

THE CARIB LANGUAGE

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VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

55

THE CARIB LANGUAGE

Phonology, Morphonology, Morphology,
Texts and Word Index

B. J. HOFF



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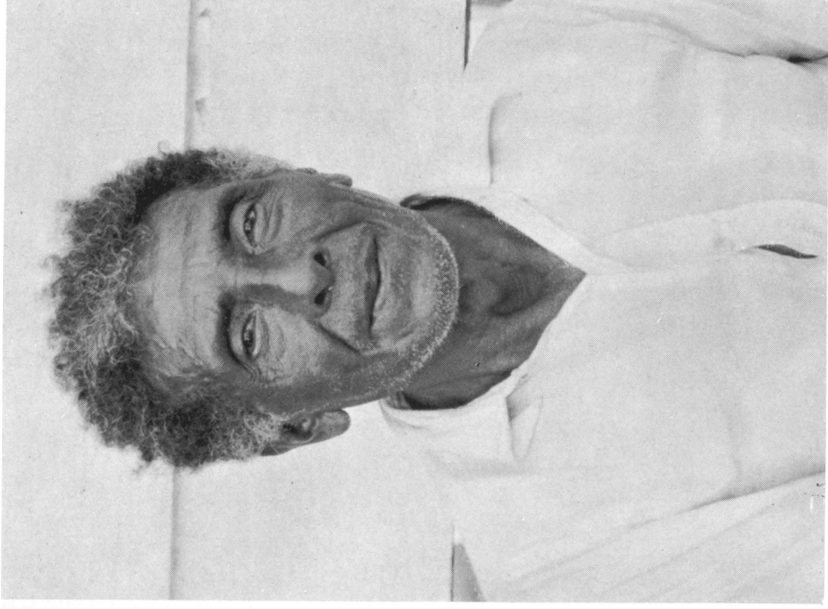
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Chief Juliaan Mande †



Chief Theodoor Banga



Deputy-chief Philip Cornelis



Mrs. Wilhelmina Kassels



Mr. Robert Kiban



Chief Alphons Stjoera

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. THE CARIB LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

0.1.1. LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

Carib is at present spoken by several thousands of Indians who live scattered over the whole coastal area of Guiana. The language belongs to the Cariban family, the members of which are, or were, found in the whole northern half of South America, from Columbia to the mouth of the Amazon and from the coast of Guiana to far into the south and south-west of Brazil.

The available material probably does not provide a sufficiently solid foundation for classifying Carib with other languages in a subgroup within the Cariban family. In this respect no progress has been made since De Goeje, at the end of his study of 1909, formulated this provisional conclusion: Carib is not very closely related to any of the other languages; its closest affinities are 1) with a group consisting of Trio, Pianakoto (both in the border region of Brazil and Surinam) and Hianakoto (Columbia), and 2) with a group consisting of Tamanaco and Chayma (to the north of the Orinoco, now extinct).¹

0.1.2. CURRENT TERMINOLOGY

The speakers of Carib call themselves *kariɔna*, 'people'. In English they are called Caribs or Caribisce, in the English Creole of Surinam Kribisi, in Spanish Caribes, in Dutch Caraïben. In French they have always been called Galibi, the name Caraïbes being restricted to the former inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles. In Brazilian Portuguese, too — probably after French usage — the name Galibi seems to be current for the *kariɔna* in the region to the east of the Oyapock.

As is shown by the vocabulary listed by Crevaux, the Cariniaco in

¹ C. H. de Goeje, *Études linguistiques caribes. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. lett., n.r., X, 3 (1910), Amsterdam. p. 88.*

the Orinoco region were also *kariɔna*, i.e. Caribs,² the syllable *-co* in this name probably standing for the plural-suffix *-koɔ*: *kariɔnakoɔ*. In the current classifications Cariniaco has been wrongly classed as a separate language.

