *e-xũjẽ*
toucan-CL:beak / toucan-POS-NOM Ø-CL:beak
'toucan beak'

No evidence was found that *-dy-* is optional in similar constructions which involve body parts of humans.

Possessive constructions can be embedded in other possessive constructions. The embedding possessor possesses the embedded possessor:

(693) *'xyi-dy-'hỹ* *'mã-dy-'hỹ* *a'xy*
you-POS-NOM mother-POS-NOM house
'your mother's house'

As was demonstrated earlier, it is possible to express an object of possession synthetically through a specific classifier. The resulting headless construction can be an object of possession itself, but again, only the embedded possessor is possessed:

(694) *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *'mã-dy-'rjỹ*
you-POS-NOM mother-POS-CD:area
'your mother's place'

There are neither possessive pronouns nor possessive inflexion in Kwaza. There is only one denominal-nominal morpheme, *-tjate*, which marks a noun as possessed by a third person possessor:

(695) *'kopu-tjate* *ko-'ro-tsɛ*
cup-3.POS without-CL:cup-DEC
'his cup is empty'

This morpheme will be discussed under other nominal morphological categories in section (4.4.1.).

The possessive morpheme also occurs in combination with the factive nominaliser *-nãi*. The result is not a grammatically possessive construction, but an adverbial complement with the meaning 'the language of':

(696) *aika'nã-dy-nãi* *areta-'he-da-ki*
Aikanã-POS-NOM know-NEG-1S-DEC
'I don't understand Aikanã'

The fact that the morpheme *-dy-* is preferably omitted in the context of the inclusive pronoun suggests that it is originally a possessive morpheme:

(697) *txana(*ʔ-dy)-'nãi*
we.IN-POS-NOM
'our language'

The phenomenon of omission of possessive *-dy-* was also encountered in the examples (683) to (684) above. Another indication that *-dy-* is originally a possessive morpheme comes from the next example:

(698) *ti-'nãi-hỹ* *de'da-dy-nãi* *ũce'nãi-xa-re*
what-NOM-NOM anaconda-POS-NOM know-2S-INT
'do you know that story about the snake?' (t)

Here, *-nãi* probably marks a complement clause. The *-dy-nãi* construction is treated further in (6.2.4.2.). The morpheme *-nãi* is discussed exhaustively in (5.6.2.) and (8.4.2.).

Apart from the constructions involving *-dy-* and *-tjate*, there are no other grammatical ways to express possession in Kwaza. Lexical alternatives involve the verb *e-* 'have', as in:

(699) *xyi'ni 'e-ki*
thorn have-DEC
'it has thorns'

(700) *e-wa-hỹ-ki*
have-IS-NOM-DEC
'it is someone's'

Furthermore, there is a way of speaking in which a possessor can be "understood", and by that, the whole notion of possession:

(701) *exyi'co* *he'we-da-ki* *esiki-'na*
feather put-1S-DEC skin-LOC
'I put feathers as ornaments on (my) clothes'

4.3.2. Attributive (adjective)

Attributive constructions in Kwaza are structurally identical to other noun modification constructions like the possessive. A noun or nominalised verb with an attributive sense can be juxtaposed to the (optional) head noun which it modifies. Also verbs with non-attributive meaning can be nominalised and obtain an attributive sense through juxtaposition. It depends on the specific verbal root or stem which type of nominalisation is involved. In a number of situations the insertion of a special attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* is required. In this section, I will discuss all non-possessive noun-noun attributive constructions.

The simplest attributive construction consists of juxtaposed bare nouns:

(702) *ywy'nwỹ duma'ru*
tree ladle
'big wooden stirring spoon'

(703) *koreja'ri amũ'tay*
plate glass
'glass plate'

(704) *da'mũ'tswa*
duck man
'male duck'

(705) *hiri'ni zjwau isi'xwe-ki*
shaman João treat-DEC
'shaman João is treating (someone)'

Many nouns contain verb stems, nominalisers and classifiers, either lexicalised as in (706) and (707), or not:

(706) *wade-'xyi bu-ni'te*
tucuma-CL:hair put-INSTR
'straw hat'

(707) *auxwa'na 'ke-ni'te*
meat burn-INSTR
'fried meat'

(708) *((hiri'ni) jere'xwa) a're-wa-hỹ*
shaman jaguar turn-IS-NOM
'enchanted jaguar' (lit. 'shaman which was turned into jaguar')

(709) *kawa'pɛ txi-'hỹ-tɛ*
cockroach big-NOM-NOM
'a big cockroach'

(710) *tsitõ'jẽ txi-tõi-'tɛ*
star big-CL:eye-NOM
'big star'

Attributive constructions may consist of multiple juxtaposed nouns:

(711) *tã'jã wade-'xyi bu-ni'te wai-'hỹ-hỹ 'e-ki*
chief tucuma-CL:hair put-INSTR good-NOM-NOM have-DEC
'the chief has a beautiful hat made of the fibre of tucuma'

The maximum seems to lie around four juxtaposed nouns. In the following example, there was no room for *wai'hỹhỹ* 'beautiful' any more:

(712) *axe'hỹ-da-ki* *tã'jã* *wade-'xyi* *bu-ni'te* *'bu-hỹ*
find-1S-DEC chief tucuma-CL:hair put-INSTR put-NOM
'I met the chief wearing a hat made of fibre of tucuma'

There is no difference in Kwaza between nominalisation and relative clause formation. Nominalised verbs can be finite and juxtaposed to a noun, which may be the underlying object of the verb stem:

(713) *a'ru-xy-nite* *awỹi-'ja-da-day-hỹ*
cross-CL:leaf-INSTR see-IO-1S-1S-NOM
photo I.having.seen.something
'the photograph I took'

(714) *ay-'hỹ* *e'hỹ-xa-hỹ* *si* *he'?ai-da-ki*
that-NOM make-2-NOM I not.want-1S-DEC
'I don't like that which you did'

(715) *'rai?ỹhỹ* *wai-'hỹ-hỹ* *'e-ki*
thing good-NOM-NOM have-DEC
'there is a beautiful thing (CX: inside the box)'

(716) *'rai?ỹhỹ* *e'xy-ja-hỹ* *'e-ki*
thing sting-IO-NOM have-DEC
'there is an animal which bites (CX: inside the box)'

Like any other noun modification construction a "relative clause" can be headless:

(717) *'kui-da-hỹ* *txu'hũi-tse*
drink-1S-NOM small-DEC
'I drank little' (that which I drank was little)

A "relative clause" can be verbalised again which results in a cleft-like construction:

(718) *jo-ka'nɛ* *txitxi-'dy-da-hỹ-ki*
manioc-bar fry-CAU-1S-NOM-DEC
'they're pieces of manioc which I fried'

(719) *ay-'hỹ* *wai-'hỹ-ỹ-rydy-hỹ-tse*
that-NOM good-NOM-ATT-IRR-NOM-DEC
'that would be nice'

The nominaliser *-hỹ* is dealt with more extensively in (5.6.). It has remained unclear so far whether there are other connotations involved in the application

of *-hỹ* as a nominaliser, like tense and aspect (see 5.5.). The so-called "relative clauses" are further discussed as attributive clauses in (8.4.1.).

In the following example, a verb stem without inflexion is treated as a noun. Note that this nominal interpretation is limited to this very construction, which represents a nickname (AN's nickname of Capitão Pedro):

(720) *'tãjã to'koi*
chief soft
'Captain Softy'

Other nominalising morphemes like *-te* and *-nite* may also contribute to attributive constructions. They will all be treated in (5.6.).

4.3.2.1. The attributive morpheme *-ỹ-*

This is an ambivalent morpheme in the sense that it can in principle be applied to different types of stems and various categories of roots, be they noun, verb or adverb roots. The result is not a complete word, but a root which is likewise ambivalent in the sense that it should be further derived either as a noun or as a verb.

Some lexical roots demand the application of (non-stressed) *-ỹ-* under all circumstances. This could imply that the morpheme is lexicalised with those roots, although it is conspicuous that nearly all of them have an "adjective-like" semantic content and can be interpreted as state verbs:

(721) *byry'ry?ỹ-* 'ribbed, corrugated'
ere're?ỹ- 'spotted'
'ha?ỹ- 'white'
hanũ?ỹ- 'brown'
ha'xy?ỹ- 'yellow, sick'
ho'ho?ỹ- 'black'
kara'ra?ỹ- 'meagre'
kẽi?ỹ- 'smooth'
koi'loi?ỹ- 'undulate'
mɛ̃'rũi?ỹ- 'blue, green'
ta're?ỹ- 'shine'
co'ñũ?ỹ- 'short'
'wɛu?ỹ- 'brown'

Notice, however, that the large majority of "adjective-like" state verbs in Kwaza do not demand application of *-ỹ-*. The verb *da'rje-* 'strong, quick', for example, does not even allow the morpheme. In contrast, the morpheme can be applied to non-state verbs under certain circumstances.

Yet, most of the roots listed above were never attested without *-ỹ-*: *'wɛu?ỹ-ki* 'it is brown' (**'wɛu-ki*). Some of these roots do occur without *-ỹ-*, be it with a different sense:

(722) *ho'ho-ki* — dirty-DEC — 'it is dirty'
vs.
ho'ho-ỹ-ki — dirty-ATT-DEC — 'it is black'

(723) *'ha-ki* — clean-DEC — 'it is clean'
vs.
'ha-ỹ-ki — clean-ATT-DEC — 'it is white'

As mentioned, the result of *-ỹ-* is ambivalent. Whereas *ha-* as such can only be a verbal root, *ha?ỹ-* is the input to either verb (723) or noun formation:

(724) *(awỹi-da-ki)* *jere'xwa* *'ha-ỹ-hỹ* *hɛ'lowa* *(ỹnỹ-ki)*
see-1S-DEC jaguar clean-ATT-NOM Heloa name-DEC
'(I saw) a white dog (called) Heloa'

As shown in (4.2.), the nominaliser in this position can be replaced by a specific classifier:

(725) *'ha-ỹ-hỹ* — clean-ATT-NOM — 'white one'
vs.
'ha-ỹ-xy — clean-ATT-CL:leaf — 'white paper'

In some words variation in the relative distribution of *-ỹ-* and specific classifiers is attested, causing a change of meaning:

(726) *ki-ỹ-'ro-ki*
red-ATT-CL:cup-DEC
'it is a red cup'

(727) *ki-'ro-ỹ-ki*
red-CL:cup-ATT-DEC
'the cup is red on the inside'

One would expect, on the basis of these examples, that this variation can be interpreted in terms of scope effects. However, such effects are not (immediately?) predictable:

(728) *txu'hũi-ỹ-hỹ*
small-ATT-NOM
'small one, slice, piece'

(729) *txu'hũi-ỹ-ki*
small-ATT-DEC
'it is small'

(730) *txuhũi-ỹ-'re*
small-ATT-INT
'is it small?'

(731) *xyi'nĩ* *txu'hũi-ỹ-nĩ*
needle small-ATT-CL:thorn
'a small needle'

(732) *lo'te txu'hũi-rote-ỹ-ki*
door small-CL:door-ATT-DEC
'it is a small door'

(733) *haki'dwa txu'hũi-ỹ-dwa*
stone small-ATT-CL:stone
'small stone'

(734) *haki'dwa txu'hũi-ỹ-dwa-ki*
stone small-ATT-CL:stone-DEC
'the stone is small'

As mentioned before, not all state verbs require or allow *-ỹ-*:

(735) *to'koi-ki* vs. *to'koi-ỹ-ki*
soft-DEC soft-ATT-DEC
'it is soft' 'he wobbles' (lit. walks weakly)

(736) *haki'dwa nỹ-'dwa-ki*
stone big-CL:stone-DEC
'the stone is big'

(737) *haki'dwa txi-dwa-'tɛ*
stone big-CL:stone-NOM
'immense stone'

With semantically non-attributive stems, *-ỹ-* goes to combine with *-hỹ* to form a sort of participle / verbal noun / relative clause:

(738) *hady'tɛ-ỹ-hỹ*
defecate-ATT-NOM
'defecating'[116]

Note that the occurrence of *-ỹ-* with non-attributive verbs is very rare. In such cases its function is usually fulfilled by the gerundial morpheme *-tsy-*:

(739) *e-si'ki tso'ro e-'he-tsy-hỹ*
Ø-CL:skin arm have-NEG-GER-NOM
'shirt without an arm'

(740) *'kãu-ki* vs. *ja 'kãu-ỹ-ki* vs. *'kãu-tsy-hỹ-ki*
break-DEC already break-ATT-DEC break-GER-NOM-DEC
'it broke' 'it is already broken' 'it's the broken one'

Gerund nominalisation has a different distribution, and will be further discussed in (8.1.2.).

116. But note that this example is unreliable. The *-ỹ-* was actually pronounced without nasalisation, and may have represented *-a-* here, which would in the same position function as a sort infinitive. Furthermore, the word was recorded outside of its proper pragmatic context, for which reason it is impossible to establish any attributive meaning.

The morpheme *-ỹ-* is also ambivalent in that, in addition to being used with verbs, it can be applied to nouns or nominalised verbs:

(741) *o'wy-ỹ-ki*
genipap-ATT-DEC
'he is painted with genipap ink'

(742) *'tswa-ỹ-hỹ*
man-ATT-NOM
'being a man' (t)

(743) *ha'ja-ỹ-dwa-ta*
day-ATT-IDS-CSO
'the next day' (t)

(744) *hakare-'xyi tsje-tu-'xyi-ỹ-hỹ*
buriti-CL:hair clasp-CL:back-CL:hair-ATT-NOM
'(hat with a) tail of buriti straw hanging down on the back'

It can also be applied to adverbs (e.g. respectively: *tja?a'tje* 'close by', *ha'bui* 'outside the house', *ele'le* 'very', 'much', 'EMPH', *tsiri'tsa* 'in the middle', *atoto* 'upward', *aka'rwɛ* 'over there'):

(745) *ã'wỹi-da-ki a'xy tja?a'tje-ỹ-xy*
see-1S-DEC house close.by-ATT-CL:house
'I saw that nearby house'

(746) *ha'bui-ỹ-xy*
outside-ATT-CL:leaf
'piece of plastic (lying) outside'

(747) *tsɛ̃ ele'le-ỹ-ki*
salt very-ATT-DEC
'it's salty'

(748) *tsiri'tsa-ỹ-nwỹ*
middle-ATT-CL:tree
'the middle pole'

(749) *aka'rwɛ-ỹ-nwỹ*
over.there-ATT-CL:tree
'the tree a bit more over there'

(750) *kanwã=a-to'to-ỹ-hỹ 'dai-toto-nỹ-ki*
boat=Ø-DR:upward-ATT-NOM rise-DR:upward-REF-DEC
'the airplane flew up'

Furthermore, also a question word construction was encountered employing *-ỹ-*:

(751) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-ỹ-xa-re*
what-FOC-ATT-2-INT
'what is the matter with you?' (t)

The morpheme *-ỹ-* may even occur following inflexions, like the locative case marker of a prepositional object in:

(752) *korejaro-'na-ỹ-hỹ* *'tsicwa-ta* *hã 'dote-ki*
pan-LOC-ATT-NOM begin-CSO water shed-DEC
'water began to leak from the pan'[117]

The application of *-ỹ-* to demonstrative stems will be shown in (4.6.) below. The ambivalence demonstrated above of *-ỹ-* towards the root to which it is suffixed is not very surprising. Kwaza nouns and adverbs can easily be turned into verbs by simply adding a verbal suffix, like e.g. the declarative *-tse* in:

(753) *hoiele'le-tse*
batvery-DEC
'there are many bats'

The primary root of the following example is a verb. The application of the classifier *-tu* 'back' yields a noun meaning 'slope', which can also be used as an adverbial compound in certain constructions.

(754) *tewe-'tu-ỹ-he-tse*
slant-CL:back-ATT-NEG-DEC
'it is not slanting' (there is no word for *'horizontal')

So it is really not clear to which category *tewe'tu* 'slope' belongs. The classifier suggests that it is morphologically a noun, but it can be used as a verb or adverb without further morphological adaptation. The same holds for the following root. *ẽrjẽ'tõi* means 'wink' as a verb stem, 'from aside' as an adverb, and if it exists as a noun, which is suggested by the classifier *-tõi* 'eye' and by the corresponding neutral nouns *ẽrjẽ* 'rib' and *ẽrjẽhỹ* 'side', it probably means something like 'eye from the side' or 'screwed-up eye' (but this was not tested):

(755) *ẽrjẽ-'tõi-ỹ-ki*
side-CL:eye-ATT-DEC
'he narrows his eyes (because of an illness etc.)'

As regards semantics, the morpheme *-ỹ-* should basically be viewed as an attributivising morpheme. The adjective-like or verbal root derived by *-ỹ-* usually refers to an acquired or attributed property of its subject:

(756) *atsi'le-ỹ-hỹ* *atsi'le-ki*
heavy-ATT-NOM heavy-DEC
'heavy one' vs. 'it is heavy'

117.*korejaro* 'pan' cannot be subject here.

When the root is a noun, *-ỹ-* indicates that an argument of the matrix sentence is 'provided with' (741) or 'in a permanent state of being' (742) what the semantic content of the nominal root refers to. In case an adverbial root is derived by *-ỹ-*, the resulting word refers to the location or the quantity of some argument in the matrix sentence.

(757) *'ãi-ỹ-hỹ*
far-ATT-NOM
'the one further away/more to there'

When *-ỹ-* is attached to a noun bearing a locative case marker, the resulting word refers to the origin of some argument in the matrix sentence:

(758) *ko'sa-na-ỹ-hỹ* *dai-'kwa-cwa-ki*
sun-LOC-ATT-NOM grab-DR:inside-IS-DEC
'he stole (batteries) from the lantern'

(759) *'hã-na-ỹ-'hỹ-ki*
water-LOC-ATT-NOM-DEC
'it is from the water'

Also (possessive) nouns with a locative semantic implication like *xyi-dy-rjỹ* 'your place' may acquire a connotation of origin through *-ỹ-*:

(760) *'xyi-dy-rjỹ-ki* *koreja'ro*
you-POS-CD:area-DEC pan
'the pan is at your place'

(761) *xyi-dy-'rjỹ-ỹ-tsy* *koreja'ro*
you-POS-CD:area-ATT-GER pan
'the pan with you'

(762) *xyi-dy-'rjỹ-ỹ-hỹ* *koreja'ro*
you-POS-CD:area-ATT-NOM pan
'the pan from your place'[118]

(763) *xyi-dy-rjỹ-ỹ-'hỹ-re*
you-POS-CD:area-ATT-NOM-INT
'is it from your place?'

118. Note that *xyi-dy-'hỹ korejaro* would mean 'your pan', but **xyi-dy-'rjỹ korejaro* would be ungrammatical.

4.3.2.2. Attributive roots with obligatory classifier

Under (721) in the preceding section we have seen a number of roots to which the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* is obligatorily attached before any stem formative morpheme can be applied. Most of these roots are semantically attributive, and as such they also belong in fact to the present subsection. Nevertheless, they do not require a subsequent classifier. Therefore I will not discuss them here again.

There is another limited set of roots, which is not used without the nominaliser / neutral classifier *-hỹ*. The difference with the roots ending in *-ỹ-* is that those roots are not yet stems and require further morphological operations, whereas the roots ending in *-hỹ* are well-formed stems and may occur as independent words. If not further derived than (necessarily) by *-hỹ*, they are head nouns or occur as modifiers in juxtaposition to other nouns. When they are used predicatively, further derivation by verbal marking is required. The morpheme *-hỹ* cannot be considered as lexicalised with the root, as it can be exchanged for a specific classifier (see 4.2.). I have called these roots "bound roots".

The group of bound roots discussed here is also semantically attributive. Its members are mostly used as stative verbs, but it is in principle not possible to say that they are verb roots as they require a classifier before anything else.[119] For various reasons (lack of time, no opportunity in the field) it was impossible to document and investigate the behaviour of every lexical root and determine exactly which other roots potentially belong to the group identified here. However, most of the roots listed below have been established to share the properties described here.

(764)

ay-	'that'
aky-	'two'
arwa-	'new'
acwa-	'whole'
awy-	'cold'
dara-	'green, immature'
dota-	'wild, young'
duky-	'other'
ẽrẽwẽ-hỹ	'wild'
erokeja-	'bifurcate'
haka-	'old'
huxe-	'hairy'
ỹ-	'this'

119. There is also another group of bound roots which requires *-hỹ* or a specific classifier. It consists mainly of semantically non-attributive transitive action / process verb roots, and in spite of the obligatory classifier, its members do not occur as nouns, and will therefore not be treated here (they are mentioned in 5.6.1. and 4.2.1.4.).

ko-	'be empty, without'
tei-	'one'
ti-	'what?'
tsanỹsi-'hỹ	'last'
co-	'many'
txi-	'very big'

Some examples of the attributive use of the roots listed above are given here.

(765) *ka'we* *arwa-'mũ* *kui-'ra*
coffee new-CL:liquid drink-IMP
'coffee newly made, drink!'

(766) *a'xy* *arwa-'xy*
house new-CL:house
'new house'

(767) *duky-'hỹ* *kanwa=ekai-e-'ko*
other-NOM canoe=leg-too-INS
'with the next car'

(768) *hã* *du'ky-mũ-na*
water other-CL:liquid-LOC
'on another river' (t)

(769) *cay* *ẽrẽwẽ-'hỹ*
papaya wild-NOM
'papaya from the forest'

(770) *'si-dy-xy* *haka-xy-'na* *'a-xa-ki*
I-POS-CL:house old-CL:house-LOC exist-2-DEC
'you live in my old house'

Several of these roots were documented in a nominal form, but not in syntactically attributive contexts:

(771) *dara-to'hoi*
green-CL:child
'baby'

(772) *huxe-ko'ro*
hairy-Cl:arm
'hair on the arm'

(773) *ti-'xy*
what-CL:house
'which house?'

(774) *erokeja-'nwỹ-tse* / *eroke'ja-hỹ-ki*
bifurcate-CL:tree-DEC / bifurcate-NOM-DEC
'the tree branches off on the side'

Kwaza has no articles. There are two demonstrative roots *ỹ-* 'this' and *ay-* 'that'. The basic distinction between them is that *ỹ-* refers to things which are close to the speaker and *ay-* refers to things which are close to the hearer. These roots cannot function as stems without *-hỹ* or a specific classifier. They can be juxtaposed to an (omissible) head noun, as in (714) and in:

(775) *ỹ-'hỹ* *ko'sa* *'si-dy-hỹ-ki*
this-NOM sun I-POS-NOM-DEC
'the / this lantern is mine'

(776) *na-ay-'rjỹ* *'ũi-da-rjỹ*
PROX-that-CD:area lie-1S-CD:area
'in that same place where (we know) I slept (before)'

One numeral will be illustrated here. Numerals as a separate category will be discussed more thoroughly in section (4.5.). The numeral root *aky-* 'two' is the only regular numeral root, and it behaves in the same way as the demonstratives and the other roots of (764):

(777) *ka'nwã* *aky-'hỹ* *hetsy'xe* *aky-'xe*
boat two-NOM leaf two-CL:leaf
'two boats' vs. 'two leaves'

Some remarks on the irregular items on the list of attributive roots are in order:

Of those entries in list (764) which are explicitly marked with *-hỹ* it has not been established whether the element can be replaced by a specific classifier. All others occur either with *-hỹ* or with another classifier.

As regards the root *acwa-*, it is not clear whether *-hỹ* is fully lexicalised with this root.

(778) *i'sosisi* *acwa-'hỹ* *wane-'ra*
rope whole-NOM bring-IMP
'bring the entire rope!'

In *acwa'rjỹ* 'the entire city' and *acwaricwa* 'city' it seems to be replaced by another classifier. There is a possibility, however, that the word has to be analysed further as having a verbal root *a-* 'exist, live'.

In order to form a noun, *ko-* 'be empty, without' usually requires not only the application of a classifier but also a further derivation with *-te* 'NOM' (see 5.6.6.):

(779) *'prego* *ko-hỹ-'tɛ* *a'xy* *e'hỹ-da-ki*
spike lack-NOM-NOM house make-1S-DEC
'I make a house without nails'

When used as a verb, *ko-hỹ-* is not required to be succeeded by *-te*. It is somewhat similar to *txi-* 'very big'. In fact, there is even less justification for *txi-* to occur in the present list, because it always requires the further derivation with *-te* 'NOM':

(780) *ĩ'tswɛ̃* *txi-hỹ-'tɛ* *xui* *txi-yi-'tɛ*
mosquito big-NOM-NOM bag big-CL:thread-NOM
'big mosquito' vs. 'big marico/cloth bag'

No attributive use of the numeral *teihỹ* 'one' was attested, nor any replacement of *-hỹ* with other classifiers.

It is not clear whether *tsanỹsi'hỹ* 'last' could be further analysed as 'the following one'. Morphologically this would be difficult, since the verb *tsa'si-* 'follow' is an unanalysable root and reflexive *-nỹ-* is in the present work not supposed to behave as an infix.[120] Semantically, however, it is tempting to assume a relationship.

(781) *tsi'ki* *tsanỹsi-'hỹ*
younger.brother last-NOM
'younger brother'

Some semantically attributive (verbal) roots could also have been included in the above list, such as *wai-* 'good', *nỹ-* 'fat', *kukui-* 'pain'. However, they may occur either with or without the element *-hỹ-*, be it with a slightly different meaning (as noted in 4.2.1.9.):

(782) *'wai-ki* *wai-'hỹ-ki* *wai-'xy-ki*
good-DEC good-NOM-DEC good-CL:house-DEC
'it is good' 'it is beautiful' 'it is a beautiful house'

(783) *'rai?ỹhỹ* *wai-'hỹ-hỹ*
thing good-NOM-NOM
'very beautiful things'

Since the meaning differences between forms with and without *-hỹ* are quite small, respectively *waihỹ-* 'nice', *nỹhỹ-* 'big', *kukuihỹ-* 'ill', and since these differences are not always consequently distinguished or distinguishable, I have so far regarded the application of *-hỹ* as not immediately obligatory. Therefore, such roots were not discussed in the present subsection.

Apart from the roots mentioned in (764), there is a number of other adjective-like roots which do require the element *-hỹ-*, or another classifier, but of which no nominal use was attested:

(784) *babarɛ̃'hỹ-* 'warm'
bony- 'again' (only as an adverb)[121]
hatsi'hỹ- 'naked, smooth'
kyikyi'hỹ- 'angry'
koxona'hỹ- 'itchy'
mũrjetuce'hỹ- 'vertiginous'
xay'hỹ- 'happy'

120. Here *-nỹ-* is used as a directional morpheme, for which see (5.3.1.).
121. The root *bony-* does not occur with other classifiers than *-'hỹ*, but it can occur with the temporal adverbial nominaliser *-wy* 'time' (see 6.2.4.1.).

tei'hỹ(-)	'one'
ʧaru'hỹ-	'ready'
tsu'hỹ-	'jealous'
tsunỹ'hỹ-	'expensive'

From a morpho-semantic point of view these, and other semantically attributive roots which do not require the element *-hỹ-* at all, are interesting but they will not be discussed any further here.

In principle, possessive constructions could have been dealt with here as well. The difference with the present group of roots is that possessive attributives have an independent nominal stem as root. The similarity with the roots presented in this subsection is that once the possessive morpheme *-dy-* is applied, an ensuing classifier is obligatory. The resulting stem can be juxtaposed to an optional head noun, as shown in (4.3.1.).

4.3.3. Comparison

There is in Kwaza no fully grammaticalised way to distinguish between different degrees of comparison. Several different morphological operations may or may not have a comparative effect.

Reduplication in Kwaza of stems, syllables or morphemes usually has intensifying effects or certain specific aspectual functions (see 5.5.). Reduplication of the morpheme *-hỹ-* can apparently be used as a sort of comparative or superlative marking:

(785) *nỹ-hỹ-'hỹ-ki*
big-NOM-NOM-DEC
'it is bigger', 'it is the biggest'

In case a specific classifier is used, it is not reduplicated in order to form a comparative construction, but it is followed by *-hỹ-*:

(786) *nỹ-'ro-hỹ-ki* *[nɨ̃ɾo'hɨ̃ki]
big-CL:cup-NOM-DEC
'the (cup) is bigger / biggest'

The attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* as well may have a slight comparative effect with certain adverbs (see (757)) and demonstratives (see 4.6.):

(787) *aka'rwe-ỹ-nwỹ*
over.there-ATT-CL:tree
'the tree more over there' (lit. 'the tree which is over there')

(788) *jã-ỹ-'rjỹ-ỹ-hỹ*
DIST-this-CD:area-ATT-NOM
'more thither' (lit. 'the one which is quite far away')

These readings were not thoroughly tested, and may also have been caused by the literal interpretation of the Portuguese translation *mais para lá* 'further away thither', which too is intensifying rather than comparative.

Only one construction was encountered which was verifiably comparative, as an object of comparison was involved:

(789) *'kopo txu'hũi-ỹ-dy-ta cẽrẽmũ-'ro nỹ-'ro(-hỹ)-ki*
cup small-ATT-DS-CSO milk-CL:cup big-CL:cup-NOM-DEC
'the tin of milk is bigger than the cup'

4.4. Other nominal morphological categories

In the present section, those morphological processes are treated which concern nouns, but which do not fit into any of the preceding sections on nominal morphology. The most conspicuous common factor of these processes is that they consist of word-final morphological extensions of nouns. Except for zero-verbalisation (4.4.9.), the result of these processes is also nominal.

4.4.1. Third person possession -tjate

In section (4.3.1.), the attributive possessive construction was discussed. It involves among other things the application of the morpheme *-dy-* to the possessor. The derived possessor is then juxtaposed to the possessum- the head of the possessive construction. There is no evidence for the existence in Kwaza of possessive inflexion of the possessum. However, there is a morpheme *-tjate* which expresses the fact that a certain possessum is the property of an implicit third person possessor. Compare the following examples:

(790) *ka'nwã*
canoe
'canoe'

(791) *kanwã-tja'te*
canoe-3.POS
'his canoe'

The etymology of the morpheme is unknown. The first part certainly resembles the third person medial clause cosubordinative marker *-tja* (see 8.3.1.4.) and the second part may resemble for example the nominaliser *-te* (see 5.6.6.). However, the possessive suffix is not further analysable and there are no equivalent forms for other persons:

(792) **kanwa-data-tɛ*
canoe-1S.CSO-NOM
'my canoe'

Possession involving the other persons is always expressed by the possessive construction as discussed in (4.3.1.). The contrast between the following examples illustrates the fact that persons other than the third do not get possessive marking equivalent to *-tjate*:

(793) *e'tay-tjate-ki*
wife-3.POS-DEC
'(s)he/it is his wife'

(794) *'si-dy-hỹ e'tay-ki*
I-POS-NEU wife-DEC
'she is my wife'

Although the majority of *-tjate* possessives refer to singular possessors, some cases are documented in which *-tjate* refers to a third person plural possessor:

(795) *akynỹ-ry-'hỹ-tjate*
friend-PAU-NOM-3.POS
'friend of them two'

Also the possessum can be plural:

(796) *mĩki-tjate-'e 'dai-xa-tsy-re*
tooth-3.POS-too take-2-POT-INT
'are you also going to take its teeth?'

From the occurrence of *-tjate* possessives in the texts it is apparent that it may either indicate a reflexive possessive or a non-reflexive possessive relation, i.e. the subject of the clause may or may not be the possessor himself:

(797) *etay-tja'te 'ta-ta*
woman-3.POS talk-CSO
'he_i said to $his_{i/j}$ wife' (t)

It has not been established whether the *-dy-* possessive construction does involve this distinction.

The *-dy-* construction may occur in combination with a pronominal third person possessor, but quantitative data seem to indicate a preference for the *-tjate* alternative. However, no difference of meaning between example (791) above and the following example could be established:

(798) *'ĩ-dy-hỹ* *ka'nwã*
he-POS-NEU canoe
'his canoe'[122]

The difference may be stylistic. The second of the following utterances was said to be very "ugly":

(799) *si* *exwa-tja'te-da-ki*
I husband-3.POS-1S-DEC
'I am her husband'

(800) *'ĩ-dy-hỹ* *e'xwa-da-ki*
she-POS-NEU husband-1S-DEC
'I am her husband'

Both possessive construction types may be recursively embedded:

(801) *hĩdjẽ-tja'te-dy-hỹ* *eto'hoi*
older.brother-3.POS-POS-NOM child
'first cousin'

(802) *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *a'ha-tjate*
you-POS-NOM father-3.POS
'father of your father, your grandfather' (t)

(803) *'masju-dy-hỹ* *'mã-tjate*
Marcio-POS-NOM mother-3.POS
'Marcio's mother'

4.4.2. Associative -mɛ

The associative suffix *-mɛ* is applied to kinship terms. It produces a collective noun. Without further modification it implies a kinship relation with the speaker:

(804) *hidi-'mɛ*
older.sister-ASS
'my sisters'

In order to indicate that the kinship relation is with someone else but the speaker, a possessive expression is required:

(805) *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *tala-('mɛ)*
you-POS-NOM uncle-ASS
'your uncles'

122. This specific example was created by myself.

Because of the fact that nouns are ambiguous with respect to number, the associative morpheme is optional in this construction.

Instead of *-mɛ*, the collective morpheme *-nahere* can also be applied:

(806)	*tala-'mɛ*		*ta'la-nahere*
	uncle-ASS		uncle-COL
	'my uncles'	vs.	'the uncles'

However, the application of *-nahere* is not restricted to nouns. It is discussed in (5.6.5.).

4.4.3. Feminine -uty

This is a suffix of very limited use which indicates the female in-law partner of kinsfolk. It occurs both lexicalised (e.g. *eto'hoi* 'child', vs. *tsida?u'ty* 'wife of child') and productively:

(807)	*tsi'ki*	vs.	*tsiki-u'ty*
	brother/sister		brother/sister-FEM
	'younger brother/sister'		'wife of brother'

4.4.4. -tydy *'grub of'*

Although it is not a classifier, the morpheme *-tydy* 'grub of' has a very specific semantic content. It is suffixed to terms for palm trees and indicates the grubs that are found or bred in the trunks of those trees. Note the following examples:

(808) *hã'kui* *wa'de-tydy*
grub tucuma-grub
'small grub of tucuma (and other species like pataua, najá etc.)'

(809)	*coku'rui*	*cay-ty'dy*	(810)	*cay-ty'dy-ki*
	grub	mamũi-grub		mamũi-grub-DEC
	'grub of the mamũi (wild papaya)'			'it's a grub of the mamũi'

The grubs are spread by certain species of beetles, who lay their eggs in palm trees. The enormous numbers of larvae which develop from these eggs and completely eat the tree stems on the inside are a rich and tasty source of fat and proteine. They can be boiled, baked, fried or eaten alive. The Indians also breed grubs by cutting down palm trees for this purpose. The breeding of grubs is mentioned as a Tupi-Mondé tradition in Coimbra Jr. and Ventura Santos (1993:59-60), but it is also found with other peoples of Southern Rondônia. The fact that there is a derivational suffix in their language to create tree-

specific terms for grubs underscores the importance of this tradition for the Kwaza.

4.4.5. Emphatic -le *'only'*

The emphatic element *-le* means 'only, just' when attached to nouns or nominalised verbs:[123]

(811) Q: *au'Bɛto-le* *a'wỹi-xa-re*
Alberto-only see-2-INT
'did you only see Alberto?'

A: *ay-hỹ-'le* *a'wỹi-da-he-ki*
that-NOM-only see-1S-NEG-DEC
'I did not see only him (i.e. I saw the other one too)'

(812) *txi-tay-tɛ-'le* *wanɛ-tsy-'tse*
big-CL:vessel-NOM-only bring-POT-DEC
'bring only the big flask!'

(813) *nãi-tsy-hỹ-'le* *he'dy=ĩ?ĩ'ta-da-ki*
like-GER-NOM-only mix=always-1S-DEC
'I always mix only this (brand)'

(814) *zjwãu ho'Bɛto* *a'wỹi-hỹ-dy-ta* *ma'rija-le* *'kalo* *a'wỹi-hỹ-ki*
João Roberto see-NOM-DS-CSO Maria-only Carlos see-NOM-DEC
'João saw Roberto and (i.e. 'only') Maria saw Carlos'

The morpheme *-le* can also be used in the sense of 'nothing but, full of'. Note the following examples:

(815) *tei-'nĩ* *xyinĩ-'le-tse*
one-CL:thorn thorn-only-DEC
'it is just one thorn'

(816) *xyinĩ-'le-tse*
thorn-only-DEC
'it is just thorns'
(i.e. there are very many thorns)'

(817) *itso?yi-'le-tsy-rjỹ*
liana-only-GER-CD:area
'place with only vines' (t)

(818) *mãbi-'le* *horo-wa-'si*
arrow-only fill-IS-SWR
'they filled him with arrows' (t)

123. The formal and semantic resemblance between *-le* 'only, just' and the Quechua morpheme *-lla* 'only', and the Mapuche particle *re* 'only, pure', which has a retroflex /r/, is remarkable (Smeets 1989, Willem Adelaar pc).

In this it resembles Portuguese *só* 'only, alone, but, nothing but'. However, other examples show that the application range of *-le* is wider in Kwaza, than that of *só* in Portuguese. In example (819) *-le* is used in the sense of 'at least':

(819) *kawɛ-'le* *kui-'ra*
coffee-only drink-IMP
'have at least coffee'

In texts *-le* may have an extended sense of emphasis like 'suddenly, exactly' and introduce a new topic or a new event. Also in those cases it is attached nouns, but its scope is more on the discourse level. In traditional stories *-le* is often used to introduce a new event:

(820) *dodotxi='tswa-le* *dodotxi'tɛ-na* *hy='kwɛ-tja*
latex=man-only ball-LOC go=enter-CSO

'bu=ũ -kwate-dy-ta
put=be-DR:inside-DS-CSO
'then the latex spirit man entered into the ball and stayed inside' (t)

(821) *jere'xwa-le* *ti-'hỹ* *tsũhũ-rati-'wã* *nãi-xa-xa-'re* *ta*
jaguar-only what-NOM what-FOC-AO like-2-AS-INT talk
'(a man called) jaguar said: "what are you all looking at?"' (t)

In the following example, *-le* is applied after a locative case marker:

(822) *'kwɛ-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-hỹ=wara* *atxi'txi-na-le*
enter-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but maize-LOC-only
'he tried to enter, but he (got stuck) in the heap of maize' (t)

This may point to its function as a discourse marker here, because, if it was just to indicate the hugeness of the mass of maize it would probably have been applied before the case marker.[124]

Emphatic *-le* is applied to an adverb in the following example.

(823) *'ãi-le* *a-'ta*
far-only exist-CSO
a) 'only far away they went to live'
b) 'only far away there is (close by there isn't)'

124. This may be the situation in example (2946) of section (7.2.8.) Note that person cross-reference in the present example is characteristic of a special quotation-like construction which is discussed in sections (5.5.11.) to (5.5.14.).

The following examples are from ME who remembered words from Kanoê, a language that she has not spoken since her early childhood:

(824) *kano'wɛ-dy-nãi* *haje're-wa-hỹ-'lɛ* *u'rɛjũku'tɛ*
Kanoê-POS-NOM peccary-IS-NOM-only *u'rɛjũku'tɛ*
'in Kanoê, that which they (call) 'peccary' (is) *u'rɛjũku'tɛ*'

(825) *'hã-wa-hỹ-'lɛ* *ku'ni*
water-IS-NOM-only *ku'ni*
'that which they (call) 'water' (is) *ku'ni*'

(826) *cɛ̃'rĩ-wa-hỹ-'lɛ* *ɛpy'kwa* *ta-wa-ki*
peanut-IS-NOM-only *ɛpy'kwa* talk-IS-DEC
''peanut' they call *ɛpy'kwa*'

The Kwaza words that are translated in these three examples are apparently embedded in a quotative construction through zero-verbalisation (see also 4.4.9.).

It is possible that *-le* morpheme is related to the frustrative morpheme discussed in (8.2.2.2.) and (5.5.18.). Because of the recursive faculty of nominalisation and verbalisation in Kwaza, *-le* can occur deep inside a verb:

(827) *haje-nỹ-'nãi-le-'ra*
smear-REF-NOM-only-IMP
'only/just put medicine on it!' (t)

(828) *ĩ* *kui-tsy-nãi-'le-xa-ki*
idly drink-GER-NOM-only-2-DEC
'you're just drinking, doing nothing'

4.4.6. Additive use of repetitive -e

The verbal repetitive aspect morpheme *-(je)?e-* 'again' discussed in (5.5.31.) can also be attached to a noun. It is applied word-finally as *-e*, and the result is a noun with the added meaning 'too, also':

(829) *si-'e* *huru'ja-da-ki* *ka'wɛ*
I-too like-1S-DEC coffee
'I too want coffee'

(830) *si-wã-'e*
I-AO-too
'for me too'

(831) *mĩu-'e* *'kui-da-mỹ*
chicha-too drink-1S-VOL
'I'm going to drink chicha too'

(832) *auBɛto-'e* *a'wỹi-da-ta* *ay-hỹ-'e* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
Alberto-too see-1S-CSO that-NOM-too see-1S-DEC
'I did not only see Alberto, but also that one'
(lit. 'I saw also Alberto and there too I saw that one')

It may have a comitative connotation:

(833) *ale-'e 'tana o'ri-tja*
axe-too well climb-CSO
'with his axe he climbed up' (t)

In some words the additive morpheme is probably lexicalised:

(834) *ã'rũi=eke-'e*
tapir=horn-too
'cow'

(835) *'kanwã=ekai-'e*
canoe=leg-too
'motorcar'

4.4.7. Prioritive -rata

The morpheme *-rata* 'first' is applied to nouns and produces nouns in the following manner:

(836) *si-ra'ta 'dai-da-ki*
I-first take-1S-DEC
'I took first'

(837) *dilɛ-ra'ta 'dai-xa-re*
who-first take-2-INT
'was it you who took first?'

(838) *kawa'pɛ-rata 'a-(ĩʔĩ-'hỹ)-ki*
cockroach-first exist-(REM-NOM)-DEC
'the cockroach existed first'

(839) *wɛro-tsy-'hỹ-rata leja-'nỹ-ki*
lightning-GER-NOM-first ahead-REF-DEC
'the flash comes first (then the thunder)'

4.4.8. Intensifying -te(te)

The reduplicated form of the adverbial intensifier *-te* is applied not only to verb roots (see 5.5.30.) and adverbs (see 6.2.4.4.), but also to nouns, without an adverbial sense:

(840) *kanwa-te'te*
canoe-INTENS
'real canoe'

(841) *lato-wy-te'te*
yesterday-time-INTENS
'day before day before yesterday'

(842) *ti-rjỹ-te'te-xa-hỹ-re*
what-CD:area-INTENS-2-NOM-INT
'where exactly did you (say it was)?'

4.4.9. Zero-verbalisation

Kwaza verbs are always morphologically complex: in order for a verb to occur as an independent word, the root must be inflected for person and mood. Elliptic structures (see 7.5.) are of course an exception to this. However, elliptic or not, verbs can be nominalised only through overt morphemes, such as *-hỹ* and *-nãi*. Nouns, on the other hand, are not necessarily morphologically complex. Noun roots can occur as such as independent words. Nouns are not verbalised by specific verbalising morphemes. For nouns to be verbalised, they are treated simply as verb roots. The affixation of a mood morpheme suffices, and no special morphology needs to intervene between the noun root and the verbal morphemes. Therefore, I consider all application of verbal morphology to nouns to be the result of zero-verbalisation at some stage.

Zero-verbalisation is very common, and it has several functions. Kwaza does not have a copular verb which corresponds to English 'to be'. In order to express this function the noun is turned into a predicate through the application of mood markers. This is done with the noun *etay* 'woman' in the following examples:

(843) *e'tay-ki*
woman-DEC
'it is a woman'

(844) *'joni e'tay-ki*
Ione woman-DEC
'Ione is a woman'

Predicative use of nouns may also express the notion of 'want to have' or 'to be in want of'.[125] In the third person singular declarative ambiguity is avoided through the alternative declarative mood markers *-ki* and quotatively used *-tse*. Compare the following example with (844) above:

(845) *ipɛ'pa e'tay-tse*
Ipepa woman-DEC
'Ipepa wants a woman'[126]

One may also compare the following examples to one another:

(846) *ka'wɛ-ki* vs. *ka'we-tse*
coffee-DEC coffee-DEC
'it is coffee' 'he wants/asks for coffee'

125. According to Vasconcelos (1996) this construction also exists in Aikanã.

126. This implies usually that Ipepa, an Aikanã male, wants to have sex with a woman. In order to leave no doubt about this, the following was spontaneously proposed by the consultant as a less veiled alternative: *ipɛ'pa i'txitse* 'Ipepa wants pussy'. Note that *ipɛ'pa e'tayki* would mean: 'Ipepa is a woman'.

Note also example (861) further down below, and the contrast in (5.2.1.5.). In combination with overt person cross-reference, which does not occur immediately adjacent to the declarative element *-tse*, either one of these meanings, 'to be' or 'to want', is usually excluded on logical grounds:

(847) *atxi'txi-da-ki*
maize-1S-DEC
'I want/need maize' (*?'I am maize')

In this example the notion 'to be' is excluded. Such constructions are used ironically, however:

(848) *ãwãka-da-he-'xwa*
heron-1S-NEG-CL:man
'I am not a heron' (i.e. 'I am not someone who eats much fish')

(849) *jerexwa-xa-he-'xwa*
jaguar-2S-NEG-CL:man
'you're not a jaguar' (i.e. 'you're not to eat so much meat')

(850) *damũ-da-he-'xwa*
duck-1S-NEG-CL:man
'I'm not a duck!' (i.e. 'I am not someone who takes baths')

In some cases, zero-verbalisation appears to mean 'to produce flowers, fruits, hair':

(851) *ta'ru e'?ũ-ki*
taru flower-DEC
'the taru tree is blossoming'

(852) *wa'de e-'ko-ki*
tucuma Ø-CL:fruit-DEC
'the tucuma tree is bearing coconuts'

(853) *mãrɛ̃'?a e-xy-'kãi-ki*
spirit Ø-CL:hair-CL:mouth-DEC
'the Westerner has hair (growing) on his cheek (i.e. a beard)'

The noun can be verbalised by/in various different moods. With declarative[127] and interrogative, the predicate usually expresses the notion 'to want':

(854) *a'xy-da-ki*
house-1S-DEC
'I want/need a house'

(855) *'mã-da-ta tsa'si-da-ki*
mother-1S-CSO follow-1S-DEC
'I came because of mother'
(lit. 'as I wanted mother I followed')

127. Hypotheses about the possible functional distinction between the two declarative markers *-ki* and *-tse* in verbalisation are put forward in section (5.2.1.4.).

(856) *zjwãu ka'nwa-tja oja'nỹ-ki*
João canoe-CSO arrive-DEC
'João came for / after / asking for the canoe'

(857) *ka'nwa-cwa-ta oja'nỹ-wa-ki*
canoe-IS-CSO arrive-IS-DEC
'they came for / after / asking for the canoe'

(858) *a'le-xa-re*
axe-2-INT
'do you need an axe?'

(859) *kore'ja-xa-re*
knife-2-INT
'do you want a knife?'

Sometimes, zero-verbalised nouns were translated in the sense of 'to ask for', but they could also be interpreted as 'to want':

(860) *zjwãu ka'nwa-tja oja'nỹ-ki*
João canoe-CSO arrive-DEC
'João came for / after / asking.for the canoe'
(lit. 'João arrived, wanting a canoe')

(861) *kore'ja-tja di'hu-tse*
knife-CSO spoon-DEC
'he asked for knife and spoon'
(lit. 'wanting a knife, he wanted a spoon')

Apparently, zero-verbalisation can also express the quotative notion 'to say'. Some possible examples of this were presented in (4.4.5.), examples (824)-(826), and in (5.2.1.5.), examples (1325) vs. (1326).

With the imperative, however, zero-verbalisation seems to express the notion 'to be':

(862) *tãjã-'ra 'ta-taxwa-ki*
chief-IMP talk-IS.1O-DEC
'I was appointed chief'
(lit. '"be chief!" they said to me')

Kwaza morphology is recursive. Nominalised verbs can be zero-verbalised again and then nominalised etc.[128] In the same way, zero-verbalised nouns can be nominalised again, and the construction has an intensifying or focalising sense. Note the first word of the following example:

128. In section (5.5.20.2.) it was shown how the nominaliser *-hỹ* in such constructions can acquire a progressive aspectual interpretation.

(863) *tswa-wa-'hỹ* *hay='dy-wa-ra'ti* *ere'we-here=jã-re*
man-IS-NOM cut=cut-IS-CL:man write-APPR=be-INT
'that very man who cut (the mortar) he paints it, you see' (t)

The noun *tswa* 'man' has apparently been zero-verbalised upon the application of the indefinite subject cross-reference morpheme *-wa-*. The resulting predicate which means 'someone is a man' or 'they are men' is then nominalised by *-hỹ*, which yields a noun with the meaning 'the one who is a man' or 'those who are men'. When a singular referent is intended, this construction has a focalising connotation. When a plural referent is intended, it can express a generic category:

(864) *ay-'hỹ* *tãjã-'tay-wa-hỹ* *'dei-e-wa-ta*
that-NOM chief-CL:woman-IS-NOM open-again-IS-CSO
'those who are women-chiefs peel (corn cobs) again' (t)

Because there is no formal distinction between third person singular and plural, the first word of (863) has actually two meanings:

(865) *tswa-wa-'hỹ*
man-IS-NOM
'that very man', 'the/all men' (t)

When only a plural interpretation is possible, which is the case with plural non-third persons, this ambiguity disappears:

(866) *tsi'tsɛ* *mãrɛ̃'?a-a-xa-hỹ* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-a-xa-nãi* *huru'ja-a-xa-ki*
we spirit-1P-AS-NOM speak-1P-AS-NOM like-1P-AS-DEC
'we (who are) Western people we like to talk'

(867) *xyi* *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa-xa-xa-hỹ* *dodotxi'tɛ* *o'hui-xa-xa-nãi*
you human-2-AS-NOM rubber.ball play-2-AS-NOM

huru' *ja-xa-xa-ki*
like-2-AS-DEC
'you (who are) Indians you like to play soccer'

In general, recursive derivation which involves a change of grammatical category has a focusing function, similar to the effect of clefting in English. Here are some further examples:

(868) *lo'nẽ-tsy-hỹ-'na*
hole-GER-NOM-LOC
'in that hole (e.g. of a bead or nut)' (t)
(lit. 'in the one which is/has a hole')[129]

(869) *ẽ'rjãwã-na-(ỹ)-'hỹ*
forest-LOC-ATT-NOM
'from the forest'
(lit. 'something which is from the forest')

The locative marker in example (868) shows that what precedes is a noun. The nominaliser in example (869) suggests that a case-marked local satellite argument was zero-verbalised. Both examples have focused referents.

Because of the recursive faculty of Kwaza morphology, words created by constructions involving category change can become internally quite complex:

(870) *tja?a'tje awã'ta-ja-hỹ-wa-hỹ*
close watch-IO-NOM-IS-NOM
'onlookers from close by'

(871) *gwara'na suku-'dy-wa-hỹ-ki*
guaraná juice-CAU-IS-NOM-DEC
'they make juice of guaraná'

(872) *jo-ka'ne txitxi-'dy-da-hỹ-ki*
manioc-CL:oblong fry-CAU-1S-NOM-DEC
'they are pieces of manioc which I fried'

(873) *ucenãi-he-hỹ-'dy-ja-da-ki*
know-NEG-NOM-CAU-IO-1S-DEC
'I make them not understand'

Because it makes no difference whether the root of the morphologically highly complex predicate is nominal or verbal, as in (872) and (873), the intricacies of constructions involving verbalised nominalisations are pursued further in (5.5.20.) and (5.6.1.).

Zero-verbalisation of nouns also occurs in constructions which express co-ordination (see 8.5.). In the following example, two pronouns are juxtaposed, and the second one is zero-verbalised:

(874) *si xyi-a-'ta oja-'nã-a-ki Ba'hozo-na*
I you-1P-CSO go-FUT-1P-DEC Barroso-LOC
'I and you we are going to Barroso'
(lit. 'we being I and you, we are going to Barroso')

129. The element *-tsy-* indicates that the focus is contrastive ('opposed to the other one without a hole', see 8.1.2.).

In the next example, each of the "coordinated" nouns are zero-verbalised as co-subordinated clauses:

(875) *hyrikoro-xwa'nã-tja atxitxi'?ũ-tja hari?i'xu-dynỹ 'ja-da-ki*
monkey-CL:flesh-CSO rice-CSO bean-COMIT eat-1S-DEC
'I'm eating monkey meat, rice and beans'
(lit. 'being monkey meat, being rice, I eat it together with beans')

Adverbs, which share many properties with the category of nouns, are also verbalised in the same way. The following example involves the adverb *tsiritsa* 'in the middle':

(876) *tsiri'tsa-ki*
middle-DEC
'it is in the middle'

Very few roots are truly ambiguous with respect to grammatical category. For instance the noun *awe* 'rain' also functions as a verb root:

(877) *a'we-ki*
rain-DEC
'it rains'

Example (877) neither necessarily identifies the phenomenon ('it is rain'), nor can it be existential ('there is rain').[130] Another ambiguous root is *eromũ'tsa* 'wrist'. As a verb root it means 'to wear on the wrist' (and not 'to be a wrist' or 'to want a wrist'):

(878) *eromutsa-'nã-da-ki*
wrist-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to tie (a bracelet) around wrist'

The same can be said of the root *hãidi(-)* 'drop, to drip' (and not 'to be a drop') and *iri'tsa(-)* 'vomit, to vomit' (and not 'to be vomit').

4.5. Numerals

Kwaza does not have grammatical number marking of nominals or any category. In the pronominal system the difference between first and second person singular and plural is not expressed morphologically by number marking, but

130. The notion of "existential" is expressed by the verb root *a-* 'to exist'. In this case 'there is rain' would be expressed as *awe a-ki*.

morpho-semantically by inclusion, exclusion or association of a second or third person (see 4.7.). Quantity is expressed by adverbs, or by numerals, as in:

(879) *ka'nwã* *aky-'hỹ*
boat two-NOM
'two boats'

The present section deals with numerals and the constructions in which they occur. In (4.5.1.) the cardinal numerals are discussed. (4.5.2.) deals with the specific symbolic gestures of the fingers by which counting is accompanied. Although the present work is organised from the perspective of form, an excursion to function is sometimes useful to relate certain phenomena to other parts of the grammar. Hence, the ordinal use of numerals is discussed in (4.5.3.), adverbial use in (4.5.4.), and in (4.5.5.) the causative morpheme in combination with numeral roots is treated.

4.5.1. Cardinal numerals

The Kwaza numerals are of heterogenous nature and do not constitute a complete grammaticalised system. There seem to be only two original numeral lexemes involved in the cardinal numeral system. These are the roots *tei-* and *aky-*, which relate to the numbers 'one' and 'two' respectively. They were also mentioned in (4.3.2.2.). The present numeral system seems to be quinary, which suggests a relationship with the fingers of the hand. Nevertheless, there are no names for the fingers of the hand and no-one could confirm any relation between the numerals and possible obsolete finger names. The word for 'finger' is *tsoje'xu*, lit. 'hand-bone'. The principal five roots involved in counting are:

(880) 1 *tei-* 'to be one', 'alone'
2 *aky-* 'to be two', 'company'
3 *e'mã* 'one more / again', 'without companion'
4 *ele'le* (~[ɛlɛ'lɛ]) 'several / many / very / emphatic'
5 *bwa-* 'to end / to finish'

The roots *tei-* 'one' and *aky-* 'two' are bound roots. This means that they cannot be used as independent morphemes, nor can they be 'zero-verbalised': **tei*, **tei-ki*, **tei-tse*, **aky*, **aky-ki*, **aky-tse*. Zero-verbalisation is possible, however, when a classifier or an "adverbialising" morpheme intervenes. The root *tei-* 'one' is usually attested with the nominaliser *-hỹ*, and only once with a specific classifier (see example (815) in 4.4.5.). By contrast, *aky-* is very often attested to occur with other classifiers as well (see also 4.2.):

(881) *aky-'hỹ* *ã'wỹi-da-ki* *e'?ũ*
two-NOM see-1S-DEC flower
'I see two flowers'

(882) *aky-lo'tswa-tse*
two-CL:tube-DEC
'there are two shotguns'

(883) *si* *eto'hoi* *aky-'hỹ* *e'mã* *'e-da-ki*
I child two-NOM three have-1S-DEC
'I have three children'

(884) *ka'nwã* *aky-'kai* *e'mã* *ele'le-tse*
canoe two-CL:leg three very-DEC
'the car has four wheels' (lit. 'it is a four-wheel car')

Another property unique to *aky-* 'two' is the possibility to distinguish explicitly animate referents. Instead of *-hỹ*, the 'animate' suffix *-ta* occurs:

(885) *tã'jã* *aky-'ta*
chief two-ANI
'two chiefs'

The animacy suffix *-ta* was only attested with *aky-* and never with any other root. Because of such a limited distribution, this morpheme is probably not a classifier.

The roots *e'mã* 'one more' and *ele'le* 'very', 'EMPH' are independent morphemes in the sense that they do not require further derivation or inflexion. In the present work they are analysed as adverbial particles.

The root *bwa-* 'end' is verbal and receives a verbalising person and mood marker: *bwatse* 'it is finished'. This verbaliser may be implicit (see 7.5.1.), and as a result *bwa* may also be used as a particle, provided the context allows, e.g. terminating a narrative. For numeral use it normally receives the classifier *-koje* 'hand': *bwako'je* 'five' (lit. 'end of the hand').

In family II, where all generations speak Kwaza as their mother's tongue, counting to five was done in the following manner:

(886) 1 *tei'hỹ* 'one'
2 *aky'hỹ* 'two'
3 *e'mã* 'three'
4 *ele'le* 'four'
5 *bwako'je* 'five'

In family I, where the youngest generation speaks predominantly Aikanã or Portuguese, people often count to five as follows:

(887) 1 *tei'hỹ* 'one'
2 *aky'hỹ* 'two'
3 *aky'hỹ e'mã* 'three'

4	*aky'hỹ e'mã ele'le*	'four'
5	*bwako'je*	'five'

Any one of these numerals can function as the basis of a verb: *tei'hỹtse* 'it is one'. When the numeral composes several parts, only the ultimate part is verbalised: *aky'hỹ e'mãtse* 'they're three', and:

(888) *xyi aky-'ta e'mã-xa-xa-ta o'ja-xa-ra*
you two-ANI more-2-AS-CSO leave-AS-IMP
'you three are leaving!'

Beyond 'five', numeral counting is done in a variable and sometimes idiolectal manner. Laborious periphrases in the form of full sentences were encountered. The fact that there is no clear regular system suggests that the numerals in Kwaza are not a grammaticalised category. In fact, neither the Kwaza, nor the neighbouring Aikanã are used to counting further than five, so maybe that is the reason for the variation and contradictions I was presented with.[131] Above five, the Kwaza usually count in Portuguese, although under five Portuguese may also be used. In the following list, all Kwaza numeral expressions found are listed, with the numbers they refer to and their literal translations:

1	*tei'hỹ*	'one'
1	*tẽi'hỹ*	'one'
2	*aky'hỹ*	'two'
2	*aky'ta*	'two persons, non-vegetals'[132]
3	*e'mã*	'three'

131. From my brief and shallow investigations it appears that there is only little similarity between the Kwaza and Aikanã numeral systems. According to my Aikanã consultant Paulo, the numbers above 'five' are always counted in Portuguese, and sometimes even for those below 'five' Portuguese is used. It is not known to me in which way the following Aikanã forms are further analysable:

1	*'amɛmɛ"hɛ̃ / a'mɛmɛ"hɛ̃*	'one'
2	*'atuka"hɛ̃*	'two'
3	*'atuka'mɛmɛ"hɛ̃*	'two one'
4	*'atuka?'atuka?i'mỹitö"hɛ̃*	'two two ?'
5	*'atuka?'atuka?a'mɛmɛ"hɛ̃*	'two two one'
6	*'arü"pɛ̃ / 'arü"pɛ*	'many'

The Aikanã system seems to resemble more the Kanoê system, where there are also two numbers and where e.g. 'three' is represented by 'two-one' etc. as in Aikanã (Bacelar 2004).

132. On one occasion the animate form was explained to me in terms of proximity differences: *akytatse* 'they are two (remote)' and *aky(hỹ)tse* 'they are two (here)', but this may have been caused by the specific context.

3	*aky'hỹ e'mã*	‘two and more’
4	*ele'le*	‘four’
4	*aky'hỹ e'mã ele'le*	‘two and more many’
4	*aky'hỹ aky'hỹ ele'le*	‘two two several’
5	*bwako'je*	‘end of hand’
5	*tei'hỹkoje 'bwa*	‘one hand end’
5	*teihỹko'je bwako'je*	‘one hand end of hand’
5	*tso'je bwako'jetse*	‘hand is finished’
5	*aky'hỹ e'mã ele'le e'mã*	‘four and more’
6	*bwako'je e'mã*	‘five and more’
6	*bwako'je tẽ 'daije?eki*	‘he takes five and once more’
6	*bwako'je tei'hỹ dai'jeki*	‘five and one fell outside’[133]
6	*tei'hỹtse*	‘it is one’
6	*tẽiko'je dai'je?eki*	‘one hand it fell outside’
6	*du'kykoje 'ui(tse)*	‘other hand is caught’
6	*aky'hỹ aky'hỹ aky'hỹ*	‘two two two’
7	*bwako'je e'mã ele'le*	‘five one more many’
7	*bwako'je e'mã*	‘five one more’
7	*(teihỹko'je bwako'jetja) aky'hỹtse*	‘one hand being ended, it is two’
7	*nãi'tse*	‘it’s this much, it’s like this’
8	*aky'hỹ ele'le*	‘two many’ (‘two fours’?)
8	*bwako'je ele'le*	‘five many’
8	*(tei'hỹko'je bwako'jetja) e'mãtse*	‘(one hand being ended) and it is more’
9	*elele'tse*	‘they are many’
10	*a'kyko'je*	‘two hands’
10	*bwako'jetse*	‘end of hand’
10	*bwako'je bwako'je*	‘end of hand end of hand’
10	*akyko'je bwako'jetse*	‘it’s the end of two hands’
10	*akyko'je bwako'jeki*	‘it’s the end of two hands’
10	*bwako'je akyko'je bwako'jeki*	‘end of hand it’s the end of two hands’
10	*du'kykoje bwa*	‘the other hand ended’
10	*du'kykoje ui*	‘other hand caught’
10	*a'kykoje 'bwaki*	‘two hands ended’
11	*akyko'je 'bwakoje 'teihỹ 'daijeki*	‘the end of two hands one fell outside’
13	*bwako'jetja emãko'jetse*	‘a hand ended and it is more’
15	*bwako'jetja teihỹko'jetse*	‘a hand ended it is one hand’
15	*bwako'jetja akyko'jetse*	‘a hand ended it is two hands’
15	*a'kykoje e'mã*	‘two hands one more’
15	*aky'hỹ e'mã*	‘two and more’ (3)
20	*a'kyko'je e'mã ele'le bwaki*	‘four hands ended’
20	*tei'hỹkoje 'bwa a'kykoje 'bwa e'mã ele'le 'bwaki* ‘one hand ending two hands ending and more many ended’	

133. It could be that this and the former expression for ‘six’ are identical. In that case it is not clear which of the analyses is the right one.

20 *a'kykoje a'kykoje 'bwaki* ‘two hands two hands ended’
20 *aky'hỹ e'mã ele'le* ‘two and more many’ (4)

The basic structures of these complex numerals can be divided into two types: juxtaposition and cosubordination. The expression for ‘three’ is a juxtapositive construction:

(889) *aky-'hỹ* *e'mã*
two-NOM more
‘three’ (lit. ‘two and one more’)

It is excluded that (889) represents a modification construction, because otherwise it would have meant ‘six’ or ‘two more’. In addition to modification, the secondary function of juxtaposition is coordination. Therefore, I analyse the structure of such complex numerals as coordinate. This construction is discussed further in section (8.5.). Another construction through which complex numerals are expressed is cosubordination:

(890) *bwa-ko'je-tja* *aky-'hỹ-tse*
end-CL:hand-CSO two-NOM-DEC
‘seven’ (lit. ‘a hand ending it is two (fingers)’)

(891) *bwa-ko'je-tja* *aky-ko'je-tse*
end-CL:hand-CSO two-CL:hand-DEC
‘fifteen’ (lit. ‘a hand ending it is two hands’)

In these examples both numerals are zero-verbalised, and then placed in a medial clause structure. The cosubordination construction is discussed in (8.3.1.10.) and (8.5.).

Note that the root *aky-* ‘two’ may have a paucal connotation.[134] Consider the following question and compare the alternative answers:

(892) Q: *hi* *dodo'ja-xa-re*
fire cut-2-INT
‘did you cut firewood?’

A[a]: *hi* *co-'hỹ* *dodo'ja-da-ki*
fire many-NOM cut-1S-DEC
‘I cut much firewood’

A[b]: *aky-'hỹ* *dodo'ja-da-ki*
two-NOM cut-1S-DEC
‘I cut a little (firewood)’

The root *aky-* ‘two’ is lexicalised with the (reflexive?) element *-nỹ-* in the noun *aky'nỹ* ‘friend’.

134. There are languages in which the word for ‘pair’ may also mean ‘several’, such as Dutch, where the standard interpretation of *paar* is ‘several’.

4.5.2. Finger-counting gestures

As mentioned above, numerals may be accompanied by finger-counting gestures. When counting "one", one holds the little finger of one hand in the other hand (either right or left), holding the counted hand in a vertical position with its back turned away from the speaker and the fingers pointing upward. The number "two" is counted while keeping the little finger and the ring finger between the fingers of the other hand, and so on until the index finger is included at "four". At "five" one grabs the pulse or the hand itself. Counting "six" the system changes and one of the hands is spread, vertically, with its back turned towards the speaker, while the other hand is a fist in the same position with only the thumb turned up into the air. One alternative for "six" means 'two, two, two', and the gesture accompanying this is the thumbs of the hands (which are in vertical position with their backs turned towards the speaker) meeting each other while the rest of one of the hands forms a fist, whereas the fingers of the other hand are stuck up, though the small finger and the ring finger touch each other and are spread apart from the middle finger and index finger which, in turn, touch each other as well. All in all, this alternative expression of "six" is accompanied by a gesture also symbolising "three times two". Another alternative for "six" means something like 'fell out of the end of the hand', which is different from the first, meaning 'the hand and one more'.

The finger gestures do not seem to be obligatory when counting. One consultant said that one better not use gestures as "it looks as if you can't read or write". It was denied to me that the feet were ever involved in the counting and gesture system.

4.5.3. Ordinal use of numerals

So far I encountered only two adverbs which can function as ordinal numerals. The word *txarwa'wy* 'first', derived from *txa'rwa* 'first, now', is a temporal adverb which involves the suffix *-wy* 'at the time of-'. For 'second', *duky'hỹ* 'other' is used. A more productive way to count the ordinals makes use of the third person declarative verb morpheme *-tse* as a sort of present participle:

1st	*tei'hỹtse*	'it is one / being one'
2nd	*aky'hỹtse*	'it is two / being two'
3rd	*e'mãtse*	'it is three / being three'
etc.		

Note that the numerals ending in *-tse* may also just have a predicative function as cardinal numerals:

(893) *yhỹ'ko* *aky-'hỹ-tse* *jere'xwa*
here two-NOM-DEC jaguar
'here there are two dogs'

(894) *axy-'na* *aky-'hỹ-tse* *e'tay*
house-LOC two-NOM-DEC woman
'in the house live two women'

4.5.4. Adverbial use of numerals

The application of the nominaliser *-nãi*, often derives infinitive-like nouns from action verbs, and adverbs from attributive verbs. Its productive application to *aky-* 'two' yields the expression *aky'nãi* 'twice'.

(895) *aky-'nãi* *tã'tãi-da-ki*
two-NOM pound-1S-DEC
'I knocked twice'

(896) *aky-'nãi* *ha'ja-hỹ-ki* *ho'njẽ-nãi*
two-NOM day-NOM-DEC hide.self-NOM
'he hid himself for two days'

Literally the latter example means 'his hiding took a day twice'. If in this example, *aky'nãi* 'twice' is replaced by *aky'hỹ* 'two' the literal meaning would be 'his hiding was two days'. Nevertheless, the same state of affairs is expressed.

As said before, the root *aky-* is the only purely numeral root which shows quite a predictable behaviour, whereas the other purely numeral root, *tei-* 'one', is almost completely idiosyncratic. The adverbialisation of *tei-* 'one' is realised through an unproductive suffixed element: *tẽi'ñe* 'once, only one'.

(897) *tei'ñe* *ha'ja-hỹ-ki* *ho'ñe-nãi*
once day-NOM-DEC hide.self-NOM
'he hid himself the whole day'

(898) *tẽi'ñe* *e'hỹ-ki*
once do-DEC
'he did it only once'

(899) *'tẽiñe* *awe-ĩ?ĩ'ta-tse* *ỹhỹ'ko*
once rain-always-DEC here
'sometimes it rains here'

The expression *tẽinãi* 'once' was attested only once, in isolation.

The expression *tẽi'tja* 'alone' seems to consist of the numeral root and a cosubordinating morpheme. It is probably a lexicalised combination because *tẽi'tja* as such can form the stem of a cosubordinated verb, as in (903).

(900) *tẽi'tja tsa'si-ki*
alone follow-DEC
'she followed there behind/alone'

(901) *tẽi'tja oja-a-'ni*
alone leave-1P-EXH
'let's go without them!'

(902) *xyi'tsɛ tẽi'tja o'ja-xa-ra*
you.PL alone leave-AS-IMP
'you go without them!'

(903) *tẽi'tja-da-ta ja=bwa-'he-da-ki*
alone-1S-CSO eat=finish-NEG-1S-DEC
'being on my own, I can't eat everything'

No other numeral roots than *tẽi-* occur with *-tja*.[135] Note that in adverbial use, the vowels of *tẽi-* show a tendency to be nasalised. As a noun *tei'hỹ* can be realised as [tẽi] in rapid speech. In the present case, however, the nasalisation is not caused by a contraction with *-hỹ*.

4.5.5. The causative element -dy-

The Kwaza numeral expressions are nouns, which can be used attributively or as referring expressions (i.e. as head nouns, which may be analysed as dependent nouns in headless noun phrases). Furthermore, like any noun, the numerals can be used predicatively through the application of verbal inflexion.

(904) *a'le aky-'hỹ byru-'he-tse*
axe two-NOM sharp-NEG-DEC
'the two axes are blunt'

(905) *aky-'hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
two-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw two'

(906) *aky-'hỹ-tse*
two-NOM-DEC
'there are two'

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135. In spite of the fact that the consultants always claim that **akytja* does not exist, the following ill-understood expression was encountered once:

aky-'tja-tse
two-???-DEC
'there are two places for fetching water'

(907) *aky-'hỹ* *e'mã* *'dai-ki*
two-NOM three grab-DEC
'he took three'

In spite of the fact mentioned above that *aky-* is not a complete stem without a nominal classifier, the element *-dy-* can intervene in some rare instances. No clear change of category or meaning was observed, but the most probable interpretation of *-dy-* here is causative, rather than possessive.

(908) *a'ky-dy-hỹ-tse* (**a'kydyhỹki*)
two-CAU-NOM-DEC
'he took two'

(909) *a'ky-dy-hỹ* *e'mã* *'dai-ki*
two-CAU-NOM three grab-DEC
'he took three'

(910) *a'ky-dy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
two-CAU-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw two'

(911) *a'le* *wa'dy-da-si* *a'ky-dy-hỹ* *wa'dy-ta-ki* *mã'bi*
axe give-1S-SWR two-CAU-NOM give-1O-DEC arrow
'I exchanged an axe for two arrows'

One would expect a possessive interpretation of *-dy-* if the numeral had a partitive function. However, of the following example it was explicitly denied that *akydyhỹ* would mean 'two of them':

(912) *a'ky-dy-hỹ* *kui-'tõi-da-ki*
two-CAU-NOM drink-CL:eye-1S-DEC
'I swallowed two pills'

A possible literal reading of this example could be something like: 'they made it two, the pills that I swallowed' and of the previous example, in a similar vein: 'they made it two arrows I was given in exchange for an axe'. The affixation of *-dy-* is not optional: **a'kydyhỹ 'kuidaki*, and it is not attested with other numeral roots. It is attested only in a similar way with certain attributive roots that normally require a nominal classifier before any other morphological operation occurs (see 5.4.3.). The causative interpretation is probably optional, and the sentence may be intransitive, as if the causer subject is "understood" or omitted:

(913) *emũ-dy-'hỹ-ki*
wet-CAU-NOM-DEC
'he / it got wet / was made wet / he wet it'

(914) *barɛrini'tɛ* *nỹ-dy-'hỹ-da-ki*
pancake big-CAU-NOM-1S-DEC
'I made the pancakes big / I made big pancakes'

4.6. Demonstratives

In the present section the Kwaza demonstrative system is outlined. It appears to be based primarily on orientation with respect to the speech participant. This is demonstrated in (4.6.1.). Another distinction which is optionally made concerns distance with respect to speech participants and information in the discourse. This is discussed in (4.6.2.). Besides these general demonstratives, there are also special locative demonstratives, which are discussed in (4.6.3.). Temporal deixis is discussed briefly in (4.6.4.). Finally, an attempt is made to summarise the demonstrative system in (4.6.5.).

4.6.1. Orientation: ỹ- *and* ay-

Kwaza does not have special demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative is expressed by a bound attributive root which requires further derivation by a classifier. This phenomenon is discussed in among others section (7.6.3.). There are two demonstrative roots: *ỹ-* and *ay-*, and they belong to the group of attributive roots that require a classifier as listed in (4.3.2.2.). They cannot be used as independent morphemes: **ỹ*, **ay*, nor can they be verbalised like verb roots or noun stems: **ỹki*, **ayki*. First when a classifier is attached they can be used as adverbs, head nouns or attributive modifiers (see 4.3.2.) or, after verbalisation, as predicates:

(915) *ay-'hỹ* *kui-he-'ky*
that-NOM drink-NEG-IMP
'don't drink that!'

(916) *ay-'rjỹ* *ay-'xwa* *ỹ-'ũ*
that-CD:area that-CL:man this-CL:flower
'over there' 'that man' 'this flower'

(917) *ỹ-'hỹ* *a'xy* *nỹ-'xy-ki*
this-NOM house big-CL:house-DEC
'this house is big'

(918) *ỹ-'hỹ* *hã* *'kui-a-nãi* *'wai-re*
this-NOM water drink-1P-NOM good-INT
'is this water good for drinking?'

(919) *ko'sa ỹ-'hỹ si-dy-'hỹ-ki*
sun this-NOM I-POS-NOM-DEC
'the / this lantern is mine'[136]

(920) *ỹ-'hỹ-ki 'kopo / 'kopo ỹ-hỹ-ki*
this-NOM-DEC cup / cup this-NOM-DEC
'the cup is here, it is this cup'

The semantics of the demonstrative system is based on the contrast between speaker-orientedness and hearer-orientedness. *ỹ'hỹ* means 'this one here in my vicinity', *ay'hỹ* means 'that one there in your vicinity'. The difference between proximity and distality is a secondary phenomenon which can be elaborated further through morphological operations introduced below.

The following evidence goes to show that *ỹ-* means 'close to speaker' and *ay-* 'close to hearer':

(921) Q: *ỹ-'hỹ-re* A: *ay-'hỹ-ki*
this-NOM-INT that-NOM-DEC
'is it this one?' '(yes) it's that one'

(922) *'ha-ỹ-hỹ ỹ-'hỹ-ki*
clean-ATT-NOM this-NOM-DEC
'the white one is here (with me)'

(923) *ay-'hỹ wa'rja-xa-hỹ*
that-NOM take-2-NOM
'the thing which you are holding'

(924) *ay-'hỹ wa'dy-ta?ỹ-'ra*
that-NOM give-1SO-IMP
'give me that one there (with you)'[137]

The distinction between the demonstrative roots may be based on physical contact. When the hearer holds an object in his hands, the speaker may refer to the object by *ay'hỹ*. When the speaker himself holds it he must refer to it by *ỹ'hỹ*.[138] However, like many examples in this section show, this is not a prerequisite. One of the attestations of *ay'hỹ* 'that one' was as a warning precisely

136. The orders 132 and 213 are also allowed.
137. This example was created by myself as a translation of the Portuguese phrase *(mim-dá) esse aí (com você)*, which was given by the consultant as a proper context of use of *ay'hỹ*.
138. When the speaker and the hearer together are holding one and the same object in their hands the object is referred to by *ỹ'hỹ*.

against contact: *ay'hỹ* '(be careful of) that (animal which bites, and which is close to you)!'.

Some of the examples, like (922), suggest that the demonstrative does not only refer to an object, but may also be associated with the place where the object is located:

(925) *ỹ-'hỹ-ki* *ay-'hỹ-ki*
this-NOM-DEC that-NOM-DEC
'it is here' 'it is (that one) there'

The "locational" demonstrative can be expressed more explicitly by the classifier *-rjỹ* 'area'. In that case, the orientation cannot be fully predicted on the basis of the demonstrative root in the way illustrated above: whereas *ay-'rjỹ* refers more or less predictably to 'the place there', which may probably either be close to H or not, *ỹ-'rjỹ* indicates a 'place there' that is apparently close to neither S nor H, but remote from both. So *ỹ-'rjỹ* does not mean 'this place':

(926) *ỹ-'rjỹ-ki* *ay-'rjỹ*
this-CD:area-DEC that-CD:area
'it is there' 'there' (t)

(927) *ỹ-'rjỹ-ki* *'kopo* / *'kopo* *ỹ-'rjỹ-ki*
this-CD:area-DEC cup / cup this-CD:area-DEC
'the cup is over there'

(928) *hyhy'rwa-da-ki* *ỹ-'rjỹ*
move-1S-DEC this-CD:area
'I'm on my way thither'

(929) *ay-'rjỹ* *karicwa-'na*
that-CD:area settlement-LOC
'to/on the old field there'

The following example of relative clause-like attributive juxtaposition suggests that the demonstrative ending in *-rjỹ* has nominal properties:

(930) *ay-'rjỹ* *o'ja-tsy-rjỹ*
that-CD:area go-POT-CD:area
'the place to which he would go'

Nevertheless, locative demonstratives ending in *-rjỹ* and *-xuko* are structurally adverbs (see 6.2.). This is demonstrated by many examples in the present section, e.g. (928), (935), (949) and (972).

4.6.2. Distance: na- *and* jã-

Two prefixes are often encountered with demonstratives: *na-* '(proximate)' and *jã-* '(distal)'. The prefix *na-* usually indicates that the referent of the demonstrative expression has been mentioned before in the discourse, or that it is well-known or emphasised. It is prefixed only to the root *ay-*. The combination **na-ỹ-* was always rejected as ungrammatical, probably because the sense of (metaphorical) proximity it would convey is already present in the speaker-orientedness of the root *ỹ-*.

(931) *na-ay-'hỹ*
PROX-that-NOM
'that very one' (t)

(932) *na-ay-'xy*
PROX-that-CL:house
'the same house', 'that house there'

(933) *'na-ay-hỹ greBa-'na 'a-xa-re*
PROX-that-NOM Gleba-LOC exist-2-INT
'you live in very Gleba (yourself)?' (remote S calling on telephone)

(934) *na-ay-'hỹ ĩ wa'dy-hỹ-'tsy*
PROX-that-NOM he give-NOM-RES
'it was she herself who gave (something) to him'

(935) *'na-ay-rjỹ ele'le a-'ki*
PROX-that-CD:area very exist-DEC
'he lives on the same side of the river / in the same place as me'

(936) *na-ay-'rjỹ-ỹ-tsy koreja'ro*
PROX-that-CD:area-ATT-RES pan
'the pan there with you (H failed to see it)' (see also (761))

(937) *na-'ay-nahere wa'dy-ta-ki*
PROX-that-COL give-1O-DEC
'those people gave me (something)'

(938) *na-ay-'wy o'nɛ-hỹ-ki*
PROX-that-time come-NOM-DEC
'he arrived at that time (in the discourse, long ago or recently)'

In a way, the qualification of *na-* as a metaphorically used proximate is doubtful, because no non-metaphorical use was attested. It functions in actual fact as an amplifier of the root *ay-*.

The prefix *jã-* indicates that the referent of the demonstrative expression is without reach of both the speaker and the hearer, or, when *-rjỹ* 'area' is involved, that it is invisible. Because it is usually attached to the root *ỹ-* 'this' and deprives it of its proximate sense, I have dubbed it 'distal'.

(939) *'jã-ỹ-hỹ-ki* *koreja'ro*
DIST-this-NOM-DEC pan
'the pan is over there far from here' (visible)

(940) *'jã-ỹ-ũ*
DIST-this-CL:flower
'that flower'

(941) *(ywy'nwỹ)* *jã-ỹ-'nwỹ*
tree DIST-this-CL:tree
'the tree over there'

(942) *'jã-ỹ-xy*
DIST-this-CL:house
'the (deserted) house over there far'

(943) *da'nỹ* *jã-ỹ-'hỹ-ki*
still DIST-this-NOM-DEC
'it is still over there'

(944) *'jã-ỹ-hỹ-herejã-'re*
DIST-this-NOM-APPL-INT
'it (the pan) is there, you fool!' (H failed to see it)

(945) *'jã-ỹ-hỹ* *dai-'ra* / *ay-'hỹ* *dai-'ra*
DIST-this-NOM take-IMP / that-NOM take-IMP
'take that one there! (equidistant to S and H)'

(946) *jã-ỹ-'rjỹ-ki* *koreja'ro*
DIST-this-CD:area-DEC pan
'the pan is over there' (invisible)

(947) *'jã-ỹ-'rjỹ* *'co-wa-ki*
DIST-this-CD:area many-IS-DEC
'there there are many people'

(948) *'jã-ỹ-rjỹ* *'a-ki*
DIST-this-CD:area exist-DEC
'there (is a place where) people live'

(949) *cucu=o'ja-da-ki* *jã-ỹ-'rjỹ*
walk=leave-1S-DEC DIST-this-CD:area
'I walked (until) there'

(950) *hỹ'dɛ* *'ja-ỹ-rjỹ* *kari'cwa-na* *'ɛ-a-ta* *'a-a-ta*
let's.go! DIST-this-CD:area settlement-LOC go-1P-CSO exist-1P-CSO
'let's go there to the old field, we go there, we'll live there'

The combination **jã-ay-* has always been rejected as ungrammatical by consultants, and a possible explanation is that if something is close to the hearer, it cannot be out of reach. Alternatively, it could mean that when something is at an equal distance from both S and H, it cannot be hearer-oriented. In terms of "markedness", this would imply that *ỹ-* '(S-oriented)' is the unmarked form

with respect to discourse participant orientation. However, the prefix *jã-* was encountered in combination with the hearer-oriented root *ay-* on one occasion:

(951) *jã-ay-'xy-ki*
DIST-that-CL:house-DEC
'it is that house'[139]

4.6.3. Location: -hỹ-ko *and* -xuko

In order to express the notion 'place close to S' another construction is used: *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* 'here (close to me)'. Canonically, the ending *-ko* is an instrumental case marker, and it is also applicable to demonstrative stems:

(952) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *'nãi-da-ki*
this-NOM-INS like-1S-DEC
'with this one I do it' (CX: 'I write with this pen')

(953) *(kopo)* *jã-ỹ-ro-'ko* *'kui-da-ki*
cup DIST-this-CL:cup-INS drink-1S-DEC
'I drank from that cup over there'[140]

However, *-ko* may have a locative value as well. This is often the case with Kwaza demonstratives:

(954) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *'a-da-ki*
this-NOM-INS exist-1S-DEC
'I am / live here'

(955) *'a-da-nãi* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *hã'rã-tse*
exist-1S-NOM this-NOM-INS stop-DEC
'I have been living here (until the present)' (t)

(956) *bukwa-'ra* *y-hỹ-'ko*
stay-IMP this-NOM-INS
'stay here!'

(957) *y-hỹ-'ko-ki* *di'hu*
this-NOM-INS-DEC spoon
'spoon (sg/pl) is here'

(958) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko-da-ki*
this-NOM-INS-1S-DEC
'I'm here' (S talking on telephone)

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139. The Portuguese translation *é aquela casa* refers to a house equidistant from S and H.
140. The use of an overt lexical object *kopo* would be superfluous.

In (4.1.3.1.) it is shown that locative use of *-ko* has a cislocative connotation when applied to common nouns: it indicates the place where the speaker is located.

The neutral classifier *-hỹ* in *ỹhỹ'ko* 'here' can be replaced by a specific classifier, e.g. by *-xy-* 'house' in *ỹxy'ko* 'in this house'. Although in the following examples the classifier agrees with a remote subject, it does not rob the resulting demonstrative adverbial of its sense of proximity with regard to the location of the speaker:

(959) *erewe-xy-nite-'xy* *'ãi-ki* *ỹ-xy-'ko*
write-CL:leaf-INSTR-CL:house far-DEC this-CL:house-INS
'the school is far from here'

(960) *erewe-xy-nite-'xy* *ỹ-xy-'ko* *'ãi-hỹ=wara*
write-CL:leaf-INSTR-CL:house this-CL:house-INS far-NOM=but

'greBa-ỹ-ko *tja?a'tje-tse*
Gleba-ATT-INS close-DEC
'the school is far from here but to Gleba it is close'[141]

So although the literal meaning of *ỹxy'ko* 'here' is 'the house close to S', in the above examples it means 'as (the remote) house is regarded: a place close to S' or 'a place which is in relation to (the remote) house close to S'.

The consultants confirmed that *ỹhỹ'ko* is in principle ambiguous: it may have instrumental meaning 'using this one' or cislocative meaning 'the place here'. Contradictory information was obtained on the possibilities of *ayhỹ'ko*. One consultant, TE, claimed it did not exist. Another consultant, MA, said it has the same speaker-oriented meanings as *ỹhỹ'ko*. However, on an earlier occasion MA had claimed that *ayhỹ'ko* is different: as expected, *ayhỹ'ko* has a hearer-oriented instrumental reading 'using that one', but, alternatively, it may have a hearer-oriented locative reading 'over there', which goes against the cislocative analysis. The difference between *ayhỹ'ko* and *ay'rjỹ* is not clear, but there are some indications that *ay'rjỹ* is less- or unmarked with respect to hearer orientation.

There is a morpheme *-xuko*, which can be attached to attributive roots and which emphasises immediate proximity within the same settlement. It replaces either *-hỹ-ko* or *-rjỹ* in this morphological position. The morpheme is not analysable and the element *-xu-* does not behave in the same way as the neutral classifier and nominaliser *-hỹ*: **ỹxu*, **(na)ayxu*. Nevertheless, the element *-ko* is undoubtedly related to the instrumental case marker in a cislocative function. Note the following examples:

141. Note that *-ko* in *'greba-'ỹ-ko* '(there) in Gleba' represents the sole attested occurrence of a case marker immediately after the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-*.

(961) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *ỹ-xu'ko*
this-NOM-INS this-SETT
'here' 'precisely here, within the village'

(962) *ay-xu'ko*
that-SETT
'here'

(963) *na-ay-xu'ko* (**na-ay-rjỹ-na*/*-ko*)
PROX-that-SETT
'in this very place, in this village, in this yard + house'

(964) *na-'ay-hỹ-'ko*
PROX-that-NOM-INS
'this very place'

(965) *ỹ-xu'ko 'hũdwa-da-ki*
this-SETT sit-1S-DEC
'I sat down in this place'

(966) *ay-xu'ko te'ja*
that-SETT side
'on that side / there on the very (same) riverside/region (as me)'

(967) *ay-xu'ko=ele'le 'a-ki*
that-SETT=very exist-DEC
'he lives in that very place (where I live)'

(968) *na-ay-xu'ko 'hũdwa-xa-ki*
PROX-that-SETT sit-2-DEC
'you sat down in this place'

(969) *bu'ru-nã-hỹ-tsy na-'ay-xuko*
pass-one-NOM-RES PROX-that-SETT
'we came by this very same place here'

(970) *na-ay-xu'ko 'bu=ũ-rjỹ-ra*
PROX-that-SETT put=be-CD:area-IMP
'sit down in that very place where you are'

(971) *ỹ-xu'ko / ỹ-hỹ-'ko / 'greBa-ko oja'nỹ-xa-ki*
this-SETT this-NOM-INS Gleba-INS come-2-DEC
'you arrived here in Gleba' (CX: you came for the first time)

(972) *ỹ-xu'ko ãkã'ky 'a-ki*
this-SETT frog exist-DEC
'here there are (usually many) frogs'

(973) *jã-ỹ-xu'ko*
DIST-this-SETT
'the place over there (equidistant to S and H)'[142]

142. The Portuguese translation was *alí lugar* 'place not too far away equidistant to S and

Notice that (cis-)locative satellites can be juxtaposed in a modifying construction:

(974) *ỹ-xu'ko greBa-'ko 'a-da-ki*
this-SETT Gleba-INS exist-1S-DEC
'I live here in Gleba'

The morpheme *-xuko* appears unanalysable, and behaves in its entirety as if it were a classifier:

(975) *'si-dy-'rjỹ-ki koreja'ro*
I-POS-CD:area-DEC pan
'the pan is at my place (where we're not at the moment)'

(976) *'si-dy-xu'ko-ki koreja'ro*
I-POS-SETT-DEC pan
'the pan is here at my place (where I am too at the moment)'

-xuko has an allomorph *-xukwo-*, which occurs in another position in between person and mood inflexion of the matrix verb:[143]

(977) *si-ra'ta a-da-'day-xukwo-ki*
I-first exist-1S-1S-SETT-DEC
'I'm the first inhabitant here'

(978) *xyi-ra'ta a-xa-'xay-xukwo-ki*
you-first exist-2-2S-SETT-DEC
'you are the first inhabitant here'

Certain lexical roots also contain the semantic feature of being within the same indigenous settlement[144], e.g. the verb *karɛ̃'tɛ-* 'to pay a visit within the same settlement'. The use of *ỹxu'ko* as in *[?]*ỹxuko'na karɛ̃'tɛdaki* 'I went visiting people here', or a locative place name, is then not correct because as MA explained: 'you are already here'. The same holds when talking about third persons who live in a different settlement from speaker and hearer:

H'.

143. However, when explicitly inquiring about the form /*-xukwo-*/ in these examples, it was rejected and corrected to /*-xuko-*/.

144. I.e. on the same tract of cleared ground in the forest, with a few houses and some manioc and maize fields, all of which is usually within a radius of about one kilometre. The next "settlement" may be three or more kilometres away.

(979) *peri'Dawva-dy-rjỹ-na* *karɛ̃'tɛ-tse*
Peridalva-POS-CD:area-LOC visit-DEC
'she is visiting Peridalva'

(**jã-ỹ-xuko-na* / **kreBa-na* *karɛ̃'tɛ-tse*)
DIST-this-SETT-LOC / Gleba-LOC visit-DEC
(*'she is visiting that place/Gleba')

4.6.4. Time

There are no indications that spatial demonstrative expressions can be used for temporal deixis. Consequently, a demonstrative like *ỹhỹko* 'here' cannot be used instead of *hary'ky* 'now' or *txa'rwa* 'now, first', like in English phrases such as "here I stop eating". Although attributive demonstratives can neither be extended metaphoricallly to time, they can morphologically, employing the adverbialising suffix *-wy* 'time, moment of':

(980) *ay-'wy* *da'nỹ* *a-'he-da-'day-hỹ-ki*
that-time still exist-NEG-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'at that time I was not living here'

(981) *na-ay-'wy* *o'nɛ-hỹ-ki*
PROX-that-time arrive-NOM-DEC
'he arrived at that time'

ay'wy 'that time' may also refer to time in the future.

One example was encountered of a possible temporal extension of a spatial demonstrative in the concluding sentence of a traditional tale. In the following example, *ayxuko* 'here in the same village' could be interpreted as 'from that time onwards':

(982) *hary'ky* *ay-xu'ko* *co-e=nãi-'e-wa-'ki=cwa-ra'ti-ki*
now that-SETT many-again=like-again-IS-DEC=be-FOC-DEC
'now here, they multiplied again in this way, it is said' (t)

When I asked my consultant about the function of the demonstrative here, he said that "here" signified 'end of the story'.

The adverbialising suffix *-wy* is discussed in (6.2.4.1.).

4.6.5. Summary

From the above sections a demonstrative system emerges which is more or less regular. Nevertheless, not all uses and combinations of the forms were thor

oughly understood, nor is it clear whether all offered translations are perfectly reliable. The different demonstrative expressions encountered were:

(983)	*ỹhỹ*	*ỹrjỹ*	*ỹhỹko*	*ỹxuko*
	ayhỹ	*ayrjỹ*	*ayhỹko*	*ayxuko*
	jã?ỹhỹ	*jã?ỹrjỹ*		*jã?ỹxuko*
	na?ayhỹ	*na?ayrjỹ*	*na?ayhỹko*	*na?ayxuko*

The supposed essential semantic features which constitute the meanings of these expressions are presented below in (984). Under "type" in that list, "ADAN" signifies that the principal function of the expression is to refer to an item either as an attributive demonstrative or as an anaphor. "LOCA" indicates that the expression is basically a localiser and refers to a place. Under "orientation", "0" signifies that the expression is not specified as either hearer or speaker-oriented, and "equi" means that the place or object is equally close to speaker and hearer. Under "connotation" alternative or parallel interpretations are listed, where "ANIN" means anaphoric in the instrumental case, and "TOPIC" indicates metaphorical proximity in the discourse.

(984) *form*	*type*	*orientation*	*connotation*	*basic meaning*
ỹ-hỹ	ADAN	S	LOCA	this
ỹ-rjỹ	LOCA	0		(over) there
ỹ-hỹ-ko	LOCA	S (equi)	ANIN	here with speaker
ỹ-xuko	LOCA	S (equi)		here in same village
ay-hỹ	ADAN	H	LOCA	that
ay-rjỹ	LOCA	H/0		there (anywhere)
ay-hỹ-ko	LOCA	H	ANIN	there
ay-xuko	LOCA	H		(t)here same village
jã-ỹ-hỹ	ADAN	equi	remote	that one
jã-ỹ-rjỹ	LOCA	0	invisible	there
jã-ỹ-hỹ-ko	n.a.		(ANIN)	
jã-ỹ-xuko	LOCA	equi	not far	there
na-ay-hỹ	ADAN	H	TOPIC	that (very) one
na-ay-rjỹ	LOCA	?	visible	there
na-ay-hỹ-ko	LOCA	?	ANIN	in this very place
na-ay-xuko	LOCA	H		in the very village

The conclusions which can be drawn are: 1) that the roots *ỹ-* and *ay-* show a tendency to be associated with speaker-orientedness and hearer-orientedness respectively; 2) that the tendency mentioned in 1) is not absolute; 3) that in *jã?ỹhỹko* 'with that one', *-ko* is productively applied to the demonstrative *jã?ỹhỹ* 'that one', and that only an instrumental interpretation was observed; 4) that the distal prefix *jã-* does not occur with the hearer-oriented root *ay-*; 5) that

the proximate prefix *na-* does not occur with the speaker-oriented root *ỹ-*. One exception to statement 4) was encountered in (951).

The Kwaza demonstrative system appears to be subject to two basic parameters: obligatory orientation of the perspective of the discourse participants, which is expressed by a choice between roots; and (optional) specification of equality of distance with respect to the discourse participants or to the pragmatic proximity of information in the discourse, which is expressed by a choice between prefixes:

Table 17. The Kwaza demonstrative system

distance	{prefixes}	{roots}	*orientation*
distal	**jã-**	**ỹ-**	speaker
proximate	**na-**	**ay-**	hearer

An additional parameter is "location" or "relative physical distance" involving a more heterogenous set of forms: *-hỹ-ko*, *-xuko* and *-rjỹ*. There is an "implicational" cline along which these forms range from "close" (I) via "within the same settlement" (II) to "distant" (III):

Table 18. Locative demonstratives

I <	II <	III
ỹhỹ'ko	**ỹxu'ko**	**(jã-)ỹ'rjỹ**
'here'	'here in this settlement'	'over there'
ayhỹ'ko	**ayxu'ko**	**(na-)ay'rjỹ**
'there'	'there in this settlement'	'over there'

The deictic centre of cislocative *ỹhỹ'ko* 'here' is the speaker. *-xuko* is probably also cislocative since it always means 'within the settlement where the speaker (and hearer) find themselves'. The distal range is relative and depends on the discourse context: *jã?ỹ'rjỹ* may mean 'over there' either inside the same settlement, outside of it, or in another settlement.

4.7. Pronouns

Kwaza has six personal pronouns. They are discussed in (4.7.1.). I will pay some special attention to inclusivity in (4.7.2.). In (4.7.3.) some parallels between the Aikanã, Kanoê and Kwaza pronoun systems are examined. Kwaza has one interrogative personal pronoun which will be discussed in (4.7.4.).

4.7.1. Personal pronouns

Kwaza has four unanalysable pronominal forms: *si* 'I', *xyi* 'you', *ĩ* 'he, she, it, they' and *txana* 'we (inclusive)'. Just like the other categories of Kwaza, personal pronouns are not clearly marked for number. Nevertheless, two of the aforementioned pronouns, *si* and *xyi*, also appear as the root of derived words, formed by affixation of the element *-tsɛ*. They refer to plural persons: *tsitsɛ* 'we (exclusive)' and *xyitsɛ* 'you (plural)'. Note that *tsitsɛ* and *txana* are sometimes also realised as [sitsɛ] and [t̲ana] or [tjana] respectively.

The element *-tsɛ* could be interpreted superficially as a plural marker. However, it can only be combined with first and second person pronouns, and does not occur with the third person. Hence, it seems more likely that it marks the "association" of a third person. Under this analysis, the difference between "I" and "we" and between "you (singular)" and "you (plural)" is expressed in an effective way, namely through the semantic association of one person with a different person. Because there is already an inclusive first person pronoun, *txana*, this system allows at the same time a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person "plural".[145] From a morphological point of view this system is partially suppletive. It is sketched in table (19):

Table 19. The Kwaza personal pronoun system

person	*associate*	*form*	*meaning*
1		**si**	I
2		**xyi**	you
1	2	**txa'na**	we (inclusive)
1	3	**tsi'tsɛ**	we (exclusive)
2	3	**xyi'tsɛ**	you (plural)
3		**ĩ**	he, she, it, they

Kwaza pronouns occur in all grammatical and semantic functions, without being inflected for case in a different way than other nouns. Pronouns may be marked by the suffix *-wã*. This may not only be a consequence of the grammatical object function of the argument, but also a consequence of its animateness (see 4.1.1.):

(985) *zjwãu 'mɛ̃-hata-ki xyitsɛ-'wã*
João beat-3S.2O-DEC you.PL-AO
'It was João who beat you'

145.I am indebted to Aryon Rodrigues (pc) for this analysis. The Kwaza pronominal system shows partial resemblance to the Tupinamba system analysed in Rodrigues (1990).

The Kwaza verbal subject agreement system, which will be discussed in (5.1.), responds to exactly the same parameters, and confirms the distinctions observed in the pronoun system. E.g. the inclusive/exclusive distinction is confirmed by verbal agreement:

(986) *tsi'tsɛ* *'ɛ-a-xa-ki* (**tsitsɛ ɛ?aki*)
we.EX go-1P-AS-DEC
'we go' (excluding addressee)

(987) *txa'na* *'ɛ-a-ki* (**txana ɛ?axaki*)
we.IN go-1P-DEC
'we go' (including addressee)

However, as Kwaza verb agreement is obligatory, personal pronouns are used rarely in discourse. In combination with a verbal form which is inflected for (subject) person, the function of a pronoun is to provide emphasis or contrast.

(988) *si* *'kui-da-ki* *hã*
I drink-1S-DEC water
'it is me who is drinking/drank water'

(989) *si-'e*
I-too
'me too'

(990) *"si* *ũce'nãi-da-ki*
I know-1S-DEC
'I who knows it'

(991) *'ɛ-da'mỹ-da-ki* *'si-dy-rjỹ*
go-want-1S-DEC I-POS-CD:area
'I'm going to MY place'

(992) *si* *oja-'nã-da-ki*
I leave-FUT-1S-DEC
'it is me who is going'

(993) *si-du-'ni*
I-BER-EXH
'I want (it) for me!'

(994) Q: *di'lɛ-re*
who-INT
'who is there?'[146]
A: *'si-da-ki*
I-1S-DEC
'it's me'
A: *'xyi-xa-ki*
you-2-DEC
'it's you'

(995) Q: *o'ja-da-tsy-'re*
leave-1S-POT-INT
'should I go?'
A: *'xyi-hỹ-tsy*
you-NOM-RES
'it's your decision'

(996) *'ĩ-ki*
he-DEC
'it is he himself'

(997) *'ĩ-tsy-nãi*
he-GER-NOM
'(the words) of himself, his own (words)'

146.E.g. at the door, on a photo.

(998) *ĩ-tsy-nãi-'ko* *barerini'tɛ* *kara='bwa-tse*
he-GER-NOM-INS pancake dry=end-DEC
'because of her (behaviour) the tortilla dried up'

(999) *tsi'tsɛ* (/**txa'na*) *wa'dy-ninã-a-xa-ki*
we.EX we.IN give-2O-1P-AS-DEC
'we gave to you' (one person in the name of all)

There is apparently no etymological correspondence between the pronominal forms and the subject agreement morphemes:

Table 20. Pronouns and subject cross-reference morphemes

PERSON	ASSOCIATED PERSON					
	1		2		3	
	pro	*inf*	*pro*	*inf*	*pro*	*inf*
1	**si**	**-da-**	**txana**	**-a-**	**tsitsɛ**	**-axa-**
2			**xyi**	**-xa-**	**xyitsɛ**	**-xa(xa)-**
3					**ĩ**	**-**

4.7.2. Some remarks about the inclusive form

As demonstrated above, the inclusive / exclusive distinction forms an integral productive part of the Kwaza personal pronoun system. Nevertheless, the inclusive pronoun seems an exceptional form, and some marked use involving the distinction was attested.

Apparently all pronouns require the morpheme *-dy-* in possessive usage, except *txana*:

(1000) *txana-'hỹ*
we.IN-NOM
'our one (e.g. man, husband)' (t)

(1001) *txana-(*dy)-'hỹ-ki* *'kopo*
we.IN-POS-NOM-DEC cup
'it is our cup'

tsi'tsɛ-dy-hỹ-ki *'kopo*
we.EX-POS-NOM-DEC cup
'the cup is ours'

(1002) *'kopo txana-'ro-ki*
cup we.IN-CL:cup-DEC
'the cup is ours'[147]

(1003) *ɛ-'ja txana-'rjỹ*
go-EXP we.IN-CD:area
'let's go to our house'

147.MA: "*kopo txanadyroki* is correct but it doesn't exist".

In these examples, the classifier is immediately attached to the pronoun. In the following example the possessed item appears as a full noun in a compound construction:

(1004) *ɛ-'ja* *txa'na=tsãrã-'na*
go-EXP we.IN=land-LOC
'let's go to our country'

As an adverbial construction, involving the equative combination of morphemes *-dy-nãi* 'like-', *txa'nãdy'nãi* was permitted, but the following is preferred:

(1005) *txanã-'nãi* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-da-ki*
we.IN-NOM speak-1S-DEC
'I speak our language'

Furthermore, the inclusive pronoun is used sometimes with an exclusive verb form:

(1006) *tsi'tsɛ* *wa'dy-a-xa-'ki* *txa'na* *wa'dy-a-xa-'ki*
we.EX give-1P-AS-DEC we.IN give-1P-AS-DEC
'we gave (things to him)' 'we gave (things to him)'

The function of this has not yet been identified. The reverse, an exclusive pronoun combined with inclusive cross-reference marking, is truly ungrammatical. This will be further discussed in section (5.1.).

It may be the case that the inclusive pronoun in the object function is not obligatorily marked for animate object case, while the exclusive is:

(1007) *lu'zeu wa'dy-eteja-hỹ-ki* *'txana(-wã)* / *tsitsɛ-'wã*
Luzeu give-1PO-NOM-DEC we.IN-AO / we.EX-AO
'Luzeu gave to us (resp.IN/EX)'

In combination with an interrogative predicate which contains the procrastinative suffix *-tara-* 'later' (see 5.5.19.), the inclusive pronoun means 'good that not V':

(1008) *txa'nã* *awe-'he-tjara-re*
we.IN rain-NEG-PROC-INT
'good job it did not rain!'

(1009) *txa'nã* *kui-'he-tjara-re*
we.IN drink-NEG-PROC-INT
'it is good that he did not drink (it)!'

(1010) *txa'nã* *kui-'he-da-tara-re*
we.IN drink-NEG-1S-PROC-INT
'it good that I did not drink (it)!' (it was poisoned)

4.7.3. Comparison with neighbouring languages

On the etymological level, the first and second person pronouns show formal correspondence to the first person exclusive and the second person "plural", respectively:

(1011) *si* 'I'
tsi'tsɛ 'we' (also realised as [si'tsɛ])
xyi 'you'
xyi'tsɛ 'you (PL)'

This correspondence may reflect historical number agreement for two reasons. Firstly, the neighbouring unclassified languages Kanoê and Aikanã show some apparent relics of plural number inflexion, among others in the deictic pronominal system. Although their pronominal elements do not resemble Kwaza and their pronominal systems do not comprise an inclusive / exclusive distinction, the involved plural morpheme *-tɛ* strongly resembles the Kwaza element *-tsɛ*. Below I have listed only the Kanoê equivalents of (1011), taken from Bacelar and Pereira (1996:46):

(1012) *aj* 'I'
aj'tɛ 'we'
mĩ 'you'
mĩ'tɛ 'you (PL)'

In Aikanã, only the first person plural seems to contain the same historical plural marker *-tɛ* as in Kanoê and Kwaza:

(1013) *(hi')sa* 'I'[148]
sa'tɛ 'we'
hĩ'ða 'you'
hĩða'za 'you (PL)'

Secondly, the Kwaza form for the first person inclusive, *txa'na*, also realised as [tja'na], may originate in a loan from Tupi-Guaraní languages, where the first person inclusive has been reconstructed as **jané* by Jensen (1998:498) and the equivalents *yané* in 17th century Tupinambá (Rodrigues 1990:396). The

148. Note that the element *hi-* also occurs in other Aikanã pronouns. It is possibly a prothetic syllable, which is why the underlying form of the pronoun could be just *sa*.

Salamãi (Tupi-Mondé) form *to̲ni?e* or *-tòná-* 'we' encountered in Becker-Donner (1955:330-331) may also be a candidate for the origin of *txana*, since the speakers of Salamãi were close neighbours of the Kwaza. The Kanoê and Aikanã pronouns and the other Kwaza pronouns do not resemble Tupian stock forms[149], which may be a reason to consider inclusiveness as a borrowed category in Kwaza. These facts combined suggest that the Kwaza pronoun system was originally based on number distinction rather than on person association. Another correspondence between Kwaza and many other Brazilian languages is that sex is not marked in the pronominal system nor in the verb agreement system. Finally, the Kwaza pronoun for the third person, *ĩ*, resembles the third person prefix *i* in several other Brazilian languages, but differs from Kanoê (as in Bacelar 2004) and Aikanã (as in Vasconcelos 2002).

4.7.4. Interrogative pronoun

There is one interrogative pronoun: *di'lɛ* 'who'.

(1014) *di'lɛ hu'hui-re*
who kill-INT
'who killed (him)?'

(1015) *dilɛ-'wã 'mɛ̃-re*
who-AO beat-INT
'whom did he beat?'

(1016) *di'lɛ-dynỹ o'ja-xa-re*
who-COMIT go-2-INT
'with whom did you go?'

(1017) *di'lɛ-(tsy)-re*
who-GER-DEC
'who is it?'

(1018) *di'lɛ-dy-xy (a'xy)*
who-POS-CL:house house
'whose house?'

(1019) *dilɛ-'du-xa-re*
who-BER-2-INT
'for whom are you doing that?'

A sentence can only contain one interrogative lexeme:

(1020) *'peDro jere'xwa dilɛ-'wã wa'dy-re*
Pedro jaguar who-AO give-INT
'to whom did Pedro give a dog?'[150]

(1021) **di'lɛ jere'xwa wa'dy-re dilɛ-'wã*
who jaguar give-INT who-AO
'who gave a dog to whom?'

149. Unless one would want to connect Kwaza *si* and Aikanã *sa* to proto Tupi-Guaraní **itʃe* 'I'.
150. The order *1243 was considered incorrect.

(1022) **'peDro tsũhũ-ra'ti wa'dy-re dilɛ-'wã*
Pedro what-FOC give-INT who-AO
'Pedro gave what to whom?'

However, reduplication (see 7.3.1.) of *dilɛ* was attested:

(1023) *di'lɛ=di'lɛ o'ja-xa-xa-re*
who=who go-2-AS-INT
'who else went with you?'

There is no specific indefinite pronoun '(some)one' or 'no-one'. In non-interrogative sentences *di'lɛ* can be considered as an indefinite pronoun:

(1024) *di'lɛ 'mã-hata-kywy ta'dy-xa-le tso'roi=o'nɛ-he-ky*
who call-3S.2O-COND yes!-2-COND run=come-NEG-NEI
'whoever calls you, don't say "yes" and come running, no!' (t)

(1025) *di'lɛ da'mỹ-tsy-hỹ*
who want-GER-NOM
'he who wishes'

The following construction, which involves the procrastinative element *-tara-* and probably the intentional form *-here*, does not have the antithetic sense expected in (5.5.14.1.):

(1026) *di'lɛ-wã-here aw're-da-tara-tse*
who-AO-INTL marry-1S-PROC-DEC
'I'm going to marry someone'

(1027) *di'lɛ-he're 'ja-ta'ra-tse*
who-INTL eat-PROC-DEC
'someone should eat this'

di'lɛ has the value of an indefinite negative pronoun 'no-one' when in argument position of a negative predicate (see also 7.1.1.7.):

(1028) *di'lɛ kũ'rũi-dy-nãi huda'da-hỹ 'a-hỹ-he-ki*
who Kanoê-POS-NOM speak-NOM exist-NOM-NEG-DEC

'he-tsy-hỹ
NEG-GER-NOM
'there is no-one who speaks anything of the Kanoê language' (t)

In case of indefinite subject reference (see 5.1.4.) as in: *ka'hɛxuxwaki* 'they bit you', one cannot employ a definite subject. The interrogative pronoun can only be combined with argument cross-reference to a definite argument:

(1029) *di'lɛ ka'hɛ-hata-re* (**dilɛ ka'hɛ-xuxwa-re*)
who bite-3S.2O-INT who bite-IS.2O-INT
'who bit you?'

(1030) *di'lɛ 'kui-re* (**dilɛ kui-wa-re*)
who drink-INT who drink-IS-INT
'who drank (it)?"

Chapter 5
The verb phrase

Kwaza verbs can be morphologically highly complex and there are many different suffixes. A verb in Kwaza consists minimally of a bound root and obligatory person and mood suffixes. Between the root and the obligatory suffixes other, optional, suffixes may be inserted. The obligatory suffixes, which can only be omitted when the speech context allows, are considered as inflexional. The optional suffixes are considered as derivational. Their occurrence depends on the specific state of affairs as described or expressed by the utterance.

The distinction between derivation and inflexion is not clear-cut. Valency changing suffixes, aspectual suffixes, directionals and the like are optional, and could be considered as derivational. Subject cross-reference[151] markers and mood markers are obligatory and could be considered as inflexional. Modal suffixes and object cross-reference markers are to a certain extent optional and they take a position inside the word between the derivational and inflexional suffixes.

Although I do not make an explicit and categorical formal distinction between derivational and inflexional morphemes, I do distinguish different types of suffixes on the basis of an intuitive notion of the distinction. This is reflected in the order by which the verbal morphemes will be treated in the subsequent sections. First I will discuss the most inflexional of the suffixes, the person cross-reference markers, in (5.1.). Mood (i.e. illocution) markers, which can also be considered as inflexional, are discussed in (5.2.). Then, more derivational-like morphemes are discussed, such as directional morphemes in (5.3.), valency changing suffixes in (5.4.), tense, modality and aspect morphemes in (5.5.) and nominalisers in (5.6.).

Even though negation in Kwaza can be considered as a verbal derivational process, I have, because of its special formal and pragmatic characteristics, relegated it to (7.1.).

I regard those roots as verbal which are morphologically bound. From the point of view of morphology, Kwaza verbs are not complete words if a nominaliser, or person and mood marking is absent. In essence, "incomplete" stems are not well-formed in Kwaza. Nevertheless, ellipsis of person and mood marking occurs in certain contexts. This is discussed in another chapter, in (7.5.).

Semantically, verbal roots are either attributive or predicative. Kwaza verb roots contrast morphologically with noun roots in that Kwaza nouns can occur

151. In this work I have used the term "cross-reference" as in Shopen (1985) in the sense of "agreement" or "concord".

by themselves. This morphological property of Kwaza nouns is related to their referential meaning. Kwaza nouns are basically referring expressions. They can also be used without morphological adaptation as attributive expressions, and, when zero-verbalised as verb stems, they function as predicative expressions (see 4.4.9.). Kwaza verbs may remain inflected for person under nominalisation.

5.1. Person cross-reference

In the present subsection, all regularities and idiosyncrasies concerning person cross-reference in the declarative mood are discussed. In general, the same properties apply to person cross-reference in other moods, but there are some minor differences. Those singularities of person cross-reference which are dependent on specific moods will be treated as they present themselves in the section on mood (5.2.). Reduplication of cross-reference markers has temporal and aspectual effects and interacts with certain specific morphological categories. This will all be discussed in several subsections of (5.5.) and in (7.3.). Omission of cross-reference markers will be discussed in the section on ellipsis of inflexion in (7.5.1.). Independent use of cross-reference markers as if they were separate lexemes will be discussed in (7.5.2.). Reported speech, adverbialisation, existential and certain types of verbalisation of nouns, are realised through cliticisation of cross-reference and mood markers. This will be resumed in (7.5.2.3.). Other categories such as reflexive and reciprocal are probably not "inflexional" as they have just one invariable form across all persons and moods. They will be treated as derivation in section (5.4.6.) and (5.4.7.) respectively.

As mentioned in the introduction of (5.), verbs are obligatorily marked for person. Subject person marking is obligatory, whereas object person marking has an optional character. Subject person marking can be anaphoric, and the overt pronominal expression of the subject, or for that matter the object, has an emphatic or disambiguating function, as in:

(1031) *txa'na cu'cu-a-re*
we.IN step-1P-INT
'is it we who are walking (on the photo)?'

(1032) *xyi oja-'nã-xa-ki*
you go-FUT-2-DEC
'it is you who is going (and not him)'

When no such emphasis or disambiguation is required, the obligatory cross-reference morpheme suffices, and a coreferent pronoun is not used:

(1033) *lo'na 'je-da-ki*
hole dig-1S-DEC
'I dug a hole'

The basic principle that underlies subject marking is the same as the one which underlies the personal pronoun system. There is no clear singular and plural distinction in the subject cross-reference system. Instead, there is association between first, second and third persons. One of the consequences of this is the distinction between first person inclusive and exclusive both in the pronoun system and in subject cross-reference marking. There are apparently no etymological relations between the pronominal (pro) and subject cross-referential (scr) forms:

Table 21. Personal pronouns and person cross-reference markers

PERSON	ASSOCIATED PERSON					
	1		2		3	
	pro	*inf*	*pro*	*inf*	*pro*	*inf*
1	**si**	**-da-**	**txana**	**-a-**	**tsitsɛ**	**-axa-**
2			**xyi**	**-xa-**	**xyitsɛ**	**-xa(xa)-**
3					**ĩ**	**-**

This table is reproduced from section (4.7.) where those properties which pronouns and cross-reference marking have in common were discussed and illustrated.

Bare personal pronouns usually correspond with subject cross-reference marking. There are no special object pronouns. However, like various examples in section (4.1.1.) illustrate, personal pronouns may fulfil object function when marked for (animate) object case. They correspond to a different set of cross-reference morphemes on the verb. Note the following example:

(1034) *xyi-'wã wa'dy-hata-ki*
you-AO give-3S.2O-DEC
'he gave (it) to you'

Object cross-reference marking precedes subject cross-reference marking, and an overt pronoun in the object function is not obligatory:

(1035) *tsi'tsɛ wady-ni'nã-a-xa-ki*
we.EX give-2O-1P-AS-DEC
subject verb-object-subject-mood
'we gave to you' (one person in the name of all)

As shown in table (21) above the cross-reference of third person subject is un- or zero-marked.

(1036) *wã'wỹ-Ø-ki*
sleep-3-DEC
'he is/they are sleeping'

In the same vein, third person object of transitive verbs is morphologically unmarked, whereas other object persons are marked on the verb.[152] It may not be justified to claim that the third person subject is always unmarked morphologically, as object marking is realised by portmanteau morphemes which also specify a possible range of subjects. In example (1035) the object marker implies any first person subject, either "singular", inclusive or exclusive, while the actual subject is further specified by the first person exclusive subject marker. The object marker as in (1034) can only be combined with a third person subject. Like in the following example, number of person is not distinguished:

(1037) *zjwãu 'mɛ̃-hata-Ø-ki xyitsɛ-'wã*
João beat-3S.2O-3-DEC you.PL-AO
subject verb-object-subject-mood object-case
'It was João who beat you'

Nevertheless, no part of the marker *-hata-* '(third person subject second person object)' can be identified as 'third person subject' and the other object markers which go with a third person subject hardly even bear so much as partial resemblance to the form *-hata-*.

The next example shows that a third person object of a transitive verb remains unmarked:

(1038) *tsi'tsɛ 'mɛ̃-Ø-a-xa-ki*
we.EX beat-3-1P-AS-DEC
subject verb-object-subject-mood
'we're hitting (him)'

This example also implies that person marking of transitive verbs with third person objects cannot be distinguished from person marking of intransitive or objectless transitive verbs. The following utterance is both formally and semantically ambiguous in this respect:

(1039) *'ja-(Ø-)Ø-ki*
eat-(3-)3-DEC
'he is eating/he ate (it)'

152. In the present work I chose not to represent "third person" by a zero-morpheme *-Ø-*, but I let this be the default reading of the unmarked verb.

In Kwaza, semantically (di)transitive verbs often have an intransitive reading as well: *ĩ wa'dyki* lit. 'it is he who gave' either has a transitive sense 'it is he who gave it to him' or intransitive 'it is he who is giving (i.e. he does not want anything in return)'.

Although inclusive and exclusive objects can be expressed by case-marked pronouns, there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive object cross-reference:

(1040) *ĩ wa'dy-e'teja-ki tjana-'wã / sitsɛ-'wã*
he give-1PO-DEC we.IN-AO / we.EX-AO
'he gave us (IN/EX) a present'

So far, only reference to definite arguments has been dealt with. Aside from this type of reference, another type was attested which marks reference to indefinite arguments. The morpheme *-wa-* refers to an indefinite subject (IS), as in (1041) and the morpheme *-ja-* refers to an indefinite object (IO), as in (1042):

(1041) *xy'xy-wa-ki*
scream-IS-DEC
'someone screamed'

(1042) *kahe-'ja-ki*
bite-IO-DEC
'it bites people'

Indefinite subject reference can be combined with all objects. Likewise indefinite object reference can be combined with all subjects. The category of indefinite argument cross-reference will be treated in (5.1.4.).

Besides indefinite cross-reference, there is also impersonal subject reference which involves the impersonal subject morpheme *-na-*. This will be discussed in (5.1.5.). Furthermore, there is future second person object reference which involves the morpheme *-leja-*, which will be discussed in (5.1.8.). Finally, cross-reference paradigms for moods other than the declarative may differ (partially) from the one which applies for the declarative mood. This will be discussed in the relevant subsections of (5.2.) on mood.

In the following table, the basic constituent elements of subject and object cross-reference markers are integrated in one figure showing their functional domains:[153]

153. PL = plural object, 3S = third person subject, I = indefinite argument, IPL = impersonal subject, the other abbreviations are standard. Note that this table is not intended to show the distribution or (the obligatoriness of) the combinability of the forms. It only shows the meaning of each form individually, e.g. *-da-* is first person subject; *-ta-* is first person object; *-ete-* occurs only as a plural element in first person plural and second person object forms; *-nĩnã-* is a second person object form; *-hata-* is a second person object that occurs exclusively with third person subjects.

Table 22. Subject and object person cross-reference forms

	Subject	*AS*	*PL*	***Object***	*3S*	*IS*	*FUT*
1	**da**			**ta**			
1P	**a**			**ja**			
			ete				
		xa					
				lexwa			
2	**xa**			**nīnā**	**hata**	**xu**	**leja**
3							
I	**wa**			**ja**			
IPL	**na**						

In the next sections, more examples will be given and specific issues concerning the application and combination of cross-reference markers will be discussed in more detail.

5.1.1. Remarks on the cross-reference forms and further examples

With respect to table (22) above some remarks are in order. Firstly, most of the object markers have to be combined with subject markers. Furthermore, some object cross-reference forms are portmanteau morphemes. Finally, both third person subjects and third person objects get zero morphological expression. In the present section the constituent elements of cross-reference marking will be discussed separately. First the subject forms will be dealt with, and then the object forms, both in alphabetical order. Indefinite and impersonal argument cross-reference will be dealt with in the separate sections (5.1.4.) and (5.1.5.) respectively.

Certain temporal and aspectual constructions are formed, among other ways, through repetition, or perhaps better, reduplication of cross-reference morphemes. In the remote past construction the reduplicated person markers have a slightly different form and are best considered as allomorphs of the canonical person markers. These are discussed and demonstrated extensively in (5.5.4.), and in the following sections I will only mention their existence and their appearance.

5.1.1.1. Subject cross-reference

a '1P'. The first person plural subject form *-a-* is the unmarked default form in the distinction between inclusive and exclusive. In fact, only the exclusive is marked, through the element *-xa-* in *-a-xa-*. An important reason why *-a-* by itself could be regarded as inclusive is that the difference with first person *-da-* otherwise would have to be explained in terms of a number distinction. Never

theless, *-a-* will be glossed as '1P' in order to avoid incompatible glossing in the exclusive situation. The distinction between inclusive and exclusive will be further elaborated upon in sections (5.1.2.) and (5.1.3.). *-a-* is obligatorily used for first person plural subject and can be combined with all possible objects.

The rare allomorph *-ay-* occurs in the remote past construction (5.5.4.).

da '1S'. The first person singular subject form *-da-* is glossed as '1S' even though the difference with *-a-* is probably not a number difference. *-da-* can be combined with all possible objects.

(1043) *si 'mɛ̃-da-ki zjwãu*
I beat-1S-DEC João
'I hit João'

The allomorph *-day-* occurs in the remote past construction. As shown in (5.5.4.), it appears usually as a reduplicated form, preceded by the canonical form *-da-*, and followed by a nominalising element:

(1044) *na-ay-'wy o'nɛ-da-day-hỹ-ki*
PROX-that-time arrive-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'I arrived at that time'

In certain nominal(ised) expressions which do not have a past reading, *-day-* can occur by itself:

(1045) *aky'nỹ-day-hỹ*
friend-1S-NOM
'my friend'

(1046) *mama'ñɛ̃-day-'nãi are'ta-da-ki*
sing-1S-NOM know-1S-DEC
'I know how to sing'

It is not perfectly clear why *-day-* occurs instead of *-da-* in these constructions. Maybe there is a habitual connotation.

xa '2'. The second person subject form *-xa-* may refer to singular or plural subjects, and is hence glossed as '2'. It is homophonous with the third person associated subject form *-xa-*. In rapid speech the pronunciation of *-xa-* may change to [tsa]. Second person subject *-xa-* does not occur in combination with first person singular object marking.

(1047) *tsũ'hũ pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-xa-re*
what speak-2-INT
'what are you saying?'

(1048) *ũnỹte'ta ũcenãi=du'hỹ-xa-re*
story know=all-2-INT
'do you know all stories?' (t)

Like *-day-*, the allomorph *-xay-* occurs in the remote past construction (5.5.4.), but note the rare occurrences of non-reduplicated nominal(ised) instances of *-xay-* without a past sense:

(1049) *aky'nỹ-xay-nahere*
friend-2-COL
'a friend of you people'

(1050) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-xay-'nãi* *are'ta-da-mỹ*
speak-2-NOM know-1S-VOL
'I want to learn your language'

xa 'AS'. The third person associated subject form *-xa-* occurs as the second element of the exclusive morpheme combination *-a-xa-* and of the Kwaza equivalent of the second person plural *-xa-xa-*:

(1051) *aku'tjũ-nahe're-wa* *a'wỹj-xa-xa-ki*
Indian-COLL-AO see-2-AS-DEC
'you are looking at the Indians'

The fact that this morpheme is homophonous with the second person subject morpheme *-xa-* creates the impression that second person plural is based on reduplication of the second person form: *-xa-xa*. However, a single *-xa-* can also express a plural second person subject, as in (1055). Furthermore the element *-xa-* is not reduplicated in the definite non-third person object forms. Also, it not present in all transitive second person subject forms. Finally it is not always present in intransitive second person subject forms in all moods, such as the imperative (see 5.2.1.3.). In transitive inflexion, the associated form only appears with second person plural objects and indefinite objects (see table 23 below).

5.1.1.2. Object cross-reference

eteja '1PO'. The first person "plural" object form *-eteja-* occurs in combination with all subject markers, including indefinite subject. Although this form is not further analysable, the element *-ete-* also occurs in the second person "plural" object form *-etelexwa-*, and in both forms it may also be pronounced as [ɛte] and [Ite]. The element *-ja-* resembles the indefinite object form *-ja-* but it is probably lexicalised (see 5.1.4.).

(1052) *'mã-eteja-ki*
call-1PO-DEC
'she calls us'

(1053) *a'ha tsa'si-ta* *hu'hui=asa-eteja-'nã-tehere*
father follow-CSO kill=leave-1PO-FUT-APPR
'It seems father is going to follow us in order to kill us'[154] (t)

154. Note that this example, and example (1183), represent the only documented occurrences of a future morpheme following an object marker.

(1054) *ka'hɛ-eteja-ki*
bite-1PO-DEC
'he bit/will bite us (IN/EX)'

(1055) *xyi'tsɛ* *ka'hɛ-eteja-xa-ki*
you.PL bite-1PO-2-DEC
'you bit us'

If *-eteja-* is followed directly by a mood marker, secondary stress is on its second syllable. If it is first succeeded by subject person marking, then secondary stress falls on its last syllable.

The element [ʔɛte] resembles the comitative morpheme *-ete-* (see 5.4.8.), but there is no reason to suppose that they are productively related. When the comitative morpheme is followed by the indefinite object marker *-ja-* the composite meaning does not correspond to 'first person plural object':

(1056) *babai'ce-ete-ja-da-ki*
dance-COMIT-IO-1S-DEC
'I'm dancing with people/them'

Note also that this example contains first person subject *-da-*, which would not have been possible if *-ete-ja-* was a first person plural object here.

etelexwa '2PO'. The second person "plural" object form *-etelexwa-* also occurs with all subjects, including indefinite subject.

(1057) *wa'dy-nã-etelexwa-ki*
give-FUT-2PO-DEC
'he is/they are going to give you (PL) (a present)'

(1058) *a'rinu* *ja'hɛ-etele'xwa-ki*
Arino hide-2PO-DEC
'Arino hides you (PL)'

Although this form is not further analysable, the element *-ete-* also occurs in the first person "plural" object form *-eteja-* and in both forms it can be also pronounced as [ɛte] and [Ite]. It bears a strong resemblance to the comitative morpheme *-ete-*. At one point the consultant said that addition of the verb *duhỹ-* 'all' as in example (1058) is superfluous here, because this sense is included in *-etelexwa-*. A more literal translation of *-etelexwa-* may then be something like 'you together'. The consultant apparently made a comparable association and translated *etelexwa* in isolation as 'with you (PL)'.[155] In spite of these considerations, if the element *-ete-* can be related to the comitative morpheme, it is lexicalised. The following example illustrates how the intransitive verb "dance" requires a comitative morpheme in order to acquire a comitative sense:

155. He confirmed that it cannot be used as a separate word. It is unclear, however, what the consultant regards as a "separate word". He or she may use a pragmatic criterion and correctly argue that one cannot utter a word like "you" or "house" in isolation.

(1059) *ba'baice-e'te-nã-da-ki*
dance-COMIT-FUT-1S-DEC
'I want to dance with her'

(1060) *ba'baice-e'te-nã-ta-ki*
dance-COMIT-FUT-1O-DEC
'She wants to dance with me'

The morpheme *-etelexwa-*, however, appears not to be able to convey this comitative sense:

(1061) **babaice-etelexwa-da-mỹ*
dance-2PO-1S-VOL
'I want to dance with you (pl)'

The element *-le-* resembles the reciprocal form *-lɛ-* (see 5.4.7.), but it is not certain that there is a relation.

The element *-xwa-* is formally identical to a similar element occurring in several indefinite subject morphemes, which again resembles the basic indefinite subject marker *-wa-*. There is an analogous situation involving *-ja-* in *-eteja-*. However, *-xwa-* also resembles the masculine classifier *-xwa-* and it can be optionally replaced by its feminine counterpart *-tay-*. Nevertheless, the form with *-xwa-* (*-etelexwa-*) can refer to female objects as well:

(1062) *haje-'hỹ-etele'xwa-da-ki*
paint-NOM-2PO-1S-DEC
'I painted you all (female/male)'

(1063) *haje-'hỹ-etele'tay-da-ki*
paint-NOM-2PO.FEM-1S-DEC
'I painted you all (female)'

The consultant translated *etele'tay* in isolation as 'with you women'.

On two occasions, the element *-etele-* was attested without subsequent *-xwa-* or *-tay-*:

(1064) *mani'ni* *wa'dy-etele-'nã-a-xa-hỹ-ki*
fish give-2PO-FUT-1P-AS-NOM-DEC
'we're going to give fish to you (PL)'

(1065) *mani'ni* *wa'dy-etele-a-'xa-ki*
fish give-2PO-1P-AS-DEC
'I'm giving fish to my mate', 'we're giving fish'

The correspondence between the form of (1065) and its meaning as represented by the free translations is not understood well. It could be that they were distorted by the elicitation setting and that the consultant just meant 'we're giving fish to you (PL)'. It is unclear how productive the bare element *-etele-* is. The equivalent of (1065) with a first person singular subject was rejected by the consultant.

The question of inclusive and exclusive subjects in combination with the second person plural object is illustrated in (5.1.2.) below.

hata '3S.2O'. The second person singular object- third person subject form *-hata-* is a unique portmanteau morpheme which is not systematically related to the other person cross-reference forms. It is not likely that the element *-ta-* is related to the first person object morpheme.

(1066) *zjwãu 'mɛ̃-hata-ki xyitsɛ-'wã*
João beat-3S.2O-DEC you.PL-AO
'it was João who beat you'

(1067) *lu'zeu dutu're hou-'ty-hata-ki*
Luzeu pig grab-DET-3S.2O-DEC
'Luzeu took a pig from you'

(1068) *wady-'nã-hata-ki*
give-FUT-3S.2O-DEC
'he/they is/are going to give (it) to you'

There may be assimilation of the [h] in the following example:

(1069) [es̱i̯i'kãĩ̯jata'ɾe w̃ã]
exyi-'kãi-hata-re wã
sting-CL:mouth-3S.2O-INT wasp
'did a wasp sting you on the mouth?'

The object of *-hata-* cannot be a second person plural, unless it is disambiguated by an overt pronoun:

(1070) *xyitsɛ-'wã wa'dy-ha'ta-hỹ-tsy*
you.PL-AO give-3S.2O-NOM-RES
'it was you whom he gave (a present)'

This means that *-hata-* may occur instead of the second person plural object marker *-etelexwa-*. So far, no differences in meaning have been found.

There is no distinction between singular and plural subject. There is only one instance where the distinction seemed to be made optionally:

(1071) *ĩ / na-'ay-nahere wa'dy-hata(-xwa)-ki*
he/they / PROX-that-COL give-3S.2O-IS-DEC
'they gave to you'

The element *-xwa-* is not yet fully understood here. Possibly, it is an allomorph of the indefinite subject marker *-wa-*. However, in that case one would rather expect *-xuxwa-* than *-hata-xwa-*.

nĩ'nã '2O'. The second person object morpheme *-nĩnã-* occurs with non-third person subjects, and is obligatorily followed by the standard subject marking morphemes. The element *-nã-* is not to be confused with reflexive *-nỹ-*:

(1072) *'mɛ̃-nĩ'nã-da-ki*
beat-2O-1S-DEC
'I am beating you'

(1073) *'mɛ̃-nĩ-'nỹ-da-ki*
beat-CL:egg-REF-1S-DEC
'I hit myself on the testicles'

(1074) *ja wady-nĩ'nã-da-hỹ-tsy*
already give-2O-1S-NOM-RES
'I already gave to you!'

On some occasions, *-nĩnã-* occurred in agreement with a second person plural pronoun:

(1075) *xyitsɛ-'wã wady-nĩ'nã-da-tsy-tse*
you.PL-AO give-2O-1S-POT-DEC
'I will give (these things) to you (all)'

This means that *-nĩnã-* may occur in the place of the second person plural object marker *-etelexwa-*. So far, no differences in meaning have been found. Maybe the overt plural pronoun in example (1075) is emphatic enough to allow for singular agreement on the verb.

ta '1O'. The first person object form *-ta-* is used for both second and third person subjects.

(1076) *xyi wa'dy-ta-ki* (**xyi wa'dytaxaki*)
you give-1O-DEC
'(it was you who) gave me (a present)'

(1077) *ĩ wa'dy-ta-ki*
he give-1O-DEC
'(it was him who) gave me (a present)'

(1078) *ku'ru-ta-ki* (**kuru'taki*)
swell-1O-DEC
'I have a swelling' (lit. 'it is swelling on me')

(1079) *ja-dy-'nã-ta-ki*
eat-CAU-FUT-1O-DEC
'she's going to feed me'

(1080) *'kahɛ-ta-ki*
bite-1O-DEC
'(spider/snake/dog) bit me'

(1081) *'kui-ta-ki*
drink-1O-DEC
'(the flea stung and) drank my (blood)'

The morpheme is homophonous with the transitivising morpheme *-ta-*, which belongs to the (derived) verbal root (see 5.4.2.1.). As stress falls usually on the final syllable of the root, person marking can be distinguished through the absence of stress:

(1082) *a-'ta-ki*
exist-TRA-DEC
'he is (my) neighbour'

(1083) *a-'ta-ta-ki*
exist-TRA-1O-DEC
'he is together with me'

(1084) *wai-dy-'ta-ki*
good-CAU-TRA-DEC
'he is good to her'

(1085) *wai-'dy-ta-ki*
good-CAU-1O-DEC
'it does good to me'

(1086) *wai-dy-'ta-ta-ki*
good-CAU-TRA-1O-DEC
'he is good to me'

The zero-marked subject of *-ta-* is usually not a second person plural. With a second person plural subject an extra *-xa-* is added, which results in *-ta-xa-*:

(1087) *xyi'tsɛ* *wa'dy-ta-xa-hỹ-'tsy*
you.PL give-1O-2-NOM-RES
'(it was you who) gave me (a present)'

The combination **-taxaxa-* for a second person plural subject was not considered well-formed: **xyitsɛ wa'dytaxaxaki*. Note that the difference between singular and plural subjects in combination with *-ta-* can also be expressed by an overt pronoun alone:

(1088) *xyi* *wa'dy-ta-hỹ-'tsy*
you give-1O-NOM-RES
'(it was you who) gave me (a present)'

(1089) *xyi'tsɛ* *wa'dy-ta-hỹ-'tsy*
you.PL give-1O-NOM-RES
'(it was you who) gave me (a present)'

The combination *-ta-xa-* was not attested with a second person singular subject meaning (see also table 23 below).

In addition to the subject markers, *-ta-* is the only object marker which has an allomorph in the remote past construction (5.5.4.): *-tay-*.

In the following table, all canonical combinations of subject and object cross-reference morphemes discussed above are integrated into one ambitransitive paradigm:

Table 23. Subject and object person cross-reference forms

S\O	1	2	(3)	1P	2P	IO
1	-	**nĩnãda**	**da**	-	**etelexwada**	**jada**
2	**ta**	-	**xa**	**etejaxa**	-	**jaxa**
3	**ta**	**hata**	Ø	**eteja**	**etelexwa**	**ja**
1+2	-	(**nĩnã?a**)	**a**	-	**etelexwa?a**	**ja?a**
1+3	-	**nĩnã?axa**	**axa**	-	**etelexwa?axa**	**ja?axa**
2+3	**taxa**	-	**xaxa**	**etejaxa**	-	**jaxaxa**
IS	**taxwa**	**xuxwa**	**wa**	**etejawa**	**etelexwawa**	**jawa**

Note that this table suggests that the third person object forms are identical to the intransitive subject forms. In reality, they have zero expression because they are third person arguments. Note also that the impersonal subject form and the future object form are not represented here. Furthermore, note that the slots containing a hyphen concern reflexive relations, which are expressed in a different way, and which will not be treated here, but in section (5.4.6.). Note again that the forms in this table combine with declarative mood marking, and are not always identical with those which combine with other moods. Note finally that the forms in between brackets were not recorded so far and may be impossible.

5.1.2. Inclusive reference

The morpheme *-a-* marks the first person inclusive subject, i.e. 'we' including the hearer. It is distinct from the first person exclusive subject morpheme *-a-xa-* 'we' excluding the hearer and thereby including only third persons. The same distinction is reflected by the respective pronominal counterparts: *txa'na* 'we (inclusive)' and *tsi'tsɛ* 'we (exclusive)'.

(1090) *tsi'tsɛ* *esi'ki* *luze-'wã* *wa'dy-a-xa-hỹ-ki*
we.EX skin Luzeu-AO give-1P-AS-NOM-DEC
'we gave clothes to Luzeu' (excluding addressee)

(1091) *txa'na* *esi'ki* *luze-'wã* *wa'dy-a-hỹ-ki*
we.IN skin Luzeu-AO give-1P-NOM-DEC
'we gave clothes to Luzeu' (including addressee)

(1092) *tsi'tsɛ* *esi'ki* *wa'dy-nĩnã-a-xa-hỹ-ki* *(*txana)*
we.EX skin give-2O-1P-AS-NOM-DEC
'we gave clothes to you' (excluding addressee)

The distinction between inclusive and exclusive is not clearly made in object inflexion:

(1093) *lu'zeu* *wa'dy-eteja-hỹ-ki*
Luzeu give-1PO-NOM-DEC
'Luzeu gave (it) to us'

As the following examples show, the object marker *-eteja-* may either refer to an inclusive or an exclusive object:

(1094) *(tjana-'wã)* *'mɛ̃-eteja-ki*
we.IN-AO beat-1PO-DEC
'they hit us (two or three individuals)'

(1095) *xyi'tsɛ* *axe'hỹ-ete'ja-xa-ki*
you.PL find-1PO-2-DEC
'you met us'

(1096) *wa'dy-eteja-'nã-tse* *txana-wã* / *tsitsɛ-wã*
give-1PO-NOM-DEC we.IN-AO / we.EX-AO
'he is going to give us (resp.IN/EX)'

It may be the case that the inclusive pronoun in the object function is not obligatorily marked for animate object case, while the exclusive is:

(1097) *lu'zeu* *wa'dy-eteja-hỹ-ki* *'txana(-wã)* / *'tsitsɛ-'wã*
Luzeu give-1PO-NOM-DEC we.IN-AO / we.EX-AO
'Luzeu gave to us (resp.IN/EX)'

It was not registered what the difference is between a second person plural object form occurring in combination with an exclusive subject form and with an inclusive subject form:

(1098) *wa'dy-etele'tay-a-xa-ki*
give-2PO.FEM-1P-AS-DEC
'we gave (it) to you women'

(1099) *wa'dy-etele'tay-a-ki*
give-2PO.FEM-1P-DEC
'we gave (it) to you women'

The possibility of inclusive object inflexion is discussed further below under *-ja-* in (5.1.4.3.).

5.1.3. Exclusive reference

In section (4.7.2.), reference was made to the occurrence of "incompatible" combination of the inclusive pronoun with exclusive cross-reference marking was noticed:

(1100) *tja'nã* *ĩle'le-a-xa-ki*
we.IN together-1P-AS-DEC
'we are together (married/brother-sister/kin)'

(1101) *txa'nã* / *tsi'tsɛ* *ũ'ce-a-xa-hỹ-ki* *arũi-'du-a-xa-ta*
we.IN / we.EX trap-1P-AS-NOM-DEC tapir-BER-1P-AS-CSO
'(it is) we who made a trap for a tapir'

It is unclear what the function of these "incompatible" combinations is. One could imagine that (1100) has an affective connotation, or that the exclusion of the hearer is emphasised. Or maybe the examples reflect evasive use of the distinction, i.e. one tries to avoid to be specific. The choice between pronouns in (1101) is not problematic as far as the nature of interrogative context is regarded: this utterance was the answer to a question and the person who asked the question is by definition excluded from the proposition, because otherwise he would not have asked. Note that the combination of exclusive *tsitsɛ* with inclusive *-a-* inflexion tends to be considered really ungrammatical, so there is an asymmetry:

Table 24. Compatibility of inclusive and exclusive reference

	IN: *-a-*	EX: *-axa-*
IN: *txana*	√	(√)
EX: *tsitsɛ*	*	√

The fact that only the exclusive was accepted in:

(1102) *tsi'tsɛ* *'mɛ̃-a-xa-ki*
we.EX beat-1P-AS-DEC
'we're hitting (him)'

whereas: **tjana mɛ̃?axaki* and **tjana mɛ̃?aki* were rejected altogether, can be explained by pragmatic anomaly, as here it could be argued that it is very unusual to make a remark "we're beating him up" to a participant in the action. It is more natural to utter this phrase to a bystander, e.g. as an answer to his or her questions about what is going on.

5.1.4. Indefinite reference

As table (23) shows, there is a partial overlap between the definite and the indefinite cross-reference forms as far as their shape is regarded. Nonetheless, this overlap is rather limited. Furthermore, a number of semantic and grammatical differences are involved, such as the fact that no corresponding pronouns are possible.[156] For these reasons, indefinite arguments are treated as a category in itself. It involves two basic parameters: indefinite subject, which is formally represented by the morpheme *-wa-*, and indefinite object, which is formally represented by the morpheme *-ja-*. This category only surfaces in the form of cross-reference morphemes. In fact, indefinite argument cross-reference tends to preclude the expression of an overt argument.

5.1.4.1. Indefinite subject

wa 'IS'. The indefinite subject morpheme *-wa-* is often encountered as the sole person inflexion on a verb. It indicates that the third person subject is not specified, only the semantic content of the predicate being of interest.

(1103) *'kui-wa-'ki*
drink-IS-DEC
'people are / someone is drinking'

This utterance was made in a context in which the speaker went over to the nearby house and heard or saw that there was a party going on, and upon returning she informed the hearer about it (for reasons such as the hearer having asked the speaker to see for him, or the speaker wanting to get the hearer to accompany her and join the party). In such a context, *kuiki* 'they are / he is drinking' would have been less appropriate. So *kuiwaki* can be translated more or less as 'there is drinking going on'. Similar examples can be given:

(1104) *dodotxi'te* *o'hui-ki*
ball play-DEC
'he/they are playing ball'

(1105) *dodotxi'te* *o'hui-wa-ki*
ball play-IS-DEC
'they (many) are playing ball'

(1106) *a'wỹi-da-ki* *a'rũi-wã* *mawdy'ne-wa-ta*
see-1S-DEC tapir-AO call.to.come-IS-CSO
'I saw them call tapir to come to them' (t)

156. But note that the interrogative pronoun *di'lɛ* can be used with an indefinite sense in non-interrogative constructions (4.7.4.).

(1107) *ja 'ja-wa-ki*
already eat-IS-DEC
'they are already eating / they have already eaten'

(1108) *'ja o'ja-wa-ki*
already leave-IS-DEC
'someone is already going / went there'

(1109) *a-'he-ty-wa-ki*
exist-NEG-DET-IS-DEC
'I bet they don't encounter anyone', 'there is no-one for him!'

(1110) *tja?a'tje 'a-wa-hỹ* vs. *'ãi 'a-wa-hỹ*
close exist-IS-NOM — far exist-IS-NOM
'those who live nearby' — 'those who live further away'

It requires a more thorough and time-consuming analysis of all the full contexts in order to be able to explain the exact meaning and possible idiomatic uses of the indefinite subject marker in every attested occurrence, than can be done in the present work. As an example it was sometimes said that the addition of *-wa-* could be regarded as "respectful". Nevertheless, there is an important morphosyntactic clue which corroborates the "indefinite"-hypothesis of *-wa-*: the indefinite morpheme does not cross-reference an overt argument. In general, a definite argument is then unmentionable:

(1111) *lu'zeu mĩu peri'Dauwa-wã wa'dy-ki*
Luzeu chicha Peridalva-AO give-DEC
'Luzeu gave chicha to Peridalva'

(1112) **luzeu mĩu peri'Dauwa-wã wa'dy-wa-ki*
Luzeu chicha Peridalva-AO give-IS-DEC
'someone Luzeu gave chicha to Peridalva'[157]

(1113) *pju xy'xy-(hỹ)-ki* (**pju xyxy-wa-(hỹ)-ki*)
Piu scream-NOM-DEC
'Piu screamed'

The following example contained *-wa-* even though both speaker and hearer knew the identity of the subject (in this case Daniel Latundê):

(1114) *ywy'nwỹ 'dy=asa-wa-ki*
tree cut=leave-IS-DEC
'someone/they cut the log and cleared it out of the way'

Nevertheless, it is impossible to inquire about the identity of the subject while using an indefinite cross-reference marker:

157. Even if no-one knows who Luzeu is, this sentence is ungrammatical.

(1115) *di'lɛ xy'xy-(*wa)-re*
who scream-IS-INT
'who screamed?'

This was also illustrated in (4.7.4.). However, some overt arguments can be regarded as indefinite:

(1116) *txi'rja wy'ru-wa-re*
everyone grind-IS-INT
'everyone helps grinding?' (t)

(1117) *txi'rja-wa-ta*
everyone-IS-CSO
'being everyone / everyone is'

There is no indefinite pronoun 'someone' or 'nobody'. Instead, a nominalised verbalisation of a noun may be used:

(1118) *mãrẽri'tsa-wa-hỹ kwɛ'nɛ-wa-ki*
human-IS-NOM enter-IS-DEC
'someone/a person entered (here, while we were away)'

(1119) *ũcenãi-'he-wa-hỹ ere're-wa-ki*
know-NEG-IS-NOM write-IS-DEC
'they are writing up that which nobody knows'

Apparently, some nouns like *wã* 'wasp' can act as an indefinite subject. The reason for this possibility is probably that when a swarm of wasps attacks, they are not definite individuals any more, as far as the victim is concerned. So one could say that the application of *-wa-* has a de-individualising effect. This may also create a passive-like effect, though not more than that:

(1120) *wã e'xyi-ki*
wasp sting-DEC
'the wasp stung him',
'it's a wasp who stung him'

(1121) *wã e'xyi-wa-ki*
wasp sting-IS-DEC
'wasps stung him',
'he received stings from wasps'

(1122) *wã-'wã e'xyi-wa-ki*
wasp-AO sting-IS-DEC
'they stung the wasp'

An alternative translation of (1121) had an indefinite object: 'wasp stung someone'. This may suggest a passive nature of *-wa-* ('people were stung') after all. However, the verb *exyi-* 'sting (by wasp)' is exceptional itself: the form *e'xyi-da-ki*, with first person subject inflexion, both means 'I stung (him)' as 'I got stung'. It is probably because of the unusualness of the first, literal meaning, that the second interpretation is enabled. Nevertheless, it is considered more correct to use a first person object form in this case: *e'xyi-ta-ki* 'I got stung' (lit. 'stung me'). Also the result of nominalisation of certain verb stems

may be ambiguous in this respect: it may refer to an object or to the subject, regardless whether *-wa-* is present:

(1123) *dutu're hãtsũ-'hỹ*
pig skin-NOM
'skin torn from the pig',
'he (who) was skinning the pig'

(1124) *dutu're hã'tsũ-wa-'hỹ*
pig skin-IS-NOM
'the one who skinned the pig',
'they (who) skinned the pig'

(1125) *a'wỹi-da-ki ay'hỹ tswa dutu're hã'tsũ-'hỹ*
see-1S-DEC that man pig skin-NOM
'I saw that man who skinned the pig'

(1126) *ay'hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki dutu're hã'tsũ-wa-'hỹ*
that see-1S-DEC pig skin-IS-NOM
'I saw that pig which they skinned'

These constructions were also discussed in (8.4.1.4.).

Although I have found no evidence for a passive in Kwaza, it should be mentioned that elicited translations of Portuguese passive sentences into Kwaza often contain the element *-wa-*:

(1127) *ecoto'hỹ-wa-ki ca'ri-wa-ki*
retaliate-IS-DEC shoot-IS-DEC
'he was punished',
'they killed him'

(1128) *tã'jã 'ta-wa-hỹ*
chief say-IS-NOM
'the one called chief',
'the one they call chief'

When a truly definite subject is expressed in combination with indefinite subject reference *-wa-*, this subject is part of a group functioning as an indefinite subject:

(1129) *lato-'wy pju ohui'nĩ-wa-ta*
yesterday-time Piu play-IS-CSO
'yesterday, Piu and the others were playing'
(lit. 'yesterday Piu they were playing')

This may create the impression that the element *-wa-* is a plural marker:

(1130) *i'grezja-'na e'tay 'tswa-cwa-ta 'nãi-wa-ki*
church-LOC woman man-IS-CSO like-IS-DEC
'the men and women all are in the church'

(1131) *'kreBa-nahere mĩu kui-cu-'cwa-hỹ-ki*
Gleba-COL chicha drink-IS-IS-NOM-DEC
'the people of Gleba they drank chicha'

However, this would be the only instance of plural marking in the entire morphology of Kwaza, whereas most occurrences of *-wa-* suggest that it expresses indefiniteness of the subject. The contrast between following examples shows that a plural subject reading is out of the question:

(1132) *aky-'hỹ e'mã-cwa-ta 'dai-cwa-ki ('manga)*
two-NOM more-IS-CSO take-IS-DEC mango
'someone took three (mangoes)'

(1133) *aky-'hỹ e'mã-cwa-ta da-'dai-wa-ki ('manga)*
two-NOM more-IS-CSO RED-take-IS-DEC mango
'a number of people took three (mangoes)'

The contrast between (1132) and the next example rather confirms that indefiniteness is involved:

(1134) *aky-'hỹ e'mã-tja 'dai-kizjwõ 'manga*
two-NOM more-CSO take-DEC João mango
'João took three mangoes'

Only few examples were encountered which appear to go against the indefinite analysis of *-wa-*:

(1135) *zjwãu 'kwɛ-wa-ki*
João enter-IS-DEC
'João entered here'

It is not so likely that this example has a similar pragmatic context as (1129).

The following example is from a story about a tapir which transforms itself into a human being. When the transformed man was shot dead, he turned back into a tapir:

(1136) *ã'rũi a're-wa-hỹ*
tapir turn-IS-NOM
'the transformed tapir' (t)

Here there is no doubt about the definiteness and singularity of the tapir, but maybe there is an explanation in the fact that the transformation happened automatically, and that the tapir is not a subject here any more.

In combination with the imperative mood, *-wa-* may have a kind of vocative function:

(1137) *tso'roi-wa-ra*
run-IS-IMP
'run, everybody!'

The fact that *-wa-* does not only have its normal indefinite function here is confirmed by the fact that it can be succeeded by another subject marking element *-xa-*:[158]

(1138) *towa-'nã-tse* *tso'roi-wa-xa-ra=tja* *'ta-ja-hỹ=wara*
fall-FUT-DEC run-IS-AS-IMP=CSO talk-IO-NOM=but
‘“it’s going to fall, people, run!”, he warned them, but ...’ (t)

On some occasions *-wa-* was explicitly indicated by the consultant to have an evidential function. For the following example MA deliberately described a context of the speaker arriving in a room where (either one or many) people are in the presence of an empty coffee pot and that that is the reason to draw the conclusion that those people must have drunk all the coffee:

(1139) *ka'wɛ* *kui='bwa-(c)wa-ki*
coffee drink=end-IS-DEC
‘(apparently) they finished the coffee’

In this case the evidence is indirect, and it is possible that the evidential analysis of *-wa-* matches with the (unfortunately often poorly registered) contexts of many (elicited) examples in the present section. However, the fact that the occurrence of this morpheme was claimed to rule out the presence of overt arguments in most cases, such as in (1112) and (1113), goes against this analysis (but note that (1135) is a telling exception in this respect). Furthermore there seem to be elicited examples of *-wa-* occurring in eyewitness contexts, e.g. in (1103) above and in (3510) in (8.3.1.5.). Also, there are many cases of *-wa-* occurring in eyewitness accounts in the initiation story by ME (part II, text 3.1.). On the other hand, MA complained about the latter story that ME talked about her experiences in a way as if she had not participated herself. Furthermore, the problem remains that the isolated utterances and their contexts were all elicited in relatively uncontrolled settings, and it cannot be excluded that the consultant’s interpretation of the imagined situation was completely the opposite. As more textual research is needed here I consider indirect evidentiality for the time being as a side effect of the basic indefinite function of *-wa-*.

The indefinite subject marker *-wa-* has several allomorphs. The allomorph *-cwa-* occurs often as an optional variant of *-wa-* in cosubordinating constructions discussed in (8.3.1.5.), when following the negative morpheme *-he-* (7.1.1.), and probably when following the future morpheme *-nã-*:

(1140) *kui-nã-cwa-ki* (**kui'nãwaki*)
drink-FUT-IS-DEC
‘they’re going to drink, there’s going to be drinking’

158. In this example, *-xa-* was glossed as an associated third person marker, but there is no way to establish here whether it is not rather a second person subject marker.

The allomorph is obligatory in constructions which involve double sets of inflexion marking such as quoted speech (5.5.11.), purposive (5.5.12.) and conjectural (5.5.14.) constructions. In the remote past (5.5.4.) and habitual (5.5.26.) constructions, the allomorph *-cwa-* is usually reduplicated and has the forms *-cu-*, *-ci-* or *-ti-* ([t̲u] ~ [t̲i] ~ [t̲i] ~ [ti]). This is further illustrated by several examples in the relevant sections, but note also (1130) and (1131) above. The indefinite different subject morpheme *-dwa-* is probably related to *-wa-*. It occurs only in cosubordinated clauses and indicates that the subject is different from the indefinite subject of the next clause. This is dealt with in (8.3.2.2.).

Note that the third person declarative marker *-tse* is never encountered in combination with *-wa-* or its allomorphs.

Note also that neither *-wa-* nor its allomorphs seem to cross-refer to inanimate subjects.

The form *-wa-* has a reflex [s̲wa] in the first and second person object morphemes *-taxwa-* and *-xuxwa-*. Some of the properties of indefinite cross-reference demonstrated above will be illustrated more extensively under *-xuxwa-* and *-taxwa-* below, and under *-ja-* in (5.1.4.2.).

taxwa 'IS.1O'. In the indefinite subject- first person object morpheme *-taxwa-*, the first person object marker *-ta-* is clearly identifiable. The remaining element *-xwa-* strongly resembles the indefinite subject marker *-wa-*. The relation between *-xwa-* and *-wa-* cannot be explained by morphophonemic rules. Most likely *-xwa-* is lexicalised in both *-taxwa-* '(IS.1O)' and *-xuxwa-* '(IS.2O)'.

The following examples show this morpheme involved in cross-reference to indefinite subject combined with a first person object (which consequently is definite).

(1141) *wa'dy-taxwa-ki*
give-IS.1O-DEC
'they/he (someone) gave to me'

(1142) *ka'hɛ-taxwa-ki*
bite-IS.1O-DEC
'they bit me'

About the intended subject(s) in example (1142) the consultant said "you can't say their names". Also, it is not possible to inquire about the identity of the indefinite subject:

(1143) *di'lɛ ka'hɛ-ta-re* (**dilɛ ka'hɛtaxware*)
who bite-1O-INT
'who bit me?'

This is also illustrated for other persons and for *-wa-* in (4.7.4.).

The next examples show the occurrence of *-taxwa-* in various constructions. In every one of them, it has the same sense.

(1144) *ĩ'wã kitse-'tja-taxwa-ki*
fake lie-TRA-IS.1O-DEC
'they lied to me'

(1145) *ũnỹte'ta-wa-ta kukui'hỹ-xa-ki 'ta-taxwa-ki*
tell-IS-CSO ill-2-DEC say-IS.1O-DEC
'they/he are saying that I'm ill'

(1146) *a'wỹi-taxwa-nãi huru'ja-da-ki*
see-IS.1O-NOM like-1S-DEC
'I want the others to see me', 'I want to be seen'

(1147) *hu'hui=asa-ty-taxwa-nãi-ko ma-'he-da-ta*
kill=leave-DET-IS.1O-NOM-INS mother-NEG-1S-CSO
'by them killing taking her away from me, I having no mother' (t)

(1148) *'exy 'dai-ty-taxwa-hỹ-ta'dy jã-ki*
paper grab-DET-IS.1O-NOM-EXCL be-DEC
'ah!, (now I discovered) they took my money!'
(lit. 'it's he who took my money, that's it!')

xuxwa 'IS.2O'. In the indefinite subject- second person object morpheme *-xuxwa-*, the apparent second person element *-xu-* does not strongly resemble the second person subject morpheme *-xa-*. One consultant (TE) says [tsis̲wa]. The constituent elements of *-xuxwa-* cannot function as separate morphemes for themselves: *wadyxuxwaki* 'someone/they gave to you' vs. **wadyxuki*, **wadyxwaki*.

According to MA *-xuxwa-* is an alternative to *-hata-*. Clearly, the indefinite subject is felt as an (indefinite) third person subject. As with *-wa-* and *-taxwa-*, it is not possible to specify or inquire about the subject:

(1149) *ka'hɛ-xuxwa-ki*
bite-IS.2O-DEC
'they bit you'

(1150) *di'lɛ ka'hɛ-hata-re* (**ka'hɛxuxware*)
who bite-3S.2O-INT
'who bit you?'

(1151) *jere'xwa ka'hɛ-hata-ki*
jaguar bite-3S.2O-DEC
'the dog bit you'

(1152) *[?] *jere'xwa ka'hɛ-xuxwa-ki*
jaguar bite-IS.2O-DEC
'*[?] the dog bit you dog'

(1153) *maga'riDa wa'dy-xuxwa-ki*
Margarida give-IS.2O-DEC
'they gave you Margarida'

(1154) *cari-'nã-xuxwa-hỹ-ki*
shoot-FUT-IS.2O-NOM-DEC
'they are going to kill you' (t)
(lit. 'it is the case that they are going to kill you')

(1155) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-tja-xuxwa-ki*
speak-TRA-IS.2O-DEC
'they are/someone is talking to you' (you don't pay attention)

(1156) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-tja-nã-xuxwa-ki*
speak-TRA-FUT-IS.2O-DEC
'someone wants to speak with you'

(1157) *peri'Dauwa mĩu wa'dy-hata-ki*
Peridalva chicha give-3S.2O-DEC
'Peridalva gave chicha to you'

(1158) **peri'Dauwa mĩu wa'dy-xuxwa-ki*
Peridalva chicha give-IS.2O-DEC
'someone Peridalva gave/is giving chicha to you'

The following contrasted examples both contain an object marked for animate object case. This further corroborates that no morphological passive is involved in indefinite subject cross-reference:

(1159) *xyi*(wã) wa'dy-hata-ki*
you-AO give-3S.2O-DEC
'he/they gave to you'

(1160) *xyi*(wã) wa'dy-xuxwa-ki*
you-AO give-IS.2O-DEC
'someone gave to you'

xwa 'IS'. This element morpheme is analysed as an allomorph of *-wa-*. It occurs normally as a fixed part of *-xuxwa-* and *-taxwa-*. Among the rare instances of its "independent" use we find it in example (1071). It is not clear whether indefinite subject *-(x)wa-* is etymologically related to the (homophonous) classifier *-xwa-* 'man'.

eteja-wa '1PO-IS' and **etelexwa-wa** '2PO-IS' are morpheme combinations in which the indefinite subject morpheme *-wa-* is productively applied to the corresponding first person plural and second person plural definite object morphemes *-eteja-* and *-etelexwa-*. No distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive first person object.

(1161) *'mɛ̃-eteja-wa-ki*
beat-1PO-IS-DEC
'they beat us'

(1162) *ka'hɛ-etelexwa-wa-ki*
bite-2PO-IS-DEC
'they bit you (PL)'

5.1.4.2. Indefinite object

ja 'IO'. The indefinite object morpheme *-ja-* is the objective equivalent of subjective *-wa-*. Just like *-wa-* it is frequently encountered as the sole person inflexion on a verb, and it indicates that the third person object is not specified, as only the semantic content of the predicate is of interest.

(1163) *mĩu darje-'dy-ja-ki*
chicha strong-CAU-IO-DEC
'chicha gives strength'

(1164) *mĩu 'kui-a-nãi nỹ-'dy-ja-ki*
chicha drink-1P-NOM fat-CAU-IO-DEC
'drinking chicha makes fat'

(1165) *wai-'dy-ja-ki*
good-CAU-IO-DEC
'(this medicine) does good to people'

(1166) *e'tay tãlo-tja-'he-ja-ki*
woman angry-TRA-NEG-IO-DEC
'the woman is not angry towards people'

The morpheme *-ja-* is fully productive for all subjects, including indefinite subject, and has to precede the subject markers. As with all other indefinite cross-reference morphemes, it is in principle not possible to mention an overt object corresponding with *-ja-*.

(1167) *lu'ze-wã wa'dy-xa-ki* (**lu'zewã wady'jaxaki*)
Luzeu-AO give-2-DEC
'it is you who gave to Luzeu'

(1168) *lu'zeu wady-'ja-xa-ki*
Luzeu give-IO-2-DEC
'it is you who gave away Luzeu (to someone)'

(1169) *esi'ki wa'dy-xa-ki 'hita-wã*
skin give-2-DEC Rita-AO
'you gave clothes to Rita'

(1170) *esi'ki wa'dy-ja-xa-ki (*'hita-wã)*
skin give-IO-2-DEC Rita-AO
'you gave away clothes' (CX: complaint about missing clothes)

(1171) *ka'hɛ-ja-da-ki* (**lu'zewã kahɛjadaki*)
bite-IO-1S-DEC
'I bit them/someone'

(1172) *wi'lena-na oitsi-'ja-xa-'re*
Vilhena-LOCcopulate-IO-2-INT
'did you get laid in Vilhena?'

(1173) *ja-'dy-ja-a-ni*
eat-CAU-IO-1P-EXH
'let's feed the people'

(1174) *'mɛ̃-ja-wa-ki*
hit-IO-IS-DEC
'(the) man hits one (us/you/people)'

(1175) *bu'txi-ja-wa-ta*
free-IO-IS-CSO
'they set people free' (t)

(1176) *kui-dy-'ja-wa-ta*
drink-CAU-IO-IS-CSO
'they gave them to drink' (t)

Remember that nor the indefinite subject marker *-wa-*, nor any other cross-reference marker can be immediately adjacent to the special declarative marker *-tse*. One would expect the same to be the case for the indefinite object marker *-ja-*. Note, however, example (1198) below and the following one:

(1177) *wady-'ja-tse*
give-IO-DEC
'he gave to him'

On the verb roots *ta-* 'to talk' and *ɛhɛta-* 'to tell', *-ja-* may have an evasive function. It is used evasively when it refers to one's living close relatives, especially children, grandchildren or newly born babies:

(1178) *'hoBinson 'ta-ja-da-ki*
Robinson talk-IO-1S-DEC
'I call him Robinson'

It may even have a lamentative interpretation, and it is often used to refer to deceased persons, which may not necessarily be relatives:

(1179) *'si-dy-hỹ a'ha 'ta-ja-da-ki*
I-POS-NOM father talk-IO-1S-DEC
'(the late one who) I call my father'

(1180) *ɛhɛ'ta-ja-da-ki*
tell-IO-1S-DEC
'I warned the poor fellow'

It is not clear whether *-ja-* can also refer to inanimate indefinite objects. Possibly it cannot:

(1181) *ã'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki* *ãwỹi-'ja-xa-xay-'hỹ*
see-1S-NOM-DEC see-IO-2-2-NOM
'I saw that photo you took of them'

(1182) *ã'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki* *ã'wỹi-xa-xay-hỹ*
see-1S-NOM-DEC see-2-2-NOM
'I saw that photo you took (of house, dog, waterfall etc.)'

Usually, no other morphemes intervene between object and subject markers. Only two positive exceptions were attested:[159]

(1183) *'krɛBa-na* *oitsi-ja-'nã-xa-re*
Gleba-LOC copulate-IO-FUT-2-INT
'are you going to get laid in Gleba?'

In section (7.1.), the relative position of the negation morpheme is discussed. The negative morpheme canonically precedes the cross-reference markers:

(1184) *kahɛ-'he-ja-ki*
bite-NEG-IO-DEC
'it (e.g. grasshopper) does not bite'

In case of negation of a presupposition, however, the negative morpheme follows cross-reference marking:

(1185) *axehỹ-ja-'he-damỹ-cehere* *(jã-ki)*
find-IO-NEG-want-APPR be-DEC
'I think that she is going to encounter no-one (EMPH)'

(1186) *we-'tja-he-ky* *ka'hɛ-ja-he-ki*
fear-TRA-NEG-IMP bite-IO-NEG-DEC
'don't be afraid, it does not bite (anyone)'

Normally, double object marking within a single verb is not accepted:

(1187) **wai-ja-ta-ki*
good-IO-1O-DEC
'it does good to me'

159. Also in example (1053) a future morpheme follows the object morpheme.

It appears that *-ja-*, although being an object marker itself, can occur together with another, definite object marker in one word:

(1188) *axehỹ-ja-'he-eteja-ki*
find-IO-NEG-1PO-DEC
'he did not meet us'

Note that both object markers are separated by a negative morpheme and that *-ja-* precedes it. This can be seen as a case of recursive derivation, and it may indicate that *-ja-* is derived on a deeper level than the subsequent elements. A likely interpretation would be 'he met no-one of us' or 'he did not meet anyone with respect to us'. This also suggests that *-ja-* is not a constituing part of *-ɛteja-*. Maybe *-ja-* is lexicalised with the verb root as *axehỹja-* 'meet'.

The indefinite object morpheme has clearly a plural connotation in the following example:

(1189) *e'tay-nahere-wã* *wa'dy-ja-ra*
woman-COL-AO give-IO-IMP
'give (it) to all women!'

It is not clear whether the second occurrence of *-ja-* in the third phrase below represents a second instance of indefinite object marking:

(1190) *wady-'ja-da-ki* 'I gave to them'
wady-'ja-du'hỹ-da-ki 'I gave all to them'
wady-'ja-duhỹ-'ja-da-ki 'I gave all to them all'

Even though the following example involves a definite subject, *-ja-* is applied. It is probably lexicalised with the root *asa-* 'to leave' as a euphemism:

(1191) *asa-'ja-da-ki*
leave-IO-1S-DEC
'I buried him'

Some verbs contain a root-final element *-ja-*, which may originate from the indefinite object morpheme, but which is completely lexicalised. Semantically it does not refer to an indefinite object. As an example *xareja-* 'search things' does take overt definite objects: *ui xare'jadaki* 'I'm looking for the tobacco'. In order to refer to an indefinite object the addition of *-ja-* is required:

(1192) *xareja-'ja-da-ki*
search-IO-1S-DEC
'I'm searching (many) people'

(1193) *waja-'ja-he-tsy-tse*
bring-IO-NEG-POT-DEC
'he is not going to bring anyone'

5.1.4.3. Extension to inclusive object reference

Some translations provided by the consultant suggest that, in the proper context, a first person object can be "understood" and be expressed by the indefinite object morpheme *-ja-*:

(1194) *'a-ty-ja-ki*
exist-DET-IO-DEC
'there was for us'

(1195) *o'tsi-ja-ki*
fall-IO-DEC
'it fell on top of us'

(1196) *axe'hỹ-ja-ki*
find-IO-DEC
'he met (us)' (accidentally on the road)

In fact, the example (1196) was presented in a first person inclusive context, whereas contrasted with a first person exclusive context the consultant offered the following Kwaza equivalent:

(1197) *axe'hỹ-e'teja-ki*
find-1PO-DEC
'he met (us)' (accidentally on the road)

These examples represent the only attested pair in which a contrast between inclusive and exclusive first person interpretations of object cross-reference markers can be suspected. Now remember from example (1177) above that, against expectations, the indefinite object marker *-ja-* can be followed by the special declarative marker *-tse*. So, when inquiring about a truly indefinite object equivalent of (1196) the following sentence was offered:

(1198) *axehỹ-'ja-tse*
find-IO-DEC
'he met them'

As a consequence, two apparent anomalies with respect to the expected behaviour of object cross-reference; an inclusive reading (of *-ja-*) and a combination (of *-ja-*) with the morpheme *-tse*, may be related in that they work together to enable both the expression of an inclusive object and of a true indefinite object. In view of the fact that these are the only clear examples encountered, it may not be the case that the distinctions discussed here are fully grammaticalised. Example (1094) above forms evidence for the fact that *-eteja-* may cross-refer to an inclusive pronoun. Furthermore, the verb *axehỹ-* 'find' may be ideosyncratic. Nevertheless, about the following examples it was said that they have the same meaning, but that the second alternative was "better":

(1199) *'mɛ̃-ja-wa-ki*
hit-IO-IS-DEC
'they hit us'

(1200) *mɛ̃-'eteja-wa-ki*
hit-1PO-IS-DEC
'they hit us'

In case the first alternative involves an inclusive first person object, it may have been considered as less felicitous because it is less easy to imagine a proper pragmatic context for uttering it.

5.1.5. Impersonal reference

The category of impersonal subject reference on verbs has been attested in the speech of several consultants from both families. There are no impersonal pronouns,[160] but there is a cross-reference affix *-na-* (also pronounced as [nã]) which refers to an impersonal plural subject, and by extension to a first person plural subject 'one, we'. Its occurrence is not very frequent and its nature is not fully understood.

(1201) *o'kja-na-ki*
hunt-one-DEC
'we are/one is hunting'

The impersonal has usually inclusive meaning. The speech contexts of following examples show a contrast to this effect:

(1202) *unỹte'ta-a-xa-ki*
converse-1P-AS-DEC
'we are talking'
(CX: and what about you?)

(1203) *unỹte'ta-na-ki*
converse-one-DEC
'we are talking'
(CX: pay attention, you were sleeping!)

One consultant notably translated the impersonal using the Portuguese speaker-inclusive impersonal *a gente* 'one (including I)', which is opposed to Portuguese *o pessoal* 'one (excluding I)'.

(1204) *horonỹ'hỹ-na-ki*
finish-one-DEC
'one stopped/we finished'[161]

When an overt Kwaza pronoun is cross-referred to by *-na-*, it is usually the inclusive pronoun.

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160. But see example (1210).
161. or in POR: *a gente acabou* (lit. 'the people finished')

(1205) *txa'na* *horonỹ'hỹ-na-ki* (**tsi'tsɛ*)
we.IN finish-one-DEC
'one/we finished'[162]

(1206) *txa'na* *horonỹ'hỹ-a-ki* (**tsi'tsɛ*)
we.IN finish-1P-DEC
'we finished' (including the hearer)[163]

(1207) *tsi'tsɛ* *horonỹ'hỹ-a-xa-ki*
we.EX finish-1P-AS-DEC
'we finished' (excluding the hearer)

The impersonal *-na-* seems to put less emphasis on the inclusion of the hearer, whereas the inclusive *-a-* does explicitly stress the fact that the hearer is included. Obviously, the overt pronouns also create emphasis, but they seem to have less effect in the impersonal than in the inclusive. The consultant said that *-na-* involves many people. This may indicate that there is either some distinction in numbers, inclusive *-a-* having a paucal connotation, or in community membership, impersonal *-na-* including the whole group or (sub-) community. At any rate, the difference between the impersonal and the inclusive can be rather subtle:

(1208) *ti-'nãi-ỹ-hỹ* *'mã-nãi* *'e-a-re* *txana*
what-like-ATT-NOM call-NOM have-1P-INT we.IN
'how do we call that?' (S does not know)

(1209) *ti-'nãi-ỹ-hỹ* *'mã-nãi* *'e-na-re*
what-like-ATT-NOM call-NOM have-one-INT
'how does one call that?' (S has forgotten its name)

Note that the following expression was translated as an impersonal pronoun:

(1210) *'txana-a-hỹ*
we.IN-1P-NOM
'one'[164]

In complex sentences the impersonal marker *-na-* can be co-referential with the first person inclusive marker *-a-*:

162. Translated by MA in POR as: *a gente terminamos* (lit. 'the people we finished')
163. Translated by MA in POR as: *nós terminamos* (lit. 'wé finished')
164. In POR *a gente* 'the people'.

(1211) *aw're-na-le* *co-'e-a-tsy-tse*
marry-one-PREC many-again-1P-POT-DEC
'(if ...,) we will marry (and our people) will grow again' (t)

In the following examples the pragmatic setting is the same, but the subject of the first example is object in the second example:

(1212) *ỹhỹ'ko'mɛ̃-na-ki* *jere'xwa*
here beat-one-DEC jaguar
'here we beat dogs'

(1213) *ỹhỹ'ko* / *ỹ-xu'ko* *ka'hɛ-ja-ki* *jere'xwa*
here / this-SETT bite-IO-DEC jaguar
'here / in this village dogs bite (us)'

This suggests that the objective equivalent of the impersonal subject is the indefinite object. It was demonstrated in (5.1.4.3.) that the indefinite object can have an inclusive connotation.

The impersonal may not necessarily always be inclusive. The following can probably be said to an outsider, who does not speak Kwaza or Aikanã:

(1214) *yhỹ'ko* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-na-ta* *kwa'za-dy-nãi* *aika'nã-dy-nãi*
here speak-one-CSO Kwaza-POS-NOM Aikanã-POS-NOM

pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-na-ki
speak-one-DEC
'here we speak Aikanã and Kwaza'

Maybe the impersonal is grammatically neutral with respect to in-/exclusivity, and the inclusive interpretation is an automatic context-dependent side-effect. Here are some additional examples:

(1215) *kwa'za-dy-nãi* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-a-xa-ki*
Kwaza-POS-NOM speak-1P-AS-DEC
'we are speaking Kwaza'

(1216) *ỹhỹ'ko* *kwa'za-dy-nãi* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-na-ki*
here Kwaza-POS-NOM speak-one-DEC
'here Kwaza is spoken'

(1217) *ỹhỹ'ko* / *ỹ-xu'ko* *'ja-na-ki* *hari?i'xu*
here / this-SETT eat-one-DEC bean
'here / in this village we eat beans'

An alternative form of *-na-* is *-hana-* (also pronounced as [hãnã], [hãna] or [hanã]). There is no apparent semantic difference between these forms, and their alternation seems to be optional, although the consultant declared on several occasions that *-hana-* is "less correct"[165].

(1218) *aw're-e-na-si* *co-'e-na-ki*
marry-again-one-SWR many-again-one-DEC
'because we married again, we (our people) grew again'

(1219) *aw're-e-na-si* *co-'e-hana-ki*
marry-again-one-SWR many-again-one-DEC
'because we married again, we (our people) grew again'[166]

In complex sentences the impersonal marker *-na-* can be co-referent with its alternative *-hana-*:

(1220) *tsũhũ-'du-na-ta* *konã'djo-hana-re* *coha-si'ki*
what-for-one-CSO put.shoe-one-INT foot-CL:skin
'why (for what purpose) are we putting on shoes?'

Also, the difference between *-na-* and *-hana-* is not related to the inclusive / exclusive distinction:

(1221) *(tsi'tsɛ* / *txa'na)* *co-'e-hana-ki*
we.EX / we.IN many-again-one-DEC
'we grew again (the family)'

However, one should not forget that the possible occurrence of either one of the first person plural pronouns is not necessarily proof for neutralisation of the difference.[167] Finally, *-hana-* seems to show an etymological relation with *-na-*, but it is not fully analysable, as the element **-ha-* is meaningless. There is no proof that **-ha-* has anything to do with *-a-* '1P': **co-e-a-na-ki*.

Just like all other cross-reference morphemes (except the indefinite object *-ja-*), the impersonal morpheme *-na-* is never followed by the special declarative *-tse*. This circumstance helps to distinguish between verbal future on the one hand and 'one' on the other. Impersonal *-na-* (also [nã]) can only be followed by *-ki*, whereas verbal future *-nã-* can be followed by cross-reference markers or by *-tse*.[168] An additional cause for suspicion was the fact that one

165. This, of course, does not have to imply that it is less grammatical.
166. For an explanation of the switch reference marking in these examples see (8.3.2.2.1.).
167. As shown in (5.1.3.), the exclusive morpheme *-a-xa-* can be combined with the inclusive pronoun *txana*.
168. The consultant explained that this was to avoid confusion in the interpretation of the

cross-reference morpheme was identified which has a connotation of 'future' (see 5.1.8.). However, there appears to be no relation. In the first place, example (1218) is evidence that *-na-* lacks a future interpretation. Furthermore, the difference between the morphemes is expressed by a different stress pattern, since future *-nã-* usually attracts stress, and impersonal *-na-* does not:

(1222) *turu-'nã-tse* (**turu'nãki*)
wake.up-FUT-DEC
'he is going to wake up'

(1223) *tu'ru-na-ki*
wake.up-one-DEC
'we woke up'

(1224) *huruja-lɛ-'nã-tse* (**hurujalɛ'nãki*)
like-RECI-FUT-DEC
'they are going to like each other'

(1225) *huruja-'lɛ-na-ki*
like-RECI-one-DEC
'one likes one another'

In the following example, the impersonal and future co-occur in one single verb:

(1226) *hado-'nã-na-ki*
pierce-FUT-one-DEC
'we are going to pierce (it)'

Also neither *-na-*, nor the alternative form *-hana-*, attract stress. Note the following example:

(1227) *y-hỹ-'ko* *esi'ki* *to'ro-ko* *ha='ha-na-ki*
this-NOM-INS skin annatto-INS wash=wash-one-DEC
'here we wash clothes with soap'

Reduplication of the verb stem *ha-* 'clean', 'wash' emphasises the active sense of 'to wash', but it is not obligatory. So here the impersonal morpheme could either be *-na-* or *-hana-* if stress marking were omitted from a phonemic notation.

On one occasion, a second person subject marker was used with an impersonal sense, but either the translation may have been elliptic, or the example may represent a calque on Portuguese:

(1228) *'kui-he-xa-ky* *'auku*
drink-NEG-2-NEI alcohol
'don't drink pure alcohol!'

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morphemes.

5.1.6. Non-personal use of first person plural -a-

Besides indefinite and impersonal reference, there is also a morpheme that has a non-personal sense, which is homophonous with the first person plural inclusive subject morpheme *-a-*. Consequently, I consider it to be the same suffix.

The first person plural morpheme very rarely occurs with a non-personal interpretation in verbs. The following example possibly represents one of these instances, as it seems that *-a-* does not function as a first person plural marker there. The sentence was uttered while pointing at the lungs of a slaughtered pig:

(1229) *ỹhỹ'ko* *enã'jã-a-ki*
here breathe-1P-DEC
'here you/we breathe/one breathes'[169]

In the non-personal reading, an existential translation would be: 'here there is breathing'.

In its non-personal function *-a-* usually precedes nominalisers, and it is applied to create infinitive-like abstract nouns. As the evidence for the non-personal function of *-a-* is much more convincing in the context of nominalisation, it is further discussed in section (5.6.3.).

5.1.7. Impersonal use of the verb root jã- *'to be'*

The verb root *jã-* 'to be' is mostly used in special idiomatic and emphatic cleft constructions (see 7.2.11. and 8.6.3.) such as the one below:

(1230) *jere'xwa* *tẽjãwã-'wy* *hyhy'rwa-ta* *dutu're* *txe-'hỹ* *kahɛ-'hỹ*
jaguar dark-time move-CSO pig grab-NOM bite-NOM

ka'hɛ-ta *jo='bwa-tsy-hỹ* *ha'dytɛ=hyhyrwa-'hỹ-ki=jã-hỹ*
bite-CSO devour=end-GER-NOM shit=move-NOM-DEC=be-NOM
'the jaguar walks in the dark, grabs wild pigs, bites and eats them, and walks while he shits, it is like that' (t)

In some of these constructions, *jã-* occurs in a position where one would expect a person cross-reference marker. Note how the following examples, which represent a possible answer to the question 'what is this pipe for?', were claimed to be identical in meaning:

169. According to the offered POR translation: *aquí a gente respira*.

(1231) *tomã=jã-'hỹ-le-ki*
bathe=be-NOM-FRUST-DEC
'it was for bathing (but now it has broke down)'

(1232) *to'mã-a-hỹ-le-ki*
bathe-1P-NOM-FRUST-DEC
'it was for bathing (but now it has broke down)'

In those positions, it often seems to "agree" with first person plural inclusive *-a-* in other clauses. Furthermore, in those situations, it is usually translated by the consultants in Portuguese as *a gente*, literally 'the people' but functionally an impersonal way in which to say 'we, us'. This use of *jã-* is discussed and illustrated further in section (7.2.11.). The following example shows especially the impersonal c.q. first person plural use of *jã-*:

(1233) *hyriko'ro-le* *'djẽ=jã-ta* *jere'xwa* *djẽ=jã-'ta*
monkey-only kill=be-CSO jaguar kill=be-CSO

'jo-a- he-'hỹ *wai-'he-tsy-hỹ* *a'sa=jã-hỹ* *hyriko'ro-ra'ta*
devour-1P-NEG-NOM good-NEG-GER-NOM leave=be-NOM monkey-first

ca'ri=jã-hỹ dutu're *ca'ri hy'ri* *'be-ỹ-nũ* *hadu'ru-tsy-hỹ*
shoot=be-NOM pig shoot monkey black-ATT-CL:powder coati-GER-NOM

ca'ri=jã-ta *hy'ri* *'be-ỹ-nũ* *ca'ri=jã-ta* *sirisi'ri*
shoot=be-CSO monkey black-ATT-CL:powder shoot=be-CSO tamandua

cari-'he=jã-'ta *dutu're* *ca'ri=jã-ta* *he* *sirisi'ri* *cari-'he*
shoot-NEG=be-CSO pig shoot=be-CSO NEG tamandua shoot-NEG

jere'xwa *ka'hɛ-tsy-hỹ* *uja-'hỹ* *dai-a-'ta* *pã'jãi* *ja-dy-a-'ta*
jaguar bite-POT-NOM leave-NOM take-1P-CSO Pãjãi eat-CAU-1P-CSO

nỹ-tsy-'hỹ *ja-'dy-a-hỹ*
fat-POT-NOM eat-CAU-1P-NOM

'only people kill monkeys, one kills jaguars, we don't eat them, they're no good, one throws them away; now monkeys one shoots first, shoots wild pigs, the black monkey and the coati one shoots, the black monkey one shoots, the tamandua one doesn't shoot, the pig one shoots, not the tamandua, (one) doesn't shoot (it), but what the jaguar bites and leaves behind, we take it and we feed it to Pãjãi, food (for her) to become fat'[170] (t)

As an alternative hypothesis the element *-jã-* could be interpreted as a separate impersonal cross-reference morpheme which is coincidentally homophonous with *jã-* 'to be'. I consider this as less likely in the first place because it doesn't

170. The verb *djẽ-* 'kill' is normally used for the killing of birds, but it's use here is probably children's speech.

seem to be necessary to presume the existence of another morpheme. There is no profound incompatibility of the senses 'it is' (of *jã-* 'to be') and 'one is' (of *-a-* '1P'). Furthermore, in most other constructions, such as (1230), *jã-* is not easily associated with impersonal reference. Such an interpretation, e.g. as a quotative, would be probably too far-fetched. As another imaginable hypothesis, *-jã-* could be regarded as an allomorph of *-a-*. A problem with this hypothesis is that there seem to be no morphophonological conditions for the occurrence of *-jã-* instead of *-a-*. Furthermore, if such a condition would exist, such as spread of nasalisation, it would be impossible to relate this to a functional property like impersonal.

5.1.8. Future second person object cross-reference

There is one transitive cross-reference morpheme which has a future meaning, the portmanteau morpheme *-leja-* '(2O.FUT)'. This morpheme replaces the productive future morpheme *-nã-* and the second person object morpheme *-nĩnã-*. This is the only cross-reference morpheme of its kind, and there is no paradigm.

(1234) *ui* *kurje=wa'dy-nĩnã-da-ki*
tobacco roll=give-2O-1S-DEC
'I rolled a cigarette for you'

(1235) *ui* *kurje=wa'dy-leja-da-ki*
tobacco roll=give-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to roll a cigarette for you'

(1236) *si* *'mɛ̃-nĩnã-da-ki*
I hit-2O-1S-DEC
'I'm hitting you'

(1237) *si* *'mɛ̃-leja-da-ki*
I hit-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to hit you'

(1238) *tsu'ty-siki* *'bu-ty-leja-da-ki*
head-CL:skin place-DET-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I shall use your hat'

When subject cross-reference and mood inflexion is absent, the first person singular subject declarative is implied:

(1239) *ca'ri-le'ja*
shoot-2O.FUT
'I'm going to shoot at you'

(1240) *ba'baice-e'te-leja-(da-ki)*
dance-COMIT-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I want to dance with you'

(1241) *awỹi-le'ja-(da-ki)*
see-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I want to look at you/make a photo of you'

The future of the third person subject- second person object can both be expressed analytically, that is, by the morpheme *-nã-* and synthetically, i.e. as unanalysable part of *-leja-*:

(1242) *wady-'nã-hata-ki*
give-FUT-3S.2O-DEC
'he/they are going to give (something) to you'

(1243) *ba'baice-ete-le'ja-tse*
dance-COMIT-2O.FUT-DEC
'He wants to dance with you'

Note that *-leja-* resembles *-nã-* in that it cannot be immediately succeeded by the declarative marker *-ki*. When no other morphemes intervene *-tse* is used.

With non-second person objects the future is always expressed analytically:

(1244) *a'we tsoihỹ-le'ja-tse*
rain soak-2O.FUT-DEC
'the rain will soak you/him'

(1245) *a'we tsoi'hỹ-nã-ta-ki*
rain soak-FUT-1O-DEC
'the rain will soak me'

It appears that *-leja-* may also cross-refer to plural objects:

(1246) *tsi'tsɛ xyi-'wã wady-le'ja-a-xa-ki*
we.EX you-AO give-2O.FUT-1P-AS-DEC
'we are going to give (something) to you'

(1247) *tsi'tsɛ xyitsɛ-'wã wady-le'ja-a-xa-ki*
we.EX you.PL-AO give-2O.FUT-1P-AS-DEC
'we are going to give (something) to you (PL)'

(1248) *xyitsɛ-'wã 'mɛ̃-leja-da-ki*
we.EX-AO hit-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm hitting you (PL)'[171]

(1249) *'mɛ̃-etelexwa-leja-da-ki*
hit-2PO-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm hitting you (PL)'
(claimed to be obsolete)

Notice that the present analysis of *-leja-* implies the possibility of double object marking:

171. The Portuguese translation of this example had no future meaning. This and the next example may be less dependable since they stem from the first week of fieldwork with my principal consultant.

(1250) *wa'dy-xuxwa-ki*
give-IS.2O-DEC
'someone/they gave (something) to you'

(1251) *wa'dy-leja-xuxwa-ki*
give-2O.FUT-IS.2O-DEC
'someone/they are going to give (something) to you'

In the present work, the morpheme *-leja-* is not further analysed. However, it can not be denied that the element *-le-* does resemble the reciprocal morpheme *-lɛ-* 'each other', and *-ja-* resembles indefinite object *-ja-*, one connotation of which, as seen in (5.1.4.3.), is first person inclusive object.

(1252) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-ʈja-da-ta oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-1S-CSO arrive-1S-DEC
'I talked to him and (he ordered me to) come here (to talk)'

(1253) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-ʈja-ja-da-ta oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-IO-1S-CSO arrive-1S-DEC
'I came here (for us) to talk with him/them(/someone?)'

(1254) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-ʈja-le'ja-da-ta oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-2O.FUT-1S-CSO arrive-1S-DEC
'I came here to talk with you'

Some examples even suggest interaction between interpretations of *-leja-* and (semantic) categories of indefiniteness and inclusivity of the object. With respect to indefiniteness, the morpheme sometimes appears to generalise over second and third person of object in example (1244) and:

(1255) *do-'hỹ-le'ja-da-ki*
leak-NOM-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I am going to pour water over you/him'

As far as possible inclusivity of objects is concerned, the morpheme conspicuously disallows an inclusive subject in:

(1256) *huhui-le'ja-a-xa-ki* (**hu'hui-le'ja-a-ki*)
kill-2O.FUT-1P-AS-DEC
'we are going to kill you'

If there is a relation between the future object and the reciprocal and indefinite object morphemes, it is probably of an etymological nature, i.e. it is lexicalised at the most and certainly not fully productive and predictable.

5.2. Mood

Mood is obligatorily expressed by a verb-final morpheme. Kwaza has four independent basic moods for the sentential matrix verb: declarative, marked by *-ki* or *-tse*; interrogative, marked by *-re*; and persuasive and prohibitive. The persuasive is further divided into three sub-moods, depending on the person involved: imperative, marked by *-ra* for second persons; exhortative-causative, marked by *-ni* for first inclusive and third persons; and volitive, marked by *-mỹ* for other first persons. The prohibitive is also divided into three sub-moods: negative imperative, marked by *-ky-*; negative exhortative, marked by *-(i)ni*; and monitory, marked by *-tsi*.

Cosubordinated sentences are not overtly marked for these moods, but they basically get a verb-final general cosubordinate marker *-ta* or *-si* the modal content of which is often determined by the mood of the matrix verb. Cosubordination is discussed in (8.3.). The "mood" markers of adverbial clauses will be discussed in (8.2.).

It is important to note that without any further morphological or lexical operations, the default tense interpretation of the verb root which is inflected for person and declarative mood is ambiguous between present and anterior to the moment of speaking:

(1257) *o'nɛ-ki*
arrive-DEC
'he arrives / he arrived'

Although the default interpretation of the interrogative is also potentially both present and anterior, there is a stronger tendency for it to be present tense.

In this section, all moods are discussed. Interaction between mood and person marking is discussed where it applies. Some moods other than the declarative require person markers which deviate slightly from the situation sketched in section (5.1.). They were not dealt with in that section because they are dependent on certain specific moods.

Eight basic mood marking morphemes were identified in Kwaza. In the present section they will be treated in the same order as they appear in the following table.[172]

172. Mood in subordinated verbs is discussed in section (8.2.) on adverbial clauses, and mood in cosubordinated verbs in section (8.3.) on medial clauses.

Table 25. Mood markers of Kwaza matrix verbs

Declarative		**-ki /-tse**
Interrogative		**-re**
Persuasive	Imperative	**-ra**
	Exhortative-Causative	**-ni**
	Volitive	**-mỹ**
Prohibitive	Negative Imperative	**-ky**
	Negative Exhortative	**-(i)ni**
	Monitory	**-tsi**

5.2.1. Declarative

ki 'DEC'. The declarative mood marker *-ki* is the form normally encountered in (elicited) declarative sentences. It is fully productive with all subject and object persons. The zero-marked third person form is usually the citation (translation) form of an isolated verb.

(1258) *'mã-Ø-ki*
call-3-DEC
'he/she/it/they call/called'

In elicited complex sentences, declarative cosubordinated verb phrases are in the cosubordinative "mood" (see 8.3.), whereas the last word of the sentence is usually the matrix verb ending in declarative *-ki*:

(1259) *'e-wa-ta* *'hu-wa-ki*
leave-IS-CSO smoke-IS-DEC
'(she) went (home and is) smoking'

In running text the declarative is rare. It is often used for directly quoted passages within a narrative:

(1260) *duky'hỹ* *kuja'?u* *kukui'hỹ-da-ki* *ĩ'wã-tja*
other Curiangu ill-1S-DEC nothing-CSO
'another (man called) Curiangu said "I'm ill" but it was a lie' (t)

In running text most "sentences", including the declarative, are normally in the cosubordinative mood. Such texts, usually traditional tales, are often finished by a verbal formula with a declarative mood ending *-ki*, as if the whole preceding text was one long complex sentence, symbolically ending with a matrix verb form:

(1261) *duky'hỹ* *ehỹ-'si* *hary'ky* *eto'hoi* *a-'wy* *duky'hỹ*
other make-SWR now child exist-time other

a-'wy-?ỹ-kywy *aw're-na-lɛ* *co-'e-hanã-tsy-tse=tja*
exist-time-ATT-COND marry-one-PREC many-again-one-POT-DEC=CSO

'ta-dy-ta *haryky* *'ay-xuko* *co-'e* *nãi-'e-wa-ki* *cwa-ra'ti-ki*
talk-DS-CSO now that-SETT many-again like-again-IS-DEC IS-FOC-DEC
‘“the next (generation) then, now, when a child is born and another is born again we will marry and (our people) will grow again” (father) said, now here (is where the story ends), they multiplied again, it is said’ (t)

When eliciting the second person forms in the declarative, usually a context of joking or irony had to be offered. It was never easy to avoid being given the pragmatically more usual imperative or interrogative forms.

tse ‘DEC’. There is an alternative declarative ending *-tse*, which is often pronounced as [tsɛ]. It is hard to determine what the fundamental difference is between the declarative in *-tse* and the declarative in *-ki*. Sometimes they behave as if they are mutually interchangeable:

(1262) *'wy-ki* / *'wy-tse*
wind-DEC wind-DEC
‘(leaves) are rustling (in the wind)’

(1263) *'kwɛ-ki* / *'kwɛ-tse*
enter-DEC enter-DEC
‘he entered’

Verbs in the *-tse* declarative are basically equivalent to those in the declarative in *-ki*. They are matrix verbs which can take cosubordinate clauses in the cosubordinative mood:

(1264) *mangka-'to* *hoi-'tja* *tãi-'he-tse*
mango-CL:fruit sweet-CSO tough-NEG-DEC
‘the mangoes are sweet and soft’

5.2.1.1. Distributional characteristics of *-tse* vs. *-ki*

There are some important morphologically determined systematic differences in the distribution of *-ki* and *-tse*. *-ki* may occur with all persons and without any further adaptation of the verb root. *-tse* can only occur with the zero-marked third person subject (and object), and cannot be combined with an immediately preceding overt person marker:

(1265) *'kwɛ-da-ki* (**'kwɛdatse*)
enter-1S-DEC
‘I entered’

(1266) *'kwɛ-wa-ki* (**'kwɛwatse*)
enter-IS-DEC
‘someone entered’

When following overt person markers, including indefinite and impersonal, other morphemes have to intervene between *-tse* and the person marker. In the following example, the potential aspect marker *-tsy-* occurs between the person and mood markers:

(1267) *'kwɛ-da-tsy-tsɛ* (**'kwɛdatsyki*)
enter-1S-POT-DEC
'I will enter'

So *-tse* can be combined with overt person markers inside one verb, but it is in principle never adjacent to them.[173]

A related morphological condition on the distribution of the declarative markers is found in the fact that certain morphemes such as the said *-tsy-* '(potential)', *-tara-* '(procrastinative)' and *-'nã-* '(future)' disallow the occurrence of an immediately subsequent *-ki*, and require *-tse* (and see also 5.2.1.5.):

(1268) *ja-da-ta'ra-tsɛ* (**jadata'raki*)
eat-1S-PROC-DEC
'I'll eat later'

In contrast, there are also derivational morphemes which never precede *-tse*, even when there is no overt person marker, such as the attributive *-ỹ-*:

(1269) *hare'tɛ-ỹ-ki* (**haretɛ?ỹtse*)
bald-ATT-DEC
'he is bald'

When overt person marking intervenes between a derivational morpheme and the declarative, the *-ki* declarative is required. Note, for example, that future *-nã-*, which only combines with the *-tse* declarative, is homophonous with the impersonal cross-reference marker *-nã-* 'one'. The consultant once suggested that in order to preserve the distinction between these morphemes different declarative markers are required:

(1270) *kui-'nã-tse* (**kui'nãki*)
drink-FUT-DEC
'he is going to drink'

(1271) *'kui-nã-ki* (**'kuinãtse*)
drink-one-DEC
'we are drinking/one drank'

(1272) *kui-'nã-da-ki* (**kui'nãdatse*)
drink-FUT-1S-DEC
'I am going to drink'

173. The only cross-reference morpheme that does seem to be allowed in a position immediately adjacent to *-tse* is the indefinite object morpheme *-ja-*. This was attested twice, in examples (1177) and (1198) in (5.1.4.2-3.).

Observe that the placement of stress in the above examples also goes to mark the distinction. The future morpheme *-'nã-* attracts stress whereas argument cross-reference markers do not bear stress. The negative morpheme *-he-* is another morpheme which attracts stress. When no overt person marking intervenes, the usual declarative to be combined with negative *-he-* is *-tse*. But when *-he-* does occur with *-ki*, stress placement is different:

(1273) *dehemũte-'he-tse*
spirits-NEG-DEC
'it isn't spirits'

(1274) *dehemũ'te-he-ki*
spirits-NEG-DEC
'it isn't spirits'

Example (1273) represents a canonical negative construction, whereas example (1274) represents a counter of presupposition. The difference between these constructions is explained in (7.1.1.).[174]

My first conclusion is that the distinction between both declaratives is in part a strictly formal affair. Some morphemes seem to disallow one specific subsequent declarative marker, whereas other morphemes require one. Also, the distinction has a morphophonological expression in differences in stress placement.

5.2.1.2. Semantic characteristics of *-tse* vs. *-ki*

Aside from morpho(phono)logically determined conditions on the occurrence of either declarative marker, there are also semantic factors involved. For a number of verbs, when zero-marked for person (i.e. definite third person), there seems to be no semantic difference whatsoever between the applications of *-ki* and *-tse*. I have listed the roots of a number of these verbs below:

(1275)

bõ'rõ-	'perforate'	*kwɛ-*	'enter'
bwa-	'finish'	*ori-*	'to be climbing'
eroke'ja-	'bifurcate'	*takai'sa-*	'traverse, divide'
ɛsiko'je-	'hold by the hand'	*tyi-*	'fill river'
ɛsitso'ro-	'hold by the wrist'	*tu'rwe-*	'heal'
jana'nãi-	'fine'	*tsi'tsi-*	'burnt, is burning'
ỹ'mỹ-	'entwine, sleep with'	*wacerjỹ'he-*	'be overgrown'
kãu-	'break, tear'	*watxita'hỹ-*	'guard'
ki'ke-	'hot'	*we-*	'be afraid'
ki'tsɛ-	'(tell) lie'	*wɛ-*	'bring, carry'
ko'rjỹ-	'be absent'	*wy-*	'tempest, rustle, buzz'
kõrõ'rõ-	'snore'		

174. Unfortunately, the semantic distinction between these two examples cannot be shown because they were elicited without a relevant context.

From a formal point of view, this is quite a motley collection. The list includes both transitive and intransitive verbs from various different semantic "classes".[175] Two items from this list were illustrated above by examples (1262) and (1263). The following contrast shows that valency differences do not determine the alternation between *-ki* and *-tse*:

(1276) *amũ'tay 'kãu-ki* / *amũ'tay 'kãu-tse*
glass break-DEC / glass break-DEC
'the bottle broke'

The intransitive verb *kãu-* 'break' can only be made transitive through such means as composition with the transitive verb stem *asa-* 'leave, end, destroy'.

For another set of verbs there seems to be a relative difference in completivity or perfectivity beteen the two declarative morphemes:

(1277)	*ba-*	'cut, clear'	*le'ja-*	'be ahead'
	birjete-	'undo, take apart'	*nỹ'mũ-*	'(water) be high'
	du-	'close / finish all'	*o'nɛ-*	'arrive'
	he'bo-	'be blind'	*xu'ru-*	'soften'
	hedu'tu-	'lose'	*tu'ru-*	'wake up'
	i'si-	'die, be drunk'	*tsa'si-*	'follow'
	ja-	'eat'	*tsei-*	'start, commence'
	ki-	'be ripe, red'	*tsitɛ'kja-*	'erect'
	ke'hỹ-	'burn up'	*ũ-*	'be, stand, sit'

When the *-ki* declarative is applied to the root of one of these verbs, the result tends to be in general less "perfective" than when the *-tse* declarative is applied:

(1278) *ja 'baki* 'he is already clearing the field'
ja 'batse 'he has already cleared the field'

(1279) *birje'teki* 'he is undoing the house'
birje'tetse 'he undid the house'

(1280) *'duki* 'he is closing, it is finishing'
'dutse 'he closed the whole thing'

(1281) *he'boki* 'he becomes blind'
he'botse 'he is blind'

175. These roots were selected from a corpus of about 700 different verbs. Not for every verb was obtained information about the possible contrast between possible different expressions of the declarative with a zero marked third person subject. Consequently, this and other lists presented below do not pretend to be exhaustive.

(1282) *i'siki* ‘he is dying, he died, he got drunk, he is drunk’
i'sitse ‘he died’

(1283) *ja 'jaki* ‘he is already eating’
ja 'jatse ‘he has already eaten’

(1284) *ka'tsy txuhũi* *'ja-tse* (**ja-ki*)
soon little eat-DEC
‘he ate a little (bit) quickly’

(1285) *ke'hỹki* ‘it burnt (up)’
ke'hỹtse ‘it (is) burnt (up)’

(1286) *(hã) nỹ'mũki* ‘the (water of the) river rose / is high’
nỹ'mũtse ‘it (the river) is full’

(1287) *a'Dãu 'onɛ'ki* ‘Adam arrived / is arriving’
a'Dãu o'nɛtse ‘Adam has arrived’ (*is arriving) (S to H)

(1288) *xu'ruki* ‘it is soft’
xu'rutse ‘it has become soft (ball, cucumber etc.)’

(1289) *tu'ruki* ‘she is waking up’
tu'rutse ‘he woke up’

(1290) *tsa'siki* ‘is going after (him)’
tsa'sitse ‘went after (him)’

(1291) *'tseiki* ‘it started (and continues successfully)’ (t)
'karo 'tseitse ‘the car started’

(1292) *tsitɛ'kjaki* ‘he left it upright’
tsitɛ'kjatse ‘he put it upright’

Only three verbs were encountered with which the opposite was observed:

(1293) *'ɛki* ‘he went away’
'ɛtse ‘he goes/went away’

(1294) *hã do'teki* ‘the water is leaking/leaked’
hã do'tetse ‘the water is leaking (*/leaked)’

(1295) *la'to kuida'hỹki* 'I drank yesterday'
la'to kuida'hỹtse 'I'm drinking now as well as yesterday'[176]

Maybe the contrast between the different declaratives has to be understood in terms of dynamicity. Examples like (1294) and the following suggest that the choice of the declarative is based on a difference between the interpretations of the verb as process or state:

(1296) *ka'raki* 'it is dry'
ka'ratse/kara'tse 'it is/has dried'

The possibility that the difference is lexicalised or idiomatic cannot be excluded.

Finally, there is a small number of verb roots where the difference between the *-ki* declarative and the *-tse* declarative reflects unpredictable differences in meaning. These differences are certainly lexicalised:

(1297) *a'saki* 'he left (X behind)'
a'satse 'he is separated (from X)'

(1298) *'deiki* 'pull covering leaves from maize cob', 'light lantern'
'deitse 'sun appears from behind clouds' (lit. 'sun opened')

(1299) *hatsi'hỹki* 'it is smooth (so that you can't get a grip on it) '
hatsi'hỹtse 'he is naked'

(1300) *jana'nãiki* 'that's good', 'that's correct'
jana'nãitse 'that's O.K. / fine', 'thanks'

(1301) *na'nãiki* 'that's good'
na'nãitse 'it's like that'

(1302) *a'xy 'towaki* 'the house fell'
to'watse a'xy 'the house broke'
ywy'nwỹ to'waki 'tree broke off/is falling over/fell over/is fallen/ is a broke off tree'

(1303) *'tsũki* 'he swims'
hãnã'wã 'tsũtse 'clouds (lit. 'sky') is passing'
awy'nwỹ 'tsũtse 'the tree is tilted (wants to fall)'

176. The current relevance of situation that has started in a specified past can apparently also be expressed more analytically, involving the verb *tsicwa-* 'to begin', in the following way: *la'to tsi'cwadata kuida'hỹki* 'I have been drinking since yesterday'.

(1304) *o'hoja 'uiki* ‘he got the flu’
'uitse ‘(kerosene lamp) caught (fire)’

(1305) *ha'reki* ‘it disappeared (colour, fruits, hair)’
ha'retse ‘it went out’

Note that the aspectual effects and some idiosyncratic properties observed above are neutralised, or only one of the meanings is selected, when the verb is in another mood or when overt person marking occurs:

(1306) *ja 'bare* ‘is/has already clearing/ed?’
ja 'jare ‘is/has already eating/en?’
ja 'jawaki ‘they are/have already eating/en’
**ja 'jawatse*
asa'hỹki ‘he left (X behind)’
asa'hỹtse ‘he left (X behind)’
na'nãidaki ‘I’m like that’
ja kuida'hỹki ‘I have already drunk’
ja kuida'hỹtse ‘I have already drunk’

Apart from the verbs which can occur with both declarative markers in the zero-marked third person and apart from the many verbs of which there is no information on which declaratives are required or allowed, there is a small number of verb roots which may only take one of the declarative markers in the third person. Again, these roots do not systematically share any formal and semantic characteristics which explain why they belong to the same set. The following set of verbs can only get the declarative morpheme *-ki*:

(1307)

bay-	‘sour’	*jana'nãitara-*	‘thanks’
bu?ũ'kja-	‘lie’	*jã'tsi-*	‘fat’
bu?ũ'xe-	‘remain’	*nỹ-CL-*	‘big’
de'he-	‘bitter, strong’	*nỹka'rwa-*	‘broad’
hɛtsy'hỹ-	‘(NEG.GER.NOM)’	*xoxoki'?a-*	‘lose’
ho'ro-	‘make small, cut up’	*-dy-*	‘(CAU)’ (hunũ’dy-)
jã-	‘be, be truly, exist’	*-ỹ-*	‘(ATT)’

Then there is a number of verbs which only take the *-tse* declarative under the same circumstances:

(1308)

ai-	‘want not’	*ha're-*	‘disappear’
aitse'he-	‘lazy’	*hy'rwa-*	‘escape from corral, go around something’
ay'le-	‘match’		
aka'rwɛ-	‘over there’	*ho'rɛ-*	‘weak’
aky-CL-	‘two’	*hu'nũ-*	‘burn, scorch’
byru'he-	‘dull’	*ĩ?ĩ'ta-*	‘always’

boi-	'fill'	*ko'ro-*	'empty'
bu'ru-	'remember'	*kuriku'ri-*	'a little later'
da'ki-	'it's a pity'	*xay'xay-*	'nod yes'
da'mỹ-	'want, intend'	*tolatsa'mũ-*	'sink'
dynãdy'nã-	'nod no'	*tja?a'tje-*	'close, near'
dy'rã-	'noise'	*txu'hũi-*	'small, little'
dyte'na-	'extinguish'	*ũtɛja'bu-*	'triangle, square'
do-	'knock'	*we're-*	'abstain from going'
du'hỹ-	'all do'	*wɛ'ro-*	'lightning'
duny'hỹ-	'all of them'	*-heta-*	'(DESI)'
ehe're-	'heal'	*-ki-*	'(quoted DEC)'
elwa?e'lwa-	'it is rotating'	*-leja-*	'(2O.FUT)'
e'nãi-	'quarrel'	*-nã-*	'(FUT)'
ewa?e'wa-	'swing'	*-tara-*	'(PROC)'
hã'rã-	'stop'	*-tsy-*	'(POT)'

There are probably many more members to these lists but we lack information about the (im)possibility of either one of the declarative markers. Furthermore, the information we have is not always clear. As an example, the verb *rai'hỹ-* 'ruin, break down' was mainly encountered with *-tse*. However, we cannot add it to any of the lists above, since we lack conclusive evidence for the possibility of *?rai'hỹki*.[177]

5.2.1.3. Pragmatic characteristics of *-tse* vs. *-ki*

Aside from semantic factors, there may be a pragmatic condition on the occurrence of either of the declarative markers. Verbs are often in the *-tse* declarative when the utterance is an answer to a question, or also when a state of affairs is emphasised or described to someone who was not a witness or who was not aware of it:

(1309) *xare'nỹki* 'it is in front/turned towards us'
xare'nỹtse 'it is in front/turned towards us (A to Q)'

(1310) *la'to kuida'hỹki* 'yesterday I have drunk/was drinking'
la'to kuida'hỹtse 'yesterday I drank/was drinking (A to Q)'

(1311) *'hoiheki* 'it is not sweet' (observation made by S)
hoi'hetse 'it is not sweet' (warning H)

177. This form was not considered very felicitous, but a contrasting translation was provided by MA: *raihỹ'tse* 'it broke down' (POR *estragou*) vs. *?rai'hỹki* 'it is broken down' (POR *está estragado*).

The pragmatic contrast between *-ki* and *-tse* as observed in example (1310) may help to explain why *-tse* cannot be immediately attached to an overt person marker. If *-tse* brands the verb as explicitly conveying new and actual information, an utterance like **kui-da-tse* *'I (am) drink(ing)' is irrelevant because the hearer is naturally bound to be a (potential) witness of the expressed fact.

Note, however, the following dialogue, which suggests that the rule-of-thumb "answer to a question" is not to be regarded as an absolute criterion for the occurrence of *-tse*:

(1312) R: *a'le* *hedydu'tu-tse*
axe lose-DEC
'he lost the axe'

Q: *tsũhũ-ra'ti* *hedydu'tu-re*
what-FOC lose-INT
'what did he lose?'

A: *a'le* *hedydu'tu-ki*
axe lose-DEC
'he lost the axe'

Also, other explanations for the difference between the alternatives in (1310) were offered on another occasion, and are repeated above in (1295).

5.2.1.4. *-tse* vs. *-ki* in verbalisation of nouns

Whatever the semantic and pragmatic reasons to use one or the other declarative marker, they are all subjected to the formal morphological condition that it is impossible for an overt person to be followed immediately by *-tse*. There seems to be no clear general reason why this should be the case, but there is one phenomenon that could shed some more light on this problem. Kwaza nouns can be derived as verbs without further morphological operations.[178] Both *-ki* and *-tse* can be used. Nouns derived by *-ki* have an identificational function, whereas nouns derived by *-tse* rather seem to have an existential function:

(1313) *e'tay-ki*
woman-DEC
'it is a woman'

Ione e'tay-ki
Ione woman-DEC
'Ione is a woman'

(1314) *e'tay* *'a-ki*
woman exist-DEC
'there is a woman/are women'

(1315) *auxwa'na* *jo-'le-tse*
meat manioc-only-DEC
'there is only meat and manioc'

178. The phenomenon of zero-verbalisation, both in declarative and other moods, is discussed as a separate subject in (4.4.9.).

(1316) *tẽja'wã-tsy-hỹ txa'rwa ko'sa=txuhũi-tse bare-'nỹ-da-ki*
dark-GER-NOM first sun=small-DEC warm-REF-1S-DEC
'because there is a little sun (through clouded sky) I'm warmed up'

(1317) *aky-'xɛ-tse*
two-CL:leaf-DEC
'there are two leaves'

(1318) *axy-'na aky-'hỹ-tse e'tay*
house-LOC two-NOM-DEC woman
'in the house live two women'

Zero-verbalisation of nouns by *-ki* is clearly demonstrated in these examples. However, the verbalisations by *-tse* are less obvious. In examples (1315) and (1316) the nouns *jo'le* 'only manioc' and *kosatxuhũi* 'small sun' are complex: they consist of nouns derived by a nominal suffix; and in examples (1317) and (1318) the nouns *akyxɛ* 'two leaves' and *akyhỹ* 'two things' consist of a bound attributive numeral root (see 4.3.2.2.) and a classifier. Unfortunately no examples of clearer contrast were encountered. This means that the analysis suggested here is a hypothesis that can only be either confirmed or falsified through further investigation in the field.

The following examples may point to the same contrast of identification and existence, but their respective roots are verbal, adverbial and elliptic, not nominal:

(1319) *hã lõ'wẽ-ỹ-ki* 'the river is crooked'
lõ'wẽ-ỹ-ki 'it (~) is crooked/an undulation'
lõwẽ=lõwẽ=lõ'wẽ-tse 'it (~~~~~) is undulating'

(1320) *tsɛ̃ e-te'te-tse* 'there is much salt'
tsɛ̃ ele'le-ỹ-ki 'it is very salt'
hoi ele'le-tse 'there are very many bats'

(1321) *'he* 'no'
'he-tse 'there isn't (any)'
he-'ki 'it isn't (the case)', 'no'
he-'re 'isn't it?', 'yes'

Example (1321) is discussed and possibly explained from different perspective in (7.1.1.5.).

The following counter-example, an indentifying zero-verbalisation by *-tse*, may find its explanation in the fact that the stem is a personal pronoun:

(1322) *'ĩ-tse*
he-DEC
'it was him'

A possible counterexample to the hypothesis that *-ki* does not have an existential function in zero-verbalisation is:

(1323) *darje'mũ-ki*
rapids-DEC
'there is a rapids in the river'

5.2.1.5. *-tse* and reported speech

One last difference between *-ki* and *-tse* should be mentioned here, if only briefly. Reported speech in Kwaza is expressed by "cliticisation" of person and mood marking to direct speech utterances which may already be inflected for person and mood. The cliticised inflexion refers to the person of the reporting speaker and the mood in which the report is stated. If the reporting speaker is a third person and his report is stated in the declarative, not *-ki* is cliticised, but *-tse*:

(1324) *ojanỹ-da-'ki-Ø-tse*
arrive-1S-DEC-3-DEC
'he said he arrived' (lit. 'he said "I arrived"')

This specific quotative construction occurs also in e.g. desiderative and volitional expressions, where the same restrictions hold. Reported speech, desiderative and volitional are the subject of separate sections (5.5.11.; 5.5.13.; 5.2.5.1.). Probably, reported speech may also account for another way in which zero-verbalisation by cliticisation of *-ki* may differ from cliticisation of *-tse*:

(1325) *rai?ỹ'hỹ-ki*
animal-DEC
'it is an animal/it is a thing'

(1326) *rai?ỹ'hỹ-tse*
animal-DEC
'he wants something'
(CX: he came over to ask for e.g. rice)

Example (1326) may have a quotative origin and hence mean literally 'he says "things"' (which would contain an indirect report in this case). This suggests that there is no real zero-verbalisation going on. Similar pairs were given in section (4.4.9.) on zero-verbalisation. One indication that this analysis is correct is provided by the respective negative counterparts of these constructions:

(1327) *ipɛ'pa etay-'he-tse*
Ipepa woman-NEG-DEC
'Ipepa is not a woman'

(1328) *ipɛ'pa e'tay he'?ai-tse*
Ipepa woman want.not-DEC
'Ipepa does not want a woman'

In (1327) the zero-verbalised root is negated,[179] whereas in (1328) an overt verbal root is used.

179.Note that *-tse* occurs here because of independent reasons: the negative morpheme can only be immediately adjacent to *-ki* in a countersuppositional reading (see

5.2.1.6. Possible cognates of *-tse*

Certain morphemes have been attested which show formal and functional resemblances to the declarative *-tse*. Consequently, they may be historically related. Here I will treat them only briefly. Together with cosubordinative *-tja* there might be an element *-tsɛ*, which plays a role in nominal coordinating constructions. It creates an internally complex noun phrase, which can function as an argument in the matrix clause:

(1329) *kaikũ'cẽ-tja* *arikwã'jũ-tsɛ* *hanãwã-'na* *a-'ki*
Kaikũcẽ-CSO Arikwãjũ-DEC sky-LOC exist-DEC
'Kaikũcẽ and Arikwãjũ live in heaven'

Although this example reminds somewhat of (1264) and a different analysis is suggested in (8.3.1.10.), it is not perfectly certain that [tsɛ] represents the declarative morpheme in its often attested alternative pronunciation. On the other hand, the consultant said that in coordinating constructions it should be pronounced as [tse] instead of [tsɛ]. This suggests that it represents the very declarative morpheme *-tse*. This is furthermore a counter argument against the possibility that the coordinating function of [tsɛ] could be related to the element *-tsɛ* in first and second person plural pronouns (see 4.7.). In the present analysis, I consider [tsɛ] in constructions like (1329) as the declarative *-tse*.

Another possibly related morpheme is *-tsy-*, which is provisionally identified as a gerundial morpheme. It will be dealt with briefly in section (5.2.2.2.) below, and more thoroughly in section (8.1.).

5.2.1.7. Final remarks about *-tse* vs. *-ki*

In Hengeveld (2000) the difference between "indicative" and "declarative" is defined on the basis of the distinction between modality and illocution. declarative is an illocutionary category which identifies the speech act as an assertion, while indicative is a modal category which refers to the attitude of commitment of the speaker to the truth of the content of the speech act. Hengeveld's observation that "declarative markers may combine with modal markers that would be in conflict with an indicative marker", sheds a light on the facts discussed in (5.2.1.1.). Because *-ki* is never combined with an adjacent irrealis morpheme such as future *-nã-* or potential *-tsy-*, whereas *-tse* is, the latter may be declarative and the former indicative. However, this analysis does not provide for an explanation of the facts discussed in (5.2.1.2.).

No solid evidence was found for a single comprehensive function of the distinction between *-ki* and *-tse*. If a unifying account of the difference between the two declarative markers is at all possible, we are still in want of it.

7.1.1.).

5.2.2. Interrogative

The interrogative mood marker *-re* (sometimes also pronounced as [ɾɛ]) is attached to the very same person markers as the declarative. The third person singular remains the zero-marked form.

(1330) *tsu'hũ pẽrẽ'jã-xa-re*
what speak-2-INT
'what are you saying?'

(1331) *di'lɛ 'cu-re*
who cut-INT
'who is cutting (felling the tree)?'

Certain forms are obviously difficult to elicit in the field. As mentioned above in (5.2.1.), the declarative of the second person normally elicits imperative or interrogative forms. Similarly, the imperative and interrogative combined with an adjacent first person marker are best elicited in offered contexts that are considered absurd or ironic, etc.

(1332) *hã kui-da-'re*
water drink-1S-INT
'am I (going to) drinking water?'

(1333) *hyhyrwa-'hỹ-a-re*
move-NOM-1P-INT
'is it we who are walking?'[180]

In future tenses, the first person interrogative is less extraordinary. The following example was elicited in the context of a group discussion addressing the question of who is going to be sent on an unpleasant mission:

(1334) *o'ja-da-tsy-'re* (better than *o'jada're*)
leave-1S-POT-INT
'am I going (to leave)?'

Also in certain past constructions the first person interrogative may occur:

(1335) *ti-'rjỹ a'sa-da-re*
what-CD:area leave-1S-INT
'where did I put it?'

When person and interrogative mood inflexion of a question are omitted, there is a notable rise of intonation on the last syllable of the interrogative verb:

(1336) *tyka'?o*
visit
'(are you) promenading/strolling?'

180. The sentence created by myself which contained a first person exclusive form **hyhyrwa-'nã-axa-re* *'are we going for a walk or what?' was rejected by MA who explained it was "contrariant".

5.2.2.1. Emphatic uses of the interrogative

There is a number of fixed constructions which require among other things an interrogative matrix verb, but which do not really have an interrogative sense. Their common characteristic is their emphatic nature. The interrogative can express indignation:

(1337) *(tsuhũ) 'dyrãrã=dyitxĩ'rjỹ-xa-re*
what noise=noise.make-2-INT
'what is this noise you're making (with empty cans)?'

(1338) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã=dyitxi'rjỹ-xa-re*
speak=noise.make-2-INT
'how noisily are you conversing!'

(1339) *kui-'re=tja 'ta-wa-ta*
drink-INT=CSO talk-IS-CSO
'they're complaining that he does nothing but drink'

(1340) *kui-xa-'re=tja 'ta-wa-ta*
drink-2-INT=CSO talk-IS-CSO
'they say that you do nothing but drink'

The interrogative is required in an expletive construction with the particle *ku'kui* 'wow!/yecch!/damn!/how strange!', which is derived from the verb root *kukui-* 'hurt' (see 7.7.6.):

(1341) *ku'kui ñãsi-'he-da-re*
wow! hear-NEG-1S-INT
'damn, I can't hear anything'

(1342) *ku'kui kara'ra-ỹ-re*
wow! meagre-ATT-INT
'gosh, he is meagre!'

(1343) *kawa'pe ku'kui nỹ-'hỹ-re*
cockroach wow! big-NOM-INT
'why, that cockroach is big!'

(1344) *jerexwa-co'ha ku'kui cu=hy'hydwa-'re-da-hỹ-ki*
jaguar-foot wow! step=go.path-INT-1S-NOM-DEC

zjwãu-dy-jãhã-'na
João-POS-CL:path-LOC
'gosh I saw MANY jaguar traces on the road to João!'

The interrogative is required in the expression of relief that something did not happen. This construction also involves the first person inclusive pronoun *txana* and the procrastinative morpheme *-tjara-*, which is a variant of *-tara-*:

(1345) *txa'nã* *awe-'he-tjara-re*
we.IN rain-NEG-PROC-INT
'good that it did not rain!'

This construction will be further discussed in (5.5.19.3.1.). More examples were also given in (4.7.2.).

Regret or compassion can be expressed through the verb root *daki-* 'it's a pity', which is required in the cosubordinative as complement of an interrogative matrix verb:

(1346) *da'ki-tja* *tsẽi-'re*
pity-CSO tear-INT
'a pity it (the cloth) tore'

The second person interrogative form of the verb root *awỹi-* 'see' may function as a tag question, not necessarily with its literal sense:[181]

(1347) *ku'kui* *ywy'nwỹ* *nỹ-'nwỹ-re* *a'wỹi-xa-re*
wow tree big-CL:tree-INT see-2-INT
'wow! that's a big tree, isn't it?'

(1348) *nỹ-nãi-'he-tsy-hỹ-herejã-re* *awỹi-'he-xa-re*
big-NOM-NEG-GER-NOM-APPL-INT see-NEG-2-INT
'that is not much money, is it?'

Note that in the latter example another lexicalised tag question construction is used as well. The interrogative form of the appellative conjectural *-herejã-* (which contains the existential verb *jã-* 'to be') is often cliticised to nominals in order to draw the attention of the hearer, or even to express surprise about the fact that (the hearer is so mal-informed that) it is necessary to mention the information at all. So there may be an extra connotation of self-evidence of the facts expressed: 'isn't it?, of course!' or even of irritation about the ignorance of the hearer: 'you fool!'. It is possible that *-here* contains a lexicalised interrogative mood marker (see 5.5.14.).

(1349) *'mã-herejã-re*
mother-APPL-INT
'it is mother, you silly!'

(1350) *kayte-'ce-a-hỹ-herejã-re*
scrape-CL:hole-1P-NOM-APPL-INT
'(first) we clean it (the mortar) on the inside, don't we?' (t)

Another conjectural morpheme that may involve cleft-like use of the interrogative is deductive apparential *-tehere* or *-cehere* (see 5.5.14.2.), which can be

181. This use of the verb *awỹixare* may be calqued on Portuguese *viu?* 'did you see it?'.

translated as ‘think that, it seems that, maybe’. Maybe it consists of the morphemes *-te-he-re* ‘(-INTENS-NEG-INT)’:

(1351) *awe-'nã-tehere*
rain-FUT-APPR
‘I think it is going to rain’

Finally, there is a focus suffix *-rati-* (see 7.2.8.) which is often combined with a question word in an interrogative matrix sentence:

(1352) *tsuhũ-ra'ti-wã hã 'ta-a-re*
what-FOC-AO water say-1P-INT
‘what does “*hã*” mean?’

(1353) *wai-ra'ti-re*
good-FOC-INT
‘is it delicious?’

The specific morphemes involved in the emphatic interrogative expressions will be treated more extensively in the aforementioned sections.

5.2.2.2. Gerundial *-tsy-* in the interrogative

As we have seen in third person examples like (1331) the interrogative marker is attached to the zero-marked verb root. Although there is no alternation in the interrogative between forms comparable to declarative *-ki* and *-tse*, there is a morpheme which resembles *-tse*. The element *-tsy-* may be inserted between subject cross-reference marking (which is zero for the third person) and interrogative *-re*. No solid explanations have been found with regard to its presence or absence. Alternatively, the element *-tsy-* often occurs in nominalised constructions that can be identified as gerundial and which end in *-tsy-hỹ* (see 8.1.2.). There is a morpheme that is homophonous with *-tsy-*, but which has been identified as an potential tense/aspect marker. Although I see no compelling reason to relate it to declarative *-tse* and gerundial *-tsy-*, it does have a somewhat similar distribution, which may lead to ambiguity in the interrogative. Compare the following examples to (1331):

(1354) *di'lɛ 'cu-tsy-re*
who cut-GER-INT
‘who cut (the tree)?’

di'lɛ 'cu-tsy-re
who cut-POT-INT
‘who is going to cut (the tree)?’

The example in which *-tsy-* is analysed as gerundial has a past tense reading when contrasted to present tense (1331) and to the potential construction that has a future tense interpretation. It is unclear whether *-tsy-* is an allomorph of declarative *-tse* in the third person interrogative or whether it is a different morpheme. Probably the function of gerundial *-tsy-* is to give an extra cleft-like effect, like ‘who could it be who ...?’ or ‘what could it be that ...?’. Note that in case of verb stem ellipsis, *-tsy-* always precedes *-re*. In fact, *tsyre* is often used

as a free minimal response particle, with a potential connotation of doubt: 'is it?', 'would it be?', 'I don't know'. The element *-tsy-* is dealt with extensively in section (8.1.). Gerundial *-tsy-* in combination with the interrogative is discussed further in (8.1.2.1.).

5.2.3. Imperative

The imperative mood marker *-ra* is used to indicate the speech act of commanding by which the hearer can be required, requested or invited to do something. The imperative marker attracts stress.

(1355) *wady-'ra*
give-IMP
'give (it to him)!'

(1356) *wa'dy-e'teja-'ra*
give-1PO-IMP
'give (it) to us!'

(1357) *e'tay-nahere-wã* *wa'dy-ja-'ra*
woman-COL-AO give-IO-IMP
'give (it) to all women!'

(1358) Q: *ɛ-'nã-da-ki*
go-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going'

A: *ɛ-'ra*
go-IMP
'go!'[182]

Two possible subjects have been attested for imperative verbs: second person singular, which is zero-marked, and second person plural, which is marked by *-xa-*. Zero-marking is explicitly indicated only in the first two of the examples below:

(1359) *ka'we* *kui-Ø-'ra*
coffee drink-2-IMP
'drink coffee!' (2sg)

(1360) *ka'we* *'kui-Ø-xa-'ra*
coffee drink-2-AS-IMP
'drink coffee!' (2pl)

(1361) *xyi'tsɛ* *tẽi'tja* *o'ja-xa-'ra*
you.PL alone leave-AS-IMP
'you are going without them!' (2pl)

(1362) *xyi'tsɛ* *o'ja-e'te-xa-'ra* (**o'ja?e'texaxa'ra*)
you.PL leave-COMIT-AS-IMP
'you are going with them!' (2pl)

These examples show that in contrast to the declarative, where unmarked person represents third person, the default value of the imperative is second per

182. According to MA this answer is a bit harsh. Nicer is: *tsy're* 'would it be?'

son. The second person plural imperative is marked by *-xa-*, and this form contrasts with second person plural form *-xa-xa-* of the declarative and other moods. The following examples represent strong evidence for this:

(1363) *xyi'tsɛ 'mɛ̃-xa-ra* vs. *xyi'tsɛ 'mɛ̃-xa-xa-ki*
you hit-AS-IMP you hit-2-AS-DEC
'you hit!' 'you hit'

(1364) *xyi aky-'ta e'mã-xa-xa-ta o'ja-xa-ra Ba'hozo-na*
you two-ANI more-2-AS-CSO leave-AS-IMP Barroso-LOC
'you three, go to Barroso!'

As explained in (5.1.), the element *-xa-xa-* consists of the second person element *-xa-* and a homophonous associated person marker *-xa-*. Considering the fact that second person is zero-marked for the singular subject of the imperative, it is likely that it is also zero-marked for a plural subject. Therefore, the element *-xa-* in the second person plural imperative represents associated person, and not second person.

In spite of the fact that *-xa-* in most imperative sentences represents a plural subject, there are examples of the imperative in which *-xa-* is used for second person singular. In the next example, which is from a mythical tale, the enchanted tapir is being addressed by a group of women:

(1365) *huruja=du'hỹ-ɛteja-xa-ra*
like=all-1PO-2-IMP
'make love to us all!' (t)

Compare this example to (1356). The tapir from this tale is a singular being with a solitary life. And far as I am aware no special register was used in this tale. Therefore, I have interpreted *-xa-* as a second person subject marker.

Imperative verbs were never attested bearing any other subject person marking than either zero or *-xa-*. Imperative verbs can be marked for any kind of object and the same forms are used as in the declarative, with one exception. The declarative first person object *-ta-* corresponds to the imperative (and monitory) first person singular object *-ta?ỹ-*:

(1366) *wa'dy-ta?ỹ-'ra* (**wadytara*)
give-1SO-IMP
'give it to me!'

(1367) *aredy'ta-ta?ỹ-'ra*
teach-1SO-IMP
'teach me!'

(1368) *oi'tsi-ta?ỹ-'ra 'ta-dy-ta*
copulate-1SO-IMP say-DS-CSO
'then she ordered him (Tapir) to fuck her'

(1369) *wa'dy-ta'?ỹ-xa-'ra*
give-1SO-AS-IMP
'you (pl) give (it) to me!'

(1370) *awỹi-hỹ-ta'?ỹ-xa-'ra* ([jawɨ̃ihɨ̃'tã̲sa'ɾa])
see-NOM-1SO-AS-IMP
'help!' (lit. 'you pl. look at me!')

The negative imperative is expressed by a different morpheme *-ky*, which will be treated in (5.2.7.). Nevertheless, some instances of a negative morpheme in combination with imperative *-ra* were attested. They are rather emphatic:

(1371) *ehỹ-'he-ca-ra*
make-NEG-EMP-IMP
'don't do that!'

(1372) *ja-'he-ca-xa-ra*
eat-NEG-EMP-2-IMP
'(since you didn't work)
you (PL) are nót going to eat!'

Note that *-ra* is not immediately attached to negative *-he-* in this construction. The intervening element *-ca-* will be discussed below in section (5.2.3.3.).

5.2.3.1. *-tsy-* as an imperative element

No mitigated version of the imperative has been identified with absolute certainty. Sometimes the imperative can be expressed by an alternative construction which involves the potential/future morpheme *-tsy-*:

(1373) *hako're ọja'nỹ-e-ra / hako're ọjanỹ-'?e-xa-tsy-tse*
tomorrow return-again-IMP/ tomorrow return-again-2-POT-DEC
'tomorrow you (sg/pl) come again'

The next examples show that the alternative imperative construction with potential *-tsy-* may also be zero marked for second person just like the canonical imperative construction is (note that both are embedded as reported speech constructions, see 5.5.11.).

(1374) *hã mũi-'ra-tsy-le-'hỹ bõ'rõ-tse*
water submerge-IMP-GER-FRUST-NOM perforate-DEC
'he ordered me to fetch water, but there is a hole (in the bucket)'

(1375) *hã 'mũi-tsy-'tse-tsy-le-'hỹ bõ'rõ-tse*
water submerge-POT-DEC-GER-FRUST-NOM perforate-DEC
'he ordered me to fetch water, but there is a hole (in the bucket)'

The difference between overt and zero marked second person in the imperative construction with potential *-tsy-* is discussed in section (8.1.1.1.).

The consultant regarded the imperative content of the alternative expressions as equally strong or equally nice. On one occasion, however, the potential construction was indicated as a mitigated and possibly euphemistic alternative to the imperative:

(1376) *wayrjỹ-'ra* / *way'rjỹ-xa-tsy-tsɛ*
clean-IMP clean-2-POT-DEC
'clean!' 'you may clean'

5.2.3.2. *-ta* as an imperative element

The procrastinative morpheme *-tara-* 'later', 'do first' was discussed above and demonstrated in example (1268). In the declarative it cannot precede *-ki* but only *-tsɛ*. In the imperative it can only be succeeded by a verb-final element *-ta*. This element *-ta* is not a cosubordinative marker, as it is clearly imperative in combination with *-tara-*.

(1377) *e'hỹ-tara-'ta*
make-PROC-IMP
'do that first! (before going away)'

(1378) *ka'we 'kui-tara-'ta*
coffee drink-PROC-IMP
'drink coffee first!, wait for the coffee!'

(1379) *here?ece-'hỹ-tara-'ta*
rest-NOM-PROC-IMP
'rest first!'

Maybe *-ta* should be regarded as an allomorph of *-ra*, although it only occurs in this construction. The morpheme *-tara-* is involved in several different constructions and will be treated by itself in section (5.5.19.).

5.2.3.3. The problem of imperative *-ca*

Imperative *-ra* may be preceded by the element *-ca-*, which is usually pronounced as [t͡a] but sometimes also as [tja]. Out of considerations which will be explained towards the end of this section, I have provisionally identified *-ca-* as an emphatic morpheme.

There are several verb stems which allow the application of *-ca-* in the imperative without any obvious semantic or pragmatic consequences. The only consequence *-ca-* seems to have in the next example is the shift of stress:

(1380) *koreja'ro waja-'ra* / *koreja'ro wa'ja-ca-ra*
pan bring-IMP / pan bring-EMP-IMP
'take the pan!'

(1381) *'cutse(')rjỹ-(ca)-'ra*
lie-EMP-IMP
'stay lying down!'

With some verbs the element *-ca-* seems to have an effect on the meaning of the utterance. In the next examples it is hard to determine what is the exact nature of this effect, because the demonstrative *ayhỹ* 'that one (close to hearer)' may co-determine the effect:

(1382) *ay'hỹ dai-'ra*
that grab-IMP
'take thát one (which we know, close or not)'

(1383) *ay'hỹ 'dai-ca-ra*
that grab-EMP-IMP
'take this one there! (i.e. the one over there close to you)'

Notice that besides the stress shift, the demonstrative in the latter example received extra heavy and probably emphatic or contrastive stress. This may confirm the suspicion that *-ca-* has an emphatic function. The next two examples were considered as fully equivalent by MA, but to ZE there was a difference in emphasis:

(1384) *koreja'ro wa'ja-nỹ-'ra*
pan bring-REF-IMP
'bring here the pan!'

(1385) *koreja'ro waja-'nỹ-ca-'ra*
pan bring-REF-EMP-IMP
'I'm telling you, bring here the pan (I've asked you before)!'

The distinction between less emphatic and more emphatic literal equivalents of the last example also involves *-ca-*, besides the combination of the nominaliser plus the resignation morpheme *-hỹ-tsy* which may have emphatic and/or past connotations (see 5.5.17.). Example (1387) is clearly an emphatic cleft construction:

(1386) *koreja'ro waja-nỹ-'ra-da-hỹ-tsy*
pan bring-REF-IMP-1S-NOM-RES
'I said to you bring the pan!'

(1387) *koreja'ro waja-'nỹ-ca-ra jã-hỹ-'tsy*
pan bring-REF-EMP-IMP be-NOM-RES
'I'm telling you bring here the pan (I've asked you before)!'

With certain verbs the use of *-ca-* was considered correct by some people, but incorrect by others. The next example was rejected by ZE, but accepted by MA:

(1388) *txu'hũi* *mãmã'ñe-(*)ca-ra*
small sing-EMP-IMP
'sing a little!'

On one occasion the presence of *-ca-* was considered as correct, and on the next occasion it was considered as incorrect by the very same person (MA):

(1389) *'diri-(*)ca-'ra*
descend-EMP-IMP
'get out of the hammock!'

Sometimes, the application of *-ca-* was allowed in one construction, but not in another one:

(1390) *'nãi-ca-ra*
like-EMP-IMP
'do like that!'

(1391) *magariDa-dy'nỹ* *nãi-(*ca)-'ra*
Margarida-COMIT like-EMP-IMP
'do it with Margarida!'

Not all imperative verbs seem to allow the application of *-ca-*:

(1392)

hy'hyrwa'ra	'walk!'	(**hy'hyrwaca'ra*)
hu'huira	'beat him!'	(**hu'huicara*)
ka'we kui'ra	'drink coffee!'	(**ka'we kuica'ra*)
'mɛ̃'ra	'hit him!'	(**'mɛ̃cara*)
tomã'ra	'take a bath!'	(**tomaca'ra*)

In some rare instances there is a lexical semantic difference between imperative with and without *-ca-*:

(1393)

'aru'ra	'cross!'
a'ruca'ra	'jump!'

(1394)

kurira	'quiet! (don't move)'
ku'rica'ra	'quiet! (don't speak)'

(1395)

koreja'ro warja'ra	'take the pan with you!'
koreja'ro wa'rjacara	'hold the pan! (for me)'

There are some possible explanations for the consultants' different opinions about the applicability and meaning of *-ca-*. It is quite possible that the dialect of MA, who is from the mixed family I, has changed because of intensive con

tact with the surrounding languages in the indigenous reserve. A related possibility is that there is more uncertainty among family I about the use of *-ca-*, and that this is due to phenomena of linguistic attrition or obsolescence. Family II forms a more closed and less plurilingual community in which Kwaza is the only language used on a daily basis among all members. Another, important complementary explanation is that the use of *-ca-* depends less on semantic factors than on pragmatic factors, and that my methodology of direct elicitation and translation of short phrases outside of a discourse context is wrong because it does not make visible the function of *-ca-*. For the time being I am inclined to attach most value to ZE's remarks about *-ca-* and consider it as an emphatic marker used in the imperative.

Note that the element *-ca-* is never used in combination with any other mood morpheme than *-ra* and the cosubordinative. In the next example *-ca-* occurs in a phrase cosubordinated to an imperative matrix phrase:

(1396) *nãi-ca-ta* *oce-'ra*
like-EMP-CSO throw-IMP
'throw it away like that!'

Finally, note that *-ca-* succeeds the element *-he-* in an emphatic negative construction in examples (1371) and (1372). This is also the only construction in which *-ca-* is preceded by person marking.

5.2.3.4. Imperative particles

The combination of the elements *-ca-* and *-ra* is also used independently in elliptic constructions (see also 7.5.2.):

(1397) R: *ja-'e-da-mỹ* A: *ca-'ra*
eat-again-1S-VOL EMP-IMP
'I'm going to eat again' 'do that!', 'yes!'

The answer to the remark can be said to derive from the expression *ja'?eca'ra* 'eat again!' of which the stem is omitted. It is likely that this ellipsis led to the emergence of an auxiliary-like verbal particle *cara* 'order, send':

(1398) *zjwãu ca-'ra 'ta-ta-ki*
João EMP-IMP say-1O-DEC
'João sent me' (lit. 'João said "go!" to me')

(1399) *zjwãu-'wã ca-'ra 'ta-da-ki*
João-AO EMP-IMP say-1S-DEC
'I sent João'

In a similar fashion the verb-like particle *ratja* 'order him', 'insist' must have emerged. In this case the imperative morpheme *-ra* functions as the root, in a fixed combination with *-tja-*, which probably originates from a transitiviser. *ratja-* shows more resemblance to a normal transitive verb stem than does *cara*:

(1400) *ratja-'ra*
order-IMP
'send him!/tell him to!'

(1401) *e-'nĩ-da-ta* *ra'tja-da-'ki*
go-CAUS-1S-CSO order-1S-DEC
'I ordered him to go home'

(1402) *'si-dy-hỹ* *tã'jã* *ra'tja-ta-hỹ-'lɛ* *'nãi-da-ki*
I-POS-NOM chief order-1O-NOM-PREC like-1S-DEC
'the chief told me to do like this'

However, *ratja* is also encountered as an uninflected particle in the following example:

(1403) *zjo'ze* *ra'tja* *zjwã-'wã* *dy-'ta* *cari=a'sa-hỹ-ki* *kaBrije-'wã*
José order João-AO DS-CSO shoot=leave-NOM-DEC Gabriel-AO
'José made (that) João kill(ed) Gabriel'

5.2.4. Exhortative

The verb-final exhortative morpheme *-ni* is pronounced as [ni] or [nĩ]. It can be applied to verbs cross-referring to the first person inclusive subject by *-a-*, indefinite subject by *-wa* and zero-marked third person subject.

(1404) *ka'we* *kui-'ni*
coffee drink-EXH
'let him have coffee!'
(whether he wants it or not)

(1405) *ka'we* *'kui-wa-ni*
coffee drink-IS-EXH
'let them have coffee!'
(also 'make coffee for them')

(1406) *hã* *'kui-a-ni*
water drink-1P-EXH
'let us drink!'

(1407) *'ja-a-ni* *Bis'koito*
eat-1P-EXH biscuit
'let's eat biscuits'

(1408) *jere'xwa* *na'nãi-tja* *kahɛ-'ni* *etohoi-'wã*
jaguar very-CSO bite-EXH child-AO
'that's O.K., let the dog bite the child!'

The transitive verb in the exhortative mood can bear any object cross-reference marker:

(1409) *awe-mũ-'ko* *haha-'djo-hata-'ni*
rain-CL:liquid-INS wash-CL:foot-3S.2O-EXH
'let the rain wash your foot!'

The exhortative is almost never combined with future *-nã-*; compare **ja'nã?ani* to (1407). Only one instance of this combination was attested:

(1410) *tokoi'ri-a-ki* *ka'wɛ* *kui-'nã-a-ni*
tired-1P-DEC coffee drink-FUT-1P-EXH
'we're tired, let's have coffee!'

Unlike the declarative and imperative, the exhortative shows no extraordinary morphological behaviour in combination with the procrastinative morpheme *-tara-* 'later':

(1411) *'ja-a-tara-ni*
eat-1P-PROC-EXH
'let's eat first'

(1412) *here?ece-hỹ-wa-tara-'ni*
rest-NOM-IS-PROC-IMP
'let him rest first!'

(1413) *here?ece-hỹ-tara-'ni*
rest-NOM-PROC-IMP
'let (us leave) him to rest first!'

(1414) *aru-ce-'wa-tara-hỹ-ta* *he're?ece-hỹ-tara-ni*
put-CL:hole-IS-PROC-NOM-CSO rest-NOM-PROC-EXH
'put (the porridge) into the mortar first, for it to rest first!' (t)

A verb in the exhortative mood can function as the matrix verb of the sentence and have cosubordinate phrases:

(1415) *atxi'txi* *mani'ni-tsy-hỹ* *hu'de-a-ta* *'ja-a-ta* *'a-a-ni*
maize fish-GER-NOM dry-1P-CSO eat-1P-CSO exist-1P-EXH
'let's live (there) and dry maize and eat fish!' (t)

5.2.4.1. *-nĩ-* as a causational bound modal morpheme

The exhortative has a purposive sense in certain constructions:

(1416) *e'nãi-ca-ra* *bui-'ni*
quarrel-EMP-IMP leave-EXH
'quarrel so that (the dog) leaves (the house)!'

(1417) *dytenã-'ra* *wã'wỹi-a-ni*
extinguish-IMP sleep-1P-EXH
'extinguish the candle so we can get some sleep!'

(1418) *dyte'nã-a-ni* *wã'wỹi-wa-ni*
extinguish-1P-EXH sleep-IS-EXH
'let's extinguish the candle so they can get some sleep!'

In other constructions *-ni* may be considered as a purposive or causational modal morpheme: *-nĩ-* 'to make (someone do something)', which is pronounced [nĩ] rather than [ni]. It occurs often, but not necessarily, in subordinate constructions and it has a valency-increasing effect:

(1419) *'mã-da-ki* *onɛ-'nĩ-da-'ta*
call-1S-DEC come-CAUS-1S-CSO
'I call her to come'

(1420) *i'tso* *si-'nã-da-ki* *wãwỹi-'nĩ-da-ta*
hammock tie-FUT-1S-DEC sleep-CAUS-1S-CSO
'I'm hanging up the hammock so I can sleep'

(1421) *haru'?i* *ja-dy-'nã-da-ki* *oja-'nĩ-da-ta*
Luiz eat-CAU-FUT-1S-DEC go-CAUS-1S-CSO
'I'm going to give Luiz food so that he can leave'

(1422) *erme-(*'wã)* *aky-'nĩ-da-ta* *unỹtse-'hỹ-da-ki*
Hermes-(*AO) take-CAUS-1S-CSO wait-NOM-1S-DEC
I'm waiting for Hermes to take food first'

In these causational constructions, the sentential subject is not identical with the embedded agentive subject of the verb root. In (1419) subject of *onɛ-* 'to come' is not expressed by cross-reference marking. However, the subject of *onɛnĩ-* 'to make him come' is. Compare the following examples:

(1423) *kuraku'ra* *ja-'dy-da-ki* *ũi-'nĩ-da-ta*
chicken eat-CAU-1S-DEC lie-CAUS-1S-CSO
'I feed the chickens so that they can sleep'

(1424) *kuraku'ra* *ja-'dy-da-ki* *ũi-'nã-da-ta*
chicken eat-CAU-1S-DEC lie-FUT-1S-CSO
'I feed the chickens so that I can go to sleep'

Causational *-nĩ-* occurs often as an answer to exhortatives like (1404):

(1425) *'ja kui-'nĩ-da-ki*
already drink-CAUS-1S-DEC
'I already let (him) drink'

It also occurs in certain, relatively fixed, expressions:

(1426) *'ĩ wai-hỹ-'nĩ-cwa-ta='nãi*
idly good-NOM-CAUS-IS-CSO=like
'for no reason, to make beautiful, that's how they do' (t)

(1427) *ti-nãi-ĩ-'nĩ-xa-ta 'ja-xa-re*
what-NOM-NEG-CAUS-2-CSO eat-2-INT
'why do you eat (peppers)?'

Notice that on the following transitive verb, the causational appears to function as a reflexive, with the connotation of 'to do by accident':

(1428) *hadai-'nỹ-da-ki*
hack-REF-1S-DEC
'I cut myself (on purpose)'

(1429) *hadai-'nĩ-da-ki*
hack-CAUS-1S-DEC
'I cut myself (by accident)'

Because this construction involving *-nĩ-* is the result of post-cliticising complementation similar to the reported speech construction, it will also be discussed in (5.5.15.). The causational construction resembles the volitional construction with *-damỹ-* 'to want' discussed in (5.2.5.1.). An important difference is that the causational morpheme is never preceded by subject cross-reference.[183]

5.2.4.2. Exhortative paucal *-ja-*

An alternative exhortative construction involving the element *-ja(-)* is suspected to have a paucal connotation.

(1430) *(txi'rja) mamañe-'ja (txi'rja) mama'ñe-a-'ni*
everyone sing-EXP everyone sing-1P-EXH
'let us (two or three persons) sing!' 'let us (many, all) sing!'

It is encountered only with a first person inclusive subject and not with any other persons or moods: **ɛ'jadaki*, **ɛ'jaki*. It usually occurs verb-finally behaving as a mood marker.

183.But see the remark about this construction in note (12) in (7.5.2.3.).

(1431) *txa'na ja-'ja (*sitsɛ ja'ja)*
we.IN eat-EXP
'let us eat! (and not give it to the others)'

(1432) *ɛ-'ja txana-'rjỹ*
go-EXP we.IN-CD:area
'let's go to our house'

(1433) *'wai-dy-tara-'ja*
good-CAU-PROC-EXP
'let's make the food tasteful'

(1434) *oi'tsi-lɛ-ja*
copulate-RECI-EXP
'(let's) have sex!'

(1435) *oja-'ja*
leave-EXP
'let's go there!'

o'ja-a-ni
leave-1P-EXH
'let's go there(to)!'

(1436) *kui-'ja*
drink-EXP
'let's have a drink' better:

kui-a-'ni
drink-1P-EXH
'let's have a drink'

There are strong indications that *-ja* is not always verb-final like the other mood markers, but that it really is an elliptic form of *-ja-a-ni*:

(1437) *ka'we 'kui-a-'ni*
coffee drink-1P-EXH
'let us (many) drink coffee!'

(1438) *ka'we 'kui-ja-(a-'ni)*
coffee drink-EXP-1P-EXH
'let us (few) drink coffee!'

However, in most cases the non-elliptic version was rejected:

(1439) *ũmãtɛ-'ja-(*?a-'ni)*
fish-EXP-1P-EXH
'let's go fishing!'

There is a possibility for ambiguity between the paucal marker and the indefinite object marker *-ja-* (see 5.1.4.2.) in transitive sentences:

(1440) *wa'dy-ja-ra*
give-IO-IMP
'give (it) to all'

5.2.4.3. The exhortative particle *hỹdɛ*

There is an exhortative particle *hỹ'dɛ* 'let's go!'. It occurs often but not always in combination with the paucal exhortative:

(1441) *hỹ'dɛ 'ja-a-ni Bis'koito*
go! eat-1P-EXH biscuit
'let's eat biscuits!'

(1442) *hỹ'dɛ toma-'ja*
go! bathe-EXP
'let's take a bath'

(1443) *'ja* *ɛ-'ja* *hỹ'dɛ*
already go-EXP go!
'we're going already, let's go!'

This particle will also be discussed briefly in (7.7.9.).

5.2.4.4. Beneficiary exhortative

In a fixed construction with a pronoun bearing the beneficiary case marker *-du*, the exhortative has the sense of 'want':

(1444) *kanɛ'xu* *si-du-'ni*
bracelet I-BER-EXH
'I want a bracelet for me'

5.2.5. Volitive

The volitive mood morpheme *-mỹ* is only found with the first person singular subject, marked by *-da-*, and the first person exclusive subject, marked by *-a-xa-*. It expresses a high level of determination on behalf of the subject and it may have future connotations.

(1445) *mĩu* *'kui-da-mỹ*
chicha drink-1S-VOL
'I'm going to drink chicha!'[184]

(1446) *mĩu* *'kui-a-xa-mỹ*
chicha drink-1P-AS-VOL
'we're going to drink chicha!'

(1447) *hyhy'rwa-a-xa-mỹ*
move-1P-AS-VOL
'we're going for a walk!'

(1448) *ku'ri-ta-da-mỹ*
quiet-TRA-1S-VOL
'I'm not going to talk to him at all'

It appears that the future connotation of the volitive *-'mỹ* only applies to controlled verbs and that the canonical future tense morpheme *-'nã-* (see 5.5.5.) is at least neutral with respect to the semantic feature of "control":

(1449) *hyja-'nã-da-ki* (**hy'ja-da-'mỹ*)
fall-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to fall'

184. The pronunciation ['kuiʔəmɨ̃] or ['kuiʔamɨ̃] was heard on several occasions with one consultant (ME) and one case has been attested where the first person singular seems to be zero-marked: /*'kui?eda'mỹ*/ 'I'm going to drink again' pronounced as ['kuiʔe'mɨ̃]. These pronunciations were rejected by MA.

(1450) *kikalo-'nã-da-ki* (**kika'lo-da-'mỹ*)
fever-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to have fever'

People do not usually fall on purpose, and, aside from the fact that usually no-one wants a fever, people are generally not capable of getting a fever at their wish. Nevertheless, the consultant said one could think of saying *kika'lo-da-mỹ* 'I'm going to have fever!' in case one is going to take a fever-evoking medicine, or food such as pariri fruit together with honey which is said to cause fever. The following figure may depict the difference in grammaticality:

Table 26. Verb control and the relative grammaticality of the volitive

	-nã-	*-mỹ*
+ control	√	√
- control	√	*

For a number of controlled verbs the difference between the canonical future and the volitive is as marked as the difference between 'die' and 'commit suicide':

(1451) *i'si-da-mỹ*
die-1S-VOL
'I'm going to kill myself'

isi-'nã-da-ki
die-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to die'

(1452) *cari-'nỹ-da-mỹ*
shoot-REF-1S-VOL
'I'm going to shoot (and kill) myself'

With most controlled verbs and verbs which are ambiguous with respect to "control" there is no obvious difference between the future *-nã-* construction and the volitive *-mỹ* construction:

(1453) *wãwỹ-'nã-da-ki*
sleep-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to sleep'

wã'wỹi-da-mỹ
sleep-1S-VOL
'I'm going to sleep'

(1454) *tsutsu-'nã-da-ki*
urinate-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to piss'

tsu'tsu-da-mỹ
urinate-1S-VOL
'I'm going to piss'

(1455) *ja-'nã-da-ki*
eat-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to eat'

ja-da-'mỹ
eat-1S-VOL
'I'm going to eat'

Either of the latter alternatives may be used in any imaginable context; as answer to an invitation or call or not, when one is very hungry or not, in an immediate future or not. The difference probably lies in the fact that the volitive has a connotation of desire, whereas the future is neutral in this respect.

In combination with procrastinative *-tara-* (see 5.5.19.1.), the volitive *-mỹ* is not inflected for person. It has a kind of postponing exhortative sense, and its perspective is either first person singular subject, or, not surprising from a semantic point of view, first person inclusive subject. In the examples below, it is something else which will be postponed on behalf of the state of affairs as expressed by the verb root.

(1456) *'ja-tara-mỹ*
eat-PROC-VOL
'let me/I'm going to eat first'

(1457) *here?ece-hỹ-tara-'mỹ*
rest-NOM-PROC-VOL
'let me rest first'

5.2.5.1. *damỹ* as a lexeme and as a bound modal morpheme

Through ellipsis of a verbal root the first person singular form of the volitive may occur as a volitional paricle *da'mỹ* 'I will', 'yes!' insofar as the context allows. It has a connotation of eagerness and its use may make a covetous impression in certain contexts. For example as a minimal response to an invitation to drink coffee *da'mỹ* is regarded as not very nice. Then again, it is a proper response to a command.

Such ellipsis has probably led to the emergence of an auxiliary-like independent verbal root with the meaning 'to be intending/wanting/going to (do)', which is marked for any person like any other verb root:

(1458) *da'mỹ-xa-xa-ki*
want-2-AS-DEC
'you (pl) are going to do'

The zero-marked third person does not accept the application of the *-ki* declarative (see 5.2.1.):

(1459) *da'mỹ-tse* (**damỹki*)
want-DEC
'he is going to do', 'he says yes'[185]

The second meaning of the latter example 'he says yes' is reminiscent of the reported speech construction (see 5.5.11.) where person and mood inflexions are cliticised to already existing person and mood inflexion. In the case of the volitive this cliticisation again has led to the emergence of *-damỹ-* 'is going to',

185. When speaking to children it means 'you want?'.

'wants to' as a bound modality morpheme which expresses periphrastic future. It is on a par with canonical future *-nã-* in many respects. Note, for example, that *-damỹ-* as a modality morpheme neither requires the verb to be a "control" verb, nor does it provide it with a "control" reading:

(1460) *awe-'nã-tja* *kyry'ja-ki* *bɛ'rɛ-damỹ-tse*
rain-FUT-CSO thunder-DEC lightning-want-DEC
'it is going to rain and thunder and there will be lightning'

(1461) *isi-da'mỹ-da-ki*
die-want-1S-DEC
'I'm going to die'

isi-'nã-da-ki
die-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to die'

(1462) *tãlo-da'mỹ-tse*
angry-want-DEC
'it is getting angry'

tãlo-'nã-tse
angry-FUT-DEC
'it is getting angry'

(1463) *isi-da'mỹ-tsy-hỹ-'lɛ* *'ɛ-da-ki*
die-want-GER-NOM-PREC go-1S-DEC
'while he was dying I went away'

There may be semantic differences for the periphrastic future use of *-damỹ-* and the canonical future *-nã-*, possibly in terms of temporal remoteness:

(1464) *hako'ri* *ekawa-da'mỹ-tse*
moon fill-want-DEC
'the moon is going to be full'
(while it is half moon)

(1465) *hako'ri* *ekawa-'nã-tse*
moon fill-FUT-DEC
'the moon is going to be full'
(while it is nearly full moon)

Notice that the feature "control" may not be relevant for the difference between these examples as it is inevitable that the moon becomes full.

Also, the post-cliticisation of person and mood morphemes appears to have lost its productive sense of reported speech in the process of lexicalisation of *-damỹ-*:

(1466) *ɛ-da'mỹ-xa-re*
go-want-2-INT
'you're going away?'

(1467) *bwa-da'mỹ-tse*
finish-want-DEC
'it's going to run out
(the gas of the cigarette lighter)'

(1468) *kahɛ-da'mỹ-tse*
bite-want-DEC
'he is going to bite' (CX: growling animal)

In cosubordinating constructions *-damỹ-* may give a purposive sense:

(1469) *ũcenãi-da'mỹ-da-ta* *erewe-'xy-da-ki*
know-want-1S-CSO write-CL:leaf-1S-DEC
'I'm writing in order to learn'

(1470) *ũcenãi-da'mỹ-xa-ta* *erewe-'xy-xa-ki*
know-want-2-CSO write-CL:leaf-2-DEC
'you're writing in order to learn'[186]

In spite of the abovementioned changes and deviations from the original use and sense of the first person volitive *-da-mỹ*, there are examples which suggest that *-damỹ-* still has a strong sense of determination, and which contrast in this respect with future *-nã-*:

(1471) *'hudada-'nã-da-ki*
speak-FUT-1S-DEC
'I want to (learn to) speak'

(1472) *huda'da-da'mỹ-da-ki*
speak-want-1S-DEC
'I will/really want to (learn to) speak!'

