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University of Pittsburgh

A Grammar of Kadiwéu

Submitted to the Department of Linguistics in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract:

This dissertation provides a general description and a dictionary of Kadiwéu, a Waikuruan language spoken by about 1,500 Indians distributed over an area of 538,000 hectares in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The Kadiwéus are the only surviving descendants of the Mbayá people, who in the 18th century dominated a large extension of the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco area. The data for this study is comprised primarily of material collected in fieldwork with native speakers of Kadiwéu in Serra da Bodoquena, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil.

I provide a detailed description of Kadiwéu phonology and morphology. I offer a description of the Kadiwéu phonology, on synchronic and diachronic grounds, taking dialect differences into consideration. Kadiwéu has two dialects which reflect gender and social status. Moreover, I provide a detailed description of the verb and noun morphology. The verb is marked for subject and object in person and number. Kadiwéu marks subject person with prefixes, but number (pl) is marked with a suffix immediately following the root. Aspect and mood, but not tense, are marked on the verb. There are seven aspect markers - completive/incompleetive/durative, telic/ateelic, repetitive, and intensive - and two mood markers, conditional and desiderative. There are also three negation markers and a set of directional enclitics. Among the Waikuruan languages, only Kadiwéu has a set of semantic role markers. The structure of the Kadiwéu noun resembles noun structure in other Waikuruan languages as well as in most western South American languages. The presence of classifiers/nominalizers marking inalienable possession seems to be an areal feature of the languages of western lowland South America.

Several aspects of the Kadiwéu syntax, which bear on theoretical issues, are discussed. Kadiwéu has the classical properties of a nonconfigural language: any nominal phrase can be omitted, nominal phrases are freely ordered with respect to each other and the verb, and some discontinuous nominal expressions are allowed. Jelinek 1984 explains the properties of nonconfigurational languages by proposing that languages set the elements which can be verbal arguments. According to Jelinek, pronominal clitics and affixes are the arguments in nonconfigurational languages; nominal phrases are adjuncts and therefore they can assume free order or be omitted. This proposal has not been universally accepted, however. For instance, Baker 1994 argues that nominal phrases are adjuncts in Mohawk, but he denies that pronominals are arguments in this language. According to Baker, the arguments are an empty category pro that occupies the projections of the verb. Kadiwéu offers evidence supporting Jelinek's
hypothesis that pronouns can indeed be arguments in some languages. First, pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements which are roughly like English prepositions in that they assign semantic roles: -d: 'theme', -wa ~ -ma 'dative', -dom ~ -ma 'benefactive', -g 'goal', -lokom 'adessive', -k 'allative'. Nouns can never co-occur with such semantic role assigners. The fact that bound pronouns, rather than nouns, are governed by semantic role assigners suggests that Kadiwéu is a pronominal argument language of the Jelinek rather than the Baker type. In addition, the results of several syntactic tests support the analysis — passivization, recursivity, coreference, anaphora, quantifiers, and the behavior of wh-interrogatives — support the analysis.

This dissertation also shows that the major lexical categories present in Kadiwéu are nouns and verbs. Kadiwéu lacks prepositions entirely. I show that structures previously analyzed as containing prepositional phrases are in fact serial verb constructions.

Finally, I present the criteria I used to classify the Kadiwéu roots as nouns or verbs. Verbs are those elements which are valent; that is, that have an argument structure. Valency representation contains information about the number of arguments a verb requires and the semantic nature of those arguments. I determine the valency of a Kadiwéu root according to (i) the meaning of a bare root and (ii) the meaning of a stem consisting of the root plus a valency suffix. Although Kadiwéu has valent roots, it has no transitive roots. I understand transitivity as the capacity of assigning theta-roles to complements. Transitivity is assigned syntactically via verb movement. This dissertation has implications for language typology and linguistic parameters. Jelinek & Demers' 1994 prediction that transitivity is assigned at the syntactic level in all languages whose arguments are pronouns, rather than nominal phrases or an empty pro, is borne out by Kadiwéu. I propose a parametric variation based on an insight in Fukui & Speas 1986 to account for pronominal argument languages. I argue that in these languages verbs do not project. On this hypothesis, clauses in pronominal argument languages are formed by raising of a valent lexical item to adjoin a light verb, which is a functional category able to theta-assign.
Acknowledgments:

My thesis committee members Sarah G. Thomason, Terrence Kaufman, Carol Tenny, Kenneth Hale, and John Frechione are the first that I would like to thank.

Sally's influence in this thesis is quite obvious. This project was first inspired by Sally's seminar on Montana Salish, a language which share several typological features with Kadiwéu. Her comments were always very constructive, so that I was always sure that subsequent versions of each chapter would be considerably improved. Her input, guidance, and demand for precision throughout this project were fundamental in the development of this study; without her this thesis would not have been written.

Terry was the first to encourage field work with Kadiwéu and the Waikurian languages. I owe Terry my interest in the history of South American languages and cultures.

With Carol I learned what I know on theoretical syntax. Carol has been guiding her students to understand what a theory is and what a linguistic theory has to account for.

I met Ken at the Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting in January 1995 and since then he has represented important encouragement. The fact that Ken found the same kind of phenomena that I discuss here in the nonconfigurational languages he studied gave me confidence that what I was doing was not off the mark.

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I would like to take this opportunity to thank Ayrón Rodrigues to whom I offer this work. It was Ayrón who first introduced me to the study of the Brazilian Indian languages in 1984. I have a profound respect for Ayrón who I consider today a special friend and mentor.

I express my gratitude and love to my husband Paulo Porto, my parents, and brother. Paulo's love and company was fundamental for accomplishing my Ph.D. studies. Paulo has inspired confidence in all moments of my career. My parents and brother, although miles distant, have been always present in spirit with strong moral support.

Finally, my special thanks to Hilário, Reinaldo, Martina, Dora, Graciana, Maria, and Francisco for all the data in this dissertation, and to Euzébio and Cleuza who always had a room reserved for me.
"I am going to talk about the ancient Kadiwéus,

nGika  jotigide  God:oygi  sGika.
ngi-ka  jotigide  God:-oygi  aG-ka
close-masc-DEM  old  1pl.POSS-nation  negative-masc-locative

"Our ancient nation does not exist anymore,
daGa  likyagi  in:owa  noqododi.
daGa  likyagi  i-n:wa  noqo-dodi
negative  same  masc-coming-pl  day-pl
today is different.'
natigide  jiGini  ika  ane  di:di:qo.
natigide  fjG-i-n:i  i-ka  ane  y-d:-i-d:i-qon
now  compl-masc-sitting  masc-DEM  relative  3sg.SUBJ-theme-write-[l-become]

"Currently there are people who can write."
oGa  niGika  jotigide  niGika  oqo  elyodi
oda  ngi-ka  jotigide  ngi-ka  oqom  elyodi
and  close-masc-DEM  old  close-masc-DEM  people  lot

"And those ancients who were many...
me  neledide:Ga  aGoyema:  eledi  oqo  amenoti.
me  neledide:-Ga  aG+y-ema:n:  eledi  oqom  are+n-o-t+w
COMP  white:people-pl  neg+pl-3pl.SUBJ-want  another  people  relative+3pl.SUBJ-come-rel+inward
did not like white people coming over.
oGa  niGika  jotigide  ane  eledi  latopagi  oqo  oycl:wadi
oda  ngi-ka  jotigide  ane  eledi  l-atopagi  oqom  o-y-el:wadi
and  close-masc-DEM  old  relative  another  3POSS-race  people  pl-3pl.SUBJ-kill

And those ancient who killed people of other races,
natigide  ja  di:nige  ane  jinaGa,
natigide  jaG  y-d:-i:nige  ane  jinaGa
now  completive  3sg.SUBJ-theme-change  relative  way of being

they have now changed,
le:Godi  joGoNotoGowa  ekalaye.
le:Godi  jaG+y-o-n-o-t+W:Go-wa  ekalaye
because  completive+pl-3pl.SUBJ-come-rel+1pl.CL-dative  white foreigner

because now white foreigners can come to us.'

To the Kadiwéu Indians, thanks for having accepted me.
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1. Introduction

"La Nacion, de cuyo Idioma es la presente Gramatica, era conocida bajo tres nombres siguientes. Primero: Guaiurus; Segundo: Mbayá; Tercero: Eviguayeig. Los dos primeros lo pusieron los Españoles, tomados de la Lengua Guaraní; el tercero es el propio de toda la Nacion, y significa los pertenecientes al Paiz en que se cria una especie de Palma llamada evigua, en su natural lenguaje" (Sanchez Labrador 1760).

This dissertation provides a linguistic description, based on original field research, of Kadiwéu, a Waikurian language spoken by about 1,500 Indians distributed over an area of 538,000 hectares in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The Waikurian language family has two branches: (a) the Waikurian Branch, which includes Mbayá and its descendent Kadiwéu; and (b) the Southern Branch, which comprises four other languages: Toba, Pilagá, Mocovi, and Apiibón. Toba is spoken in the eastern part of the Chaco and Formosa provinces of Argentina, in southern Paraguay, and in the eastern part of Bolivia; there are approximately 25,000 speakers. Pilagá, with about 4,000 speakers, is spoken in the northeastern part of Chaco province, and in eastern Formosa, Argentina; and Mocovi, with about 7,000 speakers, is spoken in Argentina in the northern part of Santa Fe and southern Chaco provinces. Apiibón, which was spoken in the eastern part of Chaco province, Argentina, is now extinct and was very closely related to the other languages in this branch. All the languages of the Waikurian family remain incompletely documented, and some are hardly documented at all.¹

1.1. Research goals

The main goal of this study is to provide a general description of Kadiwéu using typological checklists as guides. The South American Indian Languages Documentation Project Questionnaire (Kaufman & Berlin 1987) is a blueprint for the data collection, but I also use selected portions of the 1977 Lingua checklist for more detailed study of especially important and interesting features. Although these checklists do not provide for a complete

¹ "The Nation, whose language is this grammar, was known by the following three names. First Waikuri; second Mbayí; third Ejiwaige. The two first names were used by the Spanish people, and were taken from Guarani; the third name is the Nation's own name, and it refers to the ones who inhabit the country where the ejiwa palm grows."
description of a language, they identify the issues that are crucial to a general description. In addition to the grammatical study, I have included a Kadiwéu-English-Portuguese dictionary. The dictionary contains roots as main entries, each one with examples of usage (mainly phrases).

This dissertation is organized as follows. In chapter 2 I present a description of Kadiwéu phonology and in chapter 3 I present a detailed description of the verb and noun morphology. Chapter 4 is divided into four sections that cover aspects of Kadiwéu (morpho)syntax: constituent order and sentence types, pronominals, serial verbs, and valency/transitivity.

1.1.1. Methodology of Obtaining the Database. The data for this study is comprised primarily of material collected in fieldwork between 1993 and 1995 with native speakers of Kadiwéu in Serra da Bodoquena, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The data presented in previous studies of Kadiwéu (Griffiths & Griffiths 1976, Braggio 1981, Griffiths 1973, 1987, 1991) served as a guide for hypothesis formation at different stages of data collection.

In the first part of the research (1993), I concentrated on the collection of words for a formal description of the phonology and morphology and for the development of a dictionary. I first collected basic words, guided by Kaufman & Berlin's lexical checklist (around 2,000 words); I also used books containing pictures of plants, animals, and birds from western lowland South America (Magalhaes 1992, Bertelli 1984) and a dictionary of verbs containing 4,500 entries (Noble & Lacasa 1992) for more specific lexical elicitation in those domains.

I concentrated on the analysis of the morphosyntax in the second part of the research (1994-1995). I have collected an extensive set of sentences and texts. Elicitation of isolated sentences was crucial to fill gaps in morphological paradigms and to apply syntactic tests to test my hypotheses. I also collected historical narratives and folk tales from some of the village storytellers, since I wanted my work to contribute some information about the Kadiwéu culture.
1.1.2. Special Topics to be Explored Theoretically as well as Descriptively. In addition to the basic descriptive study, I have investigated selected topics that bear on theoretical issues. In particular, I provide evidence that pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu and that nominal phrases are optionally adjoined to the sentence. Here I will briefly explain the significance of my results.

Kadiwéu has the classical properties of a nonconfigurational language: any nominal phrase can be omitted, nominal phrases are freely ordered with respect to each other and the verb, and some discontinuous nominal expressions are allowed. Jelinek 1984 explains the properties of nonconfigurational languages by proposing that languages set the elements which can work as verbal arguments. According to Jelinek, pronominal clitics and affixes are the arguments in nonconfigurational languages; nominal phrases are adjuncts, and therefore they can assume free order or be omitted. This proposal has not been universally accepted, however. For instance, Baker (1994) argues that nominal phrases are adjuncts in Mohawk, but he denies that pronominals are arguments in this language. According to Baker, the arguments are an empty category pro that occupies the projections of the verb.

Kadiwéu offers evidence supporting Jelinek's hypothesis that pronominals can indeed be arguments in some languages. First, pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements which are roughly like English prepositions in that they assign semantic roles: -d: 'theme', -wa - -ma 'dative', -dom - -lo - -ma 'benefactive', -g 'goal', -lokom 'addessive', and -k 'allative'. Nouns never co-occur with such semantic role assigners. The fact that bound pronominals, rather than nouns, are governed by semantic role assigners suggests that Kadiwéu is a pronominal argument language of the Jelinek rather than the Baker type. In addition, the results of several syntactic tests, for instance passivization — which affects pronominals but not nominal phrases — support the hypothesis.

This work has implications for studies of language typology and linguistic parameters. Jelinek & Demers' 1994 prediction that transitivity is assigned at the syntactic level in all languages whose arguments are pronominals, rather than nominal phrases or an empty pro, is borne out by Kadiwéu. Kadiwéu roots resemble nouns of better-known languages in that they are not transitive; that is, they cannot assign theta-roles to complements. Thomason at al. 1994 argue that transitivity and valency must be distinguished. The facts of Kadiwéu support this proposal. Although Kadiwéu has valent roots, it has no transitive roots. Transitivity is introduced via morphemes that function as light verbs (Grimshaw & Mester 1988).
1.2. Previous Analyses of Kadiwéu

The Kadiwéus are the only surviving descendants of the Mbayá people, who in the 18th century dominated a large extension of the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco area (23.5° to 19° degrees of Latitude South, Sanchez Labrador, 1760). A short sketch in a 1760 grammar and dictionary by Sanchez Labrador (published in Susnik 1971) is the only material available on Mbayá. Sanchez Labrador collected his data near Asunción, Paraguay, so his data represent a dialect that presumably already differed from the immediate ancestor of Kadiwéu. Documentation of Kadiwéu proper has been only very fragmentary.

1.2.1. Griffiths & Griffiths 1976. Griffiths & Griffiths 1976 consists of a vocabulary list with some nouns and phrases, a brief description of the phonology, and a collection of preliminary papers describing aspects of verb and noun morphology. In general, taxonomic lists of morpheme clusters are provided and no generalizations are made. The authors do not attempt to discriminate clitics from affixes. It is crucial, however, to discriminate clitics from affixes, since an adequate theory of morphology cannot be constructed on the basis of language descriptions in which inflection is confused with cliticization, or in which important types of inflectional systems are mislabeled as clitic systems. Moreover, Griffiths & Griffiths' phonetic transcription is not completely systematic. First, they do not consistently distinguish velar from uvular consonants; second, they do not register long consonants; and third, although they point out that stress may be predictable in Kadiwéu, stress is never marked in their data and they do not provide any rule to account for stress assignment.

1.2.2. Braggio 1981. Braggio 1981 is a description of Kadiwéu phonology, including a discussion of some morphophonemic rules which affect subject and object prefixes. This work is based solely on 23 verbal paradigms, and therefore several aspects of the language's phonology and morphology were misanalyzed. The author presents a systematic transcription of Kadiwéu, clearly distinguishing long and short consonants; however, she postulates that long consonants occur in stressed syllables only, and are therefore predictable. This rule does not hold: in
Kadiwéu long and short consonants are phonemically distinct. Braggio observes that subject and object prefixes do not co-occur, and she tries to account for this complementary distribution of subject and object markers via phonological rules. My data shows, however, that there is no plausible phonological basis for the complementarity of subject and object prefixes in Kadiwéu. Moreover, Braggio complicates the Kadiwéu pronominal system by postulating two sets of distinct subject prefixes. Kadiwéu has only one set of subject prefixes; these undergo regular phonological alternations according to the semantic case suffix that follows them.

1.2.3. Griffiths 1973, 1987, 1991. Griffiths 1973 describes demonstratives and numerals. Griffiths shows that the Kadiwéu demonstrative system is quite complex, encoding gender (m/f), number (sg/pl), and position (static/moving). His description of the Kadiwéu demonstrative system is not complete, however. He does not report some morphemes which are obligatorily present in Kadiwéu demonstratives; for instance, the demonstrative system encodes a distinction between present and absent, which he does not discuss.

Griffiths 1987 and Griffiths 1991 are descriptions of Kadiwéu relative clauses and wh-interrogatives, respectively, including a discussion of constituent order and constituent movement. The author points out that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses varies freely between VSO and SVO, while the constituent order of subordinate clauses is always VSO. My data shows that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses is much freer than Griffiths reports. Possible orders are OVS, VOS, SOV, OSV, VSO, and SVO. The high frequency of SVO order in Griffiths' publications seems to be biased by elicitation technique; I have found that Kadiwéu speakers tend to translate Portuguese sentences with SVO order. The problem is that, although one can translate Portuguese sentences word-by-word into Kadiwéu, the resulting set of Kadiwéu sentences reflects a small proportion of the constituent order of Kadiwéu, which has much freer order. Griffiths never mentions that (semantic) case is morphologically marked in Kadiwéu, and free constituent order is not unusual among languages which mark case morphologically.
In sum, although there are several linguistic studies of aspects of Kadiwéu structure, they are limited in scope and, for a variety of reasons, they present an incomplete (and in some instances flawed) picture of the structures they cover. There is therefore a clear need for a full-scale grammatical description of the language.

1.3. Use of the Results of this Study

Aside from the value of having a grammar of a little-studied language in a little-studied family, the results of this research should serve broader purposes as well.

Neither the history of South American languages nor, in general, the languages themselves are well known. The hope for a solid understanding of South American linguistic history depends on adequate descriptions of these languages.

My research documents a little-known language of the Waikurian family and thus contributes to the understanding of South American linguistic history. Another linguist at the University of Pittsburgh, Veronica Ceria, has begun research on a second Waikurian language, Mocovi. My description of Kadiwéu places University of Pittsburgh researchers in a unique position to carry out the reconstruction of Proto-Waikurian; for a preliminary study, see Ceria & Sandalo 1995.

My research also contributes to the maintenance of Kadiwéu. Bilingual education is crucial for the maintenance of languages whose speakers have been in contact with speakers of dominant languages for years. The Kadiwéu Indians have been interested in bilingual education, but there is almost no specialized work on this language which could help in the preparation of pedagogical materials. The grammar and dictionary that I have prepared could be used by the Indians and by Brazilian scholars engaged in bilingual education.

1.4. Ethnography

The remainder of this introductory chapter provides some background to Kadiwéu history and culture.
1.4.1. History. Although the Mbayá Indians were first contacted in 1548, Sanchez Labrador in 1760 was the first to present an estimate of the land occupied by them. According to Sanchez Labrador (1760:7):

"La Nacion está muy estendida, y poblada de gente. Se ha enseñoreado de la tierra por centenares de leguas. Desde el Tropico de Capricornio, es decir, desde los 23° grados, y medio de latitud Austral, hasta los 19° grados de la misma hacia el Equador, llenan la tierra por la orilla oriental, y parte por la occidental del famoso rio Paraguay." ii

It is possible that the land occupied by Mbayá in the pre-Columbian times was even larger, since by 1760 a considerably part of the Mbayá people had been already killed by colonizers and explorers. Asunción (Paraguay) was founded in 1536 as a convenient base for the exploration of the Chaco. The Chaco area itself was not economically important to the Spanish and Portuguese explorers, but it was a possible gateway to the Inca empire. The main events in the Chaco which directly affected the Mbayás Indians in the 16th century were (a) the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1542, (b) the raid of Nufrio de Chavez on the territory of the Mbayás in 1545, and (c) the march of Domingo Martinez de Irala in 1548-49. But the greatest hostilities between the Mbayá Indians and the Spaniards of Paraguay started only toward the end of the 16th century. Métraux (1945:201) points out that,

"By the end of the 16th century. Spanish settlements surrounded the Chaco area, and the Spaniards recognized that it would be advantageous, for economic and political reasons, to pacify the Indians and to establish a shorter route between Paraguay and Peru. Nevertheless, fear of this "green hell" and of its inhabitants prevented an extensive conquest. White penetration was accomplished slowly by the establishment of precarious military posts and a few towns, whose settlers exterminated the Indians or reduced them to servitude."

The Mbayás were the first lowland South American Indians to react against European domination. In 1661 the Mbayás attacked the Province of Itati and destroyed the mission of Santa María de Fé (20.5° Latitude South); and many Mbayás remained in the acquired areas. From there they threatened Asunción, the capital city of the Spanish settlers, several times. In 1751 the Mbayás destroyed the town of Curuquati, killing a large part of its

ii "The Nation is very large and populated, comprising hundred of miles from the Tropic of Capricorn (23° degrees and a half of latitude South) to the 19° degrees towards the Equator, filling the land to the eastern and part to the western shores of the famous Paraguay River."
population. In the beginning of the 18th century, allied to the Payawá Indians, they destroyed farms near Vila Maria (16° South) and killed colonists coming from Sao Paulo, Brazil (Bandeirantes).

When the missionaries guided by Sanchez Labrador contacted the Mbaya in 1760, the Indians were already reduced in number and addicted to alcohol (Sanchez Labrador 1770, vol. II), and by the end of the 18th century the Mbayas were almost extinct. Ribeiro (1950:20) observes that.

"Em luta contra os Mbaya-Guaikuru, os colonizadores espanhóis e portugueses usaram de todos os recursos, desde as expedições de exterminio até o comércio de aguardante, a contaminação através de presentes de roupas de variolosos, as alianças de paz, o suborno e as traições. A catequese jesuítica, principal recurso do arsenal de pacificação dos tempos coloniais, não foi negligenciada. E nem poderiam ser, já que a Companhia de Jesus era a maior interessada nessa obra, pois suas reduções, como os mais avançados estabelecimentos europeus no Chaco, eram os objetivos de saque preferidos dos Guaikuru."[iii]

In the 19th century the Kadiwés were already the only living descendents of the Mbayas. Apparently they survived because the land they occupied was not easily accessible by Europeans due to the swamps and mountains that surround it (Ribeiro 1950).

At the end of the 19th century the Kadiwés allied with the Brazilian government against Paraguay in the Paraguayan war (1865-70). By the end of the Paraguayan war, the Kadiwéu Nation numbered only 150 Indians (Métraux 1945).

The Brazilian government granted the Kadiwéu survivors full possession of their territory as a reward for their significant contribution to the victory in the Paraguayan war. The Kadiwéu's reservation is bounded on the north by the Nabique River, on the west by the Paraguay River, on the South by the Aquidauana River, and on the east by the Bodoquena Mountains and the Niutaque River, a tributary of the Nabique River. The possession of this reservation certainly contributed to the preservation of this Indian community.

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[iii] "In fighting the Mbaya-Guaikuru, the Spanish and Portuguese colonists used all possible resources, from the extermination expeditions to the alcohol trades, gifts of clothes contaminated by smallpox, peace coalition, bribery, and treachery. The Jesuit missions, the main resource of pacification from the colonial times, were not disregarded. And they could not be disregarded, because the Companhia de Jesus was the main party interested in this action, since their reductions [of people to Christianity], as well as the more developed European settlement in the Chaco, were the preferred goals of the Guaikuru sucking."
1.4.2. Prehistory. Boggiani 1842 [1975] suggests that a major civilization was being developed by the Waikurians in pre-Columbian times. However, the prehistory of the Waikurians as well as of the whole Chaco is still an incognita. Boggiani mentions shell mounds at Puerto 14 de Mayo and at several other points along the upper Paraguay River. These mounds contained potsherds with decoration similar to that of modern Kadiweus. Vellard (1934, cited in Métraux 1945) reports that funeral urns were found in large quantities in a cemetery near Puerto Guarani, Paraguay.

According to Boggiani, the Kadiweus Indians used to mark their wood tools and animal skins with symbols which resemble a writing system. Currently the Kadiweus use the Portuguese writing system, so the hypothesis that they developed a writing system cannot be systematically tested because the evidence was lost.

1.4.3. Social Organization. In spite of the fact that Mbayá society was highly stratified, they resembled Amazonian groups in that they used to be organized into bands. Each area dominated by the Mbayá bands gave origin to a new subtribe with its own chiefs (Métraux 1945). The Kadiweus correspond to one subtribe, the one that occupied the east shore of the Paraguay River (Ribeiro 1950).

Although rapidly changing, the original Mbayá traditions apparently still survive among the Kadiweus. This society differs from most of the Indians of Lowland South America in that it is stratified into social classes, with chiefs and nobles at one extreme and serfs and slaves at the other. According to Métraux (1945:304),

"In contrast to the democratic organization of the Pilcomayo River tribes, Mbayá society was rigorously stratified. The adoption of the horse gave this tribe a decided advantage over its neighbors, which contributed to the formation of a system of classes and even of castes. Unable to absorb its countless prisoners, as most Chaco Indians do, each group maintained its individuality and hegemony by stressing blood purity and the privileges of the conquerors. The subjugated tribes were reduced to the condition of serfs and slaves, and the heads of the extended Mbayá families constituted a new aristocracy."

(a) Nobles and Chiefs. Two different types of leaders exists among the Kadiweus: those who inherited their status (nobles) and those on whom the title was bestowed (chiefs). Although the later type are the main people responsible for management and foreign relations, they do not transmit their rank to their children and they have to obey the nobles' decisions. Nevertheless, the exalted position of the nobles does not give them absolute power. Their decision has to be approved by the council of former chiefs, elders, and distinguished warriors.
(b) **Warriors.** The most numerous social class among the Mbayás consisted of warriors. Since warfare practices have been forbidden by the Brazilian Indian Organization (FUNAI), the Kadiwéu warriors are now without an occupation. Ribeiro (1950:65) reports the following speech from a warrior:

"Ejiwajeg antigo era a nação mais poderosa, este mundo todo foi nosso, tereno, xamococ, brasileiro, paraguaió, todos foram nossos catieveiros, hoje estamos assim".\(^{iv}\)

The Mbayá were known as the most dangerous of all Chaco tribes (Sanchez Labrador 1760, 1770, Boggiani 1842 [1975], Métraux 1945, Ribeiro 1950). The goal of the wars and sackings was expansion of land holdings as well as the capture of slaves. According to a Kadiwéu informant, only children were captured; adults were killed. Boggiani observes that many women were also kept alive to be sold to Portuguese and Spanish slave traders in Paraguay.

(c) **Serfs.** According to Métraux, several neighbor tribes subjugated themselves to the Mbayás in pre-Columbian times as a result of marriage policies. Sanchez Labrador points out that the Guanás Indians considered themselves subordinate to the Mbayá nobles, whom they called "our lords".

Although it is not clear whether the same marriage policies still subsist among the Kadiwéus, there are several Terena women married to Kadiwéu nobles, and indeed there are several Terena serfs among the Kadiwéus.

(d) **Slaves.** Although both serfs and slaves work in agriculture and house keeping, their social states are different. The slaves are the war captives and their descendants. The possession of slaves is a symbol of prestige.

1.4.4. **Subsistence.** The Mbayás were known to be hunters and gatherers. Their area was covered by innumerable palm and jataí trees which provided abundant food in season, the forest yielded considerable game, and the rivers yielded many fish. The irregular distribution of certain plants, animal, and water, however, led to a

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\(^{iv}\) "In past times the Ejiwajeg was the most powerful nation, all this world was ours: terenan, xamococan, brazilian, paraguayan, all of them were our captives; today we are powerless".
limited nomadism, which did not involve the migration of bands, but rather the dispersal of small family groups to gather food (Métraux 1945). Honey and eggs were also important in their subsistence.

Boggiani 1842 [1975] reports the existence of plantations (family gardens) among the Kadiwéu. According to him, they planted beans, corn, manioc, sugar cane, rice, pumpkins, melons, bananas, and papayas, but he does not describe the agricultural techniques they used in the past hundred years.

Nowadays, since the Kadiwéu are forbidden to practice war and expand their land, they have become sedentary. More recently, many roads were constructed as farmers came to live in nearby areas. The Chaco is a very dry area, except during the rainy season when most of it is turned into swamps and water holes. These water holes may dry up suddenly, however. In many parts of the Chaco, especially in dried-up lagoons and marshes, the ground is covered by a crust of salt. The rainy and dry seasons last six months each. In the winter (June-August), the temperature may fall several degrees below the freezing point, while the highest temperatures in South America (46° C) have been registered during the summer. Although this is a dry area, technology has turned the Chaco and pampas of Brazil into the most important agricultural and cattle-ranch area of the country. As the area has become less isolated and game more scarce, the Kadiwéu have been undergoing a transition from being mainly dependent upon hunting and fishing to cattle-farming and crop-growing. The land is equally divided among families and each family is responsible for the productivity of its own piece of land. Although many Kadiwéu support themselves by renting part of their land to local farmers, they are increasingly taking over the management of their own land, helped by an economic development project supported by the Inter American Development Bank. The success of this project is very desirable since it provides a new occupation for the former class of warriors.

Another source of income is the sale of ceramics, for which the Kadiwéu are quite known in Brazil. Moreover, metal ornaments, belts, bags, and baskets are also traded.

According to Métraux, all Chaco Indians have pottery. The Kadiwéu, however, are distinguished from the other Indians from the Chaco in their pottery is among the finest in lowland South America. The Mbayá-Kadiwéu, Guaná, and Kashiha are the only lowland South American Indians who decorate their pottery by pressing cords into the wet clay. The Kadiwéu pottery decoration is quite elaborated, consisting of Greek frets and geometric patterns. According to Boggiani, this decoration resembles Andean motifs.
Metallurgy was practiced in the Chaco only by the Mbayás. They worked on silver and brass to make ornaments for horses and for themselves, such as belts, earrings, and necklaces. Metal seems to have been used among the Mbayás long before the European arrived. When they were first contacted (1548) they had silver frontlets and silver plates 3.5 inches long and 0.5 inch wide, which they wore on their foreheads (Métraux 1945).
2. Phonology

As mentioned above, the Kadiwéu society differs from that of most Indians of lowland South America in that it is stratified into social classes. It is very common to find linguistic variation reflecting different social classes in societies with a stratified political organization. Kadiwéu is no exception to this generalization. The objective of this chapter is to offer a description of the Kadiwéu phonology taking dialectal differences into consideration.

Sanchez Labrador was the first to observe the existence of linguistic diversity among the Mbayá Indians. Sanchez Labrador (1770, vol. 2: 114-115) registered such diversity as a gender distinction:

"Costó indecible trabajo hacer entender los significados á la intérprete, que estaba ya poco menos bárbara que los mismos infieles. Uno de los mayores cuidados consistió en que nos diese las palabras con que hablan en muchas cosas los hombres, y son distintas de las que usan las mujeres. Como lo era la intérprete, nos decía los vocablos que á las de su sexo eran familiares. Hablábamos con tales palabras á los hombres, y éstos con gracia nos preguntaban si nosotros éramos mujeres; y al mismo tiempo corregían la voz y ponían la que ellos usaban."

Kadiwéu maintains the gender distinctions mentioned by Sanchez Labrador. Kadiwéu has two main dialects, one spoken by women who are descendants of Kadiwéu women. The other dialect is spoken by the rest of the Kadiwéu speakers, including men and women. The fact that the former dialect is spoken by women descended from Kadiwéu women, and not by any other women, suggests that the dialect differences mentioned above reflect social positions rather than gender alone. Given the high status of these women, I will call this dialect Noble Kadiwéu. I refer to the more general dialect as Non-noble Kadiwéu, although the speakers of this linguistic variety do include noble men.

Although I have found no morphological or syntactic differences, upper- and lower-class Kadiwéu differ considerably at the phonological level. In § 2.1 I offer a description of Kadiwéu segmental phonology. In § 2.2 I examine segmental diachronic changes. Section 2.3 is a description of Kadiwéu suprasegmental phonology. Prosodic features have frequently been seen to be especially stable, but when languages remain in contact for several centuries and a shift process toward the dominant language is slow, the opposite pattern has been attested

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V It took us incredible work to understand our female interpreter, who was a little less barbarian than many of the other infidels. One of the major difficulties was to convince the interpreter to say the words spoken by the men, which are different from the ones spoken by the women. Since our interpreter was a woman, she gave us the words proper to her gender. Later we used these words to talk to the men and they ironically asked us whether we were women: and then they corrected the voice and told us the words proper to their gender.
(Thomason & Kaufman 1988:42). In § 2.4 I suggest that a Waikurian stress pattern has been maintained in Noble Kadiwéu, but that Non-noble Kadiwéu has been changing towards the Portuguese/Spanish prosody.

Since errors can easily creep into transcription of material collected in fieldwork by just one person, all the data analyzed below were checked by means of the CECIL speech analysis system. The CECIL system was specially helpful in the transcription of suprasegmental aspects of the language, e.g. length, stress, and tone. The phonetic transcription is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet.

2.1. Segmental Phonology

The Kadiwéu consonant phonemes are /p, b, t, d, j, c, k, g, q, o, m, n, l, w, y, y:/ and the eight vowel phonemes are /a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:/ Table 1 shows the consonant inventory of Kadiwéu, and Table 2 shows Kadiwéu vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>post-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops &amp; affricates</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b:</td>
<td>d:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m:</td>
<td>n:</td>
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<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
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<td></td>
<td>l:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>high</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>i:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Vowels
Notice that long consonants are listed as phonemes of Kadiwéu. This differs from previous analyses of this language, in which long consonants were predictable, occurring only in stressed syllables (Griffiths & Griffiths 1976, Braggio 1981). Figure 1, a CECIL acoustic wave, confirms the existence of long consonants in unstressed syllables. There is no phonological rule able to capture the occurrence of long voiced consonants, and I therefore analyze voiced long as single phonemes. Voiceless consonants, by contrast, are always long phonetically, and therefore length is not a distinctive feature for these segments.

Figure 1: [inyotá:god:o] 'my female lord'
Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu differ in that Noble Kadiwéu lacks long semivowels. Long semivowels correspond to /iy/ and /wV/ in Noble Kadiwéu, where V is a mid vowel:

(1) Noble Kadiwéu  Non-noble Kadiwéu  Gloss
i-weel:ate-di  i-w:el:ate-di  'my shoes'
niyal:e  niy:a1:e  'tree'

One could postulate that the segments /y:/ and /w:/ are underlyingly /iy/ and /wV/ in Non-noble Kadiwéu and that these sequences undergo an obligatory phonological that turns them into long semivowels. However, I avoid a rule of obligatory neutralization, since cases of /iy/ and /wV/ do occur in Non-noble Kadiwéu:

(2) Noble Kadiwéu  Gloss
iy:oniги:  'my son'
liwel:e  'its thorn'

A glottal stop occurs in word-final position after all vowels in both Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu. Since this is completely predictable, I have not analyzed glottal stop as a phoneme or as an allophone of some phoneme.

2.1.1. Phonological Alternations. All the processes described in this section affect both dialects, except as indicated otherwise. First, the consonant /j/ is normally realized as an affricate [], but it can be optionally realized as an alveopalatal fricative, [ʝ], by the speakers on Non-noble Kadiwéu.


The uvular /G/ is normally realized as a voiced uvular fricative [], but is optionally realized as a stop in word-initial position. The phonemes /G/, /d/ and /d:/ are deleted before a consonant across a clitic boundary.
(4) /Gɔd:+b:a:Gad/ \[\text{gob:a:γadiʔ}] \sim \text{[gob:a:γadiʔ]} 'our hand'.

(5) /jaG+j-opiʔ/ \text{[ja]opiʔ} 'I have gone'

(6) /jaG+a-opiʔ/ \text{[ja]opiʔ} 'You have gone'

The voiced stop /d/ is realized as a sonorant tap [ɾ] between vowels in fast speech (except in final syllables. where /d/ is optionally realized as [t]).

(7) /jičidi:ke/ \text{[jičiditːiːkːeʔ]} \sim \text{[jičiriːtːiːkːeʔ]} 'I swing it'.

Sonorant consonants (except vocoids) are deleted in word-final position and before a clitic boundary. However, the lateral sonorants /l/ and /ɾ:/ are not deleted in Noble Kadiwéu.

(8) /jikom/ \text{[jičoʔ]} 'I put it' ([jičomːa 'we put it').

(9) /jopil/ \text{[jopːiʔ]} 'I go away' ([jopːiːʔa 'we go away').

(10) /joil/ \text{[joiːl]} 'I go away' (Noble Kadiwéu)

The mid front vowels /e/ and /ɛː/ are normally realized as [e] ans [ɛː]. but they are obligatorily realized as [ɛ] and [ɛː] after a nasal consonant and optionally realized as [ɛ] in word-final position:

(11) /wig:e/ \text{[witːɛː]} 'wasp'.

(12) /nekεni:go/ \text{[nekːɛnːiːgoʔ]} 'dog'.

(13) /nyːaːlːe/ \text{[nyːaːlːe]} \sim \text{[nyːaːlːɛ]} 'tree'.
I have found some instances of the vowel [æː]. Since in very careful speech [æː] is pronounced as [aeː] ([laqæːdî] ~ [laqaeːdî] 'snake'), I have not analyzed this vowel as a phoneme of Kadiwéu. I have analyzed [æː] as the sequence /aeː/.

The mid back vowels /o/ and /oː/ are realized as [u] and [uː] before dental consonants:

(14) /icag:odi/  [iːcag:udiʔ]  'red'.

The low central vowel /a/ is realized as mid back unrounded [ʌ] before or after a postvelar consonant:

(15) /jaq:aq/  [jaq:ʌqːʌʔ]  'I hit him'.

(16) /apɔlikGanGa/  [apɔlik:ʌŋʌʌʔ]  'horse'.

Long vowels are optionally reduced to short vowels when they precede a voiceless stop:

(17) /jɔwo:kon/  [jʌwoʔoʔ]  'I think'.

2.1.2. Phonotactics & Phonotactically Motivated Adjustments. The Kadiwéu syllable types are V, CV, and CGV, where C represents any consonant, G represents a voiced uvular obstruent, and V is a short vowel, a long vowel, or a diphthong. All permitted consonant clusters contain /G/; all other consonant clusters that would result from morphological processes have an epenthetic vowel [i] inserted.

(18) /j-aq:okon/  [jaq:i:oʃk:oʔ]  'I run away'.


(20) /nGidda apɔlikGanGa/  [ŋiʃd:ʔaŋoʃliʃk:ʌŋʌʌʔ]  'this horse'.

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Although the syllable type CGV is allowed, an epenthetic vowel can optionally be inserted between a stop and a uvular fricative. In this case, the vowel assimilates in all features to the vowel preceding the fricative ([a$\ddot{s}$p:o$\ddot{s}$li$\ddot{s}$k:γα$\ddot{s}$m$\ddot{a}$γ] ~ [a$\ddot{s}$p:o$\ddot{s}$li$\ddot{s}$k:a$\ddot{s}$γα$\ddot{s}$na$\ddot{s}$γ]).

Long consonants are neutralized in word-initial position and after a stressed syllable. Voiced consonants are always long after a stressed syllable. Voiced obstruents are always short in word-initial position. The underlying form of an obstruent in word-initial position can generally be determined when a prefix is added; however, the underlying form of a voiced consonant after a stressed syllable cannot be determined. I have represented all the voiced consonants as long in this environment, although some are likely to be short underlyingly.

(21) /bɹeg:i/ [bɛːɡ:iʔ] 'hole' but [lɪbɹeg:iʔ] 'his grave'


Short voiced obstruents are optionally devoiced when occurring in the last syllable of the word; neutralization between voiceless and voiced obstruents does not occur, however, because underlyingly voiceless segments are always phonetically long and are therefore phonetically distinct from devoiced obstruents, which are never long.

(23) /GatɔdI/ [Gat:ʊdɪʔ] ~ [Gat:uːtiʔ] 'toucan'

Very few words begin with voiceless consonants. I have found only two words beginning with a voiceless consonant — pida 'but' and the locative root ka- — in a corpus of more than 4,000 words and phrases. I believe that pida comes from Spanish pero 'but'.

Vowel-cluster reduction rules apply whenever a prefix ending in a vowel is added to a stem beginning with a vowel. The following vowel reductions were observed:

(a) A non-high vowel is deleted before another non-high vowel.
(24) /a-elo/  [el:olo]  'you eat it.'
(25) /e-abi/  [at:obi]  'face'

(b) The high vowel /i/ becomes a vocoid consonant when preceding another vowel:

(26) /i-ako/  [yako]  'my head'.
(27) /i-em/i/  [yem:i]  'my grandmother'

(c) The semivowel /y/ and the vowel /a/ are conflated into [e].

(28) /y-alo/  [elo]  'he runs.'

2.1.3. Morphophonemic Alternation. Voiced obstruents are devoiced when preceding /G/ across a morphological boundary:

(29) /be:a/  ['bad']
    libey:akGege
    /l- be:a-Gegi/
    3POSS-bad  -valency
    'his ugliness'

(30) /api-d/  ['clean']
    Gad:apiGati
    /Ga- d:: api -d -Gad -i/
    2pl.OBJ-theme-clean-atel-valency-pl
    'you are cleaned'

Voiced obstruents are devoiced when preceding plural markers, and the vowel of a suffix is deleted whenever this suffix is attached to a stem ending in a vowel (see further discussion under 2.2.d):

(31) /la:pid/  /l-ab:i-adi/  'His plates'
2.1.4. Borrowed Words. Kadiwéu has many words borrowed from Portuguese, which are phonologically adapted. Alveolar fricatives are replaced by voiced affricates; voiceless labial fricatives by stops, and voiced labial fricatives by [w]. Voiceless obstruents are voiced in word-initial position. The tap [r] and the glottal vocoid [h] are replaced by [l]. The stress patterns of the source language are not maintained in Noble Kadiwéu, but they are maintained in Non-noble Kadiwéu. Stressed vowels of paroxytones are lengthened in Non-noble Kadiwéu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Non-noble Kadiwéu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mesa [méza]</td>
<td>[namé:ja?]</td>
<td>table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garrafa [gaháfa]</td>
<td>[galá:pa?]</td>
<td>bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quatro [kwátro]</td>
<td>[gwátolo?]</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xicara [jikara]</td>
<td>[jik:ala?]</td>
<td>cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaca [váka]</td>
<td>[wá:k:a?]</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *pida* 'but', which is likely to have been borrowed from Spanish rather than Portuguese, follows a different pattern. The voiceless /p/ is maintained and the tap /r/ is replaced by [d]. Recall that in Kadiwéu /d/ is optionally pronounced as a tap between vowels.

2.2. Diachronic Changes

Although the hypothesis of a genetic relationship among the Waikurian languages was first suggested in the 19th century (Martius 1867, cited in Colini's introduction in Boggiani 1975:253). the first systematic reconstruction of Proto-Waikurian was presented in Ceria & Sandalo 1995. Ceria & I establish the relationship of the Waikurian languages by providing a reconstruction of the phonology, pronouns, and demonstratives of Proto-Waikurian. In this section I will summarize the findings presented in Ceria & Sandalo 1995 regarding the phonological reconstruction.
Ceria & Sandalo (1995) propose that Mbayá-Kadiwéu and Toba-Mocovi-Abipón-Pilagá constitute two branches of one family, Waikurian:

![Diagram of Waikurian family tree]

We presented the following phonological reconstruction of Proto-Waikurian based on 130 cognate sets of lexical and grammatical items found in Non-noble Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocovi. This reconstruction is based on Terrence Kaufman's reconstruction (personal communication, 1992), elaborated and somewhat altered by us.⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P-Wkr</th>
<th>Kdw</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>Mcv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>w. ?</td>
<td>w. ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pʰ</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>(p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bʰ</td>
<td>bʰ</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bʲ</td>
<td>bʲ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l</td>
<td>l, Ø</td>
<td>?, t</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tʰ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>l, c</td>
<td>l, c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tʲ</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>l, c, s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t, ẹ, ?, Ø</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dʰ</td>
<td>dʰ</td>
<td>d, w, j</td>
<td>d, j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dʲ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>s, ś, c</td>
<td>s, ṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k</td>
<td>k. Ø</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k:</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k.q</td>
<td>k.q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k'y</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G.(k). q. c</td>
<td>(k).q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k. (q). w. ?</td>
<td>k. q. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g:</td>
<td>g:</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g. ?g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>(g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q:</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>k. q</td>
<td>k. q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*G</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k. q. w</td>
<td>k. q. w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g:</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m. Ø. ?</td>
<td>m. Ø.(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*m:</td>
<td>m:</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n. d</td>
<td>n. d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*n:</td>
<td>n:</td>
<td>n. ā</td>
<td>n. ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*η</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l</td>
<td>l. Ø</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l:</td>
<td>l:</td>
<td>l. 'l. ?d</td>
<td>l. 'l. ?l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l'y</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*y</td>
<td>y. Ø</td>
<td>y. Ø</td>
<td>y. Ø. ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*y:</td>
<td>y:</td>
<td>s. y</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w. ?</td>
<td>w. ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*w:</td>
<td>w:</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i():</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i. e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e():</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e. i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a():</td>
<td>a.e</td>
<td>a. e</td>
<td>a. e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a():</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\*o(\cdot)  o. a  o. a  o. a
\*u(\cdot)  o  o  o
\*æ  o  e  e
\*ü  o  i  i

Table 3: Sound Correspondences
(Ceria & Sandalo 1995:172)

Some comments on these reconstructions are needed here:

(a) \*q, \*q\textsuperscript{\*}, \*g, \*G, \*g\textsuperscript{\*}, \*g, \*k, \*k:

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed uvular \*q, \*q\textsuperscript{\*}, \*g, \*G: and velar \*g, \*g\textsuperscript{\*}, \*k, \*k: for Proto-Waikurian. In Toba and Mocovi \*k: and \*g changed to \textit{q} and \textit{G} respectively before or after back vowels, and \*q: and \*G changed to \textit{k} and \textit{g} respectively before or after front vowels. There are, however, some instances of \textit{k} and \textit{q} before \textit{a}. This can be explained as a merger of \*æ and \*e into \textit{a} after the backing of \*k\textsuperscript{\*} and fronting of \*q\textsuperscript{\*}. Kadiwéu reflects the Proto-Waikurian system, since velars and uvulars occur with front and back vowels (cf. \textit{am:egeya} 'tomorrow', \textit{egiadi} 'monkey').