De Goeje was of the opinion that the Indians who in western French Guiana were referred to as Taira or Teyrou, were also Caribs.³ From what Barrère wrote in 1743 it may be deduced that Taira was a name for the Indians of the coastal area: "Tairas, ainsi appellés parce qu'ils habitent à l'embouchure des rivières." As in Barrère's time, too, the Caribs were the most numerous and best-known inhabitants of the French coastal area, his words would indeed seem to support an identification of Tairas with Caribs. De Goeje also points out the resemblance of the word Taira, and even more of Teyrou, which is also found, to Terewuyu, in Carib the name of the Caribs who live in French Guiana and eastern Surinam. And finally, as is shown by De Goeje's word-list of Wayana (Oayana), in this language of south eastern Surinam the name Taira is the equivalent of Karib, Galibi.⁴

There are, however, some points that have not yet been cleared up. As a matter of fact the Taira did not only inhabit the coastal area: between 1766 and 1790 they waged war against the Emerillon and drove them back from the Maroni to the Inini;⁵ it was perhaps in the same period that they themselves were driven away from the Litani by the Wayana.⁶ Furthermore, in Coudreau's report we read of his meeting a boy on the upper-Maroni whom he took for a Galibi (Carib), but who denied this, saying that he was a Taira, belonging to a group on the upper-Mana and the upper-Abounamy.⁷ It is clear from his report that Coudreau, although considering the Taira and Galibi

² J. Crevaux e.a., *Grammaires et vocabulaires Roucouyenne, Arrouage, Piapoco et d'autres langues. Bibliothèque linguistique américaine VIII (1882)*. Paris. p. 267-273. Crevaux himself calls these Indians Caribs: "Les Cariniacos ou Caraïbes..."

³ C. H. de Goeje, *Neolithische Indianen in Suriname (met gegevens der expeditie-Ahlbrinck 1938)*, *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2e serie, 60 (1943), Leiden. p. 337. P. Barrère, *Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoxiale*. Paris, 1743. p. 25-26.

⁴ C. H. de Goeje, *Études linguistiques caribes, II. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. lett., n.r., II, 2 (1946)*, Amsterdam. p. 147.

⁵ A. Sausse, *Populations primitives du Maroni (Guyane Française)*. Paris, 1951. Map 1790, p. 84-85.

⁶ De Goeje, *Neolithische Indianen*, p. 339.

⁷ H. Coudreau, *Chez nos Indiens*. Paris, 1893. p. 257-259.

(Caribs) to be closely related, did not regard them as identical. Possibly there was some misunderstanding between Coudreau and his informant, the latter not wanting to deny that he and his family belonged to the *kariɔna*. As matters stand, however, the plausible arguments put forward by De Goeje and Coudreau's report contradict each other; it is to be hoped that further data on the Taira will come to light which will enable us to either confirm or reject their identity with the *kariɔna*.

Finally, the name Carib is also given to a language that used to be spoken in the Lesser Antilles, and is still spoken in Central America. This Island Carib has borrowed elements from *kariɔna*, but must be considered as belonging to the Arawakan family.⁸

0.1.3. AREA OF HABITATION

As we have seen, the Caribs are spread out over the whole coastal area of Guiana. They were already living in the regions where they are found at present at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, although at that time their numbers, and consequently the number of rivers inhabited by them, were larger. It seems probable that up to the eighteenth century a large number of Caribs lived in the interior of Guiana, where they are now no longer found.

We are very well informed as to the places in the coastal area inhabited by Caribs in the early part of the seventeenth century. Some writers of that time, the Englishmen Keymis, Fisher and Harcourt, give lists of rivers between the mouth of the Amazon and the Guara-piche, together with the names of the Indians living on them, which were apparently dictated in their entirety by sea-faring Indians. Because the information provided by these lists is so full and relates to one particular period, the picture they give is far superior to that which can be obtained by compiling data from many different authors and widely distant periods. It is a matter for regret that up to now no use has been made of these data in compiling linguistic maps. We shall therefore start with listing the information that can be gathered from these lists about the geographic distribution of the Caribs in the early seventeenth century. Next we shall compare the present-day situation. The reports about Caribs in the interior of Guiana will be discussed in a later section.