(1473) *areta-da'mỹ-da-ta*
know-want-1S-CSO
'being convinced that I'm going to learn (it)...'

(1474) *txa'rwa* *ca'ri=asa-da'mỹ-da-ki*
first shoot=leave-want-1S-DEC
'now I'll kill him for sure!'

Apparently the productive inflexional first person volitive combination *-da-mỹ* has become fossilised and developed into a new derivational volitional or intentional modal morpheme *-damỹ-* 'want' and even into a modal verb root with similar semantic content. In (5.5.15.) I discuss the possibility that this development has involved quotation of speech and degrammaticalisation and that it can be attested also with other mood morphemes, such as causational *-nĩ-* (5.2.4.1.) and preventive *-tsi-* (5.2.9.1.).

5.2.6. Précis: persuasive

The imperative, exhortative and volitive are complementary moods as regards their semantics and person marking possibilities. For the lack of a better term to

186.Note that instead of *-damỹ-*, also *-nã-* can be used in the same sense. However, this alternative is not that common with the previous example.

cover all of them they might be referred to by the common denominator "persuasive". As far as person marking is concerned, the different persuasive moods complement one another in that they go with mutually exclusive subject persons while in doing so, they cover the entire range of possible subjects. No overlap exists between these moods:

(1475) *mĩu 'kui-a-ni* (**mĩu kui-a-mỹ*)
chicha drink-1P-EXH (**mĩu kui-a-ra*)
'let's drink chicha!'

(1476) *mĩu 'kui-a-xa-mỹ* (**mĩu kui-a-xa-ni*)
chicha drink-1P-AS-VOL (**mĩu kui-a-xa-ra*)
'we're going to drink chicha!'

(1477) *mĩu 'kui-xa-ra* (**mĩu kui-xa-mỹ*)
chicha drink-AS-IMP (**mĩu kui-xa-ni*)
'drink chicha!'

Meanwhile, the consistency of this complementarity allows for the fact that two different subject persons can be zero-marked without confusion: the second person subject of the imperative or the third person of the exhortative.[187]

(1478) *mĩu kui-Ø-'ra* (**mĩu kui-mỹ*)
chicha drink-2-IMP
'drink chicha!'

(1479) *mĩu kui-Ø-'ni* (**mĩu kui-mỹ*)
chicha drink-3-EXH
'let him drink chicha!'

From a semantic point of view these facts are not surprising. The "control" property of the volitive attested in (5.2.5.) helps to explain why there is no first person inclusive subject form: one cannot really control what the hearer is going to do. Therefore, the volitive is complementary to the exhortative, which does not have first person exclusive subject form: one cannot say "let's go!" without including the hearer.

The volitive complements and contrasts with the imperative in the same circular vein: if the volitive depends on the "control" faculty of the subject over the realisation of the content of the verb root, then the subject has to be identical with the speaker. Consequently, a second person cannot be a controlling subject, because he is inherently a hearer. In the imperative the subject is always the hearer, while the speaker is not in control as he can never be sure whether the hearer will obey his command.

187.Cf. note (9) for the possibility of zero-marked singular subject of the volitive.

The exhortative also differs from the imperative in a complementary way. An exhortative utterance in Kwaza can be viewed as a command that is directed to a non-hearer. As shown in (5.2.4.) its possible subject is either included with the speaker or it is a third or even indefinite person. An exhortation directed to a hearer who is subject is automatically interpreted as having an imperative value and is marked accordingly.

In this way the grammatical mood-marking system of Kwaza reflects some basic semantic properties of the illocutions taken together here under the common denominator of "persuasive". In the following table, all possible canonical combinations of subject cross-reference and persuasive mood markers are united. Slots containing a single hyphen indicate that the expression of cross-reference is zero.

Table 27. Persuasive mood and subject cross-reference

Subject			Persuasive
1S	**-da-**	**-mỹ**	VOL
2S	-	**-ra**	IMP
3	-	**-ni**	EXH
1IN	**-a-**	**-ni**	EXH
1EX	**-axa-**	**-mỹ**	VOL
2P	**-xa-**	**-ra**	IMP
IS	**-wa-**	**-ni**	EXH

5.2.7. Negative imperative

The negative imperative can be regarded as one of three attested "prohibitive" moods (see 5.2.10.). In the negative imperative the negative element *-he-* is readily recognisable. The mood marker, however, is not *-ra*, but *-ky*:

(1480) *(ay-'hỹ) kui-'he-ky* (**kui-'he-ra*)
that-NOM drink-NEG-NEI
'don't drink that!'

In all other respects the negative imperative is the negative equivalent of the imperative. The next examples demonstrate that a plural subject is cross-referred to by the associated person marker *-xa-* only, instead of *-xa-xa-*, and that the second person subject is zero-marked while in cosubordinate sentences it remains marked by the second person marker *-xa-*.[188]

188. This issue has been discussed exhaustively in (5.2.3.).

(1481) *xyi 'kui-he-ky 'auku*
you drink-NEG-NEI alcohol
'you shouldn't/can't drink (pure) alcohol!'

(1482) *xyi'tsɛ 'kui-he-xa-ky 'auku*
you.PL drink-NEG-AS-NEI alcohol
'you (PL) shouldn't/can't drink (pure) alcohol!'

(1483) *hatsi'hỹ-xa-ta ja oja=bu'ru-he-ky*
naked-2-CSO already go=arrive-NEG-NEI
'you can't arrive (while still being) naked!'

(1484) *di'lɛ mã-hata-ky'wy ta'dy-xa-lɛ tso'roi=onɛ-he-'ky*
who call-3S.2O-COND yes-2-PREC run=come-NEG-NEI
'if anyone calls you, don't say "yes!" and come running, no!'

(1485) *we-'tja-he-ky kahɛ-'he-ja-ki*
fear-TRA-NEG-NEI bite-NEG-IO-DEC
'don't be afraid of it, it (e.g. spider) does not bite anyone'

Example (1482) also indicates that the negative imperative is a discontinous morpheme. The negation marker is separated both by subject and object cross-reference from the mood marker.

There is another negative imperative with a less immediate future reading. It involves *-ky* in a compound combination with the verbal root *ihĩ-* 'on the contrary', 'it isn't like that', 'wait!'. This verbal root may contain or be related to the adverbial negative element *ĩ* (see 7.1.2.). The effect of this construction reminds of the ones with procrastinative *-tara-* 'later' (see 5.5.19.).

(1486) *tjari-'nã=ihĩ-'ky*
shoot-FUT=contrary-NEI
'you should not want to kill him!' (t)

(1487) *awre-'ja-damỹ=ihĩ-ky 'ɛ-da-kywy*
marry-IO-want=contrary-NEI go-1S-COND
'don't think of getting married to someone while I'm gone!'

The presence of future *-nã-* and *-damỹ* in most of these examples seems to express 'want' rather than 'future'. In combination with the interjection particle *ja'le* 'wait a little!', *ihĩky* can do without a future morpheme:

(1488) *ja'le=ihĩ-ky*
wait!=contrary-NEI
'wait a little bit more!'

(1489) *ja'le=ihĩ-ky 'kui-da-mỹ*
wait!=contrary-NEI drink-1S-VOL
'hold it!, I'm going to drink!'
(fig. 'let me drink')

In some of the previous examples the element *-ky-* occurred as part of the Conditional marker *-kywy*. It has no negative or imperative value there, but it may be related to the negative imperative *-ky*. It will be discussed in (8.2.1.).

A possible third type of negative imperative is found in the particle-like expression *nãi?ini* 'don't do (it)!', 'stop!'. As it employs the exhortative mood marker *-ni*, it will be treated below in (5.2.8.).

Another different negative imperative is probably a fixed expression. Only one example was attested:

(1490) *nãi-'ky-xa-ta'nãi-nãi* *'e-xa-re*
like-IMP-2-CSO like-NOM have-2-INT
'why on earth are you doing that?' (stop it!) (t)

Example (1490) seems to represent neither an elliptic construction, nor an instance of rapid speech where the element *-he-* was deleted, because in a subsequent discussion with the consultant it was repeated in exactly the same way.

A final type of negative imperative was discussed in (5.2.3.). This is an emphatic negative imperative construction illustrated by the examples (1371) and (1372). The following examples illustrate the contrast between this negated emphatic imperative construction and the canonical prohibitive negative imperative:

(1491) *ja-'he-ca-ra*
eat-NEG-EMP-IMP
'you are nót going to eat!
(since you didn't work)'

(1492) *'ja-he-ky*
eat-NEG-NEI
'don't eat!'

These examples suggest that the presence of emphatic *-ca-* (see 5.2.3.3.) requires *-ra* instead of *-ky*.

5.2.8. Negative exhortative

The negative exhortative is also one of the three prohibitive moods. It involves the original exhortative mood marker *-ni*, and the negative morpheme *-he-*. It was seldom attested.

(1493) *ehỹ-'he-a-ni*
make-NEG-1P-EXH
'let us not do that, we're not going to do it'

A formally less predictable type of negative exhortative is found in the particle-like expression *nãi?ini* 'don't do (it)!', 'stop!'. It employs the exhortative mood marker *-ni* together with the element *-i-*, which may be related to the adverbial negative particle *ĩ* 'nothing'. A nasalised pronunciation of *-ini* as [ʔĩnĩ]

was observed, but rejected on my explicit inquiry about it. It is probably quite lexicalised.

(1494) *'nãi-i'ni wara'hỹ-he-ky*
like-NEE touch-NEG-NEI
'don't do that, don't touch!'[189]

The verbal root *nãi-* means 'to be like that', 'to do thus' and its reduplication has an emphatic function, which results in the sense of 'very' or 'thanks!':

(1495) *na-nãi-i'ni-xa-re*
RED-like-NEE-2-INT
'thanks", (lit. 'you (will) leave (it) be?'[190])

(1496) *na-nãi-i'ni*
RED-like-NEE
'let (it) be!', 'don't do that!', 'refrain from (it)!', 'stop!'

This expression is a negative exhortative as regards form and probable literal meaning. From a functional point of view it should perhaps rather be viewed as a negative imperative. Because of the lack of less idiomatic examples in which the semantic value of a possible productive use of *-i-ni* could be investigated more thoroughly, I have decided to discuss it here where it belongs at least from a formal point of view.[191] It should be added that the latter expression (1496) was given explicitly as an alternative for *ehỹ'hetjara* 'don't do that!' as shown in (1371).

5.2.9. Monitory

The monitory mood is also one of the prohibitive moods. It is expressed by the morpheme *-tsi* and it has a cautionary or admonitory value as it is used to warn the hearer that something dangerous or unpleasant may happen. The zero-marked person is the third person subject argument of the verb. Usually, the subject is not identical with the hearer to whom the admonition is directed:

(1497) *'hyja-'tsi*
fall-MON
'don't let him fall!'
(lit. '(watch out) he may fall!')

(1498) *jere'xwa 'ja-tsi auxwa'nã*
jaguar eat-MON meat
'don't let the dog eat the meat!'
(alternative order: 321)

189. When pronounced angrily and fast: [nãi'nĩ waɾa'hẽkɨ].
190. The existence of an expression meaning 'thanks' is usually denied, so this may approach a calque on POR *não precisa!* 'you don't have to do that'.
191. In case productive use were attested and (*)*kui-i-ni* were to mean 'don't you drink!', then it would fit better in (5.2.7.).

(1499) *'kui-tsi*
drink-MON
'don't let him drink!'

(1500) *'kui-tsi a'wỹi-tsy-tse*
drink-MON see-POT-DEC
'don't let him have a look!'[192]

On the discourse level, the hearer may be identical with an (involuntary!) agent, as in example (1501), but there is no reason to suppose that this corresponds to the grammatical subject, because exactly the same situation obtains in example (1502). There the grammatical subject is cross-referenced explicitly by *-wa-*, the indefinite subject, which can impossibly be identical with the addressed hearer:

(1501) *'kãu-tsi*
break-MON
'take care not to break it!'
(lit. '(watch out) it may break!')

(1502) *hy'ri-wa-tsi*
steal-IS-MON
'watch out, people here steal!'
(CX: said to a newcomer)

It is nevertheless possible for the hearer to be identical with the grammatical subject, but this will have to be marked overtly by *-xa-*:

(1503) *'rai?ỹhỹ hewedu'tu-xa-'tsi*
thing forget-2-MON
'don't forget your luggage!'

(1504) *awe-'mũ o'hui-he-'ky kikalo-'e-xa-tsi*
rain-CL:liquid play-NEG-NEI fever-again-2-MON
'don't go playing outside in the rain, lest you get fever again!'[193]

It is important to notice that the verb root of the monitory phrase in the latter example is (like the former) not "controlled" by the subject, whereas the verb root of the negative imperative phrase is. In fact, the subject is the very same second person singular in both members of the paratactic construction.[194] However, monitory verbs can also have second person subjects when they are controllable verbs. This construction has a negative imperative connotation. Compare the following two examples:

192. This sentence is probably a calque on the POR expression: *nãõ deixe ele tomar olho*, lit. 'don't let him take(=drink) eye!' (the Portuguese verb *tomar* means both 'to take' and 'to drink').
193. This is the complete version of the warning ED sent to her little daughter: *awe'mũ he'ky* '(because of the) rain, don't!'.
194. The context in which this sentence was recorded gave no reason to doubt at the singularity of its subject.

(1505) *a-'wy* *ja-'tsi*
Ø-time eat-MON
'before he eats'

(1506) *a-'wy* *'ja-xa-tsi*
Ø-time eat-2-MON
'don't eat yet!'

This construction may be somewhat idiomatic because of the adverb *awy* 'yet' (see 6.2.4.1.). On one such occasion, the monitory mood marker was encountered deeper inside the verb, as if it can also function as a (preventive) modal suffix (see also 5.2.9.1.):

(1507) *a-'wy* *'wotsu-tsi-da-ta*
Ø-time skinny-MON-1S-CSO
'I do it before they emaciate' (t)

The verb in the monitory mood may cross-refer to any object argument, including the second person who is identical with the hearer:

(1508) *du'mã* *'mɛ̃-hata-'tsi*
snake beat-3S.2O-MON
'take care, the snake is going to hit you (don't let him)!'

Monitory *-tsi* combines with overt cross-reference to a second person subject by *-xa-* like most other moods, but unlike the imperative *-ra*. In spite of this, overt first person singular object cross-reference is realised through *-ta?ỹ-*, which is the same for the imperative[195], whereas most other moods use *-ta-*, including the negative imperative:

(1509) *wa'dy-ta-he-'ky* *wa'dy-ta?ỹ-tsi*
give-1O-NEG-NEI give-1SO-MON
'don't you give me!' 'don't you give me!'

This suggests that the monitory mood in Kwaza does have something in common with the imperative on the grammatical level after all. And on the semantic level, it is sometimes difficult to imagine how the hearer cannot be identical with the agent subject which is zero-marked in the next example:

(1510) *oxote-'hỹ-ta?ỹ-tsi*
wait-NOM-1SO-MON
'don't wait for me!'

Still, I suppose that zero-marked subjects of the monitory mood are formally third person subjects. The fact that literal interpretations like those of the next

195. Except that it is sometimes pronounced in the monitory as [taʔĩ]. This was the case in examples (1511) and (1519), but for statistical reasons I considered /*-ta?ỹ-*/ as the correct phonemic representation.

examples seem a bit far-fetched is not a valid argument against this analysis. For one thing, Kwaza does not have a grammatical category of passive voice.

(1511) *do-'hỹ-ta?ỹ-tsi*
leak-NOM-1SO-MON
'don't leak (hot tea) on me!'
('don't let me be leaked on!'?)

(1512) *mɛ̃-ta?ỹ-'tsi* (**mɛ̃taheky*)
hit-1SO-MON
'don't you hit me!' ('take care not to let me be hit!'?)

To a great extent the monitory *-tsi* can also be regarded as a negative equivalent of the exhortative *-ni*. Their contrast is highlighted by the following minimal pair:

(1513) *jere'xwa ja-'ni*
jaguar eat-EXH
'let the dog eat!'

(1514) *jere'xwa ja-'tsi*
jaguar eat-MON
'don't let the dog eat!'

The monitory has nearly the same formal characteristics in being inflexionable for the same subject persons. The monitory certainly differs from the exhortative in that it can be combined with second person singular subject cross-rerefence too, as attested by example (1504).

The monitory is probably a matrix verb mood. The imminence of danger can be explicitly connected with a preventive measurement in the form of an imperative or negative imperative verb phrase:

(1515) *ku'ri-ca-ra janãnãi-'tsi*
quiet-EMP-IMP good-MON
'take care, shut your mouth, otherwise you will be eaten up!'[196]

(1516) *magariDa-'wã du'ru=wady-ra tã'lo-tsi enãi-'ca-hata-tsi*
Margarida-AO pour=give-IMP sulk-MON quarrel-TRA-3S.2O-MON
'pour Margarida (tea) lest she will sulk, lest she will quarrel!'

(1517) *e'nãi-he-ky bui-'tsi*
quarrel-NEG-NEI leave-MON
'don't quarrel lest he will leave!'

These preventive verb phrases are in matrix verb moods too. Therefore, these complex clauses probably do not represent grammatically hypotactic constructions. When there is no such preventive complement clause, the monitory phrase has an implicit preventive value itself. So *bui'tsi* will probably mean literally: '(if you don't do something) he will leave!'. In this way it has an implicit negative connotation, and as such the monitory mood can be argued to belong to the prohibitive moods inventorised in (5.2.10.) below.

196. To a noisy cock beneath the house interrupting the current fieldwork session.

5.2.9.1. *-tsi-* as a preventive bound modal morpheme

In example (1507) monitory *-tsi* occurs deeper inside the predicate, succeeded as it is by further person and mood marking. In that position it has a preventive connotation. This resembles those constructions involving causational use of *-ni* (see 5.2.4.1.) and volitional use of *-da-mỹ* (see 5.2.5.1.). Only a few instances of preventive modal use of *-tsi* were attested:

(1518) *e'nãi-tja-eteja-'tsi-xa-xa-ta* *areta-'nã-xa-xa-ki*
quarrel-TRA-1PO-MON-2-AS-CSO know-FUT-2-AS-DEC
'for him not to quarrel with you, therefore you're going to learn"
(lit. 'in order for you to (say) "don't let him quarrel with us!" you're going to learn (your lesson)')

Note in this example that the second person plural object is expressed by a first person plural object morpheme. This construction, which is to be understood from the literal translation, is identical to that in quoted speech and other operations discussed in (5.5.11-14.). It seems likely that the construction derives from cliticisation or the resumptive particle strategy, which were discussed in (7.5.2.3.) and (7.5.2.2.) respectively.

Of the following example it is not understood why the (third person) plural object is expressed by a (first person) *singular* object morpheme:

(1519) *e'nãi-tja-ta?ỹ-'tsi-tja* *areta-'nã-tse*
quarrel-TRA-1SO-MON-CSO know-FUT-DEC
'for him not to quarrel with them, they want to learn'

Being a sentence from an entire elicited paradigm, its translation may be somewhat independable. Probably, 'them' and 'they' should be 'him' and 'he' respectively. The fact that the object is literally a first person is obviously a consequence of the quotative nature of the construction.

Some other ill-understood semi-lexicalised uses of preventive *-tsi* are discussed in section (7.1.2.) because they involve the emphatic negative element *-ĩ-*.

5.2.10. Précis: prohibitive

The latter three moods; the negative imperative, the exhortative and the monitory, can be regarded as prohibitive. The prohibitive moods are more or less the negative equivalents of persuasive moods. There are a number of systematic and idiomatic correspondences and differences. As a systematic difference in the first place, there is no special negative volitive. A predictable negative equivalent of the volitive was neither attested. Consequently, first person singular and first person exclusive arguments have not been encountered at all in

any of the prohibitive moods as subject. As an object, however, the first person singular has been attested in the monitory mood, marked conspicuously by the imperative first person singular object cross-reference morpheme *-ta?ỹ-*.

As a second difference it is remarkable that almost none of the productive prohibitive mood markers is immediately traceable to the sum of negation and persuasive mood. Under negation, persuasive mood-markers are suppleted by different mood markers, like *-ky* and *-tsi*, or, alternatively, negation itself is marked differently, as by *-i-* or by zero-marking. Therefore, the prohibitive is not predictable or, in another relatively improper use of the term, "analytic".

The prohibitive corresponds to the persuasive insofar as none of the moods cover the entire range of formally possible subjects, and that the different moods complement one another in that they go with different mutually exclusive subjects. This complementary aspect which is shared among the prohibitive roots, is also semantically motivated.

With respect to their possible subject ranges the prohibitive moods nevertheless complement one another in a slightly different way than do the persuasive moods. There is an apparent overlap between monitory and negative imperative with respect to the second person singular. This is not a true overlap, however, because the second person singular subject of the monitory is not a "controlling" subject, whereas the one of the negative imperative is. The two other negative imperative mood expressions with second person singular are the exceptional "analytic" one as attested in example (1371), and the rather lexicalised element *ĩhĩky*. Also the third person subject of a prohibitive mood is covered by two moods: apart from the monitory, there is a lexicalised negative exhortative expression ending in *-ini*.

Finally the negative equivalents of the imperative and the exhortative tend to be represented by the negative imperative and the monitory respectively. This pattern is disturbed for the zero-marked subjects, where alternative expressions are possible. The negative exhortative seems quite rare.

In the following table, all canonical combinations of subject cross-reference and prohibitive mood marking are united. Slots containing a single hyphen indicate that the expression of cross-reference is zero. The hyphen on one of the second person singular subject abbreviations indicates that the verb is not "controlled" whereas the plus added to the other one indicates that the subject does "control" the verb.

Table 28. Prohibitive mood and subject cross-reference

NEG	Subject			Prohibitive
	2S-	**-xa-**	**-tsi**	MON
-he-	2S+	-	**-ky**	NEI
	3	-	**-tsi**	MON
-he-	1IN	**-a-**	**-ni**	NEE
-he-	2	**-xa-**	**-ky**	NEI
	IS	**-wa-**	**-tsi**	MON

5.3. Directionality

In section (4.2.8.) the attachment of classifiers to verb stems was discussed. There is another type of morphological operation on Kwaza verb stems which has a spatial or directional function. It replaces case markers and prepositions. I have called it "directional", after the terminology used by Craig for a similar phenomenon in Mayan languages (1979:34) and by Hinton (1994:55-57) in the native languages of California. An (either optional or obligatory) directional morpheme specifies the directionality of the activity expressed by typical action, process and motion verbs like "enter", "take" and "put". Kwaza directionals are almost exclusively marked on verbs. Some of the morphemes appear to combine the functions of nominal classification and verbal directionality.

Apart from certain distributional similarities between noun classifiers and directionals, there is a structural parallellism. Similar to the way in which noun classifiers can be attached to the empty root *e-* to form nouns, directionals can be attached to the empty root *a-* in order to form adverbs (see 6.2.).

Another characteristic of the application of a directional morpheme is that the overt lexical expression of a "prepositional object", which has to be in the locative or instrumental case, is optional. This reminds one of the optionality of an overt noun when that noun is specified by its classifier on the verb or on the modifying dependent nominal. In some instances an overt prepositional object was even rejected because in the verb, as the consultant explains: "you already said everything".

The next subsection contains an inventory of morphemes that have been identified as directionals by the examples. The subsequent subsection will discuss ambivalent forms which can function both as classifiers and directionals.

5.3.1. Directional morphemes

dwa 'onto, onto a plane surface'.

(1520) *lokãcwa-'na koreja'ro dai=a'sa-ta a'ru-dwa-ra*
oven-LOC pan grab=leave-CSO put-DR:onto-IMP
'take the pan from the stove and put it on the table!'

(1521) *koreja'ro lokãcwa-'na bu=a'ru-dwa-ra*
pan oven-LOC put=put-DR:onto-IMP
'put the pan on the stove!'

(1522) *dai=txite-'dwa-da-ki*
grab=pile-DR:onto-1S-DEC
'I put (the cups) on (the table)'

(1523) *txi'te-dwa-ki*
pile-DR:onto-DEC
'he put many things on top'

(1524) *'bu=ũce-'dwa-ki*
put=leave-DR:onto-DEC
'he put a thing on top'

Some verb roots are bound with respect to directionality, i.e. they do not occur without a directional element. In combination with *-dwa-*, the semantics of these verbs points to the notion 'into the forest':

(1525) *hy-'dwa-ki*
go-DR:onto-DEC
'he went on the path'[197] (t)

(1526) *towɛ-'dwa-ki*
go-DR:onto-DEC
'they went on the path'[198]

The morpheme is also encountered as part of the word *e-rjaka'dwa* 'the river-side from the edge of the forest until knee-deep into the water'. Furthermore, it occurs in *-dwatja-* 'into the forest'.

dwatja 'into the forest'. This morpheme consists apparently of the abovementioned morpheme *-dwa-* and the unidentified element *-tja-*. This latter element does not occur as such with other directionals. It seems to reinforce the notion of 'forest' observed with respect to examples (1525) and (1526).

(1527) *'hy-dwatja-ki*
go-DR:forest-DEC
'he went into the forest'

(1528) *towɛ-dwa'tja-ki*
go-DR:forest-DEC
'they went into the forest'

ja 'thither'. This is an element which occurs with two verbs only and which has the sense of 'thither'. An optional prepositional object indicates the goal of the movement. It is in antonymy with *-nɛ-* 'back to here'. Because of the non-productive limited applicability of these markers I have indicated the morpheme boundary with <±> (as explained under *-nɛ-*).

(1529) *o±'ja-ki*
arrive.thither-DEC
'he leaves here / arrives there'

(1530) *wa±'ja-ki*
bring.thither-DEC
'he takes / brings it there'

(1531) *kreBa-'na o±ja-'nã-da-ki*
Gleba-LOC arrive.thither-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to (arrive in) Gleba'

197. With the implication that he went into the forest. Note that paths are normally in the forest.
198. The verb *towɛ-* is subcategorised for a plural subject (see 5.4.10.).

(1532) *dodotxi'mũ* *wa±'ja-da-ki* *Ba'hozo-na*
kerosene bring.thither-1S-DEC Barroso-LOC
'I brought kerosene to Barroso'

In combination with the reflexive marker *-nỹ-* the direction of movement is reversed (see there). Kanoê may have a directional with similar form but a different meaning: *-ja-* 'downward' (Bacelar 2004).

je 'away, dig'.[199] A limited number of verb roots obligatorily contains, or can be extended by the element *-je-*. It may be related to the verb *je-* 'dig' or even be the result of its compounding. Its application often creates the sense of crossing a boundary and returning hither with something. It has a telic aspectual connotation of (destructive) change and may imply a sudden or a frightening event. In the following list, the verb roots with which *-je-* occurs have two meanings: one represents the root with the application of *-je-* and one without *-je-*. The element *-je-* is separated from the original root by <+> in verbs in which it is obligatorily present. Verb roots which can occur without *-je-* are separated from it by <->, disregarding whether the semantic difference is predictable or not. In one case, which is indicated by <±>, the root cannot occur without a suffix, but the element *-je-* can be replaced by another one from a limited set of suffixes (see *-nɛ* below).

(1533)

forms	meaning with *-je-*	meaning without *-je-*
ãi-je-	'go far'	'be far'
aru(k)-je-	'jump onto'	'jump'
bɛ-'je-	'(of popcorn) pop'	'bang'
bu-je-hỹ-	'bang'	'fall, drop'
bu-je-marja-hỹ-	'push amidst'	'fall, drop'
bui-je-	'run out'	'leave'
dai-je-	'fall/grab away'	'grab'
e-je-	'move'	*ɛ-* 'go'
ka+je-	'crawl'	*
o'tsi-dy'ta-je-	'break let a thing drop on'	'fall onto, kill'
o-je-	'flee'	'fit tightly'
terja-'je-	'slide/slip'	'slide downstream'
ty-je-	'(the heavy rain) stop'	'fill river'
tsi+'je- (tsje-)	'grab, claw'	*
wa±je-	'search', 'bring back'	'bring'
wo-tja-je-	'bark'	'shout'

199. I am grateful to the late Machtelt Bolkestein (pc) and Anna Pilatova (pc) for suggestions regarding the interpretation of *-je-*.

As appears from the list, the element *-je-* is highly lexicalised. The semantics of some verbs like *ka+je-* 'crawl' and *wa±je-* 'search, bring back' is reminiscent of the meaning of the verb *je-* 'dig'. In other verbs the meaning is related to telicity and scariness. In this latter sense it was possibly attested in a noun: *ky-ryja+je* 'electric eel' (*kyryja-* is a verb root that means 'thunder'). Sometimes, however, its application seems to be relatively productive:

(1534) *tsũ'rũ-je=te'we-ki*
drag-DR:away=down-DEC
'he slid down'

(1535) *'kotorɛ a're-ty-je-ki*
toad turn-DET-DR:away-DEC
'he turned into a toad (on us)' (t)

See also examples (1576) and (1577).

karwa 'away, behind, backwards'. Like *-ritsa-* 'outside', this morpheme is often combined with *xare-* 'turn'. In that combination it has sense of 'turned away, so that the subject becomes invisible or disappears behind something'. This morpheme is probably related to the adverb *akarwe* 'over there'.

(1536) *xare-ka'rwa-tse*
turn-DR:away-DEC
'it is turned away'

(1537) *a'wỹj=xare-ka'rwa-da-ki*
see=turn-DR:away-1S-DEC
'I'm looking there in the distance (my head turned away)'

(1538) *axy xare-ka'rwa-tsy-rjỹ*
house turn-DR:away-GER-CD:area
'behind the house'

(1539) *ẽrjãwã-'na towɛ-ka'rwa-tse*
forest-LOC go-DR:away-DEC
'they disappeared/spread/went away into the forest'

(1540) *nỹ-(karwa)-'rjỹ-ki*
big-DR:away-CD:area-DEC
'(the weeds) are covering a big(ger) area'

It has not been tested whether the following is an adverb, a noun, or a verb with omitted inflexion:

(1541) *xare-ka'rwa*
turn-DR:away
'backside, back (of a dog, of which the head is not visible)'

karwɛ 'away, close by, around, behind, in a circle'. So far, this directional has only been attested in combination with the verb *eje-* 'to move'. In this combination, it refers to circular migration in the traditional semi-nomadic manner, by which one returns to the same spot after several decennia:

(1542) *eje-ka'rwɛ-da-ki*
move-DR:away-1S-DEC
'I'm moving away' (t)

The element *-rwɛ-* also occurs as a separate directional with the meaning 'around'.

katsa 'in the middle of the road'. The element *-tsa-* also occurs as part of the adverb *tsiritsa* 'in the middle' (see example (1606) below and section 5.3.1.).

(1543) *bu-ka'tsa-te*
put-DR:middle-INTENS
'(he is) sitting right in the middle of the road' (t)

(1544) *a=ũ-ka'tsa-hỹ-ki*
exist=be-DR:middle-NOM-DEC
'he lived in the middle' (half-way, e.g. between Barroso and Gleba)

(1545) *wãwỹi=ũ-ka'tsa-da-ki* / *ũi=ũ-ka'tsa-da-ki*
sleep=be-DR:middle-1S-DEC / lie=be-DR:middle-1S-DEC
'I slept in the middle of the road'

kja 'at full length, stretched out'. As appears from the following examples, the semantic value of this directional refers to both horizontal and vertical positions.

(1546) *aru-'kja-siñwã-wa-hỹ-lɛ*
place-DR:length-CD:yard-IS-NOM-COND
'when they have put (the mortar) upright in the yard' (t)

(1547) *bu=aru-'kja-da-mỹ* *'hetsyse*
put=place-DR:length-1S-VOL broom
'I'm going to lay the broom down (on the ground)'

(1548) *'bu-kja-ni* *'hetsyse*
put-DR:length-EXH broom
'lay down the broom (on the ground)!'

In the following example, *-kja-* is probably a lexicalised part of the verb root together with *txite-* 'to pile':[200]

200. This root also occurs as *tsite-*, *tsicɛ-* or *tsitɛ-*, especially in compounds.

(1549) *ko'sa tsitɛ'kja-da-ki*
sun erect-1S-DEC
'I put the lantern upright'

kore 'matutinal, of the morning'.

(1550) *(haja'jadykore-(*na)) ka'we kui-ko're-da-mỹ*
tomorrow.early-LOC coffee drink-DR:matutinal-1S-VOL
'I'll drink (early) morning coffee'

(1551) *pãu ja-ko're-da-mỹ*
bread eat-DR:matutinal-1S-VOL
'I'm going to eat morning bread'

This morpheme also occurs in the adverb *(h)ako're* 'tomorrow'.

kurwa 'at the foot of tree'.

(1552) *ũ-ku'rwa-da-ki*
be-DR:foot-1S-DEC
'I'm sitting at the foot of a tree'

(1553) *hy=hy-rja-ku'rwa-da-mỹ*
go=go-DC:rim-DR:foot-1S-VOL
'I'm going to walk around at the foot of a tree'

(1554) *wãwỹi=ũ-ku'rwa-da-mỹ*
sleep=be-DR:foot-1S-VOL
'I'm going to sleep at the foot of a tree'

kwa 'inside'. Probably related to classifier *-kawa-* 'inside vessel' or maybe even identical with it.

(1555) *ko'sa-na-ỹ-hỹ dai-'kwa-cwa-ki*
sun-LOC-ATT-NOM grab-DR:inside-IS-DEC
'he stole (batteries) from the torch'

(1556) *'pija kosa-'na dai-'kwa-cwa-ki*
battery sun-LOC grab-DR:inside-IS-DEC
'they took batteries from inside the torch'

The meaning of *-cwa-* in these examples is unclear. Maybe it is just another directional *-cwa-* 'up from' (see below).

kwate ‘inside’. Apparently, the directional *-kwa-* ‘inside’ is part of the element *-kwa'te-* encountered in the adverb *a-kwa'te* ‘(here) inside the house/room’ and in:

(1557) *lokãcwa-'na koreja'ro aru-'kwate-da-mỹ*
oven-LOC pan put-DR:inside-1S-VOL
‘I’m going to put the pan into the oven’

kwɛ ‘in, enter’. Some verb roots, like *kwɛ-* ‘enter’ have a directional-like distribution in spite of the fact that they also occur as independent verbs: *kwɛki* ‘he entered’. Like other directionals *kwɛ-* can be attached to verb roots. Nevertheless, in this respect it is also indistinguishable from the independent verb in a compound construction with other verb stems. So a sentence like *maga'riDa hy'kwɛki* ‘Margarida went in there (into the house)’ can be analysed morphologically in two ways:

(1558) *maga'riDa hy-'kwɛ-ki*
maga'riDa hy='kwɛ-ki
Margarida go.enter-DEC
‘Margarida went in there’

I have chosen to analyse *kwɛ-* as a compounded verb root in this position:

(1559) *axy-'na how-hỹ=o'ce=kwɛ-da-ki*
house-LOC take-NOM=throw=enter-1S-DEC
‘I push her into the house’

(1560) *do='kwe-da-ki*
leak=enter-1S-DEC
‘I pour water into a bottle’

(1561) *towɛ='kwɛ-wa-ki*
go=enter-IS-DEC
‘they entered into (the forest, house, corral etc.)’

(1562) *'sũ=kwɛ-ki 'hã-rona-na*
swim=enter-DEC water-CL:hole-LOC
‘he entered the hole swimming’

Unlike most other independent verbs, however, *kwɛ-* can be attached to the empty root *a-* to form an adverb: *a=kwɛ* ‘inside a room’.

(1563) *'kwɛ-da-mỹ axy-'na a='kwɛ cu=tsi'tɛ-da-mỹ*
enter-1S-VOL house-LOC Ø=enter step=pile-1S-VOL
‘I’m going to enter the house, will put (the broom) inside’

mã ‘water’. This suffix behaves as a directional with a meaning related to ‘river, water’. Its distribution is markedly different from that of its nominal classifier equivalent *-mũ-* ‘liquid’. Also it is often quite lexicalised to the verb

roots in the context of which it occurs, like *to'mã-* ‘to bathe’. Upon one occasion the verb root *tomã-* ‘to bathe’ was treated by an elderly speaker as a discontinuous root:

(1564) *to-dy-'mã-dy-ta y'ro-cehere*
bathe-CAU-DR:water-DS-CSO cry-APPR
‘maybe someone is bathing that bird, that it is crying like that’ (t)

The directional *-mã-* occurs as an adverb only in combination with the directional *-toto-* ‘upward’:

(1565) *ho'Drigo a-toto-'mã 'a-ki*
Rodrigo Ø-DR:upward-DR:water exist-DEC
‘Rodrigo lives way up on the other side of the river’

(1566) *dai=o'ce-toto-mã-xa-lɛ*
grab=throw-DR:upward-DR:water-2-PREC
‘when you take (fish) and throw them onto the riverbank’ (t)

mãte ‘into water’. A more productive directional, which is related to *-mã-* ‘water’, is *-mãte-* ‘into water’. The element *-te-* is not identified, but in the combination *-mãte-* it seems to have a more dynamic sense than *-mã-* alone:

(1567) *tsa-mã'te-da-ki*
strew-DR:into.water-1S-DEC
‘I strew sand, flour etc. into the water’ (t)

(1568) *a-ty-mã'te-da-ki*
exist-DET-DR:into.water-1S-DEC
‘I throw (any kind of thing) into the water’[201]

There seems to be an etymological allomorph *-mjỹte-* as the result of a morphophonological process of metathesis of /i/ in *tuj-* ‘fall’ and /m/ of *-mãte-* ‘into water’ in:

(1569) *haki'dwa tumjỹ'te-ki*
stone fall.into.water-DEC
‘stone fell into the water’

201.lit. ‘I make it be in the water (where it stays)’

mãri ‘middle’, also [maɾi].

(1570) *Do'mĩgo 'hita tsiri'tsa bu=ũ-dwa-mã'ri-da-ki si*
Domingo Rita middle put=be-DR:onto-DR:middle-1S-DEC I
‘I’m sitting in the middle between Domingo and Rita’

(1571) *ywy'nwỹ dy-ma'ri-da-ki*
tree cut-DR:middle-1S-DEC
‘I split wood through the middle’

marja ‘midst’. This morpheme is probably related to *-mãri-*.

(1572) *cucu=hy=hy-marja-'rjỹ-da-ki*
step=go=go-DR:midst-CD:area-1S-DEC
‘I’m walking amidst the people’

(1573) *buje-marja-'hỹ-ki*
bang-DR:midst-NOM-DEC
‘pushed his way amidst the people’

nã ‘fire, bottom?’. *-nã-* could be a directional suffix referring to ‘fire, stove’:

(1574) *koreja'ro a'ru-nã-ra*
pan place-DR:fire-IMP
‘put the (empty) pan on the fire!’[202]

(1575) *hari?i'xu a'ru-nã-ra*
bean place-DR:fire-IMP
‘put the beans on the fire!’

(1576) *koreja'ro (lokãcwa-'na) 'dai-je-nã-ra*
pan oven-LOC grab-DR:away-DR:fire-IMP
‘take the pan from the fire(place)!’

(1577) *koreja'ro lokãcwa-'na 'dai-je-nã=a'sa-da-mỹ*
pan oven-LOC grab-DR:away-DR:fire=leave-1S-VOL
‘I’m going to take the pan from the fire(place)’

It is unclear whether this directional is related to the element *-nã-* in:

(1578) *e-'nã-tjate*
Ø-???-3.POS
‘its inside bottom (e.g. of a tin)’

202. When an object is absent *aru-nã-* means ‘to cook food’.

nɛ ‘hither’. This is an element with a very limited distribution. It occurs only on some specific verbs. In the majority of these verbs the root does not occur as an independent stem. In two of those, *bwɛ-* and *oudy-* the element *-nɛ-* is obligatory, in which case I have indicated the etymological morpheme boundary with a <+>. In the other two, *o-* and *wa-*, it can be replaced by another element from a limited set: *-ja-* ‘thither’, *-je-* ‘dig’ or *-nỹ-* ‘reflexive’, and possibly some others. There the morpheme boundary is marked <±>. The roots which are followed by a morpheme boundary marked <->, *kwɛ-* and *towɛ-*, may function with or without any other appropriate morpheme as a verb stem. Of course inflexional person and mood marking (which is represented in the following examples by *-ki* ‘3.DEC’) is obligatory for all verbs.

(1579)	*bwɛ+'nɛ-ki*	‘they returned here’ (t)
	kwɛ-'nɛ-ki	‘he entered here’
	o±'nɛ-ki	‘he arrives / returns home / here’
	ou+dy+'nɛ-ki	‘he made the animal return (hither)’
	towɛ-'nɛ-ki	‘they arrived from the forest’
	wa±'nɛ-ki	‘he brings it, it comes’
	wɛ-'nɛ-ki	‘he brought it here’

The goal of the movement is always the place where the subject belongs, i.e. ‘(back) home’. This usually coincides with the speaker’s home.[203] Only the source of the movement can be made explicit by a prepositional object in the locative case.

(1580) *ẽrjãwã-'na o±'nɛ-ki*
forest-LOC arrive.hither-DEC
‘he came out of the forest (returning home)’

nĩ ‘in a net, basket, bag’.

(1581) *tsa-'nĩ-da-ki*
strew-DR:net-1S-DEC
‘I put (seeds) into a basket’

(1582) *arwe±'nĩ-ʈja*
carry.chicha-CSO
‘carry chicha in a basket’ (t)

nỹ ‘REF, hither’. As if in analogy with *-nɛ-* ‘hither’, the reflexive marker *-nỹ-* functions also as a directional morpheme.

(1583) *jere'xwa hy-si'ñwã-dyta*
jaguar go-CD:yard-well
‘jaguar was walking in the yard’

(1584) *jere'xwa hy-si'ñwã-nỹ-dyta*
jaguar go-CD:yard-REF-well
‘jaguar was approaching over / arrived onto the yard’

203. If the subject’s home is elsewhere, an entirely different verb would be used: *ɛ(?e)-* ‘go away (again)’.

(1585) *'oce=kwɛ-nỹ-ra*
throw=enter-REF-IMP
'throw it inside (where I am)!' (t)

(1586) *ko'sa waja-nỹ-'ra*
lantern bring-REF-IMP
'bring the lantern hither!'

(1587) *le'ja-da-ki*
ahead-1S-DEC
'I'm going ahead'

leja-'nỹ-da-ki
ahead-REF-1S-DEC
'I went/came ahead'[204]

In some roots this is somewhat lexicalised:

(1588) *o±'nỹ-ki*
arrive.REF-DEC
'he/they are coming/arriving'

(1589) *wa±'nỹ-ki*
bring.REF-DEC
'he/they are coming/arriving'

(1590) **wa±'nỹ-da-ki* / *wa±nỹ-a-*(xa)-ki*
o±'nỹ-da-ki / *o±nỹ-a-*(xa)-ki*
arrive/bring.REF-1S-DEC / arrive/bring.REF-1P-AS-DEC
'we are coming'

Example (1590) is also discussed in (5.4.10.). The reflexive marker *-nỹ-* is furthermore lexicalised as a verbal root formative element in the word *nỹkotɛ-* 'to return hither'.[205] In combination with verb roots such as *hy-* 'to go' it means 'to return thither':

(1591) *(hy)=nỹko'tɛ-ki*
go=return-DEC
'he returned (t)hither' (t)

The reflexive marker *-nỹ-* is transparent in combination with *-ja-* 'thither' when applied to the same two verbs. The combination *-ja-nỹ-* reverses the effect of *-ja-* and means 'hither, originating from there'. An optional prepositional object indicates the source of the movement.

(1592) *o±ja-'nỹ-ki*
arrive.thither-REF-DEC
'he leaves there / arrives here'

(1593) *wa±ja-'nỹ-ki*
bring.thither-REF-DEC
'he takes / brings it hither'

(1594) *sjupi'ngwaja-na o±ja-'nỹ-ki*
Chupinguaia-LOC arrive.thither-REF-DEC
'he came from Chupinguaia hither'

204. Answer to the possible question: 'where is the one you were with?'.
205. The element *-kotɛ-* was not identified.

Explicit reference to the goal in these examples is considered pragmatically incorrect (cf. the examples under *-ja-* 'thither'). This is reminiscent of the detransitivising effect of reflexive *-nỹ-* when used as a kind of middle[206] voice marker (see 5.4.6.).

The semantic difference between *-nɛ-* 'hither, originating from here' and *-ja-nỹ-* 'hither originating from there' concerns geographical origin. This difference is also used to express a difference in social intimacy, and in this way it resembles the distinction between *home* and *house* in English. Often, when you arrive at a friend's place, he would rather greet you saying *o'nɛxare* 'you're arriving home?' than *oja'nỹxare* 'you're arriving here?'. Likewise it would be very strange for a mother to say to her child *oja'nỹxare* 'you're arriving here?' even when that child is grown up and lives elsewhere.

nõwẽ 'upstream'.[207]

(1595) *tsũ-nõ'wẽ-da-ki*
swim-DR:upstream-1S-DEC
'I swam upstream'

(1596) *hy-nõ'wẽ-da-ki ('hã-na)*
go-DR:upstream-1S-DEC water-LOC
'I went upstream (in the river)'

(1597) *a-nõ'wẽ mũi-'ra*
Ø-DR:upstream submerge-IMP
'fetch water upstream!'

ñwỹ 'tree'. This morpheme functions as the directional equivalent of the noun classifier *-nwỹ-* 'tree'. There is probably an etymological relation.

(1598) *bu=ũ-'ñwỹ-da-ki*
put=be-DR:tree-1S-DEC
'I'm sitting up there
(in the tree)'

(1599) *e'xy hewe-'ñwỹ-da-mỹ*
leaf put-DR:tree-1S-VOL
'I stuck paper to the wood
(on a nail, with glue, etc.)'

(1600) *aru-'ñwỹ-da-ki*
place-DR:tree-1S-DEC
'I put (the hinge) onto the wood'[208]

ratsa 'under water', 'under sand'.

(1601) *hy-ratsa-'nũ-da-ki*
go-DR:under-CL:powder-1S-DEC
'I entered (into) the ground' (t)

206. In spite of the reflexive character of *-nỹ-*, there is no passive connotation involved.
207. Note that the pronunciation *[anõw̰ɛ̃] was not considered correct.
208. Note that *-ñwỹ-* was sometimes pronounced as [ñwõ], and that in the present example the pronunciations *[ñwɨ̃] and *[ñwã] were considered as incorrect.

(1602) *towɛ-ratsa-'nũ-a-xa-ki*
go-DR:under-CL:powder-1P-AS-DEC
'we entered (into) the earth' (t)

This directional also occurs in an adverb-like construction involving the empty root *a-* and the classifier *-mũ-* 'liquid': *aratsamũ* 'on the bottom of the river' (see 6.2.).

ri 'up-down'. This morpheme may be lexicalised in the verb roots *o'ri-* 'to ascend', *di'ri-* 'to descend' and *tu'ri-* 'to topple'. It may be more productive in *towɛ'ri-* 'to ascend (PLS)'. Maybe it is the same element in *awe'riki* 'it is raining' (had just begun, or it is going to).

ritsa 'outside'.

(1603) *jãsi=xare-ri'tsa-da-ki*
hear=turn-DR:outside-1S-DEC
'I heard it from (there) outside (the house)'
(the sound comes from outside)

(1604) *awỹi=xare-ri'tsa-ki*
see=turn-DR:outside-DEC
'he looked out (of the house)' /
'he saw (x) outside (from inside (the house))' (t)

In the following example, the prepositional object is obligatorily marked for locative case. However, it is superfluous, and the consultant explains that, through the verb 'you already said everything':

(1605) *axy-'na* *hou-hỹ=o'ce-ritsa-da-ki*
house-LOC take-NOM=throw-DR:outside-1S-DEC
'I pull her out of the house'

Directional adverbial form: *aritsa* 'outside'. The locational adverb *tsiri'tsa* 'in the middle' is probably related:

(1606) *tsi'ritsa* *wã'wỹi-da-ki*
middle sleep-1S-DEC
'I slept in the middle'

sile 'nocturnal'. This morpheme is etymologically related to the verb root *sile-* 'in the night, at dusk'.

(1607) *tõmã-si'le-da-mỹ*
bathe-DR:nocturnal-1S-VOL
'I'm going to take a bath at night'

silona 'corner of the house'. Adverbial form: *asilona* 'at the corner of the house'.

(1608) *hẽu-rjỹ=hyhy'rwa-silona=baru-tja*
smell-CD:area=move-DR:corner=do.all-CSO
'(the jaguar) sniffed around walking to all corners' (t)

tatsitswa 'under- or backside'. Adverbial form: *atatsi'tswa* 'under'.

(1609) *e-romũ-tatsi'tswa*
Ø-CL:thigh-DR:under
'underside of thigh'

(1610) *a-tatsitswa-ro'mũ*
Ø-DR:under-CL:thigh
'underside of thigh'

a-'tatsitswa-'kai
Ø-DR:under-CL:leg
'calf'

(1611) *kamũka'mũ axy-'na bu=ũ-tatsi'tswa-ki*
cricket house-LOC put=be-DR:under-DEC
'the cricket is clinging onto the underside of the house'

(1612) *'kopo 'dai=asa-ta bu=aru-ta'sitswa-ra*
cup grab=leave-CSO put=put-DR:under-IMP
'take the cup (from up there) and put it lower!'

(1613) *'kopo dai-ta'sitswa-ta 'bu=aru-cwa-ra*
cup grab-DR:under-CSO put=put-DR:high-IMP
'take the cup from down there and put it higher!'

(1614) *ku-dy-tatsi'tswa-da-mỹ*
insert-CAU-DR:under-1S-VOL
'I'm going to jam (the paper) under (the cup, table's foot, etc.)'

tenɛ 'down'. Only occurrence:

(1615) *a'le oce-te'nɛ-da-ki*
axe throw-DR:down-1S-DEC
'I threw down the axe (from the tree)'

terja ‘slide down, downstream’. This is a verb in: *te'rja-tse* ‘(the alligator) slid down the slope into the river’. Its root is also used as a directional compound for ‘downstream’ in:

(1616) *tsũ=te'rja-da-ki*
swim=downstream-1S-DEC
‘I swam downstream’

Furthermore, it also occurs as an adverb: *ate'rja* ‘downstream’ (see 6.2.).

tewe ‘down’. The verb root *tewe* ‘slant, slide down’ can in principle also be used as a directional. Like *kwɛ-* this creates the dilemma of whether we are dealing with a compound structure or a suffixal derivation:

(1617) *'mesa te'we-ỹ-ki*
table down-ATT-DEC
‘the table is slanting’

(1618) *meza-'na hou-hỹ=oce=te'we-da-ki*
table-LOC take-NOM=throw=down-1S-DEC
‘I push her off the table’

(1619) *hou-hỹ=oce=te'we-da-ki axy-'na*
take-NOM=throw=down-1S-DEC house-LOC
‘I push her down out of the house’

(1620) *mũ=oce=te'we-da-ki axy-'na*
pull=throw=down-1S-DEC house-LOC
‘I pull her down from the house’

(1621) *ãwãta=te'we-da-ki*
look.at=down-1S-DEC
‘from above I’m looking downwards’

Like *-ratsa-*, this directional also occurs in an adverb-like construction involving the empty root *a-* and the classifier *-tu-* ‘shoulder’: *atewetu* ‘from the top on the mountain slope downwards’ (see 6.2.).

tjarjỹ ‘probe everywhere all around’. The morpheme *-tjarjỹ-* usually occurs as an intensive habitual aspect marker, meaning ‘always much’ (see 5.5.25.), but in combination with the verb *jãsi-* ‘to hear’ it resembles also a directional:

(1622) *dutu're jãsi-tja'rjỹ-da-ta*
pig hear-everywhere-1S-CSO
‘I’m listening in order to sound (i.e. probe if there are) pigs’

totɛ ‘upwards from below’.

(1623) *ãwãta-hỹ-to'tɛ(-ki)*
look.at-NOM-DR:upwards-DEC
‘she looked at him from top to toe’ (t)

(1624) *ãwãta-totɛ-'tu-da-ki*
look.at-DR:upwards-CL:back-1S-DEC
‘from below I’m looking upwards at the mountain slope’

(1625) *mũ=hẽ-dy-to'tɛ-da-ki*
pull=hang-CAU-DR:upwards-1S-DEC
‘I hoist (something) up (by a rope)’

toto ‘upward’. Attested adverb *ato'to* ‘above’.

(1626) *oce-to'to-da-mỹ* (note **ato'to o'cedamỹ*)
throw-DR:upward-1S-VOL
‘I’ll throw it up in the air’

(1627) *ãwãta-to'to-da-ki* / *ãwỹi-to'to-da-ki*
look.at-DR:upward-1S-DEC / see-DR:upward-1S-DEC
‘I looked upwards’

(1628) *awỹi=a-to'to-da-ki*
see=Ø-DR:upward-1S-DEC
‘I looked high (up there)’

(1629) *manini-'tsu a-to'to bu=aru-'cwa-le-ki*
fish-CL:stick Ø-DR:upward place=put-DR:high-FRUST-DEC
‘the fishing rod lies up on the beams’[209]

-toto- is also encountered as a complex directional morpheme together with *-mã-* ‘water’. In the next example, this complex is attached to a (zero-verbalised?) noun and functions as an adverb:

(1630) *ãi ũteja-toto-'mã a-ki*
far side-DR:upward-DR:water exist-DEC
‘he lives long (up) from the other side of the river’

There is an allomorph *-coto-*, maybe due to metathetical assimilation of non-syllabic /i/ of the preceding syllable.

209. The function of *-le-* here was not well understood from the context of this example.

(1631) *dai-co'to-nỹ-ra*
grab-DR:upward-REF-IMP
'rise from the floor!, get out of bed!'[210]

tsẽrjỹ 'lie'; also [tseɾj̃ɨ].

(1632) *tutunita'hỹ-tsẽrjỹ*
think-DR:lie
'lying thinking' (t)

(1633) *'kui-tsẽrjỹ-da-ki*
drink-DR:lie-1S-DEC
'I'm drinking while lying down'

This is a directional suffix that is to be attached to a verb stem. It is not a verb stem itself, yet it is usable independently, provided that the pragmatic context allows:

(1634) Q: *cutsẽ'rjỹ-xa-re*
stand.lie-2-INT
'you're lying down?'[211]

A: *tsẽ'rjỹ-da-ki*
lie-1S-DEC
'(yes,) I'm lying down'

tswatswɛ 'behind'.

(1635) *e-'xy* *'tui-tswatswɛ-tse* *wari'kanɛ-na*
Ø-CL:leaf fall-DR:behind-DEC bench-LOC
'the paper fell behind the bench'

ce 'aside'. This morpheme occurs in several roots, and it is quite lexicalised:

(1636) *o.'ce-da-ki*
throw.away-1S-DEC
'I cast it away'

(1637) *tu.'ce-da-ki*
fall-1S-DEC
'I'm falling'[212]

The verb root in this example may originally mean 'cast aside', but today, the element *o-* cannot be related to the sense of 'cast, throw'. Also the unanalysable verb root *tja?a'tje-* 'to be physically close by' may originally contain the directional *-ce-*. The verb *acerjỹ-* 'to be nigh, to be temporally close by' may be still analysable:

(1638) *a-ce-'rjỹ-ki* *o±nɛ-'nã-tsy-nãi*
exist-DR:aside-CD:area-DEC arrive.hither-FUT-GER-NOM
'he is going to arrive soon' (lit. 'his arrival is nigh')

210. Note that a verb *dainỹ-* meaning 'lift' was once encountered, but later rejected.
211. i.e. 'lying down during the day'. Note that the root of this verb *cu-* 'step' is considered as lexicalised with the present morpheme.
212. MA noted that this is an old-fashioned word.

The next example is also relatively transparent:

(1639) *ũ-'ce-da-ki*
be-DR:aside-1S-DEC
'I placed a trap' (lit. 'I left (a trap) by the side (of the path)')

cwa 'high up'. Not all directionals seem to be suitable for adverb formation with the empty stem *a-*. MA could interpret **a'cwaki* 'it is up high' but said it was not correct.

(1640) *lokãcwa-'na koreja'ro aru-'cwa-da-mỹ dai=a'sa-da-ta*
oven-LOC pan place-DR:high-1S-VOL grab=leave-1S-CSO
'I'm going to take out the pan from the stove and put it up high'

(1641) *hu'ri-xwana 'dai-cwa-ra*
paca-CL:flesh grab-DR:high-IMP
'take up from the pan some paca-meat (to eat)'

(1642) *bu=ũ-'cwa-ki*
put=be-DR:high-DEC
'it is sitting high up'

(1643) *mesa-'na bu=ũ-rjỹ-'cwa-ki*
table-LOC put=be-CD:area-DR:high-DEC
'he is sitting on the table'

In the following example, there is no prepositional object. The fact that *habui* 'outside' does not get locative case marking represents an argument in favour of its analysis as an adverb (see 6.2.3.):

(1644) *ha'bui a'ru-cwa-ra*
outside put-DR:high-IMP
'put it outside!'

txa 'wide'. This morpheme occurs only as relatively lexicalised in a small number of verbs. Its meaning could be inferred from a rather abstract semantic correspondence between them. Note with respect to the following example that the verb root *dei-* means 'to open (a book or the leaves of a cob of maize)' or 'to appear (the sun from behind the clouds)':

(1645) *lo'te dai.'txa-da-ki*
door open.wide-1S-DEC
'I opened the door'

The verb in the following example is apparently based on the verb root *hyja-* 'to fall':

(1646) *bala-'hỹ* *hy'txa-dy-ta*
mistake-NOM drop-DS-CSO
'(the stone) slipped out (of the hand unintentionally)'

The following example, which involves the verb root *tsã-* 'to strew', seems to be the result of relatively productive application of *-txa-*:

(1647) *erewe-xu-ni'tɛ* *tsã-'txa-da-ki*
write-CL:bone-INST strew-DR:wide-1S-DEC
'I dropped and scattered chalk (on the floor unintentionally)'

The next example is based on an ideophone (see 9.12.):

(1648) *BoBoBopo-'txa-hỹ-lɛ*
flap-DR:wide-NOM-PREC
'(the vulture) fluttered up' (it opened its wings wide) (t)

In the next two examples, the negative morpheme *-he-* functions as a root formative, which, in combination with *-txa-*, indicates that a passage is denied:

(1649) *he-'txa-eteja-wa-ki*
NEG-DR:wide-1PO-IS-DEC
'it is closing us in'

(1650) *he-txa-'mũ-wa-ki*
NEG-DR:wide-CL:liquid-IS-DEC
'there is a barrier in the river'

5.3.2. Structural comparison of directionals and classifiers

In certain respects, the meaning and the behaviour of directionals resemble those of classifiers. Some directionals such as *-ñwỹ-* 'on wood' and *-mã-* 'in water' may even have developed out of classifiers (*-nwỹ* 'tree' and *-mũ* 'liquid', respectively). As will be seen in (5.3.3.), classifiers are sometimes difficult to distinguish from directionals when incorporated in verb stems. There is also a number of fundamental differences between the two categories, and these will be discussed here.

In the first place, directionals have a very limited distribution when compared with classifiers. They can be attached practically only to verb roots, whereas classifiers can also be attached to noun stems and to a wide variety of bound roots (see 4.2.1.). In certain constructions, classifiers may even have a category changing effect and nominalise verbal or adverbial roots.

In the second place, many classifiers and directionals can be attached to a semantically empty stem. However, classifiers are attached to the empty stem *e-* and yield noun stems (see 4.2.1.11.), while directionals are attached to the

empty stem *a-* and yield adverbs or verb roots as in example (1597). It is interesting to draw a semantic parallel between these empty stems and the verb roots *e-* 'have' as in *xyi'nĩ e-ki* '(the plant) has thorns', and *a-* 'exist' as in *ywynwỹ a-jahỹ-ki* 'there is a log in the way'. The first deals with possession of things and is as such more "nominal" in nature, whereas the last deals rather with existence of things and may be considered as semantically more "verbal".

In the third place, directionals tend to be lexicalised with the verb roots to which they are attached, such as *-nɛ-* 'hither' and *-je-* 'away', whereas classifiers may be fully productive even if they represent a small class, such as *-tyxa* 'sheet iron' and *-tehu* 'spoon'.

In the fourth place, some directionals such as *-kwɛ-* 'enter' seem to have developed out of compounded verb roots, while compounding of verb roots, such as *=asa-* 'to leave, end' may have a directional function in Kwaza:

(1651) *lokãcwa-'na koreja'ro 'dai=asa-ta aru-'rjỹ-da-mỹ*
oven-LOC pan take=leave-CSO put-CD:area-1S-VOL
'I want to take the pan from the oven and put it on the ground'

In this example it is the verb root *asa-*, which is used as a directional element and which is therefore accompanied by the locative satellite *lokãcwanã*. Compound verb roots are very common in Kwaza, whereas compounds of full nouns do not exist. Consequently, classifiers cannot be considered to be the result of compounding. Even though many classifiers are undeniably related to nouns both formally and semantically, there is always a formal adaptation, and no compounded nouns in strictu sensu were attested.

A final important difference between the categories of classifiers and directionals is quantitative: there are nearly 45 directionals (including the ambiguous ones of section 5.3.3.), and close to 150 classifiers.

5.3.3. Ambiguous elements

Directional morphemes are encountered in the same position inside the verb in which classifiers may occur, cf. the directional *-dwa-* 'onto' in example (1520) to the classifier *-ro-* 'cup' in (1652) below:

(1652) *koreja'ro kaisja-'na aru-'ro-da-ki*
pan box-LOC put-CL:cup-1S-DEC
'I put the pan inside the box'

For this reason, the attested distribution is in principle not an adequate criterion for the distinction between directionals and classifiers. Nevertheless, those morphemes which can be characterised as undeniably "directional" on the basis of semantics, generally do not occur in all of the contexts where classifiers are found. For example, directionals are not encountered in positions which have

an attributive function. So directionals have a more limited distribution than classifiers. This enables us to decide upon the distinction in terms of a combination of distributional and semantic properties. In some cases, however, not even the semantics is decisive with regard to the question of whether a certain morpheme is a classifier or a directional, e.g. *-rjỹ-* 'area':

(1653) *do-kace=du-'rjỹ-da-ki* *meza-'na*
leak-DC:wood=all-CD:area-1S-DEC table-LOC
'I spilt water all over the table'

The morpheme *-rjỹ-* does occur in all possible classifier positions, but it has both semantic properties of directionals and of classifiers. As explained in (4.2.2.1.) I decided to regard *-rjỹ-* as a classifier because of its distribution. In the present section I have listed the other ambiguous directional / classifying morphemes. They are ambiguous on semantic rather than on formal grounds. Note in this respect that none of them was attested with the semantically void adverbial root *a-*.

kace 'on top of horizontal wood'. The morpheme *-kace-* may be a classifier, since it sometimes occurs in the position of a classifier, and has a nominalising effect:

(1654) *duky-ka'ce*
other-DC:wood
'other tree/plank'

Furthermore, is also attested in combination with the semantically void root *e-*, which is normally used as a word formative for classifiers:

(1655) *e-kace-'na*
Ø-DC:wood-LOC
'on top of a fallen tree'

However, it occurs mostly in the function of a directional:

(1656) *e-mũ-ka'ce-ki*
Ø-CL:liquid-DC:wood-DEC
'water leaked (onto the table)'

(1657) *do-ka'ce-da-ki* *meza-'na*
leak-DC:wood-1S-DEC table-LOC
'I let water leak on the table'

(1658) *dou=hy-ka'ce-da-ki*
sit=go-DC:wood-1S-DEC
'I'm walking on top of wood'

(1659) *e-mũ-kace-'dy-da-ki*
Ø-CL:liquid-DC:wood-CAU-1S-DEC
'I poured water over the bench'

(1660) *meza-*(na) way-ka'ce-ki*
table-LOC clean-DC:wood-DEC
'he is cleaning / sweeping (on) the table'

(1661) *e-mũ-kace=do-'rjỹ-ki*
Ø-CL:liquid-DC:wood=all-CD:area-DEC
'water leaked out all over the table'

Note that causative *-dy-* may be infixed before the obligatory classifier *-hỹ-* in some words: *e'mũdy'hỹki* 'he/the thing got/was made wet/ he wet it', but apparently not before a directional: *emũkace'dydaki* 'I poured water over the bench'.

kutytɛ 'beyond'. This morpheme may originally derive from a combination of the classifiers *-kuty* 'head' and *-tɛ* 'round', since it is often encountered in situations where something is beyond a hill. With respect to the following example one should know that traditional houses have the shape of a beehive:

(1662) *a'xy-kutytɛ*
house-DR:beyond
'beyond the house, behind the house'

(1663) *a'xy-kutytɛ-ki hã* (**kutytɛki hã*)
house-DR:beyond-DEC water
'the river is behind the house'

And with regard to the next example it may be significant that there are hills in between Zezinho's and Arino's settlements:

(1664) *ze'zĩju a'rinu-kutytɛ 'a-ki*
Zezinho Arino-DR:beyond exist-DEC
Zezinho lives past/beyond Arino'[213]

In the following example reference is made to a certain stretch of savannah at the headwaters of the Taboca river:

(1665) *eri-kuty'tɛ a-nahe're*
field-DR:beyond exist-COL
'the people who live beyond the field' (t)

213.Order 231 is also allowed.

This morpheme was not attested with the adverbial root *a-*. Productive use of the combination *-kuty-te* was discussed at the end of (5.6.6.).

nĩ 'into dust'. It is likely that *-cwanĩ-* is a lexicalised combination. One of its constituing elements, *-nĩ-*, occurs in certain verbs and nouns with a meaning related to 'dust'. *-nĩ-* occurs as a part of the unanalysable noun *tsũrũrũ'nĩ* 'sand', and as part of the unproductive element *-nõnĩ* in *jo-nõ'nĩ* 'manioc flour'. Yet it was never encountered as a classifier. Furthermore, there are one or two verbs relating to 'sand' in which *-nĩ-* occurs as a directional element by itself:

(1666) *a'xy-na* *aru-dwa-'nĩ-da-ki*
house-LOC place-DR:onto-DR:dust-1S-DEC
'I buried (him/it) inside the house'

(1667) *kwɛ-'nĩ-ki* *a'xy-dy-da-'mỹ-tja*
enter-DR:dust-DEC house-CAU-1S-VOL-CSO
'he put (the pole upright) into the ground to build a house'

ritsa 'outside'. However convincing the evidence presented in (5.3.1.) for the directional nature of this morpheme may be, it is also found in a lexicalised combination with the empty nominal stem *e-* and an ensuing (unidentified) element *-mjã*: *eritsa'mjã* 'place, camp site'. Furthermore it occurs in a lexicalised combination with unidentified root element *tsu-* and the classifier *-tu* 'shoulder, back': *tsuritsa'tu* 'slope, hill, mountain'. It may be that *-ritsa-* itself can be further analysed etymologically as a classifier *-ri-* 'flat surface' and an (unidentified) element *-tsa-* (see 4.2.2.1.).[214] It may be related to the classifier *-ricwa* 'inhabited place'.

rja 'behind a rim or edge, around'. The morpheme *-rja-* 'rim' can be applied both to nominal and verbal roots. It always requires the application of subsequent morphemes which may form nominal, verbal or locational adverbial stems. It has also become lexicalised with certain unidentified morphemes, together with which similar stems are formed. The element *-rja-* never occurs without a subsequent classifier or directional. Although it is unclear whether a minimal form *e-rja* exists, which would advocate for its status as a classifier, a minimal adverbial form *a-rja* was not attested either. However, *e-rja-* combined with other classifiers was attested:

(1668) *e-rja-xy-'na* *mangka-'nwỹ* *'a-ki*
Ø-DC:rim-CL:house-LOC mango-CL:tree exist-DEC
'behind the house there are mango trees'

214. The abundance of lexicalised forms referring to mountainous terrain and set of current suggests that the Kwaza have been living in a hilly region for a long time. The elevation in Southern Rondônia ranges between about 150 and 650 metres.

(1669) *txahỹ-rja-ja'hỹ*
path-DC:rim-CL:path
'roadside'

(1670) *hary'ky tsi'cwa-da-ta tãtãi-rja-'hỹ-da-ki*
now begin-1S-CSO pound-DC:rim-NOM-1S-DEC
'now I started to pound (the earth) around (the fence poles)'

(1671) *hary'ky tsi'cwa-da-ta ku=kwɛ-rja-'hỹ-da-ki*
now begin-1S-CSO insert=enter-DC:rim-NOM-1S-DEC
'now I started to thread (the wire) around (the fence poles)'

(1672) *e-rja-ka'rã esi'ñwã towy-'rja-ka'rã*
Ø-DC:rim-CL:edge yard field-DC:rim-CL:edge
'edge of yard' 'edge of forest (i.e. of plantation)'

(1673) *e-rja-karã-'xy* / *axy-rja-kã'rãj* /
Ø-DC:rim-CL:edge-CL:house / house-DC:rim-DC:edge /
'edge of house and roof' / 'edge of house and roof' /

axy-rja'rwe
house-CD:circle
'edge of house and roof'

(1674) *a'xy erjãwã-rja-ka'rãi-ki*
house forest-DC:rim-CL:edge-DEC
'the house was on the edge of the forest'

(1675) *e-rja-'mũ*
Ø-DC:rim-CL:liquid
'riverside' (always dry; further into the forest than *erjakadwa*)

(1676) *kaskata-rja-'mũ*
Caskata-DC:rim-CL:liquid
'the riverbank at Cascata'

(1677) *a-rja-'mũ-da-ki*
exist-DC:rim-CL:liquid-1S-DEC
'I live on the bank of the river'

(1678) *hy-rja-'mũ-da-ki*
go-DC:rim-CL:liquid-1S-DEC
'I walked (on the path) along the river'

Notice that in the latter example *-rja-* is possibly not attached to the empty adverbial root *a-*, but to the verbal root *a-* 'exist'.

rjakadwa ‘waterside’; minimal classifier form *erjaka'dwa* ‘river front’. The element *-kadwa* does not appear without *-rja-* ‘rim’, and thus forms a lexicalised combination with it.

(1679) *(hã) e-rja.ka'dwa*
water Ø-DC:rim.front
‘riverfront from the edge of forest until knee-deep’

rjarwɛ ‘circle, round’. This directional may be based on the directional *-rja-* ‘rim’ and the element *-rwɛ-* ‘around’, and mean ‘circle, environs, rim’. It refers furthermore to mouth of bottle, bucket, basket etc., but the circle which it describes may also be square or incomplete. It can be applied to the empty nominal stem *e-*: *erja'rwɛ* ‘environs’, something which is normally only a property of classifiers.[215]

(1680) *nỹ-rja'rwɛ-ki*
big-DC:circle-DEC
‘big wheel’

(1681) *e-rja'rwɛ-tsy-hỹ*
Ø-DC:circle-GER-NOM
‘wheel’ (lit. ‘the one who is round’)

(1682) *ko-rja'rwɛ-tse*
lack-DC:circle-DEC
‘the house is open, without walls all around’

(1683) *bu-rja'rwe-da-ki*
put-DC:circle-1S-DEC
‘I put it around’

(1684) *bu-rja'rwe-ro-da-ki*
put-DC:circle-CL:cup-1S-DEC
‘I put it around the cup’

rjatɛ ‘beside, behind, along a rim’. This directional clearly contains the ambiguous morpheme *-rja-* ‘edge’. The element *-tɛ-* is unidentified and it is not clear whether it is related to the unidentified element *-te-* found in combination with *-mã-* ‘water’ and with *-kwa-* ‘inside’.

(1685) *jere'xwa ywynwỹ-'na bu-kja-rja'tɛ-ki*
jaguar tree-LOC place-DR:length-DR:rim-DEC
‘the dog is lying behind the tree (stump or log)’

(1686) *ywynwỹ-'ko bu-kja-rja'tɛ-da-ki*
tree-INS place-DR:length-DR:rim-1S-DEC
‘I’m lying (here) by the side of the log’ (t)

215. The nominal classifier/compound is not fully productive: *?*amũtayrjarwe* ‘mouth of the bottle’. Instead of this, *amũtayronɛ* is said (see 4.2.2.3.).

(1687) *ywynwỹ'ko wã'wỹi=ũ-rjatɛ-da-ki / ywynwỹ-rja'tɛ wã'wỹi-da-ki*
tree-INS sleep=be-DR:rim-1S-DEC / tree-DR:rim sleep-1S-DEC
'I slept behind the log'

(1688) *ywynwỹ-rja'tɛ ho'ñe-tse*
tree-DR:rim hide.self-DEC
'he hid himself behind a tree which was lying down'[216]

The "prepositional object" can either take the locative or the instrumental case.

rjỹ 'in the area/surroundings, all over the place, room'. In (4.2.2.1.) *-rjỹ* was argued to be a classifier, although on the basis of semantics it can also be regarded as a directional. Maybe with the suitable verb stem it is a "classifier of direction or movement":

(1689) *tsã-'rjỹ-da-ki*
strew-CD:area-1S-DEC
'I sowed'

(1690) *atsu'ka tsã-'rjỹ-da-ki*
sugar strew-CD:area-1S-DEC
'I scatter sugar around (all over the place)'

It occurs lexicalised in directional morphemes, e.g. *-tsẽrjỹ-* 'lie down'. where it is retained in the horizontal aspect of the body position of the subject. It can also be regarded as lexicalised in certain verb stems:

(1691) *tsãrã-'nã a'ru.rjỹ-ra*
ground put.area-IMP
'put it (lower) on the ground!'

rwa 'around'. This morpheme is formally identical to the classifier *-rwa* 'nostril'. There is also a slight semantic affinity between these forms as the shape of the nostril is round. Furthermore, the noun *eri'rwa* 'disk, circle, wheel' contains the same element. As a directional, however, *-rwa-* indicates a circular movement which is not necessarily encircling. It was attested in the following verbs, productively with *hy-* 'go' and *ku'rje-* 'stir, wind':

(1692) *hy='hy-rwa-ki*
go=go-CD:round-DEC
'he is walking or flying around'

(1693) *hy-'rwa-tsi*
go-CD:round-MON
'watch out for it not to escape!'

(1694) *kurje-'rwa-da-ki*
stir-CD:round-1S-DEC
'I'm rolling up something (e.g. a leaf in to make a drinking cup)'

216.Note the adverbial use of *ywynwỹrja'tɛ* here.

The verb root element *mũrje-* 'spin' was not attested without a second compounded verb root, or without *-rwa-*, and may be lexicalised in the following example:

(1695) *mũrje-'rwa-ki*
spin-CD:round-DEC
'it is spinning around its own axle'

rwɛ 'around'. This element always occurs in combination with other elements. *-rwɛ-* may be a lexicalised part of the directional *-karwɛ-* 'away, in a circle, etc.'. It is furthermore attested in combination with *-rjỹ-* 'area' in:

(1696) *tsã-rjỹ-'rwɛ-da-ki* *hi-'na*
strew-CD:area-DC:around-1S-DEC fire-LOC
'I throw sand around the fire'[217]

siñwã 'yard'. This form was analysed as a classifier in (4.2.2.3.) but it has semantic traits of a directional as well:

(1697) *jere'xwa* *hy-si'ñwã-dyta*
jaguar go-CD:yard-well
'jaguar was walking in the yard'

terjỹ 'cinder, fire'. This form was analysed as a classifier in (4.2.2.3.) but it also possesses traits of a directional:

(1698) *tsã'rã* *tsã-te'rjỹ-da-ki* *hi-'na*
earth strew-CD:cinder-1S-DEC fire-LOC
'I threw sand into the fire'

ce 'big hole'. From the examples in section (4.2.2.3.) this morpheme appears to fulfil the distributional criteria for classifiers, as e.g. in the noun *e-ce* 'hole'. It may also have a directional function, as in:

(1699) *tsã-'ce-ki*
strew-CL:hole-DEC
'he put (maize grains) into a mortar'[218]

(1700) *hy-'ce-da-ki*
go-CL:hole-1S-DEC
'I entered (into) the mortar'

(1701) *a-ty-'ce-da-ki*
exist-DET-CL:hole-1S-DEC
'I put (any kind of thing) into the mortar'[219]

217.**tsãrjỹ'hỹdaki hi'na* was later rejected.

218.Note that a classifier or a directional is obligatory: **tsã-ki*.

Note, however, that better established classifiers, such as *-ro-* 'cup' may also behave as directionals:

(1702) *a'tsuka tsã-'ro-da-ki*
sugar strew-CL:cup-1S-DEC
'I put sugar in a vessel'

(1703) *hy-'ro-da-ki*
go-CL:cup-1S-DEC
'I entered the bucket'

cwanĩ 'at the bottom of a hole in the ground'. The only classifier-like position in which this morpheme was found is after the empty nominal stem *e-*: *ecwa'nĩ* 'bottom of a hole in the ground'. Directional-like applications were found in:

(1704) *oce-cwa'nĩ-da-mỹ*
throw-DC:bottom-1S-VOL
'I'm going to throw it down in a hole'

(1705) *tui-cwa'nĩ-xa-lɛ ori-'nỹ-e-xa-rydy-re*
fall-DC:bottom-2-PREC climb-REF-again-2-IRR-INT
'would you climb out again if you fell into a hole?'

5.4. Valency and valency change

In the present section, valency and valency change are discussed. Kwaza verbs need not be explicitly marked for a specific valency value. Also, verbs need not be subcategorised for a specific number of arguments. This will be exemplified in subsection (5.4.1.). Although a number of verbs are neutral or unmarked with respect to valency, many verbs can be explicitly transitivised or detransitivised through suffixes. These are suffixes which introduce or remove an object. In subsection (5.4.2.) those morphemes are discussed which usually only have a transitivising function; *-ta-*, *-tja-*, *-xotɛ-* and *-nỹdwatɛ-*. There are also valency changing suffixes which have clear additional functions such as causative. The following morphemes are discussed in the various subsections: causative *-dy-* (5.4.3.); benefactive *=wady-* (5.4.4.); detrimental *-ty-* (5.4.5.); reflexive and middle *-nỹ-* (5.4.6.); reciprocal *-lɛ-* (5.4.7.); comitative *-ete-* (5.4.8.); and valency changing effects of *-hỹ-* (5.4.9.). A very limited subset of verbs is subcategorised for argument number, i.e. they require either singular or plural arguments. They are treated in the final subsection (5.4.10.).

5.4.1. Number of arguments

Most Kwaza verb roots bear no morphological indicators of their basic semantic valency. Transitive verbs do not differ systematically in form from intransi

219.lit. 'I make it be in the hole'

tive verbs. Furthermore, most verbs are not subcategorised for a specific number of arguments. Consequently, transitive verbs can often be used intransitively, without morphological marking.

Kwaza has semantically intransitive verbs. They are subcategorised for only one argument. Examples are listed below:

(1706)	*atsi'le-*	'to be heavy'	*ku'ry-*	'to row'
	bay-	'to be sour'	*o'ri-*	'to climb'
	e'mã-	'to weep'	*tãi-*	'to be hard, to be tough'
	emũ'hỹ-	'to be wet'	*tsũ-*	'to swim'

Some intransitive verbs can be regarded as impersonal because they never take an independent subject or object:

(1707)	*a'we-*	'to rain'
	bɛ'rɛ-	'exploding of thunder with lightning'
	kara'ja-	'to be the dry season'
	kyry'ja-	'rumbling of thunder with rain'
	ty'je-	'to stop raining'
	tsi?a'rjỹ-	'to be silent'
	wɛ'ro-	'flashing of lightning'

Kwaza also has semantically transitive verbs, which are subcategorised for two arguments: subject and object. Some of them are listed below:

(1708)	*dai-*	'to take, to grab something'
	di-	'to break something'
	ha'do-	'to pierce something'
	hã'tsũ-	'to skin an animal'
	mɛ̃-	'to beat someone'
	ro'roi-	'to mash something'
	tsɛ̃i-	'to tear something'
	tsu'ku-	'to chew, to hold something inside the mouth'
	wa'txi-	'to collect, to pick up something'

A few verbs were attested which appear to be potentially ditransitive:

(1709)	*hai-*	'to water, to give liquid to someone, to drench'
	wa'dy-	'to give something to someone'

The following example illustrates the verb *hai-* ‘to drench’:

(1710) *mĩu-(*ko)* *marju-'wã* *'hai-da-ki*
chicha-INS Mario-AO drench-1S-DEC
‘I gave Mario chicha to drink’[220]

The fact that *mĩu* ‘chicha’ cannot receive instrumental case marking indicates probably that it is the direct object here. Compare this to the following example:

(1711) *keimũ-(ko)* *marijaDite-'wã* *haje-'kai-da-ki*
oil-INS Maria.Edite-AO smear-CL:leg-1S-DEC
‘I put oil on Maria Edite’s leg’

In this example instrumental marking is optional. At one stage the consultant explained about such arguments that “they are more correct with *-ko* but if you are lazy or you don’t feel like talking, you leave it out”. Therefore, I have not considered the omission of (optional) local case marking of one of the arguments as very strong proof for formal (di-)transitivity (see the related discussion in 4.1.3.).

The verbs listed above do not require any special morphological marking in order to be used with the number of arguments for which they are subcategorised. Furthermore, the valency of many transitive verbs can be decreased without any further morphological adaptation. Verbs such as *ãwỹi-* ‘to see’, *hyri-* ‘to steal’, *kui-* ‘to drink’, *wady-* ‘to give’, etc. can be used both transitively or intransitively.

So far, one verb was attested which is inherently reflexive: *hoñẽ-* ‘to hide oneself’.

5.4.2. Transitivisers

Kwaza has two important transitivising morphemes, *-ta-* and *-tja-*, and three marginal ones, *-xote-*, *-dwate-* and *-xete-*. In the following three subsections these will be discussed.

The morphemes *-ta-* and *-tja-* have in common that they can be applied to both intransitive and transitive predicates and that they either introduce an (extra) object or bring into focus the transitivity of the verb or its object. Apparently they have no clear semantic effect on the predicate. Although many questions have remained that require further systematic research, both the form and the behaviour of these two morphemes are strongly reminiscent of applicative-like morphemes in other Amazonian languages.

220. Order 132 is also allowed, but 213 is less felicitous.

In her article, Wise (2002) shows that a number of unrelated Peruvian Amazonian languages, such as Arabela and Iquito (Zaparo), Chayahuita (Cahuapana) and Yagua (Peba-Yagua) share applicative suffixes of the form *-ta*/*-tia*. She asks the question whether this could be a North-Western Amazonian areal feature. However, in addition to Kwaza, also other languages in South-Western Amazonia seem to have similar morphemes, such as the Aikanã (unclassified) "transitiviser/classifier" *-za-* (Vasconcelos 2002), the Kanoê (unclassified) "transitiviser/classifier" *-ta-*/*-to-* (Bacelar 2004), the Karo (Tupi-Ramarama) comitative/causative *-ta-* (Gabas 1999:83-86), the Moséten (unclassified) applicative *-tya-*/*-te-* (Sakel 2003:251-253) and possibly others.

5.4.2.1. Transitiviser *-ta-*

The morpheme *-ta-* is often used to transitivise unambiguously intransitive verbs. It introduces a dative-like object which can sometimes even be regarded as comitative:

(1712) *hyja-'ta-ki*
fall-TRA-DEC
'it fell in front of him'

(1713) *magariDa-'wã 'bu=ũ-rjỹ-ta-ki*
Margarida-AO put=be-CD:area-TRA-DEC
'it is sitting next to Margarida'

Introduced animate objects which are overtly expressed are usually marked with *-wã* (see 4.1.1.). In the following example the object is implicit, and both of the nouns which surround the verb function as locative adverbs (see 6.2.3.):

(1714) *tja?a'tje 'a-ta-ki ma'rjãu-dy-rjỹ*
close exist-TRA-DEC Marião-POS-CD:area
'he is living close to Marião'

The transitiviser usually precedes subject cross-reference morphemes, and when non-third persons are involved, it also precedes transitive object cross-reference:

(1715) *a-'ta-ta-ki*
exist-TRA-1O-DEC
'is together with me'

(1716) *tsuhũ-'du-tsy-lɛ a-'ta-ta-'he-tsy-tse*
what-BER-GER-PREC exist-TRA-1O-NEG-POT-DEC
'what for would it be?, he couldn't stay together with me!' (t)

(1717) *hyhy'rwa-a-xa-hỹ-wara* *ɛhỹ?ɛhỹ-'te* *kũ'cẽ*
move-1P-AS-NOM-but suddenly-INTENS brazil.nut

hyja-'ta-eteja-ki
fall-TRA-1PO-DEC
'as we were walking, a Brazil nut suddenly fell in front of us'

When applied to the inherently reflexive verb *hoñẽ-* 'to hide oneself', the transitiviser introduces a dative object.

(1718) *e'tay-tjate-'wã* *hoñe-'ta-ki*
woman-POS-AO hide-TRA-DEC
'he hid himself from his wife'

(1719) *hoñẽ-'ta-a-xa-ki*
hide-TRA-1P-AS-DEC
'we hid from him'

(1720) *'marju* *hoñẽ-'ta-ta-ki* *si-'wã*
Mario hide-TRA-1O-DEC I-AO
'Mario hid from me'

Furthermore, the transitiviser is sometimes applied to verbs which are already transitive. The verb *waja-* 'to bring, take' can be considered as inherently transitive. The application of transitiviser *-ta-* introduces an extra object with a recipient function:

(1721) *waja-'ta-ki*
bring-TRA-DEC
'he is taking it there to him'

The derived verbal stem in (1721) should be considered as ditransitive. Without the transitiviser *-ta-* it is transitive. Note that transitive verbs which involve non-third person arguments always bear transitive object cross-reference. Note furthermore that first person singular object cross-reference is homophonous with the transitiviser *-ta-*. Compare (1721) to the following example:

(1722) *wa'ja-ta-ki*
bring-1O-DEC
'he took me'

The different stress patterns obviously disambiguate the transitiviser from the cross-reference morpheme. If the rule is that the main stress position is on the ultimate syllable of the uninflected stem, the transitiviser is to be considered part of the stem.[221] Verbs marked for transitivisation sometimes show a

221. In fact, stress may be one of the criteria for the distinction between inflexional and derivational morphology in Kwaza. However, I have tried to ignore this question in the present work.

"wrong" stress pattern, and it is probably variable to some extent. Upon explicit inquiry, however, "wrong" stress patterns are always rejected: compare **hy'jataki* to (1712).

In the following examples, the transitiviser *-ta-* does not seem to introduce an extra object:

(1723) *wai-dy-'ta-nĩnã-da-ki*
good-CAU-TRA-2O-1S-DEC
'I like you'

(1724) *wɛ-'ta-taxwa-hỹ*
bring-TRA-IS.1O-NOM
'those who brought me away'

The causative morpheme *-dy-* is normally a transitiviser, but in (1723) it could be considered as lexicalised. Nevertheless, *waidy-* 'to find something good' in (1723) can be considered as a transitive verb, just like *wɛ-* 'to bring someone' in (1724), since both contain object cross-reference marking, which is restricted to transitive verbs. The morpheme *-ta-* seems to underscore the fact that there is an object.

So *-ta-* may both introduce a new object and put focus on the object of a transitive verb. Maybe *-ta-* is on its way to lexicalisation with the verb stem. With a limited number of transitive verbs, *-ta-* is (semi-) lexicalised or idiomatic indeed:

(1725) *ã'wỹi-* 'to see'
ãwãta-'..- 'to look at something'

(1726) *bɛ-* 'to heat, roast'
bɛ'ta- 'to dry clothes in the sun'

(1727) **bii-*
bii'ta- 'to stripe something, scratch'

(1728) *bu-* 'to put'
buu'ta- 'to place things in a position parallel to one another'

(1729) *o'ja-* 'to go away, leave' (lit. 'arrive thither')
oja'ta- 'to visit someone'

(1730) *o'ri-* 'to go up, ascend'
ori'ta- 'to go there'[222]

(1731) *wa'txi-* 'to collect things'
wa'txita- 'to guard something, keep'

222. The valency status of this verb is unclear.

5.4.2.2. Transitiviser *-tja-*

Kwaza has another overt transitivising morpheme *-tja-*. It is often required for the transitivisation of unambiguously intransitive verbs:

(1732) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-da-ki*
speak-1S-DEC
'I spoke'

pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'tja-da-ki
speak-TRA-1S-DEC
'I spoke to him'

(1733) *e'nãi-ki*
quarrel-DEC
'he is quarreling'

e'nãi-tja-ki
quarrel-TRA-DEC
'he quarreled with him'

Like *-ta-* it also introduces a dative-like object, but animate objects which are overtly expressed are not always marked with *-wã*. This is discussed in (4.1.1.). In the following example, animate object marking was considered as optional:

(1734) *zjwãu-(wã) enãi-'tja-da-ki*
João-(AO) quarrel-TRA-1S-DEC
'I'm quarreling with João'

The difference between the two transitivisers is not clear. Some verbs require one, other verbs require the other one. In the following examples, *-ta-* instead of *-tja-* would have been ungrammatical:

(1735) *talo-'tja-dy-ta 'ɛ-tsy-hỹ-ki zjwãu*
sulk-TRA-DS-CSO go-GER-NOM-DEC João
'she got angry[223] with him, then João left'

(1736) *talo-'tja-da-si 'ɛ-tsy-hỹ-ki zjwãu*
sulk-TRA-1S-SWR go-GER-NOM-DEC João
'I got angry with João, so he went'

In the next example, however, *-tja-* would have been ungrammatical:

(1737) *kuri-'ta-dy-ta 'ɛ-tsy-hỹ-ki zjwãu*
stop-TRA-DS-CSO go-GER-NOM-DEC João
'she did not speak to João, so he went'

The number of verbs which require *-tja-* for transitivisation seems to be smaller than the number of verbs which require *-ta-*. The following examples contain verbs which are transitivised through application of *-tja-*:

223. One mainly expresses anger or indignation by not speaking.

(1738) *he?ai-'tja-da-ta* *cari=a'sa-da-ki*
want.not-TRA-1S-CSO shoot=leave-1S-DEC
'I don't like him, so I killed him'

(1739) *kyikyihỹ-'tja-da-ta* *cari=a'sa-da-ki*
want.not-TRA-1S-CSO shoot=leave-1S-DEC
'I was angry with him and killed him'

(1740) *wãwãwỹ-tja-'hỹ-da-ki* *magariDa-'wã*
dream-TRA-NOM-1S-DEC Margarida-AO
'I dreamt about Margarida'

(1741) *ĩ'wã* *kitse-'tja-taxwa-ki*
idly lie-TRA-IS.1O-DEC
'they lied to me'

(1742) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-le'ja-da-ta* *oja'nỹ-da-ki* (**pɛ̃rɛ̃'jãle'jadata* ...)
speak-TRA-2O.FUT-1S-CSO arrive-1S-DEC
'I came here to talk with you'

(1743) *'heme* *'mã-ta-ki* *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'nã-ta-ta*
Hermes call-1O-DEC speak-TRA-FUT-1O-CSO
'Hermes called me over in order to speak with me'

(1744) *herme* *'mã-ta-ki* *teteru-'wã* *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'ra* *'ta-ta-ta*
Hermes call-1O-DEC Teteru-AO speak-TRA-IMP talk-1O-CSO
'Hermes called me over and told me to speak with Teteru'

Wise (2002:340) suggests that there may be a correlation between definiteness and the applicative. In Kwaza, when applied to the ambitransitive verb *we-* 'to fear', the combination of *-tja-* together with case marking yields a specific or determinate sense (see also 4.1.1.4.):

(1745) *'we-da-ki* *jere'xwa*
fear-1S-DEC jaguar
'I'm afraid of dogs (in general)'

(1746) *we-'tja-da-ki* *jerexwa-'wã*
fear-TRA-1S-DEC jaguar-AO
'I'm afraid of (this) dog'

However, this determinateness is not necessarily productive. Consider the verb *tsasi-* 'to follow behind':

(1747) *zwãu-'wã* *tsa'si-da-ki*
João-AO follow-1S-DEC
'I went/came after João'

(1748) *hy'ri-da-si* *ã'wỹi-ta* *tsasi-'tja-ta-ta* *hu'hui-ta-ki*
steal-1S-SWR see-CSO follow-TRA-1O-CSO beat-1O-DEC
'he saw me steal and went after me and beat me'

It is likely that *-tja-* resembles *-ta-* in that it may both introduce an object and put focus on the object or on the transitivity of the verb.

The transitiviser *-tja-* appears to be lexicalised with some verbs (both in the forms *-ca-* and *-tja-*):

(1749) *du-* 'to close, finish all'
du'tja- 'to fill'

(1750) *ũ-* 'to be, stand, sit'
ũ'ca- 'to lie in ambush (for an animal)'

(1751) **mỹi-*
mỹi'ca- 'to frighten (someone)'[224]

Since the verb root *tjata-* 'to say to a person' has a transitive sense, it is imaginable that it derives from the verb *ta-* 'to say, talk', transitivised by the element *-tja-* as a prefix:

(1752) *tja'ta-ta-tsy-tse*
say-1O-POT-DEC
'he is going to talk with me'

However, the root *tjata-* 'say' and the relatively fixed expressions *tjara* 'do it!' and *ratja-* 'to order (someone)' originate probably from the combined processes of ellipsis and cliticisation. It follows from the discussion in (5.5.11.1.) and (7.5.2.) that the cosubordinative marker *-tja-* seems to be a more likely candidate for identification with the "prefix".

5.4.2.3. Transitivisers *-xote-*, *-dwate-* and *-xete*

Three other overt transitivising morphemes may be distinguished, although they are not very productive; *-xote-*, *-dwate-* and *-xete*. Transitiviser *-xote-* has been attested with only two verbs so far: *ka?awanihỹ-* 'to worry, suffer' and *tutunitahỹ-* 'to think, worry'. Without *-xotɛ-* these verbs are considered as intransitive.

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224. The intransitive counterpart of the verb *mỹica-* is *mɛ̃jã-* 'to be startled'. It might be etymologically related when we assume that *-tja-* truncated the final syllable of *mɛ̃jã-*. Thereafter metathesis involving the palatal may have occurred (see also 2.15.).

(1753) *'si-dy-hỹ mã ka?awanihỹ-xo'tɛ-da-ki*
I-POS-NOM mother suffer-TRA-1S-DEC
'I worry about my mother'

(1754) *ka?awanihỹ-xo'tɛ-ninã-da-ki*
suffer-TRA-2O-1S-DEC
'I'm worrying about you (whether you are ill, have a problem, etc.)'

(1755) *ka?awanihỹ-xo'tɛ-da-ki to'wy ti-'nãi-da-tsy-re-da-ta*
suffer-TRA-1S-DEC land what-NOM-1S-POT-INT-1S-CSO
'I'm worrying about what am I going to do about my plantation'

Apparently, *ka?awanihỹ-xotɛ-* does not require a case marked object. With *tu-tunitahỹ-xotɛ-* case marking of the animate object is sometimes obligatory, as in (1756) below, and sometimes not, as in (1757):

(1756) *xyi-'wã tutunitahỹ-xo'tɛ-nĩnã-da-ki*
you-AO think-TRA-2O-1S-DEC
'I was thinking/worrying about you'

(1757) *la'to pju tutunitahỹ-xo'tɛ-da-si kika'lo-dykytɛ-ta tsu'ty*
yesterday Piu think-TRA-1S-SWR fever-too-CSO head

kukui-'dy-ta iri'tsa-damỹ-tsy-hỹ-lɛ
hurt-CAU-CSO vomit-want-GER-NOM-PREC
'yesterday I was worried about Piu because he had a fever too and pain in the head and he was nauseous.' (t)

The etymology of *-xote-* is unsolved. Maybe it consists of the element *-xwa-*, which can be interpreted as the classifier *-xwa-* 'human', or as the element *-xwa-*, which occurs in a number of transitive cross-referemce markers. The element *-tɛ-* might then be related to intensifier *-tɛ-* or nominaliser *-te-*. Maybe the same element is found in the verb roots *oxote-* 'to stalk (on something or someone)' and *txixotɛ-* 'come to the rescue (of someone)'.

On a few occasions a reflexive alternative of transitive *-xote-* was documented which partially supports the segmentability sketched above, *-nỹ-dwate-*:

(1758) *ka?awani'hỹ-nỹ-dwatɛ-ta*
suffer-REF-TRA-CSO
'he was worried about himself' (t)

(1759) *tutunita'hỹ-nỹ-dwatɛ-da-ki*
think-REF-TRA-1S-DEC
'I'm thinking/worrying about myself'

The reflexive morpheme *-nỹ-* is readily recognisable in this morpheme, and possibly the element *-dwa-*, which may be related to the indefinite different subject (see 8.3.2.2.). The entire combination may have an emphatic effect:

(1760) *emã-nỹ-dwa'tɛ-tse*
cry-REF-TRA-DEC
'(the children are) crying a lot'

(1761) *xy'xy-nỹ-dwa'tɛ-da-ki*
scream-REF-TRA-1S-DEC
'I screamed a lot'[225]

Apparently, *-dwate-* cannot be applied to other verbs that have nothing to do with one's emotional state (the consultant said: "one's life"). In that case, the intensifying element *-tete* must be used. The element *-dwate-* was also encountered with the intransitive verb *xyxy-* 'scream of pain or fear':

(1762) *ãrũi-'wã xyxy-dwa'te-da-ki*
tapir-AO scream-TRA-1S-DEC
'I screamed at the cow' (it was about to stand on my/someone's foot)

This is the only non-reflexive verb stem with which *-dwate-* was attested. The resulting verb means 'to scream at someone in order to stave off imminent danger for oneself or someone else'.

There is one alternative for this construction, in which *-dwate-* is replaced by yet another transitiviser, *-xete-* (pronounced as [ʃete]):

(1763) *ãrũi-'wã xyxy-xe'te-da-ki*
tapir-AO scream-TRA-1S-DEC
'I screamed at the cow' (CX: it was about to stand on my or someone else's foot, e.g. while milking it)

Also *-xete-* was encountered with just the root *xyxy-* 'scream'. The meaning of (1763) was claimed to be identical to (1762), be it that (1763) was claimed to be less felicitous. The element *-xete-* seems to go better with plural subjects:

(1764) *xyxy-xe'te-wa-ki*
scream-TRA-IS-DEC
'they (people) screamed to thwart danger'[226]

(1765) *xyxy-xe'te-ki*
scream-TRA-DEC
'they (pigs) screamed in panic'

The application of *-xete-* to other verb roots was rejected. Because of its extreme rarity, *-xete-* should probably be considered as lexicalised with the verb

225. The consultant translated this sentence in POR as reflexive *eu me gritei muito*.
226. This elicited example is based on sentence (13), text (2.2.) in part II.

root *xyxy-*. The same can be said of *-dwate-* and *-xote-*, which are attested with only two verb roots both. In fact, these three morphemes together go with a total of only four verb roots. However, not all known verb roots have been tested in this respect and it may turn out later that these morphemes are more productive than observed so far. It seems probable that they were more productive in an earlier stage, since they are applied to verb roots that are themselves clearly productive, and since they may replace one another. Also the three morphemes have one syllable in common, *-te-*, which reminds of the applicative-like transitivisers *-ta-* and *-tja-*.

5.4.3. Causative -dy-

The causative morpheme *-dy-* is homophonous with the different subject morpheme *-dy-* in medial clauses and with the possessive morpheme *-dy-* in attributive constructions. There may be a relationship between these functions, which is reflected by the homophony of the forms. In the present work, however, I have treated them as separate morphemes.

Causative *-dy-* is attached to verb roots before person cross-reference. It transitivises intransitive verbs and introduces a causative subject. When applied to third person subject intransitive verbs it demotes the original grammatical subject to object. The object retains its semantic function of agent with respect to the verb root. In addition, *-dy-* usually attracts stress. Note the following examples:

(1766)	*'boi-ki*	*boi-'dy-ki*
	full-DEC	full-CAU-DEC
	'it is full'	'he filled it' (lit. 'he made it be full')
(1767)	*'hoi-ki*	*hoi-'dy-ki*
	sweet-DEC	sweet-CAU-DEC
	'it is sweet'	'he made it (be) sweet'
(1768)	*mõ-'he-tse*	*mõ-'dy-ki*
	loud-NEG-DEC	loud-CAU-DEC
	'the sound is weak'	'he speaks loud'

The morpheme *-dy-* may introduce a non-third person subject with verbs which normally only take third person subjects:

(1769)	*'kãu-ki*	*kãu-'dy-da-ki*
	break-DEC	break-CAU-1S-DEC
	'it broke'[227]	'I broke it'

227.*?*kãu-da-ki* 'I broke (as if I'm made of glass)' was considered wrong.

(1770) *'ui-tse* *ui-'dy-da-ki*
ignite-DEC ignite-CAU-1S-DEC
'it caught fire' 'I lit it'

(1771) *'atxitxi* *'boi-tse* *koreja'ro-na*
maize full-DEC pan-LOC
'the pan is full of maize' (lit. 'the maize is full in the pan')

(1772) *atxi'txi* *boi-'dy-da-ki*
maize full-CAU-1S-DEC
'I filled (it) with maize'[228]

However, when the verb root can have a non-third person subject, there is a different change in valency relations:

(1773) *'tsũ-da-ki*
swim-1S-DEC
'I'm swimming'

(1774) *jerexwa-tohoi-'wã* *tsũ-hỹ-'dy-da-ki*
jaguar-CL:child-AO swim-NOM-CAU-1S-DEC
'I let the doggy swim'

With respect to this set of examples one cannot say that there is introduction of a causer together with demotion of the original subject to object position. Instead, it appears that an agentive object is introduced, while the subject takes on the extra semantic function of causer. This is especially common with transitive verb roots:

(1775) *'tsoro* *'dwỹ-da-ki*
arm break-1S-DEC
'I broke my arm'

(1776) *tso'ro* *dwỹ-'dy-da-ki*
arm break-CAU-1S-DEC
'I made him break his arm'
(probably also: 'I broke his arm')

In the following examples the agent of the verb root is 'chickens', 'João' and 'you', respectively. However, these agents are objects on the grammatical level and are case-marked accordingly. Meanwhile, the grammatical subject is 'I', and has the semantic function of causer of the entire event:

(1777) *kurakura-'wã* *atxi'txi* *ja-'dy-da-ki*
chicken-AO maize eat-CAU-1S-DEC
'I'm feeding the chickens maize'

(1778) *kurakura-'wã* *hã* *kui-'dy-da-ki*
chicken-AO water drink-CAU-1S-DEC
'I am giving the chickens water to drink'

228. According to the consultant, overt expression of a "prepositional" object is not felicitous because it is already implied.

(1779) *jo* *ja-dy-'nã-da-ki* *zwãu-'wã*
manioc eat-CAU-FUT-1S-DEC João-AO
'I want to feed João manioc'

(1780) *si* *xyi-'wã* *ja-dy-'he-leja-da-ki*
I you-AO eat-CAU-NEG-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm not letting you eat'

As shown in (4.1.1.), overt animate objects of causativised verbs often, but not always, receive animate case marking.

The principal function of *-dy-* is causative. The causative morpheme has also some secondary functions and connotations. On some occasions it could be interpreted to a certain extent as benefactive:

(1781) *'a-dy-ki*
exist-CAU-DEC
'(e.g. the plants) grew well for him'

(1782) *ui'txi-dy-ra*
ignite-CAU-IMP
'help him to light it!'

Note that the consultant explicitly said that the latter of the above utterances had two meanings. The second meaning he gave was 'tell him to light it!'. This suggests that the causative may also have a connotation of coercion. In this respect it should be noted that the verb root *acwadyhỹ-* 'to force (someone to do something)' is to a large degree monomorphemic, i.e. the element *-dy-* it contains is relatively fossilised. Another instance of benefactive sense is in the verb *wady-* 'to give', when used as a second element in a compound. This will be discussed in (5.4.4.).

Another connotation of the causative morpheme *-dy-* is 'to feel something, to consider something as'. Consider the following examples which involve the intransitive verb *wai-* 'to be good, to taste good':

(1783) *wãnỹ'dy* *wai-'dy-xa-ki*
food good-CAU-2-DEC
'you made the food well'

(1784) *wai-he-hỹ-'dy-da-ki* *cu'cu-a-nãi*
good-NEG-NOM-CAU-1S-DEC walk-1P-NOM
'it is not fine for me to be walking (in these shoes)'

(1785) *mã'rɛ̃?a-tay* *wai-'dy-xa-re*
spirit-female good-CAU-2-INT
'do you find Western women good?'

(1786) *mã'rɛ̃?a-tay* *waihỹ-'dy-xa-re*
spirit-female nice-CAU-2-INT
'do you find Western women beautiful?'

In example (1783), *-dy-* is used productively as a causativiser, and one could with some effort interpret (1784) as causative too. However, (1785) and (1786) cannot be semantically causative. Here *-dy-* has the sense of 'to consider as'. Grammatically, the construction maintains the valency and cross-reference pattern which is characteristic for causatives.

When the verb root *wai-* is interpreted as transitive, zero-transitivised as it were, without *-dy-* or another overt transitiviser, it means 'to become well':

(1787) *'wai-ta-ki*
good-1O-DEC
'I got better/am well/am healed (from illness)'
(lit. 'it got better on me')

In that construction, application of *-dy-* is productive. It has a causative sense, and does seem to introduce a grammatical subject with causer function:

(1788) *(kuitõini'te) wai-'dy-ta-ki*
medicine good-CAU-1O-DEC
'it (the pill) made me better'

However, when *-dy-* is followed by an extra transitiviser *-ta-* (note the different stress placement in comparison with the preceding example), it means 'to be good towards someone':

(1789) *wai-dy-'ta-ki*
good-CAU-TRA-DEC
'he is honest, good to him'

(1790) *wai-dy-'ta-ta-ki*
good-CAU-TRA-1O-DEC
'he is honest to me, treats me well'

This is the same type of construction as in example (1723), in which *-dy-* has the sense of 'to consider someone as'. Note that *-dy-* also has this sense in examples (1785) and (1786). Apparently, when one considers someone as nice, one also tends to be nice towards that person, so the two interpretations represent different sides of the same coin. This is probably related to the fact that the root including *-dy-* is probably intransitive both in (1785) and in (1789), whereas it is transitive in (1788).

The above discussion is not limited to the verb *wai-*. The next examples are semantically and grammatically causative, but *-dy-* also has the connotation 'to (make) feel':

(1791) *mĩ'ki kukui-'dy-ki*
tooth hurt-CAU-DEC
'(his) teeth make him feel pain',
'he has a toothache'

(1792) *e'kai kukui-'ki*
leg hurt-DEC
'(his) leg is painful',
'(his) leg hurts'

(1793) *e'ri kukui-'dy-ki*
liver hurt-CAU-DEC
'(his) liver hurts'

(1794) *konãjã-('dy)-ki*
sweat-CAU-DEC
'he is hot', 'he is sweating'

(1795) *kanwakanɛ-'xy konãjã-dy-'he-ta-ja-ki*
board-CL:house sweat-CAU-NEG-TRA-IO-DEC
'a roof of wooden boards does not make people be hot'

In the following example, the (optional) application of *-dy-* cannot be interpreted as causative any more, but only has the sense of 'to feel':

(1796) *ereri'tay-da-ta awy-mũ-'dy-da-ki*
old.woman-1S-CSO cold-CL:liquid-CAU-1S-DEC
'being an old woman, I find the water cold'

(1797) *ja-nã-'dy-da-ki*
eat-FUT-CAU-1S-DEC
'I'm hungry'

**kui-nã-dy-da-ki*
drink-FUT-CAU-1S-DEC
'I'm thirsty'

To a limited extent, the morpheme *-dy-* can be applied to nouns with the sense of 'to feel', but without a causative sense. Compare, for example, (1793) with (1798) and note also the subsequent examples:

(1798) *eri-'dy-ki*
liver-CAU-DEC
'(his) liver hurts'

(1799) *emjãka-'dy-ki*
intestines-CAU-DEC
'his belly hurts', 'he has dysentery'

(1800) *wãrẽ-dy-'ta-da-ki*
enemy-CAU-TRA-1S-DEC
'I don't like him', 'he is my enemy'

When applied to certain nouns the morpheme *-dy-* means 'to make'. In contrast to examples like (1798) with the meaning 'to feel', the following can be regarded semantically as causative. The literal interpretation is probably 'to cause to come into being':

(1801) *bodo-dy-'nã-tja e=e'hỹ-ki*
cake-CAU-FUT-CSO RED=make-DEC
'he is making cakes'

(1802) *daitxite-'kja-ki ywy'nwỹ axy-dy-'nã-tja*
lift.up-DR:length-DEC tree house-CAU-FUT-CSO
'he lifted up the rafter to build a house'

(1803) *axy-'dy-tsy-rjỹ*
house-CAU-POT-CD:area
'(on) the place where he makes a house' (t)

(1804) *txahỹ-'dy-tsy-rjỹ*
path-CAU-POT-CD:area
'on his path'[229] (t)

The latter two examples come close to receiving a possessive interpretation. However, their agentive interpretation and the insertion of the potential (or gerundial?) morpheme *-tsy-* before the classifier *-rjỹ*, prevent such an interpretation.

The following example of semantically causative *-dy-* applied to nouns is probably a calque on the Portuguese idiom *fazer aniversário* 'to make (i.e. celebrate) birthday':

(1805) *jale'ja* *aniwesarijo-'dy-da-day-hỹ-ki*
past birthday-CAU-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'last month it was my birthday'

In section (4.5.5.) the (hardly noticeable) effect of the application of *-dy-* to the attributive numeral root *aky-hỹ* 'two' was discussed. This and some other roots are always followed by a classifier. The only exception to this rule occurs when the causative morpheme is applied. It is infixed before the obligatory classifier:

(1806) *emũ-dy-'hỹ-ki*
wet-CAU-NOM-DEC
'he/the thing got/was made wet/ he wet it'

(1807) *barɛrini'tɛ* *nỹ-dy-'hỹ-da-ki*
tortilla big-CAU-NOM-1S-DEC
'I made the cake big'

A similar type of construction involves the verb root *tomã-* 'to bathe', where *-dy-* is infixed before the directional *-mã-* 'water' (see 5.3.1.). In the next example the causative morpheme can occur in different positions, with different related meanings:

(1808) *kere-'rjỹ-ki*
noise-CD:area-DEC
'the thunder makes noise'

(1809) *kere-rjỹ-'dy-ki*
noise-CD:area-CAU-DEC
'he/she/it is stamping'

229. The literal meaning, 'on the place where he makes a path', contains an explanation for the way forest paths emerge: humans or animals create (and maintain) a path by walking on it. And hunters always know the paths of specific game.

(1810) *kere-dy-'rjỹ-ki*
noise-CAU-CD:area-DEC
'he/she/it makes noise (e.g. scratching)'

(1811) *kere-dy-'rjỹ-da-ki*
noise-CAU-CD:area-1S-DEC
'I'm making noise'

It is important to note here that the classifier or directional *-rjỹ-* is obligatory in (1808) to (1811). Apparently, *-dy-* is used as an optional infix or suffix here. There is a nearly homophonous root. It does not bear the classifier or directional *-rjỹ-*, but it does obligatorily contain an element *-dy-*, and its meaning is entirely different:

(1812) *kere'dy-da-ki*
thank-1S-DEC
'I'm thanking him'

The adverb *keredy(ta)* 'carefully, slowly' is probably related to this root rather than to the root for 'to make noise'. Note also the root *acwadyhỹ-* 'to force, coerce', in which the elements *-dy-* and *-hỹ-* are obligatory, but where a reflexive morpheme can be infixed:

(1813) *acwa'dyhỹ-ki*
force-DEC
'he forces him (to do something)'

(1814) *acwa-'nỹ-dy-hỹ-ki*
force-REF-CAU-NOM-DEC
'he forces himself, he does it under coercion'

It seems unlikely that the partially homophonous verb root *acwa-* 'to be whole, in one piece' is semantically related. Roots as *emũhỹ-*, *nỹhỹ-*, *kererjỹ-* and *acwadyhỹ-* may be considered as discontinuous. The fact that valency changing morphemes such as the causative or the reflexive are infixed makes these roots seem morphologically transparent, but in reality the distinguishable morphemes are lexicalised.

In the verbal roots *acwadyhỹ-* 'to force' and *keredy-* 'to thank' the morpheme *-dy-* has to be considered as lexicalised. Either such roots do not occur without *-dy-*, or they do, but then their meaning is quite different from the root which includes *-dy-*. In the following non-transparent roots listed below, a causative sense of *-dy-* is preserved:

(1815) *bõ'rõ-* 'to perforate'
bõrõ'dy- 'to grunt'

(1816) **dyrã-*
dyrã'dy- 'to make noise'

(1817) **mũrɛ̃-*
mũrɛ̃'dy- 'to contribute'

(1818) *o-* 'to enter, suit'
o'dy- 'to plant'

(1819) **ou-*
ou'dy- 'to catch, hook'

(1820) *tãi-* 'to be hard, tough'
tãi'dy- 'to brake, lock'

(1821) **wa-*
wa'dy- 'to give'

5.4.4. Benefactive use of wady-

The element *-dy-* is lexicalised in the verb root *wady-* 'to give'. As a second element in compounds, this root functions as a benefactive morpheme:

(1822) *mã'bi* *hã'te-da-ki*
arrow count-1S-DEC
'I counted arrows'

(1823) *mã'bi* *hãte=wa'dy-da-ki* *zjwãu-'wã*
arrow count=give-1S-DEC João-AO
'I counted arrows for João'

(1824) *dutu're* *cari=wady-'nã-da-ki* *magariDa-'wã*
pig shoot=give-FUT-1S-DEC Margarida-AO
'I'm going to kill a pig for Margarida'

(1825) *kudɛrɛ-'wã* *mãmãñẽ=wa'dy-da-ki*
Canderé-AO sing=give-1S-DEC
'I sang for Canderé'

(1826) *dodotxi'mũ* *uitxi=wa'dy-da-mỹ*
kerosene ignite=give-1S-VOL
'I'll light the kerosene (lamp) for him'

(1827) *boi-dy='wady-ra*
full-CAU=give-IMP
'fill it for him!'

(1828) *wɛra-'wã* *haru'rai* *wady=wa'dy-ta?ỹ-ra*
Vera-AO armadillo give=give-1SO-IMP
'bring the armadillo meat to Vera for me'

5.4.5. Detrimental -ty-

There is a transitivising morpheme with a function which can be described as detrimental. When applied to intransitive as well as transitive verbs it seems to introduce an object at the expense of which an event occurs or the subject acts. Normally it attracts stress. Compare the following examples:

(1829) *'kui-da-ki*
drink-1S-DEC
'I drink'

(1830) *kui-'ty-da-ki*
drink-DET-1S-DEC
'I drink from him, I drink his'

When the causative morpheme *-dy-* is considered as a benefactive transitiviser, then the morpheme *-ty-* could be regarded as its malefactive opposite. Compare (1830) to the next example:

(1831) *kui-'dy-da-ki*
drink-CAU-1S-DEC
'I give him drink'

However, neither is the morpheme *-dy-* grammatically a straightforward benefactive transitiviser (because it is also causative), nor is the morpheme *-ty-* its grammatical equivalent with an opposite meaning. The morpheme *-ty-* does not actually introduce a detrimental object, but it rather indicates that the possessor of the object is adversely affected. Compare the following examples:

(1832) *ko'sa hy'ri-da-ki*
sun steal-1S-DEC
'I stole a lantern'

(1833) **luze-wã hyri-(ty)-da-ki*
Luzeu-AO steal-DET-1S-DEC
'I stole from Luzeu'

(1834) *lu'zeu-dy-hỹ ko'sa hyri-'ty-da-ki*
Luzeu-POS-NOM sun steal-DET-1S-DEC
'I stole Luzeu's lantern'

Notice that *luzeu* cannot be an object, as in (1833), but that it can only be a possessor of the object, as in (1834). The following example shows that *-ty-* does not even necessarily introduce a new argument. It only explicitly specifies that the "possessor" of the object is adversely affected:

(1835) *'si-dy-hỹ ma?ỹtɛ-'wã cari-'he-tsy-hỹ=wara 'si-dy-hỹ*
I-POS-NOM cousin-AO kill-NEG-POT-NOM=but I-POS-NOM

djy-'wã ca'ri=asa-ty-ta-ki
brother-AO kill=leave-DET-1O-DEC
'he did not kill my cousin, but he killed my brother'

There is an object and a "possessor" both in the subordinate clause and in the matrix clause of (1835), but only on the matrix predicate it is indicated that the object's "possessor" is adversely affected.

Here are some further examples of the detrimental function of *-ty-*:

(1836) *jere'xwa tsutsu-'hỹ-ki 'rai?ỹhỹ*
jaguar urinate-NOM-DEC thing
'the dog pissed on the things'

(1837) *tsutsu-'hỹ-ty-hata-ki*
urinate-NOM-DET-3S.2O-DEC
'he pissed (on things) of you'

(1838) *bilo'tswa* *waja-'ty-da-mỹ*
rifle bring-DET-1S-VOL
'I'll take the shotgun from him, I'll take his shotgun'

(1839) *tsu'ty-siki* *bu-ty-le'ja-da-ki*
head-CL:skin wear-DET-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I shall use your hat'

(1840) *bu-ty-ni'nã-da-hỹ-ki*
wear-DET-2O-1S-NOM-DEC
'I'm using your hat'

(1841) *tsu'ty-siki* *bu-'ty-ki*
head-CL:skin wear-DET-DEC
'he uses someone else's hat'

(1842) *ratxe'hỹ-ty-ta-re*
ruin-DET-1O-INT
'is he ruining things of mine?'

(1843) *ko'rjỹ-ty-wa-ki*
absent-DET-IS-DEC
'they encountered no-one'[230]

There is an expression which may contain the detrimental morpheme and which is idiomatic. Both the verb root *a-* and *aty-* mean 'to be there':

(1844) *'a-ki*
exist-DEC
'it is there'

(1845) *'aty-ki*
be.there-DEC
'(fortunately) he/it is still there (for him)'

The element *-ty-* does not seem to have a detrimental function in the latter example and it is probably lexicalised.[231] The following example was uttered by the consultant when he was outside and saw from a distance that his brother-in-law arrived with his family for a visit at the door of the consultant's house:

(1846) *a-'he-ty-wa-ki*
exist-NEG-DET-IS-DEC
'I bet they won't find anyone there'

The consultant said the expression could be interpreted in two ways: 'I bet (i.e. I know) there is no-one for them', and slightly maliciously: 'good for them that there is no-one'. So maybe in the first interpretation (1846) is to be regarded as

230.(talking to a non-witness about something which occurred in the past)

231.Note unexpected stress position. If *-ty-* were lexicalised, one would not expect it to attract stress the way productive *-ty-* does. In this example it should receive stress only because *-ty-* is the ultimate syllable of the stem. However, it does not: *[a'tɨki].

based on (1845). This would mean that the negative morpheme occurs as an infix and that *aty-* 'to be there' represents a discontinuous root. However in the second interpretation, it is to be regarded as a productive combination of *a-* 'to exist, be, live', the negative morpheme and detrimental *-ty-*.

5.4.6. Reflexive and middle -nỹ-

Kwaza has a reflexive morpheme *-nỹ-*, which is applied before person cross-reference morphology. It indicates that the subject affects itself:

(1847) *cari-'nỹ-da-mỹ*
shoot-REF-1S-VOL
'I'm going to kill myself'

(1848) *mɛ̃-'nỹ-wa-ki*
beat-REF-IS-DEC
'they beat themselves'

(1849) *'marju wi-ko'je-ki*
Mario cut-CL:hand-DEC
'Mario cut someone in the hand'

(1850) *'marju koreja-('ko) wi-koje-nỹ-('hỹ)-ki*
Mario knife-INS cut-CL:hand-REF-NOM-DEC
'Mario cut himself in the hand with a knife'

(1851) *'marju kore'ja wi-koje-nỹ-'dy-hỹ-ki*
Mario knife cut-CL:hand-REF-CAU-NOM-DEC
'the knife cut Mario in the hand (because of his own fault)'

The verb roots *dohỹ-* 'to pour liquid', *isihỹ-* 'to secure something' and *isixwe-* 'to medicate' appear to be discontinuous when the reflexive morpheme is applied:

(1852) *do-nỹ-hỹ-'nã-da-ki*
leak-REF-NOM-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to make myself wet'

(1853) *i'si-nỹ-'to-ki*
secure-REF-CL:seed-DEC
'he holds, grabs his own penis'

(1854) *inỹsi'xwe-ki*
medicate.REF-DEC
'he is taking medicine, he is treating himself'

Here, *-nỹ-* occurs inside the root, as if it is an infix. This may not be so strange in the roots of example (1852) and (1853), because the element *-hỹ-* can apparently be disconnected (and become replaced by a specific classifier, in this case *-to-* 'seed'). However, in the root of example (1854), which may contain an allomorphic variant of the classifier *-tswe-* '(medicinal) root', the element *-nỹ-* is

inserted in a more remarkable place.[232] For *acwa'dyhỹ-* 'to force' see (1814) above.

The morpheme *-nỹ-* has also a detransitivising effect without being reflexive in the sense that the subject acts on itself:

(1855) *lo'tɛ dai'txa-da-ki*
door open-1S-DEC
'I opened the door'

lo'tɛ daitxa-'nỹ-tse
door open-REF-DEC
'the door is open'

(1856) *rãmã'mã-da-ki*
shake-1S-DEC
'I'm shaking (him)'

rãmãmã-'dy-da-ki
shake-CAU-1S-DEC
'I'm making him shake'

(1857) *rãmãmã-'nỹ-da-ki*
shake-REF-1S-DEC
'I'm trembling'

(1858) *ko'sa tsitɛ'kja-da-ki*
sun erect-1S-DEC
'I put the lantern upright'

(1859) *ko'sa cu=tsitɛ'kja-nỹ-hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
sun step=erect-REF-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw a lantern which was standing upright'

(1860) *ka'tɛ-ki*
tie-DEC
'he tied it'

katɛ-'nỹ-ki
tie-REF-DEC
'it (e.g. the bracelet) is tied'

(1861) *bii'ta-da-ki*
stripe-1S-DEC
'I striped it'

biita-'nỹ-ki
stripe-REF-DEC
'it is striped'

Although Kwaza does not have a distinct passive voice, this construction resembles a kind of middle voice construction. Notice that with the verb root *uitsɛ̃'rjỹ-* 'to hang' the reflexive morpheme has a middle function, as in example (1863), whereas the reflexive function is zero-expressed, as in (1864):

(1862) *loko'tja uitsɛ̃'rjỹ-da-ki*
mirror hang-1S-DEC
'I hang up the mirror'

(1863) *i'tso uitsɛ̃'rjỹ-nỹ-ki*
hammock hang-REF-DEC
'the hammock hangs (from a rope end, rolled up as a ball)'

(1864) *hyriko'ro uitsɛ̃'rjỹ-ki*
monkey hang-DEC
'the monkey hangs (itself actively by its tail from a branch)'

232.Note that the root *isi-* 'to die' may be related to *isixwe-* 'to medicate'.

The semantics of some Kwaza verbs require a reflexive reading when inflected for a first person subject. In case the reflexive morpheme is added it has the effect of wilfulness:[233]

(1865) *e'te-ta-ki*
pierce-1O-DEC
'I was pierced (e.g. my foot got pierced by a thorn)'

(1866) *e'te-da-ki*
pierce-1S-DEC
'I pierced myself (i.e. I caused myself to have e.g. my foot pierced)'

(1867) *e'te-nỹ-da-ki*
pierce-REF-1S-DEC
'I pierced myself (on purpose)'

As explained in (5.3.) the reflexive morpheme is also used as a directional with the sense 'hither':

(1868) *le'ja-da-ki*
ahead-1S-DEC
'I'm going ahead'

(1869) *leja-'nỹ-da-ki*
ahead-REF-1S-DEC
'I went/came ahead'

When used as a directional, *-nỹ-* can be applied to both transitive and intransitive verbs. However it is not interpretable as reflexive or as detransitivising:

(1870) *ko'sa* *waja-nỹ-'ra*
lantern bring-REF-IMP
'bring the lantern hither!'

The directional use of *-nỹ-*, which is discussed more extensively in (5.3.), may be derived from the middle interpretation of the reflexive.

The reflexive morpheme may be lexicalised in the noun *akynỹ* 'friend', which is apparently derived from the attributive verb root *aky-* 'two'.

The answer in the following little dialogue is not well understood. The element *-nỹ-* is not reflexive there, and it occurs after person cross-reference:

(1871) R: *'si-dy-hỹ 'bu-xa-ki*
I-POS-NOM wear-2-DEC
'you're wearing my hat! (indignated)'

233.See in this respect also the verb *hadai-* 'hack' in (5.2.4.1.), example (1428).

A: *(bu)-da-hỹ-nỹ-'tsy*
wear-1S-NOM-REF-RES
'yes, I'm using your hat (laconically)'

5.4.7. Reciprocal -lɛ-

Reciprocity in Kwaza is expressed by the morpheme *-lɛ-*. It is applied to transitive or transitivised verbal bases and it occurs before cross-reference marking:

(1872) *peDru sa'Bina huruja-'lɛ-ki*
Pedro Sabina like-RECI-DEC
'Pedro and Sabina like each other'

(1873) *('hita 'kalo) asa-'lɛ-tse*
Rita Carlos leave-RECI-DEC
'(Rita and Carlos) are separated'

(1874) *jere'xwa-nahere kahɛ-'lɛ-ki*
jaguar-COL bite-RECI-DEC
'the dogs are biting each other'

(1875) *pɛ̃'rɛ̃jã-tja-'lɛ-ki*
speak-TRA-RECI-DEC
'they are conversing'

(1876) *aure-'lɛ-na-ki*
marry-RECI-one-DEC
'we are married'

(1877) *au're-lɛ-'nã-da-'day-hỹ-ki*
marry-RECI-FUT-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'(she is) the one I was going to marry with (but never did)'

(1878) *hã baru-'ta-lɛ-mũ-ki*
water end-TRA-RECI-CL:liquid-DEC
'the rivers merge (drain into one another)'

(1879) *mãmã-'lɛ-nã-a-ki*
farewell-RECI-FUT-1P-DEC
'we say goodbye', 'we shake hands'

For first person plural the reciprocal is often, but not always, used with the impersonal cross-reference marker *-na-*:

(1880) *mɛ̃-'lɛ-na-ki*
beat-RECI-one-DEC
'one beat one another'

(1881) *zjwãu 'peDro mɛ̃-'lɛ-ki*
João Pedro beat-RECI-DEC
'João and Pedro are beating each other'

(1882) *tsi'tsɛ* *mɛ̃-'lɛ-a-xa-ki*
we.EX beat-RECI-1P-AS-DEC
'it was we ourselves who beat one another'

With the verb root *oitsi-* 'to copulate sexually, fuck' the reciprocal morpheme may have a more human connotation:

(1883) *oi'tsi-ki* *oitsi-'lɛ-ki*
copulate-DEC copulate-RECI-DEC
'(animal) is mating' 'human is having sex'

With the verb root *wady-* 'to give', the reciprocal morpheme suggests that many people are involved in the action of giving, and this is not necessarily a reciprocal action:

(1884) *wady-'lɛ-(wa)-ki*
give-RECI-IS-DEC
'they are giving (things) to one another/to a multitude'

In the case of few people, reflexive *-nỹ-* would be inserted in addition to *-lɛ-*, and the action would be reciprocal:

(1885) *wa-nỹ-dy-'lɛ-ki*
give-REF-CAU-RECI-DEC
'they are giving (things) to one another'

Note again that *-nỹ-* is inserted in a strange place, inside the root.

There are no reflexive or reciprocal pronouns in Kwaza. There is a lexeme which has in a way a restricted comitative sense, *ĩlɛlɛ* 'them together, themselves, just them'. On another occasion, the consultant explained that *ĩlɛlɛ* was also used to refer to 'a couple', e.g. 'two Westerners', 'two brothers', 'two Indians', but also: 'a group of only Germans', etc. Formally it may consist of the pronoun *ĩ* 'he', and a reciprocal morpheme *-lɛ-* or the emphatic morpheme *-le-* 'just, only', or both. It is used as a contrastive answer to questions like: 'John comes with whom?', answer: *ĩlɛlɛ* 'no, he is coming only with his brother'; 'is he married to a Brazilian?', answer: *ĩlɛlɛ* 'no, he is together with her (the one you know)'. The categorial status of *ĩlɛlɛ* is ambiguous. In the next example it is used as a verb stem:

(1886) *tja'nã* *ĩlɛ'lɛ-a-xa-ki*
we.IN together-1P-AS-DEC
'we are together (through marriage or kinship)'

The incompatibility of the inclusive pronoun with exclusive cross-reference in this example is discussed in (5.1.3.).

The comitative sense of *ĩlɛlɛ* is probably derived from a reciprocal sense. The group indicated by *ĩlɛlɛ* is not defined arbitrarily, by people who happen to accompany one another. It indicates rather that people stand in a fundamental reciprocal relation to one another, from which others are excluded as if by nature. Because of this semantic characteristic, which seems to be supported by formal traits such as *-lɛ-*, I have discussed this element in the present section, and not below, in the section on the comitative.

5.4.8. Comitative -ete-

Kwaza has a applicative-like comitative morpheme *-ete-*, which is applied to verb roots before person cross-reference. It introduces an object together with which the subject acts.

(1887) *babaice-ete-'nã-da-ki* *maga'riDa*
dance-COMIT-FUT-1S-DEC Margarida
'I will dance with Margarida'

(1888) *maga'riDa haha-ete-'nã-ta-ki*
Margarida wash-COMIT-FUT-1O-DEC
'Margarida is going to help me wash'

(1889) *a-ete-'nã-da-ki*
exist-COMIT-FUT-1S-DEC
'I will stay together (with her)'

(1890) *a-e'te-da-hỹ* *'we-tsy-nãi e-'ki*
exist-COMIT-1S-NOM fear-GER-NOM have-DEC
'my wife (the one I live with) is afraid'

(1891) *'a-ete-da-hỹ-ki*
exist-COMIT-1S-NOM-DEC
'she is my wife'

(1892) *kukui'hỹ-nãi* *'a-ete-da-hỹ-ki*
ill-NOM exist-COMIT-1S-NOM-DEC
'I was born with an illness'

The object can be (optionally?) marked for comitative case by *-dynỹ* (see 4.1.5.):

(1893) *teteru-dy'nỹ* *tomã-(e'te)-da-mỹ*
Teteru-COMIT bathe-COMIT-1S-VOL
'I'm going to take a bath (together) with Teteru'

The verb *ja-* 'eat' has a special comitative equivalent which has probably developed out of a combination of the root with the comitative morpheme *jete-* 'eat mixed':

(1894) *pãu 'ja-ta hã 'kui-ki*
bread eat-CSO water drink-DEC
'he ate bread and drank water' (TMA:86)

(1895) *pãu jete-'mũ-ki hã-dy'nỹ / hã-'ko*
bread eat.with-CL:liquid-DEC water-COMIT / water-INS
'he ate bread and drank water with it' (TMA:86)

(1896) *kawɛ-dy'nỹ jete-'mũ-ra*
coffee-COMIT eat.with-CL:liquid-IMP
'drink coffee with it!'

It is possible that comitative *-ete-* is etymologically related to the morpheme *-e-* 'too, together, again', which can be attached both to verbs and nouns (see 5.5. and 4.4. respectively). However, if the element *-ete-* in object person cross-reference morphemes such as *-eteja-* and *-etelexwa-* (see 5.1.) is etymologically related to comitative *-ete-*, it has lost its comitative function there.

5.4.9. Valency changing effects of -hỹ-

The nominaliser / classifier *-hỹ-* can have a detransitivising effect when zero-verbalised and followed by a mood morpheme.

(1897) *i'tso 'si-ki* / *i'tso si-'hỹ-ki*
hammock fasten-DEC / hammock fasten-NOM-DEC
'he hung up the hammock' / 'the hammock is tied'

(1898) *dote=a'sa-ki* / *dote=asa-'hỹ-ki*
shed=leave-DEC / shed=leave-NOM-DEC
'he emptied it' / 'it leaked empty'

(1899) *dote=a'sa-da-ki* (*?*dote=asa-'hỹ-da-ki*)
shed=leave-1S-DEC
'I emptied it'

This detransitivising effect is probably due to the fact that *-hỹ-* is a nominaliser which functions as a classifier. In other cases, however, it may just as well occur as a transitiviser:

(1900) *atxi'txi bɛ-'to-ki*
maize roast-CL:seed-DEC
'the maize is roasting'

(1901) *maga'riDa atxi'txi bɛ-'to-hỹ-ki*
Margarida maize roast-CL:seed-NOM-DEC
'Margarida is roasting the maize'

However, the verb *bɛto-* 'to roast seeds' is actually ambivalent, since it can also mean 'he is roasting maize':

(1902) *maga'riDa atxi'txi bɛ-'to-ki*
Margarida maize roast-CL:seed-DEC
'Margarida roasted the maize'

In the following construction, *-hỹ-* has no effect at all on the valency of the verb:

(1903) *di'lɛ ja-'re*
who eat-INT
'who ate (it)?'

di'lɛ ja-hỹ-'re
who eat-NOM-INT
'who ate (it)?'

(1904) *oxo'te-da-ki*
stalk-1S-DEC
'I'm waiting (for an animal to kill it)'

(1905) *hu'ri oxote-'hỹ-da-ki*
paca stalk-NOM-1S-DEC
'I'm waiting for a paca'

(1906) *põrõrõ'tɛ-(wã) hu'hui=asa-damỹ-da-ta oxote-'hỹ-da-ki*
fly-AO kill=leave-want-1S-CSO stalk-NOM-1S-DEC
'I'm waiting for the fly to kill it'

Probably, the valency changing effect of *-hỹ-* is very marginal, and not a cardinal function.

5.4.10. Argument number

There are several small subsets of verbs which are subcategorised not only for a specific number of (specific) arguments, but also for a specific argument number. These verbs have exclusively singular or exclusively plural arguments. As an example, the verb *towɛ-* 'to go' can only be used for plural subject arguments. For singular subjects another verb, *hy-* 'to move, go', is used.

Remember that Kwaza does not have morphological number marking of nouns. Neither are there systematic morphological means to mark argument number. So the only formal expression of number subcategorisation may be re

alised through cross-reference morphemes. Note for instance that the following example is ungrammatical:

(1907) **towɛ-da-ki*
go-1S-DEC
'I went away'

The ungrammaticality of this utterance is explained by the fact that *towɛ-* is subcategorised for plural subjects only.

Only a very limited number of verbs were encountered which are subcategorised for a specific argument number. This property is not indicated by productive morphology. Nevertheless, remnants of morphological operations were attested, which seem to have been involved in marking argument number subcategorisation. So far, reduplication is attested to mark, among other things (see also 7.3.), the difference in argument number of a small set of verbs, e.g.:

(1908) *aruu-* 'to cross'
aruru'nỹ- 'to cross (PL subject)'

(1909) *bui-* 'to go outside'
bu'bui- 'to go outside (PL subject)'

(1910) *oja-* 'to go'
o?o'ja- 'to go (PL subject)'

Evidence for the ungrammaticality of singular person cross-reference was documented among others for *aruru-*:

(1911) **aruru-da-ki*
cross-1S-DEC
'I crossed'

This root has a somewhat idiosyncratic distribution, however. The following example with *bu'bui-* represents more decisive evidence:

(1912) **bu'bui-da-ki*
leave-1S-DEC
'I went outside'

On one occasion the reduplication of a root seemed to indicate a dual subject whereas reduplication of a part of the root indicated a plural subject interpretation:

(1913) *aky-'hỹ* *e'mã-cwa-ta* *'dai-wa-ki* *('manga)*
two-NOM more-IS-CSO take-IS-DEC mango
'someone took three (mangoes)'

(1914) *aky-'hỹ* *e'mã-cwa-ta* *da-'dai-wa-ki* *('manga)*
two-NOM more-IS-CSO RED-take-IS-DEC mango
'a number of people took three (mangoes, each)'

(1915) *aky-'hỹ* *e'mã-cwa-ta* *dai='dai-wa-ki* *('manga)*
two-NOM more-IS-CSO take=take-IS-DEC mango
'two people took three (mangoes, each)'

The full repetition of the verb root *dai-* 'take' in example (1915) can be regarded as iconically symbolising the duality of the indefinite subject.

In combination with the root element *ũ-* 'to be, stand, sit', an affix *-mũ-* was found which indicates plural subject with two verbs:

(1916) *bu?ũ'rjỹ-* 'to sit (SG subject)'
bu?ũmũ'rjỹ- 'to sit (PL subject)'

(1917) *ũi-* 'to lie down'
u'mũi- 'to sleep (PL subject)'

Probably, *-mũ-* is an allomorph of *-ũ-* under reduplication. Notice that the result of *-mũ-* on the latter verb is not entirely predictable. The singular subject equivalent is a different root *wãwỹi-* 'to sleep'.

Most of the verbs which are subcategorised for plural arguments are suppletive forms with respect to their singular argument counterparts. The aforementioned root elements *hy-* 'to go (often SG subject)' and *towɛ-* 'to go (PL subject)' are found as roots followed by directional morphemes (see 5.3.) like *-dwa-* 'onto a plane surface' (which allows PL subjects) and *-ratsa-* 'under water or sand' (in combination with the classifier *-nũ-* 'powder'):

(1918) *'hy-dwa-* 'to walk/go onto the path (SG/PL subject)'
towɛ-'dwa- 'to walk/go onto the path (PL subject)'

(1919) *hy-ratsa-'nũ-* 'to enter the ground (SG subject)'
towɛ-ratsa-'nũ- 'to enter the ground (PL subject)'

The roots *hy-* and *towɛ-* are also found as first elements in a compound with the verb root *kwɛ-* 'to enter':

(1920) *hy='kwɛ-* 'to enter (SG subject)'
towɛ='kwɛ- 'to enter (PL subject)'

Also the root element *o-*, which is followed by directionals in verbs of "going, moving, etc." is often replaced by another element when the subject is exclusively plural. The next set of examples involves the directional *-nɛ-* 'hither':

(1921) *o-'nɛ-* 'to arrive (hither, originating from here)'
bwɛ-'nɛ- 'to arrive (PL subject)'

However, there is no complete regularity involving *o-*. Compare the following examples:

(1922) *oja-'nỹ-* 'to arrive (hither, originating from there)'
towɛ-'nɛ- 'to arrive (PL subject)'

The verb *ojanỹ-* is a fixed combination of the root *o-* with the directional *-ja-* 'thither', followed by the reflexive morpheme *-nỹ-* (see 5.4.6.). The root cannot be replaced by *bwɛ-* as in example (1921). According to the consultant MA, the members of family II and his own mother in family I use words like *bwɛ-* often. He himself does not, since he does not like these "very old-fashioned words which only old people use and which are hard to translate".[234] This means that plural argument words are disappearing from one part of the Kwaza speech population, and that they may have been more common and regular in the past.

The following verb roots combined with reflexive *-nỹ-* occur only with plural subjects:

(1923) *o-'nỹ-* 'to come, arrive (PL subject)'
wa-'nỹ- 'to come, arrive (PL subject)'

An important formal difference between them is that *wanỹ-* cannot be inflected for first person singular, whereas *onỹ-* can. However, the first person singular cross-reference morpheme is interpreted as plural:

(1924) *o.'nỹ-da-ki* (**wanỹdaki*)
arrive.REF-1S-DEC
'I'm coming together with several people (i.e. we are coming)'

Instead of (1924), however, it was considered better to use the first person exclusive and say the following:

(1925) *o.'nỹ-a-(xa)-ki*
arrive.REF-1P-AS-DEC
'we (a huge number of people) are coming'

234. In POR: *lá (in family II) eles falam assim. Parece que falam contrário. É muito feio falar assim. Por isso é dificil traduzir. A palavra não presta. É muito antigo, parece que só gente velho pode usar.*

Note that both *wanỹ-* and *onỹ-* can receive either first person exclusive or inclusive cross-reference. A functional difference between *wanỹ-* and *onỹ-* may then lie in the fact that the following can only be said by the owner of the house:

(1926) *wa.'nỹ-xa-xa-ki*
bring.REF-2-AS-DEC
'you (several people) are arriving'

Note furthermore that *wanỹ-* 'to arrive' derives from an element which means 'to bring' whereas the origin of *onỹ-* 'to arrive' may probably only mean 'to move, to arrive'. The exact meaning difference between the two forms has not been investigated systematically.

There is no morphological regularity involved in the difference between the next couple of examples:

(1927) *esa'hỹ-kuty-* 'to sting on the head'
tsã'dy-kuty- 'to sting on (lit. 'fill') the head (PL subject)'

The verb *tsãdy-kuty-* 'sting on the head (by a swarm of bees)' is probably etymologically related to the verb *tsã-* 'strew (of grains or multiple round objects)', which is obviously subcategorised for plural objects. Another verb root which is inevitably subcategorised for a plural argument is *co-* 'to be many'.

The verbs discussed so far are intransitive. Partial reduplication of the transitive verb *tsje-* 'to grab, close in' indicates that the object is plural:

(1928) *jere'xwa 'tsje-ki duture-('wã)*
jaguar grab-DEC pig-AO
'the jaguar grabbed the pig'

(1929) *ũca'dy tsi-tsje-ĩ?ĩ-'hỹ-ki*
hawk RED-grab-REM-NOM-DEC
'it's been a long time since the hawk grabbed (chickens)'

One suppletive pair of verbs was encountered of which both members are grammatically subcategorised for object number:

(1930) *a'sa-* 'to end, leave, terminate, obliterate (SG object)'
(u?)u'ja- 'to end, leave, terminate, obliterate (PL object)'

These verb roots occur often as second members of a compound:

(1931) *ywy'nwỹ 'dy=asa-wa-ki*
tree cut=leave-IS-DEC
'they cut the tree out of the way'

(1932) *ywy'nwỹ dy=u'ja-wa-ki*
tree cut=leave-IS-DEC
'they cut the trees out of the way'

Several pairs were discussed above of which one of the verbs has an exclusively plural argument while the other verb has an exclusively singular argument. However, other verbs discussed here have an exclusively plural argument whereas the counterpart is neutral with respect to argument number. As an example, *ojanỹ-* 'to arrive (hither, originating from there)' can also have a plural subject:

(1933) *oja'nỹ-ki*
arrive-DEC
'he is/they are arriving'

(1934) *oja'nỹ-wa-ki*
arrive-IS-DEC
'they (two persons) are arriving'

For most counterparts discussed here it was not attested whether they are exclusively singular or neutral with respect to argument number.

The same phenomenon was also attested with certain verbs in Karo (Tupi-Ramarama) (see Gabas 1999:58).

5.5. Tense, modality and aspect

Mood is expressed by clause-formative verb-final morphemes, which are discussed in (5.2.). When expressed at all, tense and aspect are expressed in verbal morphology through different means. Reduplication and several suffixes serve to indicate temporal, aspectual and further modal contrasts.

Kwaza has a basic future vs. non-future tense distinction. The distinction between past and present is often unmarked. There are nevertheless ways to express present and past. Adverbs such as *txa'rwa* 'first, now, today' and *lato* 'yesterday' refer to present and past events periphrastically. Furthermore, there are morphological possibilities to express different degrees of past tense.

Kwaza has a number of morphemes which express aspectual distinctions such as repetitive and habitual. However, the distinction between past tense and degrees of aspectual perfectivity is vague.

Some temporal suffixes such as future *-nã-*, and aspectual suffixes like procrastination *-tara-* have also a modal value, in this case respectively: 'to want' and 'fortunately'. Also the first person singular form of the volitive mood morpheme, *-damỹ*, can be used as a modal suffix 'to want' rather than as a strictly grammatical mood and person marker. Again, the distinction between tense, aspect and mood is vague.

In the present section the temporal, modal and aspectual categories which can be distinguished in Kwaza are discussed. Because of their often amalgamated status, I have not divided this section into neat subsections "tense", "mood" and "aspect". Instead, the morphemes are roughly grouped together in

the following way: sections (5.5.1.) to (5.5.5.) deal with morphemes which are more tense-like than others, sections (5.5.6.) to (5.5.18.) contain morphemes which are more modality-like, and sections (5.5.19.) to (5.5.33.) make a more aspect-like impression. Nevertheless, I present the categories primarily from the perspective of the forms themselves, and discuss their various functions as they present themselves. Morpheme order variation and the combinability of morphemes has only been mentioned sporadically, and requires more research.

Several examples were elicited as translations of suitable adaptations of phrases from "the TMA questionnaire" in Dahl (1985:198-206). The corresponding entry numbers have been indicated, together with a short description of their context, if necessary.

5.5.1. Zero marking of present and past

The basic grammaticalised tense distinction in Kwaza is between future and non-future. Furthermore there are some less basic means to express remote past. Predicates which are not marked for future or remote past can be interpreted as referring to a state of affairs in the present just as well as in the past. Compare the following examples:

(1935) *txa'hỹ* *ba-jãhỹ-'nã-tse*
path clear-CL:path-FUT-DEC
'he wants/is going to clear the road' (TMA:27)

(1936) *txa'hỹ* *ba-jã'hỹ-ki*
path clear-CL:path-DEC
'he clears/cleared / is/was clearing the/a road / roads' (TMA:5-11;24)

The exact temporal interpretation of an unmarked verb depends on the discourse context or on temporal adverbs. Compare the following examples:

(1937) *awy-'mũ-ki*
cold-CL:liquid-DEC
'it (the water) is (usually) cold' (visible) (TMA:30;31;34)

(1938) *la'to* *awy-'mũ-ki* *txa'rwa* *kike-'mũ-ki*
yesterday cold-CL:liquid-DEC first hot-CL:liquid-DEC
'yesterday it (the water) was cold, today it is warm' (TMA:32)

5.5.2. past -ky-

There is a morpheme which indicates past tense, but it is not very frequently encountered. Compare the following examples:

(1939) *nũ'ri-xa-re*
satiate-2-INT
'are you full?'

(1940) *nũ'ri-xa-hỹ-re*
satiate-2-NOM-INT
'were you full?'
(this morning up to three days ago)

(1941) *nũ'ri-xa-ky-hỹ-re*
satiate-2-PAST-NOM-INT
'were you full?' (this morning up to three days ago)

When example (1940) was compared to example (1941) the consultant commented that their temporal value is identical, but that (1941) was "stronger". However, there are no indications that *-ky-* indicates a different degree of relative temporal remoteness.

The past tense morpheme *-ky-* only occurs in combination with an immediately subsequent nominaliser *-hỹ*. It is unclear whether it represents the same element as *-ky-* in the conditional mood marker *-kywy* of adverbial clauses (see 8.2.1.). There is no reason to assume that it is related to the element *-ky* in the negative imperative morpheme *-he-ky* (see 5.2.7.). Here are some more examples:

(1942) *la'to* *tsu'ty* *kukui-'dy-da-ky-hỹ-ki*
yesterday head hurt-CAU-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC
'I had a pain in the head yesterday'[235]

(1943) *la'to* *jo-'mũ* *'kui-da-(ky)-hỹ-ki*
yesterday manioc-CL:liquid drink-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC
'yesterday I drank manioc chicha'

In this past tense construction, the person cross-reference morpheme may be reduplicated. The reduplicated form consists in a repetition of the person cross-reference marker without the allomorphic variation as discussed in (5.5.4.):

(1944) *kukui'hỹ-da-da-ky-hỹ-ki*
ill-1S-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC
'I was ill'

(1945) *'masju* *kukui'hỹ-da-da-ky-hỹ-ki=da'mỹ-tse*
Marcio ill-1S-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC=want-DEC
'Marcio is going to say he was ill'

It has not been established what the semantic or pragmatic difference is between the reduplicated and the non-reduplicated past tense construction.

235. The permitted alternative orders 132 and 321 depend on which constituent is in focus. The first constituent tends to get focus.

5.5.3. Remote past -ĩʔĩ-

There is a morphological element *-ĩʔĩ-*, which refers to a past which ranges from relatively remote to the first days of mankind:

(1946) *ja a'nũ-ĩʔĩ-hỹ-ki atxi'txi*
already plant-REM-NOM-DEC maize
'he planted maize already very long time ago'

(1947) *awy-mũ-ĩʔĩ-'hỹ-ki*
cold-CL:liquid-REM-NOM-DEC
'the water was cold' (long time ago) (TMA:33;35)

(1948) *tsɛ 'si-dy-hỹ eto'hoi-ĩʔĩ-hỹ-ki*
yes I-POS-NOM child-REM-NOM-DEC
'yes, he was my son' (but I don't regard him as such any more) (t)

(1949) *ũca'dy tsi-tsje-ĩʔĩ-'hỹ-ki*
hawk RED-grab-REM-NOM-DEC
'it's been a long time since the hawk grabbed (chickens)'

Apparently, the remote past morpheme is applied before argument cross-reference, whereas the nominaliser *-hỹ-* may occur in alternative positions:

(1950) *etohoi-ĩʔĩ-'hỹ-a-xa-ki*
child-REM-NOM-1P-AS-DEC
'we were children'

(1951) *etohoi-ĩʔĩ-a-xa-a-xa-le-'hỹ-ki*
child-REM-1P-AS-1P-AS-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'we were once/originally children'[236]

(1952) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-ĩʔĩ-le-'hỹ-ki*
speak-REM-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'he talked / he was talking'

(1953) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-ĩʔĩ-'hỹ-ki*
speak-REM-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'he (has) talked' (once)

Apparently, *-ĩʔĩ-* does not occur as the only verb root-extending bound morpheme on the predicate:

(1954) **kui-ĩʔĩ-(da)-ki*
drink-REM-1S-DEC
'(I) drank a long time ago'

236. This example was rejected on a later occasion because of the presence of *-ĩʔĩ-*.

It has to be combined with a nominaliser, such as *-hỹ-* and others. Without mood marking it refers to a noun:

(1955) *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *eto'hoi-ĩ?ĩ-hỹ* *tsa'si-hỹ-tsy*
you-POS-NOM child-REM-NOM follow-NOM-RES
'he who was once your son came after you, you fool!' (t)

The following examples range from relatively not very remote past to ancient:

(1956) *segunDafera-'wy*
Monday-time
'next Monday'

(1957) *segunDafera-ĩ?ĩ-'wy*
Monday-REM-time
'last Monday'

(1958) *hako'ri* *isi-ĩ?ĩ-'wy*
moon die-REM-time
'at the time there was an eclipse of the moon (one year ago)'

(1959) *'a-ĩ?ĩ-'wy*
exist-REM-time
'at the time he already appeared/existed/was born' (t)

(1960) *o'kja-ĩ'?ĩ-nahere*
hunt-REM-COL
'those hunters of the past (of olden times)'

Although the consultant claimed that *ĩ?ĩ-hỹ-ki* did not occur as an independent word, it may have occurred as such on several occasions in texts. It was possible to ask about it in isolation, and he explained that it meant 'it took a long time', 'it was', or 'in the past'.

The element *-ĩ?ĩ-hỹ* does not always have a temporal meaning. In the following little dialogue it marks an indignated reply:

(1961) R: *hã'?ã kurakura-'ni*
yes chicken-CL:egg
'here take this egg!'

A: *haki'dwa-ĩ?ĩ-hỹ*
stone-REM-NOM
'but it is a stone, you!'[237]

5.5.4. Remote past by cross-reference reduplication and -hỹ

Section (7.3.) deals with reduplication as a phonotactically determined process with grammatical or lexical functions. However, there is also a type of reduplication in Kwaza that could be thought of rather as a morphologically deter

237.Or in POR: *é pedra, uai!*

mined process with grammatical functions. Whereas reduplication as discussed in section (7.3.) can involve repetition of either entire lexical content bearing roots, or of root syllables that have no distinguishable meaning or function of themselves, in the present section the reduplication of bound person markers in the verbal complex, which have a grammatical meaning, is discussed. This sort of reduplication was also the topic of a separate article by van der Voort (2003). To my knowledge, it has not been attested in any other language.

A rare instance of this kind of reduplication was already shown in (5.5.2.), where a past tense construction may involve reduplication of a bound person marker. The remote past construction discussed here appears to be much more productive.

The reduplication of bound argument cross-reference morphemes followed by *-hỹ-* creates a sense of remote past. Here, some reduplicated person markers have a slightly different form. First person singular *-da-* is expressed by its allomorph *-day-* in certain positions, second person *-xa-* by *-xay-*, first person plural subject *-a-* by *-ay-*, first person singular object *-ta-* becomes *-tay-* and indefinite subject *-cwa-* (itself an allomorph of *-wa-*) becomes *-cu-*, *-ci-* or *-ti-*. Note the following examples:

(1962) *xyi* *mã-xa-'xay-hỹ-ki*
you call-2-2-NOM-DEC
'you have given him (your son) his name' (t)

(1963) *tutunita'hỹ-ti-cwa-hỹ-ki*
think-IS-IS-NOM-DEC
'in olden times they worried a lot'

(1964) *txarwa-wy-te'te* *'a-ci-cwa-wy* *were=oja-'tay*
first-time-really exist-IS-IS-time revolt=go-CL:woman

'*ta-ci-cwa-nahere* *'a-ĩʔĩ-wy*
talk-IS-IS-COL exist-REM-time
'it was at the time of those people of the very first time, which they called "the rebellious runaway women"' (t)

For *-cu-* as an allomorph of *-cwa-*, see example (1987). Apparently, the exclusive realisation of the first person plural does not have a special allomorph for reduplication:

(1965) *aure-lɛ-'nã-a-xa-a-xa-le-hỹ-ki*
marry-RECI-FUT-1P-AS-1P-AS-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'we were going to marry (but we didn't)'

A possible explanation for this is that the first person plural exclusive consists of two separate morphemes. Another explanation could lie in the fact that the

associated person marker is a different type of morpheme. No instances of second person plural reduplication have been documented.

Compare the following examples, and note that there is obviously no reduplication when a zero-marked third person subject is involved:

(1966) *na-ay-'wy* *o'nɛ-da-day-hỹ-ki*
PROX-that-time arrive-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'I arrived at that time'

(1967) *na-ay-'wy* *o'nɛ-hỹ-ki*
PROX-that-time arrive-NOM-DEC
'he arrived at that time'

Note that the proximate prefix *na-* in these examples indicates proximity in the discourse, and not temporal proximity.

In view of the different status of object markers, it is remarkable that one of them, the first person object marker *-ta-* can be reduplicated, namely by the allomorph *-tay-*, as if it were somehow part of the subject marking paradigm:

(1968) *tsũhũ-'du* *'si-dy-hỹ* *e'tay* *a'sa-ta-tay-'hỹ-re*
what-BER I-POS-NOM woman leave-1O-1O-NOM-INT
'what a pity my wife left me!'

Remote past seems to be the main function of argument cross-reference reduplication followed by *-hỹ-*. Compare (1969) to example (1940) above, and compare example (1970) to (1971):

(1969) *nũ'ri-xa-'xay-hỹ-re*
satiate-2-2-NOM-INT
'were you satiated?' (one week up to three months ago)

(1970) *la'to* *o'ja-da-hỹ-ki* *ze'zĩju-dy-rjỹ*
yesterday go-1S-NOM-DEC Zezinho-POS-CD:area
'yesterday I went to Zezinho's'

(1971) *ja* *o'ja-da-'day-hỹ-ki* *txa'rwa* *oja-'he=(bwa)-da-ki*
already go-1S-1S-NOM-DEC first go-NEG=finish-1S-DEC
'it has been a long time I was there. I haven't been there since'

Apparently, the remote past needs to be expressed only once in a sentence, on the matrix predicate:

(1972) *'xa-ta* *'ũi-xa-ta* *ɛ-'e-xa-xay-hỹ-ki*
2-CSO lie-2-CSO go-again-2-2-NOM-DEC
'then you slept, and went away again' (long ago)

(1973) *huru'ja-da-ta* *au're-da-day-hỹ-ki*
love-1S-CSO marry-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
a) 'because I liked her, I married her'
b) 'I made love to her and I married her'

The remote past construction may have a perfect connotation, and the frustrative morpheme may emphasise the notion that the situation described by the verb does not obtain anymore in the present:

(1974) *aure-lɛ-'nã-da-day-hỹ-ki*
marry-RECI-FUT-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'(she is) the one I was going to marry with (but never did)'

(1975) *au're-da-day-le-hỹ-ki*
marry-1S-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I was married to her' (but I'm not any more)

(1976) *Bahoso-'na* *'a-da-day-le-hỹ-ki* (**adadaylehỹdaki*)
Barroso-LOC exist-1S-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I lived in Barroso' (but now not any more)

The remote past is often combined with temporal adverbs:

(1977) *jale'ja* *aniwesario-'dy-da-day-hỹ-ki*
in.the.past birthday-CAU-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'last month I had my birthday'

(1978) *ay-'wy* *da'nỹ* *a-'he-da-day-hỹ-ki*
that-time still exist-NEG-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'at that time I was not living here'

In combination with the adverbial perfect particle *ja* 'already', the interpretation of the remote past construction is what Dahl (1985:132) calls the "perfect of persistent situation":

(1979) *ja* *'a-da-day-hỹ-ki* *Ba'roso-'na*
already exist-1S-1S-NOM-DEC Barroso-LOC
'I've been living in Barroso already for a long time'

(1980) *ja* *au're-da-day-hỹ-ki*
already marry-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'I'm already married'

Summarising, one could state that the combination of reduplicated person marking and nominalisation creates a sense of remote past. Since this construc

tion does not concern the intensification of an already existing past tense, there is no reason to regard the reduplication it contains as iconic.

5.5.4.1. Nominal properties of the remote past construction

In the remote past construction, the nominaliser *-hỹ-* creates a sort of cleft construction with the sense of 'it is a fact that'. Most examples can be translated as such literally:

(1981) *ca'ri-da-day-hỹ-ki*
shoot-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'I killed (him)' (a month ago) (lit. 'it is a fact that I killed him')

The evidence that the morpheme *-hỹ-* in the remote past construction is a nominaliser (see 5.6.) is strong. When the mood suffix is omitted, the result is a noun:[238]

(1982) *aruxyni'te* *awỹi-'ja-da-day-hỹ*
photo see-IO-1S-1S-NOM
'the photo I took of someone'

(1983) *awỹi-ta-tay-'hỹ* *hãte-ta-'hỹ-xa-hỹ-re* *maga'riDa-wã*
see-1O-1O-NOM try-TRA-NOM-2-NOM-INT Margarida-AO
'did you show (lit. 'try') the photo (taken) of me to Margarida?'

Note that, in such nominals, *-hỹ-* can even be replaced by specific classifiers and adverbial and other nominalisers:

(1984) *a-da-'day-xy-na* *a-'e-damỹ-da-ki*
exist-1S-1S-CL:house-LOC exist-again-want-1S-DEC
'I'm going to live again in the house where I used to live'

(1985) *kukui'hỹ-da-day-'wy*
ill-1S-1S-time
'the time I was ill'

(1986) *mĩu* *'kui-da-day-'nãi*
chicha drink-1S-1S-NOM
'the fact that I drank chicha'
(e.g. as an object of 'to tell')

(1987) *mĩu* *'kui-cu-cwa-'nãi*
chicha drink-IS-IS-NOM
'the fact that they drank chicha' (long ago)

238. Note that (1982) is a nominal modification construction in which juxtaposition of nouns has an attributive function. In (1983), the head, *aruxynite*, is omitted. Note furthermore that the verb root *hãte-* 'to try' is also used to express the notion of 'to show'.

(1988) *ta-ti-'cwa-nahere*
talk-IS-IS-COL
'the (old) ones talked about, people of history'

(1989) *'a-ti-cwa-wy*
exist-IS-IS-time
'at the time they already existed' (t)

(1990) *tsywydy'te* *a-a-ay-'nãi*
girl exist-1P-1P-NOM
'at the time we were girls' (long ago)

Also the deictic element *-xuko* (allomorph *-xukwo*) 'within the settlement' has nominalising properties (see 4.6.3.). In the following example, it is zero-verbalised:

(1991) *xyi-ra'ta* *a-xa-'xay-xukwo-ki*
you-first exist-2-2-SETT-DEC
'you are the first inhabitant(s) here'

5.5.5. Future -nã-

Future is expressed morphologically in three different ways. Future tense is expressed by the suffix *-nã-*. The potential suffix *-tsy-* and the volitive mood marker *-mỹ* represent modal categories which have a temporal connotation. They will be compared to future tense in (5.5.5.1.).

Canonical future tense is marked on the verb by the suffix *-nã-*, which usually attracts stress. Note the following examples:

(1992) *'kui-da-ki*
drink-1S-DEC
'I'm drinking / I drank'

(1993) *kui-'nã-da-ki*
drink-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going / I want to drink'

The latter example also illustrates the fact that *-nã-* can be used with the sense of 'to want'.

Future *-nã-* does not occur as immediately adjacent to the declarative mood morpheme *-ki*. Instead it is followed by *-tse* in the declarative:

(1994) *txa'hỹ* *ba-jã'hỹ-ki*
path cut-CL:path-DEC
'he is clearing the road'
(TMA:6)

(1995) *txa'hỹ* *ba-jãhỹ-'nã-tse*
path cut-CL:path-FUT-DEC
'he will clear the road'
(TMA:27; tomorrow)

However, when overt person cross-reference marking intervenes, the *-ki* declarative is required:

(1996) *txa'hỹ* *ba-'nã-da-ki*
path cut-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to clear the road' (TMA:22; right now)

This distributional restriction of *-nã-* is discussed in (5.2.1.1.). Future *-nã-* is easily distinguishable from the nearly[239] homophonous impersonal cross-reference *-na-* since the latter does not attract stress, and requires immediate adjacency to declarative *-ki* (see 5.1.5.).

The future morpheme occurs in a position before the argument cross-reference markers.

(1997) *jady-'nã-ta-ki*
feed-FUT-1O-DEC
'he is going to give me food'

It may be combined with all cross-reference morphemes, except for non-third person subject- second person object *-nĩnã-* '(2O)'. Instead, a specific second person object future cross-reference morpheme *-leja-* '(2O.FUT)' is used:

(1998) *ba'baice-e'te-leja-da-ki*
dance-COMIT-2O.FUT-1S-DEC
'I want to dance with you'

This morpheme was discussed extensively in (5.1.6.). Future marking with non-second person object marking involves canonical *-nã-*:

(1999) *ba'baice-e'te-nã-da-ki*
dance-COMIT-FUT-1S-DEC
'I want to dance with her'

Several examples in section (7.1.1.) on negation suggest that the negative morpheme *-he-* usually precedes the future morpheme, and attracts the word's main stress. In the following example the future morpheme bears the main stress:

(2000) *awe-he-'nã-tse*
rain-NEG-FUT-DEC
'it is not going to rain'

239. Phonemically, impersonal */na/* is not considered as nasalised, but phonetically it is often nasalised: [nã].

See (2009) for an example of a future morpheme preceding a negative morpheme.

The future morpheme also occurs with other moods than the declarative:

(2001) *kui-he-'nã-tsy-'re*
drink-NEG-FUT-POT-DEC
'isn't he going to drink?'

(2002) *tokoi'ri-a-ki* *ka'wɛ* *kui-'nã-a-ni*
be.tired-1P-DEC coffee drink-FUT-1P-EXH
'we're tired, let's drink coffee!'

The future indicated by *-nã-* can be immediate as well as more remote. Example (1995) was elicited in a context of "tomorrow", whereas example (1996) belonged in a context of "right now". In the next example, *-nã-* refers to immediate future:

(2003) *txarwa-te'te* *kui-'nã-da-ki*
first-INTENS drink-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to drink right now'

Future morphemes may occur in cosubordinated sentences with a purposive sense:

(2004) *ũcenãi-'nã-tja* *ere'we-xy-ki*
know-FUT-CSO write-CL:leaf-DEC
'he is writing in order to learn'

As demonstrated in (8.3.1.7.), the purposivity of such clauses does not depend on the future morpheme. Furthermore, the presence of the future morpheme does not guarantee a purposive sense:

(2005) *awe-'nã-tja* *kyry'ja-ki*
rain-FUT-CSO thunder-DEC
'it is going to rain and thunder'

5.5.5.1. Overlap between modal categories and future tense

The volitive mood is marked by the suffix *-mỹ*. It differs from future *-nã-* in that it only occurs with first person subjects and, as discussed in (5.2.5.) and (5.2.5.1.), that it cannot be applied to non-controlled verbs. In the domain of overlap between the two categories, there seems to be no difference in meaning:

(2006) *ja-'nã-da-ki*
eat-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to eat'

(2007) *ja-da-'mỹ*
eat-1S-VOL
'I'm going to eat'

Predicates in the volitive mood *-mỹ* cannot bear the future morpheme *-nã-*:

(2008) *tsi'tsɛ wa'ja-a-xa-mỹ* (**tsitsɛ wajanã?axamỹ*)
we.EX bring-1P-AS-VOL
'we're going to take it!'

However, the volitional suffix *-damỹ-* 'to want' (which is etymologically related to the volitive mood, see 5.2.5.1. and 5.5.8.), can be combined with *-nã-*:

(2009) *ɛ-nã-'he-damỹ-da-ki*
go-FUT-NEG-want-1S-DEC
'I'm not going!' (I don't want to)

Furthermore, there is a modal suffix *-tsy-*, which is discussed in (8.1.1.). It functions as a potential marker and it refers to a possible future which is less certain to occur than the future indicated by *-nã-*:

(2010) *tãlo-'nã-tse* / *tãlo-da'mỹ-tse*
angry-FUT-DEC / angry-want-DEC
'(the dog) is getting angry'

(2011) *tã'lo-tsy-tse*
angry-POT-DEC
'(don't tease the dog or) it will get angry'

As several examples in (8.1.1.) show, predicates which contain a potential suffix may bear the future morpheme. However, it is not certain that *-tsy-* in example (2001) is potential rather than gerundial.

Future tense may also have a modal connotation. Example (1993) above was mentioned as having two interpretations. The morpheme *-nã-* could be read as 'future' or as 'to want'. In the contrast between the following examples, *-tsy-* rather than *-nã-*, seems to function as a tense morpheme:

(2012) *kui-'nã-xa-re*
drink-FUT-2-INT
'do you want to drink?'

(2013) *'kui-xa-tsy-re*
drink-2-POT-INT
'are you going to drink?'

On many occasions, predicates containing *-nã-* were translated with a sense of 'to want':

(2014) *cari-'nã-xuxwa-hỹ-ki*
shoot-FUT-IS.2O-NOM-DEC
'they are wanting to kill you' (t)

In fact, the consultant noted about example (2006) above that if it is uttered in one's own house, it means 'I'm going to eat' but when it is uttered in someone else's house, it means 'I want to eat'. When one is not invited for dinner, this utterance is then a request for food, which is not regarded as very nice.

So the context determines to a large extent how *-nã-* is to be interpreted. I have considered its basic function to be a future morpheme.

5.5.6. Potential -tsy-

Because of its special significance to adverbial clauses, the potential morpheme *-tsy-* is discussed, together with the homophonous gerundial morpheme, in section (8.1.) of the chapter on complex constructions.

5.5.7. Gerundi(v)al -tsy-

The gerundial morpheme *-tsy-* is homophonous with the potential morpheme. Because of the partial overlap in the distribution of these morphemes, and the consequent necessity to contrast them in detail, they are both dealt with in the same section (8.1.) of the chapter on complex constructions. It seems possible that gerundial *-tsy-* has developed from the declarative mood marker *-tse*.

5.5.8. Volitional -damỹ-

Together with first person singular inflexion, the volitive mood marker *-da-mỹ* can also be used as a derivational modal suffix *-damỹ-* with a intentional or volitional sense of 'to want', and even as a verb root *damỹ-* 'to be going to'. This morpheme is dealt with extensively in subsection (5.2.5.1.) of the section on mood.

5.5.9. Causational -nĩ-

The exhortative mood marker *-ni* can also be used as a derivational modal suffix *-nĩ-* with a causational or purposive sense of 'to make (someone do something)'. This morpheme is dealt with extensively in subsection (5.2.4.1.) of the section on mood.

5.5.10. Preventive -tsi-

The monitory mood marker *-tsi* is sometimes used as a derivational modal suffix *-tsi-* with a preventive sense of 'to prevent (someone to do something)'. This morpheme is dealt with in subsection (5.2.9.) of the section on mood.

5.5.11. Quotation

In Kwaza, no distinction is made between direct and indirect reports. Maybe it is even better to say that there is no indirect speech at all. Speech is quoted by literally repeating what has been said. Furthermore, several other types of "complementation" are also expressed in the form of reported speech.

The construction is basically monoclausal. It consists of a predicate which contains two levels of person and mood inflexion. The level which is closest to the predicate root represents the quoted utterance, and the second level represents the inflexion of a verb of speech. Main stress is normally on the mood marker of the level mentioned first, while the last syllable of the predicate root retains secondary stress. Because no root of a verb of speech is present, the construction is probably the result of ellipsis (see 5.5.11.1. and 7.5.). The following examples show how the construction works:

(2015) *kukui'hỹ-da-'ki-tse*
ill-1S-DEC-DEC
'she says she is ill' (lit. 'she says "I'm ill"')

(2016) *maga'riDa kukui'hỹ-xa-'ki-tse*
Margarida ill-2-DEC-DEC
'Margarida says you're ill'

(2017) *maga'riDa kukuihỹ-'ki-xa-ki*
Margarida ill-DEC-2-DEC
'you say Margarida is ill'

(2018) *kukui'hỹ-da-'ki-da-ki*
ill-1S-DEC-1S-DEC
'I said I am ill'

(2019) *kukuihỹ-'ki-tse* (**kukuihỹ-'ki-ki*)
ill-DEC-DEC
'he says she is ill'

These examples show that the verb with the first set of person and mood markers represents the actual utterance of the quoted person, whereas the second set of person and mood markers identifies the quoted person and the illocutionary status of the quoted utterance in the actual discourse context. The structure of an example like (2018) can be represented as follows:

(2020) [[*kukui'hỹ-da-'ki*]-*da-ki*] (lit. '"I am ill" (said) I')

The following examples show reported speech constructions in different moods:

(2021) *kwɛ-da-'mỹ-ca-ra*
enter-1S-VOL-EMP-IMP
'say "I will enter"!'

(2022) *kui-a-'ni-tse*
drink-1P-EXH-DEC
'he wants us to drink together'
(lit. 'he says "let's drink!"')

(2023) *da'nỹ* *hyhyrwa-a-'ni-xa-re*
still move-1P-EXH-2-INT
'are we still going for a walk?' (lit. 'do you still say "let's walk!"?')

(2024) *wãwỹi-'ja-xa-re*
sleep-EXP-2-INT
'you were calling us to sleep? , you want us to sleep?'
(lit. 'did you say "let's sleep!"?')

(2025) *ehỹ-he-'ky-tse*
make-NEG-NEI-DEC
'she said one is not to do that'
(lit. 'she said "don't do that!"')

(2026) *hedy-he-'ky-tse*
mix-NEG-NEI-DEC
'she said "don't put sugar in it!"'

Both the embedded quoted utterance and the entire utterance may be modified by pre-inflexional tense, modality or aspect marking:

(2027) *'marju* *kukui'hỹ-da-ki-da'mỹ-tse*
Mario ill-1S-DEC-want-DEC
'Mario is going to say he is ill'
(lit. 'Mario is going to say "I am ill"')

(2028) *'marju* *kukui'hỹ-da-da-ky-hỹ-ki-da'mỹ-tse*
Mario ill-1S-1S-PAST-NOM-DEC-want-DEC
'Mario is going to say he was ill'
(lit. 'Mario is going to say "I was ill"')

The quoted utterances can be syntactically very complex too:

(2029) *mã?audy'nɛ-da-si* *o'nɛ-ta* *a-hỹ-'ki-tsy-hỹ=wara* *'he*
call.come-1S-SWR arrive-CSO exist-NOM-DEC-GER-NOM=but NEG
'"always when I called him he came" she said, but, he didn't' (t)

The latter example contains a different subject subordinated clause, embedded in a syntactic habitual construction of the form *V-ta a-* 'use to V'. The gerundial element *-tsy-* is used in the sense of 'she said' (see also 8.1.2.2.). Negative *-he-* is highly elliptic for 'he did not do it'.

Like any other predicate, quoted utterances themselves can occur in complex sentence constructions, be they cosubordinated clauses, as in (2030), (2031) and (2032) or nominalised complement clauses, as in (2033), (2034) and (2035):

(2030) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-tja-a-'ni-da-ta oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-1P-EXH-1S-CSO arrive-1S-DEC
'I came for us to talk' (lit. 'I arrive, me saying: "let's talk!"')[240]

(2031) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'ra-da-ta waja-'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-IMP-1S-CSO bring-REF-1S-DEC
'I brought (him) for you to talk with him'
(lit. 'I bring him, me saying: "talk with him!"')

(2032) *kukuihỹ-'ki-cwa-si jã'si-da-ki*
ill-DEC-IS-SWR hear-1S-DEC
'I heard she is ill' (lit. 'I heard it, they saying "she is ill"')

(2033) *maga'riDa kukuihỹ-'ki-cwa-nãi jã'si-da-ki*
Margarida ill-DEC-IS-NOM hear-1S-DEC
'I heard Margarida is ill'
(lit. 'I heard their (saying) "Margarida is ill"')

(2034) *da'nỹ ehỹ-'he-da-ki ehỹ-'ra-xa-nãi*
still make-NEG-1S-DEC make-IMP-2-NOM
'I have not yet done what you told me to do"
(lit. 'I have not yet done your (saying) "do it!"')

(2035) *alexunwỹ-'ki-tsy-'nãi e-wa-hỹ-'tsy*
tree-DEC-GER-NOM have-IS-NOM-RES
'they said it is axe-handle wood (but I don't think so)'

Note that it appears from (2032) and other examples in the present section that speech quoted from indefinite subjects involves the allomorph *-cwa-*.

I encountered is only one instance of multiple quotative embedding:

(2036) *kukui'hỹ-da-hỹ-'ki=xa-hỹ-'ki=tja nãi-'ki*
ill-1S-NOM-DEC=2-NOM-DEC=CSO like-DEC
'she said that you said that you were ill'[241]

240. The transitiviser does not introduce an extra third person object here. The equivalent of 'I came to talk with him' is not a quotation construction, but a purposive construction, illustrated in (8.3.1.7.). The present example is also repeated as (3145).

241. In this example, which was repeated thrice, I used the <=> sign to indicate that the consultant tended to insert a short pause there.

5.5.11.1. Ellipsis as the origin of the quotation construction

Speech can also be quoted analytically, in paratactic sentence constructions that involve verbs of 'saying'. These constructions do not contain double layers of person and mood marking. They just consist of juxtapositions of matrix clauses:

(2037) *u'te-ta* *kukui'hỹ-xa-'ki* *'ta-ta-ki*
notify-CSO ill-2-DEC talk-1O-DEC
'she said (to me) that I am ill'
(lit. '"you are ill", she talked to me, notifying')

(2038) *ũnỹte'ta-wa-ta* *kukui'hỹ-xa-ki* *'ta-taxwa-ki*
converse-IS-CSO ill-2-DEC talk-IS.1O-DEC
'they/someone is saying (to me) that I am ill'
(lit. '"you are ill", they talked to me, conversing')

(2039) *eto'hoi* *kuro-'ra* *ta-ta-'le-hỹ-ki*
child close-IMP talk-1O-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'(in vain) the child wanted me to close the door'
(lit. '"close the door!", the child talked to me in vain')

(2040) *'heme* *'mã-ta-ki* *teteru'wã* *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'ra* *'ta-ta-ta*
Hermes call-1O-DEC Teteru-AO speak-TRA-IMP talk-1O-CSO
'Hermes called me over for me to speak with Teteru'
(lit. 'Hermes called me, saying to me: "speak with Teteru!"')

It seems reasonable to assume that the quoted speech construction originates from this latter juxtapositive sentence construction. One could imagine that the root of the verb for 'to say' is omitted, and that the remaining context dependent person and mood markers are cliticised to the preceding fully inflected quoted verb.

Elliptic constructions in which the root of the quoted utterance, or the entire quoted utterance itself, is omitted occur as well. In the following four examples, the omitted material is represented by "0".

(2041) *cutɛ-da-'mỹ-Ø-tja*
fell-1S-VOL-(say)-CSO
'"I'm going to fell trees", he said' (t)

(2042) *Ø-da-'mỹ-Ø-tja*
(do something)-1S-VOL-(say)-CSO
'"yes I will" he says' (t)

(2043) *Ø-Ø-tsy-'nãixwa-wa-ki*
(something)-(say)-GER-pretend-IS-DEC
'they pretend to be talking'

(2044) *Ø-Ø-'taxwa-ki*
(something)-(say)-IS.1O-DEC
'they said to me'

Also, when one presents a combination of a person and mood marker in isolation to a native speaker of Kwaza, and one asks what it means, he or she will suggest several different possible interpretations, among them quoted speech:

(2045) *cwa-'si*
IS-SWR
'they did', 'it is said', 'they say', 'well then', 'now' (t)

In (8.3.1.9.) the unlikeliness of the verb root *ta-* 'talk' as originating from a reinterpreted cosubordinative mood marker *-ta* is discussed. Note the following example:

(2046) *hou'rje ta*
arrow talk
'(it is) called "arrow"'

One could hypothesise that this example originates from the following expression[242]:

(2047) *hou'rje-ta*
arrow-CSO
'it being an arrow'

However, (2046) is more likely an elliptic utterance, be it a relatively rare one. Normally, *ta* in the sense of 'talk' is also marked for person, mood and the like:

(2048) *wari'ñũ ta-'re*
solveira talk-INT
'is it (the tree) called *wari'ñũ*?'

(2049) *ti-'nãi kẽ'wẽ ĩkũ'kũ 'ta-nãi-re*
what-NOM turtle *ĩkũkũ* talk-NOM-INT
'is 'turtle' called *ĩkũkũ* (in Kanoê)?'

242. which was constructed by myself

The cosubordinative marker *-tja* is reinterpreted as a transitiviser on some occasions, and has become part of the transitive verb root *tjata-* 'to speak to someone'. This verb root may have emerged from constructions such as:

(2050) *he?ai-xa-'re-tja* *'ta-wa-si*
want.not-2-INT-CSO talk-IS-SWR
'"you don't want?" they said (to him)' (t)

(2051) *kwɛ-nɛ-he-'ky-tja* *'ta-da-mỹ*
enter-DR:hither-NEG-NEI-CSO talk-1S-VOL
'I'll tell him not to enter'
(lit. 'I'm going to talk, saying: "don't enter!"')

Note the difference in perspective with the quotation construction:

(2052) *ja-'nã-xa-re-tja* *'ta-da-ki*
eat-FUT-2-INT-CSO talk-1S-DEC
'I asked him whether he was going to eat'
(lit. '"are you going to eat?" I said (to him)')

(2053) *ja-'nã-xa-'re-da-ki*
eat-FUT-2-INT-1S-DEC
'I'm asking you whether you ate'
(lit. '"are you going to eat?" I said (to you)')

Note that there are no verbs for 'allowing' or 'forbidding' in Kwaza. Such senses are expressed through constructions in which imperatives and negative imperatives are quoted. The verb root *ratja-* 'to order' and the imperative particle *cara* (see 5.2.3.4.) are also possible derivations of elliptic quotation constructions. Note the following examples:

(2054) *ra'tja-ta-ki* *wi'lena-na* *oja-'ra-tja*
order-1O-DEC Vilhena-LOC go-IMP-CSO
'he ordered me to go to Vilhena'

(2055) *ratja-'ra*
order-IMP
'send him!/tell him to!'

(2056) *ca-'ra 'ta-ta-ki*
EMP-IMP talk-1O-DEC
'he ordered me (to go to X)'

(2057) *'he-ca-ra-ki*
NEG-EMP-IMP-DEC
'don't worry!', 'there is nothing wrong!', 'it doesn't matter!'

5.5.11.2. Other uses of the quotation construction

Quotation may represent mental activity, and the quotation construction does not always concern literally reported speech. In the following examples, the first person singular interrogative quoted by a first person singular is shown to have a dubitative or ruminative function:

(2058) *wara'ñỹ-e-da-tsy-'re-da-ki*
work-again-1S-POT-INT-1S-DEC
'I think I'm going to work again'

(2059) *warañỹ-te'te-da-tsy-'re-da-ki*
work-INTENS-1S-POT-INT-1S-DEC
'I think I'm really going to work much'

(2060) *wara'ñỹ-e-nã-da-'hỹ=wara* *ti-nãi-da-tsy-'re-da-ki*
work-again-FUT-1S-NOM=but what-NOM-1S-POT-INT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to work again but I don't know how to do it'

(2061) *he?ai-da-tsy-'re-da-ki*
want.not-1S-POT-INT-1S-DEC
'I think I'm going to say no'

There is a quotation construction in which the quoting person is a first person singular in a preconditional adverbial clause involving *-lɛ* (see 8.2.1.3.1.):

(2062) *kude're* *korɛ-'ki=da-lɛ* *'ja-da-tsy-tse*
Kudere cleave-DEC=1S-PREC eat-1S-POT-DEC
'(only) if Kudere/Canderé harvests (grubs), I will eat"
(lit. 'as soon as I'm aware that Kudere harvests, I will eat')

An English equivalent of this construction is probably something in the order of 'as far as I am concerned, I will eat if Canderé harvests the grubs'. The preconditional value of the construction in (2062) it probably not very strong.

In section (5.2.2.1.) various constructions in which the interrogative has an emphatic function are discussed. One of these constructions seems to have extra emphasis when presented as quoted by the first person singular. Note the following examples:

(2063) *kukui 'cu=hy=hy-dwa-'re-da-hỹ-ki*
wow step=move=move-DR:onto-INT-1S-NOM-DEC
'my, what a lot of tracks there were on the road!'

(2064) *ku'kui* *ja-'re-da-hỹ-ki*
wow eat-INT-1S-NOM-DEC
'my, what did he eat much!'

(2065) *ku'kui* *ja-xa-'re-da-hỹ-ki*
wow eat-2-INT-1S-NOM-DEC
'my, what did you eat much! / how did you eat!'

Literally, (2065) can be interpreted as 'it is a fact that I said: "wow!, do/did you eat?"'. Such an interpretation resembles partially similar emphatic constructions which consist of first person quotations in English, e.g. 'I say, you know how to eat!'.[243] Apparently, this construction must contain a first person subject, since otherwise a more literal reading is obtained:

(2066) *ku'kui* *ja-'re-xa-hỹ-ki*
wow eat-INT-2-NOM-DEC
'you said: "wow, he eats much!"'

The quotation construction is probably also the basis of the purposive construction involving *-te-* (5.5.12.), the desiderative construction involving *-heta-* (5.5.13.), the intentional construction involving *-here-* (5.5.14.1.) and the construction involving apparential *-tehere-* (5.5.14.2.).

Finally, the degrammaticalised occurrence of certain mood markers as modality morphemes may also derive from quotation constructions.

5.5.11.3. Indirect speech

When considering the free translation of several examples above, it seems that Kwaza quoted speech may be semantically ambiguous with respect to the difference between direct and indirect speech. Notice the discrepancy between the free translation given by the consultant and the literal translation of the following example:

(2067) *tsũhũ-ra'ti* *huruja-xa-'re-da-ki*
what-FOC like-2-INT-1S-DEC
'I don't know what you want' (lit. 'I said: "what do you want?"')

The semantic distinction is not reflected in the grammar of Kwaza. Maybe there is one construction which comes close to an indirect grammatical way to quote speech:

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243. In the Dutch equivalent there is no quotation structure, but there is an interrogative pronoun, an optional interrogative intonation, and a first person as a dative object: *wat at je me daar (veel)!* (lit. 'what did you eat me there (much)!').

(2068) *u'te-da-mỹ* *kukui'hỹ-da-nãi* *la'to*
notify-1S-VOL ill-1S-NOM yesterday
'I'm going to say that I was ill yesterday'
(lit. 'I'm going to mention (the fact that) I was ill yesterday')

(2069) *i'si-cu-cwa-nãi* *u'te-damỹ-da-ki*
die-IS-IS-NOM notify-want-1S-DEC
'I am going to talk about a (case of someone's past) death' (t)

In these examples, there is neither a double layer of person and mood marking, nor does the sentence consist of juxtaposed matrix clauses. However, as emphasised in (8.4.2.), there is no formal difference between this construction and any other nominal complement of a matrix verb, be that a verb of cognition or not.

5.5.11.4. Exceptions to the logic of quotation: the second person

There is a problem with the analysis put forward in the present section on quotation. From the point of view of this analysis, the first layer of inflexions in a quotation construction represents the person and mood quoted and the final layer represents person and mood on the level of the actual discourse context. According to the persons involved, the perspective changes in a predictable manner. Although the speaker who utters a sentence like (2015) uses an embedded first person inflexion, this inflexion refers in no way to the actual speaker. Rather, the embedded inflexion refers predictably to the quoted speaker, since the clause represents a literal quotation. Under these circumstances, however, the next example (2016), repeated below as (2070), would be ambiguous. In case Margarida herself is present at the moment of quoting, the interpretation of the embedded quoted utterance could be that the *hearer* is ill. In the case that Margarida is absent, the interpretation should be that the *speaker* is ill. This apparent ambiguity went unnoticed in van der Voort (2002a:313, 318-319).

During my latest fieldwork in 2002, however, it became clear to me that (2016) does not contain a literal quotation, but that it contains an indirect report. The context I presented the consultant with was one in which the quoted speaker (Margarida) was absent from the actual discourse situation. Nevertheless, the meaning of (2070), and hence of (2016), continues to be 'Margarida says you're ill':

(2070) *maga'riDa* *kukui'hỹ-xa-'ki-tse*
Margarida ill-2-DEC-DEC
'Margarida says you're ill' (CX: Margarida herself is absent)

This means that Margarida cannot have been quoted literally, otherwise the sentence would have implied that the speaker was ill: 'Margarida says I'm ill', lit. 'Margarida says: "you're ill"'. The real Kwaza equivalent of the latter is according to the consultant as follows:

(2071) *kukui'hỹ-xa-'ki* *'ta-ta-'ki*
ill-2-DEC talk-1O-DEC
'she said to me that I am ill' (lit. '"you are ill", she said to me')

Note that this construction is identical with the one in (2037). This means that the quotation construction cannot be interpreted literally for the embedded second person, and that reference to the actual speaker in a utterance by a (directly) quoted third person (e.g. Margarida) can only be realised in the analytical construction as mentioned in (5.5.11.1.).

As most examples in this section indicate, the quotative construction contains direct speech embedded in an extra layer of inflexions. As is seen here, this is not the case when the subject of the quotated utterance is a second person. In that case the interpretation is one of indirect speech and the identity of the second person equals the hearer in the actual speech context instead of the (logically expected) speaker. So the quoted second person represents an exception to the direct speech analysis of the quotation construction presented in the previous sections. As we will see in the following section (5.5.12.) on the purposive, which involves partly the very same structure as quotative expressions have, the embedded inflexion refers predictably to the quoted speaker even if the subject of the quoted utterance is a second person, as in example (2083). This, for me, is a reason to stick with the present analysis of the quotation construction and to consider (2070) as a special subtype, rather than to reject the entire analysis and lose its basic explanatory force.

Apparently, the grammatical mechanism of the quotation construction is not always exploited to its fullest logical extent. In a situation where this construction is used for actual quotation (instead of purposive, desiderative or other uses), its interpretation with respect to the hearer depends rather on pragmatic factors.

Note that the embedded first person plural example (2022), where the first person plural is quoted from a third person, is in principle also ambiguous. Note furthermore that (5.5.12.1.) below may contain similar exceptions to the quotation interpretation when an embedded first person plural or second person are quoted from an impersonal subject. However, the literal interpretations of these are not as counter-intuitive as in the case of an embedded second person as described in the present subsection.

5.5.12. Purposive -te-

There is a verbal morpheme *-te-* which expresses purposive modality. It usually attracts main word stress. This morpheme precedes subject cross-reference markers. At the same time, it follows cross-reference marking to subjects on a deeper level. For reasons of exposition, this will be explained only further below, from example (2082) onwards. First I will demonstrate the general use of purposive morpheme in its most common (first person singular) form *-da-te-*.

The following example shows how purposive *-(da)-te-* occurs to the left of matrix clause subject marking:

(2072) *e-da-'te-da-ki*
have-1S-PURP-1S-DEC
'(it is) for me to use/have'

(2073) *ɛ-da-'te-tsy-rjỹ*
go-1S-PURP-POT-CD:area
'the place where she was going to/prepared to go (together) to'

(2074) *kui-dy-'ja-da-'te-cwa-'hỹ-(re)*
drink-CAU-IO-1S-PURP-IS-NOM-INT
'is this (made) to give to people to drink?' (t)

The morpheme *-(da)-te-* is not an independent root. Although the consultant did translate *da'tedaki* as 'I'm prepared', he added that it could not be used as such by itself.

The purposive morpheme can indeed also express an inceptive situation 'to be ready or prepared to':

(2075) *tso'roi-da-te-da-ki*
run-1S-PURP-1S-DEC
'I'm prepared to run'

(2076) *tso'roi-da-te-tsy-hỹ-ki*
run-1S-PURP-POT-NOM-DEC
'he is indicated to run'[244]

Often, *-(da)-te-* occurs in cosubordinated verbs:

(2077) *ti-nãi-da-'te-xa-ta* *erewe-'xy-xa-re*
what-NOM-1S-PURP-2-CSO write-CL:leaf-2-INT
'what for are you writing?' (t)

(2078) *ti-nãi-da-'te-xa-ta* *e'tay* *'e-xa-re*
what-NOM-1S-PURP-2-CSO woman have-2-INT
'what do you have a wife for (when she does not cook etc.)?'

244. Translated in POR by MA as: *é marcado pra correr*

(2079) *eromũtsa-da-'te-da-ta* *'nãi-(da-ki)*
wrist-1S-PURP-1S-CSO like-1S-DEC
'it (a bracelet) is for me to put on my wrist'

In the following examples, the cosubordinated verb is part of a habitual construction with *e-* 'have' as a matrix verb:

(2080) *ke't͡ʃupe* *kui-da-'te=jã-ta* *'e-a-ki*
ketchup drink-1S-PURP=be-CSO have-1P-DEC
'ketchup is used for people to drink'

(2081) *ti-nãi-da-'te-xa-ta* *'e-xa-re*
what-NOM-1S-PURP-2-CSO have-2-INT
'you use it to do what?'

What is most striking about *-te-* is that the morpheme itself seems to be inflexionable for person. It turns out that the element *-da-* in *-da-te-* must represent first person singular because it can be replaced by other cross-reference markers. Compare the following examples to (2079):

(2082) *eromũtsa-da-'te-xa-ta* *'nãi-xa-re*
wrist-1S-PURP-2-CSO like-2-INT
'is it for you to put on your wrist?'

(2083) *eromũtsa-xa-'te-xa-ta* *'nãi-xa-re*
wrist-2-PURP-2-CSO like-2-INT
'is it for you to put on my wrist?'

The way this construction involves alternating cross reference morphemes reminds of the direct way in which speech is quoted (see 5.5.11.). It seems in (2082) that the second person subject of the cosubordinated (and matrix) predicate is identical with the first person singular subject on the level of the embedded purposive part of the predicate, as if it could be regarded to mean literally: 'is it for you to (say) "I put it on my wrist"'?. Consequently, in example (2083) the second person subject of the cosubordinated (and matrix) predicate is different from the subject on the level of the embedded purposive part of the predicate, precisely because that one is a second person singular, as if it can be considered to mean literally: 'is it for you to (say) "you put it on your wrist"'?.

In the same vein, example (2073), which contains a zero-marked third person, can be interpreted literally as: 'the place where she (says) "I go"', as well as the next example, where the embedded first person morpheme also refers to a quoted third person that is expressed by the impersonal element *jã-*:[245]

245.See (5.1.7.) and (7.2.11.) for the impersonal use of *jã-* 'to be'.

(2084) *kui-da-'te=jã-hỹ-he-ki*
drink-1S-PURP=be-NOM-NEG-DEC
'it isn't for one to drink'
(lit. 'it is not the thing of which one (says) "for me to drink"')

Notice that the verb 'to say' in the "literal" translation stands between brackets. This is to indicate that the translation as reported speech is only a metaphor in order to exhibit more clearly the singular properties of the present construction. As a metaphor, the reported speech construction was chosen because in Kwaza reported speech has the very same cross-reference alternating properties as the purposive. It is possible that the purposive morpheme *-te-* is a nominaliser.

5.5.12.1. Apparent exceptions to the quotative interpretation

Note, in contrast to the above examples, that the next example is not necessarily understood in the same literal quotative manner:

(2085) *ɛ-xa-'te=jã-rjỹ* / *'ɛ-xa-tsy-rjỹ*
go-2-PURP=be-CD:area / go-2-POT-CD:area
'the place you are going away to'

If (2085) were understood in accord with the quotation analysis, the literal reading 'the place where (it is said) "you go"' would yield the actual interpretation 'the place I am going away to'. In section (5.5.11.4.) it was explained how the pragmatic interpretation has precedence over the logical interpretation of the quotation construction if the subject of the quoted utterance is a second person. Logically the second person should refer to the *speaker* in the actual discourse, but it may be cognitively easier to identify the embedded second person with the second person at discourse level, i.e. the actual *hearer*. The following examples can also be interpreted in this way:

(2086) *kui-xa-'te=jã-hỹ-ki*
drink-2-PURP=be-NOM-DEC
'it is for you to drink' (lit. 'it is the thing of which one (says) "for you to drink"', i.e. 'it is for me to drink')

(2087) *kui-xa-'te=jã-hỹ-he-ki* (**'kuihexa'tejãhỹ'ki*)
drink-2-PURP=be-NOM-NEG-DEC
'it isn't for you to drink" (lit. 'it is not the thing of which one (says) "for you to drink"', i.e. 'it is not for me to drink')

Here the situation expressed in the free translations does not match with the one of the literal translations and the discourse interpretation has precedence over the literal one. However, there is a circumstance under which the both the

literal and the discourse interpretation of these examples can be maintained. Remember that example (2070) was argued to be in principle ambiguous. Hence (2085), (2086) and (2087) can be considered as ambiguous too, and if the impersonal subject can be regarded in some way as being present in the actual discourse context, the possible consequences of both interpretations make sense. The following examples suggest that this ambiguity is also found with the embedded first person plural:

(2088) *ehỹ-a-'te=jã-hỹ*
make-1P-PURP=be-NOM
'the one for us to make"
(lit. 'the thing of which one (says) "for us to make", i.e., 'the one for them to make' - unless the quoted "one" is present)

(2089) *'ɛ-a-te=jã-rjỹ=wara*
go-1P-PURP=be-CD:area=but
'in the direction/place we were planning to go, but ... ' (t)
(lit. 'the place where one (says) "for us to go", but ...', i.e., 'in the direction/place they were planning to go, but ...' - unless etc.)

If example (2088) is understood literally, it would have to be interpreted in reality as: 'the one for them to make', *unless* the impersonal matrix subject is to be regarded as present in the actual discourse context. The same holds for example (2089),[246] in which is ambiguous between 'in the direction we were planning to go, but ... ' and 'in the direction they were planning to go, but ...'. So the ambiguity here may be only apparent.

5.5.13. Desiderative -heta-

The desiderative morpheme *-heta-* is part of the same reported speech-like construction as purposive *-te-*. It is preceded by a cross-reference morpheme which represents the agent subject of the verb root, and it is followed by a cross-reference morpheme which represents the subject of the wish that the event expressed by the verb root occurs. Main stress is normally on the second syllable of the desiderative morpheme, while the last syllable of the predicate root retains secondary stress.

When the agent subject is a first person singular, it is identical to the predicate subject, as in a quoted speech construction, and the desiderative morpheme does not increase the valency of the predicate:

246. The example is from sentence (21) in text (2.1.) of Part II.

(2090) *cari-da-he'ta-da-ki*
shoot-1S-DESI-1S-DEC
'I wanted to kill'

(2091) *ĩ cari-da-he'ta-tse*
he shoot-1S-DESI-DEC
'he wanted to kill'

(2092) *ĩ hã 'kui-da-heta-tse*
he water drink-1S-DESI-DEC
'he wants to drink water'

(2093) *txa kui-da-he'ta-xa-re*
tea drink-1S-DESI-2-INT
'would you like to drink tea?'

(2094) *oja-da-'heta-da-le-ki ze'zĩju-dy-rjỹ*
go-1S-DESI-1S-FRUST-DEC Zezinho-POS-CD:area
'I'm wanting to go to Zezinho'

However, when the agent subject is a non-first person, the desiderative adds another subject: the one who desires that the agent subject does something:

(2095) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-he'ta-da-(le)-ki*
speak-DESI-1S-FRUST-DEC
'I would like him to talk'

(2096) *si ɛ-he'ta-da-tsy-tse*
I go-DESI-1S-POT-DEC
'I want him to go there'[247]

It should be emphasised that in (2096) *e-* and *-heta-* refer to different events and different actors. Note that both in the case of the agent and in the case of the desiderator, a third person subject is marked zero. Note also that *-heta-* cannot be immediately adjacent to the *-ki* declarative. Finally, note the variability in the application of the animate object case:

(2097) *zjwãu 'peDro-('wã)txa kui-he'ta-tse* (**hã kui-heta-ki*)
João Pedro-AOtea drink-DESI-DEC
'João wants Pedro to drink tea' (but he is not saying it)

(2098) *e'tay jere'xwa tsje-he'ta-tse kurakura-'wã*
woman jaguar grab-DESI-DEC chicken-AO
'the woman wanted the jaguar to kill the chicken'

(2099) *e'tay tswa-'wã hyri-he'ta-tse kuraku'ra*
woman man-AO steal-DESI-DEC chicken
'the woman wanted the man to steal the chicken'

When the desiderative is preceded by first person singular object marking it refers to the desiderator as an object, which is not necessarily the speaker:

247. On several occasions, *ɛheta-da-ki* was translated as 'I told/informed him'. It may be that this has become a fixed expression.

(2100) *he'ta-tse zjwãu hyri=wady-ta-he'ta-tse*
DESI-DEC João steal=give-1O-DESI-DEC
'the woman wanted João to steal the chicken for her'

(2101) *hã'rã-ṭja ti-'nãi-tja 'towy cutɛ-'nỹ=wady-ta-he'ta-xa-tara-tse*
stop-CSO what-NOM-CSO land fell-REF=give-1O-DESI-2-PROC-DEC

'*nãi-nãi ã'wỹi-xa-ta 'nãi-xa-xa-hỹ xy'tahỹ-ta-xa-hỹ=tja*
like-NOM see-2-CSO like-2-AS-NOM hate-1O-2-NOM=CSO
'he stopped (and said:) "you will wish that the tract of land would clear itself for you, just wait and see! (you will suffer because of the hard work), and will you hate me then?", he said' (t)

In the following example the first person singular object and the desiderator subject are identical and the agent subject of the event is a zero-marked third person:

(2102) *ĩ pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'tja-ta-he'ta-da-le-ki*
he speak-TRA-1O-DESI-1S-FRUST-DEC
'I would like him to talk to me'

Note the following context-dependent elliptic expressions:

(2103) *da-he'ta-tse*
1S-DESI-DEC
'he was wanting'

(2104) *dilɛ-'wã oi'tsi-da-heta*
who-AO copulate-1S-DESI
'(I) would like to make love with someone'

(2105) *wa'dy-hata-heta*
give-3S.2O-DESI
'would that he gave to you!'

As to the etymology of *-heta-*, the morpheme may be related to the verb root *he?ai-* 'not to want'. However, *-heta-* is not analysable as a combination of negative *-he-* with another morpheme. Semantically, the negative would make no sense, and morphologically, the morpheme would probably have received prominent stress.

5.5.14. Conjectural

The element *-here-* is a constituent part of three different morphemes. I have treated these morphemes in the present section under the common denominator "conjectural". Because they have rather divergent functions, I have represented and glossed each of them differently. Some of the constructions in which they

occur bear resemblance to the quotation and quotation-like constructions discussed in (5.5.11.), (5.5.12.) and (5.5.13.).

In subsection (5.5.14.1.) I discuss the intentional morpheme *-here*. It is often antithetic in that it indicates an unsuccessful attempt. The feature of "attempt" may have an inchoative connotation and, its possible unsuccessfulness may have a frustrative connotation. In section (5.2.2.1.) the possibility is mentioned that *-here-* originates from a combination of the negative morpheme *-he-* and the interrogative morpheme *-re*.

In subsection (5.5.14.2.) I discuss the morpheme *-tehere* and its variant *-cehere*. This morpheme expresses an evidential modal sense of deductive conjecture which I have termed apparential. The element *-te-* may derive from the intensifying morpheme *-te-* discussed in (5.5.30.).

In subsection (5.5.14.3.) I discuss the appellative morpheme *-herejã-*. It apparently involves the auxiliary verb root *jã-* 'to be', which occurs in various emphatic constructions discussed especially in (7.2.11.). As reported in (5.2.2.1.), also the interrogative mood morpheme has emphatic uses. The appellative morpheme expresses an appeal to the hearer's knowledge.

5.5.14.1. Antithetic conjecture: intentional *-here-*

The following examples describe unsuccessful attempts. Notice how *-here-* is preceded by a cross-reference morpheme which represents the agent subject of the verb root, and it is followed by a cross-reference morpheme which represents the subject of the attempt to make the event expressed by the inflected verb root occur. When the attempting subject is a first person singular, it is identical to the predicate subject, as in a quoted speech construction, and the intentional morpheme does not increase the valency of the predicate:

(2106) *'kui-da-hỹ-here-da-hỹ=wara*
drink-1S-NOM-INTL-1S-NOM=but
'I tried to drink / was drinking but (e.g. I burnt my mouth)'

(2107) *'kui-da-hỹ-here-tsy-hỹ=wara*
drink-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but
'he tried to drink but (e.g. he burnt his mouth)'

(2108) *ka'wɛ 'kui-da-hỹ-here-tsy-hỹ=wara ta'na*
coffee drink-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but well
'he was drinking coffee but (suddenly), then ...'

(2109) *tja* *kã'to-da-hỹ-here-tsy-hỹ=wara* *atxi'txi* *bɛrɛ'rɛ-ta*
CSO dry-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but maize pop-CSO

ta'na *bɛ*
well bang!
'so she was drying the maize when suddenly it popped "bang!"' (t)

The following examples go to illustrate the inchoative connotation of the intentional morpheme:

(2110) *ja-da-hỹ-he're-da-hỹ=wara*
eat-1S-NOM-INTL-1S-NOM=but
'I was about to eat, when (suddenly) ...'

(2111) *ja-da-hỹ-he're-cwa-hỹ=wa'ra*
eat-1S-NOM-INTL-IS-NOM=but
'she was about to eat, when (suddenly) ...' (t)

The following examples illustrate its conjectural function:

(2112) *'etohoi* *kore'we-da-hỹ-here-da-hỹ-ta'dy* *de'da*
child pregnant-1S-NOM-INTL-1S-NOM-EXCL anaconda

nãi-da *-hỹ-ta'dy*
like-1S-NOM-EXCL
'I thought I was pregnant with a baby!, I am (pregnant) with a snake!' (t)

(2113) *otsi-'dy-da-hỹ-here-tsy-hỹ=wara* *da'nỹ* *'bu=ũ-kurwa-dy-ta*
kill-CAU-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but still put=be-foot-DS-CSO
'he thought he had smashed (the jaguar), but it was still sitting at the foot of the tree' (t)

When the agent subject is a non-first person, the intentional adds another subject: the one who assumes that the agent subject is or does something.[248] Consider the following examples:

(2114) *a'ha-here-da-hỹ-ta'dy* *jerexwa-ta'dy* *ĩ'wã*
father-INTL-1S-NOM-EXCL jaguar-EXCL nothing

hu'hui=asa-ty='jo-ty-eteja-hỹ-ta'dy *jã-'ki*
kill=leave-DET=devour-DET-1PO-NOM-EXCL be-DEC

248. Since *-here* does not exclusively refer to unsuccessful attempts, I have not referred to it as "conative".

'bloody hell, I thought it was your father, however it is a jaguar, who killed him from us, and devoured[249] him from us, that's what it is!' (t)

(2115) *a-hỹ-he're-tja*
exist-NOM-INTL-CSO
'he thought there still was (something left)'

(2116) *ẽrẽwẽhỹ-here-da'mỹ-tse*
wild-INTL-want-DEC
'he is going to think that it is from the forest'

Note how intentional and frustrative morphemes combine to reinforce an antithetic sense (see also 8.2.2.2.):

(2117) *ẽrẽwẽ'hỹ-here-da-le-hỹ*
wild-INTL-1S-FRUST-NOM
'I thought it was wild (but it is a domestic cat)'

(2118) *atsu'ka e-he're-da-le-ki*
sugar have-INTL-1S-FRUST-DEC
'I thought he had/there was sugar (but there isn't)'

When the intentional is preceded by first person singular object marking it refers to the conjecturer as an object. In the following example it is identical with the conjecturer:

(2119) *aty-'ta-hỹ-he're-tja*
be.there-1O-NOM-INTL-CSO
'they thinking he was still there for them' (t)

For a construction in which *-here* does not seem to match the antithetic meaning, see examples (1026) and (1027) in (4.7.4.).

5.5.14.2. Deductive conjecture: apparential *-tehere* and *-cehere*

The apparential morpheme *-tehere* occurs verb-finally. It expresses more often the sense of conjecture or assumption than the embedded variant *-here-* does. Besides this, it may also express a suspicion, an indirect question or an opinion on behalf of the speaker.

The general function of *-tehere* seems to be deductive evidentiality. Compare the following examples:

249.Maybe *jo-* is compounded with the preceding derived verb.

(2120) *a'we-hỹ-ki*
rain-NOM-DEC
'it has rained'
(I did or did not see it rain)

(2121) *a'we-hỹ-tehere*
rain-NOM-APPR
'it must have rained' (I did not see it rain, but the ground is wet)

(2122) *na-ay-'hỹ jere'xwa nãi-tehe're*
PROX-that-NOM jaguar like-APPR
'it must be that the jaguar killed the man' (we see jaguar traces)

Examples containing *-tehere* are often translated by the consultant as 'it seems that ...', 'it may be that ...', etc.:[250]

(2123) *hã owy-'mũ-tehere*
water cold-CL:liquid-APPR
'maybe the water is cold, the water may be cold'

(2124) *maga'riDa o'nɛ-tehere*
Margarida come-APPR
'maybe Margarida arrived'

(2125) *maga'riDa hy'ja-tehere awỹi-'ra*
Margarida fall-APPR see-IMP
'Margarida seems to have fallen, go and see!'

(2126) *a'ha janã'dy-ta 'nãi-tehere*
father hungry-CSO like-APPR
'it seems father does that because he is hungry' (t)

However, translations such as 'I think that ...', 'I wonder whether ...', etc. were also very common:

(2127) *wai-tehe're*
good-APPR
'(I don't know,) I think it tastes good'

(2128) *bo'do a-tehe're*
cake exist-APPR
'I think there are cakes'
(**bodo ateheki*)

(2129) *awe-'nã-tehere*
rain-FUT-APPR
'I think it is going to rain'
(**awe'nãtsetehe're*)

(2130) *zjwãu ũce'hỹ-tehere maseu-'wã*
João know-APPR Marcel-AO
'(I don't know) whether João knows Marcel'

250.Note that there are no words for 'maybe', 'probably' or 'must' in Kwaza.

(2131) *a'ha tsa'si-ta hu'hui=asa-eteja-'nã-tehere-tja 'ta-ta*
father follow-CSO kill=leave-1PO-FUT-APPR-CSO talk-CSO
'"I think father will come after us to kill us" she said' (t)

The following examples demonstrate that the morpheme can be preceded by person cross-reference marking in both senses:

(2132) *ohui-'nã-cwa-tehere*
play-FUT-IS-APPR
'it seems they are going to play'

(2133) *kikalo-'nã-da-tehere*
fever-FUT-1S-APPR
'I think I'm getting fever'

(2134) *ja-da-tsy-tehe're*
eat-1S-POT-APPR
'I don't know if I'll eat it or not'

(2135) *kukuihỹ-nã-da-tehe're*
ill-FUT-1S-APPR
'I think I'm going to be ill'

(2136) *kukuihỹ-nã-xa-tehe're*
ill-FUT-2-APPR
'I think you're going to be ill'

(2137) *awỹi-ta-'tehe're*
see-1O-APPR
'would he have seen me?'

(2138) *a'ha janã'dy-xa-ta 'nãi-xa-hỹ-tehere*
father hungry-2-CSO like-2-NOM-APPR
'father, I think you are hungry' (t)

From the translations, it is not very clear whether *-tehere* represents an impersonal statement, or whether it has a first person connotation in Kwaza. Some examples were translated both ways:

(2139) *ka'tay kukui'hỹ-tehere*
agouti ill-APPR
'I think João is ill / would João be ill?'[251]

The next example, which represents a quotation construction (see 5.5.11.), contains explicit reference to the conjecturing first person:

(2140) *jere'xwa-(*wã) / wa'wỹi-xay-nãi he'?ai-xa-tehe're-da-ki*
jaguar-AO / sleep-2-NOM want.not-2-APPR-1S-DEC
'I think you don't want a dog / to sleep / etc.'

The alternative second translation of the following elliptic example suggests that the person and mood markers succeeding *-tehere* also resulted from a quotation construction:

251.*katay* 'agouti' is a nickname.

(2141) *tehe're-da-ta* *'nãi-da-ki*
APPR-1S-CSO like-1S-DEC
'I think like this', 'I think yes'

The next example is a quotation construction in which a first person is implicit. It means literally: 'he$_i$ thinks: "he$_j$ seems to be afraid"' and "he$_j$" is identical with the speaker in the actual discourse context:

(2142) *we-tehe're-tse*
fear-APPR-DEC
'he thinks I am afraid'

Note also the following example:

(2143) *kukui'hỹ-da-tehe're-tse*
ill-1S-APPR-DEC
'he thinks he is ill' (even when he isn't ill)

The examples (2140), (2141), (2142) and (2143) obviously represent quotation constructions. Hence, it is likely that, in those instances where no person cross-reference marking follows *-tehere*, it represents an impersonal deduction 'it seems'. Where it is translated as 'I think' or 'I wonder', this is just because the speaker, who utters the deduction, is always a first person. Thus, it does not represent the grammatical perspective of Kwaza, and the choice between the translations 'it seems' and 'I think' depends on coincidence.

Another alternative variant of the apparential morpheme is *-cehere*. It seems equivalent to *-tehere* in all respects:

(2144) *maga'riDa* *onɛ-'he-cehere*
Margarida come-NEG-APPR
'maybe Margarida did not arrive'[252]

(2145) *'ja* *ãwỹi-xa-'hỹ-cehere*
already see-2-NOM-APPR
'I think you already saw'

(2146) *kreBa-'na* *oja-'nã-cehere*
Gleba-LOC go-FUT-APPR
'maybe he goes to Gleba'

(2147) *to-dy-'mã-dy-ta* *y'ro-cehere*
bathe-CAU-DR:water-DS-CSO cry-APPR
'maybe someone is bathing that bird, that it is crying like that' (t)

The following little dialogue shows that *cehere* may function as an equivalent of *-tehere*:

252.Compare this example with (2124).

(2148) Q: *di'lɛ* A: *tsy-'re* A: *wɛra-tehe're*
who GER-INT Vera-APPR
'who is it?' 'I don't know' 'it must be Vera'

Q: *wa'txi 'wɛra-re* A: *cehe're*
true Vera-INT APPR
'would it be Vera?' 'must be'

It is possible that the locative case may precede *-tehere*, but this cannot be firmly established because of the want of comparative data:

(2149) *'txarwa 'posto-na-cehere*
first Posto-LOC-APPR
'he could be in Posto now / he must be in Posto now'

It seems that the negative may not be immediately adjacent to *-tehere*:

(2150) *kukuihỹ-'he-cehere*
ill-NEG-APPR
'I don't think he is ill'

(2151) *xyxy-'he-cehere* vs. *xy'xy-tehere*
scream-NEG-APPR scream-APPR
'I think no-one screamed' 'I think someone screamed'

These examples suggest that *-cehere* is only partially an optional morphophonological variant of *-tehere*.

The morpheme *-tehere* also plays a role in '(n)either ... (n)or' constructions involving the particle *hele*, which are discussed in (7.7.3.).

The following examples indicate that the apparential morpheme *-tehere* can also occur in an emphatic cleft construction involving the auxiliary verb root *jã-* 'to be':

(2152) *kukui'hỹ-tehere=jã-'ki*
ill-APPR=be-DEC
'it seems she is ill'

(2153) *zjwãho'Drigo-dy-hỹ-tehe're=jã-ki*
João.Rodrigues-POS-NOM-APPR=be-DEC
'it may be João Rodrigues's (e.g. gas flask)'

(2154) *aha-tjate-da-tehe're=jã-hỹ*
father-3.POS-1S-APPR=be-NOM
'I think I am his father'

And compare the following example to (2122):

(2155) *jere'xwa* *nãi-dy-ta-tehe're=jã-ki*
jaguar like-CAU-TRA-APPR=be-DEC
'it seems to be the case that a jaguar killed the man' (it seems obvious, but we see no jaguar traces)[253]

Although they resemble the appellative construction discussed below, examples (2152) to (2155) do not have an appellative sense.

5.5.14.3. Appellative *-herejã-*

In a compound structure with the verb root *jã-* 'to be' (see 7.2.11.), and without a "conjectural" subject, *-here-* has an appellative and possibly even expletive function. In the present work I treat *-herejã-* as one morpheme:

(2156) *di'lɛ* *di'lɛ* *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa* *'bu=ũ-rjỹ-herejã-ki*
who who person put=be-CD:area-APPL-DEC
'who (the hell) is that person sitting there?' (t)

The morpheme can be followed by an interrogative mood marker with the same emphatic effect (see also 5.2.2.1.):

(2157) *'mã-herejã-re*
mother-APPL-INT
'it is mother, didn't you notice (you fool)!'

Nasalisation does not spread in *-herejã-*. Even though the Western ear easily hears [he'rɛ̃jã], such a pronunciation is immediately rejected. Only if one makes the effort to say [he'rejã] is it accepted by the speakers of Kwaza.

In procedural texts, such as about how to make chicha, *-herejã-* occurs frequently and functions as an evidential tag question with the meaning 'isn't it?':

(2158) *kayte='te-a-hỹ-herejã-re*
scrape=RED-1P-NOM-APPL-INT
'we clean it (the mortar) on the inside, don't we' (t)

It may be followed by an explicit tag question:

(2159) *nỹ-nãi-'he-tsy-hỹ-herejã-re* *awỹi-'he-xa-re*
big-NOM-NEG-GER-NOM-APPL-INT see-NEG-2-INT
'this is not much (money), now is it?'

253.Note that the function of *-dy-* and *-ta-* in this example is not well understood.

The appellative may have an edifying tone. The ostensibly counterintuitive result is that a very affirmative statement is phrased as a question:

(2160) *cu'ku-herejã-re*
tongue-APPL-INT
'(it is called the) tongue'

The appellative *-herejã-* can be used to express irritation or indignation at someone "who should know":

(2161) *a=a'nũ-herejã-re* *('rai?ỹhỹ)*
RED=plant-APPL-INT thing
'he is planting (things), don't you see?'

(2162) Q: *ti-'rjỹ-re* *koreja'ro*
what-CD:area-INT pan
'where is the pan?'

A: *'jã-ỹ-hỹ-herejã-re*
DIST-this-NOM-APPL-INT
'it is there, don't you see?'

(2163) *wady-nĩ'nã-da-hỹ-herejã-re*
give-2O-1S-NOM-APPL-INT
'I've already given it to you!'

Note about the following example, which concerns an order which has not been obeyed, that the order itself is embedded as a quoted utterance on a deeper level:

(2164) *tsoroi=oja-'ra-da-hỹ-herejã-re*
run=go-IMP-1S-NOM-APPL-INT
'I asked you to run from there!' (t)

The appellative may furthermore express a complaint, such as about someone's drinking:

(2165) *'kui-herejã-hỹ*
drink-APPL-NOM
'I think he was drinking, wasn't he?'

Or it is used to express irritation at someone who is nagging. The following example was given in a context where the hearer has tried to tease the speaker about (the latter) not drinking enough chicha:

(2166) *'kui-da-herejã-re*
drink-1S-APPL-INT
'am I drinking, or what!'

However, irritation is often faked:

(2167) Q: *wãnỹ'dy 'a-xa-re*
food exist-2-INT
'do you have food?'
(lit. 'is there food with you?')

A: *a-he'rejã-ki*
exist-APPL-DEC
'of course there is!
(otherwise I wouldn't offer)'

(2168) *'kui-xa-hỹ-herejã-re*
drink-2-NOM-APPL-INT
'of course you may drink!'

The appellative is also used in contexts where one tries to fool someone. The next example was given in a context where the speaker tried to make the hearer believe that he was drinking, whereas in reality the drink was thrown away:

(2169) *'kui-da-hỹ-herejã-re*
drink-1S-NOM-APPL-INT
'don't you see that I'm drinking?'

5.5.15. Degrammaticalisation of mood inflexion to modal derivation

It seems that the gerundial *-tsy-*, volitional *-damỹ-* and causational *-nĩ-* morphemes are the result of one and the same process. Because of the descriptive aims of the present work, I have tried to avoid the more theoretical subject of distinction between inflexional and derivational morphology. At this point, however, the distinction may be useful in trying to describe the nature of certain parallel and interrelated characteristics of Kwaza morphology.

The morphological complex of bound person and mood marking sometimes occurs as a clitic morpheme or even as a free morpheme. In section (5.5.11.) it is shown that cliticisation of person and mood marking to predicates which are already inflected for person and mood is a productive means to quote speech. It seems on a more diachronic level that, as a result of this same phenomenon of post-cliticisation of further person and mood suffixes, the volitive (*-mỹ*), exhortative (*-ni*), monitory (*-tsi*) and declarative (*-tse*) mood morphemes have developed into modal volitional (*-damỹ-*), causational (*-nĩ-*), preventive (*-tsi-*) and gerundial (*-tsy-*) morphemes, respectively. The causational and gerundial do not contain person cross-reference. In the case of the volitional, however, the element *-da-* is still recognisable as the first person singular cross-reference morpheme, be it not any longer productive.

Kwaza person and mood suffixes are obligatory and they probably have to be considered as inflexions, whereas the temporal, modal and aspectual suffixes discussed in the present section represent optional categories and are thus derivational. In a way then, in Kwaza, certain elements of inflexional morphology develop into derivational morphology. To a certain extent, this coincides

with Bybee's (1985:165-189) observations about the development of modality. However, the fact that the volitive mood develops even further, into a lexical verbal root, is in contradiction with Bybee.

In contrast to the three modality morphemes discussed here, the Kwaza purposive *-te-*, desiderative *-heta-* and the conjectural element *-here-* have not, as far as could be ascertained, developed out of identifiable mood markers. However, as demonstrated in the relevant subsections, it does occur with obligatory productive person cross-reference marking, and the structure of the derived and inflected verb strongly resembles the quotation construction.

Probably, the development of certain modality morphemes in Kwaza can be regarded as a result of degrammaticalisation, a process which has been discussed by Norde (1997, 2001) in her case study about the Swedish genitive. The inflexionability of certain modality morphemes, such as purposive *-te-*, seems to underscore the gradualness of this process. However, this is not proven since these morphemes are etymologically unanalysable.[254]

In van der Voort (2002a) I discuss the possibility that the present analysis of these phenomena depends on the overall analysis of Kwaza as a morphologically complex language, and I show, for example, that similar phenomena can be attested in the highly polysynthetic Eskimo languages.[255]

5.5.16. Irrealis -rydy-

Because of its main function in conditional adverbial clause constructions, the irrealis condition morpheme *-rydy-* is discussed in section (8.2.1.2.) of the chapter on complex constructions. The following examples show that it can also be used in a simple matrix clause:

(2170) *'ti-nãi* *etay-tja'te-rydy-re*
what-NOM woman-3.POS-IRR-INT
'would it be that she was his wife?'

(2171) *alexunwỹ-rydy-'hỹ-he-ki*
tree-IRR-NOM-NEG-DEC
'they said it is axe-handle wood but it isn't'

254. Note that other etymologically unanalysable modality morphemes, such as irrealis *-rydy-*, are not even inflexionable for person at all.

255. The origin of Kwaza modality morphemes resembles the development of local case markers of Greenlandic into derivational morphemes, which are placed deeper inside the word, and other processes attested in Eskimo (e.g. Fortescue 1984:78;227;321-322, De Reuse 1994:170-230, Sadock 1991:174-175). Something similar was documented for Ecuadorian Quechua in Muysken (1977:105-107).

5.5.17. Resignation -tsy

There is a verb-final element *-tsy* which expresses resignation, indifference or a general lack of involvement by the speaker. It may have a past connotation. It is usually attached to nominalised verbs. It is often used in answers to questions.

(2172) Q: *ja* *he'dy-xa-re*
already mix-2-INT
'did you already put (sugar in coffee etc.)?'

A: *ja* *he'dy-da-hỹ-tsy*
already mix-1S-NOM-RES
'I already put'

or A: *hedy-'he-da-hỹ-tsy*
mix-NEG-1S-NOM-RES
'I didn't put'

(2173) Q: *o'ja-da-tsy-re*
leave-1S-POT-INT
'am I going?'

A: *'xyi-hỹ-tsy*
you-NOM-RES
'it's your decision'
(CX: discussing who has to go)

(2174) Q: *di'lɛ* *kawɛ-'mũ* *kui='bwa-tsy-re*
who coffee-CL:liquid drink=end-GER-INT
'who drank all the coffee?'

A: *ĩ* *'nãi-hỹ-tsy*
(s)he like-NOM-RES
'it was she' (ambiguous: 'she did it', 'it is no problem')

(2175) Q: *di'lɛ 'a-re*
who exist-INT
'who is there?'

A: *a-'he-cwa-hỹ-tsy*
exist-NEG-IS-NOM-RES
'there is no-one'

(2176) Q: *hyriko'ro-dy-hỹ* *'ecũi* *'ja-xa-re*
monkey-POS-NOM eye eat-2-INT
'do you eat the monkey's eyes?'

A: *'ja-nãi* *'e-da-hỹ-tsy*
eat-NOM have-1S-NOM-RES
'I (habitually) eat them'

(2177) *(kukui'nãi)* *ja-'he-xa-hỹ-tsy*
my! eat-NEG-2-NOM-RES
'(my) you just eat nothing!'

(2178) *ja wady-ni'na-da-hỹ-tsy*
already give-2O-1S-NOM-RES
'I already gave you'

(2179) *'nãi=jã-hỹ-tsy*
like=be-NOM-RES
'we just do it like this'

(2180) *(la'to) u'te-da-ta kukuihỹ-da-'ki-da-hỹ-tsy*
yesterday tell-1S-CSO ill-1S-DEC-1S-NOM-RES
'(yesterday) I said I'm ill'

(2181) *(la'to) kukuihỹ-da-'ki kale-da-hỹ-'tsy*
yesterday ill-1S-DEC actually-1S-NOM-RES
'(yesterday) I said it myself that I am ill'

(2182) *hoi-'he-tsy-hỹ-tsy 'ja-xa-re*
sweet-NEG-GER-NOM-RES eat-2-INT
'it is not sweet, why do you eat it?'

(2183) *hã mũi-'ra-da-hỹ-tsy*
water submerge-IMP-1S-NOM-RES
'I ordered you to fetch water (and you still haven't)!'

(2184) *koreja'ro waja-nỹ-'ra-da-hỹ-tsy*
pan bring-REF-IMP-1S-NOM-RES
'I told you bring the pan!'

(2185) *di'lɛ a-'he-tsy-hỹ-tsy*
who exist-NEG-GER-NOM-RES
'no-one was here'

(2186) *di'lɛ onɛ-'he-tsy-hỹ-tsy*
who arrive-NEG-GER-NOM-RES
'no-one came'

or: *di'lɛ onɛ-'he-tse*
who arrive-NEG-DEC
'no-one came'

The resignation morpheme *-tsy* may also contain an implicit rejection of suppositions:

(2187) *alexunwỹ-'ki-tsy-nãi 'e-wa-hỹ-tsy*
tree-DEC-GER-NOM have-IS-NOM-RES
'they said it is axe-handle wood (but it isn't)!'

(2188) Q: *dilɛ-dy-'ro-re*
who-POS-CL:cup-INT
'whose cup is this?'
(S intends to drink from it)

A: *si-dy-'ro-hỹ-tsy*
I-POS-CL:cup-NOM-RES
'don't, it's my cup!'

The latter answer can also be uttered when someone takes a wrong cup for his own.

The resignation morpheme *-tsy* may also have an indignated connotation. Note the contrast between the following quotative examples:

(2189) *kukui'hỹ-da-'ki-da-ki*
ill-1S-DEC-1S-DEC
'I'm saying that I am ill'

(2190) *kukui'hỹ-da-'ki-da-hỹ-'tsy*
ill-1S-DEC-1S-NOM-RES
'didn't I tell you that I'm ill?!'

The first sentence represents a straightforward quotative utterance. For the second sentence a context is needed in which for example someone has come to invite the speaker to go out hunting. Consequently, the implication of (2190) is that the invitation is declined.

It may be that *-tsy* is not always immediately preceded by a nominaliser. In the contrast between the following examples, it appears to replace a nominaliser (note that the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* does not occur word-finally):

(2191) *'xyi-dy-rjỹ-ki* *koreja'ro*
you-POS-CD:area-DEC pan
'the pan is with you'

(2192) *xyi-dy-'rjỹ-ỹ-hỹ* *koreja'ro* (**xyidy'rjỹ korejaro*)
you-POS-CD:area-ATT-NOM pan
'the pan from your place'

(2193) *xyi-dy-'rjỹ-ỹ-tsy* *koreja'ro*
you-POS-CD:area-ATT-RES pan
'the pan (which is) with you'

These latter two examples represent attributive constructions. This suggests that words ending in *-tsy* are actually nouns. Maybe then, *-tsy* creates a sort of cleft construction.

5.5.18. Modal and aspectual uses of frustrative -le-

In (8.2.2.2.) the antithetic adverbial clause marker *-le-(hỹ)-* was treated as a frustrative subordinate mood marker. When applied to a matrix predicate in combination with the nominaliser *-hỹ-*, the frustrative morpheme may add the attitudinal modal sense of 'unfortunately, a pity' (see the examples in 8.2.2.2.). When applied to a matrix predicate without *-hỹ-*, the frustrative morpheme may also add the sense of 'pity', but more often there is a rather aspectual sense of incompleteness or unrealisedness: 'nearly, come close to'. Obviously these functions are related to the frustrative adverbial clause mood. Here are some

examples of the "incompletive" aspectual use of *-le-* (in addition to those in 8.2.2.2.):

(2194) *hy'ja-xa-le-ki*
fall-2-FRUST-DEC
'you nearly fell'

(2195) *hy'txa-eteja-le-ki*
drop-1PO-FRUST-DEC
'he nearly let us fall'

(2196) *ka'wɛ he'dy-da-le-(ki)*
coffee mix-1S-FRUST-DEC
'I nearly put in coffee (into the food, instead of flour)'

(2197) *txu'hũi are'ta-xa-le-re*
small know-2-FRUST-INT
'did you get to learn a little?'

(2198) *oja-da-'heta-da-le-ki ze'zĩju-dy-rjỹ*
go-1S-DESI-1S-FRUST-DEC Zezinho-POS-CD:area
'I'm wanting to go to Zezinho' (but I have not been there yet)

In combination with procrastinative *-tara-*, the frustrative morpheme *-le-* means probably 'for the time being'. This will be illustrated by the examples (2225) and (2226) in section (5.5.19.) below.

The frustrative morpheme *-le-* also seems to have a more abstract aspectual sense of interrupted continuity or arrested progression. The nominaliser *-hỹ-* seems optional. In the following example, the progressive sense is revealed by reduplication of the verb root:

(2199) *hoi kwɛ-nɛ=kwɛ-nɛ-'le-tsy-hỹ*
bat enter-DR:hither=enter-DR:hither-FRUST-GER-NOM

'nãi-da-hỹ-ki
like-1S-NOM-DEC
'the bat kept (nearly?) entering so I (closed the window)'

The next examples also illustrate how the application of *-le-* interrupts continuity:

(2200) *'xyi-dy-hỹ eto'hoi-da-da-le-'hỹ-ki*
you-POS-NOM child-1S-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I was your son in olden times'

(2201) *kukui'hỹ-da-da-le-'hỹ-ki*
ill-1S-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I was ill'

However, it is not always clear whether *-le-* only indicates interruption of progression, or that it also conveys a sense of progression itself. Notice the contrast between the following examples:

(2202) *si kui-da-'hỹ-ki hã* *hã kui-da-'hỹ-ki*
I drink-1S-NOM-DEC water water drink-1S-NOM-DEC
'I've drunk water' 'I've drunk water'

(2203) *si 'kui-da-le-hỹ-ki hã*
I drink-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC water
'I was drinking water'

Example (2202) is not subject to a progressive interpretation. In example (2203), there is such an interpretation, albeit interrupted progression. Apparently, then, explicit progressive marking is not always required in order to express its interruption by *-le-*. When no other progressive marking exists, *-le-* has both a progressive sense and the interruption of that progression. The same observations can be made with respect to the following pair of examples:

(2204) *tsũhũ-'du 'hu-xa-re*
what-BER give-2-INT
'why did you give?'

(2205) *tsũhũ-'du 'hu-xa-le-re*
what-BER give-2-FRUST-INT
'why were you giving?'

The following examples represent instances of similar interruptions of implicit progression:

(2206) *hã'rã-xa-le-ki*
stop-2-FRUST-DEC
'you were stopping'

(2207) *mĩu 'kui-le-ki*
chicha drink-FRUST-DEC
'he was drinking chicha'
(once by one person)

(2208) Q: *ti-'rjỹ o'ja-xa-re* A: *o'kja-da-le-ki*
what-CD:area go-2-INT hunt-1S-FRUST-DEC
'where were you?' 'I was out hunting'
(S is returning from the forest)

More examples can be found in (8.2.2.2.).

When the predicate is habitual, by way of *ĩ?ĩta-* 'as always' (see 5.5.24.), and marked by remote past, the frustrative *-le-* does not indicate that the habitual is cancelled:

(2209) *txa'hỹ ba-jãhỹ-ĩ?ĩ-le-'hỹ-ki*
path clear-CL:path-REM-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'he usually cleared the road' (after breakfast last summer) (TMA:20)

(2210) *ba-jãhỹ=ĩ?ĩ'ta-ĩ?ĩ-le-'hỹ-ki*
clear-CL:path=always-REM-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'he usually cleared the road' (after breakfast last summer and he may be still doing it) (TMA:20)

In the interrogative, a frustrative interpretation does not seem to be always neccessary. The following example can be interpreted in several different ways according to the pragmatic context:

(2211) *ti-'nãi-xa-le-re*
what-NOM-2-FRUST-INT
'where did you go?', 'where were you?",
'how/what did you say/were you saying?'

With some effort, the free translations can be related to an originally frustrative interpretation. However, (2211) can also be used in the sense of 'how are you?'. In the following set of examples, no frustrative interpretation was attested at all:

(2212) *da'rje-xa-re*
strong-2-INT
'are you fast? / do you walk fast?'

(2213) *da'rje-xa-le-re*
strong-2-FRUST-INT
'are you fine/healthy/strong?'

Maybe such utterances represent idiomatic expressions in which a friendly question about someone's well-being is posed in the form of something like an interrupted habitual.

5.5.19. Procrastinative -tara-

There is a kind of aspectual suffix *-tara-*, which can be called "procrastinative", since it basically indicates that an action or event is postponed until later, in a not too remote future.[256] The position of *-tara-* is nearly always in between argument cross-reference and mood morphemes of the verb. In combination with other morphemes in different constructions, the procrastinative has also various temporal and modal connotations. In the following subsections, they will all be evaluated in detail. In subsection (5.5.19.4.) I will come to a tentative conclusion and present a schematic overview in table (29). The second syllable of *-tara-* may receive secondary stress, and sometimes it even receives main stress.

As observed in section (5.2.1.1.), *-tara-* resembles future *-nã-* in that it does not occur adjacent to the declarative marker *-ki*, but requires *-tse*:

256. Both the form and the function of the procrastinative resemble the Quechua suffix *-raq* 'condition for realisation' (Adelaar 1977:75).

(2214) *'ja-da-ta'ra-tse* (**jadata'raki*)
eat-1S-PROC-DEC
'I'll eat later'

(2215) *'ja-a-tara-'tse*
eat-1P-PROC-DEC
'we're going to eat later'

(2216) *kui-'he-da-ki bony-'hỹ 'kui-da-ta'ra-tse*
drink-NEG-1S-DEC again-NOM drink-1S-PROC-DEC
'I did not drink, later I will'

(2217) *to'mã-da-tara-'tse*
bathe-1S-PROC-DEC
'yes, I will take a bath (but first I'm going to do something else)'

(2218) *o'nɛ-da-wy 'ja-xa-tara-'tse*
arrive-1S-time eat-2-PROC-DEC
'you will wait with eating until I've arrived'

(2219) *tomã-ko're-xa-tara-'tse*
hunt-DR:matutinal-2-PROC-DEC
'take a morning bath later!' (H was planning to bathe at night)

The following examples show that *-tara-* can occur in one predicate together with potential *-tsy-*, and even with future *-nã-*:

(2220) *o'kja-a-xa-tara-tsy-tse*
hunt-1P-AS-PROC-POT-DEC
'let us hunt later'

(2221) *horonỹhỹ-da-'wy o'kja-tara-tsy-tse*
prepare-1S-time hunt-PROC-POT-DEC
'after I've finished she will hunt'

(2222) *oja-'nã-da-tara-tsy-tse*
go-FUT-1S-PROC-POT-DEC
'I'll go there soon (but first I have to do another thing)'

In the proper context, the verb root can be omitted (see 7.5.). The result may have the connotation 'that's fine':

(2223) *da-ta'ra-tse*
1S-PROC-DEC
'I will (do) later / soon', '(he said) yes, that's O.K.' (t)

As if tomorrow never comes, the procrastinative may also have a dubitative connotation:

(2224) *ũ-rjỹ-da-ta'ra-tse*
be-CD:area-1S-PROC-DEC
'I'll sit down later', 'maybe I'll sit down'

In the following, seldom attested construction, *-tara-* occurs prior to person marking. This may be because of its cooccurrence with further derivation. It involves what probably represents frustrative or antithetic *-le-* (see 5.5.18.) and (8.2.2.2.), which is made temporary by *-tara-*:

(2225) *wara'ñỹ-a-nãi asa-'hỹ-tara-le-nã-da-ki*
work-1P-NOM leave-NOM-PROC-FRUST-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to stop working (and will continue later)'

(2226) *nanãi-tara-'le-hỹ-tsy-tse*
very-PROC-FRUST-NOM-POT-DEC
'until here is fine (for now)'[257]

This construction is exceptional from a formal point of view, since frustrative *-le-* is normally not succeeded by *-nã-* and person marking. However, no better interpretation of *-le-* is available, unless *-tarale-* is to be considered as a separate morpheme.

Another ill-understood construction which may be related to the former one is a relatively fixed expression of gratitude:

(2227) *ja na'nãi-ki*
already very-DEC
'that's fine'

(2228) *ja na'nãi-tara-ki*
already very-PROC-DEC
'thanks', 'it's O.K.'

(2229) *ja na'nãi-tara-ki kẽ'wẽ-xwana 'ja-da-hỹ*
already very-PROC-DEC turtle-CL:flesh eat-1S-NOM
'thanks for the turtle-meat dinner'

(2230) *(ja) na'nãi-tara-hỹ-ki o'nɛ-wa-hỹ*
already very-PROC-NOM-DEC arrive-IS-NOM
'thank god they have arrived!'

(2231) *na'nãi-tara-ki 'ba-xa-ra*
very-PROC-DEC clear-2-IMP
'good luck clearing!', 'it's all right you're going to clear'

The element *nanãi-* 'to be (very much) like that' is derived from *nãi-* 'to be like'. In this construction *ja* 'already' has probably only an emphatic function. Furthermore, *-tara-* seems to emphasise the fortuitousness of the the whole

257.In the context of work and the decision where to stop at a right moment.

thing. Probably, it was lexicalised in the present construction with a modal sense ‘fortunately’. This would also help to explain the fact that *-tara-* occurs in a position adjacent to *-ki*.

5.5.19.1. Persuasive mood in combination with *-tara-*

The above supersection demonstrates how the state of affairs as expressed by the verb root can be postponed by procrastinative *-tara-*. In the present subsection, it will be shown that *-tara-* has the opposite effect when combined with persuasive moods. In this combination procrastination happens on behalf of the state of affairs expressed by the verb root, while another, implicit state of affairs is postponed.

With the exhortative mood, discussed in (5.2.4.), *-tara-* means ‘to do first, before anything else’ rather than ‘to do later’:

(2232) *'ja-a-tara-ni*
eat-1P-PROC-EXH
‘let’s (IN) eat first!’

(2233) *'ja-a-xa-tara-ni*
eat-1P-AS-PROC-EXH
‘please, let us (EX) eat first!’

(2234) *'ja-tara-ni*
eat-PROC-EXH
‘let him eat first’

(2235) *'wai-dy-tara-'ja*
good-CAU-PROC-EXP
‘let’s make the food tasteful!’

In order to express ‘let (him) eat later!’, a more analytic construction is used, which involves a preconditional adverbial clause (see 8.2.1.3.) and a declarative matrix clause containing *-tara-*:

(2236) *'ja-tara-tse* *kuriku'ri-tsy-lɛ*
eat-PROC-DEC little.later-POT-PREC
‘let him eat later’

(2237) *kuriku'ri=jã-lɛ* *'ja-a-tara-tse*
little.later=be-PREC eat-1P-PROC-DEC
‘let’s eat later’

In the following examples, *-tara-* in combination with the exhortative mood morpheme *-ni* is embedded in an elliptic quotation construction (see 5.5.11.):

(2238) *bohyja-tara-'ni-xa-he-re*
burn.up-PROC-CAUS-2-NEG-INT
‘why don’t you let it burn up? (instead of extinguishing the cigarette halfway)’ (lit. ‘don’t you say “let it burn up first!”?’)

(2239) *be-tara-'ni-xa-he-re*
ripe-PROC-CAUS-2-NEG-INT
'why don't you wait for (the fruit) to ripen?'
(lit. 'don't you say "let it ripen first!"?')

(2240) *be-tara-'ni-cwa-he-re*
ripe-PROC-CAUS-IS-NEG-INT
'why don't they wait for (the fruit) to ripen?'
(lit. 'don't they say "let it ripen first!"?')

Also in the imperative, *-tara-* means 'to do first'. However, it was shown in (5.2.3.2.) that it can only be succeeded by a verb-final element *-ta*, instead of the expected imperative marker *-ra*:

(2241) *'ja-tara-'ta*
eat-PROC-IMP
'eat first! (before going away)'

(2242) *ka'we oxote-'hỹ-tara-ta*
coffee stalk-NOM-PROC-IMP
'wait for the coffee first!'

(2243) *here?ece-hỹ-tara-'ta*
rest-NOM-PROC-IMP
'rest first!'

In order to express 'eat later!', a construction similar to (2236) is used, albeit without *-tara-*:

(2244) *kuriku'ri-xa-lɛ 'ja-xa-tsy-tse*
little.later-2-PREC eat-2-POT-DEC
'you (SG) eat later!'

It has not been attested whether the matrix clause can be in the canonical imperative instead of the present mitigated imperative (as discussed in 5.2.3.1.).

In section (5.2.5.) it was shown that in combination with *-tara-* 'later' the volitive *-mỹ* does not bear the expected first person subject cross-reference morphemes:

(2245) *here?ece-hỹ-tara-'mỹ*
rest-NOM-PROC-VOL
'let me rest first'

(2246) *hã 'mũi-tara-mỹ bony'hỹ to'ma-da-tsy-tse*
water submerge-PROC-VOL next bathe-1S-POT-DEC
'first I'll fetch water, then I'll take a bath'

(2247) *to'mã-tara-mỹ*
bathe-PROC-VOL
'let me / I'm going to take a bath first still'

(2248) *awỹi='ɛ-tara-mỹ*
see=go-PROC-VOL
'I'm going to go and see there yet still'

The application of an overt cross-reference morpheme is interpretable without problems, but the construction is considered better without:

(2249) **?to'mã-da-tara-mỹ*
bathe-1S-PROC-VOL
'let me take a bath first'

Although the usual sense of *-tara-* in the volitive mood is 'to do first', with the verb *ja-* 'to eat', *-tara-* seems to have both opposite meanings 'to do later' and 'to do first'. In the first sense eating is postponed until later. In the second sense, eating takes place first, with the implication that something else is postponed. It is not entirely predictable which sense is intended:

(2250) *ha-ha-nỹ-'tsa-tara-mỹ*
clean-clean-REF-CL:hand-PROC-VOL
'I'm going to wash my hands first'

(2251) *ha-ha-nỹ-tsa=hã'rã-ta 'ja-tara-mỹ*
clean-clean-REF-CL:hand=stop-CSO eat-PROC-VOL
'I'm going to wash my hands first, then I'll eat'[258]

5.5.19.2. Interrogative mood in combination with *-tara-*

Procrastinative *-tara-* was seldom attested in interrogative clauses. In one type of construction, the resulting sense is 'to be already':

(2252) *atsi'le-tara-re*
heavy-PROC-INT
'is it heavy (enough) already?'

(2253) *kawɛ 'hoi-tara-re*
coffee sweet-PROC-INT
'is the coffee (quite) sweet already?'

In a way, *-tara-* in these examples may have a modal connotation of 'fortunately' as well. The question in (2252) anticipates a positive answer, because people (both sellers and buyers) generally want blocks of latex to be heavy.

258. The sentence *'ja-tara-mỹ* 'I'm going to eat first' was also attested with the sense 'let's eat later', but this was rejected on a later occasion.

The speaker of (2253) would also consider a positive answer fortunate, since in Brazil coffee is expected to be cloyingly sweet. This subject will be pursued further in (5.5.19.3.1.), especially with regard to examples (2269) and (2270).

Another construction was once encountered which seems to involve *-tara-* and the interrogative mood marker (here usually pronounced as [ɾɛ]):

(2254) *a-tara-'re-da-ki* *ỹhỹ'ko*
exist-PROC-INT-1S-DEC here
'I'm living here for a while (three months)'

(2255) *wi'lena-na* *ũi-tara-'re-da-ta*
Vilhena-LOC lie-PROC-INT-1S-CSO
'I was sleeping in Vilhena'

It is not clear whether this construction is idiomatic or involves lexicalised or cliticised morpheme combinations.

5.5.19.3. Modal interpretations of *-tara-*

So far, the morpheme *-tara-* was considered as a kind of procrastinative aspect suffix. However, there are some constructions which may lead to a more modal interpretation of *-tara-*.

When followed by *-hỹ*, and then verbalised by declarative *-ki*, the element *-tara-* has the sense of 'to do certainly'. This meaning may be only distantly related to 'to do later' or 'to do first':

(2256) *atsu'ka* *nãi-ta-'tara-hỹ-ki*
sugar like-1O-PROC-NOM-DEC
'(I'm definitely) certain it is sugar (which made me ill)'

(2257) *e'tay* *nãi-ta-'tara-hỹ-ki*
woman like-1O-PROC-NOM-DEC
'(I'm definitely) certain it is the women (who are calling me)' (t)

Note that *-tara-* occupies the expected position after object marking. In the present construction *-tara-* may also be applied directly to a noun, which has apparently undergone zero-verbalisation:

(2258) *atsu'ka-'tara-hỹ-ki*
sugar-PROC-NOM-DEC
'(I'm definitely) certain it is sugar (and not salt)'

When followed by *-hỹ*, and then verbalised by cosubordinative *-ta*, the element *-tara-* has the sense of 'to have done already'. This meaning seems easily

relatable to ‘to do first’. The example below is from a procedural monologue about how to make chicha, the indigenous beverage. It contains two instances of *-tara-hỹ-ta*:

(2259) *kayte-'ce-a-ta* *'be* *ja*
scrape-CL:hole-1P-CSO leaf already

towɛ=txi'te-a-tara-hỹ-ta *kayte-'ce-a-ta* *'hărã-a-ta*
break=mount-1P-PROC-NOM-CSO scrape-CL:hole-1P-CSO stop-1P-CSO

hary'ky *ja* *a'rwenã-a-tsy-hỹ* *aruna'to-a-tara-hỹ-ta*
now already make.chicha-1P-GER-NOM cook-1P-PROC-NOM-CSO

kayte-'ce=hărã-ta *hary'ky* *'je-wa-ta* *arudwa'ni-wa-hỹ-herejã-re*
scrape-CL:hole=stop-CSO now dig-IS-CSO bury-IS-NOM-APPL-INT

> ‘we clean it (the mortar) on the inside with the leaves of *be*, which we had already broken off and piled up, and we finished cleaning. After having put the maize on the fire and cooked it, finishing to clean, now they (the men) used to dig, and plant (the mortar)’

In the following example, *-tara-* modifies a habitual construction (see 8.6.1.):

(2260) *e'xwa-tjate* *'mɛ̃-tjarjỹ-dy-ta* *a-tara-'hỹ-ta*
man-3.POS beat-much-DS-CSO exist-PROC-NOM-CSO

‘*mɛ̃-e-dy-ta* *emã=hã'rã-tja*
beat-again-DS-CSO cry=stop-CSO
‘she was already accustomed to her husband always hitting her, when he beat again, she just stopped crying’ (t)

In the next example, *-tara-hỹ-ta* is part of a reported speech construction (see 5.5.11.):

(2261) *kui-xa-'ki=cwa-tara-hỹ-ta*
drink-2-DEC=IS-PROC-NOM-CSO
‘(I did not offer as) they said that you had already drunk’

The construction represented by the subsequent examples is formally identical to (2259), but it has a different, more modal sense of ‘to do fortunately’:

(2262) *'tɛ̃itja* *'a-tara-hỹ-ta*
alone exist-PROC-NOM-CSO
‘luckily, he was (there) alone’

(2263) *'tẽitja* *'a-da-tara-hỹ-ta*
alone exist-1S-PROC-NOM-CSO
'luckily, I was alone'

5.5.19.3.1. *-tjara-* as an alternative of *-tara-*

There is a modal construction with the same semantic value of *-tara-* 'fortunately' as in examples (2262) and (2263), but it involves an alternative element *-tjara-*. This may force us to look at the element *-tara-* in a different way. Note the following examples:

(2264) *tei-'hỹ-tjara-hỹ-ta* (**tẽihỹtarahỹta*)
one-NOM-PROC-NOM-CSO
'luckily there being (only) one'[259]

(2265) *aky-'hỹ-tjara-hỹ-ta*
two-NOM-PROC-NOM-CSO
'luckily there being (only) two'

(2266) *hakai-tjate-'le-tjara-hỹ-ta*
grandparent-3.POS-only-PROC-NOM-CSO
'how lucky he was that only his grandmother was there' (t)

The following construction is obviously related:

(2267) *txa'nã* *awe-'he-tjara-re*
we.IN rain-NEG-PROC-INT
'good that it did not rain!'

(2268) *txa'nã* *kui-'he-tjara-re*
we.IN drink-NEG-PROC-INT
'good that he didn't drink (it)!'

This construction represents a partially idiomatic expression, in which the inclusive pronoun (see 4.7.2.) and the interrogative mood are used emphatically (see 5.2.2.1.). Also constructions which are somehow the negative equivalents of (2252) and (2253) seem to require *-tjara-* instead of *-tara-*:

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259. Note that example (2264) represents a corrected version of the following:

?**tei-'hỹ-tja-tara-hỹ-ta*
one-NOM-CSO-PROC-NOM-CSO
'luckily there was (only) one'

Even though the verb in this example bears canonical *-tara-* it is in a strange position, as it follows a clause-final cosubordination marker. This is probably why it was rejected later by the consultant.

(2269) *atsile-'he-tjara-re* (**'atsiletjara're*)
heavy-NEG-PROC-INT
'it isn't very heavy is it?'

(2270) *dehe-'he-tjara-re*
bitter-NEG-PROC-INT
'it isn't very bitter, is it?'

In a way *-tjara-* in the latter two examples can also be interpreted as semantically related to 'fortunately'. It so happens both questions anticipate a reassuring answer. Example (2269) was uttered in the context of someone wanting the speaker to carry something, but the speaker was in doubt, because the item to be carried looked rather heavy. Example (2270) was uttered in the context of someone wanting the speaker to drink medicine. Especially children abhor bitter tastes. Note that the said positive equivalents (2252) and (2253) also have a modal connotation of 'fortunately'. Here is one more, elliptic, example:

(2271) *'he-tjara-ki*
NEG-PROC-DEC
'it isn't dirty!', 'don't worry!', 'nothing wrong!', 'doesn't matter!'

Instead of the expected *-tara-*, we find *-tjara-* in the examples of the present section. This strongly reminds of the variation between cosubordinative *-ta* and *-tja* as discussed in (8.3.1.4.). This is corroborated by the fact that *-tjara-* is incompatible with non-third person forms. Compare the following example to (2268):

(2272) *txa'nã kui-'he-da-tara-re*
we.IN drink-NEG-1S-PROC-INT
'good that I did not drink (it)!' (it was poisoned)

So, one could ask whether *-tara-* is actually discontinuous. Would it not be better to analyse it as a clause-final cosubordinative *-ta*, which is then followed by an unidentified verb *ra-* of modal content? And, would this have consequences for the analysis of all examples in the present section (5.5.19.)? Under such an analysis, e.g. (2214) should be analysed as a biclausal construction:

(2273) *'ja-da-ta 'ra-tse*
eat-1S-CSO ???-DEC
'I'll eat later'

The fact that *ra-* bears stress here could be used in support of its interpretation as a verbal root. However, there are very many instances of *ra-* without stress, to begin with (2215). Furthermore, *-tara-* can be omitted, together with the sense of 'to do later', as if it were an indivisible suffix:

(2274) *o'kja-a-'xa-(tara)-tsy-hỹ-he're=jã-re* (see 8.1.1.3.)
hunt-1P-AS-PROC-POT-NOM-APPL=be-INT
'we are still going to hunt! (but we're too busy now)'

Finally, no clearly identifiable verb root of the form *ra-* was attested. One could assume the existence of such a root, by analysing *ra-* as 'to be' or 'to become'. With some imagination, *rahỹki* in example (2256) can be ascribed the sense of 'to be certainly', *ratsytse* in (2220) 'to be potentially', *ramỹ* in (2245) 'I to be' and so on. But then one would also expect elliptic occurrences of this construction, in which a context like e.g. the question 'when are you going to eat?' allows for a minimal answer, such as *ratse* 'it will be'. However, such elliptic answers always include the preceding person marker and *-ta-*, as in (2223).

There is actually one verb root of the form *ra-*. It is apparently based on the imperative mood morpheme *-ra*. It occurs only in combination with a subsequent transitiviser *-tja-* and means 'to order (him)':

(2275) *ra'tja-ki*
order-DEC
'he ordered him', 'he's insisting'

(2276) *ɛ-'nĩ-da-ta ra'tja-da-ki*
go-CAUS-1S-CSO order-1S-DEC
'I ordered him to go home'

Another form based on imperative *-ra* is elliptic, and contains a preceding emphatic imperative morpheme *-ca-* (which is also pronounced as [tja]). It functions as a positive minimal answer to an offer or a declaration of intention:

(2277) *ca-'ra*
EMP-IMP
'yes! / it is O.K. / do so!'

I assume that these imperative constructions have nothing to do with any analysis of the procrastinative *-t(j)ara-*. They are discussed further in (5.5.11.1.).

5.5.19.4. Tentative conclusion

For the time being, I have considered *-tara-* and *-tjara-* as variants of the same modal/aspectual suffix. It may be that both are fossilisations of formerly discontinuous elements in a fixed type of expression containing a modal verb.

In the following table I give an overview of the distributional and semantic properties of *-tara-*, according to their order of occurrence in the discussions above, with reference to primary examples.

Table 29. Overview of distribution of procrastinative *-tara-*

distribution	*forms*	*meanings*	*examples*
declarative	**-tara-tse**	'do later', 'perhaps'	(2214)
potential	**-tara-tsy-tse**	'do later'	(2220)
elliptic	**-tara-tse**	'be O.K.'	(2223)
frustrative (?)	**-tara-le-**	'be O.K. for now'	(2225)
idiomatic	**-tara-ki**	'thanks'	(2228)
exhortative	**-tara-ni**	'do first'	(2232)
exh. paucal	**-tara-ja**	'do now' (?)	(2235)
imperative	**-tara-ta**	'do first!'	(2241)
volitive	**-tara-mỹ**	'do first' ('do later')	(2250)
interrogative	**-tara-re**	'be already fortunately?'	(2252)
(interrogative ?)	**-tara-re-**	'for a while'	(2254)
declarative	**-tara-hỹ-ki**	'be certain'	(2256)
cosubordinative	**-tara-hỹ-ta**	'have done already'	(2259)
cosubordinative	**-tara-hỹ-ta**	'do fortunately'	(2262)
cosubordinative	**-tjara-hỹ-ta**	'do fortunately'	(2264)
emphatic	**-he-tjara-re**	'do fortunately not!'	(2268)
emphatic	**-he-tara-re**	'do fortunately not!'	(2272)
interrogative	**-he-tjara-re**	'do fortunately not?'	(2269)

5.5.20. TMA effects of nominaliser -hỹ

In (4.2.2.1.) and (5.6.1.) the nominaliser and neutral classifier *-hỹ* is discussed extensively. When a nominalised verb is zero-verbalised again (see 4.4.9.), it can be regarded as a cleft predicate:

(2278) *a'xy nỹ-'xy-ki*
house big-CL:house-DEC
'the house is big'
(visible) (TMA:1)

(2279) *a'xy nỹ-'xy-hỹ-ki*
house big-CL:house-NOM-DEC
'the house is a big one'
(invisible) (TMA:2;4)

When one asks about any possible difference in meaning between examples like these, the consultants often maintain that there is no difference whatsoever.[260] On other occasions, the consultant explained that the application of *-hỹ-* makes the utterance "stronger" than without *-hỹ-*:

260. The difference between (2278) and (2279) coincides with a difference in visibility of the house. This is in accordance with the contexts in Dahl's (1985:198) TMA questionnaire, with the aid of which these examples were elicited. However, the correspondence between *-hỹ-* and invisibility has not been corroborated as being systematic by other examples.

(2280) *a'wỹi-da-ki*
see-1S-DEC
'I saw it'

(2281) *awỹi-da-'hỹ-ki*
see-1S-NOM-DEC
'I saw it' ('stronger than (2280)')

Furthermore, some examples equivalent to (2279) were shown in (4.2.2.1.) to have actually a comparative or superlative sense. On some rare occasions, predicates with an embedded nominaliser *-hỹ-* were indeed translated as (relativised) cleft constructions:

(2282) *'e-wa-hỹ-ki*
have-IS-NOM-DEC
'it is someone's'

(2283) *jo-ka'nɛ* *txitxi-'dy-da-hỹ-ki*
manioc-CL:oblong fry-CAU-1S-NOM-DEC
'they are pieces of manioc which I fried'[261]

Finally, the impression is that this kind of "clefting" may have the side-effect of a past tense reading or progressive aspect or both. This will be elaborated upon in the following subsections.

5.5.20.1. past interpretation of *-hỹ*

In (5.5.1.) we have seen that the distinction between past and present is not obligatorily marked morphologically. Nevertheless, the general impression is that predicates with a past or perfective sense more often seem to bear the suffix *-hỹ* than present tense predicates do. The suffix occurs between the argument cross-reference morpheme and the mood marker:

(2284) *'kui-da-ki* *hã*
drink-1S-DEC water
'I drank/drink/am drinking water'

(2285) *'kui-da-hỹ-ki* *hã*
drink-1S-NOM-DEC water
'I drank water'

(2286) *si wara'ñỹ-da-ki*
I work-1S-DEC
'I am working'

(2287) *si wara'ñỹ-da-hỹ-'ki*
I work-1S-NOM-DEC
'I was working'

(2288) *esi'ki waja-'nỹ-xa-re*
skin bring-REF-2-INT
'did you bring clothes?'
(H arrived today)

(2289) *esi'ki waja-'nỹ-xa-hỹ-'re*
skin bring-REF-2-NOM-INT
'did you bring clothes?'
(H arrived yesterday)

261. The consultant said in Portuguese: *pedaços de mandioca que eu fritei* 'pieces of manioc which I fried'.

(2290) *o'kja-da-ki*
hunt-1S-DEC
'I'm hunting' (explaining to someone you meet on the road)

(2291) *o'kja-da-hỹ-ki*
hunt-1S-NOM-DEC
'I was hunting' (some time ago)

Sometimes, when contrasting a sentence marked by *-hỹ* with a zero-marked sentence, the consultant indicated that the former refers to any past, whereas the latter refers either to present or immediate past. The "perfect" adverb *ja* 'already' (see 5.5.22.) ensures that we are dealing with past events in the following sentences:

(2292) *ja* *'kui-da-ki* *hã*
already drink-1S-DEC water
'I already drank water (just now)'

(2293) *ja* *'kui-da-hỹ-ki* *hã*
already drink-1S-NOM-DEC water
'I already drank water (earlier on, 1 day, 2 weeks)'

It may be a telling fact that canonical remote past marking always involves *-hỹ*. One of the ways to express remote past is through reduplication of the person cross-reference marker followed by *-hỹ* (see also 5.5.4.):

(2294) *(txa'rwa)* *axe'hỹ-da-(hỹ)-ki*
first meet-1S-NOM-DEC
'I met him' (just a minute ago)
(TMA:38;46;49)

(2295) *axe'hỹ-da-day-'hỹ-ki*
meet-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'I met him' (long ago)
(TMA:39;40;43;44;48)

Also the past marker *-ky-* (see 5.5.2.) and the remote past marker *-ĩʔĩ-* (see 5.5.3.) never fail to cooccur with the element *-hỹ*.