\*q, \*G:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(33)</th>
<th>P-Wkr</th>
<th>Kdw</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>Mcv</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i(miq:q)</td>
<td>\textit{\sqrt{miqo}}</td>
<td>\textit{\sqrt{mik}}</td>
<td>\textit{\sqrt{miq:q}}</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
<td>q : k : k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*am:u\textsuperscript{*}q:u</td>
<td>am:ogo</td>
<td>amogo-yaga</td>
<td>amogo-yaga</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
<td>G : G : G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) \*k\textsuperscript{\*}, \*k, \*k:

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed \*k\textsuperscript{\*}, \*k, and \*k: based on the following sound correspondences: Kdw \textit{c} : Tb \textit{q}, \textit{k}, \textit{q}, \textit{c} : Mcv \textit{k}, \textit{q}; Kdw \textit{k} : Tb \textit{w} : Mcv \textit{w}; and Kdw \textit{k} : Tb \textit{k}, \textit{q} : Mcv \textit{k}, \textit{q}. The first set of correspondences, Kdw \textit{c} : Tb \textit{q}, \textit{k}, \textit{q}, \textit{c} Mcv \textit{k}, \textit{q} can be accounted for by reconstructing a palatalized velar consonant \*k\textsuperscript{\*}. The second set, Kdw \textit{k} : Tb \textit{w} : Mcv \textit{w}, can be accounted for by reconstructing a plain velar consonant \*k. The third set, Kdw \textit{k} : Tb \textit{k}, \textit{q} : Mcv \textit{k}, \textit{q} can be accounted for by reconstructing a long velar consonant \*k:\textsuperscript{\*}. 

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(34) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P-Wkr</th>
<th>Kdw</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>Mcv</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*ak'ya</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{aca}})</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{aca}})</td>
<td></td>
<td>'claw' c : G : -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*ok'yu</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{oci-Ga-te}})</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{aco-do}})</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{aqo-ro}})</td>
<td>'mother-in-law' c : c : q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*y.uk'yua</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{y:ocwa}})</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{vq}})</td>
<td></td>
<td>'brother' c : q : -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>*adPik:e</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{vajike}})</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{vashik}})</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{vashik}})</td>
<td>'face' k : k : k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*gukum</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{gokom}})</td>
<td>(\sqrt{\text{vqoqo}})</td>
<td></td>
<td>'snore' k : - : q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) * t', *t, *t: 

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed *t', *t, and *t: Proto-Waikurían *t' corresponds to Kdw c : Tb t, c, s : Mcv t, c, s. In Toba and Mocovi *t' changed to c before high vowels, s before non-high front vowels, and t elsewhere. Proto-Waikurían *t corresponds to Kdw t, \(\varnothing\) : Tb 2, w : Mcv 2, n. Proto-Waikurían *t: corresponds to Kdw t : Tb t, c : Mcv t, c. In Toba and Mocovi *t: turned into c before i.

(d) *h 

It is not clear whether Proto-Waikurían actually had an *h. Toba and Mocovi seem to have an h phoneme, which usually occurs word-initially but occasionally occurs in the middle of the word (e.g. Toba soholek 'he is leaning over'). Although Kadiwéu does not have an h, some evidence suggests that it used to have one. In Kadiwéu, voiced consonants are devoiced when certain pluralizer morphemes are added. Since the element which triggers this phonological process only occurs with certain suffixes, for instance plural markers. *h might have been (part of) those morphemes. It does occur with 2sg too, but its occurrence here seems to be due to an extension of the use of 2pl. (Rodrigues 1983).
Kadiwéu:

\( \text{\textbackslash a:b:id } '\text{stand up}' \)

\( ad:a:b:iti \)

\( /a-d-\ a:b:id -i/ \)

2pl-theme-STAND.UP-pl

'you stand up'

Further support for postulating an original \( *h \) in these Kadiwéu morphemes is found in Guató. an apparent genetic isolate whose speakers live in the same area as the Kadiwéus. Part of the Guató pronominal system is borrowed from Mbayá (Rodrigues 1983). Where Kadiwéu currently has a devoicing rule. Guató does have an \( h \). Guató marks the 2pl by a prefix \( g^*a^* \) and a pluralizing suffix \(-hi\). The proto-segment \( *h \) has been lost in Kadiwéu. but it seems to have been conserved in Guató.

(c) \( *\eta \)

Ceria & Sandalo reconstructed a velar nasal \( *\eta \), which turned into \( w \) in Kadiwéu and \( n \) in Toba and Mocovi (e.g. \( *\eta o^*: \text{Kdw} \ \/\text{wo}: 'lie down'; \text{Tb} \ /\text{na}\text{?a}: 'lie down'). There are also some instances of Kdw \( n : \text{Tb} \ n : \text{Mcv} \ n \), these correspond to \( *n \).

(f) \( *\varepsilon, *a \)

Toba and Mocovi provide evidence for both \( *\varepsilon \) and \( *a \) in Proto-Waikurian. In Toba and Mocovi, \( k \) can occur before or after any vowel, but \( q \) seems to occur only next to back vowels. There are, however, some instances of both \( k, g \) and \( q, g \) before \( a \). This can be explained by a merging of \( *\varepsilon \) and \( *a \) into \( a \) after the phonological process discussed in (a) above.
(35)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P-Wkr</th>
<th>Kdw</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>Mcv</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*se:aGam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
 intraGam |  
 intraqa |  
 intraetaq | 'speak' | a : a : a |
| *ako |  
 intrako |  
 intraqa | 'bed' | a : a : - |

(g) *u, *o  
Proto-Waikurian probably had *u and *o, judging by evidence from the sound correspondences in Kadiwéu. Toba and Mocovi. The correspondences Kdw o, a : Tb o, a : Mcv o, a Ceria & Sandalo reconstruct as *o, and Kdw o : Tb o : Mcv o as *u. Since there seems to be no evidence of conditioning environments to explain the two sets of correspondences, the only plausible explanation is reconstructing both *o and *u.

(36)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P-Wkr</th>
<th>Kdw</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>Mcv</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*iwoyo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
 intraiwoyo |  
 intrawaca | 'stick' | o : a : - |
| *(a)b:aq |  
 intraqa |  
 intraetaq | (a)wa? | 'hand' | a : a : a |
| *q:ute |  
 intraqute |  
 intraqote | 'knot' | o : o : - |
| *e:wudi |  
 intrae:wodi |  
 intraqote | 'blood' | o : - : o |

(h) *e, *u  
Proto-Waikurian probably had both *e and *u. Proto-Waikurian *e changed to o in Kadiwéu and to e in Toba and Mocovi. Proto-Waikurian *u changed to o in Kadiwéu, and to i in Toba and Mocovi.

2.2.1. Noble Kadiwéu Diphthongs. The reconstruction by Ceria & Sandalo is based on the comparison of Non-noble Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocovi. The correspondences Non-noble Kdw y : Tb s : Mcv j and Non-noble Kdw w : Tb p : Mcv p suggest the reconstruction of *y and *w. Non-noble Kadiwéu maintained long semivowels, but in Toba and Mocovi they have become strengthened into true consonants.
Recall that Noble Kadiwéu does not have long semivowels as phonemes (2.1). While the original long semivowels were strengthened into true consonants in Toba and Mocovi, they were broken up into diphthongs in Noble Kadiwéu (*iy: > y: (Non-noble Kadiwéu) ~ iy (Noble Kadiwéu), *w: > w: (Non-noble Kadiwéu) ~ wiy (Noble Kadiwéu)).

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{P-Wkr} & \text{Kdw} & \text{Tb} & \text{Mcv} & \text{Gloss} \\
\text{*ay:u} & y:o & \text{aso-ši} & & \text{nephew} & y: : s : - \\
\text{*nay:igi} & \text{nay:igi} & & \text{najik} & \text{way/road} & y: : - : j \\
\text{*aw:yi} & \text{w:yi} & \text{apya} & \text{pya?} & \text{foot} & w: : p : p \\
\text{*aw:el:adi} & \text{w:el:adi} & \text{apela?} & & \text{shoe} & w: : p : - \\
\end{array}
\]

2.3. Suprasegmental Phonology

Although a reconstruction of the Proto-Waikurian suprasegmental phonology cannot be provided yet, I will present some notes about the diachronic development of the Kadiwéu prosody. Noble Kadiwéu appears to be more archaic than Non-noble Kadiwéu. The framework for this discussion is metrical phonology (see e.g. Halle & Vergnaud 1987 and Hayes 1995, among others).
2.3.1. Metrical Phonology. Metrical phonology, in recent phonological theory, refers to an approach in which segments are arranged in a phonological hierarchy. The smallest metric constituent is the foot. A notion that has been crucial to metrical studies is the idea of parameters. In a parametric theory, a rule system is regarded as a particular choice from a limited list of options, or parameters. A foot is constructed according to the following parameters (Halle & Vergnaud 1987, Hayes 1995):

a. Foot type

i. Size

- Unbounded: stress follows at either the rightmost or leftmost syllable.
- Bounded: -Binary: stress falls in alternate syllables or moras.
- -Ternary: stress falls every three syllables

ii. Quantity Sensitivity

- Syllabic: the foot template simply counts syllables, ignoring their internal structure.
- Moraic: the foot template counts moras.

iii. Labeling

- Trochee: left-headed (i.e. binary feet with initial prominence).
- Lambsc: right-headed (i.e. binary feet with final prominence).

b. Direction of parsing

- Left to right or right to left.

c. Iterativity

- Foot construction is iterative or non-iterative (i.e. applies only once).

The construction of foot templates is established over certain domains which are language-specific. The segment which follows outside the foot template is called extrametrical. Although extrametrical material is determined in a language specific-way, only material at the edges of a word can be extrametrical.

2.3.2. Noble Kadiwéu. Noble Kadiwéu metrical template parses the stem into iterative syllabic trochees from right to left. Iterative syllabic trochee systems are characterized by the construction of iterative left-headed binary feet over syllables, ignoring whether such syllables contain long vowels. The principles of foot construction and stress placement of Noble Kadiwéu are shown in 38; 39-41 present some examples. These examples show that
Noble Kadiwéu is quantity-insensitive; as can be observed, long vowels are completely disregarded for foot construction.

One of the dichotomies drawn in studies of prominence is that between pitch-accent languages and stress-accent languages (Trubetzkoy 1939). Some phoneticians maintain that there is a distinction to be made between linguistic contrasts involving loudness and those involving pitch. In pitch-accent languages a prominent syllable bears a high tone; in stress-accent languages a prominent syllable is pronounced with a greater amount of energy. Noble Kadiwéu is a pitch-accent language — that is, contrast in pitch variation, rather than loudness, is involved (H stands for high tone and L for low tone). The metrical domain includes the stem only (i.e. the root and derivational morphology); inflectional morphology falls outside the metrical domain.

(38) a. Foot Construction: Parse words into syllabic trochees from right to left.
     b. Word Layer Construction: End rule left.

(39)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
| & H & L \\
\hline
H & L & H & L \\
\hline
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

a: gi na Ga 'man'

(40)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
| & H & L \\
\hline
H & L & H & L \\
\hline
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\(\text{-o Go we: di} \) 'gift'  \((-\text{Go we: di} \) is a bound root; recall that inflectional morphology is not in the stress domain\)

(41)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
H & L \\
\hline
\sigma & \sigma \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

je to: 'interjection'

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The metrical template in Noble Kadiwéu creates binary feet over syllables. However, an exclusive parsing into binary feet is impossible in stems containing an odd number of syllables: in such a stem, a syllable would be left over. A foot formed by a single syllable is called a degenerate foot. According to Hayes 1995, there are two types of languages concerning degenerate feet: (i) those which severely ban degenerate feet, and (ii) those which tolerate degenerate feet. I argue that Noble Kadiwéu, unlike Non-noble Kadiwéu, bans degenerate feet.

A severe ban on degenerate feet makes predictions about possible word shapes. If a quantity-insensitive language allow no degenerate feet at all, then there can be no monosyllables in this language. Therefore, monosyllables are predicted to be non-existent in Noble Kadiwéu, which is quantity-insensitive. This is indeed the case: monosyllabic words must be expanded into disyllables, as represented in 42.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{H} \\
\sigma
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{L} \\
\sigma
\end{array}
\]

1 a \longrightarrow 1 a a \quad \text{'his toy'}

Observe in 42 that the vowel is not merely lengthened; instead it is reduplicated into a new syllable. The syllabic trochee languages which ban degenerate feet studied by Hayes allow no words consisting of a single light syllable; however, they do allow monosyllabic words consisting of a heavy syllable. Hayes thus proposes that syllabic-trochee languages characteristically employ a minimal-word constraint which takes heavy syllables as proper feet. Kadiwéu counterexamples Hayes' generalization, since all stems containing an odd number of syllables, even those which contain a long vowel, must be expanded in order to be well-formed. The wave forms in Figure 2 illustrates the analysis with the monosyllables ye: 'he died' and ye: 'my belly', which show the same reduplication pattern. Each peak in the wave represents one independent vowel. Long vowels appear as long peaks.

Examples 43 and 44 show the metrical representations of the words in Figure 2.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{H} \\
\sigma
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{L} \\
\sigma
\end{array}
\]

ye: \longrightarrow ye: e: \quad \text{'he died'}
Figure 2: [yeʰ,eː] 'he died'. [yeʰ,ɛː] 'my belly'
In Noble Kadiwéu monosyllables are treated like any stem containing an odd number of syllables. Any such stem must be expanded, regardless of whether the stem contains a long vowel or not. The last parsed foot is expanded if this is a prospective degenerate foot:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
H & L \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{necodi} \Rightarrow \text{n e e c o d i} \quad \text{'uncle'}

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
H & L \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{le:God}i \Rightarrow \text{l e: e: Go di} \quad \text{'because'}

Examples 45 and 46 show that words containing light and heavy syllables are treated identically. Because Noble Kadiwéu is quantity-insensitive, light and heavy syllables are parsed identically. The wave forms in Figure 3 confirm the analysis.
Figure 3: [leʰ e ʰ Goʰ di ʰ] 'because', [ineʰ eʰ coʰ di ʰ] 'my uncle'
One of the most salient features of Noble Kadiwéu is the fact that there are no stems with an odd number of syllables. Table 4 shows that stems which contain an odd number of syllables in Non-noble Kadiwéu correspond to words whose first vowel is reduplicated in Noble Kadiwéu, forming a new syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-noble Kadiwéu</th>
<th>Noble Kadiwéu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[lé:Godí]</td>
<td>[lé: H e:i Go M di:i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g:á:</td>
<td>-g:a: H a:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nóole]</td>
<td>[no H o M le:i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lá]</td>
<td>[la H a:i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-á:b:i di</td>
<td>-a: H a:i b:i di:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yé:céw]</td>
<td>[ye: H e:i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[y:é]</td>
<td>[ye H e:i]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Noble & Non-Noble Kadiwéu Prosody

2.3.3. Non-noble Kadiwéu. The fact that Noble Kadiwéu bans degenerate feet while Non-noble Kadiwéu does not is not the only difference between the two dialects. Non-noble Kadiwéu is a stress-accent language, and the metrical template constructs ternary-quantity sensitive feet, that is, each a foot has three moras:

(47) a. Stress the antepenult if the penult is light.
    b. Stress the penult if it is heavy, and in disyllables.
    c. Foot construction is iterative.
    d. End rule right.

Examples 48 - 56 summarize the stress pattern in Non-noble Kadiwéu, showing the stress in words of one to eleven syllables. The underlined vowel bears primary stress.
(48) [tā] 'his toy'

(49) [nā:gi] 'way'

(50) [jadːgi] 'I bring'

(51) [i wəː lə] 'woman'

(52) [Gəkidi] 'afternoon'

(53) [inːiː:GacinnG bundles] 'my teacher'

(54) [yotəː gədːi] 'my lord'

(55) [inyotː:gotːowː:nigːi] 'my child female lord'

(56) [inyotː:godːəowː:nə] 'my child female lord'

Iterative ternary feet are rare cross-linguistically, being attested in only a few languages. For instance, Cayuvava, which is spoken in Bolivia, shows iterative quantity-insensitive ternary feet (see e.g. Halle & Vergnaud 1987). Non-iterative ternary feet are attested in Latin, and vestiges of such a system are still present in several of the Romance languages.

2.3.4. Diachronic Considerations. The stress system of Non-noble Kadiwéu is strikingly similar to Portuguese and Spanish stress. The main difference arises from the fact that Non-noble Kadiwéu ternary feet are iterative. Although the stress pattern is not completely predictable in Spanish and Portuguese, these languages retain the following residual effects of the Latin stress rule:

(57) Latin prosodic features (Harris 1983)

(a) Stress must fall on one of the last three syllables.

(b) Antepenultimate stress is impossible if the penultimate syllable is heavy.
It has been sometimes claimed that a particular linguistic change cannot be due to foreign interference because the source language does not have exactly the same structure that has been innovated. However, as Alleyne points out (quoted from Thomason & Kaufman 1988:62), "... in dealing with the input source for creolization, we have to make allowances for plausible processes of change analogous to what in anthropology are called reinterpretation..."

As mentioned in § 1, Kadiwéu warriors allied with the Brazilian army in the 19th-century Paraguayan war. This war had a major impact on Kadiwéu society (Colini, in Boggiani 1975:267). It is likely that the Latin rule was borrowed during this close association with Portuguese and Spanish-speaking soldiers, and possibly the new pattern spread among all non-nobles later. The Latin pattern could have been introduced as a symbol of prestige via Portuguese, or via shift-induced interference if Spanish-speaking slaves were captured.

My hypothesis is that, although the Portuguese and/or Spanish pattern was borrowed by the Kadiwéu warriors, the borrowers failed to master the Portuguese/Spanish prosody completely; instead, they assumed that stress is predictable in Portuguese/Spanish, as it is in Kadiwéu. They learned the regularities of Portuguese/Spanish prosody and reinterpreted them as a completely regular iterative stress pattern.

This hypothesis can be tested by comparing Noble Kadiwéu with the languages of the Southern Waikurian branch. If Noble Kadiwéu, but not Non-noble Kadiwéu, shows a Waikurian stress system, we would expect the stress pattern of the Southern Waikurian languages to resemble the stress pattern of Noble Kadiwéu. Although no work has been published on the prosody of the Southern Waikurian languages, Veronica Coria (personal communication, 1995) and Alejandra Vidal (personal communication, 1995) report that preliminary analysis of Mocovi and Pilagá, respectively, indicates that these languages have a binary trochee system. The only difference from Noble Kadiwéu is that at the word level the rule ends at the right edge, rather than at the left edge. Vidal says that Toba also seem to follow the same stress pattern observed for Mocovi and Pilagá. Therefore, the ternary stress pattern of Non-noble Kadiwéu seems indeed to be innovative.7
2.4. Summary

This chapter has offered a description of the Kadiwéu phonology, on synchronic and diachronic grounds, taking dialect differences into consideration. Kadiwéu has two dialects which reflect gender and social status. Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu differ in that only Non-noble Kadiwéu has long semivowels.

The most salient differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu are at the level of suprasegmental phonology. Noble Kadiwéu shows a pitch-accent system which parses the word into binary trochees: degenerate feet are repaired into binary feet through reduplication. Noble Kadiwéu is quantity-insensitive, and therefore any monosyllable is expanded into a disyllable. Non-noble Kadiwéu not only tolerates degenerate feet but also has a different stress system. Non-noble Kadiwéu is a stress-accent language which parses the word into iterative ternary feet. Moreover, Non-noble Kadiwéu is quantity-sensitive. Comparison of the Kadiwéu prosody with the prosody of the other Waikúrían languages suggests that Non-noble Kadiwéu stress patterns were introduced through interference from Portuguese and/or Spanish. See Appendix 1 for further examples of comparative Waikúrían vocabulary (with reconstructions), and Appendix 2 for a comparison of Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu lexicon.
3. Verb and Noun Morphology

The structure of the verb seems to be similar in all the Waikurían languages. The verb agrees with the subject and object in person and number (sg/pl). Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocovi mark subject person with prefixes, but number (pl) is marked with a suffix immediately following the root, although in Kadiwéu the pluralizing morpheme for the third-person subject of transitive and unaccusative verbs is a prefix. All Waikurían languages have a directional prefix n- 'hither' which is added to a verb stem. They also have a set of enclitics which mark direction and motion. Aspect and mood, but not tense, are marked on the verb in Waikurían languages. Kadiwéu has seven aspect markers — completive/incompletive/durative, telic/atelic, repetitive, and intensive — and two mood markers, conditional and desiderative. There are also three negation markers. Among the Waikurían languages, only Kadiwéu has a set of semantic role markers.

The structure of the Kadiwéu noun resembles noun structure in other Waikurían languages as well as in most western South American languages. The presence of classifiers/nominalizers marking inalienable possession seems to be an areal feature of the languages of western lowland South America. According to Payne 1990, classifiers marking inalienably possessed nouns are present in Maipuran, Cariban, Arauán, and Candoshi languages: Facundes 1995 shows that genitive classifiers marking inalienable possession are also present in Apuriná, an Arawakan language spoken in the western Amazonian area. There are three types of possessed nouns in the Waikurían languages: Class I, nouns that must be possessed and do not take a prefix n-; Class II, nouns that can be possessed and that take the prefix n-; Class III, nouns that are never possessed, and refer to things from nature, e.g. storm, rain, and river. The prefix n- is a classifier that marks alienably possessed nouns. Kadiwéu nouns are further organized into subclasses marked by classifier suffixes. Kadiwéu, like Toba and Mocovi, has a diminutive suffix added to nouns which encodes gender distinction (m/f).

In § 3.1 I describe verb morphology, and in § 3.2 I discuss the noun. Table 5 presents a schematic representation of the verb and Table 6 presents a schematic representation of the noun:
Table 3: Kedwen Verb Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Further details and specific meanings of each morpheme are not provided in the table.
3.1. The verb

3.1.1. Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Negation. Bybee (1985) points out that there is an overwhelming cross-linguistic tendency for person/number markers to be more peripheral than tense, mood, and aspect markers. This is not the case in Kadiwéu: mood and aspect markers precede subject and object markers. Mood and certain aspect markers are simple proclitics (Zwicky 1977) which can occur as independent words (58), or attach to either a the verbal stem (59) or a complementizer (60):\(^9\)

(58 ) \( ja \) wajipata.  
\( jaG \ w-awajipa-t-e-wa \)  
compl 3sg.SUBJ-listen-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'He has listened to it.'

(59 ) jawajipata.  
\( jaG+w-awajipa-t-e-wa \)  
compl + 3sg.SUBJ-listen-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'He has listened to it.'

(60) yema: jame yel:wadi eGyadi.  
\( y-em\)a: \( jaG+m\)e y-el:wad eGyadi
3sg.SUBJ-want compl + COMP 3sg.SUBJ-kill monkey

'He wishes that he had killed a monkey.'
Kadiwé'u has no tense markers, but aspect — that is, the way the grammar marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb — is marked on the verb. These are seven aspectual markers: completive/incompletive/durative, telic/atelic, repetitive, and intensive.

The verb is marked with the completive aspectual marker, Jay', when the event is seen as complete as in 61. The incompletive aspect marker, bJa', is added when the event is not complete or when the event has not yet taken place (62). The marker banaJa' 'durative' emphasizes the fact that the event is occurring, regardless of when or if it will be completed (63).

(61) nige an:ati Gatodi oda jajopi.
     nige a-n-na-d-i Gatodi oda jaG+j-opil
COMP 2sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel-pl toucan then compl + 1sg.SUBJ-go.away

'When you see a toucan, I will have gone away'.

(62) nige daGa enagi dom:oja natigi nigoy.
     daGa y-ane-g dom:oja natigi nigov
COMP negative 3sg.SUBJ-come-tlc car next morning

bGajawaligi.
bJa'j-awaligi
incompl + 1sg.SUBJ-walk

'If the car does not come tomorrow, I will walk away'.

(63) banaGa datyodi.
banaGa y-d:-aYo-d
durative 3sg.SUBJ-theme-rain-atel

'It is raining.'

In telic events the activity has a clear terminal point, while atelic events have no natural end point. In languages like English, aspectual properties such as telic and atelic are lexicalized with the verbal roots. There is nothing in the morphology of English which indicates, for instance, that the event described in fall is telic while the event described in see is atelic. In Kadiwé'u such aspectual properties are marked by suffixes that immediately follow the verbal root. The verb has a telic reading if the suffix -g is present (64), but an atelic reading if it is not

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present (65). Verbs which allow an atelic interpretation only (e.g. 'look', 'play', etc.) must always co-occur with the
atelic aspectual marker -d.

(64)  jicigitike.
   j-ic-g-t+ke
   1sg.SUBJ-pull-tlc-rel + outward
   'I pulled it away.'

(65)  id:icitike.
   i-d-ici-t+ke
   1sg.OBJ-theme-pull-rel + outward
   'I was pulled back and forth.'

(66)  id:a:bidi.  (*id:abi)
   j-d-a:bi-d
   1sg.SUBJ-theme-stand.up-tlc
   'I am standing up.'

(67)  n:adi.  (*n:a)
   y-a-d
   3sg.SUBJ-hither-see/look
   'He see it/looks at it.'

Repetitive and intensive aspects are marked by enclitics that immediately follows the verbal stem. -a:k and
+bigi, respectively. I have analyzed these elements as clitics, rather than as an affixes, because sonorants are
deleted before a repetitive/intensive aspect marker, as they are before word boundary. Compare 68 with 69 and 70
with 71.

(68)  apwaqe           i:w:oGo
   a-apwa-gen               i:w:oGo
   2sg.SUBJ-pierce-valency  wood
   'You pierce the wood.'
(69) apwaqetaki
   a-apwa-qen-t*ak
   2sg.SUBJ-pierce-valency-rel+rep
   wood

   'You pierce the wood several times.'

(70) jyataGa
    jyata-Ga
    1pl.SUBJ-miss-pl
    Maria. Maria
    'We miss Mary.'

(71) jyataGabigí
    j-yata-Ga-t+bigi
    1pl.SUBJ-miss-pl-rel+intensive
    Maria. Maria
    'We miss Mary greatly.'

Kadiwéu has two positive mood markers, conditional dGa+ and desiderative domaGa+:

(72) dGaid:inicitiKe
    dGa+j-d:-n-ici-t-ke
    cond + 1sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-swing-rel+outward
    bitGa id.oy.
    bitGa j-d:-oy
    fear 1sg.SUBJ-theme-feel

    'If I swing myself, I feel fear.'

(73) domaGayema:
    domaGa+y-ema:n:
    des + 3sg.SUBJ-want
    COMP
    3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-teach-rel+3sg.CL-allative
    me
dini:Gaciteke
    y-d:-n-t:Gaci-t-e-k
   nyoladi
ejiwajegi.
l-nyoladi
ejiwajegi
3POSS-mouth
Kadiwéu

'S/he wants to learn Kadiwéu.'

The imperative mood has no overt marker. Example 74 is interpreted either as an imperative or as a declarative sentence, according to the context:
(74)  alokodi.
      a-alokon-d
   2sg.SUBJ-run-atel

'Run! You run.'

Kadiwéu has three different negation markers. One is a proclitic +\textit{aG} that attaches to the verb of the main clause and has scope over the main clause exclusively:

(75)  Pedro  ayema:  me  dawi:
       Pedro  aG+y-ema:n:  me  y-d:-awi:
Peter  neg + 3sg.SUBJ-want  COMP  3sg.SUBJ-theme-hunt

'Peter does not want to hunt.'

The second negator, \textit{daGa-}, attaches to left of a complementizer (unless the subordinate clause is a conditional) and has scope over the subordinate clause only:

(76)  Pedro  meta  Paulo
       Pedro  y-me:n-t+e-wa  Paulo
Peter  3sg.SUBJ-say-rel + 3sg.CL-dative  Paul

medaGa  dnojeteta  dom:o:ja.
       me+daGa  y-d:-n-ojeta-t+e-wa  dom:o:ja
COMP + negative  3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3sg.CL-dative  car

'Peter told Paul not to buy a car.'

In order to negate the main clause and the subordinate clause, both \textit{aG} and \textit{daGa-} must be used:

(77)  Pedro  ame:ta  Paulo
       Pedro  aG+y-me:n-t+e-wa  Paulo
Peter  neg + 3sg.SUBJ-say-rel + 3sg.CL-dative  Paul

medaGa  dnojeteta  dom:o:ja.
       me+daGa  y-d:-n-ojeta-t+e-wa  dom:o:ja
COMP + neg  3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3sg.CL-dative  car

'Peter did not tell Paul not to buy a car.'
The third negative marker, \( nG^+ \), is attached to imperative and conditional clauses and is a combined negation/mood marker. Observe in 79 that both \( aG^+ \) and \( nG^+ \) must be used to negate a conditional clause and a main clause.

\[
\begin{align*}
(78) & \quad \text{naGalokoti!} \\
& \quad nG^+a\text{-alokon-d-i} \\
& \quad \text{imp.neg + 2sg.SUBJ-run-atel-pl} \\
& \quad 'Don't run!' \\
(79) & \quad aGejigo jawi; \\
& \quad aG^+ej\text{-go} j-awi; \\
& \quad nG^+dGa^+j-aqad i-atape-nig:i \\
& \quad \text{neg + 1sg.AUX-go} 1\text{sg.SUBJ-hunt} \text{neg + cond + 1sg.SUBJ-find} 1\text{POSS-gun-m.dim} \\
& \quad 'I don't hunt if I don't find my gun.'
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.2. Pronominals. The Kadiwéu verb is marked for its subject, direct object, and indirect object. Subject and object markers are prefixes and indirect object markers are enclitics. I analyze indirect object markers as clitics because clitics, as opposed to suffixes, trigger the deletion of sonorant consonants. Although Kadiwéu has both subject and object prefixes, they never co-occur. Griffiths & Griffiths (1976) provide a list of transitive verbs in which some verbs are marked by subject agreement and others are marked by object agreement, but they provide no systematic account for this fact. Braggio (1981) tries to account for the complementary distribution of subject and object prefixes in Kadiwéu via phonological rules; unfortunately, though, there is no phonological basis for the complementary distribution of subject and object prefixes. Intransitive verbs are marked by subject prefixes and transitive verbs are marked by object prefixes (except for the third-person direct object; when the object is third-person, the verb is marked by a subject prefix). The Kadiwéu pronominal affixes and enclitics are shown in Table 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Direct Object</th>
<th>Enclitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>a-...i</td>
<td>Ga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>y-...w</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>j-...Ga</td>
<td>Go-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>a-...i</td>
<td>Ga-...i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>y-...Ga ~ o-y-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Pronominals
Kadiwéu distinguishes 3pl subjects of unaccusative and unergative verbs; n- is only used with unergative verbs. together with the pluralizer suffix -Ga; with unaccusative and transitive constructions, the verb takes the same prefix as the 3sg. y-, together with a pluralizing prefix a- (see 4.4 for definition of unergative and unaccusative verbs). The 3sg prefix has four allomorphs, ∅ before anterior consonants (except n- 'hither'), as w- before a, as a- before n- 'hither', and as y- elsewhere. Kadiwéu 1sg and 1pl subject prefixes have two allomorphs, i- before coronal consonants and j- elsewhere. Pronominal affixes and enclitics are followed by semantic role suffixes in Kadiwéu (see § 4 for discussion on semantic role markers).

(80) Unergative Verb

jal:okonGa.
j-al:okon-Ga
1pl.SUBJ-run-pl

'We run away.'

(81) Unaccusative Verb

j-d:-a:b:id
1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit.down-pl

'I sit down.'

(82) Transitive Verb

Gad:ema:n:i.
Ga-d:-ema:n:-i
2pl.OBJ-theme-want-pl

'He loves you.'

(83) Transitive Verb

jal:aqa.
j-al:aqa
1sg.SUBJ-hit

'I hit him.'
( 84 )  Ditransitive Verb

icomitiwéki  nigitikonGadi  etakadó.
y-i-com-w-e-k  n-gitikon-Gad  etakado
3sg.SUBJ-put-rel + inward + 3sg.CL-allative  alnbl-thread-valency  middle

'She puts the thread in the needle.'

( 85 )  Unaccusative Verb with an Indirect Object

id:owetGatGaloko.
j-d-owe-d-Ga-t-Ga-lokom
1pl.SUBJ-theme-take.care-atlc-pl-rel + 2sg.CL-adessive

'We are taking care of you.'

( 86 )  Reflexive

id:inai:ekaGa.
j-d-n-al:eka-Ga
1pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-shave-pl

'We shave ourselves.'

Person and number are not grammaticalized together in Kadiwéu (except for 1pl direct and indirect objects). Person markers are prefixes and number markers are suffixes. The suffix -Ga pluralizes the first and third-person person subjects. The suffix -i pluralizes the second-person of transitive and intransitive verbs as well as second person indirect objects. The pluralizer -i occurs with 2sg subjects too; its occurrence here seems to be due to an extension of the use of second-person plural (Rodrigues 1983).

( 87 )  -ad:on  'marry'

jad:ó  'I marry'
ad:oni  'You (sg/pl) marry'
wad:ó: 'He marries'
jad:onGa  'We marry'
nadonGa  'They marry'
(88) -owag: 'bite'

jowag: 'I bite (it)'
owaki: 'You (sg/pl) bite (it)'
yowagi: 'He bites (it)'
jowakGa: 'We bite (it)'
oyowagi: 'They bite (it)'

(89) -ema:n: 'want, love'

id:ema: 'I am loved'
Gad:ema:n: i: 'You (pl) are loved'
God:ema: 'We are loved'

(90) -ajigo: 'give'

ajigotiwa: 'You (sg/pl) give (it) to me'
jajigotGawa: 'I give (it) to you (sg)'
jajigota: 'I give (it) to him'
ajigotGowa: 'You (sg/pl) give it to us'

Kadiwéu has also two number markers which are optional. The pluralizing suffix -gi marks the presence of a plural subject:

(91) -ad:e:g: 'bring'

Gad:ad:e:gigi: 'You are brought by us'

God:ad:e:gigi: 'We are brought by you'

The enclitic +e marks the presence of a third-person singular participant:

(92) -ema:n: 'love'

jema:te: 'I love him'

God:ema:te: 'He loves us'
An unmarked participant can be determined by a person hierarchy. Person markers respect the following hierarchy in Kadiwèu:

(93) \[ \text{1pl.OBJ} > \text{2sg./pl.SBJ} > \text{1sg.OBJ} > \text{1sg./pl.SBJ} > \text{3sg./pl.SBJ} > \text{3sg./pl.OBJ}. \]

Although transitive verbs normally contain object markers, a third-person object is usually not marked, because this is the lowest in the hierarchy. Therefore, when a transitive verb has a subject marker rather than an object marker, one understands that the object is a third-person.

Since second person is higher than first person, a transitive verb whose subject is second person and whose object is 1sg can also be marked by a subject prefix rather than an object prefix. In this case, the subject marker must be followed by the semantic case marker -d: 'theme'.

(94) \[ \text{ad:ad:e:gi}. \]

\[ a-d:-ad:e:gi \]

\[ 2sg.SBJ-theme-bring \]

'You bring/guide me'

There is also an optional prefix, \textit{eti-} that indicates the presence of an impersonal subject:

(95) \[ \text{etiGad:ad:egi}. \]

'Some people/someone brought you.'

Kadiwèu has two pluralizing enclitics, \textit{+niwak} and \textit{+waji}. The pluralizer \textit{+waji} has different scope according to the transitivity of the verb. The enclitic \textit{+waji} has scope over the subject if the verb is intransitive (96), but over the object if there is one (97). The pluralizers \textit{+niwak} and \textit{+waji} can co-occur for emphasis, pluralizing the subject of intransitive clauses or the object of transitive clauses (98-99):
(96)  jol:okodGatiwaji.
   j-olokon-d-Ga-t+waji
1sg.SUBJ-run-atel-pl-rel+pl

'We all run.'

(97)  analiquitibiGogitiwaji!
   a-n-al:a-ken-i-t+b+Go-gi-t+waji
2pl.SUBJ-remember-valency-pl-rel+inten-1pl.CL-goal-rel+pl

'Remember all of us!'

(98)  ada:bitiniwakitiwaji!
   a-d:-a:bi-t-i-t-ni-waci-t-waji
2sg.SUBJ-theme-stand.up-pl-rel+pl-rel+pl

'You all stand up!'

(99)  Gad:ed:yanitiniwakitiwaji.
   Ga-d:-ed:yan-t+niwak-t+waji
2pl.OBJ-theme-pay-rel+pl-rel+pl

'Somebody will pay you all.'

Auxiliary verbs must also be inflected for person and number. They have, however, a different inflectional pattern. Example 100 illustrates the inflectional pattern of auxiliary verbs. Observe that auxiliary verb inflection involves suppletion.

(100) -go  'go'
       ejigo  'I go'
       igo  'He goes'
       entGa  'We go'
       emi  'You (sg/pl) go'

Although -me:n 'say' is not an auxiliary verb, it also has an irregular inflection. The verb -me:n triggers the metathesis of person markers:

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3.1.2. Motion and Direction. Most Kadiwéu verbs are not lexically specified for direction. The direction of the action is expressed by means of a prefix and a set of derivational clitics. Another set of derivational clitics, which must precede the directional clitics, can be used to create motion verbs. I classify these morphemes as derivational because they can change the meaning of the verbal stem (note the meaning shift in 108). Like any other enclitic in Kadiwéu, they trigger deletion of sonorant consonants. Table 8 presents the motion and direction clitics and prefix and 102-112 present some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTION</th>
<th>DIRECTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+jo 'going'</td>
<td>+ke 'outward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ko 'going straight'</td>
<td>+bigim 'upward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+wag 'going together'</td>
<td>+w ~ +wgi 'inward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+n 'going inside'</td>
<td>+gi: 'toward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+get 'going against'</td>
<td>+we 'backward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+nigi ~ +n: 'downward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ka 'absent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+kwak 'apart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n- 'hither'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Motion & Direction
(102) +jo 'going': jigowiweitjo.
   j-gowiwe-\rel{t-jo}  
1sg.SUBJ-smile-rel + going

   I go smiling.

(103) n- 'hither', +jo 'going': jinigowiweitjo.
   j-n-gowiwe-\rel{t-jo}  
1sg.SUBJ-hither-smile-rel + going

   I come smiling.

(104) +co 'going straight', +gi 'toward': jad:c:giticogi
   j-ad:e:gi+\rel{t-co-gi}  
1sg.SUBJ-take-rel + going.straight + toward manioc

   'I take manioc straight toward my village.'

(105) +wa 'going together', +gi 'toward': inapadenGatiwagi
   j-n-apaden-Ga-t-wa+gi  
1sg.SUBJ-hither-repair-pl-rel + going.together + toward  net

   'I sew the mosquito net.'

(106) +a 'going inside': dinotete
   y-d-n-notete  
3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-store locative-rel + going.inside + 3sg.CL-theme

etakanigi:i.  
etaka-nig:i
basket-m.dim

   'It is stored inside a basket.'

(107) +get 'going against': di:m:aGa
   di:m:igi-Ga  
house-pl pl-3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.close-rel + going.against  stone

   'The houses are getting close against the hills'.

(108) n- 'hither', +kwak 'apart': jinawaligiitikawak.
   j-n-awali-g-t-kwak  
1sg.SUBJ-hither-walk-tlc-rel + apart

   'I got divorced.'
(199)  +ke 'outward':  jicikGatike.
   j-icl-Ga-t+ke
   1sg.SUBJ-pull-tlc-pl-rel + outward

'We pull it outwards.'

(110)  +bigem 'upward':  nekenigo walokoditibigemed:i nalaGate.
   neke-nigo w-alokon-d-t+bigim+e-d: nalaGate
   dog-classifier 3sg.SUBJ-run-atel-rel + upward + 3sg.CL-theme mountain

'The dog ran up the mountain.'

(111)  +w 'inward':  noplGaditewi naqakodiwaGa liGeladi.
   n-opi-Ga-d+t+e+tw n-aqakodiwa-Ga l-Geladi
   3pl.SUBJ-go.away-pl-atel-rel + 3CL-rel + inward alnbl-rice-pl 3POSS-village

'They bring rice to the village.'

(112)  +we 'backward':  ejigotive nGan:i nigotGa.
   ej-go-t+we nG-a-n:i n-gotGa
   1sg.SUBJ-go-rel + backward DEM alnbl-city

'I will go back to that pretty city.'

As illustrated in 110, which contains an intransitive verb, some of the directional enclitics can license a bare
nominal adjunct. Kadiwéu complements and adjuncts are easily distinguished, because the presence of a
complement is marked by a pronominal in the verb:

(113)  icomiiteweki nigitikongadig etakado.
   y-icom-t+w+e-k n-gitikong-Gad etakad:o.
   3sg.SUBJ-put-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-allative alnbl-thread-valency niddle

'She puts the thread in the needle.'
3.2. The Noun and the Nominal Phrase

3.2.1. Possessives and Genitives. Inalienably possessed nouns (Class I) must be preceded by a possessive marker. Table 9 presents the Kadiwéu possessives, and examples are provided in 114 and 116. The prefix l- is deleted before an alveolar consonant, and Gad:- and God:- are realized as Ga- and Go- respectively before any consonant. I use the label 'indefinite' here for indefinite possession. Observe that the Kadiwéu possessives are significantly similar to object markers. The similarities were even more striking in Mbayá (see Ceria & Sandalo 1995).

1sg  i-
2sg/pl  Gad:--
3sg/pl  l-
1pl  God:--
indefinite  e-

Table 9: Possessives

(114)  lìGeladi
        l-Geladi
        3POSS-house

'his house'

(115)  Gad:akilo
        Gad:akilo
        2POSS-head

'your head'

(116)  ejike
        e-ajike
        IND-face/chin

'somebody's face/chin'
Class II nouns, the alienably-possessed nouns, can be preceded by a possessive, but the possessive must also be preceded by either a noun classifier or the classifier prefix \(n\)- 'alienable'. Kadiwêu has three noun classifiers: two are used with domestic animals (\(\text{wiGadi} \) 'non-female animal class' and \(\text{wiqate} \) 'female animal class') and the other is used with other nouns (\(\text{neb}:i \) 'generic class.') It is possible that the prefix \(n\)- is a reduced form of \(\text{neb}:i\): compare 119 and 120, which show \(n\)- and \(\text{neb}:i\) in complementary distribution.

\[
\begin{align*}
(117) & \quad \text{liwiGadi} & \quad \text{apolikGanGa} \\
& \quad \text{i-wiGadi} & \quad \text{apolokGanGa} \\
& \quad \text{3POSS-animal} & \quad \text{horse} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'his horse'

\[
\begin{align*}
(118) & \quad \text{liwiqate} & \quad \text{apolikGanGa} \\
& \quad \text{i-wiqate} & \quad \text{apolokGanGa} \\
& \quad \text{3POSS-female.animal} & \quad \text{horse} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'his female horse'

\[
\begin{align*}
(119) & \quad \text{Ganeb}:i & \quad \text{aqi}:di \\
& \quad \text{Gad-:neb}:i & \quad \text{aqi}:di \\
& \quad \text{2POSS-classifier} & \quad \text{river} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'your (sg/pl) river'

\[
\begin{align*}
(120) & \quad \text{Ganaqi}:di \\
& \quad \text{Gad-:n-aqi}:di \\
& \quad \text{2POSS-anibl-river} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'your (sg/pl) river.'

The occurrence of more than one classifier is allowed for emphasis. Both classifiers must be inflected for possessive pronouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
(121) & \quad \text{liwiGadi} & \quad \text{ineb}:i & \quad \text{apolikGanGa} & \quad \text{wakipe} & \quad \text{n i y: Godi.} \\
& \quad \text{i-wiGadi} & \quad \text{i-neb}:i & \quad \text{apolikGanGa} & \quad \text{w-a kvinde} & \quad \text{niy-Godi} \\
& \quad \text{1POSS-animal} & \quad \text{1POSS-classifier} & \quad \text{horse} & \quad \text{3sg.SUBJ-drink} & \quad \text{water} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'The horse of mine drinks water.'
The classifier *neb:i* can occur with inalienably possessed nouns too, but then the possessive markers must occur on both the classifier and the noun. Since *neb:i* indicates alienable possession, its use with inalienably possessed nouns entails separation from the possessor, as can be seen clearly in 122. The classifier tends to follow the noun in such constructions.

(122)  
\[
\text{Ganhei} \quad \text{libol:e} \\
\text{Gad:-neb:i} \quad \text{l-bol:e} \\
2\text{POSS-classifier} \quad 3\text{POSS-meat}
\]

'your meat of something (e.g. your meat of a cow)'

There are also some nouns which cannot be possessed. If they do occur with possessive markers, the meaning changes:

(123)  
\[
\text{epenay}
\]

'moon'

(124)  
\[
\text{inepenay.} \\
\text{\hspace{1cm} i-n-epenay} \\
1\text{POSS-almbl-moon}
\]

'my month (i.e. the month in which I was born)'

Genitive constructions are formed by juxtaposing nouns; the head of the genitive phrase must be preceded by a possessive proclitic and the classifier *n*- if the head is an alienably possessed noun. The nouns composing a genitive construction can follow any order in relation to each other:

(125)  
\[
\text{Gonei:e-giwa} \quad \text{liGeladi} \\
\text{Gonei:e-giwa} \quad \text{l-Geladi} \\
\text{man} \quad 3\text{POSS-house}
\]

'the man's house'
3.2.2. Classifier Suffixes. Nouns are further organized into five subclasses marked by different suffixes. The classifier -nigo/-co occurs on noun referring to names of animals and plants. The suffix -nigo occurs with singular nouns (nekenigo 'dog'), while -co occurs with plural nouns and is followed by the pluralizing suffix -(a)di (nekecodi 'dogs'). The suffix -ija 'cultivated plants' also occurs with plural nouns (naqakodiwaGajadi 'a lot of rice'). The classifier -GanGa shows that the noun refers to an instrument (noolenGanGa 'stove'), and -Gikajo: occurs with some verbs nominalized by the prefix n- and refers to the actor of an action (notagamGikajo: 'speaker').