⁸ Douglas Taylor, Diachronic note on the Carib contribution to Island Carib, *IJAL* 20 (1954), p. 28.

a. *The coastal area, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.*

The oldest enumeration of rivers together with their inhabitants is found in Keymis, who visited the coast in 1596.⁹ His detailed list unfortunately contains obscurities and obvious errors, for instance when the Neekeari are mentioned as inhabitants of the Coesewijne, whereas this word is apparently the name of the river Nickerie. For this reason we use for our basis a list which is almost certainly the work of the Englishman Unton Fisher, who took part in the colonising attempt of Harcourt in 1609. Fisher stayed for a long time in the coastal village Wiawia west of the mouth of the Maroni, where a sand bank still bears the name Wiawia. The inhabitants of Wiawia (Paragotos and Yaos) gave him geographical information. Fisher's report to Harcourt was recognised as such by Harris and was added to his edition of Harcourt's Relation.¹⁰

Fisher's list makes a reliable impression; his long stay in Wiawia will no doubt have made it easier for him to understand the information supplied by his hosts. Moreover, his information has been confirmed by later writers, who themselves visited one or more of the rivers mentioned by Fisher. They are: Antoine Biet, who took part in a colonising attempt at Cayenne in 1652 and compiled one of the oldest Carib word-lists;¹¹ the unknown author of a document drawn up at Paramaribo in 1679;¹² Van Berkel, in 1674 government official at Berbice;¹³ and Pelleprat, missionary on the Guarapiche between 1651 and 1653, and like Biet, compiler of a Carib word-list.¹⁴

Finally, Fisher's employer, Harcourt, also gives a list of rivers. His

⁹ L. Keymis, A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana performed and written in the yeere 1596. In: R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation*, X (1904). Glasgow. p. 490-495.

¹⁰ R. Harcourt, A Relation of a voyage to Guiana. C. Alexander Harris, ed. *Works published by the Hakluyt Society*, 2nd series, 60 (1928). p. 184-185.

¹¹ A. Biet, *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en l'Isle de Cayenne*. Paris, 1664. p. 394-432.

¹² F. E. Mulert, Eene episode uit den Indianen-oorlog in Suriname in den Zeeuwschen tijd. Extract uyt de dagelijckse Annotatien tot Suriname voorgevallen, *West-Indische Gids* 1 (1919) p. 221-225.

¹³ A. van Berkel, *Amerikaanse Voyagien, behelzende een reis na de R. de Berbice, mitsgaders een andere na de kolonie van Suriname*. Amsterdam, 1695.

¹⁴ P. Pelleprat, *Relation des Missions des PP. De La Compagnie de Jesus Dans les Isles, et dans la terre ferme de l'Amerique Meridionale. Divisee En Deux Parties avec une Introduction à la langue des Galibis Sauvages de la terre ferme de l'Amerique*. Paris, 1655. 93 + 121 + 30 pp.

list is very like Fisher's, but differs on a few points with regard to the presence of the Caribs.¹⁵

Below, on pages 6 and 7 the reader will find the list of rivers as given by Fisher, together with the inhabitants of these rivers according to Fisher, Harcourt, Keymis and other authors. The name Carib is always printed in italics. If according to Fisher, a river is inhabited by Caribs, the name of that river is also printed in italics. The names of the rivers are written in accordance with present-day spelling, except in one case where the name could not be identified. Most of the river names in Fisher's list were identified by its editor Harris. The spelling of the names of Indian tribes has also been modernised; instead of Chareebec, etc., we write Carib, instead of Arwaccas we write Arowak. A number of names of Indian tribes could not be identified with certainty; in such cases a question mark has been added.

The easternmost river which, according to Fisher, was inhabited by Caribs is the Araguay (3), the next is the Approuague (10). Harcourt and Keymis confirm the presence of Caribs on the Araguay, and also agree with Fisher with regard to the enclave inhabited by other tribes, lying between these easternmost Caribs and the Caribs in what is now French Guiana. According to Harcourt there were even Caribs on the Amazon itself and on what was then called the Arapoco, the northernmost mouth of the Amazon. The presence of Caribs there is also marked on a map made by Robert Dudley.¹⁶

After the enclave of other tribes to the north of the Araguay Fisher again marks the presence of Caribs on the Approuague, in the east of what is now French Guiana; Keymis confirms this and furthermore makes mention of Caribs on the Arucaua (7) and the Ouanary (9), to the east of the Approuague.

Biet, who more than forty years later stayed in a French colony at Cayenne, denies the presence of Caribs to the east of the Uvia (12), that is to say on all the rivers so far mentioned, although he does make mention of other tribes in this region. It is possible that at one time Caribs did live between the Amazon and the Uvia, but that they were driven out by the other inhabitants at the beginning of the 17th century. Harcourt, founder of a colony on the Oyapock (8) makes mention of enmity between the Caribs and all other nations; he regards the Caribs

¹⁵ Harcourt, o.c. p. 132.