But with recent and/or immediate past, *-hỹ* is optional. Meanwhile past can be explicitated by an adverb:

(2296) *la'to* *kui-da-('hỹ)-ki*
yesterday drink-1S-NOM-DEC
'I drank yesterday'

On some occasions, *-hỹ* was considered as obligatory in a past sentence. Compare the following example to (1936):

(2297) *txa'hỹ* *ba-jã'hỹ-hỹ-ki* (**txahỹ bajãhỹki*)
path clear-CL:path-NOM-DEC
'he was clearing the road' (yesterday after dinner) (TMA:13)

The context which pertains to this example is the question 'what did your brother do after you had dinner together yesterday?'. The past tense contexts in which *-hỹ-* was optional were: 'what was your brother doing when you visited him yesterday?' (TMA:9) and 'what was your brother doing when you telephoned him yesterday?' (TMA:11). The difference between the context of (2297) and these is probably that (2297) can be interpreted as obligatorily durative or progressive, whereas in the other ones this is optional.

5.5.20.2. Progressive interpretation of *-hỹ*

When *-hỹ-* is regarded as a nominaliser, the considerations with respect to (2297) above would comply with what is reported in typological studies. From Hengeveld (1992:265-268) it appears that verbalisation of a nominalised verb may get a progressive interpretation, as in "he is ill" vs. "he is someone who is ill". Many examples confirm the suspicion that *-hỹ-* may have a progressive connotation next to, or instead of a past connotation. On a number of occasions, *-hỹ-* was also applied in utterances with a present tense interpretation:

(2298) *kukui'hỹ-hỹ-ki*
ill-NOM-DEC
'he is ill'

(2299) *ti-'rjỹ* *'a-xa-hỹ-re*
what-CD:area exist-2-NOM-INT
'where do you live?'

(2300) *Bahoso-'na* *'a-da-(hỹ)-ki*
Barroso-LOC exist-1S-NOM-DEC
'I live in Barroso'

(2301) *txa'rwa* *'a-da-hỹ-ki* *yhỹ'ko*
first exist-1S-NOM-DEC here
'I am living here now'

(2302) *mãrẽri'tsa* *awỹi-'hỹ-ki* *e'?ũ*
person see-NOM-DEC flower
'the people are looking at the flowers'

On several occasions even, the present rather than the past was marked with *-hỹ*:

(2303) *y'ro-lete* *'kui-ki*
cry-CONC drink-DEC
'while (the child) was crying it drank'

(2304) *y'ro-lete* *'kui-hỹ-ki*
cry-CONC drink-NOM-DEC
'while (the child) is crying it is drinking'

(2305) *maga'riDa atxi'txi bɛ-'to-ki*
Margarida maize roast-CL:seed-DEC
'Margarida roasted the maize'

(2306) *maga'riDa atxi'txi bɛ-'to-hỹ-ki*
Margarida maize roast-CL:seed-NOM-DEC
'Margarida is roasting the maize'

Probably, the application of *-hỹ-* makes the predicate ambiguous as to past and progressive. Compare the next examples:

(2307) *maga'riDa esi'ki 'bɛta-ki*
Margarida skin dry-DEC
'Margarida hangs clothes out to dry'

(2308) *maga'riDa esi'ki bɛ'ta-hỹ-ki* (*[ɓɛta'hɨ̃ki])
Margarida skin dry-NOM-DEC
a) 'Margarida is hanging clothes out to dry'
b) 'it is the case that Margarida hung clothes out to dry'

According to the consultant, the first translation of (2308) belongs to a context of someone asking 'why is Margarida not in the house?', and the second translation belongs to a context of explaining to the owner of the fence why there are clothes hanging on it.

5.5.20.3. Tentative conclusion

From the above one may conclude that non-future predicates in Kwaza are ambiguous with regard to present and anterior tense, disregarding whether they bear the suffix *-hỹ-* or not. Maybe unmarked verbs are progressive by default when they have a present tense interpretation, but not when they have a past tense interpretation. Compare the following example to (2305):

(2309) *atxi'txi bɛ-'to-ki*
maize roast-CL:seed-DEC
'the maize is roasting'

Verbs marked with *-hỹ-* may be progressive both in present and past interpretations.

I regard the past, progressive and perfect interpretations, cq. translations, of verbs which contain *-hỹ*, as a side-effect of clefting through nominalisation. Cleft interpretations are not restricted to stative verbs such as (2279), since dynamic verbs containing *-hỹ-* were sometimes also translated as such:

(2310) *maga'riDa bɛ-'to-hỹ-ki*
Margarida roast-CL:seed-NOM-DEC
'it was Margarida who roasted (the maize)'

The fact that TMA in Kwaza is not thoroughly understood has probably been caused to a considerable extent by the fact that these at times subtle categories had to be investigated via Portuguese, a second language to both the consultants and myself.

5.5.21. Aspect -nãi- *as opposed to* -hỹ- *with* asa- *'to leave'*

As demonstrated in the previous subsections, the nominaliser *-hỹ* has aspectual connotations in cleft constructions. Both the verb root *nãi-* 'to be like' and the nominaliser *-nãi* occur often in habitual constructions. Possibly, they are etymologically related. When the element *-nãi-* occurs in "terminative" constructions involving the verb root *asa-* 'to leave, do away with, end', its habitual connotation is apparent. Compare the following examples:

(2311) *wara'ñỹ-a-nãi asa-hỹ-'nã-da-ki*
work-1P-NOM leave-NOM-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to stop working' (unfinished, will continue later)

(2312) *wara'ñỹ-a-nãi asa-nãi-'nã-da-ki*
work-1P-NOM leave-NOM-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to quit the job' (forever, finished or not)

(2313) *ui 'hu-da-nãi asa-'nãi-da-ki*
tobacco smoke-1S-NOM leave-NOM-1S-DEC
'I quit smoking

(2314) *koreja'ri / wanỹ'dy asa-'hỹ-da-ki*
plate / food leave-NOM-1S-DEC
'I left the plate / food (i.e. I will not eat more)'

(2315) *'tsiloto 'wi-da-nãi asa-'nãi-da-ki*
rubber cut-1S-NOM leave-NOM-1S-DEC
'I quit cutting rubber (there was no more profit from it)'

The possibility cannot be excluded that *-nãi-* represents a second element in a verb compound with *asa-* in these exaples. However, its alternation with *-hỹ-* suggests that it is a nominaliser here, which is verbalised again. It is likely that both elements are lexicalised with the verb root as *asahỹ-* 'to give up' and *asanãi-* 'to quit the habit'.

5.5.22. Perfect adverb ja *'already'*

There is a perfect particle *ja* 'already', which occurs usually in an adverbial position. It is also mentioned as an adverb in (6.1.) but it will be discussed here as well because of its perfect meaning. It indicates that an event has occurred, has started to occur or has been completed. Note the following examples:

(2316) *'ja-xa-re*
eat-2-INT
'are you eating?'

ja 'ja-xa-re
already eat-2-INT
'have you eaten already?'

(2317) *ja ke'rai-tsy-re*
already walk-GER-INT
'he already went?'

(2318) *eto'hoi ja pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-re*
child already speak-INT
'does the child speak already'

(2319) *ỹ'hỹ ja a'nũ-hỹ-ki*
yes already plant-NOM-DEC
'yes, he already planted (here)' (TMA:53)

(2320) *ja axe'hỹ-nãi 'e-xa-re*
already meet-NOM have-2-INT
'did you ever meet him?' (TMA:42)

(2321) *ja haha-nỹ-'mãi-xa-re*
already wash-REF-CL:tooth-2-INT
'did you brush your teeth?' (TMA:64)

(2322) *ja o'ho-hỹ-ki*
already cough-NOM-DEC
'he has been coughing (for an hour now)' (TMA:148)

ja 'already' may also have a past tense connotation:

(2323) Q: *ti-'wy xyi-dy-'hỹ a'ha i'si*
what-time you-POS-NOM father die
'when did your father die?'

A: *ja i'si-ki*
already die-DEC
'he died very long ago'

5.5.23. TMA effects of verb compounding

As mentioned also in (7.4.), some verb roots get an abstract meaning or even a grammatical function when they occur as a second member of a compound. The verb root *bwa-* 'to end, finish' is often used as a second member of a compound with a completive or terminative aspectual function:

(2324) *ỹ'hỹ anũ='bwa-tse*
yes plant=end-DEC
'yes, he planted all of them'
(TMA:54)

(2325) *hã 'kui=bwa-cwa-ki*
water drink=end-IS-DEC
'they had drunk up the water, the water has been drunk'

Compounding of a verb stem with *hãrã-* 'to stop' as a second element indicates that the event is terminated recently (although the adverb *txa'rwa* 'first' also contributes to that):

(2326) *txa'rwa kui=hã'rã-da-ki hã*
first drink=stop-1S-DEC water
'I've just drunk water'

Also the verb root *asa-* 'to end, leave behind, separate from', which is often a second element in a compound verb, adds a terminative meaning 'into bits, into oblivion, away':

(2327) *huhui=a'sa-a-ni*
kill=leave-1P-EXH
'let's go and kill him!'

(2328) *ka'we kui=bwa=a'sa-da-ki*
coffee drink=end=leave-1S-DEC
'I finished the coffee'

Its plural argument equivalent is *uja-* 'to leave many, end many':

(2329) *huhui=u-u'ja-a-ni*
kill=RED-leave-1P-EXH
'let us go and kill them all!'

5.5.24. Habitual -ĩʔĩ-

The element *-ĩʔĩ-* also occurs as part of two habitual constructions: the morpheme combination *-ĩʔĩʔe-* 'always' and the verb root *ĩʔĩta-* 'as always', but it is not clear whether they are related to one another, and to the remote past morpheme discussed in (5.5.3.). Only one example of the *-ĩʔĩʔe-* construction has been attested:

(2330) *kaka'nĩ-da-ki*
scratch-1S-DEC
'I'm scratching myself'

(2331) *kakanĩ-ĩ?ĩ'?e-da-ki*
scratch-always-1S-DEC
'I'm always scratching myself'

The element *-e-* may be related to the repetitive morpheme *-e-* 'again, more, also' (see 5.5.31.), or maybe even to the verb root *e-* 'to have'.

The verb root *ĩ?ĩta-* can be translated as 'always', 'as usual' or 'as a habit', and it often occurs as the second element of what may be considered a verb compound:

(2332) *kui=ĩ?ĩ'ta-da-ta*
drink=always-1S-CSO
'I'm always drinking'

(2333) *e'tay-nahere arũi-'wã tswa are-'dy=ĩ?ĩta-tja*
woman-COL tapir-AO man transform-CAU=always-CSO
'the women always made the tapir turn into man'

(2334) *'nãi-tsy-hỹ-le he'dy=ĩ?ĩta-da-ki*
like-GER-NOM-only mix=always-1S-DEC
'I always only mix this (brand)'

When the predicate which contains the habitual verb *ĩ?ĩta-* is modified by the numeral adverb *tẽiñe* 'once', the resulting connotation is 'sometimes', 'once in a while'. Compare the following examples:

(2335) *ỹhỹ'ko a'we=ĩ?ĩta-tse*
here rain=always-DEC
'here it always rains'

(2336) *'tẽiñe a'we=ĩ?ĩta-tse ỹhỹ'ko*
once rain=always-DEC here
'sometimes it rains here'

The verb also occurs as (compound part of) the root of an adverbial clause, modifying the matrix predicate. In example (2337) it is part of a habitual construction involving *a-* 'to exist' (see 8.6.1.):

(2337) *'tswa-nahere o'kja-hỹ-wã towɛ-'nɛ-tja ĩ?ĩ'ta-tja*
man-COL hunt-NOM-AO go-DR:hither-CSO always-CSO

'a-hỹ=wara
exist-NOM=but
'the hunter-men arrived from the forest as always, but...' (t)

(2338) *ãrũi-'le a're=ãrũi-tja o'ja=ĩ?ĩta-dy-ta*
tapir-only turn=tapir-CSO go=always-DS-CSO
'Tapir, now, turned into a tapir and went as always' (t)

5.5.25. Intensive habitual -tjarjỹ-

There is a habitual morpheme *-tjarjỹ-*, which has an intensive connotation ‘always much’:

(2339) *tomã-kore-tja'rjỹ-da-ki*
bathe-DR:matutinal-much-1S-DEC
‘I always take a morning bath’

(2340) *kui-tja'rjỹ-ki*
drink-much-DEC
‘he is drinking too much’
(CX: he is always drinking)

(2341) *awe-tja'rjỹ-ki*
rain-much-DEC
‘it is raining too much’
(CX: it rains every day)

(2342) *awe-tja'rjỹ-dy-ta atxi'txi a'nũ-ki*
rain-much-DS-CSO maize plant-DEC
‘(as) it was raining much, he was planting/planted maize’

(2343) *atxi'txi anũ-tja'rjỹ-da-ki*
maize plant-much-1S-DEC
‘I always plant maize’ (fig. ‘I don’t stop planting maize’)

(2344) *atxi'txi anũ-tja'rjỹ-dy-ta a'we-ki*
maize plant-much-DS-CSO rain-DEC
‘he planted maize for it to rain (as if calling the rain)’

The morpheme *-tjarjỹ-* is sometimes embedded in the syntactic habitual construction *V-CSO exist-* ‘to be accustomed to’, as in:

(2345) *kui-tja'rjỹ-ta 'a-hỹ-ta*
drink-much-CSO exist-NOM-CSO
‘she is used to drinking’

(2346) *dutu're cari-tja'rjỹ-da-ta 'a-da-ki*
pig shoot-much-1S-CSO exist-1S-DEC
‘always I shoot a pig (as game)’

In combination with the verb *jãsi-* ‘to hear’ *-tjarjỹ-* was observed to have the intensive connotation ‘to sound’, i.e. ‘to probe all around, listening if there is game, in order to kill it’. This sense suggests that the element *-rjỹ-* may be related to the classifier *-rjỹ-* ‘area’. Note the following examples:

(2347) *dutu're jãsi-tja'rjỹ-da-ta*
pig hear-much-1S-CSO
‘I’m listening in order to hear pigs’

(2348) *dutu're* *o'kja-da-ta* *jã'si-tja'rjỹ-da-ta* *cari-'nã-da-ki*
pig hunt-1S-CSO hear-much-1S-CSO shoot-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to hunt pigs, will listen, then I will kill'

The verb *jãsi-* is actually ambiguous, when extended by *-tjarjỹ-*:

(2349) *jãsi-tja'rjỹ-da-ki*
hear-much-1S-DEC
'I'm sounding', 'I'm always listening'

With other verbs, *-tjarjỹ-* has only the productive sense:

(2350) *awỹi-tja'rjỹ-da-ki*
see-much-1S-DEC
'I always see (monkeys, but I am not killing them)'

5.5.26. Habitual by cross-reference reduplication

So far, reduplication of cross-reference morphemes has been discussed in relation to (remote) past tense marking, in sections (5.5.2.) and (5.5.4.). Since the other morphemes involved such as *-hỹ-* and *-ky-* are not unambiguous past tense markers, one could be tempted to conclude that reduplication is the basis of past tense marking. However, reduplication of cross-reference morphemes does not only have a past tense connotation, since it is also encountered in a habitual function. In this construction the canonical verbal person morphemes are used, and not the alternative ones, except for the prefixed special allomorphs of the impersonal subject suffix *-(c)wa-*. The following examples illustrate the habitual construction:

(2351) *(ha'ja-ỹ-si)* *mĩu* *kui-da-da-'ta-da-ki*
day-ATT-SWR chicha drink-1S-1S-CSO-1S-DEC
'(every day) I always drink chicha'

(2352) *hyhyrwa-xa-xa-'ta-xa-ki*
move-2-2-CSO-2-DEC
'you are always walking'

(2353) *mĩu* *kui-cu-cwa-'ta-cwa-ki*
chicha drink-IS-IS-CSO-IS-DEC
'he/they always drink(s) chicha'

(2354) *towɛ-'nɛ-ci-cwa-ta-cwa-ki*
go-DR:hither-IS-IS-CSO-IS-DEC
'as usual, they returned from the forest' (t)

It is not at all certain whether the element *-ta-* in these constructions represents the cosubordinative marker *-ta*. It may be so if the construction is actually based on clefting and cliticisation of the subsequent person and mood markers

(see also 7.5.2.3.). The fact that (**dadata*) is not usable as an elliptic context-dependent particle is an argument against such an analysis:

(2355)	Q:	*mĩu*	*kui-xa-xa-'ta-xa-re*	A:	*hã'?ã* (**dadata*)
		chicha	drink-2-2-CSO-2-INT		yes
		'do you always drink chicha?'			'yes'

Nevertheless, I have used the provisional gloss "CSO" in these constructions both for convenience sake and because the constructions resemble the quotation construction as described in (5.5.11.) so strongly.

The present morphological habitual construction may be used as part of a syntactic habitual construction of the form *V-CSO exist-DEC*, which is discussed further in (8.6.1.):

(2356)	*ming'kau*	*hɛro-kore-da-da-'ta-da-ta*	*'a-da-ki*
	porridge	eat-DR:matutinal-1S-1S-CSO-1S-CSO	exist-1S-DEC
	'I always eat porridge in the morning'		

(2357)	*ming'kau*	*hɛro-kore-xa-xa-'ta-xa-ta*	*'a-xa-ki*
	porridge	eat-DR:matutinal-2-2-CSO-2-CSO	exist-2-DEC
	'you always eat porridge in the morning'		

In the following construction, the inflected verb root is nominalised and then verbalised again by subsequent habitual marking and inflexion. Hence, it is marked no less than four times for second person subject on one predicate:

(2358)	*ti-'nãi-tsy-hỹ*	*e'tay*	*'e-xa-ta*	*wã'dy*	*mĩu*
	what-NOM-GER-NOM	woman	have-2-CSO	cook	chicha

	'*kui-xa-hỹ-xa-xa-'ta-xa-re*	*'ta-dy-ta*
	drink-2-NOM-2-2-CSO-2-INT	talk-DS-CSO

'"what woman do you have, that you eat food and drink chicha every day?" he said' (t)

5.5.27. TMA effects of (partial) root reduplication

Reduplication of the verb root or of part of it has various different functions. Several examples in (5.4.10.) indicated that such reduplication may be used to distinguish plural argument number. The following examples show that it also provides distributive or progressive aspect:

(2359)	*a'nũ-da-ki*	(2360)	*a-a'nũ-da-ki*
	plant-1S-DEC		RED-plant-1S-DEC
	'I'm planting'		'I'm planting (many, until it is finished)'

The element *-hỹ-* is an integral part of the verb root in the following utterances:

(2361) *ɛ'hỹ-ki* — spike-DEC — 'he spiked'
ɛ-ɛ'hỹ-ki — RED-spike-DEC — 'he is spiking'

(2362) *e'hỹ-ki* — do-DEC — 'he did'
e-e'hỹ-ki — RED-do-DEC — 'he is busy'

Root reduplication may also have an intensifying meaning. Compare the following example to (2379):

(2363) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *awe=a'we-tse*
this-NOM-INS rain=rain-DEC
'here it always rains a lot'

Root reduplication may also have a repetitive sense. Note the following examples:

(2364) *aru=o'nɛ=aru=o'nɛ=aru=o'nɛ-da-ki*
cross=come=cross=come=cross=come-1S-DEC
'I'm jumping to and fro'

(2365) *wɛro=wɛ'ro-tse*
lightning=lightning-DEC
'it is lightning'

Reduplication of lexical roots or syllables is also discussed in (7.3.).

5.5.28. Temporary contrast ihĩ-

There is a verb root *ihĩ-* 'on the contrary, it isn't like that, wait!', which often occurs as a second element in compounds. It has a negative value which is discussed in (7.1.2.) and it is also encountered in certain negative imperative constructions illustrated in (5.2.7.).

In addition to a negative sense, *ihĩ-* has some further interrelated connotations. In the first place, it has a contrastive semantic value, i.e. it negates a presumed presupposition. Secondly, the negation it expresses may be only temporary. The following example is from a dialogue in which TE explains why the next day is not suitable for work:

(2366) ME: *tsu'hũ* *e'hỹ-a-tsy-re*
what make-1P-POT-INT
'what are we going to do (tomorrow)?'

TE: *a-'he=ihĩ-tsy-hỹ*
exist-NEG=contrary-POT-NOM
'oh no, there won't! (be a recording session tomorrow)'

ME: *'he-ĩ-tsy-re* *txa'rwa* *tsũhũ* *'ti-wy-re* *'hakore*
NEG-NEG-POT-INT first what what-time-INT tomorrow
'no, won't there be?, what day is it today?, and tomorrow?'

TE: *txa'rwa* *'sesta*
first Friday
'today is Friday'[262]

ME: *'hakore*
tomorrow
'and tomorrow?'

TE: *hako're* *'saBaDo='ihĩ-hỹ*
tomorrow Saturday=contrary-NOM
'tomorrow is Saturday'

ME: *hako're* *'saBaDo* *hehỹsi* *a-'he-ĩ-tsy-re*
tomorrow Saturday well exist-NEG-NEG-POT-INT
'tomorrow is Saturday, therefore there won't be?'

TE: *a-'he=ihĩ-tsy-hỹ*
exist-NEG=contrary-POT-NOM
'therefore there won't be' (t)

In the second, the sixth and the eighth utterances of this dialogue, *ihĩ-* expresses a temporary counter of supposition. They suggest that, for the time being, it is not a good day to resume the work. But later, i.e. after tomorrow, it is.

Note that the counter of supposition is not necessarily of temporary value:

(2367) *wa'txi-re* *hudada-'nãi* *e-'re* *txana-'nãi* *ĩ'wã*
true-INT speak-NOM have-INT we-NOM nothing

'*nãi=ihĩ-rydy-hỹ* *hewedutu='bwa=ihĩ-rydy-hỹ*
like=contrary-IRR-NOM forget=end=contrary-IRR-NOM

262. Names of the days are in Portuguese.

'would he be able to speak our language?, he is lying, he is going to forget everything' (t)

Finally, *ihĩ-* may have the sense of 'to continue onward', 'to keep on doing for some time':

(2368) *tswa-wa-'hỹ* *kuri'xyi* *ku'nỹ-wa-hỹ* *'e-wa-rai-re*
man-IS-NOM babaçu dress-IS-NOM have-IS-damn-INT

hã'rã-tsy-nãi *e-wa-ra'ti=ihĩ-rai-re*
stop-POT-NOM have-IS-FOC=contrary-damn-INT

'mɛ̃-lɛ-wa-hỹ *'hedaka-ko*
beat-RECI-IS-NOM stem-INS
ME: 'the men would be dressed with a penis ribbon for a long time, it took a long time (for this stage) to pass, they would beat one another with pacova stems'[263] (t)

(2369) *si'le-dwa-ta* *na'nãi-dwa-ta* *'mɛ̃-lɛ*
nocturnal-IDS-CSO very-IDS-CSO beat-RECI

'*mɛ̃-lɛ-cwa-ra'ti=ihĩ-re*
beat-RECI-IS-FOC=contrary-INT
'when it was becoming night, this very time, they would beat one another for a long time' (t)

5.5.29. Contrastive -hehỹ

There is a verbal morpheme *-hehỹ*, which replaces the mood marker. It expresses contrast:

(2370) R: *tsewe-dy-'tõi-hata-tsi*
throw-CAU-CL:eye-3S.2O-MON
'take care that the toad doesn't spit in your eye'

A: *aru-nỹ-'tõi-da-hehỹ*
place-REF-CL:eye-1S-CONT
'but I have glasses!'

The element *-he-* of the morpheme looks like a negative morpheme and *-hỹ* looks like a nominaliser. However, *-hehỹ* does not have any nominalising prop

263. The traditional initiation of boys includes these ingredients. Only a few people in the A.I. Tubarão-Latundê are old enough to have undergone initiation.

erties. Furthermore, it is not negative, but it may have retained one property of the negative in that it involves the rejection of a presupposition. The fact that person cross-reference morphemes only precede the morpheme and the fact that the element *-he-* does not bear stress also suggest this:

(2371) *a'wỹi-wa-hehỹ* (**awỹi'hewahỹ*)
see-IS-CONT
'they are looking'

Countersupposition is discussed in (7.1.1.2.). Note that the contrast does not have to be very strong:

(2372) Q: *tsũhũ-ra'ti* *kui-xa-'re* A: *ka'wɛ* *'kui-da-hehỹ*
what-FOC drink-2-INT coffee drink-1S-CONT
'what are you drinking?' 'I'm drinking coffee!'

The sentence *ka'wɛ 'kuidahehỹ* 'I'm drinking coffee!' would not be a proper reply to a warning that it is not real coffee, but oil, or poison.[264] In the following excerpt from a conversation the contrastive morpheme is used twice:

(2373) TE: *'deda* *hanã'wã-na* *'bou-tsy-rati*
anaconda sky-LOC float-GER-FOC
'(tell the story of) the snake, that one who floats in the sky'

ME: *ũce'nãi-he-da-hehỹ* *ay-'hỹ*
know-NEG-1S-CONT that-NOM
'I don't know that one (inaudible)'

TE: *tsũ'hũ* *ti-'nãi* *ũce'nãi*
what what-NOM know
'which one do you know?'

ME: *na-ay-'nãi* *unỹteta-'nã-da-hehỹ* *ti-'nãi*
PROX-that-NOM converse-FUT-1S-CONT what-NOM

tsywydy'te-a-a-ay-'nãi *ticwa-'nãi*
girl-1P-1P-1P-NOM ancestral-NOM
'of that one, that's what I will tell a story about, about when I still was an uninitiated nubile girl, an old story' (t)

The first occurrence, which is applied to a negative verb, rejects the presupposition the hearer TE is holding that the speaker ME knows the story of the ori

264. In that case the answer would have been *kawɛ kuidaki* 'I drink coffee' or *kawɛki* 'it's coffee'.

gin of the rainbow. Actually ME tried to dodge the request here since TE knows about its existence through her only, and later ME did tell it. The second occurrence rejects the presupposition that ME would be prepared to tell the rainbow story.

The contrastive morpheme is also encountered in the following type of idiomatic expression:

(2374) *nãi-'nãi a'wỹi-wa-ta 'nãi-wa-hehỹ*
like-NOM see-IS-CSO like-IS-CONT
'they will see, just wait! (we can be nasty too)' (t)

(2375) *'nãi-wa-hehỹ*
like-IS-CONT
'just wait!', 'they will see!'

The consultant said that women do not use this idiomatic expression.

5.5.30. Intensifying -te(te)-

The adverbial intensifying morpheme *-te-* is discussed in (6.2.4.4.). When attached to verb roots and inflected as a verb, it adds an augmentative sense to the verb's meaning:

(2376) *awe nỹ-mũ-'te-ki*
rain big-CL:liquid-INTENS-DEC
'it is raining heavily'

It may be reduplicated as *-tete-* with the same effect:

(2377) *kukui-te'te-ki*
hurt-INTENS-DEC
'it hurts a lot'

(2378) *wai-he-te'te-tse*
good-NEG-INTENS-DEC
'it is very bad'

(2379) *awe-te'te-tse ỹ-hỹ-'ko*
rain-INTENS-DEC this-NOM-INS
'here it always rains a lot'

The morpheme must be cognate with Kanoê *-kete-*, as in:

(2380) *ai 'opeko-'mũ i'mɛmuro-(ke'te)-re*
I kernel-CL:liquid like-really-DEC
'I like coffee (very much)'

It may also be related to morphemes such as *-eté* 'very, really, truly' in the Tupi languages.

The intensifying morpheme can also be attached to nouns with the sense of 'real' (see 4.4.8.).

5.5.31. Repetitive -(je)?e-

There is a frequently used repetitive morpheme *-e-*, which means 'to do again'. Often it receives stress. Note the following examples:

(2381) *kui-'e-a-hỹ-ki*
drink-again-1P-NOM-DEC
'we drank again'

(2382) *txa 'a-e-ki*
tea exist-again-DEC
'there is tea again'

(2383) *co-'e-wa-ki*
many-again-IS-DEC
'that's how they multiplied (themselves)' (t)

(2384) *kike-'rjỹ-e-wy*
hot-CD:area-again-time
'hot season' (lit. 'when it heats up again')

The repetitive can also cover the sense of 'more':

(2385) *kui-'e-da-mỹ*
drink-again-1S-VOL
'I'll drink more'

There is a morphophonological variant of *-e-*: *-je?e-*. It is obligatory when preceded by a negative morpheme:

(2386) *oja-'he-je?e-'nã-da-ki*
go-NEG-again-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm not going there again'

(2387) *kui-'he-je?e-'nã-da-ki*
drink-NEG-again-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm not going to drink more'

However, the element *-je-* is optional in non-negative contexts:

(2388) *'kwɛ-(je)?e-da-ki*
enter-again-1S-DEC
'I entered again'

(2389) *o'ja-(je)?e-wa-ki*
go-again-IS-DEC
'they went again'

(2390) *bony-'hỹ txu'hũi ja-je'?e-da-mỹ*
again-NOM small eat-again-1S-VOL
'I'm going to eat a little more'

The following examples suggest that the combination of repetitive and future marking yields a future interpretation, even when the future is expressed

by a volitional morpheme as in (2391), whereas the reverse order of the involved morphemes in (2393) has an intentional sense:

(2391) *'ɛ-e-damỹ-da-ki*
go-again-want-1S-DEC
'I'm going away again'

(2392) *ũi-e-'nã-da-ki*
lie.down-again-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to pause again'

(2393) *kẽwẽ-'ni ja-nã-'e-xa-re*
turtle-CL:egg eat-FUT-again-2-INT
'do you want to eat turtle eggs again?'

It has not been established why no alternative morpheme ordering is possible in the next example:

(2394) *tomã-e-'nã-da-ki* (**'tomanã'?edaki*)
bathe-again-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to take a bath again'

Under ellipsis of the verb root in the proper context (see 7.5.2.), the repetitive functions as an independent verbal root:

(2395) *je'e-da-ki*
again-1S-DEC
'I (spoke, did, went, etc.) again'

Note that the allomorph *-je?e-* has to be used in this construction. This could suggest that, in the other examples, the allomorph is in reality a compound verb root to which *-e-* is attached. However, the verb root *je-* means 'to dig', and it is unlikely that this is semantically related to *-je?e-* 'again'. It seems also unlikely that there is a relation with the directional *-je-* 'away' (see 5.3.1.).

The repetitive morpheme *-e* can be attached word-finally to a noun. The result is a noun with the meaning 'too, also'. This is discussed in (4.4.6.).

5.5.32. Consecutive -dutu-

There is a rare consecutive morpheme *-dutu-*, which means 'to do something on top of something else'. It occurs often, but not necessarily, in compounded verbs. Note the following examples:

(2396) *hã kui-dutu-'ra*
water drink-CONS-IMP
'drink water on top (after eating)!'

(2397) *hyriko'ro-xwana ja-du'tu-da-ki*
monkey-CL:flesh eat-CONS-1S-DEC
'I ate monkey meat on top'

(2398) *bwɛ-du'tu-ra*
throw-CONS-IMP
'throw it after him!'

(2399) *wɛrɛ-du'tu-da-ki*
illuminate-CONS-1S-DEC
'I lit it from behind'

(2400) *he-hỹ-du'tu-da-ki*
NEG-NOM-CONS-1S-DEC
'I didn't leave a note'

In combination with the verb root *kwɛ-* 'enter', it means 'to do quickly' or 'to do suddenly':

(2401) *kwɛ-dutu-'nãi-a-ni*
enter-CONS-NOM-1P-EXH
'let's do it suddenly!'

(2402) *kwɛ-dutu=kui='bwa-da-ki*
enter-CONS=drink=end-1S-DEC
'rapidly/immediately I drank all'

(2403) *kwɛ-dutu=kui='bwa-tse txa*
enter-CONS=drink=end-DEC tea
'he drank the whole cup of tea in one go'

(2404) *kwɛ-dutu=kui='bwa-ca-ra*
enter-CONS=drink=end-EMP-IMP
'drink it in one go!' (e.g. a bitter medicine)

However, this is not always the case:

(2405) *kwɛ-du'tu-ra*
enter-CONS-IMP
'put a stick in the hole on top (of the animal in it)'

The morpheme does not occur with all verbs, e.g.: **wãwỹi-dutu-* '*[?]to sleep on top'; **ũi-dutu-* '*[?]to lie on top'.

Some verb roots contain *-dutu-* as a fixed element, but it is unlikely that this represents the consecutive morpheme, e.g.: *hewedutu-* 'to forget'; *hedydutu-* 'to lose'. It is likely that the element does originally derive from a productive morpheme of some sort. The verb root *mãdutu-* 'to imitate a call, to lure' contains clearly the root element *mã-* 'to call, to shout'.

5.5.33. Unidentified -ri-

The meaning of the rarely attested morpheme *-ri-* has not been determined. It is unclear whether it is a classifier, a directional or a TMA morpheme. With some words it is lexicalised, as in *tokoi'ri-* 'be tired, be panting', which is related to *to'koi-* 'be soft'. With other words it seems optional.

(2406) *awe-'ri-ki*
rain-???-DEC
'it is raining' (it has just begun / it is going to rain)

(2407) *wi-'ri-ta-ki*
cut-???-1O-DEC
'the thorn scratched me'

(2408) *i'si-(ri)-'ki*
die-???-DEC
'he dies'

(2409) *tãi-'ri-ki*
hard-???-DEC
'it does not die easily, has a durable life'

'tãi-ki
hard-DEC
'it is hard' (t)

The morpheme is not recognised in family I and example (2406) is rejected. To them, the element is an integral part of (2407) and (2408), and example (2409) is interpreted in a different way. There is a classifier of shape *-ri-*, which means 'flat'. In the case of (2407) the unidentified element could be the classifier *-ri-* if thorns scratched the speaker on the chest. A similar analysis could be imagined for example (2408). The alternative interpretation of (2409) would involve the verb root *isi-* 'to secure' and would mean 'he put his hand on his chest (to feel if the heart beats)'. In (2406), the same classifier *-ri-* 'flat' could be imagined to refer to the yard over which the rain falls, but also this conjecture was rejected in family I.

5.6. Nominalisation

Nominalisation is a morphological operation that turns verbs into nouns. It occurs particularly frequently in Kwaza as it is the only way to form complement clauses. Furthermore, Kwaza does not have adjectives and uses nouns and nominalised verb roots to modify other nouns. Moreover, Kwaza adverbs are often formed through nominalisation. Some nominalisers like *-hỹ* are semantically rather empty. Their application turns a verb into a noun without any additional semantic contribution. The noun usually refers to a participant argument in the sentence. The nominaliser *-nãi* is also semantically not very specific and produces nouns which usually refer to event or fact arguments. Other nominalisers create a specific type of nouns, such as *-nite*, which basically creates an instrumental noun. In the present section most of the nominalising morphemes of Kwaza will be discussed briefly. Like adverbialisation, nominalisation that has an adverbial function is not discussed as part of the present chapter (5.) on verbs, but in chapter (6.) on adverbs.

5.6.1. Nominaliser -hỹ

The morpheme *-hỹ* is used to nominalise verbs. The meaning of the resulting form corresponds with that of a potential argument of the verbal root:

(2410)	*'tsẽi-ki*		*tsẽi-'hỹ*
	tear-DEC		tear-NOM
	'he tore'	vs.	'torn (thing)'

(2411)	*'mã-nỹ-ki*		*mã-nỹ-'hỹ*
	call-REF-DEC		call-REF-NOM
	'he is called (X)'	vs.	'name'

Kwaza has no passive voice. Many verbs in Kwaza are ambivalent with respect to the number and the types of arguments they can take (see 5.4.). Similarly, the result of nominalisation by *-hỹ* may be ambiguous as regards the grammatical function it fulfils with respect to its verbal root. In the following examples, the nominalisation may represent either an agent, a patient or a product of the action referred to by the verb root:

(2412)	*ka'hɛ-ki*		*kahɛ-'hỹ*
	bite-DEC		bite-NOM
	'he bit'	vs.	'the one who bit' / 'the one who was bitten'

(2413) *ka'hɛ-tsy-hỹ*
bite-GER-NOM
'(dog) who bit' /
'(chicken) who was bitten'[265] (t)

(2414) *atxi'txi kã-'to-da-ki*
maize toast-kernel-1S-DEC
'I dried maize'

(2415) *kã-'to-wa-hỹ*
toast-kernel-IS-NOM
'someone who dries (maize)'
/ '(maize) dried by someone'

(2416) *xare'ja-(c)wa-hỹ axe'hỹ-da-ki*
search-IS-NOM find-1S-DEC
'I found the one who was hunting'
/ 'I found (his) hunted animal'

The resulting noun can function as an event-participant argument of a predicate, or as a modifier of another noun, or both. Compare the following examples:

(2417) *hunũ-'ki*
scorch-DEC
'it is burning'

(2418) *hunũ-'hỹ huru'ja-nãi 'e-da-ki*
scorch-NOM like-NOM have-1S-DEC
'I like scorched (food)'

265.See section (8.1.) for an elaborate discussion of the morpheme *-tsy-*.

(2419) *'ki-ki*
ripe-DEC
'it ripens, it is ripe'

(2420) *'mangka 'ki-hỹ 'ja-da-ki*
mango ripe-NOM eat-1S-DEC
'I ate a ripe mango'

(2421) *murje'rwa-ki*
turn-DEC
'it is spinning'

(2422) *erja'rwe-tsy-hỹ murje'rwa-hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
round-GER-NOM turn-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the wheel that was spinning'

In several different constructions the nominaliser *-hỹ* can be replaced by a classifying morpheme. The result is a also noun, which, however, is usually semantically more restricted:

(2423) *'ha-ỹ-ki*
clean-ATT-DEC
'it is white'

(2424) *'ha-ỹ-hỹ*
clean-ATT-NOM
'white one'

(2425) *'ha-ỹ-xy*
clean-ATT-CL:leaf
'white paper'

As a consequence of this possibility, two important observations must be made. Firstly, classifiers may have a nominalising function. Secondly, the nominaliser *-hỹ* may be a classifier. Classifiers are dealt with extensively in section (4.2.). In the context of classification I consider *-hỹ* as a semantically neutral classifier.

It is important to notice that nominalisation of a bare verb root with *-hỹ* is in fact quite rare. In most cases, other elements intervene. The nominalised verb remains inflected for person and, when required, it contains a person cross-reference marker:

(2426) *'kui-da-hỹ txu'hũi-tse*
drink-1S-NOM small-DEC
'I drank little'
(lit. 'that which I drank was little')

(2427) *e-xa-'hỹ*
have-2-NOM
'that which you have'

(2428) *ay-'hỹ e'hỹ-xa-hỹ si he'?ai-da-ki*
that-NOM make-2-NOM I not.want-1S-DEC
'I don't like that which you did'

(2429) *tã'jã ta-wa-'hỹ*
chief say-IS-NOM
'the one called chief', 'the one they call chief'

Nominalisation constructions containing the gerundial morpheme *-tsy-* (see 8.1.) are particularly abundant.

(2430) *kãu-tsy-'hỹ*
break-GER-NOM
'the one that broke', 'broken, torn one'

(2431) *e-xũ'jẽ* *'e-tsy-hỹ*
Ø-CL:beak have-GER-NOM
'the one with the beak' (a toucan)

(2432) *tuituiñẽ-'le-tsy-rjỹ*
grass-only-GER-CD:area
'place with only grass' (t)

Many of the examples of nominalised expressions given here show both morphological and syntactic complexity. The nominaliser *-hỹ* is productively applied to verbs or verb phrases of any degree of internal complexity, which results in equally complex nominal clauses. Therefore, *-hỹ* is also essential to attributive clause formation. This is extensively treated in section (8.4.).

Nominalisation and verbalisation are highly recursive. Nouns may be verbalised by adding e.g. the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* (see 4.3.2.1.), and then nominalised again:

(2433) *kawa'pe* *ẽrjã'wã-na-ỹ-hỹ*
cockroach forest-LOC-ATT-NOM
'cockroach of the forest' (lit. 'cockroach which belongs to the forest')

Nouns may also be zero-verbalised, and then nominalised again:

(2434) *tswa-wa-'hỹ*
man-IS-NOM
'that (very) man' / '(all) the men'

Also nominalised verbs may be zero-verbalised:

(2435) *holanDa-'na* *'a-hỹ-ki*
Holland-LOC exist-NOM-DEC
'it is (something which is) from Holland'

The general function of such recursive category changing is focus. The effect can be compared to that of clefting in English. This is discussed further in (4.4.9.) and (5.5.20.).

Some verb roots contain a partially lexicalised nominaliser. The following example shows a verb of which the element *-hỹ-* cannot be omitted:

(2436) *ẽrẽwẽ'hỹ-ki*
wild-DEC
'it is wild, it is from the forest'

In spite of the fossilised status of the element *-hỹ-* as part of this verb root, it has preserved certain original nominal properties. In the next example, the root may function as a noun, and modify another noun:

(2437) *jere'xwa ẽrẽwẽ'hỹ*
jaguar wild
'a wild jaguar from the forest'

Although ellipsis of mood marking is a common phenomenon (see 7.5.1.), it is very unusual that the result of such ellipsis has a different grammatical category. Bare verb roots normally remain verbs and their mood inflexion is implicitly still present. Special verb roots such as *ẽrẽwẽhỹ-*, which contain lexicalised *-hỹ-*, are discussed in (4.3.2.2.).

For a number of verbs, there is only circumstantial evidence that the element *-hỹ* represents the nominaliser:

(2438) *buce.'hỹ*
shoot.NOM
'the shot'

On some occasions *bucehỹ* was regarded as an independent noun, on other occasions, it was judged ungrammatical without further verbal inflexion. Like *ẽrẽwẽhỹ-*, the verb root *bucehỹ-* 'shoot' was never attested as an independent verb without the element *-hỹ*. The difference is that it was attested without *-hỹ* when, among other things, being part of a compound verb construction:

(2439) *bu'ce=asa*
shoot=leave
'(he) shot it down' (t)

Some non-attributive verb roots occur never without a classifier and verbal inflexion, such as *ãrũ-* 'to rub'. Main stress is always on the ultimate syllable of the classifier:

(2440) *ãrũ-'hỹ-da-ki* (**ãrũ-'hỹ*)
rub-NOM-1S-DEC
'I'm wiping (the moisture) off it'

(2441) *ãrũ-ko'je-ki*
rub-CL:hand-DEC
'he is wiping his hands'

Verb roots which do not occur without a classifier as referred to as bound roots in e.g. (4.3.2.2.) and (7.6.3.).

5.6.2. Nominaliser -nãi

The morpheme *-nãi* is a nominaliser that creates fact or event nouns which may then function as arguments. Compare the following examples:

(2442) *maga'riDa a-e'te-da-hỹ-ki*
Margarida exist-COMIT-1S-NOM-DEC
'I live together with Margarida'

(2443) *ku'kui-nãi 'a-ete-da-hỹ-ki*
hurt-NOM exist-COMIT-1S-NOM-DEC
'I was born with an illness'

The nominalised verbs can be morphologically complex and bear person cross-reference markers and object morphemes:

(2444) *bay-'nãi hã'rã-tse*
sour-NOM stop-DEC
'it stopped fermenting'

(2445) *'ỹ-da-nãi hã'rã-da-ki*
stain-1S-NOM stop-1S-DEC
'I finished painting myself'

(2446) *a'wỹi-taxwa-nãi huru'ja-da-ki*
see-IS.1O-NOM like-1S-DEC
'I want the others to see me', 'I want to be seen'

In fact, entire clauses can be nominalised by *-nãi*. In several respects, verbs nominalised by *-nãi* are rather like infinitives than like nouns. Unlike verbs nominalised by *-hỹ*, those nominalised by *-nãi* cannot be used as noun modifiers or as relative clauses. Verbs nominalised by *-nãi* usually function as complements of verbs of cognition, but they can also function as arguments of other verbs. There is a special habitual construction of the type *V-nãi e-INFLEXION* 'to be accustomed to':

(2447) *maga'riDa duture-xwa'nã ja-'nãi e-'re*
Margarida pig-CL:flesh eat-NOM have-INT
'does Margarida eat pork?'

The above example means literally: 'does Margarida have the eating of pig-meat?'. The nominal clause can be considered both as an argument of the matrix verb and a complement of the matrix clause. Fully-fledged complement clauses are discussed further in (8.4.).

The combination *-tsy-nãi* is seen in (2448). It is discussed amply in (8.1.2.4.).

(2448) *ace'rjỹ-ki* *onɛ-'nã-tsy-nãi*
close-DEC arrive-FUT-GER-NOM
'his arrival is close', 'he is going to arrive soon'

Unlike other nouns, nouns formed by the morpheme *-nãi* cannot be possessed:

(2449) **si-dy-hỹ* *kwɛ-da-nãi*
I-POS-NOM inside-1S-NOM
'my entering'

Besides a nominalising function, *-nãi* may also have adverbialising functions. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a verb in *-nãi* is used nominally or adverbially:

(2450) *hyriko'ro* *tu'rwe-tse* *ku'kuihỹ-nãi*
monkey heal-DEC ill-NOM
'the monkey got better from a disease'

In the present analysis, adverbs formed by *-nãi* are regarded as nouns from the point of view of morphological analysis, but as adverbs from a semantic point of view. They are discussed extensively in section (6.2.4.2.).

5.6.3. The first person plural cross-reference morpheme -a-

As demonstrated in the previous sections, verbs which are nominalised by *-hỹ* or *-nãi* retain person marking. This person marking may be expressed by overt cross-reference morphemes or, in case of a third person, by zero-marking. Cross-reference markers occur in nominalised verbs without any change of meaning, except for the first person plural. When applied before nominalisation by *-hỹ*, *-nãi* and, possibly, *-hỹwã* (see 5.6.4.below), the first person plural marker *-a-* may get a non-personal sense. Under its occurrence in such instances, the verb is interpreted as if it is not inflected for person at all, be it overt or covert. In a way, the first person plural marker enables the creation of an abstract noun.

When *-a-* is applied before the nominaliser *-hỹ*, the result is often something that resembles an infinitive-like action noun:

(2451) *tsu'tsu-hỹ*
urinate-NOM
'the one that urinates'

(2452) *tsu'tsu-a-hỹ*
urinate-1P-NOM
'urinating, to urinate'

(2453) *i'si=ũi-da-hỹ-ki*
die=lie-1S-NOM-DEC
'I had epilepsia'

(2454) *i'si=ũi-a-hỹ*
die=lie-1P-NOM
'epilepsy'

(2455) *tu'rwe-(e)-a-hỹ*
heal-again-1P-NOM
'to resuscitate'

The application of *-a-hỹ* results in a noun. The following examples show that the verbal root of such a noun may retain an argument:

(2456) *ko'reja 'kjẽ-a-hỹ*
knife sharpen-1P-NOM
'file'

(2457) *mĩu wy'ru-a-hỹ*
chicha grind-1P-NOM
'mortar' (lit. 'thing to grind (maize in for) chicha')

(2458) *atxi'txi dudu'ñũ-a-hỹ*
maize pound-1P-NOM
'mortar' (lit. 'thing to pund maize in (for flour)')

(2459) *oitsi-'lɛ-a-hỹ e-tsy-ka'nɛ*
copulate-RECI-1P-NOM have-GER-CL:oblong
'pornographic video tape'

Nota that in spite of the fact that the above examples involve juxtaposition of nouns, these nouns only rarely seem to modify one another (see 4.3.):

(2460) *hi ha'bi-a-hỹ*
firewood ignite-1P-NOM
'firewood for ignition'

Another example may be (2463) below.

The abstract noun has often a connotation of 'with respect to' or of purpose:

(2461) *warja-'ra kui-'dy-a-hỹ*
take-IMP drink-CAU-1P-NOM
'take something to drink to him!'

(2462) Q: *tsũhũ-'nãi pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-nã-a-re*
what-NOM speak-FUT-1P-INT
'what will we talk about?'

A: *'mĩu-dy-a-hỹ*
chicha-CAU-1P-NOM
'about making chicha' (t)

The result of nominalisation with *-a-* may also resemble an agent noun. Two possible translations were offered for the word *mĩudy?ahỹ* in the above example: 'in order to make chicha' and (although considered less appropriate)

'maker of chicha'. This semantic ambiguity can be explained better with the following example:

(2463) *'tauBa a'xy-dy-a-hỹ*
board house-CAU-1P-NOM
'boards to build a house'[266]

According to the consultant the word *axydy?ahỹ* can be translated both as 'in order to make a house' and as 'maker of a house'. This is apparently because of the fact that the involved boards both serve the builder to make a house and constitute the house themselves.[267] The next example represents an instrument noun:

(2464) *'a-a-hỹ*
exist-1P-NOM
'(once-) inhabited place / house'

In the translations offered by the consultants of the nominalisations discussed here, *-a-* seems to behave as sort of infinitive marker meaning something like '(thing) with reference to V-ing'. Literally, however, all occurrences of *-a-* can and should be regarded as first person plural cross-reference. In some of the following examples, I have added a literal translation. The result of *-a-hỹ* can be zero-verbalised:

(2465) *ou-'dy-a-hỹ-ki*
catch-CAU-1P-NOM-DEC
'it's to hook up (i.e. a clip)' (lit. 'it's a thing which we hook up with')

(2466) *to'mã=jã-hỹ-le-ki* / *to'mã-a-hỹ-le-ki*
bathe=be-NOM-FRUST-DEC bathe-1P-NOM-FRUST-DEC
'it was for bathing (but now it has broke down)'[268]
(lit. 'it was a thing by which we bathed')

The nominaliser *-hỹ* is also a classifier. The next example shows that it can be replaced by more specific classifiers also when it is preceded by non-personal *-a-*:

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266. The order 21 is also allowed.
267. Germanic and Romance languages have words that have the form of an agent noun, even though they refer to patient, instrument or locative nouns, e.g. English *drawer* 'box which can be drawn out of a piece of furniture by its handle', Dutch *hanger* 'thing which is instrumental in hanging up clothes', and Spanish *comedor* 'dining room'.
268. This is an answer to the question 'what is this pipe for?'.

(2467) *a'xy ha'je-a-mũ*
house smear-1P-CL:liquid
'paint' (lit. 'the liquid we smear onto the house')

(2468) *mwɛ̃jã-a-ro'tɛ*
open-1P-CL:door
'window (hole)' (lit. 'the hole which we open')

The internal structure of the latter example is possibly partly lexicalised. An indication for this is the fact that the productive classifier for 'door' has an /e/ instead of an /ɛ/: *-rote*.

Instead of classifiers, the non-personally used morpheme *-a-* can also precede the nominaliser *-nãi*. The result looks more like an action noun than does the combination with *-hỹ* illustrated above. For the rest, *-a-* has the same properties. The next example shows that it functions as a non-personal morpheme also in combination with *-nãi*:

(2469) *e-'enãi-rjỹ-nãi*
RED-quarrel-CD:area-NOM
'him quarreling'

(2470) *e-enãi-'rjỹ-a-nãi*
RED-quarrel-CD:area-1P-NOM
'about quarreling' (lit. 'about the fact that we quarrel')

(2471) *bu'ru-a-nãi*
remember-1P-NOM
'recollection' (lit. 'the fact that we remember')

(2472) *mãmã'ñẽ-a-nãi*
sing-1P-NOM
'music'
(lit. 'the way we sing')

(2473) *tutuni'tahỹ-a-nãi*
think-1P-NOM
'thought' (lit. 'the way we think / our thinking')

The resulting noun usually functions as a complement clause:

(2474) *si bu'tjẽ-a-nãi are'ta-da-ki*
I shoot-1P-NOM know-1S-DEC
'I know how to shoot' (lit. 'I know the way we shoot')

(2475) *da'nỹ txu'hũi are'ta-da-ki pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-a-nãi*
still small know-1S-DEC speak-1P-NOM
'I still know how to speak a little (Kwaza)'

(2476) *ñã'si-a-nãi-le ñã'si-da-hỹ=wa'ra pẽrẽ'jã-a-nãi*
hear-1P-NOM-only hear-1S-NOM=but speak-1P-NOM

areta-'he-da-ki
know-NEG-1S-DEC
'listening I understand (a little), but speaking I don't'

In one instance non-personal *-a-* was applied to a noun in a zero-verbalising construction:

(2477) *tsurwani-ka'si-a-hỹ*
nostril-CL:wing-1P-NOM
'nose feather'

The literal interpretation of this example is probably: 'the one that we use as a nose feather decoration'.

The subsequent application of a nominaliser suggests that roots or stems which end in *-a-* are verbal. On the other hand, only very few possible instances of non-personal *-a-* were attested which are followed directly by a verbal mood marker:

(2478) *ti-'nãi* *mã-a-'re*
what-NOM call-1P-INT
'how is this called?' (lit. 'how do we call this?')

5.6.3.1. The ambiguous interpretation of *-a-*

Non-personal use of the first person plural morpheme was also shortly discussed in (5.1.6.). Because the first person plural form *-a-* is also used in its canonical first person plural sense, the consultant offered two different translations for the following example:

(2479) *hyhy'rwa-a-re*
move-..-INT
'are we going to walk?', 'will there be walking?'

On the basis of the fact that the person marked examples in (2480) below are interpretable, one would expect potential confusion between non-personal and first person plural *-a-*. However, such a first person plural interpretation was rejected for example (2481):

(2480) *erewe-'xy-da-nãi* *erewe-'xy-nãi*
write-CL:leaf-1S-NOM write-CL:leaf-NOM
'my writing' 'his writing'

(2481) *hary'ky* *erewe-'xy-a-nãi* *'wai-ki*
now write-CL:leaf-1P-NOM good-DEC
'now (since there is a table), (*our) writing goes well'

It probably depends on the context how *-a-* is to be interpreted. In constructions like the following the non-personal reading does not seem to be a problem, whereas a first person plural reading seems somewhat far-fetched:

(2482) *wãwã'wỹ-a-nãi* *e-da-hỹ-ki*
dream-1P-NOM have-1S-NOM-DEC
'I had a dream' (lit. 'I have what we dream')

(2483) *wai-'he-hỹ-'dy-da-ki* *cu'cu-a-nãi*
good-NEG-NOM-CAU-1S-DEC walk-1P-NOM
'(the shoe) makes walking uncomfortable'
(lit. 'I'm given incommodation in our walking')

Nevertheless, *-a-* may be ambiguous with respect to both readings in the following examples:

(2484) *ẽ'hike* *'ta-a-nãi* *he'?ai-tse*
Henrique talk-1P-NOM want.not-DEC
'he does not like (people) to call him Henrique'

(2485) *cẽrẽ'mũ* *'hedy-a-nãi* *'wai-re*
milk mix-1P-NOM good-INT
'is it good with milk?'

The same ambiguity was found with regard to the morpheme combination *-a-hỹ-wã* discussed in (5.6.4.) below.

Another ambiguity is related to the possibility that *-a-* can be applied to nouns:

(2486) *kukuri'?yi-a-hỹ*
loop-1P-NOM
'spring'

The root of this construction is probably related to the verb *kurje-* 'stir, wind', and is extended by the classifier *-yi-* 'thread, wire'. Literally it could mean 'the repeatedly winding one'. Maybe, however, *-a-* should be interpreted as *a-* 'exist, have', which would yield the literal sense of 'one having windings'.

(2487) *kukuri'?yi* *a-'hỹ*
loop exist-NOM
'spring'

To make matters worse, this alternative analysis is also imaginable for verbal roots because of the possiblity of verbal compounding. Then example (2452) could be interpreted alternatively in the following way:

(2488) *tsu'tsu=a-hỹ*
urinate=exist-NOM
'there being urinating'

However, this seems rather unlikely.

Whatever the value of *-a-*, it cannot be combined with (other) person cross-reference marking:

(2489) **erewe-xy-da-a-nãi*
write-CL:leaf-1S-1P-NOM
'my writing'

Although the interpretation of the element *-a-* as a first person inclusive marker may in certain contexts lead to somewhat far-fetched analyses, I have chosen to consider it as a first person plural morpheme also in the examples discussed here.

5.6.4. Agent noun -hỹ-wã

The nominalising suffix *-hỹ* and the animate object marker *-wã* can occur in a fixed combination as an agent noun formative. It was not attested frequently with this function.

(2490) *ca'ri-da-ki*
shoot-1S-DEC
'I shot at (him)'

(2491) *ca'ri-hỹ-wã*
shoot-NOM-AO
'the killer' (t)

Although the morpheme *-hỹ-wã* involves an animate object marker *-wã*, the agent noun marked by *-hỹ-wã* represents a grammatical subject in the next example:

(2492) *'tswa-nahere* *o'kja-hỹ-wã* *towɛ-'nɛ-tja* *ĩʔĩ'ta-tja*
man-COL hunt-NOM-AO go-DR:hither-CSO always-CSO

'a-hỹ= *wara*
exist-NOM=but
'the hunter-men arrived from the forest as always, but...' (t)

Nevertheless, nouns which are terminated by the combination of suffixes *-hỹ* and *-wã* are also attested as objects, and apparently without an agentive connotation:

(2493) *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *a'ha* *huru'ja-da-day-hỹ-wã*
you-POS-NOM father like-1S-1S-NOM-AO

ca'ri=asa-ty-ta-'tay-hỹ-ki *da-ta*
kill=leave-DET-1O-1O-NOM-DEC 1S-CSO

xyi-dy-'hỹ-wã *he?ai-'tja-da-ta* *'a-da-hỹ-ki*
you-POS-NOM-AO not.want-TRA-1S-CSO exist-1S-NOM-DEC
'your father has killed the one that I have loved, therefore I don't like your (father), and therefore I remain here' (t)

The morpheme *-hỹ-wã* was also attested as a constituing part of *-a-hỹ-wã*. This combination is often applied to nouns and it may have an impersonal and adverbial connotation (see 6.2.4.3.). In the next example, the noun derived by *-a-hỹ-wã*, although pragmatically a subject, stands in extraposition:

(2494) *'tswa-a-hỹ-wã* *'tswa-tja* *da'rje-ta* *nãi-hỹ-'ki*
man-1P-NOM-AO man-CSO strong-CSO like-NOM-DEC
'being a man, one is a man, and therefore one is strong'[269] (t)

The element *-a-* in *tswa?ahỹwã* could be the non-personal morpheme discussed in (5.6.3.), and the literal meaning could be 'the agent of man-being'. In the next example, *tswa?ahỹwã* is pragmatically an object, but it stands in extraposition:

(2495) *tja jere'xwa* *'jã-hỹ=wara* *ku'ri-ta-ja-ki* *'tswa-a-hỹ-wã*
so jaguar say-NOM=but quiet-TRA-IO-DEC man-1P-NOM-AO
'so one says *jerexwa* but it will leave one in peace as we are men' (t)

The contrast between the following examples shows that *-a-hỹ-wã* is not exclusively applied to nouns:

(2496) *dutu're-a-hỹ-wã*
pig-1P-NOM-AO
'being a pig' / 'we being pigs'

(2497) *'he-a-hỹ-wã*
NEG-1P-NOM-AO
'when one is nothing'[270]

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269. When inquiring later about *tswa?ahỹwã* in extraposition, MA explained to me that it represented a false start, because "no better word" was found at the moment of speaking. He considered a cosubordinating construction involving *tswa?ahỹta* as "better":
'tswa-a-hỹ-ta *'tswa-ca* *da'rje-ta* *'nãi-hỹ-ki*
man-1P-NOM-CSO man-CSO strong-CSO like-NOM-DEC
'being a man, one is a man, and therefore one is strong'

270. The element *-he-* is usually a bound verbal or verbalising negation morpheme, but it can apparently be used as a verb root.

(2498) *holanDe-'he-a-hỹ-wã*
Dutch-NEG-1P-NOM-AO
'not being a Dutchman (I'm not rich)'

The element *-a-* may have a non-personal reading as in e.g. (2494), but the contrast in the next pair of examples and the translations indicate that it can also have a canonical first person plural interpretation:

(2499) *holan'De-a-hỹ-wã*
Dutch-1P-NOM-AO
'because we're Dutchmen'

(2500) *holan'De-da-hỹ-wã*
Dutch-1S-NOM-AO
'because I'm a Dutchman (I speak strangely)'

The latter example also suggests that the element *-a-* is not obligatory with regard to the adverbial function of *-hỹ-wã* discussed in (6.2.4.3.).

5.6.5. Collective noun -nahere

The morpheme *-nahere* produces a collective noun. When applied to personal names, it refers to the people who are associated with that person in some way: family, tribe, neighbours etc. When applied to place names it refers to the inhabitants of the place. When applied to words for animals, it refers to the members of the species, order or kingdom. When applied to common nouns it is in a way a plural marker. In the following examples the nominal application of *-nahere* is illustrated:

(2501) *tete'ru-nahere*
Teteru-COL
'family of Teteru, those who live where Teteru lives, etc.'

(2502) *duky-'hỹ-nahere*
other-NOM-COL
'the others'

(2503) *sjuping'waja-nahere*
Chupinguaia-COL
'the inhabitants of Chupinguaia'

(2504) *auto're-nahere*
bird-COL
'(the) birds'

(2505) *dai='bwa-da-ki* *koreja=txu'hũi-nahere*
grab=finish-1S-DEC knife=small-COL
'I took all the knives'

The collective morpheme is also applicable to verb roots, in which case it functions as a nominaliser. As expected it can also be zero-verbalised again:

(2506) *kũrũi-nahe're-a-xa-ki*
fry-COL-1P-AS-DEC
'we are (of the) Kanoê people/clan'[271]

The verbal bases to which *-nahere* is added can be morphologically complex. Compare the following examples:

(2507) *o'kja-nahere*
hunt-COL
'the hunters'

(2508) *o'kja-a-hỹ-nahere*
hunt-1P-NOM-COL
'we who are hunters'

(2509) *o'kja-'ỹ-tsy-nahere*
hunt-ATT-POT-COL
'the future hunters' (who have never hunted so far, e.g. small boys)

(2510) *o'kja-tsy-nahere*
hunt-POT-COL
'those who are going to hunt'
(also if they're asleep now)

(2511) *o'kja-ĩʔĩ-nahere*
hunt-REM-COL
'those hunters of the past
(of olden times)'

5.6.6. Nominaliser -te

When applied to a verb root, the nominaliser *-te* produces a kind of resultative noun. This noun refers to an entity by the property which is the consequence of the action or process expressed by the (semantically attributive) verb root:

(2512) *he'bo-ki*
blind-DEC
'he becomes blind'

hebo-'te
blind-NOM
'blind man'

(2513) *'ho-ki*
rot-DEC
'it is rotten'

ho-'tɛ
rot-NOM
'rotten stuff'

(2514) *wo'tsu-ki*
skinny-DEC
'he is/becomes skinny'

wotsu-'tɛ
skinny-NOM
'the skinny one' (t)

(2515) *kore'we-da-ki*
pregnant-1S-DEC
'I'm pregnant'

korewe-'tɛ
pregnant-NOM
'pregnant woman'

271. The Kwaza refer to the Kanoê as *kũ'rũinahere* because the colour of their skin is considered as yellowish, as if they are lightly fried.

When in juxtaposition with another noun, the result noun can function as a modifier. The modified noun is at the same time an argument of the verbal root of the result noun:

(2516) *atxi'txi hu-'tɛ*
maize sprout-NOM
'muda of maize'

(2517) *e'cũi hebo-'te*
eye blind-NOM
'blind man'

(2518) *uru'hu xare'ja-ki 'au ho-tɛ*
vulture search-DEC flesh rot-NOM
'the vulture is searching for rotten meat'

(2519) *uru'hu 'au jo-'nã-tja au ho-'tɛ ja-'nã-tja*
vulture flesh devour-FUT-CSO flesh rot-NOM eat-FUT-CSO
'the vulture wants to eat meat, is going to eat rotten meat'

When a classifier intervenes between the verb stem and the nominaliser, the resulting noun and the classifier itself represent the subject of the verbal root:

(2520) *dehe-mũ-'te*
bitter-CL:liquid-NOM
'pinga, cachaça' (lit. 'bitter drink')

The non-literal meanings suggest that these combinations may be somewhat lexicalised. This construction is usually found with two of the attributive verbal roots which were discussed in (4.3.2.2.) and which obligatorily contain a classifier: *ko-* 'empty' and *txi-* 'very big'.

(2521) *ko-xy-'tɛ*
empty-CL:house-NOM
'empty house, white paper'

(2522) *txi-kãi-'tɛ*
big-CL:leg-NOM
'macaw' (lit. 'bigfoot')

In juxtaposition with another noun, the nominalisation is the modifier of the subject of its own verbal root:

(2523) *kawa'pɛ txi-hỹ-'te*
cockroach big-NOM-NOM
'big cockroach'

(2524) *ko'reja'ri txi-ri-'te*
plate big-CL:flat-NOM
'big plate'

(2525) *mabi'sĩ txi-sĩ-'te*
lead.shot big-CL:seed-NOM
'bullet' (lit. 'big lead shot seeds')

Meanwhile, the resulting noun itself may of course function as an object in the matrix sentence:

(2526) *awy-mũ-'tɛ* *'kui-da-mỹ*
cold-CL:liquid-NOM drink-1S-VOL
'I'm going to drink cold liquid (which is normally hot, e.g. tea)'

One construction with an intervening classifier was attested in which the juxtaposed noun is probably an object argument of the embedded verb root:

(2527) *ko'sa e-mũ-'tɛ* *a'we*
sun have-CL:liquid-NOM rain
'it rained sun-water' (i.e. it rains while the sun shines)[272]

In the following examples, the element *-te* is attached to nouns. Because it seems to have an intensifying connotation, there may be a relation with the intensifying morpheme *-te(te)*. The construction is rather lexicalised.

(2528) *mĩu-'tɛ*
chicha-NOM
'one who drinks a lot of chicha'

(2529) *ha'ri?ixu-'tɛ*
bean-NOM
'one who eats a lot of beans'

Note that nominaliser *-te* is often pronounced as [tɛ], homophonous with the classifier *-tɛ* 'round', as illustrated in (4.2.2.4.). It has not been established which of them is represented in the following word:

(2530) *txuhũi-kuty-'tɛ*
small-CL:head-???
'small model propane flask'

5.6.7. Instrument noun -nite

When applied to verb roots, the morpheme *-nite* produces an instrument noun. This noun may refer to the instrument with which the action expressed by the embedded verb root can be executed:

(2531) *o'ri-ki* *ori-ni'te*
climb-DEC climb-INSTR
'he climbs' 'ladder'

(2532) *'co-ki* *co-ni'te*
rasp-DEC rasp-INSTR
'he is rasping' 'rasper'

272. Note that the word *awe* probably functions as a verbal root here, of which the mood marker has been omitted.

With certain verbs, the subject of the verb root may be equivalent with the instrument:

(2533) *'wi-ki* — *wi-ni'te*
cut-DEC — cut-INSTR
'he cut (the latex tree)' — 'knife for latex cutting' (t)

(2534) *iri'txi-ki* — *iritxi-ni'te*
cover-DEC — cover-INSTR
'he covers' — 'lid'

(2535) *wy'ru-ki* — *wyru-ni'te*
grind-DEC — grind-INSTR
'he grinds' — 'mill, pestle, mortar, for grinding'

The root of the verb which forms the basis for the instrument nominalisation may contain morphological complexity:

(2536) *'tãi-dy-ni'te*
hard-CAU-INSTR
'thing to lock' (lit. 'thing to make something tough')

The verb root may also retain overt arguments:

(2537) *a'we hoñẽ-ni'te*
rain hide-INSTR
'umbrella' (lit. 'thing with which to hide for the rain')

The instrument noun can occur in a modifying juxtaposition with another noun:

(2538) *(ywy'nwỹ) ũtje=takaisa-ni'te*
tree leave=traverse-INSTR
'bridge' (lit. '(tree) thing which is left to traverse')

With certain verbs, the result of nominalisation by *-nite* is not an instrument noun, but a result noun: it refers to the object with respect to which the action indicated by the embedded verb root was executed:

(2539) *auxwa'na ke-ni'te*
flesh smoulder-INSTR
'fried meat'

(2540) *boboni'to kũ'cẽ he'dy-nite*
maize.boiled brazil.nut mix-INSTR
'porridge/mixture of boiled maize and Brazil nut'

(2541) *a'ruxy-nite awỹi-'ja-da-day-hỹ*
draw-INSTR see-IO-1S-1S-NOM
'the photo I took'

Furthermore, the result of nominalisation by *-nite* can be a patient object of the embedded verb root:

(2542) *kuitõi-ni'te wai-'dy-ta-ki*
swallow-INSTR good-CAU-1O-DEC
'the pill/medicine got me better'

In the following example, the patient object of the embedded verb root is at the same time the result of the action or process indicated by the embedded verb root:

(2543) *atxi'txi bɛ-to-ni'te*
maize heat-kernel-INSTR
'roasted maize'

Possibly, verb roots involved in result noun and patient noun creations are not subcategorised for any instrumental argument. Apparently, it depends on the specific verb root what is the result of the application of the morpheme *-nite*. Therefore it is likely that many derivations with *-nite* have become somewhat lexicalised:

(2544) *hu'dada-ni'te*
speak-INSTR
'word'

Furthermore, not all verb roots may receive the nominaliser *-nite*:

(2545) *wãwã'wỹ-a-nãi* (**wãwãwỹ-ni'te*)
dream-1P-NOM dream-INSTR
'dream'

It is possible that the morpheme *-nite* is etymologically related to the nominaliser *-te* (see 5.6.6. above) and the causational element *-nĩ-* (see 5.5.9.).[273]

273.I am indebted to Peter Bakker (pc) for this idea.

Chapter 6
Adverbs and adverbial expressions

Kwaza has a number of lexical items which can be regarded as adverbs. They resemble nouns in that they occur as free lexical stems. Furthermore, many can be zero-verbalised by the attachment of person and mood markers. In such constructions, they function as verb roots, just like nouns may. Like simplex, i.e. monomorphemic nouns, simplex adverbs are not recognisable as adverbs by their form. Along with monomorphemic adverbial lexemes, there are also morphologically complex adverbs in Kwaza. Although nouns may be morphologically complex as well, the morphology involved in adverb formation is different. Nevertheless, certain affixes may form ambiguous lexemes which can be regarded with equal justification as adverbs or as nouns.

The distinction between verbs and adverbs is not always easy to draw either. Verbs are usually morphologically marked by person and mood markers. Zero-verbalised adverbs are morphologically not distinguishable from verbs. Furthermore, verb roots do occur as free lexemes under ellipsis of person and mood marking (see 7.5.1.), and as such they look like adverbs. Finally, a verb-modifying adverb may resemble the first member of a complex verb root in a serial compound construction (see 7.4.1.).

Unlike nouns, prototypical adverbs neither occur as arguments of a predicate, nor do they apparently modify other nouns. Also, there are important differences in the morphological behaviour of nouns and adverbs. Unlike verbs, adverbs occur as free particles which do not only modify a verb phrase, but which may have a wider distribution and scope. Moreover, freely occurring verb roots require a specific context in which the subject and mood are known, whereas adverbs do not require this. Because of these reasons, I consider the adverbs as a separate grammatical category, distinct from nouns and verbs.

In subsection (6.1.), I will discuss the basic adverbs. In subsection (6.2.) I will treat morphological operations and idiosyncrasies involving adverbs. This includes adverbialisation and nominalisation with an adverbial function (these were not treated in chapter (5.) on verbs). The category of subordinate adverbial clauses is treated in section (8.2.) of the chapter on complex constructions.

6.1. Basic adverbs

Kwaza has a limited number of basic adverbs. There are two kinds of basic adverbs. One is represented by independent lexemes which are morphologically simplex. The other one consists of lexemes which show morphological complexity but which are not productively formed. The following list contains all attested simplex adverbs of the first kind:

(2546)

ãi	‘far, distant’
da'nỹ	‘still, yet’
ele'le	‘very (EMPH), only (EMPH.PL)’
hade'ja	‘by night’
ha'ja	‘by day’
hary'ky	‘now, then (interjection of hesitation)’
ĩ	‘idly, in vain, nothing’
ja	‘already’
ka'le	‘actually, in reality’
ka'tsy	‘soon, quickly’
la'to	‘yesterday’
tsãrãrã'te	‘low’
tsũ'hũ	‘what?’
txa'rwa	‘first, now, today’
wa'txi	‘truly, correct’

These adverbs are etymologically neither easily relatable to one another, nor to other known lexemes. The next list contains the adverbs which behave as morphologically simplex adverbs but which show internal morphological structure:

(2547)

anãi'dy	‘rightly, properly’
a'renỹ'ta	‘noon’, ‘the hours before noon’
a'rwalɛ	‘long ago’
awani'hỹ	‘alone’
bony-	‘next, again’
ɛhỹ?ɛ'hỹ	‘suddenly’
hajadyko're	‘this morning’
haja?ĩ'si	‘every day’
hajediko're	‘early in the morning’
hako're	‘tomorrow’
ĩ'wã	‘nothing, in vain’
jale'ja	‘in the past’
keredy'ta	‘carefully, slowly, softly’
tẽi'ñe	‘once, only’
tẽi'tja	‘alone’
tjahɛ'rjỹ	‘elsewhere’
tsiri'tsa	‘in the middle’
txatxarwa'te	‘just now, suddenly, for the very first time’
watxi'le(-)	‘finally’, ‘so, then’

Note here the occurrence of elements which resemble productive morphemes such as *-hỹ* (NOM), *-nãi-* (NOM), *-dy-* (CAU, POS), *-wã* (AO), *-ta* (CSO) and *-tja* (CSO). Note also possible roots such as *are-* ‘turn’ (at noon the sun is going to

change its course from rising to descending). Note furthermore the recurring root forms such as *tẽi-* (which may be related to *tei-* 'one'[274]) the empty root *a-*, and the adverbs *ja* 'already' and *haja* 'day'. Note finally reduplication of *ɛhỹ*. These morphological regularities have to be considered as fossilised. In the first place, as the main word accent in Kwaza always falls on the last syllable of the root, the apparent suffixes noticed here have to be considered as inalienable parts of the root. Secondly, the ostensible morphological structure cannot be altered, because, as an example, *-hỹ* cannot be replaced by another morpheme: **awani-ki*, **awani-xy*, etc., and hence, *-hỹ* is not a productive nominaliser or classifier here.

The adverbs are canonically employed to modify predicates. The following examples illustrate this for the adverbs of list (2546):

(2548) *ãi* *'a-ki*
far exist-DEC
'he lives far away'

(2549) *hade'ja* *dehe-mũ-'te* *kui-'nã-da-ki*
night bitter-CL:liquid-NOM drink-FUT-1S-DEC
'tonight I'm going to drink spirits'

(2550) *ha'ja* *'ja-da-mỹ*
day eat-1S-VOL
'during the day I will eat'[275]

(2551) *'haryky* *'hoi-ki*
now sweet-DEC
'now it's sweet'

(2552) *hako're* *a'nũ-tsy-tse* *atxi'txi*
tomorrow plant-POT-DEC maize
'he is going to plant maize tomorrow'

(2553) *'ĩ* *oja-'nã-da-ki*
idly go-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm just going there (for no reason in particular)'[276]

(2554) *ja* *'ja-da-hỹ-ki* *txa'rwa*
already eat-1S-NOM-DEC first
'I already ate today'

(2555) *ja* *hudɛ'rɛ-da-ta* *ja* *'ja-xa-re-tja* *'ta-da-ki*
already ask-1S-CSO already eat-2-INT-CSO talk-1S-DEC
'I already asked him whether he already ate'

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274. Adverbs based on numeral roots like *tei-* 'one', and the adverbial use of numerals are discussed in (4.5.4.).
275. *haja* cannot receive a locative case marker.
276. Context: answer to a suspicious question: 'what are you going to do there?'

(2556) *'wɛra hãrã-'nã-tsy-re 'ja*
Vera stop-FUT-GER-INT already
'has Vera nearly finished already?'

(2557) *ja mĩu waraja=hã'rã-cwa-wy aru'ce-wa-re*
already chicha work=stop-IS-time put-IS-INT
'after making chicha they put firewood in (the mortar)?' (t)

(2558) *'ja ay-'wy 'a-ti-cwa-hỹ-ki*
already that-time exist-IS-IS-NOM-DEC
'it was in that time there already lived people'

(2559) *ka'tsy ehỹ-'ra wãnỹ'dy*
soon make-IMP food
'make the food quickly!'

(2560) *wa'txi wai-'dy-ja-re*
true good-CAU-IO-INT
'would it really do good?'

(2561) *tsãrãrã'te hyhy'rwa-ta*
low move-CSO
'(the vulture) walks head bowed' (t)

(2562) *tsũ'hũ kã'kã-xa-re*
what rub-2-INT
'why do you rub?', 'what are you doing there rubbing?'

Note that the adverb *ja* 'already' is also discussed in (5.5.22.) as a perfect marker. The subsequent examples illustrate the use of the adverbs of list (2547):

(2563) *anãi'dy a-'ra*
properly exist-IMP
'behave yourself!'

(2564) *arenỹ'ta oja-'nã-da-ki*
noon leave-FUT-1S-DEC
'at noon I'll go away'

(2565) *awani'hỹ are'ta-ki*
alone know-DEC
'he learns (by) himself, on his own'

(2566) *ɛ'hỹ?ɛhỹ 'ɛ-tse*
suddenly go-DEC
'suddenly he went away'

(2567) *ĩ'wã ute-'ta-da-ki*
nothing notify-TRA-1S-DEC
'it is a waste that I warn(ed) him', 'I tricked him'

(2568) *jale'ja aniwesarijo-'dy-da-day-hỹ-ki*
past birthday-CAU-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'last month it was my birthday'

(2569) *keredy'ta o'ja-da-ki*
carefully go-1S-DEC
'I went slowly'

(2570) *keredy'ta hu'hui-da-ki*
slow hit-1S-DEC
'I hit him without force'

(2571) *tẽi'ñe* *e'hỹ-ki*
once make-DEC
'he did it only once'

(2572) *tẽi'tja* *hy'hyrwa-ki*
alone move-DEC
'he walks alone'

(2573) *tẽi'ñe* *haja-'hỹ-tse* *'ba-jãhỹ-nãi*
once day-NOM-DEC clear-CL:path-NOM
'he cleared the road in one day' (TAM:99)

(2574) *tjahɛ'rjỹ* *oje-'nã-da-ki*
elsewhere move-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to move to another place'

The adverb *tsiri'tsa* 'in the middle' will be discussed in (6.2.1.), and *txatxar-wa'te* 'just now' in (6.2.2.).

Although adverbs often precede the main verb, their position in the sentence is actually quite free:

(2575) *da'nỹ* *turwe-'he-da-ki*
still heal-NEG-1S-DEC
'I have not healed yet'

(2576) *e-'mũ* *'e-ki* *da'nỹ*
Ø-CL:liquid have-DECstill
'there is still liquid' (in the cigarette lighter)

(2577) *(txa'rwa)* *maga'riDa* *(txa'rwa)* *aniwesarjo-'dy-ki* *(txa'r wa)*
first Margarida first birthday-CAU-DEC first
'today Margarida had her birthday'[277]

Nevertheless, there are limitations. In the next example the adverb is embedded in a complement clause. Of the three logically possible positions, the position in which the adverb is separated by a clause boundary from the verb it modifies is not allowed:

(2578) *(*lato)* *u'te-da-mỹ* *(la'to)* *kukui'hỹ-da-nãi* *(la'to)*
yesterday tell-1S-VOL yesterday ill-1S-NOM yesterday
'I'm going to say that I was ill yesterday'

Sentences may contain multiple adverbs, and one of the adverbs may modify the other adverbs. In such constructions one adverb often modifies the verbal root of the subsequent adverb, as in (2579) and (2580), but this is not always the case, as in (2581):

277. The adverb can be placed in any alternative position in the sentence. The expression involving Benefactive/Causative *-dy-* must be a calque on Portuguese *fazer aniversário*, lit. 'make anniversary'.

(2579) *da'nỹ* *awe-'he-tsy-wy*
still rain-NEG-POT-time
'before the rain'[278]

(2580) *hako'ri* *duky-'wy* *si* *aniwesario-'dy-da-tsy-tse*
moon other-time I birthday-CAU-1S-POT-DEC
'the other (next) month I have ('make') birthday'

(2581) *txa'rwa* *hajediko're* *ka'we* *kui-'he* *txa*
first morning coffee drink-NEG tea

kui-'he-ỹ-ko're-da-ki
drink-NEG-ATT-DR:matutinal-1S-DEC
'this morning I (morning-)drank nor tea nor coffee'

As said in the introduction, adverbs are often productively zero-verbalised and occur as roots of matrix predicates, nominalised verbs, etc.:

(2582) *'ãi-ki*
far-DEC
'it is far'

(2583) *ãi-'hỹ-da-ki*
far-NOM-1S-DEC
'I was far away'

(2584) *'ãi-ỹ-xy*
far-ATT-CL:house
'a house that is far'

(2585) *da'nỹ* *kẽ'wẽ* *a-'re*
still turtle exist-INT
'is the turtle still there?'

(2586) *da'nỹ-re* *kẽ'wẽ*
still-INT turtle
'is the turtle still there?'

Few cases were documented of medial clauses (see 8.3.) used as adverbials. The following example shows a medial clause marked for switch reference and based on an adverbial root:

(2587) *ha'ja-ỹ-si* *mĩu* *kui-da-da-'ta-da-ki*
day-ATT-SWR chicha drink-1S-1S-CSO-1S-DEC
'every day/always I drink chicha'

(2588) *na-'nãi-tja* *ha'ja-ỹ-si* *(ti-'nãi)* *are'ta-da-ki*
RED-like-CSO day-ATT-SWR what-NOM know-1S-DEC
'every day I understand better'

Note, however, that *ha'ja?ỹsi* is sometimes also pronounced as *ha'ja?ĩ'si* 'every day':

278. This is actually an adverbial clause, the structure of which will be discussed in (6.2.4.1.).

(2589) *na-'nãi-tja* *ha'ja?ĩsi* *'hudada-'ta-da-ki*
RED-like-CSO every.day speak-TRA-1S-DEC
'every day I speak with him (in order to teach him)'

On one occasion this was explicitly reported to be the correct pronunciation. Furthermore, a similar expression involving *hakuri* 'moon, month' was considered to be children's speech: *hakuri?ĩsi* 'every month'. Possibly *haja?ĩsi* is a lexicalising variant of *haja?ỹi*.

Not all adverbs have the same properties. The adverbs *hary'ky* 'now', *ĩ* 'idly', *txa'rwa* 'first' and most of list (2547) were never attested with verbal morphology. Many adverbs have relatively ideosyncratic properties. The adverb *kale* 'actually', which contradicts presuppositions, is often combined with a matrix verb ending in the resignation morpheme *-tsy*:

(2590) *ka'le* *'ɛ-tsy-hỹ-tsy*
actually go-GER-NOM-RES
'actually (he did not sleep here but) he went away'

(2591) *ka'le* *na-ay-'hỹ* *mã-a-ra'ti-tsy* *ka'le* *kwa'za-ta*
actually PROX-that-NOM call-1P-FOC-RES actually Kwaza-CSO
'it is actually him which (the Aikanã) call Kwaza'

In the next example *kale* probably modifies the entire proposition rather than the single predicate:

(2592) *ka'le* *hɛin* *ỹ'nỹ-da-hỹ-tsy*
actually Hein be.called-1S-NOM-RES
'(I'm known as Henrique, but) actually I'm called Hein'

The emphatic element *elele* 'very' functions as an intensifying adverb in combination with a preceding nominal:

(2593) *na-ay-xu'ko* *ele'le* *'a-ki*
PROX-that-SETT very exist-DEC
'he lives in the same place'

(2594) *e'tay* *ele'le*
women very
'just the women' (t)

(2595) *'si-dy-hỹ* *ele'le*
I-POS-NOM very
'only mine, my very ones (and not someone else's)'

In addition to its function as an emphatic adverb, *elele* also functions as a numeral element (see 4.5.), which is probably a derived function.

The interrogative adverb *tsũhũ* 'what?' can with just as much right be considered as a noun, verb or adverb. It is often zero-verbalised and used for a matrix verb:

(2596) *tsũ'hũ-xa-re*
what-2-INT
'what do you want?', 'what happened to you?'

It is often case marked as if it were a noun:

(2597) *tsũhũ-'du*
what-BER
'what for?'

(2598) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-wã jari'mã ja-'re*
what-FOC-AO jarimã say-INT
'what does "*jarimã*" mean?'

It may occur as the basis of a noun modifier:

(2599) *tsũhũ-ra'ti mani'ni ja-da-'re=jã-hỹ*
what-FOC fish eat-1S-INT=be-NOM
'I don't know what kind of fish I ate'

In the following example it may be difficult to establish whether it has to be interpreted as an adverb, a verb argument, or a complement:

(2600) *tsũ'hũ põrɛ̃'jã-xa-re*
what speak-2-INT
'what are you saying?'

The adverbs are quite a heterogenous category. The element *haryky* 'now' has another, possibly derived meaning of indicating a hesitation or a pause in one's speech, without wanting to pass one's turn of speech on to someone else. It is also discussed in (7.7.4.).

In the next example the canonical adverb *ãi* 'far' occurs twice:

(2601) *'tana ãi hã du'ky-mũ-na ãi o'ja-xa-tsy-tse*
well far water other-CL:liquid-LOC far go-2-POT-DEC
'therefore you are going to another river far from here' (t)

It is unclear whether the first occurrence of *ãi* is topicalised here and repeated later, or whether it functions as an adjective modifying the subsequent locative phrase.

There is one adverbial root in (2547) that is always followed by productive morphology, but that is never used in another way than adverbial: *bony-* 'next, again'. In the following examples it bears the nominalising suffix *-hỹ*, although it functions as an adverb:

(2602) *bony-'hỹ tsa'si-xa-tsy-tse*
again-NOM follow-2-POT-DEC
'you will come next (I'm already going)'

(2603) *kui-'he-da-ki* *bony-'hỹ* *kui-da-ta'ra-tse*
drink-NEG-1S-DEC again-NOM drink-1S-PROC-DEC
'I did not drink, later I will'

In the subsequent examples, it bears the adverbialising suffix *-wy*:

(2604) *bony-'wy* *ja-da-tara-'tse*
again-time eat-1S-PROC-DEC
'next time I will come to eat there (not now)'

(2605) *bony-'wy* *wa'ja-da-tsy-tse*
again-time bring-1S-POT-DEC
'I will take her there later (not now)'

The root *bony-* was never encountered with any other suffixes replacing *-hỹ* or *-wy*. The difference with the attributive root *duky-* 'other' concerns precisely this property. The form *duky'wy* 'another time, on another day' is used as an adverb, but when *-wy* is replaced by *-hỹ* it functions as a noun. Furthermore, *-hỹ* can be replaced by any other classifier. Therefore, *duky'wy* is the result of productive adverbialising morphology, which is discussed in (6.2.4.), whereas *bonywy* is based on a special adverbial root and hence, discussed in the present section.

There is no general semantic distinction between the first (2546) and the second (2547) list of adverbs. Semantically defined groupings of adverbs such as manner, time and evidential, may consist in both etymologically simplex and complex lexemes. Adverbs referring to time of the day, for example, are found in both lists. Besides these, there is a small number of time of the day adverbs which are even formed through relatively productive morphological operations:

(2606) *haja'jadyko're* 'tomorrow morning'
lato'wy 'the day before yesterday'
hakore'wy 'the day after tomorrow'
(*sile'ta* 'afternoon', 'at dusk', 'at night')
tsiri'tsanã'wã 'midnight'

The adverb *hakore* 'tomorrow' in list (2546) may consist originally of the empty root *a-* and the directional *-kore-* 'matutinal, of the morning' but if it were a productive formation, the initial "*h*" would not be expected. The adverb *hajadykore* 'this morning' in list (2547) may consist originally of the adverb *haja* followed by the possessive morpheme *-dy-* as if it were a noun, and the directional *-kore-* 'matutinal' as if that were a classifier. However, this is also a morphologically unexpected constellation. Partial reduplication as observed in *haja'jadyko're* 'tomorrow early' in list (2606) is discussed in (6.2.2.) as a separate morphological process in adverb formation.

The adverb *tsiri'tsanã'wã* ‘midnight’ consists of an irregularly formed adverb based on the combination of a directional as discussed in (6.2.1.) and a classifier as discussed in (6.2.3.):

(2607) *tsiri'tsa-nãwã*
middle-CL:sky
‘midnight’

The adverb *sileta* ‘afternoon’ is possibly based on a verb root *sile-* ‘be night’, which does not occur as an independent lexeme itself.

(2608) *tsile'ta* *wai'rjỹ-ki*
afternoon nice.weather-DEC
‘it is a beautiful afternoon’

It seems unlikely that the element *-ta* can be analysed further. However, the occurrence of a different subject marker *-dy-* in the following rare example reminds of a cosubordinated clause (8.3.):

(2609) *si'le-dy-ta* *wã'wỹi-ki*
night-DS-CSO sleep-DEC
‘he slept in the afternoon’

In this example, both verbs have different subjects and the literal meaning could be ‘as it got night he slept’. However the free translation refers to the time of the afternoon. The fact that medial clauses may sometimes have an adverbial function was attested in (2587). In combination with the free translation ‘afternoon’, example (2609) suggests that the element *-ta* in *sile'ta* could be a cosubordinative morpheme. However, the different subject marker is unexpectedly absent in the next example:

(2610) *sile'ta* *wã'wỹi-da-ki*
afternoon sleep-1S-DEC
‘I slept in the afternoon’

Furthermore, *sileta* ‘afternoon’ may be embedded in a medial clause itself, as in example (3437) in section (8.2.2.3). Because of this I regard it primarily as an adverb, be it possibly with lexicalised morphology that sometimes betrays its origin.

The adverbs *latowy* ‘the day before yesterday’ and *hakore'wy* ‘the day after tomorrow’ are the semantically unpredictable result of an otherwise productive morphological operation, which is discussed in (6.2.4.1.).

Adverbs of direction and location form a semantically definable sub-group of adverbs. These adverbs are usually formed through the combination of an empty root *a-* and a directional morpheme (see 5.3.). Because these adverbs are

the result of productive morphology, they will be discussed below in the section on adverbial morphology (6.2.).

6.2. Adverbial morphology

There is a number of morphological ways through which adverbs can be formed and modified more or less productively. In the present section I will in succession discuss the combination of the empty adverbial root *a-* with directional morphemes (6.2.1.), reduplication (6.2.2.), zero-marked category change (6.2.3.), and specific adverbial and adverbialising affixes (6.2.4.).

6.2.1. The adverb formative root a-

An important operation is the attachment of a directional morpheme to the empty adverbial root *a-*. The result is a directional or locative adverb. As was noted in (5.3.2.), this operation is quite similar to the formation of nouns by attachment of classifiers to the empty nominal stem *e-*, which was discussed in (4.2.1.11.). As an example, a verb root like *oce-* 'throw' can be extended by the directional morpheme *-toto-* 'upward': *oce-toto-da-mỹ* 'I'll throw it up in the air'. The same directional can be turned in an adverb in combination with the empty stem *a-*:

(2611) *a-to'to*
Ø-DR:upward
'upward, over, on top'

The next example shows the use of the directional *-nõwẽ-* 'upstream' in an adverbial construction:

(2612) *a-nõ'wẽ mũi-'ra*
Ø-DR:upstream submerge-IMP
'fetch water upstream!'

So far, most directionals presented in (5.3.) were also attested as adverbs in the way described above. These adverbs have the same properties as the adverbs described in the preceding section (6.1.). This is illustrated by the following examples involving the directional *-karwɛ* 'away, over there, close by':

(2613) *eje-ka'rwɛ-da-ki*
move-DR:away-1S-DEC
'I moved away (not far)'

(2614) *a-ka'rwɛ 'a-ki*
Ø-DR:away exist-DEC
'he lives close by'

(2615) *a-ka'rwɛ-ki*
Ø-DR:away-DEC
'it is a bit (more) over there'

(2616) *a-ka'rwɛ-ỹ-nwỹ*
Ø-DR:away-ATT-CL:tree
'the tree a bit (more) over there'

Similar productive series of examples involving directionals are given in section (5.3.) and the vocabulary in part (III).

Some directionals occur also in less productive adverb formations. The directional morpheme *-ritsa-* 'outside' occurs besides in the directional adverb *aritsa* 'outside' also in the locative adverb *tsiritsa* 'in the middle'. The element *tsi-* occurs as a root element in several verbs involving the notion 'step, stand, tread', but quite lexicalised, and, except for *tsiritsa*, not as an adverb.[279]

(2617) *tsi'ritsa 'bu-kja-da-ki*
middle put-DR:length-1S-DEC
'I lay down in the middle'

As noted in (5.3.), some verb roots occur as a second member in verb compound constructions and may function as directionals, e.g the verb root *kwɛ-* 'enter' and *terja-* 'slide downstream'. The use of these roots as directionals is productive, and consequently they may also occur as directionals to form adverbs with the empty root *a-*:

(2618) *'kwɛ-da-mỹ a'xy-na 'a-kwɛ 'cu=tsicɛ-da-mỹ*
enter-1S-VOL house-LOC Ø-enter step=pile-1S-VOL
'I'm going to enter the house, I will put (the broom) inside'

(2619) *a-te'rja haha-'ra*
Ø-downstream wash-IMP
'wash it downstream!'

Not only directional elements are attached to the empty adverbial root *a-*. The attributive root *haka-* 'old' may be originally of verbal nature (see 4.3.2.2.), but it occurs always as a classified noun. The word *hakai* 'grandparent, old person' may be etymologically related. Whatever the grammatical status of *haka-*, it can be encountered inside of an adverb beginning with the empty root *a-* and terminated by a suffix that probably originates from the instrumental nominaliser *-te*:

279. The element *-tsa-* occurs also as part of another directional *-katsa-* 'in the middle of the road', but it is not clear whether *bukatsate* 'sitting in the middle of the road' as attested in the story about the toad in part (II) represents a noun or an adverb. Other occurrences of *-tsa-* have nothing to do with any part of this notion.

(2620) *a-ha'kate* *a-'wy*
Ø-ancient exist-time
'in olden times' (t)

In (4.2.1.5.) the possibility of extending (directional) adverbs with classifiers was mentioned. Such adverbs terminated by classifiers often behave as nouns:

(2621) *tsiritsa-tu-'na* *cu'cu-ki*
middle-CL:back-LOC walk-DEC
'he is walking in the middle of the slope'

(2622) *?*tsiritsa-tu* *cucu-ki*
middle-CL:back walk-DEC
'the middle of the slope is walking'

In example (2621) the adverb *tsiritsa* is followed by the classifier *-tu-* and subsequently by the locative case marker *-na*. Example (2622) is anomalous precisely because the classified adverb is interpreted as a noun. The following classified *a-* initial adverbs can hardly be imagined to have anything else but a nominal interpretation:

(2623) *a-'tatsitswa-kai*
Ø-DR:under-CL:leg
'calf'

(2624) *a-haka'te-tay*
Ø-ancient-CL:woman
'a woman from olden times' (t)

Nevertheless, classified adverbs were also attested to maintain their adverbial nature, as is suggested by the following examples:

(2625) *a-toto-'xy* *aru'nja-leja* *'ta-dy-ta*
Ø-DR:upward-CL:house leave-2O.FUT talk-DS-CSO
'"I will put you up in the attic", she said' (t)

(2626) *a-toto-'xy* *'bu-dwa-ki*
Ø-DR:upward-CL:house put-DR:onto-DEC
'(the parrot) is sitting on top of the house'

Note that adverbs can apparently function as nouns sometimes even without classifiers. The locative case marker *-na* in the following example suggests that the adverb *asilona* 'corner of the house', which is based on the directional *-silona-* 'corner of the house' is interpreted as a noun:

(2627) *a-silona-'na* *a'sa-da-ki* *hetsy'se*
Ø-DR:corner-LOC leave-1S-DEC broom
'I left the broom in a corner'

Some directionals were only attested with the prefixed empty root *a-* when followed by a subsequent classifier. It is not always clear whether the result is a noun or an adverb. In the following example, the locative case marker *-na* is evidence for the nominal status of *aratsamũ* 'on the bottom of the river:

(2628) *a-ratsa-mũ-'na* *tsũrũnũ'nĩ* *'a-ki*
Ø-DR:under-CL:liquid-LOC sand exist-DEC
'there is sand on the bottom of the river'

In another word order, however, the (optional?) absence of *-na* suggests it may be interpreted as an adverb:

(2629) *tsũrũnũ'nĩ* *'a-ki* *a-ratsa-'mũ(-na)*
sand exist-DEC Ø-DR:under-CL:liquid-LOC
'there is sand at the bottom of the river'

There is even a verb root *tewe-* 'slant, slide down', which was encountered with the prefixed empty adverbial root *a-* only if followed by the classifier *-tu-* 'shoulder, back':

(2630) *a-tewe-'tu*
Ø-slant-CL:back
'slope from one side of the hill over the top down the other side'

Because *atewe-* of example (2630) is not attested without *-tu*, the combination can be treated as lexicalised. *tewe'tu* itself is a noun that means 'slope, hillside' and *atewe'tu*, which means something like 'down the slope' can either be used as a noun or as an adverb:

(2631) *a-tewe-'tu* *'a-da-ki*
Ø-slant-CL:back exist-1S-DEC
'I live down there at the bottom of the slope'

(2632) *a-tewe-'tu-na* *'a-da-ki*
Ø-slant-CL:back-LOC exist-1S-DEC
'I live on a slope'

Adverbial use of a bare verb root without classifiers, directionals or the empty prefix *a-* was also attested, e.g. the verb root *takaisa-* 'traverse, divide'. Furthermore, some bare nouns have been attested to function as adverbs too, e.g. *te'ja* '(opposite) side of a place (river, settlement, road)'. Both are discussed in (6.2.3.).

In the above it was shown how adverbs may be formed productively by the semantically void root *a-*. The other components may be bound directional morphemes, classifiers, verb roots and even nouns. It was furthermore shown

how adverbs without initial *a-* may also involve the same components. The fact that morphologically unmarked category-changing operations are quite productive only adds up to the possibilities. There are situations in which it is very difficult to determine what the primal grammatical category of a certain lexical root is, which greatly complicates the establishment of rules for adverb formation and use.

Let me finally address the status of the semantically empty adverbial root *a-* itself. It was noted in (5.3.2.) and (4.2.1.11.) that there was a parallel between the empty nominal root *e-* and the empty adverbial root *a-*. Classifiers can be attached to *e-* in order to form independent nouns, and directionals can be attached to *a-* in order to form independent adverbs. Both *e-* and *a-* are homophonous with basic verb roots, to wit *e-* 'have' and *a-* 'exist, live, remain, be born' respectively. However, the *e-* and *a-* roots diverge with respect to their distributional properties. Of the *e-* roots the distribution is practically complementary, since the empty root cannot be used with the sense of 'have' and since the classifier cannot represent an incorporated object of the verb root 'to have'. Compare the following two examples:[280]

(2633) *e-'tay-da-ki*
Ø-CL:woman-1S-DEC
'I'm a woman' (*'I have a woman')

(2634) *e-'tay* *'e-da-ki*
Ø-CL:woman have-1S-DEC
'I have a woman'

The distributional distinction between the two *a-* roots is not that clear. Consequently, the *a-* root is sometimes ambiguous. In example (2635) *a-* seems easily identifiable as the empty adverbial root:

(2635) *a-ri'tsa* *a'wỹi-da-ki* *coha-si'ki*
Ø-DR:outside see-1S-DEC foot-CL:skin
'I saw a shoe outside' (S outside (looking in))[281]

Earlier on, we have seen how adverbs can be zero-verbalised, and the result can be a matrix sentence:

(2636) *a-ri'tsa-ki*
Ø-DR:outside-DEC
'he/it is outside'

However, one could claim also that (2636) should be analysed in the following manner:

280.Note that these two examples were created by myself.
281.order 213 or any other also allowed

(2637) *a-ri'tsa-ki*
exist-DR:outside-DEC
'he/it is outside'

Such an analysis becomes even more plausible when it is confirmed by the free translation given by the consultant:

(2638) *a-toto-'mũ-wa-ki*
exist-DR:upward-CL:liquid-IS-DEC
'they live along the river'

Fortunately for the present analysis, both *a-* roots can usually be kept distinct on structural and semantic grounds.

6.2.2. Reduplication in adverbs

Adverbs can be extended by full repetition of the adverbial root (see also 7.3.1.). The semantic effect is emphasis or intensification of the meaning original adverb:

(2639) *wa'txi* *zjwãu* *hy'ja-re*
true João fall-INT
'has João really fallen?'

(2640) *watxi-wa'txi* *ãwỹi-'ra*
true-true see-IMP
'aim right!', 'look well!'

Reduplication of an adverb can also have a repetitive effect:

(2641) *haja-ha'ja*
day-day
'every day'

This is not possible with similar temporal adverbs: **hakorehakore*.

Partial reduplication of the adverb *txarwa* 'first, now, today' may go together with the intensifying suffix *-te*. Compare the following examples:

(2642) *txa'rwa* *'a-da-hỹ-ki* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko*
first exist-1S-NOM-DEC this-NOM-LOC
'I'm living here now'

(2643) *txatxarwa-'te* *hã'rã-ki* *atxi'txi* *anũ-'nãi*
RED.first-INTENS stop-DEC maize plant-NOM
'he's just stopped planting maize'

The suffix *-te*, which can be reduplicated itself, is discussed further down below. The partial reduplication in *haja'jadyko're* 'tomorrow early' was discussed under (2606).

Some adverbs were only attested in a partially reduplicated form, such as *harehareja'wyle* '(only) after a (long) time' or 'just a little while later':

(2644) *sa'mweu* *aha-tja'te-dnỹ* *'a=a-ta*
Samuel father-3POS-COMIT exist=exist-CSO

harehareja'wyle *axe-'rjỹ-tse*
long.while find-CD:area-DEC
'Samuel lived together with his parents until he found a place of his own'

The root of this adverb *harejawy*, in which the suffix *-wy* 'time' can be discerned, was translated by the consultant as 'late, slow, belated, retarded' but it was not considered as an independent word. However, the element *-le*, which probably means 'only, just' here, was omitted in one instance, and the reduplication involved an even smaller part of the root:

(2645) *harereja'wy* *tsa'si-ki*
long.while follow-DEC
'it took him long to come', 'he is the last one'

6.2.3. Other categories used as adverbs

For other categories to function as adverbs, specific morphological operations are usually required. As is demonstrated elsewhere (4.4.9.), the possibilities of zero-derivation in Kwaza allow for many lexical roots to be ambiguous with regard to their grammatical category. However, there is only a very small number of adverbs which are ambiguous in this respect. Some words used as adverbs may actually be nouns, for example because they end in a classifier. Other words used as adverbs may be uninflected verb roots but their original status is difficult to prove.

Some bare nouns have been attested to function as adverbs, e.g. *teja* '(opposite) side of a place (river, settlement, road)':

(2646) *'si-dy-hỹ* *te'ja*
I-POS-NOM side
'my side'

(2647) *na-ay-xu'ko* *te'ja* *'a-ki*
PROX-that-SETT side exist-DEC
'he lives on the same side of the river'

(2648) *'kapitãu 'peDro te'ja oja-'nã-da-ki*
Capitão Pedro side go-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm going to Captain Pedro's side'

(2649) *tsi'cwa-a-xa-a-xa-hỹ-ki Ba'hoso te'ja*
begin-1P-AS-1P-AS-NOM-DEC Barroso side
'we started on the side/part/region of Barroso' (t)

If *teja* would function as a locative satellite, it would have been marked with the locative morpheme *-na*. As this is not the case, and because *teja* is clearly not an argument of the verb, its function may be considered as adverbial in these examples.

The noun *kohỹtɛ* 'thing without (something)' is a classified nominalisation of the verb root *ko-* 'to be without (something)'. It is regarded as a noun in the present analysis, but in the following construction it may be regarded as having both a nominal argument function and an adverbial modification function:

(2650) *wa'txi ko-hỹ-'tɛ kui-'nã-tsy-re*
true without-NOM-NOM drink-FUT-GER-INT
'is he really going to drink (coffee) without (sugar)?'

In the next example there is no doubt that *kohỹtɛ* functions as an adverb, or, rather, the head of an adverbial clause:

(2651) *ma'telu ko-hỹ-'tɛ hu'hui-da-ki*
hammer without-NOM-NOM beat-1S-DEC
'I hit him without a hammer'

The adverbial in (2651) has a negative instrumental sense, and cannot be interpreted as an argument in the form of a relative clause, like 'I hit him who was without a hammer'.

Although the origin of the root of the apparent adverb *dako'ro* 'left' is unclear, its extension *-koro* 'arm' is otherwise a productive classifier. The proper use of this adverb is not well documented, but the following example shows that it cannot function as an adjective, though other nouns normally do:

(2652) **dako'ro e'cũi*
left eye
'left eye'

Other adverbs ending in classifiers are based on nominal roots but they contain directionals such as *-rja-* 'rim' (see 5.3.3.) in the following examples:

(2653) *mãreri'tsa* *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki* *xyi-dy-rja-'xy*
human see-1S-NOM-DEC you-POS-DC:rim-CL:house
'I saw someone behind your house'

(2654) *ywynwỹ-rja-'nwỹ* *ho'ñẽ-tse* / *ho'ñe-ki* *ywynwỹ-rja-'nwỹ*
tree-DC:rim-CL:tree hide-DEC / hide-DEC tree-DC:rim-CL:tree
'he hid himself behind a tree'

If these nouns would not function as adverbs, but as locative arguments of the verb, they would have been marked with locative case. These adverbs do not differ structurally from those discussed in (6.2.1.), which are based on the empty adverbial root *a-* and which contain directionals and which end in a classifier, such as e.g. (2625).

Demonstratives and question roots ending in the classifier *-rjỹ* 'area' are considered as nouns in the present analysis.[282] Although they often function as locative objects, they do not usually bear the corresponding locative or instrumental case marker. Hence, their use can be considered as adverbial:

(2655) *(ja-)ỹ-'rjỹ* *oja-'ra*
DIST-this-CD:area go-IMP
'you have to go there!'

(2656) *ti-'rjỹ* *ɛ-'nã-xa-re* *Ba'hoso-na* *ɛ-'nã-da-ki*
what-CD:area go-FUT-2-INT Barroso-LOC go-FUT-1S-DEC
Q: 'where are you going?' A: 'I'm going to Barroso'

Some instances were attested where other constructions terminated by *-rjỹ* did not allow the locative case either.

(2657) *ze'zĩju-dy-rjỹ(*-nã)* *co-'hỹa-'ki* *kuraku'ra*
Zezinho-POS-CD:area(-LOC) many-NOM exist-DECchicken
'there are many chickens at Zezinho's'

Nevertheless, similar instances were attested in (4.6.3.) where the locative case marker was allowed.

Also demonstratives ending in *-(xu)ko* may function as adverbs (see the examples in 4.6.3.).

Because independent stems of whatever categorial status can be easily zero-verbalised, it is not entirely certain whether the adverbs discussed in the following are originally verb roots or whether their possible use as verb roots is the result of productive verbalisation. The root of the verb *habui-ki* 'it is outside of the house' is used as an adverb in the following example:

282. The hypothesis that these words are nouns is corroborated by many data presented in section (4.6.) on demonstratives and section (4.2.) on classifiers.

(2658) *'hetsyse 'cu=tsicɛ-ra ha'bui*
broom step=pile-IMP outside
'put the broom outside!'

(2659) *ha'bui a'wỹi-da-ki coha-si'ki*
outside see-1S-DEC foot-CL:skin
'I saw a shoe outside' (neutral as to position of S, cf. (2635))[283]

A similar dilemma exists for the adverb or verb root *tja?a'tje* 'close'. The following examples show its use respectively as a verb stem, as a nominalised attributivisation, as an adverbial modifier of the verbal stem of a noun and as an adverb:

(2660) *tja?a'tje-tse*
close-DEC
'it is close (to arrival)'

(2661) *tja?a'tje-ỹ-hỹ*
close-ATT-NOM
'the one close by'

(2662) *tja?a'tje 'a-wa-hỹ*
close exist-IS-NOM
'the one living close by'

(2663) *tja?a'tje ba-'ta-ta-ki*
close clear-TRA-1O-DEC
'he was clearing brush close to me'

The root *txu'hũi* 'little' is interpretable in even more ways. It is encountered as a verbal root:

(2664) *txu'hũi-tse* (**txu'hũiki*)
little-DEC
'there is little'

(2665) *'kui-da-hỹ txu'hũi-tse*
drink-1S-NOM little-DEC
'I drank little'

(2666) *txu'hũi-ỹ-ki*
little-ATT-DEC
'it is small, tight'

(2667) *txu'hũi-ỹ-nũ*
little-ATT-CL:powder
'grain of sand'

(2668) *txuhũi-'mũ-ỹ-ki*
little-CL:liquid-ATT-DEC
'The river is narrow'

(2669) *txuhũi-kuty-'tɛ*
little-CL:head-NOM
'small gas flask'

However, it can also be considered as an adverb:

(2670) *txu'hũi hũ'nũ-tse*
little scorch-DEC
'the food burnt (just) a little'[284]

283. The order 213 or any other order is also allowed.
284. Cf. *txuhũi* in an adverbial clause equivalent of this example in (8.2.4.).

(2671) *txu'hũi* *bare-'nỹ-da-mỹ*
little heat-REF-1S-VOL
'I'm going to warm up a bit'

(2672) *ka'tsy* *txu'hũi* *'ja-tse*
soon little eat-DEC
'quickly, he ate a little'

(2673) *'ja-da-mỹ* *txu'hũi*
eat-1S-VOL little
'I'm going to eat a little'

(2674) *hyhy'rwa-da-mỹ* *ka'tsy*
move-1S-VOL soon
'I want to walk soon'

So it is not entirely clear whether *txuhũi* 'little' is a verb root or an adverb. Apparently it may occur as a second element in a verb compound:

(2675) *wai=txu'hũi-tse*
good=little-DEC
'it got a little better'

(2676) *nỹ-hỹ=txu'hũi-tse*
big-NOM=little-DEC
'it is somewhat big'

(2677) *tyka?o=txu'hũi-tara-mỹ*
visit=little-PROC-VOL
'I'm going to visit people a little'

(2678) *huhui=a'sa=txuhũi*
kill=leave=little
'nearly killed (him)'

Although compounds in Kwaza usually only involve verb stems, this seems a rather illegitimate criterion for regarding *txuhũi* as a verb root, since *txuhũi* is also attested as a noun modifier in a construction that is probably a nominal compound:

(2679) *jerexwa=txu'hũi* vs. *jere'xwa-tohoi*
jaguar=little jaguar-CL:child
'cat, little dog' 'jaguar kitten'

(2680) *'si-dy-hỹ* *itsosisi=txu'hũi*
I-POS-NOM cord=little
'my piece of rope'

Canonical verb compounding in Kwaza may create serial verb-like constructions (see 7.4.1.). Depending on the semantic contents of the verb roots involved, compounding can have an adverbial effect. In the following examples, the first element in the compound is the attributive verbal root *darje-* 'to be strong, quick':

(2681) *darje=hyhy'rwa-ki*
strong=move-DEC
'he is walking fast'

(2682) *da'rje=ja-ra*
strong=eat-IMP
'eat quickly'

However, note that *darje-* may also be used as an adverb:

(2683) *hyhy'rwa-da-mỹ* *darje*
move-1S-VOL strong
'I want to walk fast'

In the present analysis, *darje-* is regarded as compounded because it also occurs as a single inflected verb root, and because no distributional variation as as wide as with *txuhũi* was observed, like in (2680).

The verb root *takaisa-* 'traverse, divide' was also encountered as an adverb:

(2684) *ze'zĩju* *ũtɛ'ja* *takai'sa* *'a-ki*
Zezinho side traverse exist-DEC
'Zezinho lives on the other side of the river'

(2685) *aruu-'nã-da-ki* *ũtɛ'ja* *takai'sa*
cross-FUT-1S-DEC side traverse
'I'm going to cross to the other side'

One could argue that *takaisa-* is the first element of a verbal compound in (2684), but this is impossible in (2685). In both examples it could be the second element in a compound with the noun *ũtɛja* '(opposite) side of an object (head, body, house)'. However, noun-verb compounds are very rare, if they exist at all.

The verb stem *acwadyhỹ-* 'to force (someone to do something)' looks as if it contains bound morphemes. Indeed, the element *-dy-* is causative and can be preceded by reflexive *-nỹ-*, if necessary. However, the nominaliser *-hỹ-* is obligatory and the root does not occur as a verb stem itself: **acwa-ki*. In order to modify the matrix verb in a complete sentence *acwadyhỹ-* does usually not occur as a subordinate clause, but it is simply not inflected, and acts as an adverb:

(2686) *zjwãu samwe-'wã* *a'cwadyhỹ* *mũi-'dy-ki*
João Samuel-AO force submerge-CAU-DEC
'João forces Samuel to fetch water'

(2687) *acwa'nỹdyhỹ* *'mũi-da-ki*
force.REF submerge-1S-DEC
'I'm fetching water under coercion'

It is hard to say whether *acwadyhỹ* in this construction is a noun, an adverb or a compounded verb root.

6.2.4. Adverbial affixes

In section (6.2.3.) we have seen how nouns ending in classifiers may function as adverbs. Classifiers are not considered as adverbialisers because their adverbial function is very marginal in comparison to their nominal function. Other morphemes have a more predominantly adverbialising function.

6.2.4.1. Temporal adverbialisation/nominalisation *-wy*

The suffix *-wy* has a wide range of applications. It is often found in single temporal adverbs, such as *ti'wy* 'when?' (compare to *ti'rjỹ* 'where?'), *bony'wy* 'at the next time' (compare to *bony'hỹ* 'again'), *duky'wy* 'another time' (compare to *duky'hỹ* 'another one') and borrowed adverbs like:

(2688) *segunDafera-'wy*
Monday-time
'next Monday'[285]

The suffix *-wy* replaces a nominaliser or a classifier in a number of positions and has a temporal adverbial meaning and function.

(2689) *ay-'wy da'nỹ a-'he-da-day-hỹ-ki*
that-time still exist-NEG-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'at that time I was not living here'

(2690) *na-ay-'wy o'nɛ-da-day-nãi unỹnãi-'he-tse*
PROX-that-time arrive-1S-1S-NOM a.while-NEG-DEC
'I arrived shortly ago' (lit. 'that time I arrived didn't take long')

(2691) *da'nỹ onɛ=buru-'he-a-xa-wy o'ja-tse*
still arrive=pass-NEG-1P-AS-time leave-DEC
'he left before we arrived' (t)

The result of the application of *-wy* may be nominal and may function as an argument and as a modifier of another noun:

(2692) *ka'we 'kui-e-a-tsy-wy ace'rjỹ-ki*
coffee drink-again-1P-POT-time close-DEC
'coffee-time is arriving'

285.POR: *se'gunda 'feira* 'Monday'

Juxtaposition of temporal adverbs yields a nominal modifying construction:

(2693) *txarwa-'wy o'kja-da-wy*
first-time hunt-1S-time
'the first day I hunted'

Such a construction may function as a complex and fully inflected adverbial clause:

(2694) *ay-'wy tsũ-tsy-'wy ui 'hu-da-ki*
that-time swim-GER-time tobacco smoke-1S-DEC
'the moment he was swimming I smoked'

(2695) *ay-'wy tsũ-da-'wy ui 'hu-xa-ki*
that-time swim-1S-time tobacco smoke-2-DEC
'at the time I swam you smoked'

Still, the phrase ending in *-wy* may be inflected for instrumental case:

(2696) *hako'ri duky-'tõi ũi-e-'nã-tsy-wy-ko*
moon other-CL:eye lie-again-FUT-GER-time-INS
'in the next month when it will be new moon'

The phrase ending in *-wy* may be zero-verbalised again and function as a verb stem:

(2697) *txa'rwa mani'ni 'ja-a-wy-ki*
first fish eat-1P-time-DEC
'today is the day that only fish is eaten (Good Friday)'

(2698) *toma-'nã-da-wy-ki*
bathe-FUT-1S-time-DEC
'it is time for me to take a bath'

There is a construction involving *-wy* in which person marking occurs after zero-verbalisation. This is more or less idiomatic and has the sense of doing something on the sly:

(2699) *hãtsũ-'wy-da-ki*
skin-time-1S-DEC
'while he is skinning, I'm (going to take advantage, e.g. kill him)'

This construction originates probably from the ellipsis of a predicate stem and cliticisation of its inflexions to the temporal adverb.

Concluding, it appears that *-wy* creates stems which, although they usually function as adverbs, retain a number of characteristic morphological properties of nouns. Temporal adverbial clauses created by *-wy* are discussed in section (8.2.5.).

There is an application of *-wy*, which does not seem to have any nominal properties. In example (2579), *danỹ* is embedded in a negative temporal clause with the literal sense of 'at the time of not yet'. This construction is used to express the notion of 'before'. Another way to express this notion is through the combination of *-wy* with the empty adverbial root *a-*[286] in a slightly different construction:

(2700) *a-'wy 'ja-xa-he-wy kui-tõi-'ra*
Ø-time eat-2-NEG-time drink-CL:eye-IMP
'take the medicine before you eat!'

(2701) *'a-wy 'towari-tsi*
Ø-time die-MON
'before he dies'

(2702) *a-'wy o'ja-da-he-wy*
Ø-time leave-1S-NEG-time
'before I go'

Note with reference to the latter example that the negative morpheme is in a different position than in example (2827/3404), where *danỹ* is used.[287] Like *danỹ*, the adverb *awy* can also be used with the sense of 'yet', but the construction in which it occurs is quite different. Compare the next examples:

(2703) *a-'wy ja-'tsi*
Ø-time eat-MON
'before he eats'

(2704) *a-'wy 'ja-xa-tsi*
Ø-time eat-2-MON
'don't eat yet!'

(2705) *da'nỹ ja-he-'ky*
still eat-NEG-NEI
'don't eat yet!'

For the use of the monitory see (5.2.9.).

286. And probably not the verb root *a-* 'to exist, live, be born', since this would have main word stress in a different position: *'a-wy* 'at the time he is there (home)', 'the day he started to live'. Example (2701) is an exception from a traditional song.

287. Note also that both in (2702) and (2700) the position of *-he-* is characteristic for countersupposition (see 7.1.1.), but it is not perfectly clear whether this is the right interpretation here.

6.2.4.2. General adverbial nominalisation *-nãi*

The nominalising suffix *-nãi* is productively applied to verbs or verb phrases and results in infinitive-like nouns or noun phrases. Such deverbal nominals ending in *-nãi* function predominantly as complements or arguments to a matrix verb (see 8.4.). Words ending in *-nãi* are also attested with an adverbial function.

The canonical nominal equivalent of *-nãi* is *-hỹ*, which may also nominalise verbs, but which results in relative clause-like arguments of a matrix verb. Words ending in *-hỹ* usually cannot be used as adverbials (but see 6.2.4.3.). The following examples demonstrate different uses of *-nãi* and *-hỹ*:

(2706) *'mangka co-'hỹ 'ja-da-ki*
mango many-NOM eat-1S-DEC
'I ate many mangoes'

(2707) *co-'nãi o'ho-(hỹ)-ki*
many-NOM cough-NOM-DEC
'he caughed a lot, often, many times' (t)

(2708) *ti-'hỹ ɛ-'re*
what-NOM go-INT
'which one (of them) went away?'

(2709) *ti-'nãi mã-'nỹ-xa-re*
what-NOM call-REF-2-INT
'what's your name?' (lit. 'how do you call self?')

In section (4.5.4.) the adverbial use of numeral roots was discussed:

(2710) *aky-'hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
two-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw two'

(2711) *a'ky-nãi 'do-da-ki*
two-NOM knock-1S-DEC
'I knocked twice'

The adverbial function of words ending in *-nãi* is not as prominent as their nominal functions. In the next example, *wainãi* 'being good' is structurally an argument of the verb *e-* 'have'.

(2712) *'wai-nãi 'e-re*
good-NOM have-INT
'does it (taste) good?'[288]

288. The literal reading is 'does it have goodness?'. The construction is idiomatic with a habitual connotation.

However, in the following examples, *wainãi* cannot be interpreted as an argument. It has an adverbial semantic value:

(2713) *wai-'nãi ehỹ-'ra*
good-NOM make-IMP
'do it right! (and don't mess around)'

(2714) *wai-'nãi tãtãi-'ra*
good-NOM pound-IMP
'beat it well!'

The connotation here is 'don't mess around, but hit it right' instead of 'hit the right one!'. It is not clear whether the variation in stress-placement is systematically related to a distinction between the different functions of *-nãi*.

Only a few other words ending in *-nãi* were attested to function as adverbs:

(2715) *nỹ-'nãi bɛ'bui-ki*
big-NOM blister-DEC
'a big blister developed'[289]

(2716) *nỹ-'nãi hadai'nĩ-ki*
big-NOM cut.self.by.accident-DEC
'by accident he cut himself severely'

As an adverb *nỹ'nãi* means 'very'. In some constructions (see 8.4.2.) it can be translated as 'much', as if it represents a mass noun:

(2717) *nỹ-'nãi ja-'ra*
big-NOM eat-IMP
'eat plenty!'

However, there is no proof that *nỹnãi* is a noun in (1717), since it does not seem to differ structurally from the previous examples.

The element *-nãi* is lexicalised in the verb root *unỹnãi-* 'to be a while, to last', and the element *unỹ-* as such does not normally occur as a root.[290] In spite of this, the root can be used as an adverb:

(2718) *ũnỹ'nãi o'ho-ki*
a.while cough-DEC
'he coughed for a long time' (t)

So although *unỹnãi* should be considered as the result of verbal inflexion ellipsis, the element *-nãi* still appears to possess some properties of the adverbial nominaliser *-nãi*.[291]

Some adverbs ending in *-nãi* have become fixed expressions, and function often as expletive particles:

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289. *bɛbui-* is a verbal root.

290. Although it may be etymologically related to the verb root *unã-* 'be long', and although in certain expressions other morphemes can intervene between *unỹ-* and *-nãi-*.

291. Unless *ũnỹnãi* represents the first member of a compounded verb construction.

(2719) *kukui-'nãi* *ja-'he-xa-hỹ-tsy*
hurt-NOM eat-NEG-2-NOM-RES
'my! you eat nothing!'

(2720) *wai-'nãi*
good-NOM
'damn it!' (you didn't listen to what I said)

(2721) *ati'ja-xa-re* *wai-'nãi*
fart-2-INT good-NOM
'what are you (PL) farting away here, damn you!'

(2722) *wai-'nãi* *tu'ru-xa-re*
good-NOM wake-2-INT
'good day to you!' (lit. 'you woke up well?')

A reported speech construction that is nominalised by *-nãi* is usually a complement to a verb of cognition, like other verb phrases ending in *-nãi*. Nevertheless, this construction has also been attested as an adverbial:

(2723) *ĩ'tsɛ̃-tsy-nãi* *kahɛ-'he-tse*
ĩtsɛ̃-GER-NOM bite-NEG-DEC
'when she calls it (the jaguar) *ĩtsɛ̃*, it will not bite'

(2724) *maga'riDa* *kat-tsy-'nãi* *'jãu-tsy-nãi-ki*
Margaida *kat*-GER-NOM cat-GER-NOM-DEC
'when Margarida says "*kat*" she is saying the word for 'cat''

Reported speech constructions which involve *-nãi* are dealt with in section (8.4.2.).

There is a suffix *-dynãi* 'language of', which may contain possessive *-dy-* and the (adverbial?) nominaliser *-nãi*. It is usually applied to nouns and it often relates to the way of speaking:

(2725) *aika'nã-dy-nãi* *areta-'he-da-ki*
Aikanã-POS-NOM know-NEG-1S-DEC
'I don't understand Aikanã'

(2726) *'ĩ-dy-nãi* *jãsi-'he-da-ki*
he-POS-NOM hear-NEG-1S-DEC
'I don't understand his language'

It is unclear whether the result is a noun or an adverb. If it is a noun, the literal translation of (2725) should be something like: 'I don't understand the way of the Aikanã'. This reminds of the possessive construction discussed in section

(4.3.1.), which involves the combination of the possessive suffix *-dy-* with the nominaliser/neutral classifier *-hỹ*. If it is an adverb, however, (2725) should be read as: 'I don't understand it like the Aikanã', and in that case, *-dynãi* cannot be analysed further. However, I have analysed the formal structure as nominal, firstly because it then also explains rare examples like (2727):

(2727) *ti-'nãi-hỹ* *de'da-dy-nãi* *ũce'nãi-xa-re*
what-NOM-NOM anaconda-POS-NOM know-2-INT
'you know that story about the snake?' (t)

Secondly, there is an exception to the requirement of *-dy-* in the 'language of' construction where it involves the pronoun *txana* 'we (inclusive)'. As explained in (4.7.2.), *txana-nãi* 'our language' is preferred to *txana-dynãi*. Interestingly, a similar phenomenon was encountered in the possessive construction with *-(dy)-hỹ* (see 4.3.1.).

In one instance the combination *-dynãi* was applied to a verb root:

(2728) *'tãi-dy-nãi* *hu'hui-da-ki*
hard-CAU-NOM beat-1S-DEC
'I hit him with force'

Here the element *-dy-* is probably no possessive, and it is neither likely that its combination with *-nãi* has the same value as in (2725) and (2726). Rather, *-dy-* should be regarded as causative: 'I hit him while providing force', and *-nãi* has turned the derived verb into a true adverb.

There is another combination of suffixes involving the element *-nãi*: *-nãixwa-* 'resemble, pretend, fake'. It may be applied to nouns as well as to verbs, and it is normally followed by person and mood marking.

(2729) *'kui-nãixwa-ki*
drink-SIMU-DEC
'he pretends to be drinking'

(2730) *jere'xwa-nãixwa-ki*
jaguar-SIMU-DEC
'he resembles a jaguar'

On one occasion it was attested without verb inflexion:

(2731) *hɛro-ri-'ra* *jere'xwa-nãixwa*
eat-CL:flat-IMP jaguar-SIMU
'lick the plate(s) like a dog!'

The word *jere'xwanãixwa* has clearly an adverbial function in this example, but it probably has to be regarded as the verb root of a medial clause (see 8.3.) of which cosubordinating inflexion has been omitted (see 7.5.1.). Neither has it been established whether *-nãi-* is related to the (adverbial) nominaliser, nor whether *-xwa-* is related to the classifier for 'man' (see 4.2.2.2.).

The combination of *-nãi* with the instrumental case marker *-ko* is a rather productive way to create adverbials, be it with an explanatory connotation. It should be considered as resulting in an adverbial clause:

(2732) *ɛ-nãi-'ko*
go-NOM-INS
'because she left'

(2733) *awy-'hỹ-(tete-/-txuhũi)-da-ki* *awy-'ja-nãi-ko*
cold-NOM-INTENS-/-little-1S-DEC cold-IO-NOM-INS
'I'm very/a little cold because of the cold weather'

(2734) *dou-'he-da-hỹ-ki* *'boi-tja* *o'ja-nãi-ko*
sit-NEG-1S-NOM-DEC fill-CSO leave-NOM-INS
'I did not sit because they went packed'[292]

(2735) *hewedu'tu-tsy-nãi-ko* *barɛ-ri-ni'tɛ* *kara='bwa-tse*
forget-GER-NOM-INS bake-CL:flat-INSTR dry=end-DEC
'because she forgot (it) the tortilla dried up'[293]

(2736) *ĩ-tsy-nãi-'ko* *barɛ-ri-ni'tɛ* *kara='bwa-tse*
he-GER-NOM-INS bake-CL:flat-INSTR dry=end-DEC
'therefore/because of her (behaviour) the pancakes got dry'

(2737) *tsɛh* *'si-dy-nãi-ko* *ay-'hỹ* *ay-'hỹ-tja*
why! I-POS-NOM-INS that-NOM that-NOM-CSO

'ta-ta-he-nãi-ko *ũcenãi-'he-da-ki=tja* *ta*
talk-1O-NEG-NOM-INS know-NEG-1S-DEC=CSO talk
'(the other one) said: "why!, because he doesn't say that in my language I don't understand it"' (t)

There is a much used verb root *nãi-* 'to do like, to be like', which is semantically empty and which is used in several types of relatively idiomatic constructions:

(2738) *'nãi-a-ni*
like-1P-EXH
'let's do like that!'

(2739) *nãi-'ta-da-ta* *'mã-da-ki*
like-TRA-1S-CSO call-1S-DEC
'I call him like that'

292. She did not go by car sitting on the wooden frame because the car was full.
293. Order 132 is also permitted.

(2740) *da'nỹ* *na-'nãi-da-ki*
still RED-like-1S-DEC
'I'm still like that' (e.g. feeling very ill)

There may be an etymological relation between this verb root and the (adverbial) nominaliser *-nãi*. The verb *nãi-* will be discussed further in the section on special constructions (8.6.).

6.2.4.3. Predicative adverbialisation involving *-hỹ-wã*

In (6.2.4.2.) a remark was made to the effect that, unlike *-nãi*, the nominaliser *-hỹ* does not result in nouns which can function as adverbs. However, when *-hỹ* is preceded by the first person plural morpheme *-a-* (see 5.6.3.) and followed by the animate object marker *-wã* (see 4.1.1.), the entire string may have an adverbial connotation. The morpheme was seldom attested, however. Note the following example:

(2741) *'tswa-a-hỹ-wã* *'tswa-ʈja* *da'rje-ta* *nãi-hỹ-'ki*
man-1P-NOM-AO man-CSO strong-CSO like-NOM-DEC
'being a man, one is a man, and therefore he is strong' (t)

The combination *-hỹ-wã* can be regarded as an agent noun formative (see 5.6.4.). In extraposition, i.e. as a grammatical adjunct at the periphery of the sentence, the noun derived by *-hỹ-wã* has an adverbial connotation.

The following example seems to suggest that the first person plural morpheme *-a-* in the function of an impersonal element is not obligatory for the adverbial function of *-hỹ-wã*:

(2742) *holan'De-da-hỹ-wã*
Dutch-1S-NOM-AO
'because I'm a Dutchman (I speak strange)'

6.2.4.4. Intensive extension *-te(te)*

Besides adverbialising morphemes, which produce adverbs out of lexical roots, Kwaza also has a morphological extension of lexical stems, *-te*, which does not change or determine their lexical category. In general terms *-te* is an intensifying or emphatic suffix. When applied to verbs it has an augmentative effect (see 5.5.30.):

(2743) *a'we* *nỹ-mũ-'te-ki*
rain big-CL:liquid-INTENS-DEC
'it is raining heavily'

When applied to adverbs, it has an intensifying effect. Compare the following example to (2642):

(2744) *txarwa-'te hã'rã-ki*
first-INTENS stop-DEC
'he just finished a second ago'

The combination of partial reduplication (see 6.2.2.) of *txarwa* 'first, now, today' with *-te* in *txatxarwate* can be translated according to the context as 'just a second ago, for the very first time' and even 'suddenly':

(2745) *txatxarwa-'te o'nɛ-ki*
RED.first-INTENS arrive-DEC
'he arrived suddenly'

(2746) *txatxarwa-'te ã'wỹi-da-ki jere'xwa ko'sa eromũtsa-'nãi*
RED.first-INTENS see-1S-DEC jaguar sun wrist-NOM
'I (never) saw a dog with a wristwatch (before)'

Also the lexical adverb *ɛhỹ?ɛhỹ* 'suddenly' can be extended with *-te*. Compare the following example to (2566):

(2747) *hyhy'rwa-a-xa-hỹ-wara ɛhỹ?ɛhỹ-'te kũ'cẽ*
move-1P-AS-NOM-but suddenly-INTENS brazil.nut

hyja-'ta-eteja-ki
fall-TRA-1PO-DEC
'as we were walking, a Brazil nut suddenly fell in front of us'

On two occasions *-te* did adverbialise a verb root. The following example shows its application to the verb root *nanãi-* 'be like that, being the very'. Note, however, that this verb has idiosyncratic properties. It is probably a partially reduplicated form of *nãi-* 'be like', discussed at the end of section (6.2.4.2.) and which may be related to adverbials. The result, *nanãi-te*, literally means 'just like that', but it is also used with the sense of 'notwithstanding that, nevertheless':

(2748) *je-toto-'he-tja* *atsile-nãi-'le=dwa-ta*
bounce-DR:upward-NEG-CSO heavy-NOM-only=IDS-CSO

na'nãi-te *o'hui-wa-hỹ=wara* *hary'ky* *a'xy-na*
very-INTENS play-IS-NOM=but now house-LOC

je='kwɛ-hỹ-dy-ta
bounce=enter-NOM-DS-CSO
'(the ball) did not bounce and it was just very heavy, but they played nevertheless, until it bounced into the house' (t)

The next example shows the application of *-te* to a verb root that contains the productive directional suffix *-katsa-* 'in the middle of the road':

(2749) *bu-ka'tsa-te* *tutuni'tahỹ=hũ'dwa-ta*
put-DR:middle-INTENS think=sit-CSO
'right in the middle of the road he sat thinking' (t)

Unless *buka'tsate* is a complex verb root which is the first member of a compound with the subsequent verb, *-te* does possess the faculty to adverbialise verb roots.

The intensifier *-te* seems to occur in a reduplicated form: *-tete*:

(2750) *txarwa-te'te* *tu'ru-da-ki*
first-INTENS wake-1S-DEC
'I woke up just now'

In this form it is applied more frequently to verb roots (see 5.5.30.) and to nouns (see 4.4.8.).

6.2.4.5. Manner cosubordination *-tja*

It is probable that the original function of the morpheme *-tja* concerns adverbialisation of verb stems. As an adverbial it has the semantically not very marked functions of manner or absolutive adverbial clause. It has none of the nominal properties which the less abstract temporal suffix *-wy* has. Here I will give only a few examples of its adverbial use:

(2751) *mɛ̃-dy-'ta* *mãta'rwa-tja* *ecoto'hỹ-ki*
hit-DS-CSO in.return-CSO avenge-DEC
'(Pedro) hit (João) and (João) hit him back'

(2752) *txu'hũi-tja* *hũnũ-'dy-da-ki*
small-CSO scorch-CAU-1S-DEC
'I burnt the food (just) a little'

Compare the latter example also to (2670). The suffix *-tja-* has been discussed extensively as an adverbial clause formative in (8.2.4.) and as a cosubordinating medial clause formative in (8.3.1.4.).

Chapter 7
Other morphosyntactic structures

In the present chapter, those aspects of Kwaza morphology are treated which are neither exclusively verbal nor nominal, or that are in such a way out of the ordinary that they deserve to be discussed in separate subsections for themselves. The intricacies of negation are treated in section (7.1.). In section (7.2.) I discuss a small number of "miscellaneous" morphemes. This includes a summarisation of the uses of the verb root *jã-* 'to be', some of which show similarities with cross-reference inflexion. Reduplication is discussed both elsewhere in (5.5.) and here in (7.3.). Composition is discussed in (7.4.). In (7.5.) the remarkable phenomenon of morphological ellipsis is dealt with. Section (7.6.) is a brief overview of all the special roots, like *jã-* 'to be', and refers to all the places in the present description where they are discussed in more detail. Finally, section (7.7.) deals with the heterogenous category of "particles".

7.1. Negation

Negation is expressed principally by a verbal suffix *-he-*. Its use and the different positions it can take inside the word will be discussed in section (7.1.1.). In addition to the negation suffix, an emphatic marker with a negative effect has been identified. It may be related to the adverb *ĩ* 'idly' and it is discussed in (7.1.2.). Finally, the negative habitual morpheme *-hỹsi*, which replaces the verb's mood marker, is dealt with in (7.1.3.).

Besides these negative elements there are three specific prohibitive moods. These are not treated here extensively, but in the chapter on mood, in sections (5.2.7-10.).

7.1.1. The negative suffix -he-

The negative suffix *-he-* occurs in two different basic types of constructions. One expresses straightforward negation, and the other involves a counter of presupposition. These constructions are formally distinct. In the negative construction, the suffix *-he-* attracts stress, it occurs in a position between the verb root and person inflexion, and if the subject is a zero-marked third person, the declarative mood marker is *-tse*. In the countersupposition construction, the suffix *-he-* does not bear stress, it occurs in the position between person inflexion and the mood marker, and the declarative mood marker is *-ki* under all circumstances. This situation can be schematised as follows:

Table 30. The negative suffix *-he-* in the declarative mood

person	*negation*	*countersupposition*
overt	V-**'he**-person-**ki**	'V-person-**he-ki**
zero	V-**'he**-Ø-**tse**	'V-Ø-**he-ki**

The negative construction will be discussed in subsection (7.1.1.1.) and countersupposition in (7.1.1.2.). The other subsections deal with issues involving the negative, which do not depend exclusively on the distinction between these basic constructions. With respect to the formal expression of this distinction Kwaza seems to be very rare among the Amazonian languages (see van der Voort 2002b). Alternative placements of the negative and other morphemes such as derivational future *-nã-* have been seldomly attested and have not yet been the object of research.

7.1.1.1. Negation by *-he-*

Negation of predicates and propositions is realised through the bound verbal morpheme *-he-*. In this construction, the negative suffix usually precedes person and mood marking:

(2753) Q: *ti-'nãi* *ma-a-'re*
what-NOM call-1P-INT
'how is (this) called?'

A: *areta-'he-da-ki*
know-NEG-1S-DEC
'I don't know'

(2754) *awỹi-'he-da-ki* *ti-hỹ-'re*
see-NEG-1S-DEC what-NOM-INT
'I haven't seen him, where is he?'

(2755) *butje'hỹ-a-nãi* *areta-'he-da-ta* *okja-'he-da-ki*
shoot-1P-NOM know-NEG-1S-CSO hunt-NEG-1S-DEC
'I can't hunt because I don't know how to shoot'

(2756) *awỹi-'he-cwa-hỹ-'ki*
see-NEG-IS-NOM-DEC
'he did not see' / 'they did not look'

(2757) *e'tay* *talo-tja-'he-ja-ki*
woman sulk-TRA-NEG-IO-DEC
'the woman is not angry towards people'

(2758) *awỹi-'he-ta-ki*
see-NEG-1O-DEC
'he didn't see me'

(2759) *hadu'ru* *oje-'he-tsy-re*
coati move-NEG-GER-INT
'the coati has not escaped?'

If the clause is declarative, and there is no overt argument cross-reference, the declarative mood marker is *-tse*:

(2760) *kẽi?ỹ-'he-tse*
smooth-NEG-DEC
'it isn't smooth'

(2761) *iritxi-ni'te* *e-'he-tse*
cover-INSTR have-NEG-DEC
'it does not have a cover'

(2762) *ute-'he-tse* *dutu're* *ca'ri-nãi*
notify-NEG-DEC pig shoot-NOM
'he did not say he killed a pig'

The negative morpheme usually bears the main stress of the word:

(2763) *'ja-ki*
eat-DEC
'he ate'

(2764) *ja-'he-tse*
eat-NEG-DEC
'he did not eat'

(2765) *tsi'rjỹ-ki*
tread-DEC
'he puts his foot fully on the ground'

(2766) *tsirjỹ-'he-tse*
tread-NEG-DEC
'he hops, he limps' (t)

Cases of double negation inside the word have not been found. Repetition of the negative suffix is not possible:

(2767) **hoi-he-he-tse* sweet-NEG-NEG-DEC

The antonyms of some verbs are expressed through litotes, i.e. by negation of the root through *-he-*:

(2768) *tãi-ki*
hard-DEC
'it is hard'

tãi-'he-tse
hard-NEG-DEC
'it is soft'

(2769) *by'ru-ki*
sharp-DEC
'is sharp, pointed'

byru-'he-tse
sharp-NEG-DEC
'it is dull'

Other such verbs are: *atsile-* 'heavy', *atsilehe-* 'light'; *darje-* 'strong', *darjehe-* 'weak'; *mõ-* 'loud', *mõhe-* 'soft'; *wai-* 'good', *waihe-* 'bad'. Similar phenomena in Kanoê were discussed by Bacelar and Rodrigues da Silva (i.p.).

It could be that in some verbs there is a lexicalised negative element, e.g. *hedutu-* 'lose'; *hetxa-* 'bar'; *hewedutu-* 'forget'; *he?ai-* 'want not'.

Some verbs contain the element *-he-* as an integral part of the root, but it has nothing to do with the negative morpheme:

(2770) *de'he-ki* *dehe-'he-tse*
bitter-DEC bitter-NEG-DEC
'it tastes bitter, strong, dry' 'it isn't bitter'

There is no lexical root **de-*.

7.1.1.2. The counter of presupposition by *-he*

In the countersupposition construction, the negative morpheme is found in a different position, after person inflexion. Furthermore, the negator does not tend to attract stress (whereas the mood marker sometimes does). Compare the following examples and notice the difference in meaning:

(2771) *kawɛ* *kui-'he-da-ki*
coffee drink-NEG-1S-DEC
'I did not drink coffee (yet)'

(2772) *kawɛ* *'kui-da-he-ki*
coffee drink-1S-NEG-DEC
'I'm not drinking coffee (but something else)'[294]

Apparently, the order in which the negative precedes the person marker indicates negation of the action expressed by the verb root. The reverse order, person-negative, seems to indicate negation of the object of the verb. A somewhat similar difference may be observed between the following examples:

(2773) *awỹi-'he-(c)wa-ki*
see-NEG-IS-DEC
'he did not see',
'they are not watching now'

(2774) *a'wỹi-wa-he-ki*
see-IS-NEG-DEC
'they did not look',
'he didn't (go there to) have a look'

The following example shows how satellites marked by oblique case are contrasted in the countersupposition construction:

(2775) *kuja'ba-na* *oja-da-'he,* *vilena-ko-'le*
Cuiabá-LOC leave-IS-NEG Vilhena-INS-only
'I didn't go to Cuiabá, only to Vilhena'

Note that this example, which is from family II, is elliptic since the mood marker is absent, and it forms an exception to the statement that the negative does not attract stress in the countersupposition construction.

294. Unfortunately, main stress placement in the word *kawɛ* was not registered. Here it is probably on the first syllable and in the previous example on the second syllable.

Probably, the interpretation of negative+person order reversal is dependent on relations of scope:

(2776) Q: *au'Beto-'le* *a'wỹi-xa-re*
Alberto-only see-2-INT
'you only saw Alberto?'

A: *ay-hỹ-'le* *a'wỹi-da-he-'ki*
that-NOM-only see-1S-NEG-DEC
'I did not see only him (I saw the other one too)'[295]

In (2776) the subject did see the object Alberto, but not exclusively him. Apparently then, the negative morpheme corrects a presupposition which is present in the context of speech. In this case the presupposition to be corrected is represented by the morpheme *-le* 'only'. In the following example *-he-* seems to negate *-rata*:

(2777) *xyi-ra'ta* *a'wỹi-xa-hỹ-he-ki*
you-first see-2-NOM-NEG-DEC
'you didn't see it first (I did)'[296]
(lit. 'it isn't so that you were the first one to see it')

Also in (2777), the subject did see the object, but he was not the first one to do so. In the ensuing examples person-negative morpheme order may also be connected with the counter of presuppositions:

(2778) *si 'nãi-da-he-ki*
I like-1S-NEG-DEC
'it wasn't me'[297]

(2779) *tsuhũ-'du* *'cu-da-he-tsy-tse* *koreja-'ko*
what-BER cut-1S-NEG-POT-DEC knife-INS
'I can't cut (down the mahogany tree) with a machete'

(2780) *tsuhũ-'du-tsy-lɛ* *a-'ta-ta-he-tsy-tse*
what-BER-GER-PREC exist-TRA-1O-NEG-POT-DEC
'what good would it be?, he couldn't stay together with me' (t)

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295. The full expression in Kwaza for 'I did not only see Alberto, but the other one too' does not involve a negative, but a positive extra medial clause.
296. There is no unambiguous way to express: 'you saw it last'.
297. On one occasion, the consultant MA said that this sentence consists of three words: *si nãi daheki*. This could be an indication that Kwaza is morphologically less complex than I presume. On the other hand, he said elsewhere that words can occur unfinished, and do require to be completed.

(2781) *ute-'ta* *duture* *cari-da-he-'ki=tse*
notify-CSO pig shoot-1S-NEG-DEC=DEC
'he said he did not kill a pig'[298]

In the negative of the declarative mood, the zero-marked third person does not cause ambiguity as regards presupposition. In the case of straightforward negation, the verb is terminated by *-he-tse*, and in the case of countersupposition by *-he-ki*. In (2782) below, the speaker knows that the coffee is not sweet, and in (2783) the speaker discovers that the coffee is, against his expectations, not sweet:

(2782) *hoi-'he-tse*
sweet-NEG-DEC
'it isn't sweet' (speaker warns a hearer who intends to drink)

(2783) *'hoi-he-ki*
sweet-NEG-DEC
'it isn't sweet' (speaker establishes an unexpected fact)

The context in which the next example was elicited represents circumstantial evidence that it is countersuppositional:

(2784) *wai-he-'ki*
good-NEG-DEC
'it doesn't taste good'

This sentence was uttered in reaction to the remark: 'what a tasty soup you've made!'. A similar situation was observed in the next example:

(2785) *'si-dy-hỹ* *etohoi-he-'ki*
I-POS-NOM child-NEG-DEC
'he is not my child' (t)

This sentence was uttered by a woman from a mythological story who had become a misandrist and did not even want to recognise her own son any more. If these examples represent negations of presuppositions, it may be assumed that the zero-third person morpheme is located before the negator and the mood marker: *-Ø-he-ki*.

In family II, the combination *-he-ki* with zero-marked third person, seems to be more common than in family I. The combination *-he-ki* cited in (5.2.1.1.) probably indicates countersupposition as well, but more research is needed.

The contrastive morpheme *-hehỹ* also has a countersuppositional use. Also other morphemes such as desiderative *-heta-* 'would like', conjectural *-here*

298. The context is probably that he killed something else.

'think that, but', *-cehere* 'think that maybe' and *-here=jã-re* 'don't you see!' have an antithetic connotation. All these morphemes may contain the original negative morpheme *-he-*, but because they do not really have a negative value, they are discussed in the relevant sections of (5.5.).

7.1.1.3. Negation under nominalisation

The canonical negative occurs also in nominalised verbs, without serious consequences for its meaning:

(2786) *ũcenãi-'he-xa-xa-hỹ* *ere'we-da-ki*
know-NEG-2-AS-NOM write-1S-DEC
'what you (PL) don't know I'm writing'

(2787) *'kopu* *kãu-'he-tsy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
cup break-NEG-GER-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the cup which did not break'[299]

The countersupposition construction, however, is not so predictable when nominalised. Compare the following non-nominalised examples, the difference between which is difficult to establish since they were elicited out of context:

(2788) *kui-'he-(c)wa-ki*
drink-NEG-IS-DEC
'he did not drink'

(2789) *'kui-wa-he-ki*
drink-IS-NEG-DEC
'he is not drinking'

The fact that example (2788) does not involve countersupposition, is suggested by its nominalised equivalent:

(2790) *kui-'he-cwa-hỹ*
drink-NEG-IS-NOM
'that (stuff) which he didn't drink'

However, the "nominalised" version of (2789) is neither analysed formally nor semantically as a negative construction (nor as a nominalised construction, for that matter):

(2791) *'kui-wa-hehỹ*
drink-IS-CONT
'he is drinking!'

299. Elicited translation of: 'I saw that the cup did not break'.

Nevertheless, (2791) does involve the counter of presupposition. It would be a proper reply to, for instance, an unjustified remark that the subject be at work. This construction represents the origin of the contrastive suffix *-hehỹ*. This suffix, which is further discussed in (5.5.29.), is regarded as a fixed combination. There is a related construction, however, in which the negative morpheme seems to be still productive. In this construction, the original nominaliser is replaced by a classifier:

(2792) *eto'hoi-da-he-xwa*
child-1S-NEG-CL:man
'I (who) am not a child!'[300]

Note that (2792) represents a very marginal construction (see also 4.4.9.), but it is significant here, since it contains the morpheme order person-negation-nominalisation and it counters a presupposition.

There is an alternative, more productive nominalised construction which expresses countersupposition. Here the morphemic order is person-nominalisation-negation:

(2793) *na='ay-xuko-ỹ-hỹ-da-hỹ-he-ki*
PROX=that-SETT-ATT-NOM-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC

kũrũi-to'hoi-da-le-hỹ
Kanoê-CL:child-1S-FRUST-NOM
'I am not from here. I was a Kanoê child'[301] (t)

(2794) *txi'?a* *y'nỹ-wa-hỹ* *pẽrɛ̃'jã-wa-hỹ-he-ki*
Txi?a called.be-IS-NOM speak-IS-NOM-NEG-DEC
'the one who is called Txi?a does not speak (Kanoê)' (t)

(2795) *'kopu* *'kãu-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-he-ki*
cup break-NOM see-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC
'it is not the case that I saw the broken cup'[302]

These examples could in principle be explained on grounds that they are first nominalised and then zero-verbalised and negated. However, they do involve countersupposition, so the rule seems to be that the place of the nominaliser is less important than the fact that the negative morpheme follows person marking. The function of the nominaliser here is mainly to create a cleft construction.

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300. Indignant response which can be uttered both by men and women.
301. Antonhão is the oldest male and quite monolingual speaker of Kwaza, but he claims to be of Kanoê origin.
302. Elicited translation of: 'I did not see that the cup broke'.

7.1.1.4. Negation in different moods

Negation in the declarative and interrogative moods is relatively transparent. The negative morpheme is generally inserted in a position before the mood marker without any further adaptations:

(2796) *ja-'he-da-ki*
eat-NEG-1S-DEC
'I did not eat'

Questions can be asked in a negative form, and a negative response yields a logically positive answer:

(2797) Q: *mãrẽri'tsa ja-'he-xa-re*
person eat-NEG-2-INT
'do(n't) you eat people?'
A: *hã'?ã (ja)-'he-da-ki*
yes eat-NEG-1S-DEC
'no'

(2798) Q: *atsile-'re*
heavy-INT
'is it very heavy?'
A: *ha'?ã*
yes
'yes (it is)'

(2799) Q: *atsile-'he-tsy-re*
heavy-NEG-GER-INT
'isn't it very heavy?'
A: *ha'?ã*
yes
'yes (it isn't)'

Person-negative order also occurs in the interrogative. It questions a negative presupposition held by the speaker:

(2800) *ĩ-'wã 'rai?ỹhỹ mã=duhỹ-ty-a-'ni=xa-he-re ẽrjãwã-'na*
he-AO animal call=all-DET-1P-EXH=2-NEG-INT forest-LOC
'why don't you say to him: "let's count all the names of the animals in the forest!"?'[303] (t)

(2801) *be-tara-'ni-xa-he-re*
ripe-PROC-CAUS-2-NEG-INT
'why don't you wait for (the fruit) to ripen?'

The following example of a countersupposition is formally interrogative, but not semantically. The interrogative is used emphatically here:

303. Note that the glossing of *-ni* as exhortative represents a literal interpretation of a construction that may be also analysed as causational (like in the next example).

(2802) *o'xe-da-he-rai-re* *'txarwa* *o'nɛ-wa-hỹ* *hary'ky*
smile-1S-NEG-damn-INT first arrive-IS-NOM now
'I was not happy for nothing, they've really arrived'[304]

Emphatic use of the interrogative was discussed in (5.2.2.1.).

In sections (5.2.7-10.) three special prohibitive moods were identified and described: negative imperative, negative exhortative and monitory. They form the respective counterparts to the three persuasive moods imperative, exhortative causative and volitive.

Only the negation of the exhortative is transparent in the sense that the negative marker *-he-* precedes exhortative *-ni*. There is a less transparent, non-discontinuous, negative exhortative *-ini*, but this has only been attested in relatively fixed expressions. Negative exhortative is discussed in (5.2.8.).

The negative imperative also contains the identifiable negative marker *-he-*, but the mood marker is different: *-ky*. Even though the negative imperative may be expressed in a discontinuous way, the element *-ky* does not occur as a mood marker without *-he-* (see 5.2.7.). Only few instances of negation of the imperative as marked by *-ra* were attested:

(2803) *ehỹ-'he-ca-ra* (**ehỹhecaky*)
make-NEG-EMP-IMP
'don't do that!'[305]

Apparently, the alternative mild imperative which involves the potential marker *-tsy-* and which is discussed in (5.2.3.1.) can also be negated with *-he-*:

(2804) *tsuhũ-'du-xa-lɛ* *nãi-xa-'he-tsy-tse*
what-BER-2-PREC like-2-NEG-POT-DEC
'you are not going to do thus, because (he is your son)' (t)

A real negative counterpart of the volitive was not attested. Instead, there is a monitory mood which was discussed in (5.2.9.). It is marked by monomorphemic *-tsi*, which bears no formal resemblance to the negative morpheme.

7.1.1.5. Negative *-he-* and ellipsis

The negative morpheme *-he-* also seems to occur as a verb root or even as a negative particle. This use of *-he-* is only possible in the proper context. Therefore, in the present analysis this is regarded as the result of ellipsis, which is discussed in (7.5.).

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304. The speaker knew they would arrive.
305. The expected alternative, *nanãi?ĩnĩ*, was discussed in (5.2.8.).

(2805) Q: *kui-'nã-xa-re*
drink-FUT-2-INT
'are you going to drink?'
A: *'he-nã-da-ki*
NEG-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm not'

(2806) Q: *tomã-'nã-xa-re*
bathe-FUT-2-INT
'are you going to bathe?'
A: *he*
NEG
'no!'

(2807) Q: *kukui-'re*
hurt-INT
'is (the pepper) strong?'
A: *'he-tse*
NEG-DEC
'no'

In other contexts, an answer like *'hetse* could mean 'there isn't (any)', 'he said no', etc.

The occurrence of rootless negation combined with further morphemes in extraposition functions as a particle which emphasises the negative aspect of a preceding negative sentence:

(2808) *ũcenãi-'hỹ-he-ki* *'he-tsy-hỹ*
know-NOM-NEG-DEC NEG-GER-NOM
'they don't know anything'

The same countersuppositionality as discussed in section (7.1.1.2.) can be expressed in root ellipsis:

(2809) *xa-'he-tsy-tse* *ɛ-'ra*
2-NEG-POT-DEC go-IMP
'don't you persist, go away!' (t)

This example is from a mythological story in which a boy, who presumed wrongly that he could stay with his mother, is sent away.

The free occurrence of *he'ki* 'no' probably also negates a presupposition, but the evidence is only circumstantial. In (8.1.2.1.) it is explained how negation is not normally adjacent to an interrogative mood marker. However, when it is, countersupposition is apparently involved. The following example suggests this:

(2810) *he-'re*
NEG-INT
'yes, isn't it?'

This example represents an utterance which confirms a statement. Its non-countersuppositional variant would be the interrogative equivalent of *'hetse* 'it isn't' and it would inquire about the negation of the omitted root.[306]

Since the negative morpheme can occur as a verbal root, it is apparently also found as root part of a compound. Compare the following examples:

(2811) *darje-'he-ʈja* *ojanỹ-'he-tse*
strong-NEG-CSO arrive-NEG-DEC
'because he is weak, he did not come hither'

(2812) *darje-'he-ʈja 'he=ojanỹ-ki*
strong-NEG-CSONEG=arrive-DEC
'because he is weak, he did not come hither'

It is possible that the verb root *he'?ai-* 'to want not' originates from ellipsis and compounding:

(2813) *wĩ* *he'?ai-xa-re*
wine want.not-2-INT
'you don't want wine?'

Although there is no verbal root **ai-*, there are roots which may be historically related, *aitse-* 'to be patient' and *aitsehe-* 'to be lazy'.

There is one other type of expression in which the negative morpheme is probably used elliptically:

(2814) *i'si-da-nãi-'he*
die-1S-NOM-NEG
'(I'm) not (going to drink more) or else I'll get drunk'

(2815) *ka'je=ɛ-da-nãi-'he*
crawl=go-1S-NOM-NEG
'(I'm) not (going to drink more) or else I'll have to crawl'

This construction is neither semantically nor grammatically understood very well, and it is probably idiomatic. Example (2814) was considered as identical to the following:

306. This was created by myself:

he-tsy-'re
NEG-GER-INT
'is it not?, isn't it there?, did he say no?'

(2816) *isi-nã-ĩ-'tsi*
die-FUT-NEG-MON
'(I'm) not (going to drink more) lest I'll get drunk'

The structure of this latter example is relevant to section (7.1.2.).

7.1.1.6. Negative *-he-* in compounds

In compounds, the negative morpheme is encountered in various positions. It may follow the second member and have scope over both:

(2817) *areta=mã-'he-da-ki*
know=call-NEG-1S-DEC
'I don't know how to call it'

(2818) *tsãrã=txu'hũi-nahere* *ũcenãi=pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-hỹ-he-'ki*
earth=small-COL know=speak-NOM-NEG-DEC

'he-tsy-hỹ *'he-tsy-hỹ*
NEG-GER-NOM NEG-GER-NOM
'the people of the small lands (i.e. the Kwaza) don't know how to speak anything (of the Kanoê language)!' (t)

(2819) *tẽi'tja-da-ta* *ja=bwa-'he-da-ki*
alone-1S-CSO eat=finish-NEG-1S-DEC
'being on my own, I can't eat it all'

The negative morpheme may also be inserted between the first and the second member and have scope over only the first:

(2820) *txa'rwa* *tsje-'he=bwa-ki*
first grab-NEG=finish-DEC
'(the hawk) does not grab (chickens) any more'

Literally this example means '(the hawk) ended up by not grabbing (chickens)'.[307] When negative morphemes are on both members of a compound, they only have scope over the immediately preceding root, and the result is coordination:

307. The combination *-he=bwa-* is a fixed way to express 'not any more': *dehemũ'te kui-he'bwadaki* 'I don't drink spirits anymore'.

(2821) *ja-'he=kui-'he-tse*
eat-NEG=drink-NEG-DEC
'he didn't eat and didn't drink'

7.1.1.7. Miscellaneous constructions involving *-he-*

There is a relation between interrogative lexemes and negation. Kwaza has neither an indefinite pronoun nor a negative pronoun. In combination with verbal negation the interrogative pronoun fulfils the functions of indefinite negative pronoun. Note the following construction:

(2822) *di'lɛ onɛ-'he-tse*
who arrive-NEG-DEC
'no-one came'

There are also less transparent uses of the negative in combination with interrogative roots. The following example represents a fixed way to express a decided or indignant refusal:

(2823) *tsuhũ-'du-da-lɛ pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'tja-da-he-tsy-tse*
what-BER-1S-PREC speak-TRA-1S-NEG-POT-DEC
'why should I talk to him?, I won't!'[308]

The next example expresses great doubt or even despair:

(2824) *ti-'nãi-da-he-tsy-tse*
what-NOM-1S-NEG-POT-DEC
'what am I going to do now?' (t)

It was not attested whether this latter example really represents a specific fixed way to express doubt, but the combination of negation and an interrogative root does suggest that this is the case.

In combination with a verb marked negative the adverb *da'nỹ* 'still' should be interpreted as 'not yet', 'before':

(2825) *da'nỹ ɛ-'he-nã-da-ki*
still go-NEG-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm not going away yet'

(2826) *da'nỹ awe-'he-tsy-wy*
still rain-NEG-GER-time
'before the rain' (lit. 'the time it hasn't rained yet')

308.Lit. 'there is no reason for me to talk to him'.

(2827) *da'nỹ* *onɛ-'he-xa-wy* *hyhy'rwa-da-ki*
still come-NEG-2-time move-1S-DEC
'I walked for a while before you arrived'

(2828) *si* *aky'nỹda'nỹ* *ja-'he-da-wy-wara* *'ɛ-tse*
I friend still eat-NEG-1S-time-but go-DEC
'(my) friend went away before I had eaten'

The concept of "neither" can be expressed by a coordinating construction:

(2829) *pãu* *e-'he* *hã* *e-'he-da-ki*
bread have-NEG water have-NEG-1S-DEC
'I have neither bread nor water'

(2830) *txa'rwa* *hajediko're* *ka'wɛ* *kui-'he*
first morning.early coffee drink-NEG

txa *kui-'he-ỹ-kore-da-ki*
tea drink-NEG-ATT-DR:matutinal-1S-DEC
'this morning I drank neither tea nor coffee'[309]

Apparently, the repetitive morpheme *-e-* 'too' (see 4.4.6.) or 'again' (see 5.5.31.) can also be interpreted as 'neither' when it occurs on an argument of a negative verb. Compare the following examples with one another:

(2831) *ỹhỹ'ko* *awe-'he-tsy-hỹ=wara* *Bahozo-'na* *a'we-ki*
here rain-NEG-GER-NOM=but Barroso-LOC rain-DEC
'here it is not raining, but in Barroso it is raining'

(2832) *ỹhỹ'ko* *awe-'he-tja* *ay-rjỹ-'e* *awe-'he-tse*
here rain-NEG-CSO that-CD:area-too rain-NEG-DEC
'here it is not raining and in (Barroso) it is not raining either'

Note that when this morpheme (or its allomorph) is applied to the negative verb itself, its meaning is predictable:

(2833) *kui-'he-je?e-nã-da-ki*
drink-NEG-again-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm not going to drink more/again'

The contrast between the following examples shows that negation cannot be attached to either constituent of the habitual complement construction:

309. This is the only attested example in which attributive *-ỹ-* is preceded by *-he-*.

(2834) Q: *xyi* *'we-tsy-'nãi-xa-re*
you fear-GER-NOM-2-INT
'are you afraid?'

A: *we-'he-tsy-'nãi* *'e-da-ki*
fear-NEG-GER-NOM have-1S-DEC
'I'm not afraid'

(2835) **we-tsy-'nãi* *e-'he-da-ki*
fear-GER-NOM have-NEG-1S-DEC

However in a clefted countersuppositional construction, the negator can be attached to the matrix verb:

(2836) *'nãi-tsy-hỹ* *'ja-nãi* *'e-da-hỹ-'he-ki*
like-GER-NOM eat-NOM have-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC
'that I don't eat'[310] (lit. 'I'm not someone who eats such things')

(2837) *atsuka-'ko* *'kui-nãi* *'e-da-hỹ-he-ki*
sugar-INS drink-NOM have-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC
'I don't drink (coffee) with sugar'[311]

It is not certain whether negation of the matrix verb of the habitual construction always involves the countersuppositional morpheme order.

7.1.2. The emphatic negative element -ĩ-

In certain constructions an element *ĩ* occurs with a negative connotation. When it is a particle, it represents the adverb *ĩ* 'idly' and is homophonous with the third person pronoun *ĩ* 'he'. In the following example, it cannot be a pronoun:

(2838) *ĩ* *kui-tsy-nãi-'le-xa-ki*
idly drink-GER-NOM-only-2-DEC
'oh, you just keep on drinking, doing nothing!'

In certain expressions, the element *-ĩ-* also occurs inside the word as a sort of emphatic and sometimes relatively expletive negative morpheme. In one of

310. Notice how the negative morpheme in this one example retained its stress, even though it is immediately adjacent to *-ki*.

311. The use of the instrumental case marking of 'sugar' here may be due to influence of Portuguese in which the preposition *com* 'with' both has comitative, instrumental and other functions.

these expressions it precedes a monitory mood marker in a focal way of speaking. Compare the following:

(2839) *ti-nãi-'tse=xa-ta* *wãrẽ-dy-'ta-xa-re*
what-NOM-DEC=2-CSO enemy-CAU-TRA-2-INT
'why is it you are angry with him?'

(2840) *ti-'nãi-ĩ-'tsi* *wãrẽ-dy-'ta-xa-re*
what-NOM-NEG-MON enemy-CAU-TRA-2-INT
'why the hell is it you are angry with him?'

(2841) *oja'nỹ=oja'nỹ-xa-ta* *'a-xa-hỹ-tsy* *ti-'nãi-ĩ-tsi*
arrive=arrive-2-CSO exist-2-NOM-RES what-NOM-NEG-MON

ojanỹ-'he-xa-re
arrive-NEG-2-INT
'you always came, why don't you come any more?'

In the above examples, the element *-tsi* does not seem to have a monitory or preventive function. However in the following elliptic form it does have a monitory connotation:

(2842) *ĩ-'tsi-da-ta*
NEG-MON-1S-CSO
'therefore I didn't want to'

This phrase can be uttered as a reaction when someone did something against the advice of the speaker, and made a mess of it. Probably, it represents a quotative construction. In fact, the combination *ĩ-tsi-* could alternatively be regarded as a verb root with the sense of 'to warn':

(2843) *ja* *ĩ-'tsi-da-ta* *ja* *u'te-da-le-hỹ*
already NEG-MON-1S-CSO already notify-1S-FRUST-NOM

jãsi-'he-cwa-ta *nãi-wa-nãi-'ko* *i-i'si-wa-ki*
hear-NEG-IS-CSO like-IS-NOM-INS RED-die-IS-DEC
'I already warned them and told them so clearly, however, because they didn't listen they all died' (t)

Maybe *ĩtsi* has become a separate particle in this position, meaning 'in vain', 'wrong(ful)ly', 'just like that' or 'without reason'. Under that analysis, e.g. (2840) should be read as 'why are you angry with him just like that?' and example (2841) as 'why do you stay away for no reason?'.

One type of construction, which was rarely encountered, was not well understood. The only attested examples are the following:

(2844) *oja-'ra-ĩsi o'ja-da-hỹ-ki*
go-IMP-??? go-1S-NOM-DEC
'he ordered to go, so I went'

(2845) *'nãi-ĩsi 'nãi-da-hỹ-ki*
like-??? like-1S-NOM-DEC
'he said thus and so I did'

The first clause in example (2844) reminds of a subordinate clause which constitutes a quotative construction involving *-si* as a switch reference marker. The first clause in example (2845) looks like an ordinary subordinated verb. However, the element *-ĩ-* is strange. It does not seem to be a negative marker, and it is probably neither a morphophonological variant nor a mistake for the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-*. It is also very unlikely that *-ĩ-* represents the third person pronoun, since pronouns never occur in that position. If one were to accept that explanation, one could take the argument also a step further and claim that *-si-* represents the first person pronoun, which is just as unlikely. Another, more likely explanation is that *-si* is another pronunciation of the monitory marker *-tsi*. In section (2.14.) phoneme fluctuation between /s/ and /ts/ was attested. This is confirmed by an alternative pronunciation of the first word of (2840) as *ti'nãi?ĩ'si* 'why? (would you do that, don't)'. If this is also the case in (2844) and (2845), they could be interpreted respectively as 'he just ordered (me) to go so I went' and 'just because he (said) it, I did it'. Example (2816) and the following should probably be interpreted in a similar manner:

(2846) *mangka-dy'nỹ nũ'ty ja-da-'he-tsy-tse kukui'hỹ-nã-ĩ-tsi*
mango-COMIT honey eat-1S-NEG-POT-DEC ill-FUT-NEG-MON
'I'm not going to eat mango with honey, or else I'll (just) get ill'

The following idiomatic type of construction is a kind of clefted negative reason clause:

(2847) *kui-da-'ki=tsy-ĩ-lɛ oja'nỹ-re*
drink-1S-DEC=POT-NEG-PREC arrive-INT
'why have they come, for they don't drink?'[312]

(2848) *tsũhũ-'nã-tja tsasi-'re wara'ñỹ-da-ki=tsy-ĩ-lɛ nãi-'re*
what-FUT-CSO follow-INT work-1S-DEC=POT-NEG-PREC like-INT
'what is he coming after us for?, no way he is thinking of working, so what does he want?' (t)

The preconditional morpheme *-lɛ* seems to be part of this fixed expression.

The element *-ĩ-* may also explain part of an alternative negative exhortative mood form *-ini*, which occurs in a limited set of expressions. This is dealt with in (5.2.8.).

312. In the context of *creentes* (protestant converts) arriving amidst people drinking spirits.

Finally, there is a verb root *i'hĩ-* ‘contrary’ of which the first syllable resembles the negative element. It has a somewhat contrastive connotation which will last into the near future:

(2849) *i'hĩ-ki*
contrary-DEC
‘on the contrary’, ‘wait!’, ‘no!’, ‘it is not like that!’

This root also combines with the negative imperative element *-ky* in an alternative negative exhortative expression which pertains to a somewhat remote future. This was discussed in (5.2.7.). Furthermore, *ihĩ-* was encountered (as [ĩhĩ]) in the following construction with the sense of ‘continue’, ‘for the coming time’:

(2850) *cwa-ra'ti=ihĩ-rai-re*
IS-FOC=contrary-damn-INT
‘it is like that they continue hereafter’

It can even be combined with the negative morpheme *-he-*:

(2851) *a-'he=ihĩ-tsy-hỹ*
exist-NEG=contrary-POT-NOM
‘there won’t (be a recording session tomorrow, only later)’ (t)

Because this morpheme involves the notion of tense or aspect it is discussed further in (5.5.28.). The next example combines *-ĩ-* with *-he-* but it may just as well have been *-ihĩ-* pronounced rapidly:

(2852) *hako're* *'saBaDo* *'hehỹsi* *a-'he-ĩ-tsy-re*
tomorrow Saturday well exist-NEG-NEG-POT-INT (t)
‘tomorrow is Saturday, therefore there won’t be (recording for now)?’

7.1.3. The negative habitual element -hỹsi

There is a rare verbal negative element *-hỹsi*. It replaces the mood marker and has a negative value. It acts as a “negative mood” inflexion with a connotation of permanence. Compare the following examples:

(2853) *atsuka-'ko* *kui-'nãi* *'e-da-hỹ-he-'ki*
sugar-INS drink-NOM have-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC
‘I don’t drink coffee with sugar’

(2854) *ka'wɛ* *atsuka-'ko* *'kui-da-hỹsi*
coffee sugar-INS drink-1S-NEG
'I don't drink coffee with sugar anyway'

The first example, which represents a habitual construction, can be uttered in a context where the hearer was not able to offer sugar. In the second example, the hearer declares that he is not willing to provide sugar. Note that the second example apparently also has a habitual sense. Compare the following examples:

(2855) *'mã* *e-'he-da-ta* *ere'ri-da-ki*
mother have-NEG-1S-CSO grow-1S-DEC
'I grew up without a mother'

(2856) *mã* *'e-da-ta* *ere'ri-da-hỹ'si*
mother have-1S-CSO grow-1S-NEG
'I grew up without a mother' (t)

In both examples the speaker grew up in permanent absence of a mother. The following examples also transpire the sense of permanent absence:

(2857) *'a-da-hỹsi*
exist-1S-NEG
'I lived alone/without parents'
(lit. 'I'm not at home')

(2858) *ere'ri-a-hỹsi*
grow-1P-NEG
'we are not tall'

(2859) *mã* *u'nỹteta-a-nãi* *jã'si-a-hỹsi*
mother converse-1P-NOM hear-1P-NEG
'one never heard a mother tell stories' (t)

(2860) *'ỹwã* *'nãi-tse* *ti-'nãi-tsy-rjỹ* *nỹ-'nwỹ-hỹ*
nothing like-DEC what-NOM-GER-CD:area big-CL:tree-NOM

'a-hỹsi *o'tsi-ja-tsy-re=tja* *'ta-wa-si*
exist-NEG kill-IO-POT-INT=CSO talk-IS-SWR (t)
'"he's lying, from where would a big tree be smashing us?" they said'

Apparently, the morpheme *-hỹsi* indicates negative habituality, or the fact that a negative situation lasts for some time. The final example is not entirely incompatible with this interpretation:

(2861) *mani'ni-tsumãi* *'e-a-ta* *ũmã'tɛ-a-hỹsi* *mani'ni-tsumãi*
fish-CL:point have-1P-CSO fish-1P-NEG fish-CL:point

hedydu'tu-da-nãi-ko
lose-1S-NOM-INS
'I did not fish using a hook, because I lost the hook'[313]

The element *-si* as part of the negative permanence marker cannot be confused with the homophonous switch reference marker *-si* since the latter does not require a preceding element *-hỹ-*, and does not have a negative value.

7.2. Morphemes not limited to word class

A number of morphemes are applied both to nouns, verbs and adverbs. Some do not change the category. As an example, when the element *-ʔwỹtɛ-* 'pity' is applied to a noun, the result is nominal, and when applied to a verb, the result is verbal. The paucal morpheme *-ry-* is applied to both nouns and verbs. Other morphemes, such as *-rati-* can be considered as strictly verbal in one function (in this case historical narrative) whereas it often behaves somewhat like a nominaliser in a different function (focus). Both occurrences of *-rati-* were treated separately because of their divergent functions, while at the same time both were dealt with in the present section, because they are homophonous, and probably etymologically identical. Also the emphatic morpheme *-txetxi* 'really' is discussed here, even though it is strictly verbal. This is because it is probably related to the ambiguous contrastive focus morpheme *-txitxi-*, and because both are hard to assign alternative places in other chapters of the present work. Only the simulative morpheme *-nãixwa-* clearly causes a change of category when applied to nouns, because the result is always verbal.

Finally there is a small number of morphemes which will not be treated here, in spite of the fact that they are applicable to different categories, with sometimes different functions. For example the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* is discussed in (4.3.2.1.) because it is immediately relevant to the attributive construction. The collective noun morpheme *-nahere* is discussed in (5.6.5.) because of its importance as a nominaliser even though it is also applied to nouns. The morpheme *-e-* 'too, again' is discussed in (4.4.6.) and in (5.5.31.). The intensifying morpheme *-te(te)-* is dealt with both in (6.2.4.4.), (4.4.8.) and (5.5.30.) since it is particularly relevant in those places.

In sum, the morphemes discussed here are both grammatically ambiguous and hard to accomodate elsewhere. Nevertheless, there are more differences between these morphemes than there are similarities.

313. The first person inclusive morpheme *-a-* functions as a non personal cross-reference marker here; it was translated both as 'I' and as 'one'.

7.2.1. Paucal -ry-

The morpheme *-ry-* is associated with paucal number. It is applied to both nouns and verbs and it does not occur in word-final position. It is always followed by a nominaliser.

(2862) *'hai?arakaru ỹnỹ-'ry-hỹ*
Hai?arakaru call-PAU-NOM
'the people of / called Hai?arakaru' (t)

(2863) *etohoi-ry-'rai*
child-PAU-damn
'those (my, your, his) children'

The paucal applies only to humans and animals:

(2864) *xo'ro 'ki-ỹ-ry-hỹ*
ant red-ATT-PAU-NOM
'that (type of) red ant (PL, *SG)' (t)

(2865) *tala-'mɛ-ry-rai*
uncle-ASS-PAU-damn
'(my) uncles' (t)

(2866) **apara-ry-rai*
banana-PAU-damn
'(my) bananas'

Note that it was not tested whether the ungrammaticality of the latter example was due to the conditions for the use of *-ry-* only, or also to incompatibility of *apara* 'banana' with the expletive element *-rai* 'damn' (see 7.2.7.).

The actual range of the paucal was not established. The morpheme *-ry-* was attested in one construction which seemed to have a less paucal interpretation. Compare the following examples:

(2867) *aky'nỹ-xay-nahere*
friend-2S-COL
'friend of you people'[314]

(2868) *aky'nỹ-xay-ry-hỹ*
friend-2S-PAU-NOM
'friend of you two'

(2869) *akynỹ-ry-'hỹ-tjate*
friend-PAU-NOM-3.POS
'friend of them two'

(2870) *akynỹ-tsy-ry-'hỹ-(tjate)*
friend-GER-PAU-NOM-3.POS
'friend of them lot'

314. Note that the word *akynỹ* 'friend' contains the bound root *aky-* 'two', and possibly the reflexive morpheme *-nỹ-*. The cross-reference morpheme *-xay-* is an allomorph of second person subject *-xa-* which occurs only in some specific constructions (see 4.2.1.1.).

The following examples come from a text in which the history of the extinction of the Kwaza and Kanoê is sketched:

(2871) *eri-kuty'tɛ* *a-wa-'ry-nahere-wa-hỹ*
field-DR:beyond exist-IS-PAU-COL-IS-NOM
'the people who lived beyond the field' (t)

(2872) *e-ri'tsa* *a='a-wa-ry-hỹ*
Ø-DR:outside exist=exist-IS-PAU-NOM
'the people who first lived in a settlement' (t)

(2873) *eje-ka'rwe=asa-ry-rati-wa-'hỹ-lɛ*
move-DR:away=leave-PAU-CL:man-IS-NOM-PREC
'as the men all moved away' (t)

7.2.2. Contrastive topic -mãjã

The pragmatic contrastive topic element *-mãjã* introduces a new discourse topic that is somehow related to the previous topic. In a way it indicates a change in the subject of discussion. It is attached to the noun which represents the new subject matter, or about which something different will be discussed:

(2874) *haje're=mãjã* *'tãlo-he-tsy-nãi* *'e-hỹ-tsy*
pig=TOP angry-NEG-GER-NOM have-NOM-RES
'now the caititu pig is not very aggressive' (t)

(2875) *arara=mã'jã* *ca'ri-a-hỹ* *ay-'hỹ=mã'jã* *jã'tsi-nãi*
parrot=TOP shoot-1P-NOM that-NOM=TOP fat-NOM

'e-hỹ *aratsa'bi-tsy-hỹ*
have-NOM jacamim-GER-NOM
'now the parrot we do kill, now that one which is fat, the jacamim, too'[315] (t)

The morpheme may be used to counter a presupposition which one may have in relation to the subject of discussion:

(2876) *'ay-hỹ=mã'jã*
that-NOM-TOP
'now that one (no)', 'that thing' (t)

315.Note that the word *a'rara* 'parrot' is a Portuguese word of Tupi origin.

It as not been established whether *-mãjã* is a bound morpheme, a clitic or a particle. In the following example it follows the adverb *haryky* 'now':

(2877) *wã-he're-da-le-hỹ* *hary'ky* *haryky=mã'jã*
bee-INTL-1S-FRUST-NOM now now=TOP

xo'ro *'ki-ỹ-ry-hỹ*
ant red-ATT-PAU-NOM
'I thought it was a wasp uhh, uhh now that red ant ...' (t)

In fact, *haryky* occurs in the function of a hesitation particle here (see 7.7.4.). Therefore, I have analysed *-mãjã* as a clitic.

7.2.3. Contrastive focus -txitxi

The morpheme *-txitxi* has a contrastive focus function. When it is applied to a noun, it puts this noun in contrast with other possible nouns. Compare the following examples:

(2878) *tete'ru* *mũi-'ni*
Teteru submerge-EXH
'let Teteru fetch water!' (t)

(2879) *tete'ru-txitxi* *mũi-'ni*
Teteru-CONTRA submerge-EXH
'(I want) Teteru to fetch water! (and not you)' (t)

(2880) *ẽ'hike* *nãi-'ni*
Henrique like-EXH
'let Henrique do it! (because he knows)' (t)

(2881) *ẽ'hike-txitxi* *nãi-'nĩ-da-(le)-ki*
Henrique-CONTRA like-CAUS-1S-FRUST-DEC
'I want Henrique to do it! (you keep away, because he knows)' (t)

Here are some further examples:

(2882) *'ĩ-txitxi*
he-CONTRA
'(it is) he (who did it)', 'it's his fault (not mine)" etc. (t)

(2883) *'ĩ-(txitxi) pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-ta-he'ta-da-le-ki*
he-CONTRA speak-TRA-1O-DESI-1S-FRUST-DEC
'he (emphatic) would like me to talk'[316]

(2884) *he'lowa-txitxi hy=hy-'dwa-dy-ta 'nãi-ki*
Heloa-CONTRA go=go-DR:onto-DS-CSO like-DEC
'it is (the dog) Heloa who went out walking on the path, so it is his (own) fault that it happened (that the jaguar grabbed him)' (t)

The morpheme can apparently also be applied to adverbs:

(2885) *'nãi-ta bu-'dy-damỹ txa'rwa-txitxi haka're-ko*
like-CSO fall-CAU-want first-CONTRA buriti-CL:fruit
'like that he now made the nuts start to fall'[317] (t)

(2886) *'txarwa-txitxi huda'da huda'da-cwa-le-wy 'a-wy*
first-CONTRA speak speak-IS-FRUST-time exist-time

'hedutu=bwa-ti-cwa-hỹ tɛca'ri-lɛ='bwa-cu-cwa-hỹ-cwa-si 'a-hỹ
lose=end-IS-IS-NOM massacre-RECI=end-IS-IS-NOM-IS-SWR exist-NOM
'now when they were just starting to speak the language, massacring one another completely, there it ended' (t)

It is likely that *-txitxi* is related to the verbal morpheme *-txetxi-*, which is pronounced slightly differently and which means 'really'. This is discussed in the next subsection.

7.2.4. Emphatic -txetxi- *'really'*

The verbal morpheme *-txetxi-* expresses surprise and has the emphatic sense of 'really'. It does not seem to entail a specific tense or aspect value. It occurs predominantly in interrogative clauses. Consider the following examples:

(2887) *ko'rewe-txetxi-ty-ta-le-'re*
pregnant-really-DET-1O-FRUST-INT
'why!, would she really be pregnant on me?' (t)

(2888) *kukui'hỹ-txetxi-da-(le)-re*
ill-really-1S-FRUST-INT
'would it be true that I am ill?'

316. The morphological structure of the verb in this example is discussed in (5.5.13.).
317. The cosubordinative inflexion of the verb stem *budydamỹ-* is left away.

(2889) *oja-txe'txi-xa-re*
go-really-2-INT
'is it true you went?'

Often, clauses involving predicates marked with *-txetxi-* are preceded by the adverb *watxi* 'truly'.

(2890) *wa'txi man'weu talo-txe'txi-re*
true Manuel sulk-really-INT
'would Manuel be angry, really?'

It seems possible that *watxi* is etymologically related to *-txetxi-*, and it can fulfil the same function on its own. Compare the following examples:

(2891) *zjwãu hyja-txe'txi-tsy-'re*
João fall-really-POT-INT
'is João going to fall, really?'

(2892) *wa'txi zjwãu hy'ja-re*
true João fall-INT
'has João really fallen?'

(2893) *wa'txi oja-'nã-xa-re*
true go-FUT-2-INT
'is it true you will go?'

Sometimes, the alternative expression by *watxi*, as in (2893) is considered "better" than through *-txetxi-*, as in (2894):

(2894) **oja-(nã)-txetxi-(nã)-xa-re*
go-FUT-really-FUT-2-INT
'is it true you will go?'

Compare also the following examples:

(2895) *wa'txi ko-hỹ-'tɛ kui-'nã-tsy-'re*
true empty-NOM-NOM drink-FUT-GER-INT
'is he really going to drink (coffee) without (sugar)?'

(2896) *[?]*ko-hỹ-'tɛ kui-txe'txi-tsy-'re*
empty-NOM-NOM drink-really-POT-INT
'is he really going to drink (coffee) without (sugar)?'

On one occasion, the emphatic morpheme *-txetxi-* was pronounced as the nominal focus morpheme *-txitxi-*:

(2897) *kũ'rũi co-txi'txi-tsy-hỹ-he-ki*
Kanoê many-really-GER-NOM-NEG-DEC
'the Kanoê are not many' (t)

Since *-txetxi-* is usually applied in interrogative contexts, with a connotation of surprise, the morpheme in (2897) may in fact be the nominal morpheme *-txitxi*. On the other hand, the fact that *-txitxi* is usually only applied to nouns, and has a contrastive focus function, is an argument against such an analysis of (2897).

7.2.5. Simulative -nãixwa- *'resemble, pretend, fake'*

The simulative morpheme *-nãixwa-* 'resemble, pretend, fake' is applied to nouns and verbs, and the result is a verbal stem. Note the following examples:

(2898) *kui-nãi'xwa-ki*
drink-SIMU-DEC
'he pretends to be drinking'

(2899) *jere'xwa-nãixwa-ki*
jaguar-SIMU-DEC
'he resembles a jaguar'
(POR *parece onça*)

(2900) *jerexwa-'hỹ-nãi'xwa-ki*
jaguar-NOM-SIMU-DEC
'it looks as if it's a jaguar'
(POR *parecendo que é onça*)

(2901) *ico-'tɛ* *uke'nũ-nãi'xwa-ki*
urucuri-CL:round piqui-SIMU-DEC
'the urucuri fruit resembles piqui'

(2902) *ẽ'hike* *zɛ'torto-'nãixwa-ki*
Henrique José.Torto-SIMU-DEC
'Henrique is like José Torto'

(2903) *nỹ-'hỹ-hỹ-nãi'xwa-ki*
big-NOM-NOM-SIMU-DEC
'it looks as if it is big'
(e.g. steel wool Bombril)

(2904) *tokoi'ri-hỹ-nãi'xwa-ki*
tired-NOM-SIMU-DEC
'he pretends to be tired'

(2905) *kuja'?u* *tswa* *kukui'hỹ-hỹ-nãixwa-tja*
Curiangu man ill-NOM-SIMU-CSO

'cutsẽrjỹ-hỹ-nãixwa-ta *awỹi-'ra* *ta-wa-'si* *da'mỹ=tja*
lie-NOM-SIMU-CSO see-IMP talk-IS-SWR want=CSO
'The man Curiangu pretended to be ill, pretending to be lying down, the others told him "you must spy", and he said "yes!".' (t)

There is no way to determine whether *-nãixwa-* is a verbalising morpheme, or whether it is a verbal morpheme that is attached to nouns only after zero-verbalisation.

In the following example, *-nãixwa-* has a metalinguistic implication:

(2906) *na=ay-xuko-ỹ-'hỹ-da-hỹ-he-ki*
PROX=that-SETT-ATT-NOM-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC

kũrũi-to'hoi-da-le-hỹ *ojanỹ='a-da-ta* *pẽrẽ'jã-nãixwa-da-ta*
Kanoê-CL:child-1S-FRUST-NOM arrive=exist-1S-CSO speak-SIMU-1S-CSO

'a-da-hỹ-ki=tja *'ta-taxwa-si* *'a-da-day-hỹ*
exist-1S-NOM-DEC=CSO talk-IS.1O-SWR exist-1S-1S?-NOM
‘“I am not from here. I am a child of Kanoê, but I came to live here, speaking another language”, he used to speak like that to me’ (t)

Although the verb *pẽrẽjã-nãixwa-* means literally ‘to pretend to speak’, it implies here that the subject is not speaking the logically expected language. In this specific instance, the speaker is of Kanoê origin, but instead of Kanoê he speaks Kwaza. The same situation holds in the next example:

(2907) *in'gle-dy-nãi* *pẽrẽjã-nãi'xwa-da-ki*
English-POS-NOM speak-SIMU-1S-DEC
‘I speak English (instead of Russian although I am Russian)’[318]

The following example is an expression which means literally ‘if you pretend to be honey, you will be sweet’:

(2908) *nũty-nãi'xwa-xa-lɛ* *'hoi-tsy-tse*
honey-SIMU-2-PREC sweet-POT-DEC
‘you are going to be sweet like honey’

One must use this expression when planting anything, in order to make the harvest taste good later. The Aikanã say this too.

The function of *-nãixwa-* in the following example is not well understood:

(2909) *aky'ta-tja* *'a-le-hỹ* *[axe'hỹ-wa]*
two-CSO exist-FRUST-NOM find-IS

axe'hỹ-nãixwa-wa-ta *'a-wa-hỹ*
find-SIMU-IS-CSO exist-IS-NOM
‘only few were living, they encountered them like that’ (t)

It is possible that the simulative morpheme is a lexicalised combination of the nominaliser *-nãi* or the verb root *nãi-* ‘to be/do like’ with the classifier *-xwa* ‘man, figure, thing’.

318. The affix combination *-dy-nãi* ‘language of’ is discussed in (6.2.4.2.).

7.2.6. Lamentative -ʔwỹtɛ-

The lamentative suffix *-ʔwỹtɛ-* only refers to animate beings. It can be applied both to verb roots, verb stems, and to nouns.

(2910) *ere'ri-ʔwỹ'tɛ-ki*
grow-pity-DEC
'it is a pity the dog grew so much'

(2911) *maga'riDa-ʔwỹ'tɛ*
Margarida-pity
'poor Margarida'

Besides the meaning 'poor, what a pity', it can also imply that someone has deceased, 'the late'.

(2912) *'djy-ʔwỹtɛ* *jo'xu* *y'nỹ-hỹ-le*
brother-pity Joxu call-NOM-only
'only (my) regretted brother the late one called Joxu' (t)

(2913) *'si-dy-hỹ* *ha'kai* *maky'txa* *ỹnỹ-ʔwỹ'tɛ-ki*
I-POS-NOM grandparent Makytxa call-pity-DEC
'my grandmother is called Makytxa'

The sense 'the late' is implicit. Makytxa in (2913) may be still alive. In the following examples, the lamented persons have deceased explicitly (which is indicated by *-ĩʔĩ-* and *-le-*).

(2914) *'si-dy-hỹ* *ha'kai* *maky'txa* *ỹnỹ-ĩʔĩ-le-ʔwỹ'tɛ-ki*
I-POS-NOM grandparent Makytxa call-REM-FRUST-pity-DEC
'my late grandmother of long ago was called Makytxa'

(2915) *etay-'le* *cwa-ta* *a-wa-'le-ʔwỹtɛ* *mãbi*
woman-only IS-CSO exist-IS-FRUST-pity arrow

towari='bwa-cu-cwa-hỹ-ki
decease=end-IS-IS-NOM-DEC
'just the women remained there, what a pity!, they were killed off by arrows, they all died' (t)

Maybe the lamentative morpheme is etymologically related to the verb *ãwãte-* 'to be sad'.

7.2.7. Expletive -rai- *'damned!'*

The morpheme *-rai* 'damned!' has basically an exclamative function. Although it can be used in a neutral way, it has usually a heavily expletive connotation. However, this often occurs in an ironic context of faking indignation. The mor

pheme is mostly applied to verb stems, between the person cross-reference and mood markers:

(2916) *ãwãka-da-'rai-re*
heron-1S-damn-INT
'am I a bloody heron? (i.e. should I eat this much fish?)'

(2917) *jerexwa-xa-'rai-re*
jaguar-2-damn-INT
'are you a jaguar? (i.e. should you eat that much meat?)'

(2918) *kwa'za-dy-nãi* *wai'hỹ=wara* *are'ta-da-rai-he-ki*
Kwaza-POS-NOM nice=but know-1S-damn-NEG-DEC
'Kwaza is beautiful but I don't understand it at all'

(2919) *e-a-te=jã-'rjỹ=wara* *nãi-'re* *le'ja-rai-ki*
go-1P-PURP=be-CD:area=but like-INT ahead-damn-DEC
'now that direction where we are headed, (jaguar) went ahead, damned!' (t)

(2920) Q: *lu'zeu* *wai'hỹ-re*
Luzeu nice-INT
'do you find Luzeu pretty?'

A: *waihỹ-rai-'re* / *waihỹ-he-'rai*
nice-damn-INT / nice-NEG-damn
'pretty no way!'

(2921) *o'xe-da-rai-re*
laugh-1S-damn-INT
'I'm not joking!'

-rai occurs very often in emphatically used interrogative clauses (see 5.2.2.1.). Also the negative morpheme *-he-* may be involved, but without a negative sense:

(2922) *kui-he-rai-'re*
drink-NEG-damn-INT
'didn't he drink!, Jesus!'

(2923) *'kui=jã-he-rai-re*
drink=be-NEG-damn-INT
'well then, why don't you drink if you want it so much!'

However, when negative *-he-* is absent the emphatic expletive construction may have a negative sense:

(2924) *kui-rydy-'hỹ-rai-re*
drink-IRR-NOM-damn-INT
'he isn't going to drink, no way!'

(2925) *atsile-rydy-'hỹ-rai-re*
heavy-IRR-NOM-damn-INT
'ah, that doesn't look heavy at all!'

(2926) *kukui-'dy-da-rai-re=jã-si* *'nãi-xa-re*
hurt-CAU-1S-damn-INT=be-SWR like-2-INT
'it doesn't hurt, no!' (speaker does not want to admit he has pain)

The expletive morpheme sometimes replaces the mood marker, as in the second alternative answer to (2920), and it does not have to be very impolite. The following examples represent possible answers to a compliment by someone about the tasteful soup the speaker has made:

(2927) *'wai-he-'ki*
good-NEG-DEC
'it does not taste good'

(2928) *'wai-he-'rai*
good-NEG-damn
'it does not taste good'

In fact, (2928) was considered as more polite than the countersuppositional example (2927).

The following examples represent a fixed type of emphatic expression, in which *-rai* replaces a mood marker, and in which the root *wai-* occurs in the cosubordinative mood:

(2929) *awy-'rjỹ-rai* *wai-'ta* (**waiki*)
cold-CD:area-damn good-CSO
'it's freezing!'

(2930) *kara'ri-da-rai* *wai-'ta*
thirst-1S-damn good-CSO
'I'm so thirsty!'

It is not known whether one of the constituents is subordinated to the other.

In the example (2865), *-rai* is attached to a noun. In the next example, the derived noun is zero-verbalised:

(2931) *'ñũ-rai-re*
faeces-damn-INT
'it isn't dung, pal!' (hearer was afraid to taste liquorice)

Section (7.2.1.) contains several examples in which *-rai* is combined with the paucal morpheme *-ry-* in the following manner:

(2932) *kuraku'ra-ry-'rai*
chicken-PAU-damn
'those/my/your/his chicken'

In this combination, *-rai* does not seem to have a strong expletive connotation. However, it does seem that there can be a context dependent possessive connotation. That possessive relation can be made explicit, as in the next example:

(2933) *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *tala-ry-'rai*
you-POS-NOM uncle-PAU-damn
'your uncles'

The morpheme *-rai* may be etymologically related to the verb root *rai'hỹ-* 'to ruin', and/or to the root of nouns such as *'rai?ỹhỹ* 'animal, thing', *'rai?ỹnũ* 'poison'.

7.2.8. Focus -rati-

When applied to nouns or verb roots, the morpheme *-rati-* has a focus function. It occurs often in interrogative clauses, attached to the question word *tsũhũ* 'what'.

(2934) *tsũhũ-ra'ti* *cari-'re*
what-FOC shoot-INT
'what is it that he killed?'

(2935) *tsũhũ-ra'ti* *e=e'hỹ-xa-re*
what-FOC RED=make-2-INT
'what is it you're doing?'

(2936) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-xwanã* *'ja-xa-re*
what-FOC-CL:flesh eat-2-INT
'what meat are you eating?'

(2937) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-wã* *mã-a-'nãi-re*
what-FOC-AO call-1P-NOM-INT
'what does this (word) mean?', 'what is it?'

(2938) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-wã* *hã 'ta-a-re*
what-FOC-AO water talk-1P-INT
'what is meant by "*hã*"?'

(2939) R: *atxi'txi* *boi-'dy-da-ki*
maize full-CAU-1S-DEC
'I filled (it with) maize'

Q: *tsũhũ-rati-'na*
what-FOC-LOC
'in what?'

-rati- can occur as part of the matrix predicate:

(2940) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-re*
what-FOC-INT
'what kind of thing is it?' (reaction to someone's question about 'it')

-rati- is not an interrogative morpheme, and it is possible to ask the same questions without its application. However, it accentuates a certain topic which is, explicitly or implicitly, at hand. Of the following set of alternatives, to be possibly uttered when one sees tracks in the sand, the consultant said that the one without *-rati-* was 'less clear':

(2941) *tsũhũ-rati-to'ha-re*
what-FOC-foot-INT
'it is the tracks of what?'

(2942) *tsũhũ-to'ha-re*
what-foot-INT
'what track is it?' (MA: 'less clear')

-rati can also be applied to verb roots:

(2943) *wai-rati-'re*
good-FOC-INT
'is it delicious?'

(2944) *ti-'nãi* *mã-a-rati-'re* *a'nini* *'ta-wa-hỹ*
what-NOM call-1P-FOC-INT wood talk-IS-NOM

ri'rwa-ỹ-rati-hỹ-ko *ha'bi-wa-ta*
round-ATT-FOC-NOM-INS light-IS-CSO
'how is it we call it?, *anini* (tree species) they say, they light the fire with that round stuff'

The clause in which *-rati-* occurs does not necessarily have an interrogative value. In the following examples, *-rati-* replaces the mood marker and indicates surprise and emphasis:

(2945) *mo'rango* *wai-ra'ti-ta'dy*
strawberry good-FOC-EXCL
'this is the first time I tried strawberries, how nice!' (t)

(2946) *atxitxi-'le-wã* *kã-'to-ta* *'ja-a-ta* *'nãi-tja* *a'txitxi*
maize-only-AO roast-CL:seed-CSO eat-1P-CSO like-CSO maize

'wai-rati-ta'dy *ĩ'wã-tja* *ta* *ĩ'wã*
good-FOC-EXCL nothing-CSO talk nothing
'he roasted only maize and ate, and said: "I never ate maize before, how good it tastes!", so' (t)

(2947) TE: *ti-nãi-'hỹ* *de'da-dy-nãi* *ũce'nãi-xa-re*
what-NOM-NOM anaconda-POS-NOM know-2-INT
'you know that story about the snake?'

ME: *ti-'nãi-tsy-nãi*
what-NOM-GER-NOM
'about what?'

TE: *'deda* *hanã'wã-na-ỹ-hỹ* *'bou-tsy-ra'ti*
anaconda sky-LOC-ATT-NOM float-GER-FOC
'the snake, that one who floats in the sky'[319] (t)

The focus morpheme *-rati-* is also used to indicate the fact that the utterance contains historical narrative. This is discussed in the next subsection. It furthermore shows some resemblance to the nominal prioritive morpheme *-rata-* discussed in (4.4.7.). Note that *-rati-* is homophonous with, but considered distinct from, a classifier that means 'man' discussed in (4.2.2.2.).

7.2.9. Historical narrative use of -rati-

In historical narrative the morpheme *-rati-* is usually applied to the matrix predicate in a position between person cross-reference and mood marking (note that this is also the case in example (2944) above). It signals the fact that something used to occur in olden times. Often, this concerns traditional customs which do not exist any more. In the following examples, *-rati-* is applied because, according to the consultant, the custom or the people concerned 'don't exist any more now':

(2948) *axy'hi* *'ĩ-wa-rati-ki*
parica sniff-IS-FOC-DEC
'this way they sniffed parica'

(2949) *tutunita'hỹ-wa-rati-ki*
think-IS-FOC-DEC
'in olden times they used to think ...'

(2950) *uke'nũ* *ja-wa-le-ra'ti-ki*
piqui eat-IS-FRUST-FOC-DEC
'they really ATE piqui' (very much, unlike we today)

The frustrative morpheme *-le-* may highlight the fact that the events belong to the past or that a custom was interrupted, but it is not obligatory for historical narrative:

319. Referring to the story about the origin of the rainbow.

(2951) *mĩu* *'kui-le-ki*
chicha drink-FRUST-DEC
'he was drinking chicha' (once by one person)

(2952) *mĩu* *kui-wa-le-ra'ti-ki*
chicha drink-IS-FRUST-FOC-DEC
'they used to drink chicha' (as an extinct tradition)

(2953) *mĩu* *kui-wa-ra'ti-ki*
chicha drink-IS-FOC-DEC
'that's the way they drank chicha'[320]

The speech participants may themselves have experienced the bygone era to which *-rati-* refers:

(2954) *mĩu* *'kui-a-le-ra'ti-ki*
chicha drink-1P-FRUST-FOC-DEC
'we were drinking chicha' (but not any more now)

(2955) *mĩu* *'kui-a-rati-ki*
chicha drink-1P-FOC-DEC
'that's the way we drank chicha'[321]

When *-rati-* occurs in a reported speech construction, the reporting speaker has usually not experienced the events himself. Compare the following examples:

(2956) *kanwa=ekai-'ɛ* *huda-'hỹ-ra'ti-ki*
canoe=leg-too hum-NOM-FOC-DEC
'the cars used to make a lot of noise'
(e.g. S is an old person who has experienced those times)

(2957) *kanwa=ekai-'ɛ* *huda-'hỹ-ki-cwa-ra'ti-ki*
canoe=leg-too hum-NOM-DEC-IS-FOC-DEC
'it is said the car used to make a lot of noise'
(e.g. S is a young person who has not experienced those times)

As is explained in (8.3.1.9.), traditional mythological tales basically consist of one long chain of cosubordinated medial clauses. The only predicates which bear matrix clause moods are those which are quoted, and the final predicate of

320. Chicha is still drunk regularly, but in the old days people always drank chicha rather than water.
321. MA commented that "AN and ME could say this".

the story. The narrative is then concluded by the formula *cwaratiki* 'that is what they say', 'they used to tell'. Note the following examples:

(2958) *hary'ky* *'bui-tja* *'ɛ-ta* *ta* *eto'hoi-wã*
now leave-CSO go-CSO CSO child-AO

'emã-tja-hỹ-ki-cwa-ra'ti-ki
weep-TRA-NOM-DEC-IS-FOC-DEC
'so she went out, and went away, crying because of her child, it is told like this' (t)

(2959) *hary'ky* *koto'rɛ* *a're-je?e-ki-cwa-ra'ti-ki*
now toad turn-again-DEC-IS-FOC-DEC
'then he turned into a toad again, that's how the story goes' (t)

The narrative formula *cwaratiki* consists of the indefinite person cross-reference morpheme *-cwa-*, the focus morpheme *-rati-* and the declarative mood marker *-ki*. It is attached to the final declarative predicate of the story, and thus it presents that predicate as quoted speech. Because all that precedes is cosubordinated, and hence within the scope of the final predicate, the narrative formula indicates that the whole story is quoted from people of olden times.

7.2.10. Exclamative -tady

The exclamative morpheme *-tady* can be translated as 'blast!, yes!, that's it!, isn't it?, aha!'. It is always immediately preceded by a noun or a nominalised verb. It usually receives main stress. It expresses indignation, surprise or satisfaction with the discovery of the identity of the referent of the noun, or with the explanatory quality of the event denoted by the verb.

(2960) *cay-ta'dy*
papaya-EXCL
'ah, it is a wild papaya!'

(2961) *ũce'nãi-a-ta* *'a-a-he-hỹ-ta'dy*
know-1P-CSO exist-1P-NEG-NOM-EXCL
'ah!, and us knowing nothing!'

(2962) *de'da* *nãi-da-hỹ-ta'dy* / *de'da* *kore'we-da-hỹ-ta'dy*
snake like-1S-NOM-EXCL / snake pregnant-1S-NOM-EXCL
'it was a snake with which I was pregnant!' (t)

On only one occasion *-tady* occurred in the place of a mood marker. Compare the following examples:

(2963) *ba-ja'hỹ-wa-ki*
cut-CL:path-IS-DEC
'they cleared the road(side)'

(2964) *ba-ja'hỹ-wa-ta'dy*
cut-CL:path-IS-EXCL
'ah! they cleared the road(side)'

The main reason to consider *-tady* as a bound morpheme, and not as a particle, is that it always occurs in a fixed position after the noun. It is not attached to fully inflected verbs, and it does not move around the sentence freely.

In elliptic constructions (see 7.5.), however, *-tady* may behave as a root element and bear person and mood markers. Note the reported speech construction in the following example:

(2965) *di'lɛ 'mã-hata-kywy ta'dy-xa-lɛ tso'roi=onɛ-he-ky*
who call-3S.2O-COND EXCL-2-PREC run=come-NEG-NEI
'if anyone calls you, don't say "O.K.!" and come running, no!' (t)

The element *-tady* is optionally followed by the verb root *jã-* 'to be', which is compounded with it, or cliticised to it (see 7.2.11.). The extension with *jã-* seems to give extra emphasis: *-tady=jã-ki* 'now we know!, thát's it!'[322].

(2966) *'mɛ̃-hata-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
hit-3S.2O-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'now I know he was hitting you!'

(2967) *e-'xy 'dai-ty-taxwa-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
Ø-CL:leaf grab-DET-IS.1O-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'without me knowing they took my money but now I discovered it!'

(2968) *'nãi-xa-ta 'a-xa-hỹ-ta'dy=(jã-ki)*
like-2-CSO exist-2-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'ah, that is what you were doing (like)!'

(2969) *zjwãu cari-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
João shoot-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'aha!, it is João who killed'

(2970) *zjwãu-'wã cari-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
João-AO shoot-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'aha!, he killed João'

(2971) *areta-'he-tsy-hỹ-ta'dỹ=jã-ki dodotxi'tɛ o'hui-nãi*
know-NEG-GER-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC rubber.ball play-NOM
'(I'm disappointed that) they don't know how to play football!'

Also *-tady=jã-ki* does not build an independent phrase by itself, except in elliptic constructions, in the proper context, e.g. when someone tells has informed the speaker of something which he already knows:

322. Often pronounced as [tadɨjɛ̃ki].

(2972) *ta'dy=jã-ki*
EXCL=be-DEC
'that's it indeed!'

7.2.11. The verb root jã- *'to be'*

The verb root *jã-* 'to be' has many uses, and they were discussed in several places throughout the present work. Because of its manifold functions and its diverging distribution, I have briefly summarised all its uses here.

As the root of an independent predicate, *jã-* 'to be' is used as an affirmative expression:

(2973) *jã-'ki*
be-DEC
'that's it!', 'that's correct', 'that's how it's done!'

Example (2973) is used, for instance, in a teaching situation. The next example represents an utterance by which the speaker solicits confirmation:

(2974) *jã-'re*
be-INT
'that's the way (one does it)?'

Here are some other examples of *jã-*:

(2975) *jã-'wy*
be-time
'still' (lit. 'the time of (being) like that')

(2976) *ti-'nãi jã-'re*
what-NOM be-INT
'how is it you do it?', 'how is it you said?'

These expressions are all quite dependent on the pragmatic context.

In a number of instances, *jã-* 'to be' was used in the sense of 'to say':

(2977) *jere'xwa 'jã-hỹ=wara*
jaguar be-NOM=but
'saying "jaguar", but' (t)

(2978) *jere'xwa jã-'nãi jã'si*
jaguar be-NOM hear
'(he) hear saying "jaguar"' (t)

(2979) *tsũhũ-ra'ti-wã jari'mã jã-'re*
what-FOC-AO jarimã be-INT
'what does "*jarimã*" mean?'

(2980) Q: *ti-'nãi* *jã-'re* *di'ra* *jã-'re* A: *di'ra* *jã-'ki*
what-NOM be-INT dira be-INT dira be-DEC
'how is (do you say) it?, is it "*dira*"?' 'it is "*dira*"'

(2981) *koreja'ro* *waja-'nỹ-ca-ra* *jã-hỹ-'tsy*
pan bring-REF-EMP-IMP be-NOM-RES
'(I'm) telling you bring here the pan!' (ordering again)

In the above examples, *jã-* nevertheless continues to be literally interpretable as 'to be'.

The verb root *jã-* 'to be' is used mostly in various types of fixed compound expressions. In (5.5.14.3.) it was discussed in combination with the appellative conjectural morpheme *-here*. As demonstrated in (7.2.10.), it has an emphatic effect in combination with exclamative *-tady*. Finally, in (8.6.3.) it is dealt with as part of a special construction with an indignant function. In some of these constructions, it is difficult to establish whether the element *jã-* is truly a cliticised verb root. Sometimes, namely, it resembles a cross-reference morpheme. Compare the following examples:

(2982) *areta-'he-damỹ-tsy-hỹ-ta'dỹ=jã-ki*
know-NEG-want-GER-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'ah, he is not going to learn (to speak Kwaza), no way!'

(2983) *areta-'he-damỹ-tsy-hỹ-ta'dy-da-ki*
know-NEG-want-GER-NOM-EXCL-1S-DEC
'ah, he is not going to learn (to speak Kwaza), no way!'

These examples were said by the consultant to be identical in meaning. It is interesting to note that the element *=jã-* 'to be' is in the same position as cross-reference marker *-da-*. However, one may presume that the grammatical structure of the examples is different, and that *jã-* represents a sort of dummy verb, which is compounded with the preceding utterance, whereas the first person marker *-da-* is applied after zero-verbalisation. In both examples, that which follows *-tady* has an emphatic function. In the following examples, the same contrast can be observed twice:

(2984) *e'nãi-tja-eteja-'tsi=jã-'ta* *areta-'nã=jã-ki*
quarrel-TRA-1PO-MON=be-CSO know-FUT=be-DEC
'for him not to quarrel with us, therefore we're going to learn'

(2985) *e'nãi-tja-eteja-'tsi-xa-xa-'ta* *areta-'nã-xa-xa-ki*
quarrel-TRA-1PO-MON-2-AS-CSO know-FUT-2-AS-DEC
'for him not to quarrel with us, therefore you're going to learn'

Again, *jã-* occurs in (2984) in the same position as the person marker in (2985). However, here there is a semantic difference. When one compares the translations, the element *jã-* seems to indicate a first person plural. Note from the comparison of the following examples how *jã-* appears to agree only with a first person plural inclusive cross-reference marker in the matrix clause:

(2986) *tsũhũ-'du=jã-lɛ* *'nãi-a-tsy-re* (**nãi-da-tsy-re*)
what-BER=be-PREC like-1P-POT-INT
'what are we going to do that for?' (t)

(2987) *tsũhũ-'du-da-lɛ* *'nãi-da-tsy-re*
what-BER-1S-PREC like-1S-POT-INT
'what am I going to do that for?'

(2988) *tsũhũ-'du-xa-lɛ* *'nãi-xa-tsy-re*
what-BER-2-PREC like-2-POT-INT
'what are you going to do that for?'

Note also about (2986) that the inclusive morpheme *-a-* cannot be replaced by another cross-reference morpheme. The same kind of "agreement" differences were encountered in the contrast between the examples (2080) and (2081) in (5.5.12.). In many examples in section (5.5.12.) which involve the element *jã-* in a position where one would expect a cross-reference morpheme, the translations suggest that the subject is impersonal[323]. Compare the following examples, and note their approximate literal translations:

(2989) *ti-nãi-da-'te-xa-ta* *'e-xa-re*
what-NOM-1S-PURP-2-CSO have-2-INT
'you use it to do what?'
(lit. 'do you have it for you to (say) "why do I?"?')

(2990) Q: *ti-nãi-da-'te=jã-ta* *'e-a-re*
what-NOM-1S-PURP=be-CSO have-1P-INT
'what for does one keep this' (CX: a box with fossils)
(lit. 'do we have it for one to (say) "why do I?"?')

A: *ãwỹi-'dy-ja-a-te-a-ta*
see-CAU-IO-1P-PURP-1P-CSO
'just for us to show to people'
(lit. 'it is for us to (say) "we show it to people"')

323. In most Portuguese translations the subject was expressed as *a gente*, literally 'the people', but which is an impersonal way to talk about the first person plural 'one, people (including me)'.

(2991) *ti-nãi=jã-'te=jã-ta* *erewe-'tay-a-re*
what-NOM=be-PURP=be-CSO write-CL:vessel-1P-INT
'why does one write/paint the mortar?' (t)
(lit. 'do we paint the mortar because one (says) "why does one?"?')

In some contexts, the occurrence of *jã-* as the only root of an independent predicate was even translated with an impersonal sense:

(2992) *jã-hỹ-'tsy*
be-NOM-RES
'one already did that one'

The following example contains both the sense 'to be' and, as fixed part of the appellative morpheme *-herejã-*, the impersonal use of *jã-*:

(2993) *('nãi)=jã-'hỹ-here.jã-re*
like=be-NOM-APPL.be-INT
'it's like this that one does it', 'you have to do it like this'

So, it appears that the verb root *jã-* 'to be' may somehow agree with first person plural (inclusive) cross-reference, and that it is sometimes translated as an inclusive impersonal 'one'. On some rare occasions, *jã-* was even directly translated by consultants as 'we'. Nevertheless, I consider *jã-* as a verb root meaning 'to be', which has an impersonal sense in some applications (see also 5.1.7.).

7.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a common morphological process in Kwaza and it has some remarkable properties. It concerns not only lexical roots and constituent syllables of roots, but also cross-reference morphemes and other morphemes. Reduplication of cross-reference morphemes is one of the grammatical characteristics of Kwaza that make it a rather unique language. This type of reduplication is determined by morphological boundaries rather than by phonotactic units. Furthermore, it expresses aspectual and even tense-like distinctions. The other types of reduplication, such as root reduplication and reduplication of the root's first syllable, can occur with a number of different functions. In the present section, mainly the phonotactically based types of reduplication will be described. The different types of morphologically based reduplication were presented in the sections (5.5.2.), (5.5.4.) and (5.5.26.). The different kinds of reduplication in Kwaza also formed the topic of an article by van der Voort (2003).

7.3.1. Root reduplication

Repetition of the entire root occurs with repetitive, durative, progressive and intensifying meaning. It is attested both with verbal and adverbial roots. These functions were also illustrated and discussed in (5.5.27.) and (6.2.2.). Consider the following examples:

(2994) *hãidi=hãi'di-tse*
drip=drip-DEC
'it is dripping'

(2995) *hãte=hã'te-da-mỹ*
try=try-1S-VOL
'I'm going to try (experiment, to do anything)'

(2996) *hy=hy-'dwa-ki*
go=go-DR:onto-DEC
'he is walking (on) the path'

(2997) *haka=ha'ka-hỹ-tɛ*
old=old-NOM-NOM
'very old thing'

Furthermore, root reduplication was in some relatively lexicalised instances attested to produce an attenuated effect. When reduplicated, the verb root *wy-* 'to storm, rustle, buzz' loses its possible "intense" connotation:

(2998) *wywy'rjỹ-ki*
blow-DEC
'the wind blows'

Also the verb root *kuri-* 'to stop, be quiet' is in a way attenuated under reduplication. The result is a somewhat fixed expression:

(2999) *kuriku'ri-da-lɛ* *a'ky-da-tsy-tse*
a.little.later-1S-PREC take.food-1S-POT-DEC
'I'll take food after (you first)'

Reduplication occurs in the iconic description of certain geometrical shapes. On one occasion a verb root together with a satellite argument were reduplicated, and the result is rather iconic:

(3000) *ũtɛja 'bu-tse*
side put-DEC
'it sits on the other side'

(3001) *ũtɛja=bu=ũtɛja=bu=ũtɛja='bu-tse*
side=put=side=put=side=put-DEC
'it is a triangle'

Productive reduplication of nominal roots is very rare and does not seem to concern lexical nouns. There is one interrogative pronoun in Kwaza, *di'lɛ* 'who', and it can be reduplicated with the accumulative sense of 'who else':

(3002) *dilɛ=di'lɛ* *o'ja-xa-xa-re*
who=who go-2-AS-INT
'who else went with you?'

Cross-linguistically, the reduplication of "who" has often the meaning 'who-ever' (Moravcsik 1978).

Although reduplication is not the usual strategy to form numerals in Kwaza, higher numerals are sometimes expressed by repetition of equal quantities:

(3003) *bwa-ko'je=bwa-ko'je*
end-CL:hand=end-CL:hand
'ten' (fig. 'five-five')

7.3.2. Syllable reduplication

Repetition of a syllable of the lexical root may also occur with repetitive and intensifying meaning. It is attested both with verbal and adverbial roots, which was also illustrated and discussed in (5.5.27.) and (6.2.2.). Often it is the first syllable which is reduplicated:

(3004) *do-do'te-ki*
RED-shed-DEC
'it is leaking'

(3005) *tsitsɛ-'wã* *e-e'sa-eteja-ki*
we.EX-AO RED-sting-1PO-DEC
'many wasps stung us' (t)

(3006) *ca-ca'ri-ki* *dutu're*
RED-shoot-DEC pig
'he killed many pigs'

Some monosyllabic roots that end in a glide are only partially reduplicated. The onset and the nucleus are repeated, preceding the root:[324]

(3007) *ho-'hou-lɛ-a-ni*
RED-take-RECI-1P-EXH
'let's get people together (for a party)'

Occasionally, it is the final syllable of the root that is reduplicated:

(3008) *dury-'ry-ki*
roll-RED-DEC
'it is rolling by itself'

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324. Note that this and other examples were presented wrongfully as cases of syllable reduplication in van der Voort (2003:74;76).

Sometimes, it is not entirely clear which syllable is reduplicated. The following example derives apparently from the verb *bɛje-* ‘to pop’:

(3009) *bɛji'je-ki*
pop.RED-DEC
‘(the popcorn) is popping’

On several occasions, different types of reduplication were attested for a certain root. As an example, the verb root *kahɛ-* ‘to bite’ can be repeated in its entirety as *kahɛkahɛ-* ‘to keep on biting (ferociously)’, but also only its first syllable may be reduplicated, with an attenuated meaning:

(3010) *jere'xwa-tohoi* *ka-'kahɛ-nỹ-ki*
jaguar-CL:child RED-bite-REF-DEC
‘the dog is biting (playfully)’

The same was attested with the verb root *rãmã-* ‘to shake, tremble, rattle, reel, dangle’, where either the entire root or the last syllable is reduplicated:

(3011) *rãmã=rã'mã-tse*
shake=shake-DEC
‘it is rattling (because it is loose)’

(3012) *rãmã-'mã-ki*
shake-RED-DEC
‘it is reeling, swaying upside down, trembling’

Beside repetitive and intensifying senses, (partial) syllable reduplication can also have a distributive function:

(3013) *da-'dai-ki*
RED-take-DEC
‘he is taking (away things)’

(3014) *da-'dai-da-ki*
RED-take-1S-DEC
‘I am taking (away things)’

(3015) *e-ehỹ-'ta* *ojanỹ-'he-tse*
RED-make-CSO arrive-NEG-DEC
‘because she’s busy (doing all kinds of things), she didn’t come’

(3016) *he-'hẽu-rjỹ-da-ki*
RED-sniff-CD:area-1S-DEC
‘I smelled/sniffed around’ (t)

Furthermore, repetition of a root syllable was attested as a (not so productive) means to indicate argument number, i.e. the difference between singular and plural subjects or objects. In fact, in (5.4.10.) examples were presented in

which the difference between syllable and root reduplication seems to indicate a distinction between plurality and duality of the subject.[325] However, this does not seem to be a very productive operation. It was discussed in section (5.4.10.), and here only one set of examples is given:

(3017) *kui=hã'rã-da-ki*
drink=stop-1S-DEC
'I stopped drinking'

(3018) *kui=hãrã-'rã-ki*
drink=stop-RED-DEC
'many people stopped drinking'

Morphophonological variation in Kwaza is rare, also in reduplication. The reduplicated variant of the nasal vowel *ũ-* in roots or root elements, as found with a subject pluralising function, is the allomorph *-mũ-*, as in *bu?ũ'rjỹ-* 'to sit (SG subject)' vs. *bu?ũmũ'rjỹ-* 'to sit (PL subject)' and *ũi-* 'to lie down' vs. *u'mũi-* 'to sleep (PL subject)'. Another case of morphophonological variation concerns the repetitive morpheme discussed in section (5.5.31.) and mentioned in (7.3.3.) below.

The verbs discussed so far are intransitive. Partial reduplication of the transitive verb *tsje-* 'to grab, close in' indicates that the object is plural:

(3019) *jere'xwa 'tsje-ki duture-('wã)*
jaguar grab-DEC pig-AO
'the jaguar grabbed the pig'

(3020) *ũca'dy tsi-tsje-ĩ?ĩ-'hỹ-ki*
hawk RED-grab-REM-NOM-DEC
'it's been a long time since the hawk grabbed (chickens)'

Finally, reduplication can refer iconically to repetitive sounds and geometrical shapes:

(3021) *nõi-nõi-'nõita-'nỹ-ki*
RED-RED-dot-REF-DEC
'it is dotted (-----)'

(3022) *tsuruруruru='dote-ki*
murmur=shed-DEC
'water is leaking away murmuring'

7.3.3. Reduplication of bound morphemes

Apart from repetition of root syllables which have no distinguishable meaning of themselves, sometimes also bound syllables are repeated, which do bear semantic or grammatical content. It is important to mention here the repetition of bound cross-reference morphemes, which has past and habitual effects. This was discussed exhaustively in the sections (5.5.2.), (5.5.4.) and (5.5.26.).

325. Actually, these examples, (1913) to (1915) in (5.4.10.), involve the same root *dai-* 'take' as in examples (3013) and (3014) above.

Furthermore, there are some instances of repetition of classifiers. The word *eroha'xu(xu)* 'spine' may contain a reduplication of the classifier *-xu* 'bone', iconically symbolising the repetitive occurrence of the vertebrae. With respect to the verb root *bɛnũ-* 'choke' one could argue that it contains a lexicalised instance of the classifier *-nũ-* 'powder, smoke, dust, hair', and that an ensuing classifier *-nũ-* just represents a single occurrence:

(3023) *bɛnũ-'nũ-ki*
choke-CL:powder-DEC
'he choked in smoke'

However, of the verb root *hunũ-* 'to burn', it can be argued that it derives from *hu-* 'to smoke', and that the latter is the basis for the following construction, instead of the former:

(3024) *hu-nũ-'nũ-ki* / *hunũ-'nũ-ki*
smoke-CL:powder-CL:powder-DEC / burn-CL:powder-DEC
'it is full of smoke (e.g. when a field burns)'

In both examples, the presumed reduplication of the classifier has an intensifying effect.[326]

Also the adverbial intensifying morpheme *-te-* should be mentioned here. It is often reduplicated as *-tete-*, possibly without change of meaning, when applied to verbs. This is discussed in (5.5.30.).

Finally, the repetitive morpheme *-e-* is of significance here. It has an allomorph *-je?e-* which may derive from a reduplicative process. This morpheme is discussed especially in (5.5.31.).

7.3.4. Lexicalised reduplication

With several verb roots the results of reduplication appear to be lexicalised. In some instances, there is no non-reduplicated form of the verb, even though the

326. Note the repetition of the element *-hỹ-* in a comparative construction:

nỹhỹ-'ʰhỹ-ki
big-NOM-DEC
'it is bigger / it is the biggest'

Even though the first occurrence of the element *-hỹ-* is to be regarded as a neutral classifier, because it can be replaced by a specific classifier, the intensified sense of this example was attributed in (4.2.2.1.) to the fact that the second occurrence of *-hỹ-* does not function as a neutral classifier, but as a nominaliser. In (5.5.20.) it was shown that clefting through nominalisation also has an intensifying effect.

reduplication has a repetitive connotation, as if it were productive. In the present subsection I have used plus symbols to indicate the elements which are reduplicated, but this is not to suggest any productive grammatical structure:

(3025) *dynã+dy'nã-* ‘to nod no’
ha'dodi+hado'di- ‘to walk with a limp’
tsu+'tsu- ‘to urinate’

Of these roots one could argue that the basic root element was reduplicated in its entirety, although the relevant root element has no specifiable meaning. The same can be said of the following ideophonic verbs:

(3026) *di+'di-* ‘to walk stamping’
dyrã+dy'rã- ‘to rattle (small objects)’
tsi+'tsi- ‘to burn’
txi+'txi- ‘to burn’

In the following roots, one may perceive repetition of only the first syllable of the unidentified basic root element:

(3027) *tã+'tãi-* ‘to pound’
ba+baice- ‘to dance’[327]

The following examples show how both types of reduplication occur with respect to an otherwise unidentified basic root element:

(3028) *rilo+'lo-da-ki*
stagger-1S-DEC
‘I’m staggering (because of alcohol, or a hit on the head)’

(3029) *rilo+rilo+'lo=hyhyrwa-'ki-cu-cwa-hỹ-ki*
stagger=move-DEC-IS-IS-NOM-DEC
‘they said he walked with a stagger (after being shot)’

A few verb roots which contain or consist of iterated syllables, are etymologically related to existing non-reduplicative verb roots. Even though the semantic correspondences between them are not predictable, the difference between the reduplicated and the non-reduplicated forms can still be interpreted in terms of repetition, duration or intensity:

(3030)	*ba+ba'rɛ̃-*	‘to be warm’	*ba'rɛ-*	‘to heat’
	debai+de'bai-	‘to waddle (of a duck)’	*de'ba-*	‘to turn’
	ha+'ha-	‘to wash’	*ha-*	‘to be clean’

327. This verb root has variable stress: *ba'baice-* vs. *babai'ce-*.

kara+'ra-	'to be meagre'	*ka'ra-*	'to be dry'
u+'?ute-	'to tell a story'	*u'te-*	'to notify'

And with respect to the distributive function of reduplication, the verb 'to distribute' itself derives originally from a reduplication of the verb root *hu-* 'to give, sell':

(3031) *hu+hu'te-da-ki*
distribute-1S-DEC
'I was distributing (giving things to people)'

There are also some nouns that contain unanalysable reduplicated syllables. These are often sound-symbolic words for birds, such as *dwi'dwi* 'flycatcher (fam. Tyrannidae)', *ka'kau* 'carrion crow (fam. Corvidae)', monkey species like *kuruku'ru* '(unidentified)', etc. The word *bebe'to* refers to certain types of 'small beads'. It is probably etymologically related to *beto'tɛ* 'bead ornament' and its inherent reduplication may originally refer iconically to multiplicity.

7.3.5. Pseudoreduplication

In this section and in several subsections of section (5.5.), all attested types of reduplication, even the lexicalised ones, were shown to have predominantly temporal and aspectual functions. Some morphological operations in Kwaza, which have in principle nothing to do with reduplication, may lead to structures which resemble reduplication superficially. In the first place, recursivity of morphology may lead to such structures. Note the accidental recursion of a (semi-lexicalised) classifier in the following example:

(3032) *atxitxi?ũ-'ũ*
maize.grain-CL:grain
'a grain of rice without chaff'

Even though this is not such a good example since it contains a somewhat fossilised instance of the classifier *-u*, it is to imply that accidental repetition of morphemes should not be considered as reduplication. Repetition of morphemes should be regarded as reduplication if the semantic result of its occurrence is unpredictable from the accumulation of its productive constituent parts. This is the case in the example of *erohaxu'xu* 'spine' as discussed in section (7.3.3.).

Compounding of identical verb roots leads also to such structures. In the next example, the verb root *wady-* in second position in a compound has a benefactive function:

(3033) *'wɛra-wã* *haru'rai* *wa'dy=wady-ta?ỹ-'ra*
Vera-AO armadillo give=give-1SO-IMP
'bring the armadillo meat to Vera for me!'

The repetition of the verb root in this example is accidental and has an outcome that is entirely predictable on the basis of the properties of its constituent parts.

Finally, sequences of homophonous morphemes may lead to structures which resemble reduplication:

(3034) *'ta-ta-ta*
talk-1O-CSO
'he was saying to me'

In this example there is no reduplication, and the multiple occurrence of homophonous elements is purely accidental.

None of these quasi-reduplicative examples show the semantic characteristics which are normally associated with true reduplication.

7.4. Composition

In Kwaza, compounding of two or more verb roots, which is discussed in section (7.4.1.), is fairly common. It may refer to sequences of different events, but it may also have a more grammatical function and refer to a single event. Compounding of roots from other categories, which is discussed in (7.4.2.), is rare. Negation in compounds has already been discussed in (7.1.1.6.). Reduplication, classification and directionality are regarded in the present work as distinct from compounding.

7.4.1. Verbal compounds

Compounding of verb roots is a very common and productive way to link up events in Kwaza. Verbal inflexion is marked only on the last member of the compound. Consider the following examples:

(3035) *kuri=tsi'kja-da-ki*
stop=stand-1S-DEC
'I stopped, and stayed put'

(3036) *kui='hay-da-ki*
drink=cut.off-1S-DEC
'I drank until half (the glass)'

(3037) *konajã'dy=a-tsy-wy* *ace'rjỹ-ki*
sweat=exist-POT-time nigh-DEC
'the hot rainy season is coming' (lit. 'the time of sweat is nigh')

The first member of a compound may be morphologically complex to some extent:

(3038) *kawɛ 'kui-e=a-tsy-wy ace'rjỹ-ki*
coffee drink-again=exist-POT-time nigh-DEC
'coffee-time is arriving'

(3039) *cari-'ty=asa-a-ni*
kill-DET=leave-1P-EXH
'let's kill him off!' (t)

(3040) *cari-'nã=asa-le-hỹ tsoho'roi=oja-hỹ-lɛ*
kill-FUT=leave-FRUST-NOM run=go-NOM-PREC
'wanting to kill it, however, it got away, then' (t)

(3041) *nỹ-hỹ=txu'hũi-tse*
big-NOM=small-DEC
'it is somewhat big' (but not very big)

There are several different kinds of relationships between compounded roots. This depends on the semantics of the concerned roots and on the relative order of the concomitants of the compound structure. The compound may reflect a sequence of events:

(3042) *towɛ=ca'we-ki*
break=go.down-DEC
'he broke branch and fell down'

(3043) *jere'xwa wãwỹi=tu'ru-ʈja nwã'rã 'dai=warja-ta*
jaguar sleep=wake-CSO cudgel take=bring-CSO
'jaguar slept, woke up and took a wooden machete' (t)

The internal order of sequential compounds is iconic. Depending on the semantics of the verb root, some orders are logically excluded:

(3044) *terja=hy'ja=tse*
slide.down=fall-DEC
'he slipped and fell'

(3045) *?*hy'ja=te'rja-tse*
fall=slide.down-DEC
'he fell and slipped'

Nevertheless, the order can be reversed, in accordance with an alternative course of events. This may lead to somewhat different lexicalised meanings. In the following examples, the verb root *buru-* 'to pass or visit a place which is inhabited by people' is combined with the verb root *oja-* 'to go away, leave', in different orders:

(3046) *ay-'rjỹ* *oja=bu'ru-ki*
that-CD:area go=pass-DEC
'he (left here and) arrived there in that place'

(3047) *ay-'rjỹ* *buru=o'ja-ki*
that-CD:area pass=go-DEC
'he passed by there' (he did not stop)

Serial compounds may have a purposive sense:

(3048) *ja=ũi-a-'ni-tse*
eat=lie-1P-EXH-DEC
'she says let's eat so that we can go to sleep'

(3049) *onɛ=''kui-da-mỹ*
come=drink-1S-VOL
'I came to drink', 'I'm going there to drink'

(3050) *awỹi='ɛ-ki*
see=go-DEC
'he went there to see'

(3051) *mã=audy'nɛ̃-ki*
call=make.return-DEC
'she called him back'

Not all compounds are sequential, since some compounds refer to synchronic events:

(3052) *hy=te'rja-tse*
go=slide.down-DEC
'he went down'

(3053) *ywynwỹ-simjã'ku* *'dy=asa-xa-xa-ki*
tree-CL:stump cut=leave-2-AS-DEC
'you're cutting tree stumps away'

(3054) *erewexy=hy'dwa-da-ki*
write=walk-1S-DEC
'I'm writing while walking'

(3055) *erewexy=hũ'dwa-da-ki*
write=sit-1S-DEC
'I'm writing sitting'

Sometimes compounds may be regarded as consisting of a predicate and its verbal complement:

(3056) *'mɛ̃-e-dy-ta* *emã=hã'rã-tja*
beat-again-DS-CSO cry=stop-CSO
'when he beat again, she just stopped crying' (t)

(3057) *areta=mã-'he-da-ki*
know=call-NEG-1S-DEC
'I don't know how to call it'

When one of the members of a compound is semantically attributive, it modifies the other member, as if it were an adverb:

(3058) *wai=txu'hũi-tse*
good=small-DEC
'it got a little better'

(3059) *tyka?o=txu'hũi-tara-mỹ*
visit.far=small-PROC-VOL
'I'm going to visit far away people a little'

(3060) *be='hɛ-dy-'hỹ-ta-ki*
black=paint-CAU-NOM-1O-DEC
'I'm painted black (with genipap) by someone'

Several verb roots with a relatively abstract meaning occur so frequently as a second element in a verbal compound that they are like suffixes. The root *kwɛ-* 'to enter' was illustrated in (5.3.1.) to function often in the same way as a directional morpheme. Note the following "illative" compound:

(3061) *towɛ='kwɛ-tja*
go=enter-CSO
'they went into (the forest, house, corral etc.)' (t)

The verb root *asa-* 'to end, leave behind, separate from' is usually a second element in a compound verb and adds a terminative meaning 'into bits, into oblivion, away':

(3062) *do'te=asa-hỹ-ki*
shed=leave-NOM-DEC
'leak empty'

(3063) *ha'dai=asa-xa-tsy-tse*
hack.up=leave-2-POT-DEC
'you should cut it to bits (when you run into a jaguar)'

(3064) *ywy'nwỹ 'dy=asa-wa-ki*
tree cut=leave-IS-DEC
'they cut the log in order to clear it out of the way'

As mentioned in (5.4.10.), *asa-* has a singular object. Its plural equivalent *uja-* is also usually compounded:

(3065) *ywy'nwỹ 'dy=uja-wa-ki*
tree cut=leave-IS-DEC
'they cut the many logs in order to clear them out of the way'

Similarly, the verb root *bwa-* 'to end, finish' adds a completive meaning as a second member in a compound:

(3066) *'boi-dy=bwa-dy-'ra*
full-CAU=end-CAU-IMP
'fill it up for him!'

(3067) *ba='bwa-cwa-ki*
cut=finish-IS-DEC
'they finished clearing a field'

Also the verb *hãrã-* 'to stop', as in (3056), is used as a second element with an aspectual meaning. This was also discussed in (5.5.23.).

The benefactive function of the verb root *wady-* 'to give' as a second member of a compound was discussed in section (5.4.4.). Here, a few examples will suffice:

(3068) *ui kurje=wa'dy-nĩnã-da-ki*
tobacco wind=give-2O-1S-DEC
'I rolled a cigarette for you'

(3069) *kwe=wa'dy-ta?ỹ-ra*
string=give-1SO-IMP
'string it for me!'

(3070) *lonã-'na hy=kwɛ=wa'dy-da-ki*
hole-LOC go=enter=give-1S-DEC
'I entered into the hole for him'

Some compound constructions, like those involving *wady-* 'give', are like serial verbs: they contain several verbs, but they refer to a single event. The following examples contain constructions which also seem to represent "serial compounds":

(3071) *i'tsosisi 'dy=wanɛ-ra*
cord cut=bring-IMP
'bring me a piece of rope!'

(3072) *were=oja-'tay-nahere*
revolt=go-CL:woman-COL
'the runaway women'

(3073) *tswa tso'roi=oja-ta kwɛ-da'mỹ-tse*
man run=go-CSO enter-want-DEC
'the man ran towards the cavern'

Compounds involving the verb root *wanɛ-* 'bring' may have a similar function as with *wady-* 'give', but not as regular and as abstract. They should probably not be regarded as serial compounds:

(3074) *e-si'ki 'dy=wanɛ-ra*
Ø-CL:skin cut=bring-IMP
'cut and give me a piece of cloth!'

(3075) *coha-si'ki 'dai=wanɛ-ra*
foot-CL:skin take=bring-IMP
'pick up and bring the shoes!'

Compounded structures may consist of more than two verb roots. The following examples contain triple and quadruple compounds:

(3076) *ywy'nwỹ dury=oce=cwỹ'te-da-ki*
tree roll=throw=off.path-1S-DEC
'I rolled the tree off the road'

(3077) *ũnỹte'ta=ũcenãi=du'hỹ-xa-re*
converse=know=all-2-INT
'do you know all stories?' (t)

(3078) *aru=diri=hyja-da'mỹ-da-ki*
jump=descend=fall-want-1S-DEC
'I'm going to jump off'

(3079) *hỹ-dwa-'ta* *bu'tje=asa=dydyte='bwa-ĩ?ĩ-hỹ*
NOM-IDS-CSO shoot=leave=divide=end-REM-NOM
'then he shot it down and tore it to bits, that's how it went[328]' (t)

Compounding may be recursive in that the same verb root is repeated in one word:

(3080) *do-rjỹ=do-kace=du-'rjỹ-da-ki* *meza-'na*
leak-CD:area=leak-empty=all-CD:area-1S-DEC table-LOC
'I spilt water all over the table'

Some types of root repetition should be considered as reduplication, which should probably not be confused with compounding (see also the relevant remark in 7.3.5.):

(3081) *'tei-hỹ-kai* *aru=a'ru-tse*
one-NOM-CL:leg jump=jump-DEC
'he hops on one leg'

Some verbal compounds are lexicalised. The combination of the productive meanings of the concomitant roots leads to a less predictable meaning:

(3082) *i'si=ũi-da-hỹ-ki*
die=lie-1S-NOM-DEC
'I had epilepsy'

(3083) *tsã=txi'te-da-ki*
strew=put-1S-DEC
'I piled it (maize, firewood, 'things which are many') up'

In some lexicalisations, one of the compounded roots does not occur independently:

(3084) *murje.tuce-'hỹ-da-ki*
spin.fall-NOM-1S-DEC
'my head swims, I feel dizzy'

328.It is likely that the SWR and IDS markers have a pragmatic interpretation here.

The root *murje-* is encountered in several different verb roots that refer to vertigo. Some roots, such as *dai-* 'to rise' occur exclusively in (lexicalised) compounds:

(3085) *hoidai='bui-ki* *lona-'na*
batrise=leave-DEC hole-LOC
'the bat flew out of the hole'

The use of the verb root *kukui-* 'to hurt' as an expletive particle (see 7.7.6.) may derive from a compound, but this cannot be verified.

(3086) *ku'kui* *nỹ-'hỹ-re*
why! big-NOM-INT
'why, it is big!'

7.4.2. Other compounds

Nominal compounds are rare in Kwaza, and they are usually rather lexicalised. Consider the following examples:

(3087) *ãrũi=eke-'e* *'eke* *e-'he-tsy-hỹ*
tapir=horn-too horn have-NEG-GER-NOM
'cow without horns'

(3088) *kari=tsu'ty*
???=head
'Shiphonops' (genus of amphibians)

(3089) *mani'ni=tsu-mãi*
fish=bone-CL:tooth
'fishhook'

(3090) *dodotxi='tswa*
latex=man
'the latex man' (t)

Most complex nominals consist of a noun root and a classifier:

(3091) *mury'cy-siki*
mahogany-CL:skin
'bark of mahogany'

(3092) *ywy'nwỹ-koro*
tree-Cl:arm
'branch'

If (3092) should be a compound, it would have involved the independent form of the word for 'arm', *tsoro*. However **ywynwỹtsoro* is ungrammatical. The same holds for example (3091), where the complete form of the second member of the compound would have been *esi'ki* 'skin'.[329]

329.One could argue that classifiers are allomorphs which apply when nouns are com-

There are also compounds of which the members belong to different categories. Notice the following compounds in which the first member is a noun, but the second member is a semantically attributive verb root without verbal inflexion.

(3093) *atxitxi=da'ra*
maize=green
'green maize'

(3094) *jerexwa=txu'hũi*
jaguar=small
'(wild) cat' / 'little dog'

There are compounds in which the first member is a verb, and the second member is an adverb:

(3095) *da'rje-hỹ* *a-'he=danỹ-a-wy*
strong-NOM have-NEG=still-1P-time
'the time we (men) did not yet have strength' (t)

(3096) *a'rwenã=ele'le-wa-ta*
make.chicha=very-IS-CSO (t)
'(from now on) they (will) always make chicha (in the normal way)'

(3097) *a'wỹi=a-to'to-da-ki*
see=Ø-DR:upward-1S-DEC
'I looked high up there'

Just like nominal compounds, these are rare, since the adverbial content would normally be expressed by a separate preceding adverb, or by a directional morpheme (see 5.3.). Nevertheless, this yields a slightly different meaning:

(3098) *ãwỹi-to'to-da-ki*
see-DR:upward-1S-DEC
'I looked upwards'

Compounds involving adverbs (or functioning as such) were discussed more extensively towards the end of section (6.2.3.) of the chapter on adverbs.

On one occasion, a bound morpheme occurred in a root position, compounded with a pronoun as second member:

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pounded or incorporated. However, it has been demonstrated in section (4.2.) that not all nouns are etymologically related to their classifiers and that not all classifiers are represented by full nouns. Unless one would consider those etymologically unrelated classifiers as suppletive forms, the Kwaza classifiers should not be regarded as compounded or incorporated forms.

(3099) *'he=ĩ*
NEG=he
'not him'

7.5. Morphological ellipsis

One of the basic characteristics of morphology is that it involves bound morphemes. One of the basic properties of bound morphemes is that they do not occur as independent words. This is confirmed by the fact that when a bound morpheme of a certain language is presented in isolation to a bilingual native speaker, it is very difficult for him or her to give an accurate translation if he or she is not a linguist.[330] In the present work I have analysed Kwaza as a morphologically complex language, and its morphology as agglutinative. Morphophonological processes are rare in Kwaza, and quite irregular. Although the morphology seems agglutinating, the large number of grammatical morphemes with lexical contents betrays a tendency towards polysynthesis. Notwithstanding this analysis, it can be demonstrated that bound morphemes in Kwaza do occur independently, be it only in the proper contexts. Furthermore, a number of morphemes can be interpreted in isolation by some consultants, although the interpretations of such morphemes may vary strongly, depending on the imagined or suggested context in which they are placed. In van der Voort (2002a) I have argued that this does not prohibit one to regard Kwaza roots and inflexions as bound morphemes.[331]

In this section I will discuss elliptic phenomena in Kwaza morphology. I will not treat here the omission of overt arguments of fully inflected verbs. This has already been dealt with in section (5.1.) on person cross-reference. Furthermore, I will not discuss here the omission of overt heads of attributive constructions. This is mentioned in sections (4.2.1.3.), (4.3.) and (8.4.1.2.). Finally, stylistically motivated omission of sentence constituents is not discussed in the present work at all.

The subject to which I refer as "ellipsis" in the present work is mainly the omission of verbal inflexion and of roots. It occurs often in pragmatic contexts where it is obvious to the hearer which elements are to be understood. Certain aspects of Kwaza grammar, such as the resumptive function of independently occurring inflexional elements must have originated from ellipsis. In the present section I will give an overview of morphological ellipsis in Kwaza. Several specific aspects of ellipsis were also touched upon in other places, which will be mentioned in passing. Negation in elliptic constructions has already been discussed separately in (7.1.1.5.). Coordination by means of an elliptic con

330. Obviously, this is no less difficult for a linguist who is not a native speaker.

331. In that article I have drawn a parallel with the Eskimo languages on the basis Allen (1996:15;27;253). Root ellipsis and morpheme ellipsis in Inuktitut is also the topic of an article by Swift and Allen (2002) that came to my attention afterwards.

struction is described in (8.5.). Few elliptic phenomena have been observed with respect to nominal morphology. This is probably because nominal inflexion in Kwaza is relatively simple in the first place.

In subsection (7.5.1.) I will discuss the independent occurrence of verbal roots and the omission of verbal inflexion, i.e. of person and mood markers. Subsection (7.5.2.) concerns the independent occurrence of person and mood markers and the omission of verbal roots. In (7.5.3.) I will treat ellipsis in nominal morphology. In subsection (7.5.4.) it will be demonstrated how verbal inflexional morphemes can be separated from the verb root to which they belong by intervening sentence constituents.

7.5.1. Ellipsis of inflexion

Verbs are obligatorily inflected word-finally for person and mood. This enables the predicate to function as an independent clause and utterance. Verbs do nevertheless occur without inflexion, but only when it is obvious from the speech context what is the subject and mood. In the following examples, subject person and declarative mood markers are omitted:

(3100) *ko'sa e-mũ-'tɛ a'we*
sun Ø-CL:liquid-NOM rain
'it rains while the sun shines' (lit. 'it rained sun-water')

(3101) *dilɛ-'wã oi'tsi-da-he'ta*
who-AO copulate-1S-DESI
'I would like to make love to someone'[332]

Other moods than the declarative may also be "expressed" elliptically. Note ellipsis of interrogative, imperative and exhortative mood and person marking in the subsequent examples:

(3102) Q: *dy='bwa*
cut=end
'have (you) finished cutting?' (harvesting rice)

A: *'he=danỹ hako're dy='bwa*
NEG=still tomorrow cut=end
'not yet, tomorrow (we will) finish cutting'

332. Note that the first person marker is part of the desiderative construction. In this example, the inflexion that implicitly follows *-heta-* is *-da-ki* '1S-DEC', but that could also have been any other person or mood. This construction is discussed in (5.5.13.).

(3103) *tsu'hũ* *e'mã*
what cry
'why are you crying?'

(3104) *bwa=a'sa*
end=leave
'you finished?'

(3105) *txa'rwa* *hy=nỹko'tɛ-nã*
first go=return-FUT
'you're going to return thither today still?'

(3106) *kore'we-txe'txi*
pregnant-really
'would she really be pregnant?'

(3107) *da'rje* *e-to'hoi*
strong Ø-CL:child
'come here, son!'

In addition to the proper speech context, the intonation of the utterance usually helps to identify the intended speech act, and hence the implicit mood marker:

(3108) *ãwỹi* *'jã-ỹ-rjỹ*
see DIST-this-CD:area
'have (you) looked over there?'

(3109) *ãwỹi* *'jã-ỹ-hỹ*
see DIST-this-NOM
'look at him over there!'

The intonation difference between declaratives and other moods is that the declarative sentence has a rather unilevel pitch and that the last word in other moods has a higher pitch than the preceding words. The difference between the interrogative and the imperative, and hence in the above two examples, is that in the interrogative the high pitch of the last word is rising on the last syllable of that word, as in (3108), whereas it does not change throughout the last word in the imperative, as in (3109). The illocutionary function of intonation contours was further discussed in (2.10.).

The absence of person marking may be compensated for by overt pronominal reference:

(3110) R: *dyte'na-tse*
extinguish-DEC
'the lantern went out'

Q: *'xyi* *dyte'na*
you extinguish
'was it you who extinguished it?'

Usually, ellipsis of inflexion concerns both the subject person and mood marker, but object marking is not omitted:

(3111) *si* *cari-le'ja*
I shoot-2O.FUT
'I'm going to shoot at you'

On very few occasions, mood marking was omitted while subject cross-reference marking remained behind:[333]

333. These examples are both from family II.

(3112) *hã 'kui-da*
water drink-1S
'I'm (going to) drink water'

(3113) *lo'loi-ỹ-ko hu'hui-da*
slash-ATT-INS beat-1S
'I killed it with a scythe'

Optional ellipsis of cross-reference marking only was attested in predicates which are cosubordinated to an interrogative matrix clause:

(3114) *ã'wỹi-(xa)-ta 'nãi-xa-re*
see-2-CSO like-2-INT
'did you look first (before you act)?'

The third person subject is zero marked in the declarative mood. In other moods, other subject persons may be zero marked, such as the second person singular in the imperative. Because I do not consider this as ellipsis, it is discussed in the concerned sections on mood. As regards example (3114), however, it is not quite clear whether we are dealing with ellipsis or zero cross-reference. I have nevertheless treated it as zero marking in section (8.3.1.3.).

There may be originally a relation between ellipsis and compounding. In verbal compounds, the first member does not bear inflexion:

(3115) *darje=hyhy'rwa-ki*
strong=move-DEC
'it is walking fast'

In section (6.2.4.1.) the omission of verbal inflexion was considered as one of the ways to form adverbs. In the following example the verb root *txu'hũi-* is probably not compounded with the next verb root, but used as an independent adverb:

(3116) *txu'hũi horo-'ra*
little cut.up-IMP
'take a little bit of it!'

Ellipsis of verbal inflexion was also encountered as a way to express coordination, as an alternative to cosubordinative marking. This will be described at the end of section (8.5.).

7.5.2. Ellipsis of roots

The omission of verb roots is much more common than omission of verb inflexion. Because this makes utterances rather unspecific literally, their interpretation depends heavily on the speech context. Consequently, root ellipsis occurs frequently in dialogues, as a minimal response to questions, remarks or

comments. Several characteristic properties of Kwaza grammar may have emerged originally from root ellipsis.

7.5.2.1. Elliptic responses

As an answer to a yes/no question a root may be omitted (note that the main stress of elliptic responses usually falls on the first syllable):

(3117) Q: *ku'ro-xa-xa-re*
close-2-AS-INT
'did you close the door?'

A: *'a-xa-ki*
1P-AS-DEC
'we did'

(3118) Q: *o'ja-xa-tsy-re*
leave-2-POT-INT
'you're going?', 'are you going?'

A: *'da-tsy-tse*
1S-POT-DEC
'I am', 'yes' (lit. 'yes I will')

(3119) R: *ehỹ-'si* *eto'hoi* *e-ky'wy* *'si-rata* *aw're-da-tsy-tse*
make-SWR child have-COND I-first marry-1S-POT-DEC

etay-tohoi-ky'wy=tja *'ta-dy-ta*
woman-CL:child-COND=CSO talk-DS-CSO
'"well, when she gets a child, I will be the first one to marry her, if it is a girl", (father) said'

A: *xa-tara-'tse=tja ta*
2-PROC-DEC=CSO talk
'"O.K. that's fine", (son) said' (t)

Also, verbal roots of commands or of responses to commands and exhortations may be omitted:

(3120) C: *ja-'e-da-mỹ*
eat-again-1S-VOL
'I'm going to eat again'

A: *ca-'ra*
EMP-IMP
'yes, do so!'

(or, alternatively:)

A: *ja-e-'ra*
eat-again-IMP
'eat again!'

R: *da-'mỹ*
1S-VOL
'I will'[334]

334. Or, alternatively, *hỹʔỹ* 'yes'.

It may depend entirely on the foregoing turns in the dialogue how the answer should be interpreted:

(3121) C: *ja-'ra*
eat-IMP
'eat!'

A: *tsy-'re*
GER-INT
'yes', 'thanks'

(3122) Q: *tsũhũ-ra'ti e-e'hỹ-wa-re*
what-FOC RED-make-1S-INT
'what is it they are doing?'

A: *tsy-'re*
GER-INT
'I don't know'

(3123) R: *ĩ oja-'nã-da-ki*
idly leave-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm (just) going there
(for no reason in particular)'

A: *tsy-'re*
GER-INT
'are you?'

(3124) R: *ɛ-'nã-da-ki* A: *ɛ-'ra* (or:) A: *tsy-'re*
go-FUT-1S-DEC go-IMP POT-INT
'I'm going' 'go!' (harsh) 'is it?', 'would it be?' (nice)

Often, only a root is omitted, while other, possibly derivational extensions of the root stay behind:

(3125) TE: *hako're unỹte'ta-e-tsy-tse*
tomorrow converse-again-POT-DEC
'tomorrow you will count again' (t)

ME: *'da-tara-tse konã'jã-rai wai-'ta*
1S-PROC-DEC hot-damn good-CSO
'I'm going to later, it's too bloody hot now' (t)

(3126) Q: *kui-'nã-xa-re*
drink-FUT-2-INT
'are you going to drink?'

A: *'he-nã-da-ki*
NEG-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm not'

(3127) R: *tu'ri-je?e-xa-tsi*
tumble-again-2-MON
'take care not to fall over again!'

A: *'he-tjara-tsy-tse*
NEG-PROC-POT-DEC
'don't worry, there is no danger, it won't do anything'[335]

335.See (5.5.19.3.1.) for the construction involving procrastinative *-tjara-*.

Note with respect to (3126) that the expression of negation under ellipsis was discussed thoroughly in section (7.1.1.3.). Note also that person cross-reference markers never occur as elliptic forms by themselves, but that they are always followed by mood markers. Finally, it should be emphasised that such bound morpheme sequences only build a phrase by itself in the proper context. Consider the following examples:

(3128) *e-'xy* *'dai-ty-taxwa-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
Ø-CL:leaf grab-DET-IS.1O-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'without me knowing he took my money but now I discovered it!'

(3129) *ta'dy=jã-ki*
EXCL=be-DEC
'that's it indeed!'

About (3129), the consultant said that it is ungrammatical as such, but that it can be uttered after someone told you something which you already know.

The interpretation of elliptic expressions may also depend on more pragmatic, extralinguistic factors of the context. The following utterances represent a response to the general (speech) behaviour of the hearer:

(3130) *xa-'he-tsy-tse* *ɛ-'ra* *mã* *ca'ri-hata-'tsi*
2-NEG-POT-DEC go-IMP mother kill-3S.2O-MON
'don't you persist, go away!, lest your mother will kill you' (t)

(3131) C: *'ti-hỹ-re* *mãrɛ̃dy-'ra* *awỹi-da-'mỹ=tja* *'ta-dy-ta*
what-NOM-INT expose-IMP see-1S-VOL=CSO talk-DS-CSO
'"where is he?, get him!, I want to see him" she said'

A: *xa-hỹ-'ki* *mãrɛ̃dy-'nã-da-ki*
2-NOM-DEC expose-FUT-1S-DEC
'"well then, I will show (him to you)"' (t)

7.5.2.2. Resumptive particles

In running monologue, combinations of person and cosubordinative mood marking are sometimes used as resumptive particles. They link sentences, and they are often translated by consultants as 'and then, well, I, then I, so I, she, well you, and thereafter, yes' etc. Although these "inflected particles" cannot be regarded as elements which remain when a root is omitted, they are elliptic:

(3132) *xyi-'dy-hỹ* *a'ha* *si* *huru'ja-da-hỹ-wã*
you-POS-NOM father I like-1S-NOM-AO

ca'ri=asa-ty-ta-tay-hỹ-'ki *da-'ta* *xyi-dy-'hỹ-wã*
kill=leave-DET-1O-1O-NOM-DEC 1S-CSO you-POS-NOM-AO

he?ai-'tja-da-ki
not.want-TRA-1S-DEC
'because your father killed from me the one loved by me, I don't want your one (i.e. father)'[336] (t)

Pronouns cannot replace these resumptive elements. About *da-ta* '1S-CSO' in the following example, the consultant said "if one would have said *si* 'I', this would have been too strong, as it would mean 'I myself'":

(3133) *a-'he-xa-wy* *oja'nỹ-da-day-hỹ-'ki* *da-ta* *'ũi-da-ta*
exist-NEG-2-time arrive-1S-1S-NOM-DEC 1S-CSO lie-1S-CSO

ɛ-'e-da-day-hỹ-ki
go-again-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'I came here when you were away, then, I slept, and went away again' (long ago)

All subject persons can occur in resumptive particles, as long as the mood marker is the cosubordinative:

(3134) *e'nãi-tja-ja-tsy-'tse* *a-xa-'ta* *areta-'nã-a-xa-ki*
quarrel-TRA-IO-POT-DEC 1P-AS-CSO know-FUT-1P-AS-DEC
'he is going to quarrel with one, so we, we're going to learn'

The resumptive particle construction is possibly related to cliticisation, as discussed in (7.5.2.3.), and to quoted speech like constructions, as discussed in (5.5.11-14.). The monitory mood version of the embedded clause in (3134) results in a "preventive" construction (see 5.2.9.1.):

(3135) *e'nãi-tja-eteja-'tsi-xa-xa-ta* *areta-'nã-xa-xa-ki*
quarrel-TRA-1PO-MON-2-AS-CSO know-FUT-2-AS-DEC
'for him not to quarrel with us, therefore you're going to learn'

Note that the impersonal subject marker *-na-* does not occur in resumptive particles or as a clitic. From the comparison of (3135) with the following example, it becomes clear that this function is taken over by the verb root *jã-* 'to be':[337]

336. This sentence was uttered by a mother to her son, explaining why she separated from his father.

(3136) *e'nãi-tja-eteja-'tsi=jã-ta* *areta-'nã=jã-ki*
quarrel-TRA-1PO-MON=be-CSO know-FUT=be-DEC
'for him not to quarrel with us, therefore one is going to learn'

It is also important to notice that in the third person, *-tja* is used instead of zero marked *-ta*:[338]

(3137) *'nãi-tja-hỹ-ta'dy* *tja* *ĩ'wã*
like-CSO-NOM-EXCL CSO nothing
'ah, that's what they are doing!, (yes) they lied' (t)

(3138) *oja=bu'ru-tja* *'atxitxi* *kã-'to-ta* *tja*
go=pass-CSO maize roast-CL:seed-CSO CSO

kã-'to-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-hỹ=wara *'atxitxi* *bɛrɛ'rɛ-ta* *ta'na* *'bɛ*
roast-CL:seed-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but maize pop-CSO well bang
'they arrived there and dried maize, so, she was drying the maize while suddenly it popped (loudly): "bang!"' (t)

It is worthwhile to note here that Mario once said that *tja* was an equivalent of the adverbial hesitation interjection *haryky* 'now', 'uhh..'. It may be that the origin of the resumptive particles lies in quoted speech constructions. This is also discussed to a certain extent in (8.3.1.9.).