3.2.3. Diminutive. Kadiwéu has two diminutive suffixes that encode gender: -nigi: 'masculine diminutive' and -na 'feminine diminutive'. The diminutive suffixes are very productive in that they can co-occur with any nominal root. Voiced short obstruents are devoiced before a diminutive suffix.
(129)  
\text{nig:a:nig:i}  
\text{n-ig:a:-nig:i}  
\text{alnbl-child-m.dim}  

'boy'

(130)  
\text{nig:a:na}  
\text{n-ig:a:-na}  
\text{alnbl-child-f.dim}  

'girl'

3.2.4. Number. Kadiwéu has five plural suffixes -(a)di, -pi, -Ga, -dodi, and -al:i. The suffix -al:i is a plural suffix used exclusively with nouns that refer to objects that have an elongated form (\text{nod:a:jo1i} 'knives'). The choice among all the other plural suffixes seem to be lexically determined. The suffixes -adi and -al:i are realized as -di and -li, respectively, when they attach to a stem ending in a vowel. All the elements in a noun phrase must agree in number:

(131)  
\text{nGidiwa}  
\text{nG-i-di-wa}  
\text{close-masc-DEM-pl}  

\text{nekecodi}  
\text{n-eko-co-adi}  
\text{alnbl-dog-animal-pl}  

\text{nabidaGaGa}  
\text{n-abidaGa-Ga}  
\text{alnbl-black-pl}  

'these black dogs'

(132)  
\text{nig:anig:ipi}  
\text{n-ig:a-nig:i-pi}  
\text{alnbl-child-m.dim-pl}  

\text{libinyenGa}  
\text{l-binyn-en-Ga}  
\text{3POSS-beauty-pl}  

'these pretty boys'

Mass nouns must be always followed by the plural suffix:

(133)  
\text{inajidi}  
\text{i-n-aji-adi}  
\text{1POSS-alnbl-pl}  

'my fat'
3.2.5. Noun to Noun Derivation and Nominalizers. The suffix *jegi* 'source' is used to derive nouns from other nouns. The suffix *jegi* causes the devoicing of the last voiced stop of a root (*nigotaGa* 'city', *nigotaqajegi* 'citizen'). Kadiwéu has a suffix *-awa* 'like' which is used to derive nouns from nouns that contain a diminutive suffix. Some of these constructions involve reduplication of the last phonological foot (recall that feet are formed from right to left in Kadiwéu):

(134)  
nig-anig:awa:nigi  
\textit{RED-n-ig:a-awa:-nig:i}  
\textit{RED-\textit{a}nbl-child-like-m.dim}  
\textit{`baby boy'}

The suffix *-Gaci* is a nominalizer:

(135)  
ojeteGaci  
ojete-\textit{Gaci}  
\textit{buy-NOM}  
\textit{`Market'}

3.2.6. Demostratives. The demonstrative system in Waikurian languages is quite complex, encoding gender, number, absence/presence, and position (static/moving). Such a system is rare in the world's languages. The masculine prefix *i-* or the feminine prefix *a-* immediately precedes the demonstrative forms in the singular. There is only one form for the plural demonstrative, *id:iwa*. The plural marker *-wa* can also be used to mean 'Kadiwéu nationality' or 'pertaining to the Kadiwéu' (e.g. *ad:iwa iwal:o* 'that Kadiwéu woman sitting' vs. *ad:i iwal:o* 'that woman sitting'). Absence is always marked by the morpheme *\textit{t}:\textit{e};* when the object or person is present, however, the form varies according to position (static/moving). Table 10 shows the Waikurian demonstrative system.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>P-Wkr</th>
<th>Kdw</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>Mev</th>
<th>Abp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>absent</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>k:æ</em></td>
<td>i-ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>&lt;ekaha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>standing</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(e)-d:a</em></td>
<td>i-d:a</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>&lt;heraha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td><em>sitting</em></td>
<td><em>(e)-n:i</em></td>
<td>i-n:i</td>
<td>ŋi</td>
<td>ŋi</td>
<td>&lt;hiʔiha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>present</em></td>
<td><em>lying</em></td>
<td><em>(e)-d:i</em></td>
<td>i-d:i</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>&lt;hiriha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>coming</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(e)-n:a</em></td>
<td>i-n:a</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>&lt;enaha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>going</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(e)-d'u</em></td>
<td>i-jo</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>&lt;chaha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>absent</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>a-k:æ</em></td>
<td>a-ka</td>
<td>a-ka</td>
<td>(a)-ka</td>
<td>&lt;akaha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>standing</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>a-d:a</em></td>
<td>a-d:a</td>
<td>a-da</td>
<td>(a)-da</td>
<td>&lt;haraha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td><em>sitting</em></td>
<td><em>a-n:i</em></td>
<td>a-n:i</td>
<td>a- ŋi</td>
<td>(a)-ŋi</td>
<td>&lt;hafiha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>present</em></td>
<td><em>lying</em></td>
<td><em>a-d:i</em></td>
<td>a-d:i</td>
<td>a-jí</td>
<td>(a)-jí</td>
<td>&lt;hariha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>coming</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>a-n:a</em></td>
<td>a-n:a</td>
<td>a-na</td>
<td>(a)-na</td>
<td>&lt;anaha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>going</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>a-d'u</em></td>
<td>a-jo</td>
<td>a-so</td>
<td>(a)-so</td>
<td>&lt;ahaha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>absent</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>k:æ-wa</em></td>
<td>i-d:i-wa</td>
<td>ka:-/ka-wa</td>
<td>ka-wa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>standing</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>d:a-wa</em></td>
<td>i-d:i-wa</td>
<td>da:-/da-wa</td>
<td>da-wa</td>
<td>&lt;herooha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sitting</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>n:i-wa</em></td>
<td>i-d:i-wa</td>
<td>ŋi:-/ŋi-wa</td>
<td>ŋa-wa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>present</em></td>
<td><em>lying</em></td>
<td><em>d:i-wa</em></td>
<td>i-d:i-wa</td>
<td>ji:-/ji-wa</td>
<td>ja-wa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>coming</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>n:a-wa</em></td>
<td>i-d:i-wa</td>
<td>na:-/na-wa</td>
<td>na-wa</td>
<td>&lt;henooha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>going</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>d'u-wa</em></td>
<td>i-d:i-wa</td>
<td>so:-/so-wa</td>
<td>sa-wa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Demonstratives (Ceria & Sandalo 1995)
Alejandra Vidal (personal communication, 1995) argues that the demonstratives of the Waikurūan languages are derived from verbs. Indeed in Kadiwéu the same roots that appear as demonstratives also function as existential/locative verbs and as serial verbs (see § 4). In fact, at least in Kadiwéu, any construction containing one of the roots used in demonstratives can be interpreted as a clause:

(136)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{iwa} & \text{Gone:giwa} \\
i-ka & \text{Gone:giwa} \\
masc-absent & \text{man} \\
\end{array}
\]

'This absent man/There exists a man.'

(137)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
i:n:a & \text{Gone:giwa} \\
i:n:a & \text{Gone:giwa} \\
masc-coming & \text{man} \\
\end{array}
\]

'This man coming/There is a man going.'

(138)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a-di} & \text{iwa:lo} \\
a-d-i & \text{iwa:lo} \\
fem-lying & \text{woman} \\
\end{array}
\]

'This woman lying/There is a woman lying.'

(139)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a-diwa} & \text{iwa:lo} \\
a-d-i-wa & \text{iwa:lo} \\
fem-lying-kadiwéu & \text{woman} \\
\end{array}
\]

'This Kadiwéu woman lying/There is a Kadiwéu woman lying.'

3.3. Summary

In this chapter I have given a detailed description of the grammatical morphemes found in the noun and in the verb. The verb structure is very complex, encoding person and number, directionals, mood, negation, and aspect. The noun encodes possessives, classifiers, diminutive, and number.
4. Morphosyntax

4.1. Constituent Order and Clause Types

In this section I present an overview of Kadiwéu syntax. This serves as an introduction to more specific questions that bear on theoretical issues, which are presented in § 4.2–4.4. In § 4.1.1 I discuss constituent order and § 4.1.2 lists the sentence types that I have found.

4.1.1. Constituent Order. One striking feature of Kadiwéu syntax is its nonconfigurational properties. It has all the classical properties of a nonconfigurational language: free ordering of nominal phrases with respect to each other and the verb, pervasive dropping of nominal phrases, and the existence of discontinuous expressions.

Griffiths (1987, 1991) presents a discussion of constituent order in Kadiwéu. He points out that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses varies freely between VSO and SVO, but is predominantly SVO. My data shows that the constituent order of Kadiwéu main clauses is much freer than Griffiths reports. Possible orders for main clauses are OVS, VOS, OSV, SVO, and VSO:¹¹

(140) Maria n:adi Gatodi. SVO

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Maria} & n: \text{adi} & \text{Gatodi.} & \text{SVO} \\
\text{Gatodi} & n: \text{adi} & \text{Gatodi} & \text{SVO} \\
\text{Mary} & 3\text{sg.SBJ-hither-see-atel} & \text{toucan} & \text{SVO}
\end{array}
\]

(141) y-n-na-d Mary

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{n: \text{adi}} & \text{Gatodi} & \text{Maria.} & \text{VOS} \\
y-n-na-d & \text{Gatodi} & \text{Maria} & \text{VOS} \\
3\text{sg.SBJ-hither-see-atel} & \text{toucan} & \text{Mary} & \text{VOS}
\end{array}
\]

(142) Mary

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Maria} & \text{Gatodi} & n: \text{adi.} & \text{SOV} \\
\text{Gatodi} & n: \text{adi} & \text{Gatodi} & \text{SOV} \\
\text{Mary} & \text{toucan} & 3\text{sg.SBJ-hither-see-atel} & \text{SOV}
\end{array}
\]

(143) Mary

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Gatodi} & \text{Maria} & n: \text{adi.} & \text{OSV} \\
\text{Gatodi} & n: \text{adi} & \text{Gatodi} & \text{OSV} \\
\text{toucan} & \text{Mary} & 3\text{sg.SBJ-hither-see-atel} & \text{OSV}
\end{array}
\]
(144)    Gatodi    n:adi       Maria.    OVS
          Gatodi    y-n-na-d    Maria
toucan    3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel Mary

(145)    n:adi       Maria    Gatodi.    VSO
          y-n-na-d    Maria    Gatodi
13sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel Mary         toucan

‘Mary sees a toucan.’

Griffiths says that the constituent order of subordinate clauses is always VSO, but I have found alternative constituent orders in subordinate clauses as well. In 146 and 147 the subject of the subordinate clause precedes the verb, while in 148 the object precedes the verb:

(146)    jowo:GotaGa    me    el:yodi    oqo    oyowo:Godi
          j-owo:--God-Ga    me    el:yo-di    oqo    o-y-owo:--God
13sg.SUBJ-think-valency-pl    COMP another-pl people pl-3sg.SUBJ-think-valency

natematixo.
n-atemati-gon
alnbl-tell-valency

‘We know that people understand/know narratives/stories.’

(147)    dapa:we    le:Godi    Maria    ipod:i    Joao.
y-d:--apa:we    le:Godi    Maria    y-po-d    Joao
3sg.SUBJ-therme-screen because Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kick-atel John

‘He screamed because Mary was kicking John.’

(148)    ejigo    id:alita    le:Godi    Joao    jiyadi.
ej-g:o    j-d:--ali-t-e-wa    le:Godi    Joao    j-ya-d
13sg.AUX-go    13sg.SUBJ-theme-visit-rel + 3sg.CL-dative because John 1g.SUBJ-miss-atel

‘I went to visit him because I have missed John.’

Baker 1994 observes that, although Mohawk has a quite free constituent order, one nominal phrase in a given clause cannot refer to a pronominal belonging to another clause. This is also true for Kadiwéu:
(149)  male:  jyote.  Maria  ewo  niwe:n:ig:i.
       male:  j-yote  Maria  y-owo  n-we:n-nig:i
while  1sg.SUBJ-sleep  Mary  3sg.SUBJ-make  alnbl-food-m.dim

‘While I slept, Mary cooked some food.’

(150)  *male:.  Maria.  jyote.  ewo  niwe:n:ig:i.
       male:  Maria  j-yote  y-owo  n-we:n-nig:i
while  Mary  1sg.SUBJ-sleep  3sg.SUBJ-make  alnbl-food-m.dim

  ‘While, Mary, I slept, she cooked dinner.’

Spontaneous speech illustrating free constituent order is not easy to find in Kadiwéu because nominal phrases are usually absent in this language. Any inflected verb in Kadiwéu corresponds to a complete sentence in English:

(151)  jiba:taGawa.
       j-b-a=+Ga-wa
       1sg.SUBJ-catch-rel + 2sg.CL-dative

‘I catch you.’

(152)  God:ema:te
       Go-d-+ema:n-i+e
       1pl.OBJ-theme-want-rel + 3CL

‘He loves us.’

(153)  anal:aqitibiGogitiwaji!
       a-n-a:a-qen-i+t+b+Go-gi+t+waji
       2pl.SUBJ-remember-valency-pl-rel + inten-1pl.CL-goal-rel + pl

‘Remember all of us!’

(154)  jotaGaneGetaGadomitiwaji.
       j-otaGan-Gen-i+Ga-dom-i+t-waji
       1sg.SUBJ-speak-become-rel + 2pl.CL-benefactive-pl-rel + pl

‘I talk to them for you.’

The phenomenon of nominal-phrase dropping can also be observed in the text fragment in 155:
Discontinuous constituents are quite common in some nonconfigurational languages, e.g. Warlpiri (Hale 1983). Discontinuous nominal expressions can also be found in Kadiwéu, although discontinuous constituents are not as productive in this language as in Warlpiri. Observe that in 156 the wh-element is separated from its nominal phrases by the complementizer me. In 157 not only is the wh-element separated from its nominal phrase, but also the components of the possessive construction [lìwoqodi apaqacondì Np] are separated from each other by the verb.

The examples in 158 and 159 show that split subjects are also possible.12

12

12

(155)  
icomGated:i jo  itwata:l:e  noqododi

y-i:com-Gal-t-e-d-t+j o  i-d:a-wa-t-e:l:e  noqo-dodi

3pl.SUBJ-put-pl-rel + 3pl.CL-theme-rel + going  masc-DEM-pl-rel-another  day-pl

monipadieg 
me+o-y-n-pa-d-t+e-gi  Ecabigo

COMP + pl-3pl.SUBJ-hither-wait-atel-rel + 3sg.CL-goal  Ecabigo

ikwa  el:yodi  jona  yema:  migo
ikwa  el:yodi  jona  y-ema:n:  me+y-go
DEM  father  compl  3sg.SUBJ-want  COMP + 3sg.SUBJ-go

dol:eted:ibige.
y-d:ole-t-e-d-t+bige
3sg.SUBJ-theme-look.for-rel + 3sg.CL-theme-rel + inten

jona  nod:e  ikwa  loqa:Gededi
jona  y-n-od:e  i-ka-wa  l-oqa:Gedi-adi
compl  3sg.SUBJ-hither-invite  masc-DEM-pl  3POSS-friend-pl

migotibeki
me+y-go+t+e-k  od:ol:etibige.
COMP + 3sg.SUBJ-go-rel + 3sg.CL-allative  o-y-d:ol:e-t+bige
pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-look.for-rel + inten

'They have been waiting for Ecabigo for two days. (Ecabigo's) father wants so much to look for (Ecabigo) that he invited some friends to go to look for (Ecabigo).'

(156)  
iga:  me  [lìwoqodi  apaqacondì Np]  annati?
iga:  me  l-woqo-adi  apaqa-co-adi  a-n-na-d-i
how  COMP  3POSS-number-pl  rhea-animal-pl  2sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel-pl

‘How many rheas do you see? (Lit.: 'How that do you rheas’ number see?’)
4.1.2. Clause Types. First, consider declarative clauses. Since nominal phrases are always optional and follow a free constituent order, the presence or absence of nominal phrases is not a conclusive criterion for distinguishing transitive from intransitive clauses. Transitive and intransitive clauses are distinguished according to the criteria discussed below.

First, only transitive clauses can undergo reflexivization in Kadiwéu. Reflexivized verbs are marked by the reflexive morpheme -n:

```
( 157 ) iga: me lwoqodi annati apaqacodi
  iga: me l-wqo-adi a-n-na-d-i apaqo-adi
how COMP 3POSS-number-pl 2sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel-pl rhea-animal-pl

'How many rheas do you see? (Lit.: 'How that do you number see rheas'?)
```

```
( 158 ) iga: me [lwoqodi nig:a:nig:ipawa:nig:iwp]
  iga: me l-wqo-adi n-ig:a:-nig:i-pi-wa:-nig:i
how COMP 3POSS-number-pl alnbl-child-m.dim-pl-like-m.dim

igotib:ek libatadi?
y-go-t-b-e-k l-bata-adi
3pl.SUBJ-go-rel-inten+ 3pl.CL-allative 3POSS-village-pl

'How many boys are going to their villages?’ (Lit.: 'How that boys’ number are going to their villages?)
```

```
( 159 ) iga: me lwoqodi igotibek libatadi
  iga: me l-wqo-adi y-go-t-b-e-k l-bata-adi
how COMP 3POSS-number-pl 3pl.SUBJ-go-rel-inten+ 3pl.CL-allative 3POSS-village-pl

nig:a:nig:ipawa:nig:i?
n-ig:a:-nig:i-pi-wa:-nig:i
alnbl-child-m.dim-pl-like-m.dim

'How many boys are going to their villages’ (Lit.: 'How that number are going to their village boys’?)
```

( 160 ) yom:oqc.
y-om:o-ogen
3sg.SUBJ-open-valency

'He opens it.'
(161)  dinom:ôqe.
y-d:-n-om:ô-qaen:
3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-open-valency

'It opens itself.'

Second, only transitive clauses undergo passivization. Kadiwéu does not have any passive morpheme. Passives are distinguished from active sentences solely in that the subject of a passive is marked as the subject of an unaccusative clause:

(162)  yajigota.
y-ajigo-t=e-wa
3sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'He gives it to him.'

(163)  dajigota.
y-d:-ajigo-t=e-wa
3sg.SUBJ-theme-give-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'It was given to him.'

Third, ditransitive clauses are distinguished by the obligatory presence of an enclitic marking the indirect object:

(164)  jajigotGawa
j-ajigo-t+Ga-wa
1sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 2sg.CL-dative
apolikGanGa.
apolik-GanGa
horse-classifier

'I give a horse to you.'

(165)  jipeqeteloko
j-peq-gen-t=e-lokom
1sg.SUBJ-put-valency-rel + 3sg.CL-adessive
nalaGan:aGaci
n-ala-Gan:-Gaci
alnbl-recall-valency-NOM
name:ja
name:ja
table

'I put the book on the table.'
Kadiwéu formally distinguishes copular clauses from existential and locative clauses. There is no overt copular.

(166) Existential: 
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ijo} & \text{Gonel:e:giwa} \\
\text{i-jo} & \text{Gonel:e:giwa} \\
masc-going & \text{man}
\end{array}
\]
'There is a man going.'

(167) Locative: 
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Gonel:e:giwa} & \text{tika} & \text{nigotGa} \\
\text{Gonel:e:giwa} & \text{t-ka} & \text{n-gotGa} \\
\text{man} & ?-absent & \text{anbl-city}
\end{array}
\]
'The man is in the city.'

(168) Copular: 
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{c:} & \text{ni:GacinaGanaGa} \\
e:m: & \text{n-i:Gacina-GanGa} \\
1PRONOUN & \text{anbl-teach-classifier}
\end{array}
\]
'I am a teacher.'

(169) Copular 
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Maria} & \text{libinyen:a} \\
\text{Maria} & \text{l-binven-na} \\
\text{Mary} & \text{3POSS-beauty-f.dim}
\end{array}
\]
'Mary is pretty.'

The complement of copular clauses in Kadiwéu is always a noun phrase. Kadiwéu does not have adjectives: all non-verbal roots have identical syntactic properties. Elements which are expressed by adjectives in languages like English are expressed by nouns (168-169) or intransitive verbs (170-171) in Kadiwéu (see 4.4 for criteria for lexical category classification).

(170) 
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{c:} & \text{jehotiga} \\
e:m & \text{j-eloji-qan} \\
1PRONOUN & \text{1sg.SUBJ-sick-valency}
\end{array}
\]
'I am sick.'
(171) e: iniGace.
    e:m j-n-Gace
    1PRONOUN 1sg.SUBJ-hither-be.tired

'I am tired.'

Complement clauses — that is, clauses that function as direct objects — are introduced by the complementizer me:

(172) Ana me: Maria me dabaqenaGa.
    Ana y-me:n Maria me y-d:-baqen-Gan
Ann 3sg.SUBJ-say Mary COMP 3sg.SUBJ-theme-wash-valency

'Ann said that Mary did the laundry.'

Although the Kadiwéu word order is free, the subject of the subordinate clause is preferentially placed before the complementizer. In fact, many speakers reject the sentence if the subject is placed after the complementizer me:13

(173) ? Ana me: me Maria dabaqenaGa.
    Ana y-me:n me Maria y-d:-baqen-Gan
Ann 3sg.SUBJ-say COMP Mary 3sg.SUBJ-theme-wash-valency

'S/he said that Mary did the laundry.'

Control structures — structures in which either the subject of the main clause is also the (semantic) subject of the subordinate clause or the object of the main clause is also the (semantic) subject of the subordinate clause — have the same structure. That is, the main and subordinate clauses must be separated by the complementizer me:

(174) mejita
    j-me:n-t-e-wa
3sg.SUBJ-say-rel + 3sg.CL-dative Maria me dabaqenaGa.
    Maria me y-d:-baqen-Gan
3sg.SUBJ-say-rel + 3sg.CL-dative Mary COMP 3sg.SUBJ-theme-wash-valency

'She told Mary to do the laundry.'
Note that the complementizer *me* can be preceded by a noun phrase referring either to the subject of the subordinate clause (172) or to the object of the main clause (174). There is no ambiguity, however, since, when the nominal phrase preceding the complementizer refers to the object of the main clause, it will trigger agreement in the main verb (174).

Adverbial clauses are introduced by *nige*, *náGa*, and *nobGa*. The complementizer *nige* can be glossed as 'when (fut)', *náGa* as 'when (non-fut)', and *nobGa* as 'where':

(175) meji María naGa dabāqenaGa.
    j-me:n María naGa y-d--bagen-Gan
    1sg.SUBJ-say Mary when (non-fut) 3sg.SUBJ-theme-wash-valency

'I said [the date] when Mary did the laundry.'

(176) María yatemati Pedro naGa yoe di:m:igi.
    María y-atemati Pedro naGa y-oen di:m:igi
    Mary 3sg.SUBJ-tell/say Peter when (fut) 3sg.SUBJ-make house

Mary said [the date] when Peter built the house.'

(177) María yatemati nige yoe Pedro di:m:igi
    María y-atemati nige y-oen Pedro di:m:igi
    Mary 3sg.SUBJ-tell/say when (non-fut) 3sg.SUBJ-make Peter house

'Mary said [the date] when Peter will build the house'

    João y-ayati en:ewigia:n noa Ga y-ayati Pedro etakol:igi
    John 3sg.SUBJ-plant manioc where 3sg.SUBJ-plant Peter corn

'John plants manioc where Peter plants corn.'

Relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun *ane*:
This rice that John told Mary to order for him.

This man saddled the horse of the woman who delivered manioc.

Location, purpose, and manner clauses also involve relativization. They are introduced by a relative pronoun cliticized to an adverb: *i* 'where', *le:Godi* 'because', and *oda:Ge* 'how'. Examples are given shown in 181-182.

John told the place where Joe will build the house.
Joseph knew the reason why Peter sold the house.

John will tell how Mary plants manioc.

Comparative sentences are generally expressed by clause parataxis (i.e. clause juxtaposition). The only comparative conjunction that Kadiwéu has is *alikyagi* 'like':

This boy is faster than Mary.' (Lit.: 'This boy is fast. He exceeds Mary.')

'Mary is as fast as this boy.' (Lit.: Mary is fast like this boy.)
'Mary is fast but Peter is not fast.'

'Mary is fast and Peter is also fast.'

Kadiwéu has two types of interrogative constructions. Complements are questioned by means of the incorporation of the interrogative ame in a locative/existental predicate:

'Who/what is this who/that is coming?'

Adjuncts are questioned through movement to [SPEC, COMP] of the interrogative ame and addition of the prefix ig- 'wel':

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I analyze examples 190-192 as *wh*-movement cases since the interrogative phrase must appear before the complementizer *me*. Moreover, a *wh*-interrogative is ungrammatical if a lower COMP is filled by a relative pronoun, blocking COMP to COMP movement (193). Example 194 shows that long-distance movement is allowed.

\[(193)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{igamei} & \text{me} & \text{eni} & \text{Joao} & \text{ane} & \text{me}:
\\
\text{ig-ame+i} & \text{me} & \text{y-ani} & \text{Joao} & \text{ane} & \text{y-me:n}
\\
\text{wh-int + place} & \text{COMP} & \text{3sg.SUBJ-think} & \text{John} & \text{relative} & \text{3sg.SUBJ-say}
\\
\end{array}
\]

Maria *me* yaqadi napalwaGa?
Maria *me* y-aqad n-apalwa-Ga
Mary COMP 3sg.SUBJ-find alnb-clay-pl

*Where do think that John that said that Mary found clay?*

\[(194)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{igamei} & \text{me} & \text{eni} & \text{Joao} & \text{me:} & \text{me} & \text{yaqadi}
\\
\text{ig-ame+i} & \text{me} & \text{y-ani} & \text{Joao} & \text{y-me:n} & \text{me} & \text{y-aqad}
\\
\text{wh-int + place} & \text{COMP} & \text{3sg.SUBJ-think} & \text{John} & \text{3sg.SUBJ-say} & \text{me} & \text{3sg.SUBJ-find}
\\
\end{array}
\]

Maria napalwaGa?
Maria n-apalwa-Ga
Mary alnb-clay-pl

*Where do you think John said that Mary found clay?*

I could not find any simple yes-no questions in Kadiwéu. When I tried to elicit questions such as *Did you find clay?* *Have you found clay?*, they gave me sentences such as *When did you find clay?*.
4.1.3. Summary. In this section I have shown that Kadiwéu is a nonconfigurational language. Nonconfigurational languages pose well-known problems for linguistic theory. The existence of free word order and discontinuous expressions challenges the idea underlying X-bar Theory of a fixed phrase structure over which syntactic relationships such as subject and object can be defined.

4.2. Kadiwéu as a Pronominal Argument Language

Jelinek 1984 explains the properties of nonconfigurational languages by proposing that languages set the elements which can work as verbal arguments. According to Jelinek, pronominal clitics and affixes are the arguments in nonconfigurational languages; nominal phrases are adjuncts, and therefore they can assume free order or be omitted. This proposal has not been universally accepted, however. The existence of inflectional morphemes functioning as arguments challenges the idea of a fixed phrase structure over which syntactic relationships such as subject and object can be defined. An alternative analysis would be to say that the morphemes on the verb do not replace conventional argument phrases, but that nonconfigurational languages are nothing more than cases of obligatory pro-drop languages. Baker 1984, for instance, argues that nominal phrases are adjuncts in Mohawk, but he denies that Mohawk pronominals are arguments. According to Baker, the verbal arguments are an empty category pro that occupies the projections of the verb. Kadiwéu offers evidence supporting Jelinek's hypothesis that inflectional morphemes can indeed be arguments in some languages. Arguments are understood in this work as elements that (i) are in A-position (adjuncts are in A-bar position), (ii) are subject to the Theta-criterion, and (iii) are subject to special kinds of syntactic operations (i.e. passivization, which affects arguments but not adjuncts).

In 4.2.1 I show that pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements that assign semantic roles. The fact that pronominal clitics and affixes, rather than nouns, are governed by semantic role assigners suggests that Kadiwéu is a pronominal argument language of the Jelinek type rather than of the Baker type. In 4.2.2 a variety of syntactic tests, for instance passivization — which affects pronominals but not nominal phrases — will be applied.
to Kadiwéu. The results of these tests also support the claim that pronominals are arguments, and nominal phrases adjuncts, in Kadiwéu.

4.2.1. Kadiwéu Semantic Role Markers. Many languages that have a free constituent order also have morphologically marked case. In such languages case markers are like English prepositions in that they assign semantic roles. Thus, several authors prefer to label these elements as semantic role markers or semantic case markers (e.g. Simpson 1983). Kadiwéu fits this pattern, except that it is the pronominal clitics and affixes, rather than nouns, that co-occur with semantic case morphology. Kadiwéu has six semantic role markers: -d: 'theme'. -gi 'goal', -wa ~ -ma 'dative', -dom ~ -ma ~ -lo 'benefactive', -k 'allative', and lokom 'adessive'. Subject markers must be followed by either Ø (agent subjects) or -d: 'theme'. Direct object markers must be followed by -d: 'theme'. Indirect object enclitics must be followed by one of the following morphemes: -wa ~ -ma 'dative', -dom ~ -ma 'benefactive'. -k 'allative'. -gi 'goal', lokom 'adessive'.14

     j-d:-a:b:id 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit.down-pl

'I sit down.'

     Ga-d-ema:n:-i 2pl.OBJ-theme-want-pl

'He loves you.'

(197)  jaqapetegi.
     j-aqape-t-e-gi 1sg.SUBJ-meet-rel + 3sg.CL-goal

'I meet him.'

(198)  jajigotGawa  lib:ol:e.
     j-aqiga-t-Ga-wa l-b:ol:e
     1sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 2sg.CL-dative 3POSS-meat

'I give the meat to you.'
(199)  icomitiviweki
    y-icom-t-w-e-k
    3sg.SUBJ-put-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-allative
    nigitikonGadi
    n-gitikon-Gad
    ainbl-thread-valency
    etakado
    etakado
    niddle

'She puts the thread in the needle.'

(200)  el:e-tGadomi.
    el:e-t+Ga-dom-i
    good-rel + 2pl.CL-benefactive-pl

'It is good for you.'

(201)  id:owetGatGaloko.
    j-d:-owe-d-Ga-i+Ga-lokom
    1pl.SUBJ-theme-take.care-ate-pl-rel + 2sg.CL-adessive

'We are taking care of you.'

A single pronominal affix or clitic co-occurs with several different semantic case markers. Conversely, a particular semantic case marker can co-occur with more than one pronominal prefix or enclitic. For instance, the enclitic +Ga co-occurs with -wa 'dative' in 198, with -dom 'benefactive' in 200, and with -lokom 'adessive' in 201. Conversely, the semantic role marker -d: 'theme' co-occurs with the subject prefix j- in 195 and the object prefix Ga- in 196. These facts constitute evidence that the semantic role markers and the pronominal markers are separate morphemes.

Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) discuss the fact that Chichewa has an optional object marker on the verb, and when the object marker occurs, word order is free, while word order is rigid when the object marker is absent. On the basis of these facts, they claim that the object marker and nominal phrases share argument properties. Thus, when the object markers appears, the overt nominal associated with it is not in argument position and hence is not subject to ordering conditions. In contrast, when the object marker is not present, the nominal phrase is an argument and therefore follows a rigid order. Their analysis cannot be extended to Kadiwéu, however, because
Kadiwéu nominal phrases are always ungoverned and never respect any ordering restriction. In contrast, pronominal clitics and affixes must always co-occur with semantic role markers.

Jelinek claims that the Theta-Criterion applies verb-internally in pronominal argument languages. The fact that pronominal clitics and affixes, rather than nouns, co-occur with semantic role markers in Kadiwéu suggests that the Theta-Criterion must indeed be applied verb-internally in some languages. One could question whether the semantic role markers are attached to pronominals at the phonological level. If this were the case, Baker's approach still could be maintained. If the argument phrases are an empty pro, the logical possibility is to cliticize them to the verb at the phonological level. There is, however, evidence suggesting that the phenomenon is truly morphological. Table 5 (repeated here as Table 11 for convenience), a schematic representation of Kadiwéu verb structure, shows that the pronominal-semantic role assigner clusters occur deeply embedded in the verb morphology. Pronominal clitics and affixes are further inside the verb structure than inflectional morphemes such as aspect, mood, directionals, and plural markers. The pluralizer -waji has different semantic scope according to the verbal valency: it pluralizes the subject prefix if the clause is intransitive (202), but it pluralizes an internal argument if the verb has one (203). The fact that -waji accesses the internal morphological boundaries of the verbal stem to establish its semantic scope indicates that this morpheme cannot be attached to the verb at the phonological level. A morpheme which is attached to the verb at the phonological level (simple clitic) cannot access the lexical properties of its host. The fact that Kadiwéu semantic role morphemes are inside -waji in the verb structure indicates that those morphemes also cannot attach to the verb at the level of phonological form.

(202) jel:okodGatiwaji.
    j-alokon-d+Ga-t+waji
1pl.SUBJ-run-atel-pl-rel + pl
 'We all run.'

(203) anal:aqetibiGogitiwaji!
    a-n-al:a-qen-i-t+b+Go-gi-t+waji
2pl.SUBJ-remember-valency-pl-rel + inten-1pl.CL-goal-rel + pl
 'Remember all of us!'
Table 1: Radiowave Wedge Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency (GHz)</th>
<th>Incidence Angle (deg)</th>
<th>Backscatter Coefficient (db)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.4 - 2.5</td>
<td>-30 - 45</td>
<td>-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 - 4.0</td>
<td>-45 - 55</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows the frequency range, incidence angle range, and backscatter coefficient for different conditions. The frequency range spans from 2.4 GHz to 4.0 GHz, with incidence angles ranging from -30 to 55 degrees and backscatter coefficients from -20 to -15 dB.
4.2.2. Syntactic Tests. In this section I show, by means of a variety of syntactic tests, that all the available evidence indicates that Kadiwéu is indeed a pronominal argument language.

The first syntactic test is passivization. In most languages that have passivization, a noun-phrase complement can be passivized, whereas an adjunct cannot be:

(204) a. He laughed at the clown.
    
b. The clown was laughed at by him.

(205) a. He laughed at ten o'clock
    
b. *Ten o'clock was laughed at by him.

Since, according to my hypothesis, pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu and nominal phrases are adjoined to the sentence, I expect that passivization will affect pronominal clitics and affixes, while nominal phrases will always remain unaffected by this transitivity alternation. The examples below show that this prediction holds. The pronominal affixes are affected by passivization, but nominal phrases are not:\(^{15}\)

(206) yajigota
     wa:ka Paulo.
y-ajigo-t-e-wa
     wa:ka Paulo
3sg.SUBJ-give-rel + 3CL-dative cow Paul

'He gives the cow to Paul.'

(207) dinajigota
     wa:ka Paulo.
y-d:-ajigo-t-e-wa
     wa:ka Paulo
3sg.SUBJ-theme-give-rel + 3CL-dative cow Paul

'The cow was given to Paul.'
The second test is coreference. As mentioned above, Baker analyzes the verbal arguments in pronominal argument languages as an empty category pro that occupies the projections of the verb. If the verbal arguments are pro in Kadiwéu, I expect that coreference between a main-clause argument and a nominal phrase in the complement clause will be impossible, since pro c-commands any of the nominal phrases inside that complement clause. The coindexation of pro with a nominal phrase in the complement clause leads to a violation of condition C of the Binding Theory, which states that a given nominal phrase must be interpreted as non-referential with any nominal phrase that c-commands it.16
However, as mentioned by Baker (1994:34), if pro is omitted in 210 then the representation does not violate Condition C of the Binding Theory. If pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu, I expect that an argument in the main clause can be coreferential with a nominal phrase inside a complement clause. In order to test coreference, I elicited ambiguous stories:

(211) ika noqo ika Paulo yawaligeGe aka dom:o:jya.
     ika noqo ika Paulo y-awaligi-Gen: aka dom:o:jya
     DEM day DEM Paul 3sg.SUBJ-walk-valency DEM car

'One day Paul was driving a car.'

nGin:a naGa n:adi Jose me
nGin:a naGa y-n-na-d Jose me
DEM when 3sg.SUBJ-hither-see-atel Joseph COMP

icomaGatike ika lad:igod:i.
y-icom-Gan-t+ke ika lad:igod:i
3sg.SUBJ-put-valency-rel + outward DEM street/stream

'when he saw Joseph crossing the street.'

nGaka laqata oda Paulo ja niqoGeti nidom:o:jya.
ng-a-ka laqata oda Paulo jaG y-n-qoGet-ti n-dom:o:jya
DEM hour then Paul completive 3sg.SUBJ-stop-valency alnbl-car

'At this moment, Paul stopped the car.'

Jose cnitini.
Jose y-ani-i+ni
Joseph 3sg.SUBJ-drop-downward

'Joseph fell.'

(212) elyodo Joao owidi libaqtedi.
elyodo Joao owidi l-ba-:gen-edi-edi
mother John lot 3POSS-work-valency-pl-pl

'John's mother had a lot of work.'

oda domaGa yema: Joao ivilegi lanodi.
oda domaGa y-ema:n: Joao y-wilegi l-ano-adi
then desiderative 3sg.SUBJ-want John 3sg.SUBJ-wash 3POSS-plate-pl

'She wanted to ask John to do the dishes.'
oda  me:ta  Joao  ivilegi  GoniGinodi.
do  y-me:n-te-wa  Joao  y-wilegi  God:-n-Gino-adi
then  3sg.SUBJ-say-rel + 3sg.CL-dative  John  3sg.SUBJ-wash  1pl.POSS-alnbl-dish

'Then she said: John, wash our dishes.'

niGidiaGidi  oda  niGajo  elyodo  Joao  jGigo  iwi
niGidiaGidi  oda  niGajo  elyodo  Joao  jG-y-go  y-iwin
later  then  DEM  mother  John  compl-3sg.AUX-go  3sg.SUBJ-see

dantaGa  igodi  me  ivilegi  Ginodi

dantaGa  igodi  me  y-wilegi  Gino-adi
if  already  COMP  3sg.SUBJ-wash  dish-pl

'Later John's mother came to see whether he had already washed the dishes.'

Then I elicited some interpretative sentences:

\[ (213) \]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  me: & Joao & me & ivilegi \\
  y-me:n & Joao & me & y-wilegi \\
  3sg.SUBJ-say & John & COMP & 3sg.SUBJ-wash \\
& & & plate-pl \\
\end{array}
\]

'S/he said that the John washed the dishes.'

\[ (214) \]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  me: & me & yamaGati & dom:o:jya \\
  y-me:n & me & y-amaGa-ti & dom:o:jya \\
  3sg.SUBJ-say & COMP & 3sg.SUBJ-step-valency & car \\
& & & Joseph \\
\end{array}
\]

'S/he said that the car hit Joseph.'

I asked who said that the car hit Joseph and who said that John washed the dishes. Fifty speakers of Kadiwéu, including adults and children over six years old, were tested. Some speakers answered that the subject of -me:n 'say' could be either of the participants of the stories, but the majority answered Joseph and John respectively. Some children answered Paul and John's mother respectively; these children's first language was Portuguese, however, and they learned Portuguese outside the village. Children who learned Portuguese in the village answered Joseph and Joao respectively, even when the test was applied in Portuguese, that is, when the stories and questions were conducted in Portuguese.\(^{17}\)
Additional examples are shown in 215-218. All the available evidence shows that a pronominal in a Kadiwéú main clause can be coreferential with a nominal phrase in a complement clause. The data on coreference constitutes strong evidence that pronominals, rather than pro, are arguments in Kadiwéú.  

\[(215)\]

```
yema:               me     din:ojeteta
  y-ema:n:           me     y-d::-ojet-e-t-e-wa
3sg.SUBJ-want       COMP  3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3sg.CL-dative
Joao                dom:o:jya.
Joao                dom:o:jya
John                car
```

'He\textsubscript{3}, wants the car to be bought to John,.'

\[(216)\]

```
yowo:God\textsubscript{1}               me     yema:               Joao.
y-owo:-God                     me     y-ema:n:               Joao
3sg.SUBJ-think-valency       COMP  3sg.SUBJ-want       John
```

'He\textsubscript{1}\textsubscript{2}, knows that she loves John,.'

\[(217)\]

```
jatematitalo          Maria     me     yema:               Joao.
  j-atemati-t+t-e-lo      Maria     me     y-ema:n:               Joao
1SUBJ-tell-rel + 3sg.CL-benefactive       Mary     me     3sg.SUBJ-want       John
```

'I told him\textsubscript{1}; that Mary loves John,.'

\[(218)\]

```
me:                me     din:ojeteta
  y-me:n            me     y-d::-ojet-e-t-e-wa
3sg.SUBJ-say       COMP  3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3sg.CL-dative
Joao               dom:o:jya.
Joao               dom:o:jya
John               car
```

'He\textsubscript{3}, said that this car was bought by John,.'

A well-known property of adjuncts is that they allow recursivity. If nominal phrases are indeed adjuncts in Kadiwéú, therefore, they should be recursive. There are many examples which come both from texts and from elicited sentences that show that nominal phrases are indeed recursive. Observe in 219 that there are three nominal phrases referring to the object, and in 220 there are two nominal phrases referring
to the subject. Example 221 shows two nominal phrases referring to the object and example 222 shows recursion inside a copular sentence. Although it is not illustrated in the examples, here too the nominal phrases can be ordered freely with respect to each other and the verb.

(219)  
\[ \text{Gad:ati} \quad \text{[nGida} \quad \text{maqa:m:} \text{[nGida} \quad \text{aqa:m:} \text{NP]} \quad \text{NP]} \]
\[ \text{Ga-d-na-d-i} \quad \text{nGida} \quad \text{me+aqa:m:i} \quad \text{aqa:m:i} \]
\[ \text{2pl.OBJ-theme-see-atepl} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{COMP+you} \quad \text{you} \]
\[ \text{[Gonel:e:giwa} \quad \text{lon:ikiwenGegi} \text{NP].} \]
\[ \text{Gonel:e:giwa} \quad \text{l-on:ikiwen-Gegi} \]
\[ \text{man} \quad \text{3POSS-strong-valency} \]

'I see you as a strong man.' (Lit.: 'I see this that is you man his strengh.')

(220)  
\[ \text{[nGika} \quad \text{jotigideNP]} \quad \text{[ika} \quad \text{ejewajegi} \text{NP]} \quad \text{baGali;Gaci} \]
\[ \text{nGika} \quad \text{jotigide} \quad \text{ika} \quad \text{ejewajegi} \quad \text{bGali-ye-y-i;Gaci} \]
\[ \text{DEM} \quad \text{ancient} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{Kadiweu} \quad \text{compl+?+3sg.SUBJ-teach} \]
\[ \text{ika} \quad \text{ly:onig:i} \quad \text{datematiquetema.} \]
\[ \text{ika} \quad \text{l-y:o-nig:i} \quad \text{y-d-atemati-qan-t-e-ma} \]
\[ \text{DEM} \quad \text{3POSS-son-m.dim} \quad \text{3sg.SUBJ-therme-tell-valency-rel+3sg.CL-benefactive} \]

'As for the Kadiweu, the ancient people used to teach their sons telling stories to them.'
(Lit.: 'These ancient people these Kadiweus used to teach their sons telling stories to them.'

(221)  
\[ \text{jema:} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{jiwi} \quad \text{[nGaka} \quad \text{liqate} \text{NP]} \]
\[ \text{j-em-an:} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{j-iwin} \quad \text{nGaka} \quad \text{l-qate} \]
\[ \text{1sg.SUBJ-want} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{1sg.SUBJ-look.at} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{3sg.POSS-wound} \]
\[ \text{[le:laGa} \text{NP].} \]
\[ \text{l-laGa} \quad \text{3POSS-back} \]

'As for his wounds, I want to see his back.' (Lit.: I want to see this wound his back.)

(222)  
\[ \text{[nGina} \quad \text{epoloeo} \text{NP]} \quad \text{[l-eWiGa} \quad \text{Gonel:e:giwa} \text{NP]} \quad \text{[nocopa} \text{NP].} \]
\[ \text{nGina} \quad \text{epoloeo} \quad \text{l-eWiGa} \quad \text{Gonel:e:giwa} \quad \text{nocopa} \]
\[ \text{DEM} \quad \text{Brazil} \quad \text{3POSS-life} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{shortness} \]

'The life of the man of this Brazil is short.' (Lit.: 'This Brazil its life man (is) shortness.')

Baker claims that sentences in pronominal argument languages have the properties of clitic-dislocation constructions (Cinque 1990). According to this analysis, pronominal clitics and affixes are agreement
markers that license empty pros, and each of one of the empty pros will license one dislocated nominal phrase. Therefore, according to Baker's analysis, nominal phrases in pronominal argument languages should differ from regular adjuncts, which are recursive. Kadiwéu falsifies Baker's proposal since the occurrence of more than one nominal phrase for each argument is very productive.

The hypothesis that nominal phrases are adjuncts predicts that anaphoric expressions such as *himself/herself/themselves* and referential quantifiers such as *each other* will be nonexistent in pronominal argument languages, since their presence would lead to a violation of Condition A of the Binding Theory. The coindexation of an anaphoric element to an adjunct nominal phrase would lead to a violation of Condition A of the Binding Theory, which states that an anaphoric element must be bound by a c-commanding antecedent in argument position.\(^{19,20}\)

Since reflexives and reciprocals are expressed by verbal morphology in Kadiwéu, this prediction also holds here:

\[(223)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{id:inal:ekaGa} & \\
  \text{j-d:-n-al:eka-Ga} & \\
  1\text{pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-shave-pl} & \\
  \text{We shave ourselves/We shave each other}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(224)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{ad:iniloqati} & \\
  \text{a-d:-n-loiga-d-i} & \\
  2\text{pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-torture-atel-pl} & \\
  \text{You torture yourself.}
\end{align*}
\]

Although anaphors are predicted to be nonexistent in pronominal argument languages, logophoric or emphatic pronouns are possible. Such pronouns are elements in A-bar positions, which do not require a structurally defined antecedent (Reinhart & Reuland 1991). Kadiwéu does not have anaphoric elements, but it does have emphatic pronouns. These emphatic pronouns, like other Kadiwéu nominal phrases, are recursive.
Table 12: Emphatic Pronouns

(225)  
\[
e: \quad e:m:G_a \quad joti\text{i}qotGawa.  \
e:m \quad e:m:-Ga \quad j-o-ti\text{i}q-o-t-Ga-wa  \
1\text{sg.PRONOUN} \quad 1\text{sg.PRONOUN-emphasis} \quad 1\text{sg.SBJ-whistle-rel} + 2\text{sg.CL-dative}  
\]
'I myself will whistle to you.'

(226)  
\[
em:G_a \quad jo:l:aG_a.  \
em:-Ga \quad j-o:l-a-Ga  \
1\text{sg.PRONOUN-emphasis} \quad 1\text{sg.SBJ-cook-pl}  
\]
'I myself cook.'

(227)  
\[
e: \quad e:m:G_a \quad id:in\text{ema}:.  \
e:m \quad e:m:-Ga \quad j-d:-\text{n-ema}:a:n:  \
1\text{sg.PRONOUN} \quad 1\text{sg.PRONOUN-emphasis} \quad 1\text{sg.SBJ-theme-reflexive-want}  
\]
'I love myself.'

Pronominal argument languages have neither quantifiers nor WH-words that can occupy argument positions. These typological features constitute important evidence for the nature of argument structure in these languages. Quantifiers and WH-complements appear as affixes added to locative predicates in Kadiwéu. Table 13 shows the Kadiwéu locative roots.

'standing'  \(-d:a\)  
'sitting'  \(-n:i\)  
'lying'  \(-d:i\)  
'coming'  \(-n:a\)  
'going'  \(-jo\)  
'absent'  \(-ka\)

Table 13: LocativeRoots
Rizzi 1986 observes that a clitic cannot be bound by a bare quantifier in adjunct position (228). When an adjoined nominal phrase receives an indefinite interpretation, the clitic is treated as a variable and the sentence is ruled out as an instance of vacuous quantification. Since, according to my hypothesis, every nominal phrase is in an adjoined position, it follows that bare quantifier nominal phrases must be impossible in Kadiwèu. Quantificational notions appear as suffixes added to locative predicates as in 229 and 230. Example 231 shows that the Kadiwèu quantifier suffixes have unselective scope. Such constructions are similar to the ones described in Jelinek & Demers 1994 for Straits Salish.