¹⁶ R. Dudley, *Dell' Arcano del mare*. Libro VI, parte IV, carta XIII. Firenze, 1647.

RIVERS ACCORDING TO FISHER'S LIST	FISHER (1609)	HARCOURT (1609)	KEYMIS (1596)	OTHERS
1. Amazon	no mention	<i>Carib</i>		
2. Arapoco (= Canal do Norte)	no mention	<i>Carib</i>		Dudley 1647: <i>Carib</i>
3. <i>Araguay</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i> Arwaos (Aruan?) Pararweos (?) Aricari	
4. Mayacare	Areecoola (Aricari or Palicur) Yao	<i>Carib</i> Yao <i>Carib</i> , Yao		
5. Cunany	Yao	idem		
6. Cassipore	Areecoola (Aricari or Palicur)	idem	Arricurri (Aricari or Palicur)	
7. Arucaua	Areecoola (Aricari or Palicur) Yao	idem Yao	<i>Carib</i> and Marawan	
8. Oyapock	Yao	Arowak	Coonoracki (?) Wacacooia (?) Wariseaco (?) <i>Carib</i>	
9. Ouanyary	Yao		<i>Carib</i>	
10. <i>Approuague</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	
11. Kaw	uninhabited	uninhabited	Yao	
12. <i>Urvia</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	
13. <i>Cayenne</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	
14. <i>Macouria</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i> and Piraos	
15. <i>Kourou</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i> and Arowak	
16. <i>Malmanoury</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i> and Ipaiois (?)	
17. <i>Sinnamarie</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>		
18. Corossony	uninhabited	idem	Shebayo	Biet (1652) : the most easterly villages of the Carib between Uvia and Cayenne; coastal strip between Uvia and Oyapock uninhabited because of war, between Oyapock and Amazon : Palicur and some other tribes, but no Caribs (pp. 148-151)
19. Counamama	Arowak	Arowak	Arowak and Yao	Biet : <i>Carib</i>
20. Iracoubo	Arowak	Arowak	Arowak	Biet : <i>Carib</i>
21. <i>Mana</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	<i>Carib</i>	Biet : no Caribs between Kourou and Counamama
22. <i>Maroni</i>	<i>Carib</i>	idem	Paragoto	Biet : no Caribs between Kourou and Counamama
	Arowak	Arowak		
	Paragoto, Yao			

23. Commewijne
24. *Surinam* no mention
Carib
25. *Saramacca* *Carib*
26. *Coppename* *Carib*
27. *Nickerie* *Carib*
28. *Corentine* *Carib*
Arowak
29. Berbice Arowak & *Carib*
30. Abary Arowak
31. Mahaicony Arowak
32. Mahaica Arowak
33. Demerara Arowak
34. Essequibo Arowak
35. *Masaruni* *Carib*
36. *Cuyuni* *Carib*
37. Wakapau Arowak
38. Pomeroun Arowak
39. Moruca Yao
40. *Wani* *Carib*
41. *Barima* *Carib*
42. *Amacura* *Carib*
43. *Arature* *Carib*
44. *Eparramoo* (?) *Carib*
45. *Imataca* *Carib*
46. Orinoco Yao, Arowak
47. Araguao uninhabited
48. Mariusa Napoys (?)
49. Macareo uninhabited
50. Manamo Napoys (?)
51. Areo Napoys (?)
52. *Guaniþa* *Carib*
53. *Guarapiche* *Carib*
54. Island of Tobago
55. Island of Grenada
- Carib* and Carepini (?)
Carib, Arowak and Carepini (?)
Carib and Carepini (?)
Arowak
- Extract Annot. 1679: *Carib* on the Para, tributary of Surinam
Extract: *Carib*
Extract: *Carib*, Pelleprat 1651: *Carib* (Ch. II, beginning: p. 92)
- Extract: *Carib*
Van Berkel 1674: *Carib* (pp. 49, 59, 60)
- Van Berkel: Arowak (p. 59)
- Carepini (?)
Arowak and Parawianni (?)
Arowak & Shebayo
Arowak & Panapi (?)
Arowak
Arowak & Acawaio
Arowak, Yao, Shebayo
Carib
Maripai (?)
- Yao
Yao
Carib
Carib
- Pelleprat: *Carib* (Ch. XI, end; p. 172)
- Pelleprat (1651-1653): *Carib*, Core (?), Arawak Chayma, Arôtes (?), Paria (?) Ch. VI, p. 122
Pelleprat: *Carib* Ch. VII beginning; p. 57. Ch. IX; p. 155
Pelleprat: *Carib* & Island-Carib