Maybe these resumptive particles should really be called anticipating particles, since they resume a person marker that is actually going to come only later, in the matrix predicate. It is interesting to consider in this respect the different subject marker *-dy-*, which occurs exclusively in cosubordinated clause chains and is never encountered as a part of matrix clause inflexion. It does not indicate that the present subject is different from the former subject, but that the next subject will be different from the present. In the next example, the different subject cosubordinative marker even occurs twice as a "resumptive" particle:

(3139) *hary'ky* *'tana* *hỹ-'dy-ta* *'nãi-ta* *bu-'dy-damỹ*
now well NOM-DS-CSO like-CSO fall-CAU-want

txarwa-txi'txi *haka're-ko-tsy-'wy=wara* *dy-ta*
first-CONTRA buriti-CL:fruit-POT-time=but DS-CSO

337. This is further corroboration of the hypothesis of the impersonal interpretation of *jã-* put forward in (5.1.7.) and (7.2.11.).
338. This fact represents further corroboration of the statements made in section (8.3.1.4.) to the effect that *-tja* is not only a manner adverbial clause marker, but also a fully fledged cosubordinative marker.

‘then, well, like that he made the nuts starting to fall, but then ... (someone else did something totally different)’ (t)

Here the omitted root is unidentifiable. The inflexions occur as abstract conjunctional particles whose only function is to indicate that the next clause has a different subject.[339] From the point of view of the cosubordinate marker, however, these elliptic elements can be seen as resumptive. The cosubordinate marker reminds the hearer of the fact that everything which precedes is part of the same medial clause chain, regardless of whether any matrix moods have already passed by. The real end of this clause chain is only the final matrix clause of the entire story. Even when the story is interrupted by a listener posing a question, it can be resumed by a resumptive particle:

(3140) S: *aru-'rjỹ-wa-hỹ-herejã-re*
place-CD:area-IS-NOM-APPL-INT
‘... they place (the jar with chicha) on the ground, you know’

H: *'kui-dy-ja-da-'te-cwa-hỹ*
drink-CAU-IO-1S-PURP-IS-NOM
‘in order to give to the people to drink?’[340]

S: *hã'?ã cwa-'ta tsi'le-dwa-ta [...]*
yes IS-CSO night-IDS-CSO
‘yes, then they, when night falls ...’ (t)

So the elements which I have called “resumptive” here, both have a prospective property, which is expressed in the person marker, and a resumptive property, which is expressed in the cosubordination marker.

Note that veritable omission of a root can have a truly resumptive effect:

(3141) *areta-'he-da-kywy 'si-dy-hỹ tã'jã e'nãi-tja-ta-tsy-tse [...]*
know-NEG-1S-COND I-POS-NOM chief quarrel-TRA-1O-POT-DEC

ta-tsy-'tse da-'ta areta-'nã-a-xa-ki
1O-POT-DEC 1S-CSO know-FUT-1P-AS-DEC
‘if I don’t learn, my chief will quarrel with me ..., he will with me, so I, I’m going to learn’

In this example, the inflexional part of the last predicate of a clause is repeated after a short pause, the event is in fact resumed, in order to connect it as back

339. See (8.3.2.1.5.) and (8.3.2.2.1.) for the “discontinuative” function of the different subject marker and the inflected swith reference mood when used as a resumptive particle.
340. The purposive construction is explained in (5.5.12.).

ground information with the subsequent event. The fact that only the inflexion is repeated, but the root omitted could be taken to symbolise such backgrounding in an iconical manner.[341]

7.5.2.3. Cliticisation

There are several grammatical constructions in which person and/or mood occur relatively deep inside the predicate. These are morphological constructions which contain multiple person and mood markers, such as the quoted speech constructions:

(3142) *kukuihỹ-da-'ki-da-ki*
ill-1S-DEC-1S-DEC
'I said I am ill'

In this example, the grammatical subject of the quoted utterance, the speaker and the person who quotes are identical. If the quoted person would be a second person, the construction would be as follows (note that this alternative example was constructed by myself):

(3143) *kukuihỹ-da-'ki-xa-ki*
ill-1S-DEC-2-DEC
'you said "I am ill"'

If the grammatical subject of the quoted utterance would be a second person, the construction would be reversed, as follows (note that this example was constructed by myself):

(3144) *kukuihỹ-xa-'ki-da-ki*
ill-2-DEC-1S-DEC
'I said "you are ill"'

Also the declarative mood markers can be exchanged for any other mood marker. In section (5.5.11.) the quoted speech constructions are discussed thoroughly. In (5.5.11.1.) the hypothesis is elaborated upon that these constructions originate from ellipsis of a verb root for 'to speak'.

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341. Notice that, when I asked about the meaning of *tatsytse* in example (3141), my teacher Mario first stated that it did not "exist by itself", but then later that it meant 'with me'. We had similar discussions about other grammatical elements. I regard this as solid proof neither of the semantic identifiability of the morpheme, nor of its free status. I regard it as a consequence of the sheer brilliance of Mario as a linguistic consultant. No consultant was able to explain the meaning of bound morphemes as accurately as Mario did.

Here, I have treated the inflexions remaining after ellipsis as clitics to the previous inflexions. I did not treat them as independent particles, such as the resumptive particles, primarily because of the different stress pattern. Unlike in the resumptive constructions, there is extra heavy stress on the quoted mood marker in (3142): [kukuɻ'hĩ-ɗa-"ki-ɗa-ki]. Normally, main stress falls on the last syllable of the (extended) root, before subject person and mood inflexion. In quoted speech, this is overruled by extra stress on the last syllable before the *final* subject person and mood inflexion. This symbolises the fact that the pre-final set of inflexions is regarded as part of the extended verb stem. In addition to this, there is no pause between the two sets of inflexions, which there is in resumptive constructions. When speech is quoted in a medial clause, there is a risk of ambiguity with the resumptive construction. Compare the following example to e.g. (3132):

(3145) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-tja-a-'ni-da-ta* *oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-1P-EXH-1S-CSO arrive-1S-DEC
'I came for us to talk'

The literal meaning of (3145) is probably 'I arrive, me saying: "let's talk!"'. However, if *-da-ta* were to be interpreted as a resumptive particle here, it would mean 'let's talk!, so I, I came', which would not make sense. I regard the stress pattern as crucial here.

It is likely that other constructions have emerged in a similar way, through cliticisation. This was also argued about the purposive construction in (5.5.12.), the desiderative construction in (5.5.13.) and the conjectural construction discussed in (5.5.14.).

Cliticisation (and resumptive strategies) may also be the cause of the emergence of the modal morphemes *-tsy-* (potential or gerundial), *-damỹ-* (volitional/intentional), *-nĩ-* (causational) and *-tsi-* (preventive). These morphemes are obviously related to their illocutionary equivalents *-tse* (declarative), *-mỹ* (volitive), *-ni* (exhortative) and *-tsi* (monitory) respectively, and they are discussed in the relevant subsections of (5.2.) on mood. Notice the following examples:

(3146) *kuraku'ra* *ja-'dy-da-ki* *ũi-'nĩ-da-ta*
chicken eat-CAU-1S-DEC lie-CAUS-1S-CSO
'I feed the chickens so that they can sleep'

(3147) *a-'wy* *'wotsu-tsi-da-ta* *fazenDa-'na* *wa'ja-da-ta*
Ø-time skinny-MON-1S-CSO ranch-PROX bring-1S-CSO

'ay-rjỹ *a-dy-da'mỹ-da-ta* *'nãi-da-hỹ-ki*
that-CD:area exist-CAU-want-1S-CSO like-1S-NOM-DEC
'I'm going to bring them to the ranch and let them live there, before they emaciate, that is what I do' (t)

An important difference between these constructions and the quoted speech (-like) constructions is that none of the modal morphemes can be preceded by person marking. Only *-damỹ-* seems to contain a fossilised first person singular form *-da-* under all circumstances:

(3148) *ɛ-da'mỹ-xa-re*
go-want-2-INT
'you're going away?'

This suggests that also these modal morphemes may originally derive from quotative constructions such as (3145). Another difference between these constructions and the quoted speech (-like) constructions is that the modal morphemes differ slightly from (embedded) mood morphemes (e.g. causational [nĩ] vs. exhortative [ni]).[342]

If the verbal root of an expression like (3148) is omitted, the result would mean something like 'do you want?' This construction has been attested for other subjects and moods:

(3149) *da'mỹ-xa-xa-ki*
want-2-AS-DEC
'you (PL) are going to do'

(3150) *da'mỹ-tse*
want-DEC
'he goes'[343]

In sum, it seems that several inflexional mood morphemes have become derivational morphemes of modality. This implies that the cliticisation of inflexional morphemes has led in several constructions to a grammatical change of those inflexions which preceded the cliticised inflexions. Furthermore, ellipsis of verbal roots has led to the emergence of new roots based on the remaining modal extensions such as *damỹ-* 'to want'. So, productive inflexional morphology, like first person volitive marking *-da-mỹ*, has developed into a non-analysable modal suffix, and even into an independent root. I have discussed

342. Perhaps example (3145) (which is repeated from (2030) should actually be regarded as being ambiguous between a quotative and a causational modal construction. One argument against the causational analysis is that *-ni(-)* is preceded by a person marker. However, there is no logical reason why that would be a definitive criterion. The main reasons are that example (3145) would otherwise represent the only attestation of a causational morpheme preceded by subject cross-reference marking, and that, alternatively, a reported speech analysis is quite likely here. One argument against this analysis is that no instances of a first person plural causational have been attested so far, and that one could think of no other way to express such an instance than through a first person plural subject cross-reference marker preceding the causational morpheme. The fact that *-ni(-)* was pronounced in (3145) as [nĩ] may be significant in this respect.

343. This example is ambiguous. In a more literal, quotative interpretation it means 'he says "yes!"'. When used with a different intonation in child-directed speech it has even another meaning: 'do you want?'.

this phenomenon as "degrammaticalisation" also in (5.5.15.) and in van der Voort (2002a).

Cliticisation of verbal inflexion to nouns was dealt with in (4.4.9.) as zero-verbalisation. Verbal inflexion of adverbs, just means that they also function as semantically attributive verb roots. Nouns may sometimes also be used as adverbs. One special instance of verbalisation of such an adverb was discussed in (6.2.4.1.), example (2699).

7.5.2.4. Abstract ellipsis

About elliptic responses as discussed in (7.5.2.1.), one could say that the specific root is physically absent but that it is understood, and identifiable from the context. About quoted speech as discussed in (7.5.2.3.) one could maintain that a verb root of speech was deleted. However, most quoted speech constructions would be ungrammatical without such deletion, because it would result in juxtaposition of matrix clause predicates. Finally, it seems that the resumptive use of inflexions as discussed in (7.5.2.2.) does not involve easily identifiable omitted verb roots at all. In the present subsection I will discuss some root omissions which may be even more abstract.

In section (8.2.2.3.) concessive adverbial clause constructions involving the subordinator *=wara* 'but' are discussed. This element is always preceded by a nominaliser, usually *-hỹ*. The nominaliser is normally preceded by the verbal root of the adverbial clause predicate. However, the morphological complex *-hỹ=wara* can also occur independently, as a concessive conjunctional particle, forming a link between sentences or sections of the discourse. Although this is also amply illustrated in (8.2.2.3.) I will give an example of it here:

(3151) *oja-e'te-da-tsy-tse* *zezĩju-dy-'rjỹ* *hỹ=wara*
go-COMIT-1S-POT-DEC Zezinho-POS-DC:area NOM=but

he'?ai-da-ki
want.not-1S-DEC
'we are going together to Zezinho, but I don't want to, no'

The same abstract kind of ellipsis was observed in quoted speech constructions, when the verbal root of the quoted phrase was omitted. Compare the following examples from (8.1.2.2.):

(3152) *la'to* *'masiju* *kukuihỹ-da-'ki-tsy-hỹ-ki*
yesterday Marcio ill-1S-DEC-GER-NOM-DEC
'yesterday, Marcio said he is ill'

(3153) *tsy-'hỹ-ki*
GER-NOM-DEC
'he says yes / he says so'

Example (3153) can be used as if *tsy-* were a verb root meaning 'to say' or a third person singular cross-reference morpheme. It may be an elliptic version of (3311), but it may apparently also function as a response to questions like 'was Marcio ill yesterday?':

(3154) *la'to* *tsicwata* *'masiju* *kukui'hỹ-hỹ-re*
yesterday begin-CSO Marcio ill-NOM-INT
'did Marcio become ill yesterday?'

(3155) *tsy-'hỹ-ki*
GER-NOM-DEC
'he says so / it is said'[344]

The same situation exists with respect to the following examples:

(3156) *tsy-'nãixwa-wa-ki*
GER-SIMU-IS-DEC
'they pretend to be talking'

(3157) *'tse-cwa-ki*
DEC-IS-DEC
'it is said (that...)'

Speech quotations can be extended also with further morphology, e.g. the frustrative morpheme *-le-* (see 8.2.2.2.). Compare the following examples:

(3158) *haru'wi* *'ja-a-tsy-'tse-tsy-'le-hỹ-ki*
Luiz eat-1P-POT-DEC-GER-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'Luiz invited us for dinner, now what to do?' (it isn't possible)

(3159) *tsy-'le-hỹ-ki*
GER-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'he said that; however, unfortunately I can't', 'what a pity'

Example (3159) is the elliptic version of (3158), but it can also be uttered for example as an elliptic response to someone saying 'Luiz invited us to eat!', as if it were a lamentative predicate itself.

Also other morphemes, such as repetitive *-je?e-* 'again' and negative *-he-* followed by person and mood marking can occur elliptically, without there being a specific verb root which is understood:

(3160) *je'?e-wa-si*
again-IS-SWR
'they explained again', 'they did it again' (etc.)

344. Although the consultant added that *hỹ'?ỹ* 'yes' would have been a better answer.

(3161) *je'?e-da-ki*
again-1S-DEC
'I (spoke, did, etc.) again'

(3162) *'he-a-hỹ-wã*
NEG-1P-NOM-AO
'when one is nothing'

Finally it was suggested in (5.2.3.4.) and (5.5.11.1.) that certain verbs of speech may have derived from elliptic constructions. These verbs, and also modal verb roots like *damỹ-* in (3150) can still be considered as elliptic in a way. However, the actual omission may have become so abstract as to be only symbolic now.

7.5.3. Nominal ellipsis

Ellipsis of nominal roots was rarely attested, and it is probably lexicalised. Note the following possessive example:

(3163) *jere'xwa-(dy)-toha*
jaguar-POS-foot
'trace of a jaguar'

The classifier *-toha* 'foot' is a bound morpheme that represents an independent noun *coha* 'foot'. However, the following construction also occurs as an independent noun:

(3164) *dyto'ha*
POS.foot
'trace', 'foot'

Apparently, the nominal root of the possessive construction has been omitted. There is only one other structure like this. Compare the following examples involving the classifier *-kudji* 'paw':

(3165) *dutu're-(dy)-kudji*
pig-POS-CL:paw
'pig foot'

(3166) *dyku'dji*
POS.paw
'foot, paw, foot with nail/hoof'

Another lexicalised elliptic construction involves the classifier *-koje* 'hand'. Classifiers do not occur as independent elements, but they correspond with a noun, which does occur independently, in this case *tsoje* 'hand'. If there is no such noun available, as in the case of *-kudji* 'paw', then the classifier can be turned into an independent noun by attachment to the semantically void root *e-*:

(3167) *'e-kudji*
Ø-CL:paw
'pig's paw' (only when you have one in your hand)

However, the classifier *-ko'je* 'hand' does occur independently without the void root, be it with a different meaning, as *koje* 'fork'.

In section (5.4.1.) an instance of optional instrumental case marking was discussed, and illustrated by the following example:

(3168) *keimũ-('ko)* *marijaDite-'wã* *haje-'kai-da-ki*
oil-INS Maria.Edite-AO smear-CL:leg-1S-DEC
'I put oil on Maria Edite's leg'

At one stage the consultant explained about such arguments that 'they are more correct with *-ko* but if you are lazy or you don't feel like talking, you leave it out'. This would point to ellipsis of nominal inflexion. Note, however, that not all instances of omission of case marking are optional. This was discussed in several places in (4.1.).

7.5.4. Discontinuous predicates

In the present section it will be demonstrated how verbal inflexional morphemes can be separated by other sentence constituents from the verb root to which they belong.

There is in Kwaza morphology no clear evidence of circumfixation, i.e., there are no discontinuous bound morphemes. However, morphologically complex words can be expressed discontinously. With one exception, this phenomenon was exclusively observed in narrations. In the following example, the verb root *wɛ-* 'to bring' occurs independently, is then succeeded by a noun that is marked for locative case, after which comes a third person cosubordinative marker:

(3169) *'wɛkaricwa-'na* *tja* *'a-ete-ta*
bring field-LOC CSO exist-COMIT-CSO
'took (the children) to the old field and lived there together' (t)

It seems unlikely that *wɛ-* forms a compound with the subsequent noun or that the locative noun is zero-verbalised by *-tja*, or both. The same thing occurs in the next example, where the satellite argument *uruna* 'in the patua palm tree' intervenes between a verb root and its inflexion:

(3170) *ale-'e* *tana* *o'ri-tja* *a-toto* *'bu=ũ-cwa*
axe-with well ascend-CSO Ø-DR:upward put=be-DR:high

u'ru-na *tja*
patua-LOC CSO
'with his axe he climbed up and sat high up there in the patua tree' (t)

In the next example the verb root *ta-* 'to talk' is separated from a cosubordinative marker *-tja* by the inflected noun *etohoitjatewã*:

(3171) *'ɛ-a-te=jã-'rjỹ=wara* *nãi-'re* *le'ja-rai-ki='tja*
go-1P-PURP=be-CD:area=but like-INT ahead-damn-DEC=CSO

ta *etohoi-tja'te-wã tja* *'ta-ta*
talk child-3.POS-AO CSO talk-CSO
'"...now that direction where we are headed, (jaguar) went ahead, damned!" she said talking to her son' (t)

Again, this *-tja* does not mark the preceding noun as quoted speech.[345] Note, however, that the verb root *ta-* is preceded by another cosubordinative marker *-tja* which does indicate that the preceding sentence represents quoted speech. It may be that structures like these have led to the reinterpretation of *tjata-* as a verb root 'to say'. In the next example no specific verb root at all is to be found to which *-tja* belongs:

(3172) *a'ha-here-da-hỹ-ta'dy* *jere'xwa-tady* *ĩ'wã*
father-INTL-1S-NOM-EXCL jaguar-EXCL nothing

hu'hui=asa-ty='jo-ty-eteja-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki
kill=leave-DET=devour-DET-1PO-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC

etohoi-tja'te-wã *tja* *'ta-ta*
child-3.POS-AO CSO talk-CSO
'"bloody hell, I thought it was your father, however it is a jaguar, who killed him from us, and devoured him from us, that is what it is!" she said to her child' (t)

Here, *-tja* may have the function of marking the preceding sentence as quoted speech, but, like in (3171), it can be excluded that the case marked noun which precedes it belongs to the quotation. Another possibility is that *-tja* functions as a resumptive element here. However, it is followed again by the verb *ta-* 'to talk', hence it is also possible that the reanalysis of *-tja ta-* to *tjata-* has been implemented here.

The discontinuous predicate may also be inflected by other forms than *-tja*. The next example shows how the verb root *hadai-* 'to cut, bite' is separated by a noun from the different subject morpheme *-dyta*:

345. *etohoi* 'child' can be used vocatively in Kwaza, but not when followed by possessive and case markers.

(3173) *hã'?ã ay-'hỹha 'dai aha-tja'te dy-ta 'txixotɛ-ta*
yes that-NOM cut father-3.POS DS-CSO rescue-CSO

mãtarwa=eco'tohỹ-ki
avenge=strike-DEC
'yes, that very one bit her father, then she came to his rescue and killed the snake in return' (t)

In the following example the verb stem *eje-karwɛ-* 'to move away' is separated from a cosubordinative indefinite subject morpheme:

(3174) *eje-ka'rwɛ=asa-ry-'rati-wa-hỹ-lɛ 'eje-karwɛ*
move-DR:away=leave-PAU-CL:man-IS-NOM-PREC move-DR:away

etay-'le cwa-ta 'a-wa-le-?wỹtɛ
woman-only IS-CSO exist-IS-FRUST-pity
'as the men all moved away, moved away, just the women remained there, what a pity!' (t)

In the subsequent example, the verb stem *jã'si-tjarjỹ-* 'to hear everywhere, to probe' is separated from the inflexion by an adverb:

(3175) *'hɛ-na 'bukja-ta jã'si-tjarjỹ akwa'te dy-ta*
mortar-LOC lie-CSO hear-everywhere inside DS-CSO
'it was lying down at the foot of the mortar, listening all the time to the sounds inside, as...' (t)

With respect to adverbs, it may be possible that they are compounded with a verb root and then verbalised, as in example (3097) of section (7.4.2.).

There is one exception to the statement that this morphological discontinuity phenomenon was only attested in narrative texts:

(3176) *axe'hỹ kũ'cẽ da-'ki*
find brazil.nut 1S-DEC
[verb noun inflexion]
'I found Maurício'[346]

Probably, constructions like the ones illustrated in the present subsection, except for (3175), emerge from ellipsis of verbal inflexion. This inflexion then

346.*kũcẽ* 'Brazil nut' is a nickname of Maurício. This example was encountered on the tape containing formally elicited speech from Vasconcelos's (±1993) field work interview with Mario. One could have doubts about the value of this example because at the time of this interview, Mario had never before done any linguistic fieldwork, and furthermore this was only the sixth utterance on the tape.

(re)appears after some other constituent as a resumptive particle, or as an afterthought. It could be that this is a recent development in Kwaza, and that the language is becoming more and more isolating. As mentioned earlier, and with the exception of (3176), these discontinuous constructions were never encountered in formally elicited speech. Although elicited speech data may not be regarded as more "authentic" than textual data, they do reflect certain attitudes of the speakers with regard to the structure of the language. If this suggests that the speakers of Kwaza find the structures of elicited speech more "ideal" than those they produce in texts, one may wonder what the nature of this ideal is and where it comes from.

7.6. Special roots

On various occasions in the present work we have encountered lexical roots which showed atypical grammatical behaviour. Here I will briefly mention these roots and refer to the specific sections in the grammar where their special properties are discussed.

7.6.1. Empty roots a- *and* e-

The roots *a-* and *e-* occur in two basic grammatical functions. They are used as semantically void roots in the formation of adverbs and nouns, and they are used as verb roots.

As verb roots *a-* 'exist' and *e-* 'have' are inflexionable like any other verb root. *a-* is often used as the main predicate for existential expressions such as in the following examples:

(3177) *'jã-ỹ-rjỹ* *'a-ki* *e'tay*
DIST-this-CD:area exist-DEC woman
'over there, there is a woman/there are women'

(3178) *xuri'mjɛ̃* *'a-ki*
potato exist-DEC
'there are potatoes (in the ground)'

(3179) *ywy'nwỹ* *'a-jahỹ-ki*
tree exist-CL:path-DEC
'there is a log in the way'

e- is literally a possessive predicate, but it may also make the impression of an existential:

(3180) *xyi'nĩ* *'e-ki*
thorn have-DEC
'(the plant) has thorns'

(3181) *e-'mũ* *'e-ki* *da'nỹ*
Ø-CL:liquid have-DEC still
'there is still liquid (propane in the lighter)'
(lit. 'it (the lighter) still has liquid (propane)')

(3182) *'rai?ỹhỹ* *wai'hỹ-hỹ* *'e-ki*
thing beautiful-NOM have-DEC
'there is a beautiful thing (inside the box)'
(lit. 'it (the box) has a beautiful thing')

However, this is only a consequence of the English translation. In Kwaza, jars, boxes and other containers and some other items such as trees may "have" things, and hence function as agents of the verb *e-*. Notice the following contrast in case marking:

(3183) *ywy'nwỹ* *nũ'ty* *'e-ki*
tree honey have-DEC
'there is honey in the tree'

(3184) *ywynwỹ-'na* *nũ'ty* *'a-ki*
tree-LOC honey exist-DEC
'there is honey in the tree'

In section (8.6.1.) the function of the empty roots as auxiliary matrix predicate roots in idiomatic habitual expressions will be discussed. There, *a-* has a more verbal interpretation, whereas *e-* has a more nominal interpretation.

In section (4.2.1.11.) the function of *e-* as a formative root for nouns containing bound classifying morphemes was discussed and some striking similarities with other languages were mentioned. In (5.3.2.) and (6.2.1.) the function of *a-* as a formative root for adverbs containing bound directional morphemes was discussed. In a way, these roots complement one another. *e-* can be used to turn bound nominal morphemes with a lexical semantic content into independent nouns, and *a-* can be used to turn bound verbal morphemes with a lexical semantic content into independent adverbs.

There is a parallel between these roots as semantically void word-formative roots, and as (auxiliary) verb roots. In both functions, the root *a-* has a more verbal significance, and *e-* has a more nominal significance. In certain respects the parallel is striking, but it does not mean that they are cognate.

7.6.2. Dummy roots jã- *and* nãi-

There are two frequently used verbal roots which also have little semantic content, *jã-* 'to be' and *nãi-* 'to be thus, to be like'. These roots occur mainly as auxiliary verbs in a wide range of expressions.

In (5.5.14.3.), (7.2.10.) and (8.6.3.) the function of *jã-* as a matrix predicate for emphatic cleft constructions is discussed. In (5.1.7.), the compound use of *jã-* as an impersonal cross-reference marker was discussed. In (7.2.11.) all uses of *jã-* are summarised.

In section (8.6.2.) the importance of *nãi-* as a dummy verb in explicative expressions is discussed. There is a great number of expressions involving *nãi-*, or its reduplicated variant *nanãi-*, which are highly idiosyncratic, and which are listed in the dictionary. The root *nãi-* is homophonous with the factive and adverbial nominaliser *-nãi*, which is dealt with in (5.6.2.), (6.2.4.2.) and (8.4.2.). Although their distribution is entirely different, there are some indications that they may share a common origin, as suggested at the end of (7.2.5.) and at the end of (6.2.4.2.). Both the dummy verb and the nominaliser may be involved in the origin of the simulative morpheme *-nãixwa-* 'resemble', and in the "equative" combination *-dy-nãi* 'way of, language of'.

7.6.3. Bound roots

A number of roots have been referred to as "bound roots" or "etymological roots". The majority of them are considered as verbal because they do not occur as independent words by themselves, and because they have to be nominalised before they can function as a noun. However, they are unlike normal verbal roots in that no verbal inflexion can be attached to them before they are derived by the nominaliser *-hỹ-* or a classifier. These roots usually have an attributive semantic content. Their use as "adjectival" formatives is discussed in sections (4.3.2.2.) and (4.2.1.4.). Also the demonstrative roots *ỹ-* 'this' and *ay-* 'that', and the basic numeral roots *tei-* 'one' and *aky-* 'two' belong to this group. There are only few non-attributive bound roots (see 5.6.1.).

Another limited group of verbal roots does not occur without the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-*. They can probably also be considered as bound roots and are discussed in (4.3.2.1.).

A very small number of bound roots is apparently nominal or of nominal origin. These are roots such as *haki-* 'stone' and *uke-* 'piqui' (Caryocar spp), which are discussed in (4.2.1.10.). They have to be followed by a specific classifier, although this cannot be said to have a nominalising function.

7.7. Particles

Clauses in Kwaza are mostly linked by bound morphemes. Coordination of clauses is usually expressed by cosubordinative mood marking. However, there are three conjunctional clause-linking particles. In the present section the frequently occurring successional particle *tana* 'then' and the rare selective particle *hele* 'or' are discussed. The concessive particle *wara* 'but' occurs only as a clitic to a nominalised clause and is treated in (8.2.2.3.). The linking properties of the particle *hehỹ'si* 'then' are more oriented on the discourse.

Besides conjunctional particles, there are a number of interjections and exclamative elements, such as *kwy* 'yecch!'. They do not modify or link constituents. Only the hesitation particle *haryky* 'now, uhh..' may be said to link sec

tions of the discourse, since it is used to fill up pauses between them. Finally, some particles occur often as minimal expressions or responses.

7.7.1. Successional tana *'then'*

The particle *tana* 'well, now, then' occurs much in running narrative. It serves to sum up successive events without expressing the nature of the relationship between the events, such as causation, explicitly. Notice the following text excerpt:

(3185) *eto'hoi* *yro-'nã-dy-ta* *'yro-tsi-tja* *cẽ'rẽ-le*
child cry-FUT-DS-CSO cry-MON-CSO breast-only

kunũ-'dy-tja *ta'na* *hỹ-dy-'ta* *ta'na* *'daitotonỹ-tja*
suck-CAU-CSO then NOM-DS-CSO then stand.up-CSO

hy'hyrwa-kwate='du=ĩ?ĩ'ta-tja *ta'na* *bu'dynyhỹ-tja*
move-DR:inside=finish=always-CSO then stretch-CSO

'hi=ĩ?ĩ'ta-dy-ta *ta'na* *na-'nãi-tja* *ta'na* *'bukja-rjate-ta*
whistle=always-DS-CSO then RED-like-CSO then lie-DR:rim-CSO

ta'na *he-'hẽu-rjỹ=ĩ?ĩta* *'haja-ta* *ta'na* *haja* *bu'ru-dy-ta*
then RED-smell-CD:area=always day-CSO then day arrive-DS-CSO

ta *haja-'siñwã-dy-ta* *hary'ky* *'daitotonỹ-ta* *'bui-hỹ-dy-ta*
CSO day-CD:yard-DS-CSO now stand.up-CSO leave-NOM-DS-CSO

hary'ky
now
'the child was about to cry, so she just gave it the breast to suckle for it not to cry, well, thereafter (the jaguar) stood up and kept on walking everywhere around the house, then the jaguar stretched itself and didn't stop sniffing and whistling around, then it was lying by the side of the mortar, continuously sniffing around until sunrise, then day arrived then the daylight shone in the yard, and then (jaguar) rose, and left the house, uhh' (t)

The particle just links the events in the monologue. The nature of the relationship between the events, be it logical or irrational, should be obvious from the grammatical context and knowledge of the world. In the next example, drinking is certainly the cause of the ensuing drunkenness:

(3186) *'kui-da-ta ta'na 'kui-da-ta ta'na i'si-da-ki*
drink-1S-CSO then drink-1S-CSO then die-1S-DEC
'I drank and drank (the whole night) until I passed out'

The relation between cause and effect in the above example is not symbolised by *tana*, but it is part of our knowledge of the world. In the following example, something strange and unexpected happens:

(3187) *wãwỹi-'nã-tsy-hỹ=wara tsile'ta tsile'ta-tja*
sleep-FUT-GER-NOM=but afternoon afternoon-CSO

awỹi=xare-ri'tsa-hỹ=wara jerexwa-'le ta'na hy-siñwa-'nỹ-dy-ta
see=turn-DR:outside-NOM=but jaguar-only then go-CD:yard-REF-DS-CSO
'and she went to sleep, but early in the night she looked outside, but there was a jaguar!, then it was approaching over the yard' (t)

In this example, the unexpectedness is expressed by the concessive element *=wara*. Again, *tana* merely links the successive events.

7.7.2. Tail-head linking hehỹsi *'well'*

As will be demonstrated in (8.3.2.3.1.) the switch-reference mood marker *-si* is used not only to indicate discontinuity of the grammatical function of subject across the sentence, but also to resume continuity or to indicate discontinuity of pragmatic aspects of the preceding utterances. It seems that this function led to a new particle, *hehỹ'si* 'well, then, in that case'. One possible analysis is that this particle has developed out of a combination of the switch reference mood marker *-si* and the semantically relatively empty verb stem *ehỹ-* 'make, do'.

(3188) *e=ehỹ-'si e'nãi-tja-ta=da-hỹ-ki*
RED=make-SWR quarrel-TRA-CSO=1S-NOM-DEC
'he did (what he was not supposed to do) so I quarreled with him'

Under another, more attractive analysis the particle is a semi-lexicalised combination of *-he-* 'NEG', *-hỹ-* 'NOM' and *-si* 'SWR', which has developed out of an elliptic construction (see also 7.5.), such as:

(3189) *jere'xwa axe-'hỹ-hata-he-hỹ-'si o'nɛ-e-tsy-'tse*
jaguar find-NOM-3S.2O-NEG-NOM-SWR return-again-POT-DEC
'because jaguar saw you he will return again (to grab you)'
(lit. 'he did not just see you, he will return for you')

Whatever the analysis, the pragmatic use of *hehỹsi* or *ehỹsi* 'well' resembles "Tail-head linking" devices such as witnessed by De Vries (1989:204) in certain Papuan languages. Note the following elliptic example in a dialogue:

(3190) Q: *ja* *ja-xa-re* A: *danỹ* *ja-'he-da-ki*
already eat-2-INT still eat-NEG-1S-DEC
'did you already eat?' 'I have not yet eaten'

C: *he-hỹ-'si* *ja-'ra*
NEG-NOM-SWR eat-IMP
'well then (since (you) didn't), eat!'

As will also be shown in (8.3.2.3.1.), the elliptic particle can still bear person marking:

(3191) R: *he'?ai-da-'ki=tja* *y'ro=nãi-le-dy-ta*
not.want-1S-DEC=CSO cry=like-only-DS-CSO
'"I dont want to (go)" he said, crying like that'

C: *'xa-he-hỹ-si* *jahɛ-leja-da-'ki=tja* *'ta-ta*
2-NEG-NOM-SWR hide-2O.FUT-1S-DEC=CSO talk-CSO
'"well O.K. then (if you don't want to go away), I'm going to hide you" she said' (t)

The combination *'xahehỹ'si* was even translated once in isolation by the consultant as 'so you', or 'thus'. Both the meaning of the examples and the position of the optional second person marker suggest that *-he-* concerns the counter of a supposition rather than the negation of an event (see also 7.1.1.2.). About the following example, the consultant explained that it is uttered "when one at first did not want to go, but suddenly decided to go after all":

(3192) *'he-hỹ-si* *hỹ'dɛ*
NEG-NOM-SWR go!
'well then, let's go!'

7.7.3. Selective hele *'or'*

The particle *hele* 'or', was only attested in the following examples:

(3193) *barerini'tɛ* *'ja-da-tsy-re* *'hele* *atxitxi'?ũ* *'ja-da-tsy-tehere*
pancake eat-1S-POT-INT or rice eat-1S-POT-APPR
'I'm going to eat either cake or rice'

(3194) *o'kja-da-tsy-tehere* *'hele* *wã'wỹi-da-tsy-tehere*
hunt-1S-POT-APPR or sleep-1S-POT-APPR
'either I will go hunting or I will go to sleep'

Note that accent is on the ultimate syllable when the particle is elicited in isolation: [he'le] 'or'. It could be that *hele* derives etymologically from a combination of negative *-he-* with preconditional *-lɛ*.

7.7.4. Hesitation particle haryky *'uhh..'*

The adverb *haryky* 'now, then', which is dealt with in (6.1.), may also function as a hesitation particle, equivalent to English 'uhh...':

(3195) *a'wy-e-hỹ* *eto'hoi* *awy-'ki=cwa-ki* *'haryky* *etohoi-te'te*
get-again-NOM child get-DEC=IS-DEC now child-really

a'wy *hary'ky* *ere'ri-ki-cwa-ki* *dy-'ta* *txarwa-'wy*
get now grow-DEC-IS-DEC DS-CSO first-time
'people say she got a child again, a real child, gave birth, uhh, people say it grew up, now, first...' (t)

In the following example, it was inserted after a false start:

(3196) *hare-dy-ko'ce* *hary'ky* *txarwa-'wy* *ũ-'rjỹ-a-wy*
disappear-CAU-CL:neck now first-time be-CD:area-1P-time

hare-dy-ko'ce-ja-wa-si *hare-ku'ty-ỹ-a-ta*
disappear-CAU-CL:neck-IO-IS-SWR disappear-CL:head-ATT-1P-CSO

'ũ-rjỹ-a-ta *ta'na* *unỹ-dy-'nãi-a-ta*
be-CD:area-1P-CSO then duration-CAU-NOM-1P-CSO
'cut hair, uhh, when we are first secluded they cut one's hair and we have a bald head, being secluded for a long time'

As an alternative to *haryky* in the hesitation function, the following expression is also possible:

(3197) *ti-nãi-hỹ-ki*
what-NOM-NOM-DEC
'ehh..' (hesitation)

7.7.5. Impressive tsɛh *'why!'*

The interjectional particle *tsɛh* 'why!' is a way to express that one is impressed or surprised at something.[347] Especially members of family I, where the native language was transferred via a woman, considered the interjection as rude and said it was a masculine expression not used by women. The feminine equivalent is said by them to be *o* or *nãiko'rɛ*. In family II, where the native language is inherited via an old man, everyone used it frequently. Here is an example:

(3198) *a'we-ki [pause] tsɛh*
rain-DEC ..... why!
'it rained (a lot), wow!'

One consultant of family I used it to mark the end of his autobiographical story:

(3199) *'a-da-nãi ỹhỹ'ko ỹhỹ'ko hã'rã hary'ky tsɛh*
exist-1S-NOM here here stop now why!
'my life is here, enough, uhh.. that's it' (t)

A similar particle in Aikanã is used both by men and women: *kɛh*.

7.7.6. Exclamative kukui *'wow!'*

As an exclamative particle, *kukui* means 'wow!, Jesus!, how strange!, yecch!". It is used in a fixed type of expression involving an interrogative matrix clause:

(3200) *ku'kui 'nã-re*
wow! stink-INT
'yecch! what a stench!'

(3201) *ku'kui a'xy wai'hỹ-re*
wow! house nice-INT
'wow! that's a beautiful house'

(3202) *ku'kui mãrɛ̃'?a pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-nãi huru'ja-re*
wow! spirit speak-NOM like-INT
'my, the Westerner loves to talk a lot!'

(3203) *ku'kui a'sa-ta-re*
wow! leave-1O-INT
'what a pity she left me!'

kukui originates probably from an elliptic occurrence of the verb root *kukui-* 'to hurt'. The consultant notes that there is no direct relation between the two.

On one occasion, *kukui* was abbreviated to *ku*:

347.In Portuguese usually translated as *puxa!* or *nossa senhora!*.

(3204) *'ku jerexwa-ta'dy-tja ta-hỹ=wa'ra eto'hoi yro-da'mỹ-dy-ta*
my! jaguar-EXCL-CSO talk-NOM=but child cry-want-DS-CSO
‘“my!, that’s a jaguar, isn’t it?”, she said, but then the son was about to cry’ (t)

When *kukui* is extended by *-nãi*, its expletive connotation is emphasised. When relying on the Portuguese translations, the calibre of *kukui'nãi* ranges from ‘how horrible!’ to ‘fucking hell!’.[348]

7.7.7. Expletive kwy *‘yecch!’*

The expletive particle *kwy* ‘how horrible!, yecch!, damn!’ is supposed to have the same value as *kukuinãi* discussed in (7.7.6.). It is often pronounced as [kwə].

7.7.8. Delay jale *‘wait!’*

The particle *jale* ‘wait (a little)!’ indicates that the speaker requires something to be delayed or postponed for a short while. The particle may occur in isolation:

(3205) *ja'le*
wait
‘wait!, wait a little’

In the following example, it is part of a quotative construction:

(3206) *ja'le-da-ki*
wait-1S-DEC
‘I’m saying ‘wait a little!’’

It occurs often in a negative imperative combination with the verb root *ihĩ-* ‘on the contrary’, which was discussed in (5.2.7.) and (7.1.2.):

(3207) *ja'le=ihĩ-ky*
wait=contrary-NEI
‘wait, let!’, ‘wait a bit still’

(3208) *ja'le=ihĩ-ky kurakura-to'hoi txi'te-ta-da-mỹ*
wait=contrary-NEI chicken-CL:child put.food-TRA-1S-VOL
‘wait a little, I’m going to put out food for the chicks first’

348. The consultant translated it in POR as *puta merda!*.

(3209) *tsu'tsu-da-ki* *ja'le=ihĩ-ky*
urinate-1S-DEC wait=contrary-NEI
'wait, I'm pissing!'

(3210) *ja'le=ihĩ-ky* *kui-'nã-a-xa-ki*
wait=contrary-NEI drink-FUT-1P-AS-DEC
'wait, we're going to drink!'

7.7.9. Exhortation hỹdɛ *'let's go!'*

The exhortative particle *hỹdɛ* was also presented in (5.2.4.3.). The stress on the last syllable is sometimes so heavy, that the first syllable becomes reduced to nothing: [ɗe]. This was the case in the following example (although it is written in its full form here):

(3211) *hỹ'dɛ* *jã-ỹ-'rjỹ* *kari'cwa-na* *'ɛ-a-ta*
go! DIST-this-CD:area field-LOC go-1P-CSO
'let's go there to the old field!' (t)

In the next example it is embedded in a quotative construction:

(3212) *hỹ'dɛ-xa-tsy-tse* *dy='bwa-a-hỹ*
go!-2-POT-DEC cut=end-1P-NOM
'when you say "let's go!" we'll finish to cut all (the rice)'

7.7.10. Minimal expressions and responses

a 'ouch!'. The element *a* is used to express 'ouch!'.

hã 'hey!'. The element *hã*, with a voiceless /h/, is used to call the attention of wife or husband. An identical particle is used in Aikanã.

ỹ 'uhh'. The element *ỹ* can also be used in the hesitation sense of 'uhh'.

hỹ 'uhh'. The element *hỹ* is sometimes uttered as a minimal response when one has not understood the previous speaker:

(3213) Q: *xyi* *ece-nỹ-ku'ty-xa-hỹ-re* A: *hỹ*
you lubricate-REF-CL:head-2-NOM-INT uhh
'do you put oil in your hair?' 'uhh?'

hãhã 'it is'. The element *hãhã* 'it is' is used as a minimal response by the hearers when someone tells a story. It is not felicitous to use *hỹ'?ỹ* 'yes' in this way.

ha?ã ‘here!’. The element *ha?ã* is used when one presents something to someone:

(3214) *ha'?ã* *u'ru*
here! patua
‘look, here are patua seeds!’

hỹ?ỹ ‘yes, O.K.’. As a positive minimal response, *hỹ'?ỹ* ‘yes, O.K.’ is used. The second syllable bears the accent. It can also be pronounced as *hã'?ã*, *hã'hã*, *hy'?ỹ*, “*hmhm*” or *ỹ'hỹ*. It is also a positive minimal response to commands. Roquette-Pinto (1950:152) attributes the wide diffusion of “Hum! Hum!” in this function among Brazilians, esp. in Mato-Grosso and Rondônia, to Indian influence.

tse ‘yes’. Another positive minimal response is *tse* ‘yes’, sometimes pronounced as [se]. It is used much in family II. It is not to be confused with the interjection *tsɛh* ‘why!’ or the declarative morpheme *-tse*.

(3215) Q: *wa'txi-re* A: *tse*
true-INT yes
‘would it be true?’ ‘yes’

hỹ?ỹ ‘no’. As a negative minimal response, *'hỹ?ỹ* ‘no’ is used. The first syllable has a higher pitch than the second one and it also bears the accent. The vowel of the second syllable is often long.

hỹhỹ ‘I don’t know’. As a minimal negative answer to a question *hỹ'hỹ* ‘I don’t know’ is used:

(3216) Q: *ti-'rjỹ-re* *koreja'ro* A: *hỹ'hỹ* / *tsy-'re*
what-CD:area-INT pan don’t know / GER-INT
‘where is the pan?’ ‘I don’t know’

ĩnĩ ‘O.K.’. The element *ĩnĩ* ‘O.K., yes it is, let him!’, also pronounced as [ĩ'ni], is a reassuring reply to comment or a warning about someone else:

(3217) R: *ja-e-da'mỹ-tse* A: *ĩ'nĩ*
eat-again-want-DEC O.K.
‘he (said he) is going to eat again’ ‘let him!’, ‘it’s O.K.!’

It seems possible that the part *-nĩ* of *ĩnĩ* is etymologically related to the exhortative morpheme *-ni* and the part *ĩ-* to the pronoun *ĩ* ‘he’.

Chapter 8
Subordination and coordination

The preceding chapters concerned the basic parts of speech and their morphology. The present chapter deals with complex constructions, or, to be more precise, the morphology of verbs in complex clause constructions. In Kwaza there are three types of clauses: matrix clauses, subordinate clauses and medial clauses. A full sentence always consists of a matrix clause. The morphological properties of the constituents of single matrix clauses, such as case marking, person and mood marking and derivational extension, were discussed in the previous sections. A full sentence may also consist of a complex matrix clause that contains other, non-matrix clauses such as adverbial clauses. The verb that bears matrix clause morphology is usually sentence-final. The (co-) subordinated clauses normally precede the matrix verb. The difference between all these types of clauses is signalled by verbal morphology, especially by inflexional endings.

Subordinate clauses are discussed in section (8.2.) on adverbial clauses and section (8.4.) on nominal clauses. Apart from subordinate clauses, Kwaza also has clauses which are semantically coordinated with the matrix clause, but which are morphosyntactically subordinated to the matrix clause, and which may form multiple clause chains. These clauses are discussed in (8.3.), and I have called them "cosubordinated" or "medial" clauses. In spite of the fact that Kwaza has no conjunctional element which means 'and', functional coordination of noun phrases is nonetheless possible. This is discussed in (8.5.). Finally, there are some specific syntactic constructions the grammatical structure of which is interpreted in more or less ideosyncratic ways. Such special constructions form a sort of templates which convey notions such as habituality. This is dealt with in (8.6.). The first subsection of this chapter, (8.1.), is an exposition on the bound morpheme *-tsy-*, which has several different functions, and which is treated here because of its importance in complex clause constructions.

8.1. The form *-tsy-*

The element *-tsy-* has a rather wide distribution. Although it is found with a modal meaning inside matrix clause verbs, it occurs mostly across a considerable range of subordinated phrases in complex constructions. It is neither a mood marker nor a modal subordinator itself, but its application is rather tied up with these categories. Its analysis is especially of importance for a good understanding of adverbial clauses. Therefore the element *-tsy-* is treated here, in an intermediary position between the section on mood marking of chapter (5.) and the present chapter on complex constructions, as its first section.

The element *-tsy-* has a variety of functions for which it is difficult to find a common denominator. It is likely that there are at least two basically different but homophonous morphemes *-tsy-*. The general distinction seems to be that one element *-tsy-* represents a potential morpheme, and another element *-tsy-* represents a gerundi(v)al morpheme. It is possible that the gerundial is etymologically related to the declarative morpheme *-tse*. In this section the different morphemes *-tsy-* are discussed and contrasted with one another. The potential will be dealt with in the first subsection and the gerundial will be treated in the second subsection. A synthesis of both accounts will be given in the last subsection.

8.1.1. Potential -tsy-

The potential morpheme *-tsy-* is a verbal suffix that occurs in matrix clauses in between the person cross-reference marker and the matrix mood marker. It occurs in declarative and in interrogative (see also 8.1.2.1.) mood sentences. It neither precedes an adjacent *-ki* declarative, nor does it occur inside imperative mood clauses. Usually the potential morpheme *-tsy-* has a future tense connotation.

(3218) *hade'ja εburu-da-tsy-'tse*
night arrive-1S-POT-DEC
'I will arrive home at night'

(3219) *hakore-'wy 'ja-da-tsy-tse*
tomorrow-time eat-1S-POT-DEC
'tomorrow I will eat'

(3220) *xyitsε-'wã wady-nĩ'nã-da-tsy-tse*
you.PL-AO give-2O-1S-POT-DEC
'I will give (the things) to you (plural)'

(3221) *mĩki-tjate-'e 'dai-xa-tsy-re*
tooth-3.POS-too take-2-POT-INT
'are you also going to take its teeth?'

(3222) *ti-'wy 'a-tsy-re heju'ñãu*
what-time exist-POT-INT meeting
'when will there be a meeting?'

(3223) *wintitreDeDezemBro-'wy 'a-tsy-tse heju'ñãu*
twenty.three.of.December-time exist-POT-DEC meeting
'on the 23rd of December there will be a meeting'
(24 days from present)

(3224) *darje-'mũ-re*
strong-CL:liquid-INT
'is it running water?'

darje-'mũ-tsy-re
strong-CL:liquid-POT-INT
'is the water going to run?'

The verbal suffix *-nã-* is the canonical future tense marker. In section (5.2.5.) and (5.2.5.1.) its difference with volitive/controlled future marker *-damỹ(-)* is discussed. Usually these morphemes involve a future event which is relatively certain to occur. The morpheme *-tsy-*, on the other hand, rather refers to a possible, less certain future:

(3225) *tãlo-'nã-tse* / *tãlo-da'mỹ-tse*
angry-FUT-DEC / angry-want-DEC
'(the dog) is becoming angry'

(3226) *tã'lo-tsy-tse*
angry-POT-DEC
'(don't tease the dog or) it will get angry'

Potential *-tsy-* occurs most frequently in matrix clause verbs when a subordinate clause contains a future morpheme or a future sense (see 8.2.1.2.1.).

The verb which is unmarked for tense can be interpreted as non-future. The verb marked by future *-nã-* does not imply a specific degree of remoteness of the future. However, the morpheme *-tsy-* may indicate that the future implied is relatively remote. Nevertheless, *-tsy-* is not a future morpheme itself. It may occur in verbs which are already marked for future, either morphologically or lexically through an adverbial, or both:

(3227) *ze'zĩju-dy-rjỹ* *oja-'nã-da-ki*
Zezinho-POS-CD:area go-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'm on my way to / going to Zezinho'

(3228) *ze'zĩju-dy-rjỹ* *oja-'nã-da-tsy-tse*
Zezinho-POS-CD:area go-FUT-1S-POT-DEC
'I will go to Zezinho (one of these days)'

(3229) *(ako're)* *o'ja-da-tsy-tse* *ze'zĩju-dy-rjỹ*
tomorrow go-1S-POT-DEC Zezinho-POS-CD:area
'I'm going to Zezinho (tomorrow)'

(3230) *oja-'nã-da-ta'ra-tsy-tse*
go-FUT-1S-PROC-POT-DEC
'I'll go there soon (but first I have to do another thing)'

(3231) *unỹnãi-'ko* *oja-'nã-da-tsy-tse*
a.while-INS go-FUT-1S-POT-DEC
'it will be a while before I go there'

(3232) *kui-'nã-tsy-re*
drink-FUT-POT-INT
'is he going to drink?'

Notice in this respect also the contrast between example (1449) in section (5.2.5.) and the following:

(3233) **kika'lo-da-tsy-tse*
fever-1S-POT-DEC
'I'm going to have fever'

The sentence *kikalonãdaki* 'I'm going to have fever' is accepted, because the speaker apparently feels a fever coming. The sentence **kika'loda'mỹ* 'I'm going to have fever' is not acceptable, because the volitive mood marker implies that the speaker is in control of the coming event. Example (3233) above was considered somewhat less ungrammatical than **kika'loda'mỹ*, but it was still wrong. This is probably because it is unlikely that the speaker feels a fever coming in some relatively remote or uncertain future.

Note that sentences containing *-tsy-* are in isolation often provided by the consultants with future translations which obscure the potential meaning aspect of uncertainty.

8.1.1.1. Potential and person marking

Constructions involving potential *-tsy-* can be marked for any subject person, including second person singular and plural *-xa-*. If a person marker is absent, however, the verb may be ambiguous. Often, zero marking in potential verbs cross-refers to third persons, but in the ambiguous cases it can also refer to second persons. The difference between *-xa-* and zero-marking for second persons in verbs containing potential *-tsy-* is not entirely clear.

Meanwhile, zero-marked potential verbs ending in *-tse* are declarative when the subject is a third person. However, when the zero-marked subject is a second person, the verb may have an imperative connotation. As demonstrated in (5.2.3.) verbs bearing the canonical imperative mood marker *-ra* may cross-refer to a singular subject (which is intrinsically a second person) by either zero or *-xa-*. It was also demonstrated that in comparison to the canonical imperative, the potential morpheme *-tsy-* may have a mitigated imperative interpretation. The examples below and in (5.2.3.1.) suggest that the presence or absence of second person marker *-xa-* does not determine this mitigated imperative effect. On some occasions both potential verbs in which *-xa-* is present and in which it is absent (though with a second person interpretation) could be regarded as (mitigated) imperative:

(3234) R: *kui-'nã-da-ki*
drink-FUT-1S-DEC
'I will/want to drink'

A: *'kui-xa-tsy-tse*
drink-2-POT-DEC
'you may drink'

(3235) *ãi* *o'ja-xa-tsy-tse*
far go-2-POT-DEC
'you are going to go far away from here (now)' (t)

(3236) *da'nỹ* *onɛ-'he-da-wy* *horonỹ'hỹ-tsy-tse*
still arrive-NEG-1S-time finish-POT-DEC
'when I return you will have finished' (CX: as an order)

(3237) *da'nỹ* *onɛ-'he-da-wy* *ba-jãhỹ-tsy-tse*
still arrive-NEG-1S-time cut-CL:path-POT-DEC
'when I return you will have cleared the road' (CX: as an order)

(3238) *wai-'he-tsy-tse-tse*
good-NEG-POT-DEC-DEC
'say it if (the food) isn't good!'

(3239) **hako'ri* *ekawa-tsy-tse*
moon fill-POT-DEC
*?"moon, become full!'

The latter example was considered anomalous for obvious reasons. Notice that it was not regarded as a correct third person form of a verb in which *-tsy-* has a future interpretation. Compare examples (1463) and (1464) in section (5.2.5.1.) for the correct version of this.

In contrast to what the above examples suggest, second person marking in combination with potential does not always have an imperative effect. The following example shows that it may have just a future effect:

(3240) *i'si-xa-tsy-tse*
die-2-POT-DEC
'you may die' (CX: what happens if you eat this mushroom?)

It is nevertheless possible that zero marked second person potential verbs may also have just the future effect. Unfortunately, the following examples were elicited and translated in isolation and it was not possible to inquire explicitly about their connotations:

(3241) *kui-da'mỹ-(xa)-tsy-tse* / *kui-'nã-(xa)-tsy-tse*
drink-want-2-POT-DEC / drink-FUT-2-POT-DEC
'you're planning to drink'

Zero-marked verbs in the potential seem to cross-refer to second person subjects with or without the imperative effect. Without imperative effect they either refer to second or to third person subjects. This implies that the absence or presence of *-xa-* is not fully predictable and that there is room for ambiguity

between a second and third person reading. The situation is summarised by the following table:

Table 31. Person cross-reference marking with declarative potential *-tsy-*

	future	imperative
1	**-da-** , **-a-** , **-axa-**	
2	**-xa-** / **-Ø-**	**-xa-** / **-Ø-**
3	**-Ø-**	

8.1.1.2. Potential and the expression of inability

In combination with negation, verbs containing potential *-tsy-* may refer to inability:

(3242) *kõrõ-'he-xa-tsy-tse*
erection-NEG-2-POT-DEC
'you won't be able to get an erection (any more)'[349]

(3243) *tsuhũ-'du* *cu-da-'he-tsy-tse* *koreja-'ko*
what-BER cut-1S-NEG-POT-DEC knife-INS
'I can't cut it (the mahogany tree) down with a machete'

(3244) *ti-'nãi-tja* *ta-ja-da-he-tsy-'tse-da-ki*
what-NOM-CSO talk-IO-1S-NEG-POT-DEC-1S-DEC
'I said what I cannot say to people'[350]

8.1.1.3. Potential under nominalisation and in adverbial clauses

Under nominalisation potential verbs may keep their future sense:

(3245) *o'kja-tsy-nahere* *o'kja-nahere*
hunt-POT-COL hunt-COL
'those who are going to hunt'[351] 'the hunters'

(3246) *o'kja-ỹ-tsy-nahere*
hunt-ATT-POT-COL
'the future hunters (who have never hunted so far)'

349. CX: 'if you eat lemon seeds'. This was a joke about the so-called dangers of eating lemon seeds.
350. A broader translation would be 'what would I say?' or 'I'm innocent'.
351. Also if they're still asleep now.

Potential verbs nominalised by the morpheme *-wy* 'time' may function as an adverb or an adverbial clause with a future temporal sense:

(3247) *da'nỹ awe-'he-tsy-wy* *a'we hã'rã-tsy-wy*
still rain-NEG-POT-time rain stop-POT-time
'before it may rain' 'after the rain'

Potential verbs nominalised by *-hỹ* occur as nouns or as adverbial clauses with a purposive function:

(3248) *cẽrẽ'mũ e'hỹ-da-mỹ 'kui-da-tsy-hỹ eto'hoi-nahe're*
milk make-1S-VOL drink-1S-POT-NOM child-COL

'kui-tsy-hỹ
drink-POT-NOM
'I'm going to make milk for me to drink, for the children to drink'

(3249) *'meza e'hỹ=wanɛ-ra 'rai?yhỹ txite-'dwa-da-tsy-hỹ*
table make=bring-IMP thing pile-DR:onto-1S-POT-NOM
'make a table for me to put the things on'

These examples show how the verb stem of the purposive adverbial clause retains its valency, and may have embedded lexical arguments. On a morphological level, these are arguments of that verb stem. However, the internal syntactic structure of the purposive clause is identical to that of a nominal modification construction in which the dependent and the (omissible) head are juxtaposed (see 4.3. and 8.4.1.5.). On a sentence level the adverbial clause is a beneficiary argument satellite of the matrix verb. In the following purposive clauses the lexical heads represent the subject, object and instrumental satellite arguments, respectively, of the verb stem embedded in the dependent:

(3250) *eto'hoi-nahere erewe-tsy-'hỹ*
child-COL write-POT-NOM
'(school) for the children to study'

(3251) *wana'dy ja-tsy-'hỹ da'nỹ a-'ki*
food eat-POT-NOM still exist-DEC
'there still is food for him to eat'

(3252) *erewe-'xy-nite are'ta-tsy-hỹ*
write-CL:leaf-NOM know-POT-NOM
'study material (book, school) in order to learn'

(3253) *hã'kũi* *bɛ-('dy)-ỹ-tsy-hỹ*
grub breed-CAU-ATT-POT-NOM
'grubs to breed grubs with'

In the following example the object of the matrix verb could be regarded as the subject of the purposive clause, although this clause can also be regarded exclusively as an adverbial phrase:

(3254) *e-si'ki* *'bɛta-'nã-da-ki* *ka'ra-tsy-hỹ*
Ø-CL:skin hang-FUT-1S-DEC dry-POT-NOM
'I'm going to hang out the clothes to dry'

In the following example the object of the cosubordinated clause is identical to the subject of the verbal root of the purposive nominal which functions as the stem of the matrix verb ('João'):

(3255) *talo-'tja-dy-ta* *'ɛ-tsy-hỹ-ki* *zjwãu*
sulk-TRA-DS-CSO go-POT-NOM-DEC João
'by sulking (ignoring him) she made João go away'

A literal reading of this example could be: 'she sulked with João in order for him to leave', and the effect appears to be causative.[352]

The contrast between the next two examples shows that, instead of nominaliser *-hỹ*, a specific classifier (see 4.2.) can be applied. This faculty of classifiers to represent specific nominals morphologically, is interconnected with the phenomenon of omissible heads. The result is an even more synthetic construction in which the head ('board') has in a sense "incorporated" the descriptive dependent ('for you to make a house'):

(3256) *a'xy-dy-'xa-tsy-tse*
house-CAU-2-POT-DEC
'you are going to make a house'

(3257) *a'xy-dy-'xa-tsy-ka'nɛ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
house-CAU-2-POT-CL:oblong see-1S-DEC
'I saw boards for you to make a house with'

Notice that the latter example does not contain an adverbial clause. It illustrates that a nominalised potential verb may have an internally purposive meaning, even although on the sentential level it may be just a Patiens object argument of the matrix verb. The next example illustrates that this "incorporation" also ap

352. In an alternative analysis, *-tsy-* can be interpreted as gerundial, which would yield the translation 'the fact that he is/was treated bad is/was a reason for João to leave'. It is difficult to say what the best interpretation is.

plies to the referent of the nominaliser *-hỹ*, which can be regarded as a neutral classifier:

(3258) *areta-'dy-ja-tsy-hỹ* / *erewe-xy-'dy-ja-tsy-hỹ*
know-CAU-IO-POT-NOM / write-CL:leaf-CAU-IO-POT-NOM
'teacher, professor'

As a consequence, the literal translation of this word should be 'a non-descript person in order to make people know, c.q. in order to make people write'.[353] In general one may say that a verb which is nominalised by the combination of the potential morpheme *-tsy-* with any classifier has become a "purposive noun".

It is important to notice that nominalisation of a potential verb does not always yield a purposive noun, though it retains a future sense:

(3259) *o'kja-a-xa-(tara)-tsy-hỹ-herejã-'re*
hunt-1P-AS-PROC-POT-NOM-APPL-INT
'we are still going to hunt! (but we're too busy now)'

(3260) *esi'ñwã oja='hay-tsy-hỹ*
yard leave=cut-POT-NOM
'end of the yard' (lit. where the yard will be cut off)

(3261) *cahỹ 'bwa-tsy-rjỹ 'ũi-da-ki*
path end-POT-CD:area lie-1S-DEC
'I rested at the end of the road' (lit. where it will end)

The nominaliser *-nãi* is not a classifier. *-nãi* can be used to derive action nouns from verbs and to create adverbs. The combination *-tsy-nãi* yields an action noun that functions as an uncertain future complement clause (see 8.4.2.):

(3262) *ũcenãi-'he-da-ki o'nɛ-da-tsy-nãi*
know-NEG-1S-DEC arrive-1S-POT-NOM
'I don't know when I'll arrive'

(3263) *unỹ'nãi-ki horonỹ'hỹ-da-tsy-nãi*
a.while-DEC prepare-1S-POT-NOM
'it will take a long time before I finish the work'

353. With respect to these unflattering definitions, teachers from other cultures may find comfort in the fact that formal education is not a native concept among the Kwaza.

This future perspective can be embedded in a past context:

(3264) *hary'ky* *ũce'nãi-ki* *awy-'mũ-nãi*
now know-DEC cold-CL:liquid-NOM
'he knows the water is cold' (TMA:117)

(3265) *ja* *ũce'nãi-hỹ-ki* *awy-'mũ-tsy-nãi*
already know-NOM-DEC cold-CL:liquid-POT-NOM
'he knew (yesterday) the water would be cold (today)' (TMA:118)

8.1.2. Gerundi(v)al -tsy-

In certain positions inside the verb the element *-tsy-* clearly does not have a potential sense and it can apparently not be related to the potential morpheme *-tsy-* dealt with in the preceding section. The unidentified element *-tsy-* seems to be another morpheme with a different meaning, but its exact semantic contents are difficult to establish. Depending on the semantics of the specific verb stem to which it is attached it may have a durative, progressive or resultative effect, but its principal function is mildly emphatic. Because it is usually followed by a nominaliser, and because this combination replaces declarative *-tse* on many occasions, I have analysed it provisionally as a gerundial morpheme:

(3266) *lo'te* *e-'he-tse*
door have-NEG-DEC
'there is no door'

(3267) *lo'te* *e-'he-tsy-hỹ*
door have-NEG-GER-NOM
'without door'

There could be a morphophonological relation between *-tsy-* and declarative *-tse*. The main reason why *-tsy-* is not regarded here as an outright allomorph of *-tse* is because *-tse* is analysed as a verb-final mood marker. If a verb is nominalised, the mood marker is normally truncated and replaced by the nominalising morpheme. Nevertheless, formal, distributional and perhaps semantic correspondences warrant the suspicion that gerundial *-tsy-* may derive from declarative *-tse*.

Example (3267) above means literally: 'the one not having a door'. It is possible that *-tsy-* has an emphatic cleft function. In the following examples, *-tsy-* causes contrastive focus:

(3268) *nỹ-'xy-tsy-hỹ*
big-CL:house-GER-NOM
'the big house' (lit. 'that which functions as a big house')

(3269) *xyi* *tei-'hỹ-tsy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-xa-ki*
you one-NOM-GER-NOM see-2-DEC
'you saw the one who is just one'

The phrase in example (3268) was uttered as an answer to the question: 'which one do you want?'. The fact that *-hỹ* is a nominaliser which can be replaced by a specific classifier (see also 4.2.) is a reason to regard *-tsy-* as an element which is not inextricably fused with *-hỹ*:

(3270) *koreja'ri* *nỹ-'ri-tsy-ri*
plate big-CL:flat-GER-CL:flat
'the (plate being a) big plate' (A to Q: which one do you want?)
(lit. 'the plate which functions as the biggest')

(3271) *oitsi-'lɛ-tsy-hỹ* *e-tsy-ka'nɛ*
copulate-RECI-GER-NOM have-GER-CL:oblong
'pornographic video tape'

(3272) *oitsi-'lɛ-tsy-yi*
copulate-RECI-GER-CL:thread
'pornographic video tape'[354]

(3273) *tjatjari-'lɛ-tsy-yi*
shoot.many-RECI-GER-CL:thread
'video tape containing a violent film'[355]

(3274) *tuituiñɛ̃-'le-tsy-rjỹ*
grass-only-GER-CD:area
'(while) being a place with only grass' (t)

Further evidence that *-hỹ* is nominaliser here is that it can be marked for case:

(3275) *ywy'nwỹ* *kara-ko'ro-tsy-hỹ-na* *mau'ru* *'ũ-ki*
tree dry-branch-GER-NOM-LOC woodpecker be-DEC
'woodpecker lives in a dry tree branch'

(3276) *ti-'nãi-tsy-xy-ko* *'dai-xa-re*
what-like-GER-CL:leaf-INS take-2-INT
'with what money did you pay/buy?'

Even though a verbal root preceding *-tsy-hỹ* retains its original valency, the entire phrase can function as a dependent relative clause-like nominal ('one without an arm') modifying a juxtaposed nominal head ('shirt'):

354. MA translated it in POR as *fita de fuder* 'video tape of fucking'.
355. MA translated this in POR as *fita de se matar o outro* 'video tape of killing one another'.

(3277) *esi'ki* *tso'ro* *e-'he-tsy-hỹ*
skin arm have-NEG-GER-NOM
'shirt without an sleeve'

(3278) *eto'hoi* *mãa'ha* *e-'he-tsy-hỹ*
child mother father have-NEG-GER-NOM
'child who has no father or mother', 'orphan'

Also, the complex nominal phrase may function as argument in the matrix clause:

(3279) *haru'rai* *i'si-tsy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
armadillo die-GER-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the dead armadillo'

(3280) *e'tay* *ywy'nwỹ* *'cu-tsy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
woman tree cut-GER-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw that woman who cut down (the) tree'

(3281) *e'tay* *'cu-tsy-nwỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
woman cut-GER-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw that tree that was felled by the woman'

Finally, the result of nominalisation by *-tsy-hỹ* can be involved in a possessive construction:

(3282) *kanwa-dy-'hỹ* *eri'rwa-tsy-hỹ*
canoe-POS-NOM disc-GER-NOM
'car wheel' (lit. 'the thing being a car's wheel')

With regard to the latter example, there is doubt about whether the possessor possesses the derived stem or whether *-tsy-hỹ* nominalises the entire possessive construction. The root of the possessum *erirwa* 'disk' could namely be a nominal stem, although this is not completely certain. This example also points to another correspondence between *-tse* and *-tsy-*: bare nouns can be zero-derived as verb stems by the application of a mood marker.[356] Similarly then, *-tsy-hỹ* can be applied to bare nominal stems. Also in the subsequent examples *-tsy-hỹ* has an emphatic function:

(3283) *e-ka'nɛ-tsy-hỹ*
Ø-CL:oblong-GER-NOM
'cassette tape (video/audio)' (lit. 'the one who is a board')

356. This faculty of Kwaza morphology was discussed in (5.2.1.4.).

(3284) *to'ro* *e-'dwa-tsy-hỹ* (or *toro'dwa*)
annatto Ø-CL:stone-GER-NOM
'bar of soap'
(lit. 'annatto which has the form of stone')[357]

(3285) *to'ro* *e-'nũ-tsy-hỹ*
annatto Ø-CL:powder-GER-NOM
'powder soap'
(lit. 'annatto which has the form of powder')

(3286) *lonɛ-tsy-hỹ-'na*
hole-GER-NOM-LOC
'in a hole' (t)

If gerundial *-tsy-* is a verbal suffix, then a noun root terminated by *-tsy-hỹ* has gone through a change of lexical category twice: zero-verbalisation and nominalisation.

Sometimes, the gerundial morpheme *-tsy-* makes the impression of being an equivalent of the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* (see 4.3.2.1.):

(3287) *lowɛ̃-'xu-ỹ-hỹ*
bend-CL:bone-ATT-NOM
'crooked-legged one'

tso'ro *e-'he-tsy-hỹ*
arm have-NEG-GER-NOM
'person who lacks an arm'

(3288) *tja?a'tje-ỹ-hỹ*
close-ATT-NOM
'the close one'

la'nỹ-tsy-hỹ
closer-GER-NOM
'the closer one'

However, the contrasted examples represent completely different constructions. The most important formal difference between the two is that *-ỹ-*, being only optionally nominalised, can be followed immediately by a mood marker, except by declarative *-tse*, while *-tsy-* is obligatorily nominalised before it can be verbalised again by a declarative mood marker. Compare *kãu-tse* 'it broke' to the following examples:

(3289) *kãu-tsy-'hỹ*
break-GER-NOM
'broken, torn one'

kãu-tsy-'hỹ-ki
break-GER-NOM-DEC
'it is the one that broke'

8.1.2.1. Gerundial *-tsy-* in the interrogative

Only in the interrogative mood gerundial *-tsy-* is not nominalised. The present subsection is partially based on (5.2.2.2.). As we have seen there, the interrogative marker is attached to the zero-marked verb root in third person examples like the following (repeated from 1331):

357. Traditionally, the Kwaza used the red paste from the seeds of annatto (Bixa orellana L.) for body decoration.

(3290) *di'lɛ 'cu-re*
who cut-INT
'who is cutting (felling the tree)?'

The element *-tsy-* may be inserted between subject cross-reference marking (which is zero for the third person) and interrogative *-re*. No solid explanations have been found with regard to its presence or absence. If there is a possibility that gerundial *-tsy-* is related to declarative *-tse*, then *-tsy-* may have a similar gerundial function in the interrogative:

(3291) *'bwa-tse* 'it is finished'
'bwa-tsy-hỹ 'the/a finished one/finishing one'
bwa-(tsy)-'re 'is it finished?'

(3292) *di'lɛ kawe-'mũ* *kui='bwa-tsy-re*
who coffee-CL:liquid drink=end-GER-INT
'who drank all the coffee?'

It may be worthwhile to observe how *-tsy-* is usually inserted between *-re* and the negative marker:

(3293) *atsile-'re*
heavy-INT
'is it very heavy?'

atsile-'he-tsy-re
heavy-NEG-GER-INT
'it is not very heavy?'

(3294) *hadu'ru oje-'he-tsy-re*
coati flee-NEG-GER-INT
'the coati has not escaped?'

In a similar fashion, *-tse* usually replaces *-ki* after the negative marker *-he-* (and after the future markers *-nã-* and *-damỹ-*). Although I see no compelling reason to relate the potential modality marker *-tsy-* to declarative *-tse* and gerundial *-tsy-*, it does have a similar distribution in certain interrogative constructions. Compare the following examples (repeated from 1354) to (3290):

(3295) *di'lɛ 'cu-tsy-re*
who cut-GER-INT
'who cut (the tree)?'

di'lɛ 'cu-tsy-re
who cut-POT-INT
'who is going to cut (the tree)?'

The example in which *-tsy-* is analysed as gerundial has a past tense reading when contrasted to present tense (3290) and to the potential construction which has a future tense interpretation. It is unclear whether *-tsy-* is an allomorph of declarative *-tse* in the third person interrogative or whether it is a different morpheme. An important reason to distinguish potential *-tsy-* from the other *-tsy-* (and from *-tse*) is that the potential *-tsy-* can be attached directly to overt

person markers, and that it never has any other reading in that position than future:

(3296) *o'ja-xa-tsy-re*
leave-2-POT-INT
'you're going?'

The semantic difference between interrogatives with and without gerundial *-tsy-* is not predictable. Above in (3295) we saw a past interpretation of the verb containing the *-tsy-* interrogative, but interrogatives without *-tsy-* may also have a past tense reading:

(3297) *dilɛ-'wã 'mɛ̃-re*
who-AO beat-INT
'he hit whom?'

(3298) *txa'rwa oja-'re*
first leave-INT
'he went today?'

(3299) *o'ja-tsy-re*
leave-GER-INT
'did he go?'

Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that there is idiosyncratic and therefore lexicalised difference between certain verbs with and without *-tsy-* in the interrogative. However, the next examples do not seem to have any sharply contrasting meanings:

(3300) *di'lɛ* 'who?'
di'lɛ-re 'who is there? (at the door)'
di'le-tsy-re 'who is it?'

(3301) *ja hã'rã-(tsy)-re*
already stop-GER-INT
'already stopped?'

Unfortunately, the collected documentation does not provide for clearer examples and contrasts. Probably the function of gerundial *-tsy-* is to give an extra cleft-like effect, like 'who could it be who ...?' or 'what could it be that ...?'. Note that in case of verb stem ellipsis, *-re* is usually preceded by *-tsy-*. In fact, *tsyre* is often used as a free minimal response particle, with a potential connotation of doubt: 'is it?', 'would it be?', 'I don't know'.

8.1.2.2. Coordinative function of the nominalised gerundial

As we have seen in examples (3283) to (3286), the element *-tsy-* combined with *-hỹ* may be attached to nouns in order to form an emphasised noun. This

noun may function as a modifying noun juxtaposed to an optional head noun. It is unlikely that *-tsy-* is a potential marker there. A similar operation is applied to create a nominal coordination construction:

(3302) *atxi'txi* *mani'ni-tsy-hỹ*
maize fish-GER-NOM
'maize and fish' (t)

There is no formal difference between the modifying construction and the coordinating construction. Also there is no semantic difference with regard to the specific elements *-tsy-* or *-hỹ* applied in the semantically distinct constructions. Although the construction is formally ambiguous, one may nevertheless suppose that the two functions (coordination and modification) will be successfully kept apart on the basis of context.

The entire construction can occur as the argument of a verb:

(3303) *atxi'txi* *cẽrĩ-tsy-'hỹ* *ja=ha'rã-xa-lɛ*
maize peanut-GER-NOM eat=stop-2-PREC
'if you've chewed maize and peanuts' (t)

The coordinated nouns can refer to specific persons, and the entire construction can be marked for case:

(3304) *'masju* *lu'zeu-tsy-hỹ-wã* *wa'dy-xa-ki*
Marcio Luzeu-GER-NOM-AO give-2-DEC
'you gave (things) to Marcio and Luzeu'

The coordination construction may also refer to the concomitants in a reciprocal action:

(3305) *'paulu* *ipe'pa-tsy-hỹ* *huhui-'lɛ-ki*
Paulo Ipepa-GER-NOM beat-RECI-DEC
'Paulo and Ipepa are fighting'

When several nouns are coordinated, the last of them is obligatorily marked with *-tsy-hỹ*, whereas the preceding ones are optionally marked:

(3306) *luzeu* *wa'dy-eteja-hỹ-ki* *maga'riDa-((tsy-hỹ)-wã)*
Luzeu give-1PO-NOM-DEC Margarida-GER-NOM-AO

'xyj-((tsy-hỹ)-wã) *'si-tsy-hỹ-wã*
you-GER-NOM-AO I-GER-NOM-AO
'Luzeu gave (things) to Margarida, you and me (i.e. us)'

When there is only one member in a coordination construction, that is, when the other member is omitted or "understood" in the proper pragmatic context, the complex element *-tsy-hỹ* means 'too':

(3307) *'xyi-tsy-hỹ*
you-GER-NOM
'you too'

(3308) *ta'kwa-tsy-hỹ* *ca'ri-a-hỹ*
cayman-GER-NOM shoot-1P-NOM
'also the cayman we may kill' (t)

8.1.2.3. Gerundial in reported speech

Another parallel between the declarative mood marker *-tse* and gerundial *-tsy-* concerns their function in reported speech. As demonstrated in (5.5.11.), (direct) speech can be quoted by the attachment of *-tse* to the verb which is already inflected for person and mood:

(3309) *kukuihỹ-da-'ki-tse*
ill-1S-DEC-DEC
'she says she is ill' (lit. she says 'I am ill')

The inflected verb represents the quoted passage, and the additional mood marker renders it as a quotation. It appears that the element *-tse* in this quotative function can be replaced by the combination of *-tsy-*, *-hỹ* and the declarative *-ki*:

(3310) *'masiju* *kukuihỹ-da-'ki-tsy-hỹ-ki*
Marcio ill-1S-DEC-GER-NOM-DEC
'Marcio says he is ill'

It is unclear what the semantic consequences are but it may be similar to the other recursive gerundial derivations involving *-tsy-* as in (3289) which have an emphatic effect. The following examples constitute evidence that *-tsy-* is not potential:

(3311) *la'to* *'masiju* *kukuihỹ-da-'ki-tsy-hỹ-ki*
yesterday Marcio ill-1S-DEC-GER-NOM-DEC
'yesterday, Marcio said he is ill'

(3312) *'masiju* *ja* *kukuihỹ-da-'ki-tsy-hỹ-ki*
Marcio already ill-1S-DEC-GER-NOM-DEC
'Marcio is/has been saying (for some time) he is ill'

Under ellipsis (see 7.5.2.) of the quoted expression, *-tsy-* can occur as a root with the meaning 'say':

(3313) *tsy-'hỹ-ki*
GER-NOM-DEC
'he says yes / he says so'

The same phenomenon was attested in the verbalised frustrative clause (see 8.2.2.2.)

8.1.2.4. Gerundial in nominalisations and adverbial clauses

In some sentences it is quite difficult to establish in which way *-tsy-* is to be interpreted. One can argue for a gerundial analysis of *-tsy-* in the following examples. The translation of example (3314) does not involve the future or purposive senses which are characteristic of the potential morpheme:

(3314) *areta-'he-tsy-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki* *dodotxi'te* *o'hui-nãi*
know-NEG-GER-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC rubber.ball play-NOM
'they don't know how to play football, no way!'

Here, *-tsy-* can be argued to be gerundial, in view of its emphatic function. In example (3315) there is a future sense, but that can be attributed to *-damỹ-* 'is going to':

(3315) *areta-'he-damỹ-tsy-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
know-NEG-want-GER-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'he is not going to learn (Kwaza) that's for sure!'

Especially in the latter way of reasoning lies the danger of contradictoriness with facts presented elsewhere. It was namely shown above in examples (3227) to (3232) that verbs containing explicit future markers such as *-nã-*, may contain potential *-tsy-*. One can avert this danger with the distributional argument that in those potential examples, *-tsy-* is part of the matrix verb, while here *-tsy-* is part of a nominalisation. If *-tsy-* was to be a potential morpheme here, one would expect a purposive sense, as in e.g. (3251).

Note furthermore that similarly to negative *-he-* and future *-nã-*, *-damỹ-* can not be succeeded by *-nãi* when no overt person markers intervene. Furthermore, they cannot be succeeded by the declarative morpheme *-ki*. Instead, the declarative *-tse* is used. Likewise, the occurrence of *-tsy-* could be a strictly formal requirement of the morphemes *-he-*, *-nã-* and *-damỹ-*.

The gerundial *-tsy-* also occurs in adverbial clauses which are formed by the adverbial nominaliser *-nãiko*, and in nominal clauses which end in *-nãi*:

(3316) *hewedu'tu-tsy-nãi-ko* *barɛrini'tɛ* *kara='bwa-tse*
forget-GER-NOM-INS pancake dry=finish-DEC
'because she forgot, the pancakes dried up'

(3317) *jo-'mũ* *atsuka-'he-tsy-nãi* *'wai-ki*
manioc-CL:liquid sugar-NEG-GER-NOM good-DEC
'chicha of manioc is good/better without sugar'

Again, it differs from the potential complement clauses derived by *-nãi* in that it has no connotation of uncertainty (nor of future). However, those presumed potential complement clauses were illustrated by examples (3262) and (3689), which do contain a matrix verb root with a (uncertain) future implication.

The following example concerns a nominalised verb that is derived as an adverbial clause by *-rata* 'first'.

(3318) *'wɛro-tsy-hỹ-rata* *leja-'nỹ-ki*
lightning-GER-NOM-first ahead-REF-DEC
'the flash comes first (then the thunder)'

The morpheme *-tsy-* is probably gerundial with an emphatic sense, rather than potential. Note that the declarative form of the verb *wero-* is never *-ki*, but always *-tse*.

8.1.2.5. Third person and gerundial

The future sense involved in complement clauses which contain potential *-tsy-* (see examples (3262) and (3689) in the previous section), can be realised alternatively through the canonical future morpheme *-nã-*:

(3319) *unỹ'nãi-ki* *onɛ-'nã-da-nãi*
a.while-DEC arrive-FUT-1S-NOM
'it is a long time for me to arrive'[358]

However, the combination *-nã-nãi* '(FUT-NOM)' was never attested. In the third person form of the verb, *-nã-* has to be accompanied by *-tsy-* before *-nãi* can be applied (see also 5.6.2.):

(3320) *unỹ'nãi-ki* *onɛ-'nã-tsy-nãi*
a.while-DEC arrive-FUT-GER-NOM
'it is (still) long (way, time) before (my) arrival'

Here *-tsy-* creates the impression of being a third person marker itself, when compared to the former example (3319) in which *-tsy-* does not occur. However, it is not a person marker, and neither does it seem to be potential (8.1.1.). The presence of *-tsy-* here seems to be a strictly formal requirement by future *-nã-*. This corresponds precisely to the impossibility of the combination of *-nã-*

358.A similar example was given in (8.4.2.)

with declarative *-ki*. Instead, and if no person markers intervene, *-nã-* is in the declarative always succeeded by declarative *-tse*. These considerations, together with the comparative translation of the examples (3319) and (3320) probably warrant a gerundive analysis of *-tsy-* here.

Reported speech constructions involving *-tsy-* can be subjected to adverbial nominalisation by *-nãi* in a similar way as discussed here in the gerundial as well as in potential constructions dealt with in section (8.1.1.):

(3321) *ĩ'tsɛ̃-tsy-nãi* *kahɛ-'he-tse*
jaguar-GER-NOM bite-NEG-DEC
'calling (the jaguar) ĩtsɛ̃, he will not bite (her)' (t)

(3322) *maga'riDa* *kat-tsy-'nãi* *'jãu-tsy-nãi-ki*
Margarida *kat*-GER-NOM cat-GER-NOM-DEC
'(when) Margarida says "*kat*", she is saying "cat"'[359]

(3323) *ɛ̃'hike* *'ta-a-nãi* *he'?ai-tse*
Henrique say-1P-NOM not.want-DEC
'he does not like (you) to call him Henrique'

(3324) *ɛ̃'hike-tsy-nãi* *he'?ai-tse*
Henrique-GER-NOM not.want-DEC
'he does not like to call (me) Henrique'

Whereas in the above examples *-tsy-* may with some effort be interpreted as potential, this would be rather difficult with respect to the following expression which is based on a special habitual construction of the type *V-nãi e-* 'have the habit of V-ing':

(3325) *xyi* *'jãu-tsy-nãi* *'e-xa-ki* *si* *'pus-tsy-nãi* *'e-da- ki*
you cat-GER-NOM have-2-DEC I *pus*-GER-NOM have-1S-DEC
'you say "cat" and I say "*poes*"'[360]

Another construction in which the overt person marker seems as if it becomes "replaced" by *-tsy-* in the third person was encountered in the interrogative:

(3326) *'esiki* *dilɛ-'du-xa-re*
skin who-BER-2-INT
'who are you (making) clothes for?'

359.Dutch *kat* 'cat'.
360.Dutch *poes* 'cat'.

(3327) *'esiki dilɛ-'du-tsy-re*
skin who-BER-GER-INT
'for whom is he (making) clothes?'

I have glossed *-tsy-* as gerundial here. There seems to be no reason why it should be potential in the third person example when it does not occur in the second person example. If example *-tsy-* in (3327) would really be potential, it would occur in (3326) too, similar to the examples contrasted in (8.1.1.). The purposive ring that the examples have can be explained by the beneficiary case marker.

For the same reasons I have glossed *-tsy-* as gerundial in the second of the following nominal clauses (see 8.4.1.):

(3328) *ũcenãi-'he-da-hỹ ere'we-da-ki*
know-NEG-1S-NOM write-1S-DEC
'what I don't know I'm writing'

(3329) *ũcenãi-'he-tsy-hỹ ere'we-ki*
know-NEG-GER-NOM write-DEC
'what he doesn't know he's writing'

The same problem of how to interpret *-tsy-* when it does occur in a third person verb but not in equivalent verbs marked for other persons was encountered among the complex constructions. It is found in section (8.2.1.2.), examples (3344) and (3345), in section (8.2.1.3.3.), example (3375), and elsewhere.

8.1.3. Summary and final remarks

Maybe the potential and the gerundial *-tsy-* are one and the same morpheme with two different meanings. However, the fact that these different meanings do not seem to be clearly related to one another has led me to assume that they are represented by two different morphemes which are expressed homophonously by the form *-tsy-*. The distinction between the gerundial and the potential remains difficult in the first place because they have such a similar distribution. An additional difficulty is caused by the vagueness of the concept "gerundial" while the semantic effects of the "potential" can sometimes be attributed to other morphemes in its vicinity. Nevertheless, there is much circumstantial evidence which corroborates the homophonous elements hypothesis. Only one set of examples was found which clearly demonstrates the semantic ambiguity of the element *-tsy-*. This is example (3295) above in section (8.1.2.1.). The consultant explicitly confirmed that this sentence was ambiguous, and he offered two different translations for it without one of them being more "appropriate" than the other. Remember that verbs which are unmarked for tense have a non-future interpretation, that is, they may be considered as

past tense or present tense verbs. In at least one of the interpretations of example (3295) there is a future connotation.

Example (3295) is the only one in which gerundial *-tsy-* occurs as part of a non-embedded matrix clause verb. Especially in nominalised constructions the elements *-tsy-* have a highly similar distribution. Nevertheless, there are some systematic differences both on the formal level as well as on the semantic level. In the scheme below I have summed up the distributional characteristics and semantic properties of the elements *-tsy-*, together with references to some relevant examples found in the present section:

Distribution of potential *-tsy-*:

a) always preceded by overt or zero person marking
b) in declarative matrix clause verbs (followed exclusively by *-tse*) (3218)
c) in interrogative matrix clause verbs (followed by *-re*) (3295)
d) in purposive nominalisations (followed by *-hỹ*) (3248)
e) in future nominalisations (followed by *-nãi*, *-wy*, *-nahere*) (3262)

Distribution of gerundial *-tsy-*:

a) never preceded by overt person marking
b) always "replacing" declarative *-tse*
c) in interrogative matrix clause verbs (followed by *-re*) (3295)
d) in emphatic nominalisations (followed by *-hỹ*) (3268)
e) in coordinating nominalisations (followed by *-hỹ*) (3302)
f) in nominal or adverbial clauses of reason (followed by *-nãi*) (3316)
g) in preconditional adverbial clauses (followed by *-hỹ-lɛ*)
h) in quoted verb phrases (followed by *-hỹ-ki*) (3311)
i) in quoted noun phrases (followed by *-nãi(-ki)*) (3321)

Distribution of unidentified *-tsy-*:

a) never preceded by overt person marking
b) in conditional adverbial clauses (followed by *-hỹ-kywy-ta*)
c) in concessive adverbial clauses (followed by *-lete*)

In the above schematisation, three noticeable distributional differences between gerundial and potential *-tsy-* come to the fore. In the first place, the gerundial never occurs in declarative matrix clauses, whereas the potential rarely occurs outside of declarative and interrogative matrix clauses. Secondly, the gerundial occurs predominantly in subordinate clauses or embedded phrases, while the potential rarely does so and then only with a purposive or future sense. Thirdly, the gerundial morpheme is never combined with overt person marking, whereas the potential morpheme is. The potential can even be combined with overt person marking in subordinate clauses or embedded phrases.

There is some overlap between the distribution of the gerundial and that of the potential. With regard to interrogative matrix clause verbs, the meaning difference was illustrated in (3295). As far as nominalisations ending in *-hỹ* are concerned, the potential clearly has a purposive function there, and can be attached to verb roots only, whereas the gerundial has a slightly emphatic function at the most, and can be attached to both verb roots and nouns (3286).

With regard to the undecided interpretation of *-tsy-* in certain adverbial clauses in (8.2.), it should be noted that it may be either gerundial or potential. Here the decision about *-tsy-* falls within the scope of the dilemma sketched in section (8.1.2.4.) above. On grounds of the fact that it does not occur in combination with overt person marking, together with the fact that it occurs only in non-matrix clauses (disregarding (3327) for now), this unidentified *-tsy-* should perhaps be regarded as gerundial, in analogy with other gerundial occurrences of *-tsy-*.

Other occurrences of an element *-tsy-*, such as in the utterance-final morpheme combination *-hỹ-tsy*, which indicates resignation (see 5.5.17.), are related on an etymological level at the most, and will be discussed in their proper section.

8.2. Adverbial clauses

As was pointed out in chapter (6.) adverbs resemble nouns in a number of ways. In various sections of chapter (4.) the possibilities for internal complexity of noun phrases were illustrated. Section (8.4.1.) of the present chapter is devoted to internally complex nominals that can be compared to relative clauses in other languages. Likewise, adverbs can be internally highly complex too. The present section on adverbial clauses deals with such complex adverbs. From a lexical-categorial point of view there seem to be basically two types of adverbial clauses: nominals and verbals. Nominal adverbial clauses are terminated by nominalising morphemes such as temporal *-wy* and general *-nãi*. Although these morphemes can be preceded by person markers, they can also be followed by case markers. Verbal adverbial clauses end in subordinate mood-like morphemes such as conditional *-kywy* and concessive *-lete*. These clauses do not exhibit as many nominal characteristics as the nominal adverbial clauses do. For example, they were never attested with case marking. Nevertheless, they have some formal characteristics which do remind of nominal morphology, such as the constituing elements *-wy* and *-te*. The present section consists of the following major subsections: (8.2.1.) conditional clauses; (8.2.2.) concessive clauses; (8.2.3.) additive clauses; (8.2.4.) manner clauses; (8.2.5.) temporal clauses; (8.2.6.) general adverbial clauses; (8.2.7.) contemporative clauses. In table (32) below all basic types of adverbial clause constructions and the involved morphemes are listed:

Table 32. Overview of adverbial clause morphology

Adverbial clauses	*Subordinate*	*Matrix*
Open Conditional	**-kywy**	(irrealis)
Counterfactual Conditional	**-kywy-ta**	**-rydy-**
Concessive Conditional	**-hỹ=wara**	**-ỹ-rydy-**
Preconditional	**-lɛ**	**-tsy-** 'POT'
Reason Preconditional	**-hỹ-lɛ**	-
Concessive	**-lete**	-
Frustrative	**-le-(hỹ)**	-
"but" Concessive	**=wara**	-
Additive	**-dykytɛ**	-
Manner	**-tja**	-
Temporal	**-wy**	-
General	**-nãi**	-
Contemporative	**-nãi=hedy**	-

8.2.1. Conditional

There are several conditional constructions in Kwaza. They consist of an adverbial conditional clause and a matrix clause. They can involve two different conditional antecedent phrases (protasis, Trask:1993), the difference between which is not perfectly clear. One ends in the conditional marker *-kywy* and another one ends in the preconditional marker *-lɛ*. Conditional clauses are the antecedents to a usually sentence-final consequent matrix clause (apodosis, Trask:1993). The matrix clause may be in the declarative mood, and it contains the potential marker *-tsy-*. If the antecedent containing *-kywy* is subsequently ended by a cosubordinative mood marker *-ta*, the matrix clause will bear an irrealis condition morpheme *-rydy-*, which has a genuine irrealis function. These irrealis morphemes occur after person cross-reference and precede mood marking of the matrix clause. Another attested possible matrix clause mood for a conditional antecedent is the negative imperative.

8.2.1.1. Open conditional with *-kywy*

The conditional mood marker *-kywy* terminates the antecedent of an declarative consequent. The declarative consequent may represent an informative, explanatory or advisory statement, and it will nearly always contain the future-like potential morpheme *-tsy-*:

(3330) *si 'wɛra o'nɛ-kywy o'ja-da-tsy-tse*
I Vera come-COND go-1S-POT-DEC
'when Vera arrives I will go away'

(3331) *wa'dy-ta-kywy* *wa'dy-da-tsy-tse*
give-1O-COND give-1S-POT-DEC
'if he gives me (the lighter) I'll give him (the pen)'

(3332) *mẽ-da-ky'wy* *tsoroi=o'ja-tsy-tse*
beat-1S-COND run=went-POT-DEC
'when I hit him he will run away'

(3333) *areta-'he-da-kywy* *'si-dy-hỹ* *tã'jã* *e'nãi-tja-ta-tsy-tse*
know-NEG-1S-COND I-POS-NOM chief quarrel-TRA-1O-POT-DEC
'if I don't learn, my chief will quarrel with me'

Notice that zero-marked subjects of the consequent and the antecedent represent a third person subject in the above examples. A consequent which expresses an advice can also be interpreted as an order. In that case, its zero-marked subject is the second person singular:

(3334) *'mã-hata-kywy* *o'ja-tsy-tse*
call-3S.2O-COND go-POT-DEC
'when she calls you, go there'

(3335) *kui-'dy-hata-kywy* *'kui-tsy-tse*
drink-CAU-3S.2O-COND drink-POT-DEC
'when she offers drink, drink it!'

However, a consequent in the imperative mood was never attested, but consequents in the negative imperative mood are often attested. They function as a warning, and they never contain a potential morpheme:

(3336) *'mã-hata-kywy* *oja-he-'ky*
call-3S.2O-COND go-NEG-NEI
'when she calls you, don't go there'

(3337) *kui-'dy-hata-kywy* *'kui-he-ky*
drink-CAU-3S.2O-COND drink-NEG-NEI
'when she offers drink, don't drink it!'

Notice that the alternative negative imperative construction involving *ihĩ-* 'on the contrary' seems to require a different order of consequent and antecedent:

(3338) *'ja-damỹ=ihĩ-'ky* *o'kja-da-kywy*
eat-want=contrary-NEI hunt-1S-COND
'don't think of eating from what I'm going to hunt!'

A consequent in the volitive mood also appears to precede the antecedent, and it is an exception to the obligatory presence of the potential morpheme *-tsy-* too:

(3339) *'kui-e-da-mỹ* *na'nãi-kywy*
drink-again-1S-VOL very-COND
'in that case I'll (stay a bit longer and) have (coffee) again'

It is probable that both of the last mentioned constructions above are rather idiomatic expressions.

Note that the morpheme *-kywy* is not really further analysable. However, its second syllable strongly resembles the deverbal adverbial and nominalising suffix *-wy* 'time, the moment that, when', both from a formal and a semantic point of view:

(3340) *tyje-'wy*
rain.stop-time
'after the rain'
(as an adverb)

(3341) *ty'je-kywy*
rain.stop-COND
'when the rain has stopped'
(Q: 'how will you go, with this rain?')

(3342) *tsa'si-kywy* *ca'ri-da-heta-da-ki*
follow-COND shoot-1S-DESI-1S-DEC
'if he follows (you hither) I want to kill him' /
'the moment he comes after (you) I want to kill him' (t)

Maybe the conditional was originally based on a temporal metaphor, as it still seems to be somewhat ambiguous in this respect. However, it is not fully exchangeable for a temporal construction because the meaning of the element *-ky-* is hardly definable. It has no obvious semantic affinity with the negative imperative *-heky* (see 5.2.7.), nor with the contrastive past morpheme *-ky-hỹ-* (see 5.5.2.).

Observe that the consequent in example (3342) does not contain the (potential) morpheme *-tsy-* even though it depends on an "open" condition. Apparently, desiderative *-heta-* has the right properties to take its place. In contrast, negative imperative and volitive (and therefore "controlled"!) consequents do not bear any substitute for *-tsy-* at all. Moreover, the counterfactual consequent contains the irrealis morpheme *-rydy-*, which will be discussed in the next subsection. Accordingly, the morpheme *-tsy-* should probably be regarded as an irrealis morpheme in the "open" condition.

8.2.1.2. Counterfactual conditional with *-kywy* and *-rydy-*

In (8.2.1.1.) I have discussed "open" conditions, in which the fulfilment of the condition is a realistic possibility. There is a "counterfactual" conditional con

struction in which the antecedent is "embedded" in a cosubordinative mood form and bears the nominaliser *-hỹ-*, while the declarative consequent bears the irrealis condition morpheme *-rydy-*.

(3343) *ũce'nãi-da-hỹ-kywy-'ta* *dai-'he-da-rydy-ki*
know-1S-NOM-COND-CSO take-NEG-1S-IRR-DEC
'if I had known (the bulb was so weak) I would not have bought it'

(3344) *tso'je* *dwỹ-'he-da-hỹ-kywy-'ta* *mamãñẽ-'dy-da-rydy-ki*
hand break-NEG-1S-NOM-COND-CSO play-CAU-1S-IRR-DEC
'if I hadn't broken these fingers I would have played'

(3345) *tso'je* *dwỹ-'he-tsy-hỹ-kywy-'ta* *mamã'ñẽ-dy-rydy-ki*
hand break-NEG-GER-NOM-COND-CSO play-CAU-IRR-DEC
'if he hadn't broken his fingers he would have played'

(3346) *dehemũ'te* *kui=bwa-'he-xa-hỹ-kywy-'ta* *tsu'ty*
spirits drink=finish-NEG-2-NOM-COND-CSO head

kukuidy-'he-xa-rydy-ki
hurt-NEG-2-IRR-DEC
'if you hadn't drunk all the spirits (yesterday), you wouldn't have pain in the head (today)'

There is no switch reference marking in this construction if the subject of the antecedent is different from the subject of the consequent:

(3347) *ɛ-xa-hỹ-kywy-'ta* *onɛ-'he-da-rydy-ki*
go-2-NOM-COND-CSO arrive-NEG-1S-IRR-DEC
'if you had gone, I would not have returned here'

8.2.1.2.1. Counterfactual concessive with *=wara* and *-rydy-*

Counterfactual use of *-rydy-* is not restricted to conditional clauses. When the antecedent is a concessive "but" clause containing the subordinator *-wara* as discussed in (8.2.2.3.), counterfactuality is emphasised:

(3348) *atsu'ka* *he'dy-a-hỹ=wara* *ja-'he-ỹ-rydy-ki*
sugar mix-1P-NOM=but eat-NEG-ATT-IRR-DEC
'even if we had put in sugar, he would would still not have eaten it'

Another application of *-rydy-* in the matrix clause is illustrated in (5.5.16.).

8.2.1.3. Conditional with *-lɛ*

There is another adverbial clause type, which ends in what I have dubbed the preconditional mood marker *-lɛ*. Whereas clauses ending in *-kywy* represent adverbial clauses which generally express conditions of a semantic calibre such as 'in case', 'if', 'as soon as', 'it being the case that', clauses ending in *-lɛ* usually are somewhat more cleft-like and have more insistent values like 'only when', 'first when'. In combination with the nominaliser *-hỹ-* the preconditional clause functions as a reason or cause complement with the meaning 'because, since'.

8.2.1.3.1. Preconditional clause

Often the preconditional clause precedes a declarative matrix clause that contains some kind of future marking:

(3349) *erewe-'xy=txu'hũi=(hãrã)-da-lɛ* *wa'wỹi-da-tsy-tse*
write-CL:leaf=small=stop-1S-PREC sleep-1S-POT-DEC
'first I'm going to write a little and then I'll sleep'

(3350) *ja* *hã'rã-da-lɛ* *wã'wỹi-da-tara-tse*
already stop-1S-PREC sleep-1S-after-DEC
'(only) after finishing eating I go to sleep' (A to order: 'sleep!')

(3351) *okja-(hãte)-'nã-da-ki* *axehỹ-'he-da-lɛ* *o'nɛ-da-tsy-tse*
hunt-try-FUT-1S-DEC meet-NEG-1S-PREC return-1S-POT-DEC
'I'm going to hunt. If I don't encounter (any game) I'll go away'

(3352) *au're-na-'lɛ* *co-'e-hanã-tsy-tse*
marry-one-PREC many-again-one-POT-DEC
'we will marry and (our people) will grow again' (t)

(3353) *ã'wỹi-da-lɛ* *tutunita'hỹ-da-lɛ*
see-1S-PREC think-1S-PREC
'I'll see, think about it' 'only when I've thought about it'

Preconditional clauses may be chained/coordinated:

(3354) *kuraku'ra* *ɛbu'ru-da-lɛ* *wã(nỹ)'dy-da-lɛ* *'ja-da-tsy-tse*
chicken arrive-1S-PREC food-1S-PREC eat-1S-POT-DEC
'when I get there I will cook and eat the chicken'

The matrix clause may also be in other moods, such as the interrogative mood:

(3355) *ti-'nãi-da-lɛ* *axe'hỹ-da-tsy-re*
what-like-1S-PREC meet-1S-POT-INT
'how am I going to meet her?' (t)

Notice that the combination of person marking and preconditional *-lɛ* is also attested as a clitic (see 7.5.2.3.) attached to a fully inflected verb phrase:

(3356) *korɛ-'he-tse=da-lɛ* *ja-'he-da-tsy-tse* *hã'kũi*
cleave-NEG-DEC=1S-PREC eat-NEG-1S-POT-DEC larva
'(as soon as I'm aware that) / (as far as I'm concerned) if he did not harvest them, I won't eat grubs'

It is not clear why some of the attestations of the preconditional did not get a more emphatic translation:

(3357) *'ɛ-da-lɛ* *onɛ-'he-da-tsy-tse*
go-2-PREC arrive-NEG-1S-POT-DEC
'I go away and I won't return any more'[361]

(3358) *hou-xa-'lɛ* *wɛ-'xa-tsy-tse*
take-2-PREC bring-2-POT-DEC
'you are going to pick up and bring her' (t)

The latter example represents an alternative, possibly mitigated imperative (see 5.2.3.1.).

8.2.1.3.2. Complement of cause or reason

As a complement of reason or cause, the preconditional phrase has to contain the nominal element *-hỹ-* (in a "factive" function), while the matrix clause does not necessarily contain a future or potential marker. The first two of the following examples represent small dialogues:

(3359) Q: *tsuhũ-'du ja-'re*
what-BER eat-INT
'why does one eat it?'

A: *'hoi-hỹ-lɛ'ja-da-ki*
sweet-NOM-PREC eat-1S-DEC
'because it is sweet I eat it'

361. The antecedent was actually translated as 'I went away', but because of the particular semantics of *onɛ-* 'arrive hither at home' the speaker cannot have left yet.

(3360) R: *kukui='nãi-xa-re* Q: *ti'nãi-da-re*
hurt=like-2-INT why-1S-INT
'my!, you (eat, are strong etc.)!' 'what is it I do (say etc.)?'

A: *nỹ-'nãi 'ja-xa-hỹ-lɛ 'nãi-da-ki*
big-NOM eat-2-NOM-PREC like-1S-DEC
'I said (did etc.) that because you eat so much'

(3361) *ra'tja-ta-hỹ-lɛ 'nãi-da-ki*
order-1O-NOM-PREC like-1S-DEC
'since he told me to, I do thus'

(3362) *how='wẽ-ta-hỹ-lɛ si-'e 'how=wẽ-da-hỹ-ki*
take=embrace-1O-NOM-PREC I-too take=embrace-1S-NOM-DEC
'because she embraced me I also embraced (her)'

(3363) *towɛ-ratsa-'nũ-je'?e-hỹ-lɛ o'nɛ-da-ki*
go-DR:under-CL:powder-again-NOM-PREC return-1S-DEC
'because (the ants) all entered (into the ground) again, I went' (t)

(3364) *zjwãu hy'ri-hỹ-lɛ ã'wỹi-da-ta tsasi-'tja-da-ta*
João steal-NOM-PREC see-1S-CSO follow-TRA-1S-CSO

hu'hui-da-ki
beat-1S-DEC
'as I saw that João stole I went after him and beat (him)'

(3365) *hy'ri-xa-hỹ-lɛ ã'wỹi-da-ta tsasi-'tja-nĩnã-da-ta*
steal-2-NOM-PREC see-1S-CSO follow-TRA-2O-1S-CSO

hu'hui-nĩnã-da-ki
beat-2O-1S-IN
'as I saw you steal I went after you and beat you'

(3366) *ku'kui-hỹ-'lɛ ka?awani'hỹ-da-ki*
hurt-NOM-PREC suffer-1S-DEC
'I'm suffering (of) pain'

(3367) *ha'dai-ta-hỹ-lɛ*
bite-1O-NOM-PREC
'as/because/(cleft) it bit me'

(3368) *birjete-'he-nã-da-ki 'a-xa-hỹ-lɛ*
undo-NEG-FUT-1S-DEC exist-2-NOM-PREC
'because you live there, I won't tear down (the house yet)'

The next examples illustrate how the reason complement contrasts with the conditional clause which involves the morpheme *-kywy* (see 8.2.1.1.):

(3369) *wa'dy-ta-hỹ-lɛ* *wa'dy-da-ki*
give-1O-NOM-PREC give-1S-DEC
'because he gave me (the lighter), I give him (the pen)'

(3370) *wa'dy-ta-kywy* *wa'dy-da-tsy-tse*
give-1O-COND give-1S-POT-DEC
'if he gives me (the lighter), I'll give him (the pen)'

The matrix clause for the reason complement may contain potential *-tsy-*. As long as the adverbial clause contains the element *-hỹ-* it represents a complement of reason:

(3371) *kui=nu'ri-da-hỹ-lɛ* *i'si-da-tsy-tehere*
drink=satiate-1S-NOM-PREC die-1S-POT-APPR
'I'm very drunk' (lit. 'having drunk my fill, I think I will die')

(3372) *here?etje-hỹ-'nã-da-lɛ* *hã'rã-da-tsy-tse*
rest-NOM-FUT-1S-PREC stop-1S-POT-DEC
'I'm going to stop in order to rest'

The following fixed type of expression contains a literal negative reason complement:

(3373) *wara'ñỹ-da-ki=tsy-ĩ-lɛ* *nãi-'re*
work-1S-DEC=POT-NEG-PREC like-INT
'no way he is thinking of working, so why (has he come)?' (t)
(lit. 'what is he doing, since he is not going to work?')

I encountered only two utterances in which the preconditional morpheme *-lɛ* in combination with *-hỹ-* apparently did neither clearly have a reason function nor even an insistent connotation:

(3374) *txã'hỹ* *ba-(jãhỹ)-hỹ-'lɛ* *oxote-'hỹ-da-ki* *esiñwã-'nã*
path clear-CL:path-NOM-PREC wait-NOM-1S-DEC yard-LOC
'while he cleared the road, I waited in the yard'

A similar example is (3375) below. Note that it cannot be excluded that the occurrences of the preconditional morpheme in these examples are to be regarded as instances of the emphatic morpheme *-le* 'only' (4.4.5.).

8.2.1.3.3. The element *-tsy-* in third person adverbial clauses

Note that example (3372) also contained future *-nã-*. In the next examples the element *-tsy-* occurs inside the reason complement. Here *-tsy-* is not potential, but it is part of the element *-tsy-hỹ-*, which can be interpreted in several alternative ways. It can be considered as a gerundive *-tsy-* as discussed in (5.2.2.2.) combined with nominalising *-hỹ*:

(3375) *isi-da'mỹ-tsy-hỹ-lɛ* *'ɛ-da-ki*
die-want-GER-NOM-PREC go-1S-DEC
'while he was dying I went away'

(3376) *okja-da'mỹ-da-ki* *wana'dy* *a-'he-tsy-hỹ-lɛ*
hunt-want-1S-DEC food exist-NEG-GER-NOM-PREC
'I have to go hunting because there is no food'[362]

(3377) *ka'wɛ* *waihỹ-'he-tse-hỹ-lɛ* *a'sa-da-ki*
coffee nice-NEG-GER-NOM-PREC leave-1S-DEC
'because the coffee was not good (any more), I threw it away'

(3378) *'prego* *a-'he-tsy-hỹ-lɛ* *hũdwani'te* *ehỹ-'he-da-ki*
nail exist-NEG-GER-NOM-PREC chair make-NEG-1S-DEC
'as there were no nails I have not made the chair'

However, in some cases, one could even interpret *-tsy-* as a allomorph of declarative *-tse* in a reported speech function:

(3379) *ja-'dy-da-ki* *ɛ-'nã-tsy-hỹ-lɛ*
eat-CAU-1S-DEC go-FUT-GER-NOM-PREC
'I give him food as/because he wants to go'

The combination *-tsy-hỹ-* can then be interpreted as declarative plus nominaliser, which is unlikely, though *-tsy-hỹ* has also been attested in reported speech constructions (see 8.1.2.2. and 5.5.11.). There remains much room for confusion about the interpretation of *-tsy-*. In the following constructions, the element *-tsy-* in the matrix clause probably represents the potential morpheme. In the reason clause, however, *-tsy-* behaves as if it were a third person marker, alternating with the other persons:

(3380) *tsuhũ-'du-da-lɛ* *onɛ-da-'he-tsy-'tse-tse*
what-BER-1S-PREC return-1S-NEG-POT-DEC-DEC
'''''why should I return there?, I won't!" she said'[363] (t)

362. Note that order can also be 2-3-1, but this is less felicitous and it resembles Portuguese more.

(3381) *tsuhũ-'du-xa-lɛ* *'nãi-xa-'he-tsy-tse*
what-BER-2-PREC like-2-NEG-POT-DEC
'you are not going to do thus, because (he is your son)!' (t)

(3382) *tsuhũ-'du-tsy-lɛ* *a-ta-ta-'he-tsy-tse*
what-BER-GER-PREC exist-TRA-1O-NEG-POT-DEC
'because he can't stay together with me!' (t)

It is difficult to identify *-tsy-* here. If it is potential, why then do the equivalent non-third person reason clauses not contain it? And if it really is a third person marker, why then is this the only situation in which the third person is not zero-marked? And the examples seem to provide no reason to consider *-tsy-* as an allomorph of declarative *-tse* used to indicate reported speech. The following examples of a preconditional construction show the same dilemma as regards *-tsy-* in the adverbial clause.

(3383) *kuriku'ri-da-lɛ* *atxitxi-'ũ* *a'nũ-da-tsy-tse*
little.later-1S-PREC maize-CL:grain plant-1S-POT-DEC
'I'm going to plant rice in a minute'

(3384) *kuriku'ri-tsy-lɛ* *a'nũ-tsy-tse* *atxi'txi*
little.later-GER-PREC plant-POT-DEC maize
'he is going to plant rice in a minute'

(3385) *maga'riDa* *kuriku'ri-tsy-lɛ* *oja'nỹ-tsy-tse*
Margarida little.later-GER-PREC come-POT-DEC
'Margarida will come soon'

Notice that both problematic constructions involving 'third person' (gerundial) *-tsy-* illustrated above by examples (3380) through (3385) may represent fixed expressions. However, it also occurs in the canonical concessive construction (see 8.2.2.1.).

8.2.1.4. Chaining of conditional clauses

An "open" conditional sentence is formed through the chaining of an in principle infinite number of coordinated conditional antecedent phrases each ending in the conditional verbal marker *-kywy* subordinated to a sentence-final consequent matrix clause that contains an potential/future verbal morpheme *-tsy-*, or an irrealis condition morpheme *-rydy-*. Other conditional phrases ending in *-lɛ*

363. Note that the position of the negation morpheme *-he-* in this and the subsequent two examples indicates a counter of presupposition (see 7.1.1.)

may apparently be subordinated or embedded both in antecedents or in consequents.

(3386) *atxi'txi* *cẽrĩ-tsy-'hỹ* *ja=hã'rã-xa-lɛ* *kohonũ-'tsa*
maize peanut-GER-NOM eat=stop-2-PREC spit-CL:hand

hã'rã-xa-lɛ *tsamã'te-xa-kywy* *o'janỹ-lɛ* *ja-'lɛ*
stop-2-PREC strew.in.water-2-COND come-PREC eat-PREC

ta'na *txowe=txo'we-ỹ-kywy* *ỹ-ky'wy* *tso'je-ko*
well stagger=stagger-ATT-COND ATT-COND hand-INS

dai=oce-to'to-mã-xa-lɛ *xare-nỹko'tɛ-xa-kywy* *bony'hỹ*
take=throw-DR:upward-DR:water-2-PREC turn-return-2-COND again

wa'ra-tu-hata-kywy *a'wỹi-xa-lɛ* *'wɛ-xa-tsy-tse* *'ta-dy-ta*
touch-CL:back-3S.2O-COND see-2-PREC bring-2-POT-DEC talk-DS-CSO
‘“when you have chewed maize and peanuts, and thrown that which you have spat in your hand into the water, and when she has come and eaten, and is staggering around (being pregnant with a big belly), and if you throw (her as a fish) on dry land while/at the time you turn your back (if you watch you will become ugly) when she will touch you on the shoulder, and you look again, then you take her (with you)”, she said’ (t)

Notice also the following construction involving both conditionals inside a negative imperative matrix clause:

(3387) *di'lɛ* *'mâ-hata-kywy* *ta'dy-xa-lɛ* *tsoroi=onɛ-he-'ky*
who call-3S.2O-COND yes-2-PREC run=come-NEG-NEI
‘if anyone calls you, don’t say “yes!” and come running, no!’ (t)

8.2.2. Concessive

There are several types of expressions with semantic values which approach the concessive. They often involve the same morphological elements *-lɛ*, *-tsy-* and *-hỹ* again, which have been attested with widely different functions throughout the grammar of Kwaza. It may be that these recurring morphemes which are hard to identify acquire a specific meaning in particular constellations and order of elements, and that these constellation types themselves must be regarded as lexicalised with a certain meaning.

The “canonical” concessive, which will be discussed first, involves an adverbial clause ending in *-lete*. The next concessive construction is formed by *-lehỹ* and has a frustrative connotation. The last concessive dealt with is formed by *-(hỹ)=wara* and has a coordinating function.

Crevels (2000) has shown that the distinction between subordinating and coordinating concessive constructions has a functional basis, and that languages differ with respect to the division of labour between these constructions. She argues convincingly that concession in Kwaza is expressed at clausal content level by *-lete*, and that at all higher semantic levels, to wit the epistemic, speech-act and textual level, concession is indicated by *-(hỹ)=wara* (Crevels 2000:85-87).

8.2.2.1. Concessive *-lete*

The element *-lete* resembles the conditional mood-markers as it forms an adverbial clause with a concessive meaning which is subordinated to an declarative matrix clause. Furthermore, because of its phonetic appearance the concessive morpheme may contain the preconditional element *-lɛ*, though it is phonologically distinct from it. No useful indications regarding the etymology of the element *-te* were encountered.

(3388) *awy-'hỹ-da-lete* *'ba-da-ki*
cold-NOM-1S-CONC cut-1S-DEC
'although I had become cold, I did clear a field'

(3389) *ĩ* *aru-nỹ-'tõi-lete* *ãwỹi-rjỹ-'he-tse*
he place-REF-CL:eye-CONC see-CD:area-NEG-DEC
'although he uses glasses he does not see'

(3390) *na'nãi-lete* *ja* *'kui-hỹ-ki*
very-CONC already drink-NOM-DEC
'thanks but she already drank'

(3391) *e'kai* *dwỹ-le'te* *tso'roi=ɛ-ki* *axy-'na*
leg break-CONC run=go-DEC house-LOC
'though having broken his leg he went home running'

Notice that the third person subject of the adverbial phrase is zero-marked. However, the problematic occurrence of *-tsy-* with a third person meaning as illustrated in the last paragraph of (8.2.1.3.3.) and as discussed in (8.1.2.4.) is also attested in the present concessive:

(3392) *'tsũ-da-lete* *ui* *'hu-da-ki*
swim-1S-CONC tobacco smoke-1S-DEC
'while swimming I smoked'

(3393) *'tsũ-tsy-lete* *ui* *'hu-ki*
swim-GER-CONC tobacco smoke-DEC
'while swimming he smoked'

There seems to be no obvious semantic or grammatical difference involved in the contrast between the presence and the absence of *-tsy-* in the third person adverbial sentences. There was no reason to interpret *-tsy-* as a "different subject" marker. If the subject of the concessive clause is different from the subject of the matrix clause, the different subject morpheme *-dy-* is used:

(3394) *yro-le'te* *'kui-ki*
cry-CONC drink-DEC
'he drank (while) crying'

(3395) *y'ro-hỹ-dy-le'te* *'kui-ki*
cry-NOM-DS-CONC drink-DEC
'while letting (the child) cry, (the mother) drank (spirits)'

The concessive clause marked by *-lete* is the only adverbial clause which allows switch reference marking. The different subject morpheme *-dy-* is discussed in section (8.3.2.1.).

It is not always clear from the given translations whether the *-lete* construction represents concessiveness or contemporaneousness. However, the different Portuguese translations offered by the consultant of this and of other constructions usually involve conjunctions like *embora que* 'although', *mesmo assim* 'nevertheless, in spite of the fact that' and *mas* 'but'. On several occasions MA even mentioned Kwaza concessive morphemes in isolation, embedded in a Portuguese phrase, when he explained: "*dalete é 'embora'* '*-da-lete* (lit. 1S-CONC) means 'although'"; "*tsyhỹwara é 'mesmo assim'* '*-tsy-hỹ-wara* (lit. 3-NOM-but) is 'nevertheless'" and "*dahỹwara é 'mesmo assim'* '*-da-hỹ-wara* (lit. 1S-NOM-but) is 'nevertheless'".

8.2.2.2. Frustrative and antithetic *-le-(hỹ)-*

There is an "antithetic" or "counterfactual" concessive construction that one could call the frustrative. It employs the elements *-le-(hỹ)-* in various ways. The frustrative element *-le-* often indicates that a certain situation in the past does not obtain any more, or that something has "nearly" happened. In combination with nominaliser *-hỹ(-)* there can be a connotation of regret. It has not been established whether frustrative *-le-* is related to preconditional *-lɛ* or concessive *-lete*.

The subordinate clause may contain clause-final *-le-hỹ* while the matrix verb is in the declarative:

(3396) *rai'hỹ-le-hỹ* *hyhy'rwa-nãi* *'wai-ki*
ruin-FRUST-NOM move-NOM good-DEC
'it (the bridge) is ruined, but (still) good to walk'

The subordinate clause in the above example is in a way counterfactual because the bridge does not appear to be totally ruined. Despite of the impression it might make one can still walk across. The next example shows that neither antitheticity nor counterfactuality are strict, formal-semantic requirements of frustrative subordination:

(3397) *ywy'nwỹ* *'dy=asa-'nã-da-le-hỹ* *'tãi-ki*
tree cut=leave-FUT-1S-FRUST-NOM hard-DEC
'I was going to cut away the tree trunk, but it was (too) hard'

The subordinate clause in the above example is "antithetic" in that the enterprise of cutting away the tree trunk did not have the intended result. It was literally frustrated because of the hardness of the timber. A situation of similar antithetic calibre holds in the following example:

(3398) *jere'xwa* *wai'hỹ* *ã'wỹi-da-le-hỹ* *'nã-hỹ-ki*
jaguar nice see-1S-FRUST-NOM stink-NOM-DEC
'I saw a beautiful dog but it stank'

The antithetic sense can be reinforced by the intentional conjectural *-here-* (see 5.5.14.):

(3399) *wai-'he-tsy-hỹ-here-da-le-hỹ* *'wai-ki*
good-NEG-GER-NOM-INTL-1S-FRUST-NOM good-DEC
'I thought it was bad, however, it was good'

(3400) *ẽrẽ'wẽhỹ-here-da-le-hỹ*
wild-INTL-1S-FRUST-NOM
'I thought it was wild (but it is a domestic cat)'

The entire combination *-le-hỹ-* may also be part of a matrix verb. Often it express the fact that some situation existed in the past but not any more in the present. In this way it functions as an aspect marker of arrested progression (see 5.5.18.):

(3401) *emũ'hỹ-le-hỹ-'ki*
wet-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'it was wet' (CX: it has already dried)

(3402) *ka'wɛ* *'kui-da-le-'hỹ-ki*
coffee drink-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I already drank coffee'

(3403) *Ba'hoso-na* *'a-da-day-le-'hỹ-ki*
Barroso-LOC exist-1S-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I used to live in Barroso' (but I don't any more)

(3404) *da'nỹ* *onɛ-'he-xa-wy* *hyhy'rwa-da-le-hỹ-ki*
still arrive-NEG-2-time move-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I walked a while before you arrived' (but not thereafter)

This sense of 'situation that obtained in the past and was interrupted' may also have a connotation of 'unfortunately', 'what a pity'. The subject in the next example is unfortunate because the cigarette ended:

(3405) *ui* *'hu-le-hỹ-ki*
tobacco smoke-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'he was smoking (but the cigarette ended) unfortunately'

The next example apparently does not refer to a past situation, but there is an antithetic implication in the unfortunate dilemma which it expresses:

(3406) *haru'wi* *ja-a-tsy-'tse-tsy-le-hỹ-ki*
Luiz eat-1P-POT-DEC-GER-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'Luiz invited us/me for dinner, now what to do?'

Literally this sentence involves a quotative construction meaning 'unfortunately Luiz said "we are going to eat"'. The dilemma lies in the fact that the hearer and his companion had different plans, but they can impossibly decline his offer. The following examples also contain quotative constructions and antithetic implications:

(3407) *hã* *mũi-tsy-'tse-da-le-'hỹ-ki*
water submerge-POT-DEC-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I was ordering you to fetch water (but you didn't)'

(3408) *hã* *mũi-(xa)-tsy-'tse-tsy-'le-hỹ-ki*
water submerge-2-POT-DEC-GER-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'he said I had to get water, but it's a pity (it's not possible)'[364]

364. Remember that potential *-tsy-* has a mitigated imperative connotation here, and that a second person is expressed optionally in this construction. Note also that the 'command' is embedded in a quoted speech construction, which is why the subject of the embedded verb is ultimately a first person object on the discourse-pragmatic level.

(3409) *hã mũi-tsy-'tse-tsy-le-'hỹ bõ'rõ-tse*
water submerge-POT-DEC-GER-FRUST-NOM perforate-DEC
'he ordered me to fetch water, but there is a hole (in the bucket)'

In example (3409) the antithetic phrase is a subordinated adverbial clause, whereas in (3408) it is part of the matrix verb. The contrast between examples (3408) and (3409) (repeated from 1375) suggests that the occurrence of *-le-hỹ(-)* inside the matrix clause represents a zero-verbalised noun-phrase rather than an extension of the verb by a verbalising suffix. In fact, it may corroborate the hypothesis that subordinate clauses in Kwaza are noun phrases.

-le-hỹ(-) is an analysable combination of different morphemes. In the first place, *-hỹ* may be replaced by a specific classifier (see 4.2.):

(3410) *a'xy ẽ'hike 'a-tsy-le-xy*
house Henrique exist-GER-FRUST-CL:house
'the house where Henrique lived' (t)

In the second place, the element *-hỹ* plays a role in nominalisation, which may produce relative clause-like phrases (see 8.4.1.1.):

(3411) *ũcenãi-'he-da-hỹ ere'we-da-ki*
know-NEG-1S-NOM write-1S-DEC
'I'm writing up what I don't know'

Such a nominalised phrase can be zero-verbalised again by the application of a mood marker:

(3412) *si 'kui-da-hỹ-ki hã* (**kuihỹdaki*)
I drink-1S-NOM-DEC water
'it is me who drank water'[365]

In comparison with the preceding example the element *-le-* in the next example may seem to have a sense of an ongoing action in the past which was interrupted at some point (see 5.5.18.):

(3413) *si 'kui-da-le-hỹ-ki hã*
I drink-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC water
'it was me who was drinking water'[366]

The contrast between the next examples in which the element *-hỹ* does not occur, also suggests that the element *-le-* has a sense of interrupted continuous action:

365.MA in POR: *eu que tomei agua*
366.MA in POR: *foi eu que tava tomando*

(3414) *tsuhũ-'du 'hu-xa-re*
what-BER give-2-INT
'why did you give it?'[367]

(3415) *tsuhũ-'du 'hu-xa-le-re*
what-BER give-2-FRUST-INT
'why were you giving it?'[368]

Canonically, the part *-le-* by itself creates the antithetic sense of 'nearly':

(3416) *hy'ja-da-le-ki*
fall-1S-FRUST-DEC
'I nearly fell'

The sense of 'nearly' is semantically related to the notion of 'frustrative' because it refers to the fact that something which was about to happen did not happen after all, whether this is fortunate or not. Sometimes, a verb ending in frustrative *-le-hỹ* can express this notion:

(3417) *rai'hỹ-tsy-le-hỹ*
ruin-GER-FRUST-NOM
'it having nearly broke'

Sometimes, *-le* has a 'frustrative' connotation by itself:

(3418) *hako'ro mãdu'tu-da-le-(hỹ)-ki*
jacu call-1S-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'I was luring the jacu by imitating a pipitting chick (but didn't succeed)'

(3419) *atsu'ka e-he're-da-le-ki*
sugar have-INTL-1S-FRUST-DEC
'I thought there was sugar (but there isn't)'

(3420) *to'mã-a-'hỹ-le-ki* (also *to'mãjã'hỹleki*)
bathe-1P-NOM-FRUST-DEC
'it was for bathing (but now it has broke down)'[369]

In a non-antithetic context *-le* helps to express 'pity' and 'regret' (see also 5.5.18.)

(3421) *'sopa 'wai-le-ki 'bwa-tse*
soup nice-FRUST-DEC finish-DEC
'a pity the soup is finished'

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367. MA in POR: *por que você deu?*
368. MA in POR: *por que você tava dando?*
369. This is an answer to the question: 'what is this pipe for?'. See (5.6.3.) for the use of first person plural here.

(3422) *tja'ri=asa-wa-hỹ* *exyi=exyi-le-'ỹ-le-?wỹtɛ-ki*
shoot=leave-IS-NOM hair=hair-only-ATT-FRUST-pity-DEC
'it is a pity that they killed him with his long hair'[370]

The overall meaning of *-le-(hỹ-)* is probably that something is not the case even though it was the case once in the past, or even though it was expected to be the case. This is the reason why I have discussed *-le-(hỹ-)* as part of the concessive category. A verb may contain *-le-* with this aspect-like meaning, but it can also be nominalised and then function as a concessive clause. The concessive clause can be subordinated to a matrix clause, or it can be incorporated in the matrix clause through zero-derivation.

Under ellipsis (see 7.5.) of the preceding verb stem or a quoted expression, *-(tsy)-le-hỹ-* can occur as a root with context dependent meaning:

(3423) *le-'hỹ-ki*
FRUST-NOM-DEC
'yes', 'he wanted to',
'he was saying'

(3424) *tsy-le-'hỹ-ki*
GER-FRUST-NOM-DEC
'what a pity' (as e.g. in the context of (3406/3158))

(3425) *xa-le-'re*
2-FRUST-INT
'you would like?' (t)

8.2.2.3. The concessive element *-wara*

There is another type of concessive construction that is realised through what looks like subordination of two clauses by an intervening conjunctional element *(-)wara*, roughly translated as 'but'. The morphological status of this element is not entirely clear. On the one hand it behaves like an independent particle, but on the other hand it is very frequently connected to the nominaliser *-hỹ*, where it acts as a bound morpheme. In this construction, *-hỹ* may have scope over a wide array of phrases from verb roots and independent nouns to fully-fledged verbal clauses. In this way, *-hỹ* forms a phonological unit together with *-wara*, and may behave as if it were an independent coordinating particle *hỹwara* 'but'.

In the present analysis, the "but"-concessive clause is regarded as a nominalised verb that is subordinated to a matrix clause. In these respects, it is similar to other adverbial clauses. It differs from the other constructions in that the "but"-concessive clause requires an extra element *wara* in order to be sub

370. This example relates to our mysterious friend Saravi. No-one in Rondônia had been able to establish his ethnic identity. He was shot dead in 1995 in Vilhena by a rancher for something he did not do. Note that the first *-le* in this example means 'only, just' ('nothing but hair').

ordinated to the matrix clause. Under the analysis of *wara* as a cliticised particle, this concessive construction can be regarded as an analytical equivalent of the more synthetic concessive construction with *-lete*, which was discussed in (8.2.2.1.).

The following examples represent the most basic occurrence of the "but"-concessive:

(3426) *hy'ja-hỹ=wara* *kãu-'he-tse*
fall-NOM=but break-NEG-DEC
'fell but did not break'

(3427) *kwa'za-dy-nãi* *are'ta-da-hỹ=waraja* *mãrɛ̃'?a-dy-nãi*
Kwaza-POS-NOM know-1S-NOM=but already spirit-POS-NOM

pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-nãi *e-da-'hỹ-ki*
speak-NOM have-1S-NOM-DEC
'although I know the Kwaza language, I already understand the Western man's speech'

(3428) *ñã'si-a-nãi-le* *ñã'si-da-hỹ=wara* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-a-nãi*
hear-1P-NOM-only hear-1S-NOM=but speak-1P-NOM

areta-'he-da -ki
know-NEG-1S-DEC
'listening I understand (a little), but speaking I don't'

(3429) *i'si-tsỹ-hỹ=wara* *da'nỹ-ki*
die-POT-NOM=but still-DEC
'it's wounded but it is still living'

(3430) *ãwỹi-rjỹ-'he-tsy-hỹ=wara* *aru-nỹ-tõi-'he-tse*
see-CD:area-NEG-GER-NOM=but place-REF-CL:eye-NEG-DEC
'he does not see but does not use glasses. / he does not see, nevertheless he does not use glasses'

In the above examples, the verbal base of the subordinate clause was nominalised by *-hỹ* and subordinated to the matrix clause through cliticisation of *wara*. In the following example, *-hỹ-* is a lexicalised part of the verbal base *waihỹ-* 'to be beautiful'. Instead of a subsequent nominaliser, *=wara* is attached to the verbal base immediately:

(3431) *kwa'za-dy-nãi* *wai.'hỹ=wara* *are'ta-da-rai-he-ki*
Kwaza-POS-NOM beautiful=but understand-1S-damn-NEG-DEC
'Kwaza is beautiful but I don't know a thing'

The expected form **waihỹhỹwara* was rejected. This example suggests above all that although the combination of *wai-* 'to be good' with the element *-hỹ-* has a lexicalised meaning of 'be beautiful', the same element *-hỹ-* has preserved certain grammatical functions. Here, it combines its lexicalised status with its nominalising subordinating status.

Note that the predicate of the concessive clause may also be nominalised by another morpheme such as the temporal nominaliser *-wy*:

(3432) *si aky'nỹda'nỹ ja-'he-da-wy=wara 'ɛ-tse*
I friend still eat-NEG-1S-time=but go-DEC
'(my) friend went away while I had not yet eaten'

The next examples show that in combination with *wara*, the nominaliser can have the scope over an entire sentence in the declarative mood. Arguments embedded in the concessive clause may even intervene between its predicate and the concessive particle:

(3433) *oja-e'te-da-tsy-tse zezĩju-dy-'rjỹ hỹ=wa'ra*
go-COMIT-1S-POT-DEC Zezinho-POS-DC:area NOM=but

he'?ai-da-ki
want.not-1S-DEC
'we are going together to Zezinho, but I don't want to, no'

(3434) *e'tay eto'hoi a'sa-tse hỹ=wara huru'ja-lɛ-ki*
woman child leave-DEC NOM=but like-RECI-DEC
'he left wife and children, but nevertheless they loved each other very much'

These examples suggest of course that *-hỹ* is not a bound nominalising morpheme any more, but that it has obtained a semi-independent status. If the discourse context allows, the conjunctional "particle" can even be "inflected" for person.

(3435) *da-hỹ=wa'ra mãrɛ̃'?a-dy-nãi pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-nãi 'e-da-ki*
1S-NOM=but spirit-POS-NOM speak-NOM have-1S-DEC
'nevertheless I know the Western man's language'

Possibly, the verb root that originally preceded *-dahỹwara* is understood and has been omitted. These phenomena of ellipsis and cliticisation were further discussed in (7.5.). In the following example, *hỹwara* is used even more independently:

(3436) *hỹ=wa'ra* *hu-'ra*
NOM=but smoke-IMP
'nevertheless, smoke!'

It was said in a situation in which the hearer had declined an offered smoke but where the speaker insisted. Here it is possible to maintain that nothing is omitted, but that *hỹwara* is used as a context-dependent pragmatic particle. In another situation the speaker uttered *hỹwara* as a single phrase in the figurative sense of 'never mind' or 'it is no problem'. Here the speaker had offered the visiting hearer his hammock but the hearer had objected that he had come in from the rain and that his clothes were wet. The speaker again reacted to this by *hỹwara* 'never mind'. As an equivalent expression he could also have said *na'nãi?ỹky'wy* 'it is O.K. like that'.

In quoted speech constructions the concessive conjunction can be realised through the extended particle *tsyhỹwara* 'think that, but' (see 5.5.11.). There are other conditions which relate to the element *-tsy-*. In (8.1.2.3.) it is explained how *-hỹ* cannot be preceded immediately by future *-nã-*, but that *-tsy-* has to intervene. This requirement also holds for *hỹwara*:

(3437) *wãwỹi-'nã-tsy-hỹ=wara* *tsile'ta* *tsile'ta-tja*
sleep-FUT-GER-NOM=but afternoon afternoon-CSO

a'wỹi=xare-ri'tsa-hỹ=wara *jerexwa-'le*
see=turn-DR:outside-NOM=but jaguar-only
'(..., and) went to sleep, but early in the night she looked outside, but there was a jaguar!' (t)

Notice with respect to the latter example also that the difference between the subject of the but-clause and the matrix clause does not require formal marking.

Notice with respect to the counterfactual concessive example (3348) in (8.2.1.2.1.) that the but-clause can also refer to a possible non-realised fact.

8.2.3. Additive -dykytɛ

The contrast between the following example, which is a repetition of (3394), and (3439) shows that although the concessive may have a connotation of contemporaneousness, this notion can be expressed in a different and more direct way by the additive suffix *-dykytɛ*:

(3438) *yro-le'te* *'kui-ki*
cry-CONC drink-DEC
'he drank (while) crying'

(3439) *y'ro-dykytɛ* *'kui-ki*
cry-ADDI drink-DEC
'he cried, but drank'
'he drank crying'

In the next example, the additive phrase may be considered as a verb phrase *hoho?ỹ-*, which is embedded in the (nominalised) main clause headed by the predicate *hanũ?ỹ-*:

(3440) *ho'ho-ỹ-dyky'tɛ* *ha'nũ-ỹ-'hỹ*
black-ATT-ADDI grey-ATT-NOM
'half black half grey'

It cannot be excluded that the additive phrase is a nominal which is placed in a dependent position modifying a head noun. The following example shows that a phrase which ends in *-dykytɛ* can be followed by *-ki*:

(3441) *o'ho-dyky'tɛ-ki*
cough-ADDI-DEC
'he's coughing as well'[371]

8.2.4. Absolutive and general manner -tja

The cosubordinative suffix *-tja* will be discussed in section (8.3.1.4.) as a special variant of the cosubordinative suffix *-ta*. Besides this function, *-tja* also occurs as an adverbialiser. This will be discussed here and briefly also in (6.2.4.5.).

No apparent semantic differences were observed between cosubordinative *-tja* and *-ta*. From a grammatical point of view, however, there are two important differences. Firstly, verbs ending with *-tja* never bear overt person cross-reference marking and they can only have a third person interpretation. Secondly, the subject of the verb ending in *-tja* is not obligatorily equivalent with the matrix clause subject. Therefore, it is possible that besides its function as a cosubordinated clause, *-tja* may also mark an adverbial clause. Because no semantic or functional differences were encountered between clauses ending in *-tja* and clauses ending in *-ta*, I have analysed *-tja* as a special cosubordinative morpheme. Nevertheless, many clauses ending in *-tja* could be argued to possess the adverbial function of "manner" in a general way. Perhaps one should better say that clauses ending in *-tja* often have a semantically neutral "absolutive" adverbial function. Absolutive clauses sketch the background in which the event expressed by the matrix predicate is situated (see Payne 1997:320). Compare the following examples:

(3442) *onɛ=bu'ru-tja* *awã'te-ki*
come=pass-CSO sad-DEC
'she was sad as she arrived'

371. This comment was made by ME who was coughing because of influenza herself as she heard someone coughing too on a audio-tape.

(3443) *awãte-'ta* *onɛ=bu'ru-tse*
sad-CSO come=pass-DEC
'she was sad until she arrived'

Although comparison is complicated by the alternative position of the predicates, the difference between adverbial subordination (*-tja*) and medial cosubordination (*-tja* or *-ta*) does come to the fore. In example (3442) the subordinated clause sketches the background situation which existed when the subject was sad. In example (3443) the subordinated clause sketches a state of affairs which preceded the state of affairs expressed by the matrix predicate. Here are some more examples of clauses ending in *-tja*, which cannot be regarded as instances of cosubordination:

(3444) *txu'hũi* *hũ'nũ-tse*
small scorch-DEC
'the food burnt (just) a little'

(3445) *txu'hũi-tja* *hũnũ-'dy-da-ki*
small-CSO scorch-CAU-1S-DEC
'I burnt the food (just) a little'

(3446) *txu'hũi-tja* *a'we-tse*
small-CSO rain-DEC
'it rained a little'

(3447) *mãta'rwa-tja* *wa'dy-tse*
in.return-CSO give-DEC
'he gave him a present in return'

Like adverbs, adverbial clauses ending in *-tja* may apparently follow the matrix verb:

(3448) *ywy'nwỹ* *xare'ja-re* *mãrɛ̃?a-'du-tja*
tree search-INT ghost-BER-CSO
'he is searching wood for the Westerners?'

Under the analysis of *-tja* as an adverbial clause formative, medial clauses can be embedded in it, cf. the first clause of the following example:

(3449) *a'le* *'dai=warja-ta* *tsa'dwɛ-tja* *hy-'dwa-tja* *'ywynwỹ*
axe take=bring-CSO leave-CSO go-DR:onto-CSO tree

'bu-kja-hỹ-ko *'bu=ũ-rjỹ-ta*
put-DR:length-NOM-INS put=be-CD:area-CSO
'taking his axe, getting onto the path and walking a while, he then sat down on a log which was crossing the path' (t)

8.2.5. Temporal -wy

There is a nominalising morpheme *-wy* which turns verb phrases into temporal adverbs and which may have subjunctive connotations like: 'after having done (X)', 'at that time', 'when already having (X)', 'on beforehand'. The examples below illustrate the function of *-wy* in adverbial clauses:

(3450) *horonỹhỹ-da-'wy* *o'kja-da-tsy-tse*
prepare-1S-time hunt-1S-POT-DEC
'I'm going to hunt after having finished (the work)'

(3451) *kehỹ=bwa-'nã-tsy-wy* *dyte'na-da-ki*
burn.up=end-FUT-GER-time extinguish-1S-DEC
'I extinguished the fire when the house was about to burn away'

(3452) *o'nɛ-da-wy* *'ja-xa-tara-tse*
arrive-1S-time eat-2-PROC-DEC
'you will wait with eating until I've arrived'

(3453) *'tyka-dy-nãi* *jã'si-ta* *huda'da-hỹ* *txarwa-txi'txi* *huda'da*
Mekens-POS-NOM hear-CSO speak-NOM first-CONTRA speak

hudada-cwa-'le-wy *'a-wy* *hedutu='bwa-ti-cwa-hỹ*
speak-IS-FRUST-time exist-time lose=finish-IS-IS-NOM

tɛca'ri-lɛ='bwa-cu-cwa-hỹ *cwa-si* *'a-hỹ*
massacre-RECI=end-IS-IS-NOM IS-SWR exist-NOM
'they understood the Mekens language, when they were just starting to speak the language, however, they, soon they all got lost, massacring one another completely, there it ended' (t)

Note also the contrast between the following two examples:

(3454) *auxwa'nã* *dai-da-'nãi* *bu'ru-da-ki*
meat take-1S-NOM remember-1S-DEC
'I remembered that (time that) I bought meat'

(3455) *auxwa'nã* *dai-da-'wy* *bu'ru-da-ki*
meat take-1S-time remember-1S-DEC
'as I was buying meat, I remembered'

The morphological properties of words ending in *-wy* are discussed in subsection (6.2.4.1.) of the section on adverbial affixes.

8.2.6. Adverbial nominalisation -nãi-(ko)

The nominalising morpheme *-nãi* is often encountered as the marker of complement clauses. This will be discussed in (8.5.). However, this nominaliser may also have an adverbial function:

(3456) *ti-'nãi* *mã-xa-'re*
what-like call-2-INT
'how do you call him'

In this example, the verb which is nominalised by *-nãi* modifies the root of the matrix predicate. The nominalised verb can in a way be regarded as an adverbial clause. The morpheme *-nãi* fulfils this adverbialising function to a rather limited extent, and the verb phrases to which it is applied are tend to be quite simplex. Because of these reasons, this operation is discussed in (6.2.4.2.) in the chapter on adverbs.

The application of the morpheme *-nãi* has a purely grammatical function. It does not have any effects on the semantic content of the verb root and the resulting adverbial clause does not have a special semantic status. However, the adverbial clause ending in *-nãi* can be further extended by what appears to be an Instrumental case marker. The result is an adverbial clause which does have a specific semantic function in that it provides an explanation of the event expressed by the matrix clause:

(3457) *hewedu'tu-tsy-nãi-ko* *barɛrini'tɛ* *kara='bwa-tse*
forget-GER-NOM-INS pancake dry=finish-DEC
'because she forgot, the pancakes dried up'

Although the combination *-nãiko* seems to be a more productive adverbial clause marker, it is also discussed further in (6.2.4.2.) together with *-nãi*.

8.2.7. Contemporative -nãi=hedy

There is a contemporative construction which is best viewed as an adverbial clause. It involves the verb root *hedy-* 'to mix, to put in' in the following way:

(3458) *'ywynwỹ* *'dy-da-nãi=he'dy* *zjwãu* *oja'nỹ-ki*
tree cut-1S-NOM=mix João arrive-DEC
'while I was cutting a tree, João arrived'

The construction does not require that the events always occur perfectly contemporary, and sometimes it is translated as if the event described by the matrix predicate occurs immediately after the event described in the adverbial clause:

(3459) *onɛ=bu'ru-da-nãi=hedy* *ku'ru-ta* *tsirjỹ-'he-da-ta*
come=arrive-1S-NOM=mix swollen-CSO tread-NEG-1S-CSO
'soon after I had arrived, (my leg) swelled up and I could not stand on it (I limped)' (t)

On a different occasion the same sentence was translated as 'because my leg swelled up I limped as I arrived (i.e. that is how I arrived)'. In the following examples, the events can only be subsequent:

(3460) *'kui-da-nãi=he'dy* *hy'ja-da-ki*
drink-1S-NOM=mix fall-1S-DEC
'after I drank I fell'

(3461) *'kui-nãi=he'dy* *hy'ja-ki*
drink-NOM=mix fall-DEC
'after he drank he fell'

If *=hedy* is identical with the verb root *hedy-* 'to mix', the place in which it occurs and the fact that it is uninflected are unusual. No similar constructions exist which involve other verb roots. When asking the consultants about *=hedy* they comment that "it means 'meanwhile, soon after". It is possible that it emerged from an elliptic construction such as the following:

(3462) *hade-'tõi* *he'dy* *se'Bola* *he'dy* *'trigo* *he'dy* *'kezjo*
pepper-CL:eye mix onion mix flour mix cheese

he'dy-da-ki
mix-1S-DEC
'I put in pepper, onion, flour and cheese'[372]

8.3. Cosubordination: medial clauses

As shown in section (5.2.), the main predicate in a Kwaza matrix clause is normally marked for person cross-reference and mood. As shown in sections (8.2.) and (8.4.), subordinated clauses either have an adverbial function or an argument function, and the subordinated predicate may be terminated by a nominalising morpheme. There is another type of subordination which does not belong to the foregoing category. I have called the resulting construction "co-subordinative" in accordance with Foley and Van Valin (1984).[373] Cosubordination occurs in chains of verbal expressions, in which one predicate acts as the

372.I suppose that cosubordinative inflexion has been omitted in this example. It was uttered by MA who summed up the ingredients of the pizza in front of him.

373.A few examples were already given at the beginning of section (5.2.).

main predicate and bears matrix clause mood marking, while the others precede this predicate and are marked for cosubordination. The cosubordinated predicate represents a "medial" clause. There are two basic types of medial clauses: those which have a subject which is identical to the subject of the subsequent clause and those which have a different subject. The medial clause with an identical subject ends in *-t(j)a* (glossed here as CSO: 'cosubordinate'), and the medial clause with a different subject ends in *-si* (glossed here as SWR: 'switch reference'). If both subjects are third persons, *-ta* 'CSO' is preceded by *-dy-* (glossed here as DS: different subject').

The cosubordinated verb suffix is a "chameleonic" kind of mood marker. It is attached to person cross-reference marking and it often "copies" the matrix verb mood semantically:

(3463) *bilo'tswa* *e-'he-da-ta* *okja-'he-da-ki*
shotgun have-NEG-1S-CSO hunt-NEG-1S-DEC
'I can't hunt because I have no shotgun'

(3464) *dodotxi'tɛ* *o'hui-wa-ta* *'nãi-wa-ki*
ball play-IS-CSO like-IS-DEC
'they (do that because they) are playing ball'[374]

(3465) *si* *isi'hỹ-da-si* *o'ri-hỹ-ki*
I secure-1S-SWR ascend-NOM-DEC
'I helped him climb up'

In the above examples, the intended mood of the cosubordinated verb is declarative, identical to the matrix verb mood. Other matrix moods are also possible:

(3466) *ca'ri-da-ta* *'jo-da-mỹ*
shoot-1S-CSO devour-1S-VOL
'I'm going to shoot and devour him!' (t)

(3467) *ti-'rjỹ* *oja-'nã-tja* *kunỹ-djo-'re*
what-CD:area leave-FUT-CSO dress-CL:foot-INT
'he is putting on shoes to go where?'

So in contrast to adverbial clause markers, the cosubordinated clause marker has no fixed semantic value. It procures its meaning from the context.

This construction is employed for the expression of purpose, causation, reason, consecutive and overlapping events and other complex sentences. The cosubordinated clause is also found to act as a complement of the matrix verb, as

374. Or, more emphatically, *nãiwahe'rejã're* 'that's why they do that, you see!' when explaining to someone who is not familiar with the phenomenon at all.

an adverbial adjunct or as a coordinated clause. Narratives may consist of very long chains of clauses in the cosubordinative mood. These cosubordinated clauses are best analysed as "medial" clauses; Kwaza may be a "clause-chaining" language (Dik 1997b:439, Longacre 1985:283, Payne 1997:321).

Notice that the cosubordinative verb falls within the scope of matrix Tense-Mood-Aspect marking of the matrix verb:

(3468) *huru'ja-da-ta* *au're-da-'day-hỹ-ki*
like-1S-CSO marry-1S-1S-NOM-DEC
'because I liked her, I married her'
'I made love to her and I married her'

(3469) *awe-'nã-tja* *kyry'ja-ki ,...* *bɛ'rɛ-damỹ-'tja*
rain-FUT-CSO thunder-DEC thunder-want-CSO
'it is going to rain and thunder,... and there will be lightning'

(3470) *ɛ-toto-'mã-da-ta* *barɛ-'nỹ-da-mỹ*
go-DR:upward-DR:water-1S-CSO warm-REF-1S-VOL
'I'm going to go up there to warm myself up'

(3471) *kui=hã'rã-da-ta* *'ɛ-da-mỹ*
drink=stop-1S-CSO go-1S-VOL
'when I have stopped drinking, I'll go away'

But the cosubordinative verb can also bear its own negation or tense:

(3472) *butje'hỹ-a-nãi* *areta-'he-da-ta* *okja-'he-da-ki*
shoot-1P-NOM know-NEG-1S-CSO hunt-NEG-1S-DEC
'I can't hunt because I don't know how to shoot'

(3473) *o'ja-tse* *dodotxi'te* *ohui-'nã-tja*
leave-DEC ball play-FUT-CSO
'he went there to play ball'[375]

Medial clauses do not represent complete grammatical sentences. They are in principle always subordinated to a matrix clause. Translations offered by the consultant of an isolated matrix sentence also suggest this:

(3474) *o'nɛ-ki* *o'nɛ-tja*
arrive-DEC arrive-CSO
'he arrived' vs. 'when someone arrives and does something'

375.Permitted alternative order: 231.

It is hard to say whether the cosubordinative cross-reference morphemes are bound morphemes, since they occur sometimes as free morphemes. I chose to treat them as suffixes, in analogy with person and mood marking of matrix verbs. In the following sections the formal and functional properties of medial clauses will be discussed in more detail.

8.3.1. Basic formal aspects of same subject medial clauses

Subject identity across cosubordination constructions does not necessarily imply that coreference is identical. In the present section, I will contrast examples to illustrate the correspondences and differences between subject marking in the matrix clause and in the medial clause. The following examples show how the identity of the subject in both clauses is expressed in a straightforward manner by identical cross-reference morphemes:

(3475) *hyhyrwa-'nã-da-ta* *'nãi-da-ki*
move-FUT-1S-CSO like-1S-DEC
'I do that because I'm going for a walk'

(3476) *hyhyrwa-'nã-a-xa-ta* *'nãi-a-xa-ki*
move-FUT-1P-AS-CSO like-1P-AS-DEC
'we do that because we're going for a walk'

The only grammatical difference between the clauses is that the matrix clause is in the declarative mood *-ki* and the medial clause is in the cosubordinative "mood" *-ta*.

In the imperative and interrogative moods, however, second person subject marking is different from second person subject marking in the medial clause, even though the subjects are identical. This will be discussed in detail in (8.3.1.2.) and (8.3.1.3.). Furthermore, in analogy with person marking in the other moods, one would expect that the third person is zero-marked in the medial clause. This can be the case indeed, but when the subject is a third person, the portmanteau suffix *-tja* may appear as an alternative of the cosubordinative marker *-ta*:

(3477) *hyhyrwa-'nã-tja* *'nãi-ki*
move-FUT-CSO like-DEC
'he does that because he is going to walk'

Also, not all person cross-reference forms are identical across the matrix and medial clauses. The form which corresponds to the indefinite subject morpheme *-wa-* may be *-cwa-* in the medial clause:

(3478) *hyhyrwa-'nã-cwa-ta* *'nãi-wa-ki*
move-FUT-IS-CSO like-IS-DEC
'it is because they are going for a walk'

These divergent forms *-tja* and *-cwa-* will be discussed more extensively below in subsection (8.3.1.4.) and (8.3.1.5.).

8.3.1.1. Identical subjects in cosubordination

In the following examples, we find the same person marking both in the medial and interrogative or declarative matrix clauses cross-referring to an identical subject, as expected:

(3479) *tsuhũ-'du-da-ta* *kunỹ-'djo-da-re* *co'ha-siki* (**tsuhũ-du-ki*)
what-BER-1S-CSO dress-CL:foot-1S-INT foot-CL:skin
'why (for what purpose) am I putting on shoes?'

(3480) *tsuhũ-'du-nã-ta* *kunỹ-'djo-hãna-re* *coha-si'ki*
what-BER-one-CSO dress-CL:foot-one-INT foot-CL:skin
'why (for what purpose) are we putting on shoes?'[376]

(3481) *si* *hoBeto-a-xa-'ta* *oja-'nã-a-xa-ki* *Ba'hozo-nã*
I Roberto-1P-AS-CSO go-FUT-1P-AS-DEC Barroso-LOC
'I and Roberto we are going to Barroso'

(3482) *'masju* *hai'mũDa* *fa'Brisja-a-xa-'ta* *o'ja-a-'xa-hỹ-ki*
Marcio Raimunda Fabricia-1P-AS-CSO go-1P-AS-NOM-DEC
'we went with Marcio, Raimunda and Fabricia'

(3483) *hyhyrwa-'nã-xa-xa-ta* *'nãi-xa-xa-hỹ-herejã-re*
move-FUT-2-AS-CSO like-2-AS-NOM-APPL-INT
'it is because you (pl) are going for a walk'

The matrix clause in example (3483) consists of an emphatic construction (see 5.5.14.3.). Formally it is based on the interrogative mood but its grammatical value is declarative.

Different subject medial clauses will be discussed in (8.3.2.).

376. The impersonal subject marker *-hana-* is an optional variant of *-na-* (see 5.1.5.).

8.3.1.2. Second person marking in imperative cosubordination

Subjects of same subject medial clauses are identical to those of the matrix clause. This does not imply that they are always marked in the same way. Remember that it was demonstrated in section (5.2.) how in other moods than the declarative, different ways of person cross-reference marking may be employed. In the imperative and the negative imperative, for example, the second person subject is cross-referenced by *-Ø-* (singular) and *-Ø-xa-* (plural), even though in the declarative it is *-xa-* and *-xa-xa-* respectively. In the imperative matrix clause of the following example the second person singular is zero-marked, as expected, but in the medial clause, it is expressed optionally by *-xa-*:

(3484) *ɛ-(xa)-'ta* *hu-Ø-'ra*
go-2-CSO smoke-2-IMP
'go there and have a smoke!'

There is no doubt that both clauses have a second person singular subject. The difference between the situations, in which second person either gets overt or zero-expression in the medial clause, probably concerns the interpretation of the cosubordinative marker *-ta*. In the zero-expressed situation, the cosubordinative marker is probably interpreted as a copy of the imperative: 'you go there! and you have a smoke!'. In the overtly expressed situation, i.e. with person marking by *-xa-*, *-ta* could be regarded as representing declarative: 'you going there, you have a smoke!'. In the medial clause of the next negative imperative example the subject is expressed overtly:

(3485) *hatsi'hỹ-xa-'ta* *ja* *oja=bu'ru-he-'ky*
naked-2-CSO already go=arrive-NEG-NEI
'you can't arrive (being still) naked!'

The context in which this command was uttered was in the back of a truck driving through the forest on a hot day and people did not wear their shirts. However, when arriving in a settlement it is considered decent to be properly dressed. The literal interpretation of this sentence is '(while) you are naked, do not arrive already!'. Possibly then, the cosubordinative marker cannot really be interpreted as a "copy" of the negative imperative matrix mood. Consequently, person marking in the medial clause is as if it were an declarative clause. The same may be said of the following imperative example:

(3486) *xyi aky'ta* *e'mã-xa-xa-ta* *o'ja-xa-ra* *Ba'hozo-nã*
you two more-2-AS-CSO go-AS-IMP Barroso-LOC
'you three are going to Barroso!'

Second person is marked zero in the matrix clause, whereas it is expressed by *-xa-* in the medial clause. Here, as well as in (3485), the medial clause cannot directly be interpreted as a command.

The examples discussed above point at least in the direction of two things. In the first place, they suggest that the cosubordinative mood marker does not always "copy" the mood value of the matrix clause. In the second place, although subjects of medial clauses may be identical to matrix clause subjects, they are not necessarily marked identical.

8.3.1.3. Second person marking in interrogative cosubordination

The present subsection concerns variation between overt and zero-marking of second person in clauses which are cosubordinated to an interrogative matrix predicate. In (8.3.1.2.) above, variation between overt and zero-marking of second person in medial clauses was explained in relation to zero-marking of the second person in the imperative matrix predicate. Such an explanation is not possible in the case of interrogative matrix clauses. Here, the variation appears to be optional. In the next example, second person is expressed overtly across the entire clause chain, as expected:

(3487) *ũcenãi-'nã-xa-ta* *ere'we-xy-xa-ki*
know-FUT-2-CSO write-CL:leaf-2-DEC
'you are writing in order to learn'

However, it is absent in the next examples:

(3488) *tsũhũ-'du-ta* *hyhyrwa-'nã-xa-re*
what-BER-CSO move-FUT-2-INT
'why are you going for a walk?'

(3489) *tsũhũ-'du-ta* *kunỹ-'djo-xa-re* *coha-si'ki*
what-BER-CSO dress-CL:foot-2-INT foot-CL:skin
'why (for what purpose) are you putting on shoes?'

(3490) *tsũhũ-'du-ta* *kunỹ-'djo-xa-xa-re* *coha-si'ki*
what-BER-CSO dress-CL:foot-2-AS-INT foot-CL:skin
'why (for what purpose) are you (PL) putting on shoes?'

One could explain away these examples by interpreting the medial clause as a cleft construction 'why is it that...?', but this explanation runs into problems when one considers examples involving other persons, like (3479) and (3480) and the following:

(3491) *tsũhũ-'du-da-ta* *ha'do-da-re*
why-BER-1S-CSO pierce-1S-INT
'why did I pierce it?'

Furthermore, second person marking appears to be optional in other constructions, even though co-referent first person marking in a similar position would be obligatory:

(3492) *ã'wỹi-(xa)-ta* *'nãi-xa-re*
see-2-CSO like-2-DEC
'did you watch first before you try?'

(3493) *ã'wỹi-da-ta* *'nãi-da-ki*
see-1S-CSO like-1S-DEC
'I watched / learnt first before I do that'

The only explanation of a more general validity for the absence or optionality of second person marking in medial clauses would be that it could hardly lead to ambiguity. Persons other than the second are usually clearly indicated, even the third person, albeit fused in a special cosubordinative marker *-tja*, cf. (3489):

(3494) *tsũhũ-'du-tja* *kunỹ-'djo-re* *coha-si'ki*
what-BER-CSO dress-CL:foot-INT foot-CL:skin
'why (for what purpose) is he putting on shoes?'

8.3.1.4. Third person marking in medial clauses: *-tja* and *-ta*

In matrix clauses, a third person subject gets zero cross-reference. In cosubordinated constructions with identical third person, a separate third person marker is not identifiable in the medial clause. However the medial clause "mood" marker is often *-tja* instead of the expected *-ta* as with all other persons. So one might consider *-tja* as the result of fusion of third person subject and cosubordinative "mood", but it is unclear which elements have fused. The morpheme is pronounced usually as [tja], but the pronunciation [t̲a] is also encountered.[377] The following examples illustrate its use in different moods:

(3495) *ũcenãi-'he-tja* *kuraku'ra* *hu'hui-ki*
know-NEG-CSO chicken kill-DEC
'by mistake he killed (not a pig but) a chicken'

377. Maybe this form is based on historical assimilation and metathesis of the indefinite object marker *-ja-* and the initial consonant of the cosubordinative marker *-ta*.

(3496) *zjwãu 'peDro hãrã-he'ta-tja tutunita'hỹ-ki*
João Pedro stop-DESI-CSO think-DEC
'João wants Pedro to stop (e.g. working)'

(3497) *tsuhũ-'nã-tja kunỹ-'djo-re coha-si'ki*
what-FUT-CSO dress-CL:foot-INT foot-CL:skin
'why is he putting on shoes?'

The exact semantics of the medial clause is not perfectly clear. In some examples it was translated by the consultant as a clefted sentence, in which analysis its subject would obviously not be identical to the matrix clause subject:

(3498) *ũce'nãi-tja ere'we-xy-ki*
know-CSO write-CL:leaf-DEC
'(he discovered it is) for learning that he is writing'

(3499) *ũcenãi-'nã-tja ere'we-xy-ki*
know-FUT-CSO write-CL:leaf-DEC
'he writes in order to learn'

However, such clefted translations were sometimes also given for medial verbs which were overtly marked for person, such as in (3483).

Although the fused morpheme *-tja* is often encountered as the third person cosubordinative marker, transparent, i.e. zero-marking is also attested. In this construction the canonical cosubordinative marker *-ta* is used and the third person subject gets canonical zero expression. No semantic or pragmatic distinctions whatsoever were encountered between these alternative expressions, and all consultants always said "it means the same". The following examples were considered as totally equivalent:

(3500) *'kwɛ-ta atxitxi-'nũ 'ja-ki*
enter-CSO maize-CL:powder eat-DEC
'he entered and ate maize porridge'

(3501) *'kwɛ-tja atxitxi-'nũ 'ja-ki*
enter-CSO maize-CL:powder eat-DEC
'he entered and ate maize porridge'

The only systematic difference between the two alternatives seems to lie in their relative frequency of occurrence: third person *-Ø-ta* is rarer than *-tja*. The following examples do not reveal any specific systematic differences with those containing *-tja* which we saw earlier on:

(3502) *wywy'rjỹ-ki* *awy-'ja-ta*
wind.blow-DEC cold-IO-CSO
'wind is blowing, causes people to feel cold'

(3503) *ts(i)'je-ta* *wa'ja-tse*
grab-CSO bring-DEC
'(the jaguar) grabbed and took away (the chicken)'

(3504) *'heme* *'mã-ta-ki* *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'nã-ta-ta*
Hermes call-1O-DEC speak-TRA-FUT-1O-CSO
'Hermes called me over in order to speak with me'

Both forms can even cooccur inside the same clause chain. The contrast between the next two examples suggests that *-Ø-ta* and *-tja* cross-refer to the same subject in (3505):[378]

(3505) *zjwãu* *kreBa-'nã* *'cu-tjacucu-'ta* *Bahoso-'nã* *hã'rã-tse*
João Gleba-LOC step-CSO walk-CSO Barroso-LOC stop-DEC
'João walked from Gleba to Barroso'

(3506) *kreBa-'nã* *'cu-da-ta* *cucu-da-'ta* *Bahoso-'nã* *hã'rã-da-ki*
Gleba-LOC step-1S-CSO walk-1S-CSO Barroso-LOC stop-1S-DEC
'I walked from Gleba to Barroso'

The semantic difference between the next two examples is due more to other factors than to the different cosubordinative markers:

(3507) *o'nɛ-ta* *'a-hỹ-ki*
arrive-CSO exist-NOM-DEC
'he came and is there (now at that place)'

(3508) *onɛ=o'nɛ-tja* *a-'ki*
arrive=arrive-CSO exist-DEC
'he always came'

The habitual aspect in example (3508) is possibly caused by reduplication of the verb root (see 5.5.27.).

No convincing morphophonological circumstances were observed to require one or the other expression of the third person cosubordinative. The only formal condition which was encountered seems to consist in either formal resemblance (analogy) or etymological relationship of a preceding syllable to a person cross-reference marker. After the verb root *tsicwa-* 'begin', the cosubordinative morpheme *-tja* is not possible. This is probably because the element *-cwa-* is associated with indefinite subject *-cwa-*, which is discussed in (8.3.1.5.). Nevertheless In the following example, the element *-cwa-* is an indefeasible part of the verb root:

378.Combinations like **-da-tja* for first person cosubordinative are rejected categorically.

(3509) *tsicwa-'ta* *cu'cu-ki*
begin-CSO step-DEC
'he began to walk'

So, from the viewpoint of morphological segmentability the element *-cwa-* is treated as if it is a productive cross-reference marker. Because it is not, the exclusivity of *-ta* in a third person medial construction may be considered as a morphophonological constraint with a highly limited domain.

We shall now return to the reason why *-Ø-ta* is less frequent than *-tja* to express third person subject in cosubordination. Probably, *-Ø-ta* can lead to ambiguity with a zero-marked second person. There is no such danger in the imperative because its subject is intrinsically a second person, while its medial clauses usually even employ the overt cross-reference marker *-xa-*. But as explained in (8.3.1.3.), zero-marking of a second person does also occur in medial clauses cosubordinated with interrogative matrix predicates. As long as a matrix predicate form is present, there is little doubt about the interpretation of the zero-marked persons in medial clauses. However, when a matrix verb is absent or at the end of an extended clause chain, there may be room for confusion. Therefore *-Ø-ta* may be less frequently used for third person than *-tja*.

Another hypothesis about the nature of *-tja* is that it is (originally?) not a cosubordinative marker, but a manner-adverbial clause ending. This hypothesis is discussed in section (8.2.4.).

8.3.1.5. Indefinite subject marking in medial clauses: *-(c)wa*

In cosubordinations with an indefinite subject, the indefinite subject marker *-wa-* (see 5.1.4.1.) is applied to both the medial clause and the matrix clause:

(3510) *dodotxi'tɛ* *o'hui-wa-ta* *'nãi-wa-ki*
ball play-IS-CSO like-IS-DEC
'they do that (because they) are playing ball'[379]

There is a variant of *-wa-* which seems to have exactly the same semantic value: *-cwa-*. The following examples demonstrate its use:

(3511) *aky-'ta* *e'mã-cwa-ta* *'mɛ̃-eteja-wa-ki*
two-ANI more-IS-CSO beat-1PO-IS-DEC
'they were with three persons who beat us'

379. This phrase could be uttered as an answer to questions of someone who is unacquainted with the game. If his questions are very stupid one could use a more expletive matrix clause *'nãi-wa-he'rejã're* 'they do that of course, you fool!'.

(3512) *oja-'nã-cwa-ta* *'kui-wa-ki*
leave-FUT-IS-CSO drink-IS-DEC
'because they are preparing to go they drink up'

(3513) *tsuhũ-'du-cwa-ta* *kunỹ-'djo-wa-re* *coha-si'ki*
what-BER-IS-CSO dress-CL:foot-IS-INT foot-CL:skin
'why (for what purpose) are they putting on shoes?'

The occurrence of *-cwa-* is restricted to cosubordinative constructions where it seems to be a perfectly optional variant:

(3514) *'ɛ-(c)wa-ta* *'hu-wa-ki*
go-IS-CSO smoke-IS-DEC
'she went (home and is) smoking'

Notice that within a cosubordination construction, *-cwa-* may be attached to either of the concomitant clauses. In the next examples *-cwa-* is applied to the matrix clause where it corefers with *-wa-* or even with zero in the medial clause:

(3515) *hiuDu'?uru-nã* *'a-wa-ta* *onɛ-'he-cwa-ki* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko*
Rio.do.Ouro-LOC exist-IS-CSO arrive-NEG-IS-DEC this-NOM-INS
'being stuck in Rio do Ouro they have not arrived here (yet)'

(3516) *tsuhũ-'nã-ta* *hyhyrwa-'nã-cwa-re*
what-FUT-CSO move-FUT-IS-INT
'why are they going for a walk?'

For the latter example, cf. the discussion with regard to (3488). In the next example (which corresponds to 1132), optional variant of *-wa-*, i.e. *-cwa-*, in the matrix clause corefers with *-cwa-* in the medial clause:

(3517) *aky-'hỹ* *e'mã-cwa-ta* *'dai-(c)wa-ki* *('manga)*
two-NOM more-IS-CSO take-IS-DEC mango
'someone took three (mangoes)'

8.3.1.6. Object marking in cosubordination

No special object forms or constructions are involved in cosubordination. Object markers occur on either of the concomitants of cosubordination constructions, as is shown e.g. in (3504), (3511) and in the following example:

(3518) *hoi* *hy'hyrwa-ki* *hadai-ja-'nã-tja*
bat fly-DEC bite-IO-FUT-CSO
'the bat is flying around as he wants to suck people's blood'

8.3.1.7. Functions of the medial clause

The chaining of medial clauses is basically employed to express sheer consecutiveness of events:

(3519) *ã'rũi* *a're-da-ta* *o'ja-da-ki*
tapir turn-1S-CSO leave-1S-DEC
'I turned into a tapir and went away'

Often one of the verbs in a clause chain can be considered as a complement of reason, cause or purpose of the other verb. The purposive nature of such complements is usually determined by affixes like future second person object *-leja-*, future *-nã-* in the sense of 'will, want', volitional modal *-damỹ-* 'want' or by exhortative and imperative mood affixes to which the cosubordinative marker is then cliticised:

(3520) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-le'ja-da-ta* *oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-2O.FUT-1S-CSO arrive-1S-DEC
'I came here to talk with you'

(3521) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'nã-da-ta* *oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-FUT-1S-DEC arrive-1S-DEC
'I came to talk with him'

(3522) *ũcenãi-da'mỹ-xa-ta* *erewe-'xy-xa-ki*
know-want-2-CSO write-CL:leaf-2-DEC
'you are writing in order to learn'

(3523) *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-tja-a-'ni-da-ta* *oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-1P-EXH-1S-DEC arrive-1S-DEC
'I came for us to talk'[380]

(3524) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'ra-da-ta* *waja-'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-IMP-1S-DEC bring-REF-1S-DEC
'I brought him for you to talk with him'
(lit. 'saying "you talk with him!", I got him hither')

380.See also the remarks about the same example (3145) in (7.5.2.3.).

However, the medial clause can also have a purposive sense without such means, aside from its purely consecutive function:

(3525) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'tja-da-ta* *oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-1S-DEC arrive-1S-DEC
'I talked to him and I came' (i.e. I came authorised)

(3526) *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-tja-'ja-da-ta* *oja'nỹ-da-ki*
speak-TRA-IO-1S-DEC arrive-1S-DEC
'I came here to talk with them' (i.e. I came here for us to talk)

As suggested in the introduction, a clause ending in a cosubordinate mood marker may also function as an adverbial clause:

(3527) *txu'hũi-tja* *hũnũ-'dy-da-ki*
small-CSO scorch-CAU-1S-DEC
'I burnt the food (just) a little'

(3528) *txu'hũi-tja* *a'we-tse*
small-CSO rain-DEC
'it rained a little'

Notice that it is not really possible to speak of same subject medial clauses in (3527) and (3528), because the matrix subject is different from that of the medial clause. Furthermore, this subject discontinuity is not marked in the expected manner as discussed in (8.3.2.). These adverbial clauses are probably subordinate clauses which modify the verb root of the matrix clause only. They do not cosubordinate a second proposition to the matrix clause proposition, like medial clauses do.

Cosubordinate mood verbs which are used in coordinative constructions are discussed in (8.3.1.10.).

8.3.1.8. Some morphosyntactic aspects of cosubordination

The linear order of cosubordinated clauses does not seem to be so strict that the matrix clause always has to follow the medial clause. Compare example (3473) to the following:

(3529) *dodotxi'te* *ohui-'nã-tja* *o'ja-tse*
ball play-FUT-CSO leave-DEC
'he went there to play ball'[381]

According to the consultant, there was no meaning difference between the alternative orders. In the following examples, the order is iconic:

381. Alternative order: 312.

(3530) *de'da* *ũceta-'tõi-ki* *haku'ri-(wã)* *kui-da'mỹ-tja*
snake circle-CL:eye-DEC moon-AO swallow-want-CSO
'snake is encircling the moon in order to swallow it'

(3531) *'makina* *dai-'nã-tse* *awỹi-ja-'nã-tja*
camera grab-FUT-DEC see-IO-FUT-CSO
'he is going to take/find his camera in order to take a picture'

In many examples the order encountered was not subjected to a requirement of iconicity. Also, the question of which verb should represent the matrix predicate and which verb the cosubordinated predicate is not always easy to solve.

(3532) *(ui)* *hu-'nã-tja* *'ɛ-ki*
tobacco smoke-FUT-CSO go-DEC
'she went (home) to smoke a cigarette'

(3533) *'ɛ-tja* *'hu-ki*
go-CSO smoke-DEC
'she went (home) and is smoking'

The medial clause example (3532) has a purposive function due to the Future marker *-nã-*, whereas example (3533) just sums up the subsequent events in an iconic order. The next example is structurally a blend of the above examples:

(3534) *'ɛ-da-ta* *here?etje-hỹ-'nã-da-ki*
go-1S-CSO rest-NOM-FUT-1S-DEC
'I'll go away and relax'

In this example, the order is iconic and the function of one of the clauses may be purposive. However, the consultant MA explained that the reverse order **here?etje-'nã-da-ta ɛ-da-ki* would make no sense as "it is the wrong way round", even though it corresponds structurally to (3532). There is no purposive sense involved in the next iconically ordered sentence:

(3535) *tẽjã'wã-ki* *awe-'nã-tja*
dark-DEC rain-FUT-CSO
'it is getting dark; it will rain'

No systematic (field) research on constituent order was done, and the issue will not be pursued any further here.

8.3.1.9. Lengthy medial clause chains and discourse particles

In elicited cosubordinative constructions there is usually a matrix verb in the declarative mood which comes at the end of the clause chain. In running texts there is usually no concluding matrix verb. Matrix verb mood forms are then mostly used to indicate quoted speech. However, traditional and mythological tales usually do end in a formula bearing the declarative mood form *-ki*. Probably, the entire story can be regarded as a long clause chain, terminated by a symbolic matrix clause. The majority of the texts in part (II) of the present work are structured and terminated like this. The following text excerpt contains a lengthy clause chain:

(3536) *eto'hoi-nahere-wã* *hỹ'dɛ* *ja-ỹ-'rjỹ* *kari'cwa-na*
child-COL-AO go! DIST-ATT-CD:area field-LOC

'ɛ-a-ta *'a-a-ta* *atxi'txi* *mani'ni-tsy-hỹ*
go-1P-CSO exist-1P-CSO maize fish-GER-NOM

hu'de-a-ta *'ja-a-ta* *a-a-'ni=tja* *'ta-ta*
dry-1P-CSO eat-1P-CSO exist-1P-EXH=CSO talk-CSO
‘“let’s go there to the old field, we go there, we’ll live there, we’ll dry and eat maize and fish, let’s live there!” she said, speaking to her children’ (t)

In this example, the first four medial clauses are subordinated to an exhortative matrix clause. That matrix clause represents quoted speech and is embedded in a medial clause, which again is cosubordinated with another medial clause and an implicit matrix clause. The story from which this excerpt is taken ends finally with the declarative verb *ta-ki* ‘she said’ and is followed by the formula *cwa-rati-ki* ‘that is what they say’. All the other matrix mood clauses in the story represent quoted speech.

The attachment of a cosubordinative morpheme to a fully inflected clause such as the exhortative in (3536) or the volitive in (3537), represents the morphological operation of cliticisation which occurs especially in quoted speech constructions:

(3537) *cutɛ-da-'mỹ=tja*
fell-1S-VOL=CSO
‘“I’m going to fell trees”, he said’ (t)

In such constructions, it may occur that the cliticised cosubordination morpheme is preceded by a small pause as if it represents an independent word or particle. Narratives are filled with such particles and it is possible to discuss their meaning with the consultants. One consultant (TE) said that *-tja* is used “only when telling a story you know that happened or which you witnessed

someone else tell".[382] He translated *-tja* as 'he thought', *cwahỹ* as 'they thought' and *cwata* as 'they thought' or 'they said'. Sometimes such particles are translated as if they are pronouns. E.g. *tja* has been translated as 'he'. On another occasion *-tja* was translated as 'yes'. About *cwa(ta)* it was said that it is used "when one retells what someone else told, but you don't know the origin of the story".[383] If one were aware of their reported speech function, one would easily analyse some free occurrences of such morphemes as pronominal:

(3538) *tja 'ɛ-ki*
CSO go-DEC
'he said thus, and went away'

In fact, these particles can be used as resumptive morphemes and they can even be inflected for person. As an example, the first person cosubordinative form *-data* is, as a particle, translated by consultants both as 'I said' or as 'well, then I ...'.[384]

(3539) *e'nãi-tja-ta-tsy-'tse da-ta areta-'nã-da-ki*
quarrel-TRA-1O-POT-DEC 1S-CSO know-FUT-1S-DEC
'he is going to quarrel with me, so I, I'm going to learn'

It is unlikely that the verb root *ta-* 'to talk' originates from a reinterpreted cosubordinative mood marker *-ta*. However, the element *tja-* in the verb root *tjata-* 'to say to someone' may very well be:

(3540) *ti-'nãi-tsy-re mã ta-dy-'ta*
what-like-that.be-INT mother talk-DS-CSO
'"where is your mother?" he said to him' (t)

(3541) *xa-'he-tsy-tse ɛ-'ra mã cari-hata-'tsi=tja*
2-NEG-POT-DEC go-IMP mother kill-3S.2O-MON=CSO

'ta-hỹ =wara
talk-NOM=but
'"don't you persist, go away!, lest your mother will kill you" she said, however (unfortunately)...' (t)

Reported speech cliticisation and ellipsis are discussed more thoroughly in (5.5.11.1.) and (7.5.2.3.).

382. *'só contando que você sabe ou que viu a pessoa contando'*
383. *'recontando que outro falou, mas você não conhece o dono da historia'*
384. *'aí eu', 'falei'*

8.3.1.10. Coordination through cosubordination

Kwaza does not have true coordinating conjunctions (see also 8.5.). Juxtaposition of two subsequent matrix clauses simply represents two separate sentences, and not two coordinated clauses within one sentence:

(3542) *hary'ky ja ja=hã'rã-da-ki nũ'ri-da-ki*
now already eat=stop-1S-DEC satiate-1S-DEC
'I already stopped eating, I'm full'[385]

Note that juxtaposed matrix clauses may function as complement clauses in semantic respects and that the subjects do not have to be identical:

(3543) *hã'te-ra ti-'nãi-tja ũ'nã-re*
count-IMP what-NOM-CSO long-INT
'try what length it has (i.e. measure it)!'

(3544) *dyte'nã-a-ni wãwỹi-wa-ni*
extinguish-1P-EXH sleep-IS-EXH
'let's extinguish the candle so they can get some sleep!'

However, consecutiveness of events is usually expressed through medial and matrix clauses which together constitute a subordinating rather than a coordinating construction. Nevertheless, the translations offered by the consultant of several of the examples in the present chapter, such as (3469), (3484), (3500), (3507) and (3555), suggest that medial clauses function as coordinated clauses.

As explained in (4.3.) Kwaza does not possess the category of adjectives but it has verb roots with an attributive content. When verbs based on semantically attributive roots are cosubordinated, they have the translation value of coordinated adjectives:

(3545) *mangka-'to hoi-'tja tãi-'he-tse*
mango-CL:fruit sweet-CSO tough-NEG-DEC
'the mangoes are sweet and soft'

Coordination of nouns can be realised through juxtaposition of bare nouns (see also 8.5.):

(3546) *meza-'na kore'ja di'hu-tse*
table-LOC knife spoon-DEC
'on the table there is a knife and a spoon'

385.**hary'ky ja'jahã'rãda'ta nu'ridaki* was considered "wrong" by MA, just as **hary'ky ja'jahã'rãdaki nu'rida'ta*, about which MA said "it is like writing from back to front".

However, the cosubordinating morpheme *-t(j)a* is also employed in constructions containing coordinated nominals:

(3547) *meza-'na* *kore'ja-tja* *di'hu-tse*
table-LOC knife-CSO spoon-DEC
'on the table there is a knife and a spoon'

The words *koreja* 'knife' and *dihu* 'spoon' are nouns. In this example both nouns are verbalised and cosubordinated. The literal translation could be: 'on the table being a knife, there is a spoon'. The following example suggests that the entire verbalised cosubordinated construction can function as the argument of a matrix verb, as if it were a complex noun:

(3548) *kaiku'cɛ̃-tja* *arikwã'jũ-tse* *hanã'wã-na* *'a-ki*
Kaikucɛ̃-CSO Arikwãjũ-DEC heaven-LOC exist-DEC
'Arikwãjũ and Kaikucɛ̃ live in heaven'

Maybe the whole utterance should be regarded as bisentential, translated literally as: 'they are Arikwãjũ and Kaikucɛ̃, they live in heaven'. A partially similar construction was attested with the comitative morpheme *-dynỹ*, which is a purely nominal suffix:

(3549) *hyriko'ro-xwanã-tja* *atxitxi'?ũ-tja* *hari?i'xu-dynỹ* *'ja-da -ki*
monkey-CL:flesh-CSO rice-CSO bean-COMIT eat-1S-DEC
'I'm eating monkey meat, rice and beans'

Numerals are also easily used as verb stems. Complex numerals may be expressed as a cosubordinated verbalised construction:

(3550) *bwa-ko'je-tja* *aky-'hỹ-tse*
end-CL:hand-CSO two-NOM-DEC
'(it is) seven'

(3551) *tei-'hỹ-tja* *a-'he-tse* *koreja'ri*
one-NOM-CSO exist-NEG-DEC plate
'one plate is lacking'

(3552) *aky-'hỹ* *e'ma-tja* *a-'he-tse* *koreja'ri*
two-NOM more-CSO exist-NEG-DEC plate
'we lack 3 plates'

8.3.2. Different subject medial clauses and switch reference

Section (8.3.1.) concerns same subject medial clauses. In (8.3.1.1.) the similarity of subjects in the medial clause and the matrix clause was explicitly touched upon. In the present section it will be shown that Kwaza deals with dissimilarity of subjects in a grammaticalised manner which can be referred to as switch reference. Kwaza has two formally distinct ways to indicate that the subject of the cosubordinated verb is different from the subject of another cosubordinated or a superordinated verb. The first way is by an extension of the same subject medial clause verb with the element *-dy-* preceding the cosubordination marker. This element indicates that the subject of the next verb is a different third person than the third person subject of the verb to which it is currently attached. The second way is a switch reference cosubordinate mood form in *-si* which yields a different subject medial clause. This element is used when one of the concomitant clauses in a cosubordination construction has a third person subject while the other one has a non-third person subject. In the following table the medial clause markers are categorised with regard to the coreference possibilities of their subjects:

Table 33. Medial clause markers and switch reference

	SS	DS
CSO	**-t(j)a**	**-dy-ta**
SWR	**-**	**-si**

8.3.2.1. Different subjects in cosubordination: *-dy-*

The subject of a medial clause ending in *-ta* is usually identical with the subject of the matrix clause. This is signalled clearly by overt person coreference marking. In the case of a third person subject, there is zero cross-reference. If necessary, it is possible to indicate morphologically via the element *-dy-* that the third person of the medial clause is different from the third person of the matrix clause. It must be mentioned that such an overt indication of different subjects is not obligatory when the medial clause functions as an adverbial clause. In the following example, the absence of a formal expression of difference between medial and matrix clause third person subjects does not lead to ambiguity:

(3553) *txu'hũi-tja* *a'we-tse*
small-CSO rain-DEC
'it rained a little'

This type of adverbial clause was discussed in (8.2.6. and 8.3.1.7.). Its behaviour with regard to subject (dis)continuity is a reason to consider this construction as subordinate rather than cosubordinate.

In the subsequent examples the cosubordinated clauses do not function as adverbials or complements of the matrix clauses. They are proper medial clauses, but their third person subjects are identical to those of the matrix clause:

(3554) *ã'rũi are-'nỹ-tja o'ja-ki*
tapir turn-REF-CSO leave-DEC
'he turned himself into a tapir and went away'

(3555) *zjwãu o'nɛ-tja ca'ri=asa-hỹ-ki peDro-'wã*
João arrive-CSO shoot=leave-NOM-DEC Pedro-AO
'João$_{(i)}$ arrived and he$_{(i)}$ killed Pedro$_{(j)}$'

(3556) *e'tay-nahere ã'rũi are-'dy=asa-'ta ɛ-'tse*
woman-COL tapir turn-CAU=leave-CSO go-DEC
'the women made him turn into a tapir and they went home'[386]

(3557) *zjwãu hy='kwɛ-ta atxitxi-'nũ 'ja-ki*
João move=enter-CSO maize-CL:powder eat-DEC
'João entered and ate maize porridge'

(3558) *zjwãu 'kwɛ-tja 'Bousa wa'dy-ki txi?a-'wã*
João enter-CSO bag give-DEC Txi?a-AO
'João entered and gave the bag (POR *bolsa*) to Txi?a'

In the case of different third person subjects the medial verb is first extended by a different subject marker *-dy-* before the cosubordinative morpheme is attached. Compare these examples with the preceding ones:

(3559) *zjwãu o'nɛ-hỹ-dy-ta 'peDro ca'ri=asa-hỹ-ki*
João arrive-NOM-DS-CSO Pedro shoot=leave-NOM-DEC

(zjwãu-'wã)
João-AO
'João$_{(i)}$ arrived and Pedro$_{(j)}$ killed him$_{(i)}$'

(3560) *e'tay-nahere ã'rũi are-'dy-hỹ-dy-ta o'ja-tse*
woman-COL tapir turn-CAU-NOM-DS-CSO leave-DEC
'the women made him turn into a tapir and he went away'

386. The verb *ojatse* 'he left' would have been unpragmatical as a matrix verb here.

(3561) *zjwãu* *hy='kwɛ-hỹ-dy-ta* *ho'Bɛto* *atxitxi-'nũ*
João move=enter-NOM-DS-CSO Roberto maize-CL:powder

'ja-ki
eat-DEC
'while João entered Roberto (saw his chance to) eat maize porridge'

(3562) *zjwãu* *'kwɛ-hỹ-dy-ta* *txi'?a* *'Bousa* *wa'dy-ki* *zjwãu-'wã*
João enter-NOM-DS-CSO Txi?a bag give-DEC João-AO
'João entered and Txi?a gave the bag to him'

(3563) *zjwãu* *'kwɛ-hỹ-dy-ta* *mau'risiju* *wa'dy-ki* *'Bousa* *txi?a-'wã*
João enter-NOM-DS-CSO Maurício give-DEC bag Txi?a-AO
'João entered and Maurício gave the bag to Txi?a'

Before application of the different subject marker, the medial verb stems in the above examples were nominalised by *-hỹ-*. The contrast between the following examples shows that this is not obligatory:

(3564) *'tswa-wã* *'mɛ̃-ta* *e'mã-ki*
man-AO beat-CSO cry-DEC
'(the woman) beat the man and (she) cried'

(3565) *e'tay* *tswa-'wã* *'mɛ̃-dy-ta* *e'mã-ki* *tswa*
woman man-AO beat-DS-CSO cry-DEC man
'the woman beat the man and the man cried'

Here are some additional examples:

(3566) *'kui-dy-ta* *y'ro-ki*
drink-DS-CSO cry-DEC
'while he was drinking, well, she was crying'

(3567) *kude're* *'axy* *'wai-dy-hỹ-'ta* *o'ri-ki*
Canderé house nice-CAU-NOM-CSO climb-DEC

hãhãi-'ce-dy-ta *axy-'nã*
drip-CL:hole-DS-CSO house-LOC
'Canderé climbed onto the roof to fix it, as it was leaking inside'

(3568) *eto'hoi* *hy'ja-ta* *'tsoro* *'dwỹ-dy-ta* *waja-'nã-tse*
child fall-CSO arm break-DS-CSO bring-FUT-DEC
'the child fell and broke an arm and they will bring it away'

(3569) *'tana huruja=du'hỹ-ɛteja-xa-'ra=tja 'ta-dy-ta ã'rũi tswa*
well like=all-1PO-2-IMP=CSO talk-DS-CSO tapir man

da'mỹ=tja 'ta-ta mãrɛ̃ri'tsa a're-tja wara'hỹ du'hỹ
want=CSO talk-CSO person turn-CSO touch do.all
'then they said to him "you have to make love to us all", and tapir-man said "I want to!", and he turned into a human being and made love to all of them' (t)

Different third person subject marking can be applied recursively when subjects differ between every second clause of a clause chain:

(3570) *e'tay-nahere ã'rũi are-'dy-hỹ-dy-ta*
woman-COL tapir turn-CAU-NOM-DS-CSO

o'ja-hỹ-dy-ta ĩ 'ɛ-tse
leave-NOM-DS-CSO he go-DEC
'the women made him turn into a tapir, he went away, they went home'

Apparently, the element *-dy-* signals a switch between the subject of the present subordinate clause and the next one. My teacher MA explained it in the following manner: *-dy-* is a necessary element to "separate" the different agents in one sentence, because without it "they get mixed up".[387]

8.3.2.1.1. Different subject marking in other subordinate clauses

Different subject marking may not be restricted to medial clauses alone. In (8.2.2.1.) some concessive clauses were presented in which the morpheme *-dy-* occurred:

(3571) *y'ro-lete 'kui-ki*
cry-CONC drink-DEC
'he drank (while) crying'

(3572) *y'ro-hỹ-dy-lete 'kui-ki*
cry-NOM-DS-CONC drink-DEC
'while (letting) (the child) cry, (the mother) drank (spirits)'

One could regard the interpretation 'letting the child cry' as a reason to consider *-dy-* as metaphorically extended use of the causative morpheme. Because

387.'sem *-dy-* ele não divide, ele fica junto'. MA's metalinguistic remarks often impressed me. They indicate that he would have been a great linguist had there been a chance for him to receive formal education. Obviously, opportunities for thorough education of native speakers is where the future lies for the study of Brazil's indigenous languages.

its position after *-hỹ-*, however, it is more likely that *-dy-* is a different subject morpheme here (the nominaliser *-hỹ-* may have a clefting function, see 5.5.20.).

8.3.2.1.2. Functions of different subject clauses

As was demonstrated in (8.3.1.7.) the medial clause may function as a complement of cause or reason. This is also true for medial clauses marked for different third person subject:

(3573) *ma'rija* *ra'tja-dy-ta* *'ɛ-hỹ-ki* *zjwãu*
Maria order-DS-CSO leave-NOM-DEC João
'Maria made João go away'

(3574) *awe-'nã-dy-ta* *txarãi'xu* *mã-'ki*
rain-FUT-DS-CSO frog call-DEC
'the frogs are calling because it is going to rain'

(3575) *awe-tja'rjỹ-dy-ta* *atxi'txi* *a'nũ-ki*
rain-everywhere-DS-CSO maize plant-DEC
'(as) it was raining much, he was planting/planted maize'

8.3.2.1.3. Different subject clauses and comparison

The medial clause marked for different third person subject is also used to express a comparative sense:

(3576) *'kopo* *txuhũĩ-'ỹ-dy-ta* *cẽrẽmũ-'ro* *nỹ-'ro-(hỹ)-ki*
cup small-ATT-DS-CSO milk-CL:cup big-CL:cup-NOM-DEC
'the tin of milk is bigger than the cup'

8.3.2.1.4. Different subject *-dy-* and causative *-dy-*

The element which indicates different subject is homophonous with the benefactive/causative morpheme *-dy-* (see 5.4.3.). The translation given by the consultant for the next example suggests a benefactive reading of *-dy-*, although grammatical analysis probably warrants the conclusion that it represents the different subject marker:

(3577) *wanã'dy txu'hũi-ỹ-dy-ta ja-'he-tse*
food small-ATT-DS-CSO eat-NEG-DEC
'there remained just a little food for him, he didn't eat'[388]

Notice furthermore the discussion about the examples of (8.3.2.1.1.) in which *-dy-* may originate from a metaphorical use of the benefactive. It is possible that the two categories of benefactive/causative and different subject are related in some way. About the following example, it cannot be denied that the logical subject of the verb root *are-* 'transform' is different from that of *oja-* 'leave':

(3578) *ã'rũi are-dy-da-'ta o'ja-da-ki*
tapir turn-CAU-1S-CSO leave-1S-DEC
'I made him turn into a tapir and I went away'

Because of the fact that the formal subjects of the concomitant clauses in this example are identical, non-third persons, the element *-dy-* is to be interpreted as a causative marker.

A clear formal difference between both morphemes may be that causative *-dy-* tends to attract stress, whereas the different subject morpheme does not.[389] My teacher MA pointed out to me the possibility of the following minimal pair:

(3579) *cu-'dy-ta* *'cu-dy-ta*
cut-CAU-CSO cut-DS-CSO
'he ordered him to cut' 'he cut, and then...'

He considered the similarity between these phrases as striking but said that they were totally different in nature.

The following example contains a verb in which both the causative morpheme and the different subject marker cooccur:

(3580) *diri-'dy-dy-ta a'wỹi-ta*
descend-CAU-DS-CSO see-CSO
'she$_{(i)}$ made him descend and she$_{(j)}$ saw him' (t)

Maybe one could say that causative *-dy-* causes a switch of subjects within the verb stem, and different subject *-dy-* causes a switch of subjects across a complex clause construction.

388. 'ficou pouquinho para ele, não comeu'

389. Since it does not even receive secondary stress, the different subject marker is often almost inaudible in narrative texts and its presence can be reconstructed from a pause.

8.3.2.1.5. Discourse particles and discontinuity

In (8.3.1.9.) it was shown how cosubordinative markers are sometimes used as particles. The same seems to be possible with different third person subjects:

(3581) *zjwãu* *'a-tja* *'marju* *'a-tja* *hỹ-dy-ta*
João exist-CSO Mario exist-CSO NOM-DS-CSO

tsiri'tsa *'a-ki* *'peDro*
middle exist-DEC Pedro
'Pedro lives between João and Mario'

(3582) *'ĩwã* *'nãi-xa-ki* *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa* *ja'he-xa-ki=tja* *'ta-dy-ta*
nothing like-2-DEC person hide-2-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO

ti-'hỹ *ja'hɛ-da-re* *'he-da-ki=tja* *'ta-dy-ta* *dy-'ta*
what-NOM hide-1S-INT NEG-1S-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO DS-CSO

'ĩwã *'nãi-xa-ki* *mãrɛ̃dy-'ra* *ca'ri-da-ta* *'jo-da-mỹ*
nothing like-2-DEC expose-IMP kill-1S-CSO devour-1S-VOL
'"that isn't you, no way, you have hidden someone" she said to her, "whom did I hide?, I didn't" she said, well, "you're lying, get him out of there!, I will kill him and devour him"' (t)

The examples show how the combined different subject and cosubordinative markers behave as if they were a free morpheme. In the proper context, the element *(hỹ)dyta* is interpreted as a discourse particle with the approximated senses of 'well, while, as, when, then'. Grammatically, it remains an instrument to express switch reference, but it has also a connotation of counter-expectation, surprise or suspicion:

(3583) *dy-'ta* *zjwãu* *okja-'nã-tja* *o'ja-tse*
DS-CSO João hunt-FUT-CSO leave-DEC
'then (strangely), João went hunting'

(3584) S: *sa'mweu* *'onɛ-ki* *zjwãu-dy'nỹ*
Samuel arrive-DEC João-COMIT
'Samuel is arriving, and João too'

H: *zjwãu-'e*
João-too
'João too?'

S: *zjwãu-dy-'ta*
João-DS-CSO
'(yes, remarkably) João too'

Hence, it appears that the morpheme combination *-dy-ta* does not only express discontinuity of third person subjects across a complex sentence, but it may

also communicate an interruption of what would be expected. On somewhat rarer occasions it was attested how *-dy-ta*, besides functioning as a switch reference marker, was associated with termination of the event expressed by the verb:

(3585) *barɛ-dy-'mũ-dy-ta*
heat-CAU-CL:liquid-DS-CSO
'he finished heating up the water' (t)

(3586) *wara'ñỹ-dy-ta*
work-DS-CSO
'he finished working'

So the element *-dy-* is used to express discontinuity in a more general sense as well.

For a general discussion of the use of bound inflexional cosubordinative mood markers as free resumptive particles, see (7.5.2.2.). For similar phenomena involving the switch-reference mood, see (8.3.2.3.1.).

8.3.2.2. Indefinite different subject: *-dwa-*

The morpheme *-dwa-* is a variant of the indefinite subject cross-reference marker *-wa-* (see 5.1.4.1.). It occurs only in the medial clause and it co-refers with the indefinite subject of the next clause. It does not agree with the subject of the present clause, but it indicates that the subject of the next clause is indefinite, and that it is different from the subject of the present clause. Here are some examples from texts by different narrators:

(3587) *e'tay* *aky'hỹ* *au're-dwa-ta* *wã'rẽ-dy-ta-wa-si*
woman two marry-IDS-CSO enemy-CAU-TRA-IS-SWR
'the others did not like him because he had two wives' (t)

(3588) *'mɛ̃-lɛ-wa-hỹ* *heda'ka-ko* *si'le-dwa-ta* *na'nãi-dwa-ta*
beat-RECI-IS-NOM stem-INS night-IDS-CSO very-IDS-CSO

'mɛ̃-lɛ='mɛ̃-lɛ-cwa-rati=ihĩ-re
beat-RECI=beat-RECI-IS-FOC=contrary-INT
'they would beat one another with pacova stems. When it was becoming night, this very time, they would beat one another for a long time, that's how' (t)

(3589) *ĩ'wã* *kukui'hỹ-tja* *'cutsẽrjỹ-dwa-ta* *etay-'nahere*
nothing ill-CSO lie-IDS-CSO woman-COL

towɛ='kwɛ-tja *ha'kai* *tsũhũ-ra'ti-ỹ-xa-re=tja* *'ta-wa-si*
go=enter-CSO grandparent what-FOC-ATT-2-INT=CSO talk-IS-SWR (t)
'he faked that he was ill, and was lying down. The women entered (the house) and inquired, saying: "grandfather, what is the matter with you?".'

(3590) *ta'na* *mĩu-'e* *wa'ja-wa-ta* *ã'rũi-wã* *ma?audy'nɛ̃-wa-si*
well chicha-too bring-IS-CSO tapir-AO call.come-IS-SWR

mãrɛ̃ri'tsa *a're-tja* *o'nɛ-ta-ta* *mĩu* *'kui=hã'rã-hỹ-dwa-ta*
person turn-CSO come-TRA-CSO chicha drink=stop-NOM-IDS-CSO

hary'ky *warahỹ-ca-'ra* *'ta-wa-si* *da'mỹ=tja* *wa'rahỹ-ja*
now touch-EMP-IMP talk-IS-SWR want=CSO touch-IO

du'hỹ-ja-dwa *dwa-ta* *towɛ-'nɛ-ty-wa-si* *ãrũi-'le*
do.all-IO-IDS IDS-CSO go-DR:hither-DET-IS-SWR tapir-only

a're *ãrũi-'tja* *o'ja=ĩ?ĩ'ta-dy-ta*
turn tapir-CSO go=always-DS-CSO
'and having brought chicha too, they called tapir to come to them. Tapir turned human and came there, and after having drunk the chicha, now, they said "Embrace us!", he said "yes!" and he made love to all of them, and then, they returned from him, while Tapir, now, turned into a tapir and went as always.' (t)

(3591) *hary'ky* *awỹi-da-'ki* *ã'rũi-wã* *ma?audy'nɛ̃-wa-ta* *ta'na*
now see-1S-DEC tapir-AO call.come-IS-CSO well

huruja-'nã-da-ki *ta-'tja ta'na* *cwa-si* *warahỹ-'ja*
like-FUT-1S-DEC talk-CSO well IS-SWR touch-IO

'dunyhỹ-tja-ta *o'ja-hỹ-dwa-ta* *towɛ-'nɛ-ci-cwa-ta* *cwa-'ki*
all-TRA-CSO leave-NOM-IDS-CSO go-DR:hither-IS-IS-CSO IS-DEC

'nãi-cwa-ta *'a-wa-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki*
like-IS-CSO exist-IS-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC
'now, I saw that they called the tapir to come, then, he said "I (will) make love (to you)", well then they, he grabbed them all, and he went away, and (the women) returned (home), which is what they have been doing from the start!' (t)

(3592) *duky'hỹ-le* *tsa'si-ta* *dodotxi'tɛ* *wa'je-e-ta*
other-only follow-CSO ball bring.back-again-CSO

o'ce-nỹ-hỹ=wara *je-toto-'he-tja*
throw-REF-NOM=but bounce-DR:upward-NEG-CSO

atsile-nãi-'le=dwa-ta *na'nãi-te* *o'hui-wa-hỹ=wara* *haryky*
heavy-NOM-only=IDS-CSO very-INTENS play-IS-NOM=but now

a'xy-na *je='kwɛ-hỹ-dy-ta*
house-LOC bounce=enter-NOM-DS-CSO
'then, someone went after the ball and threw it back, but it did not bounce and it was just very heavy, and they played nevertheless, until it bounced into the house' (t)

The morpheme *-dwa-* occurs often in verbs referring to time of the day:

(3593) *ha'ja-ỹ-dwa-ta* *haryky* *cari-a-'ni=cwa-ta*
day-ATT-IDS-CSO now kill-1P-EXH=IS-CSO
'on the next day, the men said "let's kill!"' (t)

(3594) *'haryky* *ha'ja-dwa-ta* *hary'ky* *to'wɛ-wa-ta* *hary'ky* *bero'ha*
now day-IDS-CSO now go-IS-CSO now leaf

bexyj'txu *be* *dai-dy-'nɛ-ta-ja-wa-hỹ-lɛ* *ja-'a-ta*
herb leaf take-CAU-DR:hither-TRA-IO-IS-NOM-PREC eat-1P-CSO
'well, on the next day if they go to the forest and bring home (certain) herbs to one, we eat' (t)

When a clause which contains *-dwa-* is translated in isolation, the morpheme may have an inchoative effect. Compare the following example to the subsequent ones:

(3595) *hade'ja-cwa-ta*
night-IS-CSO
'it is being night'

(3596) *si'le-dwa-ta*
night-IDS-CSO
'it is being/becoming dusk'

(3597) *haja-'nã-(hỹ)-dwa-ta*
day-FUT-NOM-IDS-CSO
'it is starting to dawn'

8.3.2.3. Switch reference mood: *-si*

The verb-root extension *-dy-* as discussed in (8.3.2.1.) is used to mark third person switch reference. The next question is: how to indicate switch reference with other persons? As explained above, the subject of a medial clause ending in *-ta* is usually identical to the subject of the matrix clause. Because subject identity finds expression in overt and covert coreferent person marking, one would expect that non-coreferent person marking would suffice to indicate different subjects. However, things are not as straightforward as that. The proper way to mark switch reference between non-third person subjects involves two morphological operations. In the first place, there is overt non-coreferent person subject marking. In the second place the medial clause ending *-ta* is re

placed by another medial clause ending *-si*. The element *-si* indicates that the subject of the subsequent verb is different from that of the current verb. The contrast between the following examples illustrates its use:

(3598) *'kwɛ-da-ta* *atxitxi-'nũ* *'ja-da-ki*
enter-1S-CSO maize-CL:powder eat-1S-DEC
'I entered and ate maize porridge'

(3599) *'kwɛ-da-si* *ho'Bɛto* *atxitxi-'nũ* *wa'dy-ta-ki*
enter-1S-SWR Roberto maize-CL:powder give-1O-DEC
'I entered and Roberto gave me maize porridge'

The hypothesis that *-si* indicates a switching referent explains why **kwɛ-da-si atxitxi-nũ ja-da-ki*, cf. example (3598), was considered uninterpretable by the consultant.

There is no functional difference between the switch reference markers *-dy-* and *-si*. The consultant claimed that they meant the same thing, which is corroborated by the contrast between (3563) and (3600), and by (3601):

(3600) *(si)* *'kwɛ-da-si* *mau'risiju* *wa'dy-ki* *'Bousa* *txi?a-'wã*
I enter-1S-SWR Maurício give-DEC bag Txi?a-AO
'I entered and Maurício gave the bag to Txi?a'

(3601) *onɛ-'si* *oja-'ta-da-hỹ-ki*
arrive-SWR leave-TRA-1S-NOM-DEC
'he returned, I went there'

In the above examples, the subordinated verb and the matrix verb express two successive events. Verbs in the switch reference mood can also function as complement clauses of perception verbs:[390]

(3602) *la'to* *dutu're* *tsutsu-'si* *ã'wỹi-da-ki*
yesterday pig piss-SWR see-1S-DEC
'yesterday I saw a pig pissing'

(3603) *zjwã-'wã* *cari=a'sa-wa-si* *hary'ky* *e'tay-tjate* *ũtje'nãi-ki*
João-AO shoot=leave-IS-SWR now woman-3POS know-DEC
'they killed João but now his wife found out'

Furthermore, it seems that *-si* also has a strong tendency to mark the subordinated verb as a reason clause or maybe even a condition clause:

390. Note that *-si* can be replaced by nominalisers like *-hỹ* and *-nãi* practically without consequences for the meaning of the following sentences (see 8.4.).

(3604) *atsi'le-si daiwarja-'he-da-ki*
heavy-SWR lift-NEG-1S-DEC
'(as) it is heavy, I can't lift it'

(3605) *acwadyhỹ-'he-ta-si 'nãi-da-ki*
force-NEG-1O-SWR like-1S-DEC
'I am like that because (you) don't force me'[391]

(3606) *acwadyhỹ-'he-xa-si 'nãi-ki*
force-NEG-2-SWR like-DEC
'he is like that because you don't force him'

(3607) *ka'we 'kui-ty-wa-si tã'lo-ki*
coffee drink-DET-IS-SWR sulk-DEC
'they drank (his) coffee and he became angry'

(3608) *bu'cehỹ-a-si i'si-tsy-nãi e-'hỹ*
shoot-1P-SWR die-POT-NOM have-NOM
'(a pig) which usually dies if we shoot it' (t)

(3609) *hu'hui-a-si tso'roi=oja-ki*
club-1P-SWR run=go-DEC
'if we (try to) club them, they run away'[392] (t)

(3610) *hyriko'ro-xwana (bo'boi-a-ta) unỹ'nãi boboi-a-'si u'rwe-ki*
monkey-CL:flesh boil-1P-CSO relay boil-1P-SWR soft-DEC
'we have to boil monkey meat for a long time for it to get soft' (t)

There is no formal overlap between the domains of the switch reference markers *-dy-* and *-si*. Whereas *-dy-* indicates a different third person subject, *-si* indicates difference between a third person and a non-third person subject:

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391. A more correct translation would be probably 'because he doesn't force me'.

392. Note that phoneme fluctuation between /s/ and /ts/ has resulted in /*-si*/ being pronounced as [tsi] in this and the next example. In van der Voort (2000c:220, exx. 243 and 244) the phonetic sequence *-tsi* was mistaken for the monitory mood morpheme and these examples were translated as: 'lest we don't club them, they run away' and 'it gets soft lest we don't cook it long enough' / 'unless we fail to cook it long enough, it gets soft'. They were regarded as examples of a special construction involving the reverse sense of English 'lest', or, the mirror image of 'unless', which was attributed to the intrinsic negative sense of monitory *-tsi*. This illustrates how easily the linguist can stray in his or her wish to make sense of unusual data under all circumstances (and get away with it), and how vital the role of a good consultant is at all times.

(3611) *ko'sa ku'kui-si tsu'ty kukui-'dy-da-ki*
sun hurt-SWR head hurt-CAU-1S-DEC
'the sun burns, which gives me head ache'

(3612) *si ra'tja-da-si o'ri-hỹ-ki*
I order-1S-SWR ascend-NOM-DEC
'I made him climb up'

(3613) *zjwãu hy'ri-si ã'wỹi-xa-ta tsasi-'tja-xa-ta hu'hui-xa-re*
João steal-SWR see-2-CSO follow-TRA-2-CSO beat-2-INT
'did you see João steal and go after him and beat (him)?'

(3614) *hy'ri-da-si ã'wỹi-ta tsasi-'tja-ta-ta hu'hui-ta-ki*
steal-1S-SWR see-CSO follow-TRA-1O-CSO beat-1O-DEC
'he saw me steal and went after me and beat me'

(3615) *hy'ri-xa-si ã'wỹi-ta tsasi-'tja-hata-ta hu'hui-hata-ki*
steal-2-SWR see-CSO follow-TRA-3S.2O-CSO beat-3S.2O-DEC
'he saw you steal and went after you and beat you'

(3616) *'marju hy'ri-dy-ta ã'wỹi-ta zjwãu tsasi-'tja-ta hu'hui-ki*
Mario steal-DS-CSOsee-CSO João follow-TRA-CSO beat-DEC
'João saw that Mario stole and went after him and beat (him)'

(3617) *zjwãu hy'ri-si ã'wỹi-da-ta tsasi-'tja-da-ta hu'hui-da-ki*
João steal-SWR see-1S-CSO follow-TRA-1S-CSO beat-1S-DEC
'I saw João steal and went after him and beat (him)'

With regard to the latter two examples, it should be noticed that the variations I suggested, **hyridyta ãwỹidata huhuidaki* and **hyrisi ãwỹita huhuiki*, were expressly rejected by the consultant.

Switch reference between exclusively non-third person subjects, such as between a second person and a first person, was rarely attested:

(3618) *o'nɛ-xa-si 'bui-da-hỹ-ki*
arrive-2-SWR leave-1S-NOM-DEC
'you returned and then I left'

(3619) *'kwɛ-da-si wa'dy-xa-ki txi?a-'wã*
enter-1S-SWR give-2-DEC Txi?a-AO
'I entered and you gave something to Txi?a'[393]

393.Note that although this example was considered correct by MA, it was produced by me.

8.3.2.3.1. Switch reference and pragmatic discontinuity

In spite of the fact that *-si* is supposed to mark different grammatical subjects, two instances of coreferent subject marking in switch reference medial clause constructions were recorded:[394]

(3620) *erewe-'xy-da-si* *kukui-ko'je-da-ki*
write-CL:leaf-1S-SWR hurt-CL:hand-1S-DEC
'it is because of writing that my finger is hurting'

(3621) *mãrɛ̃'?a-da-hỹ-'si* *ũce'nãi-da-rai-re*
spirit-1S-NOM-SWR know-1S-damn-INT
'being a Westerner, I know bugger-all'

(3622) *au're-e-nã-si* *co-'e-nã-ki*
marry-again-one-SWR many-again-one-DEC
'because we married again, we (multiplied and) grew again'

Instead of the medial clause switch reference marker *-si* one would have expected same reference *-ta*, because the subjects of the cosubordinated and matrix clauses are identical. Maybe the switch reference marker does not relate to a discontinuity of the grammatical function of subject across the sentence, but rather to discontinuity of some pragmatic function. Reesink (1983, 1987) and Dik (1997a:322) note about a reverse situation in a Papuan language, where subject switches do not necessarily lead to the expected different subject marking, that switch reference can be used to indicate topic (dis)continuity.

In (8.3.1.9.) and (8.3.2.1.) it was demonstrated that medial clause markers may also occur as resumptive particles in the discourse together with person marking. The same holds for the switch reference mood marker in combination with person cross reference.

(3623) *cwa-si*
IS-SWR
'it is', 'now then', 'well'

In fact, these grammatical morphemes, which are usually encountered as clitics to verb stems, resume the continuity or indicate the discontinuity of semantic, pragmatic or grammatical properties of the preceding utterance. This also occurs in dialogues:

394.It should be mentioned here that both sentences were not procured from running texts, but they were offered by the consultant in isolation.

(3624) R: *he'?ai-da-'ki=tja* *y'ro=nãi-le-dy-ta*
not.want-1S-DEC=CSO cry=like-only-DS-CSO
'"I dont want to (go)" he said, crying like that'

C: *'xa-he-hỹ-si* *jahɛ-leja-da-'ki=tja* *'ta-ta*
2-NEG-NOM-SWR hide-2O.FUT-1S-DEC=CSO talk-CSO
'"well O.K. then, I'm going to hide you" she said' (t)

It may be that when the switch reference mood marker *-si* is attached to the semantically relatively empty verb stem *ehỹ-* 'make, do', the result is a truly independent word which means 'well, so, then, thus':

(3625) *'nãi-cwa-ta* *'a-wa-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-ki=tja* *'ta-ja-ta*
like-IS-CSO exist-IS-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC=CSO talk-IO-CSO

ehỹ-'si *cari-'ty=asa-a-ni* *nãi-'nãi* *a'wỹi-ta* *nãi-'hỹ=cwa-ta*
make-SWR kill-DET=leave-1P-EXH like-NOM see-CSO like-NOM=IS-CSO
'"ah! that is what they have been doing!" he said to them, "well, let's kill him off!, he will find out!" they said' (t)

Another possible analysis of this word, as a combination of *-he-* 'NEG', *-hỹ-* 'NOM' and *-si* 'SWR', is presented in (7.7.2.). At any rate, this use of *hehỹsi* or *ehỹsi* 'well' resembles "Tail-head linking" as described by De Vries (1989:204) for certain Papuan languages.

8.3.3. Summary

In this section it was demonstrated that Kwaza is a clause chaining language. Clause chaining is realised through cosubordination of medial clauses to a final clause. The final clause has a matrix verb mood ending. The medial clause has its own mood markers. Subject continuity across a cosubordination construction, i.e. across the sentence, is expressed by the combination of coreferent person marking on both verbs and the cosubordination marker *-ta*. Subject discontinuity is expressed by the combination of non-coreferent person marking on one of the verbs and the switch reference marker *-si*. When the different subjects are both third persons, then the combination of different subject marker *-dy-* is required, in addition to cosubordination marker *-ta*. The exceptions to these patterns are either marginal or predictable. Below, table (34) resumes the interdependence of subject continuity in cosubordination constructions and medial clause mood marking:

Table 34. Subject continuity in cosubordination constructions
(X = any person, 3 = third person, i = coreferent, j = non-coreferent)

Subjects		*Cosubordinated clause*	
Medial	*Matrix*	*type*	*form*
Xi	Xi	CSO/SS	**-t(j)a**
3i	3j	CSO/DS	**-dy-ta**
3	non-3	SWR	**-si**
non-3	3	SWR	**-si**

8.4. Nominal clauses

Besides adverbial clauses and cosubordinated verbal clauses, Kwaza also has complex constructions which contain nominal clauses. These nominal clauses are the result of nominalisation. They can be internally very complex with embedded arguments and all. There are two types of nominalisation which lead to two different types of nominal clauses. The nominaliser *-hỹ* creates nouns which may function as arguments of a matrix predicate or as modifiers of other nouns. I have called them attributive clauses and they will be discussed in (8.4.1.) below. The nominaliser *-nãi* creates nouns which may function as complements (especially of verbs of cognition), or as adverbs. In section (8.4.2.) I will discuss *-nãi* only as a complement formative, while its adverbial functions were discussed in (6.2.4.2.) and (8.2.6.). Finally in (8.4.3.) I will discuss overlap between the functions of *-hỹ* and *-nãi*.

8.4.1. Attributive clauses

Kwaza does neither have adjectives, nor does it have relative pronouns. Instead, nouns can be modified by other nouns or nominal clauses through the means of juxtaposition. This property of attributive modification is treated extensively in (4.3.). In (5.6.) the nominaliser *-hỹ* was discussed. It derives nouns from verb stems or verbal expressions of any degree of internal complexity. Through nominalisation of verbal clauses by *-hỹ*, highly complex nominal expressions can be formed. Such expressions may function as attributive clauses, comparable to relative clauses in other languages. The attributive clause is a dependent that modifies a juxtaposed head and forms an attributive construction together with that head. Attributive constructions function as arguments of the matrix verb. Compare the following examples:

(3626) *haru'rai* *i'si-tse*
armadillo die-DEC
'the armadillo died'

(3627) *haru'rai* *i'si-tsy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
armadillo die-GER-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the dead armadillo'

8.4.1.1. Accessibility to “relativisation”

The head of an attributive construction may be an argument of the verbal root of the dependent modifying attributive clause. In Kwaza, there are two arguments which are in this manner “accessible to relativisation” (see Keenan and Comrie 1977): subject and object. In (3627) and the subsequent examples, the head of the attributive construction is the subject of the verbal root of the modifier:

(3628) *jere'xwa kane'xu 'bu-ki*
jaguar necklace put-DEC
‘the dog wears a necklace’

(3629) *a'wỹi-da-ki jere'xwa kane'xu bu-'hỹ*
see-1S-DEC jaguar necklace put-NOM
‘I saw the/a dog with a necklace’

(3630) *jere'xwa 'bu=ũ-dwa-'hỹ a'wỹi-da-ki*
jaguar put=be-DR:onto-NOM see-1S-DEC
‘I saw the/a dog sitting’

(3631) *la'to dutu're tsutsu-'hỹ ã'wỹi-da-ki*
yesterday pig urinate-NOM see-1S-DEC
‘yesterday I saw a pig which was urinating’

(3632) *dutu're ũ'kai-ty-hata-'hỹ a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki*
pig lie-DET-3S.2O-NOM see-1S-NOM-DEC
‘I saw that that pig who was lying down in your hammock’

(3633) *tswa ũcenãi-'he-tsy-hỹ*
man know-NEG-GER-NOM
‘a stupid man’

In the following examples, the head of the attributive construction is the object of the verbal root of the dependent modifier:

(3634) *ka'wɛ arunã-'mũ-hỹ 'wai-dy-da-ki*
coffee cook-CL:liquid-NOM good-CAU-1S-DEC
‘I like fresh coffee’

(3635) *atxitxi'nũ barɛ-'ri-da-hỹ*
pancake heat-CL:flat-1S-NOM
‘maize pancake which I baked’

(3636) *sirisi'ri* *ẽrjãwã-'na* *jere'xwa* *'tsje=asa-hỹ*
ant.eater forest-LOC jaguar grab=leave-NOM
'that ant eater which the jaguar killed in the forest' (t)

One construction was attested in which the head was semantically an instrument satellite (see 5.6.3.), although grammatically it is probably an object:

(3637) *'tauBa* *a'xy-dy-a-hỹ*
board house-CAU-1P-NOM
'boards to build a house'[395]

One construction was attested in which the head seems to be a locative satellite (which avails itself of the instrumental case, see 4.1.3.1.):

(3638) *txu'hũi* *'enũ* *ti-nãi-'hỹ* *hu'ri* *('ja-tsy-hỹ)*
small barrier what-NOM-NOM paca eat-GER-NOM

haru'rai *'ja-tsy-hỹ-ko*
armadillo eat-GER-NOM-INS
'the small barrier where the paca eats, and the armadillo' (t)

In this example a locative satellite appears as accessible to "relativisation". However, this example represents the only attested instance of its kind, and it is not certain whether it is correct and in which way it should be analysed.

In Kwaza no systematic distinction is made between a nominalised verb that functions as a dependent modifier of its subject and one that functions as a dependent modifier of its object. In fact there is no formal distinction at all between subject and object "relativisation". This is further shown and discussed in section (8.4.1.4.) below.

8.4.1.2. Headless attributive clauses

Besides juxtaposition, another property of attributive modification that is also attested for attributive clauses is the fact that the head of the attributive construction can be "omitted". Apparently, headlessness is optional:

(3639) *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki* *(tswa)* *'mẽ-hata-hỹ*
see-1S-NOM-DEC man hit-3S.2O-NOM
'I saw that one (man) who beat you'[396]

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395. The order 21 is also allowed.

396. Note the inverse: *'mẽ-da-hỹ-ki* *a'wỹi-hata-hỹ*
hit-1S-NOM-DEC see-3S.2O-NOM
'I beat that one who looked at you'

The following example lacks in principle an overt subject head, i.e. the "person" which killed the pig:

(3640) *dutu're* *hu'hui-ty-hata-hỹ* *axe'hỹ-da-ki*
pig beat-DET-3S.2O-NOM find-1S-DEC
'I encountered that one who killed your pig'

The following example contains an idiomatic pattern for a certain type of expression.[397] The attributive clause which is employed lacks in principle an overt subject head of its embedded verb, i.e. "you":

(3641) *e'tay-xa-re* *cutsikja-ro'tɛ-xa-hỹ*
woman-2-INT stand-CL:door-2-NOM
'are you a woman, the way you keep standing in the doorway?'[398]

In this and in other headless types of expression, there may be an overt object not representing a head:

(3642) *ka'tay-xa-re* *kũ'cẽ* *ja-xa-'hỹ*
agouti-2-INT brazil.nut eat-2-NOM
'are you an agouti, that you are eating (so many) Brazil nuts?'

In the next example, the "omitted", or perhaps better "understood" head is also the subject, i.e. the "thing" which kills while the object "rat" is overtly present:

(3643) *waru'ka* *huhui=a'sa-a-hỹ* *e-xa-'re*
rat kill=leave-1P-NOM have-2-INT
'do you have a rat trap?'

The contrast between the subsequent examples demonstrates the omission of an overt object head:

(3644) *ay-'hỹ* *bo'nɛka* *'ta-wa-hỹ*
that-NOM *bonɛka* talk-IS-NOM
'that one called "puppet"', 'that one they call "puppet"' (t)

(3645) *tã'jã* *ta-wa-'hỹ*
chief talk-IS-NOM
'the one whom they call "chief"', 'the one called "chief"'

397. This does not imply that the occurrence of headless attributive clauses is limited to idiomatic expressions.
398. i.e. 'are you too shy to enter?'.

The next example also lacks an overt object head, i.e. “door”, which was woven (by an indefinite subject, that is) out of braided palm leaves and which is used to close things:

(3646) *hetsy'se-ko ce-wa-'hỹ ku'ro-wa-hỹ*
broom-INS weave-IS-NOM close-IS-NOM
‘(door) braided out of palm leaves to close off things’

The following examples lack in principle both an overt object head and an overt embedded subject:

(3647) *ũcenãi-'he-xa-hỹ ere'we-xa-ki*
know-NEG-2-NOM write-2-DEC
‘what you don’t know you’re writing’

(3648) *cari=a'sa-(wa)-hỹ e'xyi=exyi='le-ỹ-ki*
shoot=leave-IS-NOM hair=hair-only-ATT-DEC
‘him whom they killed had very long hair’

In (3647), the nominal clause, with the understood object “unknown things” and the understood subject “you”, functions as an object in the matrix clause. In (3648) the nominal clause, with the understood object “victim” and the understood subject “killer”, functions as a subject in the matrix clause.

The Kwaza property of attribution, which allows omission of a head is related without doubt to the property of predication that allows the omission of overt arguments. Also the possibility of zero-verbalisation has a nominal equivalent. The following example contains what can be regarded as an inherently headless attributive clause, c.q. zero-modification:

(3649) *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa-wa-hỹ kwɛ'nɛ-wa-ki*
person-IS-NOM enter-IS-DEC
‘someone has entered here (while we were away)’

Remember that Kwaza does not have an indefinite pronoun. The literal translation of the subject *mãrɛ̃ritsawahỹ* is ‘an indefinite being who is a person’ or ‘indefinite beings who are persons’. It is based on the zero-verbalisation *mãrɛ̃ritsawaki* ‘they are persons’ of the noun *mãrɛ̃ritsa* ‘person’. On the other hand, nominalisation of zero-verbalised nouns is not really a special grammatical category by itself. The next example shows that such nominalisations can be headed too:

(3650) *dutu're* *haje're-tsy-hỹ* *'djẽ-a-ta* *nỹhỹ-tsy-'hỹ*
pig peccary-GER-NOM kill-1P-CSO big-GER-NOM

kahɛ=ka'hɛ-ja-ta
bite=bite-IO-CSO
'we kill peccary pigs, the big ones who bite people' (t)

The nominal clause *duture hajeretsyhỹ* means literally 'wild pigs which are peccaries (Tayassu tayacu)'.

Note that in many of the headless structures given here, the actual presence of an overt head was never attested. The use of overt heads in these cases would probably not be felt as a "natural" way of speaking.

8.4.1.3. Case marking in attributive clauses

The following example shows clearly how an attributive clause modifies a noun with which it is juxtaposed.

(3651) *emũtay-ku'ty=txuhũi* *eto'hoi* *ohuini-'hỹ*
glass-CL:head=small child play-NOM
'a small glass marble for children to play (with)'

There is no morphological indication that the head of the attributive construction in the above example, "small glass marble", is an object argument of the embedded verb "play". This is according to expectations, because Kwaza has only animate object case. Furthermore, the verb *ohuini-* does not require "instrumental" objects to be case marked.

Animate objects may receive the case marker *-wã*, also when embedded in attributive clauses. The following example contains a "relativised subject", i.e., the head of the attributive clause is equivalent with the subject of the embedded verb root:

(3652) *etohoi-'wã* *jere'xwa* *ka'hɛ-tsy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
child-AO jaguar bite-GER-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the dog which bit the child'

In this example only the noun which is embedded as an object inside the attributive clause receives case. The next example shows a "relativised object". It should receive animate object case at least because of its object function inside the attributive clause. However, this is not what happens:

(3653) *jere'xwa* *eto'hoi* *ka'hɛ-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
jaguar child bite-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the child which was bitten by the dog'

Apparently, the head of an attributive clause does not receive case marking even when it represents an animate object of the nominalised predicate.

Example (3653) suggests at the same time that complex attributive clauses do not receive animate object marking even when they represent an animate object of the matrix predicate. However, this does not always seem to be the situation. In the following example a (headless) relative clause *si hurujada-hỹwã* 'the one I loved' is marked as an animate object of the verb *cari?asa-* 'kill and do away with':

(3654) *xyi-'dy-hỹ* *a'ha* *si* *huru'ja-da-hỹ-wã*
you-POS-NOM father I like-1S-NOM-AO

ca'ri=asa-ty-ta-tay-hỹ-'ki *da-ta*
kill=leave-DET-1O-1O-NOM-DEC 1S-CSO

xyi-dy-'hỹ-wã *he?ai-'tja-da-ki*
you-POS-NOM-AO not.want-TRA-1S-DEC
'because your father killed from me the one I loved, I don't want your one (i.e. your father)' (t)

For *-wã*, see (4.1.1.).

In the next examples, attributive clauses are marked because of their status with regard to the matrix predicate for instrumental case and locative case respectively:

(3655) *'ywynwỹ* *'bukja-hỹ-ko* *'bu=ũ-rjỹ-ta*
tree lie-NOM-INS put=be-CD:area-CSO
'he was sitting down on a fallen tree' (t)

(3656) *ywy'nwỹ* *kara-ko'ro-tsy-hỹ-'na* *mau'ru* *'ũ-ki*
tree dry-Cl:arm-GER-NOM-LOC woodpecker be-DEC
'woodpecker lives in a dry tree's branch'

These examples suggest that case marking of complex nominals is expressed on the dependent or on the last concomitant. As an alternative translation of (3656), 'tree, in the dry branch of which the woodpecker lives' is not correct because the verb "live" (lit. 'be located, sit') is not embedded in the attributive clause. It is not certain whether such a construction is possible at all, since the one presented in (3638) is doubtful.

8.4.1.4. Context dependent heads

As explained in (5.6.1.), the fact that verbs can be ambiguous with respect to their valency and the types of arguments they take, may have very unpredict

able effects on the result of their nominalisation by *-hỹ*. Consequently, it is not always foreseeable which argument will be accessed by an attributive clause. Furthermore, the application of an indefinite subject marker may interfere in an equally unpredictable manner. As an example, the verb root *hãtsũ-* 'to skin' may be active in the sense that a subject may tear off skin, with either skin itself or the animal from which the skin is taken as object. Or it may be mediopassive in that the subject may be the skin itself, which hangs loose, and an object may be the animal or the body part from which the skin lets loose. Compare the subsequent six examples:

(3657) *'hãtsũ-da-ki*
skin-1S-DEC
'I'm skinning, I'm pulling the skin'

(3658) *hãtsũ-ko'je-ta-ki*
skin-CL:hand-1O-DEC
'the skin hung loose/was torn off my hand/a blister developed'

In the next example, the nominalised verb represents the active subject:

(3659) *a'wỹi-da-ki* *ay-'hỹ* *tswa* *dutu're* *hã'tsũ-hỹ*
see-1S-DEC that-NOM man pig skin-NOM
'I saw that man who skinned the pig'

In the next example, an indefinite subject marker (see 5.1.4.1.) occurs and the nominalised verb represents a patient object:

(3660) *ay-'hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki* *dutu're* *hã'tsũ-wa-hỹ*
that-NOM see-1S-DEC pig skin-IS-NOM
'I saw that pig that they skinned'

However, in the following example, the very same nominalised verb form as in (3660) represents the active subject again (and in the form of a headless attributive clause):

(3661) *dutu're* *hã'tsũ-wa-hỹ*
pig skin-IS-NOM
'the one who skinned the pig'

Finally, the nominalised verb form is identical to the one encountered in (3659) but it represents the product of skinning either as a direct object or as a subject in a headless attributive clause, while there is an embedded patient as an indirect object:

(3662) *dutu're* *hãtsũ-'hỹ*
pig skin-NOM
'skin torn from the pig'

It appears that form and function do not correspond systematically here. Maybe the interpretation of the head of the attributive clause depends to a great extent on the context.

8.4.1.5. Multiple attributive relationships

When transitive verb phrases with two overt arguments are nominalised, the modifying relations may become double-layered. In the next example *jerexwa* 'jaguar' is both the object of the matrix verb *awỹi-* 'see' and the subject of the embedded verb *dwỹ-* 'break'. The object of *dwỹ-* is *ekai* 'leg':

(3663) *jere'xwa* *'ekai* *'dwỹ-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
jaguar leg break-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the/a broken-legged dog'

The entire internally complex nominal clause is an object argument of the verb *awỹi-*. The internal structure of this object may be viewed from two different perspectives. The grammatical relationships can be regarded as attributive, in which perspective the head *jerexwa* 'dog' is juxtaposed with a dependent modifier. This modifier is internally complex as it contains an embedded object: *ekai* 'leg'. An alternative way to interpret this structure is predicative. In that perspective the example represents a nominalisation of an entire verb phrase with two embedded arguments. A third interpretation combines the different perspectives. The difference between these approaches can be illustrated through a contrast between bracketing structures which symbolise the different embedding relations. In this notation, the elements that modify one another through means of juxtaposition are separated by square brackets:

a) [[*jerexwa*] [[*ekai*] [*dwỹ-hỹ*]]]
'broken-legged dog'

b) [[*jerexwa*] [[*ekai dwỹ*]-*hỹ*]]
'dog which has a broken leg'

c) [[*jerexwa ekai dwỹ*]-*hỹ*]
'dog which has a leg which is broken'

In analysis (3663a), *dwỹhỹ* modifies its object *ekai*, the result of which, *ekai dwỹhỹ*, means 'broken leg'. This entire phrase again forms a nominal modifier to its subject *jerexwa* and bears the sense of 'broken-legged'. However, in

analysis (3663c) there are no modifying relationships at all; only the argument relationships. (3663b) represents an intermediate analysis. These three representations reflect different possible interpretations of the relationships within the nominal clause. As far as the attributive relationships are concerned, the example is ambiguous between (3663a) and (3663b). In view of the basic property of attributive constructions, that is, modification is realised through juxtaposition, it is not necessary to assume a big scope for the nominaliser *-hỹ*. Therefore I tend to consider (3663a) to represent the most plausible analysis.

8.4.1.6. Restriction in attributive clauses

Many attributive clauses in the present section are restrictive. In these clauses the modifier provides specifications which restrict the number of possible referents of the (zero) head. There is no special grammatical device which indicates the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive attributive clauses. Non-restrictive attribution was attested for non-third person subject headless attributive clauses in (3641) and (3642). The following example represents a third person subject attributive clause that can only be non-restrictive:

(3664)	*a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki*	*zjwãu*	*'kwɛ-ta*	*'kopu*	*'kãu=asa-hỹ*
	see-1S-NOM-DEC	João	enter-CSO	cup	break=leave-NOM
	'I saw João enter and break a cup'				

Obviously, further restriction of the embedded subject *zjwãu* is not relevant here. The sentence was elicited as a translation of a Portuguese sentence containing a complement clause. The next example was given by the consultant as a fully equivalent alternative:

(3665)	*a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki*	*zjwãu*	*'kwɛ-ta*	*'kopu*	*'kãu=asa-nãi*
	see-1S-NOM-DEC	João	enter-CSO	cup	break=leave-NOM
	'I saw that João entered and broke a cup'				

This latter example represents the canonical way to form complement clauses in Kwaza, which is discussed in (8.4.2.). Apparently, examples (3664) and (3665) illustrate a functional overlap in Kwaza between attributive and complement clauses. Note that no such pair was attested for the attributive function since *-nãi* is never used as an attributive clause. This matter is pursued further with more examples in (8.4.3.) below.

In addition to the non-restrictive interpretation of the attributive clause proper, which seems to be possible only to a limited extent, there is also a strategy to express this function through a medial clause. Compare the following restrictive attributive clause construction to its subsequent non-restrictive equivalent:

(3666) *ũce'nãi-hỹ 'ja-ki atxi'txi*
know-NOM eat-DEC maize
'wise men eat maize'

(3667) *ũce'nãi-hỹ-ta 'ja-ki atxi'txi*
know-NOM-CSO eat-DEC maize
'men, because they are wise, eat maize'

Whereas the subject of (3666) is a headless attributive clause which represents that subject, in (3667) the subject is not expressed at all. The attributive clause of the former is zero-verbalised as a medial clause in the latter. Of course, non-third person equivalents of this medial clause construction are possible:

(3668) *si 'tswa-da-hỹ-ta da'rje-da-ki*
I man-1S-NOM-CSO strong-1S-DEC
'being a man I'm strong'
(lit. 'it being the case that I am a man I'm strong')

Medial clauses are discussed exhaustively in (8.3.), zero-verbalisation is discussed in (4.4.9.). Attributive constructions are also discussed in van der Voort (fca).

8.4.2. Complement clauses

Kwaza has neither infinitive verb forms nor complementisers. Instead, verbal phrases can function as complement sentences after nominalisation. In (5.6.) the nominaliser *-nãi* was discussed. Like *-hỹ*, it derives nouns from verbal roots of any degree of internal complexity. However, whereas *-hỹ* produces nouns which refer to participants of events, *-nãi* produces nouns which refer to the events themselves. Through nominalisation of verbal clauses by *-nãi*, highly complex nouns can be formed which may function as complement clauses. These complement clauses function as arguments of the matrix verb and resemble the infinitives of other languages.

Verbs ending in *-nãi* function often as complements of verbs of cognition like "like", "know", "forget", "see" etc.:

(3669) *'tsũ-nãi huru'ja-ki*
swim-NOM like-DEC
'he likes swimming'

(3670) *hewedu'tu-tse pãu dai-'nãi*
forget-DEC bread take-NOM
'he forgot to take bread'

(3671) *eto'hoi bu'ru-tsy-hỹ-ki 'lote ku'ro-nãi*
child remember-GER-NOM-DEC door close-NOM
'the child remembered to close the door'

(3672) *zjwã-'wã cari=a'sa-(wa)-nãi hary'ky e'tay-tjate ũce'nãi-ki*
João-AO shoot=leave-IS-NOM now woman-3.POS know-DEC
'they killed João but now his wife found out'[399]

(3673) *si he'?ai-da-ki eto'hoi ma'kõja 'hu-nãi*
I not.want-1S-DEC child marijuana smoke-NOM
'I don't like children to smoke marijuana'

(3674) *hy'ri-xa-nãi ã'wỹi-ta tsasi-'tja-hata-ta hu'hui-hata-ki*
steal-2-NOM see-CSO follow-TRA-3S.2O-CSO beat-3S.2O-DEC
'he saw you steal and went after you and beat you'[400]

Other, non-cognitive verbs may also take complement sentences:

(3675) *horony'hỹ-da-ki wara'ñỹ-da-'nãi*
prepare-1S-DEC work-1S-NOM
'I finished working'

(3676) *hɛ'ro-nãi 'wai-ki*
eat-NOM good-DEC
'(soup) is easy to eat'

(3677) *e'hỹ-a-nãi 'wai-ki*
make-1P-NOM good-DEC
'it is easy to do'

(3678) *mĩu 'kui-a-nãi nỹ-'dy-ja-ki*
chicha drink-1P-NOM big-CAU-IO-DEC
'drinking chicha makes fat'

(3679) *kunỹ-djo-'he-a-nãi wa'txi-da-ta*
dress-CL:foot-NEG-1P-NOM true-1S-CSO
'it is true that I had not put on shoes'

The construction *V-nãi e-INFLEXION*, lit. 'have the V-ing', which involves *e-* 'have' as a matrix predicate, has a specific habitual connotation:

(3680) *'nãi-tsy-hỹ 'ja-nãi 'e-da-hỹ-'he-ki*
like-GER-NOM eat-NOM have-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC
'that I don't eat' (lit. 'I'm not one who has the eating of such things')

(3681) *a-e'te-da-hỹ 'we-tsy-nãi 'e-ki*
exist-COMIT-1S-NOM fear-GER-NOM have-DEC
'my wife is afraid'

399.Cf. an equivalent example (3603) in a switch reference construction in (8.3.2.3.).
400.Cf. an equivalent example (3615) in a switch reference construction in (8.3.2.3.).

(3682) *'nãi-nãi* *'e-wa-re*
like-NOM have-IS-INT
'do they have the habit of doing it?'

(3683) *'ho-nãi* *e-'hỹ* *uru'hu-tsy-nãi* *'e-hỹ*
rot-NOM have-NOM vulture-GER-NOM have-NOM
'it is rotten, the vulture is like that' (t)

In (5.6.) it was demonstrated that verbs ending in the nominaliser *-nãi* should be considered as nouns, even though these nouns lack certain purely nominal properties, such as the ability to function as head or dependent in an attributive construction. Hence, complement clauses must be nouns as well. The examples given so far suggest that complement clauses have the formal status of arguments and that quite a wide range of verbs can take complement clauses. Consequently, there is no formal difference between arguments, complement clauses and infinitives in Kwaza:

(3684) *i'si-cu-cwa-nãi* *ute-da'mỹ-da-ki*
die-IS-IS-NOM tell-want-1S-DEC
'I am going to talk about a (case of someone's) death'[401] (t)

Nevertheless, the complement clauses retain a number of verbal characteristics. Notice that Kwaza does not have real infinitives. Any nominalised verb can be inflected for person, and bear tense and aspect marking. This includes verbs nominalised by *-nãi*:

(3685) *eto'hoi* *bu'ru-tsy-hỹ-ki* *'lote* *ku'ro-da-nãi*
child remember-GER-NOM-DEC door close-1S-NOM
'the child remembered that I closed the door'

(3686) *mãmã'ñẽ-day-nãi* *are'ta-da-ki*
sing-1S-NOM know-1S-DEC
'I know how to sing'

(3687) *na-ay-'nãi* *unỹteta-'nã-da-hehỹ* *ti-'nãi*
PROX-that-NOM converse-FUT-1S-CONT what-NOM

tsywydy'te-a-a-ay-nãi *ticwa-'nãi*
girl-1P-1P-1P-NOM begin-NOM
'of that one, that is what I will tell a story about, about when I still was a uninitiated nubile girl, an old story' (t)

401.Not: *'someone who died'.

(3688) *unỹ'nãi-ki* *onɛ-'nã-a-xa-nãi*
delay-DEC arrive-FUT-1P-AS-NOM
'it is a long time for us to arrive'[402]

(3689) *unỹ'nãi-ki* *e'hỹ-da-tsy-nãi*
delay-DEC make-1S-POT-NOM
'it will take a long time before I will do/make'[403]

Nominalised verbs can even bear mood markers, though this is only attested as embedded in reported speech constructions:

(3690) *maga'riDa* *kukuihỹ-'ki=cwa-nãi* *jã'si-da-ki*
Margarida ill-DEC=IS-NOM hear-1S-DEC
'I heard Margarida is ill'

Furthermore, complement clauses can contain overt arguments which may even be marked for case:

(3691) *eto'hoi* *bu'ru-tse* *atxitxi'?ũ* *ba'bay-nãi*
child remember-DEC rice sift-NOM
'the child remembered to clean the rice'

(3692) *uki'ri* *jã'si-nãi* *'e-da-hỹ-he-ki*
parakeet hear-NOM have-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC
'I never heard a parakeet'

(3693) *awỹi-te'te-da-ki* *zjwãu* *ma'rija-wã* *'mɛ̃-nãi*
see-really-1S-DEC João Maria-AO beat-NOM
'I really saw that João beat Maria'

(3694) *e'tay* *watxi-'ki=tse* *jere'xwa* *kurakura-'wã* *'tsje-a-nãi*
woman true-DEC=DEC jaguar chicken-AO grab-1P-NOM
'the woman believes that the jaguar killed the chicken'

Note that the translations offered by the consultant suggest that he is conscious of the fact that verbs ending in *-nãi* are not normal verbs or nouns. Even complement clauses in isolation are translated as complements introduced by complementisers, or as infinitives introduced by prepositions:

(3695) *ca'ri-(wa)-'nãi*
shoot-IS-NOM
'about killing, that he killed'[404]

(3696) *mĩu* *'kui-da-day-nãi*
chicha drink-1S-1S-NOM
'that I drank'[405]

402.Cf. the discussions in sections (5.6.2.) and (8.1.2.4.).
403.Cf. the last examples of section (8.1.1.3.).

The fact that complement clauses in Kwaza are nouns makes them sometimes difficult to distinguish from attributive clauses. This is discussed in (8.4.3.).

The next example shows additional difference between complement clauses and attributive clauses. Whereas the nominalised dependent of the latter may receive case marking from the matrix verb, the nominalised verbs of complement clauses do not:

(3697) *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki* *zjwãu-'wã* *ma'rija-wã* *mẽ-a-'nãi*
see-1S-NOM-DEC João-AO Maria-AO beat-1P-NOM
'I saw that João beat Maria'

In this example the embedded subject of the complement also clause receives case marking. Comparison with (3693) suggests that this is optional.

In many of the examples the complement clause fulfils the function of object within the matrix clause. A small number show that the complement clause can also function as a subject: (3676), (3677), (3678), (3688) and (3689).

Note that the nominaliser *-nãi* also has adverbial functions.

(3698) *wai-'nãi* *are'ta-da-ki*
good-NOM know-1S-DEC
'I know very well'

(3699) *wai-'nãi* *a'wỹi-a-ni*
good-NOM see-1P-EXH
'let's look at it properly!'

(3700) *nỹ-'nãi* *'ja-nãi* *'e-da-ki*
big-NOM eat-NOM have-1S-DEC
'I always eat much'

Adverbial nominalisation is discussed in (6.2.4.2.).

8.4.3. The overlap between attributive and complement clauses

Both types of nominal clauses, i.e. those nominalised by *-hỹ* and those nominalised by *-nãi*, function as arguments of matrix predicates. It seems that *-hỹ* has a wider application range than *-nãi*. *-nãi* does not form attributive constructions, whereas *-hỹ* does sometimes form a complement clause. Compare (3675) to the next example:

(3701) *atxitxi'?ũ* *watxa'ta-nã-hỹ* *horony'hỹ-nã-ki*
rice weed-one-NOM prepare-one-DEC
'we are finishing weeding the rice'

404.In POR: *de matar*, *que ele matou*.
405.(CX: I'm going to tell about the fact that I drank.) POR: *que eu tomei*.

Under certain circumstances *-nãi* and *-hỹ* seem to be freely interchangeable. Note that the following examples were originally translated identically by the consultant[406] and that the distinction between the English versions is introduced by myself:

(3702) *jere'xwa* *'bu=ũ-dwa-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
jaguar put=be-DR:onto-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw the dog sitting'

(3703) *jere'xwa* *'bu=ũ-dwa-nãi* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
jaguar put=be-DR:onto-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw (that) the dog (was) sitting'

Example (3702) is translated in accordance with the attributive clause analysis. Besides being an argument, the embedded subject is a head. The head is furthermore the object of the matrix verb. Example (3703) is translated in accordance with the complement clause analysis. The embedded subject is an argument only, whereas the object of the matrix verb is the nominalised predicate. The following pair of examples shows a similar contrast between attributive clauses in *-hỹ* and complement clauses in *-nãi*:[407]

(3704) *a'wỹi-da-ki* *jere'xwa* *kane'xu* *bu-'hỹ*
see-1S-DEC jaguar necklace wear-NOM
'I saw the/a dog wearing a necklace'

(3705) *a'wỹi-da-ki* *jere'xwa* *kane'xu* *bu-'nãi*
see-1S-DEC jaguar necklace wear-NOM
'I saw that the/a dog wore a necklace'

If the present analyses are correct, one could say that *-hỹ* is a dependent formative and *-nãi* is a head formative. This is in accordance with the fact that *-hỹ* produces nouns which refer to participants of events, and *-nãi* produces nouns which refer to events themselves.

There may nevertheless be a transitional area between attributive clause-like nominalisations and complement clause-like nominalisations. The following example contains a headless attributive clause with an embedded overt subject. It is not very clear what is the (implicit) head of the attributive clause:

(3706) *wã* *e'xyi-ta-hỹ* *da'nỹ* *ku'kui-ki*
bee sting-1O-NOM still hurt-DEC
a) 'the bee's sting of me still hurts', b) 'the bee's stinging me still hurts', c) 'the place where the bee stung me still hurts'

406. The offered POR translation for both was *eu vi um cachorro sentando*.
407. The POR translation given by the consultant for both was: *eu vi cachorro com colar*.

Example (3706) has three different possible translations.[408] The first one seems the most likely equivalent of the Kwaza sentence, even though the subject *wã* 'bee' is not a possessor. The implicit head can neither be 'bee', nor 'sting' (Kwaza does not even have a noun with that meaning). Translation (3706a) suggests that it represents an inherently headless attributive clause that bears similarity to (3649). The second translation is based on the analysis of the nominal clause as a complement clause in the sense of section (8.4.2.). The third translation represents what seems to be the least likely analysis. It suggests that the implicit head of the attributive clause is a locative satellite: 'the place', as it is possibly the case in (3638).

Of course, translations never constitute decisive evidence in themselves for the analysis of structures in another language. The consultant commented that *bu'hỹ* and *bu'nãi* meant exactly the same and he even translated one example of the latter as attributive-like, rather than as complement-like:

(3707) *kane'xu* *bu-'nãi* *a'wỹi-da-ki*
necklace wear-NOM see-1S-DEC
'I saw (one) with a necklace'[409]

Meanwhile, he also translated nominal clauses ending in *-hỹ* sometimes as complement clauses. What makes translations in this context even more independable is the fact that in Portuguese the word *que* functions both as a relative pronoun 'which, who' and as a complementiser 'that'.

It must be emphasised that the consultant translated most examples in a way which corresponds systematically with the analysis presented here in (8.4.). Compare the next example to examples (3652) and (3653):

(3708) *kahɛ-'hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-ki* *etohoi-'wã* *(jere'xwa)*
bite-NOM see-1S-DEC child-AO jaguar
'I saw that (the dog) bit the child'[410]

This example differs from (3652) in that the embedded verb does not contain the gerundial morpheme *-tsy-*, whereas it is similar to the extent that it does have an object marked by *-wã*. The situation is reversed with respect to (3653). Here, (3708) differs in that it has an object marked by *-wã*, whereas it is similar where the morphology of the embedded verb is concerned. The fact that the nominal clause in (3708) ends in *-hỹ* suggests that we are dealing with an attributive clause. However, the presence of *-wã* on the embedded object suggests that this object is not the head. And the absence of *-tsy-* suggests when compared to (3653) that the subject is not the head either. The translation given

408. The original POR translation is: *(o fato que) marimbondo me ferrou(,) 'ta doendo ainda* (what stands between brackets was added later by me).
409. In POR *eu vi (um) com colar*.
410. In POR: *eu vi que cachorro morde criança*.

by the consultant confirms the suspicion that neither the embedded subject nor the embedded object is head of the nominal clause, but that we are dealing with a complement clause.[411]

Probably, (3706) represents an example from the twilight zone between attributive and complement clauses. The fact that such ambiguous examples usually bear the nominaliser *-hỹ* and rarely *-nãi*, may be explained on the basis of the fact that *-hỹ* is a nominaliser of a more general or abstract calibre than *-nãi*. Although *-nãi* is semantically just as abstract as *-hỹ*, it is grammatically more specific. Hence, it could be that *-hỹ* can fulfil the function of *-nãi*, as in (3708), but not the other way round (with the possible exception of (3707)).

There is another factor which may explain the interchangeability of certain nominal clauses which end in *-hỹ* or *-nãi*. The observations in section (8.4.1.6.) suggest that non-restrictive clauses in *-hỹ* are semantically equivalent to complement clauses in *-nãi*. It does not seem unlikely that attributive clauses which are translated as complement clauses, or which can be freely used instead of complement clauses, are non-restrictive attributive clauses. The fact that complement clauses ending in *-nãi* cannot be restrictive is related to the fact that *-nãi* nominalisations never modify other nouns.

Unfortunately, it was rarely tested whether the *-hỹ* examples in the present section (8.4.3.) were intended as non-restrictive. Here are some further examples of attributive clauses, along with their original translations. (3709) and (3710) contain complement clauses and (3711) contains an attributive clause:

(3709) *wi-nỹ-ko'je-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki*
cut-REF-CL:hand-NOM see-1S-NOM-DEC
'I saw that he had cut himself'

(3710) *wi-nỹ-ko'je-nãi* *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki*
cut-REF-CL:hand-NOM see-1S-NOM-DEC
'I saw that he had cut himself'

(3711) *wi-nỹ-ko'je-tsy-hỹ* *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-ki*
cut-REF-CL:hand-GER-NOM see-1S-NOM-DEC
'I saw that man who had cut himself'

8.5. Coordination

In Kwaza there is no special particle or bound morpheme which means 'and'. Coordination of verbal clauses is realised by the cosubordinating construction discussed in (8.3.). One example is given here:

411. Unless it is a headless object attributive clause where *etohoiwã* stands in extraposition, or unless it is a headless subject attributive clause in which the element *-tsy-* is not essential.

(3712) *pãu 'ja-ta hã 'kui-ki*
bread eat-CSO water drink-DEC
'he ate bread and drank water' (TMA:86)

Coordination of noun phrases can be realised through several different grammatical operations which involve juxtaposition and zero-verbalisation. The primary function of noun juxtaposition is attributive modification. This was discussed in (4.3.). However, noun juxtaposition is also used in its secondary function of summing up nouns. In the following examples, it is logically excluded that the juxtaposed nouns modify one another:

(3713) *e'tay tswa 'a-ki a'xy-na*
woman man exist-DEC house-LOC
'in the house there is a man and a woman'

(3714) *ẽrjãwã-'na ã'rũi a'?ũ 'a-ki*
forest-LOC tapir deer exist-DEC
'in the forest there are tapirs and deer'

In these examples, the coordinated nouns form a single noun phrase which represents an argument of the main predicate, but there is no explicit morphology which indicates the coordination. Most numerals are also expressed as coordinated elements (see 4.5.). Notice the following expression for 'three':

(3715) *aky-'hỹ e'mã*
two-NOM more
'three' (lit. 'two and one more')

Note that *emã* by itself is also used to express 'three', but the complex numeral does not mean 'five' (lit. 'two and three'). Furthermore it is not a modification construction meaning 'two more' or 'six' (lit. 'twice three'). Since there is no grammaticalised numeral system above 'two', numerals can be expressed in different ways. Note the following expressions for 'six':

(3716) *bwa-ko'je e'mã*
end-CL:hand more
'six' (lit. 'finished hand and one more')

(3717) *aky-'hỹ aky-'hỹ aky-'hỹ*
two-NOM two-NOM two-NOM
'six' (lit. 'two and two and two')

These are also coordinated constructions which consist of juxtaposed nouns.

Functional coordination of nouns can also be expressed by a cosubordinative construction. The following example shows that this involves zero-verbalisation:

(3718) *'meza-na* *kore'ja-tja* *di'hu-tse*
table-LOC knife-CSO spoon-DEC
'on the table there are a knife and a spoon'

In this example, one noun occurs as the root of a cosubordinated clause and the other noun makes up the root of a matrix clause. Complex numerals can also be expressed in this manner. Consider the following expression of 'fifteen':[412]

(3719) *bwa-ko'je-tja* *aky-ko'je-tse*
end-CL:hand-CSO two-CL:hand-DEC
'fifteen' (lit. 'a hand ending it is two hands')

The expression of coordination through a cosubordinative construction is discussed extensively in (8.3.1.10.).

Usually noun juxtaposition and zero-verbalisation are combined in order to express a coordination construction. Notice the difference between (3718) and the next example:

(3720) *'meza-na* *kore'ja* *di'hu-tse*
table-LOC knife spoon-DEC
'on the table there is a knife and spoon'

Apparently, the zero-verbalisation has scope over both nouns. The structure of (3720) is represented below by brackets:

(3721) *'meza-na* [*kore'ja* *di'hu*]-*tse*
table-LOC [knife spoon]-DEC

In the following examples, the second, coordinated noun is zero-verbalised as a cosubordinated clause:

(3722) *zjwãu* *ho'Bɛto-tja* *mani'ni* *'ja-wa-ki*
João Roberto-CSO fish eat-IS-DEC
'João and Roberto eat fish'

412. This construction confirms the idea that the cosubordinative is ambiguous between subordinative and coordinative. It is subordinative in the sense that the clause ending in the cosubordinative mood functions as the equivalent of the English imperfective participle. It is coordinative in that the cosubordinative clause adds up an extra event to the event expressed by the matrix clause.

(3723) *si xyi-a-'ta oja-'nã-a-ki Ba'hozo-nã*
I you-1P-CSO go-FUT-1P-DEC Barroso-LOC
'I and you we are going to Barroso'

(3724) *txa'na aky-'ta-a-ta oja'nã-a-ki Ba'hozo-na*
we.IN two-ANI-1P-CSO go-FUT-1P-DEC Barroso-LOC
'we two we are going to Barroso'

The scope relations in (3723) can be symbolised as follows:

(3725) [*si xyi*]-*a-'ta oja-'nã-a-ki Ba'hozo-na*
[I you]-1P-CSO go-FUT-1P-DEC Barroso-LOC
(lit. 'we being you and me, we go to Barroso')

The entire zero-verbalised noun phrase can be nominalised again:

(3726) *'paulu ipe'pa-tsy-hỹ huhui-'lɛ-ki*
Paulo Ipepa-GER-NOM beat-RECI-DEC
'Paulo and Ipepa are fighting'

This construction involves the gerundial morpheme *-tsy-* and is discussed extensively in (8.1.2.2.). The nominalised gerundial construction is often used if the noun phrase is an object argument and requires case marking (see also 4.1.1.):

(3727) *maga'riDa ẽ'hike-tsy-hỹ-'wã 'mɛ̃-wa-ki*
Margarida Henrique-GER-NOM-AO beat-IS-DEC
'they beat Margarida and Henrique'

(3728) *lu'zeu wa'dy-eteja-hỹ-ki maga'riDa((-tsy-hỹ)-wã)*
Luzeu give-1PO-NOM-DEC Margarida-GER-NOM-AO

'xyi((-tsy-hỹ)-wã) 'si-tsy-hỹ-wã
you-GER-NOM-AO I-GER-NOM-AO
'Luzeu gave to Margarida, you and me (us)'

In the present section it is demonstrated that the function of coordination is expressed by constructions of which the main function is something else. Juxtaposition is mainly used to express modification, and cosubordination is mainly used for clause chains. The function of coordination is only secondary, and can only be expressed through these means when the context and "knowledge of the world" allows it.

In the following examples we see how noun coordination is avoided, and how this function is expressed by a construction in which the matrix predicate

is anticipated elliptically (under the omission of person, mood and, possibly, different subject marking), by its root:

(3729) *'ma-tjate ho'ñe a'ha-tjate ho'ñe-tja*
mother-3.POS hide father-3.POS hide-CSO
'her mother and her father hid' (t)

(3730) *pãu e-'he hã e-'he-da-ki*
bread have-NEG water have-NEG-1S-DEC
'I have neither bread (POR: *pão*) nor water'

Kwaza does neither have a determiner with the meaning 'neither', nor one with the meaning 'each'. In the following example, 'each' is the unmarked interpretation:

(3731) *aky-'hỹ e'mã-cwa-ta dai='dai-wa-ki ('manga)*
two-NOM more-IS-CSO take=take-IS-DEC mango
'two people took three (mangoes, each)'[413]

There is no other way to express the difference with 'together', the opposite of 'each', than through a similar elliptic construction as in (3729) and (3730):

(3732) *'peDro 'aky-hỹ 'dai zjwõ 'tei-hỹ 'dai 'tse ('manga)*
Pedro two-NOM take João one-NOM take DEC mango
'Pedro and João took three (mangoes, together)'[414]

Maybe these elliptic constructions can be seen as involving juxtaposition of sentences that receive inflexion only at the end of the entire "coordinated" construction.

8.6. Specific constructions

There are certain complex constructions in Kwaza which are not always used in their literal sense, but which may form the basis for more or less idiomatic expressions. These constructions often involve cosubordinated clauses and semantically rather abstract verb roots such as *a-* 'to exist', *e-* 'to have', *jã-* 'to be' and *nãi-* 'to be thus' (see 7.6.).

413. Note that the structure of the numeral expression is as in example (3715), and that the duality of the subject is expressed by reduplication of the root as discussed in (5.4.10.).
414. Note the pause between the verb root *'dai* 'take' and the inflexion *'tse* 'DEC'.

8.6.1. Habitual

There are two different types of syntactic habitual constructions. One is a cosubordinated habitual. It has the form *V-CSO a-NOM-* 'be accustomed to'/'use to V'. It involves the verb root *a-* 'to exist' as an auxiliary matrix predicate root:

(3733) *o'nɛ-ta* *'a-hỹ-ki*
come-CSO exist-NOM-DEC
a) 'he always used to come' (t)
b) 'he came and is there (now at that place)'

(3734) *Ba'hoso-na* *'a-ta* *'a-hỹ-ki*
Barroso-LOC exist-CSO exist-NOM-DEC
'he always lives in Barroso'

This construction occurs as the framework for many habitual expressions, but it can also be interpreted non-habitually, as demonstrated by the second interpretation of (3733).

The other habitual construction is a nominalised habitual. It has the form *V-nãi e-* 'be accustomed to'/'use to V'. It involves the verb *e-* 'to have' as a matrix predicate root:

(3735) *xyi* *'jãu-tsy-nãi* *'e-xa-ki* *si* *'pus-tsy-nãi* *'e-da- ki*
you cat-GER-NOM have-2-DEC I poes-GER-NOM have-1S-DEC
'you say "cat" and I say "*poes*"'[415]

(3736) *maga'riDa* *duture-xwa'nã* *ja-'nãi* *e-'re*
Margarida pig-CL:flesh eat-NOM have-INT
'does Margarida eat pork?'

(3737) *'tsuko* *'kui-da-ta* *tsu'tsu-nãi* *'e-da-hỹ-ki*
juice drink-1S-CSO urinate-NOM have-1S-NOM-DEC
'drinking fruit juice makes me want to urinate'

The literal meaning of the cosubordinated habitual construction is 'to live, doing V'. The literal meaning of the nominalised habitual construction is 'to have the doing of V'. These constructions confirm the impression that both the cosubordinative mood and the nominaliser *-nãi* have participle-like properties. The former is both semantically and grammatically more of a verbal nature, whereas the latter is both semantically and grammatically more nominal. Furthermore they point to the adequacy of the analyses of *a-* and *e-* as verbs meaning 'to exist' and 'to have', respectively. In preceding sections, more ex

415.Dutch *poes* 'cat'.

amples of these constructions can be encountered, e.g. (2029), (2080), (2176), (2260), (2337), (2345), (2356), (2447), (2837), (3325), (3680).