(228) *Nessuno, lo conosco in questa città.
   'Nobody, I know him in this city'.

(229) onin:itkibeke
     on-i-n:i-t-e-k-beke
     one-masc-locative-rel + 3sg.CL-attative-separately
     Gonel:e:giwa
     Gonel:e:giwa
     man
     3sg.SUBJ-theme-want
     yema:
     y-ema:n:

lyonig:i.
   l-yo-nig:i
   3POSS-son-m.dim

   'Each man loves his son.' (Lit.: 'There is one man each, he loves his son.')

(230) iwilegi
     y-wilegi
     3sg.SUBJ-wash
     idiataweke
     i-d:i-wa-taweke
     masc-locative-pl-collective
     dom:o:jyatedi.
     dom:o:jyatedi.
     car-classifier-pl

   'He washed the whole car/all the cars'. (Lit.: 'He washed them, there are cars'.)

(231) aGika
     aG+-i-ka
     negative + masc-locative
     dom:o:jya.
     dom:o:jya
     car

   'There is no car.'

Clitics can be bound neither by a quantifier in an adjunct position nor by a wh-word in [SPEC, COMP]. Wh-words, like quantifiers, must bind a variable in order to be properly interpreted; but clitics cannot be treated as variables. Baker (1994) shows that Mohawk does have wh-movement, and he takes this fact as
an argument for the claim that pro and traces are allowed to occupy an A-position in pronominal argument languages. In Kadiwéu, only WH-adjuncts (i.e. how, why, where, when, and how) move to [SPEC, COMP] (232). Complements can be questioned by incorporating the interrogative ame in a locative verb (233-234). The absence of WH-complements in [SPEC, COMP] provides important support for the claim that only pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu.

(232) igame me cn:i Joao mc: me
    wh-interrogative COMP 3sg.SUBJ-think John 3sg.SUBJ-say COMP
    yaqadi Maria napalwaga?
y-aqad Maria n-apalwa-Ga
3sg.SUBJ-find Mary alnbl-pottery-pl

"Where does he think that John said that Mary found the clay?"

(233) ami:n:i ika Joao ane ib:inye?
amo-itu: ika Joao ane y-b:inyen
interrogative-masc-locative DEM John relative 3sg.SUBJ-clean

What did John clean? (Lit.: What is this that John cleaned?)

(234) ami:jo ika ane din:ojeta:ta id:a?
amo-itu: ika ane y-d-n-ojeta-t+e-wa id:a
interrogative-masc-locative DEM relative 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel + 3CL-dative DEM

"Who is buying it?" (Lit.: who is he/this who buys it?)

Saito 1985 and Speas 1991 have pointed out that the proposal that nominals are adjuncts, i.e. that they are not properly governed by the verb, predicts that multiple questions (e.g. where did you see what?) should be ungrammatical, since it would leave behind two adjunct traces. If neither of the nominals is properly governed by the verb, then both would have to be antecedent-governed in order to satisfy the ECP. This prediction also holds, since only one nominal phrase can be questioned in a Kadiwéu clause: 21
( 235 )

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ig-ame} & \text{me} & \text{Joao} & \text{yaqadi} \\
\text{wh-interrogative} & \text{COMP} & \text{John} & \text{3sg.SUBJ-find} \\
\end{array}
\]

ame?
ame

'Where did John find what?'

4.2.3. Summary and Implications. In this section I have presented evidence that pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu, and that nominal phrases are optionally adjoined to the sentence. First, pronominal clitics and affixes co-occur with elements that assign semantic roles: \(-d:\) 'theme', \(-wa\sim-ma\) 'dative', \(-dom\sim-ma\sim-lo\) 'benefactive'. \(-gi\) 'goal', \(-lokom\) 'adessive', \(-k\) 'allative'. In addition, the results of several syntactic tests support the hypothesis: passivization, recursivity, coreference, anaphora, lack of quantifiers, and the behavior of \(wh\)-interrogatives.

These results have important implications for theoretical linguistics. The boundary between syntax and morphology is a topic of much linguistic debate. In the 1970s a rigid separation between syntax and morphology was established, so that words were to be treated as indivisible units by the syntax (see Chomsky 1970). In the 1980s this rigid separation was abandoned, and morphological phenomena started to be analyzed on the basis of syntactic principles alone (e.g. in Baker 1988). More recently, doubts regarding the reduction of inflectional morphology to syntax have been raised (e.g. in Anderson 1992). The fact that morphemes embedded in the verb structure function as arguments in Kadiwéu supports the claim that syntactic principles, such as the Theta-Criterion, must have access to inflectional morphology. Furthermore, this result indicates that morphological phenomena cannot be reduced to syntactic principles alone, since the elements that receive theta-roles in this language cannot be analyzed as morphemes attached to the verb at the level of phonological form.
4.3. Serial Verbs

From a descriptive and theoretical point of view, it is important to ask whether prepositional phrases can function as verbal arguments in pronominal argument languages. Baker 1994 argues that in Mohawk neither nominal phrases nor prepositional phrases can function as verbal arguments. This is also true for Kadiwéu, since it does not have adpositions at all. In this section I argue that the structures analyzed by Griffiths (1987, 1991) as prepositional phrases are in fact serial verb constructions (SVC).

The phenomenon of verb serialization was first described as follows (Westermann 1930:126, cited in Awóyálé 1988):

"A row of verbs one after another...[in which] the verbs stand next to each other without being connected."

The first problem with SVCs is their definition. Although the phenomenon of verb serialization has often discussed by many linguists, SVCs do not have a clear definition within any theory of grammar. As a result, different linguists assign different structures to what they see as a SVC. In this study I label as SVCs certain structures which have both monoclausal and biclausal properties. As will be pointed out below, the monoclausal properties that characterize the Kadiwéu structures studied are found cross-linguistically in most serializing structures --- hence the label SVC.

In 4.3.1 I show that the Kadiwéu constructions that I label as SVCs have several characteristic of biclausal constructions. I will provide evidence for for the claim that these Kadiwéu constructions involve two verbs rather than a verb and a preposition. One might think at first glance that SVCs are not so different from analogous constructions in European languages. In § 4.3.2 I compare SVCs with biclausal structures such as coordination and control. Although SVCs share some properties with coordinated clauses and control structures, the SVCs differ considerably from the other two construction types in that
they also have several monoclausal properties (§ 4.3.2). In § 4.3.5 I present a short summary of Baker's account of SVCs and suggest that the facts of Kadiwéu cannot be straightforwardly explained in that way.


"There are at least two verbs which have preposition-like properties. They both may be roughly glossed 'employ, use'. Verb sequences in general require complementizers linking the verbs, but these verbs do not...They appear to occupy a position where we might expect a preposition".

In fact, Kadiwéu has seven roots that have "preposition-like properties" — that is, roots which, in my analysis, can function as serial verbs. The root -ati 'take' express instrumental notions, the roots -i- 'lying', -i- -i- 'sitting'. da- 'standing'. jo- 'coming', na- 'coming', and ka- 'being absent' express locational notions. Each Kadiwéu SVC contains one of these roots and also an open-class verb:

(236) Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di yatita noda:jo.
\[ Maria y-el:wad oqoqo:di y-ati-t-e-wa n-od:a:jo \]
\[ Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative alnbl-knife \]
'Mary killed the chicken with a knife.'

(237) Maria yaqadi nekenigo katiwed:i nam:e:ja.
\[ Maria y-aqad n-eko-nigo ka-t-w-e-d: n-am:e:ja \]
\[ Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find alnbl-dog-animal locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme alnbl-table \]
'Mary found the dog under the table.'

(238) dinotete katin:ed:i etakanig:i.
\[ y-d:-n-olete ka-t+n+e-d: etaka-nig:i \]
\[ 3sg.SUBJ -theme-hither-store locative-rel + going.inside + 3sg.CL-theme basket-m.dim \]
'It is stored inside a basket.'
Note in examples 236-239 that the second element taking an internal argument has been translated into English as a preposition. One might argue that Kadiwéu does not have two verbs in the sentences above, but a verb and a preposition. Indeed, Griffiths 1991 analyzes examples 237-239 as containing prepositional phrases, rather than verbs with "preposition-like properties". However, the fact that a word can be translated as a preposition does not mean that that word is a preposition. The first problem that we face in analyzing roots like -ati, ka-, and di- as prepositions is that we will have to postulate that Kadiwéu has homophonous verbs and prepositions, because 240 and 241 show that such roots can function as main verbs. Example 240 differs from example 236 in that 240 has a main and a subordinate clause, as indicated by the presence of the complementizer me.

(240)

Gon:el:e:giwa yati
Gon:el:e:giwa y-ati
man 3sg.SUBJ-take 3POSS-knife
lop:aj:jo
l-ajo
COMP
me
y-el:wad
yel:wadi
3sg.SUBJ-kill
oqoqo dodi.
oqingo -do-di

'The man took his knife to kill chickens.'

(241)

Gon:el:egiwa tika
Gon:el:egiwa t-ka
man ?-locative
n-gotGa
n-gotGa
alnbl-city

'The man is in the city.'

Although the postulation of homophonous verbal and prepositional roots would increase the size of the lexicon, there is nothing that prevents a language for having phonologically identical verbs and prepositions. Syntactic tests must therefore decide whether we are dealing with verbs or prepositions.
First, consider adverbial modification. The adjunction of certain adverbs to biclausal structures leads to ambiguous interpretations, since the adverb can be interpreted as being associated with either the main or the subordinate verb (Shibatani 1976). Thus, for instance, in Kadiwéu, as in English, in one of the interpretations of the biclausal structure in 242 silently modifies the verb make and the sentence means that John was silent when he made Mary come into the room. In the other interpretation the adverb modifies come and the sentence means that Mary came into the room silently.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(242)</th>
<th>Joao</th>
<th>ewo</th>
<th>Maria</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>igo</th>
<th>nolanaGaci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joao</td>
<td>y-owo</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>y-igo</td>
<td>n-olan-Gaci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>3sg.SUBJ-make</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>3sg.SUBJ-go</td>
<td>alnbl-cook-NOM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

medaGa  ika             lig:eg:i.
me+daGa ika             l-g:eg:i
COMP + neg DEM 3POSS-sound

'John made Mary come into the kitchen silently.'

The sentences in 243 and 244 behave like biclausal structures with respect to adverbial modification. In 243 the adverb can be understood as modifying either -ba 'find' or ka- 'locative'. When it modifies -ba, the sentence means that the act of Mary finding the dog was silent. In the other interpretation the adverb modifies ka- 'locative' and the sentence means that the dog was silent under the table. In 244 the adverb inoqa 'always' can modify either -el:wadi 'kill' or -ati 'take'. In the first interpretation Mary always kills chickens, and in the second interpretation Mary always uses a knife when she kills chickens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(243)</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>notoko</th>
<th>Maria</th>
<th>dibateloko</th>
<th>ijo</th>
<th>nekenigo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me</td>
<td>notoko</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>y-d:-ba-t+e-lokom</td>
<td>ijo</td>
<td>n-ekenigo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>quiet</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>3sg.SUBJ -theme-find-rel + 3sg.CL-adessive</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>alnbl-dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

katiwed:i name:ja.
k-a-t-w-e-d: n-ame:ja
locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme alnbl-table

'Mary silently found the dog under the table.'
'Mary found a dog silent under the table.'
(244) Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di inoqa yatita nod:a:jo.
Maria y-el:wad oqoqo:di inoqa y-ati-t+e-wa n-od:a:jo
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken always 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative alnb1-knife

'Mary always kills chicken with a knife.'
'Mary kills chicken always with a knife.'

The fact that adverbs can modify either one of the lexical heads in 243 and 244 indicates that we are dealing with two verbs, rather than with one verb and a preposition.

Second, consider the facts of Kadiwéu relativization. In most languages, the object of a preposition can be relativized:

(245) Mary killed a chicken with a knife

(246) The knife with which Mary killed the chicken

The nominal phrase referring to the object of -ati, nod:a:jo 'knife', cannot be relativized in 247 however, and this suggests that we are not dealing with prepositional phrases. If -ati were a preposition, the relativization of nod:a:jo 'knife' should be possible, as it is in 248. One possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of 247 would be to say that Kadiwéu might not accept preposition stranding. But example 248 shows that this is not the case; in fact, 248 shows that the object of -ati can be relativized if -ati functions as a main verb:

(247) *ika nod:a:jo ane Maria yel:wadi
    ika n-od:a:jo ane Maria y-el:wadi
    DEM alnb1-knife relative Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill

  oqoqo:di yatita
  oqoqo:di y-ati-t+e-wa
chicken 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

'the knife with which Mary killed the chicken'
(248) ika nod:a:jo anc datiqata Maria
ika n-od:a:jo ake y-d:-att-i-kan-t-+e-wa Maria
DEM anbl-knife relative 3sg.SUBJ-theme-take-valency-rel + 3sg.CL-dative Mary
me yel:wadi oqoqo:di
me y-el:wadi oqoqo:di
COMP 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken

'the knife with which Mary killed the chicken'

4.3.2. Monoclausal Properties. Although the facts above indicate that we are dealing with biclausal structures, many differences emerge when we compare the sentences in 236-239 with biclausal structures such as coordination and control.

First consider an analysis of the sentences in 236-239 as instances of clause coordination. There are at least four pieces of evidence that coordination structures and the sentences in 236-239 are different:

(i) Coordinated sentences allow ordering reversal without making the sentence ungrammatical:

(249) Maria yaqadi lod:a:jo koda iwilegi Ginodi.
Maria y-qad l-od:a:jo koda y-wilegi Gino-adi
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find 3POSS-knife also 3sg.SUBJ-wash dish-pl

'Mary found her knife and washed the dishes.'

(250) Maria iwilegi Ginodi. koda yaqadi lod:a:jo.
Maria y-wilegi Gino-adi koda y-qad l-od:a:jo
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-wash dish-pl also 3sg.SUBJ-find 3POSS-knife

'Mary washed the dishes and found her knife.'

The first difference between coordination and the sentences in 236-239 is that, unlike coordinated sentences, the order of the sentences in 236-239 cannot be reversed:
(251) Maria yaqadi nekenigo katiwed:i nam:e:ja.
    Maria y-agad n-eke-nigo ka-t-w+e-d: n-am:e:ja
    Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find alnbl-dog-animal locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme alnbl-table

'Mary found the dog under the table.'


'Under the table Mary found the dog.'

(253) Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di yatita
    Maria y-el:wadi oqoqo:di y-att+t-e-wa
    Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative
    nod:a:jo.
    n-od:a:jo
    alnbl-knife

'Mary killed a chicken with a knife.'

(254) *Maria yatita nod:a:jo yel:wadi oqoqo:di

'With a knife Mary killed a chicken.'

(ii) Coordinated clauses in Kadiwéu must be separated by a conjunction such as koda 'also', while the components of an SVC cannot be separated by any kind of conjunction:

(255) *Maria yaqadi lod:a:jo koda katiwed:i
    Maria y-agad l-od:a:jo koda ka-t-w+e-d:
    Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find 3POSS-knife also locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme
    name:ja.
    n-ame:ja
    alnbl-table

'Mary found her knife and (it) was under the table.'

(iii) Coordinate structures do not allow the relativization of either of their objects. But as we have seen, SVCs allow the relativization of the first-occurring verb (VI).
(256) Coordination: *ijo nod:a:jo ane Maria yaqadi koda
   ijo n-od:a:jo ane Maria y-aqad koda
   DEM alnabl-knife relative Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find also

ivilegi
y-wilegi
3sg.SUBJ-wash

*The knife that Mary found and washed the dishes'

(257) Coordination: *Ginodi ane Maria yaqadi lod:a:jo koda
   Ginodi ane Maria y-aqad l-od:a:jo koda
   dish-pl relative Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find 3POSS-knife also

ivilegi.
y-wilegi
3sg.SUBJ-wash

*The dishes that Mary found her knife and washed.'

(258) SVC: ijo nekenigo Maria ane yaqadi
   ijo n-eke-nigo Maria ane y-aqad
   DEM alnbl-dog-animal Mary relative 3sg.SUBJ-find

katiwed:i name:ja
ka-i-w+e-d: n-ame:ja
locative-rel-inward +3sg.CL-theme alnbl-table

'This dog that Mary found under the table'

(iv) Coordinate structures can have their own independent subjects and objects; this is not the case with a SVC. Although there are pieces of evidence supporting the claim that there are two verbs in Kadiwéu SVCs, at the argument-structure level the verbs are merged. Note in the sentences below that the subject Maria 'Mary' is understood as the agent of both verbs. The SVC differs from coordination in that the noun phrase Maria cannot precede both verbs in a SVC:
(259) Coordination: Maria yaqadi lod:a:jo koda Maria iwilegi
Maria y-aqad l-od:a:jo koda Maria y-wilegi
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find 3POSS-knife also Mary 3sg.SUBJ-wash

Ginodi.
Gino-adi
dish-pl

'Mary found her knife and also Mary washed the dishes.'

(260) SVC: *Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di Maria yatita
Maria y-el:wad oqoqo:di Maria y-atit-e-wa
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken Mary 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative

lod:a:jo.
l-od:a:jo
3POSS-knife

'Mary killed a chicken with her knife.'

Much of the work on SVCs is concerned with the fact that the constituent verbs of a SVC must share a subject, but several authors have pointed out that the constituent verbs of a SVC must also share the theme argument. As observed in Baker 1989, the theme argument of the first verb in a SVC is understood also as the theme argument of the second verb, and when V2 take an object, this object must be marked as an indirect object. This is the case with Kadiwéu SVCs. In 261 and 263 -ati and ka- normally take a direct internal argument, but their object must be marked as an indirect object (i.e. an enclitic followed by a semantic role marker) when they are part of a SVC, as in 262 and 264.23

(261) Maria yati lod:a:jo.
Maria y-atit l-od:a:jo
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-take 3POSS-knife

'Mary took her knife.'

Maria y-el:wad oqoqo:di y-atit-e-wa l-od:a:jo
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken 3sg.SUBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative 3POSS-knife

'Mary killed a chicken with her knife.' (Lit.: 'Mary killed a chicken taking the chicken to the knife.')
'The man is in the city.'

'Mary found the dog under the table.' (Lit.: 'Mary found the dog being the dog inward to the table.')

If we are dealing with conjoined clauses, we cannot explain why each of these verbs cannot have its own direct internal argument. However, it is a primary characteristic of SVCs to share objects (Baker 1989).

One could also wonder whether the Kadiwéu sentences I am treating as SVCs are instead instances of control structures, because arguments are shared in a control structure. Thus, the subject of the first verb is also the semantic subject of the second verb in the control structure in 265 and the object of the first verb is the subject of the second verb in 266.

'Mary told/promised John to go to the village.'

'Mary forced John to go to the village.'
Again, there is enough evidence to show that SVC and control are different phenomena. First, a main verb and any subordinated verb in Kadiwéu must be separated by the complementizer me. The verbs composing a SVC cannot be separated by a complementer.

(267) Control: João ye ma: João Pedro me yel: wadi Maria. João y-em a:n: João Pedro me y-el: wadi Maria
John 3sg.SUBJ-want Peter COMP 3sg.SUBJ -kill Mary

'John wants Peter to kill Mary.'

a-i-p-e-ge-n-i n-od: a:jo me d:i-t-big: im: -e-d:
2sg.SUBJ-put-valency -pl ainbl-knife COMP locative-rel-upward + 3sg.CL-theme
nam: e: ja.
n-am: e: ja
ainbl-table

'Put the knife on the table.'

Moreover, observe that in a control structure like the one in 267 both verbs must be morphologically marked by a subject prefix: there is no subordinate verb in Kadiwéu which is not marked by a subject prefix. SVCs have a different agreement pattern — a serial verb is not morphologically marked by a subject prefix if the subject of the closed-class verb and the object of the open-class verb are semantically the same:

(269) Maria yaqadi nekenigo katiwedi: nam: e: ja.
Maria y-aqad n-ek-enigo ka-ti-w-e-d: n-am: e: ja
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-find ainbl-dog-animal locative-rel-inward + 3sg.CL-theme ainbl-table

'Mary found the dog under the table.'

A third difference between SVCs and control structures concerns relativization. Kadiwéu control structures allow relativization of any of the objects: for instance, as can be seen in 270, the object of V2 can be relativized in a control structure. As we have already seen, this is not the case of a SVC.
Control structures and SVCs differ significantly in a fourth way. Control structures allow independent negation, as any biclausal structure does (271). SVCs by contrast, function as monoclausal structures in that they do not allow independent negation (272). Only the first verb can be modified by a negative morpheme, as in 273, and that morpheme implies the negation of the whole string.

(270) Control:  
qoqo:di  
an  
Maria  
ibage  
nod:a:jo  
qoqo:di  
an  
Maria  
y-ba:-qen  
n-od:a:jo  
chicken  
relative  
Mary  
3sg.SBJ-handle-valency  
alinbl-knife  
me  
yel:wadi.  
me  
y-el:wadi  
COMP  
3sg.SBJ-kill  
'The chicken that Mary used a knife to kill.'

(271) Control:  
Pedro  
i:Ge  
iwal:o  
me  
daGa  
yad:e:gi  
Pedro  
y-i:Ge  
iwal:o  
me  
daGa  
y-ad:e:gi  
Peter  
3sg.SBJ-order  
woman  
COMP  
negative  
3sg.SBJ-bring  
naqakodiwaGa.  
n-aqakodiwa-Ga  
alinbl-rice-pl  
'Peter ordered the woman not to take away the rice.'

(272) SVC:  
Maria  
yel:wadi  
3sg.SBJ-kill  
chicken  
neg  
3sg.SBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative  
*y:Ma:ia  
y-el:wadi  
quqo:di  
daGa  
yatita  
*y:el:waDi  
quqo:di  
daGa  
y-at-i + e:wa  
*y:Ma:ia  
3sg.SBJ-kill  
quqo:di  
yatita  
*y:Ma:ia  
3sg.SBJ-kill  
y-el:wadi  
quqo:di  
yatita  
*y:Ma:ia  
3sg.SBJ-kill  
y-ati+t-e:wa  
*l-od:a:jo  
3POSS-knife  
'Mary killed the chicken not with her knife.'

(273) SVC:  
Maria  
ayel:wadi  
quqo:di  
yatita  
*y:Ma:ia  
3sg.SBJ-kill  
chicken  
neg + 3sg.SBJ -kill  
3sg.SBJ-take-rel + 3sg.CL-dative  
*l-od:a:jo  
3POSS-knife  
'Mary did not kill the chicken with her knife.'
In order to translate sentence like *Mary killed a chicken not with a knife.* one must modify the verb -ati with a valency suffix (see 4.4 for a discussion of valency markers) and thus create a subordinate clause:

(274) Maria adatiqata
Maria aG+y-di:-ati-qan-t+e-wa
Mary neg + 3sg.SUBJ-theme-take-valency-rel + 3sg.CL-dative
    alnbi-knife chicken
    me yel:wadi oqoqo:di.
    me y-el:wadi oqoqo:di
COMP 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken

'Mary killed the chicken not with her knife.'

If we were dealing with control clauses, we could not explain why each clause cannot have independent negation. However, it is a characteristic of SVCs that the negation of one verb implies in the negation of the whole string (Sebba 1987).

There is still another difference between SVCs and any kind of biclausal structure. Biclausal structures admit actions occurring at different times:24

(275) Maria yel:wadi oqoqo:di nGina noqo me
Maria y-el:wadi oqoqo:di nGina noqo me
Mary 3sg.SUBJ-kill chicken DEM day COMP
ibaq 1od:a:jo natigi nigoi.
y-ba-gen l-od:a:jo natigi nigoi
2sg.SUBJ-work-valency 3POSS-knife future/next morning

'Mary killed a chicken today to use her knife tomorrow.'

By contrast, the actions expressed by verbs in a SVC are simultaneous, they express only one event and all verbs must be interpreted as having the same tense/aspect. The same pattern has been observed in other serializing languages (Sebba 1987).
4.3.3. Serial verbs in Principles & Parameters Theory. One of the most challenging aspects of SVCs is that arguments must be shared by the two verbs. In order to account for this property of SVCs, Baker 1989 proposed the following parameter:

\( (276) \) Generalized Serialization Parameter

VPs {can/cannot} count as the projection of more than one distinct head.

CAN: Yoruba, Srana, Ijo...

CANNOT: English, French...

This parameter makes it possible for some languages to have a verbal phrase headed by two verbs. It is meant to capture the fact that a SVC must have only one direct internal argument; the second internal argument, as note above, must be an indirect object. According to this proposal, object-sharing takes place in a SVC because more than one verb assigns an internal theta-role to the same VP-internal NP position:

\( (277) \)

```
S
   /\NP I VP
      /\    \
      V'   /\' \
         V1 NP V'
           /theme
              /\' \
              V2 NP
                  /theme
```

This proposal can account for the fact that the object of V2 must be marked as an indirect internal argument in a SVC: since the direct internal argument of V1 is also the direct internal argument of V2, if V2 takes a second internal argument this argument must be marked as an indirect complement.

This proposal, however, relies on the assumption that theta-roles are assigned to noun phrases. But we saw in § 4.2 above that there is good reason to believe that pronominals, rather than nominal phrases, are verbal arguments in Kadiwéu; that is, theta-roles are assigned verb-internally. This entails that an element
cannot receive theta-roles from two independent verbs in Kadiwéu. Further fieldwork will be necessary to
test whether pronominals can also be considered arguments in SVCs. In any case, the patterns of SVCs
probably still need to be sorted out in theoretical linguistics.

4.3.4. Summary and Implications. In this section I have shown that Kadiwéu lacks prepositions
totally. I have shown that the structures analyzed by Griffiths as containing prepositional phrases are
actually biclausal. The fact that adverbs can modify either of the lexical heads comprising those structures
indicates that we are dealing with two verbs rather than with a verb and a preposition. Moreover,
relativization also indicates that we are dealing with biclausal structures. The structures discussed in this
paper have many of the properties attributed to SVCs across languages: arguments must be shared, the
negation of one head implies the negation of the whole string, and the actions expressed by serial verbs
are simultaneous.

Several linguists have pointed out that SVCs are typologically rare; for instance Sebba 1987 says that
SVCs are documented solely in Africa, China, and Southeast Asia, and in creole languages. Moreover,
SVCs have been associated with languages with minimal verbal morphological machinery. For instance,
Nagarajan 1990 (cited in McWhorter 1993) proposes that Tamil's INFL assigns no morphology to verbs,
and suggests that this may be a feature common to serializing languages. I expect my results to show that
these statements needs revision. Kadiwéu, a polysynthetic American Indian language, has SVCs.
4.4. Lexical Categories, Valency, and Transitivity

Linguists working with Salishan languages have wondered if the distinction between nouns and verbs is indeed a universal. Kadiwé'u raises the same question regarding categorical distinctions as do the Salishan languages. In Kadiwé'u, as in Salishan languages, any root can function as a predicate.

Questions regarding categorical distinctions have occupied a central place in linguistics. Chomsky (1986b and later works) makes a distinction between lexical categories, which are defined over the features [+/-noun, +/-verb], and functional categories, which include the following grammatical elements: complementizer, determiner, tense, and light verbs. According to Chomsky, cross-linguistic differences are not random, but they are confined to a specific component of grammar. The parametric variation across languages lies in inflectional categories rather than in lexical categories. Therefore, the proposal that Salishan languages lack a lexical contrast between nouns and verbs is incompatible with Chomsky's proposal.

Thomason et al. 1994 show that the facts of at least one Salishan language can be better understood if valency and transitivity are distinguished. Thomason et al. maintain that verbs are associated with two representations: a representation that encodes the number of arguments a verb requires, given its meaning, and a second representation that encodes the syntactically relevant argument-taking properties of a verb. According to Thomason et al.'s proposal, Montana Salish differs from better-known languages in that only valency is a lexical property that is inherent to Salishan verbs; transitivity is assigned in syntax via transitivizing morphemes.

Valency in Thomason et al.'s terminology corresponds to the lexical semantics of a predicate in generative grammar. Generative grammarians have been trying to capture the lexical properties of predicates in formal representations since Chomsky 1965. The context-sensitive subcategorization rules of Chomsky 1965 were the first attempt to represent the semantics of a verb. More recently, lexical semantic representations have taken the form of predicate decomposition (Carter 1976, Dowty 1976, Jackendoff 1976, 1987, 1990), Hale & Keyser 1987, Rappaport & Levin 1988, Zubizarreta 1985). These representations are generally termed Conceptual Structures or Lexical Conceptual Structures (LCS) and
are primarily focused on representing the syntactically relevant parts of verb meaning. Grimshaw 1990 presents further development in the understanding of the lexical semantics of predicates. According to Grimshaw, nouns and verbs have a lexico-semantic representation (LCS), but verbs and eventive nominals are distinct from regular nouns in that only the former include an aspecual dimension in addition to a LCS (a-structure). Thus, according to Grimshaw, verbs and eventive nominals have an a-structure, while nouns lack an a-structure. A complete understanding of the semantics of a predicate is still subject of research. Tenny 1994 and Levin & Rappaport 1995, for instance, present further articulation of Grimshaw’s a-structure.

What transitivity means in terms of generative grammar is controversial. Jelinek (1994, 1995) interprets transitivity as the ability to assign theta-roles. Baker (1991, 1994) takes a different perspective; according to Baker, verbs in pronominal argument languages have no case to assign to complements.

This section is an attempt to understand transitivity and to establish the grounds for classifying Kadiwéu roots as either nouns or verbs. In § 4.4.1 I determine the valency of a Kadiwéu root according to (i) the meaning of a bare root and (ii) the meaning of a stem consisting of the root plus a valency suffix. I will classify elements lexically specified for valency as verbs. In § 4.4.2 I discuss transitivity. In § 4.4.3 I attempt a preliminary explanation for the existence of pronominal argument languages.

4.4.1. Valency. The term valency is derived from chemistry and is often used in linguistics to refer to the number and type of bonds which the verb may form with a number of dependent elements referred to as arguments (Crystal 1985). This definition, however, is ambiguous, because transitivity can be defined in the same way. In this work, I use valency to refer exclusively to the syntactically relevant components of meaning specified in the Lexicon of a language.

I will represent valency using predicate decomposition of a traditional LCS, although valency as meant by Thomason et. al is probably more complex than a LCS. I frame valency using LCSs because they can capture the facts that I discuss here. Thus, rather than attempting to develop a theory of the lexical representations, I make only those assumptions that are necessary for the issues under investigation.
I assume that a lexical representation of a verb must encode a representation of the element of meaning that sets the state or event expressed by that verb (represented here simply as STATE and LOCATION) and a set of primitives predicates that represent syntactic generalizations of the meaning of a verb (I will use the predicates cause and become to represent these primitive predicates). A LCS encodes also information about the semantic participants of an event which can be filled or satisfied in syntax: external argument, represented as the subject of cause (x); internal direct argument, represented as the subject of become (y); and indirect external argument, represented as z.

I make a distinction between semantic participants and grammatical arguments. Semantic participants are the arguments present in a LCS. Grammatical arguments are those which actually appear in syntax. This allows for an lexical entry to have semantic arguments appearing in their LCS which are not mapped in syntax. Thus, for instance, the verb eat is bivalent; that is, it requires two semantic arguments — the one who causes the action of eating (x) and the one which becomes eaten (y). In syntax, however, eat sometimes have only one grammatical argument (e.g. John ate). Although semantically eat has two arguments (we understand that John (x) ate something (y)), syntactically eat may have only one argument (x). The distinction between semantic participants and grammatical arguments is fundamental for a language as Kadiwéu because in Kadiwéu there is a frequent mismatch between semantic participants and grammatical arguments, as will be seen in 4.4.2.

In Kadiwéu any root can appear in a predicate. But certain roots must be modified by the suffixes glossed in Table 14 as [+cause] and as [+become] in order to appear in a predicate. Compare examples 278 and 279, the root in 279 must be followed the suffix -ti. I assume that cause and become are a fundamental part of the meaning of a verb and I propose that the suffixes in Table 14 operate on the LCS of an lexical entry, adding or deleting cause and become. On this hypothesis, the root in 278 is a verb and the root in 279 is a noun. The addition of -ti introduces cause and an external argument licensing a noun to occur as the head of a predicate.
\(-\text{Gad}. \text{-ti}\)  
\(-\text{Gan:} \text{-} \text{-Gen:} \text{-} \text{-qen} \text{-} \text{-God}\)  
\(-\text{Gegi}\)  
\(-\text{kan} \text{-} \text{-qan} \text{-} \text{-kon} \text{-} \text{-qon}\)  
+cause (add the feature cause)  
+become (add the feature become)  
-cause (delete the feature cause)  
-become (delete the feature become)  

**Table 14: Valency Suffixes**

(278)  \(j\text{ajipa.}\)  
\(j\text{-qip}\)  
1sg.SUBJ-listen  
'I listen.'

(279)  \(j\text{ataqati-d.}\)  
\(j\text{-tataqati-d}\)  
1sg.SUBJ-bamboo-\(+\text{causel-atel}\)  
'I do bamboo searching.'

Note that, although the suffixes \(-\text{Gan:} \text{-} \text{-Gen:} \text{-} \text{-qen} \text{-} \text{-kon} \text{-} \text{-qan} \text{-} \text{-qon}\) are phonetically similar, I do not know of any phonological rule able to predict their occurrence. The suffixes \(-\text{kon}\) and \(-\text{qon}\) tend to occur after a round vowel and \(-\text{kan} \text{-} \text{-qan}\) elsewhere, however there are many counterexamples (see dictionary). I consider, therefore, all these elements as different morphemes rather than different allomorphs of specific morphemes. At least the suffix \(-\text{Gan:}\) was present in Proto-Waikurian. \(*-\text{Gan:}^{(}\text{Ceria & Sandalo 1995}\text{)}\). It is possible that Proto-Waikurian had phonological rules accounting for allomorphemic variation, but that those rules were lost after the vowel mergers discussed in §2. The fact that different roots take different suffixes, and the occurrence of each suffix cannot be predicted, supports an analysis that takes the addition of these elements as a lexical phenomenon.

According to my analysis, verbs are lexically specified for cause and become. I propose the following LCS for the following classes of verbs in Kadiwéu:
(a) Monovalent. Monovalent verbs are those which have only one semantic argument in their LCS. I assume the Unaccusative Hypothesis, i.e. the hypothesis that there are two classes of monovalent verbs in the lexicon of a language. The Unaccusative hypothesis was first formulated by Perlmutter (1978) within the context of Relational Grammar and was later adopted by Burzio 1986 within Government & Binding Theory. According to this hypothesis, unergative verbs have only an external argument and unaccusative verbs have only an internal argument. I capture these facts by means of two LCSs for monovalent verbs:

(i) \( x \) cause STATE

(ii) \( y \) become STATE

Verbs which have the structure in (i) are unergative verbs — that is, verbs that include in their semantics the notion that \( x \) is causing the state expressed. Thus, \(-apawa\), for instance, includes in its meaning that there is an element \( x \) causing yelling:

(280) japawa
\[ j\text{-}apawa \]
1sg.SUBJ-yell

'I yell.' [I cause yelling]

Verbs which have structure (ii) are unaccusative verbs — that is, verbs whose semantics includes reference to an argument which undergoes a change of state. For instance, the verb \(-at\text{:}epe\) implies that an element \( y \) has undergone sharpening:

(281) dal:epe
\[ y\text{-}\text{d\text{-}}\text{-at\text{:}epe} \]
3sg.SUBJ -theme-sharp

lod:a:jo.
\[ l\text{-od\text{-}}a\text{:jo} \]
3POSS-knife

'His knife is sharp.' [His knife becomes sharpened]
(b) Bivalent. Bivalent verbs are those which make obligatory reference to the subject of cause and become:

\[ x \text{ cause } y \text{ become STATE} \]

Thus, the root -eligo implies that there is one element causing eating and another element which becomes eaten:

\[ (282) \quad e: \quad \text{jeligo} \quad \text{wayaba} \]
\[ e:m \quad j-\text{eligo} \quad \text{wayaba} \]
\[ 1\text{PRONOUN} \quad 1\text{sg.SBJ-eat} \quad \text{guava} \]

'I eat guava' [I cause guava (to) become eaten]

(c) Trivalent. Trivalent verbs make obligatory reference to a third argument:

\[ x \text{ cause } y \text{ become LOCATION } z \]

For instance, ajigo includes in its meaning that \( y \) was transferred from \( y \) to \( z \). Specifically, -ajigo implies that \( x \) causes transferring of \( y \) to \( z \):

\[ (283) \quad \text{aqa:m:i} \quad \text{jajigotGawa} \quad \text{Gatodi} \]
\[ \text{aqa:m:i} \quad j-\text{ajigo}+\text{t+Ga-wa} \quad \text{Gatodi} \]
\[ 2\text{PRONOUN} \quad 1\text{sg.SBJ-give-rel+2sg.CL-dative} \quad \text{toucan} \]

'I give the toucan to you.' [I cause toucan become transferred to you]

Evidence that we are dealing with valency suffixes in Table 14 has to do with the effects of these suffixes on verbs. Although verbs can appear in a predicate without the presence of any of the suffixes in Table 14, those suffixes can be added to verbs as well. Those suffixes cause a change in a verbal LCS. The
suffix -Gad adds the feature cause. If attached to an unaccusative verb, it creates a bivalent verb.

Example 284 shows a bare root and 285 shows the same root modified by -Gad:

( 284 )  
  lod:ajo  
  l-od:ajo  
  3POSS-knife  
  "His knife is sharp." [His knife becomes sharpened]

( 285 )  
  jal:epeGadi  
  j-al:epe-Gad  
  1sg.SUBJ-sharp- [+cause]  
  3POSS-knife  
  "I sharpen his knife." [I cause his knife (to) become sharpened]

The addition of -Gad to a verb already specified for cause derives a causative verb. Example 286 shows a bare bivalent verb and 287 shows the same bivalent root modified by -Gad.

( 286 )  
  nadila.  
  y-n-adila  
  3sg.SUBJ-hither-borrow  
  "He borrows it." [He causes it (to) become borrowed]

( 287 )  
  nadilaGadi.  
  y-n-adila-Gad  
  3sg.SUBJ-hither-borrow- [+cause]  
  "He makes (one) borrow it." [He causes him to cause it (to) become borrowed]

Example 279 above suggests that -ti adds the feature cause. This analysis finds further support in 288 and 289. Example 288 shows the unergative verb -ikon 'sit down'. Sentence 289 shows the effects of the addition of -ti to ikon:
(288)  jiniko
   j-n-ikon
   1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit.down

   'I sit down.' [I cause sitting]

(289)  id:ikoti
   j-d:-ikon-ti
   1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit.down

   'I sit myself down.' [I cause myself (to) cause sitting]

The suffixes -Gan: ~ -Gen:, -gen, and -God add the feature become. Examples 290, 292 and 293
show bare unergative verbs. and examples 291, 293, and 295 show that the addition of -Gan: and -gen,
and -Gen: respectively, derives a bivalent verb:

(290)  jokolenaGa.
   j-okolen-Ga
   1pl.SUBJ-bet-pl

   'We gamble.' [We cause betting]

(291)  jokolenaGanaGa
   j-okolen-Gan:-Ga
   1pl.SUBJ-bet-{ + become}-pl

   'We bet it.' [We cause it (to) become bet]

(292)  jib:a:
   j-b:a:
   1sg.SUBJ-work

   'I work' [I cause working]

(293)  jib:a:qe.
   j-b:a:-gen
   1sg.SUBJ- work-{ + become}

   'I work/use it'. [I cause it to become worked]
(294)

>jiniko

\(_n\)-ikon

1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit.down

'I sit down.' [I cause sitting]

(295)

>inikonGen:ti

\(_n\)-ikon-Gen:-d

1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit.down-[ + become]-atel

'I sit him.' [I cause him become seated]

The addition of -Gan: to a bivalent verb introduces a second internal argument:

(296)

>ji:Gaci

\(_i\):Gacin

1sg.SUBJ-teach/learn-[ + become] Kadiwéu

'ejiwajegi.

ejiwajegi

'I teach Kadiwéu.' [I cause Kadiwéu to become learned]

(297)

>ji:GacinGateki

\(_i\):Gacin-Gan:-t\(+\_e\_k\)

1sg.SUBJ-teach-[ + become]-rel + 3sg.CL-allative Kadiwéu

ejiwajegi

ejiwajegi

'I teach him Kadiwéu.' [I cause Kadiwéu to become transferred to him]

The same phenomenon is attested with -God:

(298)

>dinowo:Godi

\(_d\)-n-owo:-God

3sg.SUBJ -theme-refl-think-[ + become]

'ejiwajegi.

ejiwajegi

'He understands something about himself' [He causes understanding of himself to become transferred to himself]
The features cause and become can be deleted as well as inserted. The suffixes -kan and -kon delete the feature become. Thus, adding this suffix to a bivalent verb derives an unergative verb.

Example 299 and 301 show bivalent verbs and 300 and 302 show derived unergative verbs.

(299) jilaji.
n-j-laji
1sg.SUBJ-laugh
'I laugh at it.' [I cause it to become laughed at]

(300) jilajika.
n-j-laji-kan
1sg.SUBJ-laugh-{become}
'I laugh.' [I cause laughing]

(301) jowo:
n-j-owo:
1sg.SUBJ-think
'I think it.' [I cause it to become thought]

(302) jowokon.
n-j-owo-kan
1sg.SUBJ-think-{become}
'I think.' [I cause thinking]

Deverbal nouns offer further support. In order to derive anvalent deverbal nouns, it is necessary to delete all the valency features. To derive an anvalent noun from a bivalent verb, both cause and become must be deleted. Observe in 303 that the verb and the noun contain the same root. The suffixes -kan '{become}' and -Gegi '{cause}' must be added to the bivalent root -gi 'ask/answer' in order to derive an anvalent noun:

(303) jigi:di
n-j-gi:-d
1sg.SUBJ-ask/answer-atel
3POSS-ask/answer-{become}-{cause}
'I answer his question.'
Derived bivalent verbs can also be turned into avalent nouns. For instance, the unaccusative verb -Gol:a 'blind' can be turned into a bivalent verb by adding -Gad (304). The derived bivalent verb can then be turned into an avalent noun by attaching both -kan and -Gegi (305). Note that -Gad remains in the derived form.

(304) joGol:aGadi.
    j-Gola-Gad
    1sg.SUBJ-blind-{ + cause}

'I betray him.'

(305) noGolaGatakanegegi
    n-Gola-Gad-kan-Gegi
    ainbl-blind-{ + cause}-[-become]-[-cause]

'Adultery'

To sum up, I argued that the suffixes in Table 14 operate on LCS adding or deleting the primitive predicates cause and become and, consequently, introducing or deleting semantic arguments. Cause and become are part of a LCS of a verb and can be added to a noun via valency suffixes.

4.4.2. Transitivity. In 4.4.1 I presented evidence that the suffixes -Gen: and -Gan: add the feature become and, consequently, an internal argument. The presence of -Gen: and -Gan: however, does not entail that we have a grammatical internal argument (i.e. a transitive predicate). The addition of [+become] does not allow automatically a noun to appear as the head of a transitive clause. Note that the examples 306 and 307 show nouns in spite of the fact that -Gen: '[+become]' is present.

(306) lapwaGen:ig:i.
    l:-apwa-Gen:-nig:i
    3POSS-hole-{ + become}-m.dim

'His bodyguard.'
i-ema:n:-Gan:-Gegi
1POSS-want-[- + become] [-cause]

'My way of loving'

In order to license grammatical internal arguments (i.e. transitive, ditransitive, and unaccusative clauses), we must add role suffixes. Example 308 and 309 show that a stem functions as a noun or a transitive verb depending on whether the semantic role markers are present or not. In 308 they are not present and the stems function as a noun; that is, syntactic arguments cannot be added in spite of the fact that the valency suffix -Gen: '[:become]' is present and in spite of the fact that a Kadiwéu speaker understands that somebody is pierced. In 309, however, the semantic role -d: 'theme' is present and the stems functions as a transitive clause; that is, there is a grammatical internal argument, Go- '1pl.OBJ':

(308) lapwaGen:ig:i.
l:-apwa-Gen:-nig:i
3POSS-hole-[- + become] -m -dim

'His bodyguard.' (the one who becomes pierced)

(309) God:apwaGe
Go-d:-apwa-Gen:
1pl.OBJ-theme-hole-[- + become]

'We are challenged.'

In section 4.3 the morphemes -d: 'theme'. -gi 'goal'. -wa - -ma 'dative'. -dom - -lo - -ma 'benefactive'. -k 'allative', and -lokom 'adessive' were introduced as semantic case suffixes, marking the roles of arguments. The function of these morphemes, however, is actually more complex. They license the grammatical internal arguments.
What is the mechanism within grammar that licenses grammatical arguments? One possible answer that can be found within Government & Binding theory is that case licenses the presence of grammatical arguments. Thus, the function of those morphemes could be assignment of structural case. But Kadiwéu presents evidence against this interpretation. A morpheme such as -d: can occur with a subject pronoun (nominative) in unaccusative clauses (310) or object pronoun (accusative) in transitive clauses (311). All subjects (i.e. subjects of transitive clauses (which only appear if the object is third-person), unergative subjects, unaccusative subjects, and subjects of passives and reflexives) are in the nominative case in Kadiwéu. Objects are marked by a different set of pronominals. If we were dealing with case, I would expect pronominals co-occurring with -d: to belong to a same structural class (i.e. nominative, accusative, or ergative). This is not the case — there is one form that indicates that the pronominal is in the nominative case and another that indicates accusative case and -d: co-occurs with both. The morpheme -d: indicates the semantic role of a pronominal, theme, not its case. This fact indicates to me that the transitivity morphemes are operating on theta role assignment — hence the label semantic role morphemes.

(310)  ad:ib:od:ey  
       a-d:-o:od:e-i  
       2pl.SUBJ-theme-bid.farewell-pl  

'You bid farewell.'

(311)  Gd:ema:n:i.  
       Ga-d:-ema:n:-i  
       1pl.SUBJ-theme-want-pl  

'He loves you'.

According to Grimshaw (1990:71), "theta-marking requires two things: an a-structure and a theta marker". Indeed, transitivizing suffixes cannot be added to a valent stems: nominal roots must be modified by valency increasers before a semantic role marker can be added. Thus, the root in (309) could not form a
predicate if -Gen: were not present. Adding semantic role suffixes to nominal roots that have not been
modified by valency suffixes lead to ungrammaticality:

(312)  * God:apwa.
   Go-d:-apwa
   1pl.OBJ-theme-hole

   'We are challenged.'

Since verbs are lexically specified for valency, they do not need to be modified by valency suffixes
in order to take arguments. Even verbs, however, must receive transitivizing suffixes if they have an
internal argument (313). The absence of theta-markers in a sentence leads to ungrammaticality as
shown in (314).