as the original inhabitants of the region.¹⁷ Biet, too, knew of the existence of fierce enmity between the Caribs and the Palicour at Cape Orange.¹⁸ Unfortunately the presence of Caribs between the Amazon and Uvia has never been confirmed by visitors to this region. Keymis himself and Michael Harcourt visited the Araguary, but they do not say that they saw Caribs there. Robert Dudley's map, which confirms the presence of Caribs on the Arapoco, is a late compilation. Hence we only have the Indian informants of Fisher, Harcourt and Keymis to rely on when we assume that up to the beginning of the 17th century Caribs lived on the Araguary and on other rivers between the Amazon and the island of Cayenne.

In what is now French Guiana, Fisher locates the Caribs in a region extending from the Approuague (10) as far as the Sinnamarie (17), followed by a small enclave of Arowaks extending to the Mana (21). Biet in the main confirms this; according to him the area of the Caribs extends from the Uvia (12) to the Kourou (15), and the non-Carib enclave from the Kourou as far as the Counamama (19).

Starting with the Mana there is a continuous series of rivers inhabited by Caribs, up to and including the Corentine (28). No inhabitants are marked by Fisher on the Commewijne (23), but both Harcourt and Keymis mark the presence of Caribs here. An anonymous government official at Paramaribo confirmed, in 1679, the presence of Caribs on the Para (tributary of the Surinam (24)), on the Saramacca (25), the Coppename (26) and the Corentine.

To the west of the Corentine there was another enclave of non-Caribs, up to and including the Essequibo (29-34). According to Van Berkel, government official at Berbice in 1674, there was a continuous war between the Arowaks of the Berbice and the Caribs of the Corentine.¹⁹

There were also Arowaks in the coastal area to the west of the Essequibo: on the Wakapau (37) and the Pomeroon (38). Caribs lived on the Waini (40), and on the more inland rivers, the Barima (41), Cuyuni (36) and Mazaruni (35).

The region immediately to the east of the Orinoco delta was also inhabited by Caribs: the Amacura (42), the Arature (43), the Eparra-moo, which I have not been able to identify (44), and the Imataca (45).

¹⁷ Harcourt, o.c. p. 75, 85, 86.

¹⁸ Biet, o.c. p. 148-149.

¹⁹ Van Berkel, o.c. p. 49, 59.

The Orinoco delta itself was inhabited by other tribes, but to the west there were again Caribs on the Guanipa (52) and the Guarapiche (53). From 1651 to 1653 Pelleprat lived among the Caribs on the Guarapiche. During his stay he heard about the presence of Caribs on the Barima (41) and the Coppename (26), and on the islands of Tobago and Grenada, the latter two not mentioned by Fisher. According to Pelleprat Tobago was only inhabited by Caribs, while they shared Grenada with the Island-Caribs.

To sum up, we have found five continuous areas on the coast of Guiana which were inhabited by Caribs, separated by enclaves of other tribes:

- a) The Araguary and surroundings, deserted in the early 17th century;
 - b) What is now French Guiana, with the exception of the western part, i.e. the region between the Kourou or the Sinnamarie and the Mana;
 - c) The Mana and the rivers of what is now Surinam, including the Corentine;
 - d) The western part of what is now (British) Guiana and the adjoining part of Venezuela, as far as the Orinoco delta;
 - e) The region between the Orinoco delta and Cumana.
- b. *The area at present inhabited by Caribs.*

When taking stock of the present-day situation we find that the number of rivers inhabited by Caribs has greatly decreased. The figures in the following list refer to the numbers of Fisher's list.