8.6.2. Explicative

The verb root *nãi-* 'to be like'/'to do thus' has an abstract semantic content, and can be used as a dummy verb in all situations where it is clear from the narrative or pragmatic context what it means:

(3738) *'nãi-cwa-ta* *'nãi-wa-hỹ-herejã-re*
like-IS-CSO like-IS-NOM-APPL-INT
'that's how it happened to him' (that's how he fared)

Medial clauses often function as a complement of reason in cosubordination with the matrix clause. If the matrix predicate is based on the verb root *nãi-* 'to be like'/'to do thus', the construction *V-CSO nãi-* 'it is because V' is used in the discourse to inform about or to explain the background to a certain situation. Consider the following little dialogues:

(3739) Q: *ti-'nãi-tja* *'nãi-re*
what-NOM-CSO like-INT
'how did it happen to him?'
A: *hy'ja-ta* *'nãi-ki*
fall-CSO like-DEC
'he fell, that is how it went'

(3740) Q: *tsũhũ-'du-xa-ta* *kunỹ-'djo-xa-re*
what-BER-2-CSO dress-CL:foot-2-INT
'why are you putting on shoes?'

A: *hyhyrwa-'nã-da-ta* *'nãi-da-ki*
move-FUT-1S-CSO like-1S-DEC
'because I'm going for a walk'

The verb root can also be the first member of a compound. In that case the second member explicitates the background:

(3741) *ho'hỹ-xa-ta* *nãi=tsasi-'he-xa-re*
shy-2-CSO like=follow-NEG-2-INT
'you don't come with us because you are shy?'

8.6.3. Indignant

There are several emphatic constructions which express indignation over the fact that the hearer is not aware of something. The most important ones involve the interrogative mood and the verb *jã-* 'to be' and were discussed in

(5.5.14.3.). The construction discussed here also involves clefting use of *jã-*. Furthermore, it may contain emphatic use of the interrogative, a switch reference construction, an embedded cosubordinative construction, and the verb *nãi-* 'to be like' often occurs as the matrix predicate root. The entire framework of this construction can be summarised as:

(3742) *V-ta* *a-'re=jã-si* *'nãi-xa-re*
verb-CSO exist-INT=be-SWR like-2-INT
'do you suppose that it is really the case that V?'

The verb *jãsi* 'it is' is represented here as cliticised to the preceding one because of the stress pattern. Main stress is on the preceding interrogative marker. Note that in this construction the preceding verb *a're* 'is there?' is usually pronounced as [ã'ɾẽ] or [ɨ'ɾẽ], probably because of the nasality of the subsequent verb root *jã-*.

This construction expresses indignation over a presupposition held by the hearer. Consider the following examples:

(3743) *'mɛ̃-ta* *a-'re=jã-si* *'nãi-xa-re*
hit-CSO exist-INT=be-SWR like-2-INT
'he did not hit me, no!' (S does not want to admit it)
(lit. 'do you perhaps suppose that he hit me?')

(3744) *tsuhũ-'du-xa-ta* *oja'nỹ-xa-re* *mã*
what-BER-2-CSO come-2-INT mother

awỹi=ba'ru=asa-hata-tsy-hỹ-ta *a-'re=jã-si*
see=end=leave-3S.2O-POT-NOM-CSO exist-INT=be-SWR

'nãi-xa-re=tja *'ta-ta* *'ɛ-ra=tja* *'ta-hỹ=wara*
like-2-INT=CSO talk-CSO go-IMP=CSO talk-NOM=but
'"why the hell have you come?, mother is not just going to have a look at you, no!", she said, "go away!" she said, but...' (t)

The latter example is from a traditional tale in which a young boy is searching his mother, but his grandmother warns him, because the mother is likely to kill the boy upon first sight. Through this construction she emphatically rejects the boy's presupposition that the mother will also want to see him.

Not all ingredients of the framework as represented in (3742) are obligatory. Consider the following examples in which there is no matrix predicate:

(3745) *'kawɛ* *'kui-tsy-hỹ-'ta* *a-'re=jã-si*
coffee drink-POT-NOM-CSO exist-INT=be-SWR
'he isn't going to drink coffee, no!'
(lit. 'it is to be questioned that he is going to drink coffee')

(3746) *'kawɛ 'kui-da-tsy-hỹ-'ta a-'re=jã-si*
coffee drink-1S-POT-NOM-CSO exist-INT=be-SWR
'I (know I'm) not going to drink coffee!'

(3747) *waja-ha'ta-tsy-hỹ-'ta a-'re=jã-si*
bring-3S.2O-POT-NOM-CSO exist-INT=be-SWR
'he is not going take you there, no (it's a pity)'

Also the cosubordinative construction may be left out:

(3748) *a-'re=jã-si*
exist-INT=be-SWR
'I don't know whether there is (any food etc.)'

(3749) *kukui-'dy-da-rai-re=jã-si 'nãi-xa-re*
hurt-BEN-1S-damn-INT=be-SWR like-2-INT
'it doesn't hurt, no!'[416] (lit. 'do you perhaps suppose that it hurts?')

(3750) *atsi'le-ki jã-he-rai-'re jã-'si 'nãi-xa-re*
heavy-DEC be-NEG-damn-INT be-SWR like-2-INT
'it is very heavy, I'm telling you!'
(lit. 'it is heavy: do you perhaps suppose that it bloody isn't?')

In these constructions, the interrogative marker is used emphatically, and the negative connotation is not marked overtly in the morphology. In a way, the interrogative marker expresses strong negation, and the literal translation of (3745) is not entirely realistic. Although these constructions may have a negative value, no negative morpheme is involved unless the element *-si* should be related to negative *-hỹsi* (see 7.1.3.), and should not represent a switch-reference marker. However, there is no formal reason to assume that there is morphologically marked negation here:

(3751) *ti-'nãi-da-lɛ axe'hỹ-da-tsy-re jã-si 'nãi-xa-re*
what-NOM-1S-PREC meet-1S-POT-INT be-SWR like-2-INT
'well how would I meet her, do you suppose?' (t)
(lit. 'how do you suppose I could meet her?')

The following example indicates that the presumed switch reference marker does not have to be present at all:

416.One does not normally want to admit it if one is in pain.

(3752) *tsuhũ-ra'ti mani'ni ja-da-'re=jã-hỹ*
what-FOC fish eat-1S-INT=be-NOM
'I don't know what fish I've eaten'
(lit. 'it being a question what fish I've eaten')

Finally, it appears that the root *jã-* is not necessarily cliticised to an interrogative structure:

(3753) *tsuhũ-'du-xa-lɛ nãi-xa-'he-tsy-tse 'xyi-dy-hỹ*
what-BER-2-PREC like-2-NEG-POT-DEC you-POS-NOM

etohoi-ĩʔĩ-'hỹ tsasi-hỹ-'tsy=jã-si 'nãi-xa-re
child-REM-NOM follow-NOM-RES=be-SWR like-2-INT

tsuhũ-'du-xa-lɛ 'nãi-xa-he-tsy-tse=tja 'ta-dy-ta
what-BER-2-PREC like-2-NEG-POT-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO
'"you aren't you going to do that, he who was once your son came after you, you fool!, why would you?, what for would you do that?" she said' (t)

In this example, which is from the same text as (3744), the grandmother is trying to convince her daughter of not killing her own son. She tries to work on the daughter's consciousness by emphasising the fact that the boy is her son and that he has searched for her in spite of the danger.

I see any negative interpretation of variants of the indignant construction as a side-effect of the interrogative clause to which *jã-* is attached. In these examples, which all involve indignation or categorical negation, the only obligatory element is the root *jã-*.

Chapter 9
Lexico-semantic categories

This section contains certain specific topics concerning the lexicon of Kwaza, such as a special register of children's talk, and lexico-semantic categories such as colour terms, shape terms, kinship terminology, proper names of people, dogs and rivers. The last subsection deals with ideophones.

9.1. Children's language

There is a lexical register of children's talk in Kwaza. It is also used by adults as child-directed speech to children until about three years of age. I have found a mere dozen such words, predominantly verbs. Only few of them show any resemblance to adult words, but they occur in the same grammatical constructions as adult words do. They are listed here, together with their adult equivalents:

CHILDREN'S TALK	MEANING	ADULT
ñũñũ-	suckle	*kunũ-*
pã-	drink	*kui-*
pau-	run	*tsoroi-*
pyu-	eat	*ja-*
pu-	fall	*hyja-*
tɛtɛ-	walk	*cucu-*
txiwi-	bathe	*tomã-*
txubitxu'bi	biting animal	*kahɛ?ỹhỹ* [417]
txu?ũrjỹ-	sit	*bu?ũrjỹ-*
txœ-	fall in water	*tumjỹte-*
u?u-	sleep	*wãwỹi-*
wãwã	Westerner	*mãrɛ̃?a*

There is a phonetic likeness between *ñũñũ-* and adult *kunũ-* 'to suckle', between *tɛtɛ-* 'to walk' and adult *cucu-* 'to be stepping', and maybe between *u?u-* 'to sleep' and adult *ũi-* 'to lie down'. No likely origin was found- either in Kwaza or, so far, in neighbouring languages- for the other words. One of the words *wãwã* 'Westerner' is a noun. The adult equivalent *mãrɛ̃?a* means originally 'spirit', but it was not attested whether this sense applies to *wãwã*. It is

417. This word was formed by myself on the basis of the verb stem *kahɛ-* 'to bite'.

unclear to which category the word *txu'bitxu'bi* ‘animal that bites (e.g. a spider, snake, etc.)’ belongs. It may be a noun. The word *txœ-* ‘fall in water’ is probably based on onomatopoeia. Here are some examples of child-directed use of this register:

(3754) *ñũñũ-'ra*
suckle-IMP
‘suckle!’

(3755) *'pu-xa-tsi*
fall-2-MON
‘take care not to fall!’

(3756) *txi'wi-a-ni*
bathe-1P-EXH
‘let’s take a bath!’

(3757) *wãwã-dy-'hỹ-ki*
Westerner-POS-NOM-DEC
‘it is the Westerner’s’

9.2. Colour terms

There are several colour terms. They are based on semantically attributive verbal roots, and are often derived as attributive nouns (cf. 4.3.2.). Some of the roots occur obligatorily with the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-*. Some roots may occur without the attributive morpheme with a different, though related, meaning. One of the roots, *darahỹ-* ‘green’ does not occur without a classifier. They are listed here:

'be.?ỹ-	‘(very) black’	*'be-*	‘ripe, purple’
dara'hỹ-	‘green, unripe’	**dara-*	
'ha.?ỹ-	‘white’	*'ha-*	‘clean’
ha'nũ.?ỹ-	‘brown, grey’	*ha'nõ-*	‘painted grey’
ha'xy?ỹ-	‘yellow, sick’	**haxy-*	
ho'ho.?ỹ-	‘black’	*ho'ho-*	‘dirty, black’
'ki.?ỹ-	‘red, orange’	*'ki-*	‘ripe’
mẽ'rũi?ỹ-	‘blue, green’	**mẽrũi-*	
'weu?ỹ-	‘brown, red’	**weu-*	

Most of the roots without *-ỹ-* are semantically related to the corresponding colour term. In this way ‘black, dark blue’ and ‘dirty’ are associated via the root element *hoho-*, ‘white’ and ‘clean’ via *ha-*, ‘red’ and ‘ripe’ via *ki-*. The root element *be-* associates ‘deep black (dark?)’ with ‘ripe’ and ‘purple’.

It seems that *hoho?ỹ-* represents another sort of black than *be?ỹ-* does. These roots both have equivalents in Kanoê where the associations are partially reversed: the negation of Kanoê *bɛ-* or *pɛ-* ‘clean’ relates to the concepts ‘black, red, dirty, ripe’, whereas Kanoê *woro-* seems to mean only ‘black’. Together with *ki-* the entire situation can be sketched as in table (35) below. The semantic areas covered by a specific root are shaded by <▓>:

Table 35. Association range of colour terms for 'red' and 'black' in Kwaza and Kanoê

	Kwaza		*Kanoê*		
	ki	*be*	*hoho*	*bɛ-k, pɛ-k*	*woro*
ripe	▓	▓	▓		
red, purple	▓	▓	▓		
dirty			▓	▓	
black		▓	▓	▓	▓

It is not unlikely that the terms for 'dirty' and 'black' in Kwaza and Kanoê are related to the Kwaza verb root *ho-* 'rot', and/or to Tupi *ho* or *hũ* 'black, rotten'.

The general root for 'ripe' and 'red' in Kwaza is *ki-*, but not only things which ripen can be called 'red': *kuronitɛ ki?ỹhỹ* 'red door'. Furthermore, *ki-* also covers the colour 'orange'. The root *be-* generally means 'black'. In the sense of 'ripe' *be-* only refers to the ripeness of certain fruits with a hard shell, and in the sense of 'red' it only refers to a specific dark shade of red: 'purple'. Another term for 'red' is *weu?ỹ-*. However, its general meaning is 'brown'. Another term for 'brown' is *hanũ?ỹ-*. The difference between the two has not been established. At any rate, the consultants say that "much of what is red in Portuguese, is not red in Kwaza", by which they imply that the word *weu?ỹ-* 'brown' is used rather than *ki-* 'red' for shades of colour which would be classified as 'red' in Portuguese. Apparently, *weu?ỹ-* refers to an intermediary shade of colour between *ki-* 'red' and *hanũ?ỹ-* 'brown'.

The word *mɛ̃'rũi?ỹ-* means both 'blue' and 'green'. The colour of the sky can be referred to as *mɛ̃rũi?ỹ-*, but shades of green can also be referred to by this word. In Aikanã, the situation is the same: Aikanã *hürürü-* is the root for both 'blue' and 'green'. On another occasion, Kwaza *mɛ̃rũi?ỹ-* was used only for 'blue' while the word given for green was *darahỹ-*. However, *darahỹ-* may not really be a colour term. The root *darahỹ-* usually referred to the colour (or the state?) of unripe fruit. Note that there are words that are possibly derived from 'unripe/green': *darato'hoi* 'baby' (lit. 'little young one'); *da'rai* 'vermin, worm'. Note that the meaning 'unripe' can also be expressed by a negative form of *ki-* 'ripe':

(3758) *ki-'he-tse*
ripe-NEG-DEC
'it is not ripe'

The word for 'brown', *ha'nũ?ỹ-* is used by some speakers also for 'grey' and even 'light blue'.[418] Note its use for 'grey' in the following example:

418.Its variant *hanõ?ỹ-* was attested only with the meaning 'grey'.

(3759) *ho'ho.?ỹ-dyky'tɛ* *ha'nũ.?ỹ-hỹ*
dirty.ATT-ADDI grey.ATT-NOM
'half black half grey'

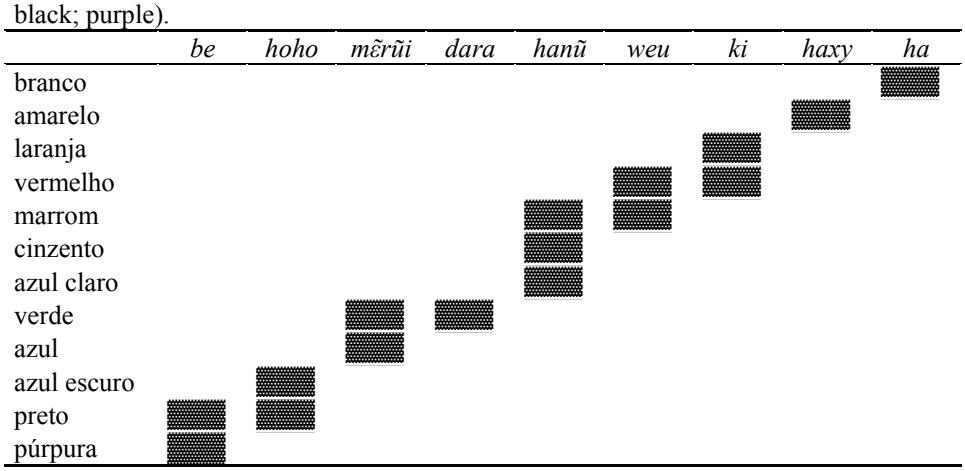
Although they may be etymologically related, the words *hinũnã* 'ashes', *hinũnũ* 'smoke, fog' and *hanũnũ* 'vapour' are not used for 'grey'.

The word associated with 'yellow', *haxy?ỹ-*, actually means 'sick'. It is not further analysable, and it is not related to *ha-* 'clean, white':

(3760) *ha-'xy-ỹ-hỹ*
clean-CL:leaf-ATT-NOM
'white paper'

All roots of Kwaza colour terms and their values with respect to shades of colours in (the English equivalents of) Portuguese have been summarised in the following table:

Table 36. Approximate ranges of Kwaza colour terms in Portuguese (English equivalents resp.: white; yellow; orange; red; brown; grey; light blue; green; blue; dark blue; black; purple).



Note that both Kwaza *hoho?ỹ-* and Aikanã *βi-* refer to both 'black' and 'dark blue'. Note furthermore that the root for 'yellow' in Aikanã, *parari-*, also refers to 'brown'. In Kwaza the overlap is different.

9.3. Some expressions for geometrical shapes

The word *e'rje* 'mesh, comb' has to do with a pattern of crossing lines, as in a net, sieve etc. It consists of a dummy root and a classifier (cf. 4.2.2.4.):

(3761) ### *e-'rje*
Ø-CL:bunch/grating
'meshes'

The root *erirwa* 'circle, wheel, disk' consists of a dummy root, a classifier and an element that is ambiguous between a classifier and a directional:

(3762) ○ *e-ri-'rwa-tse*
Ø-CL:flat-CD:round-DEC
'it is a circle'

There are several other words for shapes, and repetitive shapes are often expressed by reduplication. The transitive verb root *nõita-* 'to dot' probably contains a lexicalised transitivising morpheme *-ta-*. In order to refer not to the action of dotting but to the dots themselves, it has to be detransitivised by the reflexive morpheme:

(3763) ● *nõita-'nỹ-ki*
dot-REF-DEC
'it is a dot'

(3764) ---- *nõi-nõi-nõita-'nỹ-ki*
RED-RED-dot-REF-DEC
'it is dashed'

The same kind of grammatical complexity is also encountered in two other shape words. The transitive verbal root *ũceta-* 'to divide, fence off, encircle' may be reflexivised in order to refer to the shape of a cross:

(3765) + *ũceta-(ta)-'nỹ-ki*
divide-RED-REF-DEC
'it is crossed, it is a cross'

A single stripe shape can be referred to in two alternative ways, one based on the transitive verbal root *buuta-* 'to put things parallel to one another', and the other one on the transitive verbal root *biita-* 'to stripe, scratch something':

(3766) — *buuta-'nỹ-ki* / *biita-'nỹ-ki*
parallel-REF-DEC / stripe-REF-DEC
'it is a stripe, dash'

A single undulating shape can also be described in two alternative ways, whereas multiple undulations are referred to by reduplication of the root of one of them:

(3767) ~ *lo'wɛ̃-ỹ-ki* *koi'loi-ỹ-ki*
bend-ATT-DEC fold-ATT-DEC
'it is undulating, it is an undulation'[419]

(3768) ~~~~ *lowɛ̃-lowɛ̃-lowɛ̃-(lo'wɛ̃)-tse*
bend-bend-bend-bend-DEC
'it is undulating'

The element *ũteja'bo* 'triangle, square' is probably derived from the noun *ũtɛja* 'side':

(3769) *'ũtɛja* *'bu-tse*
side put-DEC
'it sits on the other side'

(3770) ΔΔΔΔ *ũtɛja=bu=ũtɛja=bu=ũtɛja='bu-tse*
side=put=side=put=side=put-DEC
'it is a triangle'

(3771) □□□□ *ũtɛja=bu=ũtɛja=bu=ũtɛja=bu=ũtɛja='bu-tse*
side=put=side=put=side=put=side=put-DEC
'it is a square, it is square'

9.4. Kinship terminology

In fieldwork interviews about kinship terminology it is necessary not to become too abstract. In general, people get confused after several questions like "and how do you call the son of your sister-in-law?", and they will start to give terms that only match for part of the question, or invert the question and give the term which is used by the kinsperson for ego, or give wrong terms altogether. In the ideal situation, one should be specific and ask terms for existing persons, e.g. "how do you call Almir?", which obviously requires that you know as many family members as possible by name and in what way they are related to the consultant ('ego'). However, the original full Kwaza kinship system is not matched for all of its members by living representants at this moment.

In present-day Kwaza society, not all attested kinship terms can be used any more. It is no longer realistic to speak of a Kwaza "society", or even a "community". The Kwaza were reduced considerably during the decades following first contact with the Westerners and have been living in pluri-ethnic communities with Kanoê, Salamãi, Aikanã and Tuparí since the ensuing introduction

419. When referring to distorted forms of the human body, such as a crooked leg, the root *koiloi-* is considered more suitable than *lowɛ̃-*.

of rubber extraction in the early 1930's. Although the population has nearly doubled since Carlson's visit in 1984, it consists now of only two families with 25 members in total. These are divided into several nuclear families in three of which Kwaza is spoken on a daily basis.

There are probably only very remote ties of kinship between the families, and at the present no intermarriage is foreseen. In-'laws' are nearly all Aikanã and some are Nambikwara or absent and unidentified. Half of the members of family I (ME) is of Aikanã ethnic identity, and the consultants from this family have no Kwaza uncles, cousins, nephews and nieces or in-laws. Although the relevant consultants in family II (AN) are in the same situation, the majority is of Kwaza ethnic identity. As a consequence there is much more insecurity about certain parts of kinship terminology in family I than in family II, which results in less dependable information from the former. The consultants from family II were able to give a more complete and consistent set of kinship terms than family I. They are all given in table (37) below.

All grandparents are called *ha'kai*. This term is probably related to the root *haka-* 'old'. Father and mother are *a'ha* and *mã* respectively. Aunts and uncles are differentiated as to their status by blood or as in-law. True uncle is *ta'la* and true aunt is *mãduku'tay*, which contains the word for mother, and an unidentified element. Uncle-in-law is *ahadu'ky*, a term which contains the word for father, and possibly the root *duky-* 'other'. In-law male cousins also contain this root: *duky'xwa*. It is possible that *-duku-* in *mãduku'tay* 'true aunt' is also related to this root *duky-* 'other'. Aunt-in-law is *koreda'ra*. It is conspicuous that the terms for the parent of the husband or wife of ego are identical to 'true uncle' and 'aunt-in-law'.[420] The terminology for brothers and sisters depends partially on relative age. This is investigated in (9.5.). Children of ego are *eto'hoi*.[421] There is a set of terms for cousins: to ♂ *txare'wa* and ♀ *ma?ỹ'tɛ*. Etymologically *ma?ỹ'tɛ* may be related to *mã* 'mother', with an original resultative noun marker *-te* (see 5.6.6.). The female classifier *-tay* is found on 'niece', 'cousin' and 'true aunt'. It is uncertain whether *txare'wa* could be related to *tswa* 'man'. Nephews and nieces are ♂ *ko're* and ♀ *kore'tay*, whereas their children again are termed ♂ *txare'wa* and ♀ *ma?ỹ'tɛ*.[422] Both grandchildren of ego and children of cousins are *kore?anỹ'tɛ*. This term contains also the aforementioned nominaliser *-te*. Husbands of the children of ego are *ko're*, and wives of the children of ego are *kore?u'ty*. Note that several terms for directly related female kinsfolk contain the classifier *-tay* 'woman', whereas terms for

420. If there is a mistake in the terminology as sketched here, it may lie either with the terminology for the parents of husband/wife, or with the terminology for uncles/aunts.

421. The distinction between masculine and feminine equivalents of this word *tswatohoi* and *etaytohoi* respectively, does not concern the sex of offspring in general, but the sex of children between 10 and 15 years of age, and therefore belongs to age-group terminology, which is discussed below.

422. Or ♂ *kore* and ♀ *koretay*, although this is uncertain.

in-law female kinsfolk contain the nominal suffix *-uty* (see 4.4.3.). Optional use of *-tay* in *ma?ỹtɛ'tay* 'niece' and *hidi'tay* 'older sister' is considered as endearing.

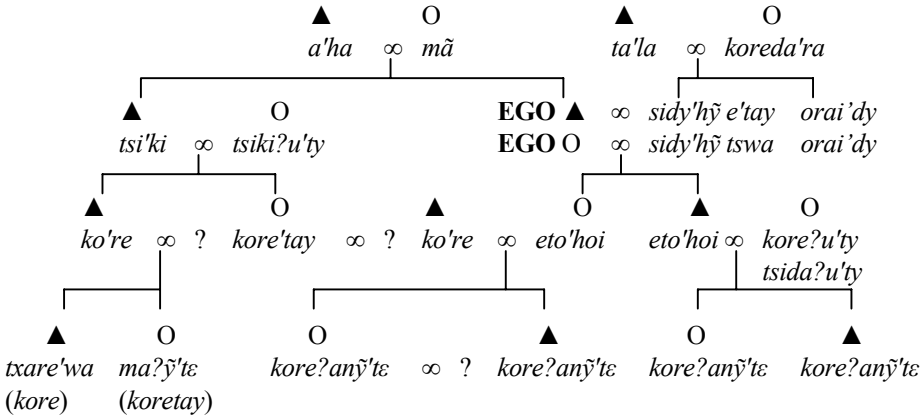
Could it be that the Kwaza had a system similar to those of other Amazonian peoples, where for instance ego could marry his aunt-in-law, or his cousin or his niece? On several occasions this was suggested by consultants. It is likely that kinship terminology reflects patterns of marriageability and marks the boundaries of incestuous engagement, which is culturally determined as a result of the traditionally prevailing circumstances (see Melatti 1993:83-96). In addition to the factors mentioned earlier, missionaries and other Westerners have been trying to suppress "promiscuity" and polygamy for several decades now, so possible traditional systems of marriage, exchange of women and incest taboos have likely become obsolete. All of this contributes to the difficulty to establish what the traditional patterns were, and consequently, the values of the kinship terms elicited. From the kinskip terminology table (37) it is not perfectly clear to whom ego can marry. Probably, there is no incestual ban on intercourse or marriage with ♂ *txare'wa* and ♀ *ma?ỹ'tɛ*. It is less likely that kinsfolk referred to by a term containing the root *kore-* are marriageable to ego. One of the reasons to suppose this is that there is no sex differentiation in the terms for grandchildren of ego, *kore?anỹ'tɛ*, but there is for grandchildren of nephew and niece, as shown above. Furthermore *ko're* also shows up in the terms for son and daughter-in-law and as part of *koreda'ra* 'aunt-in-law'. So if ego can marry with *txare'wa* of *ma?ỹ'tɛ* he will either cross a relatively large gap from the pespective of blood-ties: a cousin is related only via the grandparents, who are two levels away; or a gap in terms of generation difference: the child of a nephew or niece is two generations away.

Kinship terminology is reportedly not used vocatively in family II, whereas it is in family I (note that Kwaza has no vocative morpheme). It is by MA considered ugly to use the words for 'husband' and 'wife' vocatively. Personal names can be used vocatively.

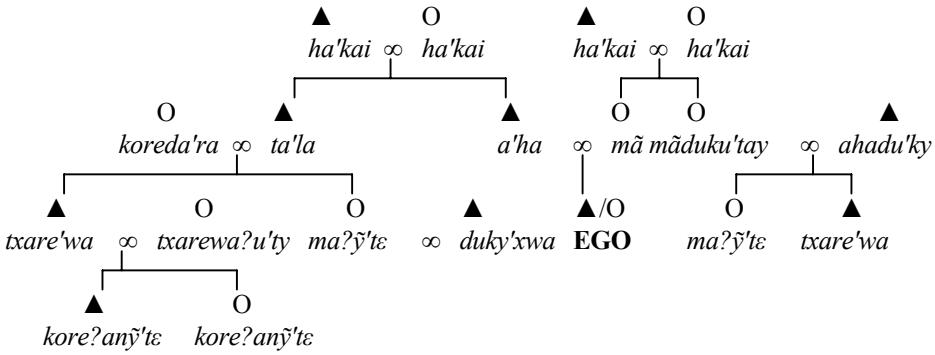
In kinship terminology there hardly seems to have been any influence from other languages. The word *mã* shows similarities to Aikanã *?ma?ma* (Carlson 1984:72) *mama* (Becker-Donner 1955:306), Kanoê *mu(j)* (Bacelar 1996:31) or *mõ* (Becker-Donner 1955:306) 'mother' and Quechua *mama* (Willem Adelaar pc). Not very many indigenous languages of the Americas have similar forms for 'mother'. There may be a relation between Kwaza *ko're* and Kanoê *ko'ro* 'nephew', and between the second part of Kwaza *kore?anỹ'tɛ* and Kanoê *nũ'ti* 'grandson'.

Table 36. Kinship terminology: *'sinahere* 'the family'

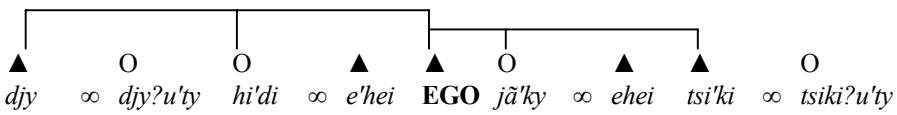
EGO, AND NEXT-OF-KIN AND IN-LAW



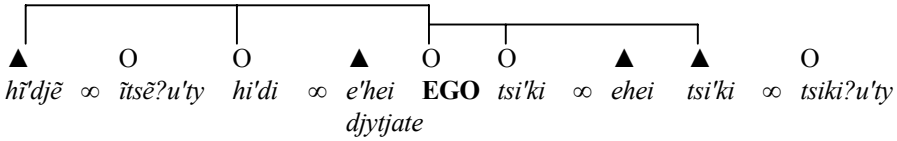
EGO AND DISTANT FAMILY



SIBLINGS OF MALE EGO



SIBLINGS OF FEMALE EGO



9.5. Brother-sister terminology

There is a subsystem of terms to denote true brothers and sisters where age relative to the age of ego is involved. In the kinship terminology table above, persons to the left of ego are older than ego and to the right they are younger. Furthermore there is differentiation not only in accordance with the sex of a kinsperson, but also as to sex of ego. So this could be considered as an instance of separate registers for male and female speakers. Other sex-determined speech variation was not encountered in Kwaza, nor are there recollections of such in the past.[423] The functional load of the terms for 'brother' and 'sister' in Kwaza can be schematised as follows:

Table 38. Brother-sister terminology

		sex of ego	
age	sex of kin	♂	♀
+	♂	*djy*	*hĩdjẽ*
	♀	*hidi*	
-	♂	*tsiki*	
	♀	*jãky*	*tsiki*

One could infer from this table that in terms of differentiation of reference possibilities, brothers are in certain respects "privileged" on the basis of sex, and somewhat "discriminated" on the basis of age, whereas sisters are somewhat less privileged on the basis of sex and to a certain extent more on the basis of age. It is not certain that there is a hierarchy connected to this differentiation, e.g. a hierarchy of social importance based on age and sex distinctions like: older brother > younger sister > older sister > younger brother. There has been a certain level of sex-segregation in traditional Kwaza and Aikanã society. Apart from roles like male hunter and female housekeeper, there were strong taboos on contact between the sexes in initiation periods, and certain types of ritual music performances. On the other hand, both men and women could fulfil the role of chief or shaman.

This subsystem of reference is still equally intact in both families, and there do not seem to be differences in form or use between them. It is interesting that instead of *mãduku'tay* 'true aunt' also *hi'di* 'older sister' can be used. And instead of *e'hei* in the case of a brother-in-law who is married to an older sister, a male ego may say *'djy-tjate* lit. 'older brother of his'.

Etymologically, Kwaza brother-sister terminology is intransparent as there are no other meanings in Kwaza. There seems to be no generic term for broth

423. There is a traditional tale only about the use of a different word for 'jaguar', to be used by women when they are in the forest without "protection" by a man, although this story is laughed at (see part II).

ers and/or sisters, but there is an associative suffix *-mɛ* for kinship terms, as in e.g. *hidi'mɛ* '(my) older sisters' (see 4.4.2.).

The word for 'twins', *aky-'tohoi-tsy-hỹ*, is analysable as 'two-child-GER-NOM'. The word for 'orphan (which has the sense of being without father and mother)', *awãnỹ'ce-tohoi*, may be analysable as 'show-child', although there may be a relation with the verb root *ãwãte-* 'to be sad'.

There are imaginable connections between Kwaza *hi'di* 'older sister' and Salamãi *hĩnd`i* 'mother' (Becker-Donner 1955:306), between Kwaza *jã'ky* and Kanoê *njákòró* 'younger sister' (Becker-Donner 1955:308), or *naké* 'nubile girl' (Bacelar 1996:32). In Guarani, the system of terminology for brother and sister is based on the same parameters of sex and age (Gregores and Suárez 1967).

9.6. Age terminology

There are different words to designate people during different stages of their life. Below they are classified according to sex and approximate age of the person to which they apply:

Table 39. Age terminology

age	♀		♂
>1		*darato'hoi*	
>10		*eto'hoi*	
>15	*etayto'hoi*		*tswato'hoi*
>20	*tsywydy'te*		*araka'te*
<20	*e'tay*		*tswa*
<40		*ha'kai*	
<60	*ere'ritay*		*ereri'xwa*

The etymology of *darato'hoi* may be a compound of 'green' and 'child'. The use of *ere'ri* for 'little one/boy' is derived the verb root *ereri-* 'to grow'. In the stem of the terms for old persons it may mean 'fully grown (man/woman).

Two kinship terms which have not been discussed so far are specific with respect to absolute age: *txuu'txi* 'his/her son of about 12 or 13 years of age' and *mã'ty* 'his/her daughter of about 12 or 13 years of age'. *txuu'txi* and *mã'ty* are a little older than *etohoi-tja'te* 'his/her child'. Both terms were not attested in family I.

9.7. Social roles

After their first menstruation period girls are subjected to collective initiation festivities as found in many parts of the world. Being a "heathen" custom, it

was eradicated by the missionaries for over 40 years ago in the case of the Kwaza. ME is the only living female Kwaza who has experienced it. Preceding intitiation, the girls were locked in a dark hut and kept in seclusion and were subject to food taboos. At this stage they are referred to as *jamãi'tay*. When they are set free after a few months a big party is held with singing. Then the girls are nubiles.

For boys, there may have been an initiation period in the same vein. MA notes that men started to wear a sort of penis gourd (actually a little ribbon) after an initiation period of seclusion. There also was a stage when a boy started to become successful in hunting. During the first three months he would not eat of his own catch, which reminds of the two or three months' seclusion of girls. According to ZE the boy was called *(h)araka'te* at this stage. ZE saw the parallel with young Inuit hunters, who do not eat of their very first catch.

The word *e'tay* concerns both 'woman' and 'wife'. It may be related to Kanoê *e* 'woman, wife' (Bacelar 1996:32). The suffix *-tay* also functions as a classifier. The word *e'xwa* only means 'husband' and may be a combination of the semantically void root *e-* (see 4.2.1.11.) and the Kwaza word *tswa* 'man', but it also resembles Kanoê *æ'wo* 'man, husband' (Bacelar 1996:31).

The word for 'chief" is *tã'jã*, and the word for 'shaman' is *hiri'ni*. Both men and women could fulfil these functions.

9.8. Personal names

Normally, people do not know what the meaning of a certain name is and may explain only that "it's just a name". Usually, people get the name of their ancestors, preferably of their grandmothers, uncles, grandfathers etc. Often, people get two names. Usually, names are sex-specific. Many personal names are not morphologically or semantically analysable, but some are, like *waruwa'ru* Kanoê '(evening) star'. Nicknames are usually analysable, like *e'kãi* 'mouth', which was given to a now deceased woman who had a hare lip, and *hareku'ty* 'bald head', which was given to a woman who was born with a bald head. In the Área Indígena Tubarão-Latundê, an "ugly" nickname tends to be kept secret to the person referred to by it. People may also be given someone else's name because of similar looks. It is possible that names may contain sounds that are not part of the Kwaza phoneme system, viz. [ð] in the name *kwa'ða*. Some names appear to be derived from words in other languages, viz. *waruwa'ru* above, and another likely borrowed name is *ko'na*, which may come ultimately from Tupí or Tupí-Guaraní *kuña* 'woman' (Becker-Donner 1955:307).

When writing about Kwaza name traditions, one is rather writing about the name traditions of the two remaining families. Because of the turbulent but hardly documented history of intense contacts with neighbouring remnant groups from other nearly extinct tribes it is difficult to say whether a certain name is originally Kwaza or from another language. It seems remarkable that many names encountered are of Kanoê origin, but this can be explained by the

fact that many of the ancestors of the remaining two Kwaza families were Kanoê. Also, certain names may have been common among various different groups for a long time, as some names are found both with people from Kwaza, Kanoê and Aikanã ancestry.

As there was also intensive contact, at least during the last 50 years, with Salamãi groups, it is striking that this language hardly left any trace in the Kwaza language. Therefore the name *mũ'de* or *mã'de* is all the more striking. The Salamãi are also known in the literature as Mondé, and the linguistic family to which their language belongs is actually called Tupí-Mondé. Many Aikanã are called by the personal or family name *mũ'de*, and it has also been the family name of some Kwaza. The name *mã'de* seems to be another (possibly Kanoê?) version of this name given to a Kwaza speaker.

In Nordenskiöld (1915), Roquette-Pinto (1912) and several others, the Aikanã are referred to as the *Huari*.[424] According to Nordenskiöld this name was given to the Aikanã by the now possibly extinct Pauserna (Tupi-Guarani family). This was clearly pejorative as it meant 'monkey', and today it is not recognised among the Aikanã. Partly because of the pejorative sense, I do not think that the Kwaza personal name *wa'ri* is a relic of "*Huari*". A nicer alternative could then be the autodenomination of the Pakaa Nova: *Wari* (see e.g. Vilaça 1992:11, and Everett and Kern 1997 who explain that this autodenomination means: 'we.inclusive.emphatic'). The Pakaa Nova belong to the isolated Chapakura linguistic family in the West of Rondônia, which is apparently unrelated to either Aikanã, Kwaza or Kanoê. Alternatively, the origin could be a language of the Pano family, where *wari* means 'sun', but this seems less probable because of the remoteness of this group. A final alternative would be that the name *wa'ri* is of Kwaza origin. Unfortunately, we lack much detailed knowledge of the languages and the Native history of Rondônia and there is a fair chance that we will never fill this gap completely.

Below follows a list of traditional personal names encountered among the Kwaza-speaking population. It is divided into different parts based on the probable origin (at times based on consultants' statements) of the names or the other ethnic groups among which they are attested. Furthermore the sex to which they are applicable is specified and where possible an etymology or meaning is given. The names of clear Kwaza origin (but not those of Aikanã, Kanoê and other origins) are also included in the dictionary part.

424. Other names encountered in the literature for the Aikanã are the person names Massaká, Kasupá and Tubarão, and the river name Corumbiara. Hanke (1956) claims that the Masaká are distinct from the Huari.

KWAZA ORIGIN:

a'we	♂ KWA ‘rain’
da'kai	♂ KWA *da'kyi* ‘caterpillar’.
da'kaitjẽnitu	♂
dara'to	♀♂ KWA ‘unripe fruit’ (nickname of Konã)
e'tɛ	♂ KWA ‘belly’ (nickname)
harɛku'ty	♀ KWA ‘bald one’ (nickname)
iri'mitxi'tay	♀♀
jatsi'mĩu maky'txa	♀♀
jã'nũ	♂♂
jo'xu	♂ KWA ‘manioc branch’
kidjo'ro	♀♀
ku'da	♀♀
kwa'ba	♀♀
mã'dɛkuty	♂♂
o'?e	♀♀
si're	♂♂
tãrĩ'mã	♂♂
towe'ñɛ̃	♂♂
txa'tay	♀♀
txi'?a	♂♂
wairo'ñɛ	♂

AIKANÃ ORIGIN:

aru'?i	♂
duka'rja ma?a'ru	♂♂
duka'rja pepe'?i	♂♂
inũ'te	♀♀
jane'mỹi	♀♀
kude're	♂♂
mũ'de itsira'ra	♂♂
pju'pju	♂ (nickname)
txiri'dü	♂

KANOÊ ORIGIN:

kyi-'kãu	♂ KAN ‘salt-male’ (KAN *-kỹi* MASC)
kyi'kãu mã'dɛ	♂♂
tawi'wi 'woro'kãu	♂ KAN ‘(bird species) black.male’
tete'ru	♂ KAN watete’ru ‘fanner’
tjã'rɛ	♂ “Capitão Tiaré” (see Dequech)
towe-'nwe	♀ KAN ‘honey.spirit-female’ (KAN *-nake* FEM)
wamũ'ro	♀ KAN ‘(bird species)’

MULTIPLE, OTHER OR UNKNOWN ORIGIN:

arikapu'wa	♂ KAN/KWA/MEK[425]
au'mỹi	♀ KWA?
awa'wa	♀ KAN/AIK/KWA
baika'ju	♂ KAN/KWA?
da'kyi	♂ KAN/KWA? <KWA 'caterpillar'
domaka'ru	♀ KAN/KWA
dudu'ru	♀ KWA <KWA/KAN *du'rudu'ru*
durudu'ru 'harekoce	♀ KWA/KAN + KWA?
'hai?arakaru	♂ KAN/KWA/TUP
ju'pe	♂ KWA/AIK (AIK *zu'pe*)
ko'nã	♀ <TUPI *ku'ñã*
konã'xu	♀ <TUPI *ku'ñã*
paike're	♂ KWA?
parepui	♀ SAL?
turu'we	♂ KAN/KWA?
turuwɛ'xu	♂ KAN/KWA?
txire'mãi	? KWA?
wa'ri	♂ KWA/KAN/AIK?
wa'ru	♀ KWA <KWA/KAN *wa'ruwa'ru*
waruwa'ru	♀ KAN/KWA
waruwa'ru awa'wa	♀ KAN/KWA
wa'tsɛ	♂ KAN/KWA?
wou'kirja	? KWA? (a Westerner's name)

Note that the Aikanã names were deliberately given because of partial Aikanã ancestry of their bearers. These names are still widely used among the Aikanã (Nordenskiöld 1915:371 already registered one of the "Huari" as *Dyukaría*). The Kwaza speakers are less aware of the Kanoê origin of some names and usually suppose they are authentic Kwaza names. Their origin and analysis was pointed out to me by Manuelzinho Kanoê. One of the four recently contacted Kanoê from the Omeré region was called *wamũ'ro* (she died untimely in 1997).

9.9. Ethnonyms and mythological names

The Kwaza have been using several different names and nicknames for themselves. The name *kwa'za* is the "official" autodenomination today. This nominal stem is usually extended by the collective suffix when referring to the Kwaza as a group: *kwa'za-nahere* 'the Kwaza people', or by an adverbial suffix combination when referring to the language: *kwa'za-dy-nãi* 'the Kwaza lan

425. In Snethlage (1937:114), the deity who brought the use of hallucinogenic paricá to the Amniapé (Mekens) is called *Arikapua*. And his father is called *Arikuagnõn*.

guage'. The name may originate from the Aikanã who refer to the Kwaza as *kwa'ða* or *kwa'za*. This was acknowledged by AN, the oldest known native speaker of Kwaza. The meaning of the word is unknown. The first written record of the name *kwaza* is by the anthropologist Delvair M. Melatti who visited the Área Indígena Tubarão-Latundê in 1977. She mentions the presence of various ethnic groups in the reserve, among which the *Guazani*.[426] Doubtlessly she heard this name from a speaker of Aikanã who added the Aikanã collective suffix to the name: *kwa'za-ɛnɛ* 'the Kwaza people'.

In documents and publications by people who heard about the Kwaza or visited them until the early 1940's (Rondon 1916:155-156, Zack 1943, Dequech 1943, 1988, 1993), they are always referred to as *Koaiá*, *Coaia*, *Quaia* etc., which is pronounced as [kwa'ja]. With this name they are known in the linguistic literature (Loukotka 1963, 1968, Rodrigues 1986). The name *koaiá* may be of Tupi origin. The Kepikiriwat (extinct Tuparí nation) who were interviewed by Rondon in 1913 referred to the Kwaza as *coaiá*. From the last speakers of Salamãi (Tupi-Mondé) I learnt in 1995 and 2001 that their people used to refer to the Kwaza as *kwa'ja*. On other occasions some old Aikanã and Kanoê persons told me that they also used to call the Kwaza *kwa'ja*. Dequech (pc) claimed that the autodenomination was *kwa'ja* when he visited the Kwaza in the 1940's. The Kwaza themselves reject this denomination categorically. It is not known to me where Machado de Souza (1999) got the information that *koaiá* means 'morning star/evening star/Venus'.

The Brazilian FUNAI personnel used to refer to the Kwaza as *arara*. This name is strongly rejected by the Kwaza.[427]

According to Rondon (1916:153;155-156), the Nambikwara referred to the *coaiá* as *malotundú*. Price (1972:80) notes that the Northern Nambikwara refer to the Aikanã as *máhálohnté*. In (1977) Price is of the opinion that both this denomination and *coaiá* refers to the Aikanã he met in the Área Indígena Tubarão-Latundê. Furthermore, he identifies the *arara* (sic) of the same reserve as Salamãi.[428] The Latundê and people from other Nambikwara groups always denied to me that they called the Kwaza *malotundú*, but this may of course have been different in the past.

Whatever the origin of the name *kwaza*, the Kwaza use it as their main autodenomination.

Another autodenomination refers to a regional subgroup of the Kwaza: *tsã'rã txinũtenahe're* 'the people of the big earth'. Another subgroup of Kwaza

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426. I had no access to her report to the FUNAI, Processo FUNAI/BSB/3503/76, but the relevant information was cited in another FUNAI report by Galvão (1980:2). Galvão herself, however, is not aware of the fact that the "*Guazani*" are identical with what she calls "*Arara*".

427. See the previous note, and also note (11) in section (1.4.).

428. It is because of this sort of confusion that the Kwaza are often either considered to be members of a different nation or they are invisible altogether in the ethnohistorical literature of the Guaporé region.

were called the *tsã'rã txu'hũinahere* 'the people of the little earth'. According to ME, these groups lived in different territories until about 1900 when they became reduced and united.

A nickname that the Kwaza sometimes use for themselves is *kũ'cẽnahe're* 'the Brazil nut people'.

An elderly Aikanã woman who was once married to a now deceased Kwaza shaman mentioned *tsɛ̃tsi'tswa* as another Kwaza autodenomination. MA pronounced it as [tsɛ̃ti̱twa], but he did neither know the name, nor could he analyse it.[429]

Even though it was customary among the Aikanã and other peoples of Southern Rondônia, the Kwaza were apparently not subdivided into "clans" bearing animal names. It is unclear whether there was a "clan" system at all. Nevertheless, the Kwaza used to be a big nation, which was necessarily divided into groups. Subgroups usually bore the name of the chief as a sort of family name.

According to an old speaker of Kanoê, his people called the Kwaza *tai-na'kãw*.

The following denominations are used by the Kwaza for other peoples:

aika'nã / *aika'rã*	Aikanã
akũ'cũ	Latundê/Nambikwara (lit. '(strange) Indian')
a'tu	name of an unidentified people in the west
ba'hanahere	Aikanã (lit. 'baha (monkey species) people')
dari'janahere	Mekens (lit. 'forest-dog people')
'hoinahere	Kanoê (lit. 'bat people', calque on AIK *ɛryj-ɛnɛ*)
kũ'rũinahere	Kanoê (lit. 'the fried people'[430])
mãrɛ̃'?a	Westerner/non-Indian (lit. 'spirit')
ty'ka	Mekens, Sakerap, Tuparí of Omeré
tsãrã'mãi	Salamãi
tupa'ri	Tuparí

The Kwaza generic term for animals, plants and things is *'rai?ỹhỹ*. There are no other generic terms for the different kingdoms of things and beings and their subparts, except *auto'rɛ* 'birds' and *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa* 'human beings'. The word *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa* may be etymologically related to *mãrɛ̃'?a* 'spirit'.

There is no generic term in Kwaza for mythological beings, with the possible exception of *mãrɛ̃'?a*. Although the *mãrɛ̃'?a* is a specific and particularly dangerous 'spirit', there may be more than one of it. There is a group of dangerous spirits called *maka'lai*, who represent the spirits of a certain extinct

429. He noted the resemblance between the noun *tsɛ̃* 'salt' and the first syllable of this name. The element *tswa* may be be noun for 'man'. The alternative analysis may involve the root *ticwa-* 'ancestral'.

430. Maybe the remote neighbours of the Tupari mentioned in Caspar (1975:10) as *Kia-kop-kinka* 'sun-burnt ones'.

tribe, which was massacred long ago. Many other names of mythical beings bear the prefix *kai-*, which is probably etymologically related to the noun *hakai* 'old person, grandfather'. The prefix is found in the name of a specific mythical being called *'kaidari'ja*, which represents the spirit of the *dari'ja*, a wild dog species of the forest (Speothos venaticus). It also occurs in *kaiku'ja* who is the personification of the rather cold periods in the dry season. There are two benevolent beings which are referred to as "gods", *kaiku'cɛ̃* and *(kai-)arikwã'jũ*. In Carib languages like Trio, the word *kaikuʃi* may mean both 'jaguar' and 'spirit' (Carlin pc). It is possible that *kaiku'cɛ̃* originates from an extinct Carib language of the Guaporé region like Palmella, but the word makes an analysable impression in Kwaza because of the prefix *kai-* and the element *-kucɛ̃*, which resembles *kũcɛ̃* 'Brazil nut', which again occurs as part of a Kwaza autodenomination. The prefix in the name of the other "god" *kai?arikwa'jũ* is sometimes omitted. In the mythology of certain Tupi-Tuparí nations *arikwajõ* is the Creator of the world, e.g. with the Mekens (Snethlage 1937:114, Galucio 1996:4, 2001:5) and with the Tuparí (Caspar 1975:193, see also Mindlin 1993). The Aikanã have originally also two god-like beings. Kwaza *arikwã'jũ* is identified in Aikanã as *iβɛ'rjüa*, and *kaiku'cɛ̃* as *waure'mãi*.

9.10. Dog names

The word for 'dog' is the same as the one used for 'jaguar'; *jere'xwa*. This may be an indication that the dog is not a native animal for the Kwaza. Yet the animal was known already in Zack's time. Zack has both for 'jaguar' and 'dog' the word *iritsoá*. In Aikanã, the difference is expressed: *i?i'βɛ* 'jaguar'; *ã:'rjüa* 'dog'.

Proper names for dogs (but not for other animals) exist in Kwaza. They are often unanalysable, yet they are usually sex specific. Lévi-Strauss (1938:41), wrote down *waikara* for 'dog' and has no word for 'jaguar'. The word is not known by the Kwaza except as an unanalysable bitch name: *waika'ra* or *'waikara* (Zack). Lévi-Strauss' entry in Loukotka (1963:13), *wainkára*, would not match a form of today: **wãi'kara*. The following names are reported by Kwaza speakers to be reserved for bitches: *ai'pja* (used for white spotted dogs);[431] *a'kwa* or *aku'wa*, *mãti'rĩ*, *pã'jãi*, *pirara'ta*, *susi'ñũ*, *txi'be* (used for white spotted dogs).

The name *mãtxi'ri* or *matxi'ri* was encountered with a he-dog, and the name *kawe'rɛ* was reported to be a he-dog's name only.

Some names are analysable in some way, like *txũ'hjã*, which is likely etymologically related to the stem for 'small', *txuhũi-*. The following names are little productive contractions of stems and classifying derivations: *be'tu*

431. Caspar (1975:38-39) mentions the tradition amongst the Tupari to give proper names to dogs. He reports that *Aitpia* is a name reserved especially for bitches, but that it is apparently from an unknown language.

<'be?ỹhỹ 'black, stain' + *e'tu* 'back', meaning something like: 'black back'; *be'tõi <'be?ỹhỹ* 'black, stain' + *e'cũi* 'eye', approximately: '(with) a mark over the eye'. The name *pirã'jã* is recognisable as a loanword (probably via Portuguese) 'piranha' (note that Kwaza for 'piranha' is *e'ri*). It is not clear to me whether these more analysable names are sex specific.

The position of a dog in the reserve is not always very enviable. Even excellent valuable hunting dogs are sometimes treated cruelly, especially by children growing up. People are fond of puppies, however, but children regard them as toys. Like most other domestic non-aboriginal animals in the rainforest, dogs usually die because of parasites and lack of proper food, but I have seen puppies die because of sheer fatigue, never being allowed a minute of peace by the children. So dogs, like most domestic animals, get proper names, but this does not necessarily mean that they are treated as pets.

9.11. Hydronyms

The river systems are traditionally very important for geographical orientation. People live along the rivers, from which they get potable water, where they bathe and where they fish. Until the 1960's, when the Indians of Southern Rondônia were driven away to the tiny headwaters of the rivers by big cattle ranchers, and when roads were being built by Brazilian timber entrepreneurs and cars were introduced, the rivers used to be important for travel too. The Kwaza knew many rivers, and their names are still remembered, even by those who have never visited these rivers. In the present section all Kwaza river names I encountered are listed, together with the equivalents in neighbouring languages as far as possible. Some river names are analysable and their literal meaning is descriptive, or they refer to an historical event that occurred once on the concerned river. Some river names are unanalysable and originate probably from neighbouring languages. Some river names are practically identical across several neighbouring languages, and can be considered as "areal". The available maps of Rondônia are rather inaccurate, so not all names could be identified and related to specific rivers with certainty. Note with respect to the list below that with "left" and "right" tributaries of rivers I mean rivers which discharge into a major river on the left- or right-hand side respectively, when descending that major river.

arici'ni Rio Chupinguaia, right tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river, KAN aritsi'ne, AIK aritxi'ni.

axyhi'mũ lit. 'parica river', left tributary of the Rio Pimenta Bueno or the Tanaru: either the Igarapé Tunumum, Igarapé Dois Irmãos or Igarapé Ienamãi.

duture'mũ lit. 'pig river', a certain creek, AIK erwe'mũ (lit. 'pig river').

hã 'ki?ỹhỹ lit. 'red river', descriptive name of the *tu'mũ* or Rio Taboca.

hã 'ki?ỹmũ	lit. 'red river', once attested (with AN) descriptive name of the *taika'rɛ* or Rio São Pedro.
jã'mũ	lit. 'blood river', left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river between the Ipiranga river and the Cascata falls.
jũtsĩ'mũ	lit. tinamou river', nickname of lower Rio São Pedro.
kaka'mũ	lit. 'ant river', left tributary of the Rio Pimenta Bueno, between the Urubu and Tanaru rivers, maybe the Igarapé Maloca, Igarapé Burro Morto or the Rio Barro Vermelho.
kaka'ta	Cascata 15 de Novembro, falls where the Igarapé Ipiranga joins the Pimenta Bueno.
om(ow)e're	Rio Omeré, right tributary of the Corumbiara river, KAN omowe're, AIK omomere.
pitxũ'rã	Rio do Ouro, right tributary of the Pimenta Bueno, AIK kapatsu'ra.
taika'rɛ	Igarapé São Pedro, left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno, AIK tara'mũ (lit. 'annatto river'), KAN tu'ru (KWA *toro* 'annatto', KAN/AIK *tara* 'annatto'). This is the Djarú-Jupirará river mentioned on the 1913 map in Rondon and Faria (1948:183).
tu'mũ	Rio Taboca, right tributary of the São Pedro. This is the Jucup-Cauó river mentioned on the 1913 map in Rondon and Faria (1948:183).
tsãrã'ro	Rio Tanaru, left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno, AIK tsã'rãru.
txɛrɛ'bɛ	unidentified left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river, between the Taboca and Urubu rivers, but maybe even before the Urubu.
tximũ'nũ	Postinho, deserted settlement on a creek some eight km southeast of Gleba.
tximũ'te	Rio Apedia or Pimenta Bueno, SAL>AIK apei'ja.
txita'mũ	lit. 'falls', Cascata 15 de Novembro, also kakata.
unɛ'ru	Rio Ipiranga, AIK, KAN onɛ'ru.
uruhu'mũ	lit. 'vulture river', Rio Urubu.
ũcady'mũ	lit. 'hawk river', left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river before the axyhimũ, or maybe rather a tributary of the Tanaru: the Igarapé Dois Irmãos or Igarapé Ienamãi.

9.12. Ideophones

Ideophones are onomatopoeic or sound symbolic words. In Kwaza, imitations of sounds are used as such, but they sometimes occur as verb roots as well. Also several verb roots and bird names seem to originate from onomatopoeia. In this section, I list some of these ideophones and some lexemes which are based on ideophones.

atxũ- ‘to sneeze’.

(3772) *a'txũ-da-ki*
sneeze-1S-DEC
‘I sneezed’

bɛ ‘bang!’. This ideophone symbolises the sharp sound of e.g. a revolver. As a verb this was characterised by MA as invented speech of AN’s:

(3773) *'bɛ-tsy-hỹ*
bang!-GER-NOM
‘shot with a revolver’

bɛrɛrɛ- ‘to pop’.

(3774) *atxi'txi* *bɛrɛ'rɛ-dy-ni'te*
maize pop-CAU-INSTR
‘popcorn’

BoBoBopo ‘flap, flutter’.

(3775) *BoBoBopo-'txa-hỹ-lɛ*
flap-DR:wide-NOM-PREC
‘(the vulture) fluttered up’

bũũng ‘bang!’. This ideophone symbolises the heavy sound of e.g. a shotgun in the distance.

(3776) *buce'hỹ-da-ki*
shoot-1S-DEC
‘I shot at something’

(3777) *buje'hỹ-ki*
bang-DEC
‘the shotgun is going “bũũng!”’
(hearing it going off in a trap)

dãrã'ku ‘saracura bird’. This bird produces a gull-like call at sunset. Aikanã equivalent: *dara'kwa*

didi- ‘to stamp knock’.

(3778) *di'di-da-ki*
stamp-1S-DEC
‘I’m walking stamping’

dɛ̃dɛ̃dɛ̃- ‘to crash’. This ideophone symbolises the sound of trees falling down. It was attested in the speech of family II: *dɛ̃dɛ̃'dɛ̃ki* ‘the tree is falling’.

dwi'dwi ‘tesoureiro bird’.

hahay- ‘to yawn’. Aikanã equivalent: *hahöjhahöj-* (Hinton 1993:149).

(3779) *ha'hay-da-ki*
yawn-1S-DEC
‘I’m yawning’

hitukwehitu'kwe-. This ideophone symbolises the call of the *tɛ̃jɛ̃jɛ̃i*, the sabia bird. It occurred as a pun in the following example:

(3780) *hitukwe=hitu'kwe-tsy-hỹ*
matchbox=matchbox-GER-NOM
‘the one who says “matchbox matchbox”‘

hüürüp. This ideophone symbolises the chant of the iriwa bird species. A similar ideophone is probably the basis of the name for the iriwa bird in Aikanã: *hürüdü'dü*

yf ‘pf!’. This ideophone symbolises the blowing sound of animals like the wild pig and the ant-eater.

ka'kau ‘carrion bird’. Aikanã equivalent: *káukáu*.

kjõ ‘scuffle’. This ideophone symbolises the sound of a snake rushing through the leaves.

kuturu'?uuu ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’. This ideophone, which is pronounced with a high pitch, symbolises the sound of a crowing cock. The Aikanã equivalent is *kuture'?uuu*.

ta ‘bang!’. This ideophone symbolises the sharp sound of e.g. hitting someone with a stick, shooting a revolver etc.. It is also pronounced as [tæ̃:].

toutoutou It could be that this ideophone symbolises the sound of a toad.

tu'pɛu ‘splash!’. This ideophone symbolises the sound of plunging into water. It is often found as a compound in e.g.:

(3781) *tu'pɛu=tumjỹ'te-da-mỹ*
splash=fall.in.water-1S-VOL
‘I’m going to jump into the water’

tu'pũng ‘splash!’. This ideophone symbolises the sound of a big stone being thrown into the water:

(3782) *haki'dwa* *tu'pũ=tumjỹ'te-ki*
stone splash=fall.in.water-DEC
'stone fell into the water "splash!"'

twãtwãtwã. This ideophone symbolises the sound of the *twãtsysi'kjɛ* bird.

tsja'pɛɛuuu 'splaaash!'. This ideophone symbolises the sound of a very large rock falling into the river. In a less emphatic form it is also pronounced as [tʃə'pɛw] and may be used to symbolise the sound of jumping into the water:

(3783) *txa'peu-tse*
splash-DEC
'he plunged into the water'

tsyutsyutsyutsyutsyu. This ideophone symbolises the whining sound of a wild piglet.

tsũrũ- 'to slide, drag, shove'

(3784) *tsũrũrũrũ'rũ-da-ki*
slide-1S-DEC
'I shuffle'

tsurururu'ru 'murmur'. This ideophone symbolises the sound of rippling water.

(3785) *tsurururururu='dote-ki*
murmur=shed-DEC
'water is leaking away murmuring'

txãtxãtxã 'crushing of leaves'. This ideophone symbolises the sound of leaves on the ground when walking on them.

txitxi- 'to burn, fry'. This verb root may be sound-symbolic.

txitxitxi. This ideophone symbolises the sound of a grasshopper. It is also reflected in the word *txitxi'lu* 'grasshopper'.

txææ- 'to murmur'. This onomatopoeic verb root symbolises the continuous sound of water, such as the rain in the distance, a waterfall etc. Its non-symbolic equivalent is the verb root *huda-mũ-* 'hum-CL:liquid'. It forms a pair for vowel quantity with the children's talk verb *txæ-* 'fall in the water'.

uki'ri 'little tweeting bird species'. This ideophone symbolises the call of the bird.

we'ro ‘parrot’. This word may derive from the call of the parrot when flying over.

wõ- ‘to grunt’. This ideophone symbolises the sound of an ant-eater running away grunting.

(3786) *wõ=bu'ru-tsy-hỹ-lɛ* *'oja-tsy-hỹ-lɛ*
grunt=pass-GER-NOM-PREC go-GER-NOM-PREC
‘(the ant-eater) passed by grunting and ran away’ (t)

wororo-. This form symbolises a certain type of noise made with plastic. Although it was rejected as an independent root or stem, note its occurrence in the following example:

(3787) *tsũ'hũ* *wororo-'dy-xa-re*
what noise-CAU-2-INT
‘what a noise you are making with plastic!’

Texts

1. Introduction

The present part of the description of Kwaza contains thirteen texts and a number of songs. These texts and songs correspond to transcriptions of tape recordings of native speakers made between 1995 and 1998 in the Área Indígena Tubarão-Latundê in Rondônia. The transcriptions and especially the morphemic analysis could never have been done without the help of native consultants. The first seven texts (subsections 2.1. to 2.7.) are traditional tales of the region.[432] The eighth and ninth texts (subsections 3.1. and 3.2.), are personal historical accounts from traditional times, when there was still little contact with Westerners. Texts ten to twelve (subsections 4.1., 4.2. and 4.3.), represent personal accounts by young people in present times. Text thirteen (subsection 5.1.) is a Kwaza translation of a personal account which was originally in Portuguese. The sixth textual section (6.) contains the hardly interpretable words to a number of traditional Kwaza songs. All texts are preceded by an introduction. All texts are basically in a phonemic spelling, but they contain phonetic information such as indication of stress, unexploded consonants, and sometimes length and non-phonemic vowel and consonant quality. Also, the distinction between /*e*/ and /*ɛ*/ is not always consequently observed. Material in square brackets represents what the narrator later during the morphemic analysis rejected as erratic slips-of-the-tongue. Material in round brackets was hardly audible. The texts are presented in three ways: the original Kwaza form divided into morphemic segments, the corresponding English interlinear glosses and grammatical abbreviations, and free English translations. An audio-CD with a selection of the original tape recordings is included in this book.

2. Traditional tales

2.1. hakainahere *'The Old People': A traditional tale, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Barroso, 08-03-96*

The present story may be originally an Aikanã tale. Mario learnt it from his Aikanã wife Raimunda, who again had learnt it from her grandmother. The title, in Aikanã *tʃɯ̈itʃɯ̈we?ene*, refers to the fact that it is a story about people in olden times. It is possible that this story also belongs to the original Kwaza repertoire,

432. For comparison with the mythology of a number of other Southern Rondônian peoples the collections by Mindlin (e.g. 1993, 1998) are very useful.

but this was not confirmed. On 6 March 1996, Raimunda told it in Aikanã, and two days later, Mario retold it in Kwaza. It was analysed and translated into Portuguese on 2 May 1996.

(1) *e'xwa-tjate'mɛ̃-tjarjỹ-dy-'ta* *'a-tara-'hỹ-ta*
man-3.POS beat-much-DS-CSO exist-PROC-NOM-CSO

'mɛ̃-e-dy-ta *emã=hã'rã-tja*
beat-too-DS-CSO cry=stop-CSO

(2) *eto'hoi-nahe're-wã* *hỹ'dɛ* *'ja-ỹ-rjỹ* *kari'cwa-na* *'ɛ-a-ta*
child-COL-AO go! DIST-this-CD:area field-LOC go-1P-CSO

'a-a-ta *atxi'txi* *mani'ni-tsy-hỹ* *hu'de-a-ta* *'ja-a-ta*
exist-1P-CSO maize fish-GER-NOM dry-1P-CSO eat-1P-CSO

'a-a-'ni-tja *'ta-ta*
exist-1P-EXH-CSO talk-CSO

(3) *'wɛ* *karicwa-'na* *tja* *'a-ete-ta*
bring field-LOC CSO exist-COMIT-CSO

(4) *'ojaburu-tja* *atxi'txi* *kã'to-ta*
arrive-CSO maize dry-CSO

(5) *tja* *kã'to-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-hỹ-wa'ra* *atxi'txi* *bɛrɛ'rɛ-ta* *ta'na* *'bɛ*
CSO dry-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM-but maize pop-CSO well bang!

(6) *ji'je-dy-'ta* *tsu'hũ-ra'ti* *nãi-'re* *ti-'nãi-da-ki-'tja* *nãi-'re*
break-DS-CSO what-FOC like-INT what-like-1S-DEC-CSO like-INT

(7) *a'ha* *tsa'si-ta* *hu'hui=a'sa-e'teja-'nã-tehe're-tja* *'ta-ta*
father follow-CSO kill=end-1PO-FUT-APPR-CSO talk-CSO

(8) *ũi-'nã-tsy-'hỹ-wara* *tsile'ta* *tsile'ta-'tja*
lie-FUT-GER-NOM-but afternoon afternoon-CSO

a'wỹi=xa're-ri'tsa-hỹ-wa'ra *je'rexwa-'le*[433]
see=turn-DR:outside-NOM-but jaguar-only

(9) *'tana* *hy-'siñwa-'nỹ-dy-ta*
well move-CD:yard-REF-DS-CSO

(10) *'kui* *jerexwa-ta'dy-'tjata-hỹ-wara* *'eto'hoi* *y'ro-da'mỹ-dy-ta*
my! jaguar-EXCL-CSO talk-NOM-but child cry-want-DS-CSO

433.*-le* 'only' marks an unexpected new topic here.

(11) *yro-he-'ky-tja 'ta-ta*
cry-NEG-NEI-CSO talk-CSO

(12) *'hou duky-'hỹ 'houwa'ria-tja 'hɛ-na hy-'ce-tja*
take other-NOM hang-CSO mortar-LOC move-CL:hole-CSO

i'ritsi-ce-'nỹ-hỹ-dy-ta
cover-CL:hole-REF-NOM-DS-CSO

(13) *'jere'xwa 'kwɛ=bu'ru-tja 'hẽu-rjỹ=hyhy'rwa-silo'na=ba'ru-tja*[434]
jaguar inside=arrive-CSO smell-CD:area=move-DR:corner=do.all-CSO

(14) *'hɛ-na 'bukja-'ta jã'si-tja'rjỹ akwa'te dy-ta*
mortar-LOC lie-CSO hear-much inside DS-CSO

(15) *eto'hoi yro-'nã-dy-ta 'yro-'tsi tja cẽ'rẽ-le kunũ-'dy-tja*
child cry-FUT-DS-CSO cry-MON CSO breast-only suck-CAU-CSO

(16) *ta'na hỹ-dy-'ta ta'na 'daicoto'nỹ-tja hy'hyrwa-kwate*
well NOM-DS-CSO well rise.up-CSO move-DR:inside

'du=ĩ?ĩ'ta-tja
finish=always-CSO

(17) *ta'na bu'dyny'hỹ-tja 'hi=ĩ?ĩ'ta-dy-'ta ta'na na'nãi-tja*
well stretch-CSO whistle=always-DS-CSO well very-CSO

(18) *ta'na 'bukja-rja'te-ta ta'na he-'hẽu-rjỹ 'ĩ?ĩta 'haja-'ta*
well lie-DR:rim-CSO well RED-smell-CD:area always day-CSO

(19) *ta'na 'haja bu'ru-dy-'ta ta 'haja-'siñwã-dy-'ta hary'ky dai'toto'nỹ-ta*
well day arrive-DS-CSOCSO day-CD:yard-DS-CSO now stand.up-CSO

'bui-hỹ-dy-'ta hary'ky
leave-NOM-DS-CSO now

(20) *di'ri-tja a'wỹi tsa'si-'le-ki 'ɛ-da-'te-tsy-rjỹ tana*
rise-CSO see follow-only-DEC go-1S-PURP-POT-CD:area well

hy-'dwa=le'ja-dy-'ta
move-DR:onto=ahead-DS-CSO

(21) *'ɛ-a-'te=jã-'rjỹ-wa'ra nãi-'re le'ja-rai-ki='tja ta*
go-1P-PURP=be-CD:area-but like-INT ahead-damn-DEC=CSO talk

434. On tape *hy=hy-rja-* 'walk along a rim' is heard instead of *hyhyrwa-* 'move, walk around', as proposed by MA, both here and in line (16).

e'tohoi-tja'te-wã *tja* *'ta-ta*
child-3.POS-AO CSO talk-CSO

(22) *ta* *hỹ'dɛ* *'ɛ-a-'ni* *na'nãi-eteja-'lɛ* *jere'xwa*
CSO go! go-1P-EXH very-1PO-PREC jaguar

ka'hɛ=a'sa-ete'ja-tara-'tsɛ-tja *'ta-dy-'ta*
bite=end-1PO-PROC-DEC-CSO talk-DS-CSO

(23) *ta* *'ɛ-tja* *o'jabu'ru-tja*
CSO go-CSO arrive-CSO

(24) *ĩ* *'mẽ-tja'rjỹ-ta-nãi-'ko* *e'tohoi-nahe're* *'wɛ=ɛ-da-'ta*
nothing beat-much-1O-NOM-INS child-COL bring=go-1S-CSO

(25) *'bukwa-e'te-da-hỹ-he're-da-hỹ-wa'ra* *jere'xwa* *'tsje-ete'ja-le-'ki*
live-COMIT-1S-NOM-INTL-1S-NOM-but jaguar grab-1PO-FRUST-DEC

'mẽ-tja'rjỹ-ta-nãi-'ko-'tja *ta-'ki*
beat-much-1O-NOM-INS-CSO talk-DEC

(26) *cwa-ra'ti-ki*
be-FOC-DEC

(1) She was accustomed to her husband always hitting her, and when he beat again, she just stopped crying. (2) She said to her children: “Let’s go there to the old field, we go there, we’ll live there, we’ll dry and eat maize and fish, let’s live there!” (3) She took (the children) to the old field and they lived there together. (4) They arrived there and dried maize. (5) So she was drying the maize while suddenly it popped (loudly): bang! (6) It cracked, “Why is it doing like that, what did I do?”, she said, “Why?” (7) “I think father will come after us to kill us”, she said. (8) They had gone to sleep, but at (early) night when (she) looked outside there was a jaguar! (9) Then, it was approaching over the yard. (10) “My! That’s a jaguar, isn’t it?”, she said, but then the son was about to cry. (11) “Don’t cry!”, she said. (12) She took him, and took the other one into her strap hanging and entered the hole of the mortar and covered themselves, whereupon... (13) the jaguar entered the house and smelled around walking to all corners,... (14) it was lying down at the foot of the mortar, probing the sounds inside, as... (15) The child was about to cry, so she just gave it the breast to suckle for it not to cry. (16) Well, thereafter (the jaguar) stood up and kept on walking everywhere around the house. (17) The jaguar stretched itself and didn’t stop sniffing and whistling around. (18) He was lying by the side of the mortar, continuously sniffing around until sunrise. (19) Then day arrived, then the daylight shone in the yard, and then (jaguar) rose, and left the house, uh. (20) Then she got up (from the mortar) and looked, “He will follow in the direction I am to go, there (jaguar) has gone ahead... (21) now that direction where we are headed, (jaguar) went ahead, damned!”, she said talking to her son. (22) Then she said (to her son) “Let’s go! Let it have its way with us, let the jaguar just try to tear us

up!"[435] (23) Then they went and arrived (home). (24) "Because of (your) beating me so much for no reason I took the children and left... (25) I went to live together (there in the old house), but the jaguar nearly grabbed us, because of (your) beating me always", she said to him. (26) That's how the story is told.

2.2. hakai kotorɛ *'Grandfather Toad': A traditional tale, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Barroso, 22-03-95*

This story was told on 22 March 1995, together with a free translation in Portuguese. The present story was analysed with help of my teacher on 13 and 14 March 1996. The story is a traditional Aikanã tale that Mario had learnt from his father Kudɛrɛ. Its original Aikanã title is *atuɛ wãkarɛ* 'grandfather toad'.

(1) *txarwa-'wy* *koto'rɛ* *'ta-ỹ-'hỹ* *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa-ĩ?ĩ-'wy* *'ĩ?ĩ-'wy*
first-time toad talk-ATT-NOM person-REM-time REM-time

(2) *ta'na* *cu'tɛ=jã-hỹ* *'a-ĩ?ĩ-'wy* *ay-'hỹ* *cu'tɛ-dy-ja-da-'mỹ=tja*
well fell=exist-NOM exist-REM-time that-NOM fell-CAU-IO-1S-VOL=CSO

o'janỹ-'hỹ=wa'ra
arrive-NOM=but

(3) *e'tay* *aky-'hỹ* *au're-dwa-'ta* *wã'rẽdy-'ta-wa-'si*
woman two-NOM marry-IDS-CSO be.bad-TRA-IS-SWR

(4) *'a-hỹ=wa'ra* *'towy* *'wara'ja* *hary'ky* *cwa-'takˀ* *cu'tɛ-?e-wa-ta*
exist-NOM=but land make now IS-CSO fell-too-IS-CSO

'cwa-hỹ=wa'ra
IS-NOM=but

(5) *'bu?ũ'rjỹ-si'ñwã-nãi-'le* *'haja-'ỹ-dy-ta*
sit-CD:yard-NOM-only day-ATT-DS-CSO

'bu?ũ'rjỹ-si'ñwã-nãi-'le-hỹ-dy-'ta
sit-CD:yard-NOM-only-NOM-DS-CSO

(6) *wa'rarjỹ-'nã-tja* *oja'nỹ-he'rejã-re* *e'tay-le* *a'ky-dy-'hỹ*
work-FUT-CSO arrive-APPL-INT woman-only two-CAU-NOM

au're-tja *'ĩwã* *wa'rarjỹ-'he-tja* *a-'re=cwa-'ta=wa-'ta*
marry-CSO nothing work-NEG-CSO exist-INT=IS-CSO=IS-CSO

435. According to MA this is first thought, then said; intending 'let us confront him, he will see!'.

'wãrẽdy-'ta-wa-'si *'a-ta*
be.bad-TRA-IS-SWR exist-CSO

(7) *'hadeha'deja-wy-'lɛ* *tsũ'hũ* *wãrẽdy-'ta-ta-xa-'re* *cu'tɛ-da-'mỹ* *tja*
soon.after-time-PREC what be.bad-TRA-1O-2S-INT fell-1S-VOL CSO

a:le *'dai=warja-ta* *hy-dwa'tja* *'tja* *tsa'si=bu'ru-tsy-le-ki*
axe take=bring-CSO move-DR:forest CSO follow=pass-POT-FRUST-DEC

(8) *'tana* *tsũhũ-'nã-tja* *tsasi-'re* *wara'rjỹ-da-'ki=tsy-ĩ-'lɛ*
well what-FUT-CSO follow-INT work-1S-DEC=POT-NEG-PREC

nãi-'re=tja *'ta-wa-si* *ku'ri-tja* *'ywy'nwỹ* *'txi-nwỹ-'tɛ*
like-INT=CSO talk-IS-SWR stop-CSO tree big-CL:tree-NOM

tsi'kja-hỹ-dy-'ta *cu-'ta* *ta'na* *cu-'ta* *towa-'nã-dy-ta*
stand-NOM-DS-CSO cut-CSO well cut-CSO fall-FUT-DS-CSO

(9) *towa-'nã-tsɛ* *tso'roi-wa-xa-'ra=tja* *'ta-ja-hỹ=wa'ra*
fall-FUT-DEC run-IS-AS-IMP=CSO talk-IO-NOM=but

(10) *'ĩwã* *'nãi-tsɛ* *ti-'nãi-tsy-'rjỹ* *nỹ-'nwỹ-hỹ* *a-hỹ'st*[436]
nothing like-DEC what-NOM-GER-CD:area big-CL:tree-NOM exist-NEG

o'tsi-ja-tsy-'re=tja *'ta-wa-si*
kill-IO-POT-INT=CSO talk-IS-SWR

(11) *tso'roi-wa-'ra='da-he'rejã-'re* *towa-'nã-"tsɛ* *o'tsi-hata-'tsi=tja*
run-IS-IMP=1S-APPL-INT fall-FUT-DEC kill-3S.2O-MON=CSO

'ta-ja-hỹ=wa'ra *ku"ri-'ta-wa-si*
talk-IO-NOM=but stop-TRA-IS-SWR

(12) *nãi-'nãi* *ãwỹi-ta* *'nãi-hỹ='tja* *hary'ky*
like-NOM see-CSO like-NOM=CSO now

(13) *'towa-'dy-dy-ta* *ta'na* *tsã'rɛ̃-ta* *ta'na* *tsã'rɛ̃-ta* *ta'na* *'tana*
fall-CAU-DS-CSO well collapse-CSO well collapse-CSO well well

xy'xy-sje"te-wa-'ta *ta'na*
scream-TRA-IS-CSO well

(14) *tja-'hỹ=wa'ra* *'tana* *tsã'rɛ̃-kuty'tɛ-hỹ-ja-"ta* *'tana* *i:si-"bwa-cwa-si*
CSO-NOM=but well collapse-DR:beyond-NOM-IO-CSO well die-end-IS-SWR

436. *ahỹsi* was added afterwards, as the narrator said that 'it should have been there'.

(15) *'ja ĩ-'tsi-da-ta 'ja u'te-da-le-'hỹ*
already NEG-MON-1S-CSO already notify-1S-FRUST-NOM

'jãsi-"he-cwa-ta 'nãi-wa-nãi-'ko i-i'si-wa-ki=tja
hear-NEG-IS-CSO like-IS-NOM-INS RED-die-IS-DEC=CSO

(16) *ale 'dai=warja-ta tsa'dwɛ-tja hy-'dwa-tja 'ywynwỹ*
axe take=bring-CSO leave-CSO move-DR:onto-CSO tree

"bu-kja-hỹ-'ko 'bu?ũrjỹ-ta 'bu-ka'tsa-te
put-DR:length-NOM-INS sit.down-CSO put-DR:middle-INTENS

tutuni'tahỹ=hũ'dwa-dy-ta
think=sit-DS-CSO

(17) *e'tay-nahe're-le mĩu 'arwe"nĩ-tja 'oja-"takˀ 'tsy-le-ki*
woman-COL-only chicha carry.chicha-CSO go-CSO GER-FRUST-DEC

"bu?ũdwa-dy-'ta
sit-DS-CSO

(18) *tsũhũ 'tutuni'tahỹ-xa-re*
what think-2S-INT

(19) *'ja u'te-da-hỹ=wa'ra tso'roi=oja-'he-cwa-nãi-'ko: ywy'nwỹ*
already notify-1S-NOM=but run=go-NEG-IS-NOM-INS tree

tsi="bwa-cwa-hỹ-lɛ 'nãi-da-ki 'si-dy-'rjỹ "ɛ-nã-da-'ki
step=end-IS-NOM-PREC like-1S-DEC I-POS-CD:area go-FUT-1S-DEC

(20) *ta 'nãi-xa-he-tsy-'tsɛ na'nãi-i'ni: na'nãi-tja i'si-da'mỹ-tja*
CSO like-2S-NEG-POT-DEC very-NEE very-CSO die-want-CSO

tso'roi-wa-"he-hỹ-dy-ta 'nãi-ỹ-si na"nãi-i'ni ɛ-a-'ni
run-IS-NEG-NOM-DS-CSO like-ATT-SWR very-NEE go-1P-EXH

ta-ja-'hỹ=wara
talk-IO-NOM=but

(21) *he'?ai-da-ki 'si-dy-hỹ tsãrã-'na ɛ-'nã-da-'ki=tja*
not.want-1S-DEC I-POS-NOM earth-LOC go-FUT-1S-DEC=CSO

(22) *'hou=isi-koro-'ta tsy-hỹ=wa'ra he'?ai-da-'ki=tja le'ja-xa-'ra*
take=secure-Cl:arm-CSO GER-NOM=but not.want-1S-DEC=CSO ahead-2-IMP

tsa'si-da-tara-'tsɛ=tja 'hỹ-dy-'ta
follow-1S-PROC-DEC=CSO NOM-DS-CSO

(23) *tsy-'re=tja* *le'ja:-ta* *ã'wỹi=xare='nỹko'tɛ-le-'ki*
GER-INT=CSO ahead-CSO see=turn=return-FRUST-DEC

(24) *koto'rɛ* *a're-tja* *a'ru-cwỹ:te-'dy-ta*
toad turn-CSO jump-off.path-DS-CSO

(25) *hy=nỹko'tɛ-tja* *da'mỹ-tja* *'nãi-hỹ-ta'dy* *koto'rɛ*
move=return-CSO want-CSO like-NOM-EXCL toad

a're-ty-je-'ki-tja
turn-DET-DR:away-DEC-CSO

(26) *nỹko'tɛ-ta* *ã'wỹi-?e-'ta* *tsy-hỹ=wa'ra* *koto'rɛ* *a're-ty* *tana*
return-CSO see-too-CSO GER-NOM=but toad turn-DET well

'aru='aru-'toto-'nwỹ-dy-'ta
jump=jump-DR:upward-CL:tree-DS-CSO

(27) *hã'rã:-tja* *ti-'nãi-tja* *'towy* *cutɛ-'nỹ=wady-ta-he'ta:-xa-tara-'tsɛ*
stop-CSO what-NOM-CSO land fell-REF=give-IO-DESI-2-PROC-DEC

'nãi-nãi *ã'wỹi-xa-ta* *'nãi-xa-xa-'hỹ* *xy'tahỹ-ta-xa-'hỹ=tja*
like-NOM see-2-CSO like-2-AS-NOM hate-1O-2-NOM=CSO

(28) *hary'ky* *koto'rɛ* *a're-je'?e-ki* *'cwa-ra'ti-ki*
now toad turn-too-DEC IS-FOC-DEC

(1) Long ago, the one called toad was a human being. (2) Well, when there would be a clearing-job, and when it would be said: “I’m going to order for it to be cleared”, and then he came, but... (3) because he had two wives, (the others) did not like him. (4) He lived like that, but (with respect to) making a clearing, now, when the people were clearing again, he wouldn’t come. (5) He was just sitting in his yard the whole day, only sitting in the yard, while. (6) “He is not coming to work, no way!, only he has married two wives yet he does not work, why!, he just sits at home!”, they said, being angry with him, while he remained (home). (7) But soon thereafter “What is it that you are angry with me?, I’m going to clear!”, he said, and he took his axe and went into the forest, and got close to (the others), however,... (8) well, “What is he coming after us for?, no way he is thinking of working, so what does he want?”, they said, and he became quiet and started cutting a huge tree which was standing, he cut and cut, and the tree was about to fall when:... (9) “It’s going to fall, people, run!”, he warned them, but:... (10) They said “He’s lying, from where would a big tree be smashing us?” (11) “I’m telling you folks, run!, it’s going to fall, and it will kill you!”, he said, but they didn’t react. (12) “They will see what it is like”, he said. (13) He felled the tree, then everything collapsed at once, and everyone screamed, then. (14) So he had done it, but then it all fell on top of them, and they all died. (15) “I have warned them and told them so clearly, however, they didn’t listen, therefore they have all died”, he thought. (16) Taking his axe, getting onto the path and walking a while, he then sat down on a log that was crossing the path, right in the middle of the road he sat thinking. (17) (Meanwhile) the women put chicha in a basket to take with them and went, but there he was

sitting. (18) “Why are you so sad?” (19) “I had already warned them, but they didn’t run, a log fell on top of them all, therefore. I am going away to my own land.” (20) (Then the women said) “Don’t do that!, let them, it is because they wanted to die, that is why they didn’t run, leave them, let’s go!”, they said to him but... (21) “I don’t want to, I’m going away to my own land”, he said. (22) They grabbed him by the arm, but he said: “I don’t want to, you go ahead, I will follow you soon”, and then... (23) “That’s fine”, they said, and went ahead, but then they turned and looked back. (24) He turned into a toad and jumped off the path. (25) (The women) walked back: “Ah! That’s why he did not want to come with us, he turned into a toad on us”, they said. (26) They went back and saw again, but he had turned into a toad on them, and then he jumped up into a tree. (27) He stopped (at the top and said:) “You will wish that the tract of land would clear itself for you, just wait and see! (i.e. you will suffer because of the hard work), and will you hate me then?”, he said. (28) Then he turned into a toad once again, that’s how the story goes.

2.3. jerexwa arewahỹ *‘The jaguar who had turned into a man’: A traditional tale, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Barroso, 08-03-96*

This story represents a traditional tale of both the Kwaza and the Aikanã. According to Antonhão there are big differences between the Kwaza and Aikanã versions. Here, a Kwaza translation of the Aikanã version is told by Mario. Like (2.1.) and (2.4.) Mario learnt this story from his Aikanã wife Raimunda, who again had learnt it from her grandmother. On 6 March 1996, Raimunda told it in Aikanã, and two days later, Mario retold it in Kwaza. It was analysed and translated into Portuguese on 2 May 1996.

(1) *e'tay-tja'te-wã* *u'ru* *cu-'nã-da-ki* *'txana-hỹ* *eto'hoi-nahe're*
woman-3.POS-AO patua cut-FUT-1S-DEC we-NOM child-COL

janã'dy-ki=tja *'ta-ta*
hungry-DEC=CSO talk-CSO

(2) *o'ja-tja* *u'ru* *[na]* *axe'hỹ-tja* *'ojabu'ru-ta* *tja* *'cu-da'mỹ-tsy-'hỹ=wara*
go-CSO patua *** find-CSO arrive-CSO CSO cut-want-GER-NOM=but

jerexwa-'le[437] *oja'nỹ-ta-ta* *'tsje-da'mỹ-dy-'ta*
jaguar-only arrive-TRA-CSO grab-want-DS-CSO

(3) *ale-'e* *tana* *o'ri-tja* *atoto* *'bu=ũcwa* *u'ru-na* *tja* *'dy-ta*
axe-too well ascend-CSO over put=sit.above patua-LOC CSO DS-CSO

(4) *jere'xwa-le* *"bu=ũ-ku'rwa-ta* *oxote-'hỹ-ta* *'dy-ta*
jaguar-only put=be-foot-CSO stalk-NOM-CSO DS-CSO

437.-*le* probably has the pragmatic function of introducing a new event here.

(5) *'ĩ-le* *'bu=ũcwa* *ato'to* *tja* *uru* *'cu=tsãtsã'jã-dy-ta*
he-only put=sit.above over CSO patua cut=fall-CAU-CSO

'oja-'nĩ-tja *tsãtsã'jã-hỹ=wa'ra* *oja-'he-ta* *we're*[438] *tana*
go-CAUS-CSO fall-NOM=but go-NEG-CSO revolt well

'acwa-'hỹ *'by=hy'txa-dy-ta*
whole-NOM cut=drop-DS-CSO

(6) *otsi-'dy-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra* *danỹ* *"bu=ũ-ku'rwa-dy-'ta*
kill-CAU-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but still put=be-foot-DS-CSO

(7) *a'le* *hary'ky* *o'ce-tene-"ta-tsy-hỹ=wa'ra* *'danỹ* *'bu?ũ'rjỹ-dy-ta*
axe now throw-DR:down-TRA-GER-NOM=but still sit.down-DS-CSO

ti-'nãi-da-'he-tsy-'tsɛ=tja *"bu=ũ'cwa-dy-'ta*
what-NOM-1S-NEG-POT-DEC=CSO put=sit.above-DS-CSO

(8) *'haryky* *'jere'xwa-le* *o'ri=cu'cu-ta* *'tsje-hỹ-'tja-ta*
now jaguar-only ascend=walk-CSO grab-NOM-TRA-CSO

ta'na *'jo="bwa-tja* *tsu'ty-le* *'dy-tja* *'bu?ũce-'ta*
well devour=end-CSO head-only cut-CSO leave-CSO

(9) *hary'ky* *ururi'rɛ* *'ce-e-'ta* *tsã-'nĩ* *u'ru* *'tja*
now basket weave-too-CSO strew-DR:net patua CSO

'tsiritsa-'hỹ-tja *hary'ky* *tsu'ty* *aty-'hỹ-tja* *hary'ky* *u'ru*
middle-NOM-CSO now head put-NOM-CSO now patua

tsã-kuty-'tɛ-tja[439] *tsje-"tu-tja* *mãrɛ̃'ritsa* *a"re-tja*
strew-CL:head-CL:round-CSO grab-CL:back-CSO person turn-CSO

tsje-'tu=wɛ-tak˺
grab-CL:back=bring-CSO

(10) *ɛ=bu'ru-tja* *ha'?ã* *u'ru* *'wã-dy-ko-'ra* *ja-a-'ni=tja* *'ta-ta*
go=pass-CSO look! patua cook-CAU-CL:fruit-IMP eat-1P-EXH=CSO talk-CSO

e'tay-tja'te-wãĩ'wã=tja *'ta-ta*
woman-3.POS-AO nothing=CSO talk-CSO

438. *were-* also means ‘decide (against)’.
439. The classifier *-tɛ-* ‘round object’ is probably used here because the head is loose from its body and reduced to a lifeless round object. Note that the combination *-kutytɛ-* may also function as a directional ‘beyond’, ‘over the hill’.

(11) *wã'wỹi-tja* *'cutsẽrjỹ-dy-ta* *u'ru* *wã-dy-'nã-tja*
sleep-CSO lie-DS-CSO patua cook-CAU-FUT-CSO

'tsã=tsã-'kawa-'ta-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra[440] *tsu'ty-le*[441] *axe'hỹ-tja*
strew=strew-CL:inside-TRA-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but head-only find-CSO

(12) *a'ha-he're-da-'hỹ-ta'dy* *jere'xwa-ta'dy* *'ĩwã* *hu'hui=asa-ty*
father-INTL-1S-NOM-EXCL jaguar-EXCL nothing kill=end-DET

'jo-ty-ete'ja-hỹ-ta'dy[442] *jã-'ki* *eto'hoi-tja'te-wã* *tja*[443] *'ta-ta*
devour-DET-1PO-NOM-EXCL exist-DEC child-3.POS-AO CSO talk-CSO

(13) *tso'roi* *bui-ta* *'hy-dwa'tja-ta* *hy=xona-'rjỹ=emã-'tja-hỹ*
run leave-CSO move-DR:forest-CSO move=enter-CD:area=weep-TRA-NOM

wawa'rja-dy-'ta
go-DS-CSO

(14) *koto'rɛ-le:-'wã* *o'ja=bu"ru-hỹ-dy-'ta* *tsũhũ-'si:* *eto'hoi*
toad-only-AO go=pass-NOM-DS-CSO what-SWR child

emã-'tja-hỹ *wa'warja-xa-'re* *'ta-dy-'ta*
weep-TRA-NOM go-2-INT talk-DS-CSO

(15) *'tsi-dy-hỹ* *tswa* *'jo-'ty-ta-ta* *'si-wã-'e* *jo-'nã-ta-hỹ-'lɛ*
I-POS-NOM man devour-DET-1O-CSO I-AO-too devour-FUT-1O-NOM-PREC

'nãi-da-'ki=tja *'ta-dy-'ta*
like-1S-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(16) *hehỹ'si* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *'kwɛ-nɛ-'ra=tja* *'ta-dy-ta*
well this-NOM-INS enter-DR:hither-IMP=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(17) *wa'txile* *'kwɛ-tja-'hỹ-dy-'ta*
finally enter-TRA-NOM-DS-CSO

(18) *jere'xwa* *hary'ky* *tu"ru-tja* *ĩ'wã* *xa'reja=tsa'si-ta* *'tana*
jaguar now wake-CSO nothing search=follow-CSO well

(19) *'hỹ-dy-'ta* *'ta* *koto'rɛ-le* *tsũ'hũ* *xare'ja-xa-'re* *ta-dy-ta*
NOM-DS-CSO CSO toad-only what search-2-INT talk-DS-CSO

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440. The transitiviser is not well understood here.
441. Here *-le* emphasises the surprising event of discovering that there is no body, just the head.
442. Maybe *jo-* is compounded with the preceding derived verb.
443. *tja* behaves as a free quotative particle here.

(20) *ti-'rjỹ* *e'tay* *tsoroi=oja-'re=da-'ta* *xare'ja-da-'ki:*
what-CD:area woman run=go-INT=1S-CSO search-1S-DEC

'jo-da-'mỹi=da-'ta=tja *'ta-dy-'ta*
devour-1S-VOL=1S-CSO=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(21) *hehỹ'si* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *ãwỹi-rjỹ-kwa'te=jã-he-rai-'re* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko*
well this-NOM-INS see-CD:area-DR:inside=be-NEG-damn-INT this-NOM-INS

kwɛ'nɛ-tehe're-dyky'tɛ-ta *hade-'mũ* *ã'wãta-hỹ=wa'dy-ta?ỹ-'ra*
enter-APPR-ADDI-CSO pepper-CL:liquid look.at-NOM=give-1SO-IMP

'ta-dy-'ta
talk-DS-CSO

(22) *watxi-'re=tja* *jawe'kwɛ-da-'ta* *ĩwã-'da-hỹ-he"re-tsy-'hỹ=wara*
true-INT=CSO look.in-1S-CSO nothing-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but

ha'de-mũ *'tana* *do-"tõi=a'sa-dy-'ta*
pepper-CL:liquid well leak-CL:eye=end-DS-CSO

(23) *ta* *'ĩwã* *xy"xy* *ta'na* *i"si-hỹ-dy-'ta*
CSO nothing scream well die-NOM-DS-CSO

(24) *ja* *'nanãi-'ki* *hu'hui=asa-da-'ki* *jere'xwa* *ɛ-'ra=tja* *'ta-dy-ta*
already very-DEC kill=end-1S-DEC jaguar go-IMP=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(25) *hary'ky* *bui-tja* *ɛ:-ta* *ta* *eto'hoi-wã* *'emã-tja-'hỹ-ki*
now leave-CSO go-CSO CSO child-AO weep-TRA-NOM-DEC

'cwa-ra'ti-ki
IS-FOC-DEC

(1) (A man) said to his wife: “I’m going to cut a patua tree (for the seeds), our children are hungry.” (2) He went and found a patua, and as he got close and wanted to cut it down, a jaguar was coming at him, wanting to grab him. (3) He climbed up with his axe and sat high up there in the patua tree. (4) now the jaguar sat down there at the foot of the tree, waiting for him. (5) Now he was sitting up high, throwing down patua seeds, to make the jaguar go away, and he threw them down, but the jaguar didn’t go, so he decided to cut down an entire raceme of patua seeds. (6) He thought he had smashed (the jaguar with it) but it was still sitting at the foot of the tree. (7) He threw down his axe, but then (the jaguar) was still sitting there, “What am I going to do now?”, he said, sitting high up there. (8) Now, the jaguar climbed up step by step, grabbed him, and devoured him completely, he just cut off the head and put it aside. (9) Now he wove a basket, put the patua seeds inside, and in the middle he put the head, then he covered the head with patua seeds, and then put the basket on his shoulders, he turned into a man and put it on his shoulders. (10) He arrived (home) and he said to the

wife[444]: “Here, patua seeds!, cook them!, let’s eat!”, but it was a hoax. (11) Then he lay down and slept, and then, she was going to cook but while she was putting the patua seeds into a pan, she found the severed head. (12) “Bloody hell, I thought it was your father, however it is a jaguar, who killed him from us, and devoured him from us, that’s what it is!”, she said to her child. (13) She ran out, onto the forest path, and then she entered crying into the rough brush, walking with her son. (14) Then, she happened to have arrived at the toad’s place, and he said: “What is it that you are crying and walking around with your child?” (15) “Because he ate my husband and he is going to eat me too!”, she said. (16) “Well, get in here!”, he said. (17) Well, she entered there. (18) Then the jaguar had woke up, searched in vain, and followed them, well... (19) then the toad said “What are you looking for?” (20) (Jaguar) said: “Where did the woman run?, that’s why I’m searching, it’s because I want to eat.” (21) (Toad) said: “Well, if you want it so much, why don’t you have a look inside, it seems she entered here, and do take the opportunity to have a look at my pepper sauce for me!” (22) “Is it true?”, (jaguar) said, and he stuck just his head inside to look, and while he was looking in vain, (toad) threw pepper sauce into his eye. (23) Then, he screamed and then he died. (24) “Finished, very well, I killed the jaguar, now you go!”, (toad) said. (25) So she went out, and went away, crying because of her (husband and) child (she had two children), it is told like this.

2.4. tsilotokuty mãreritsa arewahỹ *‘The latex which turned into a man’: A traditional tale, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Barroso, 08-03-96*

The present story is originally an Aikanã tale. Like (2.1.) and (2.3.) Mario learnt it from his Aikanã wife Raimunda, who again had learnt it from her grandmother. On 6 March 1996, Raimunda told it in Aikanã, and two days later, Mario retold it in Kwaza. It was analysed and translated into Portuguese on 3 May 1996.

This story may have its roots in the era of the introduction of maize in Amazonia, around 2000 years ago.

(1) *'kainahe're:* *dodotxi'tɛ* *ohui-'wy* *o'hui-dy-'ta:*
first.COL ball play-time play-DS-CSO

(2) *'dodotxitɛ* *'ãi* *je-'takˀ* *esi'ñwã* *hã'rã:-tsy-rjỹ* *hy''ja-hỹ-dy-'ta*
ball far bounce-CSO yard stop-GER-CD:area fall-NOM-DS-CSO

(3) *dodotxi='tswa-le* *dodotxi'tɛ-na* *hy='kwɛ-tja* *'bu=ũ-kwa'te-dy-'ta*
latex=man-only ball-LOC move=enter-CSO put=be-DR:inside-DS-CSO

(4) *duky-'hỹ-le* *tsa'si-ta* *dodotxi'tɛ* *wa'je-e-ta*
other-NOM-only follow-CSO ball bring.back-too-CSO

444. The wife of the devoured man.

o'ce-nỹ-'hỹ=wa'ra *'je-toto-'he-tja* *atsi'le-nãi-'le=dwa-'ta*
throw-REF-NOM=but bounce-DR:upward-NEG-CSO heavy-NOM-only=IDS-CSO

na'nãi-te *o'hui-wa-'hỹ=wa'ra* *(hary)ky* *a'xy-na*
very-INTENS play-IS-NOM=but now house-LOC

je='kwɛ-hỹ-dy-'ta
bounce=enter-NOM-DS-CSO

(5) *ay-'rjỹ* *di'ri-tja* *'mãrɛ̃ri'tsa-le* *"buk'?ũ'rjỹ-hỹ-dy-'ta*
that-CD:area descend-CSO person-only sit.down-NOM-DS-CSO

(6) *e'tay-nahe're-wã* *'dodotxitɛ* *'dai=o'ce-ri'tsa-nỹ-'ra* *ta-wa-si*
woman-COL-AO ball take=throw-DR:outside-REF-IMP talk-IS-SWR

(7) *'dai=o'ce-ri'tsa-da'mỹ=tja* *dai-'nã-tsy-hỹ=wara* *dodo'txi*
take=throw-DR:outside-want=CSO take-FUT-GER-NOM=but latex

mãrɛ̃ri'tsa-le *"bu?ũ'rjỹ-dy-'ta*
person-only sit.down-DS-CSO

(8) *di'lɛ* *di'lɛ* *['mãrɛ̃]* *'mãrɛ̃ri'tsa* *"bu?ũ'rjỹ-he'rejã-'ki* *ỹ-'hỹ*
who who *** person sit.down-APPL-DEC this-NOM

ti-'nãi-tsy-'hỹ *tswa-'re* *jã-'ki* *ta-wa-si*
what-NOM-GER-NOM man-INT exist-DEC talk-IS-SWR

(9) *'ti-hỹ-"re* *'ta* *tana*
what-NOM-INT talk well

(10) *'towɛ='kwɛ-wa-ta* *'ãwãta-'hỹ-wa-si*
go=enter-IS-CSO look.at-NOM-IS-SWR

(11) *ti-'nãi-'xa-ta* *'nãi-xa-re* *'ta-wa-'si*
what-NOM-2-CSO like-2-INT talk-IS-SWR

(12) *oja"nỹ-da-'ta* *nãi-da-'ki=hỹ-dwa-ta* *ta*
arrive-1S-CSO like-1S-DEC=NOM-IDS-CSO talk

(13) *jere'xwa-le* *ti-'hỹ* *tsũ'hũ-rati-"wã* *nãi-xa-xa-'re* *'ta*
jaguar-only what-NOM what-FOC-AO like-2-AS-INT talk

(14) *ỹ-hỹ* *'tswa* *ti-'nãi-tsy-hỹ-'re=a-'xa-ta* *'nãi-a-xa-'ki=cwa*[445]
this-NOM man what-NOM-GER-NOM-INT=1P-AS-CSO like-1P-AS-DEC=IS

445. The element *-cwa-* 'IS' is not understood here, and may be *-tja* 'CSO'.

'ta-wa-si
talk-IS-SWR

(15) *'hehỹsi* *na'nãi-i'ni* *'si-dy-hỹ:* *eto'hoi-nahere-'wã* *au're-tsy-hỹ-'ki*
well very-NEE I-POS-NOM child-COL-AO marry-POT-NOM-DEC

'ta-dy-ta
talk-DS-CSO

(16) *'watxi-'re* *'ta-wa-'si* *hã'rã:-cwa-ta* *bu'bui-e-wa-'si*
true-INT talk-IS-SWR stop-IS-CSO leave-too-IS-SWR

(17) *hary'ky* *si"le-hỹ-dy-'ta:* *wã'wỹi-tja* *atxi'txi* *atxi'txi*
now nocturnal-NOM-DS-CSO sleep-CSO maize maize

ɛ'he-dy-'nɛ-ta *ta'na* *atxitxi:-"le-rja-'hỹ-dy-dy-'ta*
transfer-CAU-DR:hither-CSO well maize-only-DC:rim-NOM-CAU-DS-CSO

hỹ-dy-'ta *wã'wỹi-ta*
NOM-DS-CSO sleep-CSO

(18) *jere'xwa* *wã'wỹi=tu"ruk'-tja* *nwã'rã* *"dai=warja-'ta* *hu'hui=a'sa-da-ta*
jaguar sleep=wake-CSO cudgel take=bring-CSO kill=end-1S-CSO

'jo-da-'mỹ *'dodotxi-'wã=tja*
devour-1S-VOL latex-AO=CSO

(19) *'kwɛ-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-'hỹ=wara* *atxi'txi-na-'le:* *'tana* *ti-'nãi-da-ta*
enter-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but maize-LOC-only well what-NOM-1S-CSO

'kwɛ-da-he'ta-tja
enter-1S-DESI-CSO

(20) *atxi'txi-na-'le* *ha'doja-"ta* *ha're=ha'reja'wy-le* *kwɛ-ta*
maize-LOC-only jam-CSO RED=retarded-only enter-CSO

hu'hui-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra *'tana* *"tai* *je-to'to-ta*
kill-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but well bang! bounce-DR:upward-CSO

'a-ta'hĩ-"nỹ=nãi-'le-dy-'ta
Ø-CL:forehead-REF=like-only-DS-CSO

(21) *ĩwã* *xy:"xy-hyhy'dy-dy-'ta* *nãi-'ky-xa-ta*[446] *'nãi-nãi* *'e-xa-re*
nothing scream-noise-DS-CSO like-NEI-2-CSO like-NOM have-2-INT

446.One would expect *nãihe'kyxata* here, but the element *-he-* was truly absent.

['x:a-he-'ki] *'ti-nãi-'tsɛ-xa-ta* *'nãi-xa-'re* *ta-ta*
2-NEG-DEC what-NOM-DEC-2-CSO like-2-INT talk-CSO

(22) *'ĩ:* *nãi-da-'ki* *ĩ'wã=tja* *ĩ'wã* *'ɛ:-ta* *ĩwã*
nothing like-1S-DEC nothing=CSO nothing go-CSO nothing

"cutsẽ'rjỹ-dy-'ta[447]
lie-DS-CSO

(23) *['etay-tja'te* *'jere* *dodo"txi-dy-hỹ* *'jere'xwa]*
woman-3.POS *** latex-POS-NOM jaguar

(24) *dodo'txi-dy-'hỹ* *e'tay-tja'te-le* *'ti-nãi-'tsɛ=tja*
latex-POS-NOM woman-3.POS-only what-NOM-DEC=CSO

'nãi-hata-hỹ-'re-ta=tja *'ta-dy-'ta*
like-3S.2O-NOM-INT-CSO=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(25) *a'ha:* *janã'dy-ta* *'nãi-tehe're* *'atxi'txi* *'kã:-to:-'ta* *wady-'ra*
father hungry-CSO like-APPR maize roast-CL:seed-CSO give-IMP

ja-'nĩ *hu'hui=a'sa-ta-'le-hỹ-'ki=tja* *'ta-dy-ta*
eat-CAUS kill=end-1O-FRUST-NOM-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(26) *a'ha* *janã'dy-xa-ta* *'nãi-xa-'hỹ-tehe're* *a'txitxi* *kã-'to-ta*
father hungry-2-CSO like-2-NOM-APPR maize toast-CL:seed-CSO

ja-'ra *'ta-dy-'ta* *ĩwã*
eat-IMP talk-DS-CSO nothing

(27) *ta'dy* *ĩwã-tja*
EXCL nothing-CSO

(28) *atxitxi-'le-wã* *kã-'to-ta* *"ja-[a]-'ta* *'nãi-tja* *a'txitxi*
maize-only-AO roast-CL:seed-CSO eat-***-CSO like-CSO maize

'wai-ra'ti-ta'dy *ĩ'wã-tja* *'ta* *ĩwã*
good-FOC-EXCL nothing-CSO talk nothing

(29) *'ja-ta* *ĩwã* *ta* *ta* *'a:-ta* *hu'hui=asa-'nã-hỹ-dy-'ta*
eat-CSO nothing CSO CSO exist-CSO kill=end-FUT-NOM-DS-CSO

(30) *'dodo'txi:* *"ɛ-tsɛ* *'cwa-ra'ti-ki*
latex go-DEC IS-FOC-DEC

447. The last occurrence of *ĩwã* has a narrative function both here and in the subsequent cases below: 'well, then..'.

(1) At the time of playing, the first people played ball.[448] (2) (Once when it was hit) the ball went very far and fell down at the end of the yard. (3) Then the latex spirit man entered into the ball and stayed inside. (4) Then, someone went to get it and threw it back, but it did not bounce and it was just very heavy, but they played nevertheless, until it bounced into the house. (5) There the latex man got out and sat (hidden in a corner). (6) They[449] said to the women: "Take and throw the ball out to us!" (7) They went to throw the ball out; but when they were going to take the ball, the latex human was sitting there. (8) "Who the hell is that person sitting there?, who is this man?", the women said. (9) "Where is he?", (the players) said, well... (10) they all entered and were looking at the latex. (11) "How did yóu get here?", they said. (12) "I arrived here, that is how", he answered. (13) (A man called) Jaguar said: "What are you all looking at?" (14) "We want to know how this man got here", they said to him. (15) "Well, let him be, my daughters are going to marry", he said.[450] (16) "Is that so?", the men said; now they stopped talking[451] and all went outside again. (17) So it became night and, sleeping, (the latex man) he brought in loads of maize, and so there was a mass of maize around him, that is how he slept.[452] (18) Jaguar slept, woke up and took a wooden machete, thinking: "I'm going to kill and eat the latex!" (19) He tried to enter, but he (got stuck) in the heap of maize, and thought "How am I going to get in?" (20) Being stuck in the maize, it took some time for him to enter, then he tried to hit the latex man but, then, "bang!"- he jumped up; he had just hit himself on the forehead. (21) He made a lot of noise screaming[453], and then she[454] screamed: "Stop doing that, you!, what on earth are you doing?, why is it that you are doing that?" (22) "No, it's nothing, no", he said, and he went away and lay down to sleep as if nothing had happened. (23) *[error]* (24) (Latex) his wife spoke: "Why did he do that to you?" (25) "It seems he does that because he is hungry; roast maize for him to eat!, he nearly killed me", he said. (26) "Father, I think you are hungry, toast maize and eat!", she said, so... (27) "Yes!", Jaguar said. (28) He roasted maize and ate, and said: "I never ate maize before, how good it tastes!", so... (29) he ate, and yes, they lived like that, he had nearly killed him. (30) Latex went away, this is what they tell.

2.5. kaitaynahere *'The women of old': An ancient tale, told by Maria Edite Towenwɛ, Gleba, 03-03-95*

This story was recorded on 3 March 1995. It is followed by two parts of a conversation in Kwaza between Maria Edite and her son Antônio Teteru. Both the story and the dialogues were translated and analysed with the help of Teteru on

448. The traditional game of head-ball is played with an inflated natural latex ball.
449. The players or one of them.
450. But he is lying. As the events take place in mythical times, the man called 'jaguar' is in fact a jaguar, and he intends to eat the latex man at night.
451. The effect of the first switch reference morpheme here is that the subject of the next clause includes the man called 'jaguar': first they talk to him, next they leave with him.
452. The latex man has the power to transport things from far away through his dreams.
453. *ĩwã* may mean 'for nothing' here. It is not entirely clear who screams, however.
454. Jaguar's daughter, with whom the latex man had married.

31 March 1996 and 4 April 1996. Final corrections of the morphemic analysis were done with the help of Teteru on 10 March 1998.

At the beginning of the tale, Maria Edite explains why she knows so few tales. It is unclear from whom she learnt the present tale. It is probably a very ancient story, as the themes of giving birth to a snake, and the snake as the origin of the rainbow are found in oral traditions of indigenous peoples all over Amazônia. With respect to some sentences in the story, Teteru complained that the structure was rambled and therefore hard to translate as a logically structured narrative. Later, Mario said that Maria Edite had omitted certain parts. As an example, she omitted the beginning of the story in which it should be announced that the story is about the question of why the Kwaza word for 'rainbow' is the same as the word for 'anaconda' and general 'snake': *deda*.[455]

(1) TE: *unỹte'ta* *'ũcenãi* *duhỹ-xa-re*
converse know all-2-INT

(2) ME: *'unỹte'ta-a-'nãi* *ũ'cenãi-da-hỹ=wara* *mã* *'e-a-ta*
converse-1P-NOM know-1S-NOM=but mother have-1P-CSO

ere'ri-a-hỹsi *mã* *u'nỹteta-a-nãi* *jã'si-a-hỹ-si*
grow-1P-NEG mother converse-1P-NOM hear-1P-NOM-NEG

(3) *mã* *'e-da-hỹ=wara* *hu'hui=asa-'ty-taxwa-'nãi-ko*
mother have-1S-NOM=but kill=end-DET-IS.1O-NOM-INS

(4) *mã* *'e-he-da-ta* *ere'ri-da-ta* *duky-hỹ-ko-le* *'ũce'nãi-da-'ta*
mother have-NEG-1S-CSO grow-1S-CSO other-NOM-INS-only know-1S-CSO

'a-da-'hỹ
exist-1S-NOM

(5) *da'rai-mãjã* *a'wy-wa-nãi-'le* *ũce'nãi-tsy-'nãi* *'e-ta* *'a:-da-'hỹ*
vermin-TOP born-IS-NOM-only know-GER-NOM have-CSO exist-1S-NOM

da'rai
vermin

(6) *ti-'nãi-hỹ* *de'da* *'deda:* *[a:k]* *haka're-na* *o:ri-'dy-wa-hỹ*
what-NOM-NOM anaconda anaconda *** buriti-LOC ascend-CAU-IS-NOM

(7) *'txarwa-wy:* *kore'we-wa-ta* *eto'hoi* *eto'hoi-te'te* *kore'we-da-hỹ-he're*
first-time pregnant-IS-CSO child child-INTENS pregnant-1S-NOM-INTL

cwa-hỹ=wa'ra
IS-NOM=but

455. The Aikanã also tell this story and their word for 'rainbow/anaconda' is *kjã'tu*.

(8) *ta'na nỹ-'tɛ nỹ-'tɛ nỹ-'tɛ-tsy-nãi-'le-wa-ta*
well big-CL:round big-CL:round big-CL:round-GER-NOM-only-IS-CSO

'etohoi ko'rewe-txi'txi-ty-ta-le-'re e'xwa-tja'te
child pregnant-CONTRA-DET-1O-FRUST-INT man-3.POS

(9) *hỹ-dy-'ta (ha)ry'ky 'awyto 'bu-wy-tara-hỹ-ta 'awyto*
NOM-DS-CSO now fruit fall-time-PROC-NOM-CSO fruit

'ja-da-mỹ ja 'ja=hy=hy-'rja-ku'rwa-da-'mỹ di'lɛ
eat-1S-VOL already eat=move=move-DC:rim-foot-1S-VOL who

'dai-dy-'nɛ-ta-'hata-he-'hỹ 'cwa-ta
take-CAU-DR:hither-TRA-3S.2O-NEG-NOM IS-CSO

(10) *o'ja-wa-'ta (ha)ry'ky 'dei?ũ'rjỹ-wa-'ta 'ja-da-hỹ-he're cwa-'hỹ=wa'ra*
go-IS-CSO now squat-IS-CSO eat-1S-NOM-INTL IS-NOM=but

ay-hỹ-'le tsũ'rũ:='bui-dwa-ta ã'wỹi-wa-ta
that-NOM-only slide=leave-IDS-CSO see-IS-CSO

(11) *'etohoi kore'we-da-hỹ-he're-da-'hỹ-ta'dy de'da nãi-da-'hỹ-ta'dy*
child pregnant-1S-NOM-INTL-1S-NOM-EXCL anaconda like-1S-NOM-EXCL

'cwa-ta
IS-CSO

(12) *(ha)ry'ky a'ha-tja"te 'mã-tja"te-tsy-hỹ-wã 'haka're*
now father-3.POS mother-3.POS-GER-NOM-AO buriti

unã:-"nwỹ-hỹ-ko xa'reja=wa'dy-ta?ỹ-'ra (a'ha) [be] eto'hoi
long-CL:tree-NOM-INS search=give-1SO-IMP father anaconda child

kore'we-da-hỹ-he're-da-'re=jã-hỹ 'deda
pregnant-1S-NOM-INTL-1S-INT=exist-NOM anaconda

kore'we-da-ta'dy=jã-ki 'cwa-ta
pregnant-1S-EXCL=exist-DEC IS-CSO

(13) *wa'txile 'oja-wa-ta xa'reja a'ha-tjate 'ta 'haka're*
finally go-IS-CSO search father-3.POS CSO buriti

u"nã-'nwỹ-hỹ-ko[456] *ã'wỹi-ta ã'wỹi=a'sa-ta 'ɛ:-ta [hy]*
long-CL:tree-NOM-INS see-CSO see=end-CSO go-CSO move

456.Note that instrumental marker *-ko* is not well understood here, especially since it is homophonous with the classifier for seed or nut.

towari'lo-"e *['oja]* *ku:'dy* *'warja-'wa-ta* *'oja-wa-'ta* *'ay-rjỹ*
pot-too go calabash bring-IS-CSO go-IS-CSO that-CD:area

eri'tsamjã-'dy-wa-'ta *cwa-si* *watxile* *o'ja-ta* *'bu?ũ'rjỹ-ta*
camp-CAU-IS-CSO IS-SWR finally go-CSO sit-CSO

(14) *'haka're-"ko* *watxi-'ra* *'ja-da-mỹ* *eto'hoi* *da'ce:=wady-'ta?ỹ-'ra*
buriti-CL:fruit collect-IMP eat-1S-VOL child drop=give-1SO-IMP

bu:-'dy *bu-'dy-xa-kywy* *'ja-da-'mỹ* *'tja* *ta:-hỹ=wara* *'jãsi-ta*
fall-CAU fall-CAU-2-COND eat-1S-VOL CSO talk-NOM=but hear-CSO

(15) *'mã-tja'te* *ho'ñẽ* *aha-tjate* *ho'ñẽ-tja* *a-'wy* *ay-'rjỹ*
mother-3.POS hide father-3.POS hide-CSO Ø-time that-CD:area

ba're-dy-'mũ: *ũ'xe* *(eri)'tsamjã* *'ti-nãi-'hỹ* *e'ritsa'mjã-na*
heat-CAU-CL:liquid remain camp what-NOM-NOM camp-LOC

cwa-'si
IS-SWR

(16) *watxi'le* *ba're-dy-'mũ-dy-ta* *'ori-'ra=tja* *'ta-hỹ=wara*
finally heat-CAU- CL:liquid-DS-CSO ascend-IMP=CSO talk-NOM=but

'ori-'he
ascend-NEG

(17) *hary'ky* *tsũhũ-'hũ:* *'we:-xa-'re* *'tẽitja* *'nãi-da-hỹ-tsy* *eto'hoi-?wỹ'tɛ*
now what-RED fear-2-INT alone like-1S-NOM-RES child-pity

ĩwã *tja* *'ta-dy-ta*
nothing CSO talk-DS-CSO

(18) *watxi'le* *ô:ri:-'ta* *'tana* *tsũ'rũ:='bui-ta* *o'ri:-ta* *'tana*
finally ascend-CSO well slide=leave-CSO ascend-CSO well

o:'ri:-ta *ori:-'ta* *tana* *'haka're-ko* *tana* *'ja* *bu'ru:-tja*
ascend-CSO ascend-CSO well buriti-CL:fruit well already pass-CSO

tana *he'dɛ:'kã-ta* *hedɛ'kã-tja* *(ha)ry'ky* *'tana:* *hỹ-'dy-ta* *'nãi-ta*
well coil-CSO coil-CSO now well NOM-DS-CSO like-CSO

bu:-dy-da'mỹ *txa'rwa-txi'txi* *haka're-ko* *tsy-'wy=wa'ra* *dy-ta*
fall-CAU-want first-CONTRA buriti-CL:fruit POT-time=but DS-CSO

(19) *'nãi-ĩ-ky'wy* *a'hâ* *bui"je-nỹ-ta* *dy-'ty-ta?ỹ-'ra=tja* *'ta-dy-'ta*
like-NEG-COND father run.out-REF-CSO cut-DET-1SO-IMP=CSO talk-cut-CSO

(20) *watxi'le* *bui'je-ta-ta* *'dy-ty-ta'?ỹ-tsi* *'si-dy-hỹ-'le=tja*
finally run.out-TRA-CSO cut-DET-1SO-MON I-POS-NOM-only=CSO

'ta-dy-'ta
talk-DS-CSO

(21) *oja='hay* *txu'hũi-ỹ-rjỹ-'e* *'esiñũ* *"hay-si'ñũ-tsy-rjỹ-le*[457]
go-cut small-ATT-CD:area-too tail cut-CL:tail-GER-CD:area-only

"dy-'da-he're-tsy-'lɛ
cut-1S-INTL-GER-PREC

(22) *ta'na* *'kjõ:* *hy-to'to-hỹ-'ko* *ỹ-'hỹ* *hanã'wã-na=ỹ-'hỹ*
well scuffle move-DR:upward-NOM-INS this-NOM sky-LOC=ATT-NOM

'bui-ta a-'ki *cwa-ra'ti-hỹ-tsy*
leave-CSO exist-DEC IS-FOC-NOM-RES

(23) *cwa-'hỹ* *'bony'hỹ* *eto'hoi-tete* *kore'we-e-wa-'hỹ* *hary'kỹ* *eto'hoi*
IS-NOM again child-INTENS pregnant-too-IS-NOM now child

a:-'ki *cwa-ra'ti-hỹ-'tsy*
exist-DEC IS-FOC-NOM-RES

(24) *'cwa-ta* *u'nỹte'ta-wa-ra'ti-hỹ-tsy* *aha'kate* *a-'wy* *a'haka'te-tay*
IS-CSO converse-IS-FOC-NOM-RES ancient Ø-time ancient-CL:woman

u'nỹteta *'e-wa-'hỹ* *dilɛ* *'e-wa-'hỹ* *u'nỹte'ta-wa-hỹ* *tja'ta*
converse have-IS-NOM who have-IS-NOM converse-IS-NOM say

a-wa-rati-hỹ-tsy *bwa*
exist-IS-FOC-NOM-RES end

(25) TE: *dy-'ta* *duky-'hỹ* *kore'we-e-'ta* *a'wy-e-hỹ* *ti-'hỹ-re*
DS-CSO other-NOM pregnant-too-CSO born-too-NOM what-NOM-INT

(26) ME: *a'wy-e-'hỹ* *eto'hoi* *awy-'ki=cwa-ki* *'hary'ky* *eto'hoi-te'te*
born-too-NOM child born-DEC=IS-DEC now child-INTENS

(27) *a'wy* *hary'ky* *ere'ri-ki-cwa-'ki* *dy-'ta* *txarwa-wy*
born now grow-DEC-IS-DEC DS-CSO first-time

(28) TE: *'ta* *ti-'hỹ:-re* *a'wy-ta* *ereri-'hỹ*
CSO what-NOM-INT born-CSO grow-NOM

457.Note that *hay-* 'cut' is used in compounds in the sense of 'final part', 'towards the end', as if it were a directional morpheme.

(29) ME: *duky-'rai* *txarwa-'wy* *'deda-si'ñũ* *'dy-wa-hỹ-rata* *eto'hoi*
other-damn first-time anaconda-CL:tail cut-IS-NOM-first child

ti-nãi-hỹ-'ki=cwa-'ki *tsu'tu*
what-NOM-NOM-DEC=IS-DEC jararaca

(30) TE: *ỹhỹ*
yes

(31) ME: *a'ha-tja'te-wã* *awãcutuhỹ-hỹ* *awãcu'tuhỹ-'hỹ* *'hỹ-dy-ta*
father-3.POS-AO care-NOM care-NOM NOM-DS-CSO

a'wãcu'tuhỹ=wa'warja='ĩ?ĩta-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra *duky-'hỹ:* *duky-'hỹ*
care=go=always-GER-NOM=but other-NOM other-NOM

ti-nãi-'hỹ *ti-'nãi* *mã-rati-'re* *duky-'hỹ* *ti-'nãi*
what-NOM-NOM what-NOM call-FOC-INT other-NOM what-NOM

mã-rati-'re *de'da*
call-FOC-INT anaconda

(32) TE: *ĩ'tsãi*
bushmaster

(33) ME: *'ĩtsãi* *'hỹ*
bushmaster what?

(34) TE: *ĩ'tsãi*
bushmaster

(35) ME: *hã'?ã* *ay-'hỹ* *ha'dai* *aha-tja'te* *dy-'ta* *'txixotɛ-'ta*
yes that-NOM cut father-3.POS DS-CSO rescue-CSO

'mãtarwa=eco'tohỹ-'ki=cwa-'hỹ *'cwa-ta* *u'nỹte'ta-wa-ra'ti-hỹ-tsy*
avenge=strike-DEC=IS-NOM IS-CSO converse-IS-FOC-NOM-RES

(36) *bony'hỹ* *a'wy-'e-wa-'hỹ* *hary'ky* *eto'hoi-tete* *a'wy-'cwa-ta*
again born-too-IS-NOM now child-INTENS born-IS-CSO

a-wa-'ki=cwa-ra'ti-hỹ-tsy
exist-IS-DEC=IS-FOC-NOM-RES

(37) TE: *bwa*
end

(38) ME: *bwa* [.....]
end

(39) TE: *ti-'nãi-tsɛ=tsy-nãi* *e:-xa-re*
what-NOM-DEC=GER-NOM have-2-INT

(40) ME: *kã-'to* *kã-'to-wa-hỹ* *kaxy-dy-'to-wa-hỹ*
roast-CL:seed roast-CL:seed-IS-NOM soak-CAU-CL:seed-IS-NOM

'ja-a-ra'ti-hỹ-tsy
eat-1P-FOC-NOM-RES

(41) *['ja-a-ra]* *'ja-he-ky=jã-ki*
eat-1P-IMP eat-NEG-NEI=exist-DEC

(42) *ã'wỹi-rjỹ-he-'ky* *ta-'le-wa-'hỹ* *cwa-'he-rai-'re*
see-CD:area-NEG-NEI talk-RECI-IS-NOM IS-NEG-damn-INT

Dialogue I

(43) ME: *wa'txi* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-kwa'te-tsy-'re*
true speak-DR:inside-POT-INT

(44) *ɛ̃'rjãwã-'na-ỹ-hỹ* *ja* *'mã-du'hỹ-xa-re*
forest-LOC-ATT-NOM already call-all-2-INT

(45) TE: *'he* *tana* *ĩ'wã* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-a-nãi-'le* *pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-da-hỹ-tsy*
NEG well nothing speak-1P-NOM-only speak-1S-NOM-RES

(46) *tsũhũ-'nã-tja* *e:'rje* *o'janỹ-'re* *'erje*
what-FUT-CSO mesh arrive-INT mesh

(47) ME: *ay-''hỹ* *nãi*
that-NOM like

(48) TE: *ay-'hỹ* *nãi*
that-NOM like

(49) ME: *dilɛ-'le* *a'sa=asa-re*
who-only end=end-INT

(50) TE: *'na-ay-hỹ* *e'rje* *bu=ũxe-'nỹ-hỹ-tsy*
PROX-that-NOM mesh put=remain-REF-NOM-RES

(51) ME: *'tsy-re*
is.it-INT

(52) TE: *dy-'ta* *mã'rɛ̃?a* *'ɛ-tsy-hỹ-tsy*
DS-CSO spirit go-GER-NOM-RES

(53) ME: *'tsy-re* *'ti-nãi-tsɛ* *tja* *nãi-re* [.....]
is.it-INT what-NOM-DEC CSO like-INT

Dialogue II

(54) ME: *watxi-re* *huda'da-nãi* *e-re* *txana-'nãi* *ĩwã*
true-INT speak-NOM have-INT we-NOM nothing

nãi=ihĩ-rydy-hỹ *hewedutu='bwa=ihĩ-rydy-hỹ* [.....]
like=contrary-IRR-NOM forget=end=contrary-IRR-NOM

(55) ME: *to:-dy-'mã-dy-'ta* *y'ro-cehere*
bathe-CAU-DR:water-DS-CSO cry-APPR

(56) *ĩ-wã* *'rai?ỹhỹ* *'mã=du'hỹ-ty-a-'ni=xa-he-re* *'ẽrjãwã-'na* *na'nãi*
he-AO animal call=all-DET-1P-EXH=2-NEG-INT forest-LOC very

du'hỹ=ĩ?ĩ-hỹ-'tsy *jo'ni-e* *'rai?ỹ'hỹ* *mã=du'hỹ-ca-'ra=tsy-hỹ-'lɛ*
all=REM-NOM-RES Ione-too animal call=all-EMP-IMP=GER-NOM-PREC

'mã=du'hỹ-ty-da-'day-hỹ-tsy *tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra* *'mũrɛ̃dy-ta-'he-ta-si*
call=all-DET-1S-1S-NOM-RES GER-NOM=but contribute-TRA-NEG-1O-SWR

(57) *a-ta* *'a-da-hỹ* *di'hu* *wɛ-nɛ-dy-'ja-hỹ=wa'ra* *etɛ*
exist-CSO exist-1S-NOM spoon bring-DR:hither-CAU-IO-NOM=but belly

'cu-he-'nãi=tja *ta-ta* *e-'he* *ta-he-ta-ta* *hedydutu-tsy-nãi-lɛ*
send-NEG-NOM=CSO talk-CSO have-NEG talk-NEG-1O-CSO lose-GER-NOM-PREC

ĩ?ĩ-hỹ *'hudɛrɛ-da-'hỹ=wa'ra* *hedydu'tu-tsɛ=tja ta-nãi-'le* *ta-tay-'hỹ*
REM-NOM ask-1S-NOM=but lose-DEC=CSO talk-NOM-only talk-1O-NOM

(58) TE: *'ja* *'ja* *hã'rã*
already already stop

(59) ME: *hã?ã* *u'?ute-'ra=?ĩ-kywy* *u?ute-a-rydy-rai* *ku'ri-tsy-rai*
yes count-IMP=NEG-COND count-1P-IRR-damn stop-GER-damn

(60) TE: *na-ay-'nãi-le* *bobo-dy-'nãi-ta'ra-tsy-hỹ* [.....]
PROX-that-NOM-only repeat-CAU-NOM-PROC-POT-NOM

(61) ME: *tswa-wa-'hỹ* *kuri'xyi* *ku'nỹ-wa-'hỹ* *'e-wa-rai-re* *hã'rã-tsy-'nãi*
man-IS-NOM babaçu dress-IS-NOM have-IS-damn-INT stop-POT-NOM

e-wa-ra'ti=i'hĩ-rai-'re[458] *'mɛ̃-lɛ-wa-'hỹ* *'heda'ka-ko*
have-IS-FOC=contrary-damn-INT beat-RECI-IS-NOM stem-INS

(62) *si'le-dwa-ta* *na'nãi-dwa-ta* *'mɛ̃-lɛ* *'mɛ̃-lɛ-cwa-ra'ti=ihĩ-re*
nocturnal-IDS-CSO very-IDS-CSO beat-RECI beat-RECI-IS-FOC=contrary-INT

458.Here *ihĩ-* means ‘continuing onward’.

(63) TE: *hako're unỹte'ta-ʔe-tsy-'tsɛ*
tomorrow converse-too-POT-DEC

(64) ME: *'da-ta'ra-tsɛ konã'jã-rai wai-ta 'hako're-e*
1S-PROC-DEC hot-damn good-CSO tomorrow-too

"a-tsy-re erewe-'xy-a-'nãi
exist-POT-INT write-CL:leaf-1P-NOM

(65) TE: *hãʔã*
yes

(66) ME: *xu'hũ e'hỹ-a-tsy-re*
what make-1P-POT-INT

(67) TE: *a-'he=ihĩ-tsy-hỹ*[459]
exist-NEG=contrary-POT-NOM

(68) ME: *'he:-ĩ-tsy-re txa'rwa xuhũ 'ti-wy-re 'hakore*
NEG-NEG-POT-INT first what what-time-INT tomorrow

(69) TE: *txa'rwa 'sesta*[460]
first Friday

(70) ME: *'hakore*
tomorrow

(71) TE: *hakore 'saBaDo='ihĩ-'hỹ*
tomorrow Saturday=contrary-NOM

(72) ME: *'hako're 'tsaBa'Do hehỹsi a-'he-ĩ-tsy-re*
tomorrow Saturday well exist-NEG-NEG-POT-INT

(73) TE: *a-'he-ihĩ-tsy-hỹ*
exist-NEG-contrary-POT-NOM

(74) ME: *a-'he-tsy-re*
exist-NEG-POT-INT

(75) TE: *hỹ'dɛ*
go!

(76) ME: *ti-'rjỹ o'ja-da-tsy-'re*
what-CD:area go-1S-POT-INT

459.Here *ihĩ-* means ‘contrary’.
460.Names of the days are in Portuguese.

(1) TE: You know all stories?
(2) ME: I know stories but I have grown up without a mother, I never heard stories told by my mother. (3) I had a mother, but they took her away from me by killing her. (4) I grew up not having a mother, just with other persons I learnt (stories and real life). (5) I only know about the one who gave birth to a snake. (6) That snake which climbed up the buriti palm tree. (7) Once upon a time a woman was pregnant, and it was thought "I think I'm preganant with a child", but... (8) then, as her belly was just growing and growing, her husband thought "Why!, would she really be pregnant on me with a child?" (9) Well, it was the time that the miraringa fruit falls, and she thought: "I'm going to eat miraringa!, I'm going to walk around the foot of the tree myself and eat, as I have no-one to search for me and bring me the fruits." (10) So she went and squatted down, and she was about to eat when she saw something suddenly slide out (of her). (11) "I really thought I was pregnant with a baby!", (she nearly screamed), "It was a snake with which I am pregnant!", she thought. (12) Now she said to her father and mother "Father, find a high buriti tree for me! I thought it was a child with which I am pregnant, yet it is a snake with which I am pregnant!", she said. (13) Her father decided to go searching, he found a buriti tree, he found it, got ready[461] and left, then they returned (to the tree) with an earthenware pot and a calabash mug, there (close by) they put up camp, so then, they got ready and went there and sat there. (14) (Now the woman said to the snake inside of her) "Collect the buriti nuts! I'm going to eat, child, drop the nuts down for me, if you make them fall, I will eat", she said, while it was listening. (15) While mother and father were hiding there they heated water, and remained there, at that camp. (16) They got ready heating water, and she said (to the snake) "Climb up!", but it did not climb. (17) "Now what is it you're afraid of?, I came here on my own, poor child", she lied to it. (18) (The snake) decided to climb up, so, writhing, he came out, climbing up, and climbing, climbing, until he had already passed the nuts, then he coiled around the buriti, and while coiled he made the nuts start to fall, but meanwhile... (19) "Take advantage, father, get out (of the hideout) and come running, and cut it for me!", she said. (20) So he decided to run out, "Just take care not to cut *me*!", she said. (21) He went to the final part, a little part of the tail, now that final part of the tail he was going to cut. (22) Now, because of all of this and the way the snake rushed up, there lives a snake out there in the sky[462], that's what they say. (23) They say that when she gets pregnant again with a real child, the child will then live. (24) That is how they used to tell in olden times, the people who know this story about the mythical woman, who have someone to tell them the story[463], that is how the storyteller exists.
(25) TE: Now what about the other pregnancy?
(26) ME: People say she had a child again, a real child. (27) Gave birth, uhh, people say it grew up, now, first...
(28) TE: And what about the one who was born and grew up?
(29) ME: Well indeed, the snake who first got his tail cut, they called that child "jararaca snake", (Bothrops jararaca).
(30) TE: Yes.

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461. Both *asa-* 'end' and *watxile* 'finally', 'decide' appear to have also the sense of 'get ready' here.
462. The rainbow is meant here.
463. i.e. someone to learn it from, such as father, mother or sister.

(31) ME: One who took care of her father..., then it occurred that she lived taking care of her father, but, the other one, that one, what is it called?, that other one, what is it called?, "snake"?[464]
(32) TE: The bushmaster? (Lachesis muta).
(33) ME: The bush..., what?[465]
(34) TE: Bushmaster.
(35) ME: Yes, that very one bit her father, then she came to his rescue and killed the snake in return, they say, that is how the story is told. (36) Later she got a child again, now they got real children (ever after), that's how it is told.
(37) TE: Finished?
(38) ME: Finished' *[here I omitted a part of the conversation which was in Aikanã]*
(39) TE: How did it go?
(40) ME: After having been toasted and left to soak, we ate the maize. (41) It was forbidden to eat (many things). (42) You could not look (at men), people did not even talk to one another.[466]

Dialogue I
(43) ME: Will he be really recording this? (44) Did you already call (the names of) all the ones (animals) in the forest?
(45) TE: Not yet, just vain conversation, what I have already said. (46) Why did "mesh", arrive?, "mesh."[467]
(47) ME: Was that him?
(48) TE: That was him.
(49) ME: And who stayed?
(50) TE: That one "mesh", stayed.
(51) ME: Is that so?
(52) TE: Yes, and the Westerner (lumberman) went (to Vilhena).
(53) ME: Is that so?, why did he go?' *[here I omitted a part of the conversation which was in Aikanã]*

Dialogue II
(54) ME: Would he be able to speak our language?, he is lying, he is going to forget everything' *[here I omitted a part of the conversation which was in Aikanã]*
(55) ME: Maybe someone is bathing that bird, that it is crying like that. (56) Why don't you (say "let's") count all the names of the animals in the forest to him; that all is what Ione used to do; because she said: "call the names of all animals!", I called all the names to her, however, she never paid me. (57) It has been a long time since she ordered a spoon to be sent, but "belly"[468], said she did not send it, she doesn't have it, he said to me, but it got lost a long time ago; I asked (him) but he just said to me it got lost.
(58) TE: You're ready?

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464. *deda* is used in its a general sense of 'snake' here.
465. Teteru pronounced the word *ĩtsãi* as *ĩtsɛ̃* which is a word for 'jaguar'.
466. This part of the conversation is about the girls' traditional initiation.
467. *erje* 'mesh' is used as a nickname for a Brazilian lumberman called Zezinho because he had the itch.
468. [i'tæ] 'belly' is the nickname of Maria Edite's son Mario.

(59) ME: Yes; if he would ask, I would tell a story, but he is quiet.
(60) TE: Just this will do to repeat (understand) later'
[here I omitted a part of the conversation which was in Aikanã]
(61) ME: The men would be dressed with a penis ribbon for a long time, it took a long time (for this stage) to pass, they would beat one another with pacova stems.[469] (62) When it was becoming night, this very time, they would beat one another for a long time.
(63) TE: Tomorrow you will count again.
(64) ME: I'm going, it's too bloody hot now, will there be tomorrow again, study?
(65) TE: Yes.
(66) ME: What are we going to do?
(67) TE: Oh no, there won't! (be a recording session tomorrow).
(68) ME: No, won't there be?, what day is it today?, and tomorrow?
(69) TE: Today is Friday.
(70) ME: And tomorrow?
(71) TE: Tomorrow is Saturday.
(72) ME: Tomorrow is Saturday, therefore there won't be?
(73) TE: Therefore there won't be.
(74) ME: So there won't be?
(75) TE: Let's go!
(76) ME: Where will I go?

2.6. were?ojataynahere *'The rebellious runaway women': A traditional tale, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Barroso.*

The present story was told in two parts. The first part was told on 22 March 1995, and analysed partially during the subsequent weeks and another part in 1996. However, in 1995 there was no time to finish the story. The second half was recorded on 8 March 1996, and translated and analysed soon thereafter with Mario's help. In February 1998 the final corrections were made of the earlier analyses and an additional analysis of sentence and discourse structure, which consisted of establishing as exactly as possible whether the utterances were quoted or not, and if so, from whom and by whom, and where commas and periods might be inserted. This was also done together with Mario.

A traditional Kwaza story consists often of several or one long chain of co-subordinated clauses. In the strictest interpretation of this view, the entire story consists of one long sentence only. Because it would be somewhat cumbersome for the reader to find the free translations only at the very end of the story, I have tried to cut it up into natural segments, and inserted the corresponding free translations between these. In part I of the present story, the three periods at the end of certain English free translations indicate that the corresponding Kwaza

469. The traditional initiation of boys includes these ingredients. Only a few people in the A.I. Tubarão-Latundê are old enough to have undergone initiation. Some aspects of it, however, such as the thrashing with pacova stems, are sometimes performed at festivities.

sentence is not yet finished, and will continue after the translation. Where there are no such periods, the Kwaza sentence, or paragraph, has in a way come to an end.

The story is a traditional Kwaza tale, which is also told by the Aikanã, the Arikapu, the Tupari and other peoples of Rondônia (see e.g. Mindlin 1999). It relates of a mythical time when the distribution of gender-roles was the opposite of what it is today. The men were weak and the women represented the strong sex. As such the story may point to the possible historical fact of a more matriarchally oriented society, preceding the traditional society as remembered by the elderly people today. The story also contains mythical themes which are found all over Amazônia, such as animals transforming into sexual partners and competitors of people. The tapir was explained by Mario to be sexually attractive to the women because it is strong and beautiful, i.e. buxom, and because it has a big penis.

Part I

(1) *txarwa-wy-te'te* *a-ci-cwa-'wy* *were=?oja-'tay*
first-time-INTENS exist-IS-IS-time revolt=go-CL:woman

ta-ci-'cwa-nahe're *a-ĩ?ĩ-'wy*
talk-IS-IS-COL exist-REM-time

(2) *txarwa-wy-te'te* *'a-a-nãi* *da'rje-hỹ* *a-'he=danỹ=jâ-'wy*
first-time-INTENS exist-1P-NOM strong-NOM exist-NEG=still=be-time

(3) *ãrũi-'wã* *a're-dy-'ta* *huru'ja=ĩ?ĩ'ta* *ỹ-hỹ-dy-hỹ-tsy-hỹ=wara*
tapir-AO turn-DS-CSO like=always this-NOM-POS-NOM-GER-NOM=but

tswa-nahere *ũcenãi-'he-tja* *ĩ'wã* *okja-'nã-tja* *'wa* *ĩ?ĩ'ta:-tja*
man-COL know-NEG-CSO nothing hunt-FUT-CSO IS always-CSO

a:-'ta
exist-CSO

(4) *bonyhỹ* *'haja-hỹ-dy-'ta* *okja-'nã-tja* *'towɛ-dwatja=bwa* *ĩ?ĩ'ta:*
again day-NOM-DS-CSO hunt-FUT-CSO go-DR:forest=end always

hỹ-dy-'ta *e'tay-nahe're-le* *axy-na* *a:-tja* *'mĩu* *waraja-'hỹ*
NOM-DS-CSO woman-COL-only house-LOC exist-CSO chicha make-NOM

tana: *hã:* *tomã-'hỹ-ta* *hi* *'dodoja-'hỹ-tja* *towɛ:-dwa'tja-tja*
well water bathe-NOM-CSO firewood cut-NOM-CSO go-DR:forest-CSO

(5) *ma:=audy'nɛ̃-ta* *tso'roi=o'nɛ-dy-tja* *ta'na* *huruja-'lɛ:na-'ki=tja* *ta*
call=return-CSO run=come-CAU-CSO well like-RECI-DEC=CSO talk

pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'tja *hãrã-'ta*
speak-CSO stop-CSO

(6) *'tana* *huru'ja-du'hỹ-eteja-xa-'ra=tja* *'ta-dy-'ta* *ã'rũi* *tswa*
well like-all-1PO-2-IMP=CSO talk-DS-CSO tapir man

da'mỹ=tja *ta-ta* *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa* *a're-tja* *wara'hỹ* *du'hỹ*
want=CSO talk-CSO person turn-CSO touch all

(7) *hã'rã:-ta* *o'ja-hỹ-dy-'ta* *e'tay-nahe're* *'towɛ-'nɛ-tja*
stop-CSO go-NOM-DS-CSO woman-COL go-DR:hither-CSO

ĩ:'wã-ĩ?ĩ-'hỹ-nãi'xwa *horony'hỹ-dy-ta*
nothing-REM-NOM-SIMU prepare-DS-CSO

(8) *tswa-nahere* *o'kja-hỹ-'wã*[470] *towɛ-'nɛ-tja* *ĩ?ĩ'ta-tja*
man-COL hunt-NOM-AO go-DR:hither-CSO always-CSO

'a-hỹ=wara *duky-'hỹ* *kuja'?u* *kukui'hỹ-da-'ki* *ĩ:wã-tja*
exist-NOM=but other-NOM Curiangu ill-1S-DEC nothing-CSO

(9) *kuja'?u:* *tswa* *kukui'hỹ-hỹ-nãi'xwa-tja*
Curiangu man ill-NOM-SIMU-CSO

'cutsɛ̃rjỹ-hỹ-nãi'xwa-ta *awỹi-'ra* *ta-wa-'si* *da'mỹ=tja*
lie-NOM-SIMU-CSO see-IMP talk-IS-SWR want=CSO

(10) *ĩ:'wã* *kukui'hỹ-tja* *'cutsɛ̃'rjỹ-'dwa-ta* *'etay-'nahere* *'towɛ-'kwɛ=tja*
nothing ill-CSO lie-IDS-CSO woman-COL go-enter=CSO

ha'kai *tsuhũ-ra'ti-'ỹ-xa-re=tja* *'ta-wa-si*
grandparent what-FOC-ATT-2-INT=CSO talk-IS-SWR

(11) *kukui'hỹ-da-ki* *kika'lo-da-ki* *ĩwã-tja* *'ta-ja-hỹ=wa'ra*
ill-1S-DEC fever-1S-DEC nothing-CSO talk-IO-NOM=but

(12) *ĩwã* *'nãi-tsɛ* *ũcehỹ-ja-'nã* *ũcenãi-hỹ-'ki* *ku'kuihỹ-ta*
nothing like-DEC know-IO-FUT know-NOM-DEC ill-CSO

nãi-hỹ-he-'ki *ta-wa-'ta:* *ku'rita-a-'ni=tja* *'ta:-hỹ=wa'ra*
like-NOM-NEG-DEC talk-IS-CSO let-1P-EXH=CSO talk-NOM=but

hy-dwatja-a-ta: *awỹi-a-'ni* *txana-'hỹ* *tswa=tja* *'ta*
go-DR:forest-1P-CSO see-1P-EXH we.IN-NOM man=CSO talk

470. Despite the animate object marker this is the subject of the predicate. The combination *-hỹ-wã* forms an agent noun here (see also part I, section 5.6.4.).

(13) *tana: mĩu-'e wa'ja-wa-ta: ã'rũi-wã 'ma=audy'nɛ̃-wa-si mãrɛritsa*
well chicha-too get-IS-CSO tapir-AO call=return-IS-SWR person

a're-tja o'nɛ-ta-ta mĩu 'kui=hã'rã-hỹ-dwa-'ta haryky:
turn-CSO come-TRA-CSO chicha drink=stop-NOM-IDS-CSO now

(14) *warahỹ-ca-'ra 'ta-wa-'si da'mỹ=tja warahỹ-ja duhỹ-'ja-dwa dwa-ta*
touch-EMP-IMP talk-IS-SWR want=CSO touch-IO all-IO-IDS IDS-CSO

towɛ-'nɛ-ty-wa-si: ãrũi-'le a're ãrũi-'tja o'jaˀ ĩ?ĩ'ta-dy-'ta
go-DR:hither-DET-IS-SWR tapir-only turn tapir-CSO go always-DS-CSO

(15) *ku'ja?uw-'le 'dai=tsa'si-ta a'wỹi-tja 'nãi-cwa-ta-'nãi*
Curiangu-only rise=follow-CSO see-CSO like-IS-CSO-NOM

'awỹi-hỹ=wa'ra ũce'nãi-a-'ta a-a-he-'hỹ-ta'dy=tja
see-NOM=but know-1P-CSO exist-1P-NEG-NOM-EXCL=CSO

(16) *kuja'?u-le a'wỹita'hỹ-ja-'ta o'nɛ-tja 'cutsẽ'rjỹ-hỹ-nãi'xwa-'dy-ta*
Curiangu-only watching-IO-CSO come-CSO lie-NOM-SIMU-DS-CSO

(17) *'duky-hỹ-nahe're towɛ-'nɛ-wa-'ta 'du:-si'ñwã-wa-si 'haryky: kuja'?u*
other-NOM-COL go-DR:hither-IS-CSO all-CD:yard-IS-SWR now Curiangu

diri-'tja ori-ta-ja-ta nãi-cwa-'ta a-wa-hỹ-ta'dy jã-hỹ
rise-CSO ascend-TRA-IO-CSO like-IS-CSO exist-IS-NOM-EXCL be-NOM

(18) *hary'ky awỹi-da-'ki ã'rũi-wã 'ma=audy'nɛ̃-wa-'ta tana:*
now see-1S-DEC tapir-AO call=return-IS-CSO well

huru'ja-na-da-ki ta-'tja ta'na: cwa-si wa'rahỹ-'ja
like-FUT-1S-DEC talk-CSO well IS-SWR touch-IO

'dunyhỹ-ca-ta: o'ja-hỹ-dwa-'ta towɛ-'nɛ-ci-cwa-ta-cwa-ki
all-TRA-CSO go-NOM-IDS-CSO go-DR:hither-IS-IS-CSO-IS-DEC

'nãi-cwa-'ta a-wa-hỹ-ta'dy=jã-'ki=tja 'ta-ja-'ta hehỹ'si
like-IS-CSO exist-IS-NOM-EXCL=be-DEC=CSO talk-IO-CSO well

(19) *cari-'ty=a'sa-a-'ni nãi-'nãi a'wỹi-ta nãi-'hỹ=cwa-ta*[471]
kill-DET=end-1P-EXH like-NOM see-CSO like-NOM=IS-CSO

(20) *ta'na mã'bi wara'ja-wa-'ta hã'rã-cwa-si hary'ky e'tay-nahe're*
well arrow make-IS-CSO stop-IS-SWR now woman-COL

471.Notice the expression *nãi'nãi a'wỹita nãi'hỹ* lit. ‘he sees what it is like’.

ũce'nãi-ta *okja-'nã-cwa-ta* *o'ja-e-wa-'si*
know-CSO hunt-FUT-IS-CSO go-too-IS-SWR

(21) *e'tay-nahe're-le* *'oja* *etay* *mĩu* *du'ru=warja-ta*
woman-COL-only go woman chicha extract=take-CSO

hy-'dwatja-'e-ta *'ma=audy'nɛ̃-dy-'ta*[472]
go-DR:forest-too-CSO call=return-DS-CSO

(22) *pɛ̃'rɛ̃jã-ʧa-'ta* *cari-'nã-xu'xwa-hỹ-'ki* *ta'na:* *ãi* *hã*
speak-TRA-CSO kill-FUT-IS.2O-NOM-DEC well far water

du'ky:-mũ-na *ãi* *o'ja-xa-tsy-'tsɛ*
other-CL:liquid-LOC far go-2-POT-DEC

(23) *di'lɛ* *'mã-hata-ky'wy* *ta'dy-xa-'lɛ* *tso'roi=o'nɛ-he-'ky*
who call-3S.2O-COND EXCL-2-PREC run=come-NEG-NEI

(24) *cari-'nã-xu'xwa-hỹ-'ki*
kill-FUT-IS.2O-NOM-DEC

(25) *ũce:'nãi-tsy-'tsɛ* *'ta-wa-'hỹ=wa'ra* *ũcenãi-'he-tja* *'cwa-ta* *'hãrã*
know-POT-DEC talk-IS-NOM=but know-NEG-CSO IS-CSO stop

e'tay-nahe're *towɛ-'nɛ-hỹ* *hary'ky* *'tswa-nahere* *towɛ-'nɛ-ʧa*
woman-COL go-DR:hither-NOM now man-COL go-DR:hither-CSO

(26) *ha'ja-ỹ-dwa-ta* *haryky* *cari-a-'ni=cwa-'ta* *o'kja-a-'ni*
day-ATT-IDS-CSO now kill-1P-EXH=IS-CSO hunt-1P-EXH

(27) *ĩ:wã-tsy-'nãixwa-wa-ta* *to'wɛ-dwa'tja-wa-'ta* *ma=audy'nɛ̃-wa-si*
nothing-GER-SIMU-IS-CSO go-DR:forest-IS-CSO call=return-IS-SWR

(28) *e'tay* *nãi-ta-'tara-hỹ-'ki* *ĩ:'wã-tja* *tso'roi=o'nɛ-ta* *ĩ:wã*
woman like-1O-PROC-NOM-DEC nothing-CSO run=come-CSO nothing

'cutsi'kja-dwa-ta
stand-IDS-CSO

(29) *haryky* *ca'ri-wa-'si=ta'na* *ca'ri-wa-'ta=ta'na* *mãbi:-''le* *horo-wa-'si*
now kill-IS-SWR=well kill-IS-CSO=well arrow-only fill-IS-SWR

=ta'na *xy'xy-ta* *ta'na* *xyxy* *ta'na* *i'si tsɛ ã'rũi* *a're-wa-'hỹ*
=well scream-CSO well scream well die yes tapir turn-IS-NOM

472.Notice that it is difficult to keep track of the subject here.

(30) *e'tay-nahe're to'wɛ-dwa'tja-je?e-'ta 'a:ty-'ta-hỹ-he're-tja*
woman-COL go-DR:forest-too-CSO be.there-1O-NOM-INTL-CSO

(31) *towɛ-'dwa-tja etay ma=audy'nɛ̃-da-si o'nɛ-ta*
go-DR:onto-CSO woman call=return-1S-SWR come-CSO

a-hỹ-'ki=tsy-hỹ=wara 'he-hỹ-dy-'ta
exist-NOM-DEC=GER-NOM=but NEG-NOM-DS-CSO

(32) *ca'ri-ty-'ete'ja-wa-'ki*
kill-DET-1PO-IS-DEC

(33) *nãi-nãi a'wỹi-wa-'ta nãi-'wa-he-'hỹ*
like-NOM see-IS-CSO like-IS-NEG-NOM

(34) *'mĩu wara'ja-'a-ta kui-dy-'ja-a-kywy i-i"si-'wa-ky'wy*
chicha make-1P-CSO drink-CAU-IO-1P-COND RED-die-IS-COND

ha'xyilo'txwe mãmã'ñɛ̃-a-ta babai'ce-a-'ta: ha'ja e'hỹ-a-'ta:
flute sing-1P-CSO dance-1P-CSO day make-1P-CSO

'ɛ-a-'ni=cwa-'ta
go-1P-EXH=IS-CSO

(35) *ta'na 'jo jo byi'te-wa-'ta=ta'na atxi'txi*
well manioc manioc uproot-IS-CSO=well maize

a'runa'to-wa-'ta hã'rã-cwa-ta 'hary'ky a'rwenã-wa-'ta
cook-IS-CSO stop-IS-CSO now make.chicha-IS-CSO

horo'nyhỹ-cwa-'ta cwa-ta: 'hary'ky 'kui-dy-'ja-wa-'ta
prepare-IS-CSO IS-CSO now drink-CAU-IO-IS-CSO

(36) *hã'rã cwa'ta hary'ky hary'ky hãxyi'lotxwe 'dai-wa-ta hary'ky*
stop one now now flute take-IS-CSO now

ba'baice:-wa-'ta ta'na ba'baice:-wa-'ta ta'na: 'haja-'nã ta'na
dance-IS-CSO well dance-IS-CSO well day-FUT well

(37) *'hajedi'kore hary'ky 'towɛ='cawe-'wa-ta hã to'mã-wa-'ta hary'ky*
tomorrow.early now go=went-IS-CSO water bathe-IS-CSO now

(38) *'aru'ru-nỹ-'e-wa-'ta: hary'ky 'tsiki'tsiki-ro'nɛ-na*
cross-REF-too-IS-CSO now ant-CL:hole-LOC

lo'nɛ̃-tsy-hỹ-'na ta'na 'bu?umu'rjỹ-nãi'xwa-wa-'ta hary'ky
hole-GER-NOM-LOC well stop-SIMU-IS-CSO now

'towɛ-ratsa-'nũ-cwa-'ta: *ãi* *bu'bui-'e-wa-'ta* *tana:*
go-DR:under-CL:powder-IS-CSO far leave-too-IS-CSO well

(39) *ko'rjỹ-ty-wa-'si* *tei-'hỹ-tja* *tu'ru-tja*
absent-DET-IS-SWR one-NOM-CSO wake-CSO

(40) *tsi'boi=u?u'ja-da'mỹ* *nãi-'nãi* *awỹi-'wa-ta* *'nãi-wa-he-'hỹ=tja*
stand=end-want like-NOM see-IS-CSO like-IS-NEG-NOM=CSO

bui-tja *tsi'boi=u?uja-'ja-da-'mỹ*
leave-CSO stand=end-IO-1S-FUT

(41) *tsu'hũ-dwa-ta* *'nãi-wa-re=tsy-'hỹ=wara* *a-'he-ty-wa-si ti-'rjỹ*
what-IDS-CSO like-IS-INT=GER-NOM=but exist-NEG-DET-IS-SWR

o?oja-wa-'re=ca
what-CD:area went-IS-INT=CSO

(42) *ĩ:wã* *xa'reja-'ja-ta* *duky-ri'cwa-na* *o'ja*
nothing search-IO-CSO other-CL:inhabited-LOC go

duky-ricwa-na *o'ja-tsy-'hỹ=wara* *'axe'hỹ-ja-'he-hỹ-dwa-'ta*
other-CL:inhabited-LOC go-GER-NOM=but find-IO-NEG-NOM-IDS-CSO

(43) *ti-'rjỹ* *oja-'re* *waje-da-ta* *"mɛ̃-da-'mỹ=tja*
what-CD:area go-INT search-1S-CSO beat-1S-VOL=CSO

(44) *ĩ:wã* *xare'ja-hỹ=wa'ra* *axehỹ-'he-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra*
nothing search-NOM=but find-NEG-GER-NOM=but

(45) *e'tay-nahe're* *were=oja-'tay-nahere* *'ãi-le* *a:-'ta*
woman-COL revolt=go-CL:woman-COL far-only exist-CSO

(46) *eto'hoi e-'ta* *tei-'hỹ-tja* *eto'hoi-le* *onɛ-e-'ta* *'mã*
child have-CSO one-NOM-CSO child-only come-too-CSO mother

ay-'rjỹ *'a-hỹ-'ki=tja*
that-CD:area exist-NOM-DEC=CSO

(47) *onɛ-'e-hỹ=wa'ra* *onɛ-'e-hỹ=wa'ra* *'ta* *aha-'wã* *awỹi-'ra*
come-too-NOM=but come-too-NOM=but talk father-AO see-IMP

ta-wa-'si
talk-IS-SWR

(48) *'ɛ-ta* *mã ay-'rjỹ* *'a-hỹ-'ki=dy-'ta* *ehỹ-'si*
go-CSO motherthat-CD:area exist-NOM-DEC=DS-CSO make-SWR

'wɛ-ta?ỹ-'ra *mã-'wã* *'mã* *duky'ri-da-'ki=hỹ-dwa-'ta*
bring-1SO-IMP mother-AO mother long-1S-DEC=NOM-IDS-CSO

(49) *ehỹ-'si* *hỹ'dɛ* *'ta-hỹ=wa'ra* *ta'na* *he'?ai* *ta'na* *'tsy-hỹ=wa'ra*
make-SWR go! talk-NOM=but well not.want well GER-NOM=but

ojabu'ru-tja
arrive-CSO

(50) *si-dy-'hỹ* *eto'hoi-he-'ki=tja* *'cari-"nã* *'mã-tjate* *'tsy-hỹ=wa'ra*
I-POS-NOM child-NEG-DEC=CSO kill-FUT mother-3.POS GER-NOM=but

(51) *ca'ri-he-'ky* *'xyi-dy-hỹ* *eto'hoi-ki* *xyi* *mã-xa-'xay-hỹ-'ki=tja*
kill-NEG-NEI you-POS-NOM child-DEC you call-2-2-NOM-DEC=CSO

ta-'hỹ=wara *ta'na*
talk-NOM=but well

(52) *tsuhũ-'du-da-'lɛ* *pẽrẽjã-'tja-da-'he-tsy-tsɛ*
what-BER-1S-PREC speak-TRA-1S-NEG-POT-DEC

(53) *xyi-'dy-hỹ* *a'ha* *si* *huru'ja-da-hỹ-'wã* *ca'ri=asa-ty-ta-tay-hỹ-'ki*
you-POS-NOM father I like-1S-NOM-AO kill=end-DET-1O-1O-NOM-DEC

da-'ta *xyi-dy-'hỹ-wã* *he?ai-'tja-da-ki* *ta'na*
1S-CSO you-POS-NOM-AO not.want-TRA-1S-DEC well

wã'rẽ"dyta-da-'ki *tsa'si-kywy* *ca'ri-da-heta-da-ki* *mãta'rwa-tja* *ta-ki*
dislike-1S-DEC follow-COND kill-1S-DESI-1S-DEC avenge-CSO talk-DEC

Part II

(54) *'ojabu'ru-tja* *kwɛ-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra* *ha'kai-tja'te* *a'wỹi-tja*
arrive-CSO enter-GER-NOM=but grandparent-3.POS see-CSO

(55) *tsuhũ-'du-xa-'ta* *oja'nỹ-xa-'re* *mã* *a'wỹj=ba'ru=a'sa-ha'ta-tsy-hỹ-ta*
what-BER-2-CSO come-2-INT mother see=end=end-3S.2O-POT-NOM-CSO

a-'re=jã-si[473] *'nãi-xa-re=tja* *'ta-ta* *ɛ:-ra=tja* *'ta-hỹ=wa'ra*
exist-INT=be-SWR like-2-INT=CSO talk-CSO go-IMP=CSO talk-NOM=but

(56) *he'?ai-da-'ki* *mã* *a'wỹi-'nã-da-'ta* *oja'nỹ-da-hỹ-'ki=tja* *'ta-dy-'ta*
not.want-1S-DEC mothersee-FUT-1S-CSO come-1S-NOM-DEC=CSO say-DS-CSO

473. The combination *-ta a-* was pronounced as [taʔɪ̃]. The construction is idiomatic and is discussed in part I, section (8.6.3.).

(57) *xa-'he-tsy-'tsɛ ɛ-'ra mã ca'ri-hata-'tsi=tja 'ta-hỹ=wara*
2-NEG-POT-DEC go-IMP mother kill-3S.2O-MON=CSO talk-NOM=but

(58) *(he)'?ai-da-'ki=tja y'ro=nãi-le-dy-'ta*
not.want-1S-DEC=CSO cry=like-only-DS-CSO

(59) *'xa-he-hỹ-'si*[474] *ja'hɛ-le'ja-da-ki=tja 'ta-ta*
2-NEG-NOM-SWR hide-2O.FUT-1S-DEC=CSO talk-CSO

(60) *'a-toto-'xy aru'rjỹ aru'rjỹ-le'ja ta-dy-'ta*
Ø-DR:upward-CL:house leave leave-2O.FUT talk-DS-CSO

(61) *o'ri=a-toto-tja bu=ũ'cwa-dy-ta 'mã-tjate a-'he-tja*
ascend=Ø-DR:upward-CSO sit=above-DS-CSO mother-3.POS exist-NEG-CSO

'hỹ-dy-ta
NOM-DS-CSO

(62) *ha'kai-tjate-'le-tjara-hỹ-dy-'ta*
grandparent-3.POS-only-PROC-NOM-DS-CSO

(63) *hary'ky 'mã-tjate o'nɛ-bu'ru-tja 'hẽu-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra*
now mother-3.POS come-arrive-CSO smell-GER-NOM=but

nã-'rjỹ-dy-ta
stink-CD:area-DS-CSO

(64) *di'lɛ 'a-dy-'ta 'nã-rjỹ-'re='tja ta*
who exist-DS-CSO stink-CD:area-INT=CSO talk

(65) *'mã-tja'te ĩwã-tsy-'hỹ=wara tsuhũ-re si nã-'hỹ-da-hỹ*
mother-3.POS nothing-GER-NOM=but what-INT I stink-NOM-1S-NOM

'nãi-da-'ki=tja 'ta-hỹ=wa'ra
like-1S-DEC=CSO talk-NOM=but

(66) *'ĩwã 'nãi-xa-ki 'mãrẽri'tsa ja'hɛ-xa-ki=tja 'ta-dy-'ta*
nothing like-2-DEC person hide-2-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(67) *ti-'hỹ ja'hɛ-da-'re 'he-da-ki=tja 'ta-dy-'ta dy-'ta*
what-NOM hide-1S-INT NEG-1S-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO DS-CSO

(68) *'ĩwã 'nãi-xa-ki mã'rẽdy-'ra ca'ri-da-ta 'jo-da-'mỹ=tja*
nothing like-2-DEC expose-IMP kill-1S-CSO devour-1S-VOL=CSO

474. The elements *'xahehỹ'si* ‘well you’ can also be seen as a particle which is inflected for second person.

'ta-hỹ=wa'ra[475]
talk-NOM=but

(69) *tsuhũ-'du-xa-lɛ* *'nãi-xa-'he-tsy-'tsɛ* *'xyi-dy-'hỹ* *eto'hoi-ʔĩʔĩ-'hỹ*
what-BER-2-PREC like-2-NEG-POT-DEC you-POS-NOM child-REM-NOM

tsa'si-hỹ:-'tsy *jã-si* *'nãi-xa-re* *tsuhũ-'du-xa-lɛ*
follow-NOM-RES be-SWR like-2-INT what-BER-2-PREC

'nãi-xa-'he-tsy-'tsɛ *tja'ta-dy-'ta*
like-2-NEG-POT-DEC say-DS-CSO

(70) *ehỹ-'si* *ti-hỹ-'re* *mã'rɛ̃dy-'ra* *a'wỹi-da-'mỹ=tja* *'ta-dy-'ta*
make-SWR what-NOM-INT expose-IMP see-1S-VOL=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(71) *xa-hỹ-'ki* *mã'rɛ̃dy-'nã-da-ki* *cari-'nã-ihĩ-'ky* *'xyi-dy-'hỹ*
2-NOM-DEC expose-FUT-1S-DEC kill-FUT-contrary-NEI you-POS-NOM

eto'hoi-ki *'mã-tja*[476] *tsa'si-hỹ-'ki=tja* *'ta-dy-'ta*
child-DEC mother-CSO follow-NOM-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(72) *watxi'le* *di'ri-dy-'ra* *a'wỹi-da-'mỹ=hỹ-dy-'ta*
finally descend-CAU-IMP see-1S-VOL=NOM-DS-CSO

(73) *diri-'dy-dy-'ta* *a'wỹi-ta* *'bu=arũ'rjỹ-ta-'ta* *awãta-'hỹ=ba'ru*
descend-CAU-DS-CSO see-CSO put=leave-TRA-CSO watch-NOM=end

'awãta-hỹ *tana* *'awãta-'hỹ-to't:e-tja*
watch-NOM well watching-NOM-DR:upwards-CSO

(74) *ta* *tsɛ* *'si-dy-hỹ* *eto'hoi-ĩʔĩ-hỹ-'ki* *he-hỹ-'si* *wãnỹ'dy* *wã'dy*
CSO yesI-POS-NOM child-REM-NOM-DEC NEG-NOM-SWR food cook

wa'dy-da-'mỹ-da-'ki *'ja=hãrã-ta* *ɛ-'ni* *tsuhũ-'du-tsy-'lɛ*
give-1S-VOL-1S-DEC eat=stop-CSO go-CAUS what-BER-POT-PREC

a-'ta-ta-'he-tsy-'tsɛ=tja *'ta-dy-'ta*
exist-TRA-1O-NEG-POT-DEC=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(75) *tsy're* *he-hỹ-'si* *tja-'ra* *wãnỹ'dy* *wãdy-'ra=tja* *'ta-dy-ta*
it.is NEG-NOM-SWR EMP-IMP food cook-IMP=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(76) *wãnỹ'dy* *wady-'ta* *cɛ̃:'rĩ* *atxi'txi* *'wãdy-'ta* *'ja-dy=hã'rã-'hỹ-dy-'ta*
food give-CSO peanut maize cook-CSO eat-CAU=stop-NOM-DS-CSO

475.Notice that no object is expressed at all.
476.Note that zero-verbalisation of *mã* 'mother' means here: 'to want mother'.

(77) *hary'ky* *'tsei-tja* *'ε-tsy-'tsε* *'aha-wã* *tsuhũ-'du-xa-'lε*
now start-CSO go-POT-DEC father-AO what-BER-2-PREC

a-'ta-ta-'he-tsy-'tsε *'xyi-dy-'hỹ* *a'ha:* *'xyi-dy-'hỹ* *a'ha*
exist-TRA-1O-NEG-POT-DEC you-POS-NOM father you-POS-NOM father

huru'ja-da-'day-hỹ-'wã *ca'ri=a'sa-ty-ta-'tay-hỹ-'ki* *da-ta*
like-1S-1S-NOM-AO kill=end-DET-1O-1O-NOM-DEC 1S-CSO

xyi-dy-'hỹ-wã *(he)'?ai-'tja-da-'ta* *'a:-da-hỹ-'ki*
you-POS-NOM-AO not.want-TRA-1S-CSO exist-1S-NOM-DEC

(78) *jã'ky* *'hou-da'mỹ-xa-'ta* *tsa'si-xa-'hỹ* *tsuhũ-'du-xa-'lε*
sister take-want-2-CSO follow-2-NOM what-BER-2-PREC

'hou-xa-'he-tsy-'tsε
take-2-NEG-POT-DEC

(79) *na-ay-'rjỹ* *'xyi-dy-'hỹ* *ko'reda'ra* *'a=ũ-ka'tsa-hỹ-'ki*
PROX-that-CD:area you-POS-NOM aunt exist=be-DR:middle-NOM-DEC

ay-'rjỹ *hou-xa-'lε* *wε-'xa-tsy-'tsε* *'ta-dy-'ta*
that-CD:area take-2-PREC bring-2-POT-DEC talk-DS-CSO

(80) *ti-'nãi-da-'lε* *axe'hỹ-da-tsy-'re* *jã-si='nãi-xa-re=tja* *'ta-dy-'ta*
what-NOM-1S-PREC meet-1S-POT-INT be-SWR=like-2-INT=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(81) *atxi'txi* *cẽrĩ-tsy-'hỹ* *'ja=hã'rã-xa-'lε* *'kohonũ-'tsa:* *hã'rã-xa-'lε*
maize peanut-GER-NOM eat=stop-2-PREC spit-CL:hand stop-2-PREC

'tsamã'te-xa-ky'wy *o'janỹ-'lε* *ja-'lε*
strew.in.water-2-COND come-PREC eat-PREC

(82) *tana* *txo'we=txo'we-ỹ-ky'wy* *'ỹ-ky'wy* *tso'je-ko*
well stagger=stagger-ATT-COND ATT-COND hand-INS

'dai=o'ce-to'to-mã-xa-'lε *xa're-nỹko'te-'xa-ky'wy*
take=throw-DR:upward-DR:water-2-PREC turn-return-2-COND

(83) *bony'hỹ* *wara-'tu-hata-ky'wy* *a'wỹi-xa-'lε* *'wε-xa-tsy-'tsε*
again touch-CL:back-3S.2O-COND see-2-PREC bring-2-POT-DEC

'ta-dy-'ta
talk-DS-CSO

(84) *da-'tara-'tsε=tja* *'ε:-tja* *o'jabu'ru-je'?e:-ta* *a'ha-tja'te-wã*
1S-PROC-DEC=CSO go-CSO arrive-too-CSO father-3.POS-AO

'kwɛ-je?e:-'ta *tutu'nita'hỹ-tsẽ'rjỹ-dy-ta*
enter-too-CSO think-DR:lie-DS-CSO

(85) *ti-'nãi-tsy-'re* *'mã* *ta-dy-'ta*
what-NOM-GER-INT mother talk-DS-CSO

(86) *'bu=ũxe-ki* *mã* *tsuhũ-'du-da-lɛ* *o'nɛ-da-'he-tsy-'tsɛ-tsɛ*
sit=remain-DEC mother what-BER-1S-PREC come-1S-NEG-POT-DEC-DEC

'ai-tsɛ *'ta-dy-ta*
want.not-DEC talk-DS-CSO

(87) *tsy-'re=tja*
is.it=CSO

(88) *ha'ja-hỹ-dy-'ta* *'mã=tja* *'ta-ta-hỹ-'tsy* *hã'te=hã'te-da-'mỹ=tja*
day-NOM-DS-CSO mother=CSO talk-1O-NOM-RES try=try-1S-VOL=CSO

(89) *bony'hỹ* *hy=nỹko'tɛ-je?e-'ta* *'hã=txu'hũi-na* *'mã-tja'te=tja*
again move=return-too-CSO water=small-LOC mother-3.POS=CSO

'ta-nãi *hãte=hã'te-ta* *watxi'le-tsy-'le-ki* *ti-'nãi*
talk-NOM try=try-CSO finally-GER-FRUST-DEC what-NOM

hu'dɛ-je?e-toto-'mã-dy-'ta *mãrɛ̃'ritsa* *a're-hỹ-dy-'ta*
dry-too-DR:upward-DR:water-DS-CSO person turn-NOM-DS-CSO

(90) *hary'ky* *wɛ-je'?e-ta* *ja'hɛ=txarwa-'wy-tja* *'mĩu* *waraja-dy-'hỹ*
now bring-too-CSO hide=first-time-CSO chicha make-CAU-NOM

'rai?ỹ'hỹ *wãnỹdy* *wã'dy-dy-'hỹ-tja* *ja='ũi=ĩ?ĩ'ta-hỹ-'dy-ta*
thing food cook-CAU-NOM-CSO eat=lie=always-NOM-DS-CSO

(91) *mã-tja'te* *ti-'nãi-tsy-'hỹ* *e'tay* *'e:-xa-'ta* *wã'dy* *mĩu*
mother-3.POS what-NOM-GER-NOM woman have-2-CSO cook chicha

'kui-xa-'hỹ-xa-xa-'ta-xa-'re *'ta-dy-'ta*
drink-2-NOM-2-2-CSO-2-INT talk-DS-CSO

(92) *ha'kai* *wa'nɛ-je'?e-da-hỹ-'ki=tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra*
grandparent bring-too-1S-NOM-DEC=GER-NOM=but

(93) *ĩ:wã* *'nãi-xa-'ki* *e'tay* *si* *a'wỹi-da-hỹ-'ki=tja* *'ta-hỹ-dy-'ta*
nothing like-2-DEC woman I see-1S-NOM-DEC=CSO talk-NOM-DS-CSO

(94) *hary'ky* *'mãrɛ̃'dy* *'nãi-tsy-hỹ* *'e-da-'ki* *hỹ-dy-'ta*
now expose like-GER-NOM have-1S-DEC NOM-DS-CSO

(95) *ti-'rjỹ* *axe'hỹ-xa-'re* *si-'e-da-'mỹ=tja* *'ta-hỹ=wa'ra*
what-CD:area find-2-INT I-too-1S-VOL=CSO talk-NOM=but

(96) *tsy're* *na-'ay-hỹ* *'tei-hỹ-tsy-hỹ* *'nãi-da-hỹ-'ki=tja*
it.is PROX-that-NOM one-NOM-GER-NOM like-1S-NOM-DEC=CSO

'ta-dy-'ta *a'ha-tja'te-wã-tja* *'ta*
talk-DS-CSO father-3.POS-AO-CSO talk

(97) *'he-hỹ-'si* *eto'hoi* *e:-ky'wy* *'si-ra'ta* *au're-da-tsy-'tsɛ*
NEG-NOM-SWR child have-COND I-first marry-1S-POT-DEC

e'tay-to'hoi-ky'wy=tja *'ta-dy-'ta*
woman-CL:child-COND=CSO talk-DS-CSO

(98) *'xa-tara-'tsɛ=tja* *ta*
2-PROC-DEC=CSO talk

(99) *duky-'hỹ* *he-hỹ-'si* *hary'ky* *eto'hoi* *a-'wy* *duky-'hỹ*
other-NOM NEG-NOM-SWR now child Ø-time other-NOM

a-'wy-ỹ-ky'wy *au're-na-'lɛ* *tjo-'e-ha'nã-tsy-'tsɛ=tja*
Ø-time-ATT-COND marry-one-PREC many-too-one-POT-DEC=CSO

'ta-dy-'ta
talk-DS-CSO

(100) *hary'ky* *'ay-xu'ko* *tjo-e:* *nãi-'e:-wa-'ki* *'cwa-ra'ti-ki*
now that-SETT many-too like-too-IS-DEC IS-FOC-DEC

(101) *txa'na* *mani'ni* *a're-e-'a-hỹ-'ki* *txa'na*
we.IN fish turn-too-1P-NOM-DEC we.IN

Part I

(1) At the time of the very first people there used to be those who were called “the rebellious runaway women”... (2) (In) our existence at this truly first time we (men) did not yet have strength. (3) There was one person who transformed into a tapir, and the women used to like his ways (i.e. that Tapir transformed into a man), but the men did not know anything, and thinking nothing of it they went out hunting, as they always did. (4) As the next day came the men went hunting and all went into the forest as usual. Meanwhile the women stayed behind around the house, making chicha, and taking a bath and cutting firewood and thereafter they went into the forest. (5) (There) they called (Tapir) to them, and made him come running to them. Then he explained “We do like each other”, and they talked until they stopped (talking). (6) Then they said to him “You have to make love to us all”, (otherwise there will be jealousy), Tapir-man said “I want to!”, and he transformed and made love to all of them. (7) After having finished he went away, and the women arrived from the forest as if nothing had occurred, having finished (their so-called time-consuming work)... (8) then the hunter-men arrived from the forest as always, but another man Curiangu said “I am ill”,

though it was a lie.[477] (9) The man Curiangu pretended to be ill, pretending to be lying down, the others told him "You must spy", and he said "Yes!" (10) He pretended that he was ill, and was lying down. The women entered (the house) and inquired, saying: "Grandfather, what is the matter with you?" (11) "I'm ill, I've got a fever", he lied, talking to them. (12) "It isn't true, he is smart, he wants to find out, he isn't ill", they said, "Let's leave him alone", they said, but then they said "Let's go into the forest and see our man." (13) And having brought chicha they called Tapir to come to them. Tapir turned human and came there, and after having drunk the chicha, now... (14) "Embrace us!", they said, "Yes!", he said and he made love to all of them, and then, they returned from him, while Tapir, now, turned into a tapir and went as always. (15) Now Curiangu had flown up and followed them and saw everything; "Ah!, that's what they are doing!", he saw, "We did not know anything of it!", he said.[478] (16) Only Curiangu had seen them, and came home, and pretended to be lying down ill. (17) Then the other men returned from the forest, and filled the yard, now, Curiangu got up, went there and said "(now I know) what it is that they have been doing!..." (18) "Now, I saw that they called the tapir to come, and then, he said "I (will) make love (to you)", well then they, he grabbed them all, and he went away, and (the women) returned (home), which is what they have been doing from the start!", he explained to them, well... (19) "Let's kill him off!, he asked for it!", they said. (20) Then they made arrows, and finished, and then the women came to know this. The men went out hunting. (21) Now the women went. The women made chicha to take with them and left for the forest again, and called the tapir to them. (22) They spoke to him "They are going to kill you, so you are going to another river far from here." (23) "If anyone calls you, don't say "Yes" and come running, no!" (24) "They want to kill you." (25) "Be very careful!", they warned, but he was stubborn, and after the conversation the women arrived from the forest, and now the men too. (26) On the next day, the men said "Let's kill, let's (pretend we) go hunting!..." (27) They pretended (did) so, went into the forest, and called (the tapir)... (28) "Ah!, that must definitely be the women", thought the tapir, and although it wasn't true he came running, but there was nothing, and Tapir stood still... (29) Now they started to shoot, and they shot and filled him with arrows. Now Tapir screamed and screamed until he died, yes!, the transformed tapir. (30) The women went to the forest again, thinking that Tapir was still there... (31) Walking in the forest the women said "Always when I called him he came, but not now, well,... (32) they killed him from us",... (33) "They will see, just wait!",... (34) "We make chicha, and when we give it to them and they will lose consciousness", "Then we will play the flutes and sing and dance until the next day, and then let's go!", they said. (35) Well, they harvested manioc, and then put maize on the fire, and finished, and then, they prepared the drink, and then they, now, they gave it to them. (36) When they stopped, now, well, they took the flutes and danced and danced, until it became day... (37) Now early in the morning they all went into the river to take a bath,... (38) when they returned from the river, they acted as if they were sitting down on an ant-hill, but it was in fact on a hole, and they disappeared into the ground, and came up again very far away,... (39) so when they were all gone, there was one man who woke up (at about five a.m., discovering that the women had left),... (40) "I'm going to step on them all and smash them, they will see!", he thought, and went out, "I'm going to step on all of them",... (41) "What is going

477.Here the men are already suspicious.
478.Curiangu is apparently a shaman.

on?" (someone else) said, but no-one was there, "Where is it they went?" (the first one) said,... (42) yet in vain, he searched for them at a neighbour's, went to another neighbour but found no-one, so,... (43) "Where have they gone?, I'll track them down and beat them!" he said,... (44) he searched to no avail, he did not find anyone,... (45) while the rebellious runaway women went living very far away,... (46) they had one son among them, then the child returned alone and said (to his father) "Mother lives over there." (47) He returned (to his father), (because mother had) said, "Go there and see your father!" (the now misandrous women did not allow any men around any more)... (48) He went. "Now mother is living there", he said (to his father), "Now come on, take me to mother, I long for mother." (49) "Well then, let's go!" he said (father overcoming his reluctance), but then later he did not want to continue, so the son arrived there alone[479],... (50) then his mother said "He is not my child, I'm going to shoot him", but... (51) (grandmother) said to her "Don't kill him, no!, he is your child, you gave him his name", but... (52) "Why should I talk with him, I won't",...[480] (53) "Because your father killed from me the one loved by me, I don't want your one (i.e. father), now you see I hate him, if he follows (you hereto) I'm ready to kill him", she said, vengefully.

Part II

(54) He arrived there and entered, but grandmother saw him.[481] (55) "Why have you come?, mother is not just going to see you, no! (but she will also kill you)", she said, "Go away!", she said, but... (56) "I don't want to (go), I have come to see mother", he said. (57) "Don't you persist, go away!, lest mother will kill you", she said, however (unfortunately)... (58) "I don't want to", he said, crying like that. (59) "Well O.K. then (if you don't), I'm going to hide you", she said. (60) "I will put you up in the attic", she said. (61) He climbed up, and stayed up there and mother wasn't there, so... (62) what a luck that only his grandmother was there. (63) Now mother arrived and smelled, but (i.e. unexpectedly) there was a strong smell. (64) "Who is there, what is that strong smell?", she said. (65) His mother (wondered) but there was nothing, "What?, it is my smell", said (grandmother), but... (66) "That isn't you, no way, you have hidden a man", she said... (67) "Whom did I hide?, I didn't", she said, then, well... (68) "You're lying, get him out of there!, I will kill him and devour him", she said, but... (69) "You aren't you going to do that, he who was once your son came after you, you fool!, why would you?, what for would you do that?", she said. (70) "Well O.K., where is he?, get him, I want to see him", she said. (71) "Well then, I will show (him), you should not want to kill him!, he is your son, he came because he missed his mother", she said. (72) "Well get him down then!, I want to see him", (mother) said. (73) Well, she (grandmother) made him descend, then, she (mother) saw him, ordered him to sit, and looked at him, she watched him from top to toes, then looked at him from top to toe, then. (74) Then "Yes, he was once my son, well let me make food for him, and when he has fin

479. A part was omitted here: grandmother hides the son, mother comes and smells him, says she would love to eat a fried man, but grandmother intervenes.
480. A part was omitted here: son sits down, mother looks at him from head to toes, orders food for him, and then explains what follows.
481. Notice that the last paragraph of the previous part of the story (from March 1995) is retold here. This takes up the first half of the present second part (from March 1996).

ished he will go, because he can't stay together with me", she said. (75) "Yes, well, do so, cook food (for him)!", (grandmother) said. (76) She cooked food, cooked peanuts and maize, and when she had finished feeding (him), then. (77) Now she started: "You are going to go to father, because you cannot live with me, your father, your father has killed the one that I have loved, therefore I don't like your (father), and therefore I remain here." (78) "You came to get your younger sister but you're not going to."[482] (79) "Your aunt lives there half-way down the road, you are going to pick her up and take her with you", she said.[483] (80) "Well how would I meet her, do you suppose?", (the boy) said. (81) "As soon as you have chewed maize and peanuts, and thrown that which you have spit out into your hand into the water, she (as a fish) will come and eat ..." (82) "... well, when she will be staggering around (i.e. being pregnant with a big belly) and if you throw (her) on dry land and have turned your back[484] (again) ..." (83) "... then (she will have turned into a human) when she will touch you on the shoulder, you will look (again[485]) and take her (with you)", she said. (84) "I will", he said, and he went and arrived there again, went in at his father's again, and lay down, thinking. (85) "Where is your mother?", (father) said. (86) "She stayed there, "Why should I return there?", she said, she didn't want to", (the son) said. (87) "Is it really?", (father) said. (88) Then came the next day, "I'm going to try what mother told me", he thought. (89) Again, he returned again to the small river where he tried what his mother had told him, he finally did, until[486] he splashed up the water again (with fish), and it became a human, well... (90) then he brought her (the aunt) back, first hid her and ordered for chicha and to cook things, and he ate every night and slept, then...[487] (91) his father[488] (who got suspicious and started asking) "What woman do you have, that you eat food and drink chicha every day?", he said. (92) "I brought grandma back", he said, but... (93) "You are lying, I saw it was a (nubile) woman", (father) said. (94) Then, he showed (the woman) "This one I have", (said the son). (95) "Where did you find her, I want one for me too", he said, but. (96) "Yes, it was just this one that I (found)", he said to his father. (97) "Well, when she gets a child, I will be the first one to marry her, if it is a girl", he said. (98) "O.K. that's fine", (son) said. (99) "The next (generation) then, now, when a child is born and another is born again we will marry and (our people) will grow again", (father) said. (100) Now here (is where the story ends), they multiplied again, it is said. (101) We are created as fish transformed into us.[489]

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482. On returning the son wanted to take his sister with him because the tribe needed women.
483. The aunt is a fish.
484. If you watch you will become ugly.
485. *bonyhỹ* in the sense of 'again' may belong with *awỹixalɛ* 'when you look again', but here it could also mean 'next', 'later'.
486. Notice that the verb *watxi'letsyleki* 'he finally did, until' is in the declarative mood because it is not quoted speech; it represents a comment by the narrator.
487. which was not normal; the other men were hungry and neglected as their wives were not there to take care of them.
488. *mã* 'mother' is an error.
489. At one stage Mario explained that in the earliest times, when the women were the stronger sex, men were like children to them. Women had the power that men have today. This changed when a generation of fish had intervened.

2.7. The word for 'jaguar' as used by the women: A traditional tale, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Barroso, 20-03-95

The following little tale is about a female tradition of word taboo. Men may use the word *jere'xwa* 'jaguar' freely, but women have to avoid this word as soon as they are in the forest. They can resort to the word *ĩ'tsɛ̃* without provoking the jaguar. The etymology of this word is not known. ZE of family II knew this tale and he laughed sheepishly as I told him about it. MA of family I said that *ĩ'tsɛ̃* is the 'private name' of the jaguar.

(1) *e'tay* *jere'xwa-tsy-'nãi* *jã'si* *jere'xwa* *tja* *e'tay*
woman jaguar-GER-NOM hear jaguar CSO woman

hy-dwa'tja-hỹ-dy-'ta *ka'hɛ=asa-'ki*
go-DR:forest-NOM-DS-CSO bite=end-DEC

(2) *dy-'ta* *e'tay* *hy-dwa'tja-da'mỹ-tja* *ĩ'tsɛ̃-tsy-'nãi* *kahɛ-'he-tsɛ*
DS-CSO woman go-DR:forest-want-CSO jaguar-GER-NOM bite-NEG-DEC

(3) *ĩ'tsɛ̃* *ta-'nãi* *dy-ta* *tswa* *'tswa-ỹ-hỹ* *jere'xwa* *jã-'nãi*
jaguar talk-NOM DS-CSO man man-ATT-NOM jaguar exist-NOM

jã'si-hỹ-wara *kahɛ-'he-tsɛ*
hear-NOM-but bite-NEG-DEC

(4) *'tswa-a-hỹ-'wã* *tswa-tja* *da'rje-ta* *'nãi-hỹ-'ki*
man-1P-NOM-AO man-CSO strong-CSO like-NOM-DEC

(5) *tja jere'xwa* *'jã-hỹ=wara* *ku'ri-ta-ja-ki* *'tswa-a-hỹ-'wã*
CSO jaguar say-NOM=but quiet-TRA-IO-DEC man-1P-NOM-AO

(1) When a woman speaks the word "*jere'xwa*" while she is out in the forest, then the jaguar will bite her to death. (2) When a woman is intending to go to the forest, and uses the name "*ĩ'tsɛ̃*", it will not grab her. (3) She says "*ĩ'tsɛ̃*", whereas a man, being a man, when speaking "*jere'xwa*", he (the jaguar) will hear it, but not grab him. (4) Because being a man, one is a man, and therefore one is strong. (5) So one says "*jere'xwa*" but it will leave one in peace, as one is a man.

3. Historical personal accounts

3.1. The story of the initiation of girls: An autobiographical history, by Maria Edite Towenwɛ, Gleba, 03-03-95

This story represents the first text ever recorded in Kwaza. It consists of a dialogue between Maria Edite and her son Antônio Teteru, which is immediately followed by Maria Edite's monologue. It was recorded on 3 March 1995. It

was translated and analysed with the help of Teteru on 18 May 1995, 5 April 1996 and 25 June 1996. Final corrections of the morphemic analysis were done with the help of Teteru on 10 March 1998. My consultants Teteru and Mario, both sons of Maria Edite, found this and her other stories hard to interpret morphosyntactically. They complained that the structure is rambled and that Maria Edite did not narrate in a logically consistent manner.

Via Teteru I had requested Maria Edite to tell a traditional tale in Kwaza. In the first part Maria Edite and Teteru discuss how to go about it. In the second part Maria Edite relates of the time when she was a little girl. She was brought up in traditional times, and she was subjected to the traditional rites of passage into marriageability. When a girl menstruates for the first time, she is locked inside a closed straw hut for several months, often together with other girls in the same stage, and she has to observe food regulations. It is not clear for how long the Kwaza girls were secluded, but from what we know of similar customs among other peoples this can vary between several weeks to over half a year. When the girls are set free there is always a big celebration. Apparently, the girls Maria Edite was with were shaven and painted and they were dressed in ornaments, and they had to perform the traditional women's task of making chicha for everyone.

(1) ME: *xyi* *ja* *tsũhũ-nãi* *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã* *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-xa-re*
you already what-NOM speak speak-2S-INT

(2) TE: *he*
NEG

(3) ME: *he-xa-re*
NEG-2S-INT

(4) TE: *ĩ* *rai?ỹhỹ* *ti-nãi* *mã* *ti-nãi*
nothing animal what-NOM call what-NOM

mã-jã-re-tsy-hỹ-lɛ *nãi-da-ki*
call-say-INT-GER-NOM-PREC like-1S-DEC

(5) ME: *nãi-xa-re*
like-2S-INT

(6) TE: *tsy-hỹ-lɛ* *nãi-da-hỹ*
GER-NOM-PREC like-1S-NOM

(7) ME: *ja* *'rai?ỹ'hỹ* *mã=du'hỹ-xa-re*
already animal call=all-2S-INT

(8) TE: *ỹ'hỹ:* *a* *'he-da-hehỹ* *danỹ*
yes ??? NEG-1S-CONT still

(9) ME: *ã'rũi*
tapir

(10) TE: *ãrũi-'le* *mã-da-hehỹ*
tapir-only call-1S-CONT

(11) ME: *dutu're*
pig

(12) TE: *a'?ũ*
deer

(13) ME: *'auto*
bird

(14) ME: *nanãi=jã-ta* *mã-a-nãi* *hãte-ta*
very=exist-CSO call-1P-NOM count-CSO

(15) TE: *ti-'nãi-hỹ* *de'da-dy-'nãi* *ũce'nãi-xa-re*
what-NOM-NOM anaconda-POS-NOM know-2S-INT

(16) ME: *ti-'nãi-tsy-nãi*
what-NOM-GER-NOM

(17) TE: *'deda* *'hanã'wã-na-ỹ-hỹ* *'bou-tsy-ra'ti*
anaconda sky-LOC-ATT-NOM float-GER-FOC

(18) ME: *ũce'nãi-he-da-hehỹ* *ay-hỹ*
know-NEG-1S-CONT that-NOM

(19) TE: *tsũ'hũ:* *ti-'nãi* *ũcenãi*
what what-NOM know

(20) ME: *'na-ay-'nãi* *unỹ'teta-'nã-da-hehỹ* *ti-'nãi*
PROX-that-NOM converse-FUT-1S-CONT what-NOM

'tsywydy'te-a-'a-ay-'nãi *'ticwa-'nãi*
girl-1P-1P-1P-NOM ancestral-NOM

(21) ME: *'ja* *tsi'cwa-da'mỹ-da-'ki*
already begin-want-1S-DEC

(22) TE: *'tsicwa-'ra*
begin-IMP

(23) ME: *txarwa-'wy* *ja'mãitay* *a-'wy*
first-time nubile Ø-time

jã?ũ-a-ta *ũrjỹ-a-ta* *kje'ro-a-ta* *ha'ja* *haja* *ehỹ-a-si*
menstruate-1P-CSO sit-1P-CSO prohibit-1P-CSO day day make-1P-SWR

(24) *di'lɛ* *hudɛ'rɛ-ja-hỹ-lɛ*
who ask-IO-NOM-PREC

(25) *jã'?ũ-da-'ki=tja* *'ta-a-'si* *kjero-'dy-ja-wa-'ta*
menstruate-1S-DEC=CSO talk-1P-SWR prohibit-CAU-IO-IS-CSO

(26) *a'rurjỹ-ja-wa-'ta* *ny'tesi'kje* *to'wɛ-wa-'ta* *he'he-ja-wa-'ta*
leave-IO-IS-CSO mat go-IS-CSO cover-IO-IS-CSO

(27) *'haryky* *ha'ja-dwa-'ta* *hary'ky* *to'wɛ-wa-'ta* *hary'ky* *bero'ha* *bexyi'txu*
now day-IDS-CSO now go-IS-CSO now leaf herb

be *'dai-dy-'nɛ-ta-'ja-wa-'hỹ-lɛ*[490] *ja-'a-ta*
leaf take-CAU-DR:hither-TRA-IO-IS-NOM-PREC eat-1P-CSO

(28) *aru'rjỹ-wa-ta* *kudy-'ro* *kudy-'ro-ko* *aru'rjỹ-'ta-ja-'wa-hỹ-'lɛ*
leave-IS-CSO calabash-CL:cup calabash-CL:cup-INS leave-TRA-IO-IS-NOM-PREC

tsu'ku-a-'ta *ũ-'hỹ-a-'ta*
chew-1P-CSO be-NOM-1P-CSO

(29) *ha're-dy-ko'ce* *hary'ky* *'txarwa-'wy* *ũ'rjỹ-a-'wy*
disappear-CAU-CL:neck now first-time sit-1P-time

ha're-dy-ko'ce-ja-wa-'si *hare-ku'ty-ỹ-a-'ta* *'ũrjỹ-'a-ta*
disappear-CAU-CL:neck-IO-IS-SWR disappear-CL:head-ATT-1P-CSO sit-1P-CSO

ta'na *unỹ-dy:-'nãi-a-ta*
well duration-CAU-NOM-1P-CSO

(30) *hary'ky* *ho'ronỹhỹ-'dy-ja-wa-si* *haryky* *hã'rã-a-'ta* *haryky* *o'wy*
now prepare-CAU-IO-IS-SWR now stop-1P-CSO now genipap

o'wy *be='hɛ-dy-'hỹ-ja-wa-'hỹ-lɛ* *'haryky* *ũ'rjỹ-a-ta*
genipap black=paint-CAU-NOM-IO-IS-NOM-PREC now sit-1P-CSO

'bui-tsy-rjỹ-'a-ta[491] *a'rwenã-a-'ta* *a'rwenã='wɛ-terja*[492]
leave-GER-CD:area-1P-CSO make.chicha-1P-CSO make.chicha=bring-slide

490. Possibly also *dai?edynɛ-*.
491. ['ɓu̯i̯tsaniaʔ'ata] is not well understood, it is probably not *bucsi-ja-wa-ta* 'they set one free', because it occurs twice in the same nasalised form.
492. *a'rwenã'wetirja* is not well understood.

duky-'hỹ-ko *'ta-ja-'wa-hỹ-'lɛ* *tsu'ku-nãi-'le* *jã-'si*
other-NOM-INS talk-IO-IS-NOM-PREC chew'-NOM-only exist-SWR

wyru-'ra=tja *ta-ja-'wa-hỹ-'lɛ* *'haryky* *'wyru-a-'ta* *horo'nỹhỹ*
grind-IMP=CSO talk-IO-IS-NOM-PREC now grind-1P-CSO prepare

'jã-si *haryky* *'rai?ỹ'hỹ*
exist-SWR now animal

(31) *hy-dy-'rjỹ-e-ja-wa-hỹ-lɛ* *'aryky* *'bonyhỹ-le* *kui*
move-CAU-CD:area-too-IO-IS-NOM-PREC now again-only drink

kui-'dy-ja-'wa-he-'ky *'he-cwa-hỹ-'lɛ* *aryky* *'ũrjỹ-'a-ta*
drink-CAU-IO-IS-NEG-NEI NEG-IS-NOM-PREC now sit-1P-CSO

bony'hỹ-le *ha'ja-dwa-ta* *aryky*
again-only day-IDS-CSO now

(32) *bui-'ra=tja* *'ta-ja-wa-hỹ-lɛ* *haryky* *'bui-a-'ta*
leave-IMP=CSO talk-IO-IS-NOM-PREC now leave-1P-CSO

(33) *butxi-'ja-wa-'ta* *haryky* *to'ro-ko* *'hɛ-dy-'hỹ-ja-'wa-hỹ-'lɛ*
free-IO-IS-CSO now annatto-INS paint-CAU-NOM-IO-IS-NOM-PREC

awy'ri *exu'ku-dy-'ja-wa-'hỹ*
bracelet wear-CAU-IO-IS-NOM

(34) *de're* *beto'tɛ* *'tana:* *i:txitxi'hỹ-ja-'wa-ta*
shell bead well decorate-IO-IS-CSO

(35) *'wanidy-'dy-ja-wa-'ta* *ary'ky* *bu'txi-ja-'wa-hỹ-'lɛ* *kui-'dy-ja*
decorate-CAU-IO-IS-CSO now free-IO-IS-NOM-PREC drink-CAU-IO

(36) *dutu're* *ã'rũi* *ta'na* *'cwa-ta* *esiñwã-'na* *bui-e'te-wa-hỹ-'lɛ*
pig tapir well IS-CSO yard-LOC leave-COMIT-IS-NOM-PREC

kui-dy-'ja
drink-CAU-IO

(37) *cwa-'ta* *horonỹ'hỹ-a-'ta* *hary'ky* *o'wy* *o'wy* *bony'hỹ*
IS-CSO prepare-1P-CSO now genipap genipap again

(38) *haja-'e-wy* *'haryky* *'hare-'hỹ-a-'ta* *'owy* *'bony'hỹ*
day-too-time now disappear-NOM-1P-CSO genipap again

be=hɛ-'dy *'deba-'dy-xu-e-'a-ta* *'ỹ-a-ta*[493]
black=paint-CAU turn-CAU-CL:bone-too-1P-CSO stain-1P-CSO

(39) *haryky* *be='hɛ-nỹ-'hỹ-a-'ta* *aryky*
now black=paint-REF-NOM-1P-CSO now

(40) *'etsule'?ỹ-a-'nãi* *hã'rã:-a-'ta* *be='hɛ-nỹ-'hỹ* *'ary'ky*
meagre-1P-NOM stop-1P-CSO black=paint-REF-NOM now

o'wy-a-'ta *horonỹ'hỹ-ja-'si*[494]
genipap-1P-CSO prepare-IO-SWR

(41) *hary'ky* *'jananãi-'ki* *hãrã-'ja=tja* *'ta-wa-'si* *haryky* *'awani'hỹ*
now fine-DEC stop-EXP=CSO talk-IS-SWR now alone

'arwe'nã-a-ta *aryky* *'kui-dy-'ja-a-'ta* *be'tswe* *'hary'ky*
make.chicha-1P-CSO now drink-CAU-IO-1P-CSO herb now

'bony'hỹ-le *'beñɛ̃* *hɛ'dɛ-ñɛ̃-a-'ta* *'betswe* *kje'hỹ-a-'ta*
again-only herb burn-CL:leaf-1P-CSO herb burn.up-1P-CSO

'kui-dy-'ja-e-a-'ta *horo'nỹhỹ-'ja-si*[495]
drink-CAU-IO-too-1P-CSO prepare-IO-SWR

(42) *hary'ky* *hã'rã-dy-'ja-wa-si* *hary'ky* *'bui-tsy-'rjỹ-a-'ta*
now stop-CAU-IO-IS-SWR now leave-GER-CD:area-1P-CSO

'hyhyrwa-he-'ky *tẽi'tja* *du'mã* *du'mã:* *mɛ̃-hata-'tsi=tja*
move-NEG-NEI alone snake snake beat-3S.2O-MON=CSO

'ta-ja-'wa-hỹ-lɛ *haryky* *hy'hy:rwa-'he=jã-'ta* *a-a-ta*
talk-IO-IS-NOM-PREC now move-NEG=exist-CSO exist-1P-CSO

kje'ro:-a-ta *'haka'hỹ* *are-'a-wy* *hary'ky* *hyhy'rwa-a-'ki*
prohibit-1P-CSO old turn-1P-time now move-1P-DEC

cwa-ra'ti-hỹ-tsy *'tsywydy'te-a-wy*
be-FOC-NOM-RES girl-1P-time

(43) TE: *bwa*
end

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493. *'deba'dy'tso?e'?ata* is not well understood, it may mean ‘on all sides and limbs again’.
494. Final *jãsi* was translated as ‘one, we’ and may contain an object reference morpheme which acually belongs to the next sentence. Therefore maybe *jãsi* should be regarded as a free intersentential particle here.
495. Exactly the same holds for final *ñãsi* here as for *jãsi* in the previous sentence.

(44) ME: *bwa*
end

(1) ME: What have you already told?
(2) TE: I didn't.
(3) ME: You didn't?
(4) TE: Nothing, animals, if he says "How is this called?", I do so.
(5) ME: So you do?
(6) TE: That's why I am (asking you to tell a story).
(7) ME: Did you already tell all the animals' names?
(8) TE: Yes, ah!, not yet.
(9) ME: The tapir.
(10) TE: I called only the name of the tapir.
(11) ME: The pig.
(12) TE: The deer.
(13) ME: The bird.
(14) ME: Already told all the names.
(15) TE: You know that story about the snake?
(16) ME: About what?
(17) TE: The snake, that one who floats in the sky.[496]
(18) ME: I don't know that one (inaudible).
(19) TE: Which one do you know?
(20) ME: Of that one, that is what I will tell a story about, about when I still was a uninitiated nubile girl, an old story.
(21) ME: Well, I'm going to start now!
(22) TE: Yes, start.
(23) ME: When as an uninitiated girl we menstruate for the first time, we stay put and observe food taboos for a number of days and nights. (24) When someone asks one. (25) We say "I'm menstruating", and they put the taboo on one.[497] (26) They put one inside on a straw mat, and they go into the forest (to fetch straw) and make a seclusion hut. (27) Well, on the next day if they go to the forest and bring home (certain) herbs to one, we eat. (28) They put a calabash vessel inside, then when they put a vessel close to one, we chew the leaves[498] and put it inside it. (29) Cutting hair, uhh, when we are first secluded they cut one's hair and we have a bald head, being secluded for a long time. (30) Now they (father and mother) are finished with one, now we stop, now genipap, they paint one black with genipap, now we stay put, then we leave our seclusion, we make chicha, make chicha and bring it down (for people), "Another one", they say to one, just chewing that is[499], they order one to grind maize, now, we grind maize and it is finished, now animal (to eat)... (31) when they send one into seclusion again, uhh, thereafter they don't give one chicha, when they don't do it, then we sit inside again, and the next day, uhh... (32) if they order one to come out, then, we go out. (33) They

496. The story about the origin of the rainbow.
497. The taboo consists of not eating certain sorts of food, and being forbidden to speak and to go outside for many months.
498. This refers probably to the leaves which are used to clean the mouth, before chewing maize to make fermented chicha.
499. Chewing maize for fermentation in order to prepare the new load of chicha.

set one free, and as they painted one with annatto, they tie ornaments to one's body. (34) Earrings, bead ornaments, they decorate one entirely. (35) They order one to decorate oneself, now when they have set one free, (they?) give one (chicha). (36) (Roasted) pork and tapir, then, they, as they take (the girl) outside in the yard, for (her?) to distribute chicha. (37) Now, we are finished, now genipap and then... (38) on the next day, now the genipap has disappeared, painting black, we turn around again and we paint ourselves again. (39) Now we are/have painted ourselves, now. (40) We stop being bare (without decoration), painted black, now, one was finished painting with genipap. (41) Now "That's fine, let's stop!", they say, then we make chicha on our own, and we give it to people, and herbs, thereafter we burn herbs, burning herbs up[500], we give people chicha again, ready, now. (42) Now, they make one stop, now, we leave seclusion, "Don't walk alone far, lest the snake will hit you!", they say to one, now, we refrain from walking far and we observe the taboos, and when we are older, now we walk, it is said, when we were nubile girls.
(43) TE: The end?
(44) ME: The end.

3.2. The languages and peoples known to the Kwaza: A personal history, by Wari Antonhão Ramos, Barroso, 05-05-96

This story was recorded on 5 May 1996. It was translated and analysed in Gleba with the help of Mario on 23 February 1998. Mario found that Antonhão was sometimes difficult to understand on the tape, as he speaks rapidly and in a variety of Kwaza which differs somewhat from his own. Some unexpected morpheme combinations were encountered, and in several instances their analysis has not yet been completed.

Via his son Zezinho, I had asked Antonhão about plurilingualism and interpreters in the past. In this partially autobiographical account, Antonhão relates how the various indigenous groups led a semi-nomadic life and did not live in permanent settlements. At a certain stage, when Antonhão was still a child, they started to massacre one another. Thereafter the remnants lived in ethnically mixed settlements. Language gaps were apparently bridged by ad hoc interpreters. It was around this time that Dr. Dequech (1988a, 1988b, 1993a, 1993b) led the mineralogical Urucumacuan expedition in the region between Pimenta Bueno and the Guaporé river, between 1941 and 1943. The expedition visited nearly all indigenous peoples of the region and employed among other people an Indian named 'Aué' (Awe), brother of Antonhão. Although it is not clear whether he was also involved in the expedition as an interpreter, he is mentioned as an interpreter in the present account. Awe is still remembered by several people in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve. Other relatively well-known people mentioned here were Txi?a and Joxu.[501]

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500. The leaves are burnt up and mixed with the chicha.
501. Several people, including my consultant MA, told the story that Joxu was a shaman who was killed in the early 1940's by the concerted effort of two other sha-

(1) AN: *tja:* *duky-hỹ-'le-tsy-hỹ* *pẽrẽjã* *ty'ka-dy-nãi*
CSO other-NOM-only-GER-NOM speak Mekens-POS-NOM

'djy-?wỹ'tɛ *jo'xu* *ynỹ-hỹ-le* *ja* *ty'ka-dy-nãi*
brother-pity Joxu called.be-NOM-only already Mekens-POS-NOM

pẽrẽ'jã-hỹ
speak-NOM

(2) ZE: *ay-'hỹ* *kũrũi-'re=tsɛ*
that-NOM Kanoê-INT=DEC

(3) AN: *kũ'rũi-le-hỹ* *ty'ka-dy-nãi* *'pẽrẽjã*
Kanoê-FRUST-NOM Mekens-POS-NOM speak

(4) ZE: *'tsy-re:*
GER-INT

(5) AN: *hỹ?ỹ* *'tyka-'dy-nãi* *pẽrẽjã*
yes Mekens-POS-NOM speak

(6) ZE: *nãi*
like

(7) AN: *'nãi-tsɛ* *'dy-ta* *['ỹrjỹ* *'txy* *ku* *kũ'cẽ:nahere]*
like-DEC DS-CSO there *** *** Kwaza

e'ri-ku'tytɛ *a-nahe're* *[kũcẽnahere]* *tsã'rã=txu'hũi-nahe're* *ũ'cenãi*
field-DR:beyond exist-COL Kwaza earth=small-COL know

pẽrẽ'jã-hỹ-he-ki *'he-tsy-hỹ* *'he-tsy-hỹ*
speak-NOM-NEG-DEC NEG-GER-NOM NEG-GER-NOM

(8) *na-ay-'xuko-ỹ-'nãi-le* *pẽrẽ'jã-tsɛ*
PROX-that-SETT-ATT-NOM-only speak-DEC

(9) *aha* *'si-dy-hỹ* *a'ha* *'ta-ja-da-'hỹ-'le-tsy-hỹ* *[kũ'rũi]*
father I-POS-NOM father talk-IO-1S-NOM-only-GER-NOM Kanoê

kũ'rũi-to"hoi-wa-hỹ *'a-wa-hỹ* *'na-ay-'nãi* *'pẽrẽjã-"he-cwa-'ta*
Kanoê-CL:child-IS-NOM exist-IS-NOM PROX-that-NOM speak-NEG-IS-CSO

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mans. One of them turned into a curassow fowl. The other one turned into a *mãrẽ?a*, the dreaded forest spirit. When Joxu heard the curassow bird cry in the morning he went to chase it, but the bird flew away. Then the forest spirit got up behind him and gave him a severe thrashing. Joxu turned insane and lay screaming on the ground until sunset. Then his people found him and brought him home, where he died at night.

'ỹ-xuko-ỹ-'nãi-le *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'cwa-ta* *kũ'rũinahe're-dy-nãi*
this-SETT-ATT-NOM-only speak-IS-CSO Kanoê-POS-NOM

ku'ri-ta-rjỹ-'wa-si *'a-wa-ta* *'a-wa-hỹ*
stop-TRA-CD:area-IS-SWR exist-IS-CSO exist-IS-NOM

(10) *ĩ-'nahe're* *haryky* *'mãrɛ̃nỹ-wa-ta* *'ãwỹi-wa-'ta* *ay-nãi-'ko*
he-COL now appear-IS-CSO see-IS-CSO that-NOM-INS

pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-wa-ta *aryky* *'a [...].*
speak-IS-CSO now exist

(11) *na-'ay-xuko-ỹ-'hỹ-da-hỹ-he-'ki* *kũ'rũi-to"hoi-da-le-hỹ*
PROX-that-SETT-ATT-NOM-1S-NOM-NEG-DEC Kanoê-CL:child-1S-FRUST-NOM

[...] *ojanỹ='a-da-ta* *[tsy'tsɛ]* *'pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'nãixwa-da-ta*
arrive=exist-1S-CSO *** speak-resemble-1S-CSO

'a-da-hỹ-'ki=tja *'ta-taxwa-si* *'a-da-day-hỹ*
exist-1S-NOM-DEC=CSO talk-IS.1O-SWR exist-1S-1S-NOM

(12) *na'nãi* *ay-hỹ* *domakaru* *domaka'ru* *y'nỹ-wa-'hỹ*
very that-NOM Domakaru Domakaru called.be-IS-NOM

na-ay-'nãi *huda'da-wa-hỹ*
PROX-that-NOM speak-IS-NOM

(13) ZE: *txi'?a* *txi'?a:* *ynỹ* *'he-tsy-re*
Txi?a Txi?a called.be NEG-GER-INT

(14) AN: *txi?a* *txi?a* *ynỹ* *'he-tsɛ* *'he-tsɛ*
Txi?a Txi?a called.be NEG-DEC NEG-DEC

(15) *ĩwã* *xyi-dy-hỹ* *a'ha-tjate-wa-re=jã-hỹ* *'djy-tja'te-wa-re*
nothing you-POS-NOM father-3.POS-IS-INT=exist-NOM brother-3.POS-IS-INT

=jã-hỹ *tsi'ki-tja'te-wa-re=jã-hỹ-'le-tsy-hỹ* *kũ'rũi-dy-nãi*
=exist-NOM brother-3.POS-IS-INT=exist-NOM-only-GER-NOM Kanoê-POS-NOM

huda'da-wa-hỹ *'hã-na* *hu'hui=aty-mã'tɛ-ja-wa-hỹ* *[wajady]*
speak-IS-NOM water-LOC kill=put-DR:into.water-IO-IS-NOM ***

ay-hỹ-'le-tsɛ *kũrũi-dy-nãi* *huda'da-wa-hỹ* *dy-'ta* *dilɛ*
that-NOM-only-DEC Kanoê-POS-NOM speak-IS-NOM DS-CSO who

kũ'rũi-dy-nãi *hu'dada-hỹ* *a-hỹ-'he-ki* *'he-tsy-hỹ*
Kanoê-POS-NOM speak-NOM exist-NOM-NEG-DEC NEG-GER-NOM

'na-ay-hỹ-'le-tsy-hỹ
PROX-that-NOM-only-GER-NOM

(16) ZE: *jana'nãi*
O.K.

(17) AN: *['hadỹ]* *dy-'ta* *txi?a* *'txi?a* *y'nỹ-wa-'hỹ*
*** DS-CSO Txi?a Txi?a called.be-IS-NOM

pɛ̃rɛ̃'jã-wa-'hỹ-he-ki
speak-IS-NOM-NEG-DEC

(18) *jã'si-nãi-'le-cwa-tehe're=jã-hỹ-ki* *dy-ta* *y'wynwỹtsu-'le*
hear-NOM-only-IS-APPR=exist-NOM-DEC DS-CSO cane-only

ho'ro-ja-wa-hỹ-tsy-'hỹ *kũ'rũi-dy-nãi* *hu'dada-wa-'hỹ-he-'ki* *ĩwã*
fill-IO-IS-NOM-GER-NOM Kanoê-POS-NOM speak-IS-NOM-NEG-DEC nothing

kũ'rũi-tay *au're-wa-'re=jã-hỹ* *kũrũi-'tay* *ĩwã*
Kanoê-CL:woman marry-IS-INT=exist-NOM Kanoê-CL:woman nothing

aure-wa-re=jã-hỹ *[tsuhu].*
marry-IS-INT=exist-NOM ***

(19) *dy-'ta* *ay-hỹ* *djy* *'awe* *a'we* *y'nỹ-wa-ra'ti-ki*
DS-CSO that-NOM brother Awe Awe called.be-IS-CL:man-DEC

ay-'hỹ *[hɛ'?ɛ̃]* *kũ'rũi-dy-nãi* *jã'si-wa-hỹ*[502] *[na]* *txi'rja-tja*
that-NOM *** Kanoê-POS-NOM hear-IS-NOM one everyone-CSO

ta'la-tja'te-tsy-hỹ *'tsũhũ-tsy-rai-'ki* *ta-'nãi-xa-re*
uncle-3.POS-GER-NOM what-GER-damn-DEC talk-NOM-2S-INT

(20) *[tsiki]* *'tala-'mɛ-ry-rai* *rai?ỹ'hỹ* *ta-'hata-hỹ-tsy* *tjata-'lɛ*
brother uncle-ASS-PAU-damn animal talk-3S.2O-NOM-RES say-RECI

tjata-'lɛ
say-RECI

(21) *tja* *ỹ-hỹ* *'djy* *'tãrĩ'mã* *y'nỹ-wa-'hỹ* *kũrũi-dy-'nãi*
CSO this-NOM brother Tãrĩmã called.be-IS-NOM Kanoê-POS-NOM

jã'si-wa-hỹ *hu'dada-da'mỹ-cwa-'le-hỹ* *towa'ri-cu-cwa-'hỹ*
hear-IS-NOM speak-want-IS-FRUST-NOM decease-IS-IS-NOM

502. The morphemes *-wa-hỹ* form an agent noun here, i.e. ‘listener’.

(22) *'towe'ñẽ* *y'nỹ-wa-ra'ti* *tso'ro* *tɛtɛ'rɛ-wa-ra'ti* *'ta-nãi*
Toweñẽ called.be-IS-CL:man arm slash-IS-CL:man talk-NOM

'e-day-'rati *kũ'rũi-tay* *au're-wa-hỹ*
have-1S-CL:man Kanoê-CL:woman marry-IS-NOM

ay-hỹ-'le-tsy-hỹ *huda'da-wa-hỹ* *['ta].*
that-NOM-only-GER-NOM speak-IS-NOM ***

(23) *'mãdɛku'ty* *'mãdɛku'ty* *y'nỹ-wa-'hỹ* *huda'da-wa-hỹ-'he-ki*
Mãdɛkuty Mãdɛkuty called.be-IS-NOM speak-IS-NOM-NEG-DEC

"he-cwa-hỹ
NEG-IS-NOM

(24) *'cwa-hỹ-'ta* *'txana-'nãi-ko* *'towy* *'nãi-da-'lɛ* *ba='ba-da-tsy-'hỹ*
IS-NOM-CSO we-NOM-INS land like-1S-PREC cut=cut-1S-POT-NOM

hỹ-dwa-'ta *tsũ'hũ-tsy-'re=tja* *ta* *ty'ka-wã* *hudɛ'rɛ-dy-ta*
NOM-IDS-CSO what-GER-INT=CSO talk Mekens-AO ask-DS-CSO

[tsũ'hũtsyre] *tsũ'hũ=tja* *ta-ta-'re* *wotsu-'tɛ* *duky-'hỹ* *turuwɛ'xu*
*** what=CSO talk-1O-INT skinny-NOM other-NOM Turuwexu

'mã?otxa-ta
call.over-CSO

(25) *tsũhũ* *'ta-xa-si* *'nãi-rai-'re=tja* *ta*
what talk-2S-SWR like-damn-INT=CSO talk

(26) *he* *ko'rejaka'nɛ* *ta-da-le-hỹ* *'nãi-da-'ki* *'ta-wa-'si*
NEG machete talk-1S-FRUST-NOM like-1S-DEC talk-IS-SWR

(27) *ko'rejaka"nɛ* *ta-ha'ta-hỹ-'tsy=tja* *'ta-da-'re-tsy-'lɛ*
machete talk-3S.2O-NOM-RES=CSO talk-1S-INT-GER-PREC

(28) *'tsɛh* *'si-dy-nãi-ko* *ay-'hỹ* *ay-'hỹ-tja* *'ta-ta-he-'nãi-ko*
why! I-POS-NOM-INS that-NOM that-NOM-CSO talk-1O-NEG-NOM-INS

ũcenãi-'he-da-'ki=tja *ta*
know-NEG-1S-DEC=CSO talk

(29) *'na-ay-hỹ* *na-ay-'hỹ-le* *hudɛ'rɛ* *hudɛ'rɛ-tja* *'dai=huhu'te*
PROX-that-NOM PROX-that-NOM-only ask ask-CSO take=distribute

txana-'nãi *jã'si* *a-'he* *ty'ka*[503]
we-NOM hear exist-NEG Mekens

(30) ZE: *ỹ*
uhh

(31) AN: *'rai?ỹhỹ* *hudɛ'rɛ-wa-'si*
thing ask-IS-SWR

(32) *'ta-ỹ-hỹ* *'hai?araka'ru* *ynỹ-'ry-hỹ* *ay-hỹ-'ki*
talk-ATT-NOM Hai?arakaru called.be-PAU-NOM that-NOM-DEC

'tyka-dy-'nãi *jã'si-ta* *huda'da-hỹ* *'txarwa-txi'txi* *huda'da*
Mekens-POS-NOM hear-CSO speak-NOM first-CONTRA speak

huda'da-cwa-'le-wy *'a-wy* *'hedutu='bwa-ti-cwa-hỹ*
speak-IS-FRUST-time Ø-time lose=end-IS-IS-NOM

'tɛca'ri-lɛ="bwa-cu-cwa-hỹ-cwa-si *'a-hỹ*
massacre-RECI=end-IS-IS-NOM-IS-SWR exist-NOM

(33) *e'ri-kuty'tɛ* *a-wa-'ry-nahe're-wa-'hỹ* *nãi-'cwa-ta* *['ta]*
field-DR:beyond exist-IS-PAU-COL-IS-NOM like-IS-CSO ***

towɛ-'nɛ-wa-'hỹ *tsã'rã-txinũte-na-hỹ-tsy* *cu-'cwa-nahe're-wa-hỹ*
go-DR:hither-IS-NOM earth-big.earth-LOC-NOM-RES step-IS-COL-IS-NOM

'tsãrã=txu'hũi-nahere-wa-hỹ *'cwa-ta* *'a-ti-cwa-hỹ* *a'rwalɛ*
earth=small-COL-IS-NOM IS-CSO exist-IS-IS-NOM long.time

hedu'tu=bwa-wa-ta *a-wa-'rai-he-ki* *'tsɛh*
lose=end-IS-CSO exist-IS-damn-NEG-DEC why!

(34) *[a'?ãwỹi]* *ã'wỹi=txu'hũi-da-ta* *ã'wỹi-day-'nahere*
*** see=small-1S-CSO see-1S-COL

['day-ry-'hỹ *ti-nãi]* *ja* *'hedutu="bwa-tsy-'tsy-hỹ*[504]
1S-PAU-NOM what-NOM already lose=end-GER-RES-NOM

(35) *'txarwa-'wy* *'tsãrãro* *'tsãrã'ro-na* *'e-ri'tsa* *a='a-wa-ry-hỹ*
first-time Tanaru Tanaru-LOC Ø-DR:outside exist=exist-IS-PAU-NOM

503. This last phrase is not well understood.
504. The last three morphemes are not well understood. Maybe they should be analysed as *-tse tsy-hỹ* '-DEC GER-NOM', of which the last two syllables might be interpreted in a way similar to the lexicalised combination of *tsyre* 'is it?', 'that's it!'.

ary'ky *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *'a-wa-hỹ* *'nãi-cwa-ta* *'towɛ-rja'rwe-wa-ta*
now this-NOM-INS exist-IS-NOM like-IS-CSO go-DC:circle-IS-CSO

'atoto-'rwe-rja'rwe-wa-ta *'atoto-'rwe-rjarwe-wa-'ta*
over-DC:around-DC:circle-IS-CSO over-DC:around-DC:circle-IS-CSO

'taika'rɛ-na *tumũ-na* *a?ate-wa-ta* *['tja-hỹ-lɛ]*
São.Pedro-LOC Taboca-LOC live.scattered-IS-CSO CSO-NOM-PREC

(36) *cwa-ta* *'eri-kuty'tɛ* *[tja-re]* *'haryky* *'hare-'rjỹ*
IS-CSO field-DR:beyond CSO-??? now disappear-CD:area

'hare-'rjỹ *hiri'ni-da-'ki-tsy-hỹ* *awe*
disappear-CD:area shaman-1S-DEC-GER-NOM Awe

'hedysi-ja='bwa-ĩ?ĩ-hỹ-'dy-ta
kill-IO=end-REM-NOM-DS-CSO

(37) *'baika'ju* *ta-wa-ra'ti* *eri'dai-ja='habja-'ta=asa='jã*[505]
Baikaju talk-IS-CL:man cure-IO=blow-TRA=end=exist

'eje-ka'rwɛ=asa-'ry-'rati-wa-'hỹ-lɛ *'eje-karwɛ* *e'tay-"le*
move-DR:away=end-PAU-CL:man-IS-NOM-PREC move-DR:away woman-only

cwa-ta *'a-wa-'le-?wỹtɛ* *[kyrary]* *mãbi* *['nã]*
IS-CSO exist-IS-FRUST-pity *** arrow ***

'towari='bwa-cu-'cwa-hỹ-ki
decease=end-IS-IS-NOM-DEC

(38) *kũ'rũi* *tjo-txi'txi-tsy-hỹ-he-ki*
Kanoê many-CONTRA-GER-NOM-NEG-DEC

(39) *txarwa-'wy* *"tjo-ĩ'?ĩ-le-'hỹ* *ti-'nãi-tsy-nãi-'ko*
first-time many-REM-FRUST-NOM what-NOM-GER-NOM-INS

hedutu=bwa-'ĩ?ĩ-hỹ-'re=jã-hỹ *aky'ta-tja* *'a-le-hỹ*
lose=end-REM-NOM-INT=exist-NOM two-CSO exist-FRUST-NOM

[axe'hỹ-wa] *axe'hỹ-nãi'xwa-wa:-ta* *a-wa-hỹ*
find-IS find-resemble-IS-CSO exist-IS-NOM

(1) AN: So, only that other one who spoke the Mekens language, my poor brother the late one called Joxu (‘manioc branch’) who already spoke the Mekens language.

505. This translation of the uninflected compounded verb part *habjata?asajã* was given by MA. Literally, it means ‘to (emphatically) quit blowing parica into the nose of someone’, implying that the subject stopped being a shaman.

(2) ZE: He (the linguist) wants to know if he (Joxu) was Kanoê.
(3) AN: He is Kanoê but speaks the Mekens language.
(4) ZE: Yes.
(5) AN: Yes, he speaks Mekens.
(6) ZE: That's it? (Aren't you going to speak more?).
(7) AN: It's just this, but there, the Kwaza, the people who live beyond the field[506], Kwaza, people of the small lands[507] don't know how to speak anything! (8) Only the language of this settlement they speak (i.e. the Kwaza language spoken in the reserve). (9) My father, only that one I call my father, Kanoê, who is a son of Kanoê when they lived, they (i.e. he and his companions) do not speak that language (i.e. Kanoê), they only spoke this language here (i.e. Kwaza) and they lived without the Kanoê language. (10) Now as they saw relatives turn up again they learned to speak that language again. (11) "I am not from here. I am a child of Kanoê, but I came to live here, speaking another[508] language", he used to talk like that to me. (12) That one whom they call Domakaru in the same language (i.e. probably Kanoê).
(13) ZE: That one called Txi?a does not (speak Kanoê)?
(14) AN: The one called Txi?a does not (speak Kanoê). (15) Anyway, I think it is your father's father, or it is his older brother, or it is his younger brother, only he who speaks the Kanoê language, he whom they killed and threw into the river, only that one who spoke Kanoê, so there is no-one who speaks the Kanoê language (since no-one learnt it), there is no-one, only him there.
(16) ZE: Just this?
(17) AN: So the one who is called Txi?a he does not speak (Kanoê). (18) Maybe he only understood it, and furthermore only (the person called) "cane", the one they finished (maybe also a name?), he does not speak Kanoê, I don't understand why, because it seems he was married to a Kanoê woman (repeated). (19) And then that one, my older brother, that man they called Awe understood Kanoê, everyone (spoke Kwaza but) his uncle (said): "What is it you said?" (20) My uncles, when he asked you things, he translated[509]. (21) Then my older brother, the one called Tãrĩmã, he understood (Kanoê) and was beginning to speak it but he died. (22) The man they call Toweñɛ̃, the man whom I call the man of whom they cut off his arm, who married a Kanoê woman, only he is a speaker (of Kanoê). (23) That man called Mãdɛkuty, he didn't speak anything! (24) Therefore, (he only spoke) our language, (so if someone asked for a scythe, saying) "for me to clear land like that", so then he asked the Mekens Indian "What is he saying?", and (the other one) "What is this skinny one asking?", the other one, Turuwexu, he called him over. (25) "What is it you were asking him?", said (Turuwexu). (26) "Nothing, I was asking for a machete in vain", said (the other one). (27) Now if (Turuwexu) said: "I say, he is asking you for a machete." (28) (The other one) said: "How remarkable!, since he doesn't say that in my language I don't understand it."

506. A certain stretch of savannah at the headwaters of the Taboca river.
507. A certain group of Kwaza.
508. Lit. 'fake, non-original', or also 'pretend to speak', i.e. not speaking properly, i.e. speaking Kwaza instead of Kanoê.
509. I.e. he asked in Kwaza and they replied in Kanoê and they did not understand one another. Although it is not clear here who spoke what, the gist of the account is that Awe functioned as an interpreter when Kwaza and Kanoê met.

(29) Only him (Turuwexu) who requested (from the Kanoê) for (the Kwaza); the Mekens (who lived among the Kanoê) did not understand our language.
(30) ZE: Hm.
(31) AN: Asking things for him. (32) Now those who are the people of Hai?arakaru, they understood the Mekens language, when they were just starting to speak the language, they all got lost, massacring one another completely, there it ended. (33) The people who lived beyond the field, they came like that to the big earth[510], those people who came, those people from the small earth[511], they were, the ones who lived at that time, they all died, ceased to exist, why! (34) Those who I have known a little, they all have died already, why! (35) The people who first lived in a settlement at the river Tanaru, now here, those who lived migrating around like that, they lived in all reaches of the land, everywhere, on the São Pedro river, on the Taboca river, they lived scattered about. (36) Then they halted, there beyond the field, (there they) disappeared, that Awe who said he was a shaman, he had killed them all. (37) The man they called Baikaju, he quit curing people and changed his life, as the men all moved away, moved away, just the women remained there, what a pity!, they were killed off by arrows, they all died. (38) The Kanoê are not many. (39) At first there were many, how could it happen that they all got lost?, only few were living, they (the Westerners) encountered them like that.

4. Modern personal accounts

4.1. The story of Zezinho about when he was bitten by a snake: An autobiographical tale, told by Zezinho Turuwɛ, Barroso, 25-02-96

This story was told on 25 February 1996. It was translated and analysed with the help of both Zezinho Turuwɛ and his sister Edileusa Waruwaru on the same day, and on 2 March 1996. Final corrections of the morphemic analysis were done with the help of Mario on 29 January 1998.

The incident took place some years ago when Zezinho was on an unsuccessful hunting trip together with his nephew João Wari.

(1) *hade'ja* *hyhy'rwa* *o'kja-da-'ta* *da-'ta*
night walk hunt-1S-CSO 1S-CSO

(2) *tsilo'to-jãhỹ* *'si-dy-jãhỹ-na* *"widai-jãhỹ-'na*
rubber-CL:path I-POS-CL:path-LOC cut.latex-CL:path-LOC

(3) *'hade'ja* *hyhy'rwa* *aky'ta-a-xa-ta* *hyhy'rwa-a-xa-ta*
night walk two-1P-AS-CSO move-1P-AS-CSO

a"xehỹ-a-'xa-le-'hỹ *haru* *asa-le-hỹ*
meet-1P-AS-FRUST-NOM armadillo end-FRUST-NOM

510.The traditional region of a certain group of Kwaza.
511.Another division of the Kwaza.

(4) *cari-'nã=asa-le-'hỹ* *tsoho'roi=oja-hỹ-lɛ*
kill-FUT=end-FRUST-NOM run=go-NOM-PREC

(5) *'towɛ=nỹko'tɛ umũi-nã-a-xa-ta* *'ãĩ* *towɛ-'dwa-a-xa-ta*
go=return sleep-FUT-1P-AS-CSO far go-DR:onto-1P-AS-CSO

'duky-jãhỹ-"na *oja-a-xa-le-hỹ*
other-CL:path-LOC go-1P-AS-FRUST-NOM

(6) *o'nɛ-je?e* *tomã-'nã* *'si* *tomã-'he* *'ja-da-'hỹ-da'mỹ* *ja-'he-da-ta*
come-too bathe-FUT I bathe-NEG eat-1S-NOM-want eat-NEG-1S-CSO

kerai-da-hỹ
go-1S-NOM

(7) *da-ta* *kunỹ-djo-'he-a-'nãi* *wa'txi-da-ta*
1S-CSO dress-foot-NEG-1P-NOM true-1S-CSO

(8) *'da-ta* *ko-djo-da-ta* *hyhy'rwa-a-xa-ta*
1S-CSO without-foot-1S-CSO move-1P-AS-CSO

(9) *bwɛn:ɛ-a-xa-le-hỹ*
return-1P-AS-FRUST-NOM

(10) *ko'sa-torõi* *a-'he:-tja*
sun-CL:cylinder exist-NEG-CSO

(11) *'weu-ỹ-hỹ:-'lɛ* *a'wanĩja-'he-tsy-hỹ-lɛ*
weak-ATT-NOM-PREC shine-NEG-GER-NOM-PREC

de'dudedu=hy-"dwa=onɛ-'da-hỹ-he're *'wacerjỹ'he* *tuituiñẽ-"le-tsy-rjỹ*
off.on=go-DR:onto=come-1S-NOM-INTL overgrown grass-only-GER-CD:area

(12) *tsy-'rjỹ* *ĩ'tsãi* *ũ'kja-hỹ* *u'te-da-ta*
GER-CD:area bushmaster lie-NOM step-1S-CSO

(13) *de'du=te'nã=tenã-tsy-hỹ* *o'n:ɛ-da-le-'hỹ*
off=extinguish=extinguish-GER-NOM come-1S-FRUST-NOM

(14) *'tsiboi-da-'si* *ha'dai-ta-hỹ-"lɛ*
stand-1S-SWR cut-1O-NOM-PREC

(15) *tsoho'roi=le'ja:-da-ta*
run=ahead-1S-CSO

(16) *'deda-'ki* *ay-'rjỹ:* *ha'dai-ta-'ki*
snake-DEC that-CD:area cut-1O-DEC

(17) *'bucehỹ-''ra* *'xare='nỹko'tɛ-da-'si:*
shoot-IMP turn=return-1S-SWR

(18) *tsitsi'cu-ta-le-hỹ=wara* *wɛ'rɛ:-dutu-ta'xwa-nãi-'ko*
run.after-1O-FRUST-NOM=but illuminate-on.top-IS.1O-NOM-INS

(19) *tsi'lanỹ-hỹ* *deba-''nỹ-tja* *hy='nỹkotɛ:*
jump.up-NOM turn-REF-CSO move=return

(20) *xare'ja=nỹkotɛ* *'bonyhỹ-le* *'wɛrɛ-''hỹ-wa-si*
search=return again-only illuminate-NOM-IS-SWR

(21) *hỹ-dwa-'ta* *bu'tje=a'sa=dydyte='bwa-ĩ?ĩ-hỹ*[512]
NOM-IDS-CSO shoot=end=divide=end-REM-NOM

(22) *ay-hỹ* *deda* *'hadai-ta* *ta-hỹ-'le* *hade'ja*[513]
that-NOM snake cut-1O 1O-NOM-PREC night

(23) *'ka?awani'hỹ* *'onɛ=bu'ru-da-nãi=hedy* *ku:'ru-ta* *'tsirjỹ-''he*
suffer come=arrive-1S-NOM=put/mix swollen-CSO tread-NEG

(24) *da-ta* *'ka?awani'hỹ*
1S-CSO pain.feel

(25) *ha'ja-da'mỹ-tsy-'wy*[514]
day-want-POT-time

(26) *tsy-wy* *'wai-xona-hỹ-''he* *'tãi-xo:na-'hỹ-da-ta*
POT-time good-CL:body-NOM-NEG hard-CL:body-NOM-1S-CSO

(27) *nỹkỹnỹ-''he* *e-xo'na-hỹ* *'tãi=horo'nỹ-da-ta*
move-NEG Ø-CL:body-NOM hard=ready-1S-CSO

(28) *i:ri:'tsa* *e-xytõi-hỹ*[515]
vomit Ø-CL:froth-NOM

(29) *ho:'ho-ỹ-xytõi-ele'le-da-si*
dirty-ATT-CL:froth-very-1S-SWR

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512. It is unclear why the SWR marker is followed by an IDS-marked constituent.
513. Notice the hesitation and the resumption of the syllable *-ta-* '1O'.
514. On one occasion MA said *hajadamỹdasi* 'I was (feeling the pain until) the next morning' would be better, or *dasi* instead *data* in the previous sentence.
515. Notice plenty of omissions of person and mood markers; in the present phrase *-da-ta* '1S-CSO' was omitted.

(30)	*'txuhũi-tja*	*'wai-tsy-wy*	*wa'ra*	*wanỹ-wa-'ta*	*"wɛ:-ta-taxwa-hỹ*[516]
	small-CSO	good-POT-time	but	come-IS-CSO	bring-TRA-IS.1O-NOM

(1) I was walking at night, hunting, then... (2) on my rubber cutting path. (3) We two (João and Zezinho) were walking at night, when we encountered an armadillo which then got away, however,... (4) wanting to kill it, however, it got away, then,... (5) we returned (from forest) wanting to sleep, and we were going very far, going along another path, however,... (6) wanting to get home again and take a bath, I had not had a bath yet, wanting to eat, I had left without eating. (7) And I also, it is true, I had not put on boots (wearing just open slippers). (8) And I without shoes, we walked. (9) We returned home, however,... (10) not having batteries. (11) Because they were low, and shone weakly, I walked (with the lantern) going on-off-on-off, but it was completely overgrown with sedge there. (12) In that place, I stepped on a bushmaster snake (Lachesis muta) which was lying hidden under the grass. (13) With the lantern going on-off I was walking, however,. (14) I stepped on top and because it bit me. (15) I ran ahead. (16) "There is a snake, there, it bit me," (17) "Shoot it!", I called to the back. (18) The snake ran after me, but because (Wari) illuminated after me. (19) The snake being startled, turned round and headed back. (20) And it returned looking for others to bite, and again (Wari) lit up (on the snake). (21) Then (he) shot it down and tore it to bits, that's how it went. (22) That one, the snake, he bit me, so therefore, at night. (23) While I was arriving in pain, (my leg) swelled up and I could not stand on it (I limped). (24) Then I was with pain. (25) At the time of becoming morning (i.e. in the middle of the night). (26) At the time, my body felt bad and got hard. (27) My body stiffened and I got hard all over. (28) (I) vomited foam. (29) I (produced) only black foam and then,... (30) at the time I was getting a little well, people came, and bought me away.

4.2. The history of the settlement of Barroso: An autobiographical story, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Barroso, 12-01-98

This story was recorded on 12 January 1998, on audio tape as well as on video tape. It was translated and analysed with the help of Mario on 25 January 1998.

Since about 1973, the majority of the Aikanã and Kwaza lived together in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve. First they all lived in the western settlements of Gleba and Rio do Ouro, and the communal clearings in the neighbourhood were productive enough. Also, the community spirit of taking care together of the collective field was still alive, even though people did not live in communal houses any more. In the early 1980's the soil of the collective clearings had been quite exhausted and at the same time, the communitary spirit was evaporating because of tendencies towards individualisation which emerged from the illegal timber trade and the external and internal exploitation involved in the rubber business. One of the results is that the nuclear families now depend on their individual clearings, and even though they may be neighbours, they do not always take care of each other's clearings when someone is ill, or travelling.

516.It is possible that the first element *-ta-* in the last word cannot be omitted, and that it may also mean '1O'.

Another consequence is that some families cleared new tracts of land in remoter parts of the reserve. The remaining fertile parts where fresh water ran, were in Barroso, some 15 to 25 kilometres from Gleba. This is where my teacher Mario also started for himself, when he was about 18 years old. He will remain there as long as the clearings in the proximity are still fertile and there is still game to hunt. The exploitation of rubber requires a well-kempt "seringal", a trail from tree to tree, numbering between 50 and 100 rubber trees (Hevea brasiliensis). It involves physically hard work, but it represents a modest source of monetary income necessary for gunpowder, sugar etc. Unfortunately, the rubber business has once again collapsed totally in 1997.

(1) *'txarwa-"wy: ỹ-hỹ-'ko oja'nỹ-da-day-hỹ:-'ki oi'tentai'Doi-wy*
first-time this-NOM-INS arrive-1S-1S-NOM-DEC 82-time

(2) *'ỹ-hỹ-'ko si 'si-dy-hỹ tsi'ki txi?a:-dy'nỹ 'oja'nỹ-da-'day-hỹ-'ki*
this-NOM-INS I I-POS-NOM brother Txi?a-COMIT arrive-1S-1S-NOM-DEC

(3) *da'nỹ ẽrjã'wã: da'nỹ-tsy-wy*
still forest still-GER-time

(4) *da-'ta 'ba-rjỹ-da-'ta*
1S-CSO cut-CD:area-1S-CSO

(5) *hary'ky: a'xy txu'hũi-ho'ro-da-'ta e'hỹ-a-xa-'ta*
now house small-make.small-1S-CSO make-1P-AS-CSO

(6) *hary'ky tsilo'to-jã'hỹ: 'ba-a-xa-'ta ho'ronỹ"hỹ-a-xa-'ta*
now rubber-CL:path cut-1P-AS-CSO prepare-1P-AS-CSO

(7) *hary'ky 'wi-e:-'a-xa-ta hary'ky tsiloto-ku'ty e'hỹ:-a-xa-'ta*
now cut-too-1P-AS-CSO now rubber-CL:head make-1P-AS-CSO

'a-a-xa-a-xa-hỹ-'ki
exist-1P-AS-1P-AS-NOM-DEC

(8) *oi'tenta"doi oi'tenta"tre oitenta'kwatru-tsy-'wy a-xa-'ta e'hỹ*
82 83 84-GER-time 1P-AS-CSO make

tsiloto-ku'ty e'hỹ=wa'dy-a-'xa-a-'xa-hỹ-"ki
rubber-CL:head make=give-1P-AS-1P-AS-NOM-DEC

(9) *da'nỹ: tã'jã: haru'?i-tsy-'wy oitenti'kwato-'wy*
still chief Luiz-GER-time 84-time

(10) *a-xa-'ta: wa'rarjỹ-a-xa-'ta a-xa-hỹ-wara asa-'nãi-a-xa-'ta:*
1P-AS-CSO work-1P-AS-CSO 1P-AS-NOM-but end-NOM-1P-AS-CSO

'tsitsɛ-"du: *wara'rjỹ-e-a-xa-'ta*
we-BER work-too-1P-AS-CSO

(11) *hary'ky* *txa'na:* *tẽi'tja* *huhu:'te-a-xa-'ta*
now we alone sell-1P-AS-CSO

'a:-a-xa-a-xa-'le-hỹ-'ki *da'nỹ* *tsilo'to 'dai-wa-'wy*
exist-1P-AS-1P-AS-FRUST-NOM-DEC still rubber take-IS-time

(12) *hary'ky:* *asa-'nãi* *oi'ten* *asa-'nãi-cwa-'hỹ* *oi'tentei* *no'ventei'Doi-"wy*
now end-NOM 80 end-NOM-IS-NOM 80 92-time

asa-'nãi *tsi'cwa-hỹ-ki* *'tsilo'to* *"dai-wa-'nãi* *'cwa-hỹ-lɛ* *hary'ky*
end-NOM begin-NOM-DEC rubber take-IS-NOM IS-NOM-PREC now

ĩ"wã *'a-a-xa-'ta:* *a-a-xa-a-'xa-hỹ-'ki*
nothing exist-1P-AS-CSO exist-1P-AS-1P-AS-NOM-DEC

(13) *txa'rwa* *hary'ky* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *'a:-da-'nãi* *'dize'sei'zano-'tsɛ*
first now this-NOM-INS exist-1S-NOM 16.year-DEC

(14) *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *'a-da-nãi* *'si* *eto'hoi-nahe're-dy'nỹ* *e'tay-dynỹ*
this-NOM-INS exist-1S-NOM I child-COL-COMIT woman-COMIT

(15) *'a-da-nãi* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko* *ỹ-hỹ-ko* *hã'rã:* *hary'ky* *'tsɛh*
exist-1S-NOM this-NOM-INS this-NOM-INS stop now why!

(16) *'a-da-nãi-'tsy-hỹ* *txa'rwa* *da'nỹ* *'a:-da-ki* *si-'le* *ỹ-hỹ-'ko*
exist-1S-NOM-GER-NOM first still exist-1S-DEC I-only this-NOM-INS

(1) I first came here in 1982. (2) Here I came together with my younger brother Txi?a. (3) It was still forest. (4) So I started to clear the place. (5) Then we made a small house. (6) Now we opened a rubber path and finished. (7) Now we have been cutting latex again and making heads of latex. (8) The time of 1982, 1983, 1984 we have been making heads of latex for him (i.e. Luiz),... (9) when Luiz was still the chief. (10) So we, we were working, but, we had to stop the work, and worked again for ourselves. (11) Now we were selling, ourselves, although that was at the time they still bought latex. (12) Now they stopped in eighty..., in 1992 they started to quit buying, so therefore we have been living like this. (13) Now, now, I live here for 16 years. (14) I live here with the children and my wife. (15) My life is here. (16) Now I'm living here, I still live here, just me.

4.3. The dislocation of an old house: An autobiographical story, told by Mario Kyikãu Mãdɛ, Gleba, 27-02-98

This story was recorded on 27 February 1998. It was translated and analysed with the help of Mario on 5 March 1998.

At that moment Mario had just torn down the old house in Barroso where I had been living up until a week earlier. He was planning to take the boards to an old pasture five kilometres eastward, where once the ranch of a Brazilian invader stood.

(1) *ute-'nã-da-ki* *si* *'rai?ỹhỹ* *'ehỹ-da-'nãi*
notify-FUT-1S-DEC I animal make-1S-NOM

(2) *'si-dy-rjỹ* *'a-da-rjỹ* *a'xy* *ẽ'hike* *'a-tsy-le-'xy*
I-CAU-CD:area exist-1S-CD:area house Henrique exist-GER-FRUST-CL:house

birje'te-da-'ta *'jã-ỹ-rjỹ* *fa'zenda-'na* *hote-nã-'da-hỹ-'ki*
undo-1S-CSO DIST-this-CD:area ranch-LOC build-FUT-1S-NOM-DEC

(3) *'ay-rjỹ* *'a-da-ta* *ã'rũi?ekje'?e* *ã'wỹi-hỹ-da'mỹ-da-ta*
that-CD:area exist-1S-CSO ox see-NOM-want-1S-CSO

(4) *si* *'a-da-rjỹ* *'tuituiñẽ* *a-'he* *'tsy-hỹ-lɛ* *tja* *ã'rũi?ekje'?e*
I exist-1S-CD:area grass exist-NEG GER-NOM-PREC CSO ox

tsũhũ-ra'ti *ja-da-he'ta-tja* *wotsu-'nã-tsy-hỹ-'lɛ* *a-'wy*
what-FOC eat-1S-DESI-CSO skinny-FUT-GER-NOM-PREC Ø-time

'wotsu-tsi-da-ta *fa'zenda-'na* *wa'ja-da-ta* *'ay-rjỹ*
skinny-MON-1S-CSO ranch-LOC get-1S-CSO that-CD:area

a-'dy-da'mỹ-da-'ta *'nãi-da-hỹ-'ki*
exist-CAU-want-1S-CSO like-1S-NOM-DEC

(5) *da-'ta* *'birje'te-da-hỹ-'ki* *a'xy* *di'lɛ*
1S-CSO undo-1S-NOM-DEC house who

a-'he-tsy-'hỹ-tsy-hỹ-'lɛ
exist-NEG-GER-NOM-GER-NOM-PREC

(6) *'ĩwã* *a'xy-le* *'a-ta* *wai-'he-tsy-hỹ-'lɛ*
nothing house-only exist-CSO good-NEG-GER-NOM-PREC

'birje'te-da-hỹ-ki *a'xy*
undo-1S-NOM-DEC house

(7) *da-'ta* *hary'ky* *'akore* *ɛ-'e-damỹ-da-hỹ-'ki*
1S-CSO now tomorrow go-too-want-1S-NOM-DEC

(8) *'haryky* *ho'te-da'mỹ-da-'ta* *fa'zenda-'na* *ako're* *ɛ-'e-da-tsy-'tsɛ*
now build-want-1S-CSO ranch-LOC tomorrow go-too-1S-POT-DEC

ay-'rjỹ	*a'xy*	*ehỹ-'nã-da-lɛ*
tat-CD:area	house	make-FUT-1S-PREC

(1) I'm going to talk about the things I did. (2) There in that place where I lived, I tore down the house where Henrique lived, and I'm going to build a house at the ranch. (3) I'm going to live there and take care of the cattle. (4) There where I live (now) there is no grass and there is nothing for them to eat and as they are getting skinny I'm going to bring them to the ranch and let them live there, before they emaciate, that is what I do. (5) Because no-one lives there I tore down the house. (6) Because it is no good that the house stands empty I took it down. (7) Now I will go there again tomorrow. (8) Now I will build a house at the ranch, tomorrow I go there again, to make a house.

5. Translated text

5.1. pju ahami hadotõinãi *'About Pju piercing his eye'*

This story originates from a composition I wrote on 3 February 1998 in Barroso. I wanted to demonstrate the proposed orthography to my teacher Mario, and at the same time I hoped to see whether I could produce an interpretable Kwaza text myself. When he read it two days later, Mario did not have problems with the spelling, but the story made no sense. He had to revise it radically, in the course of which the story was completely rephrased. Now it can be considered as the translation of a Portuguese letter into Kwaza. The free translations provided here are based on the Kwaza version.

Mũdɛ Itsirara, "Pju", or Maércio Aikanã is Mario's seven year-old son. As he was playing outside with his sister and brother he ran into a jumble of old barbed wire concealed in the weeds, and injured himself. It took one month for all the wounds to heal.

(1)

pju ahami	*hado-'tõi-nãi-ki*
Pju wire	pierce-CL:eye-NOM-DEC

(2)

latowy	*pju*	*ohuini-wa-ta*[517]
day.before.yesterday	Piu	play-IS-CSO

(3)

tso'roi=hy=ca'we-da-hỹ-he're-tsy-'hỹ=wa'ra	*ahami-na*
run=move=went-1S-NOM-INTL-GER-NOM=but	wire-LOC
tui-yi-ta	*hado-'tõi-nỹ-'dy-hỹ-ki*
fall-CL:thread-CSO	pierce-CL:eye-REF-CAU-NOM-DEC

517. Notice the collective use of the indefinite subject morpheme *-wa-*. Because the others are not mentioned, his brothers and sisters are implied. Had the word *etohoi* 'child' been used, it would have meant other children. Had *etohoinahere* 'the childfolk' been said, Pju would have been presented as an adult among children.

(4) *ecũi-na* *ekoko-na* *lokotja-na* *exuri-na* *wi'ri-nỹ-'dy-hỹ-ki*
eye-LOC throat-LOC face-LOC chest-LOC scratch-REF-CAU-NOM-DEC

ʧo-hỹ *e'mjẽ-hỹ-ki*
many-NOM wound-NOM-DEC

(5) *emjẽ* *ehe're=du-'rjỹ-damỹ-tsy-'hỹ=wara* *ecũi-na-'le-tsɛ*
wound heal=close-CD:area-want-GER-NOM=but eye-LOC-only-DEC

ehere-'he-tsy-hỹ
heal-NEG-GER-NOM

(6) *'ĩ?jɛ̃hỹ-na* *ekoko-na-'le* *kuitõinite-mɛ̃-ko* *ha'je-da-ta*
body-LOC throat-LOC-only medicine-CL:porridge-INS smear-1S-CSO

ecũi-na-'le *ku'ri-ta-da-ki*
eye-LOC-only stop-TRA-1S-DEC

(7) *lato* *pju* *tutunita'hỹ-xotɛ-da-si* *kika'lo-dyky'tɛ-ta* *tsuty*
yesterday Piu think-TRA-1S-SWR fever-ADDI-CSO head

kukui-'dy-ta *iri'tsa-da'mỹ-tsy-hỹ-'lɛ*
hurt-CAU-CSO vomit-want-GER-NOM-PREC

(8) *'nãi-ta=jã-'nãi* *e'cũi* *he'bo-a-ki* *cwa-rati-ki*
like-CSO=exist-NOM eye blind-1P-DEC be-FOC-DEC

(9) *ti-'nãi* *jã-tsy-'re* *da-hỹ-wara* *haimunda* *u'te-ta*
what-NOM exist-POT-INT 1S-NOM-but Raimunda notify-CSO

kuitõini'te *ã'wỹi-da-'mỹ=tja* *'ta-da-ta* *'dai=wa'dy-ta-hỹ-lɛ*
medicine see-1S-FUT=CSO talk-1S-CSO take=give-1O-NOM-PREC

'kuitõinite-'xy *pɛ̃rɛ̃jã-'xy-da-hỹ-ki*
medicine-CL:leaf speak-CL:leaf-1S-NOM-DEC

(10) *'klorãfeni'kou* *ecũi* *wai-'dy-ja-hỹ=wara* *nỹ'nãi*
Chloranfenicol eye good-CAU-IO-NOM=but much

do-tõi-'nỹ-a-'nãi *wai-'he-tsɛ* *kukui-dy-'ta*
leak-CL:eye-REF-1P-NOM good-NEG-DEC hurt-CAU-CSO

nãi-leja-hỹ-ki *da-ta* *tẽiñe* *hãidi-tõi-nĩnã-da-ki*
like-2O.FUT-NOM-DEC 1S-CSO once drop-CL:eye-2O-1S-DEC

(11) *txarwa* *danỹ* *ãwãte-hỹ-da-ta* *Pju-dy-hỹ* *ecũi*
first still sad-NOM-1S-CSO Piu-POS-NOM eye

ãwỹi-rjỹ-'he-dyky'tɛ-ta *danỹ* *tsu'ty* *kukui-'dy-hỹ-'lɛ* *klorãfeni'kou*
see-CD:area-NEG-ADDI-CSO still head hurt-CAU-NOM-PREC Chloranfenicol

do-'tõi-da-da-'ta-da-ki
leak-CL:eye-1S-1S-CSO-1S-DEC

(12) *pju* *do-'tõi-a-nãi* *he'?ai-tsy-hỹ=wara* *acwady'hỹ-da-ta*
Pju leak-CL:eye-1P-NOM not.want-GER-NOM=but force-1S-CSO

si'cwa-da-ta *do-'tõi-da-ta* *haja'jadykore* *'arenỹ'ta* *sile'ta*
begin-1S-CSO leak-CL:eye-1S-CSO tomorrow.early noon afternoon

do-'tõi-nĩ'nã-da-da-'ta-da'mỹ-da-hỹ-'ki=tja *'ta-da-hỹ-'ki*
leak-CL:eye-2O-1S-1S-CSO-want-1S-NOM-DEC=CSO talk-1S-NOM-DEC

(1) It is the story about when barbed wire damaged Pju's eye. (2) The day before yesterday, Pju and the others were playing. (3) He wanted to run downwards (without looking carefully), but he fell into the barbed wire, piercing his eye. (4) He hurt himself in the eye, on the throat, in the face, on the chest; he has many wounds. (5) All wounds were healing, but it was only in the eye that it did not heal. (6) Only on the body and on the throat I put ointment, letting only the eye be. (7) Yesterday I was worried about him because he had a fever too and pain in the head and he was nauseous. (8) When such a thing happens, it is said that we become blind. (9) I was thinking about what to do, but Raimunda said (she had a) medicine, and because I said I wanted to see it she fetched it and gave it to me and I read the instructions. (10) (The medicine contained) Cloranfenicol, which benefits the eye, but to put very many drops of it in the eye is not good and will/may make you worse, so I am giving you only one drop at a time. (11) Today I'm still worried about Pju's eye, and because he isn't seeing very well and is still having a headache I have been giving him drops every day. (12) Pju doesn't like being put drops in the eye, but I force him, and start to put drops in the morning, at noon and in the evening, and I said to him "I will be putting drops into your eye every day."

6. Songs

6.1. Introduction

Kwaza instumental music is part of the general Guaporé tradition (see chapter (1.) of this work, and Snethlage 1939), but there is no-one left who knows how to play Kwaza music. People who witnessed Kwaza music claim that it was more or less the same as Aikanã music, which is still played. Kwaza singing seems to be much different from Aikanã. The melancholy Kwaza songs are remembered by three people: Wari (Kwaza) and Maria Tadeu (Aikanã) still know melodies and words, and Canderé (Aikanã) still knows the melodies. It is told that different Kwaza groups had their own style of singing. The style remembered by Canderé was sung by the group of Wairoñẽ, called Ui'ru?ɛnɛ by the Aikanã. Wari and Maria Tadeu sing in the style of Txi?a, who was the chief

of a mixed group of Kwaza and Tsãrãmãi. Canderé and several other Aikanã said that Maria Tadeu did not sing the correct words. This was contradicted by Wari, whose judgement is to be trusted, and by Anísio Aikanã, who is one of the eldest Aikanã and who has much musical knowledge. They said that Maria Tadeu's singing was correct, but that not all Aikanã are familiar with the tradition she represents.

According to Wari, who is a near monolingual native speaker of Kwaza of around 70 years of age, the words of most songs do not have any meaning. He also denied that they represent ritual speech. Shaman's songs, such as performed when bringing back a spirit from the dead, were generally intelligible. Unfortunately, these songs were not recorded. The present songs mainly consist of fixed cryptolalic expressions which are not created on the spot. The tradition is probably old, and the words may reflect earlier stages of the language, like Aikanã songs are said to do. Though the language could be Kwaza from a phonetic point of view, the words may also originate from other, now perhaps extinct languages.

The songs were usually sung on festive occasions involving the whole community, drinking chicha and dancing, such as at the initiation of boys (when they obtained their *kurixyi* 'penis flag') or girls (when they were shaved and set free after months of seclusion), wedding festivals, head-ball contests, etc., but they were also sung when people just felt like singing.

In this section the texts, or rather the words to a number of recorded songs are presented. With the help of my Kwaza consultant Mario, an attempt was made to analyse the songs. Some songs are followed by comments on their possible nature and origin, or on the meaning of certain words they contain. A publication of both Kwaza songs and Aikanã music on compact disc is intended.