(313)  aqa:m:i       Gad:ajigotGowa.
       aqa:m:i       Ga-d:-afigo-t-Go-wa
       2PRONOUN     2sg.OBJ-theme-give-rel + 1pl.CL-dative

   'You were given to us'.

(314)  aqa:m:i       *GajigotGa.

Grimshaw proposes that verbs in English have an a-structure and are theta-markers. Eventive
nominals in English have an a-structure as well, but they cannot assign theta-role. Therefore, in order to
have grammatical arguments, eventive nouns need a theta-assigner. Thus, eventive nouns appear with a
preposition in English (e.g. donation of money to hospitals) and with a light verb in some constructions of
Japanese. My proposal is that Kadiwéu does not have any lexical category that is able to theta-assign. The
elements that I classify as verbs in Kadiwéu are similar to eventive nominals of of better known
languages: they are valent (i.e. have an argument structure in Grimshaw's terminology) but they are not
able to license grammatical arguments. In order to take grammatical arguments they need the mediation of elements able to assign theta-roles.

Additional evidence that semantic role morphemes license grammatical arguments comes from nominalization. Verbs can be nominalized by attaching the classifier \textit{n-} 'alienable'. Nominalization via the attachment of \textit{n-} does not affect the valency of the stem, and so eventive nouns are derived. The verb \textit{i-Gacin} 'teach' includes the features cause and became, that is, it takes two arguments. The attachment of \textit{-God} makes a trivalent verb (315). After the nominalization, the stem still has three semantic arguments, but syntactically it has none. Nominalization causes the erasure of transitivizing suffixes. Valency remains. Evidence that the noun has three semantic arguments comes from the comparison of 316 and 317. According to my informant 316 means 'teacher of a specific subject to someone', while 317 means merely teacher of something. Structurally, 316 differs from 317 in that the former contains the valency increaser \textit{-God} and the latter contains the classifier \textit{-GanGa}.

(315) \begin{align*}
\text{dini:GacinoGodi} \\
\text{y-d-n-i:Gacin-God} \\
\text{3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-teach-[- + become]} \\
\end{align*}

'He teaches it to himself.'

(316) \begin{align*}
\text{ni:GacinoGodi.} \\
\text{n-i:Gacin-God} \\
\text{ainbl-teach-[- + become]} \\
\end{align*}

'Teacher of something to somebody.'

(317) \begin{align*}
\text{ni:GacinoGanGa} \\
\text{n-i:Gacin-GanGa} \\
\text{ainbl-teach-instrument} \\
\end{align*}

'Teacher of something.'
4.4.3. Clause Structure. The nature and extent of differences across languages is one of the most controversial questions in theoretical linguistics. I assume the view of cross-linguistic variation proposed in the Principles & Parameters theory (Chomsky 1981 and later works). According to Chomsky (1987:68),

"The initial state of the language faculty consists of a collection of subsystems, or modules as they are called, each of which is based on certain very general principles. Each of these principles admits of a certain very limited possibility of variation. We may think of the system as a complex network, associated with a switch box that contains a finite number of switches. The network is invariant, but each switch can be set in one of two positions, on and off. Unless the switches are set, nothing happens. But when the switches are set in one of the permissible ways, the system functions, yielding the entire infinite array of interpretation for linguistic expressions. A slight change in switch settings can yield complex and varied phenomenal consequences as its effects filter through the network."

To account for pronominal argument languages, I propose a parametric variation in which lexical and functional categories are able or not to project. This hypothesis allows for four types of languages:

A. Languages in which both functional and lexical categories project.
B. Languages in which functional categories do not project.
C. Languages in which lexical categories do not project.
D. Languages in which neither project.

Chomsky 1986 proposes two levels of projections and the following category-neutral phrase structure rules:

\[
(318) \quad X' \rightarrow YP \; X' \\
X' \rightarrow X \; ZP^* \\
\]

where YP is the specifier position, and ZP the complement position.
In more recent work Chomsky’s uniform bar-level hypothesis, according to which the number of bars for maximal projection is uniform across categories, has been questioned. For instance, Fukui & Speas (1986) argue that functional categories are limited to a single specifier position and a single complement position. By contrast, lexical categories project recursively as long as they have theta-roles to assign. In other words, the projection of lexical categories has been assumed to correlate with their capacity to assign theta-roles. Now, there are several pieces of evidence that verbs cannot assign theta-roles in Kadiwêu. If the projection of lexical categories is indeed tied to their ability to assign theta-roles, that entails that Kadiwêu verbs do not project.

My proposal is an extended version of Fukui & Speas’ 1986 proposal. Fukui & Speas base their parametric variation on the presence vs. absence of functional categories (FC). They argue that Japanese lacks functional categories except for a defective INFL, which is defective in that it is not able to project. Since functional categories do not project in Japanese, nominal phrase arguments project freely.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although defective, Japanese does have functional categories: tense (see Fukui 1986:207-217) and the light verb suru (see Grimshaw & Mester 1988). Fukui & Speas’ claim does not seem to be on the right track. I assume that all languages have both functional and lexical categories. Doing so, I must redefine the nature of Fukui & Speas’ parametric variation. My proposal differs from those of Fukui & Speas 1986 and Fukui 1986 in that I claim that the parametric variation does not consist in whether functional categories are present or not, but in whether functional (FC) and lexical categories (LC) are able or not able to project:
According to my proposal, in languages like English (type A) recursive nominal phrase arguments are not allowed due to the projection of functional categories. In languages like Japanese (type B) recursion of nominal phrase arguments is not blocked, because only lexical categories project. In pronominal argument languages (type C) nominal phrase arguments do not exist, because lexical categories do not project. No Type D languages are attested.

If lexical categories do not project in pronominal argument languages, what is the clausal structures of these languages? Chomsky 1995 proposes that functional heads vary across languages in that they carry strong features in some languages and weak features in others. Since strong features must be discharged, functional categories carrying strong features trigger movement. Thus, according to this proposal, English differs from languages without (overt) wh-movement in that complementizers carry strong features in English, and therefore they trigger movement. Chomsky 1995 proposes that transitivizing morphemes are functional categories that function as light verbs. Jelinek 1995 assumes this analysis and proposes that transitivizing morphemes are functional heads that carry strong features in some languages, triggering verb movement. I adopt this proposal and assume that the Kadiwèu semantic role markers, represented in 319 as θ, are functional categories which must discharge their strong features and therefore trigger movement.26
On this hypothesis, the Kadiwéu semantic role suffixes are like light verbs. Grimshaw & Mester (1988) argue that light verbs are functional categories that must be in a symbiotic relationship with lexical categories that are valent but unable to assign theta-roles to complements. Whereas the verb is valent but unable to assign theta-roles, a light verb is a valent but able to assign theta-roles; that is, able to license grammatical arguments. Working on the Minimalism framework, I propose that a valent stem is attracted to adjoin θ, the light verb. As a result theta-assigning takes place. This proposal explains why D nodes function as arguments. Theta-roles are discharged at the SPEC position of θ to D nodes; there is no other nominal element in the structure. Note in 319 that the order of the Kadiwéu morphemes is captured by this proposal.27

4.4.4. Summary and Implications. In this section I proposed that lexical categories are divided in the Kadiwéu lexicon into valent and avalent roots. and I believe that this provides enough evidence to classify them as either verbs or nouns. Although Kadiwéu has valent roots, it has no transitive roots. Transitivity is assigned syntactically via movement of elements which either start out with valency or gain valency in the course of the derivation. I proposed that Kadiwéu has a set of suffixes that license semantic arguments (valency suffixes) and another set of suffixes that license grammatical arguments (transitivity...
morphemes). Valency suffixes license semantic arguments and they are probably added in the lexicon of Kadiwéu. The transitivizing morphemes -d: 'theme', -gi 'goal', -wa ~ -ma 'dative', -dom ~ -lo ~ -ma 'benefactive', -k 'allative', and lokom 'adessive' license grammatical arguments.

This result has implications for language typology and linguistic parameters. Jelinek & Demers' 1994 prediction that transitivity is assigned at the syntactic level in all languages whose arguments are pronominals, rather than nominal phrases or an empty pro, is borne out by Kadiwéu. I have proposed a parametric variation based on an insight in Fukui & Speas 1986 to account for pronominal argument languages. I argued that these languages are languages in which lexical categories do not project. On this hypothesis, clauses in pronominal argument languages are formed by raising of a valent lexical item to adjoin a functional category that functions as a light verb. Light verbs enable valent elements to theta-assign.

Parameters place limits on the ways in which languages may differ, thereby reducing the number of grammatical hypotheses a child might consider in the course of language acquisition. Thus, the hypothesis developed in this chapter has implications for language acquisition. According to Radford (1990:199), "the earliest grammars developed by young children are purely lexical in nature". That is, according to Radford, child language is purely a projection of lexical categories. If this is true, we might expect children to first assume that there are no pronominal argument languages. A question for further research concerns the extent to which the grammatical development of children acquiring Kadiwéu is parallel to that of children acquiring (for instance) European languages.
5. Conclusion

In this dissertation I have provided a grammar of a little-known language of the Waikurian family. Chapter 2 offers a description of the Kadiwéu phonology, from both synchronic and diachronic grounds. Kadiwéu has two dialects which reflect gender and social status: the most salient differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu are at the level of suprasegmental phonology. Noble Kadiwéu parses the word into binary trochees. Non-noble Kadiwéu presents a rare stress system: it parses the word into iterative ternary feet. Comparison of Kadiwéu prosody with the prosody of the other Waikurian languages suggests that Non-noble Kadiwéu stress patterns were introduced through interference from Portuguese and/or Spanish. Chapter 3 comprises a detailed description of the grammatical morphemes found in the noun and in the verb.

In chapter 4 I discuss aspects of Kadiwéu morphosyntax. I present evidence that pronominal clitics and affixes are arguments in Kadiwéu, and that nominal phrases are optionally adjoined to the sentence. The results of several syntactic tests support the hypothesis: passivization, recursivity, coreference, anaphora, lack of quantifiers, and the behavior of wh-interrogatives. Furthermore, my results indicate that morphological phenomena cannot be reduced to syntactic principles alone, since the elements that receive theta-roles in this language cannot be analyzed as morphemes attached to the verb at the level of phonological form. These results have important implications for theoretical linguistics. The fact that morphemes embedded in the verb structure function as arguments in Kadiwéu supports the claim that the Theta-Criterion must have access to inflectional morphology.

In recent work Chomsky adopts the view that morphology and syntax are not independent. According to the Minimalism program, syntactic differences across languages are morphologically driven. I offer an analysis of Kadiwéu that supports the Minimalism program. I argue that transitivity is not a lexical feature of verbs in this language; transitivity is introduced by morphemes that function as light verbs. On this hypothesis, clauses in pronominal argument languages are formed by raising a valent lexical item to adjoin a light verb morpheme.
This dissertation has also shown that Kadiwéu lacks prepositions entirely, and that the structures analyzed by Griffiths as containing prepositional phrases are actually biclausal. The fact that adverbs can modify either of the lexical heads comprising those structures indicates that we are dealing with two verbs rather than with a verb and a preposition. Moreover, relativization also indicates that we are dealing with biclausal structures. The structures discussed in this paper have many of the properties attributed to SVCs across languages: arguments must be shared, the negation of one head implies the negation of the whole string, and the actions expressed by serial verbs are simultaneous. Further fieldwork will be necessary to test whether pronominals can also be considered arguments in SVCs. In any case, this dissertation suggests that the patterns of SVCs still need to be sorted out in theoretical linguistics.
Notes:

1 Loukotka (1968:51) assigns two other languages to the Waikurian family, both extinct: Wachi and Payawah. Wachi was spoken in Brazil, near Kadiweu territory, and Payawah was spoken in Paraguay. The hypothesis of a possible genetic relationship between these two languages and the Waikurian languages, however, cannot be tested since Wachi and Payawah were never systematically studied. Loukotka's only information about these languages comes mainly from word lists in Castelnau (1850-1859, vol.5:278), Sanchez Labrador (1910-1917. vol.2:135). Boggiani 1901: Cervinio ms.; Demersay (1860-1864, vol.1:370-72); Fontana ms.; Cervinio in Lafone Quevedo 1910b; Paradi in Loukotka (1949a:68-69); Mansfield (1856:496); Paradi ms.: Aguirre in M. Peña (1898:490. 494. 498. 502. 503); Schmidt (1949:255-64).

2 No morphological and syntactic differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiweu have been found. Most of the work on these areas, however, has been conducted with speakers of Non-noble Kadiweu.

3 The insertion of the epenthetic /u/ is optional in word-final position.

4 Code-switching is very common among bilingual Kadiweus (in this dissertation, it can be observed in the frequent usage of Portuguese proper names). It differs from borrowing in that the Portuguese phonology is generally maintained. Moreover, borrowed words, since they have been adapted into Kadiweu phonology, are not always recognized as foreign words by native speakers of Kadiweu.

5 Notice that the reconstruction of *b* and *p* is based on only one correspondence set each. We understand that the postulation of these proto-segments is questionable, as pointed out by one anonymous reviewer for Anthropological Linguistics, particularly the correspondence between b and s. However, we
decided to include these reconstructions pending future research. We also realize that the vowel system reconstructed for Proto-Waikurían is rather unusual for South American languages and much more complex than those in the daughter languages. However, the number of correspondences, even for the more marked vowels *e and *u, is too significant to ignore. See 2.2d for further discussion of *h.

6 An alternative hypothesis is to say that the reconstruction proposed by Ceria & Sandalo reflects Non-noble Proto-Waikurían, rather than Proto-Waikurían. According to this hypothesis, Noble Kadiwéu descends from Noble Proto-Waikurían and maintains iy and wV. The Proto-Waikurían sequences *iy and *wV were reanalyzed as *y: and *w: in Non-noble Proto-Waikurían. On this hypothesis, the languages from the Southern branch and Non-noble Kadiwéu derive from the same Proto-dialect. Non-noble Proto-Waikurían. Non-noble Proto-Waikurían gave rise to two branches. In one branch long semivowels were maintained, and in the other branch long semivowels were reinterpreted as true consonants. A problem would be to explain why Non-noble Kadiwéu is much more similar to Noble Kadiwéu than to its sister languages. Although these differences could be accounted for by the claim that Non-noble Kadiwéu is spoken by warriors, serfs, and slaves who are still in contact with their lords, while the languages of the Southern branch could be assumed to be spoken by warriors and slaves who have been isolated from their Waikurían masters as well as from Non-noble Kadiwéu for centuries. I avoid proposing such an explanation since this claim has no sociolinguistic support.

7 The patterns concerning degenerate feet have not been analyzed yet for the Southern Waikurían languages.

8 The statements here about Waikurian verbs and nouns are based on a comparison between Kadiwéu, Toba (Buckwalter 1980), and Mocovi (Ceria, personal communication, 1993).
The following abbreviations are used in Kadiwéu examples in this work: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, alnb = alienable possession, atel = atelic, AUX = auxiliary verb, CL = clitic, COMP = complementizer, cond = conditional, compl = completive, DEM = demonstrative, des = desiderative, dur = durative, f. dim = feminine diminutive, fem = feminine, fut = future, imprs = impersonal, incompl = incomplete, IND = indefinite, intens = intensive, intr = intransitive, m. dim = masculine diminutive, masc = masculine, neg = negative, neg.cond = negative conditional, neg.imp = negative imperative, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ = object, pl = plural, POSS = possessive, pun = punctual, RED = reduplication, refl = reflexive, rel = relational, sg = singular, SUBJ = subject, tlc = telic. Symbols: XX+ = proclitic; +XX = enclitic; XX- = prefix; -XX = suffix; $ = syllable boundary; * = extinct language.

Proper names are presented in the Portuguese orthography, rather than in phonological transcription. This is because all the proper names used in the body of this dissertation come from Portuguese and the pronunciation of these words varies from speaker to speaker according to their knowledge of Portuguese. It is impossible, therefore, to propose a unique phonological representation for these words.

In active systems the agent argument of a transitive verb is marked like the sole argument of an unergative verb, which is also an agent semantically. Nonagent arguments (and also possessives) are marked by a different set of prefixes. In this system agent arguments form a natural class, distinct from nonagents. Vestiges of an active system are found in all the Waikurian languages, and has been reconstructed for Proto-Waikurian (Ceria & Sandalo 1995). Although Kadiwéu marks 1sg, 1pl, 2sg/pl, and 3sg subjects of unergative and unaccusative verbs by the same set of prefixes, there are some unaccusative verbs that must be marked by an object prefix instead of a subject prefix (see dictionary):

(i) God:awela
Ga-d:-awela
1pl.OBJ-theme-scare

'We are scared.'
One of my informants commented that the orders OSV and OVS are avoided in isolated sentences in order to avoid ambiguity. Kadiwéu speakers tend to interpret the first-occurring noun phrase as the subject. The OSV and OVS orders are used, however, when the context makes it clear who/what is the subject and who/what is the object.

See further discussion under § 4.2. In chapter 4.2 I show that nominal phrases are recursive in Kadiwéu; I believe that each noun in 156-159 is an independent nominal phrases and therefore I analyze the examples in 156-159 and 219-222 as examples of the same phenomena.

Although for many speakers the sentence is ungrammatical if the subject is placed before the subordinate verb, several speakers accept the sentence if the subject follows the subordinate verb. See also sentence 177 below.

'S/he said that Mary did the laundry.'

The semantic role markers -k 'allative' and -lokom 'adessive' co-occur with some elements which are not verbal arguments in languages like English, but they appear to be verbal arguments in Kadiwéu:

'I go into the house.'

'He shot himself in the head.'
Recall that the subject of transitive clauses is marked when the object is third-person; when the object is first- or second-person, the verb is marked by an object pronoun. Since passivization demotes the subject of transitive clauses, passivization occurs exclusively when the verb has a third-person object — that is, when a transitive clause has an overt subject. In this respect, passivization in Kadiwéu is similar to passivization with the clitic se in Romance languages, which only occurs with third-person objects.

Observe that passive clauses with a nominal phrase referring to the agent is also possible, although less frequent:

(i) Pedro da:biteGetini ika di::mi:gi.
P Pedro y-d-a:bi-d-Gen::t+ni i-ka di::m:igi
Peter 3sg.SUBJ-theme-sit-atel·l + become|·tel + going.inside masc-DEM house

'This house was built by Pedro.'

Although nominal phrases cannot function as arguments in pronominal argument languages, clauses can (see Baker 1994 for further discussion).

A reading in which a pronominal in the main clause is not coreferential with a nominal phrase inside a complement clause is also possible. This is not the preferred interpretation, however. One of my informants provided a sentence to force the interpretation in which they are not coreferential:

(i) yowo:God me yema: Maria John.
y-owo:-God me y-ema:n: Maria John
3sg.SUBJ-think-valency COMP 3sg.SUBJ-want Mary John

'He, knows that Mary loves John,'
He knows that Mary loves John. His name is Joseph.

18 See Gordon & Sandalo (forthcoming) for further discussion of coreference acquisition in Kadiwéu.

19 Baker 1994 observes that the existence of anaphoric expressions in polysynthetic languages violates both Condition A and B of Binding Theory. Condition A is violated since the anaphoric expression is not c-commanded by a nominal phrase in argument position. If Binding reconstruction applies, a pronominal object would be coindexed with a pronominal subject violating Condition B, which states that a pronominal cannot be bound by a c-commanding antecedent within the same clause. Thus, there is no way to satisfy the properties of the pronominal arguments and of anaphoric expressions in pronominal argument languages. Baker's argument can be probably extended to Kadiwéu; but since subject and object pronouns do not overtly co-occur in Kadiwéu, specific syntactic tests are necessary to test whether Binding reconstruction applies in this language and to embase the postulation of covert pronominal arguments.

20 The claim that nominal phrases in Kadiwéu are adjuncts predicts that the coindexation of a pronominal subject and a noun inside a nominal phrase referring to the object is allowed because the pronominal subject will not c-command the nominal phrase referring to the object. Note, however, that sentences such as (i) are ungrammatical. A pronominal cannot be coreferent with a noun inside a possessive phrase. The same phenomenon is attested in other nonconfigurational languages such as Navajo, Warlpiri, and Arandic languages (Ken Hale, personal communication, 1995). The only language that allows coreference between a pronominal and a noun in a possessive clause is Mohawk (Baker 1994).
y-in:o-gen                  Joao    l-od:a:jo
3sg.SUBJ-hither-break-tran  John    3POSS-knife

"He; broke John;’s knife."

This phenomenon can be explained if Kadiwéu, Navajo, Waripiri, and the Arandic languages allow binding reconstruction, while Mohawk does not. Reconstruction would lead the subject pronoun to co-command a pronominal object leading to a violation of Condition B.

21 The ECP (Empty Category Principle) states that a trace must be properly governed. Proper government can be achieved either by theta-government or by antecedent government. A head theta-governs a constituent if it both governs and theta-marks the constituent: antecedent-government is government by a coindexed maximal projection.

22 It is not completely clear whether Kadiwéu has adverbs as a separate lexical category. They may be be either phrases (note that they are generally preceded by the complementizer me) or nominal modifiers.

23 Some speakers accept the verb -ati as an unergative verb which takes an indirect object. Older speakers, however, accept -ati as taking an indirect object only if it has been modified by a valency decreasing morpheme:

(i)    ika     nod:a:jo     ane     datiqata     Maria.
ika    n-od:a:jo     ane     y-d:-ati-qan-t-e-wa     Maria
DEM    alnbl-knife   relative   3sg.SUBJ-theme-take-rel+3sg.CL-dative  Mary

'This knife that Mary killed a chicken with.'
The sentence in 275 was provided in the following elicitation context: Mary has a new knife and she wants to use it. Thus, Mary kills a chicken today, so that she can use her new knife tomorrow to cut and prepare the chicken to be eaten.

Note, however, that transitivizing suffixes are not present when the object is third person. It seems that constructions whose object is understood as third person are in fact like such English sentences as John ate: that is, semantically there are two arguments (we know that John ate some food), but syntactically the construction is intransitive.

I assume that pronominals are elements of a non-projecting D(eterminer) category: that is, a functional category that bears person and number features. The claim that D does not project is supported by the fact that quantifiers appear incorporated to locative predicates in Kadiwéu. Moreover, demonstratives are likely to be verbs and there is no articles. Kadiwéu is not the only nonconfigurational language to lack determiner projections. Bittner & Hale 1995 argue that Walpíri has no items of the syntactic category D.

The parametric variation proposed here is substantially different the one in Baker 1994. My proposal can account for the existence of languages in which pronominals, rather than nominal phrases, are verbal arguments. It does not mean that languages in which a small pro is an argument do not exist. But if they do, they cannot be derived from the same parametric variation. Baker (personal communication, 1995) mentions that there are at least two types of nonconfigurational languages: (a) languages which have empty categories pro as arguments and whose verbs are overtly marked by agreement (Mohawk), and (b) languages whose verbal arguments are pro, but whose verbs are not marked by agreement morphemes (Jiwarli). Jiwarli does not have bound pronominals, but it shares a remarkable number of features with languages as Mohawk. Kadiwéu presents evidence for a third class of nonconfigurational languages: languages in which bound pronominals are arguments.
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## Appendices

### Appendix 1.

**Comparative Waikurúan lexicon.** The Table below is from Ceria & Sandalo 1995.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Non-noble/ Noble</th>
<th>Toba</th>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Waikurúan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Kadiwéu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. absent</td>
<td>√ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>*k:ae</td>
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<td>2. against</td>
<td>-g:et</td>
<td>-get</td>
<td></td>
<td>*g:et:</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. arrow</td>
<td>√opi-te-na</td>
<td>wik</td>
<td>owik</td>
<td>*upik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. aunt</td>
<td>√ejyod:o</td>
<td>asodo</td>
<td>asodo</td>
<td>*aeḍːyudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. back</td>
<td>√el:aga</td>
<td>ðako</td>
<td></td>
<td>*el:əgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. belly, stomach</td>
<td>√waqom:</td>
<td>(a)kom</td>
<td></td>
<td>*waeq:um:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. bite</td>
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<td>nak</td>
<td>ewag</td>
<td>*əŋːæg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. blind</td>
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<td>qæ/laq</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ewot</td>
<td>*əzwudi</td>
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<td>apat</td>
<td></td>
<td>*abata:</td>
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<tr>
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<td>piʔi-nek</td>
<td>pi/-nek</td>
<td>*biV</td>
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<td>√adːeːg</td>
<td>awek</td>
<td></td>
<td>*ade(:)g</td>
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<td>13. brother</td>
<td>√y:ocwa</td>
<td>oq</td>
<td></td>
<td>*ukːua</td>
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<td>14. chest</td>
<td>√ateq-God</td>
<td>toge</td>
<td></td>
<td>*atːəeqe</td>
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<td>15. child</td>
<td>√igːa:</td>
<td>ogot-lek</td>
<td></td>
<td>*uːgːat</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. chin</td>
<td>√aquad</td>
<td>qaʔ</td>
<td>(a)qa/</td>
<td>*(a)qːa:ad</td>
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<td>17. claw</td>
<td>√aca</td>
<td>?aca</td>
<td></td>
<td>*akːa</td>
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<td>18. cloud(s)</td>
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<td>lʔok</td>
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<td>*lolːok (?)</td>
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<td>19. coming</td>
<td>√nːa</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td>*nːa</td>
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<td>21. cry(v)</td>
<td>√noe:n:</td>
<td>noyin</td>
<td>*nu:n:</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. day</td>
<td>no:qo</td>
<td>naʔaq</td>
<td>*no:q:q</td>
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<td>23. die (v)</td>
<td>√él:ew</td>
<td>-ilew</td>
<td>*el:ew</td>
<td></td>
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<td>24. dirty</td>
<td>√apyoy</td>
<td>apyo/</td>
<td>*ap:yo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25. downward</td>
<td>-n:</td>
<td>ʔi</td>
<td>ʔi</td>
<td>*n:i</td>
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<td>26. dream (v)</td>
<td>√g:em</td>
<td>e/gemat</td>
<td>*cg:em:(at)</td>
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<td>27. dust</td>
<td>am:oko</td>
<td>amogo-yaga</td>
<td>amogo-yaga</td>
<td>*am:uo:u</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. eye</td>
<td>√gek:o:ge</td>
<td>?aylkoiʔoweʔ (eyeball)</td>
<td>*gaylk:o:Ge</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. face</td>
<td>√ajike (jaw)</td>
<td>ašik</td>
<td>ašik</td>
<td>*ad'ik:e</td>
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<td>31. fat (n)</td>
<td>√aji-adi</td>
<td>ci-ta</td>
<td>*ad'i</td>
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<td>32. father</td>
<td>ata:</td>
<td>taʔa</td>
<td>taʔa</td>
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<td>√ol:e-di</td>
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<td>odek</td>
<td>*ul:ek</td>
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<td>34. fish</td>
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<td>nylaq</td>
<td>*niy:oqo</td>
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<td>35. flower</td>
<td>√awogo</td>
<td>awogo</td>
<td>*awug:u</td>
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<td>36. foot</td>
<td>√w:ya-adi</td>
<td>apya</td>
<td>pyaʔ</td>
<td>*aw:yad</td>
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<td>37. fruit</td>
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<td>ala</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>*el:a</td>
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<td>38. get married</td>
<td>√ad:on</td>
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<td>(w)adon</td>
<td>*(w)ad:on</td>
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<td>39. get.close (v)</td>
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<td>pogi</td>
<td>*p:eg:i</td>
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<td>40. go (v)</td>
<td>√go</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>*ge</td>
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<td>41. going</td>
<td>√jo</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>*d'ju</td>
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<td>42. grandmother</td>
<td>√em:i</td>
<td>kome</td>
<td>komena</td>
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<td>43. grass</td>
<td>ad:eg:o</td>
<td>?awaq-pi</td>
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<td>44. hand</td>
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<td>qayk</td>
<td>qaik</td>
<td>*ak</td>
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<td>46. help (v)</td>
<td>√acaw:a</td>
<td>-etawna-Gan</td>
<td>*at'awna</td>
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<td>47. hit (v)</td>
<td>acakon</td>
<td>asakan-(a)Gan</td>
<td>*atvæk:on</td>
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<td>48. hither</td>
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<td>n-</td>
<td>n:</td>
<td></td>
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<td>49. hole</td>
<td>b:c:g:i</td>
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<td>awak</td>
<td>*ab:væ(.)gi</td>
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<td>dipik</td>
<td>dipik</td>
<td>*dapi:go</td>
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<td>di:m:igi</td>
<td>(i)mek</td>
<td>*m:egi</td>
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<td>52. hunting</td>
<td>aawi:</td>
<td>awa:-tak</td>
<td>*awa:</td>
<td></td>
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<td>53. husband</td>
<td>vod:awa</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>*wa</td>
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<td>54. I</td>
<td>ae:m:/eyom:</td>
<td>ayem</td>
<td>yim</td>
<td>*a:yæ m:</td>
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<td>55. ice</td>
<td>el:on:i</td>
<td>aloñi</td>
<td>*æl:un:i</td>
<td></td>
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<td>56. inside</td>
<td>-nig:</td>
<td>-ngi</td>
<td>*ng:ĩ</td>
<td></td>
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<td>57. inward</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>*wu</td>
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<td>vgedyogo</td>
<td>kiyok</td>
<td>*gedyugo</td>
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<td>59. jaw</td>
<td>vajike</td>
<td>anok (?)</td>
<td>asok</td>
<td>*ad:vik:c</td>
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<td>60. kill (vt)</td>
<td>vel:owad</td>
<td>lawat</td>
<td>alawat</td>
<td>*æl:owad</td>
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<td>61. knot</td>
<td>vqote</td>
<td>qote</td>
<td>*qute:</td>
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<td>62. laugh (v)</td>
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<td>laşi</td>
<td>laşi</td>
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<td>ci</td>
<td>ici</td>
<td>*ti</td>
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<td>alagat</td>
<td>apagat</td>
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<td>65. lie (v)</td>
<td>vaten:ati (tell stories)</td>
<td>atenat</td>
<td>*atæn:at:i</td>
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<tr>
<td>66. lie down</td>
<td>vwo:</td>
<td>na?a</td>
<td>*no:</td>
<td></td>
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<td>67. look for (vt)</td>
<td>vol:e</td>
<td>edan-ake</td>
<td>*æl:æn</td>
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<td>68. lying</td>
<td>vd:i</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>*di:</td>
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<td>69. make</td>
<td>vœn</td>
<td>?on</td>
<td>*u(e)n</td>
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<td>70. man</td>
<td>vel:è:giwa</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td>*æl:è(.)</td>
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<td>ci?</td>
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<td>72. moon</td>
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<td>šiday-go</td>
<td>šiday-go</td>
<td>*ep'enay</td>
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<td>73. mother</td>
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<td>ate?e</td>
<td>ate?e</td>
<td>*ædc:</td>
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<td>76.</td>
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<td>lonagat</td>
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<td>alːpit</td>
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<td>86.</td>
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<td>sing (vi)</td>
<td>ły:gaːnː</td>
<td>oʔon</td>
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<td>ŋi</td>
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<td>sleep (vi)</td>
<td>yoːte</td>
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<td>standing</td>
<td>ły:dːa</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
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<td>star</td>
<td>yote-di</td>
<td>yoʔo-goʔi lalaqte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101. stick</td>
<td>iwo-go</td>
<td>wa-qa</td>
<td>*iwo-ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102. suck (vi)</td>
<td>vl:ib</td>
<td>lip</td>
<td>*li:ib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103. tapir</td>
<td>liw-ag-a</td>
<td>šipeqaq-al-o</td>
<td>šipeqaq (horse)</td>
<td>*P iw:æg:a(q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104. think</td>
<td>vwo:</td>
<td>owc:</td>
<td>*owæ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105. tooth</td>
<td>vowe</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>owe</td>
<td>*uwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106. valency suffix</td>
<td>-gen:</td>
<td>-(a)can</td>
<td>-(a)can</td>
<td>*-(a)ø-æn:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107. upward</td>
<td>-big:im:</td>
<td>-šìgem</td>
<td></td>
<td>*bìg:im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108. wait</td>
<td>vl:ato:n</td>
<td>wat</td>
<td>wat</td>
<td>*bat:o:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109. wake up (vi)</td>
<td>vewika</td>
<td>owek</td>
<td></td>
<td>*ewika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110. want (vt)</td>
<td>vem:an:</td>
<td>-aman</td>
<td></td>
<td>*em:an:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111. wasp</td>
<td>witelowaga</td>
<td></td>
<td>lawoyk</td>
<td>*lowoyca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112. we</td>
<td>oqom:</td>
<td>qomi</td>
<td>qomi</td>
<td>*oq:om:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113. wing</td>
<td>vab:a</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td></td>
<td>*ab:a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114. winter, cold</td>
<td>vwtam:</td>
<td>atom</td>
<td></td>
<td>*wt:om:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115. woman, wife</td>
<td>iwa:lo</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>owa</td>
<td>*uwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?alo</td>
<td>alo (woman, female)</td>
<td>*alo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116. womb</td>
<td>vgel:e</td>
<td>awel</td>
<td></td>
<td>*agel:e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117. you (sg)</td>
<td>aqa:m:i</td>
<td></td>
<td>qamid</td>
<td>*aq:a(:)m:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118. you (pl)</td>
<td>aqa:m:i</td>
<td>qami</td>
<td>qamidi</td>
<td>*aq:a(:)m:i-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Kadiwéu</td>
<td>Toba</td>
<td>Mocovi</td>
<td>Waikurúan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119. 1sg active</td>
<td>j- '1sg agent subject'</td>
<td>s- '1sg agent subject'</td>
<td>s- '1sg agent subject'</td>
<td>*d'v-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120. 2sg active</td>
<td>a-...-i '2sg agent subject'</td>
<td>?a(w)- '2sg agent subject'</td>
<td></td>
<td>*a- (or *ω)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121. 3sg active</td>
<td>y- '3sg agent subject'</td>
<td>i- ~ d- '3sg agent subject'</td>
<td>i- ~ d- '3sg agent subject'</td>
<td>*i- ~ d:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122. 1pl active</td>
<td>j-...-Ga '1pl agent subject'</td>
<td>s-...-G '1pl agent subject'</td>
<td>s-...-G '1pl agent subject'</td>
<td>*d'v-...-G:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123. 2pl active</td>
<td>a-...-i '2pl agent subject'</td>
<td>qa(w)-...-i '2pl agent subject'</td>
<td>Ø-...-(i)i '2pl agent subject'</td>
<td>*a-...-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124. 3pl active</td>
<td>o-...- '3pl agent subject'</td>
<td>i- ~ d-...-d '3pl agent subject'</td>
<td>i- ~ d-...-d '3pl agent subject'</td>
<td>*i- ~ d:-...-ed:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125. 1sg inactive</td>
<td>i-d- '1sg object'</td>
<td>j- (&lt;id&gt;) '1sg nonagent subject, 1sg object'</td>
<td>j- (&lt;id&gt;) '1sg nonagent subject,'</td>
<td>*id:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126. 2sg inactive</td>
<td>a-d- '2sg object'</td>
<td>?ad- '2sg nonagent subject, 2sg object, 2sg possessive'</td>
<td></td>
<td>*ad:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127. 3sg inactive</td>
<td>n- '3sg nonagent subject'</td>
<td>n- '3sg nonagent subject'</td>
<td></td>
<td>*l- ~ *n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l- '3sg possessive'</td>
<td>l- '3sg possessive'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128. 1pl inactive</td>
<td>Go-d- '1pl object'</td>
<td>qad- '1pl possessive'</td>
<td>qad-...(-aG) '1pl nonagent subject'</td>
<td>*God:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Go(d:)- '1pl possessive'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129. 2pl inactive</td>
<td>Ga-d- '2pl object'</td>
<td>qad- '2pl nonagent subject, 2pl possessive'</td>
<td>qad- '2pl nonagent subject'</td>
<td>*Gad:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qo- '2pl possessive'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130. 3pl inactive</td>
<td>l- '3pl possessive'</td>
<td>n-...-d '3pl nonagent subject'</td>
<td>n-...-e'd '3pl nonagent subject'</td>
<td>*l- ~ *n-...-ed:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l-...-d '3pl possessive'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

Comparative lexicon of Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu. Table 1 shows 44 words and sentences phonetically transcribed illustrating the differences between Noble and Non-noble Kadiwéu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Non-noble Kadiwéu</th>
<th>Noble Kadiwéu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. man</td>
<td>Gonel:i:e: giwa?</td>
<td>a:i(^{H}) gi(^{L}) na(^{M})Ga(^{R})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. my hand</td>
<td>i-b:á:Gadi?</td>
<td>i-b:a(^{H}) a(^{L}) Ga(^{M})di(^{R})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. my eye</td>
<td>i-gé:k:o+Gé? (compound)</td>
<td>i-ge(^{H}) k:o(^{L})+Ge(^{M}) e(^{R}) (compound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. my shoes</td>
<td>i-we: i:a+ce-di?</td>
<td>i-we(^{H}) c(^{L}) la(^{M})ic(^{R}) -di?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. my job</td>
<td>?i-b:á:q:edi?</td>
<td>i-ba(^{H}) a(^{L}) q:e(^{M})di(^{R})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. water</td>
<td>n i y: Godi</td>
<td>n i(^{H}) iy(^{L}) Go(^{M})di(^{R})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. because</td>
<td>lè: Godi?</td>
<td>le:(^{H}) c(^{L}) Go(^{M}) di(^{R})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tree</td>
<td>ny:ál:ce?</td>
<td>ni(^{H}) i(^{L}) ya(^{M})iloc(^{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. boy</td>
<td>ni-g:a:nig:i?</td>
<td>ni-g:a(^{H})a(^{L}) ni(^{M})g:i?(^{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. earrings</td>
<td>ni-g:e-g:i?</td>
<td>ni-g:e(^{H})e(^{L}) -g:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. my bracelet</td>
<td>Gat:éleg:i?</td>
<td>ib:a(^{H})a(^{L}) Go(^{M})te(^{L}) je(^{M})g:i?(^{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. good afternoon</td>
<td>è:te Gök:idi?</td>
<td>è: (^{H}) i(^{L}) a(^{H})o(^{L}) wi(^{M})i(^{R})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. greeting to a man</td>
<td>i-n-yot:á: god:i?</td>
<td>i-ni-wa: (^{H})a(^{L}) go(^{M})d:i?(^{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. greeting to a woman</td>
<td>i-n-yot:á: god:o?</td>
<td>i-ni-wa: (^{H})a(^{L}) go(^{M})d:o?(^{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. greeting to a girl</td>
<td>i-n-yot:á: god:oa: o:wa: na?</td>
<td>i-ni-wa: (^{H})a(^{L}) go(^{M})d:o(^{L}) a(^{M})o(^{L}) wa(^{M})na?(^{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. greeting to a boy</td>
<td>i-n-yot:á: goti:oa: o:wa: n:ig:i?</td>
<td>i-ni-wa: (^{H})a(^{L}) go(^{M})d:a(^{L}) o(^{L}) wa(^{L}) o(^{M}) ni(^{M})g:i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. leaves (the tree’s hair)</td>
<td>ny:ál:e lám:odi?</td>
<td>ni(^{H})i:ya(^{M}) i(^{L}) la(^{H})a(^{M})o(^{L})di(^{R})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. sugar cane</td>
<td>náyog:o?</td>
<td>na(^{H})a(^{L}) yo(^{M})g:o?(^{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. way</td>
<td>náy:g:i?</td>
<td>na(^{H})a(^{L}) i(^{L}) y(^{M})g:i?(^{L})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20. my mouth  i-ny:ól:adiʔ  i-ny:ól:adiʔ
23. my uncle  i-n-č:odi  i-n-c:odi
24. my brother  i-n-y:ó:cu:ia  a:gi:na:Gai:0
25. my sister  i-n-iwá:lo  i-n-iwá:lo
26. my house/my village  i-Géladiʔ  i-ge:0:le:Gdi:0
27. roof (my house's hair)  i-Géladi lám:odiʔ  i-Géladi lám:odiʔ
28. my son's toy  i-y:ò:nig:i  i-y:ò:nig:i
29. my teacher (man)  i-n-č:inGəd̚iʔ  i-n-č:inGəd̚iʔ
30. my teacher (woman)  i-n-č:inGod̚oʔ  i-n-č:inGod̚oʔ
31. my belt  i-ni-gw:énGadi  i-ni-go:Gdi:Wdi:0
32. I will take him back  ej:igo  i-nop:ilGadıt:ed:0
33. I will drink  ej:igo  ja:la:a:q:a:Ma:0
34. I  e:j:0  a:0
35. you  áq:a:m:-i  a:0:a:m:-i
36. Oh boy! Don't go way!  Ję:tęy!  nGóp:il-i!
37. Work!  a-bá:?!  a-ba:0-a:0:0!
38. I will cook  ej:igo  J-Go:0:0:0:0
39. I order it  -y:ìGeʔ  J-ì:Ge:0:0
40. I will kill  -č:owadi  J-ì:c:ødi:0
41. I die  -č:ew  J-ì:c:0
42. my belly  i-y:iʔ  i-c:0
43. He died  i-č:ew  y-č:0
44. my gift  i-n-óGé:di  i-n-óG0:0:0:0:0

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Appendix 3.

DICTIONARY: KADIWEU-ENGLISH-PORTUGUESE

Ve-ab:a
\ten clean
to tirar o pó
\tps verb
\gr unergative
\t\tex Gad:ab:aqeni
\tmr Ga:d:-a:b:a-qen-i
\t\gl \t2pl.OBJ-theme-clean-[-become]-pl
\ten I take out the dust from you
\tpo eu limpo o pó de você
\tex ab:akGegi
\tmr ab:a-g-Gegi
\tl 3pl clean-tel-[-cause]
\ten Lazy
\tpo Preguiçoso

Ve-ab:a
\ten wing
to asa
\tps noun
\tex tab:adi
\tmr l-ab:a-adi
\tl 3POSS-wing-pl
\ten Its wings
\tpo Suas asas

Ve-ab:a-te
\ten loose
to perder
\tps verb
\gr bivalent
\t\tex dab:a-te latobi
\tmr y-d:-ab:a-te l-atobi
\tl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-loose 3POSS-face
\ten His face was lost (expression to mean stupid)
\tpo rosto perdido/estúpido

Ve-ab:i
\ten clean
to limpar
\tps verb
\gr unergative
\t\tex yab:idi
\tmr y-ab:i-d
\tl 3sg.SUBJ-clean-atel
\ten he does cleaning
\tpo ele limpa
\tex Gad:apitGati
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The flour was crushed by a machete.

I will crush flour with a machete.

I eu vou socar a farinha com um machado.

\( n - a c a k o n - G a d - a d i \)
\( a l n b l - p o u n d - [ + c a u s e ] - p l \)
\( t h u n d e r s ( t h e o n e w h i c h m a k e s p o u n d s o m e t h i n g ) \)
\( t r o v e s \)
\( a x M a r i a y a c a k o \)
\( n r a y - a c a k o n \)
\( g l M a r y 3 s g . S U B J - p o u n d \)
\( M a r y h i t P e t e r \)
\( g l M a r y s o c o u P e d r o \)
\( n r a y - a c a k o n y - a c a k o n \)
\( a l n b l - m a c h e t e \)
\( a l n b l - m a c h e t e \)

The flour was crushed by a machete.

I will crush flour with a machete.

I eu vou socar a farinha com um machado.