7. Uaçá (connected with Arucaua)
8. Oyapock
20. Iracoubo
21. Mana
22. Maroni
23. Cottica (tributary of the Commewijne)
24. Surinam
25. Saramacca
26. Coppename and tributaries
35. Mazaruni
36. Cuyuni
38. Pomeroon
41. Barima
Barama
52. Guanipa

Caribs have returned to the region east of the island of Cayenne where, according to Biet, no Caribs lived in 1652. In 1926 Nimuendajú²⁰ came across a small number of Caribs on the Uaçá. These Caribs usually spoke French Creole but were still familiar with their own language, a short word-list of which was given by Nimuendajú. The large number of French loanwords, among which there were even some for parts of the body, led him to the plausible assumption that these Indians are descended from the inhabitants of the missions that were in existence in the Oyapock area in the 18th century. In these missions lived speakers of different languages, and Carib seems to have served as the language of general communication. In 1957 the present writer was told by Caribs of the Maroni that they had visited Caribs in Brazilian territory. Perhaps this was the same group as described by Nimuendajú in 1926; my informants, however, did not say anything about them having a poor command of the language. It is therefore possible that after 1926 another group of Caribs coming from the west settled down to the east of the Oyapock. On the Brazilian side of the Oyapock the entomologist Zahl took photographs of Caribs (Galibi), which he published in 1959.²¹

In French Guiana the island of Cayenne and the region west of it has been completely deserted by Caribs. They still lived there in the 18th century, for the most part in the missions of the Kourou and the Sinnamarie; a part of them seems to have migrated to the west. In the western part of French Guiana the Iracoubo is still inhabited by Caribs (20); the Arowaks who were found there as late as the 19th century now seem to have completely disappeared from there.²²

There are still Caribs on the Mana, as well as on the following rivers in Surinam: the Maroni, Cottica, Surinam, Saramacca and Coppename with its tributaries Tibiti and Wayombo. The Corentine, which according to Fisher was inhabited by Caribs as well as Arowaks and according to Van Berkel by Caribs only, has now become Arowak territory. At the time of R. H. Schomburgk, in 1841, there were still Caribs on the Corentine.²³ I was told by a sixty-year old Carib of the Wayombo that

²⁰ C. Nimuendajú, Die Palikur-Indianer und ihre Nachbarn. *Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-sämhalles Handlingar* F. 4, Bd. 31, no. 2 (1926). p. 124, 140-143.

²¹ P. A. Zahl, Giant Insects of the Amazon, *National Geographic Magazine* CXV (1959). p. 642, 644, 665-667.

²² A. Sausse, o.c. maps between p. 84-85, 94-95.

²³ R. H. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Guiana und am Orinoco*. Leipzig, 1841. p. 177-178.

he dimly remembered the arrival of a large group of Caribs from the west in his youth, who had all died through illness within a short time. Possibly they were the Caribs of the Corentine.

In (British) Guiana, just as in the 17th century, the Caribs are only found in the western half of the country: on the Barima (41), the Barama and, according to Gillin,²⁴ also in small numbers on the Pomeroon (38), the Cuyuni (36) and the Mazaruni (35).

In Venezuela, according to Von Humboldt, the Caribs migrated, in 1720, from the regions by the sea to the lower Orinoco, where they were assembled in missions.²⁵ The Carib words in Lisandro Alvarado's article of 1918 put the identity of the language beyond dispute.²⁶ In recent times Wilbert²⁷ and Fuchs²⁸ again have made mention of Caribs in the Guanipa-area and on the lower Orinoco.

c. *Caribs in the interior of Guiana.*

So far mention has only been made of Caribs in the coastal areas and on the lower courses of the rivers. It is true that at present no Caribs are found in the interior, but there is some information which indicates that the situation used to be different.

I have already mentioned the possibility that the name Taira referred to a certain group of Caribs. One of the regions inhabited by these Taira was that near the sources of the Mana and the Abounamey.²⁹ Fisher, who in 1609 went up the Maroni, mentions two villages of Chareebes on the upper-Maroni. De Goeje estimated that one of these must have been situated at the Pedrosoengoe rapids, or perhaps even

²⁴ J. Gillin, *Tribes of the Guianas and the Left Amazon Tributaries*, *Handbook of South American Indians* 3, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 143, Julian H. Steward ed. Washington 1948. p. 806.

²⁵ *Voyages au régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent, fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804 par Al. de Humboldt et A. Bonpland*. Première partie. *Rélation historique*. Paris, 1814-1825. T. III, p. 24.