6.2. Maria Tadeu's songs

Maria Tadeu[518] is an Aikanã woman of about 55 years of age, now married to Severino Masaka. She learnt the songs in the early times of contact with Westerners from her former husband Jupɛ, who was a Kwaza shaman. According to several people Jupɛ was a very malevolent shaman who killed several people through sorcery, but he was a great singer. Maria Tadeu does not know the meaning of the words, even though she does understand the Kwaza language a little. The following songs were performed in the evening of the 21st of December 1997 in Rio do Ouro, by Maria Tadeu on the occasion of her son's wedding and at my request. She was accompanied by three elderly women, Marião (Aikanã), Peridalva (Tsarãmãi) and Maria Edite (Kanoê/Kwaza), who hummed the melodies. Before she started, Maria Tadeu took me apart and introduced herself on tape in Kwaza:

518. This is a corruption of her Aikanã name *dadö*.

(1) *mã'tɛ mã'tɛ mãmãñẽ-e'tɛ-da-'mỹ-da-'ki*
??? ??? sing-COMIT-1S-VOL-1S-DEC
'I'm going to sing together'

(2) *si mãmã'ñẽ areta-'he-da*
I sing know-NEG-1S
'I don't know very well how to sing'

(3) *mãmã'ñẽ hã'tɛ-da-'mỹ-da-ki*
sing try-1S-VOL-1S-DEC
'I will try to sing'

(4) *si, si, eu não sou* kwaza?ene *mas assim mesmo vou tentar para você, tá?*
'I, I, I am not Kwaza, but nevertheless I will try for you, O.K.?'.

Maria Tadeu's Kwaza may show some characteristics of imperfect second language acquisition such as the use of an overt pronoun without an emphatic function, the absence of nominalising morphology on *mãmãñẽ-* 'to sing' in the second and third line, and other features. The first two words of the last line of this text represent the Kwaza pronoun *si* 'I'. Thereafter she switches to Portuguese for convenience sake. The Aikanã form *kwaza?ene* means literally 'the Kwaza people'.

song I

'turu 'kina 'kina 'haituru:ru:
'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:
'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:
'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:

'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:
'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:
'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:
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'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:
'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:
'tururu 'kina 'kina 'haitururu:

'tururu 'kina 'kina
'turu'ru 'kina 'kina
'hekja e'kja e'kja ew

'jawa 'ekja 'ekja
turu'ru ki'na ki'na
'ekja 'e:kja e'kja:

'tururu 'kina 'kina
turu'ru ki'na ki'na
'ekja 'e:kja e'kja:
'jawa e'kja e'kja
turu'ru ki'na ki'na
'ekja 'ekja e'kja:

'tururu 'kina 'kina
turu'ru ki'na ki'na
'ekja 'e:kja e'kja:
'jawa e'kja e'kja
turu'ru ki'na ki'na
'ekja 'ekja e'kja:

'jawa 'ekja 'ekja
'jawa 'ekja 'ekja
'jawa: 'ekja 'e:kja:
wa: 'dari'jata hibubume're:te: u'?ekja
wa: 'txokolo:?e: bu'txari're'te
wa: 'txokoilo:?e: bubume'rete hu'?ekja:

'jawa 'ekja 'ekja
'jawa 'ekja 'ekja
'jawa: 'ekja 'e:kja:
wa: 'dari'jata hibubume're:te: u'?ekja
wa: 'txokoilo:?e: wa dari'jatahe
wa: dari'jata hi bubume'rete hu'?ekja:

'jawa 'ekja 'ekja
'jawa 'ekja 'ekja
'jawa: 'ekja 'e:kja:
wa: 'dari'jata hibubume're:te: u'?ekja
wa: 'txokoilo:?e: wa dari'jatahe
wa: dari'jata hi bubume'rete hu'?ekja:

Comments: The first part of the song reminds Mario of a lullaby that is sung around 2 a.m. and that involves the word *turunãki* ‘we woke up’. The form *ekja* is found many songs, also in Aikanã songs, where it said to refer to “the name of the music”. The third part of the song may refer to Kaidarija, the mythical spirit of the bush dog, *darija* (Speothos venaticus) whose call is represented by *wa:*. The form *bumɛrɛtɛ* means ‘not dance’ in Aikanã.

song II

hu'tɛ: piru'ja: tɛ'tɛ:ja
hutxari'ja tɛ'tɛja
hu'tɛ piru'jatɛw 'kina 'kina
hutxari'ja:tɛw 'kina 'kina:

hu'tɛw piru'ja tɛ'tɛja
hutxari'ja tɛ'tɛja
hu'tsɛ piru'jatɛw 'kina 'kina
hutxari'ja:tɛw 'kina 'kina:

hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja
hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hekja 'jawa hu'?ekja:
hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hekja 'jawa hu'?ekja:
hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja

hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja

hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja
hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hekja 'jawa hu'?ekja:
hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hekja 'jawa hu'?ekja:
hutxari'ja tɛ: 'jawa hu'?ekja

song III

'jawa txɛ'txɛkwa txɛ'txɛkwa:
dɛti 'jawa 'jawa 'ekja
'jawa'ja txɛ'txɛkwa:
dɛti 'haju'hajulɛ'tɛ:m

'jawaja txɛ'txɛkwa txɛ'txɛkwa:
dɛti 'haju'hajulɛ'tɛ:m
'jawaja txɛ'txɛkwa txɛ'txɛkwa:
dɛti 'haju'hajulɛ'tɛ:m
'jawaja txɛ'txɛkwa txɛ'txɛkwa:

dɛti 'haju'hajulɛ'tɛ:m
'jawaja txɛ'txɛkwa txɛ'txɛkwa:
dɛti 'haju'hajulɛ'tɛ:m

song IV

'cakurui'mũki 'ĩcwa'si:
'kuida'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daitahe'ki 'tirjã're:

'cakurui'mũki 'ĩcwa'si:
'kuida'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daiswahe'ki 'tirjã're:m

'cakurui'mũki 'ĩcwa'si:
'kuida'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daitahe'ki: 'tirjã're:

'harurai'mũki 'ĩcwa'si
'kuida'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daitahe'ki: 'tirjã're:

'cakurui'mũki 'ĩcwa'si:
'kuida'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daiswahe'ki 'tirjã're:m

'harurai'mũki 'ĩcwa'si
'jada'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daiswahe'ki 'tirjã're:m

'cakurui'mũki 'ĩcwa'si:
'kuida'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daitahe'ki: 'tirjã're:

'harurai'mũki 'ĩcwa'si
'jada'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daitahe'ki: 'tirjã're:

'harurai'mũki 'ĩcwa'si
'jada'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daiswahe'ki 'tirjã're:m

'cakurui'mũki 'ĩcwa'si:
'kuida'mãidata 'babajɛ?ɛ'tɛ
'daitahe'ki: 'tirjã're:

Comments: The words to this song are more or less intelligible, though not correct Kwaza. The first two stanza's may be translated freely as follows:

(1) They said "chicha and grubs", then it was said:
"I'm going to drink, and dance together
with (the women?), but where is it? (the chicha)".

(2) They said “chicha and grubs”, then it was said:
“I’m going to drink, and dance together
with the people, but where is it?”.

The sixth stanza could be translated as follows:

(3) They said “chicha and armadillo”, then it was said:
“I’m going to eat, and dance together,
now I’m here with my people, but where is it?”

This song may hold a symbolic complaint. Also many Aikanã songs contain complaints about lazy hosts who are too tired to dance and lazy women who fail to make enough chicha. According to this custom, the invited guests have to complain that on earlier occasions when they were hosts themselves, they always treated their guests, including the present hosts royally, having provided more chicha than could be drunk, more grubs and game meat than could be eaten, and never having gone to sleep before the sun rose again.

song V

'hũtxa'rija'tɛ 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hũtxa'rija'tɛ 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hekja 'jawa hu'?ekja:
'hũtxa'rija'tɛ 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hekja 'jawa hu'?ekja:
'hũtxa'rija'tɛ 'jawa hu'?ekja
'hũtxa'rija'tɛ 'jawa hu'?ekja

song VI

'kurui ku'ruitɛ'na ku'ruitɛna
'kurui ku'rui ku'ruitɛ'na'dɛna:

'kurui ku'ruitɛ'na ku'ruitɛna
ku'rui ku'rui 'kuruitɛna kurui'tɛna 'kuruim

Comments: Wari commented that *kurui* should be *urui*, and that it refers to the musical tradition of the group of Uiru.

song VII

'kuri'dara kore'taywã emɛ tsɛ̃i'mɛdy'ra:
'siki hɛro'dyja 'awy 'towaritsi

'kuri'dara kore'taywã emɛ tsɛ̃i'mɛdy'ra:
'siki hɛro'dyja 'awy 'towaritsi

'kuri'dara kore'taywã emɛ tsɛ̃i'mɛdy'ra:
'siki hɛro'dyja 'awy 'towaritsi

Comments: Mario suggested the following free translation for this song:

(1) Tell aunt or cousin to take maize-porridge
to give it to brother to eat, lest he will die.

The meaning of this song was not explained.

6.3. Wari's songs

The following Kwaza songs were performed in the morning of 02-03-98 in Barroso, by Wari Kwaza, or Antonhão, at my request. They consist of single lines rather than of stanzas. The same lines were repeated over and over again with slight changes in the melody. Wari learnt the songs in olden times when the tradition was still alive. Wari's adult children, now in their early thirties, were much impressed as they had never heard their father sing before. Wari says that the words do not have any meaning but that they are just to carry the melodies. Some of the words also occur in the songs as sung by Maria Tadeu, and his song IX corresponds to her song I. Wari denies the ability to play any musical instruments.

song I

jawa jãwa jawa hɛkja jawarupana

song II

'jama pi'rana tama pirana hɛkja hɛkja
tama pirana tama piranãw

This song was also sung by Canderé Aikanã on the evening of 22-02-98 in Gleba, using practically the same words.

song III

jahrupana hɛi hɛi uruirɛ txalona

song IV

kujakujahei irimũja irinaja i'riwa'jãhỹ
kujahei kujakujaheihei

Comments: The form *iriwa* may refer to a certain bird species (Momotus momota).

song V

hutja'rijã'hỹtɛ'tɛja ro'kaiwa'haihỹ
jarijãhỹtɛtɛja rokaiwahaihỹ
hutxarjatɛtɛja hohahaira (ekja ekja)

song VI

ĩrũrɛ ro'kaiwahai wainũ'hɛhairo'kaiwa'hai
'ĩnũ'kĩ

song VII

'ĩmũ'tɛ 'hutxa'tirɛ 'huhe'kjarõ

song VIII

turu'ru ki'na ki'na uwi ahirarɛ
turu'ru ki'na ki'narɛ a?inũri huwi huwi

song IX

turu'ru 'kina 'kina 'haituru'ru

song X

tururu kina kina ahãu

song XI

wariraja hai hai hai rai ra hai hai

song XII

jarimã jarimã kuwikuwirare
jarirɛtɛ kuwikuwirare

song XIII

'bukja 'bukja 'jari'rɛtɛ

Dictionary

1. Introduction

The third part of this description of Kwaza concerns the material which comprises the lexicon. This part contains 2200 unique free and bound morphemes of the language, all that I have encountered so far. In section (2.) below, all recorded Kwaza morphemes are listed as headwords in the phonological orthography and according to the alphabetical order as proposed for Kwaza. This alphabetical order, which was also presented in the phonological chapter in part I, section (2.17), is as follows:

a ã b/B d/D e ẽ ɛ ɛ̃ f g h i ĩ j y ỹ k l m n ñ ng o õ œ p r s x t ts c tx u ũ ü v w z zj ?

Headwords are only listed in their radical forms, with the following consequences. Nouns and adverbs are presented as complete words. Verbs are presented as uninflected underived roots, which end in a hyphen. Transparently derived forms do not have separate entries but may be dealt with under the entry of their root. There are also verb roots which require further derivation with specific affixes from a very limited set. Since these root and affix combinations are not completely lexicalised I have presented the bound or etymological roots in separate entries, but without such affixes. Conversely, certain verb roots that contain recognisable but truly fossilised or lexicalised morphological elements are presented in separate entries. Affixes are presented as isolated elements in separate entries. Apart from the two prefixes, all affixes start with a hyphen and, in case they cannot occur word-finally, they also end with a hyphen.

The first line of each entry starts with a Kwaza headword, or rather, headform, followed by an abbreviation between brackets, which indicates the grammatical category of the headform, and it ends in an English equivalent of the headform. In the rest of the entry, more specific grammatical information is given, and illustrated by Kwaza examples of use in italic print, followed by free English translations in inverted commas. The examples of use are not always in a strictly phonological spelling, and contain additional phonetic information, such as multiple stress marking, length, deviating vowel and consonant qualities and other idiosyncrasies.

On certain occasions, forms are presented in phonetic spelling in square brackets. Note that this does not involve the IPA alphabet as in the other parts of the present description, but that it is based on the phonemic orthography. Futhermore, italics are also used in this case. This means that e.g. /*c*/ is symbolised as [t̲] in part I and II, and as [*c*] here in part III. The [*B*] and [*D*] in part III represent the plosive [b] and [d], and [*O*] represents close-mid [o]. In a

number of instances the family or the exact speaker who uttered a certain example is specified by an abbreviation.

Whenever forms from neighbouring languages to which I happened to have access showed similarities to the Kwaza forms, these were usually added at the end of the entry in italic print. In respect to Kwaza terminology for flora and fauna species, I have tried to find the corresponding Western scientific equivalents mainly via the Brazilian Portuguese translations obtained from consultants, thus in an indirect manner. Unfortunately, identical popular names are very often used for different species in different regions, and dictionaries and handbooks are therefore often contradictory. It even seems possible that some species may not have received a Western scientific name yet. Therefore there are doubts about a number of Western equivalents of local names in the present dictionary. In a number of cases I did not succeed to identify a Kwaza name with a certain species at all. In case of doubt I added the Aikanã terms, if available, even if they were not likely to be etymologically related to the Kwaza terms. The usual order is: scientific terms (species, genus, family, order); Portuguese terms; English terms, all whenever available.

Portuguese loanwords are also included if they are not the result of code-switching, but have clearly become naturalised, i.e. part of the Kwaza lexicon, e.g. through phonological adaptation. Their Portuguese origin is always indicated. In contrast to the Portuguese equivalents of scientific terms mentioned above, Portuguese forms that can explain Kwaza forms are always in italics.

Section (3.) below contains an English-Kwaza index to the preceding vocabulary. Because of the broad meaning of certain headforms, a number of Kwaza forms are repeated with alternative English translations. This is why the index has a higher number of entries (nearly 2800) than the vocabulary. Within certain translational domains, such as “stick” or “foot”, the different Kwaza equivalents are alphabetised according to the order in the Kwaza alphabet, where e.g. <y> occurs before <k> and <c> after <ts>.

All abbreviations used in this dictionary are listed at the beginning of this work. All bibliographical references encountered in the dictionary are included in the list of references.

2. Kwaza-English vocabulary

a

a- *(ADV)* 0-root
Adverbial empty root that combines with directional morphemes to form ad-verbs. In some words it is pronounced as [*ha*], which may be lexicalised, as in *hakore* 'tomorrow', *habui* 'outside' etc.

a- *(V)* exist, live, remain, born, have
'aki 'he was at home', 'he was born', 'the earth is good for planting' (lit. 'it has'). *ywy'nwỹ aja'hỹki* 'there is a log in the way'. *ho'lanDa'na 'ahỹki* 'there is in Holland'. *a:ria'mũdaki* 'I live on the bank of the river'. *'adyki* '(e.g. the plants) grew well for him'. Also as a sort of auxiliary verb in a habitual construction 'to be accustomed to do': *'nãixa'ta axa'hỹ* / *e'hỹxa'ta axa'hỹ* 'that which you always do', *ũtje'nãi?a'ta 'a?ahe'hỹta'dy* 'aha! this has been going on without us knowing anything!'. Ambiguous in: *o'nɛta 'ahỹki* 'he came and lived / arrived at that place' or 'he always came' ([*ta*] ~ [*tja*]). Beware of the difference between *atoto* 'above' and *a:-* 'live' + *-toto-* 'above' in: *atoto'mũwaki* 'they live along the river'. *a-* can be interpreted as transitive or as intransitive: *tsorono'ni 'aki aratsamũ'na* 'there is sand at the bottom of the river' or *tsorono'ni 'aki aratsa'mũ* 'there is sand at the bottom of the river' (lit. 'the bottom of the river has sand'). A locative alternative: *aratsamũ'na tsorono'ni 'aki* 'there is sand at the bottom of the river'.

a *(ITJ)* ouch!
Exclamation of pain.

-a- *(svv)* 1P
We: verbal first person plural subject morpheme. Reduplicated form: *-ay-*. The morpheme *-a-* as such refers to inclusive first person plural and cannot not cross-refer to the exclusive pronoun *tsitsɛ*. Exclusive cross-reference consists of the combination of first person plural *-a-* and the associated person marker *-xa-*. Can also be used with impersonal sense, as in: *ỹhỹ'ko enã'jã?aki* 'here you breathe' (CX: pointing at the lungs). Also used impersonally in nominalisations: *-ahỹ*, *-anãi*. *a'xy ha'je?a'mũ* 'paint' (*-ỹ-).

adwɛ *(N)* ahead on the path
Category uncertain. With locative case marking: *a'dwɛna* 'over there down the path'. *a'dwɛki* 'it (anything) is over there down the path'. *a'dwɛhỹ bui* 'is going to get off there, ahead on the path'. *a'dwɛdaki* 'ahead on the path I said'. There is probably a relationship with *tsa'dwɛ-* 'to get onto the path'.

aha *(N-KIN)* father
ti'wy xyidyhỹ aha isi 'when did your father die?'.

ahaduky *(N-KIN)* uncle
In-law: husband of aunt. Consists probably of the noun *a'ha* 'father' and the verb root *duky-* 'other'.

ahakate *(ADV)* ancient
Derived from empty root *a-*, bound root *haka-* 'old' and nominaliser *-te*. *aha'kate a'wy* 'in olden times', *ahaka'tetay* 'woman of olden times'.

ahami *(N)* wire
[*a'hami*], from POR *a'rame* 'wire'.

ahỹ- *(V-etym)* beat, bump, rattle
E.g. rattling of large objects in a moving car. Requires a CL. *a'hỹki* 'it rattled', *a?a'hỹki* 'it is rattling'. *a'rodaki* 'I hit the can', *a'tɛdaki X-wã* 'I hit the belly of X'.

a?ate- *(V)* live scattered
Related to *a-* 'live'.

a?ũ *(N)* deer
Mazama americana, fam Cervidae, veado. Lives in the forest. Sometimes [*ã'?ũ*].

ai *(ITJ)* ouch!
Exclamation in reaction to pain, usually ironically exaggerated, also in AIK.

ai- *(V)* want not
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *ai'tjadata* 'I don't like him'. *'aitsɛ* 'she didn't want to'. *ai'tjadaki* 'I obeyed him'. Also *he?ai-*: *he'aitjadaki* 'I don't like him'. MA says *he'?ai-* is more "correct" and that AN would say things like *'aidaki* or *'aida'rai* 'I don't want to'.

aikanã *(N)* Aikanã
From AIK?. Also [*aika'rã*], but note that /r/ and /n/ are difficult to distinguish under nasalisation.

aipja *(N-NAM)* dog
Female dog name. A variant of this name, *Aitpia*, was also in use by the Tupari as a female dog name (Caspar 1975:39).

aitse- *(V)* patient
ai'tsedata pɛrɛ̃'jãdamỹ 'I'm going to talk / speak with patience / slowly'.

aitsehe- *(V)* lazy
[*e*] ~ [*ɛ*]. In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *aitse'hedaki* 'I'm lazy'.

ay- *(DEM)* that
Demonstrative and deictic root that requires further derivation. Hearer oriented: *ay'hỹ* 'that one there in your vicinity', *ay'tay* 'that woman', *ay'rjỹ* 'there, close to H', *ay'hỹki* 'it is there, close to H'. *ay'hỹ dai'ra* 'take thát one (which we know, close or not)'. *ay'hỹ e'hỹxa'hỹ* 'that which you did'. With LOC/INS *-ko*: *ayhỹ'ko* 'there', 'with that one'. With temporal *-wy*: *ay'wy da'nỹ a'heda'dayhỹki* 'at that time I was not living here', *'na?ay'wy* 'at that time (long ago or recently)', *ay'wy* 'that day (in the future)'.

-ay- *(svv)* 1P
Reduplicated form of *-a-* '1P' used in remote past construction, e.g.: *tsywydyte-a-a-ay-nãi* 'about when we were still uninitiated girls'.

ayle- *(V)* match, accurate, same
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *ay'letse* 'it's correct', *ayle'hetse* 'it isn't correct' (too long, short, little, much etc.). The negative is also used in the sense 'lack' (there is no word for 'lack' says MA): *ayle'hetse koreja'ri 'wajanỹ'ra* 'we lack plates, bring!'.

akarwɛ *(ADV)* over there
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *ãi aka'rwe 'adaki* 'I live further away', *aka'rwe aki* 'he lives a little remote (from here)'. *aka'rwɛki* 'it is a bit more over there'. NOM use in: *aka'rwe?ỹhỹ* 'the one more over there', *aka'rwe?ỹnwỹ* 'the tree more over there'. See *-karwa*. Antonym *lanỹ* 'closer'.

aky- *(V)* take food
'sirata aky'nãdaki 'I'm going to take (food from the pan) first'. *aky'ra* 'take (esp. food)!'.

aky- *(V-etym/NUM)* two
Requires CL or NOM. In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *aky'hỹ 'ele'le* 'eight'. *aky'hỹtse* 'they're two, there are two'. *aky'xytse* 'there are two houses'. *aky'hỹ 'ũiki itso'na* 'two are resting in a hammock'. *yhỹ'ko aky'hỹtsɛ ñere'xwa* 'there are two dogs here', *a'xyna aky'hỹtse e'tay* 'two women live in the house'. *a'wỹidaki aky'hỹtsyhỹ* 'I saw the second one'. *akyhỹ* / *aky'nãi hajahỹki ho'ñẽnãi* 'he hid himself during two days'. *si aky'hỹ 'daidaki* 'I took two'. Paucal sense in: *aky'hỹ 'dodo'jadaki* 'I cut some firewood'.

akynỹ *(N)* friend
Possibly related to *aky-* 'two'. [*y*] ~ [*ỹ*]. *aky'nyday'hỹ* '(my) friend', *aky'nyxay'tay* 'your female friend' *aky'nyxay'tswa* 'your male friend', *aky'nytsy'hỹ* 'his friend', *'aky'nỹxayry'hỹ* 'friend of you two', *aky'nỹxaynahe're* 'friend of you people', *'akynỹry'hỹtja'te* 'friend of them two', *'akynỹtsyry'hỹ(tja'te)*

'friend of them lot'. (note incl-excl in:) *'txana aky'nỹja'hỹ* 'friend of us two/all of us', *'sidyhỹ aky'nỹday'hỹ* (**'sidyhỹ aky'nỹki*) 'friend of me'. *aky'hỹtse aky'nỹday'hỹ* 'two friends of mine'.

akyta *(N)* two
The element *-ta* expresses animacy, although not applicable to plants. It is encountered only with *aky-*. *aky'tatse* 'they're two'. *aky'ta ũiki itso'na* 'two are resting in hammock'. *aky'tatsy're* 'are they with two?'.

akytohoi *(N)* twin
Consists of *aky-* 'two' + CL *-tohoi* 'child, young one'. *aky'toitsy'hỹ* '(those who are) twins'.

akorewy *(ADV)* day after tomorrow
See also *hakore* 'tomorrow'. *akorewytete* 'day after tomorrow after'.

akuwa *(N-NAM)* dog
Female dog name.

akũcũ *(N)* Indian
[*akũtxũ*] ~ [*aku'tjũ*]. Refers usually to non-allied Indians: 'Indian, other Indian, Nambikwara Indian'. AIK *'akũ'sũ* ~ *a'kũsũ*. KAN *akũ'tsũ*. *-su* may be a suffix from NAMB (Stella Telles pc).

akwamã *(N)* yam species
Dioscorea sativa, gen Dioscorea, fam Dioscoreaceae, cará. Similar to inhame. Can be represented by the CL *-to-*.

akwamã hoho?ỹhỹ *(N)* yam species
Fam Dioscoreaceae. Lit. 'black yam'.

akwate *(ADV)* inside
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. 'inside the house'. Originates from the empty root *a-* + directional *-kwa-* + unidentified *-te*: *akwa'tedaki* 'I'm here inside'. CHS *akwa'texy* 'inside the house/room'.

akwɛ *(ADV)* inside
Often pronounced as [*a'kwæ*] 'inside a room'. Originates from empty root *a-* and verb root *kwɛ-* 'enter'.

ale *(N)* axe
[*a:'le*] ~ [*a'lɛ*]. KAN *ae're*. *haki'dwa a'le* 'stone axe'.

alenũ *(N)* wax
ale'nũ

alexunwỹ *(N)* tree species
Esenbeckia leiocarpa, fam Rutaceae, guarantã. Lit. 'axe-handle wood'. This is probably a modern word that was coined since the introduction of metal axes, which require such a handle. The original Kwaza word was not registered. In Tupari the same tree is also referred to by a neologism as *vi-'köb* 'axe-handle' (the POR equivalent given was 'carapanaúba'), whereas the original word for this tree is *köb?ʊh'pɛ.ɪd* (Antônio Konkwat pc).

amũtay *(N)* bottle, glass
Usually a glass bottle in its entirety, but may as a part-whole metaphor also refer to a piece of glass. Also *emũ'tay*. Note CL *-mũ* 'liquid' and CL *-tay* 'vessel'. *koreja'ri amũ'tay* 'glass plate'.

anãidy *(ADV)* rightly
Also 'with respect'. *anãi'dy a'ra* 'behave yourself!', *anãi'dy pɛ̃rɛ̃jã'ra* 'talk decently!'.

aniwesario *(N)* anniversary
From POR *aniversário* 'anniversary'. *maga'riDa aniwe'sario'dyki txarwa* 'today Margarida had her birthday'.

anõwɛ̃ *(ADV)* upstream
'marju anõ'wɛ̃ a'ki 'Mario lives upstream'.

anũ- *(V)* plant
a'nũdaki 'I'm planting (one or a few sprouts)', reduplicated in *'a?a'nũdaki* 'I'm planting (many sprouts until finished)', *'anũ'bwadaki* 'I plant all (a few)', *'a?anũ'bwadaki* 'I plant all'.

apara *(N)* banana, plantain
Musa spp, M. paradisiaca (plantain), M. sapientum L. (banana). Can be represented by the CL *-tay* 'vessel': *apa'ra txitay'tɛ* 'big banana', *apa'ra 'wɛu?ỹtay 'hoiki* 'a red banana (species) is sweet'. Almost the same form in AKU *α'pɑrα*, TUP *a'para* and MEK *apara*, but slightly different in AIK *'dipa'ra*.

apararje *(N)* banana yard
Lit. 'bunch of banana stalks'.

aparasiñũ *(N)* banana species
Possibly Musa paradisiaca (POR banana-ouro).

aparaxuku *(N)* banana tree
Also [*apa'rasu'ku*] lit. 'banana-stem'.

aparatotse *(N)* banana bunch
Small bunch of bananas. Note CL *-totse*.

aparatowe *(N)* bunch of bananas
An entire bunch. Also [*apara'toi*].

araikoni *(N)* weed species
Locally arranha gata. Maybe gen Plathymenia, vinhático, aranhagato. Plant with very fine leaves and many little nasty hooks. Other name: *xyini'jɛ*.

araka *(N)* lambari
Fam Caracidae, maybe Tatragonopterus jenynsi, lambarí. Also *maninitxu'hũi* 'small fish'.

arakate *(N)* young
Young man until about 20.

arapɛ *(N)* sling
etohoi arapɛ'ko ũ'cwadaki / *wɛ̃daki* 'I'm carrying a child in the sling'.

aratsabi *(N)* trumpeter
Psophia L. eucoptera, gen Psophia, fam Psophiidae. ZE: *arasa'bi*. Zack (1943) has a different form, *ôrí* (Z:132), which was not recognised by present-day speakers. Note in this respect AIK *nãw're*, Carlson (1984) noted *ðãw'rɛ* for Psophia crepitans, jacamim-de-costas-cinzentas, grey-winged trumpeter (C2:150.120). Note KAN *a'rata'py* (ME) and MEK *aratawy*.

aratsamũ *(N)* river floor
Contains empty root *a-*, DR *-ratsa-* 'underneath' and CL *-mũ* 'water'. *aratsamũ'nã tsororoni aki* 'on the river floor there is sand'. Note word order and adverbial interpretation in: *tsorono'ni 'aki 'aratsa'mũ(nã)* 'there is sand on the river floor'.

are- *(V)* turn, transform
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. *o'wi tsetseri'tse a'reki* 'larva turned butterfly'. *ã'rũi tswa a'reki* 'the tapir turned into man', *zjwãu ãrũi'wã are'dyki* 'João transformed from tapir' / 'João made the tapir transform'. *kal'sãu are'dywady'ta?ỹra* 'make it turn into trousers for me!'. *kwazady'nãi mãrɛ̃'?adynãi'ko are'dydamỹ* 'I'm going to translate from Kwaza to Portuguese'.

aredyta- *(V)* teach
aredy'tata?ỹ'ra 'teach me!'. *arũi'wã aredy'taki* 'he is teaching the donkey'.

arenỹta *(ADV)* noon
Lit. 'it (the sun) is turning / transforming itself'. *arenỹ'ta ereweri'rwahãrã'ta 'ɛhtsɛ* 'at noon he painted a circle and then went away'. *a'renỹ'ta ojanãdaki* 'at noon I'll go away'.

areta- *(V)* know, be wise, be smart, be able, become tame
mãmã'ñẽday'nãi are'tadaki 'I know how to sing'. *kwa'zady'nãi wai'hỹwara are'tada'raiheki* 'Kwaza is beautiful but I don't know'. Causative in: *dilɛ areta'dyhatare* 'who is teaching you?', *areta'dy'jatsyhỹ* / *erewexy'dyjatsyhỹ* 'teacher, professor'. Note the meaning difference between *areta-* and *ucenãi-* and that the concept of 'learning' is associated with 'learning how to do things': *wa'txi are'taxare* 'would you know how to do it?', *wa'txi ũtinãixare* 'would you understand it?'.

aretarjỹ- *(V)* be(come) tame
Consists of *areta-* 'know' and *-rjỹ* 'area, surroundings'. *hadu'ru areta'rjỹtse* 'the coati became tame'. Note the difference with *ucenãi-* 'know', which has the opposite sense of 'to be shy' when referring to animals.

arikwãjũ *(N)* spirit
One of the two most important Kwaza mythical beings. Also *kai?arikwa'jũ* 'God', but this may be an analogy with *kaiku'cẽ*, or a relic of prefixed *ha'kai* 'grandparent'. TUP *arkoanyó* '(one of the primordial magicians)' (Caspar 1975:193), MEK *arikwajõ* 'the

Creator' (Galucio 1996:4, 2001:5). AIK *iwɛ'rjüa*.

aricini *(N-NAM)* Chupinguaia river
Also [*arici'n:i*]. KAN *'aritsi'ne*. AIK *'arit͡ʃi'ni*.

aru- *(V-etym)* place
This verb root requires application of CL or DR. It is probably related to or even identical with *aruu-* 'cross, put'. *arunỹku'tydaki* 'I carried on the head' (carrying of other things than a live young pet monkey on the head is unknown). *arunỹ'tõiki* 'he put it into the eye', as a warning: *tse'wedy'tõihata'tsi* 'take care that the toad doesn't spit you in the eye', A: *arunỹ'tõidahe'hỹ* 'but I have glasses!' (lit. 'I have (something) in, or before, my eyes'). *txisĩ'tɛ aru'hỹxare* 'did you place a bullet (in the cartridge)?'. *koreja'ro lo'kãcwa'nã 'bu?a'rudwa'ra* 'put the pan on the fireplace!'.

aru- *(V)* jump
a'rujekutytɛ'hỹdaki 'I jumped over (e.g. the chair)'. Often in compound or derivation with other elements: *arudi'ridaki* 'I jump on the floor (off from something)', *arudi'rihy'jada'mỹdaki* 'I'm going to jump off', *arudi'rinãdaki* 'I'm going to jump down', *a'rujetoto'ra* 'jump on it, upwards!'. Reduplicated in: *a'ru?a'rucara* 'jump up and down!', *teihỹkai aru?a'rutse* 'he hops (on one leg)', *aru?o'nɛ?aru?o'nɛ?aru?o'nɛdaki* 'I'm jumping to and fro'. Based on partial reduplication the root allows only a plural subject: *aruru'nã?axaki* 'we're going to hop/jump'. This word contrasts with *a'ruu-* 'cross', which contains a stem-final glide. Because the phonetic difference is so slight, it may be that this is emphasised by adding a root-final glottal stop to *a'ru-* 'jump'. This may explain the occasional unexploded [*p*] or [*k*] as in: [*a'rupca'ra*] 'jump!', [*a'rukje'toto'douca'ra*] 'jump onto it!'.

arudwani- *(V)* bury
This may be a lexicalised combination of *aru-* 'put' and either the DR *-dwa-* 'onto plane surface' and the CL *-ni* 'dust', or the DR *-cwanĩ-* 'into a hole'. Stress seems to fall canonically on the second syllable: [*a'rudwani*]. *a'rudwaniwata* 'they fixed the foot of the mortar into the ground. This word is also used as a non-euphemistic term for burial (for next of kin *a'sa-* 'leave' is used). *a'xyna arudwanidaki* 'I buried him inside the house'.

arunã- *(V)* cook
Consists of *aru-* 'put' and DR *-nã-* 'fire, stove', lit. 'to put (food) on the fire'. The phonological difference with 'cross-FUT-' is unclear, and may involve level tone on *-'nã-* in 'I put on the fire' and rising tone on *-'nã-* in 'I'm going to cross'. *korejaro a'runã'ra* 'put the (empty) pan on the fire, *hari?ixu arunãra* 'put the beans on the fire'. *arunã'nãxa're* 'you're going to cook?', *a'runã'toki* 'put maize on the fire'. It is unclear whether the root of the relative clause in *kawɛ a'runa'mũhỹ 'waidydaki* 'I like fresh coffee' represents *arwenã-* 'make liquid (chicha)' or *arunã-* 'cook'.

arunite *(N)* bridge
Lit. 'crosser'. There is no separate word for 'bridge'.

aruñwõ- *(V)* put on wood
aru'ñwõdaki 'I put (the hinge) onto the wood'. Although pronunciation with *[ñwỹ], *[ñwã] is not accepted, it seems to contain the directional for wood, like in *bu?ũ'ñwỹdaki* 'I'm sitting up there (in the tree)'.

aruñwõnite *(N)* hinge
Also [*aruñoni'te*]. SU *aruñoni'te* 'drawing' must be a misunderstanding. Related to 'put': a hinge or a locker is 'a place to put (e.g. a door, hook etc.)'.

arurjỹ- *(V)* leave, put
'put on a (level) surface', 'put/leave a person or thing standing somewhere (on the ground, if no other place is

explicitated)'. Consists of *aru-* 'put' and DR/CL *-rjỹ-* 'area'. Often heard as [*aru'nja*]. *atoto'xy aru'rjỹle'jatady'ta* '"I will put you up in the attic", she said', *lokãcwa'na koreja'ro dai?a'sata aru'rjỹda'mỹ* 'I am going to take the pan out of the oven and put it on the ground'. *tsãrã'nã a'rurjỹra* 'put it on the ground!'.

aruru- *(V)* cross (many)
PLS. This rare root is a partially reduplicated form of *aruu-* 'cross'. The reduplication indicates a plural subject argument: *aruru'nỹki* '(many persons) came across (hither)', ??*aru'ruwaki* 'they crossed thither', **aru'rudaki*

aruxy- *(V)* draw, stamp
Consists of *aruu-* 'put, cross' and CL *-xy* 'paper, skin'. *aru'xyra* 'draw!', lit. 'put onto paper'. *mãrɛ̃ritsa aru'xydaki* 'I'm drawing a person, I make a stamp of someone on paper', *a'rũi aru'xynỹ'ki* 'the horse is put on paper'.

aruxynite *(N)* photo, drawing
ZE,ED,AN: *a'runỹ'xyni'te* 'photo', *aru'xyni'te* 'drawing, photo'. *a'ruxyni'te awỹj'jadadayhỹ* 'the photo I took'. See also *ãwỹi-* 'to see'.

aruce- *(V)* put in mortar
Consists of *aruu-* 'put' and the CL *-ce-* 'hole', which is here used as a DR and which is probably lexicalised. *atxi'txi(*wã) aru'cedaki* 'I put the maize into the mortar'

aruu- *(V)* cross, go up, put
This word appears to contain a stem-final glide [*a'ruw*] and thus to form a pair with *aru-* 'jump'. JO: *a'ruudaki* 'I'm going up from the river', 'I'm crossing the river'. *aruu'nãdaki* 'I'm going to cross', 'I'm going there to the other side'. *aruu'nãdaki ũtɛ'jatakai'sa* 'I'm going to cross to the other side'. *aruu'nỹdaki* 'I crossed from the other side to where I live'. Reduplicated in: *aruru'nỹki* 'they crossed hither'. *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa aruu'xydaki* 'I'm drawing a person on paper'. Antonym: *cawe-* 'go down'.

arwa- *(V-etym)* new
This root requires a CL, e.g.: *arwa'hỹ* 'new one', *arwa'xy* 'new house', *arwa'kãi* 'new opening (of bucket, canoe etc.)'. *(ka'wɛ) arwa'mũ, kui'ra* 'it's newly made, drink (coffee)!'.

arwalɛ *(ADV)* long time
The meaning of this word is uncertain, it may be something like: 'it isn't today (that it happened)'. Only attestation: *'aticwahỹ a'rwalɛ hedu'tubwawata* 'the ones who lived at that time, they all died long ago'.

arwenã- *(V)* make chicha
This word may be related to *arunã-* 'to cook', but see *arwenĩ-*. The element *-nã-* seems to be an integral part of the root, 'to make liquid of maize'. *atxitxida'ra arwa'hỹ arwe'nãdaki* 'I'm going to make chicha of fresh maize'.

arwenĩ- *(V)* carry chicha
This root contains probably the original directional *-nĩ-* 'in a net'. Only attestation: *mĩu arwe'nĩtja* 'putting chicha in a bag in order to bring it along'.

asa- *(V)* leave, away, end
SGO (*uja-* is the PLO equivalent). *ỹhỹ'ko a'sadaki koreja'ro* 'I left (put) the pan here'. The third person *-tse* declarative has a specific connotation: *a'saki* 'he left (X behind)', *a'satse* 'he is separated (from X)', but in the other persons, this is neutralised: *e'tay a'sadaki* 'I left the wife'. Also as an euphemism for 'to bury', especially used with next of kin, and then usually the indefinite object suffix is used: *asa'jadaki* 'I left him/her'. Usually a second element in a compound verb with terminative / completive meaning 'to bits, to oblivion, away': *do'te?asa('hỹ)ki* 'it leaked till it was empty', *ha'dai?a'saxatsy'tse* 'you'll cut it to bits'. When followed by a CL it means 'give up (desist)': *asa'hỹda'mỹda'ki* 'I'm going to give up/I will stop (the work, e.g. of teaching him)', *a'xy asa'xynãdaki* 'I'm going to leave the

house, I'll move'. When followed by NOM *-nãi* it means 'to stop the custom / habit': *wara'ñỹ?a'nãi asahỹ'nãdaki* 'I'm going to stop working (for now, even though it is not finished)', *wara'ñỹ?a'nãi asanãi'nãdaki* 'I'm going to quit the work (for ever, whether it is finished or not)', *ui a'sadaki* 'I left the cigarettes' vs. *ui 'hudanãi asa'nãidaki* 'I quit smoking'.

asitsu *(N)* ant-eater, tamandua
Myrmecophaga tridactyla, tamanduá bandeira. [*asi'tsu*] ~ [*atsi'tsu*].

axe- *(V-etym)* find, meet
The root *axe-* requires a CL. *axe'hỹki tsɛ̃* 'he found / encountered the salt', *axerjỹtse* 'he found a place'. *(xyi) axe'hỹhata'ki* 'he met you'.

axy *(N)* house
Related to CL *-xy* 'house' or 'straw' and maybe to *ha'xo* 'hive' (the traditional houses are shaped in the form of a beehive). KAN *a'tso* 'village'.

axy'hi *(N)* paricá, rappee
Hallucinogenic sniffing powder containing DMT, based mainly on the pulverised seeds of the tree Anadenanthera peregrina, or angico or paricá, blended with tobacco powder and ashes of the bark of a certain tree. Also [*axy'?i*] ~ [*asy'hi*]. AIK *ajü'me*, KAN *at͡i'mi*, AKU *o'tjime*. The powder is known in local Portuguese as *rapé* 'rappee' and in the literature often as *paricá*. It is blown into the nose of the shaman through a tube. In Rondônia, the angico pod-seeds fall and are collected in May. They are brown and around one to two cm in diameter, like flat garden beans. Shamans among the Kanoê and Akuntsũ of the Omeré region, the Tuparí and Arikapu on the Rio Branco and the Jeoromitxi and Wayuru on the Rio Guaporé still use it. The Kwaza and Aikanã of the A.I. Tubarão-Latundê do not have a shaman any more, and have consequently stopped using paricá already several decennia ago. For other Rondônian groups see also Becker-Donner (1955), Caspar (1975) and Wassén (1965).

axyhimũ *(N-NAM)* river
One of the left tributaries of the Pimenta Bueno river or the Tanaru: the Igarapé Tunumum or the Igarapé Dois Irmãos or Igarapé Ienamãi, lit. 'paricá river'.

axyhi'nwỹ *(N)* angico tree
Anadenanthera peregrina (also Piptadenia peregrina Benth., Acacia niopo, or Mimosa acacioides, see de Smet 1985), or angico, paricá or angelim. Lit. 'paricá tree', since its seeds form an important ingredient of *axy'hi* 'paricá', a hallucinogenic powder used primarily by traditional shamans.

axyhico *(N)* paricá tube
Paricá is blown into the nose of the shaman through a bamboo tube of about 80 cm with a little pointed head made out of the nut shell of a certain palm tree, stuck with 'breu', black tree resin, decorated with mother of pearl buttons made out of river mollusc shell. The element *-co* is not identified, but may refer to the head of the tube, which is made out of the seed of a certain palm tree and, consequently, may be related to *-ko* 'fruit'. *axyhi'co axyhi'xutse* '*axyhico* is the bamboo pipe for (inhaling) paricá'. KAN *at͡imi'ko*.

axyisike *(N)* fan
Little fan braided of buriti to fan up the fire. Usually [*axyisi'kje*].

axu *(N)* porcupine
Coendou bicolor, fam Erethizontidae, cuandu, porco espinho. Large rodent with long and dangerous black and white quills. AIK *'(h)ãdü*.

atija- *(V)* fart
ati'jaxare wainãi 'what are you (PL) farting away here, damned!'.

aty- *(V)* be there
This root is based on *a-* 'to exist', and

may contain the detrimental morpheme *-ty-*, without a detrimental sense. *'atyki* 'there still is, he is still there', 'there is for him (which is a sort of luck)', *aty'tahỹki* 'he is still there for me'. See *-ty-* and note *a'hetywaki* 'I bet they don't encounter anyone', 'there is no-one for them/him!'.

aty- *(V-etym)* put, throw
atymã'tɛdaki 'I throw bottle, walk-man etc. into the water' (see *-mãtɛ-*). *aty'kwɛdamỹ* 'I put it in (paper in the crack in the table)', *aty'cedaki* 'I put it in (anything in the mortar)'. *makina xuinã atynĩdaki* 'I put the camera into the bag'.

atu *(NAM)* unidentified nation
Also [*ah'tu*]. Ethnonym of an unidentified nation that used to live far to the west, near Barranco Alto. Also used by the Aikanã.

atsile- *(V)* heavy
txu'hũitja atsi'letsɛ 'it is a little heavy', *ãi wa'ja?a'nãi a'tsileki* 'walking far with it is heavy'.

atsuka *(N)* sugar
From POR *açúcar* 'sugar'.

atsukakalo *(N)* sugar cane
Saccharum officinarum (Lin.), fam Gramineae, cana de açúcar. Note CL *-kalo* 'leaves / stems'.

atsukanũ *(N)* sugar
Note the CL *-nũ* 'powder'.

acerjỹ- *(V)* close, nigh
Contains probably the directional *-ce-* 'aside'. Also [*a:'tjerjỹki*] ~ [*acɛ̃'rjỹki*] ~ [*ate'rjỹki*] 'it is close by'. *ace'rjỹki onɛ'nãtsynãi* 'he is going to arrive soon (which does not require that he has left already from where he comes)'. *konajã'dy?atsy'wy ace'rjỹki* 'the time of sweat is nigh' (hot rainy season). The root *ace-* is rarely encountered without *-rjỹ-*: *kara'ja?e'nãtja ace'wy* / *kara'ja?e'nãtja acerjỹ'wy* 'the next year (dry season) is coming'. Note *tja?ace* 'close' (closeness of location / spatially close).

acwa- *(V-etym)* whole, plenty
Requires further derivation: *acwa'hỹki* 'it is in one complete piece (e.g. packet, cloth, rope)' (as opposed to: 'a piece of the cloth, rope etc.'). *i'sosisi acwa'hỹ wane'ra* 'bring the entire rope!', *i'sosisi dywane'ra* 'bring a piece of the rope'. *acwa'hỹ* 'an entire bunch of patwa seeds'. MA: *acwa'rjỹ* 'the entire city', 'a big place (like Vilhena)', but it may also be lit. 'live-IS-place', because when e.g. asking for lemons, a possible answer would be: *acwa'rjỹ dai'ra* 'take it from where there are enough!' (i.e. go to the lemon tree). *acwari'cwa* 'city' (lit. 'entire / densely inhabited place').

acwadyhỹ- *(V-etym)* force, order
'to force someone or be forced to do (matrix V)'. Derivation with *-dy-* 'CAU' and *-hỹ-* 'NOM' is obligatory. *Y X-wã a'cwadyhỹ mũi'dyki* 'Y makes X fetch water', *acwa'nỹdyhỹ 'mũidaki* 'I'm fetching water under coercion'. *acwadyhỹdaki* 'I forced him', *acwa-dyhỹtaki* 'he forced me', *a'cwadyhỹ hy'hyrwa'dyki* 'he forced him to walk', *a'cwa'nỹdyhỹ hy'hyrwa'ki* 'he was forced to walk', *acwadyhỹ'hetasi 'nãidaki* 'it is because you don't force me (that I act like that)' *acwady-hỹ'hexa'si 'nãiki* 'it is because you don't force him (that he acts like that)'.

atxitxi *(N)* maize corn
Zea mays L., milho. [*a:ci'ci*] ~ [*atxi'txi*]. Z:076±: *atchetchí*. This word is widely spead in Rondônia: KAN *ati'ti*, Proto-Tupari **atsitsi* (Moore and Galucio 1994), AKU *ɑti'ti*, MAK *'atiti*, MEK *atsitsi*, TUP *ɑ'títi:*, WAY *ati'ti:*. ARI & JEO *tʃi'tʃi*, AIK *ha'ki*: the form *atití* is encountered only in "Huari" as documented by Nordenskiöld (1915).

atxitxidara *(N)* green maize
Probably a compound of *atxitxi* 'maize' and the root *dara-* 'immature'.

atxitxi?ũ *(N)* rice
Oryza sativa, arroz. Z:067: *atchetchí-on*. Contains the classifier *-ũ*

'grain'. *atxitxi'?ũ ha?ỹ'?ũ* 'white rice'. *atxitxi'?ũsisi* 'grain of rice with chaff / whole rice', *atxitxi?ũ'?ũ* 'a grain of rice without chaff'.

atxitxinũ *(N)* porridge, pancake, flour of maize
Note the CL *-nũ* 'powder'. Z:105: *atchitchinôn* 'pancake' (*atxitxi bãrɛ̃rinitɛ* would be more correct). Also the slimy porridge in which the toad *ko'ko* lays it's eggs is called *atxitxi'nũ* (the eggs are edible). Note AIK *haki'nũ* 'porridge of maize'. Probably also KAN *-nũ-*.

atxitxiri *(N)* bread
Note the CL *-ri* 'flat'. Also [*atiti'ri*]. Z:080: *atchitchí-rí*.

atxitxirje *(N)* tortilla
-rje may represent the CL 'bunch, grating', in case a pile of tortilla's was meant.

atxitxixyitsa *(N)* leaf of maize
Productive expression: *atxitxi'xy*. The form given by Zach in 1943 is not understood *íri-ô* (Z:095).

atxitxixytɛ *(N)* shuttle
Contains the CL *-tɛ* 'round'. The word also refers to the traditional game, which is a sort of hand-volley with a shuttle made of maize leaves folded around a disc, which are tied together, and which have a long parrot feather stuck in between at the end.

atxitxixuku *(N)* maize plant
Lit. 'maize-stem'. Also [*atitisu'ku*]. Z:077: *atchetchí-rukú*.

atxitxitohoi *(N)* maize seedling
Lit. 'maize-child'. L:43: *ačičito`oi*.

atxitxitose *(N)* maize in leaf
Corn cob in its protecting leaves, lit. 'maize-seed-leaf'.

atxũ- *(V)* sneeze
Onomatopoeic origin. *a'txũdaki* 'I sneezed'.

au *(N)* flesh, meat, animal
Also [*ow*]. Occurs mainly as a root element of *auxwana* 'meat, flesh'. AN: *au'he* '(there is) no meat (in the food)'. *uru'hu au jonã'tja au hotɛ janã'tja* 'vulture is going to devour meat and eat rotten meat'. Also a respectful way to talk about game. *ou dai'nãdaki* 'I'm going to take meat' (*?*ou carinãdaki*). *au'xu* 'bone steak', also 'bracelet of armadillo tailring' (lit. 'animal-bone'). *auri* 'liver of animal'.

audynɛ̃- *(V)* return, call
Also [*oudy'nɛ*]. Causative: *audy'nɛ̃ki* 'he made (them) return' (especially cattle, especially by calling), not further analysable, *ãrũi audy'nɛ̃daki* 'I made the cow return'. Compound with *mã-* 'call' in *mã?audy'nɛ̃ki* 'she called him back'.

auku *(N)* alcohol
From POR *'alcool* 'alcohol'. Has acquired native stress pattern [*au'ku*].

aumỹi *(NAM)* Aumỹi
Female person name, possibly of KWA origin.

aure- *(V)* marry
au'reki 'he married'. *huru'jada'ta au'reda'dayhỹki* 'because I liked her, I married her', *au'reja'nãcwaki* 'there's going to be a wedding'. *hita'wã aureda'mỹtse ho'Beto* 'Roberto (says he) wants to marry Rita'. *aure'le?ani* 'let's marry!', *aurele'nada'dayhỹ'ki* 'I married her'.

auxwana *(N)* flesh, meat
Also [*owxwana*]. Based on *au* 'flesh, game'.

autsurje *(N)* grill
autsu'rje, lit. 'meat-bone-grating'.

awanihỹ *(ADV)* alone
awani'hỹ are'taki 'he learns (by) himself, on his own'.

awanĩja- *(V)* transmit light, shine
In the sense that fire, or a lamp gives light. *awanĩja'hetse* 'it does not give light, is not bright'.

awawa *(NAM)* Awawa
Female personal name. Also AIK and KAN.

awãnỹce- *(V)* show
awãnỹ'ceki 'he showed himself'.

awãnỹcetohoi- *(V)* orphan
awãnỹ'cetohoi 'orphan', lit. 'showed,

left-behind child', or maybe 'a child who showed himself, i.e. who turned up alone. Related to *awãnỹ'ce-* 'to show (oneself)'. but see also *ãwã'te-* 'be sad'.

awãcutuhỹ- *(V)* care
'to take care of someone'.

awe *(NAM)* Awe
Male person name.

awe- *(V/N)* rain
Not followed by immediately adjacent *-*tse* declarative. *awe'nãtse* 'it wants to rain'. *awetxu'hũi(?ỹ)tse* 'it rains a little'. *awehoñɛni'te* 'umbrella' (lit. 'rain=hide-thing'). *awe'mũ* 'rainwater'. *da'nỹ awe'wy* 'still the rainy season (October-June)'. KAN *væ-*.

awenũ *(N)* cloud
awe'nũ 'cloud', lit. 'rain powder'.

awy- *(V-etym)* cold
Also [*owy*]. Requires a CL: *awy'hỹki* 'he is cold', *awy'hỹdaki* 'I'm cold', *awy'rjỹki* 'it is cold', also [*ãwỹĩ'rjỹki*]. *awymũ'tɛ kuida'mỹ* 'I'm going to drink cold liquid (e.g. tea)'. *ereri'taydata awymũ'dydaki* 'being an old woman, I find the water cold'. *awynỹrjỹda'mỹtse* 'it is going to get cold now'. *awynỹ'rjỹ enỹ'rjaki* 'he suffered from the cold'. *wywy'rjỹki awy'jata* 'it is windy, it makes (people) cold'.

awy- *(V)* lay egg, have a child, be born
txa'rwa a'wyki 'they were born today'.

awy *(N)* macaw, parrot
General term for the giant parrots like Arara ararauna, fam Psittacidae, arara or papagaio, Brazilian parrot. Possibly ONO. Z:112: *auêh*. AIK *a'wa*. KAN *a'va*.

awy ki?ỹhỹ (N) scarlet parrot
Ara macao, arara vermelha, *'awy 'ki?ỹhỹ* lit. 'red parrot'.

awyja *(N)* cold period
Also [*owy'ja*]. This is a phenomenon that occurs in Rondônia during the dry season regularly and temperatures may drop until zero degrees centigrade. *kaiku'ja o'nɛdyta awy'jaki* 'Kaikuja returned, which is why it is cold'.

awyri *(N)* bracelet of ankle, arm etc.
May be made of cotton. Z:024;168: *aorí*, L:23: *aure* 'bracelet of cotton'.

awyrwa *(N)* parrot species
Probably Arara ararauna, because the Andorhynchus hyacinthinus is not known. Blue and yellow parrot. AN: [*awytoa*], MA [*ahu'rwa*]. *awy'rwakasi* 'parrot feathers'.

awysikinwỹ *(N)* tree species
Lit. 'cold-skin-tree'. Also *ywymwỹ'tɛ*. Smooth green-stemmed tree called escorrega-macaco or perna de moça, muirapera, murapera in Rondônia. The dried and pounded powder from the bark (possibly mixed with honey) is claimed to combat leishmaniosis when applied onto the wounds, while also a boiled tea from it has to be drunk. Escorrega-macaco is possibly Vochysia haenkeana, fam Voquisiaceae, the colour of which is ochre, or Calycophyllum spruceanum Benth., fam Rubiaceae (also pau-mulato or pau-marfim), with a smooth dark stem.

awyto *(N)* fruit, berry
Unidentified small yellow fruit.

awo *(N)* honey bee
Melipona postica, mandaguarí. Also Melipona limao, canúdo. Also 'honey of awo' (well dilutable in water). Honey bee that lives in hollow trees and that does not sting. [*a:'wo*].

ã

ãi *(ADV)* far, distant
ãi aki 'he lives far'. *ãiki eskola* 'school is far'. *ãi'hỹdaki* 'I was far away'. *ãi?ỹhỹ* 'the one further away/more thither'. Also [*'aĩki*] ~ [*'aãiki*] (with creaky voice).

ãkãky *(N)* frog species
Unidentified. Inedible. Also *ku'ruku'ru*.

ãrũ- *(V-etym)* wipe, rub
Requires further derivation. *ãrũ'hỹdaki*

'I dry it (wipe moisture off of dish, spoon, fireplace, shotgun, head, parakeet, dog etc.)', *ãrũ'rjỹdaki* 'I dust (wiping dust off with a cloth)'. *ãrũte'huki* 'he is cleaning the spoon', *ãrũkojeki* 'he is wiping hands'. *ãrũnỹ'hỹni'tɛ* 'towel', *ãrũnỹ'hỹdaki* 'I'm drying myself'.

ãrũi *(N)* tapir, cow, horse, mule
Tapirus terrestris, fam Tapiridae, anta. [*ã*] ~ [*ã:*] ~ [*a*]. ZE [*a'rũi*]. AIK *arü'me* 'tapir' (instead of this word, AIK extends the meaning of *ma'ru* 'deer' to 'cow, etc.').

ãrũi?eke?e *(N)* ox, cow, horns
Bos taurus. Lit. 'tapir=horn-too'. Usually [*ã'rũi?ekje'?e*].

ãwãka *(N)* heron species
Fam Ardeidae, gen Ardea, garça or socó(i). Also [*ãwã'kã*]. AIK *hãwãkã?ĩ*. KAN *ãvã'kã*.

ãwãta- *(V-etym)* watch, look at
Requires *-hỹ-* or other CL or DR. *ãwãta'hỹdaki* 'I'm looking at him'. *ãwãta'hỹta?ỹtsi* 'don't you look at me!'. *ãwãta'xydaki* 'I'm looking at the paper or house'. *ãwãta'txidaki* 'I'm looking at a vagina'. *ãwã'tate'wedaki* 'from above I'm looking downwards (inside or outside the house)'. *a'wãtato'to(xare)* 'you looked upwards?'. Related but not identical to *a'wỹi(ta)-* 'see (me)'. *ã'wãtato'todaki* / *ã'wỹito'todaki* 'I looked upwards'. Note compound in: *a'wỹi=ato'to(xare)* 'you looked upwards?'.

ãwãtarjỹ- *(V)* watch, wait
Lit.'to look around', which has the connotation of waiting. Contains the morpheme *-rjỹ-* 'area'. ME: *awata'rjỹdaki* 'I have been waiting'. *ze'zĩju a'wãta'rjỹdatsy'tse* 'I'm going to wait for Zezinho'.

ãwãte- *(V)* sad
awã(nỹ)'tedaki 'I'm sad'. According to MA, the reflexive morpheme is usually left out in order "not to resemble *ãwãnỹce-* 'to show'". Could provide an alternative analysis for *awãnỹ'ce-tohoi* 'orphan'.

ãwãtxi- *(V)* show, offer, present
(siwã) ãwã'txitaki 'he showed / offered me (possibly surprising me)', *zjwãwã ãwã'txidaki* 'I'm showing it to João'. *zjwãw ãwã'txidaki* 'I'm showing João to him', *ãwãtxi'hỹdaki* 'I presented to him', *zjwã'wã ãwãtxi'hỹdaki a'ruxynite* 'I presented a photo to João'.

ãwỹi- *(V)* see
Also [*a'wĩ*] or [*ãwũĩ*]. *a'wỹiki* 'he is looking, watching'. *awỹi'riỹki* 'he is watching, observing'. *aku'tjũnahe're-wa a'wỹixaxaki* 'you are looking at the Indians'. *awỹi'hetaki* 'he didn't see me', *awỹita'tehe're* 'would he have seen me?'. The negative can be used as a tag question: *nỹnãi'hetsyhỹhe'rejãre, awỹ'hexare* 'that is not much money, is it?'. *kukui ywy'nwỹ nỹ'nwỹ're a'wỹi-xa're* 'wow that's a big tree, isn't it?'. The imperative may express a call to rescue: *awỹihỹta'?ỹxa'ra* 'help!' (lit. 'look at me!'). The causative may mean 'to show': *('siwã) ãwỹi'dyta?ỹ'ra* 'show to me!', *awũidydaki* 'I showed (to him)'. Note the following idiomatic expressions: *nãinãi ãwỹi'ta nãi'hỹ ecoto'hỹdamỹ* 'just wait, he is going to see, I'm going to punish him'. *ã'wỹi?alɛ 'ja?ata'ratse* 'let's eat later'. The following expression may be a calque on POR: *ã'wỹidalɛ* 'I'll see, I'll think about it'. There are various ways to express the concept of 'photo'. Basically one can either use an expression based on 'to see' or on 'to draw': *a'ruxyni'te awỹi'jadadayhỹ* 'the photo I took', *ã'wỹixahỹ're awỹi'ja-dadayhỹ* 'did you see the photo I took (of people)?', *ã'wỹixahỹ're maga'riDa-'wã a'wỹidaday'hỹ* 'did you see the photo I took of Margarida?'. See also *ãwỹinite*.

ãwỹinite *(N)* photo
ME says [*awini'te*]. MA prefers *ãwỹi'ja?ahỹ* or *aru'xyja?a'hỹni'te* 'photo (of someone)'.

ãwỹirjỹ- *(V)* see, watch, be able to see
awỹi'rjỹki 'he is watching'. *awyirjỹ'hỹ* 'one looking cross-eyed'. *a'wỹirjỹ-'hetse* 'he doesn't see, is blind'.

b

ba- *(V)* cut
To clear land with a scythe. In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *ba?e'nãdaki* 'I'm going to cut more / again'. *ỹhỹ'ko 'bawaki* 'they cleared (the growth on the roadside) here', *baja'hỹwaki* 'they cleared the road (side)'. *barjỹ'nãxare* 'are you going to cut the weeds?'. *'sile haruraiku'ty bakuty'nãdaki* 'only I am going to break (and eat) the armadillo's head'.

babaice- *(V)* dance
Reduplicated of first syllable is obligatory. Also [*Ba'Baitieki*] or [*babai'tjeki*]. *babai'ce?anãi* 'a party'. *ba'baiceni'te* 'a dance'. It is possible that the root *babaice-* contains an original comitative marker, since it was pronounced as [*babai(e)?ete*] in a traditional song.

babay- *(V)* beat, fan
ONO. *ba'baydaki* 'I beat wasp larvae out of their honeycomb (in order to eat them)'. *babay'hỹdaki* 'I beat the dust out of a cloth'. *babay'?ũki* 'she was cleaning the rice, i.e. throwing the rice up into the air to let the wind abduct the chaff'. Also [*baba*]: *baba hau'nỹtsaki* 'he is clapping his hands', *baba'ra* 'clap pour hands!'.

babaykalo *(N)* pineapple, sansevieria etc.
Ananas comosus (L.) Merril, A. sativus, abacaxi. Also species from fam Amarilidaceae, such as tupaipi, urucatu and many others. Note the CL *-ka'lo*, which characterises the plant as having long leaves with no leaf stems. 'pineapple' is sometimes also referred to by a loan from POR: *baka'ci* or *abakasji*. Z:074: *babacalá*.

babaynitɛ *(N)* fan
Little fan braided out of grass leaves to blow fire.

babarɛ̃- *(V-etym)* warm
babarɛ̃rjỹki 'the weather is hot'. AN: *babare'hỹdata* 'I'm hot'. *ku'kuiba'barɛ'rjỹki* 'the heat got worse'. Related to *bare-* 'heat'.

baha *(N)* monkey species
Unidentified, but known as 'rabo de boi' ('bull's tail'). Monkey that has a long tail and a white face. Nickname for the Aikanã: *ba'hanahere*.

baibai- *(V)* dance by stepping
Rare. *bai'baitjara* 'dance!' (POR: 'bate o pé!'), *bai'baitse* 'he danced'.

baikaju *(NAM)* Baikaju
Male person name of KAN or KWA origin.

bay- *(V)* sour, ferment
In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. Also refers to the fermentation process of chicha. *'bayhỹki* 'it is sour' (*[*bay'hỹki*]).

baykalo?yi *(N)* vine species
Unidentified, just called 'cipó' (POR for 'vine'). Thin vine that is split and braided into baskets.

baynũ *(N)* wasp species
Unidentified wasp species, marimbondo. *baynũ'tay* 'the wasp's house'.

baytsytõi *(N)* lemon
Note CL *-tõi* 'eye/fruit'. See also *xyini'tõi*.

bay?yi *(N)* vein, tendon, nerve
Note CL *-yi* 'thread'. *bay'?yite'te* 'hard / big / strong tendon'.

bakaci *(N)* pineapple
Ananas comosus or sativus. [*baka'ci*]. Loanword, from POR *abaca'xi* 'pineapple'. See also *babayka'lo*.

bala- *(V)* mistake
ba'ladaki 'I made a mistake'. *bala'hỹ hy'txadyta* 'he dropped it by mistake'.

BalaDera *(N)* catapult
From POR *baladeira* 'catapult'. Note native stress pattern [*Ba'laDe'ra*]. See

also *by-* ‘throw’.

baraja *(N)* ipe-like tree
Unidentified tree with hard ipe-like wood. *bara'ja*.

barɛ- *(V)* heat
Requires possibly further derivation. *barɛ'nỹtaramỹ* ‘I’m going to get myself warmed up first’. *watxi'le barɛdy'mũdyta* ‘they had managed to heat the up water’. Related to *babarɛ̃-*.

barɛmũnitɛ *(N)* porridge
Lit. ‘heated-liquid-thing’.

barɛri- *(V)* bake cake
Contains CL *-ri* ‘flat’. *atxitxi'nũ barɛ'ridahỹ* ‘cake of maize which I baked’.

barɛrinitɛ *(N)* tortilla, pancake
Lit. ‘heated-flat-thing’. Also [*bãrɛ̃'ri-ni'tɛ*] or [*Bane'rini('tɛ)*].

-bari *(CL)* shoulders, back
E-noun. *eba'ri* ‘shoulders’, *'sidyba'ri* ‘my shoulders’, *duturedyba'ri* ‘pig’s shoulder’.

baru- *(V)* end, drain, do all
Because of its general sense, this is a highly context-dependent verb. *ba'rucwaki* ‘they finished (e.g. building the house)’. *hẽu'rjỹhyhy'rwa silo'nã ba'rutja* ‘(the jaguar) was walking and sniffing in all corners’. *awỹiba'ru?a'saha'tatsyhỹta?ỹ'rejãsi nãixare* ‘he is not just going to see you, but he will also grab (i.e. kill, love, etc.) you, it is a pity you have to (go)’. The activity referred to must be finite: *a'xy ba'rudaki* / *a'xy horo'hỹdaki* ‘I finished the house’, a similar phrase could not be about cutting palm heart because palm heart is supposed to be an infinite resource.

baruhỹ- *(V)* worsen
baru'hỹki ‘it is bad’, *baru'hỹdaki* ‘I’m getting progressively worse’, *baru'hỹ-'bwadaki* ‘I’m getting even worse’. *baru'rjỹtse* ‘the weather is worsening’, ‘smoke is becoming worse’.

barutale- *(V)* merge river
Consists of verb root *baru-* ‘end’, semi-lexicalised suffix combination of transitive *-ta-* and reciprocal *-le-* meaning ‘merge’, and an (optional) CL *-mũ* ‘liquid’. *baru'tale'mũki sjupi'ng-wajady'nỹ hã tximũ'te barumũ'taleki* ‘over there the Chupinguaia merges with the Pimenta Bueno’. Also ‘tributaries join’.

Basja *(N)* basin
[*Ba'sja*]. From POR *ba'cia* ‘basin’.

be- *(V)* heat, roast
atxitxi be'toki ‘the maize is roasting in the heat of the fire’ (lying or standing close to the fire, not burning in the fire, nor braising in its leaves). The result is called: *atxitxi betoni'te* ‘roasted maize’. Maybe related to *bɛje-* ‘pop’, and *beta-* ‘dry in the sun’.

be *(N)* leaf
Unidentified. The leaf of a certain tree which is chewed to clean the mouth before chewing maize when preparing fermented chicha. The colouring effect is probably where this leaf got its name from. Also *bero'ha*.

be- *(V)* ripe, purple
'beki ‘it’s ripe’ (said only of fruits which you can’t open with your bare hands, otherwise *'kiki* ‘it is ripe’). *apara be'hỹki* ‘the banana is ripe’. Probably related to *be?ỹ-* ‘black’.

bebeto *(N)* beads
Today, *bebe'to* are small coloured non-transparent glass beads made by Westerners, originally they were beads of hard seeds. Also ‘small hard shiny thing’. Possibly a reduplicated variant of *betotɛ* ‘bead ornament’.

bei- *(V)* break, burst
'beitse ‘it broke (e.g. the bracelet)’.

beñɛ̃ *(N)* herb
Unidentified. Certain forest plant, the leaf of which is burnt and used in the process of making chicha. [*'beñɛ̃*] ~ [*bɛ'ñɛ̃*]. Note the CL *-ñɛ̃-* ‘leaf type’.

beroha *(N)* leaf species
Unidentified. The leaf of a certain tree which is chewed to clean the mouth before chewing the maize that through chewing is loaded with yeast from

saliva, creating a porridge that is added to the boiled and ground maize in order to initiate the fermentation process of chicha. *bero'ha* tastes very bitter and colours the mouth red or greenish black depending on the type. Apparently it is also used to rub the chicha mortar to clean it. The colouring is probably where this leaf got its name from: *be* 'black'. Also [*bɛroha*]. Note that the KAN of Omeré used the blackening type.

bexyice *(N)* tucum
It is not entirely clear whether this is the palm tree Bactris setosa, or whether it is identical to the spiny *wade* 'tucuma' (Astrocaryum tucuma). Z:104: *bessoité*. *bexyi'ce'tɛ* 'beads of *bexyice*'. ZE: *wade'syi*.

bexyitxu *(N)* poison, herb
Unidentified. Certain herb from the forest that can be used as 'timbó' to poison fish. *bero'ha bexyi'txu de'heki* 'the leaves of *bɛ* (two different species) are bitter'.

bexuke *(N)* comb
Made of wood rather than of tucuma needles. Usually [*bexu'kje*], also [*beixu'kje*]. ZE: *besu'kje*. Z:173: *bessôkié*. AIK *di'tsukjɛ̃* 'thorn pierced'.

beta- *(V)* dry in sun, hang to dry
i'tso beta'nãdaki 'I'm going to hang up the hammock (in the sun to dry after having washed it)'. *bɛ'tadaki esi'ki* 'I put the clothes in the sun'. Possibly analysable as *bɛ-* 'heat' + transitiviser *-ta-*.

betotɛ *(N)* bead ornament
beto'tɛ. Consists possibly of a root element *beto* 'bead' + *-tɛ* 'thing' (see also *bebeto*).

betõi *(N-NAM)* dog
be- 'black' + *-tõi* 'eye', 'spot above eye', a dog's name.

betu *(N-NAM)* dog
Lit. 'black back', from *be* + *e'tu*, a dog's name.

betswe *(N)* herb
Unidentified forest plant, the leaf of which is burnt and used in the process of making chicha. [*'bɛtsuwɛ*] ~ [*be'tswɛ*]. Note the CL *-tswe-* 'root', 'medicine from the forest'.

be?ỹ- *(V)* black
'be?ỹhỹ 'quite black'. *'be?ỹnũ* 'black hair, feathers' (e.g. of dog or chicken), lit. 'black powder'. *'besiñũ* 'blacktail' (NAM of SU's dog). Related to *be-* 'ripe, purple'. KAN also has a root *bɛ-* meaning 'black' and *pæ-* 'ripe, dirty'.

bɛ *(IDEO)* bang! (sharp sound)
[*bæ*]. Onomatopoeia. *'bɛtsyhỹ* 'revolver saying *tɛ̃:!*'. *bɛtsyhỹ* 'shot with a revolver' (although MA characterised this as AN's invented speech).

bɛ- *(V)* choose
kopo 'ki?ỹhỹ bɛ'hỹki 'he chose the red cup'.

bɛ- *(V)* breed grubs
Grubs can be bred by cutting down the patua palm tree, and leaving it to rot for four months while the *hãkũi'sa* beetle leaves its eggs, after which the larvae will eat the stem of the tree from the inside. When someone wants to be certain of a good harvest, according to the myth he should rub his hands with *kidjarara* larvae without killing them, before cutting down the tree. [*'bæ:ki*] 'he bred many grubs'. MA translated it also as 'he transformed', because "the beetle turns into a larva". Also *bɛ'dyki* with same meaning(s).

bɛbɛja *(N)* abscess, boil
Boils containing transparent pus such as those caused by chiggers.

bɛbui- *(V)* blister, callus
nỹ'nãi bɛ'buiki 'a big blister developed'.

bɛje- *(V)* break, pop, jump
Said of popping corn. May consist of *bɛ-* 'bang!' and *-e-* 'again'. Note reduplication in: *'bɛji'jeki* '(the popcorn) is popping'. Maybe analysable as *bɛ-* 'to roast' + *je-* 'to bounce', or as *bɛi-* 'to burst'.

bɛmũ- *(V)* drown
Not necessarily with fatal result. *bɛ'mũdaki* 'I drowned'.

bɛnũ- *(V)* choke
Probably reduplicated in: *bɛnũnũki* 'he choked in smoke'.

bɛrɛ- *(V)* thunder, crackle
The *-tse* declarative is more correct than *-ki*. As thunder it is a sudden close explosion, but according to ZE it may also be lightning: *bɛ'rɛdamỹ'tja* 'and there will be lightning', *bɛrɛtsyhỹ* 'ray of lightning'. It may also refer to crackling of fire.

bɛrɛrɛ- *(V)* pop
Onomatopoeic. Loud noise like e.g. popping of popcorn. *bɛrɛ'rɛdy'ra* 'make the maize pop!', *atxi'txi bɛrɛ'rɛdyni'te* 'popcorn'.

bibicenũ *(N)* bird species
Unidentified. [*bi'bice'nũ*]: it is unsure whether secondary stress is on the first or second syllable.

biita- *(V)* stripe
bii'tadaki 'I striped / scratched it', whereas *buu'tadaki* 'I put the beams (to support the roof) parallel', *'biitanỹ'ki* 'it is striped' (e.g. lineation in a notebook), *'buutanỹ'ki* 'they lie parallel' (e.g. beams supporting a roof).

bilitsyhỹ *(N)* toucan
Ramphastos spp, fam Ramphastidae, toucaninho, small toucan, AIK *pã'jĩi*. Carlson registered AIK *phã'ñĩ(:)?* for Pteroglossus castanotis (C2:152). KWA also: *mãrãkã'kã*. MA's pun, copying AN: *bi'litsy'loi* (he could not say whether it was for the bent beak). Lit. probably 'the one who sings *bili*', because: *bi'litsɛ* 'small toucan singing'.

bilo *(N)* bow
The element *bi-* may be related to *mã'bi* 'arrow'.

bilotswa *(N)* rifle
According to MA some people (but not he) say *ma'bilo'tswa*. In the 1940s, Zach noted *mabí* (Z:044).

birjete- *(V)* undo
E.g. to take off the straw from a house, or to take apart a house in order to use the boards again. The *-ki* declarative has a progressive connotation and the *-tse* declarative a perfective connotation: *birje'teki* 'he is taking (the house) down', *birje'tetse* 'he took/has taken (the house) down'.

Bisiklɛta *(N)* bicycle
From POR *bicicleta* 'bicycle', note POR stress pattern: [*Bisi'klɛta*]. Also [*pisi'klɛta*].

bitjeri *(N)* spleen
Note CL *-ri* 'flat'.

bjurutɛ *(N)* bird species
ONO. Little bird with long beak the name of which resembles its call. AIK *birürwĩ* (in which <*ü*> represents IPA [y]).

by- *(V)* cut, split
'to cut a stake or pole with a machete', as in: *'byki* 'cut banana, cut stick, bambu etc., cut a great leaf of bacuri'. *(txãhỹ) byrjỹdaki* 'I cut open the path walking'. *by'kahỹki* 'he cut bark off the palm heart'. Also 'to split fibres off tucuma leaf for cord', as in: *wade'xyi 'bydata, nũ'ridata, o'wydaki* 'I pull fibres off the tucuma leaf, roll it on my thigh, and knit'.

by- *(V)* throw
Only of catapult: *byki* '(the catapult) shoots', *auto'rɛ 'by?ahỹ* 'catapult'.

bybyrute- *(V)* stomach ache
bybyru'tedaki 'I have a painful sense of fullness in my belly' (but the belly is not swollen as in *bõ(bõ)daki*).

bybytɛnitɛ *(N)* stick-insect
Gen Phasmidae spp, bicho-pau.

byitɛ- *(V)* uproot
byitɛ'hỹdaki 'I'm plucking (e.g. the chicken)'. *byi'tɛ?u?u'jadaki toitoi'ñɛ* 'I tear out and throw aside grass' (i.e. weeding out the grass).

byryry?ỹ- *(V)* ribbed, corrugated
Even though the attributive morpheme *-ỹ-* is lexicalised here, it receives no stress. *byry'ry?ỹki* 'it is corrugated (e.g. when stroking a spool of thread)'.

byru- *(V)* sharp
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Also 'pointed'. Antonym: *byru'hetse* 'it is dull'.

bo- *(V-etym)* patch, close, line
Usually, a (transitive?) element *-ta-* (with apparent uncertainty about stress placement) is needed: **boki*, **botse*. *bota'ra* 'patch (the clothing!)'. *'botaki* 'is mending clothes or a hole in the roof'. *'kanwaka'nɛ(*wã) bo'tadaki axynã* 'I patched the roof on the house', *lo'nɛ bo'tadaki axynã 'kanwakane'ko* 'I patched the hole (in the roof) on the house with boards', *'tsẽitsy'hỹ bo'tadaki* 'I patched up the tears (in the clothes)'. In some configurations, the element *-ta-* was absent: *bo'nãdaki* 'I'm going to close (it off)', *ũtɛja'botjara* 'close off the other side!', *'botjara* 'close (it) off!'.

bobo- *(V)* repeat
'to repeat what was said'. Only attested once.

BoBoBopo *(IDEO)* flap
Note the directional *-txa-* 'wide' in: *'BoBoBopo'txahỹlɛ* 'it fluttered up (sound of the vulture taking off)'.

boboi- *(V)* boil
bo'boida'mỹdaki 'I'm going to boil (it)', *(hã) boboi'mũki* '(water) is boiling'. *'boboi'kenãdaki (atxitxi)* 'I'm going to boil cobs (of maize)'.

boboleja- *(V)* diarrhoea
bobole'jadaki 'I have diarrhoea'.

bobonito *(N)* boiled maize
Soft boiled maize, also name of a dish of boiled maize in a pot together with meats and intestines.

boboro- *(V)* dent
Make dents in e.g. pan. Also causative *boboro'dydaki* 'I make dents',

boboxo- *(V)* light
Only attested on Vasconcelos' tape: *bobo'xo(?ỹ)ki* 'it is light'.

bodo *(N)* cake
Little dough cakes fried in oil. AIK *bodo* 'cake'. Possibly from POR *bodo* 'food distribution'.

bohyja- *(V)* burn up
ka'tsy bohyja'ki '(the house) quickly burnt away totally'. *ywy'nwỹ bohy'jaki* 'the wood burnt up'. *bohy'jatara'ni-xahere* 'why don't you wait until (the cigarette) is burnt up?'. Causative: *na'tau axy bohyjadyki* 'Natal burnt down the house'.

boi- *(V)* fill
Requires *-tse* declarative in third person: *boitse* 'it is filled / full'. *boi'tja ojanãi'ko* '(I did not go because) they went having filled up (the car with people)'. Compound in: *boiho'rowaki* 'they filled (it)'. Transitive is causative: *boidy'ra* 'fill it', *boidy'bwa-dy'ra* 'fill it for him!', *(xui'ko / xui'nã) atxitxi boi'dydaki* 'I filled the (bag with) maize'.

bojeja- *(V)* burst, explode
boje'jaki (also [*boji'jaki*]) 'it burst (e.g. the tyre)'.

boke- *(V)* bend, stoop
Usually [*bo'kje*]. Only attested in compounds. *bo'ke?ũ'cedaki* 'I'm bending down (while standing) to pick something up', *bo'ke?ũce'ra* 'bend over!, bow!'. *bo'kehyhy'rwadaki* 'I'm walking head down (nder the tree branches)'.

Bolo *(N)* cake
POR *'bolo* 'cake', with POR stress: [*'Bolo*].

Bonɛka *(N)* doll
POR *bo'neca* 'doll'. Note native stress in [*Bone'ka*] (AIK *Bo'neka*).

bonydyhỹ- *(V)* repeat oneself
bo'nydy'hỹdaki 'I'm repeating myself'.

bonyhỹ *(ADV)* again, later
kui'hedaki, bony'hỹ 'kuidata'ratse 'I did not drink, later I will'. *bony'hỹ tsa'sixatsytse* 'later you will come too (I'm already going)'. *bony'wy*, also [*bonỹ'wy*] 'next time', whereas *duky-'wy* 'other time'. *bony'wy wa'jadatsy-'tse* 'I will take her there later, not now'.

bou- *(V)* float
esi'ki 'bouhyki 'clothes are floating in

the water' (the addition of *hãnã* 'in the water' would be superfluous). *uru'hu 'bouhyrwaki* 'vulture is gliding through the air'.

bõ- *(V)* swollen belly
'bõdaki 'my belly is inflated'. The root is often reduplicated: *bõ'bõki* 'the belly is filled with air' e.g. of sick child.

bõbõtsyto *(N)* kidneys, soft things
Lit. probably 'soft, swollen round things'. IR translated 'lungs' as such.

bõrõ- *(V)* perforate
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. Non-animate objects, e.g. a pan. *bõ'rõdaki* 'I perforated (it)', *bõrõ(nỹ)tse* 'it is perforated', *bõrõki* 'it is perforated', 'perforated it'.

bõrõdy- *(V)* grunt
dutu're bõrõ'dyki 'the pig is grunting'.

bu- *(V)* put, sit, wear necklace or hat
'buki 'put on upper part of body (neck, shoulders, head), *tsuhũra'ti bu're* 'what is it he's wearing?', *wade'xyi 'buki* 'he's wearing (a hat of) tucum'. *jere'xwa kanɛ'xu 'buki* 'the dog wears a necklace'. ZE *tsu'tysiki bu'nãdaki* 'I'm going to put hat on', *tsu'tysi'ki butyle'jadaki* 'I (will) use your hat'. *atoto'xy 'budwaki* '(the parrot) is sitting on top of the house'. This root functions very often as a stative prefix: *ỹhỹ'ko ũ'rjỹdamỹ* 'I'm going to sit here', *yhỹ'ko 'bu?ũrjỹdaki* 'I'm seated here', *darato'hoi 'bu?arũ'rjỹdaki* 'I put the baby on the ground', *de'da 'bu?ũkjaki* 'snake is lying stretched out on the ground'. Some occurrences are slightly lexicalised and go with specific connotations, e.g. *ũ'rjỹ-* 'sit' and 'be captured' vs. *'bu?ũrjỹ-* 'sit down' and 'stop working'.

bu- *(V)* fall, drop
'mangka 'buki 'the mangoes are falling from the tree' (in case they fall from a table one has to use the root *hy'ja-* 'fall').

bububudy- *(V)* owl sing
May be ONO. *bububu'dyki hu'dy* 'the owl is singing'. When the owl sings at night it is a sign that the next morning there will be a visitor. MEK *popova* (Moore and Galucio 1994), ARI *pu'pu*, JEO *popo*, AIK *pupu're* 'owl'.

bubui- *(V)* leave (many)
PLS, which is indicated by reduplication of a part of the root *bui-* 'to leave'. *bu'buiki* 'they are getting out' (either ants from their hole, parakeets from a cage, cows from a corral etc.).

bubware *(N)* owl species
Fam Bubonidae & fam Strigidae, coruja. Also 'the place where the sun rises and sets (according to a traditional story this is where the animals live)'.

budyhỹ- *(V)* stretch
budy'hỹdaki 'I stretched it'. Reflexive in: *bu'dyny'hỹ* 'he stretched himself'.

bui- *(V)* leave
'to leave to a nearby place', 'to leave the house', 'to come out of a hole'. *'buidaki* 'I'm going (close by)', '(I say) goodbye' (note that there is no expression for goodbye or hello). Related to *ha'bui-*: *'buiki* 'went out', *ha'buiki* 'it is there outside'. Reduplication expresses plural subject: *bu'buiki* 'they're going out', but it is not obligatory: *'buixaxaki* 'you (PL) went out'. *hoi 'dai'buiki 'lona'nã* 'bat flew out of the hole'. *'deda aky'hỹ 'buiki:* 'there are two rainbows out'. Antonym *kwɛ-*.

buije- *(V-etym)* run out
Derives probably from *bui-* 'leave' + directional *-je-* 'away', requires further derivation since **buijeki* is not correct. *buje'nỹki* 'he came out running', *buijeta-* 'to come running out (towards someone)'.

bujehỹ- *(V)* bang
buje'hỹki 'shotgun is going "[*bũ:ng:!*]"', *buje'hỹki bilo'tswa* 'a shotgun fired (one hears it firing independently in a trap, far-off in the forest)'. *bujemarja'hỹ-* 'bulled his way amidst the people' (pacing angrily,

violently)'.

bukja- *(V)* lie across
'ywynwỹ 'bukjahỹko 'bu?ũrjỹta 'bukatsatɛ tutuni'tahỹ hũ'dwata 'then he sat down on a log which was crossing the path, sitting in the middle of the road he sat thinking'.

bukwa- *(V)* live, stay
'bukwadaki 'I stayed'.

bunitɛ *(N)* body adornment (hat, necklace etc.)
Analysable as *bu-* 'wear' and *-nite* 'INSTR', lit. 'thing to wear on the body' (and therefore not related to POR *boné* 'cap'). *wade'xyi buni'tɛ* 'straw hat'.

buru- *(V)* remember
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Root is homophonous with 'pass by'. *auxwana daida'nãi bu'rudaki* 'I remember that (time when) I bought meat'. *bu'ru?anãi* 'recollection'.

buru- *(V)* pass by a person, pass by without stopping, traverse, arrive
Homophonous with 'remember'. Occurs often in compounds. *(ay'rjỹ / ỹhỹ'ko) buru?ojaki* 'he passed by (there / here)' (he did not stop), *ay'rjỹ ojabu'ruki* 'he arrived there in that place'. *ja tsa'sibu'rudaki* 'I already reached it after having followed behind'. Sometimes used without inflexion: *'haja bu'ru* 'the day arrives'. The verb is probably inherently transitive and can be detransitivised by the reflexive: *wã'rẽ buru'nỹki* 'the enemies are arriving (to kill)', *buru'nỹwaki* '(the) people are arriving'. Note the (im)possibility of locative *-nã* in: *kreBanã ojaburuki* 'arrived there in Gleba', *'kreBa-(*nã/*ko) bu'runãdaki* 'I'm going to pass through Gleba', *kreBa bu'rutse* 'he passed Gleba' (did not stop), *(*kreba(nã/ko) buru?ojaki)*. *to'wy-(*nã/*wã) bu'rutse* 'crossed the field'.

bucehỹ- *(V)* shoot
[*c*] ~ [*tx*]. *butjehỹ'ra* 'shoot it!'. *buce'hỹdaki* 'I shot (at something)'. *butje'hỹ?a'nãi 'areta'hedata okja'hedaki* 'I can't hunt because I don't know how to shoot'.

butxetxa- *(V)* squish
To kill a flea by squishing it. [*o*] ~ [*u*] ~ [*i*]: *bi'txetxa'ra syi'co* 'squish the flea', *butxetxa'nãdaki* 'I'm going to kill the flea', *dodotxi'tɛ botxe'txadaki* 'I caused the ball to burst'.

butxi- *(V)* free
bu'txidaki 'I made him go out', 'I set him free'. *bu'txilejadaki* 'I will let you free'.

buuta- *(V)* parallel
ywy'nwỹ bu'tada'mỹ 'I'm going to put the logs parallel, in a row'. *'buutanỹ'ki* 'they lie parallel' (e.g. beams supporting a roof). See also *bii'ta-* 'to stripe'.

bu?umurjỹ- *(V)* sit, stop working
PLS variant of *bu?ũrjỹ-* 'sit, stop working'. *'bu?umũrjỹ?axaki* 'we are sitting', **'bu?umũrjỹdaki*. *'bu?umũrjỹ-waki* 'they are sitting', *'bu?umũrjỹki* 'the things are (there)'.

bu?ũdwa- *(V)* sit
This is a relatively productive combination of the verb roots *bu-* 'put', *ũ-* 'sit' and the directional *-dwa-* 'onto a surface'. *axy'na 'bu?ũdwaki* '(the parrot) is sitting inside the house'. *tsiri'tsa 'bu?ũdwamã'ridaki si* 'I'm sitting in the middle between X and Y'.

bu?ũnãwãtoto- *(V)* midday
ko'sa 'bu?ũnãwãtotoki 'midday', lit. 'the sun stands still above in the sky' (*bu-* 'be put' + *ũ-* 'sit' + CL *-nãwã* 'sky' + DR *-toto* 'over, above').

bu?ũrjỹ- *(V)* sit down, stop working
SGS. *bu?u'rjỹdaki* 'I (stopped working and) am sitting'. *magariDa'wã bu?ũ-'rjỹtaki* 'it is sitting close to Margarida'. *bu?u'rjỹ(wa)ki* 'he (IS) is sitting'.

bu?ũsiñwã- *(V)* outside
koreja'ro 'bu?ũsi'ñwãki 'the pan is outside in the yard'. Note CL *-siñwã-* 'yard'.

bu?ũce- *(V)* leave, put
Contains directional *-ce-* 'aside'. Without the verb root *bu-* 'put' the meaning becomes more specific: *ũce-* 'put a trap'. *'bu?ũcedaki* 'I left, put (it on the ground, in a place, etc.)'. *'bu?ũce-'dwaki* 'he put a thing on top'. *'bu?ũcetaki* 'he put (the wood) aside (i.e. he made a pen to keep the donkey from going away'.

bũũng *(IDEO)* bang! (heavy sound)
Unclear if ideophone in Kwaza: *buje'hỹki* 'shotgun is going "[*bũ:ng:*]!"'.

bwa- *(V)* finish
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. Note GUA *-pa* 'finish'. *'bwatsyre* 'is it finished?'. *hako'ri 'bwaki* 'moon is waning'. It does not just mean 'to stop': *'bwa?a'ni* 'let's cease to exist', *hã'rã?a'ni* 'we are going to stop, finish (doing something)'. *txahỹ 'bwatsỹrjỹ 'ũidaki* 'I paused at the end of the road'. Often compounded as completive / terminative aspect marker with another V-stem: *kave kui'bwa?a'sadaki* 'I finished the coffee', and, *'boidy'bwa-dy'ra* 'fill it for him', *txa'rwa 'tsje'hebwaki* 'does not grab any more', *anũ'bwadaki* 'I planted all', Q: *dy'bwa* 'have you finished cutting (rice)?', A: *'hedanỹ hako'redy'bwa* 'not yet, tomorrow we will finish'. Often found in composition with *asa-* 'terminate': *bwa?asa-* 'finish off', with Q intonation: *'bwa?a'sa* 'have you finished?'. Also used as a particle *bwa* 'the end', 'that's all', 'five'.

bwakoje *(NUM)* five
Lit. 'end of hand'. *bwako'jetse* 'the fifth'. *bwako'jebwako'je* 'ten'.

bwɛ- *(V)* throw
bwɛdaki 'I threw (stone, stick etc.)'. *bwɛ'lɛ?axaki* 'we threw stones at each other'.

bwɛnɛ- *(V)* return, arrive, come
PLS. *bwɛ'nɛki* 'they arrived, returned', **bwɛ'nɛdaki*. MA considers this word as old-fashioned. He says he does not like such words because they make translation difficult. This word is used by ZE and AN of fam II, and MA learnt it from ME of fam I. *bwɛ'nɛ?a'xale'hỹ* / *o'nɛ?a'xale'hỹ* 'we were coming, returning'.

d

-da- *(svv)* 1S
I: verbal first person singular subject morpheme: *ãi ɛ'nãdaki* 'I will go far'. Applied to a bare noun, the person-mood marker creates the sense of 'to be' or 'to want to have', e.g. in: *atxi'txidaki, hari?i'xudaki, wanỹ'dydaki* and *a'xydaki* 'I want / need maize, beans, food, a house'. Applied to an adverb in: *hãtsũ'wydaki* 'while he is skinning, I'm (going to take advantage, e.g. kill him)'. *-da-* can be used together with a verbal mood suffix independently in the appropriate context such as an answer to yes/no questions: Q: *o'jaxatsyre* 'you're going?', A: *'datsytsɛ* 'I am', *da-'ki* 'yes I am' (lit. '1S-DEC'). Other elliptic uses: *data're* 'yes (intending: 'no')' (lit. 'is it that I am?'), *data'ratsɛ* 'I will (do it) later' / 'later I maybe will', lit. '1S-later-DEC', *da'tsytehe're* 'maybe or maybe not'. In rare instances, the mood marker was omitted, note SU: [*hã kuiDa*] 'I'm going to drink water'. Cliticisation to existing person/mood morphemes in case of reported speech and other types of constructions: *kukuihỹda'kidaki* 'I said that I'm ill', *tso'roi?oja'ra da'hỹherejã're* 'I asked you to run from there (what are you waiting for)!', *ku'kui ja'redahỹ'ki* 'my, what did he eat much!'. Reduplicated form of *-da-*, which occurs in remote past constructions is *-day-*. Cross-reference reduplication in habitual constructions does not involve allo-

morphs: *mĩu kuidada'tadaki* ‘always I drink chicha’. The element *-da-* is often pronounced as *-re-* by AN: *o'jareki o'jareki o'ja?o'jareki* ‘I went and went’, *'kuireki'kuireki* ‘I drank, drank, drank’. Maybe also in (Z:200) *ohoiére-kí* ‘to cough’.

dadahỹ- *(V)* startle
dada'hỹdaki ‘I was startled’. *kurakura-(wã) dadady'hỹdaki* ‘I scared the chicken’. **dadaki*.

dai- *(V)* take, grab
Goes with inanimate object (as opposed to *hou-*). *ay'hỹ dai'ra* ‘take thát one’. *dai'rowaki* ‘they took (countable tactile objects) from the jar’. Reduplication of the root may yield a progressive sense: *'daiki* ‘he took’, *da'daidaki* ‘I am/was taking (away things)’, or it may indicate a plural argument: *da(i)'daiwaki 'manga* ‘(two) people took mangoes’.

dai- *(V-etym)* divide, tear, separate
Requires nominaliser *-hỹ-* or a specific classifier: *dai'nũ?ani* ‘let’s divide (sugar among us)’, *dai'mũ?a'ni* ‘let’s divide (liquor among us)’. Probably related to *dai-* ‘take, grab’, and may therefore be somewhat ambiguous with specific classifiers: *dai'xydaki* ‘I took a part from the book, I perforated the book’. See also *widai-* ‘to cut latex’.

dai- *(V-etym)* rise, fly
Etymological stem used only in (sometimes lexicalised) compounds meaning ‘rise, get, fly up, etc.’. *daihẽto'tɛdaki* ‘I hung it up’ (a heavy thing). *'daikwɛki lona'na* ‘(bat) entered flying into the hole’. *hoi dai'buiki lona'na* ‘bat flew out of the hole’. The use of the reflexive may have a kind of detransitivising or middle voice-like effect. *dai'daiwaki* ‘two or three fly up’ (when a multitude flies up, the verb *tsini'ri-* is used).

daije- *(V)* fell away
daijeki ‘(the wind loosened and) took (the things and they) fell outside’. *koreja'ro daijenã'ra* ‘take the pan from the fire’. *tẽiko'je dai'je?eki* ‘they’re six’ (lit. ‘five and one fell outside’).

daikwa- *(V)* take from vessel
dai'kwawaki ‘they took from inside (a vessel)’, *ko'sanã?ỹhỹ dai'kwacwaki* ‘he stole (batteries) from the lantern’, *'pija kosa'nã dai'kwacwaki* ‘they took batteries from inside the lantern’.

daicotonỹ- *(V)* rise up, rise out of sleep
TE: **-tse*. Probably from: *dai-toto-nỹ-* ‘take-up-REF’, but less correct when pronounced as such (MA). The reflexive element has a middle voice-like effect: *kan'wã?ato'to?yhỹ daito'tonỹki* ‘airplane rose upward’, *daico'tonỹ'ra* ‘get up!’ (from the floor, chair, bed (but not hammock)).

daicwa- *(V)* take from pan
Contains the DR *-cwa-* ‘up’, but this is lexicalised on the verb, because *dai'cwadaki* ‘I took up from the pan’, can only relate to food from the pan.

daitxa- *(V)* open door
'lote dai'txadaki ‘I opened the door’. *daitxaku'ro'daitxaku'ro* ‘(I) opened-closed-opened-closed (door)’. *to'matx dai'txadaki* ‘I opened (the can of) tomato paste’. *lotɛ 'daitxa?asanỹki* ‘the door is (left) open’.

daitxite- *(V)* lift up
*[*daitxi'ce-*]. Related to *txite-* ‘to pile up’. *daitxi'tedaki* ‘I lift up (the ladder and make it lean against the wall)’, ‘I piled up (firewood in the yard)’, ‘I (bought in the supermarket and) left the things (there) piled up (to fetch them later by car)’, ‘I put (a table) on its side’. *ywy'nwỹ daitxi'tedaki* ‘I lift up the wood’. *daitxite'dwadaki* ‘I put (the cups) on the table’.

daiwa- *(V-root)* grab
Only attested in *hetsy'se daiwa'kwɛ-nɛra* ‘take inside the broom from outside!’. Maybe *-wa-* is the same root as in *warja-* and *wanɛ-* etc. ‘to bring’.

daiwarja- *(V)* lift
Lifting of various sorts of light inanimate objects. *atsi'lesi daiwarja-*

'hedaki ‘it is heavy, therefore I didn’t take it’.

dai?oja- *(V)* fly up, fly away
'dai?ojaki ‘(the bird, plane, beetle etc.) flew up’.

dai?oje- *(V)* move
'dai?ojeki ‘he (got up and) moved (to another chair etc.)’.

dai?oce- *(V)* clear
Originates probably from a compound of *dai-* ‘grab’ and *oce-* ‘throw aside’. *'dai?ocedaki* ‘I’m clearing things out the way to be able to work, write, walk etc.’. *co'hako 'dai?oce'ra* ‘kick (it aside) with the foot!’. *awy'nwỹ(*wã) dai?o'tjedaki* ‘I took the wood and threw it off off the road’.

-day- *(svv)* 1S
Allomorph of reduplicated *-da-* in remote past constructions: *ca'rida'day-hỹki* ‘I killed (him, a month ago)’, *ada'dayxyna a'?edamỹdaki* ‘I’m going to live again in the house where I was living before’. In some nominalised expressions, *-day-* occurs by itself: *aky'nỹday'hỹ* ‘(my) friend’, *mãmã'ñẽ-daynãi are'tadaki* ‘I know how to sing’.

daka *(N)* bananeira do mato
Heliconia Bihai L., also Pacova sororoca. Huge wild banana tree species without bananas. Also *hedaka*, although this should be analysed as: *he-* ‘stem’ of *daka* ‘bananeira do mato’. Big variety of *ha'tsi*.

dakai *(NAM)* Dakai
Male person. Also [*da'kyi*]. May be derived from *da'kyi* ‘caterpillar’.

dakainwỹ *(N)* tree species
Unidentified hardwood tree.

dakaitjẽnitu *(NAM)* Dakaitjẽnitu
da'kaitjẽni'tu is a personal name of the father of AN.

daki- *(V)* pity it’s a
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Requires a subordinate mood with an interrogative matrix verb which again represents an emphatic construction: *da'kitja nãire* ‘it’s a pity’, *da'kitja tsẽi're* ‘a pity it (cloth) tore’, *da'kicwa'ta ca'ri?a'sawa're sara'wi* ‘it is a pity they killed Saravi’, *da'kitsylɛ 'nãitsyre* ‘what a pity he is going to (kill)’, *da'kixalɛ 'nãixatsyre* ‘what a pity that you’re going to...’. Can be used in combination with *-wãte-* on the matrix verb: *da'kitja isiwãte're* ‘what a pity he died, the poor fellow’.

dakyi *(N)* caterpillar
Ord Lepidoptera, lagarta, type of caterpillar from the forest. KAN *tõ'ky*.

dakoro *(ADV)* left side
May involve the CL *-koro* ‘arm’. The use of this adverb is not well attested. See *watxiwatxi'?ỹkoro* ‘right’.

dalwa- *(V)* peel
da'lwadaki ‘I’m peeling (something which is easy to skin)’, *dalwa'nwỹdaki* ‘I’m peeling the bark off the tree’, *dalwataydaki* ‘I’m peeling the bark off the mortar’ (on the third day of making chicha the bark has to be peeled off the mortar, and it should be designed in a traditional way.

damỹ- *(V/svv)* want, intend
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Lexicalised combination of the first person volitive inflexions *-da-* ‘1S’ and *-mỹ* ‘VOL’. As a verb root in: *da'mỹxaxaki* ‘you (PL) are going to do’. As a particle expressing willingness to do something: *da'mỹ* ‘yes!, good!, I want!’, *da'mỹtse* ‘he goes’, ‘he says “yes”‘ and ‘do you want? (only when speaking to children)’. As a volitional modal suffix: *bwada'mỹtse* ‘it’s going to run out (the gas of the cigarette lighter)’, *eda'mỹxare* ‘you’re going away?’.

damũ *(N)* duck, goose
KAN [*tæ'mũ*].

damũtɛ *(N)* duck species
Unidentified little red duck species. See also *tsẽtsyxu*, which may not refer to the same bird. Kwaza consultants called it ‘patinho’ (‘little duck’), but in dictionaries that name refers to widely different birds. AIK *nɛku'nɛku*.

damũtotɛ *(N)* caterpillar
Lagarta. Red, poisonous and painfully stinging caterpillar.

danỹ *(ADV)* still
e'mũ eki da'nỹ 'there is still liquid' (in the cigarette lighter), *wã e'xyita'hỹ da'nỹ ku'kuiki* '(the fact that) the wasp stung me is hurting still'. Means 'not yet' in combination with negative: *da'nỹ hãrã'hedaki* 'I did not stop yet'; *da'nỹ awe'hetsy'wy* 'before the rain'.

danỹ- *(V)* breathe, be alive
da'nỹki 'it's still alive'. Probably derived from the adverb *da'nỹ* 'still'.

dara- *(V)* drag
*wiri?u'xɛ(*wã) da'radaki* 'I'm dragging assai palm leaves behind me'.

darahỹ *(N/V)* green, immature, new, young
Often said of fruit: *wa'de darahỹ'ko e'hỹda'hỹ* 'I made it of green coconut'. The element *-hỹ* can be replaced by other classifiers, e.g. *darato'hoi* 'baby'.

darai *(N)* vermin, worm
Anelidae spp, verme or minhoca. *da'raimũ* 'medicin against worms'.

daraikaru *(N)* centipede
Ord Diplopodes, fam Julidae & Polidesmidae, embuá, imboá, small centipede, not a 'centopeia'. Lit. 'scaly worm'. Elsewhere *daraika'ru* was also called 'lacraia', see *nãtsĩ'rĩ*.

darato *(NAM)* Darato
Nickname of the young girl Kona, daughter of ED. Based on the root *dara-* 'immature', and the CL *-to* 'seed'.

daratohoi *(N)* baby
Can be female or male of about one year. Consists of *dara-* 'green' and the CL *-tohoi* 'child'.

daratu- *(V)* go after
huri(wã) dara'tudaki 'I went after the paca', *je=daratu-* 'dig after (him)'. Possibly contains CL *-tu* 'back'.

darija *(N)* bush dog
Speothos venaticus, lobo do mato. Maybe also fox. Sort of all-grey wild dog. See myth under *kaidari'ja*. Also *jere'xwa ẽrjãwã'na?ỹhỹ*, lit. 'jaguar of the forest'.

darijasiñũ *(N)* weed species
Unidentified plant. If you break its leaves they turn black and smell strongly. Lit. 'tail of the bush dog'.

daricoha *(N)* tarantula
Lycosa tarentula, fam Licosidae. Possibly a compound of *da'rje* and *co'ha* 'foot', lit. 'fast feet'.

darje- *(V)* strong, quick, swift, agile
darje?a'ni 'let's go quickly!', *darje'mũki* 'the water flows', *miu darje'dyjaki* 'chicha gives strength' (lit. 'chicha makes IO being strong'), *da'riexaxahỹ* 'your (PL) being strong / your strength'. May resemble adverb, as in compounds: *da'rjehyhy'rwaki* 'it is walking fast'; and as under morphological ellipsis: *darje eto'hoi* 'come here, son!' (AN used to say this to his children).

darjemũ- *(V)* rapids
darje'mũki 'there's a rapids (in the river)', 'water is running'.

darjexwanãhỹ- *(V)* feel good
Rarely attested, contains the CL *-xwanã-* 'meat'.

daryro *(N)* fruit species
Fruit of a certain unidentified native tree, probably fam Cucurbitaceae. May be 'abobora do mato', also taiuia (Cayaponia tayuya). Also extended to exogenous 'pumpkin' in Z:071: *dariró*.

dace- *(V)* drop
Only occurrence as first member of verb compound, meaning uncertain: *dacewady'ta?ỹra* '(climb up into a tree and) drop down the fruits for me'.

dãrãku *(N)* bird species
Aramides axillaris, fam Rallidae, saracura, rufous necked wood-rail, or Aramides cajanea, fam Rallidae, saracura-três-potes, grey necked wood-rail. Also [*nãrã'ku*]. ONO because of its gull-like call at sunset. AIK *dara'kwa*. Carlson registered AIK *dalakwa* for various Aramides species

(C2:151.125).

deba- *(V)* turn
-tse declarative. *de'baki* 'he turned it (e.g. a roasted steak)', *deba'ra* 'turn it over (e.g. frying meat)', *deba'dyra* 'turn it around (e.g. the table, but not upside down)', 'turn it over! (e.g. open the pack of cigarettes on the right end, or don't hold the picture upside down), *ko'sa 'debanỹki* 'it is between 12 and 15 o'clock' (lit. 'the sun turned'), *auxwa'na(*wã) de'ba(dy)daki* 'I turned the meat'. Note morphophonological variant in: *de'baihy'jadaki* (**de'baiki*) 'he fell out of the hammock (it turned so he fell)'.

debaidebai- *(V)* waddle
da'mũ debaide'baitse 'the duck is waddling'. Probably related to *deba-* 'turn (over)'.

deda *(N)* anaconda, snake, rainbow
Generic term, but often denoting the anaconda: Eunectes murinus, fam Boidae, subfam Boinae, sucurí. Also other poisonous snakes. Also *de'da 'hãna?ỹ'hỹ* 'anaconda' (lit. 'snake of the water'), ZE: *de'da txihỹ'te* 'sucurí' (lit. 'big snake'). WAY *ndat* (Moore and Galucio 1994). Most NAMB dialects / languages also have a similar form: Latundê & Lakondê: *teh'tah'te* 'anaconda' (Telles 2002b); Mamaindê: *diétu* 'snake', *déhɛdá:ru* 'anaconda', Nengarotê: *'déhdá:ru* 'anaconda'. AIK seems unrelated: *kja'?ne?* 'snake', *kjã?atu* 'anaconda', 'rainbow'. Sometimes *deda* is said only to refer to constrictor snakes. The Kwaza and Aikana prefer not to kill snakes by metal objects: if one does it is believed that, e.g. a rifle will start to sweat and get spoiled because of the rust, a machete will become poisonous and cause pain if you touch the blade. This is why people kill snakes by clubbing. Another meaning, 'rainbow', is derived through a mythological tradition that is also found among other Amazonian nations, e.g. the Tupari and the Arikapu.

deda xoronã *(N)* constrictor
Constrictor constrictor, fam Boidae, jiboia. Lit. 'canastra-armadillo-snake'. It is said that the rio São Pedro was once full of 'sucuri's' looking like immense armadillo's or caymans, now extinct. (Maybe dolphins?). Also it is said that the *deda xoronã* hypnotises a person if it sees a person, before that person sees the snake. It makes a person freeze and forget everything. It is said that if you're in a place with many of them you will lose orientation, and go round in circles until one gets you (see also *ũcenãi-*).

dedanũ *(N)* poison
Lit. 'snake-liquid'. Type of snake poison used for arrows (of war), probably the same as *'dedadyhỹ 'mĩki'nũ*, lit. 'liquid of snaketooth'.

dede *(N)* crab
Fam Crustaceae, caranguejo.

dedu- *(V)* off
de'duki 'the light went out', *de'du-de'duki* 'the light went off and on'.

dehe- *(V)* bitter, strong
In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. A strong taste may be sweet. *dehe'hetse* 'it is not bitter'. *wĩ 'deheki* 'the wine is dry'.

dehemũte *(N)* spirits, wine
Dry wine or any type of strong spirits, lit. 'bitter liquid stuff'.

dei- *(V)* open, light
'deiki 'pull the covering leaves from the maize cob', 'light a lantern', *'deitse* 'sun appears from behind the clouds / shines into the house', *dei'xydaki* 'I opened the book', *dei'xyheky* 'don't open the book'.

dei?ũrjỹ- *(V)* squat
Contains the root *ũ-* 'to be, to sit'. *dei?ũ'rjỹki* 'he squatted'.

dere *(N)* shell, ornament of shells
Big shell, necklace or bracelet for upper arm and legs with triangular mother-of-pearl hangers (picture 12 in Becker-Donner 1955) or one of its

triangular elements. KAN *kwa're*.

derewa *(N)* earring of shells
[*dere'wa*]. Triangular earring. Also *de're ũnãsini'tɛ* 'earring' (lit. 'shell for putting into the ear'). The element *-wa* is the classifier for shells.

dɛtɛhunu *(N)* earring of shells
[*'dɛtɛhu'nu*]. L:24: *dete-uno*. There is probably a relation to *di'hu* 'spoon' (which is in Zach also *detehu*) plus the CL *-nũ* for small things, or maybe to *-te'jũ* 'decorative braided string'.

dɛ̃dɛ̃dɛ̃ *(IDEO)* crash
Used in family II. *dɛ̃dɛ̃'dɛ̃ki* 'the tree is falling'.

di- *(V)* break
mĩki'ko 'dixare 'you open (the Brazil nut) with your teeth?', *tsu'mɛ di'ra* 'break (the bone for) the marrow'.

didi- *(V)* stamp, knock
ONO. *di'didaki* 'I'm walking stamping', *didi'ditsyhỹ bilo* 'the shotgun failed'

dihu *(N)* bast, envira
Unidentified envira species. [*di'hu*]. May be the origin of *di'hu* 'spoon' because of the shape of its leaf.

dihu *(N)* spoon
[*Di:'hu*]. There were no spoons in traditional society. The Aikanã borrowed the word *ku(t)ʃa'ra* from Spanish (*cuchara* 'spoon'), whereas the Kwaza may have used the word for 'envira'. However, MT Aikanã, who learnt Kwaza from her late Kwaza husband who was a shaman, pronounced the word as [*dɛtɛ'hu*], which corresponds to Zach's form <*dété-hú*> (Z:054). This may be an older form, which is confirmed by the corresponding classifier *-te'hu-*, and the word for mollusc shell *dɛtɛhunu*.

dilɛ *(N)* who
Interrogative pronoun. *di'lɛtsy're* 'who is it?', *di'lɛ hu'huire* 'who killed (X)?', *di'lɛdyxy (a'xy)* 'whose house?', *di'lɛdy'xyre* 'whose house is it?'. Also indefinite non-interrogative interpretation 'some-/anyone (you perhaps don't know)' as in: *di'lɛ mãhataky'wy ta'dyxale tso'roi?onɛheky* 'if anyone calls you, don't say 'yes' and come running, no!', *di'lɛwãhe're au'redatara'tse* 'I'm going to marry someone', *dile'wã oi'tsidaheta* 'I would like to make love to someone' (the implicit inflexion was supposed to be indicative, not interrogative), *di'lɛ da'mỹtsyhỹ* 'he who wishes'. Reduplication in: *dilɛdi'lɛ o'jaxaxare* 'who else went with you?', *dilɛ'lɛ a'sa?asare* 'who stayed behind?', *di'lɛ asare* 'who threw away?', *di'lɛ asa?asare* 'who left (it) behind?'.

diri- *(V)* descend
di'riki 'he climbed down' (from the roof, into the hole, etc.), *tswa tsoroidi'riki lona'na* 'the man descended into the cave running', *ko'sa di'riki* 'the sun went down' (from 15 p.m. on). In the sense of 'rise up', i.e. 'get up out of hammock', but also out of e.g. a mortar: *(*itso(nã)) diri'ra* 'come down (from the hammock)'. Can apparently also be combined with a reflexive: *ti'rjỹ diri'nỹxare* 'where are you going to get out (of the bus)?'.

diriri- *(V)* get up from hammock
Attested once.

djahẽ *(N)* cuckoo species
[*dja'hẽ*] ~ [*dja'hɛ̃*]. Piaya cayana, fam Cuculidae, tikwã or alma de caboclo, squirrel cuckoo. Also heard: tikwã, alma de gato, ticauã, uirapajé, passaro adivinho. AIK *bikã're*. Carlson registered *mi'ka're?* for Piaya cayana (C2:127).

-djay *(CL)* snake, centipede
Refers to elongated animate beings such as snakes and centipedes. Possibly etymologically related to *deda* 'snake, anaconda', *de'da nỹ'djayki* 'the snake is big', *daraika'ru aky'djaytse* 'there are two centipedes', *e'djay* 'elongated animate being'.

djei?ũrjỹ- *(V)* squat
The root *djei-* occurs only in a compound with *ũ-* 'to be': **djeiki*,

'djei?ũrjỹdaki ‘I squat (to take something from the ground)’. Maybe related to *djẽtsje-* ‘clasp’.

djẽ- *(V)* kill bird
Refers usually to the killing of birds. *di'lɛ djẽhỹ're* ‘who killed it?’, *o'lu 'djẽdaki* ‘I killed a mutum’. Used intransitively it means ‘kill many birds’ sometimes also applied to other animals like monkeys and in the following species name: *'mãnĩni 'djẽtsyhỹ* ‘kingfisher’.

djẽtsje- *(V)* clasp
[*hoi 'djẽ?tsienwỹ'ki*] ‘bat is clasped against the wood’, *'djẽtsjekanɛ'ki* ‘bat is clasped against the wall/board’, *'onɛ'djẽtsje'sanũ'ka* ‘(vine hanging down from the sky is) touching the top of the roof’. Probably related to *tsje-* ‘grab’, maybe related to *djei?ũrjỹ-* ‘squat’.

dji- *(V)* break
Refers to the breaking of round things, eggs, round glass etc. *kũ'cẽ(*wã) 'djidaki* ‘I broke a Brazil nut’, *'djitsi* ‘take care not to break’, *matelu'ko dji'ra* ‘hit (the nut) with a hammer!’.

djy *(N-KIN)* brother (older)
Older brother of male. *diy le'ja?y'hỹ* ‘older brother (lit. ‘the more forward brother’)’, *'djytja'te* ‘his older brother’. *djy?u'ty* ‘sister-in-law (i.e. wife of older brother of male ego)’ is usually pronounced as [*di?u'ty*].

-djo *(CL)* foot
Related to *coha* ‘foot’. *kunỹ'djoki* ‘puts on shoes’ (lit. ‘he dresses his feet’).

-djoju *(CL)* toe
co'hadjo'ju ‘toe’. Related to *-toju* ‘finger’.

-dy- *(svv)* CAU
The causative morpheme cannot be immediately adjacent to declarative *-tse*. Maybe related to POS *-dy-*. Tends to attract stress. *si xyj*(wã) jadyhele-jadaki* ‘I’m not letting you eat’, *txu'hũitja hũnũ'dydaki* ‘I burnt the food (just) a little’. More lexicalised in *konãjã'dyki* ‘he is hot’, *wa'dy-* ‘to give’, *wai'dy-* ‘to consider as good or nice’. In a comparative sense in combination with switch reference: *'kopo txuhũi'ỹdyta cẽrẽmũ'ro nỹ'roki* ‘the tin of milk is bigger than the cup’. Also ‘to make’: *daitxi'tekjaki awy'nwỹ axydy'nãtja* ‘he lifted up the rafter to build a house’, *axy'dytsyrjỹ* ‘the place where he makes a house’. Also ‘to feel’ in: *emjãka'dyki* ‘his belly hurts’, *ereri'taydata owymũ'dydaki* ‘being an old woman, I find the water cold’. Infixed and unstressed before the obligatory CL *-hỹ-* in some words: *emũdy'hỹki* ‘he/the thing got/was made wet/ he wet it’, *bãrẽrinitɛ(*wã) 'nỹdy-'hỹdaki* ‘I made the cake big’, but apparently not before a DR: *emũkace-'dydaki* ‘I poured water over the bench’.

dy- *(V)* cut up
This root refers to cutting things into small bits with a knife or machete. *ywynwỹsimjẽ'ku 'dy?asaxaxaki* ‘you’re (PL) cutting tree stumps away’, *'dy?ata hu'hui?ani* ‘let’s cut and beat (rice)’. Serial compound in: *i'sosisi 'dywanɛra* ‘bring a piece of the rope’.

-dy- *(svv)* DS
Different Subject morpheme, which precedes cosubordination marker *-ta* and which indicates that the third person subject of the next clause will be different. *talo'tjady'ta 'ɛtsyhỹki zjwãu* ‘(Maria) was angry and (so) João went away. The only adverbial clause type which allows switch reference marking is the concessive clause: *y'rohỹdyle'te 'kuiki* ‘while letting (the child) cry, (the mother) drank (spirits)’. It may occur as (part of) a discourse particle with the meaning ‘and then, well’: *dy'ta zjwãu okja'nãtja o'jatɛ* ‘then, João went hunting’, *zjwãu 'atja mariju 'atja 'hỹdyta tsiri'tsa 'aki peDro* ‘Pedro lives between João and Maria’.

-dy- *(snx)* POS
Nominal suffix that requires an

additional classifier. Maybe related to CAU *-dy-*. *arũidy'ri*, *a'rũidyhỹ e'ri* 'the tapir's liver', *'sidymãi* 'my teeth', *'xyidyhỹ 'mãdyhỹ a'xy* 'your mother's house', *'xyidyhỹ mãdy'rjỹ* 'your mother's place', *a'xy sidy'xyki* 'the house is mine'. It is also part of an adverbial morpheme combination *X-dynãi* 'language of X'. Unclear whether related to *dyto'ha* 'trace' (lit. 'its foot'?).

dydyte- *(V)* divide
hỹdwa'ta bu'ce?asa dydyte'bwa ĩ?ĩ'hỹ 'then (João) shot (the snake) and tore it to bits, that's how it went', *dydy'te-(?a'sa)ki* 'he cut/divided it into pieces'.

dyi *(N)* grub species
Grub of the *dyisa* beetle, lives in big trees, e.g. rubber trees.

dyisa *(N)* beetle with horns
Calipogen barbatus, besouro chifrudo. Note the classifier *-sa* 'beetle'.

dyicirjỹ- *(V)* noise
Also [*dyitxĩ'rjỹ*] ~ [*dyiti'rjỹ*]. *dyic'rjỹ-xaki* 'you're making a lot of noise', *ku'raku'ra hu'hui?ani mãdyi'cirjỹki* 'let's kill that cock, it makes a lot of noise crowing'.

-dykytɛ *(svv)* ADDI
Additive adverbial clause marker. *mũu daidyky'tɛta awỹi'ra* 'take chicha, and the opportunity to try to have a look there (if you want that so much)!', *hy'ridykytɛta hu'huikutyhỹki* 'he robbed and hit on the head as well', *y'rodykytɛ 'kuiki* 'he cried, but drank / he drank crying', *ho'ho?ỹdykytɛ ha'nũ?ỹhỹ* 'half black half grey', *ohodyky'tɛki* 'he's coughing as well'.

dykudji *(N)* foot, paw
Lexicalised combination of POS *-dy-* and CL *-kudji*. Refers to a foot with hoof/nail.

dynãdynã- *(V)* nod 'no'
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *dynãdy'nãtse* 'he is nodding "no"' ((repetitiously) slowly right to left while looking at the other person quietly).

-dynãi *(snn)* language, way
More or less lexicalised combination of POS *-dy-* and factive nominaliser *-nãi*, which may also be interpreted as an adverbialiser. Usually refers to language: *aikanãdy'nãi areta'hedaki* 'I don't know Aikanã', *hiri'nidynãire* 'is it shaman language?', *'xyidynãi are'ta-damỹ / xyi pẽrẽ'jãxaynãi are'tadamỹ* 'I want to learn your language'. It may also refer to music and dance: *xei aikanãdy'nãiki* 'the music is Aikanã', *aikanãdy'nãi babaiceni'teki* 'it is Aikanã dance'.

-dynỹ *(snn)* COMIT
Case marker, may occur in the sentence together with the verbal comitative marker *-ete-*. *teterudy'nỹ to'ma(?e'te)damỹ* 'I'm going to take a bath (together) with Teteru'.

dyrã- *(V-etym)* noise
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Root that usually seems to require further elements. *dyrã'dyki* 'he makes noise', *koreja'ri dyrã'riki* 'the dishes are clattering', *dyrãdy'rãtse* 'it is rattling (small objects)', *(tsuhũ) dyrãrãdyitxĩ'rjỹxare* 'what is this noise you're making with cans?'.

dyry *(N)* flute
Flute that symbolises frogs, the small flutes accompanying sacred flute playing. AIK *?wa'?wa*, KAN *i'te*.

dyryry- *(V)* tremble
'wedata dyry'rydaki 'I'm trembling for fear, of illness etc.', *dyryry-'xu/kai-daki* 'I'm trembling on my feet (trying to hold my balance on a tightrope, thin tree trunk etc.)'.

dytayxu *(N)* ???
Probably the name of a female person.

dytena- *(V)* extinguish
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *dyte'nãtse* 'the lantern went out'. *dodotxi'mũ dytenã'ra, wã'wỹi?ani* 'put out the light and let's have some sleep!'. Also heard: *te'nã-*

dytyi *(N)* spider
Fam Aracnidae, ord Araneidae, aranha

pequena. All small spiders. *dy'tyidyhỹ i'tso nỹ'hỹki* 'the spider's web is big', *dy'tyi txihỹ'te* 'big spider'. See also *dytyi'to*.

dytyi esiñũ?e *(N)* scorpion
Ord Escorpionidae, escorpião. Lit. 'tailed spider'.

dytyito *(N)* spider
Ord Araneidae, aranha. Unidentified small spider which makes webs. Note CL *-to* 'small thing'.

dytyitoxykãjã *(N)* cobweb
Lit. 'spider-froth'.

dytoha *(N)* trace, foot
Trace of an animal: *dutu'retoha* 'pig trace', *mesady'kai / mesadyto'ha* 'foot of table'.

do- *(V-etym)* leak, pour
Requires further derivation. *do'roki* 'water entered into the bucket', *do'rjỹ-daki* 'I leaked water on the table', *do'kwɛdaki* 'I put water into a bottle'.

do- *(V)* knock
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *'dotse* 'he knocked' (**-ki*). Often RED: *do'dotjara* 'knock on the wood!', *akynãi do(do)daki* 'I knocked twice'.

dodoja- *(V)* cut firewood
dodo'jadaki 'I cut (a lot of) firewood'.

dodotxi *(N)* latex, rubber, rubber milk, lamp
Rubber milk is also *dodo'tximũ* or *dodotxi'mɛ*. Lamp is also *dodotxi-mũ'tay*

dodotxime *(N)* rubber
Rubber of the *hu'mũ* tree. Contains probably the CL *-mɛ̃* 'porridge'.

dodotximũ *(N)* kerosene, gas, lamp
Note CL *-mũ* 'liquid'. AIK *hi'nemũ* lit. 'fire-liquid'. *hãteda'wywara dodotxi-'mũ 'tenãtse* 'the moment I was studying, the light went out'.

dodotxitɛ *(N)* ball of rubber, head-ball, football
Also [*dodotxi'tæ*]. Contains classifier *-tɛ* 'round'. Rapid speech: [*dotxi'tɛ*]. *dodotxi'tɛ nỹ'tɛki* 'big ball'. *dodotxi'tɛ* also is the name of the now extinct game of 'head-ball'. This game was played between clans and tribes as a friendly game, and it is also known among the Nambikwara. The prizes consisted especially of arrows. Nowadays only football is played, but the term has been extended to this as well. The ball is made by inflating soft rubber with air through a reed. Later new layers (about two) are rolled around it for strength. Its diameter is about 15 cm. KAN *da'txi*. JEO *dydytsji* 'hard, swollen'.

dodotxi?yi *(N)* rubber, catapult
Lit. 'rubber-thread'. Called cernambí in POR, rubber of inferior quality, also coagulated rubber offal used as ignition material. Also 'catapult' for SU.

dohi *(N)* shrimp, prawn
Camarão.

doi *(N)* black snake
Locally cobra preto. Black constrictor snake that does not bite. Either cobra-preta, Rachidelus brazili, or muçurana, Pseudoboa cloelia.

domakaru *(NAM)* Domakaru
KWA or KAN female person name.

doreko *(N)* beetle
Coleopteros insects, besouro. Looks like a stag-beetle without antlers and is relatively big, about four by two cm, and may be coloured brightly or be black. Note CL for fruits *-ko*.

doxwa *(N)* crested oriole (bird species)
Ostinops decumanus, or others of the fam Icteridae, japoeira or japim or japó, japu. *doxwady'hỹ a'xy* 'the japoeira's nest, which hangs down like a bag from a rope from high trees overlooking the forest'. AIK *kɛ'rjüo-?i'pi*. Carlson registered *'khɛryo'?ö'pi* for Psaracolius decumanus, fam Icteridae, japuguaçu, crested oropendula (C2:152).

dota- *(V)* knock
ywynwỹ'nã/mesa'nã do'tadaki 'I knock on wood/table'.

dotahỹ- *(V)* wild, bad, young
dota'hỹki 'it is wild'. Note obligatory but exchangeable CL: *dota'rati* 'wild man, police', *dota'tay* 'wild woman'.

dote- *(V)* shed, prune, lop
In the third person declarative *-ki* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-tse*: *hã do'teki* 'the water is leaking / leaked', *hã do'tetse* 'the water is leaking'. The root *do-* 'leak' is recognisable.

dou- *(V)* sit on wood
'douki 'bird, monkey etc. sat on a tree', *'douhyka'cedaki* 'I'm walking on top of wood'.

dou?aru?ahỹ *(N)* bridge
Probably based on a compound of the verb roots *dou-* 'sit on wood' and *aruu-* 'cross'.

dœ- *(V)* burst
'dœki 'he bites in order to make it burst in his mouth (e.g. louse-eggs, ticks etc., but not plant seeds)'. *xy'tyi dœ'ra* 'eat lice!' (order 21 is also allowed), *ã'rũidyhỹ 'dœra* 'eat tapir-ticks!'.

du- *(V)* close, finish, all
Also [*do*]. Refers to closing a ring, drawing a circle, fence, walls of a house etc. In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *du'hedaki 'bwatsyhỹle* 'I did not close (everything) because (the wood) finished', *a'xy du'nãtse* 'he is going to finish / close the house', *'duta?ỹra* 'finish (painting) me!'. Probably related to *du'hỹ* 'all'.

-du *(snn)* BER
Beneficiary case marker. *tsuhũ'du 'nãixare* 'why did you do that (complaining)', *maga'riDadu 'wɛda-'mỹ* 'I'm going to take (it) for Margarida', *dilɛ'duxare* 'for whom are you doing that?', *si'dure* 'is it for me?'.

dudu *(N)* coconut
Coco orinocensis, subfam Cocosoideae, fruta de coqueirinho, 'coquinha'.

dudukydynãi- *(V)* hinder
dudukydy'nãixare 'are you quarrelling?' (in the no! yes! way).

duduñũ- *(V)* pound
*atxi'txi(*wã) duduñũ'ra* 'pound (the maize)!', *mũsicohũi'ko dudu'ñũki* 'she mashes in a small mortar'.

duduru *(NAM)* Duduru
Female person, possibly related to *durudu'ru*.

duhỹ- *(V)* do all
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *du'hỹtse* 'that's all', 'he is finishing', *a'xy du'hỹtse* 'it is the entire house'. Often in compounds: *huru'jaduhỹ?etejaxara* 'you have to like us all!', *wady'jadu'hỹdaki* 'I gave all to them', *he'dydu'hỹdaki* 'I put in everything'. Related to *du-* 'close' and *'dunyhỹ* 'all of them'.

duky- *(V-etym)* other
This attributive verb root requires a CL or a nominaliser, and is predominantly used to form an (attributive) noun. *duky'hỹ dai'ra* 'take another one!', *mãrẽri'tsa duky'hỹ* 'stranger, unknown person', *duky'hỹdyhỹ* 'someone else's', *duky'hỹ kanwa?ekai?e'ko* 'with the next car', *hã du'kymũna* 'on another river', *duky'xyki* 'it is another house'. Lexicalised in *duky'xwa* 'husband of cousin'. Whereas *bonỹ'wy* means 'next time', *duky'wy* 'other time, another day' may depending on matrix inflexion be future or past: *hako'ri duky'wy si aniwesarjo'dydatsytse* 'the other (next) month I have anniversary'.

dukyri- *(V)* long for someone, be sad
mã duky'ridaki 'I long for mother'.

dukyxwa *(N-KIN)* husband of cousin
In law: husband of female cousin. Based on *duky-* 'other' and *-xwa* 'human'. MA of family I understands the word literally, as of a woman having two husbands: 'the other man'.

dumakaruxe *(N)* fern
Pteridum aquilinium (L.) Kuhn / Pteris aquilina L., samambaia. True lookalike of the *araiko'ni* 'arranha-gata' but without hooks, AN [*makaru'sje*]. Nickname is *xyini'jɛ* (which may be

analysed as ‘having no thorns’?). May actually refer to all types of ferns until about a height of 2,5 metres.

dumakui *(N)* flamingo
Unidentified pink flamingo-like bird.

dumaru *(N)* ladle
Long wooden ladle of about 40 cm. *ywy'nwỹ duma'ru* ‘wooden ladle’. KAN *tome'ro*.

dumã *(N)* snake
Snake which looks like small jibóia (Boa constrictor or Constrictor constrictor, fam Boidae), pico de brasa. It hits, strangles, bites and may be poisonous, is black and orange. *du'mã mɛ̃hata'tsi* ‘take care, the snake is going to hit you’.

dunyhỹ- *(V)* all of them
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *duny'hỹtse / duny'hỹcwaki* ‘it is all of them’, *warahỹ'du(nỹ)hỹjatse* ‘he took them all’. See also *duhỹ*.

duri *(N)* bee (honey)
Fam Meliponidae, gen Melipona, gen Trigona, cupira. Type of non-stinging honey bees. *du'ri* ‘(honey of) cupira bees’.

dury- *(V)* roll
du'ryki ‘it is rolling’. With reduplication: *dury'ryki* ‘it is rolling by itself’, *duryryni'te* ‘wheel’.

duryryjahỹ *(N)* bicycle
Derived from *dury-* ‘to roll’. Not such a good word for bicycle says MA *ɛrai'nãdaki duryryjãhỹ'ko* ‘I’m going by bicycle’. AN: *dury'rytsy'hỹ* ‘bicycle’.

duru- *(V)* extract, pour
txu'hũi du'rudamỹ ‘I’m going to take a little liquid’, *du'ruwadyra tã'lotsi* ‘pour her (tea) lest she will sulk’, *kopo'ko wĩ duruwanɛ'ra* ‘get me a cup of wine!’ (there is no expression for ‘a cup of’). In the sense of ‘to make’: *mĩu du'rudaki* ‘I’m making chicha’.

duruduru *(NAM)* Duruduru
Female person name of KAN or KWA origin, possibly related to *dudu'ru*. Also encountered as *durudu'ru hareko'ce*, lit. probably: ‘Duruduru with the bald neck’.

dururu *(N)* monk saki
Pithecia monachus, parauaçu. Also paraguaçu, macaco velho. White-haired monkey.

dusiñwã *(N/V)* full yard
Consists of *du-* ‘all’ and *-siñwã* ‘yard’. *dusi'ñwãki* ‘the yard is full of people’.

dutja- *(V)* fill
hary'ky du'tjadaki ‘now I’m filled up’ (i.e. with food, but this is really a pun, said instead of *nũ'ridaki*).

-dutu- *(svv)* CONS
Consecutive aspect-like morpheme, which marks the event as taking place ‘in addition to’ or ‘on top of’ something else. *hyriko'roxwana jadu'tudaki* ‘I ate monkey meat on top’, *kwɛdu'tura* ‘put (a stick) in the hole on top (of the animal in it)!’, *bwɛdu'tura* ‘throw it after him!’ it cannot be attached to any verb: **wãwỹidutudaki / *ũidutudaki* ‘slept on top’ in combination with *kwɛ-* ‘enter’ it often means ‘to do suddenly’, ‘to do at once’: *kwɛdu'tu kui'bwatsɛ txa* ‘he drank the whole cup of tea in one go’ it is unclear whether the consecutive morpheme is a part of roots such as *hewedutu-* ‘forget’, *mãdutu-* ‘imitate call, lure’, *hedydutu-* ‘lose’.

duture *(N)* wild pig, swine
Tayassu pecari, queixada. Also generic term for domestic pig; T. tajacu (caititu / porco do mato) etc. ZE: [*duwtu're*]. KAN *u'ræ* (ME: *hu:'rɛ*).

duturemũ *(N-NAM)* river
Lit. ‘pig river’. Certain creek. AIK *erwe'mũ*.

duwiwixu *(N)* sandpiper
Fam Scolopacidae, maçarico. Unidentified little water bird. AIK *davi'vi*.

-dũrũ *(CL)* stump, bare stem, bald smooth object
E-noun formation seems possible but the form of the empty root is *ɛ-* rather than *e-*: *ɛdũ'rũ* ‘tree without branches’. *ywynwỹdũ'rũ* ‘tree stump’.

-dwa- *(DR)* onto, onto a plane surface
lokãcwa'na koreja'ro dai?a'sata a'ru-dwa'ra ‘take the pan from the stove and put it on the table’, *atoto'xy 'budwaki* ‘(the parrot) is sitting on top of the house’. Also refers to plane places in the forest: *erjaka'dwa* ‘the riverside from the edge of the forest until knee-deep into the water’, *'hydwaki* ‘he went on the path’, *'cuhyhydwaki* ‘there are traces (e.g. of a jaguar’s steps) on the road’.

-dwa *(CL)* stone
hakidwa nỹ'dwaki ‘stone is big’. *hã'dwa* ‘ice’. See also *haki*. Maybe related to AIK *wa'wa* ‘stone file, stone axe’.

-dwa- *(sxv)* IDS
Indefinite different subject cross-reference agreement marker. Note that it only occurs in medial clauses and it indicates that the matrix clause has an indefinite different subject: *hade'xyxa'hỹdwa'ta 'nãiwa'ki* ‘because you burnt (their) house, they did like that’. It is also typical for verbal expressions referring to time of the day: *tsi'ledwata wã'wỹiwaki* ‘as it got dark on them they slept’. On medial clauses in isolation, it may have an inchoative sense: *haja'nãhỹdwata* ‘starting to dawn’, *hã'rãhỹdwata* ‘and thereafter (he/they/one stayed put)’.

dwaku *(N)* molar
[*dwa'ku*] ~ [*duha'ku*] ‘back teeth’. Possibly related to the classifier *-kwadu* ‘molar’.

-dwate- *(svv)* TRA
This transitiviser was only attested with the verb root *xyxy-* ‘scream’ and, in combination with a reflexive, with *emã-* ‘cry’, *tutunitahỹ-* ‘think’ and *ka?awanihỹ-* ‘worry’, as in: *'ka?awa-ni'hỹnỹdwa'tɛta* ‘he was worried about himself’. It is apparently limited to verbs that refer to human emotions, and it may have an emphatic connotation, for which other verbs require the intensifier *-tete*.

-dwatja- *(DR)* forest
Consists of directional *-dwa* and an unidentified element *-tja*. *towɛdwaki* ‘he went onto the path’, *towɛdwatjaki* ‘they went into the forest’, *hy'dwatja'?eta* ‘(and they) went into the forest again’.

dwidwi *(N)* flycatcher, tesoureiro
Possibly Muscivora tyrannus, fam Tyrannidae, tesoura, fork-tailed flycatcher, or maybe Gubernetes yetapa, fam Tyrannidae (tesoura do campo), Phylabalura flavirostris, fam Cotingidae (tesourinha). Bird as large as a vulture, with a forked tail, eats tanajura ants and grubs. Probably ONO, also [*du'widu'wi*].

dwỹ- *(V)* break
The breaking of oblong things, wood, metal etc. *'dwỹtse* ‘it broke’, *'dwỹki* ‘he broke it’. KAN *dwa-*.

e

e- *(N)* 0-root
Nominal empty root, which in combination with a large number of classifying morphemes forms free nominal lexemes. The result of its application to a classifier has usually the same meaning as that of the classifier itself: CL *-dũrũ* ‘bald’, *edũ'rũ* ‘bald one’. *toro'dwa*, *to'ro e'dwatsyhỹ* ‘bar of soap’. There are striking similarities with the distribution of KAN *i-*, LAT *ĩ-* and with the *e-* prefix in certain Tacanan (and, possibly, Tupi) languages.

e- *(V)* have, exist
*[ɛ]. *xyi'ni 'eki* ‘it has thorns’, *a'xy lo'te e'hetse* ‘the house doesn’t have a door’, *'ewahỹki* ‘it is someone’s’. The sense of ‘exist’ is metaphorical: *'rai?ỹhỹ wai'hỹhỹ 'eki* ‘there is a beautiful thing (inside the box)’. Notice the following contrast: *awy'nwỹ nũ'ty 'eki* (/**aki*) ‘the tree has honey’,

awynwỹ'na nũ'ty 'aki (*/eki*) 'there is honey in the tree'. Often a matrix verb in habitual constructions: *to'manãi 'edaki* 'I always take a bath'.

-e *(sxx)* too, also, with, again, more
Repetitive aspect morpheme. *kui'?e-damỹ* 'I'll drink more', *ũi?e'nãdaki* 'I'm going to pause again'. There is an allomorph *-je?e-*, which is obligatory with the negative: *kui'heje?edaki* 'I did not drink any more'. It seems optional in other contexts: *kwɛ(je)?era* 'enter again!'. The repetitive can also be attached to nouns and demonstratives and have an additive function: *tsitsɛ'?e oja'nã?axaki* 'we're going as well', *siwã'?e* 'for me too', *ayrjỹ'e* 'over there as well'.

ehe *(N)* ant species
Unidentified. Very small red ant which gets under your clothes and bites. There is no generic term for ants, but *e'he* may be used as such.

ehe- *(V)* transfer hither
ehedy'nɛdaki 'I'm bringing it across from the other side', note RED in: *ehehedy'nɛdaki* 'I'm bringing various things across from the other side',

ehei *(N-KIN)* brother-in-law
Husband of sister.

ehere- *(V)* heal
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *e'mjẽ ja ehe'retse* 'the wound has already healed'.

ehỹ- *(V)* make, do
barɛrini'tɛ ehỹ'nãtse 'she's going to make pancakes', *'prego a'hetsyhỹle hũdwani'te ehỹ'hedaki* 'as there were no nails I have not made (finished) the chair', *ma'seu ehỹ'hỹki* 'Marcel did it'. Reduplication of the root element has a progressive sense: *'rai?ỹhỹ e'?ehỹki* 'he is doing something'. Also as an expression for 'to continue' in: *ha'ja e'hỹ?ata* 'we continue until the next day' (lit. 'we make day').

ehỹ?ehỹ *(ADV)* suddenly
May contain the intensifier *-te*: *ɛ'hỹ?ɛhỹ('te) 'ɛtse* 'suddenly he went away'.

ehu- *(V)* blow, fill, whistle
ehu'nãdaki 'I'm going to blow (into the ball etc.)', *ehu'dydaki* 'I made him blow', 'I let down the tyre (hissing)'. The element *-tja-*, which is added in case of blowing onto something hot, may be a transitive morpheme: *hi'na e'hutjanãdaki* 'I'm going to blow into the fire'.

eje- *(V)* move
Consists probably of the root *ɛ-* 'to go' and the directional *-je-* 'away', and is usually followed by other directionals: *ejeka'rwɛ-* 'move to another place', *[*ojekarwa/e-*]. *ejeca'weki* 'moved to the riverbank/down'. (see also *oje-*).

ekai *(N)* lower leg, wheel
See CL *-kai* 'lower leg'. Also of table. SU: [*a'ka?ii*]. *o'ludyhỹ e'kai*, *oludy'kai* 'leg of mutum' (**olu'kai*).

ekawa- *(V)* fill, round, full moon
[*e*] ~ [*ɛ*]. Related to CL *-kawa* 'inside round vessel', maybe related to DR *'akwa'te* 'inside the house'. *hako'ri 'ek(a)waki* 'the moon is full', *hako'ri 'ekwa'hetsɛ* 'the moon is waxing', *eka'wada'mỹtsɛ* 'the moon is going to be full'.

ekãi *(N)* mouth, lip
See CL *-kãi* 'mouth, opening'.

eke *(N)* horn, cob, arrow type with three points for birds or fish
Also [*e'kɪ*], usually [*e'kje*], sometimes [*e:'kje*]. Z:178: *ikié*. For the sense of *e'ke* 'maize cob, cow horn' one has to explicitate horn or cob of what. Also *eke'?e* 'with horns' (ME). See CL *-ke* 'horn, cob'. *ã'rũi?e'ke'?e* 'cow's horns (on a live animal)', *ã'rũidyhỹ e'ke* 'cow's horns (cut off from a dead animal)'.

ekoro *(N)* branch of tree
See CL *-koro* 'arm'.

ekõkõtɛ *(N)* mute, handicapped
Also 'handicapped child'. *ekõkõ'tɛdaki* 'I'm stuttering'.

ekukũtɛ *(N)* chameleon?
Unidentified. The word was elicited

through the description of a chameleon, but it is uncertain what it really means. It could be Podocnemis unifilis, ord Quelonidae, tracajá, which is presently not very well known among the Kwaza, since the word looks much like KAN *'ĩkũkũ'tæ* 'tracajá turtle'. However, see also under KWA *kẽwẽdori* 'water turtle', and *tai* 'lizard'.

elele *(ADV/NUM)* very, much, four, EMPH
Functions as an intensifying adverb in combination with a preceding noun: *na?ay'rjỹ ele'le a'ki* 'he lives on the same side of the river / in the same place as me', *'sidyhỹ ele'le* '(I'm going to take) only mine (and not those of someone else)'. Is also involved in the numeral system as 'four': *ele'letse* 'it is the fourth'. Can function as a matrix verb root: *tsẽ ele'le?ỹki* 'it's salty', *elele'hỹtse* 'it is full (e.g. with innumerable wasps)'.

elwa- *(V-etym)* roll
Refers to a state of being rolled up. The root not attested without further derivations. *i'sosisi e'lwadydaki* 'I rolled up the rope', *ĩtsãi elwatsi'kjaki* 'the bushmaster snake is lying down rolled up (with its head sticking out ready to attack)'.

elwa?elwa- *(V)* rotate
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *elwa?e'lwatse* '(the wheel) is rotating', *elwa?e'lwatsyhỹ* 'bicycle'.

emã- *(V)* weep, cry
Not specifically for children, not 'to scream'. Maybe related to *mã-* 'call' or to the DR *-mã* 'water'. *e'mãraiki* 'my, he is crying! (without reason)'.

emã *(ADV/NUM)* three
Usually *aky'hỹ e'mã* 'three'. *e'mãtse* 'third'.

emãnỹmũ *(N)* tears
Translated by MA as 'water of crying'.

emjãkady- *(V)* diarrhoea
Contains the classifier *-mjãka* 'intestines'. *emjãka'dydaki* 'I'm suffering from diarrhoea'.

emũ- *(V-etym)* wet
Originates from empty noun root *e-* + CL *-mũ* 'liquid' and requires further derivation. *emũ'hỹdaki* 'I'm wet', *a'we tsoi'hỹdata si emũ'hỹdahỹwa'ra a'rinu emũhỹ'hetse* 'rain soaked me and I got wet, but Arino not', *emũrjỹki* 'the surface is wet' (L:38: *emorien*), *tsoi'?ũki* / *emũ'?ũki* 'the rice is getting wet', *emũkace'dydaki* 'I poured water over the bench', *emũdy'hỹtaki* 'he made me wet'.

emũtay *(N)* glass
Lit. 'liquid-container'. Also *amũ'tay*, as in: *emũtaykutytxu'hũi eto'hoi ohuini'hỹ* 'a small glass marble for children to play with'.

enã *(N)* bottom, inside
e'nãtjate 'inside bottom of the tin', MA notes that it cannot refer to inside bottom of a bottle because "you can't put your hand in it" (inside bottle bottom has no name). It may be related to the directional *-nã-* 'fire'.

enãi- *(V)* quarrel (violently)
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *e'nãiki* 'he is quarreling'. Usually with transitive *-tja*: *e'nãitjaki* 'he quarreled with him', *e?e'nãitjaki* 'they are quarreling', *zjwãu(-wã) enãi'tjadaki* 'I'm quarreling with João', *enãitja?ete'jaki* 'he talked like that to us / argued with us'.

enãjã- *(V)* breathe, sigh
enã'jãdaki 'I breathe / sigh', *ỹhỹ'ko enã'jã?aki* 'here you (lit. 'we') breathe' (pointing at the lungs of a slaughtered pig).

enãko *(N)* bee species
Melipona duckei, 'lambe olho'. Red honey bee which sucks sweat from your clothes or skin for salt but does not sting. Also *etajanã'ko* 'bee'.

enã?enã- *(V)* breathe, hiss
Related to *enãjã-* 'to breathe'. **enãtse/-ki*. The reduplication indicates repetition. *enã?e'nãtse* 'it is breathing', 'he is still living'.

enỹrja- *(V)* suffer
Always in combination with the expletive word *kukui'nãi* 'my!': *ku'kuinãi enỹ'rjaki* 'he suffers', 'it is a pity for him'; *ko'sa ku'kuinãi enỹ'rjaki* 'he suffered from the burning sun'.

enurikoje *(N)* palm of the hand
**enu'ri* as such does not exist, but note *tso'jenũ'riko'je* 'palm of the hand' and *enũ'rito'ha* 'sole of the foot'.

enuritoha *(N)* sole of the foot
**enu'ri* as such does not exist, but note *enũ'riko'je* 'palm of the hand'.

enũ *(N)* foraging place, look-out
[*e'nũ*] ~ [*'enũ*]. A place where animals eat and where you can stalk them, may be a fruit tree. *hu'ri enũtja'te(na/*ko) ojabu'rudahỹki* or *hu'ri jatsy'rjỹ oja(buru)daki* 'I arrived at the foraging place of the pacas'.

enũte *(N)* arrow with ball
Certain type of arrow with a ball of pupunha wood at the point, which has a diameter of about four cm, to knock down birds from the sky.

eñɛ̃ *(N)* spiny seed kernel
Seeds which stick to one's clothes as one walks by certain plants. A more descriptive term once attested was *tsitsirjỹhỹ'jãhỹ*.

erere?ỹ- *(V)* spotted
ere're?ỹki 'it is spotted' (fruit, jaguar etc.).

ereri- *(V)* grow
ere'riki 'he grew', *e'tay ere'ritsyhỹ* 'tall woman'.

ererixwa *(N)* old
Old man from 60 and up. *ererixwa'bwa* 'very old man'.

ereritay *(N)* old
Old woman from 60 and up. *ku'kui ereri'tayre* 'my, she is old!'

ereto *(N)* cacao
Theobroma cacao.

erewe- *(V)* write, scratch, paint, study
erewe'xy- 'to write (on paper)'.

erewexynitɛ *(N)* notebook
Lit. 'thing to write on paper'.

erewexynitɛxy *(N)* school
Lit. 'notebook-house'. Coined by AN. *erewexynite'xy 'ãiki ỹxy'ko* 'the school is far from here'.

erewetsunite *(N)* pen
Lexicalised combination that contains the noun *tsu* 'bone' and the instrumental suffix *-nite*. Lit. 'thing to write with a stick'.

eri *(N)* liver
Note CL *-ri* 'flat'. AIK *i:'ri?* 'liver', KAN *i'ri* 'liver'.

eri *(N)* oar
Note CL *-ri* 'flat'.

eri *(N)* field
May be natural open savannah-like field or one created by clearing the forest for a pasture. Note CL *-ri* 'flat'. Related to *erikukui-* 'be homesick (V)'.

eri *(N)* piranha
Serrasalmus spp., Pygocentrus. MA noted homophony with 'liver', and it contains indeed the same classifier *-ri* 'flat'.

eridai- *(V)* cure
Refers to healing by a shaman. The element *dai-* 'rise' may refer to the flying of his spririt, and the word may be related to *ehere-* 'to heal (of wounds)'.

erikukui- *(V)* homesick, pity
ho'lanDa eriku'kuidaki 'I'm homesick for Holland', or 'I feel pity for Holland', *'faBiju(wã) eriku'kuidaday-hỹki* 'I felt pity for Fabio'.

erirwa *(N)* circle, wheel, disk
eri'rwatse 'it's a circle', *kanwa-?ekai'?e eri'rwatjate / kanwady'hỹ eri'rwatsyhỹ* 'car wheel'.

erixykãjã *(N)* lungs
Consists of CL *-ri* 'flat object', which possibly refers to the chest, and *-xykãjã* 'froth'. Also encountered without *-ri*: *exykã'jã*.

erito *(N)* heart, soul
eri'to nỹ'toki / nỹ'hỹki 'big heart'. The meaning 'soul' is from the shamanistic tradition.

eritsamjã *(N)* camp place, site
Is always a place without houses.

erja *(N)* corner, rim, side
Based on DR/CL *-rja-*. *erja'xy (ha'bui)* 'side/corner of the house (on the outside)'.

erjakadwa *(N)* riverside
Based on directional morphemes. *(hã) erjaka'dwa* 'the riverside from the edge of the forest until knee-deep into the water'. Also *hã atoto'mũ* 'river-side'.

erjamũ *(N)* river bank
Based on directional morphemes and classifiers. *erja'mũ* 'river bank, about five metres from the water, where the water never comes, on the edge of the forest'. The dry part is also called *'hãrjamũ*.

erjanasiki *(N)* shorts
This noun consists of the lexicalised classifiers *-rjana* 'thigh, rim of the groin' and *-siki* 'skin, cloth'. *erja'nã-siki sidy'hỹki* 'they are my shorts' (**sidyrjanãsiki* 'my shorts', **nỹrjanã-siki-* 'big shorts').

erjarwɛ *(N)* round, environs, rim, mouth of bottle
Based on empty stem *e-* + DR/CL *-rjarwɛ*. *erja'rwetsyhỹ* 'wheel' (lit. 'the one who is round').

erje *(N)* mesh, honey comb, comb, Pleiades
See also CL *-rje* 'bunch, grating. *nũty'rje* 'honeycomb', *manary'rje* 'mesh of sieve'. Also a nickname for someone with the itch.

ero *(N)* container
See CL *-ro* 'vessel'. When used as a zero-verbalised stem it means 'deep well/shaft'. *e'roki* 'it is a hole in the riverbed'.

ero *(N)* radio, tape recorder, container, vessel
[*e*] ~ [*e:*]. See CL *-ro* 'vessel'.

erohakãi *(N)* canoe hole
Note the CL *-kãi* 'hole'. ZE: *'eroha'kãi* 'hole of the canoe'.

erohaxu *(N)* spine
See CL *-rohaxu* 'spine'. Also *ero'haxu'xu*.

eroke- *(V)* bifurcate
It is possible that the root is also used as an independent noun. *ero'k(j)e(tse)* 'the tree branches off into two equal parts' (this cannot be said of rivers).

erokeja- *(V-etym)* bifurcate
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. Refers to bifurcation of rivers, or of trees but then only of a minor branch on the side. Requires further derivation. *hã erokeja'mũtse* 'the river bifurcates', *erok(j)eja'nwỹtse / eroke'jahỹki* 'the tree branches off on the side', *aky'hỹ e'mã erokeja'mũki* 'the river trifurcates'.

erokonĩ *(N)* puddle
korejaro'na / lonã'na / erokonĩ'na awe'mũ boi'wẽhỹki 'rainwater standing still, in a jar, on the gound etc.'.

eromũtsa *(N/V)* wrist
Also [*eromũ'sa*]. See the CL *-romũtsa* 'wrist'. This noun is used as a verb stem with a somewhat unpredicted sense in: *jere'xwa kane'xu eromũ'tsaki* 'the dog wears a bracelet'; *eromũtsa-'nãdaki* 'I'm going to tie (bracelet) around wrist'.

erwỹtɛ *(N)* mouth of bottle etc.
Consists of the empty root *e-* and the independent noun *rwỹ'tɛ* 'mouth' (of a human).

esa- *(V)* sting
wã e'sahỹki zjwãu(wã)* 'wasp stung João'. Reduplicated in: *tsitsɛ'wã e?e'sa?etejaki* 'many wasps stung us'. *e'sa-* has the same meaning as *e'xyi-* 'sting'. *esaku'tytaki wã* 'wasp(s) stung me on the head'. According to MA *ɛ'saki* 'he wounds' is a very old word. It could mean 'to cause oneself to get stung', as in: *esaku'tywaki* 'he got himself stung on the head (by wasps)', *esaku'tyxaxaki* 'you (PL) got yourself stung on the head (by wasps)'.

esa *(N)* wood louse
Gen Oniscus, fam Oniscidae, bicho da

conta. Probably related to CL *-sa* 'beetle'.

esiki *(N)* skin, corpse
See CL *-siki* 'skin'. Also used in the sense of 'corpse, dead body': *'ɛsikitja'tɛ'lɛ vɛ'nɛno 'kuita i'sihỹhɛ'ki* '(we saw) just his body, he hadn't died from taking poison'.

exekãi *(N)* beard, moustache
Also *exy'kãi*. Lit. probably: 'hair of mouth'.

exeto *(N)* female pubic hair
Refers to female pubic hair, whereas male is called *huxe'to*. Contains apparently the empty root *e-*, while the element *-xe-* may be related to the classifier *-xyi* 'hair' and *-to* is likely to represent the classifier for 'seed' or 'sex organ'.

exetõi *(N)* eyelashes
Derives from the classifiers *-xyi* 'hair' and *-tõi* 'eye'.

exy *(N)* paper, money, plastic bag
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. See CL *-xy* 'skin, leaf'. SU: *exy(i)(tu'kwe)* / *a:ru'xyni'te* 'photo'.

exy *(N)* hut, ambush
Little straw hut in the forest to ambush game. Possibly the same word as *e'xy* 'paper'. Sometimes [*ɛ'xy*]. See CL *-xy* 'leaf' or 'house'.

exyi *(N)* hair
[*e*] ~ [ɛ], [*x*] ~ [*s*]. See CL *-xyi*. *exyi?e'xyile?ỹhỹ* 'the long-haired one' (lit. 'one who is all hair').

exyi- *(V)* sting
Has the same meaning as *e'sa-*. *exyitaki* (or CHS *e'tsitaki*) 'a bee stung me', *wã e'xyiki 'maga'riDa* 'a wasp stung Margarida', *wã zwã'wã e'xyiki* 'wasp stung João', *e'xyidaki* 'I got stung' (but *e'xyitaki* is better here).

exyilo *(N)* fog, mist, misty rain
[*e*] ~ [ɛ], [*o*] ~ [*u*]. Probably contains the CL *-xyi* 'hair, fibre'. Alternative term *hanãwã'nũ* 'fog' (lit. 'heaven-powder').

exyitswa *(N)* coat of hair
Consists of *e'xyi* 'hair' + *tswa* 'man'. *exyi'tswa e?e'nãtsɛ* 'the coat is returning (on the dog)'.

exykãjã *(N)* froth, foam, lungs
Unclear analysis. *exykã'jã* 'froth from wound of recently killed animal'. See CL *-xykãjã* 'froth'.

exytõi *(N)* foam, froth, toad's eggs
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. *(to'rodyhỹ) exy'tõi* 'froth (of soap)'.

exonahỹ *(N)* body
Contains CL *-xona* 'body'. *waixona-hỹ'hedaki* 'my body feels bad'.

exukoje *(N)* finger of hand
Empty stem + CL *-xu* 'bone' + CL *-koje* 'hand'. Same meaning as *tsoje'xu*.

exuku- *(V)* wear ornament
Rare word which refers to wearing an ornament on the body. *exu'kudaki* 'I'm wearing ornaments', *exukuni'tɛ* 'ornaments'

exumãi *(N)* straw, match
Possibly an e-noun, either related to *-tsumãi* 'hook' or to *hixu'mãi* 'charcoal'.

exũrixu *(N)* clavicle, collar bone
Consists of CL *-xuri* 'chest' and *-xu* 'bone'. Alternative term *ekoko'xu* 'clavicle'.

exwa *(N)* man, husband
Related to CL *-xwa* '(hu)man'. Has to be completed by context or morphology so as not to be confused with 'ant hill': *e'xwatjate* 'her husband'. KAN *æ'wo* 'husband'.

exwa *(N)* ant hill
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. Homophonous with *e'xwa* 'husband'. See also *tsile'xwa*.

eta- *(V)* environ
Only example: *eta'hỹhataki* '(the flies) are on/around you'.

etahĩ *(N)* forehead
Rare CL *-tahĩ*.

etajanãko *(N)* bee species
Melipona duckei, 'lambe olho'. Red honey bee which sucks sweat from your clothes or skin for salt but does not sting (also described in Roquette-Pinto 1950:301). Also *enã'ko* 'honey bee'.

etay *(N)* woman, wife
See CL *-tay* 'woman'. *etaytohoi* 'young girl between about 10 and 15 years old'. Compound in: *da'mũ?e'tay* 'female duck'. Z:035±: *etál*.

-ete- *(svv)* COMIT
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. *maga'riDa haha?ete'nãtaki* 'Margarida is going to help me wash', *babaice?ete'nãdaki marga'riDa* 'I will dance with Margarida', *a?e'tedahỹ 'wetsynãi e'ki* 'my wife (the one I live with) is afraid', *xyxy?e'tewaki* 'they screamed together (with us)'.

-eteja- *(svv)* 1PO
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. Us: first person plural object cross-reference morpheme. *mã?e'tejaki* 'she calls us', *hurujadu'hỹ?etejaxara* 'you have to make love to us all!'. There is no distinction for in- and exclusivity: *lu'zeu wa'dy?etejahỹki 'txana(wã)/'tsitsɛwã* 'Luzeu gave to us'.

-etelexwa- *(svv)* 2PO
[*e*] ~ [ɛ]. You: second person plural object cross-reference morpheme. *haje'hỹ?etele'xwadaki* 'I painted you all'. Although this morpheme does not normally distinguish for gender, it is sometimes attested that the element *-xwa-* is replaced by *-tay-* when one emphasises the fact that the referents are women.

-eteletay- *(svv)* 2PO.FEM
You women: very rare, since *-etelexwa-* also includes female objects. *haje'hỹ?etele'taydaki* 'I painted you all (female)'. MA translated *-etele'tay-* in isolation as 'with you women'.

etɛ- *(V)* in the ground
Rare: *e'tɛki* 'there are things, cockroaches, fruits, etc. which form a mound under the surface of the ground'.

etɛ *(N)* belly
[*ɪ'tæ*] ~ [*etɛ*]. See CL *-tɛ* 'belly, round'. *e'tɛki* 'she has a swollen belly' (i.e. 'she is pregnant'). MA's nickname. Lokono (Arawak) *(ə)te* 'belly' (van Baarle et al. 1989:229), TG *ete* 'body, real'.

etɛkoro *(N)* biceps
Also 'inside of arm', lit. probably 'belly of arm'. Also *etɛxuko'ro*.

eto *(N)* kernel of maize
See CL *-to* 'kernel'.

etohoi *(N)* child
Child until about 10 years. Can also be used as KIN for son or daughter, also 'foetus'. See CL *-tohoi* 'small'. *etohoitxu'hũi* 'baby'.

etohoitɛ *(N)* onion
Derives probably from the word for child.

etokoi *(N)* hollow of the knee
This word was only encountered on Vasconcelos' tape (n.d.). It may be related to the verb root *tokoi-* 'to be soft' and may be formed analogous to the e-nouns.

etu *(N)* back
See CL *-tu* 'shoulder'.

etũi *(N)* little ball
Related to CL *-tõi* 'fruit, eye'.

etũi *(N)* fruit
Related to CL *-tõi* 'fruit, eye'. Lemon, orange etc., but not a nut: *e'sĩ* 'nut'.

etsule?ỹ- *(V)* meagre, bare
etsule'?ỹdaki 'I'm meagre', 'I'm without decorations (either ornaments or paint)'.

ece- *(V-etym)* lubricate, embrocate
Requires further derivation. *ecenỹ'ra* 'apply ointment!', *xyi ecenỹkuty-xa'hỹre* 'is it you who smears (this liquid from a bottle) into his hair?', *ece'rjỹ-* 'to paint'.

ecerjỹ- *(V)* paint
Related to *ece-* 'lubricate'.

ecotohỹ- *(V)* avenge, strike back, retaliate
To strike back immediately. *zjwã*(wã) ecoto'hỹdaki* 'I struck back João', *nãi'nãi awỹitanãi'hỹ ecoto'hỹdamỹ* 'just wait and see, he is going to suffer now'.

ecũi *(N)* eye
Related to CL *-tõi* 'fruit, eye'. ZE (who was tired): [*e'tõi*], [*e'cõi*].

e'cũisiki'lɛ ‘eyelid’. Note presumably coincidential Tukuna *'ety* ‘eye’ (Rodrigues 1986:97).

ecũiri *(N)* buttock, bottom
Also [*ecũĩ'rĩ*]. Bottom of persons, but also the outside bottom of tins, bottles etc. This word occurs also without *e-*.

ewa?ewa- *(V)* swing
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *ewa?e'watse* ‘swing hands and arms around’, *ewa?ewa?oja'nãdaki* ‘I’m walking swinging my hands and arms around me’.

ẽ

ẽrẽwẽhỹ- *(V/N)* wild
ẽrẽwẽ'hỹki ‘it is wild’, *cay ẽrẽwẽ'hỹ* ‘papaya from the forest’, *mãrẽ'?a ẽrẽwẽ'hỹ* ‘savage spirit’.

ẽrjãwã *(N)* forest, bush
Refers to places with untouched vegetation. *ẽrjã'wã nỹ'rjỹki / nỹ'hỹki* ‘the forest is big’.

ẽrjẽ *(N)* side, rib, side of chest
Nasalisation of the first [*ẽ*] (also [*ẽ:*]) is possibly automatic. IR: *'erjẽ'xu* ‘rib’.

ẽrjẽhỹ *(N)* side of something
[*ẽrjẽ'hỹ*]

ẽrjẽxu *(N)* rib
Lit. ‘side bone’.

ẽrjẽtõi *(AMB)* wink
ẽrjẽ'tõi a'wỹitaki ‘he winked at me’, ‘he looked at me from aside’, ‘he looked at me in an ugly way, he is angry at me’ (lit. ‘he looked at me with one eye’). Note that winking at someone is considered a gesture of aggression among Kwaza and Aikana, probably because it symbolises aiming at someone.

ẽrjỹsetõi *(N)* eyelashes
ẽrjỹse'tõitse ‘he looked through his eyelashes’. See *rjỹsẽtõi?ỹhỹ* ‘squint’. Possibly related to *ɛxɛ'tõi* ‘eyelashes’, and to *huxe'tõi?ahỹ* ‘eyebrow’.

ɛ

ɛ- *(V)* go
In the third person declarative *-ki* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-tse*. Also ~ [*æ*] ~ [*ɛ:*]. *ɛ(nã)daki* ‘I’m going away’, ‘bye’, *kɾeBa'na 'ɛdaki* ‘I’m going (away) to Gleba’, *ɛxaxa'ra* ‘you (PL) just go away here’, *awỹi'?ɛki* ‘he went there to see’, *ɛdaitse* ‘he went there and took it’.

ɛburu- *(V)* arrive home here
‘went and arrived on the other spot which is where he is from’ as opposed to *ojabu'ru-* ‘arrived over there where he is not from’.

ɛhɛta- *(V)* count, tell, explain
pẽrẽ'jãxa(y)nãi kudere'wã ɛhɛ'tadaki / tja'tadaki ‘I explained to Canderé what you said’, *si ɛhɛ'tadatsytse* ‘I’m going to tell him’.

ɛhỹ- *(V)* nail, spike
(ɛ)?ɛ'hỹki ‘he nailed’, ‘he is nailing’. *[*ehỹ*].

ɛsalõi *(N)* snout, nose
The element *ɛ-* is probably the empty root of an e-noun.

ɛsikilɛ *(N)* eyelid
Contains CL *-siki* ‘skin’ and in combination with the element *-lɛ* it means probably ‘thin shell’. *cẽ'rĩsiki'lɛ/lo* ‘peanut shell’.

ɛskada *(N)* ladder
POR *escada* ‘ladder’, with POR stress: [*ɛs'kada*].

ɛte- *(V)* pierce
[*æte*]. *ɛ'tedaki* ‘I pierced myself (i.e. I caused e.g. a thorn to pierce my foot)’, *ɛ'tenỹdaki* ‘I pierced myself (on purpose)’, *ɛ'tetaki* ‘it pierced me’.

ɛtenỹkotɛ- *(V)* sunset, sundown
Contains *nỹkotɛ-* ‘return hither’, but further analysis is unclear, possibly ‘move back to the earth’ in: *ko'sa ɛtenỹko'tɛki* ‘it’s about 5 in the afternoon’.

ɛterjỹ- *(V)* shine, be bright
hi ɛte'rjỹ ‘fire’, ‘burning firewood’, *ɛterjỹdy-* ‘give light’, *ko'sa ɛte'rjỹki*

'the light is clear. The first syllable *ɛ-* possibly represents the empty root *e-*, since *-terjỹ* is also a classifier for 'fire, cinder'.

ɛtɛrwɛ- *(V)* round up
ɛtɛ'rwɛdaki 'I'm rounding them (the cattle) up'. Sometimes [*ete'rwɛdaki*], which represents a rare case of /ɛ/ being pronounced as [*e*].

ɛtɛrwɛnite *(N)* wire, corral
Corral made of wire or beams to keep cattle inside.

ɛu- *(V)* belch
Also ~ [*æw*]. *'ɛudaki* 'I'm belching'. KAN *ɛw?ɛw-* 'vomit'.

ɛ̃

ɛ̃i- *(V)* raw
Only attestated in a nominalised form: *(atxitxi'?ũ) ɛ̃i'?ũ* 'uncooked rice', *xurimjɛ̃ ɛ̃i'hỹ* 'raw potato'.

ɛ̃rjỹsɛ̃nitɛ *(N)* necklace of shells
Usually a necklace of triangular shell pieces, or an element from it. This could be an e-noun, based on *-rjỹsɛ̃* 'necklace of shells'. On an earlier occasion *ɛ̃rjỹ'sɛ̃* was given, but later this was regarded as strange.

h

ha- *(V)* clean
'haki 'it is clean'. Reduplicated: *haha-* 'to wash'. With ATT morpheme: *ha?ỹ-* 'to be white', *'ha?ỹdaki* 'I'm white'. Note stress pair with [*ha'ki(dwa)*] 'stone'.

habi- *(V)* light fire, ignite
habi'nãdaki 'I'm going to light a fire', *hitsumãi'ko hi ha'bidaki* 'I lit the fire with a match'.

habja- *(V)* blow, blow paricá, whistle on the fingers
habja'ra 'blow (into a flute)!'. With a transitivising morpheme in: *habja'ta-waki* 'he blows (paricá into the nose of someone)'. The expression *habjeta-?asajã* 'he changed his life (i.e. he stopped being a shaman)' is probably based on *habja-* 'blow (paricá)' and *asa-* 'end' and *jã-* 'exist', without inflexion.

habui *(ADV/V)* outside
Derives possibly from the adverbial empty root *a-* and the verb *bui-* 'to leave'. *ha'buiki* 'it is there outside', *ha'bui a'wỹidaki cohasi'ki* 'I saw a shoe outside' (S is either inside or outside) (order 213 or any other order is also allowed). CHS: *ha'bui?ỹxy* 'outhouse' contains attributive *-ỹ-* and classifier *-xy* 'house', but in adult speech the word would be interpreted as 'a piece of plastic lying outside' involving the homophonous classifier for 'skin'.

hadai- *(V)* cut, hack, bite, pierce
To kill, or cut by machete or other tool. *jerexwa ojanỹky'wy ha'dai?asa-xatsytse* 'when the jaguar comes, you hack it to pieces', *ha'daitaki* '(the snake) bit me', *hoi hy'hyrwaki hadai-ja'nãtja* 'the bats are flying, they want to drink blood'. REF: *hadai'nỹdaki* 'I cut myself', CAUS: *hadai'nĩdaki* 'I cut myself by accident'.

hade *(N)* pepper
Capsicum frutescens L., C. brasilianum, fam Solanaceae, pimenta malagueta. *ha'de kukui're* 'is the pepper very strong (lit. painful)?', *ha'de karu'ruki* 'the pepper is sharp'.

hadehadeja *(ADV)* soon thereafter
Expression based on *hadeja* 'night'.

hadeja *(ADV)* night
The element [*ha*] may vanish in rapid speech. *hade'ja dehemũ'te kui'nãdaki* 'tonight I'm going to drink spirits', *awe'nãtse ha'deja* 'it is going to rain at night'.

hademũja *(N)* plant species
Unidentified type of leaf that is used for cleaning the mouth before making

chicha, and to give the chicha taste. It colours the mouth red and tastes sour.

hadɛ- *(V)* burn all
Only attestation: *hadɛ'xydaki* 'I burnt down the house'. Apparently this root requires a CL. Alternative possibility: *a'xy bohyja'dydaki* 'I burnt down the house'.

hadytɛ- *(V)* shit
hady'teki 'it is shitting', *hadyte'hỹtaki* '(bird) shat on me', *hady'tetaramỹ* 'I'm going to shit first'.

hado- *(V)* pierce
The object must be a person. *hado'nỹki* 'he stings himself', *xyi'ni ha'doki* 'a thorn pierced', *ha'dodaki* 'I applied an injection', *hadonitɛ* 'lance'.

hadodi- *(V-etym)* limp
Etymological root of reduplicated construction *hadodihado'ditse* 'he is walking limping'.

hadohado?ỹhỹ *(N)* knock-kneed person
hadoha'do?ỹhỹ 'knock-kneed person.

hadoja- *(V)* jam
hadojadaki 'I got stuck'.

hadori- *(V)* pierce
The root *hado'ri-* refers to 'to pierce chest, touching the liver, i.e. to kill (with a knife)'. Apparently it contains the CL *-ri-* 'chest, liver'.

hadotxa- *(V)* support
ywynwỹ'ko hado'txadaki a'xy 'I sustained the house with a piece of wood'.

hadotxeta- *(V)* support, wedge
apa'ra hadotxe'tadaki 'I sustained the banana tree (with a piece of wood', *hadotxe'tadaki esi'ki* 'I sustained the clothes line'.

haduru *(N)* coati
Nasua nasua, quati, coatí. This furry animal climbs trees, although it moves through the forest only overground. AIK *hadü'rü*.

hadutu *(N)* palm tree species
Unidentified. *hadu'tukana'tɛ* 'beads made of the *hadutu*'.

haha- *(V)* wash
Reduplication of *ha-* 'to clean/to wash'. *ha'haki* 'he is cleaning / washing clothes', *haha'roki* 'she is doing the dishes' (lit. 'cups'). *hahanỹhỹ'ra* 'wash yourself!', *awe'mũ hahanỹ'tsadamỹ* 'I'm going to wash my hands with rainwater'. *hahanỹmãi-* 'to brush one's teeth'.

hahay- *(V)* yawn
This verb has probably an onomatopoeic origin. *ha'haydaki* 'I'm yawning'. AIK *ha'hojapa'?i* (Hinton 1993:149: *hahöjhahöj-*).

hahe *(N)* mushroom species
Gen Agaricus = cogumelo, Polyporus SP. = orelha de pau (but the Indians call all mushrooms orelha de pau). Large white mushroom, in the form of branching cups, width 10 cm, which grows on tree trunks, edible, especially when baked with salt. [*ha'he*]. AIK *hadidi*.

haheturai *(N)* mushroom species
Dark brown cantharel like mushroom with white and black ringed rim, diameter about four cm or less. Inedible, may apply to all (inedible) mushrooms. [*'hahetu'rai*].

hai- *(V)* give water
*mĩu(*ko) marju*('wã) 'haidaki* 'I gave Mario chicha to drink'.

hai?arakaru *(NAM)* Hai?arakaru
Male person, origin unclear, may be KAN, KWA or TUP.

haja *(ADV)* day
*haja(*na) jadamỹ* 'during the day I will eat'. Also usable as verb stem: *haja'nãtse* 'it is becoming day', *haja'nãtsywy* 'at sunrise', *aky'hỹ / aky'nãi haja'hỹki ho'ñẽnãi* 'he hid for two days' (lit. 'his hiding was a day twice'), *haja'rjỹki* 'the weather is clear (early in the morning)'. Reduplicated in *ha'jaha"ja* 'every day'. Nominal-like use in: *ha'ja e'hỹ?ata* 'we continue until the next day' (lit. 'we make day').

hajadykore *(ADV)* this morning, tomorrow morning early
Also *haja'jadyko're* 'tomorrow morning early'. Note that it contains the DR *-kore-* 'matutinal'. Related to also *ha'jediko're*.

haja?ĩsi *(ADV)* every day
na'nãitja ha'ja?ĩsi hudada'tadaki 'every day I speak with him (in order to teach him)', *(ha'ja?ĩ'si) mĩu kuidada'tadaki* 'every day / always I drink chicha'. Also heard as [*ha'ja?ỹ'si*].

haje- *(V)* smear
haje'hỹki 'he put paint on it', *'ha?ỹhỹ haje'hỹki* '(he-it/it is) painted white', *ho'ho?ỹmũko ha'jewaki* 'it is painted with black'. *ha'jedaki* 'I smeared (e.g. ointment on a wound)', *a'xy haje'hỹdaki* 'I painted the house', *kɛ̃imũ(ko) marijadite*(wã) haje'kaidaki* 'I passed oil onto Maria Edite's foot'.

hajedikore *(ADV)* early in the morning
ha'jediko're oja'nỹxakywy wara'rjỹdatsytsɛ 'if you come here tomorrow morning early I will be at work', *'txarwa hajediko're 'kawe kui'he tja kui'he?ỹko'redaki* 'this morning I (morning-)drank neither tea nor coffee'. Note that it contains the DR *-kore-* 'matutinal'. Related to *ha(ja)'jadykore* 'this morning', 'tomorrow morning early'.

hajere *(N)* peccary
Tayassu tayacu, caititu. Possibly related to *dutu're* 'pig'. Z:110: *iéré*.

hay- *(V)* cut (out) wood, the final part
Only to cut or to cut out wood (e.g. a mortar), or hair, but not items like paper, onions, animals, etc. *e'xyi(*wã) 'haydaki* 'I'm cutting hair', *hayxyko'cedaki* 'I'm cutting hair off the neck'. In a compound with *dy-* 'to cut': *haydy-* 'to cut wood'. As a directional-like compounded root *=hay-* with the sense of 'the end (cut-off) point' in expressions like: *esi'ñwã oja'haytsyhỹ* 'end of the yard', *esi'ñũ haysi'ñũtsyrjỹ* 'the thin end of the tail'. *kui'haydaki* 'I drank until half (the glass)'.

hayxy- *(V-etym)* cut hair
Based on CL *-xy-* 'hair' and often *-nũ-* 'powder'. Requires further derivation: **hayxynũdaki*. *hayxynũko'cedamỹ* 'I'll cut hair off the head', *hayxynũko'rodamỹ* 'I'll cut hair off the arm'. Reflexive in: *hayxyinỹkoce'nãdaki* 'I'm going to get my hair cut', *hayxykãi'nỹdaki* 'I shaved' (lit. 'I hair-cut my face').

haytoronitɛ *(N)* bottle gourd
Contains instrumental nominaliser.

haka- *(V-etym)* old
This root does not exist without a classifier: *haka'hỹ ã'wỹidaki* 'I saw the old thing (*person)'. With other CL: *haka'ro* 'old pan'. *sidy'xy hakaxy'na 'axaki* 'you live in my old house'. Reduplicated in: *ha'kaha'kahỹtɛ* 'very old thing'. Refers also to grown up persons from about 15 yr.

hakai *(N-KIN)* grandparent
Respectful. Related to *haka-* 'old'. With *hakai* ego/ega also may refer to brother or sister of grandparent. The name of several mythical beings begins with the element *kai-*, which originates probably from *hakai* 'old'.

hakare *(N)* buriti palm tree
[*e*] ~ [*ɛ*]. Mauritia vinifera, M. flexuosa.

hakare kãrãrã *(N)* carnauba
Copernicia cereifera, fam Palmae. Palm tree which resembles the buriti. Literal meaning uncertain.

hakarexy *(N)* straw of buriti
Dried leaf of the buriti. Also [*hakare'se*].

hakarexyi *(N)* tanga of straw
A tanga loincloth made of fibres of the leaf of the buriti. This is worn by adult men, who don't wear the *kurixyi* any more. Also [*karɛxyi*], Z:180: *karé-tsuí*.

haki *(N)* stone
This word is nowadays rare and used mainly by elderly people. L:35: *aki*, Z:150±: *akí*. The young people say *haki'dwa*. Maybe related with AIK

ha'ʒi. KAN *a'ki*.

hakidwa *(N)* stone
Note the CL *-dwa-* 'stone'. Maybe related with AIK *ha'ʒi*. and AIK *wawa* 'file'. Elderly people often say *ha'ki*.

hakikanɛxy *(N)* roof
SU: *akikanɛ'xy*. Lit. probably 'roof-boards'. MA would not use it himself but says AN's family would.

hakixu *(N)* metal, iron
Based on the noun 'stone'and the CL 'bone'.

hakito *(N)* stone grain
Stone or maize grain. Used for 'labret' only in L:22: *akito*. KAN *akito'to* 'white stone'. MA says the word is incorrect and that it should be *haki'dwa*.

hakitsu *(N)* labret (short)
Also [*haki'txu*]. AN: [*akitxu*] ~ [*ki'tsu*] 'short labret' (unclear whether only for underlip).

hakitxuhũi *(N)* grain of sand
Z:149: *gítcun-uãn*. Lit. 'small stone'.

hakore *(ADV)* tomorrow
Also pronounced as [*hako're*]. Originates probably from empty adverbial root *a-* + directional *-kore* 'matutinal'. *hako're a'nũtsytse atxi'txi* 'he is going to plant maize tomorrow'.

hakoro *(N)* mosquito
Locally known as mosquito da lua, also 'asa branca' ('white wing'), very small mosquito of about three to four mm width, white wings, stings painfully at moonlit nights with much itching - the Indians can't stand them. If this is not a folk etymology it may mean lit. 'white arm'. MA says that the mosquito derives its name from its white colour. Usually homophonous with jacu, but also pronounced as [*hɛko'ro*].

hakoro *(N)* guan, jacú
Gen Penelope, fam Cracidae, jacú, type of black forest pheasant. *hakorodyka'si* 'jacú feather', *hako'ronĩ* 'jacu egg'. TUP *'wahku*.

hakoro ki?yhỹ *(N)* hoatzin
Opisthocomus hoazin, jacú cigano. Lit. 'red jacu'. Also [*'ki?ahỹ*] or [*'ki?ehỹ*].

haku *(N)* hog-plum tree
Spondias lutea, cajá. Also said to be "a fruit which resembles siriguella", also *haku'tõi* 'fruit of *ha'ku*' (which is yellow, soft, sweet, and contains seed, about four cm long).

hakuku *(N)* pupunha
Guglielma speciosa (perhaps also Bactris gasipaes), type of black tropical hardwood, used for bows and clubs. KAN *mũko'ko*, AIK *ke'mũkje*.

hakuñũ *(N)* clay
Also [*haku'nũ*].

hakuri *(N)* moon, month
hako'ri 'ek(a)waki 'the moon is full', *hako'ri ekwa'hetse* 'moon is waxing', *hako'ri 'bwaki* 'moon is waning', *hako'ri 'ũiki* 'new moon (lying down)', *hako'ri i'si?ĩ?ĩwy* 'the time there was an eclipse of the moon'. Note LEK *kureja* 'moon' (Simon van de Kerke pc). Month and moon are related: *hako'ri bwa'nãtse* 'the month is ending'; *hako'ri dukytõi'bwa?ĩ?ĩwy* 'last month', *hako'ri duky'tõi ũi?e'nãtsywyko* 'next month new moon again' (note here the use of CL *-tõi* for moon). *haku'ri txitõi'tɛ*, lit. 'big moon', also refers to a certain specific big star. The Kwaza and Aikanã tell the story that when the first people existed, God obscured the sky for some four months. The animals who did not manage to wake up from their sleep turned into stone or into a hard type of mushroom or fungus. Man could turn into an animal. There was so much dust in the air that a torch would not shed its light very far. Today it is still said that, if there is a lunar eclipse, you shouldn't go to sleep. If you do you may turn into an animal, a mushroom, or even into stone. MEK *pakuri* 'moon'.

hakuty- *(V)* white
e'xyi haku'tyki 'the hair is white' (lit.

'the hair is white head').

hamɛ̃ *(N)* mud
[*a*] ~ [*ã*]. Possibly related to *hã* 'water' + *-mɛ̃* 'porridge'.

-hana- *(svv)* one
One: alternative form of the verbal plural impersonal subject cross-reference morpheme *-na-* 'one'. Also pronounced as [*hanã*] ~ [*hãnã*] ~ [*hãna*].

hanãwã *(N)* sky, cloud, moon, sun, year
See CL *-nãwã*. *hãnã'wã 'tsũtse* 'sky (clouds) is passing', *hãnã'wã duky-hỹ'ko o'nɛtsytse* 'she will come next year'.

hanãwãnũ *(N)* fog, cloud
Lit. 'heaven-powder'. Alternative term: *exyi'lu* 'fog, mist'.

hanõ- *(V)* grey
ha'nõki 'it is painted grey', related to *ha'nũ?ỹ-* 'to be gray / brown'.

hanũtaysykurje *(N)* monkey's cane
Fam Zingiberaceae, gen Costus, cana-de-macaco. [*hanũ'taysyku'rje*].

hanũ?ỹ- *(V)* brown, grey, light blue
ha'nũ?ỹhỹ 'brown / grey / light blue one'.

hare- *(V)* disappear
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. May also refer to a tribe dying out. Also to the falling out of hair, less of leaves: *ha'reki* 'hair is falling', *hareko'ro?ỹki* 'it is a bald branch' (note CL). *hare'te* 'bald one', *hare'te-?ỹki* '(the vulture chick) is bald'. *to'ro ha'retse* 'the urucum (stain) disappears', *hanãwã'nũ hare'rjỹtse* 'the fog disappears', *hareku'ty?ỹki / haresiki'lo-?ỹki* 'he got bald'. The nickname of Marlene at São Pedro is *harɛku'ty* 'bald headed one'.

harejawy *(ADV-etym)* slow, late, retarded
Occurs only in reduplicated form: *ha'rehareja'wyle* '(only) after a (long) time', *hare'reja'wy tsa'siki* 'it took him long to come', 'he is the last one'.

haresikilo *(N)* bald person
Note CL *-siki-* 'skin', the CL element *-lo* 'tube' and the root *ha're-* 'disappear'.

harɛ̃ *(N)* tinamou species
Tinamus solitarius and others, fam Tinamidae, inhambu azul or macuco (also inhambu-tona), grey chicken-like bird. Bird that whistles penetrating and monotonously during 10 to 20 seconds, and repeats this after an irregular interval of silence. *ha'rɛ̃ 'hutse* 'the/a macuco is chanting'. Also heard as [*hã'rɛ̃*] and [*hã'rɛ̃*].

hari?ixu *(N)* bean
Phaseolus spp., P. lunatas L., fam Leguminosae-Fabaceae, feijão.

hari?ixu hoho?ỹhỹ *(N)* black bean
Fam Leguminosae-Fabaceae, feijão preto.

hari?ixutukwe *(N)* garden bean, bean in the pod
Fam Leguminosae spp, feijão verde. Note the CL *-cu'kwe-* 'pod, little box' in:

haryky *(ADV/PART)* now
'haryky 'hoiki 'now it's sweet'. May also function as an interjectional particle of hesitation equivalent to 'uhh...'.

haru *(N)* armadillo species
Dasypus novemcinctus, tatu galinha / veado / verdadeiro. Also *ha'rutxu'hũi*, AIK *harü'mỹi*.

harurai *(N)* armadillo
Dasypus spp, tatu. General term for armadillo. Consists of the stem *ha'ru* 'armadillo species' and the element *-rai*, which may be related to the noun *rai?ỹhỹ* 'animal, thing'. The classifier which cross-refers to armadillo is *-tu-* 'back': *haru'rai nỹ'tuki* 'big armadillo', *haru'rai txitu'tɛ* 'tatu quinze quilos'. *haru'raisiki'lo* 'armadillo shield'. AIK *ha'rö/harü*

harurai txitutɛ *(N)* armadillo species
Dasypus spp, tatu quinze quilos, [*haru'rai txitu'tɛ*].

harurairo *(N)* bracelet of armadillo shell
Z:182: *arôraí-ró*.

harusa *(N)* flea
Maybe related to AIK *kadü* 'flea' and the KWA CL *-sa* 'beetle' (as in *xyico'sa* 'flea').

haxɛ *(N)* vine species
Unidentified vine, cipó. Thin vine species used to make the rim of a basket.

haxyirje *(N)* panpipes
Also [*hãxyi'rje*]. Note CL *-rje-* 'grating': *hãxyi'rje nỹ'rjeki* 'big panpipes'.

haxy?ỹ- *(V)* sick, yellow
Indicates a kind of hepatitis. *ha'xy?ỹki* 'he is sick', *haxy?ỹxa'ki* 'you are ill', *'mangka ha'xy?ỹhỹ jadaki* 'I ate a yellow mango', *haxy?ỹro'ki* 'it is a yellow cup'.

haxo *(N)* hive
Also [*ha'so*]. Maybe related to *a'xy* 'house' (the traditional houses are shaped in the form of a beehive). AIK *a'zu* 'honey of termites'. KAN *a'tso* 'village'.

-hata- *(svv)* 3S.2O
He/she/they-you: verbal third person subject, second person singular object cross-reference morpheme. *ɛhɛ'tahata-ki* 'he explained to you'. Note morpho-phonological change in: *exyi'kãijatare wã* 'did a wasp sting you on the mouth?'.

hatiseketɛ *(N)* hat of tucumã
AN: [*'tisekje'tɛ*] 'headdress with feathers, *ha'tisekje'tɛ* 'little hat of tucumã'. See also *sisike'tɛ*.

hatsi *(N)* pacova
Heliconia spp, fam Musaceae, bananeira do mato (although it has no bananas), pacova, sororoca. Note that Canna pedunculata, fam Cannaceae is also called 'bananeirinha do mato'. Note also that Ravenala guianensis is called 'sororoco' in Roquette-Pinto (1950:114, n.71). *ha:tsi'?ũ* 'flower of pacova'. SU: *a:'tsito* for a leaf and flower on a stem. *hatsi'rje* 'bush of heliconia / sororocazal'.

hatsihatsiri *(N)* leaf of certain plant species
Unidentified type of leaf used to clean the mouth by chewing, before chicha is prepared. It also gives the chicha taste, and colours the mouth red. Its taste is classified as 'normal'.

hatsihỹ- *(V)* naked, smooth
hatsi'hỹdaki 'I'm naked', *hatsi'hỹtse* 'he is naked', *hatsi'hỹki* 'it is smooth (so that you can't get a grip on it)', *hatsi'hỹxa'ta ja ojabu'ruhe'ky* 'you can't arrive naked'.

hatsini *(N)* harpoon, arrow with harpoon tip
ZE: [*ha:tsy'ni*]. Z:177+: *atsení*. Also used for hunting paca, also called *hou'tswe* or *mani'ni ha'do?ỹhỹ* 'perforator of fish'.

hatsixukurje *(N)* pacova
Heliconia spp, bananeira. Single plant consisting of a bunch of heliconia-like leaves on little stems. Also [*ha't(s)ixuku'rje*].

hatsuru *(N)* dove-like bird
Maybe Leptotila verreauxi, or gen Oropeleia, fam Columbidae or fam Peristeridae, juriti, small brown dove-like bird. AIK *ara'?i*.

haunỹ- *(V)* hit, stumble
baba hau'nỹtsaki 'he is clapping his hands', *hau'nỹki* 'he stumbled over a tree stump', *hau'nỹhy'jadaki* 'I stumbled over a tree stump and fell'.

ha?ã *(ITJ)* look!, here!
Also [*hã'?ã*] or even [*hỹ'?ỹ*]. Used when presenting something to someone: *ha?ã uru* 'look, here are patwa seeds!'. Remark: *hã'?ã kuraku'ra-(e)'nĩ* 'here take this egg!', A: *haki-'dwa?ĩ?ĩ'hỹ* 'but it is a stone, you!'.

ha?ỹ- *(V)* white
ATT root based on *ha-* 'to be clean', and to be followed by a classifier: *'ha?ỹxy* 'white paper'.

hã *(ITJ)* wife/husband
Voiceless [*h*]. Expression used to call wife or husband. The same is used in AIK.

hã *(N)* water, river
[*hã*] ~ [*ha*]. *hã tximũtɛ* 'sea'. AIK *ha'ne*.

hãhã *(ITJ)* yes, it is
Minimal hearer's response to someone who is telling a story.

hãhãice- *(V)* leak through a hole
kude're 'axy waidyhỹ'ta o'riki hãhãi-'cedyta axy'nã 'Canderé climbed onto the roof in order to fix it, as it was leaking into the house'.

hãidi *(N/V)* drop, drip
-tse. *perekuro'nena 'hãiditse* 'it is dripping through a nail hole'. Reduplicated in *hãidihãi'ditse* 'it is dripping' (incl. rain).

hãko?ɛ *(N)* big lizard
Variant of *nãko'?ɛ* preferred by MA and RO.

hãkũi *(N)* larva, grub species
Rhina barbirostris. Small grub that feeds on the trunks of palm trees like pataua, tucumã, najá etc. Edible. POR: corro, gongo. Also pronounceable as [*hã'kwĩ*]. Note denasalisation in [*ha'kũi*] (ME). The beetle is called *hãkũi'sa* (see *-sa*).

hãkũisa *(N)* beetle species
The mother beetle of palm tree grubs. Also [*hãkwĩ'sa*].

hãnũnũ *(N)* vapour
Does not refer to clouds.

hãrã- *(V)* stop
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *hã'rãtse* 'he/it stopped', *hã'rãdaki* 'I stopped'. *kuiha'rãdaki hã* 'I just drank water'. Intensifying reduplication *hãrãrã-* 'many stop'.

hãrokatɛ *(N)* valley (dry or wet)
May contain the nominaliser *-te*.

hãrokãi *(N)* swamp, shallow lake, lagoon, dry river
Possibly derived from *hã* 'water' + *-ro* 'vessel' + *-kãi* 'opening'.

hãrona *(N)* hole in the river
'sũkwɛki 'ha:rona'na 'he entered into the hole swimming'.

hãrũ- *(V-stem)* claw
When a jaguar prepares to jump onto a prey it puts its claws into the earth. *hãrũ'nũdaki* 'I'm clawing the earth'. Possibly related to *hãrũ'ro-* 'strangle'.

hãrũro- *(V)* strangle
hãrũ'rowaki 'they strangled him/he was grabbed his throat'. Lit. 'put claws onto the throat'.

hãxyi *(N)* bamboo, flute
hã'xyi co'hỹtsy'rjỹ 'bamboo thicket' (lit. 'place where the bamboos are many'). AIK *ha'ni* 'bamboo'. Also a single-tone clarinet made out of green bamboo, for which the word used in family II is *tẽxy'xyi*, AIK *ha'ni ɛ'rwɛ* 'pig's flutes'.

hãxyilotxwɛ *(N)* flute with four holes
hã'xyilo'txwɛ mãmã'ñẽki 'the flute is playing'. Sacred type of bamboo flute, also encountered among KAN *mu'retety* and AIK *puri'kyj*, originally not to be heard or seen by women. Some Paresí words for similar flutes resemble Kwaza: *ualalocê* and *zaholocê* (Roquette-Pinto 1950:146). The young men's initiation party at which these flutes are played is also called *ha'xyilo'txwɛ*. Contains CL *-lotxwɛ-*. Z:172: *azelotché*.

hãte- *(V)* count, try, taste, show, experiment
hã'teda'wywara dodotxi'mũ 'tenãtse 'the moment I was studying, the light went out'. *hã'tera ti'nãitja ũ'nã:re* 'measure how long it is!', *hã'teda'mỹ* 'I'm going to taste (food, drink etc.)', *kuihã'teda'mỹ* 'I'm going to taste (drinking)', *jahã'texa'ra* 'try the food!'. In a compound: *buhã'tedaki* 'I'm going to try on the necklace'. Reduplicated in: *hã'tehã'tedamỹ* 'I'm going to try (experiment, to do anything)'.

hãtsũ- *(V)* skin
hã'tsũdaki 'I'm skinning', *dutu're hã'tsũwa'hỹ* 'the one who skinned the pig', 'they skinned the pig', *dutu're hatso'hỹ* 'skin torn from the pig', 'he was skinning the pig', *awỹidaki ay'hỹ tswa dutu're hã'tsũ'hỹ* 'I saw that man

who skinned the pig', *ay'hỹ a'wỹidaki dutu're hã'tsũwa'hỹ* 'I saw that pig who they skinned'.

hãtxuhũi *(N)* creek
(lit. 'little water')

-he- *(svv)* NEG
Negation of predicates and propositions by *-he-*, placed in stress-attracting position between the verb root and person marker. Note that an affirmative answer to a negative question confirms the negation: Q: *mãrɛ̃ri'tsa ja'hexa're* 'don't you eat people?', A: *ha'?ã:* 'yes (I don't)' (or also: *(ja)'hedaki* 'I don't (eat)'). Negation, or counter, of presupposition by *-he-*, placed in non-stressed position between the person marker and the mood marker: *kawɛ kui'hedaki* 'I did not drink coffee (yet)' vs. *kawɛ 'kuidahe'ki* 'I'm not drinking coffee (but something else)'. Also used as a particle or verb root: Q: *kui'nãxare* 'are you going to drink?', A: *'henãdaki* 'I'm not'. *he* 'no', *'hetse* 'there isn't (any)', *he'ki* 'no', *he're* 'yes' (lit. 'isn't it?'). *'he?ĩ* 'not him'.

hebari *(N)* shoulderblade, back
Also *hebari'xu* 'shoulderblade'. *hebari'kwɛtewe'hỹ* 'upper biceps muscle'.

hebo- *(V)* blind
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *he'boki* 'he becomes blind', *he'botse* 'he is blind'.

hebotɛ *(N)* blind person
Also [*hɛbo'te*].

hedaka *(N)* stem of a big pacova (wild banana tree)
Fam Musaceae. This plant is a big type of *ha'tsi*. Consists of *he-* 'stem' and *daka* 'bananeira do mato'. Also [*'hɛdaka*]. *hedaka'?ũ* 'flower of bananeira', *hedaka'xu(ku)* 'stalk of bananeira / pacova'.

hedɛkã- *(V)* coil
May be said of snake that drapes itself around a tree stem.

hedy- *(V)* put, mix
tsɛ̃ hedy'ra / *hedy'ra tsɛ̃* 'put salt (on the food / drink)!', *hade'tõihe'dy se'Bolahe'dy 'trigohe'dy kezjohe'dy-da'ki* 'I put in pepper, onion, flour and cheese', *boboni'to kũ'cẽ hedyni'tɛ* 'dish of boiled maize with Brazil nut'. In combination with *-nãi* the root is used as a contemporative adverbial clause particle: *ywynwỹ'dydanãi he'dy zjwãu oja'nỹki* 'while I was cutting wood, João arrived'; *'kuidanãi he'dy hy'jadaki* 'immediately after I drank I fell'.

hedydutu- *(V)* lose
In the third person declarative both *-tse* and *-ki* may be used. The choice for *-ki* apparently indicates that the utterance is an answer to a question, whereas *-tse* is a statement: *a'le hedydu'tutse* 'he lost the axe', Q: *tsũhũra'ti hedydu'ture* 'what did he lose?', A: *a'le hedydu'tuki* 'he lost the axe'.

hedykwɛ- *(V)* take inside
he'dykwe'ra 'take it inside'. According to MA there is no relation to *hedy-* 'mix'.

hedysanũkawahỹ *(N)* first pole
he'dysa'nũkawa'hỹ is the first central pole of the maloca, the traditional communal house. See also *txirwote'te* and *tsiri'tsa?ỹ'nwỹ*.

hedysi- *(V)* kill
Let die, let get drunk, kill (e.g. by strangling:) *hãrũ'rowata hedy'siwaki* 'he was strangled to death / they strangled him', *luzew*(wã) hedy'sidaki* 'I killed Luzeu' (in whatever manner).

hedutu- *(V)* lose, get lost, die
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *hedu'tutse* 'he lost it', *'awy 'hedutu'bwaticwahỹ* 'soon they were all lost (had died)'.

hehe- *(V)* cover temporarily with straw, shelter
Also [*hɛ'hɛ*]. Refers prototypically to building a shelter out of straw for one day or night in the forest, but this meaning can be extended to other

situations: *hɛ'hɛdaki* ‘I’m covering (the house etc.)’, *hɛ'hɛnỹ'hỹdaki* ‘I’m covering myself (with a blanket etc.)’, *hɛ'hɛnỹ'hỹni'tɛ* ‘blanket’. *hɛhɛjaki* ‘he makes a closed seclusion hut of straw for the to be initiated nubiles’. Maybe related to *hewe-* ‘patch’.

heheku’ty- *(V)* cover in order to protect

Refers to covering someone or something temporarily in order to protect him, her or it from flies, water, cold etc.: *heheku'tydaki* ‘I’m covering the food with a towel’, ‘I’m tucking up my sleeping son with a blanket’, ‘I’m improvising a shelter outside for the dog’, *heheku'tynỹ'ra* ‘cover me!’. The classifier *-kuty-* ‘head’, refers to the spherical shape of covered things, and not necessarily to the head of the covered person.

-hehỹ *(svv)* CONT

The contrastive aspect-like morpheme comes in the place of a matrix mood marker. It expresses usually some kind of counterpresupposition. (Warning): *tse'wedy'tõihata'tsi* ‘take care that the toad doesn’t spit you in the eye’, A: *arunỹ'tõidahe'hỹ* ‘but I have glasses!’. It is also encountered in an idiomatic expression: *nãi'nãi a'wỹiwa'ta 'nãiwa-he'hỹ* ‘they will see, just wait!’ (MA commented that this is men’s talk).

hehỹsi *(PART)* well, then, in that case

Sort of tail-head linking particle, meaning ‘then, well, that being the case’: *hehỹ'si wa'dydamỹ* ‘well, then I will give to him’, *hehỹ'si kui'ra* ‘well, then drink!’ (CX: H has not drunk yet), *hehỹ'sida'mỹ* ‘well, then (I decided) I will go’, *jere'xwa axe'hỹhatahehỹ'si o'nɛ?etsy'tse hary'ky* ‘because jaguar met/saw you (once) he will return again (to grab you)’. The particle can bear person inflexion: *'xahehỹ'si* ‘so you’: *'xahehỹ'si ja'helejadaki* ‘well O.K. then (if you don’t want to go away), I’m going to hide you’.

hele *(PART)* or

Selective particle: *o'kjadatsytehere 'hele wã'wỹidatsytehere* ‘or I will go hunting or I will go to sleep’.

-here *(svv)* INTL

The intentional is one of three conjectural modal-like morphemes. It usually indicates an unsuccessful attempt. It may consist originally of negative *-he-* and interrogative *-re*. *aty'tahỹhe're* ‘they thought he was still there’, *atsu'ka ehe'redale'ki* ‘I thought there was sugar (but unfortunately there isn’t)’, *kuida'hỹhe'retsy'hỹwara* ‘I tried to drink but (e.g. I burnt my mouth)’.

-herejã- *(svv)* APPL

The appellative is one of three conjectural modal-like morphemes. It usually expresses an (either edifying, ironical or even irritated) appeal to the hearer’s knowledge, translatable as the tag question ‘isn’t it?’. It may consist originally of negative *-he-*, interrogative *-re* and a compounded verb root *jã-* ‘to be’. It is often followed by interrogative mood marking, without interrogative meaning. *kuida'hỹhe're-jã're* ‘(don’t) you see that I’m drinking’, *cu'kuhe'rejã're* ‘(it is called the) tongue’.

here?ece- *(V)* rest

'ɛdata here?ecehỹ'nãdaki ‘I’ll go away and relax’.

hesyse *(N)* liana, broom, straw

Also [*hetsy'se*]. Broom of straw of the assai palm tree. Also the liana of which sieves are made. *'hetsy'se nỹ'seki* ‘big broom’. Probably related to *hetsy'xe* ‘leaf’.

hesyxe *(N)* leaf

Also [*hetsy'se*] ~ [*hɛsy'se*]. *'hetsy'xe nỹ'xeki* ‘big leaf’.

-heta- *(svv)* DESI

This suffix follows the (zero) cross-reference morpheme which represents the agent subject of the verb root. At the same time it precedes the (zero) cross-reference morpheme

which represents the desiderator subject, who wishes the occurrence of the event expressed by the verb root. Immediately before the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *zjwãu peDro'wã txa kuihe'tatse* 'João wants Pedro to drink tea (but he is not saying it)'. *etohoi ku'rohe'ta'tata'ki* 'the child wanted me to close the door', *pɛ̃rɛ̃jãhe'tadaki* 'I would like him to talk', *txa 'kuidahe'taxare* 'would you like to drink tea?'. Without mood inflexion: *wa'dyhataheta* 'would that he give to you!'.

hety *(N)* labret
Long resin lip bars for either upper or lower lip or both. Also [*hɛ'ty*] ~ [*he'ty?*] ~ [*he'tyi*]

hetsyhỹ- *(V)* say no
In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. Lexicalised combination of the suffixes NEG, GER and NOM used in quoted speech constructions: *hɛtsy'hỹki* 'he said no'.

hetxa- *(V)* bar
he'txa?ete'jawaki 'it is locking us in', *he'txajã'hỹwaki* 'there is a barrier on the road', *hetxa'mũwaki* 'there is a barrier in the river'.

hewe- *(V)* affix, put, hang
exyi'co he'wedaki esiki'na 'I stuck feathers on the clothes', *esi'ki he'wedaki* 'I repaired (patched up) clothes', *e'xy hewe'ñwỹdamỹ* 'stick, hang paper onto wood'.

hewedutu- *(V)* forget
wa'dyda'mỹdahỹwara hewedu'tudaki 'I was going to give (it to her) but I forgot (it)', *he'wedu'tudaki ka'wɛ* 'I forgot the coffee', '*bu?anãi hewedu'tudaki* 'I forgot to put (a necklace around my neck)'.

hɛ̃totɛ- *(V)* suspend
Lexicalised combination of a root element *hɛ̃-*, which may originally mean 'to hang', and the directional *-totɛ-* 'upwards from below'. *hɛ̃to'tɛdaki* 'I hung it by the hand', *'daihɛ̃to'tɛdaki* 'I hung it up' (a heavy thing, e.g. a table, hoisted to the ceiling), *X-wã hɛ̃to'tɛdaki kanwã?ekai-?ɛnã* 'I helped X (climb) onto the car'. Note that the root element may be separated from the directional by an intervening causative morpheme: *'mũhɛ̃'dyto'tedaki* 'I hoist (something) up (by a rope)'.

hɛ̃u- *(V)* smell, sniff
Partial reduplication expresses a distributive or progressive aspect: *he'hɛ̃urjỹdaki* 'I smelled / sniffed around'. *axy'hi 'hɛ̃uki* 'he sniffs paricá' (but *ĩ-* 'sniff' is considered more proper in this context).

he?ai- *(V)* want not
wĩ he'?aixare 'you don't want wine?'. See *ai-* 'want not'.

hɛ *(N)* mortar
Contains a somewhat laryngalised [*æ*]. Also *hɛku'ty*. In the case of the big chicha mortar, [*hæ*] may be said instead of the proper word *mũ'si* 'mortar' because of the type of wood 'red coffee tree' (the situation elswhere in Rondônia may be similar, since e.g. ARI *kuroku'ro* refers both to 'red coffee tree' and 'mortar' as well). The word for pestle, 'pilão', is often used to denote the mortar in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese, also by the Kwaza and Aikanã. *hɛ nỹ'ceki* 'it is a big chicha mortar'.

hɛ- *(V)* paint
to'roko 'hɛdyhỹjawahỹ'lɛ 'if they paint one with annatto', *be'hɛdy'hỹtaki* 'I'm painted black by someone', *be'hɛnỹdy-'hỹdaki* 'I'm painted black'.

hɛ *(N)* red coffee tree
Contains a somewhat laryngalised [*æ*]. Torresia acreana Ducke, cerejeira, tree with fragrant bark. Half a cup of tea of the bark twice a day is good against tropical ulcers. According to native medicine, however, young hunting men are not supposed to drink it, because if they do so, their aiming abilities will lessen. This has something to do with the fact that the

tree is smooth, which symbolises elusiveness of game. *hɛ* also refers to the big chicha mortar, because it is made of cerejeira. Therefore, the first chicha from a new mortar is drunk by the women only. The second chicha is drunk by the men. Subsequent chicha is not subjected to any of such rules any more.

hɛdɛ- *(V)* burn
hɛdɛ'hỹki 'he burns it', *hɛdɛnỹ'hỹki* or *hɛdɛ'nỹki* 'he burned himself' (e.g. as a suicide).

hɛlotxi *(N)* snail, slug, leech
Ord Pulmonadae, fam Vaginulidae, lesma, sanguessuga. Black slug of the size of a finger. It lives under rotten wood and is hardly eaten. Also 'leech' and 'helix snail'. Also *hilo'txi*.

hɛro- *(V)* eat thick liquid
'to eat thick liquid such as porridge', 'eat without chewing', 'eat licking', as opposed to *ja-* 'eat chewing'. *nũ'ty hɛ'ro?a'ni* 'let's eat honey!', *hɛrori'ra jere'xwanãixwa* 'lick the plate(s) like a dog!', *'sopa 'jadamỹ / hɛ'rodamỹ /* 'kuidamỹ* 'I'll eat soup', *hɛronỹ'tsaxare* 'are you licking off your fingers / hands?', *hɛronỹ'toki* 'it is licking its own penis'.

hɛxunwỹ *(N)* itauba wood
[*'hœxu'nwỹ*] 'wood of the itauba tree'. Ocotea megaphylla, Silvia itauba, Silvia duckei spp, fam Lauraceae, itaúba. Very hard wood. It is not entirely certain whether *hɛxunwỹ* also refers to the cerejeira tree.

hi *(N)* fire
hi nỹte'rjỹki, *nỹte'rjỹhỹki* 'the fire is big' *(hi) txu'hũite'rjỹ?ỹki (hi)* 'the fire is small', *'hite'rjỹ* 'fire spread over the ground'. AIK *hi'ne*.

hi *(N)* firewood
Also *hikanɛ*. *hi ɛte'rjỹki* 'it is (brightly) burning firewood'. AIK *kui*.

hi- *(V)* whistle
'hiki '(the jaguar) whistles' (in the mating season, or, as the Indians explain, to cheat the other animals).

hidi *(N-KIN)* sister
Older sister of (fe)male. Affective: *hidi'tay*. May be related to SAL *hĩnd'i* 'mother' (Becker-Donner 1955).

hilomũ *(N)* saliva
Also [*helo'mũ*]

hilotxirjarwɛ *(N)* nautilus
Fam Cephalopodae / Nautiloidae, small Nautilus-like snail.

hinũ *(N)* gunpowder
Lit. 'fire-powder'. Z:047: *énô*.

hinũnã *(N)* ashes
Also [*enõ'nã*] or [*hiñũ'nã*]. Also attested: *hinũnãxumãi* 'ashes'.

hinũnũ *(N)* smoke, fog
Lit. 'fire-powder-powder'.

hiñanũko *(N)* soot, smoke
Also [*'hiñãnũ'ko*], [*'hinanũ'ko*] or [*enanũ'ko*].

hirini *(N)* shaman, doctor, missionary
hirini zjwau isi'xweki 'shaman João is treating (someone)', *hiri'ni zjwau'wã isi'xweki* 'the shaman is treating João', *((hiri'ni) jere'xwa) a'rewahỹ* 'enchanted jaguar' (lit. 'shaman who turned himself into a jaguar'). People believe that when you hunt a jaguar that really is a shaman, he will know that you're waiting for him. He will not show up but send a lot of rain instead to give you an unpleasant hunting trip.

hixumãi *(N)* charcoal, cinders
See also *exumãi* 'straw, match'.

hitukwe *(N)* matchbox, match
Lit. 'fire-box'.

hitukwesumãi *(N)* match
Contains the CL *-tsumãi* 'hook'.

hitsu *(N)* firewood
Lit. 'fire-stick'.

hĩdjẽ *(N-KIN)* older brother of female
Also [*hĩ:?ñẽ*]. *hĩ'djẽtja'tedy'hỹ eto'hoi* 'nephew', 'niece'.

hĩtsã *(N)* tree species
Unidentified. The white milk from the bark of this tree species can be mixed with pepper leaves or *be* leaves to create a sticky wax-like ball used to catch birds. AIK *hɛ'roɛ*.

hĩce *(N)* monkey species
Hapale spp, macaco suí, maybe sauí or sagüí (tamarin). Very small whistling monkey of about 10 cm height. Also [*hĩ'cẽ*].

hy- *(V)* move, go, roll, flow, walk
Not exclusively SGS, but the PLS counterpart is *to'wɛ-*. Occurs usually with further derivation or in compounds. *'hysi'ñwãki* 'he is walking in the yard', *hy'ratsa'nũdaki* 'I entered into the ground', *hy'kwɛki* 'he went in there (to the neighbour)', *nỹko'tɛki* 'returned hither' vs. *hynỹko'tɛki* 'returned thither', *'hydwaki* 'he went on(to) the path (in the forest)', *hydwa'daki* 'I went on(to) the path (in the forest)', *hy'dwa?axaki* 'we went on(to) the path (in the forest)', *hyhy'dwaki* 'he was walking (on) the path', *'hydaki* 'I rolled'. Without derivations, the root is often associated with the running of water: *'hyki* 'it ran empty', 'it floats away', *hã 'hyta 'emũ'rjỹki* 'water has leaked and wet the place'.

hydy- *(V)* cut
Probably related to *dy-* 'to cut', but the element *hy-* is not understood here. *uke'nũ hy'dymã'riwahỹ* 'severed piquí fruit'.

-hyhydy- *(svv)* noise
'mãhyhy'dyki 'it is a lot of noise (the chickens produce when) calling', 'they are calling making a lot of noise'.

hyhyrwa- *(V)* move, walk, fly
Productive but frequently occurring combination of reduplicated *hy-* 'to move' and *-rwa-* 'around'. *uru'hu / 'etajanã'ko hy'hyrwaki* 'the vulture / bee is flying (around)', *'manini 'tsũhy'hyrwa'ki* 'the fish is swimming (around)'.

hyja- *(V)* fall
Rapid speech pronunciation: [*hiaki*]. *hyja'nãdaki* 'I'm going to fall'. *'mangka hy'jaki* 'mango fell' (e.g. from the table, but not from the tree, in which case one uses *'buki*. The reason for this given by MA is that the mango did neither climb up the tree itself, nor did anyone put it there). Without inflexion: *hy'ja* 'take care you're going to fall!'.

hyri *(N)* capuchin monkey
Cebus apella, Cebus macrocephalus, fam Cebidae, macaco prego, capuchin monkey. This word is also the stem of many words for monkey, and may be used as a generic term. Note KAN *i'ry*, which is used in the same ways, as is ARI *bi'ry*, and, more specifically, JEO *ø'ri* 'howler monkey'.

hyri- *(V)* steal
ko'sa hy'ridaki 'I stole a lantern', *kwɛ'nɛwata hy'riwahỹ* 'they entered and robbed'.

hyri be?ỹnũ *(N)* grey monkey species
Unidentified, macaco cinzento (POR for 'gey monkey'). May be a descriptive term.

hyribehỹ *(N)* cuchiú monkey
Gen Chiroptes, fam Cebidae, macaco cuchiú, black monkey with red nose. L:40: *iribe*^{n}. Also *hyriko'ro ki'kenĩ?ỹhỹ*.

hyrikoro *(N)* spider monkey
Also *hyriko'ro ho'ho?yhỹ*. Ateles paniscus, fam Cebidae, macaco coatá / cuata / preto, spider monkey. Z:131+: *arikoró*. KAN *y'ro*.

hyrikoro ha?ỹhỹ *(N)* barrigudo monkey
Gen Lagothrix, macaco barrigudo, monkey species. Also *hyri'koro'ha'hỹ*.

hyrikoro hoho?ỹhỹ *(N)* black spider monkey
Also *hyriko'ro*. Ateles paniscus (probably A.p. chamek), fam Cebidae, macaco coatá / cuata / preto, black spider monkey.

hyrikoro kikenĩ?ỹhỹ *(N)* cuchiú monkey
Gen Chiroptes, fam Cebidae, macaco cuchiú, black monkey with red nose. Also *hyribe'hỹ* or *'hy:ri ki'kjɛni'hỹ*.

hyrwa- *(V)* escape from a corral, go round
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used: **hyrwaki. a'rũi hy:'rwa'tsi* 'take care, the horse may escape!'.

hytxa- *(V)* drop
bala'hỹ hy'txadyta '(e.g. the stone) slipped out of the hand unintentionally'.

-hỹ *(svn)* NOM
-hỹ- is by far the most frequently occurring morpheme of Kwaza, and it has a variety of functions. It is basically a semantically neutral nominaliser. *'kuida'hỹ txu'hũitse* 'I drank little' (lit. 'me-drinking was little'), *exa'hỹ* 'that which you have', *tã'jã tawa'hỹ* 'the one called / they call chief'. Kwaza having neither adjectives nor relativisation, attributive modification is realised often by nominalised verb roots in juxtaposition to nouns, and complex attributive constructions can be the result: *dutu're ũ'kaityhata'hỹ a'wỹidahỹki* 'I saw that that pig who lay down in your hammock'; *tau'ta i'sitsyhỹ a'wỹidahỹki, isi'?ũkatsahỹ, tsiri'tsajãhỹ* 'I saw a dead sloth, one who died on the path, one in the middle of the path'. The nominaliser can function as a semantically neutral classifier: *a'xy arwa'hỹ* 'new house' vs. *a'xy haka'xy* 'old house'. It is often verbalised recursively. This results in cleft-like constructions which can occur with a variety of subtle, and sometimes rather marginal grammatical, semantic and pragmatic effects such as valency-change, past, progressive and emphasis: *holanDa'na 'ahỹki* 'it is (something which is) from Holland'; *ucenãi'hehỹ'dyjadaki* 'I make them not understand'; *lotenã unã'tsudahỹ'ta* (or *ere'ridahỹ'ta*) *ka'tsudaki* 'because I have long legs I step over the fence'. In combination with animate object marker *-wã* it forms a fixed combination which expresses an agent noun: *o'kjahỹwã* 'hunter'. It is lexicalised in many roots, such as *e'hỹ-* 'to make'.

hỹ *(ITJ)* what?
'huh?/uhh?'. Used as a minimal response when one has not understood what the previous speaker said.

hỹdɛ *(PART)* let's go!
Also [*dæ*]. Exhortative particle which occurs often with a paucal exhortative. *hỹ'dɛ toma'ja* 'let's take a bath', *hỹ'dɛ ɛ'ja* 'let's go!'.

hỹhỹ *(ITJ)* I don't know
Negative minimal answer to a question, pronounced as [*hỹ'hỹ*].

-hỹsi *(svv)* NEG
Expresses the habituality or extended duration of a negative proposition, and acts as a kind of 'negative mood' morpheme. *ka'we atsuka'ko 'kuidahỹ'si* 'I don't drink coffee with sugar anyway' (CX: if someone is not willing to give you sugar), *a'tsuka'ko 'kui'nãi 'eda'hỹhe'ki* 'I don't drink coffee with sugar' (CX: if someone is not able to give you sugar).

hỹ?ỹ *(ITJ)* yes, O.K.
Affirmative grunt when you don't want to speak. Usually pronounced as [*hỹ'?ỹ*], but also as: [*hã'?ã*] ~ [*ỹ'hỹ*] ~ [*hã'hã*] ~ [*hy'?ỹ*] or even *hmhm*.

hỹ?ỹ *(ITJ)* no
Usually pronounced as [*'hỹ?ỹ:*], in which the first syllable has a higher pitch than the second one.

ho- *(V)* be rotten
'hoki 'it's dirty / rotten', *ku'kui 'hore* 'yecch! it (e.g. food) is rotten!', *ho'tɛ* 'rotten meat / stuff, food of vulture', *uru'hu ou 'hohỹ ja'nãtse* 'the vulture is going to eat rotten meat', *'hoxaki* 'you're (very) rotten', *awxwa'nã 'honĩ* 'let the meat rot!'. Reduplicated: *hoho-* 'to be dirty'.

hohỹ- *(V)* shy
ho'hỹxata'nãi tsasi'hexare 'you don't follow (us) because you are shy?'.

hoho- *(V)* dirty
ho'hoki 'it is dirty'. With ATT morpheme: *hoho?ỹ-* 'to be black'.

hoho?ỹ- *(V)* black
ATT root based on *hoho-* 'to be dirty', and to be followed by a classifier: *ho'ho?ỹ'nũ* 'black powder *ho'ho?ỹ'nũ* 'black powder (gunpowder)'. Note Tupi *ho* or *hũ* 'black, rotten, dirty'. Maybe also related to KAN *woro-* 'black'. *ho'ho?ỹsi'ki* 'black clothes', *ho'ho?ỹty'xa* 'black metal'.

hoi *(N)* bat
Ord Quiroptae, morcego, bat.

hoi- *(V)* sweet
'hoiki 'it is sweet' (homophonous with verbalised 'it is a bat'). *hoi?yhỹ* '(pineapple tastes / is) sweet'. *hoi'dy-* 'to sweeten'.

hoitswa *(N)* passiflora
Fam Passifloraceae, maracuja do mato. [*hoi'tswa*]. *'hoitswa'?ũ* 'red flower of wild forest passiflora'.

honi *(N)* bubo
Swollen lymph node. [*ho'nĩ*] 'bubo' forms a stress pair with [*'honĩ*] 'let it rot!'.

honĩxe *(N)* tree / plant species
Unidentified tree-like plant species which has many yellow flowers called *ho'nĩxe'?ũ*.

hoñẽ- *(V)* hide oneself
[ɛ] ~ [e] ~ [ẽ] ~ [ɛ̃]. *hoñẽ'ta?axaki* 'we hid from him'. *a'weho'ñɛni'te* 'umbrella'.

horay *(N)* caterpillar
Lagarta. Generic term.

horetswɛ *(N)* savannah
Also *hore'tswe*. Barren field of savannah or low scrub on sandy soil.

horɛ- *(V)* weak
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *ho'rɛtse* 'the lamp is weak'.

horo- *(V)* fill, finish, end up
hoite'te horoda'ki 'I made the coffee very sweet', *'boiho'rowaki* 'they filled (it)', *atsu'ka ele'le ho'rowa'ki* 'there is very much sugar'. Occurs often in compounds. The relationship with the root *horo-* 'to cut up' is uncertain. Maybe something like 'fill with small bits'.

horo- *(V)* cut up, make small
In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. *txu'hũi horo'ra* 'take / put / eat a little!', *barerini'tɛ(*wã) txu'hũi ho'rodaki* 'I cut a small piece off the cake / I made a small cake / I made the cake small in the pan'.

horohỹ- *(V)* prepare, finish
txa horo'hỹdaki 'I prepared tea'.

horokoje- *(V)* wave
This refers to waving with the meaning of 'be quiet! / quit!'. Waving goodbye, blinking to greet, etc. as known today, is in traditional custom a threat: 'I'm going to get you!'. *ze'zĩjuwã horo-ko'jedaki* 'I waved to Zezinho'.

horonỹhỹ- *(V)* prepare, ready
Sometimes contracted to [*horo'nỹ*]. *horonỹ'hỹdaki wãnỹ'dy* 'the food is ready (made by me)', *maga'riDa wana'dy horonỹ'hỹda'mỹtse* 'Margarida is nearly getting the food ready'.

hote- *(V)* build a house
Only with reference to making straw or wooden houses. *(a'xy) ho'tedaki* 'I made a house'.

hotemã *(N)* squirrel species
Probably Sciurus aestuans, fam Sciuridae, acutipuru / rato de palmeira / serelepe.

hoto *(N)* birth mark
Lit. 'dark spot'. Also the mongolian stain on the back that Indians are born with. *ho'to 'Be?ỹhỹ* 'black spot'.

hou- *(V)* take animate being
hou'wẽdaki 'I took, carried a child'. Reduplicated in: *ho'houle?a'ni* 'let's get people together (for a party)!'. *ĩ:'wã 'hou?a'ni* 'let's take someone (doesn't matter who)!', *'hou?i'tsiko'ro-ni'nãdaki* 'I grabbed and held you by the arm'. Wrt. grabbing inanimate beings, *dai-* is used.

houhỹ- *(V)* push
hou'hỹ?ocedaki 'I pushed someone / something out of the way in order to go past', *a'xyna hou'hỹ?oce'kwɛdaki* 'I pushed her into the house'.

hourje *(N)* arrow of war
Arrow with about five symmetric harpoons made of pupunha. Also called *hakuku'rje* (lit. 'pupunha grating'). *hou'rjeta* 'it is called hourje'. Same as *we'si?ɛ'roke'?ɛ*.

houtswe *(N)* arrow with harpoon
Also used for hunting fish and paca, also called *hatsi'ni*.

houwarja- *(V)* hang
howa'rja- 'to take and carry child in the neck / lap (hanging in a sling)', *'houwa'rjadaki* 'I lifted up and carried (anim/hum / light/heavy, e.g. a dog)'. Not for inanimates: *'daiwarjadaki* 'I took the bucket hanging it by the hand (walking or not)'.

howeja- *(V)* stink
howe'jaki 'it stinks'

hu- *(V)* chant
Only used with the macucu bird as a subject: *ha:'rẽ 'hu:tsɛ* 'macucu is chanting'.

hu- *(V)* give, sell
Often voiceless [*h*]. *cohasi'ki 'hudaki zjwã'wã* 'I gave shoes to João', *tsuhũ'du 'huxale're* 'why were you giving / have you given / sold?'.

hu- *(V)* smoke
'huki 'there is smoke'. Also rarely 'to burn': *wa'txitɛ 'hũ:re* 'would it burn / bite (e.g. alcohol on a wound)?'.

hu- *(V)* sprout
mang'ka 'hu:ki 'the mango sprouted', *'atxi'txi hu:'te* 'maize sprout', *esiñwã'na 'hu?eki* '(plants are) sprouting up again in the yard'.

huda- *(V-etym)* hum
Voiceless [*h*]. This root requires further derivation: *huda'mũki* 'sound of the rain'. *põrõrõ'te huda'hỹki* 'the fly is buzzing / humming', *'huda-mjã'kaxa're* 'is that your belly rumbling?', *hetsy'xetja'te huda'xeki* 'its leaves are rustling', *kan:wã?ekai'?e huda'hỹki* 'the car is humming'.

hudada- *(V)* speak
The [*h*] is sometimes pronounced as [*k*]. *huda'dada'ki* 'I will speak / learnt to speak', *na'nãitja ha'ja?ĩ'si 'huda-da'tadaki* 'every day I speak with him (in order to teach him)', *hudada'nãi* 'speech, conversation', *'hudada?a'nãi are'tadaki* 'I learnt to speak'.

hudadanite *(N)* word
Semi-lexicalised nominalisation based on the verb *huda'da-* 'to speak'.

hudai *(N)* fig tree
Ficus, fam Moraceae, figueira. A kind of tree which uses other trees to lean on until it has become big enough and the other tree is suffocated. Its fruits are only eaten by the tapir.

hudɛ- *(V)* splash up
[*æ*]. *hu'dɛ-* 'to splash up (e.g. fish onto the dry land, water from the river onto the bank, etc.)'. *hu'dɛdaki* 'I'm splashing up water'.

hudɛrɛ- *(V)* ask, request
[*æ*]. The element *-re-*, which may be derived from the interrogative mood suffix, is part of the stem. *hude'redaki ze'zĩju*(wã)* 'I asked Zezinho', *hu-dɛ'rɛdaki 'sidyrjỹ oja'nãxare tja'tadaki* 'I asked if he wanted to come to my house'.

hudy *(N)* owl species
Speotito cunicularia grallaria Temn., fam Bubonidae & fam Strigidae, coruja do campo. *pupu'pudyki* or *cucu'cudyki hu'dy* 'the owl is singing'. When the owl sings at night it is a sign next morning there will be a visitor. AIK *pupu're* 'owl'.

hudy txihỹtɛ *(N)* large owl species
Pulsatrix perspicillata, fam Strigidae, corujão.

huhu *(N)* dove-like bird
Columbina picuí picuí or Columbina minuta, fam Columbidae, rolinha. Also [*hu:'hu*] 'rolinha'.

huhui- *(V)* beat or kill by clubbing, thrash
atxitxi'?ũ hu'hui?ani 'let's thrash rice!', *huhujanahe're* 'killers (of indefinite people)'.

huhuile- *(V)* fight
Reciprocal form of *huhui-* 'thrash,

kill'. *X Y-tsyhỹ huhui'leki* 'X and Y are fighting'.

huhuri *(N)* taioba
Xanthosoma spp, fam Araceae, taioba branca. Edible potato-like roots, leaves are cooked with meat.

huhute- *(V)* distribute
The partial reduplication of *hu-* 'to give, sell' has a distributive sense.

huja *(N/V)* smoke
May be from *ui* 'tobacco'. *hu'jaki* '(fire) is smoking very much', *huja'dydaki* 'I'm blowing smoke (of a cigarette)'.

humũ *(N)* rubber tree milk
From a specific species: Castilloa ulei Warb., fam Moraceae, caucho. Also [*ho'mũ*]. Z:090: *comú*. Also *homũ'mɛ̃*. KAN *o'mũ*. *hu'mũsi'ki* 'big piece of rubber / coagulated sheet of seeped out rubber milk'.

humũkuty *(N)* rubber ball
Lit. 'head of rubber milk'. Rubber ball or bar, made by man.

hunĩ *(N)* fruit species
Mamão de anta (in POR, lit. 'papaya of the tapir', looks like pequĩ) is the fruit of a certain tree.

hunũ- *(V)* burn, scorch
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *hũnũ'hỹ huru'janãi 'edaki* 'I like scorched (food)'.

hunũnũ- *(V)* smoke
Partial reduplication of *hu'nũ-* 'to burn'. *hunũ'nũki* 'it is full of smoke (e.g. when a field burns)', *hunũnũ'rjỹki* 'there is morning mist between the trees in the distance', *hunũnũ'toto'mũki* 'there is mist over the river'.

hure *(N)* tayra
Tayra barbara Lin., Eira barbara, fam Mustelidae, irára or papa-mel, big black weasel, light hair on the head, similar to gato do mato. Voiceless [*h*]. Maybe related to KAN *kore'nũ*. Note Tupinamba *ei'rara*. (Cunha 1989).

hurerai *(N)* mahogany
Switenia macrophylla King., mogno or pau brasil or cor de brasa. ME calls it *mury'cy*.

huri *(N)* paca
Agouti paca or Cuniculus paca. Rodent, like a large cuchilha. ARI *ty'ri* 'agouti'.

huruja- *(V)* like, love
huruja'nãdaki 'I'm going to like, make love', *huru'jani'nadaki* 'I like you'.

husi *(N)* opossum
Gen Didelphis, fam Didelphidae, gambá, mucura, sarigûe. Robs chicken.

husisi *(N)* grass species
Imperata brasiliensis and I. caudata, Anetherum bicorne, Andropogon bicorne, And. montana, fam Gramineae, sapé, about 1m long. Voiceless [*h*]. TUP *mɛ̃'sí*.

huxehỹ- *(V)* hairy
This root requires further derivation. *huxe'hỹki* 'it is hairy', **huxeki*. *huxeko'ro* 'hair on the arm', *huxena'tai* 'armpithair', *huxetõi?ahỹ* 'eyebrow'. The root element *-xe-* is possibly related to the classifier *-xyi*, since the preceding syllable can be replaced by the empty root *e-* in *huxe'to* 'male pubic hair' vs. *exe'to* 'female pubic hair'.

huxeto *(N)* male pubic hair
Refers to male pubic hair, whereas female is called *exe'to*. The element *-to* is likely to represent the classifier for 'seed' or 'sex organ'.

huwa *(N)* frog species
Leptodactylus ocellatus, fam Leptodactilidae etc., rã. Edible. AIK *zjüɛ'nɛ* (in which *-ɛnɛ* may represent the collective suffix).

hũdwa- *(V)* sit
Probably derived from *ũ-* 'to sit' and the directional *-dwa-* 'onto a plane surface'. *'hũdwa?a'ni* 'let's sit down!'. In a compound: *erewe'xyhũ'dwadaki* 'I'm writing sitting'.

hũdwanite *(N)* chair
Based on the verb root *hũdwa-* 'sit' and the instrumental nominaliser.

hüürüp *(IDEO)* chant
[*hü:'rüp*] chant of the trupeiro bird

(*iriwa*). Onomatopoeia is probably the basis of the name for the trupeiro in AIK *hü'rüdü'dü*.

i

igrezja *(N)* church
[*i'grezja*]. From POR *i'greja* 'church'.

ihilu- *(V)* itch
Alternative lexeme from family II. *ihi'luki* 'it itches (any place of the body)', *ihiluko'kodaki* 'it is itching in my throat'.

ihĩ- *(V)* contrary, continue
Contrastive verb root probably related to the negative element *ĩ*. *i'hĩki* 'on the contrary', 'wait!', 'no!', 'it is not like that!'. Also [*ĩhĩ*]. May also combine with negative imperative *-ky* indicating remote future: *cari'nã?ĩhĩ'ky* 'you should not want to kill him!'. Also in certain constructions with the sense of 'to continue for some time' *cwara'ti?ĩhĩ(rai)re* 'it is like that they continue hereafter'.

ijoi *(KIN)* son
[*i'joi*]. Old-fashioned word, used instead of *eto'hoi* 'child'.

ikɛtɛ *(N)* belt
[*ikɛ'tɛ*].

iluja- *(V)* eat, sip
'to eat thin liquid, e.g. soup, without chewing'.

-ini *(svv)* NEE
Negative exhortative mood morpheme with negative imperative sense. It occurs only in certain expressions. *'nãi?ini* 'don't do!', 'stop!' (lit. 'don't be like that!'). *'nãi?ĩ'nĩ wara'hỹhe'ky* (or angry and fast: [*nãi'nĩ wara'hẽky*]) 'don't do that, don't touch!'. *na'nãi?ĩnĩ* 'don't do that!'.

inỹsitjexɛ *(N)* leaf of herb
Unidentified. *e'nỹsi'tjexe'?ũ* 'small lila flower of a certain herb'. Possibly related to *i(nỹt)si'xwe-* 'to medicate (oneself)'. See also also *tsɛ̃'xɛ*.

irimitxitay *(NAM)* Irimitxitay
Female person, note the classifier *-tay*.

iriti *(N)* mushroom species
Polyporus sanguineus, fam Polyporaceae, urupê, orelha de pau, small white mushroom. It is edible but not bakeable. It has the form of little cups, width 0,5 to two cm, and grows on tree trunks. Note Tupinamba *uru'pe* (Cunha 1989).

iritsa *(N/V)* vomit
iri'tsaki 'he vomits, it is vomit'.

iritxi- *(V)* cover, cap, turn upside down
iri'txiki 'he capped (it)', *'du?i'ritxi'ra* 'turn over and close (it)!', *iri'txɛto'todamỹ 'hetsy'se* 'I put the broom upside down'.

iritxinite *(N)* lid, cork, pot, vessel
Also [*iritsini'te*]. *iri'tsini'te e'hetse* 'it has no cover'.

iriwa *(N)* bird species
Momotus momota, trupeiro, little green and blue bird which sings [*hü:'rüp*]. AIK *hü'rüdü'dü*.

iriwa dodo *(N)* cacao species
Cacau do brejo (POR for 'swamp cacao'). Small and rare cacao species, different from *ere'to*.

isi- *(V)* die, be drunk
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *i'siki* 'he is dying', *i'sitse* 'he died'. *isi'nãtse* 'he is on the brink of dying', *i'sitsỹ'hỹ* 'he is wounded', *'kuidata i'sidaki* 'I'm drunk', *dehemũ'te isite'teki* 'he is really drunk with spirits', *hako'ri i'si?ĩ?ĩ'wy* 'the time there was an eclipse of the moon'. Partial reduplication: *i?i'siki* 'they are dying, getting drunk'.

isi- *(V-etym)* secure
Also [*i'tsi*]. This root requires further derivation. *isi'hỹra* 'secure! (a person or cord etc.)', *isi'hỹta ere'wera* 'secure (the pen) and write!', *tsoro'ko isi'hỹ-daki a'xy* 'I sustained the house with my hand', *isi'riki* 'he's touching the chest (e.g. in order to feel whether the heart beats)', *isi'rodaki* 'I'm putting

my hands around the (coffee) can', *i'sinỹ'toki* 'he holds, grabs his own penis', *isiba'ridaki* 'I grabbed him by the shoulder'.

isikoje- *(V)* hold by the hand
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used: *'isiko'jeki/-tse* 'hold someone by the hand'.

isixwe- *(V)* medicate, treat
hiri'ni zjwau'wã isi'xweki 'the shaman is treating João', *'inỹtsi'xweki* 'he is taking medicine, he is treating himself', *'inỹ'tsixwɛ'mũnĩ'te ku'kuimũ-'ki* 'the liquid medicine is strong'. May be related to *inỹsitje'xɛ* 'leaf of herb'. Note ME: [*inaci'xwanite'mũ*] '"white" liquid medicine' (lit. 'medicine which cures').

isitsoro- *(V)* hold by the arm or wrist
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used: *isitso'roki/-tse* 'hold someone by the wrist'. The verb is a compound with *tso'ro* 'arm', also pronounced as [*isisoro*], but the productive alternative with the classifier for 'arm' is also possible: *isiko'roki* 'he held her by the arm'. Note that the classifier for 'arm' surfaces in a further compound with *hou* 'to take': *hou?isiko'roki* 'he grabbed and held her by the arm'.

isi?ũi- *(V)* epilepsy
i'si?ũidahỹ'ki 'I had epilepsy', *i'si?ũi?a'hỹ* 'epilepsy (lit. 'die and lie', i.e. revive). A forest deer can have "epilepsia" since it may just lay down when you hunt it. Therefore it is said that people with epilepsy may never eat deer meat.

ixyi *(N)* poison vine
Especially fam Leguminosae-Papilionaceae, e.g. Dahlstedtia pinnata, Lonchocarpus urucu, L. pecholti, L. floribundus, L. discolor, timbó. Square-formed vine that is used to extract poison in order to catch fish. AIK *hü'di*. ME [*is'ri*]. *i'xyi 'txi?ỹi'tɛ* 'big poison vine'.

itso *(N)* hammock, cobweb
i'tsosisi 'hammock rope', *dy'tyidyhỹ i'tso nỹ'hỹki* 'the spider's web is big'.

itsosisi *(N)* cord, string, rope of hammock
'sidỹhỹ i'sosisitxu'hũi 'my piece of rope'.

itso?yi *(N)* liana
Note CL *-yi* 'thread'. *'itso?yi'?ũ* 'pink / purple chalice-formed flower of vine to be encountered in January', AN: [*tsoi'?ũ*].

ico *(N)* fruit of the urucuri (or bacuri?) palm tree
Descriptive alternative: *'coku'rudy'hỹ e'cũi*. It is about eight cm in length, edible like piqui, without the bitterness. Also *ico'te* in: *ico'te uke'nũnãi-'xwaki* 'ico resembles piqui'.

icory *(N)* ant species
Locally formiga de jacú (POR for 'guan ant'). Forest ant like the correição, which has a yellow rear end and stings painfully.

itxi *(N)* vagina
'i:txi'loi 'vagina of old woman' (lit. 'flabby vagina'). MA said Huari *chíquichíqui* 'woman' in Nordenskiöld (1915:372) is not correct in Aikanã, but that it may be related to AIK *tʃiki'ti* 'vagina'.

itxitxihỹ- *(V)* decorate
This word was only encountered in ME's story of the traditional initiation of nubile girls, who are shaved, painted and decorated after a long period of seclusion. Also [*'i:cici'hỹ*]. Also translated as: 'mixing all colours', 'decorating everything'. *marija'wã itxitxi'hỹdaki* 'I'm putting ornaments all over Maria'.

i?ỹhỹ *(N)* body
Also [*ĩ?jẽhỹ*]. Refers to the human or animal body without arms, legs and head, however not as a corpse.

Ĩ

ĩ *(N)* he
Third person singular and plural pronoun. The use of pronouns as overt arguments usually has an emphatic or disambiguating function. *'ĩki* 'it is him himself', *'ĩtsynãi* '(the words) of himself, his own (words)', *'ĩtsynãi'ko* 'therefore'.

ĩ *(ADV)* idly, nothing
ĩ oja'nãdaki 'I'm (just) going there (for no reason in particular)', *ĩ 'kuitsynãi'lexaki* 'you're just drinking booze doing nothing', *ĩ:* 'just like that, for no real reason', *ĩ 'nãiki* 'it's just him, it is no problem, it is nothing', *ĩ: ja'dydaki* 'I'm feeding (him) (but it is nothing/no good)'. Note also Aymara *ina* 'idly' (Willem Adelaar pc).

-ĩ- *(svn)* NEG
Emphatic or expletive negative morpheme. Probably related to the adverb *ĩ* 'idly'. Occurs often in combination with monitory mood *-tsi* (though not always with a monitory sense). *do'hỹta?ĩ'tsi* 'don't leak (hot tea) on me!', *ti'nãi?ĩtsi wãrẽdy'taxare* 'why the hell is it you're angry with him?', *kuida'kitsy?ĩlɛ oja'nỹre* 'why have they come if they don't drink?'. In an elliptic construction in combination with *-tsi* 'MON': *ja ĩ'tsidata* 'I have already warned'.

ĩ- *(V)* sniff
AN: *'axy'hi 'ĩ:da'ki* 'I sniff paricá (in order to become a shaman)'. MA generally prefers the pronunciation [ỹ] as in: *'axy'hi 'ỹwaki* 'he sniffs paricá'. ARI *ĩ* 'to sniff (paricá)'.

ĩlɛlɛ *(N)* together, couple, pair, they, just them
This is an ambiguous root because it often occurs as a verb or adverbial particle. Possibly it is a comitative pronoun based on the reciprocal morpheme *-lɛ-*. *txa'nã ĩlɛ'lɛ?axaki* 'we are together (married / brother-sister kin)'. It may have contrastive sense: Q: 'John comes with whom?', A: *ĩ:lɛ'lɛ* 'no, he is coming with his brother'. Q: 'H is married to a Brazilian?', A: *ĩ:le'le* 'no, he is together with her (with M, the one you know)'.

ĩnĩ *(ITJ)* yes it is, O.K.
Also [*ĩ'ni*]. (Remark): *ja'?eda'mỹtse* 'he (said he) is going to eat again', (Comment:) *ĩ'ni* 'let him!', 'it's O.K.!'.

-ĩsi *(sxa)* every
na'nãica ha'ja?ĩ'si (tinãi) are'tada'ki 'every day I understand better', *na'nãitja ha'ja?ĩ'si 'hudada'tadaki* 'every day I speak with him (in order to teach him)'. This element is possibly a lexicalised variant of ATT *-ỹ-* and SWR *-si*. It occurs only with *ha'ja* 'day', except in CHT: *hakore?ĩsi* 'every month'.

ĩtsãi *(N)* bushmaster
Lachesis muta, fam Crotalidae, pico-de-jaca or surucucu or cobra topete, bushmaster. Poisonous snake. Considered edible.

ĩtsɛ̃ *(N)* jaguar
Also [*ĩ:'tsɛ*]. According to a folk tale, this is a respectful alternative to *jere'xwa* as a word for jaguar, to be used by women.

ĩtsɛ̃?uty *(N-KIN)* sister-in-law
In law: wife of older brother of female (hĩdjẽ).

ĩtswɛ̃ *(N)* mosquito (malaria)
Culex fatigans (malaria), Aedes egypti (yellow fever) and others of the fam Culicidae, carapanã, pernilongo. Also [*ĩ:'tswe*] or [*ĩ:tsẽ*]. *ĩ'tswẽ txihỹ'te* 'big mosquito'.

ĩu *(N)* yam species
Fam Dioscoreaceae, cará. Small type. Not to be pronounced as *[*jũ*]. Can be cross-referred to by the CL *-to-*.

ĩwã *(ADV)* nothing
[*ĩ:'wã*]. Maybe analysable as negative *ĩ-* and animate object *-wã* 'for nothing'. **ĩ'wãki, *ĩ'wãtse*. *'ĩwã 'nãiki* 'he is acting as if', 'being fake', 'he is lying'. *'ĩwã 'nãitse* 'it is a lie (of his)',

ĩwa'nãidaki ‘I was joking’, *ĩ:'wã 'daica'ra* ‘take whichever one!’, *ĩ'wã o'jaxatsy'tse* ‘you go in vain, it is a lost journey’, *ĩ'wã u'tedaki* ‘it is a waste that I warned’, ‘I lied’, *ĩwã a'redy-'tale'ja(daki)* ‘I’m going to teach you just to learn it (regardless whether you will use the knowledge)’. In narrative *ĩ'wã* may mean ‘well, and then...’.

-ĩ?ĩ- *(svv)* REM
Remote past morpheme. *kukuihỹ'?ĩ?ĩhỹ'ki* ‘he was ill (but is not now)’, *hako'ri i'si?ĩ?ĩ'wy* ‘the time there was an eclipse of the moon (1 year ago)’, *o'kja?ĩ'?ĩnahe're* ‘those hunters of the past’ (lit. ‘those who were hunting (a long time ago)’). In the following situation it has an indignated connotation: (Remark) *hã'?ã kurakura'nĩ* ‘here take this egg!’, A: *haki'dwa?ĩ?ĩ'hỹ* ‘but it is a stone, you!’.

-ĩ?ĩ?e- *(svv)* always
Habitual morpheme which was attested only once, probably related to *-ĩ?ĩ'ta-*. *kaka'nĩ?ĩ?ĩ'?edaki* ‘I’m always scratching myself’.

ĩ?ĩta- *V* always, as usual
Probably related to *-ĩ?ĩ'?e-*. *ỹhỹ'ko a'we?ĩ?ĩ'tatse* ‘here it always rains’, *'tẽiñe a'we?ĩ?ĩ'tatse ỹhỹ'ko* ‘sometimes it rains here’, *'nãitsyhỹ'le he'dy?ĩ?ĩ'ta-daki* ‘I always mix only this (brand)’.

j

ja *(ADV)* already
Perfect adverb. *ja 'jadahỹ'ki txarwa* ‘I already ate today’, *'wera hãrã'nãtsyre 'ja* ‘has Vera nearly finished already?’, *ja mũu warajahã'rãcwawy aru'ceware* ‘after making chicha they put firewood in (it)?’, *jake'raitsy're* ‘he already went?’, *ja ay'wy 'ati'cwahỹki* ‘it was in that time there already lived people’, *hary'ky ja are'taxare* ‘now you already know?’.

ja- *(V)* eat, chew
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *ja'dyki* ‘he feeds (it)’. Compound in: *ja'?ũi?a'nitse* ‘she says let’s eat so that we can go to sleep’, *dodo'txi 'jadaki* ‘I chewed latex’ (this was done traditionally in order to avoid grinding one’s teeth during sleep). See also *jo-* ‘to devour’.

-ja *(svv)* EXP
Exhortative with a paucal and inclusive connotation. *hỹ'de toma'ja* ‘let’s take a bath!’, *ɛ:'ja 'txana'rjỹ* ‘let’s go to our house!’, *oja'jatse* ‘he asked me to go with him’ (lit. ‘he said “let’s go there!”‘). *ka'wɛ 'kui?a'ni* ‘let us (many) drink coffee!’ vs. *ka'wɛ 'kui[hi]ja(?a'ni)* ‘let us (few) drink coffee!’ (note morphophonological [*hi*] insertion, and possible ellipsis of optional extra inflexion).

-ja- *(svv)* IO
People / someone / the person: indefinite object cross-reference morpheme that indicates an unspecified third person. *we'tjaheky ka'hejahe-ki* ‘you don’t have to be afraid, it (e.g. a spider) does not bite (anyone)’. *ja'dyja?ani* ‘let’s feed the people!’. *mũu darje'dyjaki* ‘chicha gives strength’ (lit. ‘chicha makes a person being strong’), *wadyja?axaki* ‘we gave (to him)’. This morpheme may have an evasive or lamentative function when it refers to deceased and much-loved persons: *ɛhe'tajadaki* ‘I had warned him, the poor fellow’, *'hoBinson 'tajadaki* ‘I call (our baby) Robinson’. It is possible that *-ja-* can-not refer to an inanimate object: *ã'wỹidahỹki ãwỹi'jaxaxayhỹ* ‘I saw that photo you took of them’ vs. *ã'wỹi-xaxayhỹ* ‘photo you took (of house, dog, waterfall etc.)’. In some instances, the meaning of *-ja-* has been extended to inclusive objects: *'atyjaki* ‘there was (still something left-over) for us’. This might be the result of influence from POR.

-ja- *(DR)* thither
Only attested on two verbs of movement: *o'jaki* 'he leaves here / he arrives there', *wa'jaki* 'he takes / brings it there'. The direction of the movement can be reversed by the reflexive element *-nỹ* as in: *wajanỹ're* 'bring it hither!'.

jady- *(V)* feed
Causative derivation of *ja-* 'to eat'. May be used without specifying any objects, i.e. in an intransitive way.

jakururɛ *(N)* castor oil plant, castor bean
Ricinus communis, mamona. Also *jukuku'rɛ*. *jakuru're* 'sort of tree' used as a medicine by heating the fresh leaves a little over the fire and rubbing them over a painful place on the body'.

jale *(ITJ)* wait
ja'le 'wait a little'. *ja'le?ĩhĩ'ky* [*ja'lehỹ'ky*] 'wait, let!', 'wait a bit still'. *ja'ledaki* 'I'm saying "wait a little!"', *tsu'tsu:da'ki: ja'le?ĩhĩ'ky* 'wait, I'm pissing!'.

jaleja *(ADV)* in the past
jale'ja aniwe'sario'dydadayhỹ'ki 'last month I had birthday'.

jamãitay *(N)* nubile
A young girl before initiation, kept in isolation in a dark hut for some time. Not further analysable, although the classifier *-tay-* 'woman' is recognisable.

jananãi- *(V)* fine, O.K., thanks, correct, savour
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *jana'nãiki* 'that's fine'. With interrogative rising intonation: *jana'nãi* 'is that all?'. *jana'nãitse areta'dyta'nãi* 'thanks for teaching me'. Can also be combined with unidentified *-tara-* and the element *ja-* may be omitted: *(ja)na'nãitarahỹ'ki o'newahỹ* 'thank god they have arrived'. *jana'nãitaraki kẽ'wẽxwana 'jada'hỹ* 'thanks for the turtle dinner'. See also *nãi-* and *nanãi-*.

janãdy- *(V)* hungry
Related to *ja-* 'eat'.

jara *(N)* capybara
Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris. Homophonous with *ja'ra* 'eat!'.

jawekwɛ- *(V)* look in
jawe'kwɛdaki 'I stuck in just my head (to have a cautious look around the corner)'.

jã- *(V)* be, exist, be truly, say
In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. This verb is often used with an affirmative sense: Q: *jãre* 'is it (true)?', A: *jãki* 'it is', 'that's it', 'just like that', 'yes', 'right!'. It may also imply 'to say': *ti'nãi jã're* 'how is it you said / one does?'. *tsuhũra'tiwã jari'mã ja're* 'what does '*jarimã*' mean?'. *koreja'ro waja'nỹcara jãhỹ'tsy* 'I'm telling you bring here the pan! (giving the order again)'. It occurs often in special idiomatic and emphatic and indignant cleft-like constructions: *da'rje?ahỹ da'nỹ a'hejã'wy* 'the time when we did not yet have strength', *ĩ'wã kitse'tjataxwahỹtadyjãki* 'ah, they lied to me!' (I discovered this after having believed them). It may act as an impersonal cross-reference morpheme: *hyriko'ro ca'rijãta* 'one hunts monkeys', *e'nãitja?e'teja'tsi jã'ta areta'nãjãki* 'for him not to to quarrel with us, therefore we, we're going to learn'. In this situation it agrees only with the first person inclusive.

jã *(N)* blood
jã 'doki 'blood is coming out'.

jã- *(pdem)* DIST
[*ja-*] ~ [*jã-*]. Demonstrative prefix with the sense of 'distal'. Practically only prefixed to *ỹ-* 'this'. It indicates that the referent is without reach of both speaker and hearer. *da'nỹ jã?ỹ'hỹki* 'it is still over there', *jã?ỹ'rjỹ 'tjowaki* 'there there are many people', *(ywy'nwỹ) jã?ỹ'nwỹ* 'the tree (over) there', *hỹ'dɛ jã?ỹ'rjỹ 'ɛ?ani* 'let's go this way!'.

-jã *(CL)* root
E-noun. Variant of *-kãjã* 'root'. *ywynwỹ'jã* 'tree root'.

-jãhỹ *(CL)* trail, path, road
Related to *txahỹ* 'trail, path, road'. *tximũ'tejahỹ'na* 'on the path to the river Pimenta Bueno', *ywy'nwỹ 'aja'hỹki* 'there is a log in the way'.

jãky *(N-KIN)* sister (younger)
Younger sister of male. KAN *nã'kɛ* 'female person'.

jãmũ *(N)* sperm
Lit. probably 'blood-liquid'.

jãmũ *(N-NAM)* Ipiranga river
Left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river between the Ipiranga river and the Cascata falls, see *unɛ'ru*. Lit. 'blood river'. Homophonous with the word *jã'mũ* 'sperm'.

jãnũ *(NAM)* jãnũ
Male person name.

jãsi- *(V)* hear
Also [*?jã'si*] ~ [*jã'tsi*]. Related to *ñã'si* 'ear'. *jã'sira* 'obey her!', *ku'kui ñãsi'heda're* 'damn, I can't hear / understand anything (e.g. because there is so much noise around)!', *'sĩ: jã'si-rjỹ''hedaki* 'I can't hear (because of some accident / illness)', *'ãi jã'sidaki* 'I'm listening far / hearing (noise) in the distance', *jãsiro'nɛ* 'hearing organ'.

jãtsi- *(V)* fat
In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. *jã:tsi're* 'is it fat?', *jãtsi'ñũ* 'its (belly) fat', *jãtsiñũ'mũ* animal oil/fat'.

jãtsimĩu *(NAM)* Jãtsimĩu
Female person name of Madalena, in full: *jãtsi'mĩu maky'txa* also [*jatsi'mĩu*].

jãu *(N)* cat
Monosyllabic. *jãuki* 'it is a cat'. AIK *jãw?ĩ.*

jã?ũ- *(V)* menstruate
jã'?ũdaki 'I'm menstruating', *e'tay jã'?ũki* 'the woman is menstruating', *jã'?ũ?a'nãi* 'menstruation'.

je- *(V)* bounce, pop, jump
Unclear whether this is a verb which is homophonous with *je-* 'to dig', or a directional in elliptic use. Attested several times in only one text in family I. *hary'ky axy'na je'kwɛhỹdyta* 'then it bounced into the house', *'tana 'ta jeto'tota 'atahĩ'nỹnãi'ledyta* 'then, bang! he jumped up and he had just hit himself on the forehead'.

-je- *(DR)* away, dig
This directional only occurs on certain verbs and is quite lexicalised. It has a connotation of telicity and (sudden) destructive change. Because its meaning includes notions as 'crawl', 'claw' and 'grab', it may derive from the verb *je-* 'to dig'. *terja'jedaki* 'I slid / slipped', *bɛ'jeki* '(the popcorn) is popping', *wa'jeki* 'he searches / he brings it back'.

je- *(V)* dig
'jeki 'he is digging'. In family II also [*'je?eki*] ~ [*je:ki*].

jerexwa *(N)* jaguar, dog
Generic term. Possibly ultimately from a Tupi language, e.g. Tupinamba *ia'yara* (Cunha 1989). See also *ĩ'tsɛ̃*. Also [*ñere'xwa*] (note C:22±: *ñɛrɛ'tsɪ?*). The extension to 'dog' is already attested in the contact period: *iritsoá* 'jaguar', 'dog' (Z:114+/115+). *jere'xwaco'ha* 'jaguar/dog trace', *jere'xwa txu'hũi* '(wild) cat', *jere'xwa-to'hoi* 'little jaguar, jaguar kitten'.

jerexwa erere?ỹhỹ *(N)* jaguar
Panthera onca, onça. *jere'xwa ere're?ỹhỹ* (lit. 'spotted jaguar').

jerexwa ki?ỹhỹ *(N)* puma
Felis concolor, suçuarana, onça vermelha. Lit. 'red jaguar'.

jerexwa txihỹtɛ *(N)* jaguar
Panthera onca, onça. Lit. 'big jaguar'.

jerexwa txuhũi *(N)* margay
Felis wiedii, maracajá or gato do mato. Lit. 'small jaguar'.

jete- *(V)* eat mixed
jete'ra 'eat it together (i.e. don't eat just meat but eat also rice and beans)!'. *ka'wɛdy'nỹ jete'mũra* 'drink coffee with it (the cake)!'.

jẽjẽkydy *(N)* bee species
Apis mellifica, abelha de Europa,

oropa. *(nũ'ty) jẽjẽkydy'mũ* ‘oropa honey’. Also [*jãky'dy*] in: *jãky'dydymũ 'waire* ‘you like oropa honey?’.

-je?e- *(svv/V)* too, again
Morphophonological variant of *-e-* ‘again’. Obligatory in negated verbs, elsewhere optional. *kui'heje?enãdaki* ‘I’m not going to drink more’, *oja(je)?ewaki* ‘they went again’, *bony'hỹ txu'hũi 'jaje'?eda'mỹ* ‘I’m going to eat a little more’. Is also encountered as a verb root meaning ‘to do or say again’: *je'?ewasi* ‘he (explained) again’, ‘he went hunting again’; *je'edaki* ‘I (spoke, did, etc.) again’.

jɛhɛ- *(V)* hide
Also encountered as [*ja'hɛ*] ~ [*jɛ'he*]. *jɛ'hɛdata 'tsũrũ'hɛdamỹ* ‘I’m going to stick (the paper) in between (the door so that it is (partially) hidden)’. *ja'hɛjawaki* ‘they hid him’, also ‘they kept a slave’.

jo- *(V)* devour
This is the rude variant of *ja-* ‘eat’, but it is not specifically animalistic. Also said of eating rather heavy food. Reflexive *jo'nỹhe'ky* ‘don’t gnaw on your skin!’ (CX: said to a dog).

jo *(N)* manioc, cassava, yuca
Janipha manihot, Manihot utilissima, Manihot esculenta Crantz (mandioca), Manihot dulcis (macaxeira), mandioca and macaxeira. *jo arwa'hỹ* ‘young manioc, good to plant’. *jo'xu* ‘manioc plant stem’, also a person name. *'jonũ'ty* ‘sweet manioc’. From TG, maybe Siriono: *(n)dio(j)* (Schermair 1962:298). Note AKU *dy'wɛ*.

jomũ *(N)* chicha of manioc
Lit. ‘manioc-liquid’.

jononĩ *(N)* manioc flour
Also [*jõnõ'nĩ*]. L:45: *iono*, Z:081: *iaronê*.

jonũ *(N)* soup of manioc
Manioc soup with a bit of meat and rice. L:45: *iono*.

joxu *(NAM)* Joxu
Male person, lit. ‘manioc branch’. The older brother of Wari, Joxu, was a Kwaza shaman of the time of Dr. Dequech (about 1942), who also spoke Kanoê and Mekens. He was attacked by two other shamans and died at Cascata.

jo?ũ *(N)* wild manioc
Manihot glaziovii Muell. Arg., fam Euphorbiaceae, mandioca do mato or maniçoba. [*jo'?ũ*].

jukarɛ *(N)* passiflora
Passiflora alata, fam passifloraceae, maracuja-grande. Purple and white flower. Also [*juuka'rɛ*] was heard for ‘passiflora fruit’. AIK *watawa'tare*.

jukukurɛ *(N)* castor oil plant, castor bean
Ricinus communis, mamona. Also *jakuru'rɛ*.

jupe *(NAM)* Jupe
Male person name of AIK or KWA origin. AIK *zu'pe*.

jũri *(N)* tar
Tar made of the resin of a certain tree. It is mixed with black stuff (*ho'ho?ỹhỹ*) from the bottom of a pan (also: *'hiñanũ'ko* ‘soot’), to glue the threads which are wound around arrowheads, to finish flutes, etc.

jũrinwỹ *(N)* marelim
Maybe gen Plathymenia or Raputia magnifica, amarelinho. *'jũri'nwỹ"tõi* is the inedible pale blue-green fruit of this tree, and has a diameter of about six cm.

jũtsĩ *(N)* tinamou species
Fam Tinamidae, especially gen Crypturellus, inhambuzinho preto. On some occasions said to be identical to *sĩ:*. On other occasions it was said to be black and to sing beautiful, but not identical with *sĩ* or *ute'tay txu'hũi*.

jũtsĩmũ *(N-NAM)* São Pedro river
Nickname of the lower São Pedro river.

y

yf *(IDEO)* pf
The symbolisation of the blowing sound of an animal like the pig or the ant-eater may make.