\( a c a p o \)
\( a c a q a w a \)
\( a c a w : a \)

Help

I help

I ajudo

I verb

I bivalent

I help himself

I ele se ajuda
Ve -aciGa
Ven axilla
opo sovaco
ips noun
lex e-ciGa-taki
urm e-aciGa-taki
egl IND-axilla-pl
ven axillas
opo axillas

Ve -aciGamin
Ven chew
opo mastigar
ips verb
agr bivalent
lex jaciGaminGa
urm j-aciGamin-Ga
egl 1sg.SUBJ-chew-pl
ven we chew it
opo nós o mastigamos

Ve -acO
Ven go down
opo descer
ips verb
agr unaccusative
lex id:acoGa
urm j-d:-aco-d-Ga
egl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-go.down-atel-pl
ven we go down
opo nós descemos
lex id:acodití
urm j-d:-aco-d-tí
egl 1s-theme-go.down-atel-[-cause]
estairs
ven I go down the stairs
opo eu desço a escada

Ve -aco
Ven go up
opo subir
ips verb
agr unergative
lex jacoditíbigi
urm j-acO-d-t+bigim
egl 1sg.SUBJ-go.up-atel-rel+upward
ven I go up
opo Eu subo
lex jacoditekoko
urm j-acodit+t+e-lokom
egl 1sg.SUBJ-go.up-rel+3sg.CL-allative
ven I bestride the horse
opo Eu monte no cavalo


\text{Ve} - acopan
\text{ten} kidney
\text{po} rim
\text{ps} noun
\text{ex} God:acopani
\text{mr} God:-acopan-i
\text{gl} 1pl.POSS-kidney-pl
\text{ten} our kidneys
\text{po} nossos rims

\text{Ve} - ad:ego
\text{ten} grass
\text{po} grama/capim
\text{ps} nominal root
\text{ex} yel:igo \text{nad:ego:go}
\text{mr} y-el:igo \text{n-ad:ego:go}
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-eat alnbi-grass-pl
\text{ten} He is eating grass
\text{po} Ele está comendo capim

\text{Ve} - ad:ce
\text{ten} swell
\text{po} inchar
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} unergative
\text{ex} i-Gon:agi \text{nad:e:di} \text{le:Godi nel:otagi}
\text{mr} i-Gon:agi \text{y-n-ad:e:di} \text{le:Godi n-el:ot-agin}
\text{gl} 3POSS-foot 3sg.SUBJ-hither-swell-atel because alnb-sick+person
\text{ten} My foot is swelling because of sickness
\text{po} Meu pé está inchando por causa de doença

\text{Ve} - ad:eg
\text{ten} bring
\text{po} trazer
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} bivalent
\text{ex} nad:e:gi
\text{mr} y-n-ad:e:gi
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-hither-bring
\text{ten} He brings it
\text{po} Ele o traz
\text{ex} dinad:e:gi
\text{mr} y-d:-ad:e:gi
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-bring
\text{ten} He is guided
\text{po} Ele é guiado

\text{Ve} - ad:ilon
\text{ten} dry
\text{po} secar
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} bivalent
\text{ex} id:nad:ilonGa
\text{mr} j-d:-n-a:ilon-Ga

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\text{lpl.SBJ-theme-dry-pl}
\text{en we dry ourselves}
\text{nós nos seca\'mos}

\text{-ad:il:a}
\text{en borrow}
\text{emprestar}
\text{verb}
\text{bivalent}
\text{onad-il:a latopenig:i}
\text{o-y-n-ad-il:a l-atope-nig:i}
\text{pl-3pl.SBJ-hither-borrow 3POSS-gun-dim}
\text{They borrowed a gun}
\text{Eles emprestaram uma arma}

\text{-adinana}
\text{en start}
\text{principiar}
\text{verb}
\text{unaccusative}
\text{id:adinana}
\text{j-d:-adinana}
\text{1sg.SBJ-theme-start}
\text{eu começo}

\text{-ado}
\text{en spill}
\text{derramar}
\text{verb}
\text{bivalent}
\text{jad:otineki niy:ogodi gopa}
\text{j-ad:o-t-\text{n}+\text{k} n-iyogodi gopa}
\text{1sg.SBJ-spill-rel-downward+3sg.CL-allative abl:water-pl cup}
\text{I spill water in the cup}
\text{derramo águ\text{\~a} no copo}

\text{-adon}
\text{en marry}
\text{casar-se}
\text{verb}
\text{unergative}
\text{jad:onaGa}
\text{j-ad:ona-Ga}
\text{1sg.SBJ-marry-pl}
\text{we marry}
\text{nós nos casamos}

\text{-ael:ce}
\text{en be good/adequate}
\text{ser bom/adequado}
\text{verb}
\text{unergative}
\text{ael:etGadomi}
Ve -aGae
ven happen
po acontecer
ps verb
gr unaccusative
ex id:aGae:
mr j-d-aGae:
gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-happen
ven It happened to me
po Aconteceu

Ve -aGel:egi
ven haul
po arrastar-se/engatinar
ps verb
gr unergative
ex Tiago ja aneGel:egi
mr Tiago ja ane+y-aGel:egi
gl Tiago compl relative+3sg.SUBJ-haul
ven Tiago is already hauling
po Tiago já está engatinhando

Ve -agGi
ven forget
po esquecer
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex oyagGitibig
mr o-y-agGi+i+big
gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-forget-rel+intensive
ven they forgot it a lot
po eles se esqueceram disto bastante
ex dinagGidi
mr y-d-n-agGi-d
gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-forget-atel
ven it was forgotten
po isso foi esquecido

Ve -agia
ven person
po pessoa
ps noun
gr aginaGa
ex agin-Ga
mr person-pl
ml man
o only used by women
Me aGokidi
en afternoon
opo tarde
ps noun
gr free form
va awii
q used only by women
ex jGawii
umr jG+awii
gl compl-afternoon
en It is already afternoon
opo Já é de tarde

Me ajaga-
en third-person pronoun
opo pronome pessoal de terceira pessoa
ex Gonet:c:giwa ajaga
nGajo iwal:o jGopitibeke
umr Gonet:c:giwa ajaga-a-jo
nGajo iwal:o jG+opil-t+t-g-k
GL man 3PRONOUN-fem-going DEM woman compl+go-rel-3sg.CL-allative
en the man went away with this woman herself
opo este homem foi embora com esta mulher mesmo

Me -aji
en fat
opo gordura
ps noun
ex ajyakal:o
umr aji-akal:o
GL fat-person
en Pessoa Gorda
opo Fat person
ex inajidi
umr i-n-aji-adi
GL 1POSS-alnbl-fat-pl
en My fat
opo Minha gordura

Me -ajigo
en give
opo dar
ps verb
GR bivalent
ex jajigota lib:te Joao
umr j-ajigo-t+t+wa l:b:ole John
GL 1sg.SUBJ give-rel+3sg.CL-dative 3POSS-meat John
en I give the meat to John
opo Eu dou a carne para o Joao
ex Paulo jajigota wa:ka
umr Paulo j-ajigo-t+t+wa wa:ka
GL Paulo 1sg.SUBJ give-rel+3sg.CL-dative cow
en I give the cow to Paulo
opo Eu entrego a vaca para o Paulo
\text{ex wa:ka} \text{ dinu:jigota} \quad \text{Paulo}

\text{\textless mr wa:ka} \text{ y-d:n-ajigo-t+e-wa} \quad \text{Paulo}

\text{\textless gl cow} \quad 3\text{sg.SUBL-theme-hither-give-rel+3sg.CL-dative} \text{ Paulo}

\text{\textless en the cow was given to Paulo}

\text{\textless po a vaca foi entregue para Paulo}

\text{\textless ex Paulo eo} \quad \text{Joao me} \quad \text{yajigota} \quad \text{wa:ka}

\text{\textless mr Paulo y-aon} \quad \text{John me} \quad \text{y-ajigo-t+e-wa} \quad \text{wa:ka}

\text{\textless gl Paulo 3\text{sg.SUBL-make} John COMP 3\text{sg.SUBL-give-rel+3\text{sg.CL-dative}} cow}

\text{\textless en Paulo made John give him the cow}

\text{\textless po Paulo fez Joao entregar a vaca para ele}

\text{\textless ex najigotGowa}

\text{\textless mr n-ajigo-t+Go-wa}

\text{\textless gl 3\text{pl.SUBL-give-rel+1\text{pl.CL-dative}}}

\text{\textless en they give it to us}

\text{\textless po eles nos dao isso}

\text{\textlessVe - ajike}

\text{\textless en chin}

\text{\textless po queixo}

\text{\textless ps nominal root}

\text{\textless ex ejike}

\text{\textless mr e-ajike}

\text{\textless gl IND-chin}

\text{\textless en Chin}

\text{\textless po Queixo}

\text{\textlessVe - ajim}

\text{\textless en ash}

\text{\textless po cinzas}

\text{\textless ps nominal root}

\text{\textless ex lajimaGa}

\text{\textless mr l-ajim-Ga}

\text{\textless gl 3\text{FOSS-ash-pl}}

\text{\textless en ashes}

\text{\textless po cinzas}

\text{\textlessVe - ajipa}

\text{\textless en hear}

\text{\textless po ouvir}

\text{\textless ps verb}

\text{\textless gr unergative}

\text{\textless ex wajipa}

\text{\textless mr w-ajipa}

\text{\textless gl 3\text{sg.SUBL-hear}}

\text{\textless en He hears}

\text{\textless po Ele ouve}

\text{\textless ex jajipata} \quad \text{nayagGegi}

\text{\textless mr j-ajipat+t+e-wa} \quad \text{n-ayag-Gegi}

\text{\textless gl 1\text{sg.SUBL-rel+3\text{sg.CL-dative} anini-make.noise-[-cause]}}

\text{\textless en I listens to a noise}

\text{\textless po Eu escuto um barulho}
Ve - ajo

len tool

 hoje ferramenta/instrumento

 fp noun

 lex najol:i miw:i:Ga

 unl a-ajo-1:i me+i-wi:-Ga

 gl alnbi-tool-pl COMP+1POSS-hunt-pl

 len hunt tools

 fre instrumentos de caça

Ve - aloy

 len advice

 hoje aconselhar

 fp verb

 gr bivalent

 lex dinajoy

 unl y-d:-n-ajoy

 gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-advice

 len he advices himself

 fre ele se aconselha

Ve - aka

 len move

 hoje mover-se

 fp verb

 gr unergative

 lex jakaGatiw

 unl j-aka-Ga-t+tw

 gl 1sg.SUBJ-move-pl-rel+inward

 len We move/go into

 hoje Entramos

 lex jakatiweki di:m:i:gi

 unl j-aka+t-w-e-k di:m:i:gi

 gl 1sg.SUBJ-move-rel+inward+3sg.CL-allative house

 len I go into the house

 fre eu entro na casa

Ve -akacin

 len sneeze

 hoje espirrar

 fp verb

 gr unergative

 lex jakacinGa

 unl j-akacin-Ga

 gl 1sg.SUBJ-sneeze-pl

 len we sneeze

 hoje nós espirramos

Ve -akakodiwa

 len rice

 hoje arroz

 fp noun

 lex inakakodiwaGa
mr i-n-akakodiwa-Ga
\gl 1POSS-akibi-rice-pl
\en my rice
\po meu arroz

Ve skaligita
\en rubber
\po borracha
\ps noun
\free form

Ve -akib
\en thirsty
\po sede
\ps noun
\lex id:el:owadi ekibi
\mr j-d:-el:owad e-akib
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-kill IND-thirsty
\en I am thirsty
\po eu estou com sede
\lex God:el:owadi ekibi
\mr Go-d:-el:owad e-akib
\gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-kill IND-thirsty
\en we are thirsty
\po nós estamos com sede
\lex God:akipGadi
\mr God:-akib-Gad
\gl 1pl.POSS-thirsty-[+cause]
\en our drink
\po nossa bebida

Ve -akilo
\en head
\po cabeça
\ps nominal root
\lex ekilo
\mr e-akilo
\gl IND-head
\en Somebody's head
\po Cabeça de alguém
\lex bey:agi lakilo
\mr beyagi l-akilo
\gl bad 3POSS-head
\en His head is bad
\po Sua cabeça está ruim/ Transtornado

Ve -akipe
\en drink
\po beber
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\lex jakipe
\mr j-akipe
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-drink
I drink
Eu bebo

akig
miserly
avarento
nom
free form

-ako
groin
po virilha
nominal root
lakoi
1ako-li
3POSS-groin-pl
Hi groin
A virilhas dele
icagodi nakoi
icagodi n-ako-li
red  albl-GROIN-pl
sp. frog

alaGate
climb up
po escalar
verb
unergetic
ja:ajaGateGa
j-alaGate-Ga
1sg.SUBJ-climb-pl
We climb up
Nós escalamos/subimos
nalaGate
n-alaGate
albl-clim
Mountain/Hills
Montanha/Serra/Morro

aleka
shave
barbear-se
verb
bivalent
d:ekaGa
j-d:-n-aleka-Ga
1sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-shave-pl
We shave ourselves
Nós nos barbeamos
Ue - alen:a
\en cheat
\po enganar
\ps verbal root
\gr bivalent
\ex jalen:aGa
\mr j-alen:a-Ga
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-cheat-pl
\en We cheat him
\po Nós o enganamos

Ue - alig
\en dig
\po cavar
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex anal:i kitomi
\mr a-n-alig-i-1+i-dom
\gl 2sg.SUBJ-hither-dig-pl-rel+1sg.CL-benefactive
\en You dig for me
\po Você cava para mim

Ue - aliGo
\en hit
\po atingir
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex yopista na nal:iGo nged:yo:go
\mr i-opite-na y-n-aliGo n-ged:yog:o
\gl IPOS-arrow-f.dim 3sg.SUBJ-hither-hit alnbl-jaguar
\en My arrow hit a jaguar
\po Minha flecha atingiu a onça

Ue - alodGa:
\en tobacco
\po tabaco
\ps noun
\ex nalodGa:di
\mr n-alodGa:-adi
\gl alnbl-tobacco-pl

Ue - alokon
\en swim
\po nadar
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex jalokonGa
\mr j-alokon-Ga
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-swim-pl
\en we swim
\po nós nadamos
\verb|Ve -alomae|  \n|en read|  
|\verb|\po ler|  
|\verb|\ps verb|  
|\verb|\gr bivalent|  
|\verb|\lex yalomaeteloko|  \n|\verb|liwaqate|  
|\verb|\mr y-alomae+t+e-lokom|  \n|\verb|liwaqate|  
|\verb|\gl 3sg.SUBJ-read-rel+3sg.CL-allative 3POSS-letter|  
|\n|\en He read his letter|  
|\po Ele leu a sua carta|  
|\verb|\lex yalomaetema|  \n|\verb|Joao nGajo latanaGaci|  
|\verb|\mr y-alomae+t+e-ma|  \n|\verb|John nGajo lotanGaci|  
|\verb|\gl 3sg.SUBJ-read-rel+3sg.CL-benefactive John DEM 3POSS-book-classifier|  
|\n|\en He read this book for John|  
|\po Ele leu esta livro para Joao|  

\verb|\Ve -alwećiw|  
|\en insist|  
|\po insistir|  
|\ps verb|  
|\verb|\gr unaccusative|  
|\verb|\lex id:alwećiw:ibige|  
|\verb|\mr j-d-alwećiw-t+bige|  
|\verb|\gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-insist-rel+intensive|  
|\n|\en I insist|  
|\po Eu insisto|  

\verb|\Ve -a:l-a|  
|\en recall|  
|\po lembrar|  
|\ps verb|  
|\verb|\gr unergative|  
|\verb|\lex anal:akitibiGogitiwaji|  
|\verb|\mr a-n-al-a-g-i+t-b-Go-gi-t-waji|  
|\verb|\gl 2sg.SUBJ-hither-recall-tel-pl+rel-intensive-1pl.CL-goal-rel+pl|  
|\n|\en Remember us always you all|  
|\po Sempre lembre-se de nós|  
|\verb|\lex Gad:alaqe|  
|\verb|\mr Ga-d-a:l-a-qen|  
|\verb|\gl 2pl.OBJ-theme-recall-\{become\}|  
|\n|\en He remembers you|  
|\po Ele se lembra de você|  

\verb|\Ve -a:l-aqa|  
|\en hit with something flexible|  
|\po bater com alguma coisa flexível|  
|\ps verb|  
|\verb|\gr bivalent|  
|\verb|\lex jal-aqa|  
|\verb|\mr j-a:l-aqa|  
|\verb|\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hit|  
|\n|\en I hit him|  
|\po Eu bato nele|  
|\verb|\lex dinal:aq}
mr y-d-n-al:aqa
$gl$ 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-hit
$en$ He hits himself
$po$ Ele se bate
$ex$ id:a:aqa
$mr$ i-d-al:aqa
$gl$ 1sg.OBJ-theme-hit
$en$ I was hit
$po$ Bateram-me

Ve -afia
$en$ burn
$po$ queimar
$ps$ verbal root
$gr$ bivalent
$ex$ dinat:egi
$mr$ y-d-n-al:e-g
$gl$ 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-burn-atel
$en$ It burns itself
$po$ Isso se queima sozinho
$ex$ aqa:m:i jGal:eki
$mr$ aqa:m:i jG-a-al:e-g-i
$gl$ 2PRONOUN compl-2pl.SUBJ-burn-atel-pl
$en$ You burn it
$po$ Você o queima
$ex$ anal:ekGegi
$mr$ ane+ale-g-Gegi
$gl$ relative+burn-atel-[-cause]
$en$ sp. ant (burnee)
$po$ Formiga coração

Ve -afien
$en$ heart
$po$ coração
$ps$ noun
$ex$ God:al:enGa
$mr$ God:al:en-Ga
$gl$ 1pl.POSS-heart-pl
$en$ Our hearts
$po$ Nossos corações

Ve -afipe
$en$ sharp
$po$ afiar
$ps$ verbal root
$gr$ unaccusative
$ex$ dal:epe lim:i:go
$mr$ y-d-alepe l-m:i:go
$gl$ 3sg.SUBJ-theme-sharp 3POSS-blade
$en$ Its blade is sharp
$po$ Sua ponta está afiada
$ex$ ya:epeGadi lod:a:jo
$mr$ y-alepe-Gad lod:da:jo
$gl$ 3sg.SUBJ-sharp- [+cause] 3POSS-knife
He sharpened his knife
Ele afiou a sua faca
lal:epGigo
l-al-ep-Gigo
3POSS-sharp-[become]
cactus
cactus

Me ari:ge
sun
sol
noun
free form

-x like
en well
po poço
noun
yat:ike
mr i-al:ike
1pl.POSS-well
my well

Me -al:ike
en wait
po esperar
verb
ur unergative
ja:i:Ga
mr j-al:i:-Ga
1sg.SUBJ-wait-pl
en We wait

Nós esperamos
ali:yodi me ja:i:ta
mr ci:yodi me j-al:i:-t+o-wa
lot COMP 1sg.SUBJ-wait-rel+3sg.CL-dative
en I have been waiting for him a lot

po Tenho esperado muito por ele
owal:i:
mr o-w-al:i:
pl-3sg.SUBJ-wait
en They wait
po Eles esperam

-x:lo
en run away
po correr
verb
bivalent
c:oditibigimeki
y-alo-d-i+bigim+c-k
3sg.SUBJ-run-atel-rel+3sg.CL-inessive alnbl-mountain
en He ran him away to the mountain

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Ele o tocou para a montanha

po brincar/festejar

verb

They play around

They play around

Party

Festa

bulldozer

finish

completar/acabar

verb

bivalent

yokodi

j-al-ya-kon-d

1sg.SUBJ-finish-atel

I finished

acabei

toy

brinquedo

noun

na

n-am

alinh-t-yoy

toy

brinquedo

nami:idi
\mr n-am-di
\gl alabl-toy-pl
\en toys
\po brinquedos

\ve -ama
\en finish
\po acabar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex jam:a
\mr j-ama
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-fin\ish
\en I am finishing it
\po Estou terminando isso

\ve -amaGa
\en push
\po empurrar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex jamaGateloko balo:te name:ja
\mr j-amaGa+t+e-lokom balo:te name:ja
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-push-rel+3sg.CL-allative wall table
\en I push the table against the wall
\po Eu empurro a mesa em direção da parede

\ve -am:aGa
\en push
\po empurrar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex jam:aGa
\mr j-am:aGa
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-push
\en I push it
\po Eu o empurro

\ve -am:e
\en play
\po brincar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex niga:nig:i yam:e la
\mr n-iga::nig:i y-am:e l-am
\gl alabl-child-m.dim 3sg.SUBJ-play 3POSS-toy
\en The boy plays with the toy
\po A criança brinca com o brinquedo
\[ V_e \text{ - am:}\text{i} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - antepassado} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - ancestry} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - noun} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - God: - ami-pi} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - God: - ami-pi} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - 1 pl. POSS - ancestor - pl} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - Our ancestors} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - Nosso antepassados} \]

\[ V_e \text{ - am:}\text{o} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - hair} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - cabelo} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - noun} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - em:odi} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - e: adi} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - IND - hair - pl} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - Somebody's hair} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - O cabelo de alguém} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - apaqan:igo} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - lam:odi} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - apaqa-nitogo} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - 1 - am: o - adi} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - rhe: class - classifier} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - 3 POSS - hair - pl} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - the rhea's feather} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - pena de ema} \]

\[ V_e \text{ - am: o Go} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - dust} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - pó} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - noun} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - free form} \]

\[ V_e \text{ - ana} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - sell} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - vender} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - verb} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - bivalente} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - dinana} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - y - d - n - ana} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - 3 s - theme - refl - sell} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - He sells himself} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - Ele se vende} \]

\[ V_e \text{ - ane} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - come} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - vir} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - verb} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - 1 energetic} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - janega Ga} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - j - ane - G - Ga} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - 1 sg. SUBJ - come - tel - pl} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - we come} \]
\[ V_e \text{ - nós viemos} \]
\en we arrive
\po nós chegamos

\en -aom
\en make
\po fazer
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex jaotGadomi Gawateke
\mr j-aom-t+Ga-dom-i Gad:-wateke
\gl Is-MAKE+rel-2cl-benefactive 2POSS-boat
\en I made a boat for you
\po Eu fiz uma canoa para você
\ex jaotema liwateke
\mr j-aom-t+e-ma l-wateke
\gl 1sg.SBJ-make-rel+3sg.CL-benefactive 3POSS-boat 3POSS-boat
\en I made a boat for him
\po Eu fiz uma canoa para ele

\en -apa
\en beeswax
\po cera de abelha
\ps noun
\ex lapa
\mr l-apa
\gl 3POSS-beeswax
\en its beeswax
\po sua cera

\en -apal:ite
\en machete
\po machado
\ps noun
\ex napal:ite
\mr n-apal:ite
\gl alabl-machete
\en machete
\po machado

\en -apal:wa
\en mud
\po barro
\ps noun
\ex napal:waGa
\mr n-apal:wa-Ga
\gl alabl-mud-pl
\en pottery
\po cerâmica
Ve apaqa
\en rhea
\po ema
\ps noun
\ex apaqa:igo
\mr apaqa-nigo
\gl rhea-animal
\en rhea
\po ema

Ve -apawa
\en yell
\po gritar
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex japawa\Ga
\mr j-apawa-Ga
\gl 1 sg.SSUB-yell-pl
\en we yell
\po nós gritamos
\ex napawa\Ga
\mr n-apawa-Ga
\gl 3 pl.SSUB-yell-pl
\en they yell
\po eles gritam

Ve-apa:Gate
\en lice/ear
\po piotho/orelha
\ps noun
\ex i-napa\Ga:te
\mr i-n-apapa\Ga:te
\gl 1 POSS-alnbl-lice
\en My lice/ear
\po Meu piotho/orelha

Ve -api
\en smoke
\po fumar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex japikon\Ga
\mr j-api-kon-Ga
\gl 1 sg.SSUB-smoke-[become]-pl
\en We smoke
\po Nós fumamos
\ex japi \quad jiga:a\lo
\mr j-api \quad jiga:l\o
\gl 1 sg.SSUB-smoke cigarette
\en I smoke cigarette
\po Eu fumo cigarro
ören sweet potato
po batata doce

æe -apo
æm group
po grupo
ps noun
æx lapogo
æmr l-apo-g-o
ægl 3POSS-group-pl
æm His group/class
po Seu grupo/class

æe apopa
æc sp. fish
po dourado
ps noun
æc Salminus maxiliosus
ægr free form

æe -apwa
æm hole
po furo
ps noun
æx japwaqè
æmr j-apwa-qa-n
ægl 1sg.SUBJ-hole-[-become]-wood
æm I pierce the wood
po Eu estou furando a madeira
æx God:apwaGen:ig:i
æmr God:-apwa-Gen:-nig:i
ægl 1pl.POSS-hole-[-become]-m.dim
æm our bodyguard
po nosso guarda-costas

æe -apyoy
æm dirty
po sujeira
ps noun
æx napyoy
æmr n-apyoy
ægl anbl-dirty
æm dirty
po sujeira

æe -aqa
æm find
po encontrar/achar
ps verb
ægr bivalent
æx dinaqadi
æmr y-d:-n-aqa-d
ægl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-find-atel
æm It was found
Po isso foi achado
\ex  jaqata\Ga
\mr j-aqa-d-Ga
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-find-atel-pl
\en we find it
\po nós o achamos
\ex jaqadi  loGo:jen:igo
\mr j-aqa-d  lGo:je-nigo
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-find-atel jabuti-classifier
\en I found a jabuti
\po Eu achei um jabuti
\ex dinaqadi  loGo:jen:igo
\mr y-d-n-aqa-d  lGo:je-nigo
\en 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-find-atel  jabuti-classifier
\po O jaboti foi achado
\ex jaqata\Ga  ditibigmed:i di:m:igi
\mr j-aqa-d-Ga  di:t+bigim+e-d: di:m:igi
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-find-atel-pl locative-rel+upward+3sg.CL-theme house
\en I found it on the top of the house
\po Eu o achei em cima da casa

\le -aqad
\en chin
\po queixo
\ps nominal root
\ex God:aqadi
\mr God:-aqad
\gl 1p.POSS-chin
\en Our chin
\po Nosso queixo

\le -aqag
\en squat
\po abaixar-se
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\ex id:aqak\Ga
\mr j-d-aqag-Ga
\gl 1s-theme-LOWER-pl
\en We squat
\po Nós nos abaixamos

\le -aqage
\en cut
\po cortar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex dinaqageta\Ga
\mr y-d-n-aqage-d-Ga
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-cut-atel-pl
\en They cut themselves
\po Eles se cortam
\ex oyaqagedi
\mr o-y-aqage-d
\gl plural-3sg.SUBJ-cut-atel
\en They cut it
\po Eles o cortam
\lex oyakagedi la:d;i
\lmr o-y-akage-d l-a:d;i
\gl pl-3sg.SUBJ-cut-atel 3POSS-breathe
\en He cuts his breathe
\po Ele corta a respiracao

\me -aqape
\en meet
\po encontrar
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\lex jaqapeGagi
\lmr j-aqape-t-Ga-gi
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-meet-rel+2sg.CL-goal
\en I meet you
\po Eu encontro com você
\lex jaqapeGagei
\lmr j-aqape-Ga-t+e-gi
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-meet-pl-rel+3sg.CL-goal
\en We meet him
\po Nós encontramos com ele

\me -aqape
\en be hard/expensive
\po custar caro/estar duro
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\lex daqape
\lmr y-d--aqape
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hard
\en It is expensive/hard
\po Custa caro/E duro

\me -aqata
\en time/hour/culture/tradition
\po hora/tempo/cultura
\ps noun
\lex jajiqanGa God:aqataGa jotigide
\lmr jaG+j-qan-Ga God-aqata-Ga jotigide
\gl compl+1sg.SUBJ-abandon-pl 1pl.POSS-time-pl old
\en We have abandoned our old traditions
\po Já deixamos de lado nossos costumes antigos

\me aqam:i
\en second-person pronoun
\po pronome pessoal de segunda pessoa
\lex aqam:i icitike
\lmr aqam:i a-ici-t+ke
\gl 2PRONOUN 2sg.SUBJ-swing-rel+outward
\en You swing him
\po Você o balança
lex aq:mu:i  G:dam:u:i
\mr aq:mu:i  G-d:ema:n:i
\tg 2PRONOUN 2sg.OBJ-theme-want-pl
\en He loves you
\po Ele ama você

\le -aq:e:
\en louse
\po piolho
\ps noun
\ex G:daq:di
\mr G-d:aq:-adi
\tg 1pl.POSS-louse-pl
\en Our lice
\po Nossos piolhos

\le aq:di
\en river
\po rio
\ps noun
\fre form

\le -ata:re
\en shine
\po brilhar
\ps verb
\igr unaccusative
\ex datal:e
\mr y-d:-atal:
\tg 3sg.SUBJ-theme-shine
\en It is shining
\po Brilhante

\le -ata:
\en daddy
\po papai
\ps noun
\ex yata:
\mr i:ata:
\tg 1sg.POSS-daddy
\en My daddy
\po Meu papai

\le -atemati
\en tell story
\po contar estória
\ps verb
\igr bivalent
\ex jatemati  natematiqo
\mr j-atemati  n-atemati-qon
\tg 1sg.SUBJ-tell  albl-tell-[become]
\en I tell a story
\po Eu conto uma estória

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Ve-aten:an

\[\text{Ven play music/tell story}\]
\[\text{po tocar música/contar estória}\]
\[\text{ps verb}\]
\[\text{gr unergative}\]
\[\text{ex inaten:a}\]
\[\text{\u00e1mr i-n-aten:an}\]
\[\text{\u00e1gl 1POSS-alnbl-play}\]
\[\text{Ven My flute (music player)}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po Minha flauta}\]
\[\text{\u00e9x jaten:ati naten:anGeGi}\]
\[\text{\u00e1mr j-aten:an-ti n-aten:an-GeGi}\]
\[\text{\u00e1gl 1sg.SUJB-play-[+cause] alnbl-play-[cause]}\]
\[\text{Ven I play music}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po Eu toco música}\]

Ve-ateqGod

\[\text{Ven chest}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po peito}\]
\[\text{\u00e1ps noun}\]
\[\text{\u00e9x yateqGodi}\]
\[\text{\u00e1mr i-ateqGod}\]
\[\text{\u00e1gl 1POSS-chest}\]
\[\text{Ven My chest}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po Meu peito}\]

Ve-ati

\[\text{Ven use}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po usar}\]
\[\text{\u00e1ps verb}\]
\[\text{gr unergative}\]
\[\text{\u00e9x jatit nupalite me jaqagedi}\]
\[\text{\u00e1mr j-ati n-apaPite me j-aqage-d}\]
\[\text{\u00e1gl 1sg.SUJB-use alnbl-machete COMP 1sg.SUJB-cut-atel}\]
\[\text{Ven I use a machete to cut it}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po Eu uso um machado para cortá-lo}\]

Ve-atipa

\[\text{Ven drink}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po beber}\]
\[\text{\u00e1ps verb}\]
\[\text{gr unergative}\]
\[\text{\u00e9x jatipaGa}\]
\[\text{\u00e1mr j-atipa-Ga}\]
\[\text{\u00e1gl 1sg.SUJB-drink-pl}\]
\[\text{Ven We drink}\]
\[\text{\u00e1po Nós bebemos}\]
\textit{Ve-ati:di}
\textit{en tear}
\textit{po lágrima}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{lex eti:di}
\textit{umr e-ati:di}
\textit{gl IND-tear}
\textit{en Somebody's tear}
\textit{po Lágrima de alguém}

\textit{Ve-atobi}
\textit{en face}
\textit{po rosto}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{lex etobi}
\textit{umr e-atobi}
\textit{gl IND-face}
\textit{en Somebody's face}
\textit{po Rosto de alguém}

\textit{Ve-atokolo-o}
\textit{en forehead}
\textit{po testa}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{lex etokolo-o}
\textit{umr e-atokolo-o}
\textit{gl IND-forehead}
\textit{en Somebody's forehead}
\textit{po Testa de alguém}

\textit{Ve-atope}
\textit{en shoot}
\textit{po atirar}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr bivalent}
\textit{lex dinatopedeloko lakilo}
\textit{umr y-d-n-atope-t+e-lokom l-akilo}
\textit{gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-shoot-rel+3sg.CL-allative 3POSS-head}
\textit{en He shot himself in the head}
\textit{po Ele atirou na sua própria cabeça}
\textit{lex inatopenig:i}
\textit{umr i-n-atope-nig:i}
\textit{gl 1POSS-almbl-shoot-m.dim}
\textit{en My gun}
\textit{po Minha arma}
\textit{lex natopena}
\textit{umr n-atope-na}
\textit{gl alnbl-shoot-f.dim}
\textit{en shot}
\textit{po tiro}
\text{Me -ato:}
\text{en} yawn
\text{po} bocejar
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} unergative
\text{ex} jato:Ga
\text{mr} j-ato:-Ga
\text{gl} 1sg.SUBJ-yawn-pl
\text{en} We yawn
\text{po} Nós bocemos

\text{Me -atyam}
\text{en} boil
\text{po} ferver
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} unaccusative
\text{ex} dinatyamGadi
\text{mr} y-d:-atyam-Gad
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-boil-\{+cause\}
\text{en} It was boiled
\text{po} Foi fervido

\text{Me -atyo}
\text{en} rain
\text{po} chover
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} unaccusative
\text{ex} datyodi
\text{mr} y-d:-atyo-d
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-rain-ate\
\text{en} It is raining
\text{po} Está chovendo
\text{ex} jGe\l yodi med:atyodi
\text{mr} jG-\el yodi me+y-d:-atyo-d
\text{gl} compl-lot COMP+3sg.SUBJ-theme-rain-ate\l
\text{en} It has been raining a lot
\text{po} Tem chovido muito

\text{Me -awa}
\text{en} raise
\text{po} suspender
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} unergative
\text{ex} dinawaketibigi
\text{mr} y-d:-n-awa-ken-t-bigim
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-\{+become\}-rel+upward
\text{en} It was raised
\text{po} Isso foi suspendido
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Ve -awan

\l{en} mix
\l{po} misturar
\l{ps} verb
\l{gr} unaccusative
\l{ex} dinawana Gaditegi
\l{mr} y-d-n-awan-Gad+t+e-gi
\l{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-mix- [+cause]-rel+3sg.CL-goal
\l{en} It was mixed with something
\l{po} Misturado

Ve -awae

\l{en} broom
\l{po} floreceu
\l{ps} verb
\l{gr} unaccusative
\l{ex} dawae
\l{mr} y-d-awae
\l{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-broom 3POSS-flower
\l{en} The flower is brooming
\l{po} a flor floreceu/desabrochou

Ve -aweko

\l{en} rib
\l{po} costela
\l{ps} noun
\l{gr} God: aweko
\l{mr} God:-aweko
\l{gl} 1pl.POSS-rib
\l{en} Our rib
\l{po} Nossa costela

Ve -awela

\l{en} scare
\l{po} assustar
\l{ps} verb
\l{gr} unaccusative
\l{ex} God: awela
\l{mr} God:-awela
\l{gl} 1pl.OBJ-theme-scare
\l{en} We are scared
\l{po} Estamos assustados
\l{ex} jawelagadi
\l{mr} j-awela-Gadi
\l{gl} 1sg.SUBJ-scare- [+cause]
\l{en} I scare him
\l{po} Eu o assusto
Me-awen
|en blow
|po soprar
|ps verb
|gr unergative
|ex jawnGa
|mr j-awen-Ga
|gl 1sg.SUBJ-blow-pl
|en We blow
|po Nós sopramos

Me-awíGo
|en buttock
|po nádega/pilao de arroz
|ps noun
|ex lawíGo
|mr l-awíGo
|gl 3POSS-buttock
|en His buttock
|po Sua nádega

Me-awíkije
|en young woman
|po moça
|ps noun
|free form
|ex dinil:to me dinicitedlike awíkije
|mr slow me y-d:-n-ici-t+e-t+ke awíkije
|gl slow COMP 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-swing-refl+3sg.CL.+outward young.woman
|en The young woman swings herself slowly

Me-awí:
|en hunt
|po caçar
|ps verb
|gr unergative
|ex jawi:
|mr j-awi:
|gl 1sg.SUBJ-hunt
|en I hunt
|po Eu caço

Me-awí:gi
|en dance
|po dançar
|ps verb
|gr unergative
|ex nawi:gi
|mr n-awi:gi
|gl 3pl.SUBJ-dance
|en They dance
|po Eles dançam
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-a:di
en breathe
po respiração
ps noun
ex God:a:di
mr God:a:di
gl 1p.POSS-breathe
en Our breathe
po Nossa respiração

-a:le
en breathe
po respirar
ps verb
gr unergative
ex ja:la:Ga
mr j-a:le:Ga
gl 1sg.SUBJ-breathe-pl
en We breathe
po Nós respiramos
ex a:te:tiwaji
mr a-a:le-t+waji
gl 2sg.SUBJ-breathe-rel+pl
en You all breathe
po Vocês todos respiram

-a:IGe
en kidnap
po raptar
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex oy-a:IGe
mr o-y-a:IGe
gl pl-3p.SUBJ-kidnap
en They kidnap him
po Eles o raptam

-a:lo
en flee
po pulga
ps noun
ex na:lo:Go
mr n-a:lo-Ga
gl alnb1-flee-pl
en Flee
po Pulga

-a:lo:Go
en light
po refletir
ps verb
gr unergative
ex na:lo:Go
mr y-n-a:lo:Go
\gl 3sg.SBJ-hither-reflect
\en He lights
\po Ele reflete
\ex ya:loGonGadi
\umr y-a:loGon-Gad
\gl 3sg.SBJ-reflect-\,+cause
\en He set fire
\po Ele pós fogo
\me -a:w:i
\en doubt
\po duvidar
\ps verb
\agr bivalent
\ex oya:w:i
\umr o-y-a:w:i
\gl pl-3pl.SBJ-doubt
\en He doubts it
\po Ele duvida disso
\me bale:te
\en wall
\po pared
\ps noun
\free form
\dn Portuguese
\me bale:ka
\en horse race
\po corrida de cavalos
\ps noun
\free form
\me bale:ke
\en shoe
\po sapato
\ps noun
\free form
\wa aw:el:a
\me -bata
\en body
\po corpo
\ps noun
\ex God:ibata
\umr God:-bata
\gl 1pL.POSS-body
\en Nosso body
\po Our body
\ex Gonibata
\umr God:-n-bata
\gl 1pL.POSS-anabl-body
\en Our cigar
\po Nossa pituca de cigarro
Ve -bayla
Ven dance foreign music
\po dançar música de estrangeiro
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\dn Spanish
\ex jinibayla
\mr j-n-bayla
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-dance
\en We dance
\po Nós dançamos
\ex baylaGegi
\mr bayla-Gegi
\gl dance-[-cause]
\en Dance
\po Dança

Ve bayodi
Ven pepper
\po pimenta
\ps noun
\gr free form

Ve -ba:
Ven make a mistake
\po errar
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex nìba:
\mr n-ba:
\gl 3pl.SUBJ-mistake
\en He made a mistake
\po Ele errou

Ve beyag
Ven bad
\po mau
\ps noun
\gr free form
\ex wawil-e jabeiyagi
\mr wawil-e jGa+beyag
\gl guavira compl+bad
\en The guavira fruit is bad
\po A guavira já está velha/estragada
\ex libeyakGegi
\mr l-beyag-Gegi
\gl 3POSS-bad-[-cause]
\en Ugliness
\po Feitura
\ex abeyakGegi
\mr ane+beyag-Gegi
\gl relative+bad-[-cause]
en furious/bad behaved
po furioso/mau comportado

Ve bejaw
en becan
po feijao
ps noun
dn Portuguese
free form

Ve be:co
en silver/currency
po prata/moeda
ps noun
gr free form
dn Portuguese

Ve bigicena
en cat
po gato
ps noun
free form

Ve bigord:oa
en mustache
po bigode
ps noun
gr free form
dn Portuguese

Ve -bikotan
en measure
po medir
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex God:ibikota
ur Go-d:-bikotan
gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-measure
en We are measured
po Somos medidod
ex nibikotanGanGate
ur n-ibikotan-GanGa-te
gl alnbl-measure-instr-?
en Scale
po Balança

Ve -binyen
en beauty
po beleza
ps noun
ex nig:a:nig:i libinyenig:i
ur n-ig:a:-nig:i l-binye-nig:i
gl alnbl-m.dim 3POSS-beaty-m.dim
en Pretty boy
po Menininho bonitinho
Vi -bitaqa

\l en skeleton
\l po esqueleto
\l ps noun
\l ex libitaqa
\l mr l-bitaqa
\l gl 3POSS-skeleton
\l en His skeleton
\l po Seu esqueleto

\l en bid farewell
\l po despedir-se
\l ps verb
\l gr unaccusative
\l ex id:ib:ode
\l mr j-d:bo:de
\l gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-bid.farewell
\l en I bid farewell
\l po Eu me despeço

\l en boliko
\l en donkey
\l po asno
\l ps noun
\l free form
\l \dn Portuguese
\l \wa em:adi

\l en enjoy
\l po aproveitar/desfrutar
\l ps verb
\l gr bivalent
\l ex dinib:loyte
\l mr y-d:n-boloyte
\l gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-enjoy
\l en He enjoys himself
\l po El se apreciam
\l ex oqo oniboloyte nəl:x:Gegi
\l mr oqo o-y-n-boloyte n-a:l:o:-Gegi
\l gl people pl-3sg.SUBJ-hither-enjoy alhbl-play.around-[cause]
\l en We enjoyed the party

\l en -bolita

\l en soccer
\l po jogar futebol
\l ps verb
\l gr unergative
\l \dn Portuguese
\l ex jinib:la:Ga
\l mr j-n-bo:la-Ga
\l gl 1pl.SUBJ- hither-play.soccer-pl
I play soccer
Nós jogamos futebol
bo:laGa
bo:la-Ga
play.soccer-pl
Soccer game
Jogo de futebol

bo:raGadi
name
chamar
verb
unergative
ibo:náGadi wed:e:y:e
i-bo:náGadi wed:e:y:e
IPOSS-name proper.name
My name is Wed:e:y:e
Meu nome é Wed:e:y:e

-b:aton
wait
esperar
verb
bivalent
inib:atonGa
j-n-aton-Ga
1pl.SUBJ-hither-wait-pl
We wait him
Nós o esperamos

-b:a:
snatch/work
pegar/trabalhar
verb
unergative
jib:a:Ga
j-b:a:-Ga
1pl.SUBJ-snatch-pl
We work
Nós trabalhamos
od:ibata
o-y-d:-b:a:-t+e-wa
pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-snatch-rel+3sg.CL-dative
They grabbed it
Eles o pegaram
dib:ata
Gad:-opite-na y-d:-b:a:-t+e-wa
2POSS-arrow-f.dim 3sg.SUBJ-theme-snatch-rel+3sg.CL-dative
Your arrow hit it
Sua flecha o pegou
dib:atwiG
n-iga:-nipa-wa:-nig:i o-y-d:-b:a:+t-w-g
alb-CHILD-pl-like-m.dim pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-snatch-rel+inward
The children were captured
As crianças foram capturadas
Nós o recebemos
Nós o usamos
Meu trabalho
Meu braço
Meu pulso
Meu bracelete
Meu anel
Meu graveto
agarrar
verb
nergativo
gwatyatiloko
nig:i
1sg.SUBJ-grab-rel+3sg.CL-dative-rel-allative alnbl-child-m.dim
1st P. sing. SUBJECT GRABRELATIVE 3rd PERSON SINGULAR

Meu buraco
Meu poço
Meu gruta
Meu buraco
Meu poço
Meu buraco
We are ashamed
Nós nos envergonhhamos
libolyaGa
l-bolya-Ga
3POSS-shame-pl
His shame
Sua vergonha
-be:otogo
beehive
colmeia
noun
lib:otogo
l-be:otogo
3POSS-beehive
fis beehive
Sua colmeia
-b:yag:o
lady
dama
nominal root
al:ige lib:yag:o
l-al:ige l-b:yag:o
sun 3POSS-lady
Sunflower
Girassol
-dad:e
eyelash
cílio
nucleon
dad:e
l-dad:e
3POSS-eyelash
His eyelash
Seu cílio
dawalo:to
leaf-cutting ant
formiga-carregadeira
nucleon
free form
defre:te
mate
tereré
nucleon
Spanish
free form
ue -dGa
len elder brother
lpo irmao mais velho
lps noun
lex lidGa
umr l-dGa
/gl 3POSS-elder.brother
len His elder brother
lpo Seu irmão mais velho

ue -di
len call
lpo chamar
lps verb
lgr bivalent
lex jiniditGawa
umr j-n-di+t+Ga-wa
/gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-call-rel+2sg.CL-dative
len I call you
lpo En chamo você
lex anidita
umr a-n-di+t+e-wa
/gl 2sg.SUBJ-hither-call-rel+3sg.CL-dative
len You call him
lpo Você chama ele
lex nidikonGa
umr n-di-kon-Ga
/gl alnbl-call-[become]-pl
len secretary
lpo secretário

ue dihico
len ant
lpo formiga
lps noun
lce dihicoGo
umr dihico-Ga
/gl ant-pl

ue -dig:ite
len eyebrow
lpo sombrancelha
lps noun
lex dig:ite
umr l-dig:ite
/gl 3POSS-eyebrow
len his eyebrow
lpo sua sombrancelha
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Ve dyokoloGaloGo
\en butterfly
\po borboleta
\ps noun
\free from
Ve -d:ela
\en fight
\po brigan/guerrear
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\lex jid:elaGa
\umr j-d:ela-Ga
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-fight-pl
\en We fight
\po Nós guerreamos
\lex nid:elaGegi
\umr n-d:ela-Gegi
\gl alnbl-fight-[n-cause]
\en War
\po Guerra
\lex nid:elaqadi
\umr n-d:ela-Gad-adi
\gl alnbl-fight-[n-cause]-pl
\en Wars
\po Guerras
\lex God:idaelaGadi
\umr God-d:ela-Gad
\gl 1pl.POSS-fight-[+cause]
\en Our enemy
\po Nosso inimigo
\lex nid:elaykajo
\umr n-d:ela-ikajo
\gl alnbl-fight-noun
\en Warrior
\po Guerreiro

Ve ebiki
\en rain
\po chuva
\ps noun
\free form
\lex ebikitedi
\umr ebiki-adi-adi
\gl rain-pl-pl
\en Rain season
\po Estação das chuvas

Ve ecate
\en coconut sp.
\po bacuri, vacuri, acuri
\sc attalea princeps
\ps noun
\text{ex ecate lam:odi}
\text{mr ecate l-am:o-odi}
\text{gl acuri 3POSS-hair-pl}
\text{en The cocunt tree's leaves}
\text{po Folha de acuri}

\text{ue -ece}
\text{en scrape}
\text{po raspar}
\text{ps verb}
\text{gr bivalent}
\text{ex dinecegi}
\text{mr y-d-n-ece-g}
\text{gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-scrape-tel}
\text{en It was scraped}
\text{po Foi raspado}

\text{ue ecet:\sh}
\text{en pirana}
\text{po piranha}
\text{ps noun}
\text{sc Pygocephalus}
\text{free form}

\text{ue ecet:\ji}
\text{en cricket}
\text{po grilo}
\text{ps noun}
\text{free form}

\text{ue -ecodi}
\text{en uncle}
\text{po tio}
\text{ps noun}
\text{ex inecodi}
\text{mr i-n-ecodi}
\text{gl 1POSS-alnbl-uncle}
\text{en My uncle}
\text{po Meu tio}

\text{ue econa}
\text{en savanna}
\text{po cerrado}
\text{ps noun}
\text{free form}

\text{ue ede:de}
\text{en mother}
\text{po mae}
\text{ps noun}
\text{free form}
Nós colocamos o chimarrão dentro da caixa

I let fall

You let fall

They let fall

Me eje-

Me cougar

onça parda

noun

ejen:igo

mr eje-nigo

gl cougar-animal

ejoll-

sp. bird

sabiá

noun

ejolijegi

any of several thrushes of the turdoid family

ejodo

aunt

tia

noun

free form

ekalaye

order

ordenar

verb

ugr unergative

GonekalayeGegi

mr God:-n-ekalaye-Gegi

gl 1pl.POSS-alienable-order-[cause]

Our master

Nosso patrão

-eke

dog

cachorro

noun

neken:igo

n-eko-nigo

gl alnb1-dog-animal

nekeniki-wa:

nekeniki-wa:

gl alnb1-dog-m.dim-like

wild dog

cachorro do mato
\|e -eleGid: e
\|en offend
\|po ofender
\|ps verb
\|gr unaccusative
\|ex yatematig: o João eo me deleGid: e
\|mr i-atematig: o John y-aon me y-d:-eleGid: e
\|gl 1POSS-tell-pl John 3sg.SUBJ-make COMP 1sg.SUBJ-theme-offend
\|en My story about John made him to be offended
\|po Minha história do João o fez ficar ofendido

\|e -elew
\|en die
\|po morrer
\|ps verb
\|gr unergative
\|ex yelewtedGod:omi
\|mr y-elew-t:Go-dom-i
\|gl 3sg.SUBJ-die-rel+3sg.CL-rel+1pl.CL-benefactive-pl
\|en He died for us
\|po Ele morreu por nós

\|e -eligo
\|en eat
\|po comer
\|ps verb
\|gr bivalent
\|ex jeligo wayaba
\|mr j-eligo wayaba
\|gl 1sg.SUBJ-eat guava
\|en I eat guava
\|po Eu como goiaba
\|ex jelikaga
\|mr j-eligo-Ga
\|gl 1sg.SUBJ-eat-pl
\|en We eat it
\|po Nós o comemos

\|e elog:o
\|en heart of the palm
\|po palmito
\|ps noun
\|free form

\|e -eloko
\|en grandparent
\|po avós
\|ps noun
\|ex ineeloko
g|mr i-n-eeloko-adi
\|gl 1POSS-alabl-grandparent-pl
\|en My grandparents
\|po Meus avós
Oe -elotyo
len light
lpo acender
lps verb
ltr bivalent
lex dinelotyogi
lmr y-d-:-n-elotyo-g
lgl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-reff-light-tel
len It lights itself
lpo Isto se acende sozinho

Oe -elyo
cen rot
lpo estragar/apodrecer
lps verb
lgr unaccusative
lex dinelyo
lmr y-d-:-n-elyo
lgl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-rot
len It is rot
lpo Isso se estragou