²⁶ L. Alvarado, *Datos etnograficos de Venezuela. Obras completas* IV. Caracas, 1956, p. 395, 404-405, 420-421.

²⁷ J. Wilbert, *El sistema de parentesco de los Cariña*, *Antropológica* 3 (1957), Caracas, p. 53-61.

²⁸ H. Fuchs, *Alfareria Cariña (Cachama) de uso domestico*, *Antropológica* 5 (1958) p. 37-43; idem, *Zur Terminologie der Konstruktionsteile eines Hauses bei den Cariña (Kariben) von Venezuela*, *Anthropos* 56 (1961) p. 938-939; idem, *La agricultura en la comunidad indigena de Santa Clara de Aribi, (Cariña)*, *Actes VI Cong. Int. des Sciences Anthrop. et Ethnologiques*, Paris 1960, T. II (vol. 2). p. 27-32.

²⁹ H. Coudreau, o.c. p. 258-259.

at the Manbari rapids, not far from the mouth of the Tapanahony.³⁰

More important are the reports of A. von Humboldt about Caribs in the interior of eastern Venezuela. Von Humboldt who, about 1800, travelled in what was then a Spanish colony, reports that the Caribs had migrated from the coast to the lower Orinoco, and had afterwards been assembled in missions on the Cuyuni, the Caura, the Caroni and in the plains to the north-east of the sources of the Orinoco, all of them inhabited by "Caribes" only. Von Humboldt was told that another large independent group of "Caribes" lived in the area between the sources of the Orinoco, the Essequibo and the Rio Branco. The total number of "Caribes" in the missions was estimated at 35,000, the number of independent "Caribes" at 5,000! One wonders if the missionaries who supplied Von Humboldt with this information may have regarded as Caribes not only Caribs (*kari?na*) but also speakers of related languages, or even anti-Spanish Indians in general. Von Humboldt, however, reports that these Indians spoke one language, that they did not want people who spoke other languages in the missions inhabited by themselves, and that their language was one and the same from Cumana as far as the Rio Branco.³¹ From the quality of the writings on Carib by Ximenez³² and De Taradell³³ it may be safely inferred that the missionaries of that period were capable of distinguishing Carib from related languages or from a mission jargon.

Moreover, Von Humboldt's report about free Caribs in the area of the watershed is confirmed by R. H. Schomburgk. In 1841 the latter wrote that older Caribs in British Guiana remembered that in their youth there was a regular route between the Caribs in Surinam and those in the Pacaraima mountains.³⁴ In Schomburgk's time some hundred Caribs still lived in the upland of British Guiana, by the Rupununi and the Guidaru.

On the whole it seems to me that Von Humboldt's report about a large Carib population in the south of what is now Venezuela and in

³⁰ Harcourt, o.c. p. 119; C. H. de Goeje, Suriname ontdekt, *Tijdschrift Kon. Ned. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 51 (1934). Leiden. p. 69.

³¹ Al. de Humboldt, o.c., T. III, p. 24, 9, 20, 21, 22, T. II, p. 395.

³² F. F. Ximenez, *Arte de la lengua Caribe*. Ms. Berlin, ± 1760.

³³ M. de Taradell, [Word list, conversations, religious texts, grammar notes] in: *Lenguas de América, Manuscritos de la real bibliotheca*, T. I, *Catalogo de la real bibliotheca*, T. VI. Madrid, 1928. p. 213-305. [T. finished his ms. in 1774].

³⁴ R. H. Schomburgk, o.c. p. 263, and map.

the borderland mountains is trustworthy. More historical data would, however, be most welcome.

d. *Borrowing between Carib and Tupi.*

In the preceding section the conclusion was reached that formerly the area of habitation of the Caribs may well have extended further southwards. An indication of the correctness of this view is perhaps the considerable borrowing that has taken place between Carib and the unrelated Tupi language, although it must be borne in mind that early commercial intercourse over a great distance may also have been a factor that helped to bring about contact between Caribs and Tupi.³⁵