-yi *(CL)* string, thread, grub
E-noun. *ko'reja'?yi* ‘metal fence (of thread)’, *'owi 'ki?ỹ'?yi* ‘grub of a tree called pau amarelo’, *hã'?yi* ‘jet of water’.

ynỹ- *(V)* be called
Also [*ỹ'nỹ*]. *namãi'zu y'nỹdaki* ‘I’m called Namãizu’, *pi'tanga ỹ'nỹki* ‘the (dog) is called Pitanga’, *'nãi?y'nỹki* ‘that’s how he is called’.

yro- *(V)* cry, whine
This verb refers to the crying of children and small animals. *ku'raku'rato'hoi y:'roki* ‘the little chicken is crying’.

ywynwỹ *(N)* wood, tree
Generic term, from which the classifier *-nwỹ* derives. Z:097+: *eunoá*. Also [*uwy'nwa*] ~ [*awy'nwỹ*] ~ [*owy'nwỹ*]. *ywy'nwỹsimjã'ku 'cuxaxa'ki* ‘you’re cutting tree stumps’. Maybe related to Tupi, e.g. Tupinamba *yvyra* ‘log, wood’ (Cunha 1989).

ywynwỹxe *(N)* leaf of tree
Contains the classifier *-xɛ* ‘small leaf’. It is unclear whether *ywynwỹ'xe* is not also the name of a certain plant species, because on one occasion *'ki?ũ?ỹhỹ* ‘purple flower’ was given as an alternative. Also, it was once given as an alternative for *ywynwỹ'tswe* ‘forest medicine’.

ywynwỹtɛ *(N)* tree species
Vochysia haenkeana. Also escorrega-macaco, perna de moça, muirapera, murapera. It has a smooth green stem. Tea from the bark in combination with a compress of powder of the dried bark, mixed with honey, and put on the wounds, is used as a (painful) medicine against Leishmaniosis. See also *a'wysiki'nwỹ*. AIK *'wɛðamũ'mũi*.

ywynwỹtoha *(N)* clogs
Compound, lit. ‘wood-foot’.

ywynwỹtsu *(N)* cane, stick
Refers also to a stich used for digging and planting.

ywynwỹtswe *(N)* medicine from the forest
May be a generic term. Zach translated <*uanontsué*> (Z:099) as ‘poáia’, which is a plant valued by the pharmaceutical industry in the preparation of expectorants and emetics (Cephaelis ipecacuanha, fam Rubiaceae). *tsuhũ'du wai're ywynwỹ'tswe* ‘the medicine (of the forest) is good against what?’. Also [*ywynwỹ'xɛ*], lit.’tree-leaf’.

ỹ

-ỹ- *(sxx)* ATT
Also [*y*]. As an adjacent third person declarative morpheme only *-ki* is used. Creates an extension of the nominal or adverbial root. *jere'xwa 'hãna?ỹ'hỹ* ‘dog of the water’, *tsiri'tsa?ỹ'nwỹ* ‘the middle pole’. It has often an attributive sense of ‘being provided with’: *o'wy?ỹki* ‘he is painted with genipap ink’. The verb roots to which it is applied are predominantly semantically attributive themselves: *txu'hũi?ỹki* ‘it is small’, *'hoi?yhỹ* ‘it tastes/is sweet’. With some verbs it is lexicalised, but even though it is the last syllable of the root, it receives no stress: *'ha?ỹhỹ* ‘white one’.

ỹ- *(V)* stain
'ỹdaki ‘I’m decorated (with paint, ornaments etc.)/I painted myself with genipap’, *'ỹdunỹ'hỹdaki* ‘I painted myself all over’, *ỹdydu'hỹdaki* ‘I painted them all’, *'ỹdanãi ha'rãdaki* ‘I finished painting myself’.

ỹ- *(DEM)* this
Demonstrative and deictic root which requires further derivation. Speaker oriented: *ỹ'hỹ* ‘this one (here in my

vicinity)', *ỹhỹ'ko* 'here', *ỹhỹki* 'it is here'. *ko'sa 'sidyhỹ'ki ỹ'hỹ / ko'sa ỹ'hỹ 'sidy'hỹki / ỹ'hỹ ko'sa 'sidy'hỹki* 'the / this lantern is mine', *ere'wexynite'xy ỹxy'ko 'ãihỹwa'ra 'greBa'?ỹko tja?a'ce-tse* 'the school is far from here (this place) but close to Gleba'. With *-rjỹ-* there is no distinction between S and H orientation, but rather remoteness from both: *ỹ'rjỹ* 'over there, thither'.

ỹ *(ITJ)* uhh
This interjection signifies hesitation on the part of the speaker.

-ỹi *(CL)* flesh
wade'?ỹi 'flesh of coconut', *kũcẽ'?ỹi* 'flesh of Brazil nut'. *itxi'?ỹi* 'vagina' (e.g. of a young girl, as opposed to *-loi*). Maybe related to verb root *ẽi-* 'raw'. Also tight fabric or tissue of a somewhat thick and flexible, or stretchable elastic faculty: *'xui txi?ỹi'tɛ* 'big bag (of cloth)'.

ỹmỹ- *(V)* entwine, sleep/lie with
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. Note stress variation in: [*'ỹmỹ'ki*] ~ [*ỹ'mỹki*]. *ma'rijawã ỹ'mỹdaki* 'I lay down with Maria', *ỹ'mỹle'ja* 'I want to lie with you', *ỹ'mỹta?ỹ'ra* 'lie with me!', *'ja?ỹ'mỹki / 'ja?ỹ'mỹtse* '(the tree) has already become entwined'.

k

-ka *(CL)* bark, shell, spathe
E-noun. *e'kaki* 'it is bark (of palm heart)'. Probably in *mãbi'kã* 'recipient made of spathe of palm seed strings'. Maybe related to *-kalo* 'leaves.

kahɛ- *(V)* bite, devour
Also [*ka'hæ*]. The agent is usually an animal. *ka'hetaki* 'it bit me'. *kahɛ'hejaki* 'it doesn't bite people'. Reduplication (and reflexive?) indicates playfulness in: *jere'xwatohoi ka'ka-henỹ'ki* 'the dog is biting of happiness'.

-kai *(CL)* leg
E-noun. *e'kai* 'lower leg'. KAN *-kaw* 'shinbone'.

kai *(pxx)* mythical, old
This element seems to be a prefix of limited productivity. It occurs in words for mythical beings, such as *kaidari'ja*, *kaihũ'hỹ*, *kaiku'ja*, *kaiku'ri* and *kai-nahe're*. See also the discussion concerning *(kai?)arikwa'jũ*, and note Carib *kaikwi*, *kaikuʃi* 'jaguar', 'spirit' (Eithne Carlin pc).

kaidarija *(NAM)* spirit
A mythical spirit of *dari'ja*, the bush dog. Once upon a night two girls decided to go collecting mushrooms the following day. *Kaidarija* heard this and at four o'clock AM he lay in ambush. *Kaidarija* was a bush dog who turned into a man. He abducted one of the girls, and laid her beneath a thorny tree. There he made love to her, but his penis grew very long and got stuck in the earth. The lesson is that one should never talk at night about ones plans for the next morning, because that will attract an accident. Therefore you are only explicit about your plans on the very day you are going to carry them out.

kaihutu *(N)* termite
Especially Coptotermes vastator, fam Termitidae, ord Isoptera, cupim. Also 'house of termites'.

kaihũhẽ *(N)* kazoo flute
A cracked bamboo tube through which is spoken to accompany the *hãxyilotxwɛ* flutes. The last two syllables were considered by consultants as sound-symbolic. Note same sound symbolism in: AIK *atu(w)e-'hẽ('hẽ)?ĩ* and KAN *tsy'tsyhõ'hẽ*.

kaikuja *(NAM)* cold
Personification of the cold periods of the dry season (in POR 'friagem'), *kaiku'ja o'nɛ?eki* 'the cold came again', *kaiku'ja o'nɛdyta owy'jaki* 'kaikuja returned which is why it is cold'. According to the Kwaza myth

Kaikuja is a person who died and when he returns he always comes with a young woman. People then burn annatto, which makes the woman ill, and *Kaikuja* will leave again. Therefore people throw annatto into the fire, which is ripe in the dry season (june-august). The Aikanã myth is completely different. They suppose the cold represents a supernatural tribe to which human life is similar to that of fish in water. This tribe has the intention to kill the humans by poisoning the 'water' with timbo.

kaikuri *(N)* armadillo species
Gen Euphractus, fam Dasypodidae, tatu peba, armadillo species, AIK *ði'pyi*, also tatu bola (Tolypentus tricinctus), AIK *dure're* / tatu rabo de couro / mole (Cabassous unicinctus), AIK *kiri'kiri'wa*, tatu cabeludo / peludo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Also *ha'kaikuri*, rapid speech [*'kaiku'ri*].

kaikucɛ̃ *(NAM)* spirit
One of two important Kwaza mythical beings. The element *kai-* 'old' may be a prefix of limited productivity, as in *kai?arikwa'jũ*. See also *kaidari'ja*, *kaihũ'hỹ*, *kaiku'ja* and *kainahe're*. However, note forms in Carib such as *kaikwi*, *kaikuʃi* for 'jaguar' or 'spirit' (Eithne Carlin pc, Meira 1999, and note also the fact that a jaguar is often regarded as a spirit in Amazonian mythology).

kainahere *(N)* the people
'the first people from mythical times'. Consists probably of *hakai* 'old person' and *-nahere* 'COL'. Note *kai'taynahere* 'the women from olden times'.

kaja?yhỹ *(N)* bandy legged person
**kai'jaki*. Possibly related to *kaje-* 'to crawl'.

kaje- *(V)* crawl, creep, walk on fours
Said normally of turtles and other low crawling animals who do not stand upright. *ka'jeki* 'he walks on four feet', *(dore'ko) kai'je?ojeki* '(beetle) is walking', *ka'jeka'jetja'ra* 'walk on all fours!', *kajɛ'hejãki* 'we don't crawl'.

kay- *(V)* scratch
xyi'nĩ 'kaytaki 'the needle pricked me (but did not puncture the skin)', *jere'xwa 'kayki natau*('wã)* 'the jaguar scratched Natal'.

kayte- *(V)* rub, scrape
Probably related to *kay-* 'to scratch'.

kaka *(N)* large ant
Formigão (POR for 'large ant'). Ant that likes to collectively invade one's pantry. AIK *pu'?nɛ*.

kakamũ *(N-NAM)* river
Lit. 'ant river'. Left tributary of Pimenta Bueno, between the Urubu and Tanaru rivers. May be the Igarapé Maloca, Igarapé Burro Morto or the Rio Barro Vermelho.

kakanĩ- *(V)* scratch, itch
kaka'nidaki 'I'm scratching (myself)', *jere'xwa kaka'nĩki* 'the dog is scratching (itself)', *'kakaniku'tydaki* 'I'm scratching my head'.

kakata *(N-NAM)* Cascata falls
Cascata 15 de Novembro, falls where the Igarapé Ipiranga joins the Pimenta Bueno. At these falls was one of the first central colonist's villages in the interior of Southern Rondônia, where an ethnically diverse majority of Indians traded and lived and worked together with non-Indians. It flourished during the rubber boom in the 1930's, now it has totally disappeared (together with the surrounding forest). Also [*kas'kata*]. Probably from POR *cascata* 'cascade'. Also *txita'mũ*. *kas'katarja'mũ* 'the riverbank at Cascata'.

kakau *(N)* crow, jay
Fam Corvidae, also 'passaro / galinha de bugre' (bugre = Indian, mixed blood Indian-Brasilian, or Cuiabano), gralha or cancã. ONO. Also [*ka'kɑw*]. AIK *kɑukɑu*. Carlson gives *kaw'kaw* for Daptrius americanus (C2:181). Maybe via Tupinamba related to POR *cancã*, which may refer to various

different birds.

kale *(ADV)* actually, in reality
Also [*'kal:e*]. This adverb contradicts presuppositions. It is often combined with a matrix verb ending in the resignation marker *-tsy*: *ka'le jã?ỹ'hỹ:tsy* 'that one', *ka'le ẽ'hike ỹ'nỹ:tsy* 'the one who is in reality called Henrique', *ka'le ẽhikedy'hỹ:tsy* 'actually, it was Henrique's', Q: 'where is Samuel? (CX: he arrived yesterday), where did he sleep?', A: *ka'le 'ætsyhỹtsy* 'actually (he did not sleep here but) he went away'. *ka'le* can be used as verb stem too: *(la'to) kukui'hỹdaki ka'ledahỹ'tsy* '(yesterday) I said I am ill' / 'I said it myself that I am ill' (MA translated it as 'I said').

-kalo *(CL)* leaves
Hollow leaves / stems of plants with many 'branches', e.g. *babayka'lo* 'pineapple', bamboo etc. The suffix probably characterises the plant as having long leaves with no easily definable leaf stems: *byka'loki* 'cut a plant with many branches or leaves, cut all of it, finish with it'. When a shaman wants to smoke tobacco he could say something like: *hã'xyi byka'lodamỹ* 'I'm going to cut bamboo'. Maybe related to *-ka-* 'bark of palm heart' + *-lo* 'tube'. Maybe related to LAT *-ka'loh-* 'flat object, bark' (Telles 2002a:187).

kamũkamũ *(N)* bitter damson tree
Simaruba amara, fam Simaroubaceae, marupá. Tree in which a cricket of the same name is said to live.

kamũkamũ *(N)* cricket
Gen Gryllus, grilo. Named after the bitter damson tree in which said to live. *kamũka'mũ a'xynã 'bu?ũ-'tatsi'tswaki* 'the cricket is clinging onto the underside of the house'.

-kanɛ *(CL)* board, flat stick, wood, oblong inflexible
[*æ*]. E-noun. *eka'nɛ* 'board', *kore'ja-ka'nɛ* '(wooden) machete', *oitsi'lɛtsyhỹ etsyka'nɛ* 'sex video tape'. Note SU: *'wyxyika'ne* 'straw roof', *a'kikane'xy* 'roof'. *ko'reja 'nỹka'nɛtse* 'the knife is big'.

kanɛku *(N)* cup
[*kanɛ'ku*]. From POR *caneca* 'cup'. With creaky / laryngalised [*u*] in SU: *'kane'ku*. Also a loanword in KAN *kane'ku*.

kanɛxu *(N)* porcupine bead cord, coconut bead
Also [*kanẽ'xu*]. Also *takanɛ'xu* or *tu'kanɛ'su* 'necklace of porcupine needle'. Z:185: *tôcané-sô*. This word may also refer to necklaces or beads of black coconut like the *wade'ko* and *hadutu* palm trees.

kanɛto *(N)* bead
Refers to beads of grass seed.

kanũ- *(V)* husk
To take the maize seeds off from the cob.

kanwakanɛ *(N)* board
Also [*'kanwaka'ne*].

kanwaro *(N)* suitcase
Note classifier *-ro* 'cup'.

kanwã *(N)* boat, canoe, car
Also [*kan'nwã*]. ZE: [*ka:'nwa*]. AN extends this word to 'car'. AIK *ka'nowa*. This word has probably a Carib origin, e.g. Tiriyo *kanawa* (Meira 1999:743).

kanwãri *(N)* paddle
Note classifier *-ri* 'flat'.

kanwã?atoto?ỹhỹ *(N)* airplane
Main stress on the antepenultimate syllable. Lit. 'boat for high up'. Also [*kanwã?ata'tohỹ*].

kanwã?ekai?e *(N)* car, wheelbarrow
Main stress on the ultimate syllable. Lit. 'canoe=legs-too'.

kara- *(V)* dry
esiki ka'raki 'the clothes are dry', *ka'ratse* (or [*kara'tsɛ*]) 'it is/has dried', *'esiki(*wã) kara'dydaki* 'I dried the clothes'. ZE: *ka'ra?ỹki* 'it is dry'. *kara-rjỹ'bwatse* 'it (the puddle) dried up'. *hã 'karara'nũni'te* 'ice-cube mold'.

karaja- *(V)* dry season
kara'jaki 'it is the dry season'. There is

no word for year, the KWA year begins at the end of May. *'karaja'wy* ‘dry season (June-October)’, *tja?a'ce-tse 'kara'ja?e'nãtsy'hỹ* ‘next year is arriving/it is the next dry season’.

karanwỹte *(N)* old log
Dry log which may rot away in a year.

karara?ỹ- *(V)* meagre
Lit. ‘very dry’. Requires ATT *-ỹ-*: *'jere'xwa kara'ra?ỹki* ‘the dog is meagre’.

karari- *(V)* be thirsty
Lit. probably ‘have a dry chest’. Probably related to *karaxu'ri* ‘dry chest’.

kareja- *(V)* harvest maize
Only example: *kareja'bwaxare atxi'txi* ‘did you finish pulling the cobs off the maize plants?’.

karery *(N)* parrot species
Ara manilata, fam Psittacidae, ararinha. Green and blue parrot which lives in the buriti palm tree.

karɛ̃xu *(N)* dry tree
A dead dry tree (standing or lying down) which does not rot but that may keep on standing for over 30 years. The milky way is called after this phenomenon.

karɛ̃xu *(N-NAM)* milky way
Named after an old dead tree.

karɛ̃tɛ- *(V)* visit (close)
'marju hykarɛ̃:'tetse ‘Mario went over there (into the neighbour’s)’, *karɛ̃'tɛdaki* ‘I went there, visiting people nearby’ (i.e. inside the same *eri'cwa*, which is a distance of about less than one kilometre). It is anomalous to say *'ỹxuko'na 'karɛ̃'tɛ-daki* ‘I’m visiting here’ using the morpheme *-xuko* ‘inside the same settlement’ since, as MA comments, “you are already here”.

karitsuty *(N)* blind snake
Various amphibians, especially gen Shiphonops, fam Ceciliidae, cobra cega. Also gen Anphisbaena & gen Lepidosternon, fam Amphisbenidae, e.g. Amphisbaena alba, cobra de duas cabeças, ‘ibijara’, two-headed snake. The word probably derives from a compound of an unidentified form and *tsuty* ‘head’.

karicwa *(N)* settlement (previous)
'kari'cwa ‘place of (deserted) houses’ refers to a place where there used to be a settlement.

-karu *(CL)* scale, scaly, plate
daraika'ru nỹka'ruki ‘it is a big centipede’, *eka'ru* ‘scaly one’.

karuru- *(V)* sharp
ha'de karu'ruki ‘the pepper is sharp’, *karuru'djodaki* ‘I have a tingling foot (it has gone to sleep)’.

karuto *(N)* swarm of ants
Especially gen Eciton, fam Dorilidae, formiga preto / correição, sacasaia. Actually a line of ants, in the house or in the yard etc. Also heard (though considered wrong) *[*kari'to*] ~ *[*kary'to*]. The word was also used to refer to a large black ant species which bites, ‘formiga de jacú’ (but see *ico'ry*).

-karwa- *(DR)* away, behind
xarekarwatse ‘it is turned away’, *a'wỹixareka'rwadaki* ‘I’m looking there in the distance’, *nỹkarwarjỹki* ‘(the weeds are) covering a big(ger) area’. See also *ũcetsa'rwa-* ‘to put’.

-karwanĩ *(CL)* nose
'nỹkarwa'nĩxaki ‘you have a big nose’.

karwate *(N)* community
‘the (rest of the) people / community / expedition’.

-karwɛ- *(DR)* away, close by, around, behind, in a circle
Only attested with the verb root *eje-* ‘to move, to flee’: *ejekarwɛ-* ‘to move (away, migrating in the traditional manner, returning after several decennia, according to a circular seminomadic migratory pattern). The element *-rwɛ-* occurs as a separate directional with the meaning ‘around’.

-kasi *(CL)* wing, feathers
E-noun. *eka'si* ‘wing consisting of feathers’, *awyka'si* ‘parrot wing with

feathers', *tsu'rwanika'si?a'hỹ* 'nose feather', *hako'rodyka'si* 'jacú feather'.

kaxanuje *(N)* bull's tongue
Ajugareptans, fam Labiadas, lingua de boi. The stem of this plant feels like a file on the skin and may hurt.

kaxari *(N)* file
Stone file. Note the CL *-ri* 'flat, round', but the root is unidentified. ZE: [*kasa'ri*].

kaxy- *(V)* soak
In combination with causative *-dy-*, this root means 'put to soak'.

kataja- *(V)* tether
kata'jadaki ã'rũi 'I tethered the horse', *wã*(wã) ka'tajaki pju* 'Piu tethered a wasp'. Probably related to *ka'tɛ-* 'tie'. Can also be said of hanging up a hammock.

katay *(N)* agouti
Dasyprocta agouti or D. spp, cutía. Rodent which looks like a small paca. ARI *ky'tyj* 'paca'.

katɛ- *(V)* tie
katɛ'nỹki '(the bracelet) is tied', *ka'tɛki* 'he tied', 'it is the knot' (but note that the stem cannot function as a noun for 'knot'), *zjwãu cohasi'ki ka'tɛki* 'João tied his shoes'.

-katsa- *(DR)* middle of the road
The element *-tsa-* also occurs as part of the adverb *tsiri'tsa* 'in the middle'. *a?ũka'tsahỹki* 'he lived in the middle (e.g. in Postinho, between Barroso and Gleba), *isi'?ũkatsahỹ* 'one (e.g. an animal) that died on the path'. With INTENS *-te* it may function as an adverb: *buka'tsatɛ* 'sitting (right) in the middle of the road'.

katsy *(ADV)* soon, quickly
xyidy'hỹ eto'hoi ka'tsy 'areta'nãtse 'your children will learn rapidly', *ka'tsy he'rohe'rodaki* 'I'm eating the plate of porridge quickly', *ka'tsycara* 'go quickly!', *ka'tsy ja'bwa?a'sa?a'nĩ* 'we should eat this soon! (otherwise it will go off)'.

katsu- *(V)* step over
Also [*ka'xu*]. *lo'tena ka'tsudaki* 'I stepped over the (low) door/fence'.

katsutsu *(N)* hare, rabbit
Sylvilagus minensis, fam Leporidae, lebre, Brazilian hare, or Oryctolagus cuniculus, fam Leporidae, coelho, rabbit. AIK *ka'susu*.

kacari *(N)* big lizard
Calangão, lagarta grande (POR for 'big lizard'). Big black and white lizard of about one metre long. Also [*katjari*]. *takwanãi'xwahỹ* 'looking like a cayman'.

-kace *(DR/CL)* on top of horizontal wood
Directional characteristics are common: *emũka'ceki* 'water leaked (onto the table)'; *doka'cedaki mesa'na* 'I leaked water on the table'. Classifier characteristics are rare: *'ekace'nã* on top of a fallen tree', *du'kyka'ce* 'other tree / plank'.

katxɛtxa *(N)* cachaça
[*katxɛ'txa*], from POR *cachaça*, the national sugarcane spirits.

-kawa *(CL)* inside of a round vessel
'inside a small round vessel the size of a fist'. *txi'jo 'nỹka'waki* 'the calabash plate is big'.

kawapɛ *(N)* cockroach
[*kawa'pæ*]. Especially Periplaneta americana, fam Blattidae, barata or barata do mato, big lightbrown or black tropical cockroach species. *kawa'pɛ ẽrjã'wãnã?ỹhỹ* 'cockroach of the forest', *kawa'pɛ a'xyna?y'hỹ* 'cockroach of the house'. MEK *ewape*.

kawerɛ *(N-NAM)* dog
Male dog name. Also [*kawe'ræ*].

kawɛ *(N)* coffee
From POR *café* 'coffee'. AIK *ka'pɛ*. With classifiers: *kawɛ'nũ* 'coffee powder', *kawɛ'mũ* 'liquid coffee'.

ka?awanihỹ- *(V)* suffer, worry
kara'ridata 'ka?awani'hỹdahỹ'ki 'I very much suffered thirst'. By itself the verb means 'to worry': *'ka?awani-'hỹdaki* 'I'm worrying'. Note that with overt objects an extra transitivising suffix is needed: *'sidyhỹ mãi*

'ka?awani'hỹxo'tɛdaki 'I worry about my mother'.

kã- *(V)* roast, toast
'kãki 'it is roasting', *cẽ'rĩ 'kãni'te* 'toasted peanuts', *cẽ'rĩ 'kã?ahỹ* 'peanuts for us to toast', *'jono'nĩ 'kãxare* 'are you making (lit. drying) manioc flour?'. Often encountered with incorporated CL, as in: *atxi'txi-(*wã) kã'todaki* 'I toasted maize'.

-kãi *(CL)* mouth, lips, large opening
E-noun. *nỹ'kãixa'ki* 'you have a big mouth'. Maybe related to KAN *-kyjn* 'eye'.

-kãjã *(CL)* root
E-noun. Related to *-jã* 'root'. *to'ro(kã)'jã* 'root of urucum'.

kãjã- *(V)* open hole, dig
'to open a small hole in the ground by hand'.

kãkã- *(V)* rub, sand
tsũ'hũ kã'kãxare 'what are you doing there rubbing?'.

kãkãici *(N)* rattle
Rattle to be tied around the knee, made made of piqui-shells. See also Snethlage (1939:7-8). AIK *hare'ðãw* or *a'reðãw*.

-kãrã *(CL)* rim or edge of certain things
E-noun. *ururi'rekã'rã* 'rim of basket'. Family II: *ekã'rã* 'rim of something (bucket, basket, chair, but not of everything)'. Family I (MA): *ekã'rã* 'rim of only very small things, e.g. of beads' and 'side of the head', *ekãrã'tɛ / mã'bikãrã'tɛ* 'shotgun shell'. All the rest is *-kãrãi*.

-kãrãi *(CL)* edge, rim
E-noun. *ekã'rãi* 'rim', *towykã'rãi* 'the edge of the plantation / field'. MA prefers *-karãi* in most cases to *-karã*, which is heard from ZE and AN. According to MA *-kãrãi* refers to a rim of something bigger than a shotgun shell which is *-kãrã*.

kãrãwyto *(N)* seed (red and black species)
Ormosia sp. Specific red and black bean-like seed used for necklaces.

kãu- *(V)* break, tear
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *kãutsy'hỹ* 'the one that broke', 'broken, torn', *kãutsy'hỹki* 'it is the one that broke', *X 'vidru kãu'dydaki* 'I made X break the glass', *haki'dwa amũ'tay 'kãu?asaki* 'stone broke the bottle', *amũ'tay si kãw-?a'sadaki* 'I broke the bottle', *amũ'tay kãu'dydaki* 'I made break the bottle'

ke- *(V)* smoulder, burn, glow
Note GUA *kai-* 'burn'. *'keki* 'burn by smouldering without flame' (consequently, a propane stove cannot *ke-*). *'kjedy'ra* 'light (e.g. cigarette)!', 'put on light!', *ke'dyki* 'he put on (electric) light', *hi kehỹ'ta bohy'jatse ywy'nwỹ* 'the fire burnt up the whole log', *'auxwa'na 'keni'tɛ* 'fried meat', *atxitxi 'ketosɛ'ra* 'braise the maize inside it's leaves!', *atxitxi 'boboi'keni'tɛ* 'boiled maize', *ke'hỹtaki* 'he burnt me', *ui 'keto'hataki* 'tobacco burnt my foot (I stepped on a fag)', *keko'jeki* 'he burnt himself on the hands'.

ke- *(V)* exit
Usually [*kje-*]. *'kedaki* 'I'm going out the door'.

-ke *(CL)* cob
E-noun. *atxitxi'ke* 'cob of maize', *boboi'kenãdaki (atxitxi)* 'I'm going to boil cobs (of maize)'. See *e'ke*. Probably related to *o'luke'ni* 'mutum beak'.

kehỹ- *(V)* burn up
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *ka:'tsy kehỹ'ki* '(the house) quickly burnt away totally'.

kei *(N)* tick
Fam Ixodidae. Usually [*kjei*], also [*kei*]. *'keitse're* 'very small tick', *'kei 'txise'te* 'very big tick (Boophilus microplus, carrapato de anta)'. AIK *ki:rokö-i*.

keiñũse *(N)* jatobá resin
keiñũ'se '(hard non-fossilised transparent) resin of jatobá'. The element *-se* is not productive.

keitsere *(N)* tick (very small)
keitse're 'very small tick'. Derived from *'kei* 'tick'.

kemãi *(N)* mosquito
Diptero certopogonina, gen Culicoides, fam Quironomidae, mosquito polvora or mosquito de palha or tatuqui. Those clouds of very small mosquitos whose bites itch painfully and decorate all exposed parts of skin with measles-like red spots. They are active after sunset especially in wet places. See also Roquette-Pinto (1950:149). Also 'black mosquito'.

-keni *(CL)* beak
Probably lexicalised CL *-ke-* 'cob' and *-ni-* 'thorn'. *o'luke'ni* 'mutum beak', *hy'ri kike'nihỹ* 'cuchiu monkey'.

kerai- *(V)* go, leave, walk
jake'raidaki ([*ja'kredaki*]) 'I'm going already'. Also to go by bicycle or car: *kerai'nãdaki 'dury'ryjãhỹ'ko* 'I will go by bicycle', *ary'ky ke'rai?aki* 'now we're going (CX: as the bus leaves the platform)'. ARI *ky'ryj* 'walk'.

keredy- *(V)* thank
Uncertain meaning, probably related to 'carefully'. *kere'dydaki* 'I thanked him'. *kere'dy* 'slowly' / 'thanks'.

keredyta *(ADV)* carefully
Adverbial particle. *keredy'ta a'ra* 'quit messing!', 'be quiet!', *'keredy'ta o'jadaki* 'I went slowly', *keredy'tacara* 'walk carefully!' (as it is slippery).

kererjỹ- *(V)* make noise
Also [*kjere'ñã-*]. *kere'rjỹki* 'thunder is making noise', *ke'rerjỹ'dyki* 'he is stamping'. *keredy'rjỹki* 'he makes noise (also e.g. scratching)'. *keredy-'rjỹdaki* 'I'm making noise', *keredy-'rjỹdamỹ* 'I'm going to make noise'.

kerero- *(V)* whisper
Also [*kɛrɛro*]. Probably related to *keredy-* 'slowly' and *kero-* 'prohibit'. *kere'rocara* 'speak softly!', *kererо-'tjadamỹ* 'I'm going to speak softly to him'.

kero- *(V)* prohibit
Prohibition by tabu or ceremony, especially with reference to food. *hyriko'roxwanã ke'roki* 'monkey meat is prohibited', *'ja?anãi ke'roki* 'it is prohibited to eat', *'hita ke'roki* 'Rita is forbidden (to eat, talk, play etc.)'.

ketsu- *(V)* prowl, sneak
kje'tsuca'ra 'sneak!'.

kẽ- *(V)* sharpen, file
'kẽdaki 'I'm sharpening etc.', *ko'reja 'kẽ?a'hỹ* 'file', *'kjẽni'tɛ* 'file'.

kẽicakwe *(N)* jatobazinho
Uncertain. It is not clear if this is one of the jatobá species (see *kɛiñũ* 'jatobá' and *keiñũcukwe*, which only refers to the fruits of the jatobá).

kẽi?ỹ- *(V)* smooth
Slight palatalisation of [*k*] in: [*'kʲẽi?ỹ'ki*] 'it is smooth (to feel)'. *'kẽi?ỹ'hetse* 'it isn't smooth'. Maybe related to *kẽ-* 'to sharpen'.

kẽjãsi *(N)* bast, envira
Any species, e.g. Bombaceae, Guatteria chrysopetala (Steud.) Miq., fam Annonaceae, also other fam Timelaceae, Esterculiaceae, Malvaceae, embira. *'kẽjã'si* actually refers to the strap of bast pulled off the tree to be used for rope etc., whereas the plant spieces itself is actually *'kẽjãsi'nwỹ* lit. 'wood of envira'. *'kĩjã'tsi tsũrũ'nãtse* 'she is going to pull envira (from the tree stem to make rope)'. ZE [*'kĩjã'si*].

kẽwẽ *(N)* turtle
Testudo tabulata Spix, fam Testudinidae, & Platemys platycephala, fam Quelidae, jabutí-machado. Z:126: *kimé*.

kẽwẽdori *(N)* water turtle
Explained as 'tartaruga de agua' (POR for 'water turle'), which could be Podocnemis unifilis, ord Quelonidae, tracajá. *kẽvẽdo'riski'lo* 'shell of water turtle'. The element *-ri-* refers probably to the disc-like shape of the water turtle.

kẽwẽxu *(N)* flute, turtle bone
A bamboo reed used as the traditional small flute which accompany the *hãxyilo'txwɛ* flutes, lit. 'turtle bone'.

AIK *'kiri'patsa'zu*, lit. 'turtle bone'. The late Numunu called it in KAN *'ĩkũkũ'te* 'tracajá turtle'.

kɛiñũ *(N)* jatobá
Hymenaea stignocarpa, H. stilbocarpa, H. coubaril, fam Leguminosas. Also [*k(j)ei'ñũ*]. Tree and fruit. Related to *keiñũ'se* '(hard non-fossilised transparent) resin of jatobá'. Fruits of jatobá and jatobazinho: *kei'ñũcu'kwe*.

-kɛ̃ *(CL)* bristle, prickly
E-noun. *e'kɛ̃* 'bunch of prickles, like the hard hair of a pig or the fibres of a chopped off piece of paxiuba palm tree'. Usually [*kjɛ̃*].

kɛ̃imũ *(N)* oil, fat, grease
Also [*kjɛi'mũ*] '(can with) oil'. *keimũ'tay* 'bottle with oil'.

kɛ̃imũro *(N)* tin, can
'empty can', lit. 'oil can'.

ki- *(V)* ripe
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *'kiki* 'it ripens, is ripe', *'cay ja 'kitse* 'the papaya ripened already', *ki'hỹki* 'it is red', *mangka 'ki(*ỹ)hỹ 'jadaki* 'I ate a ripe mango'.

-ki *(svv)* DEC
Verbal declarative mood ending of the matrix clause. The third person singular subject is zero-marked. The [*i*] sometimes seems to cause palatalisation of the preceding [*k*], e.g. in: [*co'hỹkji*] 'there is plenty'. There is an alternative declarative *-tse*, with which *-ki* is sometimes interchangeable, although there are important distributional and semantic differences between them.

kidjarara *(N)* heap of caterpillars
A certain species of caterpillar which migrates collectively in a rectangular heap. The last members of the party crawl over those in front of them and when they arrive at the front of the heap they are crawled over by the ones following behind. According to traditional belief, touching the caterpillar heap with the hands is a good preparation for grub-breeding (i.e. cutting down palm trees for grubs to feed on), and will lead to a rich harvest. A descriptive term is: *hã'kũi 'bæ:?ỹtsyhỹ* or *hã'kũi bæ'dy?ỹtsy'hỹ* 'those to breed grubs with' (see *bɛ-*). AIK *(h)am'pɛ-(h)ampɛ'rú*.

kidjoro *(N)* mushroom species
Small pink mushroom, edible, in the form of little cups with high brims, with tiny vertical folds, width 0,5 - five cm, which grows on tree trunks. Also nickname of female person.

kiharɛ *(N)* cabreuva tree
Myrocarpus frondosus, cabriúva. Also [*kihã'rɛ*].

kikalo- *(V)* fever
'to have fever'.

kike- *(V)* hot
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *kike'rjỹ e'wy* 'hot season', *kike'rjỹki* 'the weather is hot', *txa kike('mũ)ki* 'the tea is hot'.

kikiñũ *(N)* chigger, chigoe
Tetranychus molestissimus, fam Trombidiidae, micuim, mucuim, muqui or mycuí. The English term covers both the sand flea and this mite, which is a microscopic red tick, the size of 0.1 mm, which in lives grassy fields and may become a plague in the rainy season. It attaches itself to those parts of the skin which are covered by (especially the tight parts of) clothes. It may cause blisters under the skin filled with transparent watery pus, which may infect and result in chronic skin ulcer (ferida brava, but not Leishmaniosis) which again may be treated with Benzetacil or tea of the cerejeira treebark. The Indians get accustomed to the micuim after some weeks but lose this again when leaving an infested region for some weeks. Related to AIK *akü'nũi* (Carlson *hakönãj / hapönỹi*).

kikokorje *(N)* arrow of war
Simple symmetric harpoon point.

kile *(N)* periwinkle, snail
Probably gen Helix, caracol. Big twisted river mollusc and shell, which looks like a whelk. Also: 'piece of mother of pearl'. AIK *hi:'nũ*.

kileiniñũ *(N)* belt of shells
Also 'necklace of round disks out of mother of pearl'. Z:184: *kilélinon*.

kilewa *(N)* shell for earring
Mother-of-pearl shells are important traditional material for making earrings. L:25: *ilewa*.

kirihiu *(N)* bird species
Unidentified. Locally japolom.

kirije- *(V)* electric shock
kiri'jedaki 'I got an electric shock', *kirije'jeki* '(the electric eel *kyryjaje*) gave a shock'.

kitse- *(V)* lie
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. [*e*] ~ [*æ*]. *ki'tsedaki* 'I lied', *ki'tsetse* 'he lied, he is lying, that's a lie', *'ĩwã ki'tsetse* 'it is a lie which he told', *ĩ'wã kitse'tjataxwaki* 'they lied to me'.

kitsuty *(N)* tinamou species
Fam Tinamidae, inhambu galinha.

ki?ỹ- *(V)* red
Related to *ki-* 'ripen, be ripe'. *ki'ro?ỹki* 'the cup is red on the inside', *ki?ỹ'roki* 'it is a red cup'. [*'kji?ỹhỹ*] ~ [*'ki?ỹhỹ*] 'red one'.

kĩkẽ- *(V)* rub
'kĩkẽ'hỹki 'he is rubbing (his hands)', *'kĩkjẽ'hỹta'leki* 'they are rubbing one another'.

-kja- *(DR)* full length, upright or stretched out
aru'kjasiñwãwahỹlɛ 'they put (the mortar) upright in the yard', *'bukjataramỹ* 'I'm going to lie down first'. See *tsikja-*.

kjõ *(IDEO)* scuffle
Sound of snake rushing through the leaves.

-ky *(svv)* NEI
Negative imperative mood morpheme. It has to be combined with the negative morpheme *-he-*. *'hatsi'hỹxa'ta ja'?oja-bu'ruhe'ky* 'you can't arrive naked!', *xyi'tsɛ 'kuihexa'ky 'auku* 'you (PL) can't drink (pure) alcohol!'. See also *ja'le* 'wait!' and *ihĩ-* 'contrary'.

-ky- *(svv)* PAST
Past tense marker *-ky-* occurs only in combination with nominaliser *-hỹ-*. *la'to kui'daky'hỹki* 'I drank yesterday'. *m. kukui'hỹda'kida'mỹtse* 'M. is going to say he is ill', *m. kukui'hỹdadaky'hỹ-kida'mỹtse*, 'M. is going to say he was ill'.

kyikyihỹ- *(V)* angry
'to be angry and likely to become violent' (whereas *tãlo-* means 'to be angry and therefore quiet'). Considered archaic. *kyikyihỹ'tjadata cari?a'sadaki* 'I was angry with him and killed him', *'kyikyi'hỹdaki* 'I became angry'.

kyry- *(V)* feel, shock
This verb often refers to a feeling caused from within the body and it probably has an instrumental or force subject: *xyi'nĩ ky'rytse* 'the thorn (in my foot) makes itself felt (when I walk)', *xyi'nĩ hadota'hỹ ky'rytse* 'the thorn that pierced my foot is making itself felt'. With a patient or agent subject, a classifier is required: **ky'rydaki*, but *kyry'hỹdaki* 'I felt a shock'. Possibly the feeling can also be caused by an external cause, *kyry-hỹ'hedaki* 'I don't feel anything (while someone else is trying to provoke the speaker)', *kyrykutyte'tetse* 'he really knocked his head (against something)'.

kyryidjo- *(V)* fall on the foot
kyryi'djodaki 'I let (something) fall on my foot', *(siwã) ma'tɛlu kyryi'djotaki* '(it is on me that) the hammer fell me on the foot'.

kyryja- *(V)* thunder rumbling at some distance
awe'nãtja kyry'jaki 'it is going to rain and thunder'. Z:164: *keriá*.

kyryjaje *(N)* electric eel
Electrophorus electricus, poraqué or peixe eletrico. Note *kirije'jeki* '(the eel)

gives an electric shock'.

kyrymũjy *(N)* fruit species
Unidentified, but by some called tocarno. Sour yellow fruit, about 1,5 cm diameter. AIK *'djüa?i'ðãw*.

-kywy *(svv)* COND
Adverbial subordinate clause mood which expresses an open condition, where fulfilment of the condition is a realistic possibility. The matrix clause contains irrealis markers such as *-tsy-* 'POT', *-heta-* 'DESI', *-rydy-* 'IRR' and the negative imperative. *'mãhataky'wy o'jatsytse* 'when she calls you, go there!', *'mãhataky'wy o'jahe'ky* 'when she calls you, don't go there!'.

ko- *(V-etym)* without, naked, empty
Attributive verb root which requires classifier. Often in words nominalised by *-tɛ*. *ko'hỹtse* 'there is nothing / it is empty', *kodjodata* 'me being without shoes', *'prego 'kohỹ'tɛ a'xy e'hỹda'ki* 'I make a house without nails', *koxy'tɛ* 'empty house, white paper', *ũmã'tɛ-daki maninitsu'mãi 'kohỹtɛ* 'I fished without a hook'.

-ko *(CL)* fruit (big)
E-noun. *e'ko* 'fruit', *wade'ko* 'bunch of green coconuts in the tucuma tree'.

-ko *(snn)* INS
Instrumental case marker. *'pregoko 'tweki lo'te* 'the door was pierced using a spike', *ho'ho?emũ'ko ha'jewa'ki* 'it is painted (with) black', *Onibu'ko 'oja-'nãdaki* 'I'm going to take the bus', *teihỹwy'ko horony'hỹ* 'finished in just one day'. In combination with a verb nominalised by *-nãi* it may express a reason: Q: 'why are you sad?', A: *'ɛnãi'ko* 'because she left'. *dou'he-dahỹki 'boitja o'janãi'ko* 'I did not sit (in the car, on the wooden frame) because they went packed'. The case marker may also be used as a cislocative marker, and as such be ambiguous: *ayhỹ'ko* 'there', 'with that one'; *yhỹ'koki di'hu* 'the spoon is here'. *kwazady'nãi mãrɛ̃'?adynãi'ko are'dy-damỹ* 'I'm going to translate from Kwaza to Portuguese'.

koBeta *(N)* blanket
[*koBe'ta*]. From POR *cobertor* 'blanket'. AIK *ko'beta*.

kohonũ *(N)* spit
'that which you spit out after having chewed it'.

koiloi- *(V)* bend, fold, twist
'koiloi'tse 'it is bent, he has a crooked arm', *koi'loidy'ra* 'bend it! (stick, wire, etc.)', *koiloi'xydyra* 'bend the paper!', *koiloiko'je?ỹhỹ* (better than *lo'vẽko'je-?yhỹ*) 'person with crooked hand'.

koiloi?ỹ- *(V)* undulate
Contains attibutive suffix *-ỹ-*.

-koje *(CL)* hand
Related to *tso'je* 'hand'. *etoko'je* 'knuckle', *wã exyiko'jetaki* 'wasp stung me on the hand'. When used independently as a noun: *ko'je* 'fork'.

koje *(N)* fork
See CL *-ko'je* 'hand'.

-koke *(CL)* root
E-noun. *ywynwỹkoke* 'tree root', *toroko'ke* 'root of annatto tree'.

-koko *(CL)* throat, neck
E-noun. *eko'ko* is only the front part of throat, back part is *eko'ce*. *ekoko'xu* 'clavicle' (lit. 'throat bone').

koko *(N)* toad species
Phyllomedusa ayeaye. Edible toad species, which lays it's edible eggs in a slimy porridge called *atxitxi'nũ*.

kokoro- *(V)* growl
jere'xwa koko'roki 'the dog is vicious / growling'.

konã *(NAM)* Konã
Female proper name. Possibly of Tupinamba origin: *ku'ñã* 'woman' (Cunha 1989).

konãjã- *(V)* hot, be sweating
'konãjã'daki 'I'm sweating'.

konãjãdy- *(V)* sweat
konãjã'dyki 'he is sweating/he is hot'. *konaja'mũ* or *konãiãdy'mũ* 'sweat'.

konãxu *(NAM)* Konãxu
Female proper name of ZE's mother Nazaré. Also [*kona'tsu*] or [*kona'xu*].

konĩjãnỹ- *(V)* hallucinate
'kõnija'nỹ?a'xahỹhe're?axa'lehỹ'ki 'we thought it was a delusion!'.

kopu *(N)* cup, glass
[*'kopu*] or [*ko'pu*]. From POR *copo* 'cup, glass'.

-kore- *(DR)* matutinal, of the morning
*janã'dyko're*x*are* 'are you hungry in the morning?'. This morpheme also occurs in the adverb *(h)akore* 'tomorrow'. *'txarwa hajediko're: 'kawɛ kui'hetja kui'he?ỹko'reda'ki* 'this morning I drank nor tea nor coffee'.

kore *(N-KIN)* son-in-law
Husband of daughter. Female equivalent *kore?u'ty*.

kore *(N-KIN)* cousin
Son of uncle or aunt (uncertain), also called *txare'wa*. Female equivalent *'ma?ỹ'tɛ*. It is unclear whether *kore* or *txarewa* is marriageable to ega, probably the latter only.

kore *(N-KIN)* nephew, first cousin
Son of brother or sister, whose son may also be called txare'wa but not himself. Female equivalent *kore'tay*. Marriageable to ega. KAN *ko'ro*. Also grandson of brother / sister.

koredara *(N-KIN)* aunt
In law: wife of uncle. MA translates this word as 'sister of father or mother' but this is less dependable than the present translation from ZE. In general, in MA's family KIN terms can be used vocatively, whereas in ZE's family not.

koredara *(N-KIN)* mother-in-law
In law: mother of wife or husband.

koreja *(N)* knife, machete
There is no native iron, and there is no other form related to this word. Maybe the general meaning is something like 'utensil made of hard stuff' (Peter Bakker pc). *ywy'nwỹ kore'ja* 'wooden machete'.

korejakanɛ *(N)* machete
Originally a wooden machete, but also in a general sense 'knife, machete'. *kore'ja-ka'nɛ*, lit. 'knife-plank', also [*korɛjaka'nɛ̃*]. *kore'ja 'txikanɛ̃'te* 'big knife / machete'.

korejari *(N)* plate
*ko're*j*a'ri 'ha?ỹ'ri* 'white plate'.

korejaro *(N)* pan, bucket, mug
Maybe related to knife (although a word for 'metal' does not exist, the present word only refers to metal pans, and *towari'lo* is used for the ceramic vessels).

korejato *(N)* beads
*ko're*j*a"to* refers to imported glass beads, because they're so hard they can apparently be named after iron.

korejatxuhũi *(N)* knife
Lit. 'small machete'.

koretay *(N-KIN)* daughter-in-law
Wife of son. Male equivalent *ko're*.

koretay *(N-KIN)* niece, first cousin
Daughter of brother or sister, whose daughter may also be called *mã'te* but not herself. Male equivalent *ko're*. Also granddaughter of brother / sister. According to MA this also refers to daughter of uncle or aunt, which is uncertain. KAN *ko'ro*.

korewe- *(V)* pregnant
eto'hoi kore'wedaki 'I am pregnant (swollen) (with child)', *'korewe'tɛ* 'pregnant woman', *koreve'tɛxare* 'are you pregnant?' (in the context of teasing a sleepy man it means: 'my, you sleep a lot!').

kore?anỹtɛ *(N-KIN)* grandchild
Also heard [*korɛ?onỹtɛ*] ~ [*koronỹtɛ*], MA [*ky'rywnỹtɛ*]. Also grandchildren of uncle and aunt.

kore?uty *(N-KIN)* daughter-in-law
Wife of son. Female equivalent of *ko're*. Unclear if *tsida?u'ty* is a full synonym.

korɛ- *(V)* burst, squeeze
Also [*ko'ræ*]. To make something burst in order to harvest the seeds, grubs, etc. which are inside of it. *hã'kũi korɛ'nãdaki* 'I'm going to harvest grubs', *koreja'ko kũcẽ ko'rɛdaki* 'I'm opening the Brazil nut (the whole shell) with a machete'.

kori- *(V)* mash
ko'ridaki 'I'm mashing (e.g. banana with water to make juice)', *kori'txekawa'ra* 'put all left-overs in one pan (to eat from)!', lit. 'fill it to the rim with mash!'.

korjarwe- *(V)* open fully
'korja'rwetse 'the house is totally open, since it has no walls etc.' (referring to the traditional round straw hut, lit. 'there is nothing around it').

korjetsumãi *(N)* drill
Probably from *kore'ja* 'knife, iron' and *-tsumãi* 'pointed stick'.

korjỹ- *(V)* absent
Based on the verb root *ko-* 'without' and *-rjỹ-* 'area'. In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used: *ko'rjỹtse, ko'rjỹki* 'he/it is not there'. Unclear if detrimental *-ty-* in: *ko'rjỹtywasi* 'they encountered no-one (and went away)'.

-koro *(CL)* arm
Related to *tso'ro* 'arm'. May form e-noun: *eko'ro* / *ywy'nwỹko'ro* 'tree branch'.

koro- *(V)* empty
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Note the CL *-ro* 'cup'. *ko:'rotsɛ* '(the cup) is empty'.

kosa *(N)* sun, lamp, watch
ko'sa i'siki 'the sun eclipses', *ko'sa ɛtenỹko'tɛki* 'it's about five in the afternoon'. KAN *kwi'kaj*, MEK *kiakob* (Galucio 2001; *kyakup* in Hanke, Swadesh and Rodrigues 1958:213), Mura *huese* (Rodrigues 1986:79).

kosaxykai *(N)* digger wasp
Unidentified green-yellow digger wasp, about one inch long, stings, digs hole in the sand when the sun is burning. Maybe [*kai*] should be [*kãi*], in view of the possible literal meaning 'one who digs a house in the sun'.

koxona- *(V-etym)* itch
**koxonadaki*. *'koxonahỹdaki* 'it itches on my body', *'koxonaku'tydaki* 'it itches on my head'.

kotorɛ *(N)* toad species
Thoropa miliaris. Edible toad species. There is no generic term for frogs. AIK *'wãka'rɛ*.

-koce *(CL)* back of neck
E-noun. *eko'ce ku'kuidaki* 'I've pain on the back, between the shoulders and in the neck'. *eko'ko* is only front part of throat, back part is *eko'ce*.

kõrõ- *(V)* erection
kõ'rõ:daki 'I have an erection'. [*krõki*] 'it is a/he has a stiff penis'. *kõ:rõ:'hexatsy'tsɛ* 'you will become impotent', lit. 'you will not get an erection (any more)'.

kõrõrõ- *(V)* snore
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. Note GUA *kõrõrõ-* 'snore'. *'mãreri'tsa kõrõ'rõki* 'the person is snoring'.

ku- *(V)* insert, string
'kudaki or *'kwɛdaki* 'I'm stringing', *ku'dydaki* 'I made (cut) a path (through the bush)', *kudy'tadaki* 'I made a path there', *kudy'rjỹdaki* 'I strung (it) in an overgrown place', *kudy'cedaki* 'I put the pestle into the mortar', *kudy-tatsi'tswadamỹ* 'I clenched (the paper) under (the leg of the table, coffeepot, book etc.)'. *hã wa'txiwa'ci 'kuki* 'the river runs straight'.

kuda *(N-NAM)* Kuda
Female person name.

-kudji *(CL)* paw with nail, hoof
E-noun. *'ekudji* 'pig's paw' (CX: only when you have one in your hand). *dutu'reku'di wairatiki* 'pig's foot tastes good'.

kudy *(N)* calabash
Lagenaria siceraria Mol. Also *ku'dyku'ty*, containing the classifier *-kuty-* 'head'. L:49: *čiã*, Z:103: *codê*. Note *kudy'tɛ* 'big (-bellied) calabash'. Note that KAN *puku'tæ* (ME) also contains the classifier for 'head'.

kudykãi *(N)* calabash for drinking
Calabash with a hole for carrying liquids.

kui- *(V)* drink
kuida'hỹki 'I drink / I drank' (non-future), *kui'dakỹ'hỹki* 'I drank' (remote past, e.g. yesterday), *kui'dyki* 'he gives water', *hã 'kuihe'ky* 'don't drink water!'.

kuihỹ- *(V)* swallow
Consists of *kui-* 'drink' and CL/NOM *-hỹ-*. *ãwã'kã kui'hỹki* 'the heron is catching many fish'. With specific CLs: *kui'tõiki* 'take medicine' (lit. 'swallow little ball'); *kui'xudaki* 'I swallowed a (e.g. fish) bone'. AIK *kwẽ*.

kuikuijo *(N)* screaming piha
Lipaugus vociferans, fam Cotingidae, tropeiro, frio-frio, biscateiro. ONO. When alarmed by passers-by, the bird clucks softly three times, and then it calls twice. AIK *?wi'?wiðu* ~ *huihui'ðu*, ARI *kujku'ju*.

kuitõinite *(N)* medicine
Note the CL *-tõi-* 'little ball, eye' for the object of swallowing, and INSTR *-ni'te*, lit. 'swallow-pill'. This word is lexicalised since it also refers to ointment. The fact that ME once called it *kukui'tõĩni'te*, lit. 'pain-pill', was suggestive of another analysis.

kuja?u *(N)* pauraque
Caprimulgus candicans, Nyctidromus albicollis (curiango) or Podager nacunda (bacuráu), fam Caprimulgidae. Bird that eats (night)moths and sleeps between 5 am and 6 pm, and sings in August and September. In AIK *kuja'bu* refers to one of three types, KWA refers to all types with *kuja'?u*. Maybe from Tupinamba. Also personal name of hero from the traditional tale of the enchanted tapir. Also nickname for 'one who sleeps much'.

kuku *(N)* cicada
Fidicina mannifera, Tympanoterpes gigas, gen Cicadidae, cigarra. Also 'besouro'. *ku'ku 'mãki* 'cigarra is chanting'. AIK *ku:'ku*, ARI *koko'ry, ku'taj*, JEO *ku'tʃi*.

kukui- *(V)* hurt
ku'kuiki 'it hurts', *kukoi'dyki* 'he is feeling pain' (and more marginally: 'it gives him pain'), *'kukoi'hỹki* 'he is ill / he has pain', *kukoimjã'kaki* 'his belly hurts', *kukoite'teki* 'it really hurts', *ha'de kukui're* 'is the pepper very strong? *wĩ ku'kuiki* 'the wine is dry', *babare'hỹdata tokoi'ridaki ko'sa ku'koiki* 'I'm warm and tired, the sun is hot', *ku'kuiba'barɛ'rjỹki* 'the heat got worse', *tsu'ty kukui'dydaki* 'I have a headache', *kukuiku'tydaki* 'my head is aching (e.g. because of the weight I'm carrying on it'.

kukui *(INTJ)* wow!, yecch!, how strange!
Exclamative particle, to be used with INT inflexion: *ku'kui 'nãre* 'yecch! what a stink!'. *ku'kui a'xy wai'hỹre* 'wow! that's a beautiful house'. *kukui'nãi* 'how horrible!', *kukui ywy'nwỹ nỹ'nwỹ're a'wỹixa're* 'wow that's a big tree, isn't it?'. *ku'kui ñãsi'heda're* 'damn, I can't hear anything', *ku'kui ereri're* 'my, how it has grown!', *ku'kui a'we* 'what a pity it is raining', *ku'kui mãrẽ'?a pẽrẽ'jãnãi huru'jare* 'my, the Westerner loves to talk a lot!'.

kukuihỹ- *(V)* ill
Also [*kukoi*]. Usually with nominaliser *-hỹ-*. *kukui'hỹhỹki* 'he is ill', *kukui'hỹ?a'nãi* 'illness', *kukui'rjỹki* 'it is a place with much illness' (CX: when everyone has the influenza). May be related to Carib, e.g. Trio *-a:kui-* 'to hurt' (Eithne Carlin pc), through Palmella?.

kukuimũ *(N)* strong liquid
ku'kuimũ 'kuinãi 'edaki 'I only drink strong stuff' (especially medical).

kukuinãi *(PART)* my, my oh my
Note usual stress placement: [*ku'kuinãi*]. Expletive particle with a wide range swearing value. *kukui'nãi-xare* 'my you eat!, you are strong! etc.'. In the combination *ku'kuinãi enỹ'rja-* it means 'to suffer'. *ku'kuinãi*

enỹ'rjadaki 'I suffered a lot of pain'. The element *-nãi* may be omitted.

kukuitsynũ *(N)* poison
Type of snake poison used for arrows (of war).

kukuri *(?)* rounded loop
kukuri?yi ahỹ 'spring' (lit. 'one full of loops / windings'). *kukuriku'ty?ỹdaki* 'my head is round (because of having tied my hair)'.

kukwe- *(V)* thread
haryky tsi'cwadata 'kukwerja'hỹdaki 'now I started to thread / fence around' (tie, thread or string wire around poles to make a fence).

kumada *(N)* bean
Fam Leguminosae-Fabaceae, fava. Large white bean, somewhat bitter, four in a large white peel. Also [*'kumã'da*]. This form is spread throughout Amazonia, possibly via Nheengatu: AIK *ku'mãda*, KAN *kome'ta*, LAT *ka'mat* (Telles 2002a:246), Tupinamba (Tupi-Guarani) *koma'na* (Cunha 1989), Paresi (Arawak) *kumeta* (Becker-Donner 1955:322), Tiriyo (Carib) *kumata* (Meira 1999:752). The *hari?ixu* bean is smaller and brown (in AIK *ku'mãdara'?i*). The *ku'mãda uru'hu* is spotted, bigger, more bitter than *kumã'da* (in AIK *kumã'da?uru'pu*).

kumĩcɛ *(N)* firefly
Pyrearinus termitilluminans, Lampris noctiluca, fam Lampyridae and Pyrophoridae, vagalume.

kunãtɛ- *(V)* cook
Only attestation: *atxitxi 'ketosɛ'ra* 'braise the maize inside it's leaves!', *atxitxi kunãtɛ'ra* 'cook the maize inside it's leaves!'.

kunỹ- *(V)* dress
'to put on clothes'. *e'kaisiki ku'nỹda'mỹ* 'I'm going to put on long trousers', *kunỹ'djoki* 'he puts on shoes', *'konỹ'kojeni'tɛ* 'ring'.

kunũ- *(V)* suckle, nurse
ma'lenedyto'hoi ku'nũki 'Marlene's child is suckling', *ma'lene kunũ'dyki etohoi'wã* 'Marlene is nursing the child', (**eto'hoi ku'nũki ma'lenewã*).

kurakura *(N)* chicken, cock
Fam Phasianidae, ord Galiformes. *ku'raku'ra 'mãki* 'the cock calls'. *kuraku'ranĩ* 'chicken-egg'. KAN *'kuraku'ra*, *'kuku'ra* 'jacú', extended to 'chicken'. AIK *kura'ru*. Itonama *kura'ka* (Mily Crevels pc). Several Tupi languages have a similar form, e.g. AKU *'kurɑku'rɑ*, TUP *kurɑku'rɑ*.

kurakuratohoi *(N)* chick
ku'raku'rato'hoi y:'roki 'the little chicken is crying'.

kurakuratswa *(N)* cock
Z:152: *tsoá*.

kuri- *(V)* stop, be quiet, be silent
ku'ritse 'he is silent'. In the imperative: *ku'rica'ra* 'quiet!' (don't speak!), *kuri'ra* 'quiet! (don't move!)', *ku'ritsi'kjadaki* 'I stopped, and stay put'. With transitiviser *-ta-* it means 'leave in peace': *ku'rita?a'ni* 'let's leave him', 'we're not going to answer him'; *ku'rita'jaki* 'he does not do anything (i.e. he does no harm)', 'he did not say anything (to us, either because he is angry or not)'; *ku'rita'ra* 'let him, don't speak with him, do nothing!', *ku'ritadamỹ* 'I'm not going to say anything to him'.

kurikuri- *(V)* a little later
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Note the GUA temporal particle *kuri* 'a minute ago'. *ku'riku'ri* 'in a minute', *kuriku'ridalɛ atxitxi?ũ a'nũdatsytse* 'I'm going to plant rice in a minute', *'kuriku'rida'lɛ a'kydatsy'tse* 'I'll take food after you took first', *m. kuriku'ritsylɛ oja'nỹtsytse* 'M. will come soon (e.g. in an hour)', *kuriku'rijalɛ o'hui?atsytse* 'in (10) minutes we will play'.

kurixyi *(N)* babaçu, penis gourd
Orbignia martiana, palm tree. *kurixyi'sɛ* 'straw of babaçu'. Also 'penis gourd', in which sense it is actually a little babaçu flag to be tied

around the skin of the testicles, so as to hide the tip of the penis (see Caspar 1975, plates 28). It has to be removed to be able to urinate. Out of use in Rondônia. AN: [*'kare'xyi*], ZE: [*kuri'syi*].

kurje- *(V)* stir, wind
'atxitxi'?ũ ku'rjedaki 'I'm stirring the rice against burning on'. [*'kuri'jemũ'ra*] 'stir! (e.g. the sugar through the lemonade)' (but note *[*ku-ri-je-*]). *kurje'mũ* 'beverage'. *kurje'rodaki* / *kurje'rwadaki* 'I'm folding a leaf or tin to make a drinking cup', *ui ku'rjewa'dyni'nadaki* 'I rolled a cigarette for you'.

kury- *(V)* row
ku'ry(ica)'ra 'row!'. Z:189: *kurêi-tchiré*.

kuro- *(V)* close
To close a door or any other hole. *ku'ro?ahỹ* 'cork (may also be the wax on the bottle)'.

kuronite *(N)* cap, lid, gate
Door of communal house, cap of ballpoint, etc. Instrument nominalisation of *ku'ro-* 'to close'.

kuru- *(V)* swollen
It is swollen because of a wound (not because of pregnancy). *kuru:'rodaki* / *erilo'na kukuihỹdaki* 'I have pain in the jaw'. *ku'rutaki* (*[*kuru'taki*]) 'I have a swelling' (lit. 'it is swelling on me').

kurujate *(N)* furuncle, boil
[*kuruja'te*].

kurukuru *(N)* monkey species
Unidentified, little species of monkey that calls [*krokrokro*]. ONO.

kurukuru *(N)* toad, frog species
Unidentified. Big brown inedible, also called *ãkã'ky*. May be related to *kuru-* 'to swell', or may be ONO.

kurwa *(N)* urú
Possibly Odontophorus guyannensis, fam Phasianidae, uru-corcovado, marbled wood-quail. Sits in groups at sunset yodelling together, AIK *kura'ru*. Also said to be a "inhambuzinho (POR for 'little tinamou') which looks like a chicken". Also [*ku'rwɑ*].

-kurwa- *(DR)* foot of tree
ũkurwadaki 'I'm sitting at the foot of a tree'.

-kuty *(CL)* head
Related to *tsuty* 'head'. *tsu'ty kukui'dydaki* 'I have a headache', *kukuiku'tydaki* 'my head is aching (e.g. because of the weight I'm carrying on it', *'tsãdyku'tytaki* 'many bees stung me on the head'. *o'ludyku'ty*, *o'luku'ty* 'head of mutum', *txu'hũikuty'tɛ* 'small gas flask', *'txikuty'tɛ* 'big gas flask', *xoxu'nỹkuty'ra* 'put it (the bracelet) on your glans penis!'. Probably related to *-koce-* in: *'hayxyko'cedaki* 'I'm cutting hair'. Probably cognate with the KAN classifier *-kuta-* 'head'. Similar forms for 'head' in Trumai *kuta* (Guirardello 1999), Awakê *kakoati*, Máku *kete* (Rodrigues 1986:97) and JEO *kwãka*.

kutyxu *(N)* cujubim, jacutinga, guan
Pipile jacutinga or P. cujubi, fam Cracidae, cujubim or jacutinga. P. cumanensis. MA "gual jacú (Penelope ochrogaster, fam Cracidae)" but is white, has a white plume on the head. ZE: [*ku:ty'xu*]. Z:136: *kôtossô* 'cojubim', Z:117: *catetsô* 'jacutinga'. Also *hako'ro kuty'xu*. Note Nambikwara, Anunzé: *kuidixú* 'white' (Roquette-Pinto 1950:350).

-kutytɛ- *(DR)* beyond, behind, over the hill
Derives from the CL *-kuty* 'head' and *-tɛ* 'round'. *acy'kuty'tɛki hã* 'the river is behind the house', **kutytɛki hã*, *a'rujekuty'tɛhỹra* 'jump over it (e.g. the fence)'. Can be used as an adverbialiser: *ze'zĩju a'rinukuty'tɛ 'aki* 'Zezinho lives beyond / past Arinu' (also order 231 allowed), (note in this case that there are hills between AR and ZE). It is not confirmed whether *kuty'tɛ* can also be used as an independent word (through ellipsis?) meaning 'beyond the hill'. An adverb **akutytɛ* was not attested.

kuturu?u *(IDEO)* cock-a-doodle-doo
ONO. [*'kuturu"?u::*]. AIK *'kutu're"?u::*.

kutxihỹ- *(V)* catch fish
ỹhỹ'ko mani'ni kutxi'hỹtjarjỹwaki 'here they catch lots of fish'.

kutxikutxi *(N)* monkey of the night
Aotus azarae, fam Cebidae, macaco da noite, yellow-reddish monkey of the night.

kũhjɛ̃lo- *(V)* fold a cup
To fold a leaf or tin to make a drinking cup. *hetsy'xe kũhjɛ̃'lodaki* 'I folded a leaf as a cup'. *[*kũjɛ̃lo*].

kũrũi *(NAM)* Kanoê
Short for *ku'rũinahe're* 'the yellow people'.

kũrũi- *(V)* fry, become yellow
To become yellowish because of frying, e.g. meat, bread etc. Also nickname for the Kanoê, probably in reference to skin colour.

kũrũinahere *(NAM)* Kanoê
Lit. 'people with yellowish (fried) skin'. *ku'rũinahe're'?axa'ki* 'we're Kanoê'. AIK *e'röi?ene* 'bat people', KWA calque: *'hoinahe're*.

kũcẽ *(N)* Brazil nut nut-tree
Bertholletia excelsa Humboldt & Bonpland. Also [*kũ'tjẽ*]. Z:089: *cointé*. *kũ'cẽ korɛ'nãdaki* 'I'm going to break Brazil nuts', *kũcẽku'ty* 'whole shell of Brazil nuts', *kũcẽ'sĩ* 'Brazil nut' (a single segment from the shell).

kũcẽkuty *(N)* Brazil nut bur
kũ'cẽ 'Brazil nut tree'.

kũcẽnahere *(NAM)* Kwaza
AN: autodenomination. Lit. 'the Brazil nut people'.

-kwa- *(DR)* inside
Probably related to *-kawa-* 'inside vessel'. See e.g. *daikwa-* 'take from a vessel'.

kwaba *(NAM)* Kwaba
Female person name of Marlene, or Mussolina, of the São Pedro region. Her nickname is *harɛku'ty* 'bald-headed one', because it is said that she was born bald-headed.

-kwadu *(CL)* molar
Possibly etymologically related to the noun *dwaku* 'molar'. May also occur as e-noun: *ekwa'du* 'molar'. *nỹkwa'duki* 'they are big molars'.

kwaja *(NAM)* Kwaza
[*kwa'ja*] is the presumed former version of the ethnomym for the Kwaza, as used by e.g. the Salamãi, and as such encountered in the literature (<*Koaiá*> etc.). Nowadays it is strongly denied by the Kwaza themselves that they were ever called *kwaja*. One explanation could be that they were offended by puns from early contact times when the rubber boom started, on the POR word *coalha* [*'kwaja*], which means 'coagulated milk of the rubber tree'. The AIK equivalent would be [*'kwaða*] ~ [*'kwaza*]. Canderé says that unlike the Aikanã, the Kwaza were not subdivided into clans bearing animal names.

-kwarɛ̃ *(CL)* side of chest
Also [*kwã'rɛ̃*]. *ekwa'rɛ̃siki* 'shirt', *kukuikwa'rɛ̃daki* 'the side of my chest hurts'.

-kwate- *(DR)* inside
'inside house / room'. Consists probably of the directional *-kwa-* 'inside' + unidentified *-te*.

kwaza *(N)* Kwaza
Also [*kwa'ða*]. Autonym for the people and the language. Formerly also *koaiá*, but nowadays this is denied and [*kwa'ða*] is said. This name originates probably from AIK [*'kwaða*] ~ [*'kwaza*] (since KWA has no [*ð*]), which is confirmed by AN. The idea that the name is related to POR *coalha* 'coagulated milk of the rubber tree' is probably a folk etymology.

kwe- *(V)* string, thread
kwe'ra 'thread!', minimal pair with *kwɛ'ra* 'enter!'. Possibly related to *ku-* 'insert, string'. Possibly reduplicated in *kukwe-*.

kwɛ- *(V)* enter
[*kwæ*]. In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *'kwɛki* 'he enters', *kwɛ?a'ni* 'let's go inside!', *kwe'hetse* 'it did not enter'. Often second root in a compound verb: *hy'kwɛ-* 'enter somewhere'. *'sũkwɛki 'ha:rona'na* 'he entered the hole swimming'. As a first root: *tsetseri'tse 'kwɛ?ojeki* 'the butterfly entered'. Also functions as a directional *towɛkwɛwaki* 'they went into (the forest, house, corral etc.)'. Can form an adverb with the empty root *a-*: *a'kwɛ* 'inside a room'. Antonym *bui-* 'go out'. Note GUA *kɛ-* 'enter'.

kwɛnĩ- *(V)* bury
[*kwæ'nĩ*]. To put (upright and fasten) into the ground. *'daitxi'teki ywy'nwỹ a'xydy'nãtja* 'he lifted up the rafter to build a house', *kwɛ'nĩki a'xydyda'mỹtja* 'he put (the pole upright) into the ground to build a house'.

kwy *(ITJ)* yecch
'how awful', 'how many!', 'how dangerous!' etc., similar to *ku'kuinãi*. Also [*kwə*]. AIK *kih*.

l

lanỹ- *(V)* closer
la'nỹki 'it is more over to here', *la'nỹtsy'hỹ* 'the one (from) over here'. *magariDa aka'rwɛtse luzeu la'nỹtse* 'Margarida sits more over there, Luzeu sits more over here'. Antonym: *aka'rwe* 'over there'.

lato *(ADV)* yesterday
Note different possible orders in: *(*lato) u'tedamỹ (lato) kukui'hỹdanãi (lato)* 'I'm going to say that I was ill yesterday'. *dutu're tsutsu'rjỹsi a'wỹidaki la'to* 'yesterday I saw a pig which pissed here'.

latowy *(ADV)* day before yesterday
lato'wyte'te '(day) before the day before yesterday'.

-le- *(svv)* FRUST
The frustrative morpheme is used in antithetic or counterfactual concessive constructions. It is often followed by nominaliser *-hỹ*. *o'jadale'hỹ 'axehỹ'hedaki* 'I went there but (to no avail, since) I did not meet (him)', *wai'hetsyhỹhe'redale'hỹ 'waiki* 'I thought it was bad, however, it was good'. The combination *-lehỹ* may also be part of the matrix verb with a sense of termination or arrested progression: *kukuihỹ'lehỹki* 'he was ill (but not any more now)', *emũ'hỹlehỹ'ki* 'it was wet (but it is dry now)'. This may have the connotation of 'unfortunately' or 'what a pity': *ui'hule'hỹki* 'he was smoking (until the cigrarette unfortunately ended)', *hã 'mũitsy'tsɛtsy'lehỹki* 'he said I should get water but what a pity (I won't/it's not possible)'. It also occurs without *-hỹ-*, as in: *kawɛ he'dydale(ki)* 'I nearly put coffee in (the food by mistake, instead of flour)', *tsuhũ'du 'huxa're* 'why did you give?' vs. *tsuhũ'du 'hu:xale're* 'why were you giving?', *hako'ro 'mãdu'tuda'le('hỹ)ki* 'I was luring the jacu by imitating a pipitting youngling (nearly, but did not succeed)', *atsu'ka ehe'redale'ki* 'I thought there was sugar'.

le *(N)* urine
Also *lɛ'mũ*, whereas *lɛ* may also mean urinary bladder.

-le *(snn)* only, just, at least, alone, very
Also [*lɛ*]. This morpheme may also have an emphatic value. *txi'tayte'le wa'nɛtsy'tse* 'bring only the big flask', *arui?eke?exwanã'le 'jadaki* 'I eat only cow meat', *kawɛ'le kui'ra* 'have at least coffee!', *mãbi'le horowa'si ta'na* 'they filled him with arrows (he ended up being all arrows)', *xyini'letse* 'just thorns (very many)', *tei'hỹ / tei'nĩ xyini'letse* 'just one thorn'. Note *txo'hũi(*le)data ja'nãdaki* 'I'm (*only) going to eat a little'. In texts it may have an extended sense of emphasis like 'suddenly, exactly' or an

intensifying sense like ‘really, very, full of’ and introduce a new topic or a new event. Also in those cases it is attached nouns, but its scope is more on the discourse level. Note Mapuche *re* ‘only, pure’ (Smeets 1989).

-leja- *(svv)* 2O.FUT
You: verbal future second person object cross-reference morpheme. Immediately before the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *ui kurjewa'dyle'jadaki* ‘I will roll a cigarette for you’, *si aurele'jadaki* ‘I want to marry with you’, *wa'dyle'jaxuxwaki* ‘someone / they will give (X) to you’. In some rare instances, it may refer to both second and third objects: *a'we tsoihỹle'jatse* ‘the rain will soak you/him’.

leja- *(V)* ahead
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *jere'xwa le'jatse* ‘the jaguar went ahead’, *leja'nãdaki* ‘I’m going ahead’, *lẽjãki* ‘he is ahead’, *'lejara* ‘go ahead!’.

-lete *(svv)* CONC
Adverbial subordinate clause mood which expresses a concessive meaning. *awy'hỹdale'te 'badaki* ‘although I had become cold, I did clear a field’. Third person goes together sometimes with gerundial *-tsy-*: *'tsũtsyle'te ui 'huki* ‘while swimming he smoked’ vs. *'tsũdale'te ui 'hudaki* ‘while swimming I smoked’.

letɛ *(N)* bladder
Urinary bladder. Also *lɛ*.

-lɛ *(svv)* PREC
Unclear whether to be analysed as /*le*/ or /*lɛ*/. Adverbial subordinate clause mood which expresses a precondition in the sense of an absolute requirement, and may have a cleft-like connotation: ‘only when’, ‘first when’: *jahã'rãda'le wã'wỹdatara'tse* ‘(not now, but only) after having finished eating I will go to sleep’. It occurs in combination with preceding *-hỹ-* in clauses which function as complements of cause or reason: *kuinũ'ridahỹ'lɛ i'sidatsy'tehe're* ‘since I drank lots, I suppose I’m getting quite drunk’; *o'kjada'mỹdaki wãnỹ'dy a'hetsyhỹ'lɛ* ‘I have to go hunting because there is no food’. *ti'nãixalɛ o'jaxatsyre* ‘how do you get there?’.

-lɛ- *(svv)* RECI
Unclear whether to be analysed as /*le*/ or /*lɛ*/. Reciprocal morpheme, which is applied to transitive or transitivised verbs before person marking. *'peDru sa'Bina huruja'lɛki* ‘Pedro and Sabina like each other’, *hurujale'nãtse* (**-ki*) ‘they are going to like each other’, *huruja'lenãki* ‘one likes one another (impersonal)’, *pɛ̃'rɛ̃jãtja'lɛki* ‘they are conversing’, *ahỹta'leki* ‘large objects rattled against one another (in a moving car)’.

lima *(N)* file
POR [*'lima*], ‘file’, but note Kwaza stress: [*li'ma*].

-lo *(CL)* tube
Occurs only as a lexicalised part of other classifiers. When preceded by the classifier for ‘skin’, *-siki-*, it refers to shield-like objects.

-loi *(CL)* soft, flabby, flexible
itxi'loi ‘vagina of old woman’, *xoxu'loi nỹ'loiki* ‘the penis is big’. *bi'lo / koreja'?yi / mã'bi(*wã) koiloi'dydaki* ‘I’m twisting / bending the bow / wire / arrow’.

lokãcwỹ *(N)* oven, stove, heating stone
Also [*lokã'cwã*].

lokoca *(N)* face, mirror
CL *-rokoca* ‘face’.

loloi- *(V-stem)* slash
Attested in *lo'loi?ỹhỹ / ba?ỹhỹ* ‘scythe’. *lo'loi?ỹ'ko hu'huida* ‘I killed (it) with a scythe’.

lonã *(N)* hole
Also [*lo'na*]. ‘hole in the ground, not made by man’. Also ‘cave’. CL *-ronã* as in: *'nỹro'nãki* ‘big hole in ground’. [*lo'nỹ*] ‘tunnel in the ground’, e.g. an armadillo’s lair.

lonɛ *(N)* hole, valve
Refers to a hole that is a necessary property of something, such as of a bead or a nut (in the sense of female screw). Also attested as [*lo'nɛ̃*]. Related to CL *-ronɛ*.

lonɛhỹ *(N)* little hole
[*lo'nɛ̃hỹ*] 'little hole (e.g. in the ground or in a wooden object)'.

loxwa *(N)* hole
'tunnel-like hole in wood, not made by man'.

lote *(N)* door
May contain nominaliser *-te*. Synonym: *kuroni'te*.

-lotswa *(CL)* tube, rifle
akylo'tswa(tse) '(there are) two rifles'.

-lotxwɛ *(CL)* flute
Possibly related to CL *-lotswa-* 'tube'. *haxyilo'txwɛ nỹlo'txwɛki* 'the flute is big'.

-loco *(CL)* fat of belly
E-noun. *elo'co* 'fat of belly'.

lowɛ̃- *(V)* bend
Often [*lõvɛ̃*]. *lo'wɛ̃?ỹ'ki* 'it is undulating', *hã lõ'wɛ̃?ỹ'ki* 'the river is crooked', *tso'ro lõ'wɛ̃?ỹki* 'the arm is crooked', ME: *lo'vemũlove'mũ?ỹ'hỹ* 'river bend'. *lõ'wɛ̃jã'hỹtse* '(there is a) bend in the road', *ywy'nwỹ(*wã) lowɛ̃'dydaki* 'I'm bending the wood', *lõ'wɛ̃?o'jadaki* 'I'm walking bent over'. *lõwɛ̃'xu?yhỹ* 'person with crooked leg', 'twisted piece of iron'. There seems to be a special variant of this stem in two cases (maybe /*lwɛ-*/): [*lvɛ'kai?ỹki*] 'it is a twisted leg', [*løvɛ̃'kai?yhỹ*] 'person with crooked leg', [*'lvɛko'ro?ỹki*] 'it is a twisted arm', [*løvɛ̃ko'ro?yhỹ*] 'person with crooked arm', **lwɛki*, **lwɛ?ỹki*. In fact, *lowɛ̃-* is by MA considered less acceptable for human subjects, in which case it would be better to use *koiloi-*.

-lũi *(CL)* navel, core
E-noun. *e'lũi* 'navel'. *cokuru'lũi* 'bacuri leafstalk', *elũi'?yi* 'umbilical cord', *duture'lõi* 'pig's navel'. Also [*lõi*], as in: *wiri?u'lõi* 'palmito, i.e. palm heart of assai'.

lũnã *(N)* cayman
Uncertain. Possibly a type of otter, but more probably a cayman species, long animal which lives in the water and drags its tail behind itself.

m

makalai *(NAM)* spirit
maka'lai (AIK *ða'mehadi'kuka'?i* [*ða'medikukyi*]) is the ethnonym of an extinct tribe, of which the members live on as invisible spirits. When a certain type of bird sings you know it is really the spirit of a Makalai. Before extinction they used to kill people by breaking their neck (they would stand on the victim's head and two others would pull up the victim's legs).

makytxa *(NAM)* Makytxa
Female person name, in full: *jãtsi'mĩu maky'txa*.

makuitxato *(N)* dove species
Fam Columbidae, big non-domesticated dove which lives by the riverside. In POR also pomba galega. Later ME said it is a domestic pigeon. See also *terai*.

mamaja?anãi *(N)* farewell
ZE also: *'e:daki* lit. 'I'm going'.

manaku?yi *(N)* maçaranduba
Mimusops excelsa (but in Balée and Moore 1991: maçaranduba = Manilkara huberi (Ducke) Standl., fam Sapotaceae, and elsewhere Lucuma procera, fam Sapotaceae). [*mana'kui*]. Note CL *-yi-* 'string'. The berries ripen in December, the bean inside is covered by a layer of sweet white cotton. AIK *'?uɛ?atu'ðãw*.

manary *(N)* sieve
[*mana'ry*]. AIK *ma'nare*, KAN *mænæ're*, TUP *'mãrã:rɛ*, ARI *mãnã'ry*. Maybe originally from a (nearby) Arawakan language such as Paresi or

Saraveca, since remote Arawak languages have similar forms, e.g. Lokono *manarhi* (van Baarle et al. 1989:215). Note also Tiriyo *manare* (Carib, Meira 1999:756), and Caribbean creole forms such as Negerhollands *manaari* (Oldendorp 1996:109) and Papiamentu *manaria* (van Buurt and Joubert 1997).

manini *(N)* fish
This is a generic word. ARI *minũ*, JEO *minõ*. *mani'nitsu'mãi* 'fishhook'. *ma'nini'ro* 'canned fish'.

manini erere?ỹhỹ *(N)* fish species
Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum, fam Pimelodidae, surubim. Lit. 'spotted fish'.

manini exykãi?e *(N)* catfish
Peixe pintada (POR for 'spotted fish'). Possibly fam Siluridae. Big spotted fish with long antennae, lit. 'moustached fish'. Also *mani'ni jere'xwa* 'dogfish'.

manini huhui?ahỹ *(N)* timbo
Paullinia pinnata. Vine of which the bark contains poison used to kill fish.

manini jerexwa *(N)* catfish
Peixe pintada (POR for 'spotted fish'). Possibly fam Caracidae. Big spotted fish with long antennae, peixe-cachorro. Lit. 'jaguarfish'. Also *jere'xwa 'hãna?a'hỹ* 'jaguar of the water'. Maybe the same as *mani'ni exykãi?e* 'moustached fish'. *mani'ni 'mĩki 'e(tsy)hỹ* 'fish with teeth'.

maninisike *(N)* snake of water
Gen Helicops, fam Colubrideae, cobra-d'agua.

maninitsu *(N)* rod for angling
Lit. 'fish-stick'.

maninitsumãi *(N)* hook
Z:065: *manenê-tsumãin*.

manini?yi *(N)* line for fishing
Z:058: *manenê-ôi*.

manỹtatɛ *(N)* shopping errands
ma'nỹtatɛ derives maybe from *mã-* 'call', reflexive *-nỹ-*, *ta-* 'say' and nominaliser *-te*.

mangka *(N)* mango
Mangifera indica, fam Anacardiaceae. *mangka'nwỹ* 'mango tree', *mangka'sĩ* 'mango seed', *mangka'to* 'mango seed'. [*mang'ka*]. From POR *manga* 'mango'. AIK [*'mangka*].

-marja- *(DR)* midst
This morpheme is probably the dynamic variant of *-mãri-*, as in *hyhymarjarjỹki* 'he walks in the midst of the people'.

masu *(N)* plant species
Unidentified type of bland tasting leaf used for cleaning the mouth before chicha is made. It also gives the chicha taste and colours the mouth black.

matɛlo *(N)* hammer
From POR *martelo* 'hammer', with POR stress: [*ma'tɛlo*].

matɛrĩ *(N)* grackle
Cassidix oryzivora, fam Icteridae, chico preto. Eats much rice. AIK *nẽpi'tɛ*. Carlson gives *nɛ'pi'tɛ?* for Scaphidura oryzivora, fam Icteridae, gromaré, giant cowbird (C2:130).

matsuku *(N)* palm tree species
Possibly Iriartea ventricosa, fam Palmae, paxiuba-barriguda. Probably same as *wy'xyi matsu'ku* 'sort of paxiuba'.

ma?ỹtɛ *(N-KIN)* cousin
Also [*mã?ãtɛ*] ~ [*mã'tɛ*]. Daughter of uncle or aunt, also called *kore'tay*. Male equivalent *txare'wa*. *mãtɛ* is marriageable to ego, but *kore'tay* not. *mãtɛ'tay* is said as a joke. Alternative description: *ta'lady'hỹ 'eto'hoi* 'child of uncle or aunt'.

ma?ỹtɛ *(N-KIN)* daughter of nephew / niece
Granddaughter of brother or sister. Male equivalent *txarewa*. Also [*mã'tɛ*].

-mã- *(DR)* water
This suffix behaves as DR for 'into the river, water', but it is rare and seems not very productive, *atoto'mã aki* 'he lives on the other side of the river'. Related to *-mãte-* 'into water': *tsamã'tedaki* 'I strew sand, flour etc.

into the water'. Related to the verb root *to'mã-* 'bathe'.

mã- *(V)* call name, shout
Also chanting of tinamou, cicada, cock etc. *'mãdaki* 'I call for someone', 'I called him'. *ma?a'nãi* 'call, shout' (N). *mã?ara'tiki* 'one calls him like that', *nãitadata mãdaki* 'I call him like that', *tawiwi, ti'nãi mãnãi 'e?are, txa'na* 'Tavivi, how are we called, us?'. Compound in: *are'tamã'hedaki* 'I don't know how to call it'.

mã *(N-KIN)* mother
'mãki 'it is mother' (it is not nice to speak in this way) (homophonous with *'mãki* 'he calls'). KAN *mõ*, *muj*.

mãbi *(N)* arrow
Also 'bow' and 'war'. This form is widely spread in Rondônia: AKU *mAm'bi*, KAN *ma'pi*, MEK *mampi*, 'arrow', Urupa *mapip* 'bow' (Rondon and Faria 1948:204), JEO *kubi* 'arrow'.

mãbikã *(N)* recipient
[*mãbi'kã*]. Consists probably of *mãbi* 'arrow' and *-ka* 'bark'. Recipient or vessel to keep bird's feathers (e.g. for arrows), in local POR called 'capemba', made out of the spathe ('folha-caule', Mindlin 1998:301), i.e. the shell of seed strings of certain palm trees. In Rondônia these recipients have gone much out of use, except among unacculturated groups such as those of the Omeré region. See also Caspar (1975, plates 71:2;5) and Milliken, Albert and Goodwin Gómez (1999:80).

mãbilotxwɛ *(N)* cartridge
Cartridge of bullet. See also flute.

mãbisĩ *(N)* lead shot bullets
Grain(s) of shot. *('mabi'sĩ) 'txisĩ'te* 'bullet'. Z:048: *essên*.

mãbitaka *(N)* arrow (including the point and the whole stem)
mãbita'ka 'bunch of arrows' (lit. 'arrow stem(s)'). Z:046: *etaká*.

mãbitorõi (-txuhũi) *(N)* bullet, cartridge
mã'bito'rõi 'metal cartridge'. Z:045: *mabí-tonói*.

mãbi?ɛkarãtɛ *(N)* primer (of bullet)
Also [*ma'bikarã'te*] ~ [*ma'bikãrã'tɛ*].

mãdɛkuty *(NAM)* Mãdɛkuty
Male person name [*mã'dɛkuty*].

mãdukutay *(N-KIN)* aunt
Sister of father or mother. Also *hi'di* 'older sister' can be used. The aunt says *kore(tay)* or *etohoi* to ego. *mã-duku-tay* may be lit. 'mother-other-female'.

mãdutu- *(V)* lure
'mãdu'tudaki 'I'm calling a wild animal'.

-mãi *(CL)* tooth
'sidymãi 'my teeth', *hyri'mãi* 'monkey teeth / tooth', *maninitsu'mãi* 'fishing hook'. Maybe related to *mĩki* 'tooth'. KAN classifier *-mãi*.

mãjã *(ADV)* TOP
Contrastive topic element which introduces a new discourse topic which is somehow related to the previous topic. *haje'remãjã 'tãlohetsynãi 'ehỹtsy* 'now the caititu pig is not very aggressive'. It is also used when countering a presupposition *ayhỹmã'jã* 'now that one (no)'. It is uncertain whether it is a bound morpheme.

mãmã- *(V)* farewell
mã'mãdaki 'I (shake hands to) say goodbye' (now also used for shake hands), *mã'mãle"nã?aki* 'we say goodbye / shake hands', *oja'nỹxa're-?émã'mãdaki* 'you're arriving again?, well good day to you!' (as a welcoming compliment).

mãmã *(N)* trunk / branch of tree / wood
Soft type of wood. Also *'wari'kane-'nwỹ* / *mã'mA* 'tree'.

mãmãñẽ- *(V)* sing, play flute
mama'ñeki 'music is playing', *mama'ñe?a'nãi* 'music', *mamañe'dy-daki* 'I make him/it play music',

mamañe'ja ‘let’s sing!’ (two or three persons), *mama'ñe?a'ni* ‘let’s sing!’ (many, all).

mãmãtɛ- *(V)* call
Rutting call of jaguar: *jere'xwa mãmã'tɛki* ‘the jaguar is calling’.

mãmãce- *(V)* call
Whistling call of a hawk.

mãnĩnĩ djẽtsyhỹ *(N)* kingfisher, halcyon
Fam Alcedinidae, martim-pescador. *'mãnĩni 'djẽtsyhỹ* lit. ‘fish-killer’.

mãnỹ- *(V)* be called
ti'nãi mãxa're ‘what is (his) name (i.e. how do you call (him))’ *ti'nãi mã'nỹxa're* ‘what is (your reflexive) name (i.e. how do you call (yourself))’. The reflexive marker seems to be lexicalising: *ɛ'bwa mã'nỹhata're* ‘they call you Ebwa?’ (*ɛbwa* is a Kanoê woman’s name). *mãnỹ'nãi* ‘his name’, *mã'nỹ?anãi* ‘one’s name’, ‘our name’, ‘name of a person’.

mãrãkãkã *(N)* toucan
Ramphastos spp, fam Ramphastidae, toucaninho, small toucan. AIK *kã'kãi* (*pã'jĩi* is another type). Carlson gives *'khã(ng)khã'ĩ* for Pteroglossus inscriptus (C2:153). Also *bi'letsy'hỹ*.

mãrẽdy- *(V)* show, expose
akwa'tena?ỹ'hỹ mãrẽ'dydaki ‘I pulled it out of the room’ (make appear), *mã'rẽdy'ra* ‘get him out of there!’.

mãrẽnỹ- *(V)* appear
**mãrẽki*. *ywynwarja'nwỹ mare'nỹki* ‘he came from behind a tree’, *kaisja'na mare'nỹki owtore* ‘the bird came out of a box’, *de'da ato'to?ỹhỹ mãrẽ'nỹnãi e'hỹki awenã'hỹdyta* ‘the rainbow appears always when it is going to rain’.

mãrẽritsa *(N)* person, human being
Also [*mãrẽri'tsa*]. Maybe related to ‘spirit’ and *tswa* ‘man’. Like AIK *zare* ‘person’ vs. *ãnzatsar?e* ‘spirit, Westerner’. *mãreri'tsa ?a'wyida'hỹki 'xyidyrja'xy* ‘I saw someone behind your house’, *mãreri'tsawa'hỹ kwɛ'nɛ-wa'ki* ‘someone entered here (broke into the house)’, *'mareri'tsa duky'hỹ* ‘stranger, unknown person’. There is no word for ‘somebody’.

mãrɛ̃?a *(N)* spirit, Westerner
Also [*mãrẽ'?a*]. Also used as a nick-name for salamander because of the connotation ‘ugly beast’. Original-ly a *mãrɛ̃?a* is an invisible spirit that may show itself when it wants to. It can be male or female. Out in the forest it calls like all the people do to keep track of each other. When getting a bit lost people normally call loudly and in a high-pitched voice something like [*huw*], [*hu?*] or [*?uw*]. The spirit does the same but you’ll see no-one. It is not a Makalai, but another dangerous spirit in which people still believe, and to which several unexplainable deaths are attributed as recently as 1997. Also *mãrɛ̃'?a 'ẽrẽwẽ'hỹ* ‘savage spirit’.

mãrɛ?ajɛ *(N)* cipó-de-são-joão
Locally cipó-de-são-joão, cipó-imbé. Widespread Brazilian climbing plant with large orange trumpet shaped flower in july, probably exogenous (note its literal name: ‘Westerner’s branches’).

-mãri- *(DR)* middle
ywy'nwỹ dyma'ridaki ‘I split wood through the middle’.

mãru *(N)* donkey, horse
From AIK *ma'ru* ‘deer’.

mãxy *(N)* tumor
[*mã'xy*].

mãtarwa- *(V)* in return, avenge
mãta'rwatse ‘he avenged’, ‘did in return’, *'mãta'rwaca wa'dytse* ‘he gave him (a present) in return (may be same or different as what he got)’, *'mẽdy'ta mãta'rwaca ecoto'hỹki* ‘(Pedro) hit (John) and (John) hit him back’.

-mãte- *(DR)* into water
This suffix is based on the DR *-mã-* ‘into the river, water’ and the unidentified element *-te-*. *-mãte-* seems to have a more dynamic sense as *-mã-* alone. *tsamã'tedaki* ‘I strew sand, flour etc. into the water’. *atymã'te-* (lit.) ‘to

make it remain in water where it stays'. Probably related to the verb root *tumjỹte-* 'fall into the water'.

mãtete *(N)* otter
Lutra paranaensis, fam Mustelidae, lontra. AN also used it for an arctic seal on a photo.

mãtete txihỹte *(N)* otter
Pteronura brasiliensis, ariranha. A big otter species with teeth, but there may be another KWA name.

mãtirĩ *(N-NAM)* dog
Female dog name.

mãty *(KIN)* daughter
mã'ty 'her daughter' (about 12/13 years).

mãca *(N)* fruit species
Pouteria caimito, abiú do mato, maybe also fruta de abieiro (Lucuma caimito, fam Sapotaceae). *mã'ca* 'habiu do mato'. Different from 'olho de boi' (Mucuna gigantea, fam Leguminosas). AIK *ma'?ja*.

mãtxiri *(N-NAM)* dog
Male dog name. Also [*'ma:txi''ri*].

mã?otxa- *(V)* call over
'to call over from a certain distance, e.g. from another house'. *mã?otxa-'nỹdaki* 'I called him hither'.

-me *(snn)* ASS
Also [*mẽ*]. *-mɛ* is an associative suffix for kinship terms with the implication of kinship with the speaker: *hidi'me* 'my sisters'.

-mẽ *(CL)* porridge
E-noun. *e'mẽ*, also [*e'mɛ*], 'porridge, e.g. of maize residue from chicha'. *tsuty'mẽ* 'brains'. ARI *-mrẽ*, JEO *mã* 'porridge, dregs'.

mẽ- *(V)* beat
Also [*mẽ*] ~ [*me*]. *di'lɛ 'mẽhata're* 'who hit you?', *dilɛ'wã 'mẽre* 'he hit whom?'.

mẽi- *(V)* gnaw
waru'ka 'mẽiki ku'dy 'the rat gnawed on the calabash'.

mẽjã- *(V)* startle, speak up
a'wy mẽ'jãki 'the parrot is screaming', *kurakura 'mẽjãki* 'the chickens are startled (e.g. cackling because they see a snake)', *si mẽ'jãdaki* 'I talked first'. Probably reduplicated in: *mẽmẽ'jãta-hỹ'tsi* 'don't notice it', 'my apologies' (CX: sitting at the dinner table without having taken a bath). Transitive equivalent *mỹi'ca-*.

mẽrũi?ỹ- *(V)* blue, green
Also refers to the colour of the sky. *me'rũi?y'hỹ* 'blue one'.

mẽrũmẽrũ *(N)* wasp species
Unidentified. Called 'marimbondo grande' ('big wasp').

mẽrũmẽrũxɛ *(N)* plant species
Unidentified, called 'folha de marimbondo grande' ('big wasp leaf'). Usually [*mẽrũmẽrũʃɛ*]. Note CL *-xɛ* 'leaf'.

mẽsĩ *(N)* inajá
Maximiliana regia, Inajá palm tree. *mẽsĩ'se* 'straw of inaja'. Note CL *-se*. Also without nasal in [*me'sĩ*] ~ [*mɛ'sĩ*]. *mɛsi'ko* 'inaja nut'.

mingkau *(N)* porridge
[*min'kau*]. From POR *mingau* 'porridge' and/or Tupinamba *minga'?u* 'porridge' (Cunha 1989).

mĩdo *(N)* pariri
Pouteria pariry, possibly fam Sapotaceae, frutão pariri. Fruits like big apples, green skin, white flesh, edible just before they rot and their skin turns black. KAN *mĩ'to*. AIK *tʃürü'ðãw*.

mĩkãrẽ *(N)* taioba
Xanthosoma spp, fam Araceae, taioba roxa or taioba branca. Edible potato-like roots, leaves may be cooked with meat. Also [*mĩkã'rẽ*] ~ [*'mĩkã'rẽ*].

mĩki *(N)* tooth
AIK *mui* / *mũi*.

mĩu *(N)* chicha
Also [*mĩũ*]. Possibly related to classifier *-mũ* 'liquid'. Q: *tsu'hũrati'mũ* 'which chicha?', A: *'atxitxi'mũ* 'chicha of maize'. Note also SAL *mãj* 'chicha'.

-mjãka *(CL)* intestines, belly
E-noun. *emjã'ka* 'belly'. *'emjãka'?yi*

‘sausage (several inside one long piece of gut)’ (neologism). *'hudamjã'kaxa're* ‘is that your belly rumbling?’.

-mjãku *(CL)* stump, stub, hook
E-noun. *emjã'ku* ‘tree stump’. Usually encountered as a lexicalised part of *-simjãku* ‘tree stump’.

-mjẽ *(CL)* wound
E-noun. *nỹ'mjẽki* ‘he was heavily wounded’, *hɛ'hɛnỹmjẽ'ra* ‘cover the wound!’.

-mỹ *(svv)* VOL
Verbal volitive mood ending of the first person singular or exclusive matrix clause verb. With controlled verbs it has a future connotation: *i'sida'mỹ* ‘I’m going to kill myself’ vs. *isi'nãdaki* ‘I’m going to die’. The combination *-da-mỹ* ‘1S-VOL’ can also be used as a verb root ‘to want’ or as a volitional modal morpheme which gives a strong sense of determination: *'ɛ?edamỹdaki* ‘I’m going away again!’. In combination with the procrastinative no person inflexion is required: *to'matara'mỹ* ‘let me take a bath first/I’m going to take a bath first still’.

mỹica- *(V)* frighten
jere'xwa mỹi'cataki ‘the dog frightened me’. Intransitive equivalent: *mẽ'jã-*.

mouru *(N)* woodpecker
Fam Picidae, pica-pau. Also [*mau'ro*] ~ [*mau'do*] ~ [*mãwru*]. *mou'ru haka'redũ'rũnã* ‘woodpecker in a buriti stem’. ARI *pãw'rũ*, JEO *mĩo'ro*, WAY *mãũrõ*.

mõ- *(V)* loud
Loudness of sound. *mõ'hetse* ‘the sound is weak’, *mõ'dyki* ‘he speaks loud’, *mõ'dyta 'pẽrẽjã'ki* ‘he speaks loud’, *mõ'dyta 'pẽrẽjã'nãi e'ki* ‘he has the habit of speaking loud’.

mukuwa *(N)* tree species
Unidentified. Including the fruits. AIK *hũðãw*

murycy *(N)* tree species
Cedro laguano or cachimbeiro. Maybe cachimbo-de-jabutí, Erisma calcaratum, fam Voquisiaceae, or jequitiba, Cariniana estrellensis, fam Lecythidaceae. Also *mury'tji* ‘pau do brejo’. ME refers to ‘mahogany’ by this term.

-mũ *(CL)* liquid, juice, chicha, river
E-noun. *emũ* ‘liquid’. *jo'mũ* ‘chicha of manioc’ (CHS *'jotja'te mĩu*). AIK & KAN *-mũ*.

mũ- *(V)* pull, push, tow
'mũhỹ'dyto'tedaki ‘I hoist (something) up (by a rope)’, *ãrũi'wã 'mũki* ‘he is leading the donkey’, *mũ?oce?ahỹ* ‘pushing’, *'mũmũ'jã:'re* ‘do they (the fish) bite?’.

mũi- *(V)* submerge, fetch water, plunge
hã 'mũiki ‘he fetched water’ (usually by dipping the bucket in the river). Often in compounds: *mũiwady-* ‘to give to drink’. *hã mũiwanɛ'ra* ‘go and get water!’, *mũiwa'dydaki* ‘I got him water, took water for him’, *tsoje'ko mũi?a'saki* ‘he splashed up water with the hand’, *mũiba'rudaki* ‘I dived, went under water’.

mũli *(N)* bird species
Crotophaga ani, fam Cuculidae, anu-preto, smooth-billed ani. Black bird with black beak, about 25 cm beak-tail, tail points slightly upwards when walking. [*mũ:'li*] ~ [*mu:'li*]. AIK *a'vĩ*, Carlson: *ã(:)'wĩ* (C2:18).

mũli txihỹte *(N)* bird species
Gen Crotophaga or gen Guira, anú do rio. Lit. ‘big anu’.

mũrɛ̃dy- *(V)* contribute, pay
ci'rja mũrɛ̃'dy?ani ‘everybody pays, let’s split the costs’, *ti'nãi?ĩ'si mũrɛ̃'dyxare* ‘how much did you pay?’.

mũri- *(V)* twist, bend, twine
mũ'riki ‘he is twisting (e.g. the rope)’, *ɛ?yi mũ'ridaki* ‘I’m twisting the rope’. *(i'tsosi'si) 'mũrikuty'nãdaki* ‘I’m going to roll (the rope) into a ball’, *mũrikuty'nỹki* ‘(the rope) is rolled up in the shape of a ball’, *mũriku'ty'uitxɛ̃-'rjỹdaki* ‘I hang the (hammock in the form of a) ball from the (one) rope’.

mũrjerwa- *(V)* turn, spin
Originates probably from *mũri-* ‘twist’

and lexicalised DR *-rwa-* 'around'. The verb root is also encountered in a lexicalised compound *mũrjetucehỹ-* 'vertigo'. *mũrje'rwaki* 'is spinning around own axle' (e.g. wheel, but maybe a person too), *erja'rwetsyhỹ murje'rwahỹ a'wỹidaki* 'I saw the wheel spinning'. *mũrje'rwadaki* 'I swing (it) around'.

mũrjetucehỹ- *(V)* vertigo
Lexicalised compound of verb roots *mũrje-* 'spin' and *tuce-* 'fall', followed by neutral classifier *-hỹ*. *mu'rjẽ'toce'hỹdaki* 'I am dizzy'.

-mũro *(CL)* mass, curd
E-noun. *wademũ'ro* 'edible porridge-like mass inside tucuma coconut', *emũ'ro* 'its curd'.

mũsi *(N)* mortar
In the case of the big chicha mortar, [*hæ*] may be heard instead of the proper word *mũ'si* 'mortar' because of the type of wood 'cerejeira' used.

mũsixu *(N)* pestle
Note that the morphophonological variant [*mũsixu*] is difficult to pronounce, and that [*mũ'xixu*] or [*mũxi'xu*] is often heard. The broad pestle used to grind is called *wyruni'te* 'wheel'.

mwɛ̃jã- *(V)* open or make a hole in the wall (for doors or windows)
mwɛ̃jã?arote 'the doors which one opens', *'mwɛ̃jahỹ lo'tedyhỹ eka'nɛ* 'window boards'.

mwɛ̃mãtɛki- *(V)* sink
(earlier I heard [*mũwɛ̃mã'te-*]). *'mwɛ̃mã'tɛdaki* 'I sunk (him) down (into the water)'.

n

-na *(snn)* LOC
Also [*-nã*]. *ẽrjãwã'nã o'nɛki* 'he came / went out of the forest', *'sjupi'ngwaja'nã ojanỹki* 'he came from Xupinguaia hither', *'sjupi'ngwaja'nã ojabu'rudaki lato* 'I arrived in Xupinguaia yesterday', *erilo'na kukuihỹdaki* 'I have pain in the jaw', *auxwa'na koreja'rona?y'hỹ* 'meat from the pan', *ɛ:'ja txanaricwa'na* 'let's go to our town', *mou'ru haka'redũ'rũnã* 'woodpecker in a buriti stem'. AIK *-nɛ* in e.g. *hutu'nɛ* 'on the rubber trail'. KAN *-ni* in e.g. *tyini* 'in the house'. Note also Aymara *-na* as a general locative marker.

-na- *(svv)* one (impersonal)
One, people, we: verbal plural impersonal subject cross-reference morpheme. It is often pronounced as [*nã*], but does not attract stress, like the future morpheme *-nã-*: *turu'nãtse* 'he is going to wake up', *tu'runãki* 'one woke up'. Sometimes it has a first person plural inclusive sense: *ti'nãi?ỹhỹ 'mãnãi 'e?are txana* 'how do we call that?' (S does not know) vs. *ti'nãi?ỹhỹ 'mãnãi 'enãre* 'how does one call that?' (S has forgotten its name). *tja?a'tjenaki* 'we're getting there (CX: the bus is getting close to our destination)'. Sometimes it is combined with an unidentified element *-ha-*, as in: *au'rena'le tjo'?ehanãtsytsɛ* 'we will marry and (our people) will grow again', and in: *tsuhũ'dunata konã'djohãnare cohasi'ki* 'why (for what purpose) are we putting on shoes?'.

na- *(pdem)* PROX
Demonstrative prefix with the sense of 'proximate'. Only prefixed to *ay-* 'that'. Often it indicates that the referent has been mentioned before in the discourse. *'na?ay'hỹ* 'that one', *'na?ay'wy* 'at that time (long ago or recently)', *'na?ay'rjỹ?ỹ'tsy ko'reja'ro* / *'xyidy'rjỹ?ỹ'tsy ko'reja'ro* 'the pan is there with you' (H did not see it).

-nahere *(sxn)* COL
Creates a collective noun when applied to nouns and has a nominalising affect when applied to verb roots. *koko'nahe're* 'family of Coco', *dukyhỹnahe're* 'the others', *dai'bwadaki korejatxu'hũinahere* 'I took all

knives', *o'kja?a'hỹnahe're* 'we who are hunters'.

nana?u *(N)* ipe
Various trees of the fam Bignoniaceae, Leguminosas and Borraginaceae, ipê. Also [*nana'?ũ*], and note preglottalised nasals in: [*?na?na'?u*]. AIK *hala'la*.

nanãi- *(V)* very, like that, thanks
Emphatic reduplication of *nãi-* 'to be like'. Related to *jananãi-* 'that's fine'. Note the frequently preglottalised [*?n*]. There may be a meaning difference involved in the choice of the declarative marker: *na'nãiki* 'that's good' vs. *na'nãitse* 'it's like that'. *da'nỹ na'nãidaki* 'I'm still like that' (CX: feeling very ill). To the cock: *ku'rica'ra 'janãnãi'tsi* 'take care, shut your mouth, otherwise you will be eaten!'. Remark: *tu'ru:daki* 'I woke up', A: *na'nãitara* 'that's good'. *na'nãitaraki 'baxa'ra* 'good luck clearing the field / road!'. *na'nãitara* 'thanks'. *si'?e na'nãidaki* 'I'm like that too' (e.g. I'm hot). *kui?eda'mỹ na'nãiky'wy* 'in that case I'll (stay a bit longer and) have some more coffee'. *nanãitsy'wy* 'the very hour'. *na'nãi?ỹky'wy* 'it's just like that' (fig. 'that doesn't matter'). With the intensifier *-te*, often [*nanãitɛ*], it means 'just like that' and also 'notwithstanding that, nevertheless'. In combinat-ion with negative exhortative marking, it means 'to refrain from something': *ehỹ'si na'nãi?ini* 'so he has got it, now leave him!', *na'nãi-?ini'hedaki* 'I (will) not refrain from it'. The expression *nanãi?i'nixare* 'thanks' may be a calque on POR *não precisa* 'you don't have to go out of your way for me', 'don't worry!'. In the cosubordinative mood it behaves as an adverbial with the sense 'it is good (like) that': *na'nãitja ha'ja?ĩ'si 'hudada'tadaki* 'every day I speak with him (in order to teach him)', *na'nãitja ha'ja?ĩ'si kwa'zady'nãi uce'nãidaki / are'tadaki* 'every day I understand better Kwaza', *na'nãitja nãi'nĩ* 'let him do (it)!', *na'nãitja e'nĩ* 'let him go!'.

nasa *(N)* beetle species
Usually Melipona tataira, cagafogo. Little red beetle which flies at sundown. It may blind you when it gets into one's eyes. It smells like ozone. It may also refer to all flying beetles. Also [*nã'sa*] or [*nã'sã*].

-natai *(CL)* armpit
tsorona'tai 'armpit', *huxena'tai* 'armpithair'.

-nã- *(DR)* fire, bottom
This is probably a directional suffix referring to 'fire, stove': *korejaro a'runã'ra* 'put the (empty) pan on the fire'. It is possibly also encountered in: *e'nãtjate* '(the tin's) inside bottom'.

-nã- *(svv)* FUT
Also [*-na-*]. Immediately before the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *hurujale'nãtse* 'they are going to like each other', *jady'nãtaki* 'he is going to give me food'. Can also express the sense of 'to want', as in *bukja'nãtse* 'he wants to lie down'.

nã- *(V)* stink
'nãki 'it stinks', *kukui 'nãre* 'yecch! what a stink!', *nã'hỹxaki* 'you stink', *nã'rjỹki* 'there is a bad smell', *nã'rjỹ* 'fetid smell', *jere'xwa 'nãki* 'the dog stinks', *jerexwa(*wã) nã(hỹ)daki* 'I smell (stink) of dog'.

nãi *(N)* larva of fly
Also [*nãin*]. The classifier *-yi-* agrees with it. *'nãi co?ỹi'te* 'many larvae'.

nãi- *(V)* like
Root with little semantic content 'to be thus', 'to be like'. *'nãi?atsy'tse*, *'nãija'nĩ* 'let's do like that', *nãi?inĩ*, *nãi'nĩ* 'don't do that!', *'nãica'ra* 'do like that!', *magariDady'nỹ nãi'ra* 'go with Margarida!', 'do with Margarida!', *nãi'tse* 'this many (e.g. seven)'. With an interrogative rising intonation: *nãi* 'is that all?'. *'nãicata oce'ra* 'throw it away like that!', *'nãicata nãi'ra* 'do it like that!', *nãijã'ta ere'we?aki txana'nãi* 'this is the way one writes in

our language'. Occurs often as a dummy matrix verb, with an explicative function. *hy'jata 'nãiki* 'he fell, that is how it went', *'esi'ki ha'hata 'nãiki* '(he is taking so long) because he is washing clothes', *acwadyhỹ'hetasi 'nãidaki* 'I am (doing) like that because you don't force me'. Also occurs in a type of expression of resolute intention to retaliate and avenge. *nãi'nãi a'wỹita'nãihỹ kui'tyda'mỹ* 'I'll take advantage of him and drink his coffee'. Reduplicated variant *na'nãi-*. May be related to the (adverbial) nominaliser *-nãi*, and the equative element *-dynãi* and the simulative element *-nãixwa-*.

-nãi *(svn)* NOM

This nominaliser creates fact or event nouns: *ace'rjỹki onɛ'nãtsy'nãi* 'he is going to arrive soon' (lit. 'his future arrival is close'). *i'sicücwa'nãi u'teda'mỹda'ki* 'I am going to talk about a (case of someone's) death'. These nouns may function as (complex) complements: *mãmã'ñẽday-'nãi are'tadaki* 'I know how to sing', *horony'hỹdaki wara'jãda'nãi* 'I finished working', *magariDa kukoihỹki-cwanãi jãsidaki* 'I heard Margarida is ill', *e'tay watxi'kitse jere'xwa ku'ra-kura'wã 'tsje?a'nãi* 'the woman believes that the jaguar killed the chicken'. In combination with the root *e-* 'to have' an habitual construction is formed: *magariDa dutu'rexwa'nã ja'nãi e're* 'does Margarida eat pork?', *'nãitsyhỹ 'janãi 'edahỹ'heki* 'that I don't eat', *a'tsukako(lɛ) 'kuinãi 'edaki* 'I (only) drink coffee with sugar', *uki'ri jã'sinãi 'eda'hỹheki* 'I never heard a parakeet'. It may even have such aspectual effects outside of this construction: *wanỹ'dy asa'hỹdaki* 'I left the plate / food (will not eat more)' vs. *asa'nãidaki* 'I stopped' (e.g. a habit like smoking). It may also produce adverbials: *wai'nãi are'tadaki* 'I know very well', *nỹ:'nãi ja'ra* 'eat plenty!', *a'kynãi 'dodaki* 'I knocked twice' (lit. 'being two I knocked'). Note that it produces nominals which cannot be possessed: *(*'sidyhỹ) wara'ñỹ?anãi* '(*my) work'.

nãikorɛ *(ITJ)* why!

This word, as well as *o*, is said by family I members to be used by women instead of the expression *tsɛh*, which they consider somewhat rude. In family II both sexes use *tsɛh*.

-nãixwa- *(sxv)* SIMU

The simulative morpheme has the semantic value of 'to resemble, pretend, fake'. Maybe it is analysable as *nãi-* 'to be like' and the classifier *-xwa* 'man, figure, thing'. *hỹ'rike ze'torto'nãixwaki* 'Henrique is like José Torto', *dilɛ'nãixwadare* '(and) me, who do I resemble?', *kuinãixwaki* 'he pretends to be drinking', *tokoi'rihỹ-nãi'xwaki* 'he pretends to be tired' (wrong stress: *[*tokoiri'hỹ-*]), *turuwɛ-nãi'xwatsytse* 'it seems to be wanting to heal' (CX: AN about the pain in his knees).

-nãko *(CL)* bee

E-noun. *enã'ko* 'honey bee'. Probably related to *etajanã'ko* 'honey bee'.

nãko?ɛ *(N)* big lizard

Calangão, lagarta grande, tío. Big lizard that eats eggs. AN *nã(i)ko'?ɛ* 'big lizard', nickname *mãrẽ'?a* 'spirit'. IR: *nãko'?ɛ 'wainãi 'ehỹ'ki* 'lizard tastes good'. Another variant, preferred by MA and RO, is *hãko'?ɛ*.

-nãsi *(CL)* ear

ñã'sĩ nỹnã'siki 'it is a big ear'.

nãtsĩrĩ *(N)* centipede

Scolopendra morsitans, fam Scolopendridae, lacraia, piolho de cobra, large and very poisonous centipede.

-nãwã *(CL)* sky

Related to *hanãwã* 'sky'. *'bu?ũnãwãto'toki* 'midday' (lit. 'it stands still above in the sky'), *tsiri'tsanãwã* 'midnight' (lit. 'in the middle of the sky'). Note *wainã'wãki* and *wairjỹ'wãki* 'the sky is clear'.

-nɛ- *(DR)* hither (while originating from here)
This morpheme it not very productive and has a very restricted distibution. The goal of the movement it expresses is always the place where the subject of the verb in some way belongs, and only the source of the movement can occur as a locative satellite. *ẽrjãwã'nã o'nɛki* 'he came / went out of the forest' (order also 2-1). *kwɛnɛ'ra* 'enter!' (S is inside), *kwɛ'ra* 'enter!' (S is outside). The concept of 'hither, originating from there' can be expressed by a combination of *-ja-* 'thither' and *-nỹ-* 'reflexive', as in *oja'nỹ-*.

nɛ̃i- *(V)* press, pinch
Also [*nɛ̃ĩ*]. Also 'to milk a cow'. *'nɛ̃idaki* 'I'm wringing out (clothes)', *'jono'ni 'nɛ̃ini'tɛ* 'manioc press'.

-ni *(CL)* egg
E-noun. *nỹ'niki* 'it is a big egg', *kurakura'nĩ wady?eteja'nãtse sitsɛ'wã / txanã'wã* 'he is going to give us eggs'.

-ni *(svv)* EXH
Verbal exhortative mood ending of the matrix clause. It occurs with first person inclusive, third person (zero-marked) and indefinite subjects. *awemũ'ko haha'djohata'ni* 'let the rain wash your foot!', *'ja?atara'ni* 'let's eat first!'. When applied to a noun with beneficiary case marking, it expresses claiming or wanting: *kanɛ'xu 'sidu'ni* 'I want a bracelet for me', *he'heku'tynỹ'nĩ* 'he should be covered' (by someone, but not by himself). It is probably related to the causational / purposive modal morpheme *-nĩ-*. There is a special paucal exhortative *-ja*, an exhortative particle *hỹ'dɛ* and a hardly productive negative exhortative *-ini*.

-nite *(svn)* INSTR
Sometimes also [*nitɛ*]. Deverbal suffix which creates an instrument, patient, process or result noun. The element *-te* probably originally represents the nominalising part. *hũdwani'te* 'chair', *hudadani'te* 'word', *he'dynite* 'porridge, mixture'. Also used in attributive constructions: *auxwa'na keni'te* 'fried meat'.

-nĩ- *(svv)* CAUS
*[*ni*]. Causational or purposive modality. This modal morpheme has probably developed from the exhortative mood marker *-ni*: *'mãdaki one'nĩda'ta* 'I call her to come', *ja kui'nĩdaki* 'I already let (him) drink'. It may also have an accidental reflexive sense: *hadai'nỹdaki* 'I cut myself (on purpose)' vs. *hadai'nĩdaki* 'I cut myself (by accident)'.

-nĩ- *(DR)* into dust
Lexicalised DR/CL in roots such as *tsũrũrũ'nĩ* 'sand'. More productive in: *kwɛ'nĩki a'xydyda'mỹtja* 'he put (the pole upright) into the ground to build a house'.

-nĩ *(CL)* needle, thorn
Also [*ni*]. *xyi'nĩ txinĩ'te* 'big needle'. Probably also in *tsurwani* 'nose' and *olukeni* 'mutum beak'. ARI *nĩ.*

-nĩ- *(DR)* net, basket, bag
'to put in a bag, net or basket'. *tsãnĩ-* 'put seeds into basket'. Lexicalised in *arwenĩ-* 'carry chicha in a basket'.

-nĩnã- *(svv)* 2O
I/we-you: verbal first person subject, second person object cross-reference morpheme. Usually, the object is singular. Canonical subject marking remains obligatory. *'mɛ̃nĩ'nãdaki* 'I am beating you'.

nytesike *(N)* mat, flag
Traditional mat to sit on, braided out of large palm leaf. MA also: [*nũ'tesi'kje*] 'flag out of straw of bacuri palm leaf, to symbolise party in contest'. AIK *nãe't͡ʃi*.

nỹ- *(V-stem)* big
In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. It always requires a classifier, *nỹto'hoiki* 'it is a big child', *nỹ'kãixaki* 'you have a big mouth', *hakidwa nỹ'dwaki* 'stone is big', *nỹ'hỹtxu'hũitse* 'it is somewhat big' (but not very big). *nỹhỹ'hỹki* 'it is bigger' (comparative).

nỹ- *(V)* fat
Probably related to *nỹ-CL-* 'to be big'. '*mĩu 'kui?a'nãi nỹ'dyjaki* 'drinking chicha makes fat', *nỹtsyhỹ jady?ahỹ* 'we give food to Pãjãi for him to get fat'.

-nỹ- *(svv, DR)* REF, hither
cari'nỹda'mỹ 'I'm going to kill myself'. The morpheme is also used as a directional suffix: *jerexwa hysiñwã-nỹdyta* 'jaguar was approaching over the yard / it arrived onto the yard', *oja'nỹki* 'he arrives here' (though he does not necessarily originate from here), *hã'nã aruu'nỹki* 'he got up from (i.e. out of) the water', 'he crossed the river (to his own side)'. The morpheme may occur as an infix in certain verb roots: *'inỹtsi'xweki* 'he is taking medicine, he is treating himself'. The morpheme is lexicalised in certain words, e.g in the noun *aky'nỹ* 'friend'.

nỹkarwa- *(V)* broad
Lit. 'big-away-'. In the third person declarative only *-ki* is used. *nỹkarwaki* 'it is broad'. *'nỹkarwa'rjỹki* / *'nỹkarwa-'rjỹ'bwatse* 'the river widens (at a broader part)' (see also *nỹmũ-*). *nỹkarwa'mũki* 'the river is broad'. *nỹ'rjỹki* or *nỹkarwa'rjỹki* 'it is getting overgrown' (lit. (the vegetation) covers more (ground than earlier on).

nỹkỹnỹ- *(V)* move
nỹkỹ'nỹki 'is moving', *nỹkỹnỹ'hedaki* 'I am stiffened / have become rigid'.

nỹkotɛ- *(V)* return hither
nỹko'tɛ?e'nãtse 'he will return again', *xarenỹkotɛ-* '(talk) backwards, be turned backwards', *hynỹko'tɛki* 'he returned thither'.

nỹmũ- *(V)* high water
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *nỹ'mũki* 'the (water of the) river is high / rose', *nỹ'mũbwatse* 'the river widens (in a broader part)' (see also *nỹkarwa-*). *nỹ'mũtse* 'it is full', *hã nỹ'mũki* 'there is much water in the river'.

nỹmũte- *(V)* rain much
a'we nỹmũ'teki 'it is raining much', or 'the shower is increasing again'.

nỹnãi *(ADV)* much
For non-countable quantities, as opposed to *co'hỹ* 'many'. Probably analysable as *nỹ-nãi* 'being big'. *nỹ'nãi e'hỹdaki* 'I put a lot (of food in my plate)', 'I did / made much'.

nỹrjỹ- *(V)* grow, wide
Refers often to the growing of vegetation: *'nỹ(karwa)'rjỹki* '(the vegetation) covers more (ground than earlier on)', 'it grew (not higher or thicker but taking more ground space)'.

nõita- *(V)* dot
nõi'tadaki 'I put a dot' (CX: on the paper), *nõita'nỹdaki* 'I am marked with a dot'. *'nõitanỹki* 'it is a dot', reduplicated in: *nõinõi'nõita'nỹki* '- - - - -'.

-nõwẽ- *(DR)* upstream
tsũnõ'wẽdaki 'I swam upstream', *hynõ'wẽdaki (hãnã)* 'I went upstream (in the river)'. In combination with empty root *a-* used as ADV: *anõ'wẽ mũi'ra* 'fetch water upstream!' [**anõvẽ*].

nuhai *(N)* bird species
Belonopterus cayennensis, or Vanellus chilenis, fam Charadriidae, gaivota preta or quero-quero. Migratory bird like bacurau. Is encountered in Rondônia only in the winter (May-September).

nuhitxuru *(N)* dragon-fly
Ord Odonata. Has four large long (5 cm) wings. MA: [*nuhitxu'ru*] ~ [*nũ'hicu'ru*], although he doubts whether this word is correct. See also *nũ'jũnũ'jũ*.

-nũ *(CL)* powder, hair, feathers, porridge, earth
E-noun. *tsã'rã ki?ỹ'nũ* 'red soil'. AIK *-nu* ~ *-nũ* 'powder, porridge', probably the same form in KAN *ñũ't͡ʃi* 'sand', *mapiti'nũ* 'gunpowder' etc. Note possible relation to the element *-rũ* in *tsũrũrũnĩ* 'sand' and in *tsãkãrũ* 'sting ray'. ARI *nũ* 'porridge, flour', KAN

ti'nũ 'porridge'.

nũhĩu *(N)* tree species
Unidentified tree species. Also [*nũ:'hjũ*].

nũiriri *(N)* swallow
Fam Hirundinidae or Apodidae, andorinha. Also heard [*lõiri'ri*].

nũiriri txitote *(N)* bird species
Fam Hirundinidae or Apodidae. Probably a swallow species which lives in a hole.

nũjũnũjũ *(N)* dragon-fly
Gen Libellula, esp L. virgo, fam Libelulideae, ord Odonata. [*õ*] ~ [*ũ*]. *nũ'jũnũ'jũ* has four large five cm wings. See also *nuhitxu'ru*.

nũnã *(N)* potato
Gen Dioscorea, especially D. sativa, fam Dioscoreaceae, cará / batata do mato.

nũri- *(V)* make rope
nũ:'ridaki wade'xyi 'I'm rolling tucuma fibres on my thigh in order to make rope'. Homophonous with 'to satiate'. Also [*jũri*]. *wade'xyi 'bydata, nũ'ridata, o'wydaki* 'I pull fibres off the tucuma leaf, roll it on my thigh, and knit'.

nũri- *(V)* satiated
[*ũ*] ~ [*ũ:*] ~ [*u*]. Homophonous with 'to make rope'. *'kuidale nũ'ridale i'sidatsy'tehe're* 'I'm very drunk', *mĩw(ko) nũ'ridaki* 'I'm full of chicha'.

nũrũrũ *(N)* bamboo
Chusquea gaudichaudii, fam Gramineae, taquara. Z:093: *mabí*.

nũtenũ *(N)* resin
'nũt(j)e'nũ 'the black and soft resin of a certain tree, *nũtenũ'nwỹ*, out of which traditionally torches are made. The resin is rolled into leaves, 10 cm diameter, 50 cm length, and produces lots of smoke and soot.

nũtenũnwỹ *(N)* resin tree species
Protium aracouchini (Aubl.) March., fam Burseraceae, arvore de breu. The black soft resin, *'nũt(j)e'nũ*, of this tree is used to make torches.

nũty *(N)* honey
Also [*nõ'ty*]. *nũty'mũ* 'honey lemonade' (made of water and honey), *(nũ'ty) jẽjẽkydy'mũ* 'oropa honey', *nũ'ty 'cudaki* 'I'm cutting (tree) down for honey'.

nũtynũ *(N)* wax
Wax of honey bee, used e.g. to finish flutes etc. See also *nũty'rɛ*.

nũtyrɛ *(N)* wax
[*nũty'ræ*]. Synonym of *nũty'nũ*.

nũty?ũikɛ *(N)* liquorice
Unidentified small plant with fine root which tastes like liquorice (Glycyrrhiza glabra). Also [*nũ'ty?ui'kjɛ*]. Literal meaning: 'a honeybee sat on the root'. The leaf is also used for cleaning the mouth before making chicha, and to give the chicha taste. It does not colour the mouth and tastes sweet.

nũ?ỹhỹ *(N)* smell
Attestated only once.

nwã- *(V)* uproot
jo 'nwãki 'he pulls out manioc' (*[*nwỹ*]).

nwãrã *(N)* cudgel, club, wooden machete
Traditional big flat stick, suited to split the skull of enemies, decorated with feathers. WAY *ngwari'a* (Moore and Galucio 1994). KAN *numu'nu*. AIK *?nũ'?nũ*.

nwãrãxu *(N)* digging stick
Used by women, to uproot potatoes or to kill armadillo.

-nwỹ *(CL)* tree
Related to *ywy'nwỹ* 'tree, wood'. *cay'nwỹ* 'papaya tree', *e'nwỹtsy'hỹ* 'that which is a tree', *mwã'sidy'nwỹ* 'Moacir's wood'.

ñ

ñahuto *(N)* womb, placenta, stomach, belly
CX: butchering a pig: *eto'hoi ñahu'to*

‘little bag with the (pig-)foetus’. After birth, the placenta of humans is normally buried outside the house.

ñãrury *(N)* gall
AIK *ha'di*. It is said that because pigs don’t have a gall, they must have been human in olden times.

ñãsi *(N)* ear
Also [*njã'si*], [*jã'si*] or [*ñã'si*]. Related to *jã'si-* ‘to hear’. *ña'siro'nɛ* ‘hole of the ear’. The classifier *-nãsi* ‘ear’ is related.

-ñɛ̃ *(CL)* leaf type
hɛdɛ-ñɛ̃- ‘to burn the type of leaf’. Found as lexicalised in stems as *beñɛ̃* ‘herb’ and *tuituiñɛ̃* ‘sedge’.

ñũ *(N)* faeces
AIK *ne'nũ*.

ñũñũ- *(V)* suckle
CHT. *'ñũñũ'ra* ‘suckle!’. There is a phonetic likeness to the real word *kunũ'ra*. This and some 10 other attested CHT words are used when talking to children until less than three years old, as a special endearing register.

ñũsato *(N)* beetle
Fam Escarabeidae, rola-bosta. Metallic-green coloured dung beetle.

ñũsɛ *(N)* buttock, anus
Also [*ñɑũ'se*], so maybe analysable as /*ñuuse*/ or /*ñõuse*/. The corresponding classifier is *-sɛ-*.

-ñwỹ- *(DR)* tree
This morpheme functions as the directional equivalent of the classifier *-nwỹ* ‘tree’: *bu?ũ'ñwỹdaki* ‘I’m sitting up there (in the tree)’. Sometimes also [*ñwõ*], which is lexicalised in: *aru'ñwõdaki* ‘I put (the hinge) onto the wood’.

O

o- *(V)* suit, enter
'oki ‘he entered into the thing’, ‘it suited’, *'otaki* ‘fit me well’ (non-tight and non-loose clothes). Probably related to *ody-* ‘to plant’.

o *(ITJ)* why!
[*ʔɔ*] ~ [*ʔʊ*]. Feminine variant of male impressive interjection *tsɛh* in family I.

ody- *(V)* plant
Lit. ‘insert it (into the ground)’: *ywynwỹtsu'ko 'di?ata o'dy?aki cɛ̃'rĩ* ‘we ram (into) the ground with a digging stick and insert peanuts’.

oho- *(V)* cough
o'hodyky'tɛki ‘he’s coughing as well’. Z:200: *ohoiére-ki* ‘to cough’.

oho *(N)* yam species
Maybe Alosacia indica, fam Dioscoreaceae, fam Araceae, species of cará, mandioca d’agua. (Sweet) type of yam or manioc that looks like a melon. L:47: *o`o*. Karitiana *Ohy* ‘potato’.

ohoja *(N)* flu
Together with *ui-* ‘catch, ignite’: *o'hoja 'uiki* ‘he caught the flu’, *'uidaki oho'ja* ‘I got the flu’, *oho'ja o'hodaki* ‘I got the flu, I’m coughing’, *oho'ja 'e?aki* ‘we have the flu, cough’.

ohui- *(V)* play
Also [*owyi*] ~ [*o'wy*] ~ [*a'wy*]. *dodotxi'te o'huiwaki* ‘they are playing ball.

ohuini- *(V)* play
Also [*owyi'nĩ*]. *dodotxi'te ohui'niwaki* ‘they are playing ball’. Maybe *-ni-* here is originally an endearing suffix, used when referring to children.

oitsi- *(V)* sex
oi'tsiki ‘(animate being) is mating’. Often the reciprocal morpheme is used: *oitsi'leki* ‘they are having sex with one another’, *oi'tsileia* ‘(let’s) have sex’ (soliciting. Note absence of inflexion), *oi'tsileja'nãdaki* ‘I want sex with someone’, *'oitsi'jaki* ‘he (already) had sex with someone’, *oi'tsita?ỹ'ra 'tady'ta* ‘she ordered him to fuck her’, *oitsi'lɛtsyhỹ etsyka'nɛ / oitsi'lɛ?ahỹ etsyka'nɛ / oitsi'lɛnãi etsyka'nɛ / oitsi'lɛtsy'?yi* ‘pornographic video tape’.

oja- *(V)* arrive thither
Contains the semi-lexicalised directional *-ja-* 'thither'. Often translated as 'to leave, go away'. *ja oja'ki* 'he already left', *esi'ñwã oja'haytsy'hỹ* 'end of the yard' (see *hay-*), *kreBa'na oja'nãdaki* 'I'm going to (arrive in) Gleba'. Note exhortative *-ja-* in: *oja'jatsyhỹwara 'hedada'tadaki 'bon:a-'wy wa'jadatsy'tse* 'she said let's go there, but I don't want to, I will take her there later'. *oja'taki* 'he went there'. *zjuze*('wã) oja'tadaki* 'I visited José', but: **kreBanã ojatadaki* 'I visited the settlement of Gleba'.

ojaburu- *(V)* arrive home there
'went and arrived on the other spot which is not where he is from' as opposed to *ɛbu'ru-* 'arrived over there where he is from'. *kreBa'na ojabu'ruki* 'he arrived there in Gleba'.

ojanỹ- *(V)* arrive hither
The combination of *-ja-* 'thither' and *-nỹ-* 'reflexive' expresses the concept of 'hither, originating from there'. **krebanã ojanỹdaki* / ??*kreBa'ko ojanỹdaki* 'I arrived in Gleba' is unpragmatic, as it can only be said about the place you are at the moment, and that place does not have to be specified. A better alternative would be: *ỹhỹ'ko oja'nỹdaki* 'I arrived here'. *oja'nỹdaleki kreBa'ko* 'I'm arriving in Gleba' (CX: meeting Paulo on the road to Chupinguaia, six kilometres from Gleba). *sjupi'ngwaja'nã oja'nỹki* 'he came from Xupinguaia hither'. *'oja'nỹki* 'people (SG/PL) are arriving'. Reduplicated of whole stem in: *oja'nỹ?oja'nỹxata 'axahỹ'tsy ti'nãi ĩ'tsi ojanỹ'hexare* 'you always came, why don't you come any more?'.

oje- *(V)* move, flee
Contains probably the semi-lexicalised directional *-je-* 'away'. *o'jeki* 'moved to the other side', *'dai?ojeki* 'he moved to another place (e.g. another chair, settlement etc.)', *gleBana o'jedaki* 'I move to Gleba', *hadu'ru oje'hetsyre* 'the coati has not escaped?'.

okja- *(V)* hunt
Hunting in the forest, in order to kill game. *okja'hỹki* 'he is out hunting', *okjahỹ'wã* 'hunter', *o'kjanahe're* 'the hunters'.

olu *(N)* curassow
Gen Crax, fam Cracidae, ord Gallinaceae, mutum, curassow bird / turkey, large black forest turkey like bird. *oluke'ni* 'curassow beak'.

omere *(N-NAM)* Omeré river
KAN (and KWA also) *'omowe're*. AIK *omomere*.

omowerɛ *(N-NAM)* Omeré river
Also *ome're*. KWA/KAN *'omowe're*. AIK *omomere*.

onɛ- *(V)* return home, arrive home, come home
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. Also [*o'næ*] ~ [*'onẽ*]. Also variable stress: [*'onɛ*] ~ [*o'nɛ*]. Contains probably the semi-lexicalised directional *-nɛ-* 'hither'. The goal of the movement is the place where the subject belongs. *ha:rwi ja o'nɛ(re)* 'Luiz already arrived (home) (?)', *onɛ'kui* 'would you be coming (home) to drink?', *'onɛ'kuida'mỹ* 'I came (home) to drink', 'I'm going there (home) to drink', *o'nɛtserjỹ'ki* 'he returned and lay down (in his hammock)', *onɛ'dyki* 'he came to him / them', *onɛ?edaki* 'I returned after much time', *o'nɛxaxaki*/*bwɛ'nɛxaxaki* 'you (PL) arrived'.

oniBu *(N)* bus
[*OniBu*]. From POR *ônibus* 'bus'. *OniBu'ko 'oja'nãdaki* 'I'm going to take the bus'.

onỹ- *(V)* come, arrive
PLS. Contains a semi-lexicalised reflexive morpheme *-nỹ-*, which functions as a directional with the meaning 'hither'. *o'nỹki* 'they are coming', *o'nỹdaki* / *onỹ?a*(xa)ki* 'we are coming'. For PLS also *wa'nỹ-* 'to arrive' can be used.

oraidy *(N-KIN)* in-law
Often heard: [*arai'dy*]. Brother or sister of wife or husband.

ori- *(V)* ascend, climb
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *o'riki axy'nã* 'he climbed up onto the house'.

oriñe- *(V)* come, rise, emerge
ko'sa ori'ñeki 'sun is rising' (until 12 AM), lit. 'the sun is coming'. *jere'xwa ori'ñeki* 'the jaguar is coming', *ori'ñedaki* 'I'm coming'.

orita- *(V)* go there
'to go there close by, in the same settlement or field' (a relationship with *ori-* 'to ascend' was not confirmed). *oritaki* 'he went there (close by to do something), *ori'tajaki* 'went there to the people', *ori'tadamỹ* 'I'll go there'.

oritxeja- *(V)* mix
ori'txeja'mũdaki 'I dissolved (e.g. sugar in water)', *ha'ri?i'xu atxitxi'?ũ horitxejadaki* 'I mixed rice and beans', *ori'txeja'tale'ki* 'he is mixing (e.g. water and sand) together'.

oxe- *(V)* smile, laugh
o'xe:ki 'he smiles, laughs', *oxe:'nỹki* 'he laughs (audibly)', *jere'xwato'hoi ox:e'nỹta* 'the doggy is laughing', *o(w)'xedaherai're 'txarwa o'nɛwahỹ hary'ky* 'I was not happy for nothing, they've really arrived' (i.e. I knew he would arrive), *dilɛ o'xehỹre e'tay tswa* 'who laughed, the man or the woman?'. Note the comitative in: *o'xe?e'tehe'ky* 'quit messing!' (lit. 'don't play / laugh with him'). The following form was not understood: *'oxowɛ'hỹta're* 'are they laughing at my expense?'.

oxo?oja- *(V)* walk out
There is no root **oxo-*. *o'xo?o'jataxwaki* 'they went without me', *zwãu oxo?o'jaki sam'weu(*wã)* 'João went without Samuel', *sam'weu zjwãu(*wã) oxo?o'jaki* 'Samuel went without João'.

oxote- *(V)* stalk, keep an eye on
To wait for game, transport etc. *o'xoteki* 'he is waiting', *ônibus(*wã) 'oxote'hỹdaki* 'I'm waiting for the bus', *o'xote'rjỹdaki* 'I'm keeping an eye (i.e. taking care of) the house' (with an overt object, it is as if you're waiting for a house to pass by). *hu'ri(wã) o'xote'hỹdaki* / *hu'ri(wã) o'xote'rjỹdaki* 'I'm waiting for a paca'.

otsi- *(V)* kill, fall on top
hakidwa o'tsiki amũtay'wã 'stone fell onto the bottle', *axy'wã (*-nã) ywynwỹ o'tsiki* 'a tree fell on top of the house', *axy'nã ywynwỹ o'tsiki zjwã(wã)* 'inside the house, a beam fell on João', *'kanwã?ekai'?e o'tsiki zjwãu* 'the car killed João' (**zjwã'wã* is not very grammatical). [*tx*] in reduplicated: *(ywy'nwỹ) otxi'txijãhỹki* 'tree lying across the road'.

oce- *(V)* throw
Contains probably the semi-lexicalised directional *-ce-* 'aside'. *na'nãi?inĩ o'cexa'ra* 'don't! (because it's dirty), throw it away!', *tei'hỹ o'ce?o'cedaki* 'I'm throwing (seeds) one by one', *awy'nwỹ du'ry?o'cecwỹ'tedaki* 'I rolled the tree off the road', *oceto'todamỹ* 'I'm going to throw it upward', *ocecwa'nidamỹ* 'I'm going to throw it downward (in a hole)'.

otxa- *(V)* startle, scare, drive away
*kurakura(*wã) o'txadaki* 'I scared the chicken'. See also *mã?otxa-* 'to call over'.

ou- *(V-stem)* catch, hook
Sometimes heard as [*au*]. *ou'dydaki kuraku'ra maninitsumãi'ko* 'I caught a chicken in the hook', *ou'dy?ahỹki* 'it is to hook up (i.e. a clip)', *ou'dydata 'uitsẽ'rjỹdaki* 'I hung it hooking it up' (e.g. a claw hammer onto the doorpost), *ou'dyki* '(monkey) hung (on a tree by his hands)'. Probably related to *o'wy-* 'knit, braid', e.g. with IO *-ja-* as [*oveja*] in: *owy'jaki* 'it got tangled up (fish hook in the river, thread in the grass etc.)'.

ousisiti *(N)* monkey of the night
Aotus trivirgatus (S). Note that the

French word for another monkey, *ouistiti* (Callithrix jacchus, also Hapale jacchus, in English also wistit(i) and marmoset), which is an onomatopoeic term from the 18th century or earlier, has been attributed a Brazilian origin. It has not been established which indigenous language could be the source.

outo *(N)* bird
ou'to is a general term for big bird the size of a pigeon or bigger. Also [*au'to*].

outorɛ *(N)* bird
Generic term for small birds, the size of a pigeon and smaller. Also [*auto'rɛ*] ~ [*owto'rɛ*]. *outo'rɛnahere* 'the birds', *auto'rɛkasi* 'feather of a bird'. LAT *auto'rɛ* 'black vulture'.

owete- *(V)* comb
owete'nỹdaki 'I'm combing myself', *owe'tedaki X-wã* 'I'm combing X'.

owi *(N)* larva, larva of butterfly
Usually [*o'vi*], but also [*o'wi*]. Edible. The CL referring to larva is *-yi* 'thread'.

owitikɛ *(N)* tree species
Apuleia praecox or A. leiocarpa (Vog.) Macbr., fam Leguminosae-Cesalpinoideae, garapa. Locally called garapeira, (i)garapeira tree, AIK *tutame'nũ*.

owy *(N)* genipap
Genipa americana L., fam Rubiaceae. The (edible) fruits are used for black body paint which remains two to three weeks. *o'wy?ỹki* 'he is painted with jenipap ink'.

owy- *(V)* knit
xui a'wydaki 'I'm knitting a marico'. Closely related to *ou-* 'catch, hook'.

owyto *(N)* miraringa
Pseudolmedia sp., miraringa, pama. Note CL *-to* 'seed'. The tree has wild small red round sour tree-berries and is ripe in november. AIK *hi'rij*, KAN *uru'ti*.

o?e *(N-NAM)* O?e
Female person.

o?oja- *(V)* went (many)
PLS. Related to *o'ja-* 'to arrive thither'. Reduplication may symbolise plurality of the argument.

p

paikere *(NAM)* Paikere
Male person name, probably of KWA origin.

paira *(N)* jurubeba
Solanum rugosum Dunal, S. stramonifolium Jacq., S. paniculatum. Note here AN's /r/ is like a voiceless explosive tap. *paira'tõi* 'fruit of jurubeba'.

pairasa *(N)* beetle
Beetle species of about four cm long. It is slim, black and eats the leaf of the jurubeba (*pai'ra*).

papɛu *(N)* paper
From POR *papel* 'paper'. *papeu'ro* 'paper box'.

parepui *(N-NAM)* Parepui
Female person name. Wife of the Salamãi Telemaco.

pau- *(V)* run
CHT. *paw:'ra* 'run!'.

pã- *(V)* drink
CHT. *pã'ra* 'drink!'.

pãjãi *(N-NAM)* dog
Name for a bitch.

pɛrɛku *(N)* nail, spike
[*pɛrɛ'ku*]. From POR *prego* 'nail'. *'pere'kuro'ne'na 'nãiki* 'it is because of a nail hole' (rain dripping).

pɛtxa *(N)* itch, scabies
'jerexwa 'pɛtxa eki 'the dog has the itch', *si?e ko'xona'hỹdaki pɛ'txa* 'I also have the itch on my body'.

pẽrẽjã- *(V)* speak
This word refers rather to the sound of the voice than to the contents of speech, so it does not mean 'to converse' (even though it is often translated that way). It can also be said of a playing radio or TV and probably to the call of animals. *pɛ'rẽjãtja'lɛki* 'they are conversing', *pẽrẽjã*('tja)daki*

paulu('wã)* 'I conversed with Paulo', *pɛrẽjã'xyki* 'to read', *pɛrẽ'jãxyra* 'read!', *pẽrẽ'jadyitxi'rjỹxare* 'how noisily you are conversing!'.

pɛ̃rɛ̃jãxy- *(V)* read
Based on the verb *pɛ'rɛ̃jã-* 'to speak' and the classifier *-xy-* 'leaf'. *'kuitõinite'xy pɛ̃rɛ̃jã'xydahỹki* 'I read the (medicine) instructions'.

pipitxa *(N)* tree species
Uncertain. Once attested form for 'canela' tree, but unclear which of the numerous different species. AIK *waikuro'nɛ*.

pirarata *(N-NAM)* dog
Name for a bitch.

pirãjã *(N-NAM)* dog
Dog name, probably via Nheengatu from Tupinamba *piranha*.

piriri- *(V)* turn
piri'riki 'it is turning' (just the wheel spinning in its place, i.e. without dislocation). *piriridamỹtsɛ* (**piri'nãtsɛ*) 'it is going to turn (e.g. wheels, also when a bicycle is upside down)'.

pitxũrã *(N-NAM)* Ouro river
Right tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river. AIK *kapatsu'ra*.

pju *(NAM)* Piu
A nickname (from AIK) of one of the Kwaza.

pyu- *(V)* eat
CHT. *pyu'ra* 'eat!'.

pororõtɛ *(N)* fly
Especially Musca domestica. Final vowel is usually [*æ*]. *porõrõ'tɛ 'wytse* 'fly is buzzing'.

posto *(NAM)* Posto
[*'posto*], from POR *posto* 'outpost'. For the Kwaza and Aikanã today it refers to a never inhabited FUNAI settlement from the early 1980s half-way Gleba and Barroso.

põtsj *(N)* bridge
From POR *ponto* 'bridge'. There is no specific root for 'bridge'.

pu- *(V)* fall
CHT. *'pu:xatsi* 'take care not to fall!'.

pura *(N)* moth
Ord Lepidoptera, subord Heterocera, mariposa, 'nightmoth'. [*u*] ~ [*u:*]. AIK *t͡ʃɛ̃t͡ʃɛ̃pɛ:'rjüo*. KAN *pu'ra* 'cicada'.

r

-ra *(svv)* IMP
Verbal imperative mood ending of the matrix clause. The second person singular subject is zero-marked. *wa'dyta?ỹ'ra* 'give it to me!'. Also used as exhortative or affirmative answer to a proposal: C: *ɛ'nãdaki* 'I'm going', A: *ɛ'ra* 'go!' (according to MA *tsy're* 'would it be?' is a nicer answer). See also the emphatic imperative element *-ca-*, the imperatively used potential *-tsy-* and the procrastinative imperative morpheme *-ta*. The canonical negative imperative is *-ky*.

-rai *(sxx)* damn
Expletive morpheme, often with an intensifying function, which occurs mostly on verb stems, between the subject and mood markers. *ãwã'kada'raire* 'am I a heron? (i.e. should I eat that much fish?)'. In combination with the negative morpheme there may be no negative sense: *kuiherai're* 'did he drink!, Jesus!'. Without the negative morpheme, there may be a negative sense: *o'xedarai're* 'I'm not joking!'. *kuirydy'hỹraire* 'he isn't going to drink, no way!'. Can be applied to (zero-verbalised?) nouns: *'ñũraire* 'it isn't dung, pal!' (the addressed person was afraid to taste liquorice).

raihỹ- *(V)* break down
rai'hỹtse 'it broke down', *txu'hũitja rai'hỹtse* 'it was ruined a little'.

rai?ỹhỹ *(N)* animal, thing
Explained by MA as: 'any (non-human and non-edible) entity of which the name is not known'. There is no word for 'something'. Also [*rai'?ỹ*] and

[*'rai?yhỹ*]. *'rai?ỹ'hỹ wai'hỹhỹ 'eki* ‘there is a beautiful thing’ (CX: inside the box). Note playful or angry use: *'rai?y'hỹxa'ki* ‘you’re something’, ‘you’re an animal’. *hahetu'rai ja'he-jãki, 'rai?yhỹ'ki* ‘we don’t eat mushrooms, those are things (i.e. inedible)’.

rai?ỹnãi *(N)* thing, rubbish
Abstract thing, verbal complement in: *'rai?ỹnãi pɛ̃rɛ̃jã'tja?a'nãi 'tseitsynãi 'eheki* ‘whatever you tell him, he won’t answer’.

rai?ỹnũ *(N)* poison
Type of snake poison used for arrows (of war).

rajãjã- *(V)* scatter
rajã'jãki ‘it lies scattered on the ground’.

-rata *(snn)* first
sira'ta 'daidaki ‘I took first’, *dilɛra'ta 'daixare* ‘was it you who took first?’, *'sira'ta a'wỹidahỹ'ki 'sidu'ni* ‘I saw it first, it’s for me’, *'xyira'ta a'wỹi-xa'hỹhe'ki* ‘you didn’t see it first’ (which does not imply that you saw it last), *xyira'ta* ‘you first!’, *ɛ̃'hikera'ta aky'ni* ‘let Henrique take first (from the pan)!’, *'verotsy'hỹ(rata) 'leja'nỹki* ‘the flash comes first (then the thunder)’, *kawa'pɛra'ta 'a(?ĩ?ĩ'hỹ)ki* ‘the cockroach existed first’.

-rati(-) *(sxx)* FOC
Focus morpheme that can be applied both to nouns and verb roots. Occurs often in interrogative sentences. *tsũ'hũra'ti carire* ‘what is it that he killed?’, *'wairati're* ‘is it delicious?’, *tsũhũrati'na* ‘in what?’, *morango wairatitady* ‘I never tried strawberries, how nice!’, ‘first time I ate strawberries, how nice!’. Also used to express historical narrative, when applied between person and mood marker. It refers to what the people traditionally did, in olden times, originally: *axy'hi 'ĩwaratiki* ‘this way they sniffed (‘because it doesn’t exist any more now’)’, *mĩu 'kui?ara'tiki* ‘that’s the way one drank chicha’. In a discourse-final particle: *'kanwa-?ekai'?ɛ huda'hỹki 'cwara'tiki* ‘it is said the car used to make a lot of noise’ (S is a young person who has not experienced those times).

-rati *(CL)* man
'dota'rati ‘wild man, police’, *'dota'tay* ‘wild woman’.

ratja- *(V)* order him, insist
This verb root probably originated from the imperative marker *-ra* and the transitive suffix *-tja-*, and is also encountered as a particle. *ra'tjaki* ‘he is insisting’, *e'nĩda'ta ra'tjada'ki* ‘I ordered him to go home’, *zjo'ze ra'tja zjwã'wã dy'ta ca'ri?a'sahỹ'ki kaBrie-'wã* ‘José made (that) João kill(ed) Gabriel’.

-ratsa- *(DR)* underneath
hy'ratsa'nũdaki ‘I entered into the ground’. See also *aratsamũ*.

ratxehỹ- *(V)* ruin
'ratxe'hỹda'mỹ?ihĩ'ky ‘don’t think of ruining (it)’, *ratxɛ'hỹtyta're* ‘he is ruining (things) of mine’.

rawy- *(V-stem)* waggle
Reduplicated in: *ra'wyra'wytse* / *'rawy'wytse/ki* ‘(the dog) waggles (its) tail’.

rãmã- *(V-stem)* shake, tremble, rattle, reel, dangle
Note reduplication in most occurrences: *rãmã'mãki* ‘it is reeling, swaying (on her head)’, ‘it dangles (hanging down and it may drop any second)’, *rãmã'mãdaki* ‘I’m shaking (him)’, *rãmãmã'dydaki* ‘I’m making him/it shake’, *rãmãmã'nỹdaki* ‘I’m trembling’, *ramãra'mãtse* ‘it is rattling (because it is loose)’.

-re *(svv)* INT
Verbal interrogative mood ending of the matrix clause. The third person singular subject is zero-marked. Sometimes [*rɛ*]. *tsuhũra'ti hurujaxa're-daki* ‘I don’t know what you want’. The interrogative can also be used emphatically: *ku'kui ñãsi'heda're* ‘damn, I can’t hear anything!’, *ku'kui*

kara'ra?ỹre ‘gosh, he is meagre!’.

rɛ?ũce- *(V)* lean, slant, tilt
a'xy 'rɛ?ũceki ‘the house is tilted’. RED in: *rɛrɛrɛ'rɛ?ũceki* ‘he is walking while leaning over forward (nearly falling over)’.

-ri *(CL)* flat
E-noun. *e'ri* ‘paddle, liver, field, piranha’. *koreja'ri nỹ'riki* ‘plate is big’. Probably related to *-xuri-* ‘chest’.

-ri- *(DR)* up-down
This morpheme may be lexicalised in the verb roots *o'ri-* ‘to ascend’, *di'ri-* ‘to descend’ and *tu'ri-* ‘to topple’. It is possibly productive in *towɛ'ri-* ‘to ascend (PLS)’, and may be the same element in *awe'riki* ‘it is raining’ (had just begun, or it is going to).

-ri- *(svv)* ???
This rare morpheme is not well understood and its productive application is rejected by MA. It may be a directional, classifying or TMA-like morpheme obsolete in family I. *awe'riki* ‘it is raining’ (had just begun, or it is going to). Note Z:203: *êtsêre-kí* ‘die’, which may be explained as *isi(ri)ki* ‘he dies’, or ‘he grabs (his chest)’. It is lexicalised (and accepted by MA) in *tokoi'ri-* ‘be tired’ and in *'tãiki* ‘it is hard’ vs. *tãi'riki* ‘it does not die easily, it has a durable life (e.g. a tortoise, which is difficult to kill)’.

-rihi *(CL)* flat oval seed
E-noun. *eri'hi* ‘flat oval seed’, e.g. of calabash seeds (also *kudyri'hi*), pumpkin seeds, sunflower seeds, beans.

riki- *(V)* tighten knob
ri'kiki ‘he is tightening the knob (e.g. when switching on the radio, tv etc.)’.

-rilo *(CL)* jaw
E-noun. *erilo'na kukui'hỹdaki* or *kukuiri'lodaki* ‘I have pain in the jaw’. *erilo'xu* ‘jawbone’. Contains probably the CL *-ri* ‘flat’ and *-lo* ‘tube’.

rilo- *(V-etym)* stagger
Usually reduplicated: *rilo'lodaki* ‘I’m staggering (because of alcohol, or a hit on the head)’, *'rilo'rilo"lohyhy'rwa* ‘(he) walked staggering (after being shot, half falling as if drunk)’.

rirwa- *(V/CL/DR)* round
ri'rwa?ỹratihỹ'ko ha'biwata aru'ce'wahỹhe'rejãre ‘they light fire with that round stuff (inside the mortar), and put (chicha) into it, isn’t it?’. Related to *eri'rwa* ‘circle’. As a CL or DR: *eri'rwa nỹri'rwaki* ‘big circle’. *tiri'rwa* ‘which circle (are you thinking of)?’.

rirwahoro- *(V)* draw a circle
ri'rwaho'roki ‘he made (something) round’. The second part is probably related to *horo-* ‘to finish’ or ‘to cut’.

-ritsa- *(DR)* outside
jãsixareri'tsadaki ‘I heard it from (there) outside (the house)’. As a result of productive adverb formation: *ari'tsa a'wỹidaki cohasi'ki* ‘I saw a shoe outside’. Lexicalised in *tsiri'tsa* ‘middle’. Occurs also in lexicalised combinations such as *eritsa'mjã* ‘place, camp’.

-ritsu *(CL)* flat thin wood
E-noun. *eri'tsu* ‘flat thin wood’, e.g. of adventitious roots of certain trees, and the wooden butt of a rifle. *ywy'nwỹ-ri'tsu* ‘flat adventitious root of a tree’.

-rice *(CL)* mouth, i.e. opening of mouth
E-noun. *eri'ce* ‘hole of the mouth’.

-ricwa *(CL)* inhabited place, house(s)
E-noun. *eri'cwa* ‘inhabited place (a group of settlements / houses + yards inside the same clearing in the forest, i.e. a village)’, derives probably from *e'ri* ‘field’ + *-xwa* ‘human’. *ɛ'ja txanaricwa'na* ‘let’s go to our town’, *dukyri'cwa* ‘other settlement’, *aweri'cwaki* ‘it rained in town’. Maybe there is a relation with Tupi-Guarani *(r/t)etam(a)* ‘land, town, inhabited place’ (Willem Adelaar pc).

-rja- *(DR/CL)* behind rim or edge, around
Directional use: *hary'ky tsi'cwadata 'tãtãirja'hỹdaki* ‘now I started to pound around’ (pound the earth around poles

to fasten them and make a fence), *arja'mũdaki* 'I live on the bank of the river'. Classifying use: *erjaka'dwa* 'riverside', *mãreri'tsa awỹida'hỹki xyidyrja'xy* 'I saw someone behind your house', *kas'katarja'mũ* 'the riverbank at Cascata'.

-rjakadwa *(DR/CL)* waterside
tsũrũrũnĩrjakadwa 'beach'.

-rjana *(CL)* thigh, rim of the groin
E-noun: *'ɛr(i)ja'nã* 'thigh, rim of the groin'. *kukuirja'nadaki* 'I have a pain in my thigh'. This classifier is lexicalised in *erja'nãsiki* 'shorts'.

-rjarwɛ *(DR/CL)* circle, round
Also [*rjarwe*]. Usually behaves as a CL: *erja'rwɛ* 'environs, circle', *nỹrja'rweki* 'it is a big wheel'. DR properties in: *burja'rwedaki* 'I put it around', *towɛrja'rwewata* 'they rotated (seminomadically on the move)'. The element *-rwe-* is probably related to the DR *-rwɛ-* 'around'.

-rjatɛ- *(DR)* rim, side
Consists of *-rja-* 'edge, rim' and unidentified *-tɛ*. Can be used as an adverbialiser itself: *ywynwỹ'ko wã'wỹi?ũrjatɛdaki / ywynwỹrjatɛ wãwỹidaki* 'I slept behind the log'.

-rje *(CL)* bunch, grating
E-noun. *ha'tsixu'kurje* 'bunch of heliconia-like leaves on little stems', *xyini'rje* 'an abundance of spiny plants'.

-rjẽ *(CL)* side, rib, side of chest
erjẽ'hỹ 'side', *erjẽ'xu* 'ribs'.

-rjỹ *(CL/DR)* area, surroundings, all over, room, place, weather
Often heard as [*jỹ*] ~ [*jã*] ~ [*ñã*]. *akwa'te nỹ'rjỹki* 'the room is big', *ay'rjỹ o'jatsyrjỹ* 'the place where he would go to', *atxi'txi anũ'rjỹ ave tsoi'hỹki* 'where he was planting maize, the rain soaked him', *zezĩjudyrjỹ(*nã) cohỹ a'ki kurakura* 'there are many chickens at Zezinho's'. Also used as directional, e.g.: *tsã'rjỹdaki* 'I sowed' (lit. 'strew around'). Often lexicalised with verb roots, e.g. *cutserjỹki* 'he is lying down', *duture aretarjỹki* 'the pig has grown tame'. Also used with weather or time of the day or year verbs: *owyrjỹki* 'the weather is cold', *hajarjỹki* 'the sky is clear (is has become day everywhere)', *kike'rjỹ e'wy* 'hot season'. Also with environment parts or ground surface notions: *watirjỹheki* 'the bush is very impenetrable', *hi nytẽrjỹ(hỹ)ki* 'the fire is big (spread out)'. *'ete'rjỹki* 'it is light (the sun is shining on the ground)'. *edamỹdaki sidyrjỹ* 'I'm going to my house (place)'.

-rjỹsɛ̃ *(CL)* necklace of shells
Possibly an e-noun: *ɛ̃rjỹ'sɛ̃(ni'tɛ)* 'necklace of shells'. *nỹrjỹ'sɛ̃ki* 'it is a big necklace' (ventured by the author).

rjỹsɛ̃tõi?ỹhỹ *(N)* squint
Refers to someone who squints. Related to *ẽrjỹse'tõi* 'eyelashes'.

-ry- *(sxx)* PAU
Paucal which refers only to non-vegetal animate entities. Always followed by a nominaliser. *etohoiry'rai* 'those (e.g. my/his) shameless children'. *tala'mɛryrai* 'my shameless uncles'. *aky'nỹxayry'hỹ* 'friend of you two' vs. *'aky'nỹxaynahe're* 'friend of you people', but note: *akynỹry'hỹtja'te* 'friend of them two' vs. *'akynỹtsyry'hỹ(tja'te)* 'friend of them lot'.

-rydy- *(svv)* IRR
The irrealis condition morpheme occurs in matrix clauses. It expresses a counterfactual condition when combined with a medial clause that contains conditional *-kywy*, as in: *ũce'nãidahỹkywy'ta dai'hedarydyki* 'if I had known it (e.g. that it was so bad), I would not have bought it'. In the same way it may also occur in concessive constructions. It also occurs in simple matrix clauses: *dilɛ 'curydy're* 'who would be able to cut it?', *wa'dyrydy'hỹki* 'I think that he gave to you', *ti'nãihỹ'rydy're* 'what do you think about it?', *ay'hỹ wai'hỹ?ỹrydy-*

hỹtse ‘that would be good’, *atsi'lerydy-'hỹraire* ‘ah! that is not heavy!’.

-ro *(CL)* cup, container, vessel, ring
E-noun. *koreja'ro* ‘pan’, *wade'ro* ‘ring of tucum’, *harurai'ro* ‘bracelet of armadillo shield’. Directional-like use in: *hy'rodaki* ‘I entered into the bucket’.

-rohaxu *(CL)* spine
E-noun. *ku'kuiroha'xuki* ‘he has pain in the lower back’. It is not attested whether there is a difference with *-sexu* ‘spine’. Maybe the (now lexicalised) part *-roha-* refers to the hole in the vertebra and represented originally another way to describe the spine (see also *eroha'xu(xu)* ‘spine’ and *eroha'kãi* ‘canoe hole’).

-rokotay *(CL)* abdomen
E-noun. *ku'kuiroko'tayki* ‘has pain in the lower abdomen’ (note that this was said by a woman, ME).

-rokoca *(CL)* face
Related to *lokoca* ‘face’. *hã doroko'cadaki ĩ'wã* ‘I spilt water on his face’, *hɛ'hɛnỹ'roko'cadaki* ‘I’m wearing a mask’ (lit. ‘I’m covering my face’).

-romũ *(CL)* thigh
E-noun. ZE: *ero'mũ* ‘upper and lower thigh’, *ero'mũtatsi'tswa* ‘lower thigh’. *a'ta:sitswaro'mũ* ‘underside of thigh’. Also in *eromũ'sĩ* or *esĩro'mũ* ‘leg from hip to knee’ (lit. ‘thigh-knee’), which was also once encountered as *helomũ'sĩ. 'hou?aru'romo'nỹdaki* ‘I took (the child) in the lap (on the legs)’.

-romũtsa *(CL)* wrist
E-noun. *eromũ'tsa* ‘wrist’, *'tsjôromũ'tsaki* ‘kissed the hand’, *(hou)isiromũ'tsaki* ‘he grabbed and held her by the wrist’.

-ronã *(CL)* hole
Related to *lonã* ‘hole’. *nỹro'nãki* ‘big hole in ground’.

-ronɛ *(CL)* hole
[*ɛ*] ~ [*ɛ̃*], [*ro*] ~ [*rwa*] ~ [*rwo*]. Hole as a necessary property of an object. Usually encountered in words for facial orifices such as nose and ear. Related to *lonɛ̃* ‘hole, valve’. *ñã'siro'nɛ* ‘hole in the ear’.

roroi- *(V)* mash
jo ro'roidaki ‘I’m mashing manioc’.

-rote *(CL)* door, hole of the house
Related to *lo'te* ‘door’.

-rwa *(CL/DR)* hole, around, nostril
Possibly related to *-ronɛ*. *tsarwa'ni nỹ'rwaki* ‘nostrils are big’. *hyhy'rwaki* ‘he is walking or flying around’.

-rwɛ *(DR/CL)* around
tsãrjỹ'rwɛdaki hi'na ‘I strew it around the fire’, *towɛrja'rwewata atotorwɛ-rjarwɛwata* ‘they (lived) migrating around, and lived in all reaches of the land (seminomadically on the move in a circle)’. Lexicalised part of *-karwɛ-* ‘away in a circle’. The morpheme is probably related to *-rjarwɛ-* ‘circle, rim’ and behaves often as a CL: *nỹrja'rweki* ‘it is a big wheel’. Directional properties in: *burja'rwe-daki* ‘I put it around’.

rwỹtɛ *(N)* mouth
Also [*lwỹ'tɛ*]. Refers to the mouth as far as in a circle around the lips. Can be attached to the empty root *e-* or other roots as if it were a classifier: *hunũnũrwỹ'tɛdaki* ‘there is mist from my mouth (i.e. I see my breath)’.

S

-sa *(CL)* beetle
Ord Coleroptae, besouro. *hãkũi'sa* ‘beetle of edible grubs’, *paira'sa* ‘4 cm long slim black beetle which eats the leaf of the jurubeba’.

-salõi *(CL)* snout, nose
Refers to the wet nose of a pig, dog etc. If this CL forms an e-noun, the empty root is unusual: *ɛ-*. *duturesa'lõi* ‘pig’s snout’, *dutu'redahỹ'ta 'nỹsa'lõi-daki* ‘being a pig I have a big nose’.

-sanũka *(CL)* tip of house
E-noun. *e'sanũ'ka* ‘top of the central pole of the traditional straw house’, *tsi'kjasanũ'kadaki* ‘I stand on the top of the house’.

-se *(CL)* arse, anus
uri'pyi nỹ'seki ‘Uripyi has a big arsehole’.

-se *(CL)* tick
'kei txise'tɛ ‘very big tick (carrapato de anta)’.

-sedi *(CL)* heel
E-noun. *ese'di* (*[*eseði*]) ‘heel’. *ku'kuise'didaki* ‘my heel hurts’. *ese'di?ỹhỹ* ‘(the one with the) heel’ (nickname of Apolinário).

-sexu *(CL)* spine
E-noun. *ɛsɛ'xu* ‘spine’. Often combined with the classifier *-tu* ‘back’: *esɛxu'tu* ‘spine of the back’, IR: [*esaxu'tu*] ‘spine’, [*esaxutu'tsu*] ‘vertebra’. *kukuise'xu(tu)daki* ‘I have a pain in the spine’. It is not attested whether there is a difference with *-rohaxu* ‘spine’.

-si *(svv)* SWR
Cosubordinative switch-reference mood marker which chains medial clauses with different non-third person subjects. *onɛ'si oja'tadahỹ'ki* ‘he returned, I went there’. *acwadyhỹ-'hetasi 'nãidaki* ‘I act like that because you don’t force me’.

si *(N)* I
First person singular pronoun. The use of pronouns as overt arguments usually has an emphatic or disambiguating function. *'si oja'nãdaki* ‘it is me who is going’, *ɛda'mỹdaki 'sidy'rjỹ* ‘I’m going to MY place’, *si'?e* ‘me too’. Quotative zero-verbalization in *'sitse* ‘he requested’, *'sidaki* ‘I requested’. In order to avoid confusion with ‘to tie’, the transitiviser *-tja-* is usually added: *grava'do si'tjadamỹ* ‘I’m going to ask for a recorder’, *'si(tja)damỹ wanỹ'dy* ‘I’m going to ask for food’, *si'tjadamỹ e'xy* ‘I’m going to ask for money’.

si- *(V)* fasten, tie
[*i*] ~ [*iː*], [*s*] ~ [*ts*]. Especially of hammock. See *i'tsosisi* ‘cord’. *i'tso si'ra* ‘hang up the hammock!’, *i'tso 'siki* (or 21) ‘is hanging up / he hung up the hammock’, *itso 'sitse* ‘is hanging up the hammock’, ‘is asking for a hammock’, *i'tso si'hỹki* ‘the hammock is tied’, *i'tso 'sidaki* ‘I’m hanging up the hammock’ (in order to avoid confusion with ‘I requested a hammock’ the root *kateja-* is preferred by MA).

-siki *(CL)* skin, leather, bark, cloth
E-noun. *esi'ki* ([*si*] ~ [*sə*] ~ [*sɪ*]) ‘skin, clothes’. *maga'riDadysy'ki*, *maga'ri-Dadyhỹ esy'ki* ‘clothes of Margarida’, *'weu?ỹsiki* ‘red clothes’, *mury'cysiki* ‘bark of mahogany’. Note CL *-nwỹ* in: *esiki'nwỹ* ‘tree bark’. Note CL *-lo* ‘tube’ in: *kẽwẽdo'riski'lo* ‘shell of water turtle’. Note unidentified element *-lɛ* in: *e('cũi)siki'lɛ* ‘eyelid’, *cẽ'rĩsiki'lɛ/lo* ‘peanut shell’.

-sikilɛ *(CL)* thin shell, eyelid
Consists of CL *-siki* ‘skin’ and unidentified *-lɛ*. Probably an e-noun: *ɛsikilɛ* ‘eyelid’. *cẽ'rĩsiki'lɛ/lo* ‘peanut shell’.

-sikilo *(CL)* shield
Lexicalised combination of CL *-siki* ‘skin’ and *-lo* ‘tube’. *haru'raisiki'lo* ‘armadillo shield’, *haru'raisiki'lo* ‘armadillo shield’, *kẽ'wẽs(y)ki'lo* ‘tortoise shield’.

-sile- *(DR)* nocturnal
tõmãsi'ledamỹ ‘I’m going to take a bath at night’. Related to *sile-* ‘dusk’.

sile- *(V)* dusk, night, late
Also [*tsi'le*]. *si'leki* ‘it got dark’, ‘it is late’, *si'ledwa'ta wã'wỹĩwaki* ‘as it got dark on them they slept’. Related to the directional *-sile-* ‘nocturnal’.

sileta *(ADV)* afternoon, dusk
Also [*tsile'ta*]. *sileta wai'rjỹki* ‘it is a beautiful afternoon’.

-silona- *(DR)* corner of the house
hẽu'rjỹhyhy'rwasilo'nãba'rutja ‘it was sniffing-walking in all corners’. As an

independent adverb: *asilo'nã 'bu?ũkjaki* ‘is lying in the corner (down on the floor of the house)’. As a locative satellite: *asilona'nã a'sadaki 'hetsy'se* ‘I put the broom in a corner. **silo*, **asilo*.

-simjãku *(CL)* tree stump
E-noun. Also [*simjɛ̃'ku*]. *ywynwỹ-simjã'ku 'hado(co'ha)taki* ‘a tree stump perforated my (foot)’.

-sinĩ *(CL)* skewer, stalk of leaf (treated), bird-arrow
E-noun. *esi'nĩ* ‘man-made bird-arrow out of the stalk of a bacuri leaf’, *sidysinĩ* ‘my bird-arrow made of a bacuri leafstalk’, *ywy'nwỹsi'nĩ* ‘wooden skewer, toothpick’.

-siñũ *(CL)* tail, fin
E-noun. *jere'xwadysi'ñũ*, *jere'xwasi'ñũ* ‘tail of jaguar’. Also for fish but not for birds.

-siñwã *(CL/DR)* yard
[*ã*] ~ [*a*] ~ [*y*]. E-noun. *esi'ñwã* ‘yard, road’. *'kwɛnera 'cutsi'kjasiñwãhe'ky* ‘enter, don’t keep standing outside’.

sire *(NAM)* Sire
Male person.

sirisiri *(N)* tamandua (small)
Tamandua tetradactyla, fam Myrmecophagidae, tamanduá-mirim, tamandua-colete, mambíra. [*'sirisi'ri*] ~ [*tsi'ritsi'ri*]. AIK *(h)iri'ri*.

sirisiri?ekai *(N)* tinamou species
Fam Tinamidae, inhambuzinho do cerrado (POR for ‘little tinamou of the savannah’). Sings differently from other tinamous: it starts to yell with long intervals which become increasingly shorter until no interval of silence is possible any more, it is smaller than inhambuzinho do campo. Maybe related to *sisiri?e'kai* ‘seriema’ and AIK *tʃürü'tʃüruwa* ‘seriema’.

-sisi *(CL)* chaff
atxitxi'?ũsi'si ‘grain of rice with chaff / whole rice’.

sisiketɛ *(N)* headdress
AN: [*'tisekje'tɛ*] ‘headdress with feathers’. See also *ha'tiseke'tɛ* ‘little hat of tucum’. AIK *kiri'ðu*.

sisiri?ekai *(N)* seriema
Microdactylus cristatus L., or: Cariama cristata L. (fam Cariamidae), crane-like bird. **sisiri*. AIK *tʃürü'tʃüruwa*.

-sitokorõ *(CL)* elbow, elbow point
E-noun: *esitokõ'rõ* ‘elbow’. Contains probably several classifiers, e.g. *-to* ‘kernel’ and *-koro* ‘arm’. AN [*esu'takoro*]. ME [*esi'tokoro*] ‘elbow point’. *kukuisitoko'rõdaki* ‘I have pain in my elbow’ (example ventured by the author).

-sitsa *(CL)* shin
E-noun. *esi'tsa* ‘shin’, *nỹsi'tsaki* ‘he has a big shin’.

sicwa- *(V)* begin
Usually [*tsi'cwa*]. *si'cwaki* ‘he began’, *sicwa'ta cu'cuki* ‘he started walking’.

si?amãi *(N)* medicine from the forest
[*'(t)si?a'mãi*].

sĩ *(N)* tinamou species
Crypturus tataupa Temn., fam Tinamidae, inhambu. Also Crypturellus strigulosus, inhambu-relógio. Also [*sĩ:*] ~ [*tsĩ:*] ~ [*tsĩi*]. Better may be: *jũtsĩ*. Especially gen Crypturellus. Not identical with Crypturellus t. Tinamou (generic). A bird which sings by sending out a short crystal clear sound once in a few seconds with rigorous regularity, only during the light of day, often shortly before sunset. Often two or three birds will call together, each one keeping to its own different ‘cyclus’ of repetition, and once in a while their calls coincide. It is the call that Roquette-Pinto describes as ‘chromatic’ and ‘modest, almost frightened, insecure, lonely’ (1950: 168). *tsĩ 'mãki* ‘tinamou is chanting’.

-sĩ *(CL)* knee
E-noun. *e'sĩ* ‘knee’ is homophonous with *e'sĩ* ‘seed’, and the CL is probably related to *-sĩ* ‘seed, nut’. Also in *eromũ'sĩ* or *esĩro'mũ* ‘leg from hip to knee’ (lit. ‘thigh-knee’).

-sĩ *(CL)* seed, grain
E-noun. *e'sĩ* ‘nut’, ‘seed’. *wade'ko*

'bunch of green coconuts in the tucuma tree', *wade'tɛ* '(one of them in your hand)', *wade'sĩ* '(nut inside it)'. Homophonous with and possibly related to *-sĩ* 'knee'.

syico *(N)* chigger, chigoe
Tunga penetrans, fam Pulicidae, bixo de pé. This flea-like insect penetrates the sole of the foot and waits there to ripen its eggs, swelling up. It is spread by dogs and pigs as they walk loose in the yard, and it is simply removable from under the skin with a needle. Also [*xyi'co*]. KAN *tyj'ko* 'flea, chigger'.

syicosa *(N)* flea
Gen Pulex, especially Pulex irritans, fam Pulicidae, pulga, type of (big) flea. Also [*xyico'sa*] or [*xyi'co*] in family I. Etymologically related to *syico*. MA: also *haru'sa*, which may be contraction of AIK *kadü* (elsewhere *harö*) 'flea' and KWA *-sa* 'beetle'.

sysyidjo?ɛ *(N)* drosophila
Drosophila melanogaster. AIK *pidipidi*. Also [*xyxyidjo'?ɛ*].

sytyi *(N)* louse
Gen Pediculus, especially Pediculus humanus, fam Pediculidae, piolho. MA sometimes says [*xy'tyi*]. Z:158: *tsôtêi*. Note ARI *'tao* 'louse', *'tyjo* 'chigger', KAN *tyj'ko* 'flea, chigger' and AIK *kyj* 'louse'.

sururu *(N)* fern tree
Locally called pim preto or pim cuiabano ([*põi*]). Fast-growing (fern-?) tree. Maybe Podocarpus lambertii Klotz., pinho-bravo, atambu-açu.

susiñũ *(N-NAM)* dog
Name of a bitch.

susukukutɛ *(N)* beads
Beads made of liana seeds.

-swãsĩ *(CL)* nail
Related to *tswã'sĩ* 'nail'. *txiswãsĩ'tɛ* 'big nail'.

X

-xa- *(svv)* AS
Associated person marker which forms part of second person plural cross-reference combination *-xa-xa-* and the first person plural exclusive cross-reference combination *-a-xa-*. *aku'cũnaherewa a'wỹixaxaki* 'you (PL) are looking at the Indians'. *ĩ?ĩ?axa?axale'hỹki* 'we were once'. In certain moods, like the imperative, the second person singular subject is zero-marked, and *-xa-* refers only to the second person plural subject: *ka'wɛ kui'ra* 'drink coffee!' (2S), *ka'wɛ 'kuixara* 'drink coffee! (2P)'.

-xa- *(svv)* 2
You: verbal second person singular and plural subject morpheme. *tsũ'hũ põrẽ'jãxare* 'what are you saying?'. In rapid speech it is often pronounced as [*tsa*]. Plural subject marking consists of a second person marker *-xa-* and a homophonous associated person marker *-xa-*. In the imperative mood, the singular subject is zero-marked, while the plural subject is referred to by a single *-xa-*, which, most likely, represents the homophonous associated person marker. In reduplications with an habitual function, the allomorph *-xay-* is not used: *'kuixa'hỹ-xaxa'taxa're* '(how come) you drink chicha every day?'.

-xay- *(svv)* 2
Allomorph of reduplicated *-xa-* in remote past constructions. *nũ'rixa'xay-hỹre* 'were you full?', *xyi mãxa'xay-hỹki* 'you have given him his name'. When it occurs on the verb as the only person morpheme, there is no past reading: *xyi põrẽ'jãxaynãi are'tadamỹ* 'I want to learn your language', *'aky-'nỹxaynahe're* 'friend of you people'.

xayhỹ- *(V)* happy, marvel
xayhỹdaki 'I'm happy', *xay'hỹki jere'xwa põrẽ'jãdy'ta* 'he marveled that

the dog spoke'.

xayxay- *(V)* nod yes
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *xay'xaytse* 'he is nodding "yes"' (repetitiously, and slowly up and down while looking at the other one quietly). *xay'xaydata 'tadahỹ'ki* 'I nodded "yes"'.

xare- *(V)* turn (back)
xa'reki 'he turned'. Probably a general neutral relative body position verb usually combined with other morphemes. *xare'nỹki* 'he is in front', *xare'nỹtse* 'he is in front (and you can't see him)', *'xare'karwa'tse* 'he is turned away with his back (towards S)', *xareka'rwaki* 'he turned his face', *xareka'rwadaki* 'I turn my head away from you', *xare'karwatsỹ'rjỹ* 'behind (something)', *e'tu xare'nỹtse* 'he has his back turned (towards S)', *e'tu xare'nỹtsyhỹ'le a'wỹidahỹ'ki* 'I saw him on the back', *xareritsa-* 'outside (from / into inside)'. ZE: *'mãrɛ̃'?ady'nãi kwa'ðady'nãi da'ta sare'nãdaki* 'I'll translate the Kwaza into Portuguese' (MA would use the root *are-dy-* 'cause to transform' here).

xareja- *(V)* search
Also [*tsareja*]. Can also be in a supermarket. *uru'hu xare'jaki 'ouho'te(*wã)* 'the vulture is searching for rotten meat', *ui xare'jadaki* 'I'm searching the tobacco', *xare'jacwahỹ / xare'jawahỹ* 'that hunted one, that game', *xare'jacwahỹ axe'hỹdaki* 'I encountered his game/the one he was searching', *dutu're xare'jadaki* 'I'm searching for pig'.

xarere- *(V)* crazy, mad
Also [*xarɛ'rɛ*]. *xare'reki* 'he's becoming mad / crazy', *luzɛu*(wã) xarere-'dydaki* 'I'm making Luzeu mad', *xare'rexa're* 'are you becoming mad?'.

xarerete *(N)* crazy person, headcase
Also [*tsarɛrɛ'tɛ*].

xaxe- *(V)* pass by a place
xaxe'hỹtaki 'he passed by me', *xaxe'rjỹtse* / *bu'rutse* 'he passed right through', *xaxe'hỹdaki zjwãu*(wã)* 'I passed by João'.

xa?u *(N)* beetle species
Iphimeis dives. Beetle that gnaws at wood, locally besouro verde.

-xe *(CL)* leaf (small)
Also [*sɛ*]. Lexicalised in *hetsy'xe* 'leaf'. Productive in *ui'xe* 'tobacco leaf'. Maybe related to *-xy* 'leaf'.

xei *(N)* music
xɛi mã'mãñe'ra 'sing music!', *xɛi are'taxare* 'do you know music?', *xei mama'ñedamỹ* 'I'm going to sing music', *xei ha'bjedamỹ* / *xei e'hudamỹ* 'I'm going to play music (on a flute)'.

-xete- *(svv)* TRA
[-ʃete-]. This transitiviser was only attested in a probably lexicalised combination with the verb root *xyxy-* 'scream'.

xɛdyxu *(N)* bee
Maybe Melipona minima or Trigona jaty, fam Apidae, jataí, abelha mosquito, abelhamirim. Small honeybee species, rather meagre. Its behind is like a little stick. It makes little tubes of orange wax in the earth or wall through which it reaches its home. Also [*sɛdy'xu*].

-xy *(CL)* house
Related to *a'xy* 'house'. Probably related to *-xy* 'leaf, skin' since traditional houses are made of palm leaves. *aky'xy* 'two houses', *a'xy nỹ'xytɛ 'waiki* 'the big houses are very nice', *a'xy nỹ'xyki* 'the house is very big'.

-xy *(CL)* leaf, skin, bag
E-noun. With reference to the sense of 'leaf', only big leaves are intended (which are continuation of the stem, like banana) and smaller leaves are *-xɛ*.

xyi *(N)* you
Second person singular pronoun. The use of pronouns as overt arguments usually has an emphatic or disambiguating function. Q: *o'ja-datsy're* 'am I going?', A: *'xyihỹtsy* 'it's your decision' (CX: discussing who has to go).

-xyi *(CL)* hair, fibre
E-noun. Can be reduced to [*xy*], [*xɛ*] or [*xe*]: *haxɛ'kãi* 'white beard', *haxe'tõiki* 'the eyelashes are white', *mãrɛ̃'ʔa exy'kãiki* 'the Westerner has hair on his cheek (i.e. a beard)', *hayxyko'cedaki* 'I'm cutting hair'. Lexicalised in a number of words, e.g. in *huxe-* 'to be hairy'.

-xyilo *(CL)* tube, beak, pipe, protruding object
E-noun. *exyi'lo* refers to protruding things like a little pipe, bird's beak, lens of the camera, etc. *uixyi'lo* 'cigar'.

xyinijɛ *(N)* weed species
Maybe gen Plathymenia, arranha gata. Plant with very fine leaves and many little nasty hooks, also *araiko'ni*.

xyinitõi *(N)* lemon
Citrus limonia, gen Citrus, fam Rutaceae. AN: [*syini'tõi*]. Lit. 'fruit of thorn' (there is no native lemon).

xyinĩ *(N)* thorn, needle
Also [*tsyi'ni*] ~ [*xyi'nĩ*]. Note CL *-nĩ* 'needle': *xyi'nĩ txinĩ'tɛ* 'big needle'.

xyiñũ *(KIN)* daughter
[*xyi'ñũ*]. Old-fashioned word, used instead of *eto'hoi* 'child'.

xyitsɛ *(N)* you
Second person plural exclusive pronoun. May consist of the pronoun *xyi* 'I' and a suffix *-tsɛ*, which may be be related to the pronominal plural morpheme *-tɛ* in KAN *mĩ'tɛ* 'you (PL)' (Bacelar 1996). Also [*tsyi'tsɛ*].

-xyico *(CL)* feather
E-noun. *exyi'co he'wedaki esikinã* 'I put feathers on (my) clothes', *ũca'dyxyi'co* 'hawk feather'.

-xykãjã *(CL)* froth or foam-like matter, lungs
E-noun, but unclear analysis. *exykã'jã* 'froth from wound of recently killed animal', *dytyi'toxykã'jã* 'cobwebs'. Resembles *-xy-kãi-* 'hair of cheek, moustache'.

xyrĩrĩ- *(V)* rain a little, drizzle
Note nasal spread and glide in: [*xỹirĩ'rĩ:ki*] 'drizzle'.

xyxy- *(V)* scream
To scream out of pain or fear. *xy'xydaki* 'I screamed', *xy'xywaki* 'someone screamed', *xy'xyware* 'did someone scream?', *xyxy'hecwaki* 'no-one screamed', *xy'xytehere* 'I think someone screamed', *xyxy'hetse* 'he didn't scream', *xyxy'hecehere* 'I think no-one screamed', *xyxy?e'tewaki* 'they screamed together (with us)'. Note ARI *khykhy* 'scream' and KAN *akiki-* 'scream'.

xyxydwate- *(V)* scream to thwart
To scream in order to stave off imminent danger. *ãrũi'wã xyxy-ʃe'tedaki* 'I screamed at the cow (which is about to stand on someone's or my own foot)', or better: *ãrũi'wã xyxydwa'tedaki* (ditto).

xyxyxete- *(V)* scream to thwart
To scream in order to stave off imminent danger, e.g. warning people when a tree threatens to fall or when a cow is about to stand on someone's foot during milking, or to fend off that cow. *xyxyʃe'tewaki* 'they screamed'. Also the nervous screaming of pigs: *xyxyʃe'te(*wa)ki* 'they screamed'. The element *-xete-* ([-ʃete-]) is not analysable since it occurs only with *xyxy-*, but it can be replaced by *-dwate-*: *ãrũi'wã xyxyʃe'tedaki* 'I screamed at the cow (which is about to stand on someone's or my own foot)', or better: *ãrũi'wã xyxydwa'tedaki* (ditto).

xytahỹ- *(V)* hate
xyta'hỹdaki 'I hate him, I don't like him'.

-xytõi *(CL)* froth
E-noun.

-xỹiro *(CL)* throat, gullet
E-noun. Note CL *-ro* 'container'. *emũ'nỹdyxỹi'rodamỹ* 'I'm going to wet my throat'.

-xona *(CL)* body
[*xo*] ~ [*xu*] ~ [*xwa*]. May be related to *-xwana* 'flesh'. E-noun, but further derivation with a classifier (neutral or specific) is required: *waixonahỹ'hedaki*

'my body feels bad'.

xona- *(V-etym)* enter a pathless place
Also [*hyxwana*]. Note CL *-ri* 'flat object' in: *xona'ritse* 'he traversed the field'. Note CL/DR *-rjỹ* 'area' in: *hyxona'rjỹdaki* 'I entered into rough brush (where there is no path)', *xonarjỹdamỹtse* 'he wants to go to the forest'.

xoro *(N)* ant species, ant-tree
Gen Pseudomyrna, taxi. Small ant which lives inside young tree stems and the hollow leafstalks and on the leaves. When one touches or cuts their tree, many drop onto one, crawl under one's clothes, between one's hair etc. They bite and pass ardent acid into the wounds, which feels like the sting of wasp. ZE & AN: [*so:'ro*] or [*soro'mãi*]. AIK *pi'ratʃü'ri*. The word possibly also refers to the plant in which the ant lives (Sclerolobium goeldianum Hub., tachi), and which you can rub onto your skin to protect against bites of ants as well as against hypnosis by a boa constrictor. When heated over the fire and then pressed onto sore muscles of the neck (twice a day five or six leaves), it gives relief.

xoronã *(N)* armadillo species
Priodontes giganteus / maximus, tatu canastra. AIK *maru:rah*.

xoxoki?a- *(V)* lose
xoxoki'?adaki 'I got lost', *xoxoki-'?atse/-ki* 'he got lost', *xoxoki'?axaxaki* 'you got lost', *xoxoki'?anãdaki* 'I will get lost'. Impersonal 'we' in: *xo'xoki'?anãki* 'we're lost'. **xoxo'ki* is not a verb.

xoxoto *(N)* bacuri
Platonia insignis. Palm tree of which the immense leaves are often used for roofing, mats etc. AIK *'kizu*. On one occasion, it was translated as 'abiu do mato' (which is also called 'olho de boi', Mucuna gigantea, fam Leguminosae, but see *mã'ca*). On several occasions *coku'ru* 'urucuri' was translated as 'bacuri'.

xoxu *(N)* penis
Also [*tsoxu*] ~ [*co'xu*] and note Z:026: *tassô*. Note the following neologistic pun: *xo'xunãi'xwatsyhỹ* 'carrot' (lit. 'one which looks like a penis'). *xoxu'loi* 'big penis'.

xoxunĩ *(N)* testicles
Note the CL *-nĩ* 'egg'. Nasalisation may be omitted: [*xoxuni*]. Also [*tsoxu'ni*].

-xotɛ- *(svv)* TRA
This transitivising suffix was only attested with two verbs: *ka?awani'hỹ-* in the sense of 'to worry', and *tutunita'hỹ-* 'to think, to worry'. *'ka?awani'hỹdaki* 'I'm worrying', *'ka?awani'hỹxo'tɛni'nãdaki* 'I'm worrying about you (whether you are ill, have a problem etc.)', *xyi'wã tutunitahỹxo'tɛnĩnãdaki* 'I was thinking / worrying about you'. This morpheme maybe lexicalised in *oxo'te-* 'to stalk' and *txixo'tɛ-* 'to come to the rescue'. It may be based on classifier *-xwa-* 'human' and intensifier *-tɛ-*.

xowywy *(N)* toucan
Ramphastos tucanus = R. covieri, Ramphastos spp, fam Ramphastidae, tucano, big toucan. Also [*'xõwy'wy*] ~ [*'txywy'wy*]. ARI *tʃuwe'we*. AIK *djü'α*, Carlson has <*dyoa?*> (C2:152).

-xu *(CL)* bone, stem of plant
Related to *tsu* 'bone'. *ã'rũi?eke?e'xu* 'cow bone', *harurai'xu* 'beads of armadillo shell', *kẽwẽxu* 'turtle bone'. AIK *-zu* as in: *kiripatsazu* 'turtle bone'.

xudẽrẽ *(N)* nettle
Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gouv., urtiga. Very nasty nettle with big leaves. Also [*xude're*].

xui *(N)* marico
The marico is a crochet bag hand-tied by the women, made of rope spun out of fibres from tucuma or buriti leaves. The men typically carry a small marico on hunting trips, whereas the women carry a big bag with which they bring home manioc and other crop from the

plantation. This bag is still found among various tribes of Southern Rondônia who also share other aspects of material culture, reason for which Maldi (1991) assigns these tribes to the 'Marico cultural complex. See also Caspar (1975, plates 59-60). According to Numunu Kanoê it was not traditionally known among the Kanoê. The same type bag was found among archaeological remains in North-Eastern Brazil which date back over 9.000 years (Marcos Galindo pc). *xui nÿhÿki* / *xui txihÿte* / *xui txi?ÿite* (['*xuicy?ĩ'te*]) 'big bag (of cloth)', *xui a'wydaki* 'I'm making a marico', *xui'co* 'small round bag'. AIK *düi*, ARI *tʃu*, JEO *du*.

-xuko *(sdem)* SETT
This morpheme can be attached to demonstrative roots, and emphasises immediate proximity within the same settlement. It is not further analysable, although the element *-ko* can be recognised in its cislocative function. *na?ayxu'ko teja 'aki* 'he lives in the same place', *na'?ayxu'ko 'bu?urjÿ'ra* 'senta-se aí mesmo (sit down in that very place where you are)', *'sidy-xu'koki ko'reja'ro* 'the pan is with me (i.e. in my house, where I am too at the moment)'. There may be an allomorph *-xukwo*, which is attested in between verbal person and mood inflexions: *sira'ta ada'dayxukwoki* 'I'm the first inhabitant here' (lit. 'I have been living here first and am here still').

-xuku *(CL)* stem
May be related to CL *-xu* 'bone'. *hatsixu'kurje* 'bunch of heliconia-like leaves on little stems', *apa'raxu'ku(rje)* 'banana tree', *uruxu'ku* 'patua stem'.

xunũtɛ *(N)* traira fish species
Usually [*xunũ'tœ*]. Hoplias malabaricus, traíra preto. KAN *kwinike'te*.

-xuri *(CL)* chest
E-noun. *exu'ri nÿxu'riki* 'big chest'. Probably related to *-ri-* 'flat'.

xurimjɛ̃ *(N)* potato
Ipomoea batatas Lam. & (exogenous) Solanum tuberosum, resp. batata doce, batatinha. [*xuri'mjÿ*] ~ [*suri'mjÿ*] ~ [*tsuri'mjÿ*]. Z:078: *suremiá*. *xurimjÿ hoitsyhÿ* 'sweet potato'. There is a striking parallel with ARI *tʃu'rɛ̃w* 'potato(es)', *tʃuri'mÿ* 'complete potato plant'. Perhaps there is a relationship with Tupi *jerimum* 'pumpkin'.

-xuro *(CL)* cheek
E-noun. May contain CL *-ro* 'cup'.

xuru- *(V)* soften
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *xu'rutse* 'it has become soft (ball, cucumber etc.)'.

xurutahĩ- *(V)* frown
Probably contains CL *-tahĩ* 'forehead', and root may be related to either *xuru-* 'soften' or *tsurũ-* 'drag, twist'.

-xuxwa- *(svv)* IS.2O
People / someone / the person-you: indefinite subject second person singular object cross-reference morpheme. *ka'hexuxwaki* 'they bit you', *(X) wa'dyxuxwaki* 'someone / they gave (X) to you'. A more 'analytic' alternative: *ĩ / na'?aynahe're wa'dy-hata(xwa)ki* 'they gave to you'. TE said [*tsixwa*].

-xuto *(CL)* hip bone, buttock
E-noun: *exu'to* 'hip bone, buttock'. Consists probably of CL *-xu* 'bone' and *-to* 'kernel'. *kukuixu'todaki* 'I have a pain in my hip bone'.

-xũjẽ *(CL)* beak, fuse, nipple
E-noun. *exũjẽ* also 'teapot spout', 'nipple', 'waxen nozzle through which the honeybee reaches its nest in a tree', 'bulb or fuse of lamp' (although *ko'sadyhÿ cu'ku* 'sun's tongue' is better for the latter). *cẽrẽxũ'jẽ* 'nipple', *xowy'wydyhÿ exũjẽ* / *xowy'wyxũjẽ* 'toucan beak'.

-xwa *(CL)* human
Related to *tswa* 'man'. May also mean 'man' as in *e'xwa* 'husband'. *eto'hoidahexwa* 'I (male / female) am

not a child (male / female)!' (*-*tay*).

-xwana *(CL)* meat
tsu'hũra'tixwa'nare 'what kind of meat is this?', *ka'wɛ nỹxwana'mũki* 'the coffee is strong'.

t

-ta *(svn)* ANI
Only applicable to the bound numeral root *aky-* 'two'. The element *-ta* expresses animacy but does not include plants. *aky'ta ũiki itso'na* 'two are resting in hammock', *aky'tatse* 'they're two', *aky'tatsy're* 'are they with two?'.

ta *(IDEO)* bang!
Sharp sound, e.g. of hitting someone with a stick, shooting a revolver etc. Also [*tæ~ː*].

-ta *(svv)* CSO
Cosubordinative mood marker which links together cosubordinated medial clauses which express consecutive events into chains that are headed at the end by the matrix clause verb. *huru'jada'ta au'reda'dayhỹki* 'because I liked her, I married her', *kuiha'rãːdata 'ɛdamỹ* 'when I have stopped drinking, I'll go away', *ɛ(xa)'ta hu'ra* 'go there and have a smoke!', *dodotxi'tɛ o'huiwata 'nãiwaki* 'they are playing ball'. With (zero marked) third person subjects *-ta* is rare, and the alternative *-tja* is mainly used: *'kwɛt(j)a atxitxi'nũ 'jaki* 'he entered and ate maize porridge'. Person and CSO marking can be cliticised or used as an independent, inflected resumptive particle: *e'nãitja'tatsy'tse data areta'nãdaki* 'he is going to quarrel with me, so I, I'm going to learn'. *e'nãitjatsy'tse tja areta'nãtse* 'he is going to quarrel with him, so he, he is going to learn'. *data* 'then/so, I...'. *xata* 'so, you..'. In the case of different third person subjects, the different subject marker *-dy-* is required. In the case of other different subjects, a special switch reference mood marker *-si* is required.

-ta *(svv)* IMP
Allomorph of the imperative ending *-ra*, which is used after the procrastinative morpheme *-tara-*. *e'hỹtara'ta* 'do that first! (before going away)'.

ta- *(V)* talk, say, speak, name
hein 'tataxwawaki 'they call me Hein', *hein ta'nỹdaki* 'I call myself Hein', *hein 'tawaki* 'they are called Hein', *ome're 'ta?are* 'it is called 'Omere'?', *tsuhũra'ti xui 'ta?are* 'what does '*xui*' mean', *tã'jã tawa'hỹ* 'he who the people call "chief"'. Often encountered in reported speech constructions: *ĩ u'teta 'kukui'hỹxaki 'tata'ki* 'she says I'm ill' (lit. 'she-said you're-ill she-said-to-me'), *lalalatja 'tawa'hỹ* '"lalala" they do / "lalala" it goes'. It does not necessarily refer to oral communication: *zjwãu 'ɛhỹdyta ma'rja horoko'jetja 'tahỹ'ki* 'João went away and Maria waved goodbye'. The IO morpheme *-ja-* may have a lamentative or evasive function in combination with verb roots of speech: *ta'jadaki* 'I talked like that (speaking of deceased persons or of recently born children and grandchildren)', *'sidyhỹ a'ha 'tajadaki* 'I called him my (late) father'.

-ta- *(svv)* TRA
Usually transitivises unambiguously intransitive verbs, attracts stress and introduces dative-like objects: *hyja'taki* 'fell close to him', *marjã'wã bu?ũ'rjỹtaki* 'it is sitting close to Marião', *e'taytjate'wã hoñe'taki* 'he hid himself for his wife'. With transitive verbs it introduces a recipient object: *waja'taki* 'he is taking it there to him'. Sometimes, there is no increase of valency: *wã'redy'tadaki* 'I don't like him'. It can also precede a reciprocal morpheme *tsirje'hỹta'letse* '(the dogs) are hooked together (while copulating, and

can't get loose)'. *waidy'tani'nãdaki* 'I like you'. It is lexicalised on some verb roots, e.g.: *ãwãta-* 'to watch, look at'. Like transitiviser *-tja-*, this morpheme resembles the applicative suffix of certain Western Amazonian languages both in form and behaviour, including KAN *-to-*, AIK *-za-*.

-ta- *(svv)* 1O
Me: verbal first person singular object cross-reference morpheme. *jady'nãtaki* 'she's going to feed me', *'ataki* 'he is (my) neighbour', 'he lives close by', 'he also lives here with me', *ku'rutaki* (**kuru'taki*) 'I have a swelling' (lit. 'it is swelling on me'). May be combined with second person plural subject marking only (*-xa-*): *xyi'tsɛ wa'dyta-xahỹ'tsy* 'it was you who gave me a present'.

-tady *(sxx)* EXCL, blast!, yes!, that's it!, isn't it?
Exclamative morpheme which expresses surprise, disappointment, shock, etc., and which is usually applied to nouns or nominalised verbs: *cayta'dy* 'ah, it is a wild papaya tree!', *de'da kore'weda'hỹta'dy* 'it was a snake of which I was pregnant!', *kui jerexwa-ta'dy* 'my, that is a jaguar!, isn't it?', *areta'heda'mỹtsy'hỹta'dỹ jãki* 'ah, he is not going to learn (to speak Kwaza), no way!'. Note that the combination with *jã-* 'to be' gives extra emphasis, and when someone tells you and you already know you can answer elliptically: *ta'dỹjãki* 'that's it, indeed!'. In one case it replaced a mood marker: *baja'hỹwata'dy* 'ah! they cleared the road(side)'.

tady- *(V)* hatch egg
ta'dyki 'the chick gets out of the eggshell'.

-tahĩ *(CL)* forehead
Probably an e-noun. Rare and lexicalised as a CL in *xurutahĩki* 'he frowns'.

tai *(N)* lizard, salamander
Colobosaura Boul etc., calango, salamandra, mão de flor. Possibly related to Tupinamba *te'ju* 'lizard', 'calanguinho' (Cunha 1989). *tai ekõkõ'tɛ* 'mute lizard' (unidentified, said to be a sort of chameleon of about 40 cm, which may jump into the water, and which may bite, but see *ekukũtɛ*).

taidũrũ *(N)* white salamander
Related to *tai* 'lizard'. Also 'Western-er' (in POR *Branco* 'White person'), and also *mãrɛ̃'?a* 'ugly beast'.

taikarɛ *(N-NAM)* São Pedro river
Also [*taika'ræ*]. AIK *tara'mũ* 'Annatto river'. The KAN name *tu'ru* for this same river could be cognate with KWA *to'ro* 'annatto', and thus to the red colour that is produced by the seeds of this tree. In 1913, Rondon (1916:155-6, 1948:183) obtained information from the Kepkiriwat (extinct Tupari dialect) that the 'Coaia' lived on the Djaru-Jupirará 'Red river' and the Jucup cauó. On his map these rivers are easily identifiable as the Rio São Pedro and the Rio Taboca respectively. Also the boy who worked as a consultant of Kwaza for Lévi-Strauss' in 1938 was from the São Pedro river. Today only one Kwaza family remains on the São Pedro river. Their habitat was accepted for demarcation as an indigenous reserve in January 1999 (see Souza 1999). The Kwaza only seem to call the Taboca tributary river by the nickname 'Red river', probably because of the intransparency of its water. On one occasion, however, AN referred to the São Pedro as *hã 'ki?ỹ'mũ* 'red river'. *hã wãrẽwãrẽ* for 'rio São Pedro' is a mythical name from the time when many *de'da xoro'nã* lived in it.

-tay- *(svv)* 1O
Allomorph of first person object morpheme. Only attested in nominalised reduplicated combinations with a remote past sense. *tsũhũ'du (sidy'hỹ) e'tay a'satatay'hỹre* 'what a pity she left me!'.

-tay *(CL)* woman
E-noun. *hirini'taydy'xy* 'the female missionary's house', *ti'tay* 'which woman (is it)?', *mã'rɛ?a'tay* 'Western woman'.

-tay *(CL)* vessel, bottle, buxom
E-noun. *e'tay* 'bottle', *aky'tay kuida-hỹki* 'I drank two tins'. May also refer to buxom tube-like fruits *jo* / *apa'ra nỹ'tayki* 'manioc / banana is big'.

-taka *(CL)* stem of arrow
E-noun.

takaisa- *(V)* traverse, divide
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *takai'saki* or *takai'satse* 'he crossed', 'he went there to the other side (e.g. of the river)'. *ãi takai'saki* 'it is very long from the other side of the river / field etc.', 'the river is wide (in a certain part)'. Also used as ADV in a compound: *zjwãu ũtei'jatakai'sa 'aki* 'João lives on the other side of the river', *a:ru'nãdaki 'ũtei'jatakai'sa* 'I'm going to cross to the other side'.

takwa *(N)* cayman
Gen Caiman, jacaré. Edible. Z:155+: *takuá*. Also [*ta:'kwɑ*]. *ta'kwa 'hãna 'atsyhỹ* 'the cayman lives in the river', *ʂjuping'waja ta'kwa 'eki* 'the Chupinguaia river has caymans'. MEK *kwato* (Moore and Galucio 1994). AIK *ãrwa*.

takwa narẽtxa *(N)* boa
Boa constrictor or Constrictor constrictor, fam Boidae, jiboia. ZE: [*ta'kwa narẽ'txa*].

takwasiñũ *(N)* fern species
Fam Gleicheniaceae, samambaia. Fern species, lit. 'cayman tail'.

tala *(N-KIN)* uncle
Brother of father or mother. Says *kore(tay)* to ego/a.

tala *(N-KIN)* father-in-law
In law: father of one's husband or wife.

talo- *(V)* sulk, revolt
Also [*tã'lo*]. This usually refers to the quiet anger of adults. *talo'tjady'ta 'ɛtsyhỹki zjwãu* '(Maria) made João go away (by making him sad by ignoring him)' (lit. 'she was angry with him, so João went away'). *e'tay tãlo'hetse* 'the woman is good (kind)' or *e'tay tãlotja'hejaki* 'the woman is not angry towards people' (*e'tay 'waiki* 'the woman is good' has a sexual connotation). *tã'lora'ti* 'respected man', 'wild man', 'police', *tã'lotay* 'respected woman'.

tamũky *(N)* howler monkey
Allouata caraya / Alouatta carajá Humb., guariba, Cebidae, macaco bugio, macaco roncador. AIK *(t)sjawa*.

tana *(ITJ)* then, well, now, there
Successional particle which links successive events in a monologue. *kuida'ta ta'na 'kuida'ta ta'na i'sida'ki* 'I was drinking and drinking (the whole night) until I got drunk', *awỹi-xareri'tsahỹwara jerexwa'le 'tana hysiñwa'nỹdyta* '(..., and he) went to sleep, but at (early) night (she?) looked outside, but there was a jaguar, it was approaching over the yard'.

tananũko *(N)* amescaroeiro
Native tree of Rondônia, small red fruits four times a year, with five white seeds inside (called *tana'nũko'tõi*). The wood is used to produce smoke for coagulation of latex, and the word was also translated as 'smoke' or 'smoke-wood'. Also variable stress: [*tana'nũko*].

tanaru *(NAM)* Tanaru river
Originates from AIK, or maybe from KWA *tsãrã'ro*. Nowadays also the Brazilian name for a certain tributary of Pimenta Bueno.

tanã *(N)* plant species
Locally João Brandinho. Also *ta'na*. Small forest plant with anaesthetic root, grows on good red soil. The anaesthetic effect resembles that of tucupi. AIK *ka'ridö*.

-tara- *(svv)* PROC, later, first, perhaps, fortunately
Immediately before the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. The

procrastinative aspectual morpheme indicates basically that an action or event is postponed until later in the near future. *jadata'ratse* 'I'll eat later', *ho'ronỹ'hỹda'wy o'kjata'ratsy'tse* 'after I've finished she will hunt'. In the volitive the implication may be that something else is postponed: *to'ma-tara'mỹ* 'let me take a bath first/I'm going to take a bath first still'. The complex distribution of the procrastinative and its different semantic effects are discussed thoroughly in the grammar part. The morpheme *-tjara-* is a variant of *-tara-*. The Quechua element *-raq* 'condition for realization' (Adelaar 1977) may be related.

taramãxu *(N)* tucandera ant
Paraponera clavata. Big black ant the bite of which does not really hurt.

tarc?ỹ- *(V)* shine
Refers to the shining of glass, a mirror, fish skin, stone, but not of fire or light.

taru *(N)* tree species
Probably Chorisia speciosa, fam Bombacaceae, paineira rósea, barriguda, pau buxudo, samaúma. Tall tree that has a somewhat bulbous stem and bears small pink flowers in May in Rondônia. *taru'?ũ* 'flower of *taru*', *ta'ru e'?ũki* 'the *taru* is blossoming'. Aside from 'pau buxudo' ('buxom wood') *ta'ru* also refers to the 'pau mole' (i.e. 'soft wood') of the wild papaya tree. AIK *hɛ'düdü*.

-taxwa- *(svv)* IS.1O
People / someone / the person-me: indefinite subject first person singular object cross-reference morpheme. *ka'hetaxwaki* 'they bit me', *'ũnỹte'tawata kukui'hỹxaki 'tataxwaki* 'she is saying/it is said that I'm ill'.

-tatsitswa- *(DR)* underside, backside
'under- or backside of things'. *ero'mũ-tatsi'tswa* 'lower thigh', *kamũkamũ axynã bu?ũ'tatsi'tswaki* 'the cricket is clinging onto the underside of the house'. The independent productive adverbial form *ata(t)si'tswa* 'under' can be nominal-ised by classifiers: *atatsitswaro'mũ* 'underside of thigh', *atatsitswa'kai* 'calf', *atatsitswa'xy* 'under the house'.

tauBa *(N)* board
[*tau'Ba*]. From POR *tabua* (locally [*'tauba*]) 'board'. *'tauBakane* 'washing-up platform'.

tauta *(N)* sloth
Bradypus variegatus, macaco preguiço, bicho preguiça. *tau'ta i'sitsyhỹ a'wỹidahỹki* 'I saw a dead sloth'. KAN *ti'py*.

-ta?ỹ- *(svv)* 1SO
First person singular object morpheme which only occurs in the imperative and monitory moods. It derives probably from *-ta-* '1O'. *wa'dyta?ỹ'ra* 'give it to me', *a'redy'tata?ỹ'ra* 'teach me!', *awỹihỹta'?ỹxa'ra* ([*awỹihỹ'tã-xa'ra*]) 'help!' (lit. 'look at me!'), *o'xote'hỹta?ỹ'tsi* 'don't wait for me!', *do'hỹta?ỹ'tsi* 'don't leak (hot tea) on me!'.

tãi- *(V)* hard, close, lock, brake
lo'te 'tãiki 'the door is difficult to open (lit. 'hard')', *lo'te tãi'dyki* 'he locked the door', *'tãidy'ra* 'brake!' (stop the vehicle, lit. 'make it hard'). Antonym: *tãi'hetse* 'it is soft'.

tãiri- *(V)* tough, durable, difficult to kill
tãi'riki 'it has a durable life (e.g. a tortoise, which is difficult to kill)'. May contain a lexicalised and unidentified CL *-ri*.

tãidynite *(N)* lock
'thing to lock', lit. 'thing to make something tough'.

tãjã *(N)* chief
'tãjã to'koi 'captain softy' (AN's nickname of Capitão Pedro).

tãrã- *(V)* unripe
tã'rãki '(banana or other fruit) is unripe' (with a bland taste, and not sour like oranges which cringe your mouth).

tãrĩmã *(NAM)* Tãrĩmã
Male person name. Also heard as

[*tani'ma*].

tãtãi- *(V)* knock, pound
aky'nãi tã'tãidaki 'I knocked twice', *matelo'ko tãtãi'nãdaki 'mesa* 'I'm going to beat on the table with a hammer', *tãtãi'rjỹxaki* 'you're (making a lot of noise) stamping around the place', *hary'ky tsi'cwadata tãtãi-rja'hỹdaki* 'now I started to pound around' (pound the earth around poles to fasten them and make a fence).

-te *(sxx)* INTENS
With verbs, the effect is augmentative: *a'we nỹmũ'teki* 'it is raining heavily'. With adverbs, the effect is intensificatory: *txarwa'te hã'rãki* 'he just finished a second ago', *ɛhỹ?ɛhỹ'te* 'suddenly'. It had an adverbialising effect in one case: [*nanãi'tɛ*] 'notwithstanding that, just like that, nevertheless'. The reduplicated form *-tete-* is more common.

-te *(sxn)* NOM
Often [*tɛ*], which is homophonous to CL *-tɛ* 'round'. *hebo'te* 'blind man', *wotsu'tɛ* 'the skinny one', *atxi'txi hu:'tɛ* 'maize sprout', *mĩu'tɛ* 'one who drinks a lot of chicha', *dehemũ'te* 'cachaça' (lit. 'bitter drink'), *owymũ'te 'kuida'mỹ* 'I'm going to drink cold liquid (e.g. tea)', *ko'reja'ri txiri'te* 'big plate', *txixy'tɛ* 'big house', *txi'taytɛ* or *txikuty'tɛ* 'big propane flask'.

-te- *(svv)* PURP
Morpheme which like desiderative *-heta-* occurs in quotation-like constructions, preceding and following (zero-marked) subject cross reference. *kuidy'jeda'tecwa'hỹ(re)* 'this is (made) to give to people to drink?', *tinãida'texata erewe'xyxare* 'what for are you writing?', *eromũ'tsaxa'texata 'nãixare* 'is it for you to put on my wrist?', *eromũ'tsada'texata 'nãixare* 'is it for you to put on your wrist?'. Also 'to be prepared' or 'to be indicated': *tso'roidatedaki* 'I'm prepared to run', *tso'roidatetsyhỹki* 'he is indicated to run' *eda'tedaki* 'it is for me to use', *edatetsyrjỹ* 'the place / direction where she was going to/prepared to go (together) to'.

-tehere *(svv)* APPR
The apparential is one of three conjectural modal-like morphemes. It usually indicates an assumption or a suspicion. It may consist originally of intensifying *-te-*, negative *-he-* and interrogative *-re*. There is an optional alternative form *-cehere*. *kikalo'nãda'tehe're* 'I think I'm getting a fever', *bodo a:tehe're* (**bodo a:teheki*) 'I think there are cakes', *maga'riDa hy'jatehe're, 'awỹi'ra* 'Margarida seems to have fallen, go and see!'.

-tehu *(CL)* spoon
Related to *di'hu* 'spoon'. Z:054: *dété-hu. di'hu nỹte'huki* 'the spoon is big', *ãrũte'huki* 'he is cleaning (lit. rubbing) the spoon'.

tei *(NUM)* one
As a numeral this root is usually followed by *-hỹ* 'NOM'. [*tei'hỹ*] ~ [*tɛi'hỹ*] ~ [*tẽi'hỹ*]. *tei'hỹtse* 'it/there is one', 'it is the first one', *teihỹtei'hỹtse* 'one after another / one by one', *tẽi'hỹtsy'hỹ* 'last one', 'the one who is one only', *tei'hỹca'hetse koreja'ri* 'one plate is lacking'. Only rarely other classifiers were attested: *tei'ni xyini'lɛtse* 'it is just one thorn'. Note also *'teihỹkai aru?a'rutse* 'he hops on one leg'. On only one occasion another nominaliser was attested: *tẽi'nãi* 'once'. In other related expressions the root is always nasalised, e.g. *tẽi'ñe* 'once only'. Note ARI *tỹj'wɛ̃* 'one'.

teja *(N)* side, opposite side of place (river, settlement, road etc.)
'sidyhỹ te'ja 'my side', *ỹhỹ'ko te'ja* 'this side'. It may function as an adverb: *'kapitãu 'peDro teja 'ba?ani* 'let's clear (the yard) on Cap. Pedro's side', *ma'rija e'Ditɨ 'kapitãu 'peDro teja 'aki* 'ME lives on Cap. Pedro's side', *'kapitãu 'peDro teja oja'nãdaki* 'I'm going to Cap. Pedro's side',

tsi'cwa?a'xa?a'xahỹ'ki Ba'hoso te'ja 'we started on the side / part / region of Barroso'.

tekore *(N)* traira fish species
Possibly gen Hoplias, fam Caracidae, traíra amarelo. Yellow traira.

tekoretɛ *(N)* jeju
Holoplery thrinus unitaeniatus, fam Caracidae, jeju. Fish species which resembles the yellow traira.

temũ *(N)* piau
Leporinus conirostris, piáu. Fish of about 25 cm. Also [*tɛi'mũ*].

tenã- *(V)* extinguish
te'nãdaki 'I put out the light'. Rejected by MA who says *dytenãdaki* 'I put out the light' is correct.

-tenɛ- *(DR)* down
a'le ocete'nɛdaki 'I threw down the axe (from the tree)'.

terai *(N)* dove species
Columba rufina sylvestris, fam Columbidae, pomba or pomba galega.

terei *(N)* pacu
Metynnis Cope spp., Myletes edulis, fam Caracidae, pacu. Fish of about 25 cm. KAN *tæ'ræj*. AIK *'tɛrɛ*.

terja- *(V/DR)* slippery, slide down, downstream
te'rjatse '(the alligator) slid down the slope into the river', *ũtjenãi'ra terja'rjỹki* 'take care, the ground / road is slippery!', *terja'dwaki* 'the soap is slippery' (note 'stone' CL), *terjahy'jatse* 'he slipped and fell', *'hyte'rjatse* 'he went down'. Also used as a DR for 'downstream' in: *tsũte'rjadaki* 'I swam downstream'. Productive ADV formation in: *ate'rja haha'ra* 'wash it downstream!'.

-terjỹ *(CL/DR)* cinder, fire
E-noun. Sometimes also [*tɛ̃rjỹ*]. The identification of this classifier is uncertain. *hite'rjỹ* 'fire spread over the ground', *kuiterjỹdaki* 'I swallowed fire'. Is also used as a directional: *tsã'rã tsãtɛ̃'rjỹdaki hi'nã* 'I threw sand into the fire'.

-tete *(sxx)* INTENS
Reduplicated form of intensifier *-te-*. *emũhỹte'tedaki* 'I'm totally soaked', *kukoite'teki* 'it hurts a lot', *lato'wytete* 'day before day before yesterday', *tsɛ̃te'teki* 'it is pure salt', *mãrɛ̃?ate'teki* 'he is a pure Westerner', *waihete'tetse* 'it is very bad', *emãte'tetse* '(the children are) crying a lot', *aretatete'hedaki* 'I don't understand everything'. KAN *-ke'te-* as in *ai 'opeko'mũ i'mɛmuro(ke'te)re* 'I like coffee (very much)'. MEK *-te-*. Tupinamba *(-)eté* 'very, really, truly'.

teteru *(NAM)* Teteru
Male person name. Also [*tɛtɛ'ru*]. Probably derived from KAN *'watɛtɛ'ru* 'fan'.

tewe- *(V)* slant, slide down
As a verb root: *mesa te'we?ỹki* 'the table is slanting'. Can be nominalised by a classifier, such as *-tu* 'back': *tewe'tu* 'slope on the other side of the hill'. *tewe* can also be used as a DR: *mesa'nã hou'hỹ?o'cete'wedaki* 'I push her off the table', *ãwã'tate'wedaki* 'from above I'm looking downwards (inside or outside the house)', *a'le ocete'wedaki* 'I threw down the axe (from the tree)'. Also in directional use, it can be followed by classifiers: *ãwã'tatewe'tudaki* 'from above I'm looking downwards at the mountain slope', *ãwã'tatewe'xydaki* 'from above I'm looking downwards from the top of the house at the gutter'.

tewetu *(N)* slope, hillside
tewe'tu 'slope on the (other) side of the hill'. Based on the verb root *tewe-* 'slant' + nominalising CL *-tu* 'back, shoulder', but other classifiers are also possible. *tewe'tu?a'hỹ* 'slope surface', *tewe'tu?ỹki* 'it is a downward slope'. Can be adverbialised by the empty adverbial root *a-*: *atewetu* 'from the top of the slope downwards'. Note that no adverb **atewe* was attested.

tẽiñe *(ADV)* once only
tei'ñe ha'jahỹki ho'ñenãi 'he hid

himself the whole day', *tẽi'ñe e'hỹki* 'he did it only once', *tẽiñe a'we?ĩ?ĩ-'tatse ỹhỹ'ko* 'sometimes it rains here'.

tẽitja *(ADV)* alone
tẽi'tja tsa'siki 'she followed there behind / alone', *tẽi'tjadata jabwa'he-daki* 'being on my own, I can't eat all', *tẽi'tja oja?a'ni* 'let's go without them!', *xyi'tsɛ tẽi'tja o'jaxara* 'you go without them!', *tẽi'tja areta'dydaki* 'I learnt it by myself'.

tẽicuja *(ADV)* one-eyed, winkingly
tẽicu'ja a'wỹitaki 'he winked at me', *tẽicuja'tõi a'wỹitaki* 'he looked at me with just one eye'.

tẽjãwã- *(V)* dark
May be related to *hãnã'wã* 'sky'. *tẽjã'wãki awe'nãtja* 'it is getting dark and it will rain', *tẽjã'wã(rjỹ)ki* 'it is dark', *'tẽja'wãtsyhỹ txa'rwa ko'sa-tjohũi'tse bare'nỹdaki* 'because there is a little bit of sun (through the clouded sky) I'm warmed up'.

tẽjẽnũ- *(V)* hiccup
tẽjẽ'nũdaki 'I have hiccups'.

-tejũ *(CL)* braided eye
E-noun: *ete'jũ* 'the braided eye of a hammock by which it is tied or hung onto a hook'. Maybe the meaning is more general, like 'decorative braided string', since on one occoasion the fringing on the side of a hammock was referred to. *i'tsotɛ'jũ* 'eye of the hammock'.

tẽxyxyi *(N)* clarinet
[*tẽ:xy'xyi*]. Single-tone clarinet made out of green bamboo. The word used in family I is *hã'xyi*, AIK *ha'ni e'rwe* 'pig's pipes'.

tẽtẽimũtɛ- *(V)* drip, rain little
Reduplicated form related to *tei-* 'one' and *-mũ-* 'liquid'. *tẽ'tẽimũ'tɛtse* 'rain falls drop by drop'.

-tɛ *(CL)* round, disc, belly
E-noun. *e'tɛ* 'belly'. *wade'ko* 'bunch of green coconuts in the tucuma tree', *wade'tɛ* 'green coconut' (one in your hand)', *wade'sĩ* 'nut inside green coconut' *dodotxi'tɛ nỹ'tɛki* 'the ball is big', *nỹ'tɛdaki* 'my belly is growing', *kudy'tɛ* 'big (-bellied) calabash', *etohoi'tɛ* 'garlic, onion' (lit. 'little round one'), *e'tɛtsyhỹ* 'small gas flask'. Is also encounterd as verb root: *'tɛ?yhỹ* 'small gas flask', *'tɛ?ỹki* 'it is round (ball, calabash)'. AIK *-ðãw*, KAN *-tæ*.

tɛ- *(V)* round, belly
Related to CL *-tɛ* 'round, belly'. As verb root it requires ATT *-ỹ-*: *'tɛ?ỹki* 'it is round (ball, calabash)'. *'tɛ?yhỹ*, *e'tɛtsyhỹ* 'small gas flask'.

tɛte *(N)* gnat, black fly
[*tætɪ*], [*ta'te*], *[*tɛty*], *[*tɛtɛ*]. Simulium pertinax, fam Simulidae, borrachudo. Small black fly which draws blood and causes itching.

tɛte txuhũi *(N)* gnat
[*tetItxu'hũi / ta'tetxu'hũĩ*]. Simulium amazonicum, fam Simulidae, piúm. Smaller variant of *tɛte*. Z:124: *tété-tchuín*. Probably the 'pium-borrachudo' (Simúlida(s) in Roquette-Pinto 1950:149).

tɛtɛ- *(V)* walk
CHT. *tɛ'tɛra* 'walk!', *tɛ'tɛ?ani* 'let's walk!'. There is some phonetic like-ness to the normal adult word: *cucu'ra* 'walk!'.

tɛtɛrɛ- *(V)* slash
tɛtɛrɛki 'he cuts a piece of flesh off of the body'.

tɛcari- *(V)* massacre
Plural human object. Probably related to *cari-* 'to kill by shooting'. *tɛtjari'nãdaki* 'I'm going to kill all the people in the settlement'.

tɛcarudynãi *(ADV)* quickly
tɛcarudy'nãi 'kuiwa'nãi 'the people drinking rapidly', *tɛcarudy'nãi ke'raiwaki* 'they are walking fast'.

tɛ?ỹhỹ *(N)* small propane flask
I'tɛtsyhỹ or *'tɛ?yhỹ* 'small gas flask'. The word is not well understood. Note placement of stress. The root may be verbal, but **'tɛki* does not exist.

tẽjẽjẽi *(N)* bird species
Gen Turdus, fam Turdidae, (or maybe gen Mimus, fam Mimidae), sabiá,

thrush. Yellow bird. Is also described onomatopoeically as *hitu'kwehitu"kwe-tsy'hỹ*, lit. 'the one who sings "I want matches I want matches"'.

ti- *(V)* what
Bound interrogative root which is always followed by a classifier or a nominaliser. *tihỹ're di'hu* 'where's the spoon?', *awỹ'hedaki 'tihỹ're* 'I haven't seen him, where is he?', *tihỹ'wã ũce'hỹxare* 'which one is it you knew?', *ti'hỹ ɛ're* 'which one of them went away?', *ti'rjỹ 'a:xa'hỹre* 'where do you live?', *ti'rjỹre ko'reja'ro* 'whereabouts is the pan?', *ti'tay* 'which woman is it?', *ti'xy* 'which house?', *ti'wy xyidyhỹ aha isi* 'when did your father die?', *ti'nãi ma?a're* 'how do you say/call it?', *ti'nãi?ỹhỹ 'mãnãi 'exare* 'how do you call this thing?', *ti'nãi ma'nỹxare* 'what's your name?', *ti'nãi jã're* 'how is it you said/do?', *ti'nãitsyre kanwa?ekai?e* 'what's the matter with the car?' (we are waiting for it to arrive), *tinãihỹ'ki* 'ehh..' (hesitation), *ti'nãidale o'ja-datsyre* 'how do I get there?'.

-ti- *(svv)* IS
The reduplicated form of *-cwa-* (either *-cu-*, *-ci-* or *-ti-*) is encountered in habitual and remote past constructions. *e'hỹticwa'tacwaki* 'they are always busy (doing / making)'. The form *-ti-* is much encountered in reference to the ancestral people: *tati'cwanahere* 'the (old) ones talked about, the people of history' (note the stress position!), *kuiti'cwanahere* 'the (traditional) people who drank'. Root ellipsis has probably led to the emergence of *ticwa-* as a new root, meaning 'ancestral'.

tixu *(N)* bird species
Maybe Tripsurus flavifrons. Locally pica-pau do mato, AIK *'tidɛ'tidɛ'?i*. Also [*ci'xu*] ~ [*t͡ʃi'xu*] 'bird which resembles a woodpecker, although it does not peck wood'. ARI *t͡ʃuri'ri* 'woodpecker'.

ticwa- *(V)* ancestral, of old, early
This root was only attested in a few nominalised expressions: *ticwa'nahe're* 'those ancestral ones', *ticwa'nãi* 'a traditional story'. It derives probably from a reduplicated form of the indefinite subject marker *-cwa-*, which is encountered in habitual and remote past constructions, such as: *'aticwawy* 'the time they (people/our ancestors) already existed', *o'kjati'cwanahere* 'those (traditional) hunters'. The phenomenon of verb root ellipsis has then led to the emergence of *ticwa-* as a new root, meaning 'ancestral'. It is unclear whether there is a relationship with the verb root *(t)sicwa-* 'begin'.

tĩ- *(V)* spin
'tĩdaki 'I'm spinning cotton (rolling between the fingers)'.

-tja *(svv)* CSO
Cosubordinative mood marker which links together cosubordinated medial clauses into chains which are headed at the end by the matrix clause verb. Allomorph of *-ta* which occurs only with (zero marked) third person (same) subjects. *awe'nãtja kyry'jaki,... be'ræ-damỹ'tja* 'it is going to rain and thunder,... and there will be lightning', *o'jatse dodotxi'tɛ ohuinãtja* (or order 231) 'he went there to play ball', *hoi hy'hyrwaki ha'daija'nãtja* 'the bat is flying around as he wants to grab (i.e. suck people's blood)'. Can also be used in coordinating constructions: *kore'jatja di'hutse* '(there is a) knife and a spoon', *mangka'to hoi'tja tãi'he-tse* 'the mangoes are sweet and soft'. Also used as a subordinate absolutive adverbial clause (semantically neutral) or a subordinate manner clause mark-er. In this use no different subject marking is encountered: *txu'hũitja hũnũ'dydaki* 'I burnt the food (just) a little', *ywy'nwỹ xare'jare mãrẽ?a'dutja* 'he is searching wood for the Westerners?'.

-tja- *(svv)* TRA
Usually transitivises unambiguously intransitive verbs, attracts stress and introduces dative-like objects, although these are not always case-marked. The difference with transitiviser *-ta-* is not clear. *-tja-* may be less common and less productive. *he?ai-'tjadata ca'ri?a'sada'ki* 'I didn't like him, so I killed him', *pɛ̃rɛ̃jãtja'nãdata oja'nỹdaki* 'I came to converse with him', *pɛ'rɛ̃jãtja'lɛki* 'they are conversing'. Note that a determinateness effect was attested in the following example: *'wedaki jere'xwa* 'I'm afraid of dogs' (in general) vs. *we'tjadaki jerexwa'wã* 'I'm afraid of (this) dog'. In some roots it seems to be lexicalised, e.g.: *ũ-* 'to sit' vs. *ũ'ca-* 'to ambush'. Like *-ta-*, this morpheme resembles the applicative suffix of certain Western Amazonian languages in form and behaviour.

tjahɛrjỹ *(ADV)* elsewhere
tjahe'rjỹ xa'retse e'tũi 'he looks aside', 'his eye is turned the other way', 'he sees in another way'. *tjahɛ'rjỹ oje'nãdaki* 'I'm going to move to another place'.

-tjara- *(svv)* PROC
The procrastinative morpheme *-tjara-* is a variant of *-tara-*. *dehe'hetjarare* 'it isn't very bitter, it it?'. The complex distribution of the procrastinative and its different semantic effects are discussed thoroughly in the grammar part.

-tjarjỹ- *(svv/DR)* much, always, probe everywhere, all around
Occurs mostly as a verbal aspectual suffix: *a'wetja'rjỹki* 'it is raining too much' (CX: it rains every day), *kuitja'rjỹki* 'he is drinking too much' (CX: he is always drinking). In combination with the verb *jãsi-* 'to hear', it has a directional connotation: *dutu're jãsitja'rjỹdata* 'I'm listening in order to sound (i.e. probe if there are) pigs'.

tjaruhỹ- *(V)* prepare
Only 'to prepare for a journey'. *ja tjaru'hỹdaki kerai'nãdata* 'I'm already prepared to go / leave'.

tjata- *(V)* say to (a person)
tja'taki '(he) said to him', *pju'wã tja'tadahỹki* 'I talked with Pju'. This root can probably be analysed etymologically as a combination of *-tja* 'CSO' (possibly used adverbially) and *ta-* 'to talk', which may originate from reported speech constructions such as: *kwɛnɛhe'kytja 'tadamỹ* 'I'll tell him not to enter' (lit. 'I'm going to talk, saying "don't enter!"'), *kui'retja 'tawa'ta* 'they're complaining that (the others) are just drinking booze', *e'tay hyri'ra tjata'ki zjwã'wã* 'the woman wanted João to steal the chicken', *jakui'ratja 'tadaki* 'I already ordered him to drink', *etohoi'wã kuro'ra tjata'lehỹki* 'he told the child (in vain) to close the door', *eto'hoi kuro'ra tjatata'lehỹki* 'the child told me (in vain) to close the door'. Note non-oral communication in: *jaku'ritja 'tadaki* 'I already said nothing to him', *xay'xaytja 'tahỹki* 'he nodded "yes"', *xay'xaydata 'tadahỹ'ki* 'I nodded "yes"', *do'dotja 'tadaki* 'I'm knocking (on a tree in order to chase away a bird)'. Other somewhat tempting analyses of the first element are that it is the transitiviser *-tja-*, or that it is an alternative root for 'to talk' whereas the second element is a transitiviser.

-tjate *(snn)* 3.POS
Sometimes also [*tja'tɛ*]. Third person's possessum suffix that belong to any paradigm. AIK has a similar morpheme *-dɛri*. *tsi'kitja'te* 'his younger brother', *si exwatja'tedaki* 'I'm her husband', *'masjudy'hỹ 'mãtjate* 'Marcio's mother', *e'kaitja'te* 'his leg (cut off or not)'.

tjatoxyi *(N)* tail of buriti
Also [*tjɛto'xyi*].

tja?atje- *(V/ADV)* close
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. Also [*ca?a'ce*]. Contains probably the directional *-ce-* 'aside'. It

may occur as an adverb. *tja?a'tje 'awahỹ* '(one) living close by', *tja?a'tjetse 'kara'ja?e'nãtsy'hỹ* 'next year is arriving/it is the next dry season', *tja?a'tje 'ata'ki ma'rjãudy'rjỹ* 'he is living close to Marião', *ã'wỹidaki a'xy tja?a'tje?ỹ'xy* 'I saw that nearby house'.

tjãrɛ *(NAM)* Tiaré
[*tjã're*] ~ [*tsjã'rɛ*] 'Capitão Tiaré' (see also Dequech 1988-1993). Probably a KAN name.

-ty- *(svv)* DET
Detrimental variant of causative *-dy-*: *kui'dydaki* 'I give him drink', *kui'tydaki* 'I drink (from) his', *cari'tydaki* 'I killed from her (in this case: the one she liked)', *bilo'tswa waja'tydamỹ* 'I'll take the shotgun from him, I'll take his shotgun', *jerexwa tsutsu'hỹtyhataki* 'he pissed (on things) of you', *tso'tysi'ki 'butyle'jadaki* 'I (will) use your hat'. See also *aty-* 'to be there'.

-tydy *(snn)* grub
Nominal derivation with a specific semantic content, but which is probably not a classifier. *tjoku'rui cayty'dy* 'grub of the wild papaya tree', *cayty'dyki* 'it is a grub of wild papaya tree', *cokurui haka'retydy* 'grub of buriti', *cokurui cokuruty'dy* 'grub of urucuri', *coku'rui wa'detydy* 'grub of tucumã', *hã'kui wa'detydy* 'grub of pataua, tucumã, najá etc.'.

tyi- *(V)* fill river
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *'tyiki* 'the river filled, *hã 'tyitse* / *hã 'tyiki* 'the (water of the) river is low'.

tyje- *(V)* rain stop (after much rain)
'tyjeki 'it rained a lot and then it stopped', *'tyje'wy* 'after the rain', *'tyje'nãtse* 'the rain is going to stop', *ty'jekywy* 'when the rain has stopped'.

tyka *(NAM)* Mekens / Sakerap
ty'ka may also concern other Tupari groups. Also *dari'janahe're* 'the forest-dogs'.

tyka?o- *(V)* visit (far)
'dukyri'cwa'na tyka'?odaki 'I went visiting the others', i.e. far away neighbours, in different *'ericwa*'s or settlements. *tyka'?odaki* 'I'm/was promenading, touring about', *tyka?o'nỹki* 'he came strolling'.

tyrihi *(N)* wasp species
Unidentified. *tyri'hi*. Black wasp with yellow line pattern which stings.

tyry- *(V)* untie
mani'nitsu'?yi ty'rytse 'he untied the fishing line'. KAN *tyry-* 'tie' (Bacelar 2004).

-tyxa *(CL)* metal plate, metal, sheet iron, tin, aluminium
E-noun. *lokã'cwadyhỹ ety'xa* 'burner of stove' (lit. 'the stove's iron plate'), *sidyhỹ korejaro nỹty'xaki* 'my can is big (only when cut and bent open and put down flat)'.

-to *(CL)* seed, fruit, kernel, shell, sex organ
E-noun. *e'to* 'maize shell', *koreja'to* 'small glass beads', *dytyi'to* 'very small spider', *akwa'mã nỹ'toki* 'the yam is big', *isinỹ'toki* 'holds, grabs his own penis', *exe'to* 'female pubic hair'. Possibly related to *-co* in: *syi'co* 'bicho de pé'; *xui'co* 'small round bag'; and *axyhi'co* 'paricá tube' (the head of which is made out of a palm tree seed), KAN *atximi'ko*. Consequently, KAN *-ko* may be related, as in *karana'ko* 'patua seed'.

-toha *(CL)* foot
Related to *coha* 'foot'. *tsuhũratito'hare* 'it is the tracks of what?'. KAN *-tsotsi*.

-tohoi *(CL)* small, youngster
E-noun. *eto'hoi* 'child', *awãnỹcetohoi* 'orphan'.

toitoiñirɛ *(N)* bird species
Volatinia jacarina L., fam Fringillidae, tiziu, blue-black grassquit. In POR also serra-serra, alfaiate, serrador, veludinho, pinéu. Passerine bird species.

-toju *(CL)* finger
E-noun. Related to *-djoju* 'toe'.

tokoi- *(V)* soft, weak
to'koiki '(his human flesh) is soft' (cannot be said of pork meat), *'tãjã to'koi* 'captain softy' (AN's nickname of Cap. Pedro), *to'koi?ỹdaki* 'I'm (staggering because I'm) ill', *to'koi?ỹki* 'he wobbles' (lit. 'he is weak').

tokoiri- *(V)* tired, pant
tokoi'riki 'he is tired', *tokoi'rihỹki* 'he is tired, he was tired, he tired'. Probably related to *to'koi-* 'be soft', but the element *-ri* is not well understood.

tolatsamũ- *(V)* sink
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *haki'dwa 'tolatsa'mũtse* 'the stone sank to the bottom', *'tolatsa'mũdaki* 'I sank', *tolatsamũ'hetse* 'it floated'.

tomã- *(V)* bathe
Also [*tu'mã*] ~ [*to'ma*]. *awe'mũ toma'ra* 'take a bath in the rain!', *awemũ'ko toma'ra* 'take a bath with rainwater (from the barrel)!', *toma'hỹ 'onɛki* 'it came from the water'. Note that the element *-mã-* may be a DR, since it seems to show up in other words relating to water as well, e.g.: *tsamã'te-* 'strew in water', and also because causative *-dy-* may intervene: *tody'mãdyta y'rotehere* 'it maybe because he is giving (the bird) a bath that it cries'.

-tori *(CL)* corner point
Sometimes also attested as [*cori*]. E-noun. Probably contains CL *-to* 'kernel'. MA: *'mesato'ri* / ZE: *'eka'rãto'ri* 'corner of rim (e.g. of table, board etc.)'

toro *(N)* annatto, soap
Bixa orellana L., fam Bixaceae, urucum. [*to:'ro*]. Extended to 'soap'. *toro'nu* 'soap powder', *to'ro e'nũ* 'soap', *to'ronã'nũ* 'luxurious soap', *toro'nwỹ* 'annatto tree', *toro'dwa / to'ro e'dwatsyhỹ* 'bar of soap', *to'ro e'nũtsyhỹ* 'powder soap'. AIK *ta'ra* 'annatto'. KAN *'tara* 'annatto tree', *tara'kwa* 'annatto seed'.

toromũrai *(N)* bird species
Unidentified red migratory bird, that is only in the dry season in Rondônia. The word is probably related to *to'ro* 'urucum'.

-torõi *(CL)* cylinder
E-noun. *ko'sato'rõi* 'lantern battery', *ma'bito'rõi* 'cartucho'.

-totɛ- *(DR)* upwards from below
watotɛki 'he took it up', *mũhẽ'dyto'tedaki* 'I hoist (something) up (by a rope)'. Lexicalised in the verb *hẽto'tɛ-* 'suspend'. Can be combined with the CL *-tu* 'back': *ãwã'tatote'tudaki* 'from below I'm looking upwards at the mountain slope'. Can be further derived as an adverb: *atote'tu* 'along the stretch from below to the top'. Attested only once as a verb root in TE's speech: *totɛ'tudamỹ* 'I'm going to go up'.

-toto- *(DR)* upward
oceto'todamỹ 'I'll throw it up in the air'. [*coto*] in *daicoto-* 'to rise up'. Productively derived adverb: *ato'to* 'over, above'. The derived adverb can be extended by (nominalising) classifiers: *atoto'xy* 'on top of the house'. *atoto'mũwaki* 'they live along the river', *hã a'toto'mũ* 'riverside' (lit. 'upwards from (the middle of) the water'). Can be followed by the directional *-mã-* 'water, river', meaning 'on the other side of the river, away, up from the river, beyond *erjamũ*', which can be used as an adverb itself: *ho'Drigo ãi ũtɛjatoto'mã aki* 'Rodrigo lives long (up) from the other side of the river'. Can also be derived as an adverb and combined with *-mã-* 'water', as in: *ho'Drigo atoto'mã aki* 'Rodrigo lives on the other side of the river'. Attested only once as a verb root in TE's speech: *toto'mãdata bare'nỹdamỹ* 'I'm going to go up and warm myself'.

toto *(N)* parrot species
Amazona amazonica, fam Psittacidae, 'papagaio curica / ajurucurau', or: gen

Pionus & gen Pionopsita, 'papagaio maritaca', or 'papagaio nãdaje'. Green parrot of about 20 cm with blue spot in back of neck, bites fiercely so that even the hawk does not bother it.

-totse *(CL)* bunch
A small bunch, e.g. of bananas. E-noun. Seems to contain CL *-to* 'fruit'. *eto'tse*, *aparato'tse* 'hand of bananas'.

tou- *(V)* pick, fall
['tauki*]. *'touki* 'he picks grapes, seeds, coffee etc.', but note also *ywynwỹ'xɛ 'touki* 'leaves are falling'. *e'xyi 'touki* 'hair is falling'. The semantic aspect that these interpretations have in common may lie in the notion of 'to collect' or 'to heap up'. Note also *'toudaki* 'I break a little piece off the thing'. Maybe there is a relation with *to'wa-* 'to break down'.

tounỹ- *(V)* augment
Also [*tɑu'nỹ*]. *tou'nỹki* 'it is increasing, rising'. Probably related to *tou-* 'to pick, to fall'.

toutoutou *(IDEO)* (toad?)
It could be that this ideophone symbolises the sound of a toad.

tou?ũrjỹ *(N)* little hill, nipple, pimple
Often [*'towũrjỹ*], also [*'tɑu?ũrjỹ*]. *'tou?ũrjỹ'hỹ* 'that little hill'.

towa- *(V)* fall (over), break (down) wood
Maybe related to *towɛ-* 'break off (plant)'. *a'xy 'towaki* 'the house fell', *to'watse a'xy* 'the house broke', *ywy'nwỹ to'waki* 'tree broke off / tree is falling over / tree fell over / fallen / broken off tree', *ywy'nwỹ to'wahỹki* 'it is a fallen tree' (not a falling tree), 'he fell the tree', *towa'xy kwɛ'nɛ:wata hy'riwaki* 'they broke into the house (not entering via the door or window), entered, and stole things'. Maybe related to *tou-* 'to fall, to pick'.

towari- *(V)* decease, die
towa'riki/-tse 'he died' (it is not nice to say *isi-* 'die' of humans, especially of kinspeople). Probably related to *towa-* 'to fall'.

towarilo *(N)* pot
Traditional earthenware pot. May contain the etymological classifier *-ro* 'vessel'. Z:051: *toharí*. AIK *kja'rü*, *karari*.

toweñẽ *(NAM)* Toweñẽ
Male person name.

towɛ- *(V)* break off
To break leaves or branches off the plant. Homophonous with bound root *towɛ-* 'to go', *to'wɛki* 'he broke off (something of a plant)', *zjwãu ywynwỹko'ro(*wã) to'wɛki* 'João broke a branch off the tree'. In a compound: *towɛca'weki* 'he went down' (lit. 'he broke a branch and fell down').

towɛ- *(V-etym)* go
PLS: SGS conterpart *hy-* 'to go, to walk'. Etymological verb root which requires a DR and must apparently involve a PL subject. Homophonous with *towɛ-* 'break off' (which does not require further derivation). There is no relation to *to'wy* 'clearing'. See also *towɛdwa-* and *towɛnɛ-*, *towɛkwɛ-*. Other combinations: *to'wɛratsa(/xa)-'nũ?axaki* 'we entered into the earth', *towɛka'rwatja* 'they went (hid?) in(to?) (the forest)', *towɛnỹko'tɛki* 'returned (from forest, town or any place)', *towɛcawewaki (hãnã)* 'everyone dived (into the water)' (lit. 'everyone did/went down'), *towedwa'tjaki* 'they took to the forest'.

towɛdwa- *(V)* walk
PLS. Based on the bound root *towɛ-* 'to go' and the directional *-dwa-* 'onto a plane surface' with the more or less lexicalised meaning 'to go away (using a forest path)', 'to go (onto) the path'. *ãi towɛ'dwa?axata* 'we went far (ahead)'.

towɛkwɛ- *(V)* enter
PLS. Based on the bound root *towɛ-* 'to go' and the verb root *kwɛ-* 'to enter'. Means often 'to enter into forest', but may also mean 'to enter into house'. *tovɛ'kwɛwaki* 'they (many)

entered into the house, hole etc.'. (**tovɛ'kwɛdaki* is ungrammatical because the first person subject is singular).

towɛnɛ- *(V)* arrive
PLS. Based on the bound root *towɛ-* 'to go' and the directional *-nɛ-* 'hither'. *towɛ'nɛki* 'they arrived from the forest', *towɛ'nɛtja* 'they, having arrived from the forest'.

towy *(N)* land, plantation, clearing
'cleared land in the forest for planting'. MEK *tabyt* (Galucio 1996:7). Koaratira (Mekens) *tawüt* (Becker-Donner 1955).

towyxe *(N)* shrubs
Also [*tOwy'xɛ*]. Brush and weeds which have overgrown a cleared agricultural tract in the forest. *towy'xɛki* 'the weeds grew again on the field'.

-tõi *(CL)* fruit, star, eye (ball)
E-noun. This CL represents both *e'tũi* 'fruit' and *ecũi* 'eye'. *aky'tõitse* 'they are two fruits/be two fruits'. In some rare instances it was pronounced as [*cõi*]: *ywynwỹ'cõi* 'fruit or seed of a tree'.

tu *(N)* wasp species
Unidentified wasp species.

-tu *(CL)* shoulder, back
E-noun. *e'tu* 'back'. *'marju wara'tudaki* 'I touch Mario's shoulder'. This CL is often encountered in expressions referring to hills or mountain slopes: *tewe'tu* 'slope on the other side of the hill', *tewe'tu?ỹhetse* / *tsiritsa'tu a'hetse* 'it is not slanting / there is no slope', *tsuri'tsatu'tewetu* 'slope on the other side of the hill', *atotɛtu* 'from the foot of the slope to the top'.

tui- *(V-etym)* fall
Also [*toi*]. This bound root is combined (and often lexicalised) with directionals or classifiers. *tuicwa'nĩxa'le ori'nỹ?exa'rydy're* 'would you climb out again if you fell into a hole?'. In some derivations, the root is reduced to *tu-*, as in: *tu'cedaki* 'I'm falling'.

tuihỹ- *(V)* fall on top
haki'dwa toi'hỹdy'ta 'kãuki 'stone fell (on top) and it broke', *mesa'na tui'hỹdaki* 'I fell onto the table', *mesa'na tui'hỹxatsi* 'take care not to fall on the table!'.

tuituiñɛ̃ *(N)* grass, sedge, weeds
Fam Gramineae & fam Ciperaceae, capim (alto), grama. Also [*tutu'ñɛ̃*] and [*toitoi'ñɛ̃*].

tukanɛxu *(N)* porcupine bead cord
ZE: [*tu'kane'su*]. MA: [*(ta)kane'xu*]. Z:185: *tôcané-sô*.

-tuku *(CL)* tongue
From the noun *cu'ku* 'tongue'. *txa kikemũte'teki ketu'kuxatsi* 'the tea is very hot, take care not to burn your tongue!'.

tukutɛ *(N)* cedar
Maybe Cedrela odorata, cedro. Cedar species.

tumjỹte- *(V)* fall into the water
haki'dwa tumjỹ'teki 'stone fell into the water', *haki'dwa tu'pũtumjỹ'teki* 'stone fell into the water "splash!"', *tumjỹ'te-xare* 'you fell into the water?', *tu'peutumjỹ'teda'mỹ* 'I'm going to jump into the water', *aruptumjỹ'teda'mỹ* 'I'm going to jump across and fall into the water'. Probably related to *tui-* 'to fall', *tomã-* 'to bathe' and *-mãte-* 'into the water'.

tumũ *(N-NAM)* Taboca river
Right (southern) tributary of the Taikarɛ (São Pedro) river. In 1913, Rondon (1916:155-6, Rondon and Faria 1948:183) obtained information from the Kepkiriwat (extinct Tupari dialect) that the 'Coaia' lived on the Djaru-Jupirará 'Red river' and the Jucup cauó. On his map these rivers are easily identifiable as the Rio São Pedro and the Rio Taboca respectively. However, it is the Taboca which is called *hã 'ki?ỹhỹ* 'Red river' by the present-day Kwaza. [*tumũ*] ~ [*tO:mũ*] ~ [*tOhomũ*] ~ [*tOwomũ*].

tupɛu *(IDEO)* splash!
The sound of plunging into water.

tu'pɛutumjỹ'teda'mỹ ‘I’m going to jump into the water’.

tupũng *(IDEO)* splash!
Symbolises the sound of a big stone thrown in the water. *haki'dwa tu'pũtumjỹ'teki* ‘stone fell into the water “splash!”‘.

turi- *(V)* tumble, topple, fall over
tu'rije'?exa'tsi ‘take care not to fall over again!’.

turu- *(V)* wake up
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. Rapid speech [*to'ro*]. *turu're* (ME: [*tOrOre*]) ‘you woke up?’, *tu'rutse* ‘he woke up’, *tu'ruki* ‘she is waking up’.

turuwɛ *(NAM)* Turuve
Male person name of KAN or KWA origin.

turuwɛxu *(NAM)* Turuwexu
Male person name. Also [*turuwɛ'tsu*] or [*turuwɛ'su*]. Of KAN or KWA origin.

turwe- *(V)* heal
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *turwe'nãtse* ‘he is getting better from illness’, *'hyriko'ro turu'wetse ku'kuihỹ'nãi* ‘the monkey healed from a disease’.

turwe *(N-root)* rough brush
This root is not attested without a classifier. *turwe'rjỹ* ‘place where there is no road’, *turweturwehỹ'tɛ* ‘the forest’.

tuxe *(N)* capitiú
Fam Zingiberaceae, capitiú, cardamomo-da-terra or negramine. Also [*tũ'xe*] ~ [*tu'sje*] ~ [*tuw'xe*]. Herb leaf which is temporarily effective against mosquitos when rubbed onto the face. It is probably the same plant as the one referred to as [*tuw'sje*] ‘negramine’ of which the leaf is good against influenza.

-tutɛ *(CL)* mountain range
E-noun: *ɛtu'tɛ* ‘mountain range’. *nỹtu'tɛki* ‘the mountain range is big’. The once attested form *ɛtutɛhỹ'nã* and its translation ‘onto the body’ were perhaps created in analogy with *exo-na'hỹ* ‘body’ and were later rejected.

tutuidwa- *(V)* walk along path
PLS. *tutui'dwa?axaki* ‘we are walking along the path’.

tutunitahỹ- *(V)* think, worry
tutuni'tahỹki ‘he thinks’, ‘he is worrying’, *tutuni'tahỹ?a'nãi* ‘thought’, *tutu'nita'hỹdaki a'xy arwa'xy e'hỹda-he'tada'ta* ‘I’m thinking about whether making a new house is going to work’, *tutu'nita'hỹdaki (magariDa) ti'nãi-tsy'redata* ‘I’m worrying about how Margarida is’. Note that with overt matrix clause objects an extra transitivising suffix is needed: *xyi'wã tutunitahỹxo'tɛnĩnãdaki* ‘I was thinking / worrying about you’.

tuce- *(V)* fall
tu'cedaki ‘I’m falling’, *[*tutedaki*], MA: “it is a nearly forgotten word”. This root occurs also in a lexicalised compound with *murjetucehỹ-*.

tũce- *(V)* grab from inside
Is only said of things that are stuck or closed in, but not something in e.g. a pan. *tũ'cedaki* ‘I got it out of there’, *bilo'tswa tũce'nãdaki* ‘I’m going to open the rifle (in order to remove the rounds)’, *tũce'ra* ‘get (the grubs) out of (their holes)’, ‘pull out (the nails from the wood)!’.

twãtwãtwã *(IDEO)* call of the *twãtsysi'kɛ* bird
Onomatopoeia.

twãtsysikɛ *(N)* bird species
Unidentified. Onomatopoeia, since the bird’s call is symbolised by [*twãtwãtwã*], much like the *iriwa* bird.

twe- *(V)* pierce
Especially with objects of wood. Also used in fire drilling: *'twedaki 'hi* ‘I’m making fire’ (a fire drill is rolled between the hands like a normal drill, without a fire bow, but it is not known whether there is a specific term for it). *nũ'ty 'twedaki* ‘I’m piercing (a tree) for honey’, *kɛi'mũ twe're* ‘open (pierce the

can of) oil', *kɛimũ'ro twe'ra* 'open the (empty oil-) can'.

ts

-tsa *(CL)* hand
Rare classifier, possibly related to *tsoje* 'hand'. *eromũtsa* 'wrist', *kohonũtsa* 'spit which is on the hand', *ho'hoko'je?ỹdaki ha'hanỹ'tsatara'mỹ* 'my hands are dirty, I'll wash them first!', *wy'wyxy'tsaki* '(the tree its) leaves (lit. 'hands') are rustling in the wind'.

tsadwɛ- *(V)* leave the brush by getting onto the path
a'le 'daiwarjata tsa'dwɛtja hy'dwatja 'he grabbed his axe and got onto the path, and walked on'. Probaby related to *a'dwɛ* 'ahead on the path'.

tsamãte- *(V)* strew in water
Contains probably *tsã-* 'strew' + DR *-mã-* 'water'.

tsanỹsihỹ- *(V)* last
Probably related to *tsasi-* 'to follow' (though this hypothesis was rejected by MA). *tsanỹsi'hỹki* 'he is the last one', *tsi'ki 'tsanỹsi'hỹ* 'younger brother'.

tsasi- *(V)* follow
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. [*sasi-*] ~ [*tsa'tsiki*] 'he is going after (him)', *tsa'sitse* 'he went after (him)', *'daitsasiki* 'he flew up and went after (them)', *tsa'sitsytse* 'I'll go there later', *(t)sasi'ra* 'follow me!', *zjwã'wã tsa'sidaki* 'I went after João'. Possibly related with *tsanỹsi'hỹ* 'the last one'.

tsã- *(V-etym)* strew
Bound root which refers to throwing or pouring of usually small grains, although it is also used with multiple round objects of bigger size, e.g. footballs in a large vessel. It requires a DR or CL: **tsãki*, **tsãtɛ̃ki*. Sometimes also denasalised [*tsa-*]. *atsu'ka tsã'rjỹ-daki* 'I scatter sugar around (all over the place)', *tsãrjỹ'rwɛdaki hi'nã* 'I throw sand around the fire', *tsã'rã tsãtɛ̃'rjỹdaki hi'nã* 'I threw sand into the fire', *tsã'ceki* 'he put (it) into a mortar', *a'tsuka tsã:'rodaki* 'I put sugar in a vessel'. Maybe this word is etymologically related to *tsãrã* 'earth', and *tsũrũrũ'nĩ* 'sand', which would also bring closer an explanation for *tsã-kã'rũ* 'sting ray'. And to *tsãdy-* 'fill'.

tsãdy- *(V)* fill, attack massively
PLS. With this sense only in: *'tsãdyku'tytaki* 'many bees stung me on the head' (lit. 'they filled my head'). Unclear if same root in (TE): *a'tsuka 'tsãdyte'rocwaki* 'they took sugar from the jar' (may rather be related to *tsã-* 'to strew', but also to *tsudyte-* 'to pour empty'; note that you can't use *dai-* 'to grab' here because you don't take sugar with your hands).

tsãjã- *(V)* spill, leak
Refers to events such as beans leaking from a bag, fruits falling from a tree, etc. Contains *tsã-* 'to strew', but there is no intention. *'ui tsã'jãki* 'he spilt tobacco' (i.e. it fell to the ground). The first syllable can be reduplicated: *tay'nwỹ i'sidyta tsatsã:'jãki* 'the papaya tree is dying, (the fruits are) falling', or better: *cay i'sitja tsãtsã'jãki*. The unidentified element *-jã-* is obligatory: **tsã'tsãki*. The following from family II is not understood well: *tsỹtxa'tsatsi* 'take care not to (let it?) fall!'.

tsãkãrũ *(N)* ray
Narcine brasiliensis. Much feared on riverbanks where it merges into the sandy background, one easily treads on it and its poisonous sting is very painful. In olden times, poisonous arrowheads were made of the prickle. Also [*sãkã'rũ*]. Maybe etymological explanations can be found via *tsã-* 'strew' or *tsãdy-* 'sting many' or *-nũ* ~ *-rũ* 'sand / powder'. KAN *tsãkãw'nũ*.

tsãrã *(N)* earth, ground, floor
Corresponding classifier is *-nũ* 'powder'. May be related to *tsã-* 'strew'. *tsãrã'hỹki* 'it is dirty' (lit. 'stained by dust'). *tsã'rã txinũ'te-nahe're* 'Kwaza (those of the big earth)', *tsã'rã txu'hũinahe're* 'Kwaza (those of the small earth)'. Until about 1900 (when ME's father was already born, but AN not yet) these two groups of Kwaza lived in their own territories. After 1900 they united. KAN *tsa'na* 'earth' (fig. 'mountain, field, savannah').

tsãrã txinũte *(N)* big earth
One of the original lands of the Kwaza.

tsãrã txuhũi *(N)* big earth
One of the original lands of the Kwaza.

tsãrãmãi *(NAM)* Salamãi
Tupí-Mondé tribe name Sanamaikã / Salamai / Mondé. Literal meaning unknown. Also heard: [*txãrã'mãi*]. AIK *kuku'ju?ene* 'hawk people' (note that another tribe, Gavião, also speaks a Tupi-Mondé language).

tsãrãrãte *(ADV)* low
tsãrãrã'te hyhy'rwata '(vulture) walks head down'.

tsãrãro *(N-NAM)* Tanaru river
The *tsãrã'ro* is a left tributary of Pimenta Bueno. AIK *tsã'rãru*.

tsãrɛ̃- *(V)* collapse
When everything falls at once, e.g. a house in the wind or a number of trees in the forest. Probably related to *tsã-* 'strew'.

tsãrjỹ- *(V)* sow
Also [*tsarjỹ*]. Contains *tsã-* 'to strew' and *-rjỹ-* 'area'. *tsã'rjỹdaki* 'I sowed'.

tsãce- *(V)* put in
Seems to exist of *tsã-* 'to strew' and *-ce* 'hole', and means: 'put (any kind of thing) in (to something)'. It is usually about putting maize into a mortar.

tsãtxa- *(V)* scatter unintentionally
erewexunitɛ tsã'txadaki 'I dropped and scattered the chalk over the ground unintentionally'. Contains the directional *-txa-* 'wide'.

tse *(ITJ)* yes
Especially in family II. Also pronounced as [*se*]. (Q:) *wa'txire* 'would it be true?', (A:) *tse* 'yes'.

tsei- *(V)* start, commence
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. Involves a sudden start, followed by a successful continuation, as in: *'karo 'tseitse* 'the car started'. May also refer to situations like 'to start talking, singing, playing' etc. *tsei'dyra e'ro* 'switch on the radio!'.

tserenũ- *(V)* weed, hoe
tsɛrɛ'nũdaki 'I'm weeding'.

tsetseritse *(N)* butterfly
Lepidopteros spp, borboleta. (Note that Z:120 *jarú-picáp* is probably SAL). It also seems to apply to moths, although moths of the night are called *pu:'ra*.

tsewe- *(V)* throw, peel, spit, sneeze, fall
Probably 'to burst and spread like an explosion'. *tse'weki* / *'tsewe'dyki* 'he peels (beans etc.)', *'tsewedy'hỹki* 'he threw / sneezed on him (on purpose)', *'tsewe'hỹki* 'he dropped water on him (water which you threw up into the air)', *tse'wedy'tõihata'tsi* 'take care that the toad doesn't spit you in the eye'.

tsẽi- *(V)* tear
'tsẽiki 'he tore', *ywy'nwỹ 'tsẽidaki* 'I split wood' (also once attested: [*ywy'nwỹ 'tsedaki*]), *'tsẽidaki* 'I pulled envira' (but *tsũrũ-* 'to drag' is also possible), *e'kãi tsẽi'kãitsyhỹ* 'hare lip', *'tsẽi?asa'tõidyta jã 'doki* 'picked in the eye, now blood is coming out'.