Oe el:a
cen fruit
lpo fruta
lps noun
lfree form

Oe -eL:a
cen hate
lpo ter raiva/odiar
lps verb
lgr unaccusative
lex id:el:atGawa
lmr j-d-:-eL:a-t-Gawa
lgl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-hate-rel+2sg.CL-dative
len I hate you
lpo Eu odeio você
lex God:el:aGegi
lmr God:el:a-Gegi
lgl 1pl.POSS-hate-{cause}
len Hate
lpo Nosso ódio

Oe el:adi
cen hammock
lpo rede
lps noun
lex rel:adi
lmr n-el:adi
lmr alnbl-hammock
cen Hammock
lpo Rede
Nós -ela:Ga
len back
lpo costas
lps noun
{l ex God:ela:Ga
{l mr God:-e:ga
{l gl 1pl.POSS-back
len Our back
lpo Nosssas costas

Nós -e:giwa
len man
lpo homem
lps noun
{l ex Gonel:e:giwa
{l mr God:-n-e:giwa
{l gl 1pl.POSS-alth-men
len Man
lpo Homem
lq used by men only

Nós el:odo
len large/big
lpo grande
lps noun
lfree form

Nós -el:oGo
len tell
lpo contar/informar
lps verb
lgr bivalent
{l ex yel:oGota:Ga
{l mr j-e:Go-d-Ga
{l gl 1sg.SUBJ-tell-atel-pl
len We tell it
lpo Nós contamos
{l ex yel:oGodita
{l mr o-y-e:Go-d+t-e-wa
{l gl pl-3sg.SUBJ-tell-atel-recl+3sg.CL-dative
len They tell it to him
lpo Eles os informam sobre isso
{l ex yel:oGodite
{l mr y-e:Go-d+t-e
{l mr n-atemati-g:o
{l gl 3sg.SUBJ-tell-atel-recl+3sg.CL alnbl-tell-pl
len He tells him a story
lpo Ele conta-lhe uma estória

Nós el:on:ri
len ice
lpo gelo
lps noun
lfree form
We -elot
len sicken
lpo adoececr
lps verb
lgr bivalent
lex elot-otikanGa
lmr j-elot-kan-Ga
lgl 1sg.SUBJ-sick-[become]-pl
len We got sick
lpo Nós adoececrmos
lex elotaginaGa
lmr elot-agin-Ga
lgl sick-person-pl
len Sick person
lpo Doente
lex elotaginadi
lmr elot+agin-adi
lgl sick+person-pl
len Sick people
lpo Doentes
lex nelotagi
lmr n-elotagi
lgl abl-sickness
len Sickness
lpo Doença

We -el:owad
len kill
lpo matar
lps verb
lgr bivalent
lex oye:owadi Maria
lmr o-y-el:owad Mary
lgl pl-3pl.SUBJ-kill Mary
len They killed Mary
lpo Eles mataram Maria

We emadi
len donkey
lpo burro
lps noun
lfree form
lwa bul:iko

We -ema:n:
len want/love/accept
lpo querer/gostar/aceitar
lps verb
lgr bivalent
lex Gad:ema:n:i
lmr Ga-d.-ema:n-i
lgl 2pl.OBJ-theme-want-pl
len I love you
Eu amo você

René anedGaymenta:

\mr ane+Gy+y-emam:

\gl relative+negative+3sg.SUBJ-want

\en disappointed

\po decepcionado

Ve emokaya

\en sp.palm

\po coquinho, baba-de-boi

\ps noun

\free form

Ve-em:a

\en drink whisky

\po embebedar-se

\ps verb

\gr bivalent

\ex God:em:aGa

\mr Go-d-em:Ga-Ga

\gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-drink-pl

\en We got drunk

\po Nós nos embebedamos

\ex em:aGegi

\mr emo-Gegi

\gl drink[-cause]

\en Drunk/ Dead

\po Bêbado/ morto

Ve-em:e

\en grandfather

\po avô

\ps noun

\ex yem:e

\mr i-em:e

\gl 1POSS-grandfather

\en My grandfather

\po Meu avô

Ve-em:i

\en grandmother

\po avó

\ps noun

\ex yem:mi

\mr i-emi

\gl 1POSS-grandmother

\en My grandmother

\po Minha avó
Me esewi:gi:i
\en manioc
\po mandioca
\ps noun
\free form
\ex esewi:gi:i l-bonGadi epan:a
\mr esewi:gi:i l-bonGadi epan:a
\gl mandioc 3POSS-name epan:a
\en Mandioc used to be called epana
\po A mandioca era chamada de epana
\wa epan:a (used by old people only)

Me -entigi
\en load
\po carregar/encher
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex yentigi caminhao
\mr y-entigi caminhao
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-load truck
\en You load the truck
\po Você enche o caminhao

Me enaw:ke
\en night
\po noite
\ps noun
\ex nGixo ci:edi enaw:ke
\mr DEM another night
\en Last night
\po Noite passada

Me epenay
\en moon
\po lua
\ps noun
\free form
\ex ge:i:a epenay
\mr ge:i:a epenay
\gl new moon
\en new moon
\po lua nova
\ex inepenay
\mr i-n-epenay
\gl 1POSS-alnbl-moon
\en My (birthday) month
\po meu mês (de aniversário)
Ve epi:bi
\en sp. woodpecker
\po pica-pau-de-topete-loiro
\ps noun
\gr free form
\sc Celeus flavescens

Ve epwagi
\en door
\po porta
\ps noun
\free form

Ve -etaka
\en basket
\po cesto
\ps noun
\sc etakana
\umr etaka-na
\gl basket-f.dim
\en Basket
\po Cesto

Ve etakado:
\en middle
\po agulha
\ps noun
\free form

Ve etakemGa
\en rabbit
\po coelho
\ps noun
\sc etakemaGadi liwe:na
\umr etakemGa-adi l-we:na
\gl rabbit-pl 3POSS-food
\en The rabbit's food/Carrot
\po Comida de coelho/Cenoura

Ve etakoli:
\en corn
\po milho
\ps noun
\free form
\sc etakoli:
\sc jinetakol:igaGa
\umr j-n-etako-l:i-gi-Ga
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-corn-pl-verb-pl
\en We dance the corn dance
\po Nós dançamos a dança do milho
\sc etakol:igeGegi
\umr etako-l:i-gi-Gegi
\gl corn-pl-verb-[cause]
\text{en} Corn dance
\text{po} Dança do milho

\text{en} etapini
\text{en} periwinkle
\text{po} caramujo
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}

\text{en} -etece
\text{en} nephew/niece
\text{po} sobrinho/sobrinha
\text{ps} noun
\text{ex} netece
\text{mr} n-etece
\text{gl} alnbl-nephew
\text{ex} netecgi
\text{mr} n-etece-g
\text{gl} alnbl-nephew-augmentative
\text{en} Big nephew/Piaba (sp. fish)
\text{po} Sobrinhao. Nome dado ao peixe piaba

\text{en} etGadil
\text{en} bamboo
\text{po} bambu
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}

\text{en} etog:o
\text{en} ship
\text{po} navio
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}

\text{en} -etopila
\text{en} drown
\text{po} afogar, engasgar com líquido
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} unaccusative
\text{ex} God:etopila
\text{mr} Go-d:-etopila
\text{gl} 1pl.OBJ-theme-drown
\text{en} We drown
\text{po} Nós afogamos

\text{en} ewaGaco
\text{en} capybara
\text{po} capivara
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}
\`e -ewagi
\`en shoulder
\`po ombro
\`ps noun
\`ex lewagi
\`mr l-ewagi
\`gl 3POSS-shoulder
\`en His holders
\`po O ombro dele

\`e ewalat:ite
\`en spider
\`po aranha
\`ps noun
\`ex ewalat:itenig:i
\`mr ewalat:ite-nig:i
\`gl spider-m.dim

\`e ewalaye
\`en ox
\`po boi de carreta
\`ps noun
\`free form

\`e ewalo:GouGa
\`en mute
\`po muto
\`ps noun
\`free form

\`e ewiGa
\`en life
\`po vida
\`ps noun
\`ex nGin:a epo:twi ewiGa  Goniel:e:giwa
\`mr nGin:a epo:twi l-ewiGa  God:-n-el:e:giwa
\`gl DEM Brazil 3POSS-life 1pl.POSS-alnbl-man
\`en As for Brazil, man has a short life-span
\`ex yewiGa
\`mr y-ewiGa
\`gl 3sg.SUBJ-life
\`en He is alive
\`po Ele está vivo
We -ewika
\sen wake up
\spo despertar
\tps verb
\lgr unergative
\lex id: inewikatitaGa
\lur j-d: n-ewika-ti-d-Ga
\lgt 1pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-wake.up [+cause] -atel-pl
\sen We wake up
\spo Nós nos despertamos

Me ew:i
\sen truth
\spo verdade
\tps noun
\lex ew:i mejigo nigoGa
\lur ew:i me-ej-go n-goGa
\lgt truth COMP+1AUX-go abl-1-cf
\sen I truly go to the city
\spo Eu vou para a cidade de verdade

Me eyo:d
\sen parent
\spo pai/mae
\tps nominal root
\lex eyo:d di
\sen father
\lur parent
\spo pai
\lex eyo:do
\sen mother
\spo mae

Me e:i
\sen ripe
\spo madura
\tps noun
\tree form
\lex ny:a:le el:a jGe:i
\lur n-y:a:le el:a jG+e:i
\lgt abl-nbl-tree fruit compl+ripe
\sen The tree's fruit is ripe already
\spo A fruta da árvore já está madura
Le -e:i:a

len choke

ipo engasar

ips verb

lgr unergative

lex God-e:i:a

lnr Go-d-e:i:a

lgl 1pl.OBJ-theme-choke

len I choke on something

ipo Nos engasgamos

Le -e:i:aGa

len back

ipo costas

ips noun

lex le:i:aGa

lrn l-e:i:aGa

lgl 3POSS-back

len His back

ipo As costas dele

Le e:m:ae:m:

len 1pronoun

ipo 1pronome

lex e: jicitike

lnr e:m: j-ici-t-ke

lgl 1PRONOUN 1sg.SUBJ-swing-rel+outwards

len I swing him

ipo Eu o balanço

lex e: id:icitike

lnr e:m: i-d-ici-t+ke

lgl 1PRONOUN 1sg.SUBJ-theme-swing-rel+outwards

len He swings me

ipo Ele me balança

Le gaci:mbo

len pipe

ipo cachimbo

ips noun

lnr free form

lnx Portuguese

Le Gacoke

len sp. wild dog

ipo lobinho

ips noun

lnr free form

lnx Speothos venaticus
\textit{Ve gacyana}

\en paraguayan
\ps paraguiao
\ps noun
\freeform
\lex gacyanece
\mn gacyana-ecce
\gl paraguayan-fem
\en female paraguayan
\ps paraguia

\textit{Ve -gaje}

\en give birth
\ps dar a luz
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\lex dinigaje
\mn y-d::-n-gaje
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-give.birth
\en She gave birth
\ps Ella deu a luz

\textit{Ve -gala}

\en hunt down
\ps perseguir com má intenção
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\lex jical:à:Gatib:eki
\mn j-ical:a-Ga+t+b:+e-k
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-hunt.down-pl-rel+intensive+2sg.CL-cessive
\en We hunt it down.
\ps Nós o persegueímos.

\textit{Ve Galekan;i}

\en deer/male homosexual
\ps veado/homosexual
\ps noun
\sc Blastocerus dichotomus

\textit{Ve Gape-}

\en sp. tree, Bignoniaceous family
\ps ipê
\ps noun
\lex Gape:igo
\mn Gape-ingo
\gl ipê-classifier

\textit{Ve -gaqala}

\en peel
\ps descascar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\dn Portuguese
\text{ex} dinigaqala
\text{mr} y-d:n-gaqala
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-peel
\text{en} He peels it.
\text{po} Ele a descasca

\text{Ve} Gatepa
\text{en} sp. fish
\text{po} peixe pacu
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}
\text{sc} Mylossoma paraguayensis

\text{Ve} Gatika
\text{en} mouse
\text{po} rato
\text{ps} noun
\text{ex} GatikaGa
\text{mr} Gatika-Ga
\text{gl} mouse-pl
\text{en} mouse
\text{po} rato
\text{ex} Gatikadi
\text{mr} Gatika-adi
\text{gl} mouse-pl
\text{en} Mice
\text{po} Ratos

\text{Ve} Gatodi
\text{en} toucan
\text{po} toucâo
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}

\text{Ve} gatoje
\text{en} bullet
\text{po} munição
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}

\text{Ve} ga:ja
\text{en} cashew fruit
\text{po} cajá
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}
\text{dn} Portuguese

\text{Ve} -gama:
\text{en} sing
\text{po} cantar
\text{ps} verb
\text{gr} unergative
\text{ex} jgatema
\text{mr} j-gama:+t+e-ma
\gls 1sg.SUBJ-sing-rel+3sg.CL-benefactive
\en I sing for him
\po Eu canto para ele
\ex jiga:n:aGana:Ga
\mr j-g-an-Gana:-Ga
\gls 1pl.SUBJ-sing-[-become]-pl
\en We sing it
\po Nós cantamos (esta canção)
\en ga:pe
\en coffee
\po café
\ps noun
\fr free form
\dn Portuguese

\en -gedyogo
\en jaguar
\po onça
\ps noun
\ex nigedyogo
\mr n-gedyogo
\gls ainbi-jaguar
\en Jaguar
\po Onça

\en -GeGati
\en cross
\po atravessar
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex jiGeGatita
\mr j-GeGati-t-e-wa
\gls 1sg.SUBJ-cross-rel+3sg.CL-dative river
\en I cross the river
\po Eu cruzo o rio

\en -Gegi
\en [-cause]
\ps derivational suffix
\ex God:owo:Gegi
\mr Go-d:-owo:-Gegi
\gls 1pl.OBJ-theme-think-[-cause]
\en He thinks on you
\po Ele pensa em nós
\ex libeyakGegi
\mr l-beyag-Gegi
\gls 3POSS-bad-[-cause]
\en Ugliness
\po Feiura
\ex God:elaGegi
\mr God:-ela-Gegi
\gls 1pl.POSS-hate-[-cause]
\en Our hate
No nosso ódio

Sua resposta

Lie

Meu sono

Festa

Formiga correção

Worry

Nós estamos preocupados

Olho

Seus olhos

Compound in nobel Kadiwéu: geko+Ge
\{e -Ge\ladi
\{en village
\{po aldeia
\{ps noun
\{ex Go\ladi
\{mr God:-\ladi
\{gl 1p.POSS-village
\{en Our village
\{po Nossa aldeia

\{e -ge\ke
\{en belly
\{po barriga
\{ps noun
\{wa -ye
\{ex ligele
\{mr l-get:e
\{gl 3POSS-belly
\{en His belly
\{po Sua barriga
\{ex ly:e yoGonagi
\{mr ly:e i-Gona-gi
\{gl 3POSS-belly 1POSS-track-augm
\{en my foot's sole
\{po Sola do meu pé

\{e -Gen:
\{en [+become]
\{ps derivational suffix
\{wa Gen:
\{ex jotaGamGen:aGa
\{mr j-otaGam-Gen:-Ga
\{gl 2sg.SUBJ-speak-[+become]-pl
\{en We talk to him
\{po Nós conversamos com ele
\{ex God:ap\waGen:i:i
\{mr God:-ap\wa-Gen:-nig:i
\{gl 1p.POSS-pierce-[+become]-m.dim
\{en Our bodyguard
\{po Nosso guarda-costas
\{ex jiga:anGam:Ga
\{mr j-ga:an-Gan:-Ga
\{gl 1p.SUBJ-sing-[+become]-pl
\{en We sing it
\{po Nós cantamos (essa canção)

\{e -ge\ca
\{en be broad
\{po der fargo
\{ps verb
\{gr unaccusative
\{ex nige:ca\ka
\{mr n-ge\ca-kan
\{gl alnbl-broad-[+become]
\en Broad
\po Largo

\en ge\-jo
\en cheese
\po quei\-jo
\ps noun
\free form
\en Portuguese

\en ge\-fa
\en new
\po nova
\ps noun
\free form

\en -gici
\en grind
\po moer
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\lex dinigicidi
\mr y-d-n-gici-d
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-lither-grind-atel
\en it was grinded
\po Foi moido

\en -gidagi
\en wild boar
\po porco do mato/javali
\ps noun
\sc Tayassu family
\free form
\lex nigidagiwa:Ga
\mr n-gidagi-wa:-Ga
\gl alnbl-boar-like-pl
\en Pig
\po Porco

\en -gidini
\en paca
\po paca
\ps noun
\lex nigidini
\mr n-gidini
\gl alnbl-paca
\text{ue}\text{-Gigo}
\text{ten nominalizer}
\text{ps derivational suffix}
\text{lex ialepeGigo}
\text{mr l-al-alepe-Gigo}
\text{gl 3POSS-sharp-noun}
\text{ten cactus}
\text{po cactus}

\text{ue}\text{-Gil}\text{a}
\text{ten throat}
\text{po garganta}
\text{ps noun}
\text{lex GoGil}\text{a}
\text{mr God-Gila}
\text{gl 1POSS-throat}
\text{lex IGil}\text{agi}
\text{mr I-Gila-gi}
\text{gl 3POSS-throat-augm}
\text{ten Her necklace}
\text{po Seu colar}

\text{ue}\text{-giti}
\text{ten sew}
\text{po costurar}
\text{ps verb}
\text{gr unaccusative}
\text{lex nigitikonGadi}
\text{mr n-giti-kon-Gad}
\text{gl anbli-sew-[become]-[cause]}
\text{ten thread}
\text{po Linha de costura}

\text{ue}\text{-Giwo}\text{la}
\text{ten strangle}
\text{po estrangular, enforcar}
\text{ps verb}
\text{gr bivalent}
\text{lex oyGiwo\text{la}}
\text{mr o-y-Giwo\text{la}}
\text{gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-strangle}
\text{ten They strangled him}
\text{po Eles o enforcam}

\text{ue}\text{-go}
\text{ten go}
\text{po ir}
\text{ps verb}
\text{gr bivalent/auxiliary}
\text{lex ejigo aqi:di}
\text{mr ej-go aqi:di}
\text{gl 1AUX-go river}
\text{ten I go to the river}
Epo Eu vou para o rio
Ex ejigo javaligi
Ur ej-go j-avalig
Gl laux-go 1sg.SUBJ-walk
En I am going to walk
Epo Eu estou andando/Eu vou andando
Ex emye
En you go
Ex i-go
En he goes
Ex eniGa
Gl We go

E Go Go Ga
En sp.macaco
Epo macaco bugio
Ps noun
Free form

E Go -God
En [bcome]
Pp derivational suffix
Ex dinow:Godi
Ur y-d-n-owo;God
Gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-think-[bcome]
En He learns/understands something bout himself
Epo Ele aprende sobre si mesmo
Ex ni:GacinGodi
Ur n-i:Gacin-God
Gl alnb1-teach.[bcome]
En Teacher (of someting to somebody)
Epo Professor

E Godin Ga
En ox/bachelor/homossexual
Epo boi/solteiro/homossexual
Ps noun
Gr free form

E Godiqakolo Godi
En sp. lizard
Epo calango-verde
Ps noun
Sc Ameiva ameiva
Free form

E Godi:ami
En sp. woodpecker
Epo pica-pan-chorao
Ps noun
Free form
Sc Picoides mixtus
\textit{Ve gog:e}  
\`en drum  
\`po bumbo  
\`ps noun  
\`gr free form  
\`ex gog:edi  
\`mr gog:edi  
\`gl drum-pl  
\`en drums  
\`po Bateria

\textit{Ve gojo:}  
\`en worm  
\`po verme  
\`ps noun  
\`ex nigojo:Go  
\`mr n-gojo:-Ga  
\`gl alabl-worm-pl

\textit{Ve -gokom}  
\`en snore  
\`po roncar  
\`ps verb  
\`gr unergative  
\`ex jinigokomGa  
\`mr j-n-gokom-Ga  
\`gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-snore-pl  
\`en We snore  
\`po Nós roncamos  
\`ex inigokomGegi  
\`mr i-n-gokom-Gegi  
\`gl 1POSS-alabl-snore-{\textit{-}cause}  
\`en My snore  
\`po Meu ronco

\textit{Ve -Golot}  
\`en disgust  
\`po ter nojo  
\`ps verb  
\`gr unaccusative  
\`ex id:GolotGawa  
\`mr j-d:-Golo:-t-Ga-wa  
\`gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-disgust-rel+2sg.CL-dative  
\`en You disgust me  
\`po Eu tenho nojo de você  
\`ex God:Golo:Go  
\`mr God:-Golo:-Ga  
\`gl 1pl.POSS-disgust-pl  
\`en Disgusting  
\`po Nojento/Nosso nojo
We -Goka
\en blind
\po cego
\ps noun
\sex Gola:Ga
\unr Gola:Ga
\gl blind-pl
\en Blind person
\po Pessoa cega
\sex iGola:Gadi
\unr y-Gola:Gadi
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-blind-\(+\text{cause}\)
\en He betrays him
\po Ele o trai
\sex nGola:GatGakanGegi
\unr n-Gola:Gad-Ga-kan-Gegi
\gl nml-blind-\(+\text{cause}\)-pl-\(-\text{become}\)-\(-\text{cause}\)
\en adultery
\po adultery
\sex aGola:GatGakanGegi
\unr ane+Gola:Gad-Ga-kan-Gegi
\gl relative+blind-\(+\text{cause}\)-pl-\(-\text{become}\)-\(-\text{cause}\)
\en adulterous
\po adúlters
\gl adultery
\en GomaGal:a
\en sp. pirana
\po piranhao
\ps noun
\ase Serrassalmus
\le GomaGala:adi
\unr GomaGala:adi
\gl pirana-pl
\en -Gona
\en track
\po rastro
\ps noun
\sex loGona
\unr l-Gona
\gl 3POSS-track
\en His track
\po Seu rastro
\sex God:oGonagi
\unr God:o-Gonagi
\gl 1pl.POSS-track-\(+\text{cause}\)
\en Our foot
\po Nosso pé
Ve Gonem:edi
\en owl
\po coruja
\ps noun
\gr free form

Ve gono:do
\en mosquito
\po mosquito
\ps noun
\free form

Ve gotamo
\en cotton
\po algodao
\ps noun
\ve gotamo:Go
\mr gotamo:Ga
\gl cotton-pl

Ve -gotGa
\en city
\po cidade
\ps noun
\lex nigotGa
\mr n-gotGa
\gl alnbil-city

Ve -gowiwa
\en smile
\po sorrir
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\lex jgowiwa
\mr j-gowiwa
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-smile
\en I am laughing
\po Eu estou riendo
\lex jgowiwa:Ga
\mr j-gowiwa:Ga
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-smile-pl
\en We smile
\po Nós sorrimos
\lex jgowiwa:Gete
\mr y-gowiwa-Gen: t+e
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-smile-[+become]-rel+3sg.CL
\en He smiles to the young woman
\po Ele sorri para a moça bonita

awikije
awikije
young, woman
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\textbf{3POSS-tie-classifier-pl}
\textbf{His relatives}
\textbf{Seus familiares}

\textbf{get tired}
\textbf{cansar-se}
\textbf{verb}
\textbf{energative}
\textbf{nig:a:caGa}
\textbf{n-g:a:ce-Ga}
\textbf{3pl.SUBJ-get.tired-pl}
\textbf{They got tired}
\textbf{Eles se cansaram}

\textbf{win}
\textbf{ganhar/vencer}
\textbf{verb}
\textbf{bivalent}
\textbf{Portuguese}
\textbf{idoniwadi oda ja inig:a:nya}
\textbf{j-ndoniwadi oda jaG j-n-g:a:nya}
\textbf{when 1sg.SUBJ-theme-strong then compl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-win}
\textbf{Quando eu for forte, enviarei vencerei}
\textbf{When I get strong, I will have won}

\textbf{earring}
\textbf{brinco}
\textbf{noun}
\textbf{alnb-earring}
\textbf{Earring}
\textbf{Brinco}

\textbf{dream}
\textbf{sonhar}
\textbf{verb}
\textbf{unaccusative}
\textbf{dige}
\textbf{y-d-g-em}
\textbf{3sg.SUBJ-theme-dream}
\textbf{He is dreaming}
\textbf{Ele está sonhando}
\textbf{oyg:emGadi}
\textbf{y-g-em-Gad}
\textbf{pl-3sg.SUBJ-dream-\{+cause\}}
\textbf{He imitates him}
\textbf{Ele o imita}
Ve -get

en egg/mut

ps ovo/castanha

ps noun

ex lig:etedi

um 1-g:te-adi

lg 3POSS-egg-nature-pl

en Her eggs

po Seus ovos

Ve -gi

en answer

po responder

ps verb

gr bivalent

ex jig:idi lig:ikanGegi

um r-g-i-d l-g:i-kan-Gegi

lg 1sg.SUBJ-answer-atel 3POSS-answer-[become]-[cause]

en I answer his question

po Eu respondo a sua pergunta

Ve -gi:kile

en be hungry

po estar com fome

ps verb

gr unaccusative

ex i-d:gi:kile le:Godí ajinyodi

um r-j-d:-g:i:kile le:Godí aG+j-inyodi

lg 1sg.SUBJ-theme-hungry because neg+1sg.SUBJ-eat

en I am hungry because I have not eaten

po Eu estou com fome porque ainda nao comi

ex ayd:i-gi:kile otweca:Ga id:e:owadi ekibi

um aG+j-d:-g:i:kile otweca:Ga j-d::e:wadi e-akibi

lg neg+1sg.SUBJ-theme-hungry nor 1sg.SUBJ-theme-kill IND-thirst

en I am not hungry nor thirsty

po Eu nao estou com fome nem com sede

ex God:i-gi:kile

en We are hungry

po Nós estamos com fome

Ve -gi:po

en molar tooth

po dente molar

ps noun

ex ig:i:po

um r-i-g:ipo

lg 1POSS-molar

en My molar tooth

po Meu dente molar
Ve -gr-oli:adi
ven inferior lip
po lábio inferior
ps noun
ex ig:oli:adi
mr i-g:oli:adi
gl 1POSS-inferior.lip
My inferior lip
po Meu lábio inferior

Ve -icagodi
ven red
po vermelho
ps noun
free form

Ve -ici
ven puxar/balançar
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex jickGatike
mr j-ici-g-Ga-t+ke
gl 1sg.SUBJ-pull-tel-pl-rel+outwards
ven We pull it
po Nós o puxamos
ex Paulo id:icitike
mr Paulo i-d:-ici+t+ke
gl Paul 1sg.OBJ-theme-pull-rel+outwards
ven Paulo swings me
po Paulo me balança
ex nig:a:nig:i icigiteloko la
mr n-iga:-nig:i y-ici-g+t+e-lokom l-am
gl alnhl-child-m.dim 3sg.SUBJ-pull-tel-rel+3sg.CL-allative 3POSS-toy
ven The boy pulled the toy over himself
po O menino puxou o brinquedo para cima de si

Ve -icom
ven put
po colocar
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex jicomGa
mr j-icom-Ga
gl 1sg.SUBJ-agnet-put-pl
ven We put it
po Nós o colocamos
ex od:omicotinigel:o
mr o-y-d:-n-icom-t-nig+e-t:o
pl 3pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-put-rel+inside+3sg.CL-ablative
ven They dress themselves
po Eles se vestem
ex id:inicomaGatini
\mr j-d-n-i-com-Ga-t+n
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-refl-put-pl-rel-downward
\en I take off my clothes
\po Eu me dispo
\lex icomiitewi
\mr a-i-com-i-t+w
\gl 2sg.SUBJ-put-pl-rel+inward
\en Put it inside
\po Coloquê-o para dentro
\lex icomiitiweki
\mr a-i-com-i-t+w+e-k
tigitikonGadi etakado
tigitikonGadi etakado
\gl 2sg.SUBJ-put-pl-rel+inward+3sg.CL-nessive thread
\en Put the thread in the middle
\po Coloque a linha na agulha

\le -icwa
\en curse
\po amaldiçoar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\lex yicwa nGijo neken:igo
\mr y-icwa nGijo n-cek-neigo
\gl 3sg.SUBJ- curse DEM-m-going alnbl-dog-classifier
\en He cursed that dog
\po Ele amaldiçoou o cachorro

\le -iGeti
\en cross
\po atravessar
\ps verb
\gr ingerative
\lex jiGetita ladigod:i
\mr j-iGeti+t+w+wa ladigod:i
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-cross-rel+3sg.CL-dative creek
\en I cross the creek
\po En cruzo/atravesso a vazante

\le iGe:wi
\en yellow
\po amarelho
\ps noun
\free form

\le -iga:
\en child
\po criança
\ps noun
\lex nig:a:n:iga:n
\mr n-iga:-nig:i
\gl alnbl-child-m.dim
\en boy
\po menino
\lex nig:a:nawa:na
\mr n-iga:-na-wa:-na
\gl alnbl-child-f.dim-like-f.dim
\en girl
\po menina
\ex nig:a:nig:a:wa:nig:i
\umr n-ig:a:-RED-wa:-nig:i
\gl alnbl-child-RED-like-m.dim
\en baby boy
\po bebê menino
\ex nig:a:naGeGi
\umr n-ig:a:-na-GeGi
\gl alnbl-child-f-[-cause]
\en Menstruation
\po Menstruação

\use -ijay
\en dress
\po vestido
\ps noun
\ex ad:a inijay
\umr ad:a i-n-ijay
\gl DEM 1POSS-alnbl-dress
\en I have a dress
\po Eu tenho um vestido

\use ijeGadi
\en wild animal
\po animal selvagem
\ps noun
\free form

\use -ikajo
\en actor
\ex n:id:elaikajo
\umr n-d:ela-ikajo
\gl alnbl-war-actor
\en Warrior
\po Guerreiro

\use -ike
\en smell
\po cheirar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex nekenigo dininike
\umr n-eke-nigo y-d:-n-n-ike
\gl alnbl-dog-animal 3sg.SUBLJ-theme-refl-hither-smell
\en The dog smells itself
\po O cachorro se cheira


\textbf{Me -iki}
\textit{en heal}
\textit{po sarar}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr unaccusative}
\textit{ex God:iki}
\textit{mr Go-d:-iki}
\textit{gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-heal}
\textit{en We got cured}
\textit{po Nós saramos}

\textbf{Me -ikin}
\textit{en gulp down}
\textit{po tragar}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr unergative}
\textit{ex jikinaGa}
\textit{mr j-kin-Ga}
\textit{gl 1pl.SUBJ-gulp.down-pl}
\textit{en We gulp down}
\textit{po Nós tragamos}

\textbf{Me -ikoece:}
\textit{en nickname}
\textit{po apelido}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{ex Gonikoce:di}
\textit{mr Go:d-n-ikoce:-adi}
\textit{gl 1pl.POSS-ahbl-nicknamr-pl}
\textit{en Our nicknames}
\textit{po Nossos apelidos}

\textbf{Me -ikon}
\textit{en sit}
\textit{po sentar}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr unergative}
\textit{ex jiniko}
\textit{mr j-n-ikon}
\textit{gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit}
\textit{en I sit down}
\textit{po Eu sento}
\textit{ex id:ikoti}
\textit{mr j-d:-ikon-ti}
\textit{gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit-{+cause}}
\textit{en I sit myself}
\textit{po Eu me sento}
\textit{ex Go:dikoti}
\textit{mr Go-d:-ikon-ti}
\textit{gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-sit-{+cause}}
\textit{en We sit down}
\textit{po Nós sentamos}
\textit{ex inikonGenti}
\textit{mr j-n-ikon-Gen-d}
1sg.SUBJ-hither-sit- [+become]

|en I sit him
|po Eu sento ele
|ex God:ikon:Gadi
|mr God:ikon:Gad

1pl.POSS-sit- [+cause]

|en Our plaza
|po Nossa praça

Ve -iko:

|en arrive
|po chegar lá
|ps verb
|gr umergative
|ex ejotiw
|en I arrive
|ex iko:tiw
|en You arrive
|ex ikotediw
|en He arrives
|ex ejoGotiw
|en We arrive
|ex iko:tiw:ekitiwaju
|en They arrive

Ve -HaGa

|en heat
|po calor
|ps noun
|ex nil:aGa
|mr n-ila:Ga
|gl almbl-heat

Ve ila:Gagi

|en bird
|po pássaro
|ps noun
|wa ila:Gaco
|ex ila:Gagi lam:odi
|mr ila:Gagi l-am-adi
|gl bird 3POSS-hair-pl
|en The bird's feather
|po Pena de pássaro

Ve ilege:Ge

|en watermelon
|po melancia
|ps noun
|free form
Me -ilen
Van hurt
Po doer
Ps verb
Gr unergative
Ex jíienaGa
Ur j-ilen-Ga
Gl 1pl.SUBJ-hurt-pl
Ven We feel pain
Po Nóis sentimos dor
Ex iGonági jaGile
Ur i-Gona-gi jaG-y-ilen
Gl 1POSS-track-augn compl-3sg.SUBJ-hurt
Ven My foot hurts
Po Meu pé doi
Ex God:ilen:ig:i
Ur God:-ilen-nig:i
Gl 1pl.POSS-hurt-m.dim
Ven Pain
Po Dor

Me -ili
Ven press
Po apentar
Ps verb
Gr bivalent
Ex diniligitiwek
Ur y-d:-n-ili-g-ken-t+w+e-k
Gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-press-tel-[+become]-rel+inward+3sg.CL-inessive
Ven I press it through a hole
Po Apertando por um buraco
Ex diniligitibigi
Ur y-d:-n-ili-g-ken-t+bigim
Gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-press-tel-[+become]-rel+upward
Ven I press it upward
Po Apertando para cima

Me ilikaGa
Ven diarrhea
Po diarréia
Ps noun
Gr free form

Me ilipGe
Ven jabuticaba, sp. fruit
Po jabuticaba
Ps noun
Gr free form

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Ve -ili:
\en grow
\po crescer
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\ex God:ili:
\umr Go-d:-ili:
\gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-grow
\en We grow
\po Nós crescemos

Ve -il-a
\en take a bath
\po tomar banho
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex jinil:aGa
\umr j-il-a-Ga
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-bath-pl
\en We take a bath
\po Nós tomamos banho
\ex anil-a
\umr y-n-il-a
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-bath
\en He takes a bath
\po Ele toma banho

Ve imakatGa:i
\en blue
\po azul
\ps noun
\gr free form

Ve -inwiki
\en juncture
\po junta
\ps noun
\ex linwikidi i-nib:ed:ona
\umr i-inwik-adí i-nib:ed:ona
\gl 3POSS-juncture 1POSS-embrace
\en My finger's junctures
\po As juntas do meu dedo

Ve -in:i
\en have fun
\po divertir-se
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex nin:i
\umr n-ini
\gl alnbi-fun
\en Funny
\po Engraçado
\ex nin:iti:b:ek
He gets happy there/wonderful
Ele se alegre/maravilhoso

They had fun while they were parting
Eles se divertiram enquanto festejavam

Happyness
Alegria

Put on
Colocar em cima

Put it on
Coloque em cima

Put the cup on the table
Coloque a xícara em cima da mesa

It was extinguished
Apagou-se

Grasshopper
Nossa metralhadora
Ve ipeilGe

\en pregnant
\po grávida
\ps noun
\gr free form
\free form

Ve -itewe

\en sleepless
\po ter insônia
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\ex ditewe
\mr y-d-itewe
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-sleepless
\en He is sleepless
\po Ele está com insônia

Ve itimi

\en wet
\po molhado
\ps noun
\free form

Ve -ito

\en root
\po raiz
\ps noun
\ex itodi ny:ai:e
\mr i-ito-adi n-ya:le
\gl 3POSS-root-pl analbl-tree
\en The tree's roots
\po Raiz de árvore
\ex e: itodi
\mr e: i-ito-adi
\gl IPRONOUN IPOSSE-root-pl
\en My nerves
\po Meus nervos

Ve iwa1to

\en sister
\po irma
\ps noun
\ex niwa1to
\mr n-iwa1to
\gl analbl-woman
\en Woman
\po Irma
iwe: iwa:lo
\emph{woman}

\emph{po} mulher
\emph{ps} noun
\emph{free form}

\emph{ex} iwa:lo lam:odi
\emph{mr} iwa:lo l-am:o-adi
\emph{gl} woman 3POSS-hair-pl
\emph{en} the woman's hair
\emph{po} o cabelo da mulher

iwe: iwegi
\emph{en} tail
\emph{po} rabo
\emph{ps} noun
\emph{ex} iwegi
\emph{mr} l-iwegi
\emph{gl} 3POSS-tail
\emph{en} His tail
\emph{po} Rabo dele

iwe: iwekala
\emph{en} bridge
\emph{po} ponte
\emph{ps} noun
\emph{ex} iwekala
\emph{mr} n-iwekala-adi
\emph{gl} ahbl-bridge-pl
\emph{en} Bridge
\emph{po} Ponte

iwe: iwin
\emph{en} watch/look at
\emph{po} ver/olhar para/assistir
\emph{ps} verb
\emph{gr} transitive
\emph{ex} jiwinGa
\emph{mr} j-iwin-Ga
\emph{gl} 1sg.SUBJ-look-pl
\emph{en} We look at it
\emph{po} Nós o olhamos
\emph{ex} diniwi
\emph{mr} y-d-n-iwin
\emph{gl} 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-sec
\emph{en} He looks at himself
\emph{po} Ele se olha
\emph{ex} jiwitikogi: ditigedi
\emph{mr} j-iwin-t+kogi: ditigedi
\emph{gl} 1sg.SUBJ -see-rel+straight far
\emph{en} I look it straight far
\emph{po} Eu olho para longe
\le iwoGo
\en stick
\po pau
\ps noun
\free form

\le -i:di
\en write
\po escrever
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex dini:d:i
\mr y-d-.n-i:di
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-write
\en It was written
\po Isso foi escrito
\ex i:d:i-g:o
\mr i:d:i-g:o
\gl write-pl
\en writing
\po escrita
\ex elyodi me ji:d:i nGidi i:d:i-g:o
\mr elyodi me j-i:d:i nGidi i:d:i-g:o
\gl lot COMP 1sg.SUBJ-write DEM write-pl
\en I wrote over and over this lesson
\po Eu escrevi muito esta lição
\ex ji:d:i-kon
\mr j-i:d:i-kon
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-write-[become]
\en I study
\po Eu estudo
\ex ji:d:i-konaGa
\mr j-i:d:i-kon-Ga
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-write-[become]-pl
\en We study
\po Nós estudamos

\le -i:Gacin
\en teach/learn
\po ensinar/aprender
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex dini:Gaci
\mr y-d-.n-i:Gacin
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-teach
\en He teaches it to himself
\po Ele se ensina
\ex ni:GacinGodi
\mr n-i:Gacin-God
\gl ainbl-teach-[become]
\en Teacher (of something to somebody)
\po Professor (de alguma coisa para alguém)
\ex ni:GacinGanGa
\mr n-i:Gacin-GanGa
Ve ja:ampo

en measles

po sarampo

ps noun

free form

en Portuguese

Ve -je

en witch

po bruxa

ps noun

ex nijena

mr n-je-na

gl alnbl-witch-f.dim

en witch

po bruxa

po Bruxa

ex nijen:ig:i

mr n-je-nig:i

gl alnbl-witch-m.dim

en Medicine man

po Curandeiro

Ve -jegi

en source

ps derivational suffix

ex nya:i:egipijegi

mr n-ya:i:e-gi-pi-jegi

gl alnbl-tree-?-pl-source

en Wild

po Selvagem

Ve -jeke

en hips

po bacia

ps noun

ex injeke

mr i-n-jeke

gl 1POSS-alnbl-hips

en My hips

po Minha bacia

Ve jigiti

en sp. owl

po sp. coruja

ps noun

free form

Ve jipa

en sp. bee

po abelha cachopa

ps noun

free form

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\text{vce jotigide}
\text{vce old}
\text{vpo antigo}
\text{vps noun}
\text{vfree form}

\text{vke ka-}
\text{vke locative}
\text{vex igó} \quad \text{katwed:i}
\text{vum r-y-go} \quad \text{ka-t-w+e-d:}
\text{\textgl 3sg.SUBJ-go locative-rel-inward+3sg.CL-theme}
\text{vke I go in}
\text{vpo En vou para dentro}
\text{vex dinotete} \quad \text{katined:i} \quad \text{etakana}
\text{vum r-y-d-oute} \quad \text{ka-t-n+e-d:} \quad \text{etaka-na}
\text{\textgl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-store locative-rel-downward-3sg.CL-theme basket-f-dim}
\text{vke It is stored in a basket}
\text{vpo Está guardado em um cesto}

\text{vke -kaci}
\text{vke nominalizer}
\text{vps derivational suffix}
\text{vex ojetekaci}
\text{vum ojete-kaci}
\text{\textgl buy-noun}
\text{vke Market}
\text{vpo Mercado/Loja}

\text{vke kay:a}
\text{vke sp. fruit}
\text{vpo seriguela}
\text{vps noun}
\text{vfree form}

\text{vke -kila}
\text{vke cure}
\text{vpo curar}
\text{vps verb}
\text{\textgr bivalent}
\text{vex do-t \text{i}kilated:i} \quad \text{cil:otaginaGa}
\text{vum do-t y-kila+t+e-d:} \quad \text{elot+agin-Ga}
\text{\textgl doctor 3sg.SUBJ-cure-rel+3sg.CL-theme sick+person-pl}
\text{vke The doctor cured the sick person}
\text{vpo O médico curou o doente}
Ve ladig:o-
en stream/street
po vazante/rua
ps noun
ex ladig:odi
mr ladig:o-adi
gl stream-pl
en Stream/street
po Vazante/rua

Ve tamagijje
en coati
po quati
ps noun
sc Nasua nasua
free form

Ve lapakaga
en white
po branco
ps noun
free form

Ve laqae:di
en snake
po cobra
ps noun
free form

Ve -la:dye
en put together
po amontoa
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex jinila:dye beyjaw l:agi
mr j-n-la:dye beyjaw l-o:agi
gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-put.together bean 3POSS-seed
en I put the bean seeds together
po Eu amontoo os graos de feijao

Ve leye:ma
en wheat
po trigo
ps noun
free form

Ve le:gi
en dense/heavy
po senso/pesado
ps noun
free form
\textit{Ve le:Godí}
\textit{en because}
\textit{ipo porque/por causa de}
\textit{ps conjunction}

\textit{Ve lged:em-}
\textit{en frog}
\textit{ipo sapo}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{ex lged:emaGa lGeladi}
\textit{mr lgedem-Ga l-Geladi}
\textit{gl frog-pl 3POSS-village}
\textit{en The frog’s house. Also used to refer to mushrooms}
\textit{ipo A casa do sapo. Também usado para cogumelo}

\textit{Ve lGito}
\textit{en rat}
\textit{ipo ratazana}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{free form}

\textit{Ve lGa:je-}
\textit{en sp. land turtle}
\textit{ipo jabutí}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{sec Geochelone}
\textit{lc loGo:jenígo}
\textit{mr lGo:je-nígo}
\textit{gl jabutí-animal}
\textit{en Jabutí}
\textit{ipo Jabutí}

\textit{Ve -lidGatadi}
\textit{en orphan}
\textit{ipo órfão}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{sec nilidGatadi}
\textit{mr n-lidGatadi}
\textit{gl alnbl-orphan}
\textit{ex nilidGatajegi}
\textit{mr n-lidGata-jegi}
\textit{gl alnbl-orphan-source}
\textit{en Maid/slave}
\textit{ipo Criado}

\textit{Ve IlwaGa}
\textit{en tapir}
\textit{ipo anta}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{free form}
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\textit{Me mankowa}
\textit{en paraguayan family}
\textit{po familia paraguaya}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{dn Guarani (?)}

\textit{Me mate}
\textit{en mate}
\textit{po chimarrao}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{free from}
\textit{dn Spanish}

\textit{Me -me:n}
\textit{en say}
\textit{po dizer}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr bivalent}
\textit{ex me:tGawa migo}
\textit{umr y-me:n-t+Ga-wa me y-go aqi:di}
\textit{gl 3s.SUBJ-say-rel+2sg.CL-dative COMP 3sg.AUX-go river}
\textit{en He said to you that he goes to the river}
\textit{po Ele disse para você que vai ao rio}

\textit{Me -mi:qo}
\textit{en nose}
\textit{po nariz}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{ex lim:qo}
\textit{umr l-m:qo}
\textit{gl 3POSS-nose}
\textit{en His nose}
\textit{po Seu nariz}

\textit{Me n-}
\textit{en hither}
\textit{po para cê}
\textit{ps derivational prefix}
\textit{ex jinigowiwi:ti:jo}
\textit{umr j-n-gowiwe-t+jo}
\textit{gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-laugh-rel+going}
\textit{en I come laughing}
\textit{po Eu venho rindo}
\textit{ex jinoti:qo:ti:jo}
\textit{umr j-n-oti:qo-t+jo}
\textit{gl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-wistle-rel+going}
\textit{en I come wistling}
\textit{po Eu venho assobiando}
\le -na
\len see
\lpo ver
\lps verb
\lgr bivalent
\lex jin:atGa
\lmr j-n-na-d-Ga
\lgl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-see-atel-pl
\len We see
\lpo Nós vemos
\lex din:adi
\lmr y-d-n-na-d
\lgl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-see-atel
\len He sees himself/He takes care of himself
\lpo Ele se vê/Ele se pousa
\lex ane daGa n:adi e:l:e-adi
\lmr ane daGa y-n-na-d e:l:e-adi
\lgl relative neg 3sg.SUBJ -hither-see-atel other-pl
\len individualist (the one who does not see the others)
\lpo Egoista/Individualista (aquele que não vê os outros)

\le nabiaw
\len hyla
\lpo perereca
\lps noun
\lfree form

\le naca-
\len sp. fruit
\lpo ata
\lps noun
\lc nacaGa
\lmr naca-Ga
\lgl ata-pl
\lpo Ata
\len Ata

\le -nacibi
\len superior lip
\lpo lábio superior
\lps noun
\lex nacibi
\lmr l-nacibi
\lgl 3POSS-lip
\len His superior lip
\lpo O lábio de cima dele

\le nacone:gi
\len sp. wasp
\lpo marimbondo marrom
\lps noun
\lfree form
\texttt{\textbackslash{}le n\textbackslash{}akile\textbackslash{}di}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en accident}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po acidente}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}lc enakiledi}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}mr e-nakile\textbackslash{}di}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}gl IND-accident}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en Accident}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po Acidente}

\texttt{\textbackslash{}le nako:Ga}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en sp. woodpecker}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po pica-pan-do-campo}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}sc colaptes campestris}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}free form}

\texttt{\textbackslash{}le nalebepa}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en lightning}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po rai\textbackslash{}o}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ex nal\textbackslash{}ebepaGa}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}mr nal\textbackslash{}ebepa-Ga}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}gl lightning-pl}

\texttt{\textbackslash{}le -napa:Gate}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en ear}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po orelha}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ex GonapaGate}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}mr God::-napa:Gate}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}gl 1pl.POSS-ear}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en our ear}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po nossa orelha}

\texttt{\textbackslash{}le napigie\textbackslash{}o}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en sp. woodpecker}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po pica-pau-de-tupete-vermelho}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}gr free form}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}sc Campephilus sp.}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ex napigie\textbackslash{}o}

\texttt{\textbackslash{}le napigo}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}en honey}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}po mel}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash{}free form}
Ve napik: Gal-
\'en white deer
\'po veado branco
\'ps noun
\'sc Ozotocerus bezoarticus
\'ex napik: Galigo
\'mr napik: Gal-nigo
\'gl deer-animal
\'en White deer
\'po Veado branco

Ve natamenan-
\'en beetle
\'po besouro
\'ps noun
\'ex natamenan Ga
\'mr natamenan-Ga
\'gl beetle-pl
\'en Beetle
\'po Besouro

Ve mayog: a
\'en sugar cane
\'po cana de açúcar
\'ps noun
\'free form
\'wa eta Ga (used by old people only)

Ve nay: gi
\'en way/road/path
\'po caminho
\'ps noun
\'ex nGijo \hspace{1em} nay: gi
\'mr nG-i-jo \hspace{1em} nay: gi
\'gl close-masc-going way
\'en This way
\'po Este caminho

Ve na: bid: i
\'en black
\'po preto
\'ps noun
\'free form
\'ex na: bid: iwa: Ga
\'mr na: bid: i-wa: -Ga
\'gt na: bid: i-like-pl
\'en Dark
\'po Escuro
Mf -na:Ga
\en hide
\po esconder-se
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\text{id:ina:Gaditineki}
\text{mr j-d:-na:Ga-d-t-n+e-k}
\text{gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-hide-rel+downward+3sg.CL-cessive hole}
\en I hidden myself in the hole
\po Eu me escondi no buraco
\text{lex dina:Gaditi}
\text{mr y-d:-na:Ga-d-ti}
\text{gl 3sg.SUBJ-hide-{+cause}}
\en It was hidden
\po escondido

Mf na:jaw
\en snail
\po caracol
\ps noun
\free form

Mf ne:bi
\en owner
\po dono
\ps noun
\free form

Mf secoka
\en darkness
\po escuridao
\ps noun
\ps secoka:Ga
\text{mr secoka-Ga}
\text{gl dark-pl}

Mf -ney:e:Ga
\en quit
\po partir
\ps verb
\ps unergative
\text{lex João ne:y:eGaditi}
\text{mr John y-ne:y:Ga-d-ti}
\text{gl John 3sg.SUBJ-quit-atel-{+cause] 3POSS-village}
\en John abandoned the Indian village (the village caused John cause quitting)
\po João deixou sua aldeia

Mf ne:t:a
\en scorpion/ray
\po escorpiao/arraia
\ps noun
\gr free form
Me nGom:i-
\en centipede
\po centopéia/piolho de cobra
\ps noun
\lc noGom:idii
\mr nGom:-idi
\gl centipede-pl
\en Centipede
\po Centopéia
\ex noGom:idiiwa:Ga
\mr nGoma-adi-wa:-Ga
\gl centipede-pl-like-pl
\en worm
\po larva

Me -ni
\en smell
\po cheirar
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex iniiken:Ga
\mr j-ni-ken-Ga
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-thither-smell-[-become]-pl
\en We smell it
\po Nós o cheiramos

Me-nib:ed:ona
\en embrace
\po abraçar
\ps verb
\gr unaccusative
\ex id:inib:ed:onaGa
\mr j-d:-nib:ed:ona-Ga
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-theme-embrace-pl
\en We embrace
\po Abraçamos
\ex inib:ed:ona
\mr i-nib:ed:ona
\gl 1POSS-embrace
\en My finger
\po Meu dedo
\ex nib:ed:onoGodi
\mr nib:ed:ona-God
\gl embrace-[-become]
\en Godfather
\po Padrinho
\ex nib:ed:onoGodo
\mr nib:ed:ona-God-o
\gl finger-[-become]-feminine
\en Godmother
\po Madrinha
\gl water-?
\en alligator
\ipo jacaré
\ex ny:oGotipijegi
\mr n-y:oGo-ti-pi-jegi
\gl allbl-water-?-pl-source
\en water turtle
\ipo cágado
\sc Phrynops geoffroanus

\mr -noe:n:
\en cry
\ipo chorar
\ips verb
\gr unergative
\ex jinoe:
\mr j-noe:n:
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-cry
\en I cry
\ipo Eu choro

\mr nokodi:
\en sp. fish
\ipo lambari
\ips noun
\ips free form

\mr noqo
\en day
\ipo dia
\ips noun
\ips free form

\mr -notike
\en genipap
\ipo genipapo
\ips noun
\ips free form
\sc Genipa americana

\mr notoko
\en quiet
\ipo calado
\ips adverb
\gr free form

\mr nowake
\en sp. fruit
\ipo fruta do veado
\ips noun
\ips free form
Me -nwela
len guess
/po adivinhari
/ps verb
/lgr unaccusative
/lex diniwel:a
/lmr y-d-.n-wel:a
/lgl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-guess
/len Ele advinhou
/po He guessed

Me -nweta
len coldness
/po friagem
/ps noun
/lex niwetaGa
/lmr n-nweta-Ga
/lgl alnl-coldness-pl
/len Cold
/po Frio

Me -nwó
len wake up
/po levantar-se
/ps verb
/lgr unergative
/lex niwodi
/lmr y-nwó-d
/lgl 3sg.SUBJ-wake.up-atel
/len He wakes up
/po Ele se levanta

Me -nyaya
len defecate
/po defecar
/ps verb
/lgr unergative
/lex ninyayaGa
/lmr n-nyaya-Ga
/lgl 3pl.SUBJ-defecate-pl
/len They defecate
/po Eles defecam

Me -nyodi
len son in law
/po genro
/ps noun
/lex Ganyodi
/lmr Gad-.nyodi
/lgl 2POSS-son.in.law
/len Your son in law
/po Seu genro
Me -o
len leave
ipo sair
ips verb
igr unaccusative
lex i:doticke
umr j-d-o-d-t+ke
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-leave-atel-rel+outwards
len I leave
ipo Eu saio
lex oqo  Gonel:e:giwa  bGaGod:oditike
umr oqo  Gonel:e:giwa  bGa+Go-d-o-d-t+ke
\gl 1pl.PRONOUN man incompl+1pl.OBJ-theme-LEAVE-atel+rel-outwards
len We man will leave
ipo Nós os homens vamos sair

Me oc:go
len rainbow
ipo arco-iris
ips noun
igr free form

Me -oci
len bewitch
ipo enfetitar
ips verb
igr unergative
lex nocikonGegi
umr n-oci-kon-Gegi
\gl alabl-bewitch-[-become][-cause]
len sorcery
ipo Bruxaria
lex ocikonGegi
umr oci-kon-Gegi
\gl bewitch-[-become][-cause]
len Witch
ipo Bruxa

Me -ociGate
len mother in law
ipo sogra
ips noun
lex nociGate
umr n-ociGa-te
\gl alabl-mother_in_law

Me -ocike
len fast
ipo ser arisco
ips verb
igr unaccusative
lex docike
umr y-d-ocike
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.fast

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\[ \text{He is fast} \]
\[ \text{Ele é arisco} \]

\[ \text{-ocoqoce} \]
\[ \text{scREW} \]
\[ \text{parafuso} \]
\[ \text{nom} \]
\[ \text{locokoce} \]
\[ \text{l-ocoqoce} \]
\[ \text{3POSS-screw} \]
\[ \text{its screw} \]
\[ \text{Seu parafuso} \]

\[ \text{-ocaqon} \]
\[ \text{close} \]
\[ \text{fechar} \]
\[ \text{verb} \]
\[ \text{bivalent} \]
\[ \text{anoqonqi} \]
\[ \text{epwagi} \]
\[ \text{a-n-ocaqon-i} \]
\[ \text{epwag} \]
\[ \text{2pl.SUBJ-hither-close-pl} \]
\[ \text{door} \]
\[ \text{Close the door} \]
\[ \text{Fecho a porta} \]
\[ \text{dinocqo} \]
\[ \text{epwagi} \]
\[ \text{y-d-n-ocaqon} \]
\[ \text{epwag} \]
\[ \text{3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-close} \]
\[ \text{door} \]
\[ \text{The door was closed} \]
\[ \text{A porta foi fechada} \]

\[ \text{-ocotegi} \]
\[ \text{younger brother} \]
\[ \text{irmao mais novo} \]
\[ \text{nou} \]
\[ \text{nom} \]
\[ \text{locotegi} \]
\[ \text{l-ocotegi} \]
\[ \text{3POSS-younger brother} \]
\[ \text{His younger brother} \]
\[ \text{Seu irmão mais novo} \]

\[ \text{-oden} \]
\[ \text{invite} \]
\[ \text{convidar} \]
\[ \text{verb} \]
\[ \text{bivalent} \]
\[ \text{inoqenGa} \]
\[ \text{n-oden-Ga} \]
\[ \text{1pl.SUBJ-hither-invite-pl} \]
\[ \text{We invite him} \]
\[ \text{Nós o convidamos} \]
\[ \text{anoqeniwagi} \]
\[ \text{a-n-oden-i-t+wagi} \]
\[ \text{2pl.SUBJ-hither-invite-pl-rel+pl} \]
\[ \text{Yon all invite him} \]
\[ \text{Vocês os convidem.} \]
\text{i} ex inode migo
\text{mr} j-n-oden me+y-go
\text{gl} 1sg.SUBJ-hither-invite COMP+3sg.SUBJ-go
\text{en} I invite Mary to go to the party
\text{po} Eu convido him to go.
\text{ex} onodeta nai:o:Go
\text{mr} o-y-n-oden-t+e-wa n-al:Go
\text{gl} pl-3sg.SUBJ- hither-invite-rel+3sg.CL-dative alabl-play-pl
\text{en} He was invited to the party
\text{po} Ele foi convidado para a festa/ Convidaram-no para a festa

\text{le} odGa
\text{en} large drum
\text{po} tambor
\text{ps} noun
\text{free form}

\text{le} odwe
\text{en} front/prow
\text{po} frente/próa
\text{ps} noun
\text{ex} i:go odwe
\text{mr} y-go odwe
\text{gl} 3sg.SUBJ go front
\text{en} He goes first
\text{po} Ele vai na frente
\text{ex} odwejegi
\text{mr} odwe-jegi
\text{gl} front-source
\text{en} The first one
\text{po} Primeiro
\text{ex} niwa:teki lodwe
\text{mr} n-wa:teki l-odwe
\text{gl} alabl-boat 3POSS-front
\text{en} The boat's prow
\text{po} A proa da canoa

\text{le} -od:agi
\text{en} sugar cane brandy
\text{po} pinga
\text{ps} noun
\text{ex} nod:agi
\text{mr} n-od:agi
\text{gl} alabl-brandy
\text{va} bola (used by old people only)

\text{le} -od:awa
\text{en} spouse
\text{po} cônjuge
\text{ps} noun
\text{ex} lod:awa
\text{mr} l-od:awa
\text{gl} 3POSS-spouse
\text{en} His spouse
Seu cônjuge

Use odra:jo
en knife
po faca
ps noun
ex nod:a:jo
mr n-od:a:jo
gl alnbl-knife

Use odralo:
en belly button
po botaolumbigo
ps noun
ex lod:al-o
mr l-od:al-o
gl 3POSS-button
en His belly button
po Seu umbigo

Ve -oem
en prepar
po preparar
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex dinoc
mr y-d:-n-oem
egl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-make
en It is made
po Foi feito
ex joel
mr j-oem
egl 1sg.SUBJ-make
en I make it
po Eu faço
ex weni
mr a-oem-i
egl 2pl.SUBJ-make-pl
en You make it
en Você faz
ex dinoc

mr y-d:-n-oem
egl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-make
3POSS-dust-pl
en The flour was made
po Fazer farinha

Ve-oGa
en take out
po tirar
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex jinoGatike
mr j-n-oGa-Ga-t+ke
egl 1sg.SUBJ-hither-take-pl-rel+outward
We take it out

We oGo

move forward

avançar

verb

umerative

egoGoteloko

ej-oGo-t+t-e-tokom

1sg.AUX-move-forward-refl+-3sg.CL-adsessive

move forward to it

Eu avanço para lá

We oGomoki

down elbow

colovelo

noun

logomoki

1-oGomoki

3POSS-elbow

His elbow

Seu cotovel

We GotopGa

lye prone

deitado de braços

verb

unaccusative

inoGotopGati

me jyote

j-oGotopGa-ti

me j-yote

1sg.SUBJ-refl-lye-prone-[+cause] COMP 1sg.SUBJ-sleep

am lying prone to sleep

Eu estou deitado de braços para dormir

We Gowe:di

gift

presente

noun

Gonogowe:di

God:-n-oGowe:di

1pl.POSS-alnbl-gift

Our gift

Nosso presente/prêmio

We ojete

buy

comprar

verb

bivalent

jinejeteGa

j-ojete-Ga

1sg.SUBJ-hither-buy-pl

We buy it
\po Nós compramos
\ex od:nojeteta
\umr o-y-d:n-ojetete-t-e-wa
\gli pl-3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel+3sg.CL-dative
\en It was bought to him
\po Ele o compra para ele
\ex ojetetaGaci
\umr ojeteta-Gaci
\gli buy-noun
\en Market
\po Mercado
\ex dinojetetiwa
\umr y-d:n-ojetete-t-i-wa
\gli 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-buy-rel+1sg.CL-dative
\en This coat was bought for me
\po Este casaco foi comprado para mim

\ve -ojigo
\en pierce
\po espetar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex yojigo
\umr y-ojigo
\gli 3sg.SUBJ-pierce
\en He pierced the boy
\po Ele espetou o menino

\ve ejoy
\en boa constrictor
\po jibóia
\ps noun
\free form

\ve -okeli:i
\en tongue
\po lingua
\ps noun
\ex God:okeli:i
\umr God:-okeli:i
\gli 1pl.POSS-tongue
\en Our tongue
\po Nossa lingua

\ve -oko
\en get used
\po acostumar-se
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\ex yokoteke
\umr y-oko-t-t-e-k
\gli 3sg.SUBJ-get.used-rel+3sg.CL-allative
\en He is getting used to it
\po Ele está se acostumando com ele
\textit{ue -okole}
\textit{ven throw}
\textit{po jogar}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr bivalent}
\textit{ex o-y-okole-tini}  \textit{wetiGa aqi:di}
\textit{mr o-y-okole-t+n}  \textit{wetiGa aqi:di}
\textit{gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-throw-rel+going.inside stone river}
\textit{en He throws the stone in the river}
\textit{po Ele joga a pedra no rio}

\textit{ue -okom}
\textit{ven vomit}
\textit{po vomitar}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr unaccusative}
\textit{ex God:oko}
\textit{mr Go-d-:okom}
\textit{gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-vomit}
\textit{ven We vomit}
\textit{po Nós vomitamos}
\textit{ex God:okomGa}
\textit{mr Go-d-:okom-Ga}
\textit{gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-vomit-pl}
\textit{ven Our vomit}
\textit{po Nosso vômito}

\textit{ue okox:}
\textit{ven green}
\textit{po verde}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{free form}

\textit{ue -ol:a:}
\textit{ven body}
\textit{po corpo}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{ex God:ol:a:tedi}
\textit{mr God:-ol:a:-adi-adi}
\textit{gl 1pl.POSS-body-pl-pl}
\textit{ven Our bodies}
\textit{po Nosso corpos}

\textit{ue -olad:o:go:}
\textit{ven skin}
\textit{po pele/casca}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{ex lolad:o:go:}
\textit{mr l-olad:o:go:}
\textit{gl 3POSS-skin}
\textit{ven His skin}
\textit{po Sua Pele/Casca}
\textbf{Ve -olakan}
\textit{ten} row
\textit{ipo} remar
\textit{ips} verb
\textit{igr} unergative
\textit{vex} jolakanGa
\textit{umr} j-olakan-Ga
\textit{g1} 1sg.SUBJ-row-pl
\textit{ten} We row
\textit{ipo} Nós remamos

\textbf{Ve -olen}
\textit{ten} fill
\textit{ipo} encher
\textit{ips} verb
\textit{igr} unaccusative
\textit{vex} anolenGati
\textit{umr} a-n-olen-Gad-i
\textit{g1} 2sg.SUBJ-hither-fill-[+caus] pot
\textit{ten} You fill the pot
\textit{ipo} Você enche pote
\textit{vex} nolenGadi
\textit{umr} y-n-olen-Gad
\textit{g1} 3sg.SUBJ- hither-fill-[+caus] cup
\textit{ten} It fills the cup
\textit{ipo} Isso enche o copo

\textbf{Ve -oli}
\textit{ten} detain
\textit{ipo} deter
\textit{ips} verb
\textit{igr} bivalent
\textit{vex} jinol:i
\textit{umr} j-n-oli:i
\textit{g1} 1sg.SUBJ-hither-detain
\textit{ten} I detain him
\textit{ipo} Eu o detenho
\textit{vex} olikGegi
\textit{umr} oli-g-Gegi
\textit{g1} detain-tel-[+caus]
\textit{ten} Stealer
\textit{ipo} Ladrao
\textit{vex} olikGegawa:nig:i
\textit{umr} oli-g-Gegi-wa:-nig:i
\textit{g1} detain-tel-[+caus]-like-m.dim
\textit{ten} Almost stealing
\textit{ipo} Ladrazilinho

\textbf{Ve -oka}
\textit{ten} choose
\textit{ipo} escolher
\textit{ips} verb
\textit{igr} unergative
\textit{vex} yol:atudike
o-ol:a-t-e
\lgl 3sg.SUBJ-choose-rel+3sg.CL-theme+outward
\l en He chooses her
\lpo Ele o escolheu/escolhido
\lex oyol:atiqwaki
\lmr o-y:ol:a-t+iqwaki
\lgl pl-3pl.SUBJ-choose-rel+going.apart
\l en They choose it
\lpo Eles o escolheram

We -o-agi
\l en seed/munition
\lpo semente/municao
\lps noun
\lex ny:al:e \lol:agi
\lmr n-y:al:e \l-olag
\lgl alnbl-tree \3POSS-seed
\l en Seed
\lpo Semente

Ve -otre
\l en fire
\lpo fogo
\lps noun
\lcf oil:edi
\lmr n-oil:e-adı
\lgl alnbl-fire-pl
\l en Fire
\lpo Fogo
\lex yot:etedi
\lmr i-ole-adı-adı
\lgl \1POSS-fire-pl-pl
\l en My matches
\lpo Meus fósforos

Ve -o-ke
\l en look for/search
\lpo procurar
\lps verb
\lg bivalent
\lex o:d:ol:etibigi
\lmr o-y:ol:a-t+bigim
\lgl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-search-rel+upward
\l en They were looked for
\lpo Eles foram procurados

\lgl alnbl-liver

\lex no:idi
\lmr n-o:idi
\lgl alnbl-liver

\lex my:al:e
\lmr n-y:al:e
\lgl alnbl-tree
\l en Seed
\lpo Semente

\lex ny:al:e
\lmr n-y:al:e
\lgl alnbl-tree
\l en Seed
\lpo Semente

\lex yot:etedi
\lmr i-ole-adı-adı
\lgl \1POSS-fire-pl-pl
\l en My matches
\lpo Meus fósforos

\lex o:d:ol:etibigi
\lmr o-y:ol:a-t+bigim
\lgl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-search-rel+upward
\l en They were looked for
\lpo Eles foram procurados

\lex no:idi
\lmr n-o:idi
\lgl alnbl-liver

\lex ny:al:e
\lmr n-y:al:e
\lgl alnbl-tree
\l en Seed
\lpo Semente

\lex yot:etedi
\lmr i-ole-adı-adı
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\lmr n-o:idi
\lgl alnbl-liver

\tw o-ol:a-t-e
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\lmr o-y:ol:a-t+bigim
\lgl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-search-rel+upward
\len They were looked for
\lpo Eles foram procurados

\tw o:idi
\len liver
\lpo figado
\lps noun
\lex no:idi
\lmr n-o:idi
\lgl alnbl-liver

\tw o-ol:a-t-e
\ln 3sg.SUBJ-choose-rel+3sg.CL-theme+outward
\len He chooses her
\lpo Ele o escolheu/escolhido
\lex oyol:atiqwaki
\lmr o-y:ol:a-t+iqwaki
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\len They choose it
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\lgl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-search-rel+upward
\len They were looked for
\lpo Eles foram procurados

\tw o:idi
\len liver
\lpo figado
\lps noun
\lex no:idi
\lmr n-o:idi
\lgl alnbl-liver
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\mr j-d-onikiwa-d
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-strong-atel
\en I am strong.
\po Eu sou forte.
\lex ad:i nonikiwaGati
\mr ad:i n-onikiwa-Gad-i
\gl DEM alnbl-strong-[-cause-]-pl
\en This strength (Lit.: This something strengthening something)
\po Esta força
\lex jeGe: ionikiweGeni
\mr jG+e: l-onikiwa-Gen-i
\gl comp1+1PRONOUN 3POSS-strong-[-become-]-pl
\en I have been strong
\po Estou sendo forte

\me -on:ib:i
\en sweat
\po suor
\ps noun
\lex lon:ib:i
\mr l-on:ib:i
\gl 3POSS-sweat
\en His sweat
\po Seu suor

\me -ool:e
\en pan
\po panela
\ps noun
\lex nool:e
\mr n-ool:e
\gl alnbl-pan
\en Pan
\po Panela
\lex nooleGanGa
\mr n-oole-GanGa
\gl alnbl-pan-instr
\en Stove
\po Fogao

\me opaqe
\en old woman
\po ancia
\ps noun
\free form
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\textit{Ve -opo}
\textit{ten need}
\textit{po precisar}
\textit{ps verb}
\textit{gr bivalent}
\textit{ex ane yopotibi}
\textit{mr ane y-opo-t+bigim}
\textit{gl relative 3sg.SUBJ-need-rel+upward}
\textit{ten The one who needs something}
\textit{po Necessitado}

\textit{Ve opon-}
\textit{ten sp. fish resembling the mullet}
\textit{po traíra}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{sc Hoplias Malabaricus}
\textit{ex oponaGa}
\textit{mr opon-Ga}
\textit{gl traíra-pl}
\textit{ten Traíra}
\textit{po Traíra}

\textit{Ve ngwe}
\textit{ten black vulture}
\textit{po urubu}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{sc Cathartidae family}
\textit{free form}

\textit{Ve -oqa:Gedi}
\textit{ten friend}
\textit{po amigo}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{ex Ioqa:Gedi}
\textit{mr l-oqka:Gedi}
\textit{gl 3POSS-friend}
\textit{ten His friend}
\textit{po Seu amigo}

\textit{Ve oqGatGa}
\textit{ten tall/long}
\textit{po alto/comprido}
\textit{ps noun}
\textit{free form}
\textit{ex Gonel:e:giwa oqGatGa}
\textit{mr God:-n-e:giwa oqGatGa}
\textit{gl 1pl.POSS-alnbl-man long}
\textit{ten Tall man}
\textit{po Homem alto}
\textit{ex nod:a jo oqGatGa}
\mr n-odaj-o qGatGa
\gl adnbl-knife long
\en Sword
\po Espada

\en -oqodi
\en knee
\po joelho
\ps noun
\ex loqodi
\mr l-oqodi
\gl 3POSS-knee
\en His knee
\po O joelho dele

\en -oqoloGa
\en budding
\po broto
\ps noun
\ex loqoloGo:i
\mr l-oqoloGo-t:i
\gl 3POSS-budding-pl
\en Buddings
\po Brotos

\en qoqm:
\en people/we
\po gente/nós
\ps noun
\fre form
\ex qo jiganGa
\mr qoqm: j-gan-Ga
\gl people 1sg.SUBJ-sing-pl
\en We sing
\po Nós cantamos
\uc eeqoqojegi
\mr e-qoqm:-RED-jegi
\gl IND-people-RED-source
\en Mucus
\po Muco

\en -oqoqe
\en light
\po luz
\ps noun
\ex loqoqe
\mr l-oqoqe
\gl 3POSS-light
\en Its light
\po Sua luz
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Me otakigö

len sp. tree

po paratudo, ipê amarelo

ps noun

sec Tabebuia caraiba

free form

Me -otam:i

len bowl

po cuia

ps noun

sex mate lotam:i

umr mate l-otam:i

umr mate 3POSS-bowl

len Mate's bowl

po Cuia de chimarrão

Me -otete

len store

po guardar

ps verb

gr bivalent

sex dinotete katined:i etakanig:i

umr y-d-:-n-otete ka-i-n+e-d: etaka-nig:i

ogl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-lither-store loc-rel-downward+3sg.CL-theme basket-m.dim

len It is stored in a basket

po guardado dentro do cesto

Me otGacaGa

len talkative

po tagarela

noun

free form

Me -oti

len milk

po leite

ps noun

sex wa:ka lotidi

umr wa:ka l-oti-adi

ogl cow 3POSS-milk-pl

len The cow's milk

po Leite de vaca

Me -otigima

len argue

po discutir

ps verb

gr bivalent

sex dinotigimadi

umr y-d-:-n-otigima-d

ogl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-lither-argue-atel

len It was discussed

po Isso foi discutido
M! me otweca:Ga
me nor
po nem
ps conjunction
ex aid:ig:ikile otweca:Ga idel:owadi ekibi
unr aGt:j-d-g:ikile otweca:ga j-d-el:owadi ekibi
lg! neg+1sg.SUBJ-theme-hungry nor 1sg.SUBJ-theme-kill thirst
en I am neither hungry nor thirsty
po Eu n!ao estou com fome nem com sede

M! me-otwinGa
en neck
po pescoço
ps noun
ex notwinGadi
unr n-otwinGa-adi
lg! alhbl-neck-pl
en Neck
po Pescoço

M! me-owag
en bite
po morder
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex jowawGa
unr j-owag-Ga
lg! 1pl.SUBJ-bite-pl
en We bite it
po Nós o mordemos

M! me-owe
en tooth
po dente
ps noun
ex lowe
unr l-owe
lg! 3POSS-tooth
en His tooth
po Dente dele

M! me owe:
en outside
po fora
ps noun
free form
ex ejigo owe:
unr ej-go owe:
lg! 1AUX-go OUTSIDE
en I am going out
po Eu vou para fora
ex owe:tike GoGe:adi
unr owe:+ke God:-Geladi
Outside-rel+outward 1pl.POSS-village
\textit{Outside the village}


\-owyen
\en take care
\po cuidar
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\ex God:owyeditelokom
\mr Go-d:-owyen-d-t+e-lokom
\gl 1pl.OBJ-theme-take.care-atel-rel+3sg.CL-adessive
\en He takes care of us
\po Ele cuida de nós
\ex dinowedi
\mr y-d:-n:owyen-d
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-take.care-atel
\en He takes care of himself
\po Ele se cuida
\ex jowyenaGa
\mr j-owyen-Ga
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-take.care-pl
\en We take care of him
\po Nós tomamos conta dele

\-owyodGay
\en dressing/fashion
\po mameira de vestir/moda
\ps noun
\ex lowyodGay
\mr l:owyodGay
\gl 3POO-dressing
\en His way to dress
\po Sua maneira de vestir-se

\ow:ik:di
\en lot
\po grupo/feiche/montjo/maço
\ps noun
\free form
\ex ow:ik:di etakol:i
\mr ow:ik:di etakol:i
\gl lot corn
\en a lot of corn beans
\po Muitos grãos de milho
\ex aGoti:di etakol:i
\mr aG+ow:idi etakil:i
\gl neg+lot corn
\en Some corn beans
\po Poucos grãos de milho
\texttt{Me -ow\textbackslash rl:gi}
\texttt{\textbackslash n en tribe}
\texttt{\textbackslash ppo tribo}
\texttt{\textbackslash ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash lex now:i:gi}
\texttt{\textbackslash mr n-ow\textbackslash rl:gi}
\texttt{\textbackslash gl alnbi-tribe}
\texttt{\textbackslash en Tribe}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO Tribo}
\texttt{\textbackslash n oya\textbackslash xewa\textbackslash Ga}
\texttt{\textbackslash en anaconda}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO sucuri}
\texttt{\textbackslash ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash free form}
\texttt{\textbackslash n oy\textbackslash d\textbackslash wa}
\texttt{\textbackslash en relative}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO parente}
\texttt{\textbackslash ps noun}
\texttt{\textbackslash lex loyal\textbackslash d\textbackslash wa}
\texttt{\textbackslash mr l-oy\textbackslash d\textbackslash wa}
\texttt{\textbackslash gl 3POSS-relative}
\texttt{\textbackslash en His relative}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO O parente dele}
\texttt{\textbackslash n o\textbackslash o:Ga}
\texttt{\textbackslash en believe}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO acreditar}
\texttt{\textbackslash ps verb}
\texttt{\textbackslash gr bivalent}
\texttt{\textbackslash lex oyo:Gadi}
\texttt{\textbackslash mr o-y-o:Ga-d}
\texttt{\textbackslash gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-believe}
\texttt{\textbackslash en They believe it}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO Eles acreditam nisso}
\texttt{\textbackslash n o\textbackslash r:it}
\texttt{\textbackslash en be afraid}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO temer}
\texttt{\textbackslash ps verb}
\texttt{\textbackslash gr unaccusative}
\texttt{\textbackslash lex id:o:i:Ga}
\texttt{\textbackslash mr j-d-o:i:-Ga}
\texttt{\textbackslash gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-afraid-pl}
\texttt{\textbackslash en We are afraid}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO Nós tememos medo}
\texttt{\textbackslash lex id:o:ita}
\texttt{\textbackslash mr i-d-o:i-t+e-wa}
\texttt{\textbackslash gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-afraid-rel+3sg.CL-dative snake}
\texttt{\textbackslash en I am afraid of snakes}
\texttt{\textbackslash pO Eu tenho medo de cobra}
Me -o:jo
len pus
’po pus
’ps noun
lex lo:jo
’mr l-o:jo
’gl 3POSS-pus
len Its pus
’po Sua pus

Me o:noka
len cough
’po tossir
’ps verb
’gr unergative
’ex jo:-noka-Ga
’mr j-o:noka-Ga
’gl 1pl.SUBJ-cough-pl
len We cough
’po Nós tossimos

Me o:to
len gold
’po ouro
’ps noun
’free form
’dn Portuguese

Me o:wO
len string
’po linha
’ps noun
’ex no:woni:gi
’mr n-o:wO-ni:gi
’gl anhbl-string-m.dim
len String
’po Linha/Barbante

Me -pegi
len stay
’po ficar/estar
’ps verb
’gr unaccusative
’ex di:m:a>Ga o:pegi:iti:gi
’mr di:migi-Ga o-y-d:-pegi:i+t+get
’gl house-pl pl-3pl.SUBJ-theme-stay-rel+going.against
len The houses are close to the mountain
’po As casa ficam perto do morro
\(\text{Ve - peki}\\)
\(\text{en approach}\\)
\(\text{po aproximar-se}\\)
\(\text{ps verb}\\)
\(\text{gr unergative}\\)
\(\text{ex ipeg:fitwagi}\\)
\(\text{mnr y-pegi-t+wa}\\)
\(\text{gl 3sg.SBJ-stay-rel+going.together}\\)
\(\text{en He is getting close}\\)
\(\text{po Ele se aproxima}\\)

\(\text{Ve pida}\\)
\(\text{en but}\\)
\(\text{po mas}\\)
\(\text{ps conjunction}\\)
\(\text{ex id:ig:ikiile}\\)
\(\text{pida aid:el:owadi ekibi}\\)
\(\text{mnr j-d-g:ikiile}\\)
\(\text{pida aG+j-d-el:owadi ekibi}\\)
\(\text{gl 1sg.SBJ-theme-hungry but neg+1sg.SBJ-theme-kill thirst}\\)
\(\text{en I am hungry but I am not thirsty}\\)
\(\text{po Eu estou com fome mas nao estou com sede}\\)

\(\text{Ve - poklo}\\)
\(\text{en ask for}\\)
\(\text{po pedir}\\)
\(\text{ps verb}\\)
\(\text{gr bivalent}\\)
\(\text{ex dipokota}\\)
\(\text{mnr y-d-n-poklo-t+t+wa}\\)
\(\text{gl 3sg.SBJ-theme-hither-ask-rel+3sg.CL-dative}\\)
\(\text{en It was asked to him}\\)
\(\text{po Isso lhe foi perguntado}\\)

\(\text{Ve - pokolo}\\)
\(\text{en step son}\\)
\(\text{po enteado}\\)
\(\text{ps noun}\\)
\(\text{ex lopokolo}\\)
\(\text{mnr l-pokolo}\\)
\(\text{gl 3POSS-step.son}\\)
\(\text{en His son in law}\\)
\(\text{po Seu enteado}\\)

\(\text{Ve - poy}\\)
\(\text{en step}\\)
\(\text{po pisar}\\)
\(\text{ps verb}\\)
\(\text{gr unergative}\\)
\(\text{ex ipoyteloko}\\)
\(\text{mnr i-poy-t+lokom}\\)
\(\text{gl 3sg.SBJ-step-rel+3sg.CL-adesive}\\)
\(\text{en He stepped on him}\\)
\(\text{po Ele pisou nele}\\)
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We -qote
\en knot
\ps nó
\n the knot
\gl 3POSS-knot
\en Knot
\po Nó

\l -ti
\en shinbone
\po canela da perna
\ps noun
\ex iti
\nm r i-ti
\gl 1POSS-ti
\en My shinbone
\po Minha canela

\l -ti
\en [+cause]
\ps derivational suffix
\ex id:ikoti
\mr j-d-ikon-ti
\gl 1sg.SUBJ-theme-sit-[+cause]
\en I sit myself
\po Eu me siento (I cause myself (to) cause sitting)

\l -w
\en eat lunch/dinner
\po almoçar/jantar
\ps verb
\ex unergative
\ex jinyíd:Ga
\mr j-n-w-d-Ga
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-hither-lunch-atel-pl
\en We have lunch
\po Nós almoçamos

\l wacakoko
\en lamb
\po carneiro
\ps noun
\free form

\l wacigid-
\en goat
\po cabra
\ps noun
\ex wacigidi
\en female goat
\po cabra
\ex wacigida
\l en goat
\l po bode

\l en waja-
\l en widowed
\l po viûva
\l ps nom
\l ex wajaikal:o 1Gilagi
\l mr waja-ilkal:o 1-Gilagi
\l gl widowed-noun 3POSS-throat
\l en Coral snake (lit. widowed's necklace)
\l po Cobra coral (lit: colar de viûva)

\l en war:ka
\l en cow
\l po vaca
\l ps noun
\l gr free form
\l en Portuguese
\l ex wa:kawa:na
\l gl wa:ka-wa:-na
\l en cow-like-f.dim
\l ex female calf
\l po Novilha
\l ex wa:ka:wa:nig:i
\l mr wa:ka-wa:-nig:i
\l gl cow-like-m.dim
\l en male calf
\l po Bezerrro

\l en -wakog:o
\l en leather
\l po couro
\l ps noun
\l ex ewakog:o
\l mr e-wakog:o
\l gl IND-leather
\l en Leather
\l po Couro

\l en waleta
\l en olympic games
\l po olimpiadas
\l ps noun
\l ex waleta-Ga
\l mr waleta-Ga
\l ge game-pl
\l en Ollympic games
\l po Olimpiadas
\[\text{Ve walokeni}\]
\[\text{\en catfish}\]
\[\text{\en-
po bagre}\]
\[\text{\en-
ps noun}\]
\[\text{\en-
sc Rhamdia pubescens}\]
\[\text{\en free form}\]

\[\text{Ve -wakodi}\]
\[\text{\en grandson}\]
\[\text{\en-
po neto}\]
\[\text{\en-
ps noun}\]
\[\text{\en-
ex evalakodi}\]
\[\text{\en mr c-wakodi}\]
\[\text{\en gl IND-grandson}\]
\[\text{\en Grandson}\]
\[\text{\en-
po Neto}\]

\[\text{Ve wama:a}\]
\[\text{\en sp. locust tree}\]
\[\text{\en-
po jatobá}\]
\[\text{\en-
ps noun}\]
\[\text{\en-
gr free form}\]
\[\text{\en sc Hymenaea}\]

\[\text{Ve -waqate}\]
\[\text{\en message/letter}\]
\[\text{\en-
po mensagem/carta}\]
\[\text{\en-
ps noun}\]
\[\text{\en-
ex liwaqate}\]
\[\text{\en mr l-waqate}\]
\[\text{\en gl 3POSS-message}\]
\[\text{\en Grandson\en-
his letter/message}\]
\[\text{\en-
po Sua mensagem/carta}\]

\[\text{Ve waqadi}\]
\[\text{\en family}\]
\[\text{\en-
po família}\]
\[\text{\en-
ps noun}\]
\[\text{\en-
free form}\]

\[\text{Ve -waqom}\]
\[\text{\en stomach}\]
\[\text{\en-
po estomago}\]
\[\text{\en-
ps noun}\]
\[\text{\en-
ex liwoqomGa}\]
\[\text{\en mr l-waqom-Ga}\]
\[\text{\en gl 3POSS-stomach-pl}\]
\[\text{\en Grandson\en-
his stomach}\]
\[\text{\en-
po Estômago dele}\]
Me wedel:e
\en tick
\po carrapato
\ps noun
\gr free form

Me we dey:e
\ps proper name

Me -weka
\en shirt
\po camisa
\ps noun
\ex inwekaGaci
\umr i-n-weka-Gaci
\gl 1POSS-alnbl-shirt-noun
\en My shirt
\po Minha camisa

Me -wel:e
\en thorn
\po espinho
\ps noun
\ex liwel:e
\umr i-wel:e
\gl 3POSS-thorn
\en His thorn
\po Seu espinho

Me wel:ete
\en breast
\po seio
\ps noun
\ex iwel:ete
\umr i-wel:ete
\gl 1POSS-breast
\en My breast
\po Meu seio

Me wen:en:e
\en poison
\po veneno
\ps verb
\gr bivalent
\dn Portuguese
\ex diniwen:en:e
\umr y-d-n-wen:en:e
\gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-refl-poison
\en He poisoned himself
\po Ele se envenenou
Ve -wetam:
Ve be cold
Vo estar frio
Vs verb
Gr unaccusative
Ve diweta
Vm y-d-wetam:
Gm 3sg.SUBJ-theme-be.cold
Ve It is cold/ Winter
Vo Esta frio /Inverno
Ve iwetam:Gadi
Vm i-wetam:-Gad
Gm 3sg.SUBJ-be.cold- [+cause] alabl-food-m.dim
Ve She chills it
Vo Ela o esfria

Ve wetiGa
Ve stone
Vo pedra
Vs noun
Ve free form

Ve -we:n
Ve food
Vo comida
Vs noun
Ve x niwe:n:gi:i
Vm n:we:n:ni:gi:i
Gm alabl-food-m.dim
Ve x niwe:n:gi:i dapiqo
Vm n:we:n:ni:gi:i y-d-apiqo
Gm alabl-food-m.dim 3sg.SUBJ-theme-warm
Ve The food is warm
Vo A comida está quente
Ve x niwe:n:Ga
Vm n:we:n:Ga
Gm alabl-food-pl
Ve Intestine
Vo Intestino
Ve x oqo niwe:n:Godi
Vm oqo n:we:n:God
Gm people alabl-food- [+become]
Ve People eat
Vo Comedor de gente

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Me -wid:a
\pen fezes
\po fezes
\ps noun
\lex liwid:aGa
\mnr l-wi-d:a-Ga
\gl 3POSS-fece-pl
\pen His fezes
\po Suas fezes

Me -wiGadi
\pen pet
\po animal doméstico
\ps noun
\lex Gowiqatedi
\mnr God:-wiGadi-edi
\gl 1pl.POSS-pet-pl
\pen Our pets
\po Nossos animais domésticos

Me -wigoti
\pen center
\po centro
\ps noun
\lex ib:a:Gadi liwigoti
\mnr i-ba:Gad i-wigoti
\gl 1POSS-hand 3POSS-center
\pen The palm of my hand
\po A palma da minha mao

Me -wila
\pen clay/pottery
\po argila/cerâmica
\ps noun
\lex iwila:ana
\mnr i-wila-na
\gl 1POSS-clay.f.dim
\lex My clay/My pottery
\po Minha argila/Minha cerâmica

Me -witaq
\pen lie
\po mentir
\ps verb
\gr unergative
\lex jiwitaqGa
\mnr j-witaq-Ga
\gl 1pl.SUBJ-lie-pl
\pen We lie
\po Nós mentimos
\lex niwitaqeGegi
\mnr n-witaq-Gegi
\gl anbl-lie-[cause]
\pen Lie
ho Mentira

ho wite:lo
ho wasp
ho marimbondo
ho noun
ho free form
ho wite:lo
ho wite:lo:owa:Ga
ho wite:lo:o-:wa:-Ga
ho wasp-like:pl
ho Hornet
ho Vespa

ho -woladi
ho mouth/language
ho boca/lingua
ho noun
ho ewladi
ho e-woladi
ho IND-mouth
ho Mouth
ho Boca
ho ditibigime:d:i
ho di-t-bigim:e-d:
i-n-woladi
ho loc-rel-upwards+3sg.CL-theme
ho POSS-alnbl-mouth
ho roof of mouth
ho ceu da boca
ho Goniwoladi
ho ejiwajegi
ho God:-n-woladi
ho ejtwa-jegi
ho 1pl.POSS-alnbl-mouth
ho palm-source
ho Our Kadiwéu language
ho Nossa língua Kadiwéu

ho -wol:oqa
ho phlegm
ho catarro
ho noun
ho Gowol:oqa
ho God:-wol:oqa
ho 1pl.POSS-phlegm
ho Our phlegm
ho Nosso catarro

ho -woti
ho lay down
ho deitar-sc
ho verb
ho unergative
ho iwo:ti
ho i-woti
ho 3POSS-lay.down
ho He lays down
ho Ele se deitou
Me -wo:
|en lie down
|po deitar-sc
|ps verb
|gr unergative
|ex jiwo:
|mr j-wo:
|gl 1sg.SUBJ-lie.down
|en I lie down
|po Eu me detto

Me -wa
|en shadow
|po sombra
|ps noun
|ex Gow:a
|mr God-w-a
|gl 1pl.POSS-shadow
|en Our shadow
|po Nossa sombra

Me -w:aya
|en ankle
|po tornozelo
|ps noun
|ex iw:aya
|mr i-w:aya
|gl 1POSS-ankle
|en My ankle
|po Meu tornozelo
|va liw:ayaGaci
|mr I-w:aya-Gaci
|gl 3POSS-ankle-noun
|en My ankle
|po Seu tornozelo

Me -w:el:adi
|en shoe
|po sapato
|ps noun
|ex iw:el:adi
|mr i-w:el:adi
|gl 1POSS-shoe
|en My shoe
|po Meu sapato
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Ue ye cogo
\l en rugous
\l po rugoso/pegajoso
\l ps noun
\l free form

Ue ye kwaa
\l en exchange
\l po trocar
\l ps verb
\l gr unergative
\l ex dinyekwaGe
\l mr y-d-n-yekwa-Gen:
\l gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-exchange-{+become}
\l en It was exchanged
\l po Trocado
\l ex nyekwanatakanGegi
\l mr n-yekwanat-t+o-wa-kan-Gegi
\l gl alnbl-exchange-rel+3sg.CL-dative-{+become}-[-cause]
\l en Exchange
\l po Troca

\l en crazy
\l po louco
\l ps noun
\l free form

Ue yiGo
\l en soil/place
\l po terra/fugar
\l ps noun
\l free form
\l ex inyiGo
\l mr i-n-yiGo
\l gl 1POSS-alnbl-soil
\l en My land/country
\l po Minha terra/pais

Ue yo
\l en follow
\l po seguir
\l ps verb
\l gr unergative
\l ex jyoGakeki
\l mr j-yo-Ga-t+e-k
\l gl 1pl.SUBJ-follow-pl-rel+3sg.CL-adessive
\l en We follow it
\l po Nós o seguimos
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ue -yone:
len youth
po juventude
ps noun
ex iyone:Ga
mr l-yone:-Ga
gl 3POSS-youth-pl
len Young person
po Jovem
ex oqo:qodi iyone:qi
mr oqo:qodi l-yone:-qi
gl chicken 3POSS-youth-
mr Chick
gl Pintinho

ue yopa:
len mill
po triturar
ps verb
gr unaccusative
ex dinyope:Gadi
mr y-d-n-yopa:-Gad
gl 3sg.SUBJ-theme-hither-mill- [+cause]
len It was milled
po Triturado

ue -yotage
len slave
po escravizar
ps verb
gr bivalent
ex oy:otag
mr o-y-yotage
gl pl-3pl.SUBJ-slave
len They slave him
po Ele o escraviza

ue -yota:god:-
len lord
po senhor
ps noun
ex inyota:god:i
mr i-n-yota:god:
gl 1POSS-alnbl-lord
len My lord
po Meu senhor
ex inyota:god:o
mr i-n-yota:god:-o
gl 1POSS-alnbl-lord-female
len My female lord
po Minha senhora

ue yote-
Me -y:te
len dormit
lpo sleep
lps verb
lgr unergative
lex yo:te
lmr y-yo:te
lg1 3sg.SUBJ-sleep
len He sleeps
lpo Ele dorme
lex jyo:teting
lmr j-yo:te-t+niq
lg1 1sg.SUBJ-sleep-rel+going.inside hammock
len I will sleep in the hammock

Me -y:al:e
len tree
lpo árvore
lps noun
lex ny:al:e
lmr n-y:al:e
lg1 alenbl-tree
lex ny:al:egipijegi
lmr n-y:al:e-gi-pi-jegi
lg1 alenbl-tree-classifier-pl-source
len Wild
lpo Selvagem
lex ny:al:ejadi
lmr n-y:al:ejadi
lg1 alenbl-tree-classifier
len savanna/field
lpo cerrado

Me -yi:Gen
len order
lpo mandar
lps verb
lgr bivalent
lex jyi:Ge
lmr j-yi:Ge
lg1 1sg.SUBJ-order
len I order it
lpo Eu o mando
lex ny:GenatakanGegi
lmr n-y:Gen-t+e-wa-kan-Gegi
\gl alienable-ORDER+rel-3cl-dative-intr-noun
\en Order
\po Ordem

\en -y:o
\en nephew
\po sobrinho
\ps noun
\ex iy:o
\mr i-y:o
\gl 1POSS-nephew
\en My nephew
\po Meu sobrinho
\ex iy:onig:i
\mr i-y:o-nig:i
\gl 1POSS-nephew-m.dim
\en My son
\po Meu filho

\en -y:ocwa
\en brother/cousin
\po irmao/primo
\ps noun
\ex iy:ocwa
\mr i-y:ocwa
\gl 1POSS-broter
\en My brother
\po Meu irmao