-tsẽrjỹ- *(DR)* lie
'in a lying position'. Also [*tse'rjỹ*] ~ [*tsi'rjỹ*]. To be attached to V stem, only usable independently through ellipsis in the proper context: Q: *cutsẽ'rjỹxare* 'you're lying down?', A: *tsẽ'rjỹdaki* '(yes,) I'm lying down'. *'tutu'nita'hỹ-tsẽ'rjỹ* 'he lies thinking'.

-tse *(svv)* DEC
Often pronounced as [*tsɛ*]. Verbal declarative mood ending of the matrix clause. The third person singular subject is zero-marked. There is another declarative, *-ki*, with which *-tse* is sometimes interchangeable, although there are important distributional and semantic differences between them. In the first place, *-tse* is not attached directly to overt person cross-reference markers (with the exception of indefinite object marker *-ja-*). Secondly, there are lexical restrictions for a number of roots and morphemes that they can never be followed by either *-ki* or *-tse*, or that they yield different meanings. Maybe *-tse* is related to the gerundial or potential morpheme *-tsy-*.

tsɛ- *(V)* filter
[*tsæ*]. To squeeze by sieve, e.g. liquid from the chaff when making chicha, or to throw dry rice up into the air in order to let the wind abduct the chaff. *hai'munDa mĩu 'tsɛki* 'Raimunda squeezes the chicha from the maize fibres', *e'tay ra'tja tswa'wã hỹdy'ta atxitxi'?ũ 'tseki* 'the woman ordered the man to sift the rice'.

tsɛh *(ITJ)* why!
[*tsæh*], also [*txe*]. Impressive interjection used by males in family I, whereas feminine is *'o* or *nãiko'rɛ*. In family II both sexes use *tsɛh*. MA found the interjection rude and hardly used it, probably because he learned Kwaza from his mother. AIK male / female use: *kɛh*. Probably related to *tse* 'yes'. *a'weki ... 'tsɛh* 'it rained (a lot), wow!'.

tsɛhumãi *(N)* ant species
Fam Formicidae, formiga boca azedo (POR for 'sour-mouth ant'). [*'tsɛhu'mãi*].

tsɛhũ- *(V)* hurt, burn, sting
tsɛ'hũki 'it hurt', *tsɛ'hũtaki* 'it hurt me', *tse'hũko'jedaki* 'it hurt my hand', *tsɛ'hũko'jetaki* 'it hurt me on the hand'.

tsɛni *(N)* nose
Also [*tsɛ'nĩ*] ~ [*tsæ'ni*] ~ [*tsa'nĩ*] and even [*tsa:(r)'ni*]. L:04: *za`e*, Z:005: *tsarní*. MA also: *tsurwa'ni*, which means normally 'nostril'.

tsɛ̃ *(N)* salt
Probably not related to POR *sal* 'salt'. There is no word for 'to tast salty'. *tsɛ̃ ele'le?ỹki* 'it's salty'.

tsɛ̃xe *(N)* salt leaf
Unidentified plant / shrub with many small blue flowers, maybe up to two metres tall. Also pronounced as [*tsɛ̃:'xe*]. Also called *i'nỹsitjɛ'xɛ*.

tsɛ̃tsitswa *(N)* Kwaza
The word *tsɛ̃tsi'tswa* is only known by Maria Tadeu, an Aikanã who was married to a Kwaza. MA analysed it as *tsɛ̃ticwa*. It may be that the root *ticwa-* 'ancestral' is recognisable.

tsɛ̃tsyxu *(N)* bird species of the swamp
Unidentified little duck-like swamp bird with quite long legs. Kwaza consultants called both *damũ'tɛ* and this bird 'little duck' (POR 'patinho'), but in dictionaries the name 'patinho' seems to refer to different types of birds.

-tsi *(svv)* MON
The monitory mood morpheme expresses a warning that something dangerous or unpleasant might happen if the hearer does not pay attention. The zero marked argument is a third person subject: *hyja'tsi* 'don't let him fall'. *hy:'riwatsi* 'take care people here steal!'. It may also occur with other subject arguments: *awe'mũ o'hoihe'ky 'kikalo'?exa'tsi* 'don't go playing outside in the rain, lest you get fever again!', *du'ruwady'ra tã'lotsi* 'pour her (tea) lest she will sulk'. The monitory mood ending is sometimes used as a preventive modality suffix: *e'nãitja-?eteja'tsixaxata areta'nãxaxaki* 'for him not to quarrel with you, therefore you're going to learn'. In an elliptic construction with negative *-ĩ-*: *ĩ'tsidata* 'therefore, I didn't want to', 'I

warned'.

tsi- *(V-etym)* step, stand
Occurs as a prefix in verb roots like *tsi'boi-* 'to stand', and as a bound root in verb roots like *tsi'rjỹ-* 'to tread' and *cutsi'hỹra* 'place your foot on it!'.

tsiboi- *(V)* stand on, step on top of
tsi'boira 'put your foot on it (in order to crush it)!' (also when stepping into cow manure), *'cutsi'hỹra* 'rest your foot on it!'.

tsida?uty *(N-KIN)* daughter-in-law
Wife of son. Also *kore?u'ty* (but unclear if full synonym).

tsiki *(N-KIN)* brother (younger)
Younger brother of male or female. *tsi'ki 'tsanysi'hỹ* 'younger brother'.

tsiki *(N-KIN)* sister (younger)
Younger sister of female.

tsikitje *(N)* fish species
Unidentified. [*tsiki'tje*] '(small fish species)'.

tsikitsiki *(N)* ant species
Unidentified ant species which makes holes in the ground. AIK *pi'ra* or *'pija*.

tsikja- *(V)* stand upright
ZE: *ywy'nwỹ 'tsikjatsy'hỹ* 'tree, standing'. *tsi'kjadaki* 'I'm standing (on my feet)', *'daitsi'kjadaki* 'I rise up (from a chair) into a standing position', *ĩ'tsãi elwatsi'kjaki* 'the snake is lying coiled up with its head sticking out'.

tsilanỹ- *(V)* jump up
The animal(s) or human(s) which were being stalked upon are suddenly aware of the hunter and jump up with fright, and will run or spread. *'tsilanỹ'hỹki* 'it jumped up'.

tsile *(N)* ant species
Atta sexdens, fam Atidae, tanajura or formiga de asas, içá, fêmea de saúva. Female sauva ant, same species as *'tsilemãi*. The ripe queen flies early november and can be fried. It tastes like peanut.

tsilemãi *(N)* ant species
Atta sexdens, fam Atidae, saúva, formiga carregador. Leaf-cutting carrier ant which lives in subterranean colonies. *'tsile'mãi*, also *'silemãi*. Edible flying queen is called *tsi'le*. KAN *ty:('txi)* 'saúva ant', *tʃi'y* 'tucandeira ant'.

tsilenu *(N)* ant hill
Contains the CL *-nũ* 'powder'. *tsile'nu*, lit. 'ant-powder'.

tsileroha *(N)* acari
Fam Loricariidae. Peixe cascudo / acari, bagre cascudo (fam Siluridae), peixe 'bodo'.

tsilexwa *(N)* ant hill
Maybe the element *-xwa* means 'man', and refers to the size of the saúva ant hill, although this was denied by the consultant. See also *e'xwa*.

tsiloto *(N)* rubber tree, rubber trail, latex
Hevea brasiliensis (Wild ex Juss) Muell. Arg., seringeira or seringa. As rubber milk it is from a different tree than *hu'mũ*. *'tsiloto'tõi* or better *tsiloto'tɛ* 'rubber fruit' (contains three seeds), *tsilo'tokuty* 'ball of latex', *tsilo'to hunu'nudyni'tɛ* 'smoked latex'. AIK *hu'tu*.

tsilotoro *(N)* bowl, dish
[*tsiloto'ro*].

tsilototɛ *(N)* whirrer
Buzzing, whirring toy made of the tripartite seed of the latex tree and a loop-formed string. AIK *'hutu'ðãw*.

tsiniri- *(V)* fly up
PLS. *'buidamỹ'tse 'tsiniri'nãtse* 'the ants are going to come out and fly up'. For singular and paucal subjects see *dai-* 'rise, fly'.

tsinỹ- *(V)* tie
Also [*si'nỹ*]. Intransitive verb stem, the transitive root is *si-* 'to fasten'. *i'tso tsi'nỹki* 'the hammock is tied up / it is hanging ready to be used'.

tsiritsa *(ADV)* in the middle
Contains lexicalised directional *-ritsa-* 'outside'. *'paulu tsiri'tsa 'aki* 'Paulo lives in the middle (between X and Y)', *X(*-wã/*-tja) Y(*-tsyhỹ) 'tsiri'tsa 'bu?ũdwamã'ridaki si* 'I'm sitting in the middle between X and Y',

tsiri'tsaki ‘it is in the middle’, *'tsiritsa 'cutsynwỹ* ‘the tree in the middle’, *tsi'ritsa wa'wỹidaki* ‘I slept in the middle’, *tsiritsa'tu* ‘in the middle of the slope’, *tsiritsatu'nã cu'cuki* ‘he is walking in the middle of the slope’, *tsiri'tsajãhỹ* ‘one (e.g. a dead animal) in the middle of the path’.

tsiritsamũ *(N)* middle of the river
Adverbial stem with the classifier *-mũ* ‘liquid’. *'tsiritsa'mũ* ‘middle of the river’.

tsiritsanãwã *(ADV)* midnight
Lit. ‘in the middle of the sky’.

tsiritsa?ỹnwỹ *(N)* main pillar
tsiri'tsa?ỹ'nwỹ (lit. ‘beam in the middle’) is the first pole of the traditional communal house (the maloca), which sustains all the rest. Also *he'dy-sa'nũkawa'hỹ*. ME has *txi'rwotete*.

tsirje- *(V)* open
To tear open things of paper, cardboard, plastic. *ka'wɛ tsi'rjedaki* ‘I opened (a bag of) coffee’. (see also *twe-* ‘pierce’).

tsirjỹ- *(V)* tread
To put one’s foot fully on the ground. Often in compounds. *'cutsi'rjỹki* ‘put upright, stand’, *'cutsi'rjỹhe'ky* ‘don’t step / stand there!’ (CX: there could be snakes). The negative may mean ‘to hop’, but not ‘to limp’: *tsirjỹ'hedata* ‘I hopped’ (CX: the subject was bitten in the foot by a snake).

tsitɛkja- *(V)* erect, stand
In the third person declarative *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. Possibly derived from a combination of *tsice-* ‘to lift’ and DR *-kja-* ‘upright’. *tsitɛ'kjaki* ‘he left it standing upright’, *ko'sa tsitɛ'kjadaki* ‘I put the lantern upright’. Note that **ko'sa tsitɛ'kjatsyhỹ* is ungrammatical because it didn’t put itself upright, whereas: *ko'sa cutsitɛ'kjanỹhỹ a'wỹidaki* ‘I saw a lantern which was standing upright’ is grammatical.

tsitjetje- *(V)* tiptoe
tsitje'tjetja'ra ‘tiptoe (without sound)!’.

tsitutjehỹ- *(V)* bar
a'rũi tsitutje'hỹdaki ‘I’m fencing in cows’, *tsitutje'hỹdaki* lit. ‘I made a barrier’, *ã'rũi tsitutje'hỹcwa'?yi* ‘thread to bar cows’ (AN: [*a'rũitsetwate-'hỹcwa'?yi*]).

tsitsa- *(V-root)* walk slowly
Only attestation: *maga'riDa(ra'ta) 'leja'nỹki hai'munDa 'tsitsasa'siki/dy'ta* ‘Margarida is arriving first, Raimunda follows more slowly’.

tsitsɛ *(N)* we.EX
First person plural exclusive pronoun. *tsi'tsɛ 'ɛ?axaki* ‘we go’. Also [*si'tsɛ*] ~ [*tsi'tsæ*]. May consist of the pronoun *si* ‘I’ and a suffix *-tsɛ*, which may be be related to the pronominal plural morpheme *-tɛ* in KAN *aj'tɛ* ‘we’ (Bacelar 2004).

tsitsi- *(V)* burn with (big) flames
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *tsi'tsidy'ra* ‘light!’ (e.g. a fire using a big flame). *hi tsi'tsiki* ‘the fire is burning’.

tsitsiñɛ̃- *(V)* quarrel
jerexwa tsitsi'ñɛ̃ki ‘the dogs quarrel among each other’.

tsitsirjỹ- *(V)* nail, fasten, peg
tsitsirjỹhỹ'jãhỹ ‘carrapicho, the spiny seeds that stick to your clothes as you walk along the path’.

tsitsicu- *(V)* run after a person
Note that the reduplication is obligatory: **tsicuki* is ungrammatical. *zjwã-*(wã) tsitsi'cudaki* ‘I ran after João’.

tsitso *(N)* bird species
Maybe fam Alcedinidae, pescador. Small bird with long beak which eats a lot of fish.

tsice- *(V)* lift, stand
hetsy'sɛ cutsice'ra ha'bui ‘put the broom outside!’. Directionals are often used, see *tsitɛkja-* and: *cutxicɛrwo'te-data 'buidamỹ a'xyna* ‘I’m going to leave the broom standing by the door and leave’. Maybe related to *txite-* ‘pile, stack’.

tsicwa- *(V)* begin
Sometimes [*si'cwa*]. *tsi'cwadata*

erewe'xydaki 'I began to write'. *tsicwa'?e-* 'to continue' (lit. 'to begin again'), in: *ako're tsicwa'?etsytse* 'tomorrow he/it is going to continue'. *kurakura tsi'cwata 'mãki* 'the cock began to crow', *korejaro'nã?ỹhỹ 'tsicwa'ta 'hã 'doteki* 'water began to leak from the pan' (the pan cannot be subject). *txa'hã tsi'cwarjỹ 'ũidaki* 'I paused at the beginning of the road'.

tsi?arjỹ- *(V)* silent
'tsi?arjỹki 'it is completely silent all around' (heavy stress and high tone on first syllable).

tsīkẽ *(N)* squirrel species
Fam Sciuridae, red squirrel.

tsīlo *(N)* japoeira
Cassicus persicus, fam Icteridae, japoeira or japim. Black and yellow bird species. [*tsĩ:'lo*]. AIK *tʃi'rutɛ*.

tsīrjẽ- *(V)* stick
tsĩrjẽhỹ'ki 'it sticks, is sticking', *tsĩ'rjẽdynite* 'glue'. *tsirje'hỹta'letse* '(the dogs) are hooked together' (they were copulating, and now can't get loose).

tsjapɛɛuuu *(IDEO)* splaaash!
[*tsja'pɛ:u:w*]. The sound of very large rock falling into the river. [*tʃə'pɛwtsɛ*] 'plunged into the water'.

tsjatoro *(N)* coral snake
Micrurus elapidus, fam Micruroides, coral snake. This is a trisyllabic word, [*'tsja-*] bears accent and cannot be pronounced as bisyllabic: *[*tsi-ja-*], nor is it pronounceable as *[*tʃa-*], all of which goes to show the phonemic distinctness of [*tʃ*] and [*tsj*] (the latter being biphonemic). But see also *tsje-* 'grab'.

tsje- *(V)* grab, close
MA: *[*tsi-je-*], *[*tʃe-*], *[*sie-*]. *txã'hã 'tsjeki* 'the road is overgrown (closed)', *ẽrjã'wã 'tsjeki* 'the shrub is thick', *jere'xwa 'tsjeki 'duture('wã)* 'the jaguar grabbed the pig' (i.e. the jaguar jumped onto it and there was no escape for the pig, it closed in on the pig and held on to it), *ũtja'dy tsi'tsije?ĩ?ĩjẽ'hỹki* 'it's been a long time since the hawk grabbed (chickens)', *txa:'rwa 'tsije'hebwaki* 'now it does not grab any more', *tsje'tudaki* 'I carry a heavy thing / person on the back / shoulders'. See also *djẽtsje-* 'to clasp'.

tsjetuxyi?ỹhỹ *(N)* tail of buriti
Traditional headdress. Analysable as *tsje-tu-xyi-?ỹ-'hỹ*
'grab-shoulder-hair-ATT-NOM'.
Z:181: *tchitó-tsuí. hakare'syi txetu'xyi-?yhỹ* 'hat with tail of buriti'. Note *etsje'nũ* 'bird's tail', which may be related to the CL *-txĩ-* 'rear end of bird'.

tsjõ- *(V-etym)* kiss
Requires CL: *'tsjõroko'tjaki* 'he kissed on the face', *'tsjõromũ'tsaki* 'he kissed the hand', *'tsjõroko'tjani'nãdaki* 'I kissed you', *tsjõ'rokotjata?ỹ'ra* 'kiss me!'. KAN *tʃõjra-*.

-tsy- *(svv)* GER
The gerundi(v)al morpheme is homophonous with the potential. It is usually followed by a nominaliser and has an emphatic or contrastive focal function, e.g. as an A to a Q which bead, house or plate one prefers: *lo'nɛtsyhỹ* 'the one which has a hole (as opposed to the one without)', *nỹ'xytsyhỹ* 'the one being the biggest', *ko'reja'ri nỹ'ritsy'ri* 'the biggest plate'. Other examples: *ywy'nwỹ ka'rako'ro-tsyhỹ'nã mou'ru 'ũki* 'the woodpecker lives in a dry tree's branch', *exũ'jẽ 'etsyhỹ* 'the one with the beak (a toucan)', *kãutsy'hỹ* 'the one that broke', 'broken, torn', *kãutsy'hỹki* 'it is the one that broke'. *uki'ri eka'si e'hetsyhỹ* 'parakeet without wings (i.e. its wings are clipped)'. When attached to juxtaposed nouns and followed by *-hỹ* it has a coordinating function: *'masju lu'zeutsyhỹ'wã wa'dyxaki* 'you gave to Marcio and Luzeu', *'xyitsyhỹ* 'you too'. It is also used in quoted speech constructions: *ẽ'hiketsynãi he'?aitse* 'he does not like to call (me) Henrique', *'masiju kukuihỹda'kitsyhỹ'ki* 'Marcio says he is ill', *tsy'hỹki* 'he says

yes'. This suggests that *-tsy-* could have developed from declarative *-tse*. The gerundial morpheme can also occur as a third person morpheme in subordinated clauses: *unỹ'nãiki 'onɛ'nãtsy'nãi* 'it is a long time for him to arrive' vs. *unỹ'nãiki 'onɛ'nã?axa'nãi* 'it is a long time for us to arrive', *ucenãi'hedahỹ ere'wedaki* 'what I don't know, I'm writing down' vs. *ucenãi'hetsyhỹ ere'wedaki* 'what he doesn't know, he is writing down', *kuriku'ridalɛ atxitxi'?ũ a'nũdatsytse* 'I'm going to plant rice in a minute' vs. *kuri'kuritsy'lɛ o'nɛtsy'tse* 'soon he will come'. The gerundial is rare in a matrix verb, and it is ambiguous with the potential interpretation: *di'le 'cutsy-re* 'who cut?', 'who is going to cut?'.

-tsy- *(sxv)* POT
Occurs only in declarative and interrogative matrix clauses between person and mood markers. As an adjacent declarative morpheme only *-tse* is encountered. It has usually a connotation of future tense, and it may cooccur with future marking. *hade'ja ɛburudatsy'tse* 'I'm going to arrive at night', *kui'nãtsyre* 'is he going to drink?', *da'nỹ awe'hetsy'wy* 'before the rain', *a'xydy'?atsyka'nɛ* 'boards for us to make a house'. It does not occur in clauses marked imperative, although *-tsy-* itself can be used with a (sometimes mitigated) imperative sense: *'hako're oja'nỹ?e'ra* vs. *hako're ojanỹ'?exatsytsɛ* 'tomorrow you come again', *'kuixatsy'tse* 'you may drink'. Second person may also be zero marked. Potential verbs nominalised by *-hỹ* can have purposive adverbial sense: *'mesa e'hỹwane'ra 'rai?y'hỹ 'txite'dwadatsy'hỹ* 'make a table for me to put the things on!'. Potential verbs nominalised by *-nãi* may function as complement clauses of an uncertain future: *ũtinãi'hedaki o'nɛdatsy'nãi* 'I don't know when I'll arrive', *unỹ'nãiki e'hỹdatsy'nãi* 'it will take a long time before I will do/make'.

-tsy *(snv)* RES
As a verb-final element, *-tsy* expresses resignation, indifference or lack of involvement. It is usually preceded by the nominaliser *-hỹ*, as in: *jawa'dy-ni'nadahỹ'tsy* 'I already gave (something to) you!'. Q: *o'jadatsy're* 'am I going?', A: *'xyihỹtsy* 'it's your decision' (CX: discussing who has to go). *xyidy'rjỹ?ỹtsy korejaro* 'the pan which is with you'.

tsyitsu *(N)* fish species
Fam Pimelodidae, mandi or bagre. Small catfish species with big antennae. Also [*xyi'tsu*]. AIK *di'tjɛ* 'mandi'. *tsyi'tsu 'txihỹ'tɛ* 'big mandi'.

tsyitsu txihỹtɛ *(N)* catfish species
Fam Pimelodidae, mandi grande or peixe pintada.

tsykarõni *(N)* arrow with sting-ray point
Arrow with a point of the sting-ray is a war-arrow.

tsymɛmɛ *(N)* pacova species (wild banana tree)
Fam Musaceae, pacova, bananeira. *tsymɛmɛ'to* 'black seeds of this plant, used in necklaces'.

tsyrɛ *(ITJ)* is it?
[*tsy'rɛ*] lit. 'is it?'. Also 'yes', 'thanks', 'would it be?' or 'I don't know'. Order: *ja'ra* 'eat!', A: *tsy're* 'yes'. Also as an unbelieving reaction to an aloof answer to a suspicious Q: *'ĩ oja'nãdaki* 'I'm (just) going there (for no reason in particular)' (CX: suspicious Q: 'what are you going to do there?') A: *tsy're* 'are you, is it?'. It derives probably from an elliptic construction involving POT or GER *-tsy-* and interrogative *-re*. *aky'tatsy're* 'are there / they two?'.

tsytõi *(N)* fruit
See also *baytsy'tõi* 'lemon'.

tsyu *(IDEO)* whine
The symbolisation of the whining sound of a wild piglet: [*tsywtsywtsywtsywnỹtsyw*].

tsywydyte *(N)* girl
Also [*tsywydy'tɛ*]. Unmarried woman between about 15 and 20 years of age'.

tsohoroi- *(V)* run
Family II *tsoho'roi-* 'run'. Family I has *tso'roi-*.

tsoi- *(V)* loose
'tsoitse ɛ'hỹ'?etsytse '(the floorboard) is loose, it has to be nailed again', *tsoi'ra* 'pull out (the nails from the wood)!'.

tsoihỹ- *(V)* soak, drink
tsoi'hỹki 'he was soaked' (e.g. by the rain), *la'to a'we tsoi'hỹ?axaki* 'the rain soaked us yesterday', *tsoi'?ũki / emũ'?ũki* 'the rice is getting wet'.

tsoje *(N)* hand
da'rjeda'rjetjatara tsoje'ko 'beckon him to come quickly!'. Corresponding classifiers: *-koje* and *-tsa*. L:17: *tcoie*, Z:014: *tsaiê*, C:02+: *tsɪyɪ?*. KAN *iko'tso*.

tsojexu *(N)* finger
According to ZE: *tsoje'xu* 'bone of hand', *tso'jeto'ju* 'finger'.

tsojexutsu *(N)* knuckle
May contain compounded *tsu* 'bone'.

tsojetoju *(N)* finger
Lit. 'hand-finger'.

tsokotsoko- *(V)* shake in order to blend everything
tsokotso'kotjara 'shake!'.

tsoro *(N)* arm
Related to the CL *-koro* 'arm'.

tsoroi- *(V)* run
Family I pronunciation. Family II has *tsoho'roi-*. *tso'roikwɛki 'lona'na* 'he entered running into the hole', *tso'roi?oja'rada'hỹherejã're* 'I asked you to run from there! (so what are you waiting for?)'.

tsoronãtai *(N)* armpit
Pronounced on one occasion as: [*'tsurwan:a'tai*].

tsotsinĩñɛ̃ *(N)* cotton
Gossypium, G. barbadense L, algodão. ZE: [*tsotsi:nĩ'ñɛ̃*]. Z:087: *tsotsé-není*. Also [*'tsotsi'ñɛ̃ñɛ̃*]. TE [*'tsutsui'ñɛ̃*]. Note *'tsutseñɛñɛ 'tswɛ* 'cotton spindle (of pupunha wood)'.

tsu *(N)* bone, stick
Also [*su*], ZE: [*tsu:w*]. AIK *tsu* (Hanke 1956:73). Maybe a compound or a classifier in: *ywynwỹ'tsu* 'stick of the framework of the communal house'.

tsudyte- *(V)* empty
'to drink all', 'to pour empty'. MA says that "only old people use this word". *tsudy'tedaki ka'wɛ* 'I drank all the coffee', *tsudyte'tedaki ka'wɛ* 'I drank the coffee all at once'.

tsuhỹ- *(V)* jealous
tsu'hỹdaki lu'zeu 'I'm jealous of Luzeu', *tsu'hỹdaki etay'wã* 'I'm jealous because of a woman'.

tsuku- *(V)* keep in mouth, chew
Also 'to keep maize in the mouth in order to produce saliva for the chicha'. *bɛ tsu'kudaki* 'I kept bɛ in my mouth'. The real word for 'chew' is *ja-*.

-tsumãi *(CL)* hook
E-noun. Consists of *-tsu* 'bone / stick' + *-mãi* 'tooth'. *etsu'mãi* 'hook of something', *kore'jatsu'mãi* 'drill'.

tsumɛ̃ *(N)* bone marrow, brain
Also [*tsu'mɛ*]. Note that *chimé* 'head' is counted as Huari (apparently Aikanã) in Loukotka (1968:164). According to Hanke (1956:80) this word is from Nordenskiöld (i.e. 1915:371-372) but it was not found there. According to MA it is no Aikanã word, and it may be the result of some confusion with Kwaza.

tsunỹhỹ- *(V)* expensive
tsunỹ'hỹteteki 'really very expensive'. The word may be relatable to *tsu* 'stick' because of the arrows which were used as prizes in head-ball contests and which may have been trading goods too, as the specific bamboo reeds for arrows were hard to come by.

tsuritsatu *(N)* slope, hill, mountain
Variable stress in: [*tsu'ritsa'tu*]. [*'tsuritsa'tu*]. May contain the element *-ritsa-* 'outside'. *tsuritsatu'hetsyhỹ* 'where there is no hill (i.e. a plain)'.

tsuritsa'tukuty'tɛ '(the stretch from one side of the hill to) the other side of the hill', 'beyond the hill', see *-kutytɛ*. *tsuri'tsatu(te)we'tu* '(stretch of the slope) from the top downwards', see *tewe-*. Structural resemblance with: *tsiritsatu* '(in) the middle of the slope'.

-tsurje *(CL)* board, plank
E-noun. May derive from a combination of the classifiers *-tsu* 'stick' and *-rje* 'bunch'. *etsu'rje* 'board', *atototsu'rje* 'ceiling, the top boards'. Also a new word for the floorboards of a house on stilts (which is not indigenous architecture).

tsurjỹtsu *(N)* nose bar, nose stopper
The word is used in family II. Also [*'tsurjỹ'xu*]. L:21: *tconi`aro*, Z:167: *tenassú*. Also *tsurwani'xu*.

tsurububu *(N)* bird species
Trogonurus spp, curucuí or curucuá, also surucuá. Bird species identified from a picture in Mentzel (1660:181).

tsurukukutɛ *(N)* vine species
Unidentified vine, cipó. *tsuru-kuku'tɛ(to)* 'light brown beads made of the seeds of this vine'.

tsururu *(N)* owl (small) species
Probably Conopophaga spp., corujinha. *tsuru'ru* is a small owl-like bird.

tsuruurururu *(IDEO)* murmur
The sound of rippling water. Also as a compound in: *tsuruururu'ru='doteki* 'water is leaking away murmuring'.

tsurwanixyico *(N)* nose feather
[*'tsurwa'ni:sii'tjo*] 'nose feather'. Also *tsu'rwanika'si?a'hỹ*. Body ornament.

tsurwanixu *(N)* bar for nose, nose stopper
Also *'tsurjỹ'tsu*.

tsurwanĩ *(N)* nostril
AN also: *tsa(r)ni* 'nostril'. *tsarwa'ni nỹ'rwaki* 'nostril / nose's breathing hole is big'. Note the related CL *-karwanĩ-*. L:05: *zarone*. E.g. *'tsurwa-'nixyi'co* 'nose feather', *tsurwa'ni-rwa'ne* 'hole in septum for ornaments'.

tsuty *(N)* head, skull
Also [*tso'ty*]. Classifier *-ku'ty*. Z:001±: *tsotê*. *tsuty'me* 'brains, cerebrum'.

tsutymɛ̃ *(N)* brain
Note classifier *-mɛ̃* 'porridge'.

tsutysiki *(N)* hat
Also *a'totosi'ki* (Z:062: *uluá-tení-teró* was not recognised).

tsutu *(N)* snake
Especially Bothrops jararaca, fam Crotalidae, jararaca, fer de lance. Very poisonous. Applies probably to all poisonous biting snakes. Also [*tso'tu*].

tsutsu- *(V)* urinate
tsu'tsudaki 'I am/was urinating', *jere'xwa tsutsu'hỹki 'rai?ỹhỹ* 'the dog pissed on the things', *tsutsu'hỹtyhataki* 'it pissed on your things', *tsutsu-to'tɛ(/o)daki* 'I pissed upwards', *la'to dutu're tsutsu'hỹ a'wỹidaki* 'yesterday I saw a pig that was pissing'.

tsũ- *(V)* swim
*[*sũ*]. *'tsũki* 'he swims', *(mani'ni) tsũhy'hyrwa'ki* 'fish is swimming around'. Probably the same word as in: *hãnã'wã 'tsũtse* 'the sky (i.e. clouds) is passing', and in: *ywy'nwỹ 'tsũ:tsɛ* 'the tree is tilted (wants to fall)'. AIK *'sũɛ̃* 'he swam': KWA *'tsũdaki*, AIK *'(t)sũka'ɛ̃* 'I'm swimming'.

tsũhũ *(ADV)* what
In rapid speech often [*xuhũ*]. *tsu'hũ eroi're* 'why is it crying?', *tsũ'hũ kã'kãxare* 'what are you doing there rubbing?'. Behaves also as a noun or a verb stem, *tsuhũ perẽjỹtsare* 'what are you saying?', *tsuhũ'du* 'what for?', *tsuhũ'nã* 'whither?', *tsuhũ'ko* 'with what?', *tsõhũra'tiwã mã?ã'nãire* 'what does that (word) mean?', *tsũhũrati'na* 'in what?', *tsuhũ'du e'tay(tjate'wã) a'sare* 'what a pity he left his wife!', *tsuhũ'du(data) 'ɛ:daday'hỹre* 'why did I go? / what a pity I went!', *tsuhũ'du-tsy'le a'tata'hetsy'tse* 'he is not going to stay together with /live close to me!'. Emphatic reduplication in: *'tsũhũ'hũ 'e?e'hỹxare* 'what is it you're doing?'.

tsũrũ- *(V)* slide, drag, shove, sneak
Probably an onomatopoeic origin. *(deda) tsõ'rõ:'buidwata* '(a snake)

came (slid) out', *'kĩjã'tsi tsũrũ'nãtsɛ* 'she is going to pull envira (bast from the tree stem to make rope)', *tsũ'rũki* 'he is pulling envira', *tsũrũ?o'jadaki* 'I went quietly (tiptoeing)', *tsũ'rũjetɛ'wɛki* 'he slid down', *tsũ'rũ?oja'ra* 'walk dragging your feet!', 'make way!'. Reduplicated in: *'tsũrũ'rũrũ'rũdaki* 'I shuffle'.

tsũrũhɛ- *(V)* jam, stick
Same meaning as *tsũrũku-* 'to jam'. *e'xy 'tsũrũ'kuda'mỹ / e'xy 'tsũrũ'hɛda'mỹ* 'I'm going to jam the paper between the boards / planks', *jɛ'hɛdata 'tsũrũ'hɛdamỹ* 'I'm going to stick (the paper) in between (the door so that it is (partially) hidden)', *xui 'tsũrũ'hɛnỹ'ki* 'the (plastic) bag is stuck between', *tsũrũ'hɛnỹhỹ* 'the thing stuck between'.

tsũrũku- *(V)* jam, stick
Synonym of *tsũrũhɛ-* 'to jam'. *ha'bui 'tsũrũ'kudamỹ* 'I'm going to stick (the paper) from outside between (the boards of the door so that sticks out inward)'.

tsũrũrũnĩ *(N)* sand
Also [*tsõrõrõ'nĩ*] ~ [*tsorono'ni*]. Also 'sandy beach on riverside'.

tswa *(N)* man
ZE said sometimes [*tsu'wa*]. Related classifier *-xwa*. *tswaxahỹhe'rejãre* 'you are a man, aren't you?!'. *tswato'hoi* 'male child from 10 until 15 years', *da'mũ'tswa* 'male duck'.

-tswatswɛ- *(DR)* behind
e'xy 'tuitswatswɛtsɛ wari'kanɛna 'the paper fell behind the bench'.

tswãsĩ *(N)* nail
Also [*cwã'sĩ*] ~ [*txwã'sĩ*]. Related to CL *-swãsĩ* 'nail'. *tswã'sĩ nỹ'hỹki* or *'nỹswã'sĩki* 'the nail is big'. L:18: *tcoince*, Z:015: *tsoansin*.

tswe- *(V-stem)* enter into the ground
With CL or DR: *tswe'nũdaki* 'I entered into the ground', *'tswẽretsa'nũki* 'he sank into the ground'.

-tswe *(CL)* root, forest medicine
E-noun. *e'tswe* 'long root', *ywynwỹ'tswe* 'medicine of the forest', 'tree root', *'nũty'tswɛ* 'medicinal honey from the forest', *e'kai nỹ'tsweki* 'it is a big leg'.

c

-ca- *(svv)* EMP
This morpheme precedes imperative *-ra*. It is often difficult to determine its effect. It may have an emphatic function: *koreja'ro waja'nỹca'ra* 'I'm telling you bring here the pan (you didn't the first time I asked)!'. It is obligatory between negative *-he-* and imperative *-ra*: *ehỹ'hetjara* 'don't do that'. It was once attested on a medial clause verb: *'nãicara* 'do like that!'. *nãicata oce'ra* 'throw it away like that!'. Some verb roots do not seem to allow *-ca-*: *hy'hyrwa-* 'to walk', *hu'hui-* 'to club', *kui-* 'to drink', *mẽ-* 'to hit', *tomã-* 'to bathe'. The combination *ca-'ra* 'do it!' may also occur as an imperative particle.

cay *(N)* melon
Cucurbita moschata (Lam.) Poir., melancia or jerimum. Zach's form *doliân* (Z:100) was not recognised.

cay *(N)* papaya
Carica papaya L., mamão, and Jaracatia spinosa A. DC., Jacaratia dodecaphylla, fam Caricaceae, mãmui, mamão-bravo, mãmũ?i. The wild papaya tree stem is impressively lined with triangular thorns, but it is soft inside, and used to grow and harvest the edible larva Rhyncophorus palmarum from, the fruit is oblong orange and relatively small, about 12 cm, is preferably fried before eating as its milk causes blisters, like papaya its seeds have vermifugal properties. In order to distinguish the two species the wild one can be called *cay 'ẽrẽwẽ'hỹ* 'papaya from the forest'. *tjok(:)u'rui 'cayty'dy* 'grub of the wild papaya tree', *cay'nwỹ i'sidyta tsatsã:'jãki* 'the

papaya tree is dying, (the fruits are) falling'. Z:075: *tal*. KAN *to'ky*.

cake *(N/CL)* wing
ca'ke 'flesh and bones of wing', which is different from *eka'si* 'feathers of wing', and from *-xyico* 'feather'. As a classifier, the pronunciation [*ta'kje*] or [*tja'kje*] is also attested. *o'ludyca'ke*, *o'luca'ke* 'wing of mutum'. AIK *ka-ditaka*.

cara- *(V)* order
This verb root, or maybe rather: imperative particle, originates probably from the imperative emphatic morpheme *-ca-* and the imperative mood marker *-ra*. S: *ja o'jadaki* 'I'm already going', A: *tsy'rɛ* 'yes' or A: *ca'ra* 'go! / do so!'. *ca'ra 'tataki* 'he ordered me (to do it, go there etc.)', *si'wã ca'ra 'tataki* 'he sent me', *zjwãu ca'ra 'tataki* 'João sent me', *zwãu*(wã) ca'ra 'tadaki* 'I sent J', *wy'ruxaresi 'nãidaki ca'ra* 'say 'because you don't grind, I do it'!'.

cari- *(V)* shoot, kill by shooting
cari'ra 'kill it!', *tjari'nỹda'mỹ* 'I'm going to kill myself', *tja'rile'ja* 'I'm going to shoot at you', *cariwady-'nãdaki* 'I'm going to kill and give it to her', *ka'tay ca'ridaki* 'I killed an agouti', *tja'rihỹ'wã* 'killer', *tjatja'riki dutu're* 'he killed many pigs', *tjatjari'lɛtsy'?yi* 'videotape of persons killing one another'.

cawe- *(V)* go down
magariDa ca'weki 'Margarida went down (in the direction of the river)', *bare'nỹca'wedamỹ* 'I'm going to get myself warmed up down there'. JO: *ca'wedaki* 'I'm going down towards the river'. Antonym: *a'ruu-* 'come up, cross'.

ce- *(V)* weave
Also [*tʃe*], but not *[*tsje*]. To weave a basket, hammock, marico, mat, straw hut, etc. *hetsy'seko 'ce:wa'hỹ ku'rowa'hỹ* 'door of braided palm leaf', *a'xy 'txeki* 'he is making a house'.

-ce *(CL)* big hole
E-noun. *ece* 'hole made by man, e.g. a mortar'. *hæ nỹ'ceki* 'it is a big chicha mortar'. Unless it is lexicalised, *-ce-* may also function as a directional: *hy'cedaki* 'I entered into the mortar', *kori'txekawa'ra* 'put all left-overs in one pan (to eat from)!' (lit. 'fill it to the rim with mash!').

-ce- *(DR)* aside
Occurs probably lexicalised in several roots: *ũce-* 'put a trap', *oce-* 'throw away', *tja?atje* 'close', *acerjỹ* 'close'.

-cehere *(svv)* APPR
This is the (largely optional) alternative form of the apparential *-tehere*, which is one of three conjectural modal-like morphemes. It usually indicates an assumption or a suspicion. It may consist originally of intensifying *-te-*, negative *-he-* and interrogative *-re*. *ja ã'wỹixa'hỹcehere* 'I think you already saw', *txarwa 'postona'cehere* 'he could be in Posto now / he must be in Posto now', *kreBanã oja'nãcehere* 'maybe go to Gleba'. Cannot be combined with interrogative pronoun: **di'lɛcehere*.

cẽ- *(V)* wipe nose
*[*tẽ*], *[*cẽ*]. *'cẽdaki* 'I wipe my nose', *cẽ?a'sadaki* 'I wipe my nose'.

cẽrẽ *(N)* breast, nipple
Also [*tjẽ'rẽ*] ~ [*cẽ'rẽ*] ~ [*cẽ're*]. This noun may have required an *e-* prefix in former times: L:10: *itene*, Z:028: *itiéné*.

cẽrẽmũ *(N)* milk
cẽrẽmũ'ro 'milk can'.

cẽrĩ *(N)* peanut
Arachis hypogaea L. Also [*tẽ'rĩ*] ~ [*tjẽ:'ri*]. The tap [*r*] between nasal vowels may sound like [*n*], and it may be even a [*D*] to the unaccustomed ear when the following vowel is a nasalised [*ĩ*]. Note Z:084: *tení*. *cẽ'rĩ 'ka?yhỹ* 'peanuts roasted in their shells'.

cẽxu *(N)* colibri, humming bird
Fam Trochilidae. Unclear if generic

term. AN: [*te̲:'s̲u*]. Similar forms are found for the colibri in several unrelated Latin American Indigenous languages, such as Quechua *aítsu* and Tequistlateco *tzĩtzu* (Willem Adelaar pc). Note also Ninam (Yanomami) [*tẽʃo*] (Gale Goodwin Gómez pc). The Latundê (Nambikwara) equivalent is [*tʃu'nu*] (Stella Telles pc). In Kanoê *tsõj tsõj* is 'small colibri' (Bacelar 2004).

-ci- *(svv)* IS
The reduplicated form of *-cwa-* (either *-cu-*, *-ci-* or *-ti-*) is encountered in habitual and remote past constructions.

co- *(V)* many
PLS. *'coki* 'it is many persons', *co'?ewaki* 'that's how they multiplied (themselves) again', *co'?eha'nãtsy'tse* 'we will marry and (our people) will grow again', *co'niki* 'many eggs', *syi'nĩ co'nĩki* 'many needles'. Homophonous with 'to grate', which is why *'cowaki* is preferred to *'coki* when the context is implicit.

co- *(V)* grate, rasp
Also [*tjo*]. Homophonous with 'to be many', so context is required: *jo 'coki* 'he is grating / rasping manioc', *coni'tɛ* 'rasper'.

coha *(N)* foot
coha'ko dai?o'cẽdaki hũdwani'te 'I kick the chair'. Corresponding classifier *-toha*.

cohasiki *(N)* shoe
Lit. 'foot-skin'.

cohaxu *(N)* toe
Also *cohato'ju*.

cohatoju *(N)* toe
ME says *co'hadjo'ju* 'toe'.

cohỹ *(ADV)* many, much
For non-countable quantities, as opposed to *nỹ'nãi* 'much'. Probably analysable as *co-hỹ* 'those being many'. *mang'ka co'hỹ a'ki* 'there are many mangoes', *hi co'hỹ 'dodo'jadaki* 'I cut much firewood', *co'hỹki* 'there is plenty'.

cokuru *(N)* urucuri, bacuri
Attalea excelsa, fam Palmaceae. Palm tree of which the immense leaves are often used for roofing, mats etc. JO: [*'tjaku'ru*]. MA: [*'coku'ru*]. Also [*'cuku'ru*]. *cokuru'sɛ* 'bacuri leaf', *cokuru'lũi* 'bacuri leafstalk'. L:48: *dokurú*. AIK *ü'ri*. Also translated as 'bacuri' (see *xoxo'to*).

cokurui *(N)* grub species
Also [*cuku'rui*]. Big edible grub of urucuri, buriti and tucumã. But notice *tjok(:)u'rui 'cayty'dy* 'grub of the wild papaya tree'.

cokurumũsa *(N)* beetle
The mother of *coku'rui*.

coñũ?ỹ- *(V)* short
co'ñũ?ỹki 'it is short' (antonym of long), *exyi to'ñũ?ỹki* '(he has) short hair'.

-corewe *(CL)* ankle+heel+lower shin
E-noun. Also [*etore'we*] 'ankle, wrist of the foot'.

cowa- *(V)* people, many people
PLS. Possibly to be analysed as *co-wa-* 'they are many'. *'cowaki* '(they are many) people', *'jã?ỹ'rjỹ 'cowaki* 'there are many people'.

cu- *(V)* cut tree or wood with an axe
dilɛ 'curydy're 'who would be able to fell (the tree)?', *nũ'ty 'cudaki* 'I'm cutting (a tree down for) honey', *ti'rjỹ wiri?u'lõi 'cuxare* 'where did you cut palm heart?', *'cuwa'nwỹ a'wỹidaki* 'I saw a felled (by someone) tree'.

-cu- *(svv)* IS
The reduplicated form of *-cwa-* (either *-cu-*, *-ci-* or *-ti-*) is encountered in habitual and remote past constructions. *-cu-cwa-* is often pronounced as [*cücwa*] or [*tücwa*]. *'kreBanahere mĩu kuicucwa'hỹki* 'the people of Gleba, they drank chicha', *towɛ'nɛcucwa-'tacwaki* 'as usual, they always returned from the forest, they did'.

cu- *(V)* send
Uncertain, only occurrence in: *e'tɛ 'cuhe'nãitja 'tata* 'he ('belly') said that she did not send it'.

cu- *(V)* step
In its non-reduplicated form it is used only in a few constructions: *zjwãu greBa'na 'cuca cucu'ta Bahozo'na hã'rãtse* 'João walked from Gleba to Barroso', *'kreBana 'cutja* 'walking since Gleba', *'kreBana 'cudata cu'cudaki Bahoso'na / kreBa'na 'cudata cu'cudata Ba'hosona hã'rãdaki* 'I have walked from Gleba to Barroso'. This root is said by MA to be homophonous with *cu-* 'to cut' and ambiguity is often avoided by using *cu-* 'to step' in compounds only. However, I did sometimes notice a [*w*] following *cu-*, as in: *'cu(u)?ojawaki* 'they went stepping away', *di'lɛ 'cutsyre* 'who cut?', *di'lɛ 'cu(u)tsyre* 'who stepped?', *di'lɛ 'cu(u)?ɛre* 'who went away?'. Reduplicated form: *cu'cuki* 'he walks'. Probably related to *cutsikja-* 'stand'.

cuheja- *(V)* spit
Also [*'cuwheja*], but when consciously pronounced slowly: [*cu-he-ja*]. Stress seems to fall on the first syllable, but this may be related to the 'insertion' of the [*w*] at the end of the first syllable. *cuheja'hedaki* 'I did not spit'.

cuku *(N)* tongue
Related to the CL *-tuku* 'tongue'. *ko'sady'hỹ cu'ku* 'little bulb of lantern'. KAN *i'taw*. Awakê *takohẽ* (Rodrigues 1986:97).

cukwe *(N/CL)* ingá fruit, pod box
Fam Leguminosae, subfam Mimosaceae, gen Inga, ingá (its fruit). May be pronounced as [*tukwe*] when used as a CL: *hitukwe* 'matchbox' (lit. 'fire-pod').

cutɛ- *(V)* fell tree
cu'teda'mỹ tja '"I'm going to fell trees", he said'.

cutsẽrjỹ- *(V)* lie (daytime)
Contains DR *-tsẽrjỹ-* 'in a lying position'. *'cutsẽ'rjỹdaki* 'I'm lying down (in a hammock during the day)'.

cutsikja- *(V)* stand on feet
Also [*cusi'kja*]. Compound of *tsikja-* 'to stand' and *cu-* 'to step'. *ywy'nwỹ 'cutsi'kjaki* 'the tree is standing upright', *ko'sa cutsitɛ'kjanỹhỹ a'wỹidaki* 'I saw a lantern which was standing upright'.

cutsynwỹ *(N)* felled tree
Combination of *cu-* 'to fell', *-tsy-* 'GER' and nominalising classifier *-nwỹ* 'wood', lit. 'the felled wooden one'.

cucu- *(V)* walk, step
sicwa'ta cu'cuki 'he started to walk', *wai'hehỹ'dydaki cu'cu?a'nãi* '(the shoe) incommodates walking', *tsiritsatu'nã cu'cuki* 'he is walking in the middle of the slope', *jere'xwa cu'cuki* 'the dog is walking'. KAN *tetej-* 'walk'.

cucucudy- *(V)* owl sing
cucu'cudyki hu'dy 'the owl is singing' (pronounced as [*tütü'tjudyki*]). According to traditional belief, when an owl sings at night this is a sign that the next morning there will be a visitor.

cũiri *(N)* buttock, bottom
Bottom of persons, but also the outside bottom of tins, bottles etc. Occurs also with prefixed *e-*.

-cwa- *(DR)* high up
bu?ũ'cwaki 'it is sitting high up', *hu'rixwa'na daicwa'ra* 'take up from the pan some paca-meat (to eat)', *manini'tsu ato'to ('bu)arucwa(lɛ)hỹki* 'the fishing rod lies above over the beams'. No productive adverb formation through *a-* was attested.

-cwa- *(svv)* IS
People / someone / the person: optional alternative form of the indefinite subject cross-reference morpheme *-wa-* which indicates an unspecified third person. *hã koi'bwacwaki* 'they drank all the water'. *-cwa-* is mostly used in medial clauses, when following negative *-he-* and future *-nã-*, in quoted speech-like constructions and in habitual constructions: *huhui'nãcwaki* 'they are going to kill it', *a'hecwahỹtsy* 'there is no-one there',

awỹi'hecwaki ‘he/they are not looking (so you can steal something now) / he/they did not look / see’, *na'nãi-cwata mama'ñẽ ɛlɛ'lɛtsynãi 'eware* ‘do they all have the habit of singing?’, *ere'riki cwa'ki* ‘someone said he has grown’, *'ɛ?anĩcwata 'nãiware* ‘are they are calling us to go?’. In habitual and remote past constructions, the reduplicated form of *-cwa-* is either *-cu-*, *-ci-* or *-ti-*. *-cwa-* is also encountered in elliptic constructions, where it is used as a verb stem which means something like ‘to say’, ‘as they say’ or ‘to make the sound of’, ‘to be’ or ‘to do’: *'cwata 'kuiwaki* ‘that’s the way they drink’, *'nãicwata 'nãiwaki* / *'cwata 'nãiwaki* ‘that’s the way he did’. Traditional stories always end with the elliptic expression *cwara'tiki* ‘that’s how the saying / story goes’.

-cwanĩ *(DR/CL)* hole
ocecwa'nidamỹ ‘I’m going to throw it downward (in a hole)’ (CA). Only attested on one occasion as a CL: *ecwa'ni* ‘at the bottom of a hole in the ground’. This morpheme may be related to the element *-dwani-* in: *arudwani-* ‘to bury’.

cwỹte- *(V)* off the path
cwỹ'tedaki ‘I got out of, off from, next to the track’, ‘I lost the path’, *'hycwỹte'ra* ‘get off the road!, enter into the side of the road!’ (CX: to let the bicycle pass).

tx

txa *(N)* tea
From POR *chá* ‘tea’.

-txa- *(DR)* wide
Relatively lexicalised in a small number of verbs. The common semantic characteristic is that a state of affairs is brought about by an act or a phenomenon of spreading out, e.g.: *lote dai'txadaki* ‘I opened the door’, *hytxa-* ‘to drop’, *tsãtxa-* ‘to scatter’, *hetxa-* ‘to bar’.

txaDa *(N)* hoe
[*txa'Da*]. From POR *enxada* ‘hoe’.

txahỹ *(N)* path, road
[*tja'hỹ*] ~ [*tjahã*] ~ [*txãhã*] ~ [*txa'hã*]. Note the related classifier *-ja'hỹ-* ‘road, path’. *bajã'hỹdaki txã'hỹ* ‘I’m clearing the road’.

txaja *(N)* tree species
Uncertain. Once attested form for samaúma (probably Chorisia speciosa). AIK *daj'rɛ*.

txana *(N)* we.IN
First person plural inclusive pronoun. Also [*tjana*] ~ [*cana*]. PTG ***jane*. *txanã'nãi pẽrẽ'jãdaki* ‘I speak our language’, *'kopo 'txana'roki* ‘the cup is ours’, *txa'na 'ɛ?aki* ‘we go’. It is used sometimes (inconsistently?) with an exclusive verb form: *tsi'tsɛ / txa'na wa'dy?axa'ki* ‘we gave’. In combination with an interrogative procrastinative verb it means ‘good that V’: *txa'nã awe'hetjarare* ‘good job it did not rain!’.

txarewa *(N-KIN)* grandson of brother or sister, son of nephew / niece
May also be called *ko're*. May be marriageable to ega. Female equivalent *kore'tay* or *mã'te*.

txarewa *(N-KIN)* cousin
Also heard: [*care'wa*]. Son of uncle or aunt. Less certain: *ko're*. Female equivalent *'ma?ỹ'tɛ*. Alternative description: *ta'lady'hỹ 'eto'hoi* ‘child of uncle or aunt’. Unclear whether *ko're* or *txare'wa* is marriageable to ega.

txarwa *(ADV)* first, now, today
Can be used as a cardinal numeral. *txarwa'wy* ‘first’, *txa'rwa oja're* ‘he went today?’, *txa'rwa 'adahỹ'ki yhỹko* ‘I’m living here now’, *txa'rwa ki:nta'ki* ‘today it is thursday’. Can be intensified by *-te(te)*: *txarwate'te* ‘just now’, *txarwa'wyte'te* ‘the very first one’, ‘formerly’, *txa:'rwate'te tu'rudaki* ‘I just woke up’, *txa'rwatete 'jadaki* ‘I’m eating now’, ‘I’m eating

(this food) for the first time'. Can also be intensified by reduplication with the sense of: 'first now, today, suddenly': *txatxarwa'tɛ hã'rãki atxi'txi anũ'nãi* 'he's just stopped planting maize'.

txatay *(NAM)* Txatay
Female person name.

txawi *(N)* key
[*'tʃaβi*]. From POR *chave* 'key'.

txãrãixu *(N)* frog species
Unidentified frog, perereca. Small green frog (about six by three cm). AIK *para'riru'tsa*.

txãtxãtxã *(IDEO)* crush leaves
This ideophone symbolises the sound of leaves on the ground when walking on them

txerebe *(N-NAM)* river
Unidentified left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river, between the Taboca and Urubu rivers, but maybe even before the Urubu.

txerɛpei *(N)* plant or fruit species
Unidentified. Also [*txɛrɛ'pei*]. (Fruit of a) plant that lives in the savannah. AIK *hidi'ra('ðãw)*.

-txetxi- *(svv)* really
Verbal emphatic morpheme, probably related to *-txitxi* 'CONTRA'. It occurs usually in interrogative contexts with a connotation of surprise. *o'jatxe'txixa're* 'is it true you went?'. Often the clause is preceded by *wa'txi* 'truly': *wa'txi man'weu tãlotxe'txire* 'would Manuel be angry, really?'.

-txi *(CL)* vagina
From the noun *i'txi* 'vagina'. *wara'txile'jadaki* 'I want to touch you on the vagina'.

txi- *(V-etym)* very big
Semantically attributive bound verb root which requires classifier followed by the nominaliser *-te*. *(wa'janỹ'ra) 'txihỹ'tɛ* '(bring) the big one', *ĩ:'tsẽ 'txihỹ'tɛ* 'big mosquito', *hanã'wã 'txihỹ'tɛ* 'big sky', *mesa txihỹtɛki* 'the table which is big', **txi'hỹki*. In an attributive position, there is often agreement by specific classifiers: *ha'de txitõi'tɛ* 'big pepper' ('pimentão'), *haku'ri txitõi'tɛ* '(a certain specific big star)', *ko'reja'ri 'txiri'tɛ* 'big plate', *'xui txi?ỹi'tɛ* 'big bag (of cloth)', *kore'ja 'txikanẽ'tɛ* 'big knife / machete'. The head of the attributive construction may also be implicit: *tximũ'tɛ* 'great river sea', *txinũ'tɛ* 'great land', *'txijahỹ'tɛ* 'asphalted road', *txixy'tɛ* 'big house'. Notice the semantic contrast with *nỹ-* 'to be big': *haki'dwa nỹ'dwaki* 'stone is big' vs. *haki'dwa 'txidwa'tɛ* 'immense stone'. ARI *-txitxi* 'big'. KAN *-tsi* 'big'.

txibɛ *(N-NAM)* dog
Female dog name.

txidwadwajaricwa *(N)* city
Main stress on ultimate syllable: [*txidwa'dwajari'cwa*]. Maybe from *txidwa'tɛ* 'big stone' with reduplication of the classifier and a morpho-phonological alternative of *(e)-ri'cwa* 'place'. It could refer to a small town like Chupinguaia (several thousand inhabitants), a city like Vilhena (close to 100.000), or even bigger like Cuiabá (several million). According to MA the word is an invention of AN, and the usual expression is either *acwari'cwa* or the name of the town. *txidwa'dwa?e'ricwana ũcenãi'hetse o'kja?a'nãi* 'in town they don't know how to hunt', *'txidwa'dwajari'cwa-nahe're okja?anãi aretahetse* 'the town people are not able to hunt'.

txijo *(N)* mug made from a calabash, calabash plate, dish
txi'jo 'nỹka'waki 'plate is big', *'txijo-ri'hi* 'calabash seeds'. Z:169: *tchiô*.

txikere *(N)* woodpecker
Fam Picidae, pinica-pau. Smaller species of woodpecker.

tximũnũ *(N-NAM)* Postinho
Deserted settlement on a creek some eight km southeast of Gleba.

tximũte *(N-NAM)* Pimenta Bueno or Apediá river
Also [*tximũ'tɛ*]. It is the left confluent headwater of Rio Machado. Lit. 'big

river' ('Apediá' is originally a SAL name, AIK *apei'ja*).

txiremãi *(NAM)* Txiremãi
Probably a KWA person name.

txiritxe- *(V)* sew
da'nỹ txi'ritxe'hedaki 'I have not sewed yet'.

txirja *(N)* everyone, all
[*tx*] ~ [*c*] ~ [*t*]. *txi'rja mama'ñe?ani* 'let us all sing!', *ti'rjato'hoi* 'all the children', *ci:'rja?a'ni* 'everyone'.

txirwotete *(N)* main pillar
First pole of the traditional communal house, which sustains all the rest. MA has *'tsiri'tsa?ỹ'nwỹ* and *he'dysa'nũka-wa'hỹ*.

txisĩte *(N)* bullet
Note that the [*tx*] is of very sharp quality. Contains the CL *-sĩ-* 'seed'. Originally part of noun phrase *'mabi'sĩ 'txisĩ'te* 'bullet' (lit. 'big lead shot').

txixote- *(V)* rescue
'txixo'tedaki 'I rescued'. See transitiviser *-xotɛ-*.

txitamũ *(N)* rapids, falls
hã 'txita'mũ 'eki 'the river has a falls', *txita'mũ ato'toki* 'the falls is high'. Z:162: *tchitamún*. AN [*tsita'mũ*]. Also an alternative for *kaka'ta*, the hydronym for Cascata 15 de Novembro.

txite *(N)* food pile
txi'te 'pile', 'food to put down for pets, animals'. Related to the verb root *txi'te-*.

txite- *(V)* pile up, put
Sometimes pronounced as [*tsice*]. *ay'rjỹ txi'tedaki* 'I put it over there', *'txite'dwaki* 'he put (the many things) on top', *'mesa e'hỹwanera rai?y'hỹ txite'dwadatsyhỹ* 'make a table for me to put the things on!'. Relates often to food or firewood: *hi txi'tedaki* 'I put firewood', *txi'tetadaki* 'he put food for (the animals)'. Often in compounds: *tsãtxi'tedaki* 'I piled it (maize, firewood, 'things which are many') up', *apara 'bytxitera* 'cut and stack the bananas!'. Maybe related to *tsitekja-* 'lift, stand erect', and *tsice-* 'lift, stand'.

txitũjɛ *(N)* star
Note attested variation between [*ɛ*] ~ [*ẽ*] ~ [*ɛ̃*], [*ũ*] ~ [*u*] ~ [*õ*], [*ts*] ~ [*tx*] and [*j*] ~ [*ñ*]. ZE says usually [*'tsitũ'je*]. Z:140+: *tatunhã*. *tsitõ'jẽ daido'jeki* 'falling star', *tsitõ'jẽ mũ'ro* 'morning star', *tsitõ'jẽ txitõite* 'big star'.

txitxe- *(V)* mend, extend
Also heard: [*tjitje*]. *txi'txedaki* 'I mended / extended the rope', 'I linked up the planks with one another etc.', *ywy'nwỹ txitxe'hỹdaki* 'I mended the plank', *ywy'nwỹ txitxe'hỹtse* 'it is a mended plank'.

txitxi- *(V)* burn, fry
Also [*txii'txii*]. *txitxi'dydaki jo* 'I'm frying the manioc', *'joka'ne txitxi'dydahỹ'ki* 'pieces (in oblong bars) of manioc which I fried'.

-txitxi *(sxx)* CONTRA
Contrastive focus element, probably related to *-txetxi* 'really'. It contrasts nouns with other nouns: *'ĩtxitxi põrẽjã'tjata he'tadale'ki* 'he (and not someone else) would like me to talk'. Can also be applied to adverbs: *txa'rwatxitxi* 'only now (not earlier)'.

txitxilu *(N)* grasshopper, locust, cricket
Fam Locustidae & fam Acrididae & fam Grilidae (e.g. gen Gryllus, like Gryllus viridissimus 'gafanhão' & Gryllus domesticus 'grilo'), gafanhoto (grande) or grilo. Refers to all types, including the leaf-mimicry Cycloptera spp. Also [*cici'lu*]. AIK *txitxi'pu*.

txitxitxi *(IDEO)* (grasshopper)
This ideophone symbolises the sound of a grasshopper.

txiwate *(N)* necklace
Necklace of large *de're* elements.

txiwi- *(V)* bathe
CHT. *'txiwira* 'take a bath!', *txi'wi?a'ni* 'let's take a bath!'.

txi?a *(NAM)* Txi?a
Male person name. Often: [*txi'ja*].

-txĩ *(CL)* rear end of bird
E-noun. Not referring to the feathers but to the flesh. *oludy'txĩ* 'tail of mutum'. Maybe morphophonological

processes are involved in further derivation: *etsje'nũ* ‘feathers of bird’s tail’ [*e-tsje-nũ*], *[*e-tʃe-nũ*], *[*e-tsi-?e-nũ*], *[*e-tsi-je-nũ*].

txyrypei *(N)* tree species
Unidentified tree with small black berries which taste like dates. AIK *'hidi'ra*.

txowe- *(V)* being with a big belly (being pregnant), stagger
Stagger because of pregnancy, only applicable to women. Bound root which requires reduplication, or an extra attributive morpheme, since **txo'weki* is ungrammatical. *txo'we-txo'wedaki* ‘I’m staggering’, *txo'we?ỹ-daki* ‘I’m pregnant, with a big belly’.

txœ- *(V)* fall in water
CHT, probably based on onomatopoeia. *'txœxatsi* ‘take care not to fall into the water!’ (to adults: *tumjỹ'texatsi*).

txœœ- *(V)* murmur
ONO. *'txœ:tse txita'mũ* ‘the waterfall murmurs’, *'txœ:tse a'we* ‘the rain murmurs (falling on the leaves in the distance)’. Non-onomatopoeic alternative: *hudamũ-* as in *huda'mũki a'we* ‘the rain murmurs’.

txu- *(V)* practice sorcery
'tihỹ're ui 'txudamỹ ‘where is the tobacco, I’m going to work charms!’ (the shaman always had to smoke before practicing sorcery).

txubitxubi *(N)* biting animal
CHT. *txu'bitxu'bi* ‘animal which bites’ (spider, snake, etc.).

txudurikawa *(N)* bird species
Unidentified. AIK *duridua*.

txuhũi *(ADV/V)* little, small
Also [*tjo'hũi*] and [*txũi*]. In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *'kuida'hỹ txu'hũitse* ‘I drank little’. Classifiers tend to occur in combination with attributive *-ỹ-*: *txu'hũi?ỹ'riki* ‘small plate’ (note Z:211+: *tchuhúi-irikí*), *txo'hũi?ỹ'nũ* ‘grain of sand’, *txu'hũi?ỹhỹ ũca'dykasi* ‘feathers of a small hawk’. Occurs often in compounds: *'waitjo'hũitse* ‘he got a little better’, *nỹ'hỹtxu"hũitse* ‘it is somewhat big’ (but not very big), *tyka'?otxu'hũitara'mỹ* ‘I’m going to visit people a little’. Sometimes compounded with nouns: *jere'xwa-txu'hũi* ‘(wild) cat’ / ‘little dog’ vs. *jere'xwato'hoi* ‘little jaguar, jaguar kitten, puppy’. Often as an adverb: *tjo'hũi 'jada'mỹ* or *'jada'mỹ txu'hũi* ‘I’m going to eat a little’, *da'nỹ txo'hũi are'tadaki pẽrẽ'jã?anãi* ‘I still know how to speak a little (Kwaza)’, *txu'hũi-data are'tadaki* ‘I learnt a little’. *sidỹhỹ i'sosisitxu'hũi* ‘my piece of rope’. In analogy to constructions with *txi-* ‘very big’: *txu'hũikuty'te* ‘small gas flask’. May be related to JEO [*tʃuni*] ‘a little’ (Pires 1992:24).

txuhũimũ?ỹ- *(V)* river narrows
txuhũi'mũ?ỹki ‘the river is narrow’, ‘it is a narrows’.

txukui *(N)* parakeet species
Aratinga weddelli, fam Psittacidae, gen Conurus, Pyrrhura, Psittacula and Brotogeris, periquito do campo. Green, length incl. Tail about 10 cm. Looks like *txupẽ'pẽ*. Also [*txu'kwi*], [*txu'kwij*], [*cu'kwi*], [*cu'kui*]. Different from *uki'ri?i*. AIK *kiki'rɛ*, Carlson has *khi-khi're?* for Aratinga weddelli (C2:152).

txupẽpẽ *(N)* parakeet species
Fam Psittacidae, periquito da floresta. Red and green, or red and blue. Looks like *txu'kui*. AIK *?ne?neri'pɛ*.

txurumũ *(N)* pumpkin, gourd
Cucurbita moschata (Lam.) Poir., fam Cucurbitaceae, abóbora or jerimu. The elderly say [*txuru'mũ*], probably rather from a Tupari language than from POR, whereas the young say [*txiri'mũ*]. SAL *geri'mũ* (Z:071). AIK *tʃidimu*. Z:071: *dariró* (but see *daryro*). Also heard: [*xururo'mũ*].

txuutxi *(KIN)* son
txuu'txi ‘his son’ (about 12/13 years). In Tarma Quechua *čiwči* ‘young child’ (Adelaar 1977), but this is probably coincidence.

txu?ũrjỹ- *(V)* sit
CHT. *'txu?ũrjỹ'ra* 'sit!'. Normal KWA would be *ũrjỹ'ra* 'sit down!'.

txũhjã *(N-NAM)* dog
Dog name, probably an eroded form based on the root *txu'hũi-* 'to be small', which means approximately 'small one'.

u

uhỹ- *(V)* put inside a vessel
'tsuku?ata u'hỹ?ata '(leaves) being for us to chew and put into a vessel'.

uhu *(N)* heron
Fam Ardeidae, garça. White heron which fishes in lakes and slow rivers. AIK *ara'rɛ?i*.

uhuky *(N)* frog species
Unidentified edible frog species. Also [*'huhu'ky*]. AIK *hu'wãi*.

uhuri *(N)* taro, elephant's ear
Colocasia esculenta, taioba.

ui- *(V)* catch, ignite
o'hoja 'uiki 'got the flu', *'uidaki oho'ja* 'I caught the flu', *'uitse* '(the kerosene lamp) caught (fire)', *ui'dydaki* 'I lit (the lamp)'. *du'kykoje 'ui(tse)* 'six' (lit. 'the other hand is caught'). See *uitxi-*. According to MA there is no relation to *hu(ja)* 'smoke'. See *ui'txi-* 'to ignite'.

ui *(N)* tobacco, cigarette (and smoke)
Nicotiana tabacum L., fam Solanaceae. *'uidyhỹ e'nũ* 'ashes of cigarette', *ui'sje* 'tobacco leaf', *ui'tsu* / *ui'xu* 'branch of tobacco'. KAN *eh*.

uinũ *(N)* tobacco
Contains the CL *-nũ* 'powder' which indicates that the tobacco is cut ready for rolling a cigarette.

uixy *(N)* cigarette paper
Lit. 'tobacco-skin/big.leaf'.

uixyilo *(N)* cigar
Lit. 'tobacco tube'.

uitɛ *(N)* pipe
According to MA, this is AN's speech.

uitsɛ̃rjỹ- *(V)* hang
[*ts*] ~ [*tx*]. *uitsɛ̃'rjỹki* 'it is hanging', *ka'neku 'uitsɛ̃rjỹ'ra* 'hang the pan from the spike!', *hyriko'ro uitsɛ̃'rjỹki* 'the monkey hangs itself (from its tail on a branch)', *loko'tja 'uitxɛ̃rjỹdaki* 'I hang up the mirror', *i'tso 'uitsɛ̃'rjỹnỹki* 'the hammock hangs (in the form of a ball from one rope end)'.

uitsi *(N)* tucandera ant
Paraponera clavata, tocandira. Big black ant which bites and hurts a lot. [*'uitsi*].

uitsixe *(N)* plant species
Unidentified plant species. Locally known as folha-de-tucandera 'tucandera leaf' because when bitten by a tucandera ant, the leaves may be crushed and rubbed on the bite for relief. Younger leaves have a slightly white rim, and the green is either lighter or darker than that of the old leaves. Also [*'uisi'xe*], in which [*x*] tends to become [*sj*].

uitxi- *(V)* ignite
uitxi'ra 'light (e.g. candle, by using a flame)!', *ui'txidy'ra* 'help him to light it!', 'tell him to light it!', *uitxi'nãdaki* 'I'm going to light (the candle)', *ui'cidamỹ* 'I'm going to make light'. See *ui-* 'catch, ignite'.

ui?uitxɛ- *(V)* swing
ui?ui'txɛdaki 'I'm swinging (it) to and fro'.

uja- *(V)* leave all, end
PLO. *u'jadaki* 'I'm extracting (taking) all', *ywy'nwỹ 'dy?u'jawa'ki* 'they cut many logs in order to clear them out of the way'. Related to *u?uja-* 'to take and put down / leave (all)': *'mẽ?u'jadaki* 'I beat them (various)', *mẽ?u?u'jadaki* 'I'm going to beat them', *'mẽ?u?uja'jadaki* 'I beat everyone', *'mẽ?u?uja'jada'mỹ* 'just wait, I'm going to beat them!'.

ukato *(N)* toad species
Unidentified. AIK *kwãkwã*.

ukenũ *(N)* pequí
Caryocar brasiliensis, fam

Caryocaraceae, pequí. Tree and fruit. The fruit is bigger than *uke'sĩ*, up to 10 cm diameter, and has much flesh. Also [*ukje'nũ*].

ukesĩ *(N)* pequí
Caryocar spp, fam Caryocaraceae, 'pequi bravo'. Tree and fruit. Fruit is smaller than *uke'nũ*, which has practically no flesh. It contains tiny bearded needles that go easily through the human skin, and that are more dangerous than the *uke'nũ* needles. Around four to five cm diameter. Usually [*ukje'sĩ*], also [*oke'sĩ*].

ukiri *(N)* parakeet
Fam Psittacidae, periquito do cerrado. Green parakeet with yellow spots, length incl. Tail about 10 cm. Also [*ukji'rii*]. The [*k*] is slightly palatalised and my pronunciation *[*ukiri(i)*] was not accepted. The word is probably onomatopoeic in origin. AIK *'t͡ʃiri'korɛ*.

ukiri?wa?wa *(N)* ant species
Unidentified. [*ukji'ri?wa'?wa*]. Species of ant which is eaten by the *uki'ri* parakeet.

umũi- *(V)* lie down, sleep
PLS. Earlier heard as [*O'mũi*] 'to sleep'. *u'mũiki* 'they are sleeping', *umũi'nãxaxare* 'you (PL) are going to sleep?'. **umũinãxare* 'you (SG) are going to sleep?' is ungrammatical.

unã- *(V)* long
ũnã'bwatse 'it lengthened/it is stretched', *hã'tera ti'nãitja ũnã:re* 'try what length it has (i.e. measure it)!', *unã'tsudata ere'ridaki* 'I grew long', *ũnã?ũnã'xu* 'long-legs' (nickname of Pe?i).

unɛru *(N-NAM)* Ipiranga river
Left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river before the *haradü'mũ* (AIK for the Ipiranguinha river, KWA name unknown). AIK & KAN *onɛ'ru*. See also *jãmũ*.

unỹ- *(V-etym)* duration
Also [*ũnỹ*] ~ [*onỹ*]. Bound root of *unỹnãi-* 'to delay a while' and *unỹtse-* 'to wait'. **ũ'nỹki* is ungrammatical. *unỹdy'nãiki* 'she stays secluded for many months'.

unỹnãi- *(V/ADV)* delay, relay, a while, last
'onỹ'nãiki 'it is already a long time (ago)', *unỹ'nãiki 'onɛ'nã?axa'nãi* 'it is a long time for us to arrive', *unỹ'nãiki horonỹ'hỹdatsy'nãi* 'it will take a long time before I will finish the work', *'na?ay'wy o'nedaday'nãi 'onỹnãi'hetse* 'I arrived shortly ago' (lit. 'that time I arrived, it didn't take long), *unỹ'nãikywy oja'nãdatsy'tse* 'I'll go there later, it will take a while before I go there' (pronounced as [*una'nãiko*]).

unỹteta- *(V)* converse
Related to *u'te-* 'to notify'. *ũ'nỹte'tadamỹ* 'I'm going to converse', *'ũnỹte'tawata 'kukui"hỹxaki 'tataxwa'ki* 'she is saying that I'm ill', *unỹ'tetara* 'tell a story! / converse!'.

unỹteta?anãi *(N)* story
Nominalisation of the verb 'converse'.

unỹtse- *(V-etym)* wait
Also [*unỹtsẽ*]. Bound root which is based on the bound root *unỹ-* 'delay'. It requires a nominaliser or a classifier before it can function as a verb root. *u'nỹtse'hỹdaki* 'I'm waiting until he is willing (to do X)', *u'nỹtsẽ'rjỹdaki* 'I'm waiting for a car, game etc.', *erme(*wã) aky'nĩdata unỹtsẽ'hỹdaki* 'I'm waiting for Hermes to take food (first)', *kanwã(wã) unỹtsẽ'rjỹdaki* 'I'm waiting for the car (to arrive)', *ka'wɛ ũnỹxɛ'hỹ'ra* 'wait for the coffee!'.

uryrai *(N)* fish species
Maybe Mentricirrhus americanus, acará. Several species of fresh-water fishes. Also [*ury'ra*]. ARI *u'ry*, TUP *hari'rɛ:* 'mudfish (POR bodó)'.

uru *(N)* patua palm
Jessenia bataua, palm tree the seeds of which are suitable for the extraction of the assai drink as well. *uru'ko* 'patua seed', *uru'sɛ* 'patua straw', *'uru'tɛ* '(ZE's nickname for Luzeu)'.

uruburi *(N)* horn, trumpet
Horn made of taquara and a calabash. See Snethlage (1939:16). AIK *kü'reta'pa* 'buxudu'. KAN *ana'ma*.

uruhu *(N)* vulture
Fam Cathartidae, unclear which of the following species: Sarcoramphus papa (urubu-rei), Catharista atratus (urubú), Coragyps atratus (black vulture). *uru'hu hy'hyrwaki* 'the vulture is flying', *uru'hu 'ou jonã'tja ou hote janã'tja* 'vulture is going to devour meat and eat rotten meat', *'uruhu'ro* 'headdress of vulture feathers'. According to MA, the *uru'hunahe're* 'the vulture people' represented an Aikanã clan whose chief was Cap. Santiago, nicknamed *uru'pu*. When they spoke Kwaza or Aikanã, however, they always seemd to sing it a little, so their native language may have been tonal. AIK *uru'pu*, KAN *uruku'tæ*, possibly ultimately from Tupinamba *uru'wu* (Cunha 1989).

uruhumũ *(N-NAM)* Urubu river
Lit. 'vulture river'. According to MA this is a left tributary of Pimenta Bueno, but on the maps it is a right tributary.

urumãinwỹtõi *(N)* cashew
Anacardium giganteum Hancock ex Engl., A. occidentale, fam Anacardiaceae, cajú. *uru'mãinwỹ'tõĩ* 'cajú do mato', native Brazilian red fruit, about five to seven cm diameter, and with a fresh sour taste. The nut is not considered edible. In certain Carib languages such as Ingarikó and Macuxi 'cashew' is [*e'roj*] (Odileiz de Sousa Cruz pc).

ururirɛ *(N)* basket
Also *'ururi'ra*. L:32: *ururira*, Z:171: *ororí*. AIK *u'ruri,* KAN *uru't͡ʃi,* Tupinamba *uru* 'basket'.

ururirɛ urusinĩ *(N)* disposable basket
(*urusinĩ* is not understood.)

ururisike *(N)* hat
[*e*] ~ [*ɛ*]. Used in family II. (Z:062: *uluá-tení-teró* was not recognised).

ururitsunwỹ *(N)* lantana
Lantana camara L., fam Verbenaceae, cambara or chumbinho. Tree species. Its red wood is good for tables and walls of a house.

ururu *(N)* horsefly, clegg
Gen Tabanus, fam Tabanidae, mutuca. Stings and draws blood, not *ĩ'tswẽ*.

uruxexu *(N)* bacaba
Oenocarpus bacaba, O. distichus Mart., fam Arecaceae / Palmae, palm tree, 'patua (de) cacunda'. It has a small fruit, not of *u'ru*.

urwe- *(V)* soft
u'rweki 'it is soft', *auxwa'na u'rwe-?u'rwe?ỹki* 'meat (e.g. pork) is soft'.

ute- *(V)* notify, say, tell
u'teki 'he spoke', *ute'ta wara'rjỹ-da'kitse* 'he said he was working', *zjwãu ute'ta wara'rjỹdatsy'tsɛtsyhỹ'ki* 'João said that he would be working (when you arrive tomorrow)', *u'te-damỹ kukui'hỹdanãi lato* 'I'm going to say that I was ill yesterday', *ĩwã u'tedaki* 'it is a waste that I warned', 'I lied'. Transitivised in: *ĩ'wã ute'tadaki* 'it is a waste that I warn(ed) him', 'I lied to him', *xyi'wã ute'tanĩ'nãdaki* 'I told to you', *kukuihỹ'nãi u'te('ta)ki* 'he said / explained / warned that he was ill', *hyri'nãi ute'taki* 'they were talking (in secret) about stealing'.

ute- *(V)* step
Uncertain. *ĩ'tsãi ũ'kjahỹ u'tedata de'dute'nãte'nãtsyhỹ o'nɛdalehỹ* 'a bico de jaca which was lying hidden under the grass, while I was stepping with the lantern going on and off, walking'. This sentence is from ZE, and the only occurrence of this root. In isolation the translation of *u'teki* was rejected by MA, so maybe the sentence had a slightly different meaning. Possibly related to CHT *tɛtɛ-* 'walk'.

utetay *(N)* tinamou species
Fam Tinamidae, inhambu galega, tinamou bird, sort of partridge or pheasant which produces a long continuous whistle similar to the

cicada, although it is a slow version of the *jũtsĩ* or *sĩ* tinamou whistle. It puts six pink eggs in a nest in mid-february, between leaves and branches on the ground. It is similar to the jacú. AIK *'hiwi'ri*, which is Crypturellus sovi according to Carlson (C2:150.123).

utetay txuhũi *(N)* tinamou species
Crypturellus cinereus, fam Tinamidae, inhambu relógio (which is possibly also encountered as inhambupeuai, i.e. Crypturellus strigulosus). Unclear if the same as *sĩ*. Also inhambuzinho or inhambu galega.

-uty *(snn)* FEM in-law
Suffix that indicates the female in-law partner of kinsfolk. It occurs both productively (e.g. *tsi'ki* 'brother' vs. *tsiki?u'ty* 'wife of brother') and lexicalised (e.g. *eto'hoi* 'child' vs. *tsida?u'ty* 'wife of child').

u?u- *(V)* sleep
CHT. *u?u'ra* 'sleep!'.

u?uja- *(V)* leave, end
PLO. *u?u'ja-* 'take and put / leave it', '(kill and) throw them away', *byi'tɛ?u?u'jadaki toitoi'ñɛ* 'I tear out and throw aside grass' (i.e. weeding out the grass). Related to *uja-* 'to leave all'. Contrasts with SGO *asa-* 'to kill off and leave'.

u?ute- *(V)* to count a story
u'?ute'ki 'he is telling a story'. Reduplication of *ute-* 'to notify'.

ũ

ũ- *(V)* be located, stand, sit, rest, put
In the third person declarative, *-tse* tends to give a more perfective sense than *-ki*. *'ũki* 'is standing, is staying', *'ũtse* 'remained', *ywy'nwỹ ka'rako'ro-tsyhỹ'nã mou'ru 'ũki* 'woodpecker lives in a dry tree's branch', *'ũnã'siki* 'he puts (an earring) into the ear'. This root is often the second element in a compound with *bu-* 'put, place' and followed by a directional, e.g. in: *tsãrã'nã 'bu?ũkjaki* 'he lay (down) on the ground'.

-ũ *(CL)* flower
E-noun. [*e?ũ*] ~ [*ẽ?ũ*] ~ [*ỹ?ũ*] 'flower'. *ỹ'?ũ* 'that flower'.

-ũ *(CL)* grain
atxitxi'?ũ 'rice', *'atxitxi?ũ'?ũ* 'a grain of rice without chaff'.

ũi- *(V)* lie (at night to sleep)
Once also [*'ũwĩ*]. *o'janỹ'wy 'sidy'rjỹ 'ũitsy'tse* 'when he comes, he will sleep in my house', *'aky'hỹ ũiki i:tso'na* 'two are resting (at night) in hammock', *hako'ri 'ũiki* 'new moon', lit. 'the moon lies down (like it does in Rondônia)', *'ũi?e'nãda'ki* 'I'm going to pause again', *ti'rjỹ 'ũidatsyre* 'where will I sleep'. Related to *umũi-* 'lie down, sleep': *'ũi?axaki*/*u'mũi?axaki* 'we're lying down'.

ũkai- *(V)* lie down in hammock
ũ'kaidamỹ 'I'm going to lie down in the hammock'.

ũkja- *(V)* lie
Consists of *ũ-* 'lie' and DR *-kja-* 'full length'. 'to lie down (e.g. lying in bed, snake lying hidden under the grass, etc.)'. Often in compound with *bu-*, and in the third person declarative only *-ki* is used: *de'da 'bu?ũkjaki* 'snake is lying stretched out on the ground'. Compounds exist also with other verb roots: *'hu?ũkjadaki* 'I smoked / was born lying down.

ũmãtɛ- *(V)* fish
'ũmã'tɛdaki 'I'm fishing'.

ũrjỹ- *(V)* sit, be captive (in initiation of yougsters)
ũrjỹ'ra mũsi'na 'sit on the mortar!', *ỹhỹ'ko ũrjỹ'ra* 'sit down close to me!', *ũrjỹni'te* 'chair', *o'jata 'bu?ũrjỹta'ra X-*(wã)* 'go and sit down close to X'.

ũxe- *(V)* remain, stay away long
Also [*ũ'xɛ*]. In the third person only with the *-ki* declarative. *ũnỹ'nãi ũxe'ki kanwa?ekai'?e* 'car is taking a very long time (to arrive)', *ũ'xeki* 'stayed (inside the house)', *'kui?ũxeki* 'stayed

drinking', *bu?ũxedaki* 'I stayed (behind, there)', *bu?ũxe'nỹki* 'he remained'.

ũtɛja *(N)* side, opposite side of object (body, house etc.)

ũte'jaki (also [*ũ'tɛjaki*]) 'it is the other side', *a'xydyhỹ ũtɛ'ja* 'other side of the house', *jã'si ũ'tɛjaku'tyki* 'the ear is on the side of the head', *'uitse'rjỹki tso'ro ũtɛ'ja?ũtɛ'jatsɛ* 'the arms are hanging on the sides of the body', *ũ'tɛjako'je* 'in the other hand'. Possibly because of nasalisation there is variation between [*t*] ~ [*c*] and [*ɛ*] ~ [*e*] in: *'ũcejã'rjỹ ke'raidaki* 'I walked to another place'.

ũtɛjabu- *(V)* triangle, square

In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *ũtɛja'bu?ũtɛja'bu?ũtɛja'butse* 'triangle', 'square'. This root may either derive from a compound of *ũtɛja* 'other side' with the root *bo-* 'to patch', as in *ũtɛja 'botjara* 'close off the other side!' and *ũtɛja 'botse* 'it is closed off', or with *bu-* 'to put hat on' as in *ũtɛja 'butse* 'it sits on the other side'.

ũca- *(V)* ambush, await

ũ'cadaki 'I'm lying in ambush to kill, grab, etc.', *huri(wã) ũ'cadaki* 'I'm hiding from the paca (ready to get it)'.

ũcady *(N)* hawk

Fam Falconidae, especially Falco nisus, or fam Accipitridae, gavião. ZE: [*'i:tja'dy*]. Z:116: *bitadê*.

ũcady txihỹte *(N)* harpy

Harpia harpyja, fam Accipitridae, águia-real or gavião-real.

ũcadymũ *(N-NAM)* river

Lit. 'hawk river'. Left tributary of the Pimenta Bueno river before the *axyhi'mũ*, or maybe rather of the Tanaru: the Igarapé Dois Irmãos or Igarapé Ienamãi.

ũce- *(V)* leave aside, put a trap, put away for later

Contains the directional *-ce-* 'aside'. *ũ'cedaki* 'I put a trap', lit.'I left it on the side (of the road)', *ha'rwi bilo'tswa ũ'ceki* 'Luis left a shotgun trap', *ã'rũi ũ'ce?a'xahỹ(hỹ)ki* 'we left a trap for a tapir'.

ũcehỹ- *(V)* know

hary'ky ũce'hỹdaki 'now I know him', 'I know what he is like', *hary'ky ũti'nãidaki* 'now I know', *ũtjehỹ'nãtaki* 'he wants to know me', *ũtjehỹja'natja nãihỹ'ki* 'he is smart, he wants to find out about us'. The element *-hỹ-* is lexicalised and cannot be replaced by a classifier. The alternative elements *-nãi-* and *-rjỹ-*, which do occur in its place, create related, but not entirely predicted meanings.

ũcenãi- *(V)* know, understand, to be shy, to be wild

ũtjehỹja'natja nãihỹ'ki 'he is smart, he wants to find out about us', *ũtjenãi'hexaki* 'you don't know!, fool!', *ũce'nãidaki jere'xwa 'tsjeki ku'rakura'wã* 'I know that the jaguar killed the chicken'. Unlike *areta-* this verb also refers to being careful: *'ũce'nãitsy'tse deda* 'be careful, a snake! / beware the snake' (lit. 'you must be careful, there may be snakes'), *ũtjenãi'ra terja'rjỹki* 'take care, the ground / road is slippery!'. Consequently, *ũcenãi-* does not refer to tameness of animals as *aretarjỹ-* does, but rather to their unwillingness to encounter humans: *mani'ni ũce'nãiki* 'the fish are smart / careful (they don't bite)'. In the context of the *deda xorona*, the hypnotising constrictor: *ũcenãi'hehỹ'dyja'ta* 'he causes you to forget everything', *ũcenãi'hehỹ'dyjadaki* 'I cause him not to understand'.

ũcerjỹ- *(V)* know place

Attested once. Related to *ũcehỹ-* 'to know'. *txa'hỹ ũcerjỹ'hedata* 'I not knowing the way' (**ũcejãhỹ'hedata*)'.

ũceta- *(V/N)* divide, encircle

Note that the main stress may also fall on the second syllable: *ũce'taki* or *ũ'cetaki* 'he demarcates a territory (e.g. in order to clear a field thereafter)'. The root is also used as a noun: *ũce'ta* 'demarcated piece of land' (may be of

circular, square or any other shape), also ‘obstacle’. Traditionally the moon halo was thought to be a snake that coiled itself in a circle around the moon in order to eat it. Therefore, the clause *de'da ũceta'tõiki (haku'ri(wã) kuida'mỹtja)* means ‘halo’. The literal meaning is ‘the snake is encircling a round object (the moon in order to swallow it)’.

ũcetakaisanite *(N)* bridge
ME: *ywy'nwỹ ũtjeta'kaisani'te* ‘wooden bridge’ (lit. ‘log which is left to traverse’).

ũcetanỹ- *(V)* cross
ũceta'nỹki ‘it is a cross’ (also heard [*ũtje'tata'nỹki*]).

ũcetsarwa- *(V)* put
The element *-tsarwa-* may be an (otherwise not attested) allomorph of the directional *-karwa-* ‘behind, away’, so the verb can perhaps be analysed as ‘to put behind / across’. However, clear evidence is still lacking: *ũ'ceki* ‘he is leaving it in its place’ vs. *ũ'cetsa'rwaki* ‘he is putting’.

ũcetsarwanitɛ *(N)* beam, bar
[*'tjetsoruni'te*] ‘wooden beam’. Contains *-nite* ‘INSTR’.

ũcwa- *(V)* above
ũ'cwadaki ‘I’m up there’, *'bu?ũ'cwaki* ‘it is sitting high up’.

ũcwate- *(V)* carry
ũcwa'teda'ki ‘I’m carrying it (the tree) on my shoulder’, *tsuty'ko ũcwa'tɛdaki* ‘I carry (it) on my head’ (??*tsuty'na* is less correct).

W

-wa- *(svv)* IS
People / someone / the person: indefinite subject cross-reference morpheme which indicates an unspecified third person. *kui'ware* ‘did they drink (it)?’, ‘did someone drink (it)?’, *'kuiwatsi* ‘take care that nobody drinks (it)!’, *xy'xywaki* ‘someone screamed’, *tja?atje 'awã'taja'hỹwa'hỹ* ‘onlookers from close by’. *'tswawahỹ* ‘the men/man (who...)’, ‘those who are men’. It may have an indirect evidential effect. Overt lexical expression of a definite subject is in principle impossible: *(*zjwãu) 'kuiwaki* ‘(*João) / they are / he is drinking’. It may have a passive like reading: *ca'riwaki* ‘he was killed / they killed him’, *kã'to-wahỹ* ‘the person who toasts (maize)’, ‘(maize) toasted by someone’. With first and second person singular objects *-wa-* surfaces as *-xwa-* in *-taxwa-* ‘IS.1O’ and *-xuxwa-* ‘IS.2O’. In medial clauses and a number of other constructions, the sometimes optional alternative form *-cwa-* is often used: *kui'nãcwaki* ‘they’re going to drink, there’s going to be drinking’ (**kui'nãwaki*). *'ũiwatsy'tse* ‘(that’s how) he will sleep/lie’ (CX: e.g. he is going to sleep in a chair, and you know that, not because you’ve seen it but because it is his costume) vs. *'ũicwatsy'tse* ‘(t)he(y)’s going to sleep / lie’ (e.g. he’ll stay there for the night and you know for certain he will, since you, being the leader, decided he will).

-wa *(CL)* shell
Classifier in e.g. *kile'wa* and *dere'wa* ‘earring of shells’, and in *txiwa'tɛ* ‘necklace of shells’ (lit. ‘big shell’).

wa- *(V-etym)* take, bring
Bound root which is always extended by directionals: *wato'tɛki* ‘he brought / took it upward’. It is lexicalised in roots like *wanɛ-* ‘to bring’, *waje-* ‘to bring back’, *wawarja-* ‘to go after’.

wade *(N)* tucuma palm tree
Astrocaryum tucuma, Acrocomia officinalis, fam Arecaceae-Palmae, tucumã. Also ‘coqueiro espinho’. Maybe also Bactris setosa, tucum. Z:085: *adé*. *wade'ko* ‘bunch of green nuts of the tucum’, *wade'sĩ* ‘seed in nut of tucum’, *wade'xyi* ‘coconut hair’, *wade'te* ‘seed of tucum’, *wade'to* ‘seed

in nut of tucum', *wade'ro* 'ring of tucum', *wa'demũ* 'tucuma coconut milk / water', *wa'demũ'ro* 'edible curd inside tucuma coconut'.

wadexyi *(N)* fibre of tucuma
ZE: [*wade'syi*] 'tucum'. MA also: *bexyi'ce*. Z:104: *bessoité*. As modifier: *wade'xyi buni'te* 'straw hat'.

wady- *(V)* give
kurakura'wã atxi'txi wady'ra 'give the chickens maize!', *luze'wã wa'dyxaki* 'you gave to Luzeu'. Can be used intransitively: *wa'dyki* 'he gives (and does not want anything in return)'. Is often encountered in compounds as a benefactive element: *kal'sãu are'dy-wady'ta?ỹra* 'make it turn into trousers for me!', *mã'bi hã'tewa'dyda'ki zwãu-'wã* 'I counted arrows for João' (CX: who does not know how to count his arrows), *'werawã haru'rai wa'dywady-ta?ỹra* 'bring the armadillo meat to vera for me!'. The reflexive morpheme may be infixed in the root. In the following examples, it sustains a reciprocal construction: *wanỹdy'lɛki* 'they are giving to one another' / 'they are giving', *'kaho wanỹdylewaki* 'they gave cars to one another', *(kurje'mũ) wanỹdy'lɛna?ewahỹherejãre* 'that's how they give (drinks) to one another (again)', but better even is: *kurje'mũ wady'lɛwara'tiki* 'that's how they used to give chicha to one another'.

wai- *(V)* good, nice, just, easy
wai're 'does it taste good?', *'waitehe're* 'I don't know but I think it tastes good', *waitxu'hũitse* 'it tastes a little good (i.e. not very much)', *e'hỹ?a'nãi 'waiki* 'it is easy to do', *wainã'wãki* 'the sky is clear'. There are several expressions which involve this root: *e'tay 'waiki* 'the woman is good' has a sexual connotation (to avoid this one can say *tãlo'heki* 'she is not angry'). *'waitara'hỹ* 'that serves (you) right!' (e.g. when someone falls), *kona'jãrai waita* 'it's too bloody hot', *kara'ri-darai wai'ta* '(I don't know what's the matter, but boy) am I thirsty!'. See also *waihỹ-* 'beautiful'. Maybe *wai-* is related to Paresí <*uaiê*> [*wa'je*] (Roquette-Pinto 1950:137;339).

waidy- *(V)* do well, make nice, like
wai'dyki 'he did good', *waidy'taki* 'he is good towards him', *waidy'tadaki* 'I like him', 'I'm good to him', *waidy'ta-ni'nãdaki* 'I like you' (as opposed to *wã'redy'tadaki* 'I don't like him'), *ja 'waidy'hỹdaki* 'I already cleaned it up'. ME: *wai'dydatehe're* 'I think I did it well'.

waihỹ- *(V)* beautiful
Semi-lexicalised combination of *wai-* 'to be good' and *-hỹ-* 'NOM'. *mã're?a'tay wai're* 'are white women good?' (this has a sexual connotation), *mã're?a'tay wai'hỹre* 'white women are beautiful?', *mã're?a'tay wai'dyxare* 'you find white women good?', *mã're?a'tay waihỹ'dyxare* 'you find white women beautiful?', *wai'hỹki* 'it is beautiful' (sometimes also: 'it is good, nice, fine'), *wai'hỹre* 'you think she is beautiful?', *waihỹ'heki* 'it is no good', *waihỹhe?ỹki* 'she is ugly', *tsywydy'tɛ wai'hỹhỹ ɛlɛlɛ aky'tatsɛ* 'they are two beautiful girls', *wai'hỹhỹ wajanỹ'ra* 'bring the good/nice thing!'. The nominaliser can be replaced by a specific classifier: *wai'xyki* 'the house is beautiful'.

waikara *(N-NAM)* dog
Female dog name. L:41 *waikara*, L:41+: *wainkáɽa*.

waikwaje- *(V)* do well
waikwa'jeki '(the shaman) does good', *'waikwaje'hetse* '(he is someone who) does bad'.

wainãi *(ADV)* good
wai'nãi tãtãi'ra 'hit it well! (and don't mess around)', *wai'nãi cu'ruxare* 'good day', *'wainãi 'ere* 'does it taste good?', *haru'rai 'waiki* 'armadillo tastes good' (eating it for the first time), *'harurai 'wainãi 'eki* 'armadillo tastes good' (you know the taste), *'haru'rai 'wainãi 'ehỹ'tsy* 'armadillo

tastes good!' (you know it well). Also ironically: *ati'jaxare wai'nãi* 'what are you guys farting away here, damned!'. Also angrily: *wai'nãi* 'damn it! (you did't listen to what I said)'.

wairjỹ- *(V)* clear, nice weather
wai'rjỹki 'the weather is good', 'the road is clear', 'the house is clean', *wairjỹ'hetse* 'the place is overgrown'.

wairjỹwã- *(V)* nice weather
The element *-wã-* is possibly a remnant of the classifier *-nãwã-* 'sky', but it cannot be replaced by it here: *wairjỹ'wãki* 'the weather is good (since the sky is clear)'.

wairoñɛ̃ *(NAM)* Wairoñɛ̃
Male person name of ZE's grandfather on his mother's side.

waja- *(V)* get, take, bring thither
Contains probably the directional *-ja-* 'thither'. *ã'rũi waja'nãdaki kreBanã* 'I'm going to take the horse to Gleba' (riding it or not) (also orders 321, 312 etc.) (but not of a car, because it runs by itself), *dodotxi'mũ waja'tadaki 'wãzeri'wã* 'I brought kerosene for Wãzerip', *waja'tydamỹ* 'I'm going to grab (it) from him', *waija'jahetsytse* 'he is not going to bring anyone'. The element *-nỹ-* 'REF' reverses the directionality: *waja'nỹki* 'he brings', *ko'sa wa'janỹ'ra* 'take the lantern with you hither! / bring the lantern!', *ko'sa waja'nỹ*(wa'dy)ta?ỹ'ra* 'bring the lantern to / for me', *mang'ka 'waja'nỹdaki* 'I brought mangoes'.

waje- *(V)* bring back, search
Contains the directional *-je-* 'away'. *wa'jedata 'mɛ̃da'mỹ* 'I'm going to track them down and beat them!', *waje'?e-waki* 'they went for (it) again', *waje'?eki* 'he went for (it) again, brought (it) back again', *wa'jeki ko'sa* 'he fetched the lantern' (CX: he went to get back a lantern which had been lent out).

way- *(V-etym)* clean
Bound root which requires a directional. *axy(*nã) way'rjỹki* 'he is cleaning / sweeping the house', *wayrjỹ'ra* 'sweep!', 'clean it!' ([*wayjã'ra*]). *mesa*(nã) wayka'tjeki* 'he is cleaning / sweeping (on) the table'. *wayrjỹni'te(xu)* 'broom(stick)' (pronounced rapidly as: [*'wajãni'te(xu)*]).

wanɛ- *(V)* bring
Contains the directional *-nɛ-* 'hither'. *txi'tayte'le wa'nɛtsy'tsɛ* 'bring only the big flask', *hio Do Oro'na?ỹhỹ wa'nɛki* 'he brought things from Rio do Ouro', *esi'ki 'dywanɛra* '(cut and) give me a piece of cloth!', *cohasi'ki 'daiwanɛ'ra* '(pick up and) bring the shoes' (spoken rapidly: [*'tohas'ki(d)n(w)ɛ'ra*]), *'kopo'ko wĩ du'ruwany'ra* 'get me a cup of wine!', *'kopo'na do'hỹwany'ra* 'put it in a cup for me!'.

wanidy- *(V)* decorate
wa'nidy'ki 'he decorates himself', 'he uses ornaments to decorate himself'.

wanỹ- *(V)* come, arrive
PLS. Not followed by **-tse* declarative. *wa'nỹki* 'they are coming'. **wanỹdaki*. Any subject: *o'nỹki* 'he/they are coming'. The difference between *onỹ-* and *wanỹ-* may be that the latter originates from a verb meaning 'bring'. Note that *wa'nỹxaxaki* 'you (PL) arrived (hither)' can only be said by the owner of the place.

wanỹ- *(V)* cook
The only occurrence of this combination of *wã-* 'to cook' and *-nỹ-* 'REF' as a verb root is in a nominalised construction: *wanỹ'?ũ* 'cooked rice'.

-wara *(svv)* but
Creates a subordinate adverbial clause with concessive meaning. It is usually combined with nominaliser *-hỹ*, and may behave as a particle. *hy'jahỹwara kãu'hetse* 'it fell but did not break', *dahỹwa'ra mãrɛ̃'?adynãi pɛ̃rɛ̃'jãnãi 'edaki* 'nevertheless, I know the Western man's language', *'mã?au-dy'nɛdasi o'nɛta ahỹ'ki tsy'hỹwara he* 'always when I called him he came, but not now', *tsy'hỹwara* 'he thought

that, but'.

wara- *(V-etym)* touch, have sexual intercourse
Requires further derivation and **waraki* is ungrammatical. *warahỹ-du(nỹ)hỹ'jatse* 'he grabbed (i.e. had sex with) them all'. *'nãi?ĩ'nĩ wara'hỹhe'ky* 'don't do that, don't touch!' (not necessarily sexually or bodily), (pronounced angrily and fast: [*nãi'nĩ wara'hẽky*]). *'marju wara'tudaki* 'I touch Mario's shoulder', *wara'roki* 'he touched the cup'.

waraja- *(V)* make
a'xy wara'jaki 'he made a house'.

warañỹ- *(V)* work
towy'nã wara'ñỹdaki 'I work on the field', *horony'hỹdaki wara'jãda'nãi* 'I finished working'. Possibly analysable as /*wara-rjỹ*/ 'touch-area'.

wari *(NAM)* Wari
Male person name of AN, which may be of AIK, KAN, KWA or another origin. It is unclear whether this name is related to the name of the Aikanã-speaking 'Huari' who Nordenskiöld (1915) and Hanke (1956) met.

warikanɛ *(N)* plant species
Unidentified (probably not the Cecropia). Out of the tree stem provisional benches called *warikanɛ* are made. AIK *ka'ðõ:'te* also refers both to the tree and the type of bench. L:51: *warikadne* 'unidentified plant'.

warikanɛ *(N)* bench
This is a traditional type of provisional bench for sitting, which is made out of the *warikanɛ* tree. L:31: *warika`ne*^{n}. According to *'hũdwani'tɛ* is better. AIK *ka'ðõ:'te* also refers both to the tree and the bench.

warikanɛnwỹ *(N)* silveira, soft wood
Locally known as silveira, pau fofo. Maybe one of the gen Couma, sorveira, since it gives off a lot of milk. It has yellow not-hard wood, used to make traditional benches. Otherwise 'silveira' may be the plant / shrub gen Rubus, fam Rosaceae, and 'pau fofo' may be Polyosus fragilis, P. pernambucensis, fam Verbenaceae, pau mole. It is not *wari'ñũ*, the big 'sôlva / sôlveira'. Note an Arawak form like Lokono *warhimja* 'soft wood for benches' (van Baarle et al. 1989:234).

wariñũ *(N)* sorva
Maybe Couma guianensis, sorva. Locally sôlva or solveira or garote. Big tree. Is not *warikanenwỹ*. AN: *wari'ñũ tare* 'they call it *wariñũ*?'.

waritseni?ɛ *(N)* bench
Also [*wa'ritsæni'?ɛ*]. Traditional wooden bench of the region, which is still in use with the Akũtsũ of Omeré.

warja- *(V)* bring, take
ko'sa warja'ra 'take the lantern (from here to there)!', 'take the lantern with you (when you go away, for yourself to use)!', 'take the lantern to someone (for someone else to use and not to be brought back)!'. *warja'ra kui'dy?ahỹ* 'take something to drink to him'. The emphatic imperative morpheme *-ca-* has a certain semantic side-effect: *koreja'ro wa'rjacara* 'hold the pan (for me)!'.

waru *(NAM)* Waru
Female person name, probably related to *waruwa'ru*.

waruka *(N)* rat, mouse
waru'ka hu'hui?a'sa?a'hỹ 'exa're 'do you have a rat trap?'.

waruwaru *(NAM)* morning star
Also a female person name. KAN *varyva'ry*, ARI *warywa'ry*, MEK *waruwaru* (Hanke, Swadesh and Rodrigues 1958:205), TUP *wɑruwɑru* 'star' (note also *warowaró* 'mythical personification of a star' in Caspar 1975:188). Note Aymara *wara'wara* 'star', which is not considered as a reduplication (Willem Adelaar pc).

watsɛ *(N)* papagaio
Fam Psittacidae, ararinha. Also a male person name of KAN or KWA origin.

watsyrai *(N)* embaúba
Gen Cecropia, fam Moraceae, plant / tree species.

wace- *(V)* breed
wa'ceki 'to keep or breed domestic animals' (also heard [*wati'jeki*]), *co'hỹ kuraku'ra wa'cedaki* 'I have many chickens' (my construction, accepted by MA).

wacerjỹhe- *(V)* overgrown
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. Also [*wacerjỹhɛ*]. Possibly related to *wace-* 'to breed', or to *way-* 'to clean' because of the element *-he-*, which may be the negative morpheme. The root refers to an area which is overgrown with weeds to such an extent that there is no possibility to escape from a cloud of wasps for example. *wace'rjỹheki/-tse* 'it is very dirty (i.e. overgrown)'. See also *wairjỹ-* 'to be clear'.

watxata- *(V)* weed
atxitxi'?ũ watxata'nãki 'we are weeding (the weeds from between) the rice'. Perhaps etymologically related to *way-* 'to clean'.

watxi- *(V)* collect, pick up
wa'txidaki 'I'm putting (e.g. the seeds) together (on the ground)', *hari?i'xu watxi'nãdaki/damỹ* 'I'm going to pick up the fallen beans', *hari?i'xu wa'txita-?ỹ'ra* 'keep the beans (food) for me!'.

watxi *(ADV)* true, correct
wa'txi oja'nãxare 'is it true you will go?', *wa'txi wai'dyjare* 'would it really do good?', *wa'txi zjwãu hy'jare* 'has João really fallen?', *wa'txi kohỹ'tɛ kui'nãtsy're* 'is he really going to drink (coffee) without (sugar)?'. Q: *wa'txire* 'is it true?', A: *tsɛh* / *wa'txiki* 'yes / it is true'. *kunỹdjo'he?anãi wa'txidata* 'and (it is true) I had not put on shoes either'. Note complementation in: *e'tay watxi'kitse jere'xwa ku'rakura'wã 'tsie?a'nãi* 'the woman believes that the jaguar killed the chicken'. *watxi'raire* 'is it true?, damned!' (also [*'watxirai're*], and note Z:206: *oatchiriré* 'to lie'.

watxile *(ADV)* finally, decide, manage, well
'watxi'le 'so, then'. *watxi'le(data) o'jadaki* or *watxi'le(daki) o'jedaki* 'I decided to go', 'well, I went', 'finally I went'. *watxi'ledaki* 'I decided to do (it)'.

watxitahỹ- *(V)* guard
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. Also [*watsity'hỹ*]. *axy'nã ma'bilo'tswa wa'txita'hỹxare* 'are you keeping shotgun inside the house?'. Related to *watxi-* 'to collect': *hari?i'xu wa'txita?ỹ'ra* 'keep the beans (food) for me!'.

watxiwatxi- *(V/ADV)* straight, correct
-'tse declarative. [*tx*] ~ [*c*]. *wa'txiwa'txi* 'right!' (of an action like looking, aiming etc.). *hã wa'txiwa'ci 'kuki* 'the river runs straight'. *watxiwatxi?ỹtõi* 'eye in the middle (Cyclop)'.

watxiwatxi?ỹkoro *(N)* right side
Possibly translated from POR. Lit. 'the straight arm', see also Hinton (1994:57-59). See *dako'ro*.

wawarja- *(V)* go with, run after, lived
This root may be a reduplicated form of *warja-* 'to bring'. *kahɛwawa'rjaki* 'running after him to bite him', *zjwãu'wã wawa'rjadaki* 'I'm walking (together) with João'. The root also seems to mean 'lived', but this is not well understood. It seems to refer only to the past: *wawarjada'dalehỹki* 'I lived', **wawarjadaki*.

wã- *(V)* cook
Only occurrence as *wã-* in: *ja 'wãhỹki* 'it is already cooked'. Z:144: *uandakí*. The usual form of the root is *wã'dy-* 'to cook': *wanỹ'dy 'wãdy'nãdaki* 'I'm going to make (heat) food'.

-wã *(snn)* AO
Animate Object marker. *aha'wã awỹi'ra* 'go and see your father!', *zjwãu 'mɛ̃hataki xyitsɛ'wã* 'it was João who beat you', *siwã'?e* 'for me too', *zjwãu 'peDro'wã sja kuihe'tatse* 'João wants Pedro to drink tea (but he is not saying it)'. In combination with

nominaliser *-hỹ* it forms a fixed combination which expresses an agent noun: *o'kjahỹwã* 'hunter'. Because *-wã* is also an object marker, there is room for ambiguity: *xyidy'hỹwã* 'your AO' / 'the one who is yours'. Another use of this combination is as a predicative adverbialiser: *holan'Dedahỹ'wã* 'because I'm a Dutchman (I speak strange)', *dutu're?ahỹwã* 'being a pig/we being pigs'.

wã *(N)* bee, social wasp
POR marimbondo. General term for stinging bees. Also used to refer to a swarm: *'wãki* 'they're wasps!'. Also [*hwã*]. AIK *ã:*.

wãdy- *(V)* cook
This is the usual form of the verb 'to cook': *wanỹ'dy 'wãdy'nãdaki* 'I'm going to make (heat) food'. On one occasion it occurred as *wã-*: *ja 'wãhỹki* 'it is already cooked' (and note also Z:144: *uandaki*). See also *wa'nỹ-* 'cook'.

wãnỹdy *(N)* food, dinner
wanỹ'dy ja?ani 'let's eat food!'. Includes also chicha. Obviously related to *wãdy-* 'to cook', and may contain reflexive/middle *-nỹ-*. Zero-verbalisation in *wãnỹ'dydaki* 'I have dinner', lit. 'I want food', and *wanỹ'dyki* 'it is food'. Note that there is no relation with *wanỹdy'lɛ-* 'to give to one another' (see *wady-*).

wãrẽ *(N)* enemy
wãrẽ('dy)ki* 'he is an enemy', *wãrẽdy'tajaki* 'he is an enemy of one (i.e. of us)', *wã'redy'tadaki* 'I don't like him', *hã wãrẽwã'rẽ* 'rio São Pedro' (mythical name from the time many *de'da xoro'nã* lived in it).

wãrẽdy- *(V)* be bad
Derives from the noun *wãrẽ* 'enemy' and the causative morpheme *-dy-* in the function of 'to consider as'. *wãrẽ'dyki* 'he is bad', *wãrẽdy'taki* 'he acts lousy towards him', *wã'redy'tadaki* 'I don't like him' (lit. 'I am lousy towards him'), *wãrẽdy'tajahỹ* 'enemy' (lit. 'one who is lousy towards people').

wãrũwãrũ *(N)* titi monkey
Gen Callicebus, fam Callithricidae, macaco zogue-zogue, sauá, japuçá, dusky titi.

wãsĩ *(N)* parrot species
Fam Psittacidae, papagaio urubú, grey parrot. Green parrot with white 'eye-liner'. It is bigger than *we'ro* or *to'to*. It does not speak. Z:113+: *uassín*.

wãwã *(N)* spirit, Westerner
CHT for *mãrẽ'?a* 'spirit'. According to MA, AN uses this word with his grandchildren. *'wãwãdy'hỹki* 'it is the Westerner's'.

wãwãwỹ- *(V)* dream
wãwã'wỹki 'he dreamt', *wawa'wỹ?a-'nãi* 'dream', *wãwã'wỹitja'hỹdaki ma'rija*(wã)* 'I dreamt about Maria' (*-wã* 'AO' is required because object is a person), *ma'rija wãwã'wỹitja'hỹki 'tsũrũrũ'nĩ(wã)* 'Maria is dreaming of sand' (*-wã* 'AO' is optional because it is not a person).

wãwỹi- *(V)* sleep
wãwỹ'nãtse 'he wants to sleep', *wãwỹ'nãdaki* 'I'm going to lie down and sleep (during the day)' vs. *ũinãdaki* 'I'm going to lie down and sleep (already very late)', *eto'hoira'ti wawỹ'nãtja* 'the child (has to?) sleep', *wã'wỹiki* 'he slept'. AIK *awã-*.

wãzeri *(NAM)* Wãzerip
Person name of a Salamãi woman, note SAL *wã'zɛt* 'woman'.

we- *(V)* fear, be frightened, be afraid
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *deda'wã we'tjaki* 'he is afraid of the snake' ('only when seeing it', i.e. not in general), *de'da 'weki/-tse* 'the snake is afraid', *'wedaki jere'xwa* 'I'm afraid of dogs' (in general), *'wetjadaki jerexwa'wã* 'I'm afraid of (this) dog', *mãrɛ'?a 'wetjaki* 'he is afraid of Westerners', *kurakura-tohoi we'tjaki jere'xwa* 'chick is afraid of the dog'.

were- *(V)* decide, revolt, abstain from going
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. *we'retse* 'he decided not to go', *we'redaki* 'I'm not going (any more)', *'marju we'reta oja'hetse* 'Mario is angry, he does not go'.

wero *(N)* parrot species
Often [*ve'ro*]. Gen Amazona, fam Psittacidae, papagaio estrela. It is a green parrot, of about 20 cm, with a yellow spot in back of neck/on the head. It may imitate human voice. The word has probably an onomatopoeic origin. *we'roka'si* 'feather of parrot' (L:26: *uirokace*).

wesi *(N)* simple bamboo arrow for hunting deer or pig, knife
Z:176: *uetsêi*. MA said that Makytxa used the word also to refer to a wooden knife (e.g. to dig manioc): *we'si* or *we'si txihỹ'tɛ* 'knife'.

wesi?eroke?ɛ *(N)* arrow (various sorts)
Same as *hou'rje*

wẽ- *(V)* embrace, lift up a child
eto'hoi 'wẽdaki 'I take a child on the lap, arm, sling', *hou'wẽdaki* 'I took etc., carried a child'.

wɛ- *(V)* carry
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *ururi're wɛ'?eda'mỹ* 'I'm going to take the basket with me again', *koreja'ro 'wɛ?asa'ra* 'bring away / back the pan', *wɛnɛ'dyki* 'he ordered for (it)'.

wɛrɛ- *(V)* illuminate
[*vɛ'rɛ*]. *ui wɛrɛ'hỹdaki* 'I'm illuminating the tobacco' (but not lighting up), *wɛrɛdu'tudaki* 'I lit the lantern after it / I lit him from behind'.

wɛro- *(V)* lightning
In the third person declarative only *-tse* is used. [*vœ'ro*], but AN has often [*ve'ro*]. *wɛ'rotse 'kyryja'nãtja* '(first) it is lightning (and then) comes thunder', *wɛ'rowɛ'rotse* 'it's lightning', *wɛ:'rotsy'hỹ* 'lightning'.

wɛu?ỹ- *(V)* brown, yellow
'wɛu?ỹhỹ 'brown (not red)', *'wɛu?ỹsyki* 'they are red clothes', *apa'ra 'wɛu?ỹtay 'hoiki* 'a red banana (species) is sweet'. In the sense of 'yellow' the word is also used for referring to weakness of batteries, i.e. when the light becomes more yellow, or the ripeness of bananas.

wi- *(V)* cut (bread, cake, meat, latex tree, etc.) with a knife
wida'mỹdaki 'I'm going to cut off a piece (for myself)', *'widaki* 'I'm cutting, scratching latex tree'.

widai *(V)* cut latex
Probably from *wi-* 'to cut' and *dai-(hỹ)-* 'to divide'. *"widaijahỹ'nã* 'on the latex cutting path'.

winite *(N)* knife
Special knife to carve the latex tree.

winỹ *(N)* scissors
[*ói'nỹ*]. Z:043: *úinãn*.

wiri- *(V)* scratch
It seems possible that this root contains the classifier *-ri-* 'flat object' (e.g. the chest). *wi'ritaki* 'the thorn scratched me'.

wiri?u *(N)* assai
Euterpe oleracea Mart., fam Arecaceae / Palmae, açaí. Assai tree. MA once said (probably erroneously): [*i'virie'?u*]. Note the unpalatalised CL in: [*'viri?u'se*] 'leaf of assai'. *wiri'?u-ka'nɛ* 'assai planks, used as paxiúba boards for walls, *wiri?u'ko* 'assai seeds', *wiri?u'lõi* 'palm heart of assai'. Z:086: *iriú*. MEK *kwiri* (Moore and Galucio 1994). WAY *gwi'rI*. ARI *wi'ri*. In Brazil, a refreshing nutritious drink is made of assai seeds and the Indians may make chicha out of it.

wiwi- *(V)* divide
'to cut up a cake, meat etc.'. *'wiwi'nãdaki* 'I'm going to cut (it) into pieces', *wi'wicara* 'cut it into pieces!'. At one stage MA considered *dyma'ri-* 'to split'.

wĩ *(N)* wine
From POR *vinho* 'wine'. *hy'rixwa'na wĩ'?e 'waiki* 'monkey meat with wine is good'.

wy- *(V)* tempest, rustle, buzz
In the third person declarative either *-tse* or *-ki* is used. *wy'tse* 'the wind is blowing strongly', 'it is storming', *'wyki* 'wind is rustling (in the leaves)', *põrõrõ'te 'wytse* (or better: *'hudahỹki*) 'the fly is buzzing', *'wytsyhỹ* 'storm'.

-wy *(sxa)* time
This suffix replaces classifiers and nominalisers, and has a temporal adverbial meaning and function. *konajã'dy?atsy'wy ace'rjỹki* 'the time of sweat is nigh' (hot rainy season), *ka'we 'kui?e?atsy'wy ace'rjỹki* 'coffee-time is arriving', *a'wy tsũda'wy ui 'huxaki* 'at the time I swam you smoked', *txa'rwa mani'ni 'ja?awyki* 'today is the day that only fish is eaten (Good Friday)', *hãtsũ'wydaki* 'while he is skinning, I'm (going to take advantage, e.g. kill him)', *toma'nã-dawyki* 'it is time for me to take a bath', *a'wy* 'soon'.

wyru- *(V)* grind
marija'Dite atxi'txi wy'ruki 'Maria Edite grinds maize (in a big mortar)', *wyruni'te* 'mortar'.

wyrunite *(N)* mill, pestle for grinding
'wyruni'te lit. 'instrument of grinding'. In the case of 'pestle' it is a pestle to grind by turning it round in the mortar, not the slender *mũxi'xu* to bash. AIK *wa:ru* or *'waru* 'wheel'.

wyxyi *(N)* paxiuba
Eriartea exhorriza (Mart.) Wendl., fam Aceraceae / Palmae, pachiúba or castiçal. *'wyxyika'ne* 'pachiuba plank'.

wywyrjỹ- *(V)* wind blows
This verb refers to the wind blowing in a normal manner, and not as a tempest. *wywy'rjỹ?yhỹ* 'the wind'.

wo- *(V)* bark
Occurs in a variety of reduplicated forms as a verb root. /*wo*/ is often pronounced as [*wɑ*] or [*?wɑ*]. *?wo?wo'?woki* / *wowo'wyki* 'dog is barking'. *?wo?wotja-* / *wowo'tja-* / *?wo?wo'tjaja-* 'to bark'. *wo'tjajeki* 'dog is barking'.

woho- *(V)* shout
Also [*wɑ*]. Shouting or screaming for other reasons than fear or pain. *wo'hodaki* 'I shouted', *woho?a'nãi* 'a shout'.

wohoky *(N)* parakeet
Unidentified parakeet. *wohoky'dykasi* 'feathers of the *wohoky*'.

woro- *(V-etym)* noise
Probably onomatopoeic. Found as *tsũ'hũ wororo'dyxare* 'what a noise you are making with plastic!', but *worody-* was rejected as an independent stem.

wotsu- *(V)* skinny, worn out
wo'tsuxaki 'you are (becoming) skinny'.

woukirja *(NAM)* Woukirja
Probably a KWA person name, once given to a Westerner.

woukydy *(N)* owl species
Bubo maximus, fam Strigidae, corujão or bufo. KAN *vovo'txi* 'coruja mocho' (Bubo virginianus), and *wawni'ra* 'coruja grande' (big owl). AIK *wo'wĩj*.

wõ *(IDEO)* grunt
wõbu'rutsyhỹlɛ ojatsyhỹlɛ '(the ant-eater) ran by grunting'.

?

-?wỹte *(sxv)* pity
Also [*?wỹ'tæ*]. Lamentative suffix which only refers to animate beings. *maga'riDa?wỹ'tɛ* 'poor Margarida', *a'ri?a'sawa'hỹ exyi?exyile'?ỹle'wỹteki* 'it is a pity that they killed him with his long hair', *jere'xwa ereri?wỹ'tɛki* 'it is a pity the dog grew so much'. Possibly related to *ãwãte-* 'be sad'.

3. English-Kwaza index

???	*dytayxu*	all around	*-tjarjỹ-*
???	*-ri-*	all of them	*dunyhỹ-*
0-root	*a*	all over	*-rjỹ*
0-root	*e*	alone	*awanihỹ*
1O	*-ta-*	alone	*-le*
1O	*-tay-*	alone	*tẽitja*
1P	*-a-*	already	*ja*
1P	*-ay-*	also	*-e*
1PO	*-eteja-*	always	*-ĩ?ĩ?e-*
1S	*-da-*	always	*-ĩ?ĩta-*
1S	*-day-*	always	*-tjarjỹ-*
1SO	*-ta?ỹ-*	ambush	*ũca-*
2	*-xa-*	amescaroeiro	*tananũko*
2	*-xay-*	anaconda	*deda*
2O	*-nĩnã-*	ancestral	*ticwa-*
2O.FUT	*-leja-*	ancient	*ahakate*
2PO	*-etelexwa-*	angico tree	*axyhinwỹ*
2PO.FEM	*-eteletay-*	angry	*kyikyihỹ-*
3S.2O	*-hata-*	ANI	*-ta*
3S.POS	*-tjate*	animal	*au*
a little later	*kurikuri-*	animal	*rai?ỹhỹ*
a while	*unỹnãi-*	ankle	*ecorewe*
abdomen	*-rokotay*	annatto	*toro*
above	*ũcwa-*	anniversary	*aniwesario*
abscess	*bɛbɛja*	ant (boca azedo)	*tsɛhumãi*
absent	*korjỹ-*	ant (form. de jacú)	*icory*
abstain from going	*were-*	ant (formigão)	*kaka*
acari	*tsileroha*	ant (tanajura)	*tsile*
accurate	*ayle-*	ant (tanajura)	*tsilemãi*
actually	*kale*	ant (taxi)	*xoro*
ADDI	*-dykytɛ*	ant (tucandera)	*taramãxu*
adornment	*bunitɛ*	ant (tucandera)	*uitsi*
aeroplane	*kanwã?atoto?ỹhỹ*	ant-eater	*asitsu*
affix	*hewe-*	ant hill	*exwa*
afraid (be)	*we-*	ant hill	*tsilenu*
afternoon	*sileta*	ant hill	*tsilexwa*
again	*bonyhỹ*	ant species	*ehe*
again	*-e*	ant species	*tsikitsiki*
again	*-je?e-*	ant species	*ukiri?wa?wa*
agouti	*katay*	ant-tree	*xoro*
ahead	*leja-*	anus	*ñũsɛ*
ahead on the path	*adwɛ*	anus	*-se*
Aikanã	*aikanã*	AO	*-wã*
alcohol	*auku*	appear	*mãrɛ̃nỹ-*
alive (be)	*danỹ-*	APPL	*-herejã-*
all	*du-*	APPR	*-cehere*
all	*txirja*	APPR	*-tehere*

area *-rjỹ*
arm *-koro*
arm *tsoro*
arm (hold by) *isitsoro-*
armadillo *harurai*
armadillo (15 quilo) *haru'rai txitu'tɛ*
armadillo (canastra) *xoronã*
armadillo (galinha) *haru*
armadillo (peba) *kaikuri*
armpit *-natai*
armpit *tsoronãtai*
around *-karwɛ-*
around *-rja-*
around *-rwɛ*
around *-rwa*
arrive *bwɛnɛ-*
arrive *onỹ-*
arrive *towɛnɛ-*
arrive *wanỹ-*
arrive hither *ojanỹ-*
arrive home here *ɛburu-*
arrive home there *ojaburu-*
arrive home *onɛ-*
arrive thither *oja-*
arrow *mãbi*
arrow (sting-ray) *tsykarõni*
arrow (various sorts) *wesi?eroke?ɛ*
arrow (whole object) *mabitaka*
arrow of war *hourje*
arrow of war *kikokorje*
arrow type *eke*
arrow with ball *enũte*
arrow with harpoon *houtswe*
arse *-sɛ*
as usual *-ĩ?ĩta-*
AS *-xa-*
ascend *ori-*
ashes *hinũnã*
aside *-ce-*
ask *hudɛrɛ-*
ASS *-me*
assai *wiri?u*
at least *-le*
ATT *-ỹ-*
augment *tounỹ-*
Aumỹi *aumỹi*
aunt *koredara*
aunt *mãdukutay*
avenge *ecotohỹ-*
avenge *mãtarwa-*
await *ũca-*
Awawa *awawa*
Awawamãi *awawamãi*
away *asa-*
away *-je-*
away *-karwɛ-*
away *-karwa-*
Awe *awe*
axe *ale*
babaçu *kurixyi*
baby *daratohoi*
bacaba *uruxexu*
back *-bari*
back *etu*
back *hebari*
back *-tu*
back of neck *-koce*
bacuri *xoxoto*
bacuri *cokuru*
bad *dotahỹ-*
bad (be) *wãrẽdy-*
bag *-xy*
Baikaju *baikaju*
bake cake *barɛri-*
bald person *haresikilo*
ball of rubber *dodotxitɛ*
bamboo *hãxyi*
bamboo *nũrũrũ*
bamboo arrow *wesi*
banana bunch *aparatotse*
banana, plantain *apara*
banana species *aparasiñũ*
banana tree *aparasuku*
banana yard *apararje*
bananeira do mato *daka*
bandy legged person *kaja?yhỹ*
bang *bujehỹ-*
bang! *ta*
bang! (heavy sound) *bũũng*
bang! (sharp sound) *bɛ*
bar *hetxa-*
bar *tsitutjehỹ-*
bar *ũcetsarwanitɛ*
bar for the nose *tsurwanixu*
bare *etsule?ỹ-*
bark *-siki*
bark *wo-*
bark, shell *-ka*

basin *Basja*
basket *-nĩ-*
basket *ururirɛ*
bast *dihu*
bast *kẽjãsi*
bat *hoi*
bathe *tomã-*
bathe *txiwi-*
be *jã-*
bead *kanɛto*
bead ornament *betotɛ*
beads *bebeto*
beads *korejato*
beads *susukukutɛ*
beak *-keni*
beak *-xũjẽ*
beak *-xyilo*
beam *ũcetsarwanitɛ*
bean (black) *hari?ixu hoho?ỹhỹ*
bean (fava) *kumada*
bean in the pod *hari?ixutukwe*
beard *exekãi*
beat *ahỹ-*
beat *babay-*
beat *mẽ-*
beat/kill by clubbing *huhui-*
beautiful *waihỹ-*
become tame *areta-*
bee (cupira) *duri*
bee (honey) *-nãko*
bee (jataí) *xɛdyxu*
bee (lambe-olho) *enãko*
bee (lambe-olho) *etajanãko*
bee (marimbondo) *wã*
bee (oropa) *jẽjẽkydy*
beetle *-sa*
beetle (besouro) *doreko*
beetle (cagafogo) *nasa*
beetle (chifrudo) *dyisa*
beetle (of grubs) *hãkũisa*
beetle (of grubs) *cokurumũsa*
beetle (of jurubeba) *pairasa*
beetle (rola-bosta) *ñũsato*
beetle (verde) *xa?u*
begin *sicwa-*
begin *tsicwa-*
behind *-karwɛ-*
behind *-karwa-*
behind *-kutytɛ-*
behind *-tswatswɛ-*
behind rim or edge *-rja-*
belch *ɛu-*
belly *etɛ*
belly *mjãka*
belly *-tɛ*
belly *tɛ-*
belly (pregnant) *txowe-*
bellyache *bybyrute-*
belt *ikɛtɛ*
belt of shells *kileiniñũ*
bench *warikanɛ*
bench *waritseni?ɛ*
bend *koiloi-*
bend *lowẽ-*
bend, stoop *boke-*
BER *-du*
berry *awyto*
beyond *-kutytɛ-*
biceps *etɛkoro*
bicycle *Bisiklɛta*
bicycle *duryryjahỹ*
bifurcate *eroke-*
bifurcate *erokeja-*
big *nỹ-*
big (very) *txi-*
big earth *tsãrã txinũte*
big earth *tsãrã txuhũi*
big hole *-ce*
bird *outo*
bird *outorɛ*
bird (andorinha) *nũiriri txitote*
bird (anu preto) *mũli*
bird (anu do rio) *mũli txihỹte*
bird (biscateira) *kuikuijo*
bird (chico preto) *matɛrĩ*
bird (curucuí) *tsurububu*
bird (japoeira) *tsĩlo*
bird (japolom) *kirihiu*
bird (japu) *doxwa*
bird (maçarico) *duwiwixu*
bird (martim-pesc.) *mãnĩnĩ djẽtsyhỹ*
bird (patinho) *tsẽtsyxu*
bird (pauraque) *kuja?u*
bird (pescador) *tsitso*
bird (quero-quero) *nuhai*
bird (sabiá) *tẽjẽjẽi*
bird (saracura) *dãrãku*
bird (tesoura) *dwidwi*

bird (tiziu) *toitoiñirɛ*
bird (trupeiro) *iriwa*
bird species *bibicenũ*
bird species *bjurutɛ*
bird species *tixu*
bird species *toromũrai*
bird species *twãtsysikɛ*
bird species *txudurikawa*
birth mark *hoto*
bite *hadai-*
bite *kahɛ-*
biting animal *txubitxubi*
bitter *dehe-*
bitter damson tree *kamũkamũ*
black *be?ỹ-*
black *hoho-*
bladder *letɛ*
blanket *koBeta*
blast! *-tady*
blind *hebo-*
blind person *hebotɛ*
blister *bɛbui-*
blood *jã̃*
blow *ehu-*
blow *habja-*
blue *mɛ̃rũi?ỹ-*
boa *takwa narẽtxa*
board *-kanɛ*
board *kanwakanɛ*
board *tauBa*
board, plank *-tsurje*
boat *kanwã̃*
body *exonahỹ*
body *ĩ?jɛ̃hỹ*
body *-xona*
boil *boboi-*
boiled maize *bobonito*
bone *tsu*
bone *-xu*
bone marrow *tsumɛ̃*
born *a-*
born (be) *awy-*
bottle *amũtay*
bottle *-tay*
bottle gourd *haytoronitɛ*
bottom *ecũiri*
bottom *enã̃*
bottom *-nã̃-*
bottom *cũiri*
bounce *je-*
bow *bilo*
bowl *tsilotoro*
bracelet *awyri*
bracelet (armadillo) *harurairo*
braided eye *-tejũ*
brain *tsumɛ̃*
brain *tsutymɛ̃*
brake *tãi-*
branch of tree *ekoro*
Brazil nut nut/tree *kũcɛ̃*
Brazil nut bur *kũcɛ̃kuty*
bread *atxitxiri*
break *bɛje-*
break *bei-*
break *di-*
break *dji-*
break *dwỹ-*
break *kãu-*
break (down) wood *towa-*
break down *raihỹ-*
break off *towɛ-*
breast *cɛ̃rɛ̃*
breathe *danỹ-*
breathe *enã̃?enã̃-*
breathe *enãjã̃-*
breed *wace-*
breed grubs *bɛ-*
bridge *arunite*
bridge *dou?aru?ahỹ*
bridge *põtsj*
bridge *ũcetakaisanite*
bright *ɛterjỹ-*
bring *wa-*
bring *wanɛ-*
bring *warja-*
bring back *waje-*
bring thither *waja-*
bristle *-kɛ̃*
broad *nỹkarwa-*
broom *hesyse*
brother (older) *djy*
brother (younger) *tsiki*
brother-in-law *ehei*
brown *hanũ?ỹ-*
brown *wɛu?ỹ-*
bubo *honi*
bucket *korejaro*
build a house *hote-*

bull's tongue *kaxanuje*
bullet *txisĩte*
bullet, cartridge *mabitorõi(-txuhũi)*
bump *ahỹ-*
bunch *-rje*
bunch *-totse*
bunch of bananas *aparatowe*
buriti palm tree *hakare*
burn *hɛdɛ-*
burn *hunũ-*
burn *ke-*
burn *tsɛhũ-*
burn *txitxi-*
burn all *hadɛ-*
burn up *bohyja-*
burn up *kehỹ-*
burn with flames *tsitsi-*
burst *bei-*
burst *bojeja-*
burst *dœ-*
burst *korɛ-*
bury *arudwani-*
bury *kwɛnĩ-*
bus *oniBu*
bush *ẽrjãwã*
bushmaster *ĩtsãi*
but *-wara*
butterfly *tsetseritse*
buttock *ecũiri*
buttock *ñũsɛ*
buttock *cũiri*
buxom *-tay*
buzz *wy-*
cabreuva tree *kiharɛ*
cacao *ereto*
cacao do brejo *iriwa dodo*
cachaça *katxɛtxa*
cajá *haku*
cake *bodo*
cake *Bolo*
calabash *kudy*
calabash for drinking *kudykãi*
calabash plate *txijo*
call *audynɛ̃-*
call *mãmãce-*
call *mãmãtɛ-*
call name *mã-*
call of twãtsysi'kɛ *twãtwãtwã*
call over *mã?otxa-*
called (be) *ynỹ-*
called (be) *mãnỹ-*
callus *bɛbui-*
camp place *eritsamjã*
cane *ywynwỹtsu*
canoe hole *erohakãi*
cap *iritxi-*
cap *kuronite*
capitiu *tuxe*
captive (be) *ũrjỹ-*
capybara *jara*
car *kanwã*
car *kanwã?ekai?e*
care *awãcutuhỹ-*
carefully *keredyta*
carnauba *hakare kãrãrã*
carrion *kakau*
carry *ũcwate-*
carry *wɛ-*
carry chicha *arwenĩ-*
cartridge *mabilotxwɛ*
Cascata falls *kakata*
cashew *urumãinwỹtõi*
cassava *jo*
castor *jakururɛ*
castor *jukukurɛ*
cat *jãu*
catapult *BalaDera*
catapult *dodotxi?yi*
catch *ui-*
catch fish *kutxihỹ-*
catch, hook *ou-*
caterpillar *dakyi*
caterpillar *damũtotɛ*
caterpillar *horay*
catfish (cachorro) *manini jerexwa*
catfish (mandi) *tsyitsu*
catfish (mandi) *tsyitsu txihỹtɛ*
catfish (pintada) *manini exykãi?e*
CAU *-dy-*
CAUS *-nĩ-*
cayman *lũnã*
cayman *takwa*
cedar *tukutɛ*
centipede *daraikaru*
centipede *nãtsĩrĩ*
chaff *-sisi*
chair *hũdwanite*
chameleon *ekukũtɛ*

chant *hu-*
chant *hüürüp*
charcoal *hixumãi*
cheek *-xuro*
chest *-xuri*
chew *ja-*
chew *tsuku-*
chicha *mĩu*
chicha *-mũ*
chicha of manioc *jomũ*
chick *kurakuratohoi*
chicken, cock *kurakura*
chief *tãjã*
chigger (bicho de pé) *syico*
chigger (mucuim) *kikiñũ*
child *etohoi*
choke *bɛnũ-*
choose *bɛ-*
Chupinguaia river *aricini*
church *igrezja*
cicada *kuku*
cigar *uixyilo*
cigarette paper *uixy*
cinder *-terjỹ*
circle *erirwa*
circle *-rjarwɛ*
circle (in a) *-karwɛ-*
city *txidwadwajaricwa*
clarinet *tẽxyxyi*
clasp *djẽtsje-*
clavicle *exũrixu*
claw *hãrũ-*
clay *hakuñũ*
clean *ha-*
clean *way-*
clear *dai?oce-*
clear *wairjỹ-*
climb *ori-*
clogs *ywynwỹtoha*
close *bo-*
close *du-*
close *kuro-*
close *tãi-*
close *tja?atje-*
close *tsje-*
close, be *acerjỹ-*
close by *-karwɛ-*
closer *lanỹ-*
cloth *-siki*
cloud *awenũ*
cloud *hanãwã*
cloud *hanãwãnũ*
club *nwãrã*
coat of hair *exyitswa*
coati *haduru*
cob *eke*
cob *-ke*
cobweb *dytyitoxykãjã*
cobweb *itso*
cock *kurakuratswa*
cock-a-doodle-doo *kuturu?u*
cockroach *kawapɛ*
coconut *dudu*
coffee *kawɛ*
coil *hedɛkã-*
COL *-nahere*
cold *awy-*
cold *kaikuja*
cold period *awyja*
colibri *cẽxu*
collapse *tsãrẽ-*
collar bone *exũrixu*
collect *watxi-*
comb *bexuke*
comb *owete-*
come *onỹ-*
come *wanỹ-*
come, rise *oriñe-*
COMIT *-dynỹ*
COMIT *-ete-*
commence *tsei-*
community *karwate*
CONC *-lete*
COND *-kywy*
CONS *-dutu-*
CONT *-hehỹ*
container *ero*
container *-ro*
container, vessel *ero*
continue *ihĩ-*
CONTRA *-txitxi*
contrary *ihĩ-*
contribute *mũrẽdy-*
converse *unỹteta-*
cook *arunã-*
cook *kunãtɛ-*
cook *wã-*
cook *wãdy-*

cook	*wanỹ-*
cord	*itsosisi*
cork	*iritxinite*
corner	*erja*
corner	*-tori*
corner of the house	*-silona-*
corpse	*esiki*
corral	*ɛtɛrwɛnite*
correct	*jananãi-*
correct	*watxiwatxi-*
corrugated	*byryry?ỹ-*
cotton	*tsotsiñĩñẽ*
cough	*oho-*
count	*ɛhɛta-*
count	*hãte-*
count story	*u?ute-*
couple	*ĩlɛlɛ*
cousin	*kore*
cousin	*ma?ỹtɛ*
cousin	*txarewa*
cover	*hehe-*
cover, cap	*iritxi-*
cover to protect	*hehekuty-*
cow	*ãrũi?eke?e*
crab	*dede*
crackle	*bɛrɛ-*
crash	*dẽdẽdẽ*
crawl	*kaje-*
crazy	*xarere-*
crazy person	*xarerete*
creek	*hãtxuhũi*
cricket	*kamũkamũ*
cricket	*txitxilu*
cross	*aruu-*
cross	*ũcetanỹ-*
cross (many)	*aruru-*
crow	*kakau*
crush leaves	*txãtxãtxã*
cry	*emã-*
cry	*yro-*
CSO	*-ta*
CSO	*-tja*
cuckoo species	*djahẽ*
cudgel	*nwãrã*
cujubim	*kutyxu*
cup	*kanɛku*
cup	*kopu*
cup	*-ro*
curassow	*olu*
curd	*-mũro*
cure	*eridai-*
cut	*ba-*
cut	*by-*
cut	*hadai-*
cut	*hydy-*
cut (out) wood	*hay-*
cut firewood	*dodoja-*
cut hair	*hayxy-*
cut latex	*widai-*
cut up	*dy-*
cut up, make small	*horo-*
cut with axe	*cu-*
cut with knife	*wi-*
cylinder	*-torõi*
Dakai	*dakai*
Dakaitjẽnitu	*dakaitjẽnitu*
damn	*-rai*
dance	*babaice-*
dance by stepping	*baibai-*
Darato	*darato*
dark	*tẽjãwã-*
daughter (± 12 yr)	*mãty*
daughter (child)	*xyiñũ*
daughter (neph/niec)	*ma?ỹtɛ*
daughter-in-law	*kore?uty*
daughter-in-law	*koretay*
daughter-in-law	*tsida?uty*
day	*haja*
day after tomorrow	*akorewy*
day before yesterday	*latowy*
DEC	*-ki*
DEC	*-tse*
decease	*towari-*
decide	*watxile*
decide	*were-*
decorate	*itxitxihỹ-*
decorate	*wanidy-*
deer	*a?ũ*
delay	*unỹnãi-*
dent	*boboro-*
descend	*diri-*
DESI	*-heta-*
DET	*-ty-*
devour	*jo-*
devour	*kahɛ-*
diarrhoea	*boboleja-*
diarrhoea	*emjãkady-*
die	*hedutu-*

die	*isi-*
die	*towari-*
dig	*-je-*
dig	*je-*
dig	*kãjã-*
digger wasp	*kosaxykai*
digging stick	*nwãrãxu*
dirty	*hoho-*
disappear	*hare-*
dish	*tsilotoro*
dish	*txijo*
disk	*erirwa*
disposable basket	*ururirɛ urusinĩ*
DIST	*jã*
distant	*ãi*
distribute	*huhute-*
divide	*daihỹ-*
divide	*dydyte-*
divide	*takaisa-*
divide	*ũceta-*
divide	*wiwi-*
do	*ehỹ-*
do all	*baru-*
do all	*duhỹ-*
do well	*waidy-*
do well	*waikwaje-*
doctor	*hirini*
dog	*jerexwa*
dog (bush)	*darija*
dog name	*aipja*
dog name	*akuwa*
dog name	*betõi*
dog name	*betu*
dog name	*kawerœ*
dog name	*mãtirĩ*
dog name	*mãtxiri*
dog name	*pãjãi*
dog name	*pirãjã*
dog name	*pirarata*
dog name	*susiñũ*
dog name	*txibɛ*
dog name	*txũhjã*
dog name	*waikara*
doll	*Bonɛka*
Domakaru	*domakaru*
donkey	*mãru*
door	*lote*
door	*-rote*
dot	*nõita-*
dove (galega)	*makuitxato*
dove (galega)	*terai*
dove (juriti)	*hatsuru*
dove (rolinha)	*huhu*
down	*-tene-*
downstream	*terja-*
drag	*dara-*
drag	*tsũrũ-*
dragon-fly	*nuhitxuru*
dragon-fly	*nũjũnũjũ*
drain	*baru-*
draw	*aruxy-*
draw a circle	*rirwahoro-*
drawing	*aruxynite*
dream	*wãwãwỹ-*
dress	*kunỹ-*
drill	*korjetsumãi*
drink	*kui-*
drink	*pã-*
drink	*tsoihỹ-*
drip	*hãidi*
drip	*tẽtẽimũtɛ-*
drive away	*otxa-*
drizzle	*xyrĩrĩ-*
drop	*bu-*
drop	*dace-*
drop	*hytxa-*
drop, a	*hãidi*
drosophila	*sysyidjo?ɛ*
drown	*bɛmũ-*
drunk (be)	*isi-*
dry	*kara-*
dry in sun	*beta-*
dry river	*hãrokãi*
dry season	*karaja-*
dry tree	*karɛ̃xu*
DS	*-dy-*
duck	*damũ*
duck species	*damũtɛ*
Duduru	*duduru*
duration	*unỹ-*
Duruduru	*duruduru*
dusk, night	*sile-*
ear	*-nãsi*
ear	*ñãsi*
early	*ticwa-*
early in the morning	*hajedikore*
earring of shells	*dɛtɛhunu*
earring of shells	*derewa*

earth *-nũ*
earth *tsãrã*
easy *wai-*
eat *iluja-*
eat *ja-*
eat *pyu-*
eat mixed *jete-*
eat thick liquid *hɛro-*
edge *-kãrãi*
egg *-ni*
elbow, elbow point *-sitokorõ*
electric eel *kyryjaje*
electroshock *kirije-*
elsewhere *tjahɛrjỹ*
embaúba *watsyrai*
embrace *wẽ-*
emerge *oriñe-*
EMP *-ca-*
EMPH *elele*
empty *ko-*
empty *koro-*
empty *tsudyte-*
encircle *ũceta-*
end *asa-*
end *baru-*
end *u?uja-*
end *uja-*
end up *horo-*
enemy *wãrẽ*
enter *kwɛ-*
enter *o-*
enter *towɛkwɛ-*
enter a pathless place *xona-*
enter into the ground *tswe-*
entwine *ỹmỹ-*
envira *dihu*
envira *kẽjãsi*
environ *eta-*
epilepsy *isi?ũi-*
erect *tsitɛkja-*
erection *kõrõ-*
escape from a corral *hyrwa-*
every *-ĩsi*
every day *haja?ĩsi*
everyone *txirja*
EXCL *-tady*
EXH *-ni*
exist *a-*
exist *e-*
exist *jã-*
exit *ke-*
EXP *-ja*
expensive *tsunỹhỹ-*
explain *ɛhɛta-*
expose *mãrẽdy-*
extend *txitxe-*
extinguish *dytena-*
extinguish *tenã-*
extract *duru-*
eye *ecũi*
eye (ball) *-tõi*
eyelashes *exetõi*
eyelashes *ẽrjỹsetõi*
eyelid *-sikilɛ*
face *lokoca*
face *-rokoca*
faeces *ñũ*
fall *bu-*
fall *hyja-*
fall *pu-*
fall *tou-*
fall *tsewe-*
fall *tuce-*
fall *tui-*
fall (over) *towa-*
fall away *daije-*
fall in water *tumjỹte-*
fall in water *txœ-*
fall on the foot *kyryidjo-*
fall on top *otsi-*
fall on top *tuihỹ-*
fall over *turi-*
fan *axyisike*
fan *babay-*
fan *babaynitɛ*
far *ãi*
farewell *mãmã-*
farewell *mamaja?anãi*
fart *atija-*
fast *katsy*
fasten *si-*
fasten *tsitsirjỹ-*
fat *jãtsi-*
fat *kẽimũ*
fat *nỹ-*
fat of belly *-loco*
father *aha*
father-in-law *tala*

fear	*we-*
feather	*-xyico*
feathers	*-nũ*
feed	*jady-*
feel good	*darjexwanãhỹ-*
feel, shock	*kyry-*
fell tree	*cutɛ-*
felled tree	*cutsynwỹ*
FEM in-law	*-uty*
ferment	*bay-*
fern	*dumakaruxe*
fern	*takwasiñũ*
fetch water	*mũi-*
fever	*kikalo-*
fibre	*-xyi*
fibre of tucuma	*wadexyi*
field	*eri*
fig tree	*hudai*
fight	*huhuile-*
file	*kẽ-*
file	*kaxari*
file	*lima*
fill	*boi-*
fill	*dutja-*
fill	*ehu-*
fill	*ekawa-*
fill	*horo-*
fill	*tsãdy-*
fill river	*tyi-*
filter	*tsɛ-*
final part	*hay-*
finally	*watxile*
find	*axe-*
fine	*jananãi-*
finger	*-toju*
finger	*tsojetoju*
finger	*tsojexu*
finger of hand	*exukoje*
finish	*bwa-*
finish	*du-*
finish	*horo-*
finish	*horohỹ-*
fire	*hi*
fire	*-nã-*
fire	*-terjỹ*
firefly	*kumĩcɛ*
firewood	*hi*
firewood	*hitsu*
first	*-rata*
first	*txarwa*
first people	*kainahere*
first pole	*hedysanũkawahỹ*
fish	*manini*
fish	*ũmãtɛ-*
fish (acará)	*uryrai*
fish (lambari)	*araka*
fish (surubim)	*manini erere?ỹhỹ*
fish species	*tsikitje*
five	*bwakoje*
flabby	*-loi*
flag	*nytesike*
flamingo	*dumakui*
flap	*BoBoBopo*
flat	*-ri*
flat oval seed	*-rihi*
flat stick	*-kanɛ*
flat thin wood	*-ritsu*
flea	*harusa*
flea	*syicosa*
flee	*oje-*
flesh	*au*
flesh	*auxwana*
flesh	*-ỹi*
flexible	*-loi*
float	*bou-*
floor	*tsãrã*
flour of maize	*atxitxinũ*
flow	*hy-*
flower	*ũ*
flu	*ohoja*
flute	*dyry*
flute	*hãxyi*
flute	*kẽwẽxu*
flute	*-lotxwɛ*
flute with four holes	*hãxyilotxwɛ*
fly	*hyhyrwa-*
fly, a	*pororõtɛ*
fly up, fly away	*dai?oja-*
fly up	*tsiniri-*
foam, froth	*exytõi*
FOC	*-rati*
fog	*exyilo*
fog	*hanãwãnũ*
fog	*hinũnũ*
fold	*koiloi-*
fold a cup	*kũhjɛ̃lo-*
follow	*tsasi-*
food, dinner	*wãnỹdy*

food pile	*txite*
foot	*-djo*
foot	*dykudji*
foot	*dytoha*
foot	*-toha*
foot	*coha*
foot of tree	*-kurwa-*
football	*dodotxitɛ*
foraging place	*enũ*
force, order	*acwadyhỹ-*
forehead	*etahĩ*
forehead	*-tahĩ*
forest	*-dwatja-*
forest	*ẽrjãwã*
forget	*hewedutu-*
fork	*koje*
four	*elele*
free	*butxi-*
friend	*akynỹ*
frighten	*mỹica-*
frightened (be)	*we-*
frog species	*ãkãky*
frog species	*huwa*
frog species	*kurukuru*
frog species	*txãrãixu*
frog species	*uhuky*
froth	*exykãjã*
froth	*-xykãjã*
froth	*-xytõi*
frown	*xurutahĩ-*
fruit	*etũi*
fruit	*-tõi*
fruit	*tsytõi*
fruit (big)	*-ko*
fruit of urucuri	*ico*
fruit species	*daryro*
fruit species	*hunĩ*
fruit species	*kyrymũjy*
fruit species	*mãca*
FRUST	*-le-*
fry	*txitxi-*
fry, become yellow	*kũrũi-*
full length	*-kja-*
full moon	*ekawa-*
full yard	*dusiñwã*
furuncle	*kurujate*
fuse	*-xũjẽ*
FUT	*-nã-*
gall	*ñãrury*
gas	*dodotximũ*
gate	*kuronite*
genipap	*owy*
GER	*-tsy-*
get	*waja-*
get child	*awy-*
get up fr. hammock	*diriri-*
girl	*tsywydyte*
give	*hu-*
give	*wady-*
give water	*hai-*
glass	*amũtay*
glass	*emũtay*
glass	*kopu*
glow	*ke-*
gnat	*tɛte*
gnat	*tɛte txuhũi*
gnaw	*mẽi-*
go	*ɛ-*
go	*kerai-*
go	*towɛ-*
go after	*daratu-*
go down	*cawe-*
go there	*orita-*
go up	*aruu-*
go with	*wawarja-*
good	*wainãi*
good, nice	*wai-*
goose	*damũ*
gourd	*txurumũ*
grab	*dai-*
grab	*daiwa-*
grab	*tsje-*
grain	*-sĩ*
grain	*-ũ*
grain of sand	*hakitxuhũi*
grandchild	*kore?anỹtɛ*
grandparent	*hakai*
grandson (br./sist.)	*txarewa*
grass	*tuituiñẽ*
grass species	*husisi*
grasshopper	*txitxilu*
(grassh. ideophone)	*txitxitxi*
grate, rasp	*co-*
grating	*-rje*
grease	*kẽimũ*
green	*mẽrũi?ỹ-*
green maize	*atxitxidara*
grey	*hanõ-*

grey	*hanũ?ỹ-*
grill	*autsurje*
grind	*wyru-*
ground	*tsãrã*
ground (in the)	*etɛ-*
grow	*ererі-*
grow	*nỹrjỹ-*
growl	*kokoro-*
grub	*-tydy*
grub	*-yi*
grub species	*dyi*
grub species	*hãkũi*
grub species	*cokurui*
grunt	*bõrõdy-*
grunt	*wõ*
guan (cujubim)	*kutyxu*
guan (jacu)	*hakoro*
guard	*watxitahỹ-*
gullet	*-xỹiro*
gunpowder	*hinũ*
hack	*hadai-*
Hai?arakaru	*hai?arakaru*
hair	*exyi*
hair	*-nũ*
hair	*-xyi*
hairy	*huxehỹ-*
halcyon	*duwiwixu*
hallucinate	*konĩjãnỹ-*
hammer	*matɛlo*
hammock	*itso*
hand	*-koje*
hand	*-tsa*
hand	*tsoje*
hand (hold by)	*isikoje-*
handicapped	*ekõkõtɛ*
hang	*hewe-*
hang	*houwarja-*
hang	*uitsɛ̃rjỹ-*
hang to dry	*beta-*
happy	*xayhỹ-*
hard	*tãi-*
hare	*katsutsu*
harpoon (arrow tip)	*hatsini*
harpy	*ũcady txihỹte*
harvest maize	*kareja-*
hat	*tsutysiki*
hat	*ururisike*
hat of tucumã	*hatiseketɛ*
hatch egg	*tady-*
hate	*xytahỹ-*
have	*a-*
have	*e-*
hawk	*ũcady*
he	*ĩ*
head	*-kuty*
head	*tsuty*
head-ball	*dodotxitɛ*
headdress	*sisiketɛ*
heal	*ehere-*
heal	*turwe-*
heap of caterpillars	*kidjarara*
hear	*jãsi-*
heart	*erito*
heat	*barɛ-*
heat	*be-*
heating stone	*lokãcwỹ*
heavy	*atsile-*
heel	*-sedi*
herb	*beñɛ̃*
herb	*betswe*
heron species	*ãwãka*
heron species	*uhu*
hiccup	*tɛ̃jɛ̃nũ-*
hide	*jɛhɛ-*
hide oneself	*hoñɛ̃-*
high up	*-cwa-*
high water	*nỹmũ-*
hill	*tsuritsatu*
hinder	*dudukydynãi-*
hinge	*aruñwõnite*
hip bone, buttock	*-xuto*
hiss	*enã?enã-*
hit, stumble	*haunỹ-*
hither (origin here)	*-nɛ-*
hive	*haxo*
hoatzin	*hakoro ki?yhỹ*
hoe	*tserenũ-*
hoe	*txaDa*
hole	*-cwanĩ*
hole	*lonã*
hole	*loxwa*
hole	*-ronã*
hole	*-rwa*
hole (small)	*lonɛhỹ*
hole in the river	*hãrona*
hole of the house	*-rote*
hole, valve	*lonɛ*
hole, valve	*-ronɛ*

hollow of the knee *etokoi*
homesick *erikukui-*
honey *nũty*
honey bee *awo*
honey comb *erje*
hoof *kudji*
hook *maninitsumãi*
hook *-mjãku*
hook *-tsumãi*
hook, catch *ou-*
horn *eke*
horn *uruburi*
horse *mãru*
horsefly *ururu*
hot *kike-*
hot *konãjã-*
house *axy*
house *-xy*
hum *huda-*
human *-xwa*
humming bird *cẽxu*
hungry *janãdy-*
hunt *okja-*
hurt *kukui-*
hurt *tsɛhũ-*
husband *exwa*
husband of cousin *dukyxwa*
husk *kanũ-*
hut *exy*
I *si*
I don't know *hỹhỹ*
idly *ĩ*
IDS *-dwa-*
ignite *habi-*
ignite *ui-*
ignite *uitxi-*
ill *kukuihỹ-*
illuminate *wɛrɛ-*
IMP *-ra*
IMP *-ta*
in that case *hehỹsi*
in-law *oraidy*
inajá *mẽsĩ*
Indian *akũcũ*
ingá fruit *cukwe*
inhabited place *-ricwa*
INS *-ko*
insert *ku-*
inside *akwɛ*
inside *akwate*
inside *enã*
inside *-kwa-*
inside *-kwate-*
inside round vessel *-kawa*
insist *ratja-*
INSTR *-nite*
INT *-re*
intend *damỹ-*
INTENS *-te*
INTENS *-tete*
intestines *mjãka*
INTL *-here*
into dust *-nĩ-*
into water *-mãte-*
IO *-ja-*
ipe *nana?u*
ipe-like tree *baraja*
Ipiranga river *jãmũ*
Ipiranga river *unɛru*
Irimitxitay *irimitxitay*
IRR *-rydy-*
is it? *tsyrɛ*
IS *-ci-*
IS *-cu-*
IS *-cwa-*
IS *-ti-*
IS *-wa-*
IS.1O *-taxwa-*
IS.2O *-xuxwa-*
itauba wood *hɛxunwỹ*
itch *ihilu-*
itch *kakanĩ-*
itch *koxona-*
itch *pɛtxa*
jacamim *aratsabi*
jacú *hakoro*
jacutinga *kutyxu*
jaguar *ĩtsẽ*
jaguar, dog *jerexwa*
jaguar *jerexwa erere?ỹhỹ*
jaguar *jerexwa txihỹtɛ*
jam *hadoja-*
jam, stick *tsũrũhɛ-*
jam, stick *tsũrũku-*
jatobá *kɛiñũ*
jatobá resin *keiñũse*
jatobazinho *kẽicakwe*
Jãtsimĩu *jãtsimĩu*

jaw	*-rilo*
jealous	*tsuhỹ-*
jeju	*tekoretɛ*
Joxu	*joxu*
jump	*aru-*
jump	*je-*
jump up	*tsilanỹ-*
Jupe	*jupe*
jurubeba	*paira*
just	*-le*
just	*wai-*
Kanoê	*kũrũi*
Kanoê	*kũrũinahere*
kazoo flute	*kaihũhɛ̃*
keep an eye on	*oxote-*
keep in mouth	*tsuku-*
kernel	*-to*
kernel of maize	*eto*
kerosene	*dodotximũ*
key	*txawi*
kidneys	*bõbõtsyto*
kill	*hedysi-*
kill	*otsi-*
kill bird	*djɛ̃-*
kill by shooting	*cari-*
kiss	*tsjõ-*
knee	*-sĩ*
knife	*koreja*
knife	*korejatxuhũi*
knife	*wesi*
knife	*winite*
knit	*owy-*
knock	*didi-*
knock	*do-*
knock	*dota-*
knock	*tãtãi-*
knock-kneed person	*hadohado?ỹhỹ*
know	*areta-*
know	*ũcehỹ-*
know	*ũcenãi-*
know place	*ũcerjỹ-*
knuckle	*tsojexutsu*
Konã	*konã*
Konãxu	*konãxu*
Kuda	*kuda*
Kwaba	*kwaba*
Kwaza	*kũcɛ̃nahere*
Kwaza	*kwaja*
Kwaza	*kwaza*
Kwaza	*tsɛ̃ticwa*
labret	*hety*
labret (short)	*hakitsu*
ladder	*ɛskada*
ladle	*dumaru*
lagoon	*hãrokãi*
lamp	*dodotxi*
lamp	*dodotximũ*
lamp	*kosa*
lance	*itsosisi*
land	*towy*
language	*-dynãi*
lantana	*ururitsunwỹ*
larva	*hãkũi*
larva of fly	*nãi*
larva of butterfly	*owi*
last	*tsanỹsihỹ-*
last	*unỹnãi-*
late	*harejawy*
later	*bonyhỹ*
later	*-tara-*
later	*-tara-*
latex (product)	*dodotxi*
latex (tree)	*tsiloto*
lay egg	*awy-*
lazy	*aitsehe-*
leaf	*hesyxe*
leaf	*-xy*
leaf (for chicha)	*be*
leaf (for chicha)	*beroha*
leaf (for chicha)	*hatsihatsiri*
leaf (small)	*-xe*
leaf of herb	*inỹsitjexɛ*
leaf of maize	*atxitxixyitsa*
leaf of tree	*ywynwỹxe*
leaf type	*-ñɛ̃*
leak	*do-*
leak through a hole	*hãhãice-*
lean	*rɛ?ũce-*
leather	*-siki*
leave	*arurjỹ-*
leave	*asa-*
leave	*bu?ũce-*
leave	*bui-*
leave	*kerai-*
leave	*u?uja-*
leave (many)	*bubui-*
leave all	*uja-*
leave aside	*ũce-*

leave the brush *tsadwɛ-*
leaves *-kalo*
led shot bullets *mabisĩ*
leech *hɛlotxi*
left side *dakoro*
leg *-kai*
lemon *baytsytõi*
lemon *xyinitõi*
let's go! *hỹdɛ*
liana *itso?yi*
lid *iritxinite*
lid *kuronite*
lie *kitse-*
lie *-tsẽrjỹ-*
lie *ũkja-*
lie (at night to sleep) *ũi-*
lie (daytime) *cutsẽrjỹ-*
lie across *bukja-*
lie down in hammock *ũkai-*
lift *daiwarja-*
lift *tsice-*
lift up *daitxite-*
lift up a child *wẽ-*
light *boboxo-*
light *dei-*
light blue *hanũ?ỹ-*
light fire *habi-*
lightning *wɛro-*
like *huruja-*
like *nãi-*
like *waidy-*
like that *nanãi-*
limp *hadodi-*
line *bo-*
line for fishing *manini?yi*
lips *ekãi*
liquid *-mũ*
liquorice *nũty?ũikɛ*
little *txuhũi*
little ball *etũi*
little hill *tou?ũrjỹ*
live *a-*
live *bukwa-*
live scattered *a?ate-*
lived *wawarja-*
liver *eri*
lizard *tai*
lizard (big) *nãko?ɛ*
lizard (black/white) *kacari*

LOC *-na*
located (be) *ũ-*
lock *tãi-*
lock *tãidynite*
locust *txitxilu*
long *unã-*
long for someone *dukyri-*
long time *arwalɛ*
look in *jawekwɛ-*
look!, here! *ha?ã*
loose *tsoi-*
lose *hedydutu-*
lose *xoxoki?a-*
lose, get lost *hedutu-*
loud *mõ-*
louse *sytyi*
love *huruja-*
low *tsãrãrãte*
lower leg *ekai*
lubricate, embrocate *ece-*
lungs *erixykãjã*
lungs *exykãjã*
lungs *-xykãjã*
lure *mãdutu-*
macaw *awy*
machete *koreja*
machete *korejakanɛ*
mad *xarere-*
Mãdɛkuty *mãdɛkuty*
mahogany *hurerai*
maize corn *atxitxi*
maize in leaf *atxitxitose*
maize plant *atxitxixuku*
maize seedling *atxitxitohoi*
make *ehỹ-*
make *waraja-*
make chicha *arwenã-*
make nice *waidy-*
make noise *kererjỹ-*
make rope *nũri-*
Makytxa *makytxa*
man *exwa*
man *-rati*
man *tswa*
mango *mangka*
manioc *jo*
manioc flour *jononĩ*
many *co-*
many *cohỹ*

margay *jerexwa txuhũi*
marico *xui*
marry *aure-*
marvel *xayhỹ-*
mash *kori-*
mash *roroi-*
mass *-mũro*
massacre *tɛcari-*
mat *nytesike*
match *hitukwesumãi*
matchbox, match *hitukwe*
matutinal *-kore-*
meagre *etsule?ỹ-*
meagre *karara?ỹ-*
meat *au*
meat *auxwana*
meat *-xwana*
medicate, treat *isixwe-*
medicine *kuitõinite*
medicine from forest *ywynwỹtswe*
medicine from forest *si?amãi*
medicine from forest *-tswe*
meet *axe-*
Mekens / Sakirap *tyka*
melon *cay*
mend *txitxe-*
menstruate *jã?ũ-*
merge river *barutale-*
mesh *erje*
metal, iron *hakixu*
metal, sheet iron *-tyxa*
midday *bu?ũnãwãtoto-*
middle *-mãri-*
middle in the *tsiritsa*
middle of the road *-katsa-*
middle of the river *tsiritsamũ*
midnight *tsiritsanãwã*
midst *-marja-*
milk *cẽrẽmũ*
milky way *karɛ̃xu*
mill *wyrunite*
miraringa *owyto*
mirror *lokoca*
missionary *hirini*
mistake *bala-*
misty rain *exyilo*
mix *hedy-*
mix *oritxeja-*
molar *dwaku*
molar *-kwadu*
MON *-tsi*
monk saki *dururu*
monkey (barrigudo) *hyrikoro ha?ỹhỹ*
monkey (cinzento) *hyri be?ỹnũ*
monkey (cuchiú) *hyribehỹ*
monkey (cuchiú) *hyrikoro kikenĩ?ỹhỹ*
monkey (guariba) *tamũky*
monkey (prego) *hyri*
monkey (preto) *hyrikoro*
monkey (preto) *hyrikoro hoho?ỹhỹ*
monkey (rabo de boi) *baha*
monkey (suí) *hĩce*
monkey (zoke-zoke) *wãrũwãrũ*
monkey of the night *kutxikutxi*
monkey of the night *ousisiti*
monkey species *kuruku'ru*
monkey's cane *hanũtaysykurje*
month *hakuri*
moon *hakuri*
moon *hanãwã*
more *-e*
morning star *waruwaru*
mortar *hɛ*
mortar *mũsi*
mosquito *hakoro*
mosquito *kemãi*
mosquito (malaria) *ĩtswɛ̃*
moth *pura*
mother *mã*
mother-in-law *koredara*
mountain *tsuritsatu*
mountain range *-tutɛ*
mouse *waruka*
moustache *exekãi*
mouth *ekãi*
mouth *rwỹtɛ*
mouth (opening) *erice*
mouth, large opening *-kãi*
mouth of bottle *erjarwɛ*
mouth of bottle etc. *erwỹtɛ*
move *dai?oje-*
move *eje-*
move *hy-*
move *nỹkỹnỹ-*
move *oje-*
much *nỹnãi*
much *-tjarjỹ-*
much *cohỹ*

mud	*hamɛ̃*
mug	*korejaro*
mug of calabash	*txijo*
murmur	*tsuruurururu*
murmur	*txææ-*
mushroom species	*hahe*
mushroom species	*haheturai*
mushroom species	*iriti*
mushroom species	*kidjoro*
music	*xei*
mute	*ekõkõtɛ*
my	*kukuinãi*
mythical	*kai*
nail	*ɛhỹ-*
nail	*tsitsirjỹ-*
nail (finger/toe)	*-swãsĩ*
nail (finger/toe)	*tswãsĩ*
nail, spike	*pɛrɛku*
naked	*hatsihỹ-*
naked	*ko-*
name	*ta-*
nation (unidentified)	*atu*
nautilus	*hilotxirjarwɛ*
navel	*-lũi*
neck	*-koko*
necklace	*txiwate*
necklace of shells	*ɛ̃rjỹsɛ̃nitɛ*
necklace of shells	*-rjỹsɛ̃*
NEE	*-ini*
needle	*-nĩ*
needle	*xyinĩ*
NEG	*-he-*
NEG	*-hỹsi*
NEG	*-ĩ-*
NEI	*-ky*
nephew, first cousin	*kore*
nerve	*bay?yi*
net	*-nĩ-*
nettle	*xudɛ̃rɛ̃*
new	*arwa-*
new	*darahỹ*
nice weather	*wairjỹ-*
nice weather	*wairjỹwã-*
niece, first cousin	*koretay*
night	*hadeja*
night, dusk	*sile-*
nipple	*tou?ũrjỹ*
nipple	*-xũjɛ̃*
nipple	*cɛ̃rɛ̃*
no	*hỹ?ỹ*
nocturnal	*-sile-*
nod 'no'	*dynãdynã-*
nod yes	*xayxay-*
noise	*dyicirjỹ-*
noise	*dyrã-*
noise	*-hyhydy-*
noise	*woro-*
NOM	*-hỹ*
NOM	*-nãi*
NOM	*-te*
noon	*arenỹta*
nose	*ɛsalõi*
nose	*-karwanĩ*
nose	*-salõi*
nose	*tsɛni*
nose bar/stopper	*tsurjỹtsu*
nose feather	*tsurwanixyico*
nostril	*-rwa*
nostril	*tsurwanĩ*
notebook	*erewexynitɛ*
nothing	*ĩ*
nothing	*ĩwã*
notify	*ute-*
now	*haryky*
now	*txarwa*
nubile	*jamãitay*
nurse	*kunũ-*
O?e	*o?e*
oar	*eri*
oblong inflexible	*-kanɛ*
of old	*ticwa-*
off	*dedu-*
off the path	*cwỹte-*
offer	*ãwãtxi-*
oil	*kɛ̃imũ*
old	*ereritay*
old	*ererixwa*
old	*haka-*
old	*kai*
old log	*karanwỹte*
older brother of fem.	*hĩdjɛ̃*
Omeré river	*omere*
Omeré river	*omowerɛ*
on horizontal wood	*-kace*
once only	*tɛ̃iñe*
one	*-hana-*
one	*-na-*
one	*tei*

one-eyed *tẽicuja*
onion *etohoitɛ*
only *-le*
onto plane surface *-dwa-*
open *dei-*
open *tsirje-*
open door *daitxa-*
open fully *korjarwe-*
open hole *kãjã-*
open hole in the wall *mwẽjã-*
opening, mouth *erice*
opossum *husi*
opposite side of place *teja*
opp. side of object *ũtɛja*
or *hele*
order *cara-*
order, force *acwadyhỹ-*
order him *ratja-*
orphan *awãnỹcetohoi-*
other *duky-*
otter *mãtete*
otter *mãtete txihỹte*
ouch! *a*
ouch! *ai*
Ouro river *pitxũrã*
outside *busiñwã-*
outside *habui*
outside *-ritsa-*
oven *lokãcwỹ*
over the hill *-kutytɛ-*
over there *akarwɛ*
overgrown *wacerjỹhe-*
owl *bubware*
owl *hudy*
owl (corujão) *woukydy*
owl (corujinha) *tsururu*
owl (do campo) *hudy txihỹtɛ*
owl sing *bububudy-*
owl sing *cucucudy-*
ox *ãrũi?eke?e*
paca *huri*
pacova *hatsi*
pacova *hatsixukurje*
pacova *tsymɛmɛ*
pacu *terei*
paddle *kanwãri*
Paikere *paikere*
paint *ecerjỹ-*
paint *erewe-*
paint *hɛ-*
pair *ĩlɛlɛ*
palm of the hand *enurikoje*
palm tree species *hadutu*
palm tree species *matsuku*
pan *korejaro*
pancake *atxitxinũ*
pancake *barɛrinitɛ*
panpipes *haxyirje*
pant *tokoiri-*
papagaio (ararinha) *watsɛ*
papaya *cay*
paper *papɛu*
paper, money, plastic *exy*
parakeet (do campo) *txukui*
parakeet (do mato) *txupẽpẽ*
parakeet (do cerrado) *ukiri*
parakeet (unident.) *wohoky*
parallel *buuta-*
Parepui *parepui*
paricá, rappee *axyhi*
paricá tube *axyhico*
pariri *mĩdo*
parrot *awy*
parrot (ararinha) *karery*
parrot (curica) *toto*
parrot (estrela) *wero*
parrot (urubu) *wãsĩ*
parrot (vermelha) *awy ki?ỹhỹ*
parrot species *awyrwa*
pass by *buru-*
pass by a place *xaxe-*
passiflora *hoitswa*
passiflora *jukarɛ*
past (in the) *jaleja*
PAST *-ky-*
patch *bo-*
path *txahỹ*
path, road *-jãhỹ*
patient *aitse-*
patua palm *uru*
PAU *-ry-*
paw *dykudji*
paw with nail *kudji*
paxiuba *wyxyi*
pay *mũrẽdy-*
peanut *cẽrĩ*
peccary *hajere*
peel *dalwa-*

peel *tsewe-*
peg *tsitsirjỹ-*
pen *erewetsunite*
penis *xoxu*
penis gourd *kurixyi*
people, many people *cowa-*
pepper *hade*
pequí *ukenũ*
pequí *ukesĩ*
perforate *bõrõ-*
periwinkle *kile*
person, human being *mãrɛ̃ritsa*
pestle *mũsixu*
pestle for grinding *wyrunite*
pf *yf*
photo *aruxynite*
photo *ãwỹinite*
piau *temũ*
pick *tou-*
pick up *watxi-*
pierce *ɛte-*
pierce *hadai-*
pierce *hado-*
pierce *hadori-*
pierce *twe-*
pile up *txite-*
Pimenta Bueno river *tximũte*
pimple *tou?ũrjỹ*
pinch *nɛ̃i-*
pineapple *babaykalo*
pineapple *bakaci*
pipe *uitɛ*
piranha *eri*
pity *-?wỹte*
pity *erikukui-*
pity, it's a *daki-*
Piu *pju*
place *aru-*
place *-rjỹ*
placenta *ñahuto*
plant *anũi-*
plant *ody-*
plant (for chicha) *hademũja*
plant (for chicha) *masu*
plant (J. Brandinho) *mɛ̃rũmɛ̃rũxɛ*
plant (maçaranduba) *manaku?yi*
plant (São João) *mãrɛ?ajɛ*
plant/fruit species *txerɛpei*
plant species *tanã*
plant species *uitsixe*
plant species *warikanɛ*
plate *korejari*
play *ohui-*
play *ohuini-*
play flute *mãmãñẽ-*
Pleiades *erje*
plenty *acwa-*
plunge *mũi-*
pod box *cukwe*
point *-tori*
poison *dedanũ*
poison *kukuitsynũ*
poison *rai?ỹnũ*
poison, herb *bexyjtxu*
poison vine *ixyi*
pole (main pillar) *tsiritsa?ỹnwỹ*
pole (main pillar) *txirwotete*
pop *bɛje-*
pop *bɛrɛrɛ-*
pop *je-*
porcupine *axu*
porcupine bead cord *kanɛxu*
porcupine bead cord *tukanɛxu*
porridge *atxitxinũ*
porridge *barɛmũnitɛ*
porridge *-mɛ̃*
porridge *mingkau*
porridge *-nũ*
POS *-dy-*
Postinho *tximũnũ*
Posto *posto*
pot *iritxinite*
pot *towarilo*
POT *-tsy-*
potato *nũnã*
potato *xurimjɛ̃*
pound *duduñũ-*
pound *tãtãi-*
pour *do-*
pour *duru-*
powder *-nũ*
prawn *dohi*
PREC *-lɛ*
pregnant (be) *korewe-*
pregnant (belly) *txowe-*
prepare *horohỹ-*
prepare *horonỹhỹ-*
prepare *tjaruhỹ-*

press	*nɛ̃i-*
prickly	*-kɛ̃*
primer (of bullet)	*mabi?ɛkarãtɛ*
probe everywhere	*-tjarjỹ-*
PROC	*-tara-*
PROC	*-tjara-*
prohibit	*kero-*
protruding object	*-xyilo*
prowl	*ketsu-*
PROX	*na*
prune	*dote-*
pubic hair (female)	*exeto*
pubic hair (male)	*huxeto*
puddle	*erokonĩ*
pull	*mũ-*
puma	*jerexwa ki?ỹhỹ*
pumpkin	*txurumũ*
pupunha	*hakuku*
PURP	*-te-*
purple	*be-*
push	*houhỹ-*
push	*mũ-*
put (leave)	*arurjỹ-*
put (throw)	*aty-*
put (aside)	*bu?ũce-*
put (sit, wear)	*bu-*
put (mix)	*hedy-*
put (hang)	*hewe-*
put (pile food)	*txite-*
put (be, stand)	*ũ-*
put (leave)	*ũcetsarwa-*
put a trap	*ũce-*
put in mortar	*aruce-*
put in	*tsãce-*
put inside a vessel	*uhỹ-*
put on wood	*aruñwõ-*
quarrel	*tsitsiñɛ̃-*
quarrel (violently)	*enãi-*
quick	*darje-*
quickly	*katsy*
quickly	*tɛcarudynãi*
quiet (be)	*kuri-*
rabbit	*katsutsu*
radio, tape recorder	*ero*
rain	*awe-*
rain a little	*xyrĩrĩ-*
rain little	*tẽtẽimũtɛ-*
rain much	*nỹmũte-*
rain stop	*tyje-*
rainbow	*deda*
rapids	*darjemũ-*
rapids, falls	*txitamũ*
rappee, paricá	*axyhi*
rat	*waruka*
rattle	*ahỹ-*
rattle	*kãkãici*
raw	*ɛ̃i-*
ray	*tsãkãrũ*
read	*pɛ̃rɛ̃jãxy-*
ready	*horonỹhỹ-*
reality (in)	*kale*
really	*-txetxi-*
rear end of bird	*-txĩ*
RECI	*-lɛ-*
recipient	*mãbikã*
red	*ki?ỹ-*
red coffee tree	*hɛ*
REF, hither	*-nỹ-*
relay	*unỹnãi-*
REM	*-ĩ?ĩ-*
remain	*a-*
remain, stay away	*ũxe-*
remember	*buru-*
repeat	*bobo-*
repeat oneself	*bonydyhỹ-*
request	*hudɛrɛ-*
RES	*-tsy*
rescue	*txixote-*
resin	*nũtenũ*
resin tree	*nũtenũnwỹ*
rest	*here?ece-*
rest	*ũ-*
retaliate	*ecotohỹ-*
retarded	*harejawy*
return	*audynɛ̃-*
return	*bwɛnɛ-*
return (in)	*mãtarwa-*
return hither	*nỹkotɛ-*
return home	*onɛ-*
revolt	*talo-*
revolt	*were-*
rib	*-rjɛ̃*
rib	*ɛ̃rjɛ̃*
rib	*ɛ̃rjɛ̃xu*
ribbed	*byryry?ỹ-*
rice	*atxitxi?ũ*
rifle	*bilotswa*
rifle	*-lotswa*

right side *watxiwatxi?ỹkoro*
rightly *anãidy*
rim *erja*
rim *erjarwɛ*
rim *-kãrãi*
rim *-rjatɛ-*
rim of certain things *-kãrã*
rim of groin, thigh *-rjana*
ring *-ro*
ripe *be-*
ripe *ki-*
rise, come *oriñe-*
rise, fly *dai-*
rise up, r. from sleep *daicotonỹ-*
river *hã*
river *-mũ*
river bank *erjamũ*
river floor *aratsamũ*
river name *axyhimũ*
river name *duturemũ*
river name *kakamũ*
river name *txerebe*
river name *ũcadymũ*
river narrows *txuhũimũ?ỹ-*
riverside *erjakadwa*
road *txahỹ*
roast *be-*
roast *kã-*
rod for angling *maninitsu*
roll *dury-*
roll *elwa-*
roll *hy-*
roof *hakikanɛxy*
room *-rjỹ*
root *-jã*
root *-kãjã*
root *-koke*
root *-tswe*
rope of hammock *itsosisi*
rotate *elwa?elwa-*
rotten, be *ho-*
rough brush *turwe*
round *ekawa-*
round *erjarwɛ*
round *rirwa-*
round *-rjarwɛ*
round *tɛ-*
round, disc *-tɛ*
round up *ɛtɛrwɛ-*
rounded loop *kukuri*
row *kury-*
rub *ãrũ-*
rub *kãkã-*
rub *kayte-*
rub *kĩkẽ-*
rubber *dodotxi?yi*
rubber *dodotxime*
rubber ball *humũkuty*
rubber, rubber milk *dodotxi*
rubber tree milk *humũ*
rubber tree, trail *tsiloto*
rubbish *rai?ỹnãi*
ruin *ratxehỹ-*
run *pau-*
run *tsohoroi-*
run *tsoroi-*
run after a person *tsitsicu-*
run after *wawarja-*
run out *buije-*
sad *ãwãte-*
sad, be *dukyri-*
Salamãi *tsãrãmãi*
salamander *tai*
saliva *hilomũ*
salt *tsɛ̃*
salt leaf *tsɛ̃xe*
same *ayle-*
sand *kãkã-*
sand *tsũrũrũnĩ*
sansevieria *babaykalo*
São Pedro river *jũtsĩmũ*
São Pedro river *taikarɛ*
satiated *nũri-*
savannah *horetswɛ*
say *jã-*
say *ta-*
say *ute-*
say no *hetsyhỹ-*
say to (a person) *tjata-*
scabies *pɛtxa*
scale, scaly *-karu*
scare *otxa-*
scatter *rajãjã-*
scatter (unintended) *tsãtxa-*
school *erewexynitɛxy*
scissors *winỹ*
scorch *hunũ-*
scorpion *dytyi esiñũ?e*

scrape	*kayte-*
scratch	*erewe-*
scratch	*kakanĩ-*
scratch	*kay-*
scratch	*wiri-*
scream	*xyxy-*
scream, thwart	*xyxydwate-*
scream, thwart	*xyxyxete-*
scuffle	*kjõ*
search	*xareja-*
search	*waje-*
secure	*isi-*
see	*ãwỹi-*
see	*ãwỹirjỹ-*
seed	*-sĩ*
seed	*-to*
seed (red and black)	*kãrãwyto*
sell	*hu-*
send	*cu-*
separate	*daihỹ-*
seriema	*sisiri?ekai*
SETT	*-xuko*
settlement (previous)	*karicwa*
sew	*txiritxe-*
sex	*oitsi-*
sex organ	*-to*
sexual intercourse	*wara-*
shake	*rãmã-*
shake to blend	*tsokotsoko-*
shaman	*hirini*
sharp	*byru-*
sharp	*karuru-*
sharpen	*kẽ-*
shed	*dote-*
shell	*-to*
shell	*-wa*
shell for earring	*kilewa*
shell, shell ornament	*dere*
shelter	*hehe-*
shield	*-sikilo*
shin	*-sitsa*
shine	*awanĩja-*
shine	*tare?ỹ-*
shit	*hadytɛ-*
shock, feel	*kyry-*
shoe	*cohasiki*
shoot	*bucehỹ-*
shoot	*cari-*
shopping errands	*manỹtatɛ*
short	*coñũ?ỹ-*
shorts	*erjanasiki*
shoulder	*-tu*
shoulderblade	*hebari*
shoulders	*-bari*
shout	*mã-*
shout	*woho-*
shove	*tsũrũ-*
show	*awãnỹce-*
show	*ãwãtxi-*
show	*mãrẽdy-*
shrimp	*dohi*
shrubs	*towyxe*
shuttle	*atxitxixytɛ*
shy	*hohỹ-*
shy, be	*ũcenãi-*
sick	*haxy?ỹ-*
side	*erja*
side	*ẽrjẽ*
side	*-rjatɛ-*
side	*teja*
side	*ũtɛja*
side of chest	*-kwarẽ*
side of something	*ẽrjẽhỹ*
side, rib, chest side	*-rjẽ*
sieve	*manary*
sift	*babay-*
sigh	*enãjã-*
silent	*tsi?arjỹ-*
silent, be	*kuri-*
SIMU	*-nãixwa-*
sing	*mãmãñẽ-*
sink	*mwẽmãtɛki-*
sink	*tolatsamũ-*
sip	*iluja-*
Sire	*sire*
sister	*hidi*
sister (younger)	*tsiki*
sister younger	*jãky*
sister-in-law	*ĩtsẽ?uty*
sit	*bu?ũdwa-*
sit	*bu?umurjỹ-*
sit	*bu-*
sit	*hũdwa-*
sit	*txu?ũrjỹ-*
sit	*ũ-*
sit	*ũrjỹ-*
sit down	*bu?ũrjỹ-*
sit on wood	*dou-*

site *eritsamjã*
skin *esiki*
skin *hãtsũ-*
skin *-siki*
skin *-xy*
skinny *wotsu-*
skull *tsuty*
sky *hanãwã*
sky *-nãwã*
slant *tewe-*
slash *loloi-*
slash *tɛtɛrɛ-*
sleep *u?u-*
sleep *umũi-*
sleep *wãwỹi-*
sleep/lie with *ỹmỹ-*
slide *tsũrũ-*
slide down *tewe-*
sling *arapɛ*
slippery, slide down *terja-*
slope *tsuritsatu*
slope, downward *tewetu*
sloth *tauta*
slow *harejawy*
slug *hɛlotxi*
small *tohoi*
small *txuhũi*
small propane flask *tɛ?ỹhỹ*
smear *haje-*
smell *hẽu-*
smell *nũ?ỹhỹ*
smile *oxe-*
smoke *hinũnũ*
smoke *hiñanũko*
smoke *hu-*
smoke *huja*
smoke *hunũnũ-*
smooth *hatsihỹ-*
smooth *kẽi?ỹ-*
smoulder *ke-*
snail *hɛlotxi*
snail *kile*
snake *-djay*
snake (anaconda) *deda*
snake (black) *doi*
snake (blind) *karitsuty*
snake (constrictor) *deda xoronã*
snake (coral) *tsjatoro*
snake (jararaca) *tsutu*
snake (pico de brasa) *dumã*
snake of water *maninisike*
sneak *ketsu-*
sneak *tsũrũ-*
sneeze *atxũ-*
sneeze *tsewe-*
sniff *hẽu-*
sniff *ĩ-*
snore *kõrõrõ-*
snout *ɛsalõi*
snout *-salõi*
soak *kaxy-*
soak *tsoihỹ-*
soap *toro*
soft *-loi*
soft *tokoi-*
soft *urwe-*
soft things *bõbõtsyto*
soften *xuru-*
sole of the foot *enuritoha*
son (about 12 yr) *txuutxi*
son (child) *ijoi*
son-in-law *kore*
soon *katsy*
soot *hiñanũko*
sorcery (to practice) *txu-*
soul *erito*
soup of manioc *jonũ*
sour *bay-*
sow *tsãrjỹ-*
speak *hudada-*
speak *pẽrẽjã-*
speak *ta-*
speak up *mẽjã-*
sperm *jãmũ*
spider *dytyi*
spider *dytyito*
spike *ɛhỹ-*
spill *tsãjã-*
spin *mũrjerwa-*
spin *tĩ-*
spine *erohaxu*
spine *-rohaxu*
spine *-sexu*
spiny seed kernel *eñẽ*
spirit *kaidarija*
spirit *kaikucẽ*
spirit *makalai*
spirit *mãrẽ?a*

spirit	*wãwã*
spirit, Creator	*arikwãjũ*
spirits	*dehemũte*
spit	*kohonũ*
spit	*tsewe-*
spit	*cuheja-*
splaaash!	*tsjapɛɛuuu*
splash up	*hudɛ-*
splash!	*tupɛu*
splash!	*tupũng*
spleen	*bitjeri*
split	*by-*
spoon	*dihu*
spoon	*-tehu*
spotted	*erere?ỹ-*
sprout	*hu-*
square	*ũtɛjabu-*
squat	*dei?ũrjỹ-*
squat	*djei?ũrjỹ-*
squeeze	*korɛ-*
squint	*rjỹsɛ̃tõi?ỹhỹ*
squirrel species	*hotemã*
squirrel species	*tsĩkɛ̃*
squish	*butxetxa-*
stagger	*rilo-*
stagger	*txowe-*
stain	*ỹ-*
stalk	*oxote-*
stalk of leaf, skewer	*-sinĩ*
stamp	*aruxy-*
stamp	*didi-*
stand	*tsi-*
stand	*tsice-*
stand	*tsitɛkja-*
stand	*ũ-*
stand on	*tsiboi-*
stand on feet	*cutsikja-*
stand upright	*tsikja-*
star	*-tõi*
star	*txitũjɛ*
start	*tsei-*
startle	*dadahỹ-*
startle	*mɛ̃jã-*
startle	*otxa-*
stay	*bukwa-*
steal	*hyri-*
stem	*-xuku*
stem of a big pacova	*hedaka*
stem of arrow	*-taka*
stem of plant	*-xu*
step	*tsi-*
step	*cu-*
step	*ute-*
step on top of	*tsiboi-*
step over	*katsu-*
stick	*ywynwỹtsu*
stick	*tsĩrjɛ̃-*
stick	*tsu*
stick-insect	*bybytɛnitɛ*
stick, jam	*tsũrũhɛ-*
stick, jam	*tsũrũku-*
still	*danỹ*
sting	*esa-*
sting	*exyi-*
sting	*tsɛhũ-*
sting many	*tsãdy-*
stink	*howeja-*
stink	*nã-*
stir	*kurje-*
stomach, belly	*ñahuto*
stone	*-dwa*
stone	*haki*
stone	*hakidwa*
stone grain	*hakito*
stoop	*boke-*
stop	*hãrã-*
stop	*kuri-*
stop working	*bu?umurjỹ-*
stop working	*bu?ũrjỹ-*
story	*unỹteta?anãi*
stove	*lokãcwỹ*
straight	*watxiwatxi-*
strangle	*hãrũro-*
straw	*hetsyse*
straw, match	*exumãi*
straw of buriti	*hakarexy*
stretch	*budyhỹ-*
strew	*tsã-*
strew in water	*tsamãte-*
strike back	*ecotohỹ-*
string	*itsosisi*
string	*ku-*
string	*kwe-*
string	*-yi*
stripe	*biita-*
strong	*darje-*
strong	*dehe-*
strong liquid	*kukuimũ*

stumble, hit *haunỹ-*
stump *-dũrũ*
stump, stub *-mjãku*
submerge *mũi-*
suckle *kunũ-*
suckle *ñũñũ-*
suddenly *ehỹ?ehỹ*
suffer *enỹrja-*
suffer *ka?awanihỹ-*
sugar *atsuka*
sugar *atsukanũ*
sugar cane *atsukakalo*
suit *o-*
suitcase *kanwaro*
sulk *talo-*
sun *hanãwã*
sun *kosa*
sunset, sundown *ɛtenỹkotɛ-*
support *hadotxa-*
support *hadotxeta-*
suspend *hẽtotɛ-*
swallow *kuihỹ-*
swallow *nũiriri*
swamp *hãrokãi*
swarm of ants *karuto*
sweat *konãjãdy-*
sweating (be) *konãjã-*
sweet *hoi-*
swim *tsũ-*
swine *duture*
swing *ewa?ewa-*
swing *ui?uitxɛ-*
swollen *kuru-*
swollen belly *bõ-*
SWR *-si*
Taboca river *tumũ*
tail, fin *-siñũ*
tail of buriti *tjatoxyi*
tail of buriti *tsjetɯxyi?ỹhỹ*
taioba *huhuri*
taioba *mĩkãrẽ*
take *dai-*
take *hou-*
take *wa-*
take *waja-*
take *warja-*
take food *aky-*
take from pan *daicwa-*
take from vessel *daikwa-*
take inside *hedykwɛ-*
talk *ta-*
tamandua *asitsu*
tamandua (small) *sirisiri*
tame (be(come)) *aretarjỹ-*
Tanaru river *tanaru*
Tanaru river *tsãrãro*
tanga of straw *hakarexyi*
tapir, cow, mule *ãrũi*
tar *jũri*
tarantula *daricoha*
Tãrĩmã *tãrĩmã*
taro, elephant's ear *uhuri*
taste *hãte-*
tayra *hure*
tea *txa*
teach *aredyta-*
tear *daihỹ-*
tear *kãu-*
tear *tsẽi-*
tears *emãnỹmũ*
tell *ɛhɛta-*
tell *ute-*
tempest *wy-*
tendon *bay?yi*
termite *kaihutu*
testicles *xoxunĩ*
Teteru *teteru*
tether *kataja-*
thank *keredy-*
thanks *jananãi-*
thanks *nanãi-*
that *ay-*
that's it! *-tady*
then *hehỹsi*
then, well, now, there *tana*
there (be) *aty-*
thereafter (soon) *hadehadeja*
thigh *-romũ*
thin shell *-sikilɛ*
thing *rai?ỹhỹ*
thing *rai?ỹnãi*
think *tutunitahỹ-*
thirsty (be) *karari-*
this *ỹ-*
this morning *hajadykore*
thither *-ja-*
thorn *-nĩ*
thorn *xyinĩ*

thrash	*huhui-*
thread	*kukwe-*
thread	*kwe-*
thread	*-yi*
three	*emã*
throat	*-koko*
throat	*-xỹiro*
throw	*aty-*
throw	*bwɛ-*
throw	*by-*
throw	*oce-*
throw	*tsewe-*
thunder	*bɛrɛ-*
thunder at distance	*kyryja-*
thwart, scream	*xyxydwate-*
thwart, scream	*xyxyxete-*
Tiaré	*tjãrɛ*
tick	*kei*
tick	*-se*
tick (very small)	*keitsere*
tie	*katɛ-*
tie	*si-*
tie	*tsinỹ-*
tighten knob	*riki-*
tilt	*rɛ?ũce-*
timbo	*manini huhui?ahỹ*
time	*-wy*
tin can	*kẽimũro*
tinamou (cerrado)	*sirisiri?ekai*
tinamou (galega)	*utetay*
tinamou (galinha)	*kitsuty*
tinamou (macuco)	*harẽ*
tinamou (preto)	*jũtsĩ*
tinamou (relógio)	*sĩ*
tinamou (relógio)	*utetay txuhũi*
tip of house	*-sanũka*
tiptoe	*tsitjetje-*
tired	*tokoiri-*
toad species	*koko*
toad species	*kotorɛ*
toad species	*kurukuru*
toad species	*ukato*
toad's eggs	*exytõi*
(toad ideophone?)	*toutoutou*
toast	*kã-*
tobacco	*uinũ*
tobacco, cigarette	*ui*
today	*txarwa*
toe	*-djoju*
toe	*cohatoju*
toe	*cohaxu*
together	*ĩlɛlɛ*
tomorrow	*hakore*
tomorrow early	*hajadykore*
tongue	*-tuku*
tongue	*cuku*
too	*-e*
too	*-je?e-*
tooth	*-mãi*
tooth	*mĩki*
TOP	*mãjã*
tortilla	*atxitxirje*
tortilla	*barɛrinitɛ*
toucan	*bilitsyhỹ*
toucan	*mãrãkãkã*
toucan	*xowywy*
touch	*wara-*
tough, difficult to kill	*tãiri-*
tow	*mũ-*
Toweñẽ	*toweñẽ*
TRA	*-dwate-*
TRA	*-ta-*
TRA	*-tja-*
TRA	*-xete-*
TRA	*-xotɛ-*
trace	*dytoha*
trail	*-jãhỹ*
trail	*txahỹ*
traira fish species	*xunũtɛ*
traira fish species	*tekore*
transfer	*ehe-*
transform	*are-*
transmit light	*awanĩja-*
traverse	*buru-*
traverse	*takaisa-*
tread	*tsirjỹ-*
tree	*ywynwỹ*
tree	*-nwỹ*
tree	*-ñwỹ-*
tree (cachimbeiro)	*murycy*
tree (canela)	*pipitxa*
tree (garapeira)	*owitikɛ*
tree (guarantã)	*alexunwỹ*
tree (marelim)	*jũrinwỹ*
tree (perna de moça)	*awysikinwỹ*
tree (perna de moça)	*ywynwỹtɛ*
tree (pim)	*sururu*
tree (samaúma?)	*txaja*

tree (samaúma) *taru*
tree (silveira) *warikanɛnwỹ*
tree (sorva) *wariñũ*
tree/plant species *honĩxe*
tree species *dakainwỹ*
tree species *hĩtsã*
tree species *mukuwa*
tree species *nũhĩu*
tree species *txyrypei*
tree stump *-simjãku*
tremble *dyryry-*
tremble *rãmã-*
triangle *ũtɛjabu-*
true, correct *watxi*
truly (be) *jã-*
trumpet *uruburi*
trunk/branch of tree *mãmã*
try *hãte-*
tube *-lo*
tube *-lotswa*
tube *-xyilo*
tucum *bexyice*
tucuma *wade*
tumble *turi-*
tumor *mãxy*
turn *are-*
turn *deba-*
turn *mũrjerwa-*
turn *piriri-*
turn *xare-*
turtle *kẽwẽ*
turtle bone *kẽwẽxu*
Turuve *turuwɛ*
Turuwexu *turuwɛxu*
twin *akytohoi*
twist *koiloi-*
twist, bend *mũri-*
two *aky-*
two *akyta*
Txatay *txatay*
Txi?a *txi?a*
Txiremãi *txiremãi*
uhh *ỹ*
uncle *ahaduky*
uncle *tala*
underneath *-ratsa-*
underside *-tatsitswa-*
underside, backside *-tatsitswa-*
understand *ũcenãi-*
undo *birjete-*
undulate *koiloi?ỹ-*
unripe *tãrã-*
untie *tyry-*
up-down *-ri-*
upright or stretched out *-kja-*
uproot *byitɛ-*
uproot *nwã-*
upside down *iritxi-*
upstream *anõwẽ*
upstream *-nõwẽ-*
upward *-toto-*
upwards from below *-totɛ-*
urinate *tsutsu-*
urine *le*
urú *kurwa*
Urubu river *uruhumũ*
urucuri *cokuru*
vagina *itxi*
vagina *-txi*
valley (dry or wet) *hãrokatɛ*
valve *lonɛ*
vapour *hãnũnũ*
vein *bay?yi*
vermin *darai*
vertigo *mũrjetucehỹ-*
very *-le*
very *nanãi-*
very, much *elele*
vessel *-ro*
vessel *-tay*
vine *baykalo?yi*
vine *haxɛ*
vine *tsurukukutɛ*
visit (close) *karɛ̃tɛ-*
visit (far) *tyka?o-*
VOL *-mỹ*
vomit *iritsa*
vulture *uruhu*
waddle *debaidebai-*
waggle *rawy-*
Wairoñɛ̃ *wairoñɛ̃*
wait *ãwãtarjỹ-*
wait *jale*
wait *unỹtse-*
wake up *turu-*
walk *hy-*
walk *hyhyrwa-*
walk *kerai-*

walk *tɛtɛ-*
walk *towɛdwa-*
walk along path *tutuidwa-*
walk on fours *kaje-*
walk out *oxo?oja-*
walk slowly *tsitsa-*
walk, step *cucu-*
want *damỹ-*
want not *ai-*
want not *he?ai-*
Wari *wari*
warm *babarɛ̃-*
Waru *waru*
wash *haha-*
wasp species *baynũ*
wasp species *mɛ̃rũmɛ̃rũ*
wasp species *tu*
wasp species *tyrihi*
watch *ãwãtarjỹ-*
watch *ãwỹirjỹ-*
watch *kosa*
watch, look at *ãwãta-*
water *hã*
water *-mã-*
water turtle *kɛ̃wɛ̃dori*
waterside *-rjakadwa*
wave *horokoje-*
wax *alenũ*
wax *nũtynũ*
wax *nũtyrɛ*
Wãzerip *wãzeri*
we.EX *tsitsɛ*
we.IN *txana*
weak *horɛ-*
weak *tokoi-*
wear necklace or hat *bu-*
wear ornament *exuku-*
weather *-rjỹ*
weave basket *ce-*
wedge *hadotxeta-*
weed *tserenũ-*
weed *watxata-*
weed arranha gata *araikoni*
weed arranha gata *xyinijɛ*
weed species *darijasiñũ*
weeds *tuituiñɛ̃*
weep *emã-*
well *hehỹsi*
went (many) *o?oja-*
Westerner *mãrɛ̃?a*
Westerner *wãwã*
wet *emũ-*
what *ti-*
what *tsũhũ*
what? *hỹ*
wheel *ekai*
wheel *erirwa*
wheelbarrow *kanwã?ekai?e*
whine *yro-*
whine *tsyu*
whirrer *tsilototɛ*
whisper *kererо-*
whistle *ehu-*
whistle *hi-*
whistle on the fingers *habja-*
white *ha?ỹ-*
white *hakuty-*
white salamander *taidũrũ*
who *dilɛ*
whole *acwa-*
why! *nãikorɛ*
why! *o*
why! *tsɛh*
wide *nỹrjỹ-*
wide *-txa-*
wife *etay*
wife/husband *hã*
wild *dotahỹ-*
wild *ɛ̃rɛ̃wɛ̃hỹ-*
wild, be *ũcenãi-*
wild manioc *jo?ũ*
wild pig *duture*
wind *kurje-*
wind blows *wywyrjỹ-*
wine *dehemũte*
wine *wĩ*
wing *cake*
wing, feathers *-kasi*
wink *ɛ̃rjɛ̃tõi*
winkingly *tɛ̃icuja*
wipe *ãrũ-*
wipe nose *cɛ̃-*
wire *ahami*
wire, corral *ɛtɛrwɛnite*
with *-e*
without *ko-*
woman *etay*
woman *-tay*

womb	*ñahuto*
wood	*ywynwỹ*
wood	*-kanɛ*
wood louse	*esa*
wooden machete	*nwãrã*
woodpecker	*mouru*
woodpecker	*txikere*
word	*hudadanite*
work	*warañỹ-*
worm	*darai*
worn out	*wotsu-*
worry	*ka?awanihỹ-*
worry	*tutunitahỹ-*
worsen	*baruhỹ-*
Woukirja	*woukirja*
wound	*-mjẽ*
wow!, how strange!	*kukui*
wrist	*eromũtsa*
wrist	*-romũtsa*
write	*erewe-*
yam (small)	*ĩu*
yam (sweet)	*oho*
yam species	*akwamã*
yam species	*akwamã hoho?ỹhỹ*
yard	*-siñwã*
yawn	*hahay-*
yecch	*kwy*
yecch!	*kukui*
yellow	*haxy?ỹ-*
yellow	*wɛu?ỹ-*
yes	*tse*
yes, it is	*hãhã*
yes it is, O.K.	*ĩnĩ*
yes, O.K.	*hỹ?ỹ*
yesterday	*lato*
you	*xyi*
you (PL)	*xyitsɛ*
young	*arakate*
young	*darahỹ*
young	*dotahỹ-*
youngster	*tohoi*

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Indices of affixes

In these indices, affixes are listed in different manners. The first index contains all known affixes, both inflexional and derivational, ordered according to their form in the Kwaza alphabet (see part I, section 2.16.). The other indices are all ordered alphabetically according to their meaning. Index (2.) contains all attested classifying morphemes, the last few of which also have directional uses. Index (3.) contains all attested directional morphemes the last few of which also have classifying uses. Index (4.) contains the three affixes that have only demonstrative use. Index (5.) contains the affixes that are attached to nouns and do not change the word class. Index (6.) contains the affixes that are attached to verbs and do not change the word class. Index (7.) contains affixes that either that change the specific word class of their host, or that are not applied to a root of one word class exclusively, or that do not determine the word class of their host. The abbreviations express this in the following manner: (svv) concerns a suffix that is attached to a verbal root and produces an extended verbal root or stem; (svn) concerns a suffix that is attached to a verbal root and produces nominal root or stem, etc. The abbreviations involved are: *a* = adverb; *dem* = demonstrative; *n* = noun; *p* = prefix; *s* = suffix; *v* = verb; *x* = unspecified.

1. **Alphabetical index**

-a- *(svv)* 1P (5.1.1.1.), (5.1.2.), (5.1.6.), (5.6.3.)
-ay- *(svv)* 1P (5.1.1.1.)
-bari *(CL)* shoulders, back (4.2.2.4.)
-da- *(svv)* 1S (5.1.1.1.)
-day- *(svv)* 1S (5.1.1.1.)
-djay *(CL)* snake, centipede (4.2.2.2.)
-djo *(CL)* foot (4.2.2.2.)
-djoju *(CL)* toe (4.2.2.2.)
-dy- *(snx)* POS (4.3.1.)
-dy- *(svv)* CAU (5.4.3.), (4.5.5.)
-dy- *(svv)* DS (8.3.2.1.)
-dykytɛ *(svv)* ADDI (8.2.3.)
-dynãi *(snn)* language, way (6.2.4.2.), (4.7.2.)
-dynỹ *(snn)* COMIT (4.1.5.)
-du *(snn)* BER (4.1.4.)
-dũrũ *(CL)* stump, bare stem, bald smooth object (4.2.2.4.)
-dutu- *(svv)* CONS (5.5.32.)
-dwa *(CL)* stone (4.2.2.4.)
-dwa- *(DR)* onto, onto a plane surface (5.3.1.)
-dwa- *(sxv)* IDS (8.3.2.2.)
-dwate- *(svv)* TRA (5.4.2.3.)
-dwatja- *(DR)* forest (5.3.1.)
-e *(sxx)* too, also, with, again, more (5.5.31.)
-ete- *(svv)* COMIT (5.4.8.)
-eteja- *(svv)* 1PO (5.1.1.2.)
-eteletay- *(svv)* 2PO.FEM (5.1.1.2.)
-etelexwa- *(svv)* 2PO (5.1.1.2.)
-hana- *(svv)* one (5.1.5.)
-hata- *(svv)* 3S.2O (5.1.1.2.)
-he- *(svv)* NEG (7.1.1.)
-hehỹ *(svv)* CONT (5.5.29.)
-here *(svv)* INTL (5.5.14.1.)
-herejã- *(svv)* APPL (5.5.14.3.)

-heta- *(svv)* DESI (5.5.13.)
-hỹ *(svn)* NOM (4.2.2.1.), (5.6.1.), (5.4.9.), (5.5.20.), (5.6.4.)
-hyhydy- *(svv)* noise
-hỹsi *(svv)* NEG (7.1.3.)
-ĩ?ĩ?e- *(svv)* always (5.5.24.)
-ĩ?ĩ- *(svv)* REM (5.5.3.)
-ĩ- *(svn)* NEG (7.1.2.)
-ini *(svv)* NEE (5.2.8.)
-ĩsi *(sxa)* every (7.1.2.)
-ja *(svv)* EXP (5.2.4.2.)
-jã *(CL)* root (4.2.2.4.)
-ja- *(DR)* thither (5.3.1.)
-ja- *(svv)* IO (5.1.4.2.)
jã- *(pdem)* DIST (4.6.2.)
-jãhỹ *(CL)* trail, path, road (4.2.2.3.)
-je?e- *(svv)* too, again (5.5.31.)
-je- *(DR)* away, dig (5.3.1.)
-ỹ- *(sxx)* ATT (4.3.2.1.)
-yi *(CL)* thread, string, grub (4.2.2.4.)
-ỹi *(CL)* flesh (4.2.2.2.)
-ka *(CL)* bark, shell, spathe (4.2.2.4.)
-kace *(DR/CL)* wood (on top of horizontal wood) (5.3.1.)
-kai *(CL)* leg (4.2.2.4.)
-kãi *(CL)* mouth, lips, large opening (4.2.2.4.)
-kãjã *(CL)* root (4.2.2.4.)
-kalo *(CL)* leaves (4.2.2.2.)
-kanɛ *(CL)* board, flat stick, wood, oblong inflexible (4.2.2.4.)
-kãrã *(CL)* edge or rim of certain things (4.2.2.4.)
-kãrãi *(CL)* edge, rim (4.2.2.4.)
-karu *(CL)* scale, scaly, plate (4.2.2.4.)
-karwɛ- *(DR)* away, close by, around, behind, in a circle (5.3.1.)
-karwa- *(DR)* away, behind (5.3.1.)
-karwanĩ *(CL)* nose (4.2.2.3.)
-kasi *(CL)* wing, feathers (4.2.2.4.)
-katsa- *(DR)* middle of the road (5.3.1.)
-kawa *(CL)* inside of a round vessel (4.2.2.2.)
-ke *(CL)* cob (4.2.2.4.)
-kë *(CL)* bristle, prickly (4.2.2.4.)
-keni *(CL)* beak (4.2.2.4.)
-ki *(svv)* DEC (5.2.1.)
-kja- *(DR)* length (full), upright or stretched out (5.3.1.)
-ky *(svv)* NEI (5.2.7.)
-ky- *(svv)* PAST (5.5.2.)
-kywy *(svv)* COND (8.2.1.), (8.2.1.1.)
-ko *(CL)* fruit (big) (4.2.2.4.)
-ko *(snn)* INS (4.1.3.)
-koce *(CL)* neck (back of) (4.2.2.4.)
-koje *(CL)* hand (4.2.2.3.)
-koke *(CL)* root (4.2.2.4.)
-koko *(CL)* throat, neck (4.2.2.4.)
-kore- *(DR)* matutinal, of the morning (5.3.1.)
-koro *(CL)* arm (4.2.2.3.)
-kudji *(CL)* paw with nail, hoof (4.2.2.4.)
-kurwa- *(DR)* foot of tree (5.3.1.)
-kuty *(CL)* head (4.2.2.3.)
-kutytɛ- *(DR)* beyond, behind, over the hill (5.3.3.)
-kwa- *(DR)* inside (5.3.1.)
-kwadu *(CL)* molar (4.2.2.4.)
-kwarë *(CL)* side of chest (4.2.2.4.)
-kwate- *(DR)* inside (5.3.1.)
-lɛ *(svv)* PREC (8.2.1.3.)
-lɛ- *(svv)* RECI (5.4.7.)
-le *(snn)* only, just, at least, alone, very (4.4.5.)
-le- *(svv)* FRUST (5.5.18.)
-leja- *(svv)* 2O.FUT (5.1.1.2.)
-lete *(svv)* CONC (8.2.2.1.)
-lo *(CL)* tube (4.2.2.2.)
-loco *(CL)* belly (fat of) (4.2.2.4.)
-loi *(CL)* flabby, soft, flexible (4.2.2.2.)
-lotswa *(CL)* tube, rifle (4.2.2.2.)
-lotxwɛ *(CL)* flute (4.2.2.2.)
-lũi *(CL)* navel, core (4.2.2.4.)
-mã- *(DR)* water (5.3.1.)
-mãi *(CL)* tooth (4.2.2.2.)
-mãjã *(ADV?)* TOP (7.2.2.)
-mãri- *(DR)* middle (5.3.1.)
-marja- *(DR)* midst (5.3.1.)

-mãte- *(DR)* into water (5.3.1.)
-me *(snn)* ASS (4.4.2.)
-më *(CL)* porridge (4.2.2.4.)
-mjãka *(CL)* intestines, belly (4.2.2.4.)
-mjãku *(CL)* stump, stub, hook (4.2.2.4.)
-mjè *(CL)* wound (4.2.2.4.)
-mỹ *(svv)* VOL (5.2.5.), (5.2.5.1.), (5.5.8.)
-mũ *(CL)* liquid, juice, chicha, river (4.2.2.4.)
-mũro *(CL)* curd, mass (4.2.2.4.)
-na *(snn)* LOC (4.1.2.)
na- *(pdem)* PROX (4.6.2.)
-na- *(svv)* one (impersonal) (5.1.5.)
-nã- *(DR)* fire, bottom (5.3.1.)
-nã- *(svv)* FUT (5.5.5.)
-nahere *(sxn)* COL (5.6.5.)
-nãi *(svn)* NOM (6.2.4.2.), (5.6.2.), (5.5.21.), (8.2.6.), (8.2.7.)
-nãixwa- *(sxv)* SIMU (7.2.5.)
-nãko *(CL)* bee (4.2.2.4.)
-nãsi *(CL)* ear (4.2.2.3.)
-natai *(CL)* armpit (4.2.2.2.)
-nãwã *(CL)* sky (4.2.2.3.)
-nɛ- *(DR)* hither (while originating from here) (5.3.1.)
-ni *(CL)* egg (4.2.2.4.)
-ni *(svv)* EXH (5.2.4.)
-nĩ *(CL)* needle, thorn (4.2.2.2.)
-nĩ- *(DR)* dust (into) (5.3.3.)
-nĩ- *(DR)* net, basket, bag (5.3.1.)
-nĩ- *(svv)* CAUS (5.2.4.1.), (5.5.9.)
-nĩnã- *(svv)* 2O (5.1.1.2.)
-nite *(svn)* INSTR (5.6.7.)
-nõwè- *(DR)* upstream (5.3.1.)
-nũ *(CL)* powder, hair, feathers, porridge, earth (4.2.2.4.)
-nwỹ *(CL)* tree (4.2.2.2.)
-nỹ- *(svv, DR)* REF, hither (5.3.1.), (5.4.6.)
-ñë *(CL)* leaf type (4.2.2.2.)
-ñwỹ- *(DR)* tree (5.3.1.)
-ra *(svv)* IMP (5.2.3.)
-rai *(sxx)* damn (7.2.7.)
-rata *(snn)* first (4.4.7.)
-rati *(CL)* man (4.2.2.2.)
-rati(-) *(sxx)* FOC (7.2.8.), (7.2.9.)
-ratsa- *(DR)* underneath (5.3.1.)
-re *(svv)* INT (5.2.2.)
-ri *(CL)* flat (4.2.2.4.)
-ri- *(DR)* up-down (5.3.1.)
-ri- *(svv)* ??? (5.5.33.)
-rice *(CL)* mouth, i.e. opening of mouth (4.2.2.4.)
-ricwa *(CL)* inhabited (place), house(s) (4.2.2.4.)
-rihi *(CL)* seed (flat oval) (4.2.2.4.)
-rilo *(CL)* jaw (4.2.2.4.)
-ritsa- *(DR)* outside (5.3.1.), (5.3.3.)
-ritsu *(CL)* flat thin wood (4.2.2.4.)
-rja- *(DR/CL)* edge (behind rim or edge), around (5.3.3.)
-rjakadwa *(DR/CL)* waterside (5.3.3.)
-rjana *(CL)* thigh, rim of the groin (4.2.2.4.)
-rjarwɛ *(DR/CL)* circle, round, environs (5.3.3.)
-rjatɛ- *(DR)* rim, side (5.3.3.)
-rje *(CL)* bunch, grating (4.2.2.4.)
-rjè *(CL)* side, rib, side of chest (4.2.2.4.)
-rjỹ *(CL/DR)* area, surroundings, all over, room, place, weather (4.2.2.2.), (5.3.3.)
-rjỹsë *(CL)* necklace of shells (4.2.2.4.)
-ry- *(sxx)* PAU (7.2.1.)
-rydy- *(svv)* IRR (5.5.16.), (8.2.1.2.)
-ro *(CL)* cup, container, vessel, ring (4.2.2.4.)
-rohaxu *(CL)* spine (4.2.2.4.)
-rokoca *(CL)* face (4.2.2.3.)
-rokotay *(CL)* abdomen (4.2.2.4.)
-romũ *(CL)* thigh (4.2.2.4.)
-romũtsa *(CL)* wrist (4.2.2.4.)
-ronɛ *(CL)* hole (4.2.2.3.)
-ronã *(CL)* hole (4.2.2.3.)
-rote *(CL)* door, hole of the house (4.2.2.3.)
-rwɛ *(DR/CL)* around (5.3.3.)
-rwa *(CL/DR)* hole, around, nostril (4.2.2.2.), (5.3.3.)
-sa *(CL)* beetle (4.2.2.2.)

-salõi *(CL)* snout, nose (4.2.2.4.)
-sanũka *(CL)* tip of house (4.2.2.4.)
-se *(CL)* anus, arse (4.2.2.2.)
-se *(CL)* tick (4.2.2.2.)
-sedi *(CL)* heel (4.2.2.4.)
-sexu *(CL)* spine (4.2.2.4.)
-si *(svv)* SWR (8.3.2.3.)
-sĩ *(CL)* knee (4.2.2.4.)
-sĩ *(CL)* seed, grain (4.2.2.4.)
-siki *(CL)* skin, leather, bark, cloth (4.2.2.4.)
-sikilɛ *(CL)* thin shell, eyelid (4.2.2.4.)
-sikilo *(CL)* shield (4.2.2.4.)
-sile- *(DR)* nocturnal (5.3.1.)
-silona- *(DR)* corner of the house (5.3.1.)
-simjãku *(CL)* stump (of tree) (4.2.2.4.)
-sinĩ *(CL)* stalk of leaf (treated), skewer, bird-arrow (4.2.2.4.)
-siñũ *(CL)* tail, fin (4.2.2.4.)
-siñwã *(CL/DR)* yard (4.2.2.4.), (5.3.3.)
-sisi *(CL)* chaff (4.2.2.2.)
-sitokorõ *(CL)* elbow, elbow point (4.2.2.4.)
-sitsa *(CL)* shin (4.2.2.4.)
-swãsĩ *(CL)* nail (4.2.2.3.)
-xa- *(svv)* 2 (5.1.1.1.)
-xa- *(svv)* AS (5.1.1.1.), (5.1.3.)
-xay- *(svv)* 2 (5.1.1.1.)
-xe *(CL)* leaf (small) (4.2.2.2.)
-xete- *(svv)* TRA (5.4.2.3.)
-xy *(CL)* house (4.2.2.3.)
-xy *(CL)* leaf, skin, bag (4.2.2.4.)
-xyi *(CL)* hair, fibre (4.2.2.4.)
-xyico *(CL)* feather (4.2.2.4.)
-xyilo *(CL)* tube, beak, pipe, protruding object (4.2.2.4.)
-xỹiro *(CL)* throat, gullet (4.2.2.4.)
-xykãjã *(CL)* froth or foam-like matter, lungs (4.2.2.4.)
-xytõi *(CL)* froth (4.2.2.4.)
-xona *(CL)* body (4.2.2.4.)
-xotɛ- *(svv)* TRA (5.4.2.3.)
-xu *(CL)* bone, stem of plant (4.2.2.3.)
-xũjè *(CL)* beak, fuse, nipple (4.2.2.4.)
-xuko *(sdem)* SETT (4.6.3.)
-xuku *(CL)* stem (4.2.2.2.)
-xuri *(CL)* chest (4.2.2.4.)
-xuro *(CL)* cheek (4.2.2.4.)
-xuto *(CL)* hip bone, buttock (4.2.2.4.)
-xuxwa- *(svv)* IS.2O (5.1.4.1.)
-xwa *(CL)* man, human (4.2.2.3.)
-xwana *(CL)* flesh, meat (4.2.2.2.)
-tɛ *(CL)* round, disc, belly (4.2.2.4.)
-ta *(svn)* ANI (4.5.1.)
-ta *(svv)* CSO (8.3.1.4.)
-ta *(svv)* IMP (5.2.3.2.)
-ta?ỹ- *(svv)* 1SO (5.1.1.2.)
-ta- *(svv)* 1O (5.1.1.2.)
-ta- *(svv)* TRA (5.4.2.1.)
-tady *(sxx)* EXCL, blast!, yes!, that's it!, isn't it?, (7.2.10.)
-tahĩ *(CL)* forehead (4.2.2.4.)
-taka *(CL)* stem of arrow (4.2.2.4.)
-tara- *(svv)* PROC, later, first, perhaps, fortunately (5.5.19.)
-tatsitswa- *(DR)* underside, backside (5.3.1.)
-taxwa- *(svv)* IS.1O (5.1.4.1.)
-tay *(CL)* vessel, bottle, buxom (4.2.2.4.)
-tay *(CL)* woman (4.2.2.4.)
-tay- *(svv)* 1O (5.1.1.2.)
-te *(sxn)* NOM (5.6.6.)
-te *(sxx)* INTENS (4.4.8.), (5.5.30.)
-te- *(svv)* PURP (5.5.12.)
-tehere *(svv)* APPR (5.5.14.2.)
-tehu *(CL)* spoon (4.2.2.3.)
-tejũ *(CL)* braided eye (4.2.2.4.)
-tenɛ- *(DR)* down (5.3.1.)
-terjỹ *(CL/DR)* cinder, fire (4.2.2.4.), (5.3.3.)
-tete *(sxx)* INTENS (4.4.8.), (5.5.30.), (6.2.4.4.)
-ti- *(svv)* IS (5.1.4.1.)
-tja *(svv)* CSO (8.3.1.4.), (8.2.4.), (6.2.4.5.)

-tja- *(svv)* TRA (5.4.2.2.)
-tjara- *(svv)* PROC (5.5.19.3.1.)
-tjarjỹ- *(svv, DR)* much, always, probe everywhere, all around (5.5.25.)
-tjate *(snn)* 3.POS (4.4.1.)
-ty- *(svv)* DET (5.4.5.)
-tydy *(snn)* grub (4.4.4.)
-tyxa *(CL)* iron (sheet), metal plate, metal, tin, aluminium (4.2.2.4.)
-to *(CL)* seed, fruit, kernel, shell, sex organ (4.2.2.4.)
-toha *(CL)* foot (4.2.2.3.)
-tohoi *(CL)* child, small, youngster (4.2.2.4.)
-tõi *(CL)* eye (ball), fruit, star (4.2.2.4.)
-toju *(CL)* finger (4.2.2.4.)
-tori *(CL)* corner point (4.2.2.4.)
-torõi *(CL)* cylinder (4.2.2.4.)
-totɛ- *(DR)* upwards from below (5.3.1.)
-toto- *(DR)* upward (over) (5.3.1.)
-totse *(CL)* bunch (4.2.2.4.)
-tsa *(CL)* hand (4.2.2.2.)
-tse *(svv)* DEC (5.2.1.)
-tsèrjỹ- *(DR)* lie (5.3.1.)
-tsi *(svv)* MON (5.2.9.), (5.5.10.)
-tsy *(snv)* RES (5.5.17.)
-tsy- *(svv)* GER (8.1.2.), (5.5.7.), (5.2.2.2.), (5.2.3.1.)
-tsy- *(sxv)* POT (8.1.1.), (5.5.6.)
-tsumãi *(CL)* point, hook (4.2.2.4.)
-tsurje *(CL)* board, plank (4.2.2.4.)
-tswatswɛ- *(DR)* behind (5.3.1.)
-tswe *(CL)* root, medicine from the forest (4.2.2.4.)
-tu *(CL)* back, shoulder (4.2.2.4.)
-tuku *(CL)* tongue (4.2.2.3.)
-tutɛ *(CL)* mountain range (4.2.2.4.)
-ca- *(svv)* EMP (5.2.3.3.)
-ce *(CL)* hole (big) (4.2.2.4.), (5.3.3.)
-ce- *(DR)* aside (5.3.1.)
-cehere *(svv)* APPR (5.5.14.2.)
-ci- *(svv)* IS (5.1.4.1.)
-corewe *(CL)* ankle + heel + lower shin (4.2.2.4.)
-cu- *(svv)* IS (5.1.4.1.)
-cwa- *(DR)* high up (5.3.1.), (8.3.1.5.)
-cwa- *(svv)* IS (5.1.4.1.)
-cwanĩ *(DR/CL)* hole, bottom (5.3.3.)
-txa- *(DR)* wide (5.3.1.)
-txetxi- *(svv)* really (7.2.4.)
-txi *(CL)* vagina (4.2.2.3.)
-txĩ *(CL)* rear end of bird (4.2.2.4.)
-txitxi *(sxx)* CONTRA (7.2.3.)
-ũ *(CL)* flower (4.2.2.4.)
-ũ *(CL)* grain (4.2.2.3.)
-uty *(snn)* FEM in-law (4.4.3.)
-wa *(CL)* shell (4.2.2.2.)
-wã *(snn)* AO (4.1.1.), (5.6.4.)
-wa- *(svv)* IS (5.1.4.1.)
-wara *(svv)* but (8.2.2.3.)
-wy *(sxa)* time (8.2.5.)
-?wỹte *(sxv)* pity (7.2.6.)

2. **Classifiers**

-rokotay abdomen (4.2.2.4.)
-corewe ankle + heel + lower shin (4.2.2.4.)
-se anus, arse (4.2.2.2.)
-koro arm (4.2.2.3.)
-natai armpit (4.2.2.2.)
-tu back, shoulder (4.2.2.4.)
-ka bark, shell, spathe (4.2.2.4.)
-keni beak (4.2.2.4.)
-xũjè beak, fuse, nipple (4.2.2.4.)
-nãko bee (4.2.2.4.)
-sa beetle (4.2.2.2.)
-loco belly (fat of) (4.2.2.4.)
-ce hole (big) (4.2.2.4.), (5.3.3.)
-kanɛ board, flat stick, wood, oblong inflexible (4.2.2.4.)
-tsurje board, plank (4.2.2.4.)
-xona body (4.2.2.4.)
-xu bone, stem of plant (4.2.2.3.)
-tejũ braided eye (4.2.2.4.)
-kë bristle, prickly (4.2.2.4.)
-rje bunch, grating (4.2.2.4.)
-totse bunch (4.2.2.4.)

-sisi chaff (4.2.2.2.)
-xuro cheek (4.2.2.4.)
-xuri chest (4.2.2.4.)
-tohoi child, small, youngster (4.2.2.4.)
-ke cob (4.2.2.4.)
-tori corner point (4.2.2.4.)
-ro cup, container, vessel, ring (4.2.2.4.)
-torõi cylinder (4.2.2.4.)
-mũro curd, mass (4.2.2.4.)
-rote door, hole of the house (4.2.2.3.)
-nãsi ear (4.2.2.3.)
-kãrã edge or rim of certain things (4.2.2.4.)
-kãrãi edge, rim (4.2.2.4.)
-ni egg (4.2.2.4.)
-sitokorõ elbow, elbow point (4.2.2.4.)
-tõi eye (ball), fruit, star (4.2.2.4.)
-rokoca face (4.2.2.3.)
-xyico feather (4.2.2.4.)
-toju finger (4.2.2.4.)
-loi flabby, soft, flexible (4.2.2.2.)
-ri flat (4.2.2.4.)
-ritsu flat thin wood (4.2.2.4.)
-ỹi flesh (4.2.2.2.)
-xwana flesh, meat (4.2.2.2.)
-ũ flower (4.2.2.4.)
-lotxwɛ flute (4.2.2.2.)
-djo foot (4.2.2.2.)
-toha foot (4.2.2.3.)
-tahĩ forehead (4.2.2.4.)
-xykãjã froth or foam-like matter, lungs (4.2.2.4.)
-xytõi froth (4.2.2.4.)
-ko fruit (big) (4.2.2.4.)
-ũ grain (4.2.2.3.)
-xyi hair, fibre (4.2.2.4.)
-koje hand (4.2.2.3.)
-tsa hand (4.2.2.2.)
-kuty head (4.2.2.3.)
-sedi heel (4.2.2.4.)
-xuto hip bone, buttock (4.2.2.4.)
-ronɛ hole (4.2.2.3.)
-ronã hole (4.2.2.3.)
-xy house (4.2.2.3.)
-ricwa inhabited (place), house(s) (4.2.2.4.)
-kawa inside of a round vessel (4.2.2.2.)
-mjãka intestines, belly (4.2.2.4.)
-tyxa iron (sheet), metal plate, metal, tin, aluminium (4.2.2.4.)
-rilo jaw (4.2.2.4.)
-sĩ knee (4.2.2.4.)
-ñë leaf type (4.2.2.2.)
-xe leaf (small) (4.2.2.2.)
-xy leaf, skin, bag (4.2.2.4.)
-kalo leaves (4.2.2.2.)
-kai leg (4.2.2.4.)
-mũ liquid, juice, chicha, river (4.2.2.4.)
-rati man (4.2.2.2.)
-xwa man, human (4.2.2.3.)
-kwadu molar (4.2.2.4.)
-tutɛ mountain range (4.2.2.4.)
-kãi mouth, lips, large opening (4.2.2.4.)
-rice mouth, i.e. opening of mouth (4.2.2.4.)
-swãsĩ nail (4.2.2.3.)
-lũi navel, core (4.2.2.4.)
-koce neck (back of) (4.2.2.4.)
-rjỹsë necklace of shells (4.2.2.4.)
-nĩ needle, thorn (4.2.2.2.)
-karwanĩ nose (4.2.2.3.)
-kudji paw with nail, hoof (4.2.2.4.)
-tsumãi point, hook (4.2.2.4.)
-më porridge (4.2.2.4.)
-nũ powder, hair, feathers, porridge, earth (4.2.2.4.)
-txĩ rear end of bird (4.2.2.4.)
-jã root (4.2.2.4.)
-kãjã root (4.2.2.4.)
-koke root (4.2.2.4.)
-tswe root, medicine from the forest (4.2.2.4.)
-tɛ round, disc, belly (4.2.2.4.)
-karu scale, scaly, plate (4.2.2.4.)
-sĩ seed, grain (4.2.2.4.)
-to seed, fruit, kernel, shell, sex organ (4.2.2.4.)
-rihi seed (flat oval) (4.2.2.4.)

-wa shell (4.2.2.2.)
-sikilo shield (4.2.2.4.)
-sitsa shin (4.2.2.4.)
-bari shoulders, back (4.2.2.4.)
-kwarë side of chest (4.2.2.4.)
-rjè side, rib, side of chest (4.2.2.4.)
-siki skin, leather, bark, cloth (4.2.2.4.)
-nãwã sky (4.2.2.3.)
-djay snake, centipede (4.2.2.2.)
-salõi snout, nose (4.2.2.4.)
-rohaxu spine (4.2.2.4.)
-sexu spine (4.2.2.4.)
-tehu spoon (4.2.2.3.)
-sinĩ stalk of leaf (treated), skewer, bird-arrow (4.2.2.4.)
-taka stem of arrow (4.2.2.4.)
-xuku stem (4.2.2.2.)
-dwa stone (4.2.2.4.)
-dũrũ stump, bare stem, bald smooth object (4.2.2.4.)
-mjãku stump, stub, hook (4.2.2.4.)
-simjãku stump (of tree) (4.2.2.4.)
-siñũ tail, fin (4.2.2.4.)
-rjana thigh, rim of the groin (4.2.2.4.)
-romũ thigh (4.2.2.4.)
-sikilɛ thin shell, eyelid (4.2.2.4.)
-yi thread, string, grub (4.2.2.4.)
-koko throat, neck (4.2.2.4.)
-xỹiro throat, gullet (4.2.2.4.)
-se tick (4.2.2.2.)
-sanũka tip of house (4.2.2.4.)
-djoju toe (4.2.2.2.)
-tuku tongue (4.2.2.3.)
-mãi tooth (4.2.2.2.)
-jãhỹ trail, path, road (4.2.2.3.)
-nwỹ tree (4.2.2.2.)
-lo tube (4.2.2.2.)
-lotswa tube, rifle (4.2.2.2.)
-xyilo tube, beak, pipe, protruding object (4.2.2.4.)
-txi vagina (4.2.2.3.)
-tay vessel, bottle, buxom (4.2.2.4.)
-kasi wing, feathers (4.2.2.4.)
-tay woman (4.2.2.4.)
-mjè wound (4.2.2.4.)
-romũtsa wrist (4.2.2.4.)

2.1. **Classifiers of ambiguous status**

-rjỹ area, surroundings, all over, room, place, weather (4.2.2.2.), (5.3.3.)
-terjỹ cinder, fire (4.2.2.4.), (5.3.3.)
-rwa hole, around, nostril (4.2.2.2.), (5.3.3.)
-siñwã yard (4.2.2.4.), (5.3.3.)

3. **Directionals**

-ce- aside (5.3.1.)
-je- away, dig (5.3.1.)
-karwɛ- away, close by, around, behind, in a circle (5.3.1.)
-karwa- away, behind (5.3.1.)
-tswatswɛ- behind (5.3.1.)
-kutytɛ- beyond, behind, over the hill (5.3.3.)
-silona- corner of the house (5.3.1.)
-tenɛ- down (5.3.1.)
-nĩ- dust (into) (5.3.3.)
-nã- fire, bottom (5.3.1.)
-kurwa- foot of tree (5.3.1.)
-dwatja- forest (5.3.1.)
-cwa- high up (5.3.1.), (8.3.1.5.)
-nɛ- hither (while originating from here) (5.3.1.)
-kwa- inside (5.3.1.)
-kwate- inside (5.3.1.)
-mãte- into water (5.3.1.)
-kja- length (full), upright or stretched out (5.3.1.)
-tsèrjỹ- lie (5.3.1.)
-kore- matutinal, of the morning (5.3.1.)
-katsa- middle of the road (5.3.1.)
-mãri- middle (5.3.1.)
-marja- midst (5.3.1.)
-nĩ- net, basket, bag (5.3.1.)
-sile- nocturnal (5.3.1.)
-dwa- onto, onto a plane surface (5.3.1.)
-ritsa- outside (5.3.1.), (5.3.3.)

-rjatɛ- rim, side (5.3.3.)
-ja- thither (5.3.1.)
-ñwỹ- tree (5.3.1.)
-ratsa- underneath (5.3.1.)
-tatsitswa- underside, backside (5.3.1.)
-ri- up-down (5.3.1.)
-nõwè- upstream (5.3.1.)
-toto- upward (over) (5.3.1.)
-totɛ- upwards from below (5.3.1.)
-mã- water (5.3.1.)
-txa- wide (5.3.1.)

3.1. **Directionals of ambiguous status**

-rwɛ around (5.3.3.)
-rjarwɛ circle, round, environs (5.3.3.)
-rja- edge (behind rim or edge), around (5.3.3.)
-cwanĩ hole, bottom (5.3.3.)
-rjakadwa waterside (5.3.3.)
-kace wood (on top of horizontal wood) (5.3.1.)

4. **Demonstrative affixes**

jã- DIST (4.6.2.)
na- PROX (4.6.2.)
-xuko SETT (4.6.3.)

5. **Nominal affixes**

-tjate 3.POS (4.4.1.)
-wã AO (4.1.1.), (5.6.4.)
-me ASS (4.4.2.)
-du BER (4.1.4.)
-dynỹ COMIT (4.1.5.)
-uty FEM in-law (4.4.3.)
-rata first (4.4.7.)
-tydy grub (4.4.4.)
-ko INS (4.1.3.)
-dynãi language, way (6.2.4.2.), (4.7.2.)
-na LOC (4.1.2.)
-le only, just, at least, alone, very (4.4.5.)

6. **Verbal affixes**

-ri- ??? (5.5.33.)
-ta- 1O (5.1.1.2.)
-tay- 1O (5.1.1.2.)
-a- 1P (5.1.1.1.), (5.1.2.), (5.1.6.), (5.6.3.)
-ay- 1P (5.1.1.1.)
-eteja- 1PO (5.1.1.2.)
-da- 1S (5.1.1.1.)
-day- 1S (5.1.1.1.)
-ta?ỹ- 1SO (5.1.1.2.)
-xa- 2 (5.1.1.1.)
-xay- 2 (5.1.1.1.)
-nĩnã- 2O (5.1.1.2.)
-leja- 2O.FUT (5.1.1.2.)
-etelexwa- 2PO (5.1.1.2.)
-eteletay- 2PO.FEM (5.1.1.2.)
-hata- 3S.2O (5.1.1.2.)
-dykytɛ ADDI (8.2.3.)
-ĩ?ĩ?e- always (5.5.24.)
-herejã- APPL (5.5.14.3.)
-cehere APPR (5.5.14.2.)
-tehere APPR (5.5.14.2.)
-xa- AS (5.1.1.1.), (5.1.3.)
-wara but (8.2.2.3.)
-dy- CAU (5.4.3.), (4.5.5.)
-nĩ- CAUS (5.2.4.1.), (5.5.9.)
-ete- COMIT (5.4.8.)
-lete CONC (8.2.2.1.)
-kywy COND (8.2.1.), (8.2.1.1.)
-dutu- CONS (5.5.32.)
-hehỹ CONT (5.5.29.)
-ta CSO (8.3.1.4.)
-tja CSO (8.3.1.4.), (8.2.4.), (6.2.4.5.)
-ki DEC (5.2.1.)
-tse DEC (5.2.1.)
-heta- DESI (5.5.13.)
-ty- DET (5.4.5.)
-dy- DS (8.3.2.1.)
-ca- EMP (5.2.3.3.)

-ni EXH (5.2.4.)
-ja EXP (5.2.4.2.)
-le- FRUST (5.5.18.)
-nã- FUT (5.5.5.)
-tsy- GER (8.1.2.), (5.5.7.), (5.2.2.2.), (5.2.3.1.)
-ra IMP (5.2.3.)
-ta IMP (5.2.3.2.)
-re INT (5.2.2.)
-here INTL (5.5.14.1.)
-ja- IO (5.1.4.2.)
-rydy- IRR (5.5.16.), (8.2.1.2.)
-ci- IS (5.1.4.1.)
-cu- IS (5.1.4.1.)
-cwa- IS (5.1.4.1.)
-ti- IS (5.1.4.1.)
-wa- IS (5.1.4.1.)
-taxwa- IS.1O (5.1.4.1.)
-xuxwa- IS.2O (5.1.4.1.)
-tsi MON (5.2.9.), (5.5.10.)
-tjarjỹ- *(svv, DR)* much, always, probe everywhere, all around (5.5.25.)
-ini NEE (5.2.8.)
-he- NEG (7.1.1.)
-hỹsi NEG (7.1.3.)
-ky NEI (5.2.7.)
-hyhydy- noise
-hana- one (5.1.5.)
-na- one (impersonal) (5.1.5.)
-ky- PAST (5.5.2.)
-lɛ PREC (8.2.1.3.)
-tara- PROC, later, first, perhaps, fortunately (5.5.19.)
-tjara- PROC (5.5.19.3.1.)
-te- PURP (5.5.12.)
-txetxi- really (7.2.4.)
-lɛ- RECI (5.4.7.)
-nỹ- *(svv, DR)* REF, hither (5.3.1.), (5.4.6.)
-ĩ?ĩ- REM (5.5.3.)
-si SWR (8.3.2.3.)
-je?e- too, again (5.5.31.)
-dwate- TRA (5.4.2.3.)
-ta- TRA (5.4.2.1.)
-tja- TRA (5.4.2.2.)
-xete- TRA (5.4.2.3.)
-xotɛ- TRA (5.4.2.3.)
-mỹ VOL (5.2.5.), (5.2.5.1.), (5.5.8.)

7. **Other affixes**

-ta *(svn)* ANI (4.5.1.)
-ỹ- *(sxx)* ATT (4.3.2.1.)
-nahere *(sxn)* COL (5.6.5.)
-txitxi *(sxx)* CONTRA (7.2.3.)
-rai *(sxx)* damn (7.2.7.)
-ĩsi *(sxa)* every (7.1.2.)
-tady *(sxx)* EXCL, blast!, yes!, that's it!, isn't it?, (7.2.10.)
-rati(-) *(sxx)* FOC (7.2.8.), (7.2.9.)
-dwa- *(sxv)* IDS (8.3.2.2.)
-nite *(svn)* INSTR (5.6.7.)
-te *(sxx)* INTENS (4.4.8.), (5.5.30.)
-tete *(sxx)* INTENS (4.4.8.), (5.5.30.), (6.2.4.4.)
-ĩ- *(svn)* NEG (7.1.2.)
-hỹ *(svn)* NOM (4.2.2.1.), (5.6.1.), (5.4.9.), (5.5.20.), (5.6.4.)
-nãi *(svn)* NOM (6.2.4.2.), (5.6.2.), (5.5.21.), (8.2.6.), (8.2.7.)
-te *(sxn)* NOM (5.6.6.)
-ry- *(sxx)* PAU (7.2.1.)
-?wỹte *(sxv)* pity (7.2.6.)
-dy- *(snx)* POS (4.3.1.)
-tsy- *(sxv)* POT (8.1.1.), (5.5.6.)
-tsy *(snv)* RES (5.5.17.)
-nãixwa- *(sxv)* SIMU (7.2.5.)
-wy *(sxa)* time (8.2.5.)
-e *(sxx)* too, also, with, again, more (5.5.31.)
-mãjã *(ADV?)* TOP (7.2.2.)

Subject index

Categories mentioned in this index that do not occur in the Kwaza language are indicated as *(n.a.)* 'not attested'.

abstract ellipsis 588-590
accessibility to "relativisation" 688-689
additive 648-649
  repetitive used as 206-207
adjective (n.a.) 187-199
adposition (n.a.) 94
adverb Ch. 6., 93, 103-104
  basic 485-495
  formative root 495-500
  other categories used as 501-506
  perfect 451
  reduplication 500-501
adverbial clauses 627-653
  gerundial in 622-623
adverbial morphology 495-517
  affixes 507-517
  nominalisation 507-515, 652
  stems, classification of 132
  numerals used as 220-221
adverbialisation, predicative 515
  temporal 507-509
affricates 59-61
age terminology 725
agent noun 477-479
allophones 87-89
alphabetical order 86
ambiguous classifiers and directionals 347-355
animate object case 105-110
  optional marking 115-117
  word order 117-118
antithetic 640-645
antithetic conjecture: intentional 418-420
apparential, deductive conjecture 420-425
appellative 425-427
applicative 127, 357, 358, 362, 366, 381
argument number 383-388
arguments 100-103
  number (verbal number) 383-388, 456, 562
  number of (valency) 355-357
article (n.a.) 94
aspect, tense, modality 388-465
  -nãi- and *-hỹ-* 450
  uses of frustrative 431-434
associative 202-203
autodenomination 3, 7, 727, 730-732
attributive (adjective) 187-199
  and complement clauses 701-704
  classification of derived verb 130
  clauses 687-697
  clauses, case marking in 692-693
  clauses, headless 689-692
  clauses, restriction 696-697
  modification 180-200
  morpheme 189-194
  multiple 695-696
  roots, classification of 131-132
  roots with obligatory classifier 195-199

"be", verb root *jã-* 556-558
  impersonal use of 278-280
benefactive use of 'give' 373
beneficiary exhortative 313
bound morphemes 96-97
bound roots 131-132, 135-136, 189-194, 195-199, 469, 596
brother-sister terminology 724-725

Carlson's 1984 glossary 42-44
case 105-128
  animate object 105-110, 115-118
  beneficiary 125-126
  cislocative 124-125
  comitative 126-128
  in attributive clauses 692-693
  instrumental 122-124
  locative 121-122
causational 309-311, 401

causative 366-373
and different subject 676-677
cause or reason complement 633-635
chaining, of conditional clauses 637-638
and discourse particles 668-669
children's language 715-716
classification, dimensions 177-179
classifiers 128-180
ambiguity with directionals 179, 347-355
attached to adverbial stems 132
attached to bare attributive roots 131-132
attached to demonstrative roots 132-133
attached to derived attributive verb stems 130
attached to derived possessive noun stems 130-131
attached to interrogative roots 133
attached to nouns 134-135
directionals, comparison 346-347
distribution 129-137
etymologically opaque 138-146
etymologically transparent 146-151
etymologically unrelated 151-175
incorporation 128, 133-134, 137, 138, 146, 147, 346, 499, 574, 612
lexicalised 135-136
nature and productivity 175-176
neutral 137-138
obligatory 195-199
types 137-175
verbs with 114
clause structure Ch. 3., Ch. 8.
clefting 138, 188, 211, 278, 299-300, 396, 445, 526, 534, 564, 595, 620, 659, 711
cliticisation 244, 295, 299, 311, 315, 363, 455, 585-588, 633, 646
"be" 555, 557, 711, 713
contrastive topic 542
ellipsis 508, 647
resumptive particles 326, 582, 685
quotation construction 295, 405, 665, 668
zero-verbalisation 295
collective noun 479-480
colour terms 716-718
comitative 126-128, 381-382
comparison 199-200, 676
complement clauses 697-701
and attributive clauses 701-704
of cause or reason 633-635
tma effects 452
compounds 567-575
negative 531-532
other 573-575
verbal 567-573
concessive 638-648
counterfactual 631
conditional 628-638
chaining of 637-638
counterfactual 630-631
open 628-60
conjectural 417-427
deductive apparential 420-425
consecutive 463-464
consonants 46, 51-59
consonant-glide combinations 66-68
contact history 4-6
contemporative 652-653
context dependent heads 693-695
contrast, temporary 457-459
contrastive 459-461
focus 542-543
topic 541-542
coordination 704-708
through cosubordination 670-671
function of gerundial 619-621
correspondences with neighbouring languages 179-180, 239-240
cosubordination 653-687
and different subjects 672-679
interrogative 659-60
manner 517
morphosyntactic aspects 666-667
counter of presupposition
adverb 491
contrastive topic 541
indignant 711
negative 270, 287, 457, 460, 461, 522-525, 527, 529, 637
counterfactual concessive 631
conditional 630-631
cross-reference 244-282
reduplication of 392-395, 455-456

declarative 284-296
-tse vs. *-ki* 285-296
deductive conjecture: apparential 420-425
definiteness 92, 94, 105, 241, 242, 247, 282, 362, 691
degrammaticalisation 427-428
delay 601
demonstratives 223-234
classification of 132-133
derivation and inflexion 427-428
desiderative 415-417
detrimental 373-376
different subject 672-686
and causative 676-677
and comparison 676
in subordinate clauses 675-676
indefinite 659-681
in cosubordination 672-679
dimensions of classification 177-179
diphthongs 63-65
directionals 328-355
ambiguity with classifiers 179, 347-355
comparison 346-347
discontinuity
discourse particles 678-679
pragmatic 685-686, 598
predicates 591-594
negative 528, 320
root 335, 372, 376, 443, 444
discourse particles 668-669
distance in demonstratives 226-228
distribution of morphemes 98-99
ditransitive verbs 112-113
dog names 732-733
dual 384, 563, 708
dummy roots 556-558, 596, 710-711

ellipsis
morphological 575-594
and negation 528-531
nominal 590-591
of inflexion 576-578
of roots 578-590
origin of quotation construction 405-407
responses 579-581
embedded objects, case marking 118
emphatic 204-206, 543-545
interrogative used for 298-300
negative 534-537
empty root 92, 93, 96, 136-137, 346-347, 495-500, 595-500, 594-595, 709-710
ethnonyms 729-732
evidential 264, 418, 421, 426, 493
exceptional sounds 75
exclamative 554-556, 600
exclusive reference 258
exhortative 308-313
beneficiary 313
negative 321-322
particle 312-313, 602
paucal 311-312
expeditions 6-9
expletive 547-550, 601
explicative 712-713

feminine 203
fieldwork situation 15-18
finger counting gestures 219
first person plural 278, 471-477
ambiguous interpretation 475-477
non-personal use 278
focus 539, 550-552
cleft/recursion 211, 468
contrastive 542-543, 614
object 357, 360, 363
word order 390
formative root
adverb 495-500
noun 136-137
free lexical forms 136-137
frustrative 431-434, 642-647
future 397-399
second person object 280-282
tense and modal categories 399-401

gender (n.a.) 92, 105
genetic classification 26
geometrical shapes 718-720
gerundi(v)al 401, 614-627
coordinative function of 619-621
in adverbial clauses 622-623
in nominalisation 622-623
in reported speech 621-622
in the interrogative 300-301, 617-

619
third person and 623-625
glides 63-68
grub 203-204

habitual 452-456, 711-712
negative 537-539
reduplication 455-456
headless attributive clauses 689-692
numeral 221
possessive 183-185
"relative" 129, 188, 612, 693
heads, context dependent 693-695
hesitation 598-599
historical development 84, 141, 179, 239, 296, 427, 661
historical narrative use of *-rati-* 552-554
history of contact 4-6
hydronyms 733-734

iconicity
compound order 568
word order 666, 667
reduplication 385, 396, 560-565, 585
identical subjects in cosubordination 657
ideophones 734-738
imperative 301-308
cosubordination 658-659
mitigated 303-304, 438, 528, 608, 633, 642
particles 307-308
-ta 304
-tsy- 303-304
-ca 304-307
impersonal reference 247, 256, 273-277, 286, 379, 398, 515, 582
use of 'be' 278-280, 413, 558, 559, 583, 595
sense of apparential 422, 423
verbs 356
implosive 61-62
impressive 659-600
inanimate objects, case marking 119-120
inclusive 237-239, 256-257, 272-273
indefinite 259
different subject 365, 679-681
object 247, 250, 251, 268-271, 275, 276, 282, 660
pronoun 241, 259, 532, 691
subject 140, 211, 242, 247, 250-253, 259-267, 278, 286, 385, 393, 404, 554, 593, 694
subject in medial clauses 663-664
Indians of Southern Rondônia 2-4
indignant 711-713
indirect speech 409-410
infixation (see discontinuity of roots)
causative 349, 371
negative 376
reflexive 198, 372, 376, 380, 506
inflexion and derivation 427-428
ellipsis of 576-578
instrument noun 482-485
instrumental case 122-124
intensifier 207, 461-462, 515-517
intensive 515-516
habitual 454-455
intentional 418-420
interrogative 297-301
cosubordination 659-660
emphatic uses 298-300
gerundial 300-301, 617-619
objects 117
pronoun 240-242
roots, classification of 133
with *-tara-* 439-440
intonation 74, 297, 577, 587
irrealis 428

kinship terminology 202, 203, 720-723

lamentative 547
laryngealisation 79
length 73
Lévi-Strauss' 1938 glossary 30-32
lexicalisation of (see also productivity)
additive 207
causative 360, 372, 373
classifiers 114, 135-136, 140, 143, 146, 153, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 166, 174, 176, 187, 189, 502
comitative 127
compounds 568, 572, 573
directional 331, 132, 334, 340, 344, 345, 347, 350, 352, 353, 354
ellipsis 590

gerundial 619
intensifier 482
mood 299, 316, 322, 327
negation 521
nominaliser 138, 197, 450, 468, 469, 546, 646, 647
numerals 218, 221
parts of adverbs 485, 491, 493, 494, 496, 511
person marking 271, 282
procrastinative 437
reduplication 560, 564-566
reflexive 338, 378
simulative 546
transitiviser 134, 363, 365, 719
loan phonology 75-77
location 228-232
locative case 121-122

manner 649-650
cosubordination 517
medial clauses 653-687
functions 665-666
metathesis 85
methodology 15-18
middle 339, 694
reflexive 376-379
minimal expressions and responses 602-603
minimal pairs 47-59
modality, aspect, tense 388-465
and future tense 399-401
-tara- 440-444
uses of frustrative 431-434
modifier 104
attributive 180-200
monitory 322-325
mood 283-327
modality, degrammaticalisation 427-428
morpheme order 25, 98-99, 463, 523, 526, 534
morpheme types 96-99
morphological ellipsis 575-594
morphophonemics 82-86
mythological names 729-732

narrative, historical 552-554
nasality 62-63, 79, 82
negation 519-539
and ellipsis 528-531
emphatic 534-537
exhortative 321-322
habitual 537-539
imperative 319-321
in compounds 531-532
in different moods 527-528
under nominalisation 525-526
suffix 519-534
neutral classifier 137-138
nominal clauses 687-704
nominal properties of remote past 396-397
nominalisation 465-485
adverbial 510-515, 652
and negation 525-526
and neutral classifier 137-138
and remote past 396-397
gerundial in 619-623
-hỹ 445-450, 466-469
-hỹ- and aspect *-nãi-* 450
-nãi 470-471
of bare verb stems 129
potential 610
-te 480-482
valency changing effects 382-383
non-personal use of first person plural 278, 471-479
noun Ch. 4., 92
and modifier 104
empty root 136-137
number (n.a.) 92, 105, 109
numerals 213-223
adverbial use of 220-221
cardinal 214-218
ordinal use of 219-220

object cross-reference 250-256
future second person 280-282
in cosubordination 664-665
obligatory classifier 195-199
omission
of head noun 182, 196, 611, 612, 690, 691
(see ellipsis)
(see headless)
open conditional 628-630
orientation of demonstratives 223-225

orthography 86

particles 93-94, 595-603
parts of speech 91-95
passive (n.a.) 325, 339, 377, 466
past and present, zero marking 389
  -hỹ 446-448
  -ky- 389-390
paucal 540-541
  exhortative 311-312
perfect adverb 451
person cross-reference 244-282
personal names 726-729
personal pronouns 235-237
persuasive 317-319
  and *-tara-* 437-439
phoneme fluctuation 80-82
phonemes and allophones 87-89
phonology Ch. 2.
possessive 181-186
  and classificatier 130-131
  and third person 200-202
potential 401, 606-614, 625-627
  and inability 610
  and person marking 608-610
  nominalisation, adverbial clauses 610-614
pragmatic discontinuity 685-686
preconditional 632-633
predicate and adverbs 103-104
  and arguments 100-103
  and satellites 103
  discontinuous 591-594
predicative adverbialisation 515
present and past, zero marking 389
present context 9-13
presupposition, counter of 522-525
preventive 326, 402
previous documentation 28-44
prioritive 207
procrastinative 434-445
productivity of (see also lexicalisation)
  adverb formation 494-496, 498, 514
  causative 369
  classifiers 135-136, 146, 150, 173, 175-176
  demonstratives 233
  detrimental 375, 376
  directionals 329, 331, 335, 340, 346, 347, 350, 353
  feminine 203
  habitual 455
  mood marking 284, 316, 317, 322
  morphophonology 81-83, 85
  nominaliser 487
  numerals 219-220
  possessive 135
  pronoun system 237, 251, 252, 267-268, 282, 427, 663
  remote past 393
  transitivisers 363, 366
progressive 448-449
prohibitive 326-327
pronouns 234-242
pseudoreduplication 566-567
purposive 412-415

quotation 402-411
  ellipsis 405-407
  other uses 408-409
  exceptions to interpretation 410-411, 414-415

reason or cause complement 633-635
reciprocal 379-381
recursivity 99, 202, 206, 210-212, 271, 445, 468, 479, 566, 572, 621, 675
reduplication 392-395, 559-567
  cross-reference 455-456
  habitual 455-456
  in adverbs 500-501
  lexicalised 564-566
  of bound morphemes 563-564
  of cross-reference 392-395, 455-456
  root 456-457, 560-561
  syllable 561-563
reflexive 364-365, 376-379
  causational 311
  directional 330, 337-338, 386
  inherent 357, 359
  middle 339, 376-379, 719
  numeral 218, 540
  possessive 201
  pronoun (n.a.) 380
relative clauses (n.a.) 687-697
remote past 391-392
  by reduplication and *-hỹ* 392-395

nominal properties 396-397
repetitive 462-463
additive use of 206-207
reported speech
and declarative *-tse* 295
gerundial in 621-622
resignation 429-431
restriction in attributive clauses 696-697
resumptive particles 581-585
roots, bound 596-597
same subject medial clauses 656-671
satellites 103
second person 410-411
imperative cosubordination 658-659
interrogative cosubordination 659-660
future object 280-282
zero expression 301-304, 318, 319
selective 658
semi-lexicalised 138, 173, 326, 360, 566, 598
simulative 545-546
social roles 725-726
sociolinguistic situation 13-14
speakers of Kwaza 19-23
specific subordinate constructions 708-713
stress 69-73, 91
animate object 105
causative 366, 677
desiderative 415
detrimental 373
disambiguating 359-360
emphatic 305, 603
future 277, 287, 397
imperative 301
negative 287, 398, 519, 522
purposive 412
roots 255, 359, 369, 443, 460, 511, 586
quoted mood 586
repetitive 462
secondary 251, 402, 415
structural characteristics of Kwaza 23-26
subject cross-reference 248-250
subordination and coordination Ch. 8.
successional 597-598
suppletion 235, 327, 385-387, 573
switch reference 681-684
and pragmatic discontinuity 685-686
mood: *-si* 681-686
syllable structure 63-65, 69
symbols used 46-59

tail-head linking 598-599
temporal 651
adverbialisation/nominalisation 507-509
temporary contrast 457-459
tense, modality, aspect 388-465
effects of root reduplication 456-457
of nominaliser *-hỹ* 445-450
of verb compounding 452
third person adverbial clauses and *-tsy-* 636-637
third person
and gerundial 623-625
in medial clauses 660-663
possession *-tjate* 200-202
zero expression 245, 246, 248, 284, 297, 322, 394
zero in quotation 413, 416
time 232
topic, contrastive 541-542
transitivisers 110-112, 357-366

unattested categories 94
unidentified *-ri-* 464-465

valency and valency change 355-388
effects of *-hỹ* 382-383
variation 47-59, 77-80
verb 92, Ch. 5.
compounds 567-573
with classifiers 114
verbal number (see argument number)
verbalisation
-tse vs. *-ki* 293-295
zero 208-213
voicedness 61-62
volitional 315-317, 401
volitive 313-317
vowels 45
vowel-glide combinations 65-66
vowel insertion 79

word order 99-104
adverbs 489, 498
animate object 117-118
focus 390
free order 121, 130, 183, 322, 655
iconic 666, 667

Zack's 1943 glossary 33-41
zero-derivation 495, 501, 616, 645
zero marking
of object 256
of present and past 389
of reflexive 377
of subject 255, 318, 319, 324, 327
of transitivisation 369
zero-verbalisation 208-213, 485, 490, 499, 503, 508

Tales and songs of the Kwaza

This audio CD contains six tales and five songs of the Kwaza, as transcribed and analysed in *A grammar of Kwaza*. The corresponding transcriptions can be found in sections (2.), (3.) and (6.) of part II, texts. The following are included:

Tales
1) 2.1. *hakainahere* 'The Old People', by Mario
2) 2.2. *hakai kotorɛ* 'Grandfather Toad', by Mario
3) 2.5. *kaitaynahere* 'The women of old', by Maria Edite
4) 2.6. *were?ojataynahere* 'The rebellious runaway women' (1), by Mario
5) 2.6. *were?ojataynahere* 'The rebellious runaway women' (2), by Mario
6) 3.2. The languages and peoples known to the Kwaza, by Antonhão

Songs
7) 6.2.3. by Maria Tadeu
8) 6.2.5. by Maria Tadeu
9) 6.2.6. by Maria Tadeu
10) 6.3.2. by Antonhão
11) 6.3.12. by Antonhão

The recordings were all made on location in Southern Rondônia between 1995 and 1998 by Hein van der Voort, NWO/Museu Goeldi.

contact: hvoort@xs4all.nl