Bertoni was the first to point out certain lexical resemblances, although he only had the inadequate Carib word-list of La Salle at his disposal.³⁶ De Goeje, too, devoted some attention to the matter.³⁷ Not until I came to study Tatevin's word-list of Tupi³⁸ did I realize how numerous the borrowings are and how slight the modifications which the different words underwent at the time of borrowing, or have undergone since. On the basis of my own material, supplemented by Ahlbrinck's encyclopaedia,³⁹ I have found more than seventy evident cases of borrowing, which are listed below. The direction into which borrowing took place may differ from case to case, and can as yet be ascertained in a few cases only. In the case of *warara*, according to Ahlbrinck the name of a tortoise which is only found in a distant country, it is plausible to assume Tupi origin. The same is true of Tupi *kapiwara* Carib *kapi:wa*, as in Tupi this name permits the etymology 'one living among plants'.

Among the loanwords there is a strikingly large proportion of names of plants and animals, far outnumbering words for items of material culture. This supports the assumption that the borrowing was not only the result of long trade travels, but also of a formerly shorter geographical distance between Caribs and Tupi.

Animals (32 cases): *akuti/aku:ri* agouti, *arawe/ara:we* cockroach, *araku/wara:ku* species of fish, *arapapa/arapapa* (Ahlbrinck, pag. 96)

³⁵ See 0.2.1.1.

³⁶ M. S. Bertoni, Analogías lingüísticas caraibes-guaraníes. *Anales científicos paraguayos* III. 1. Puerto Bertoni, Alta Parana, 1921. 64 pp.

³⁷ C. H. de Goeje, Oudheden uit Suriname. Op zoek naar de Amazonen. *West-Indische Gids* 13 (1931-1932). 's-Gravenhage. p. 524.

³⁸ C. Tatevin, *La Langue Tapihya*. Vienne 1910. p. 99-237.

³⁹ W. Ahlbrinck, Encyclopaedie der Karaïben. *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. lett.*, n.r. XXVII, 1 (1931). Amsterdam. XIV + 555 + 160 pp.

stilt-bird, *arawata/a:rawa:ta* howling monkey, *ināmbu/ina:mu* partridge, *kapiwara/kapi:wa* capybara, *karapana/ka:rapa:na* mosquito, *karara/karara* (Ahl. 210) species of bird, *kunawaru/kuna:waru* tree frog, *kurimata/kurimata* (Ahl. 250) species of fish, *kusiu/kisi:u* species of monkey, *kwata/kuwa:ta* species of monkey, *marakaya/marakaya* (Ahl. 190) tiger-cat, *mawari/kuma:wari* heron, *pakamu/paka:mu* species of fish, *piraña/pi:rai* species of fish, *puraki/pura:ke* electric eel, *tamandua/tamanua* ant eater (Ahl. 452), *tapiukawa/tapiyuka* (Ahl. 456) species of wasp, *tayataya/taya:taya* species of fish, *tiririti maña* (*maña* = mother) / *tiririti* crocodile which causes earthquake (Ahl. 462), *tukunare/tuku:nare* species of fish, *urutawi, urutau/urutaw* (Ahl. 483) night-bird, *usa/ku:sa* species of crab, *wara/wa:ra* ibis, *wayumi/wayu:mo* species of crab, *yakami/aka:mi* trumpeter-bird, *yakare/aka:re* crocodile, *yapakani/a:paka:ni* bird of prey, *yuarawa/yara:wa* sea-cow, *yurara/warara* (Ahl. 495) Tupi: tortoise, Carib: species of tortoise, lives in a distant country.

Plants (15 cases): *aratiku/arasicun* (Ahl. 97) species of tree, and its fruit, *awat'i/awa:si* maize, *koko/koxko* coconut, *kumati/kume:ti* tree, providing dye, *kunabi/kuna:mi* kind of fish-poison, *kurawa/kura:wa* bromelia, provides rope, *murumuru/mu:rumu:ru* species of palm tree, *nana/na:na* pine-apple, *paraku hīwa/pa:raku:wa* species of tree, *sipo/si:mo* liana, *taya/ta:ya* arum, tuberous plant, *tukumā/tuku:mau* species of palm, *urupe/uru:pe* toad-stool, *wakapu/waka:buñ* species of tree, *waruma, warumā/waru:ma* plant, providing material for making baskets.

Technology, minerals (12 cases): *akuti rana/aku:ri ye:ri* agouti-teeth, name of a weaving pattern, *apokoita/apu:kuita* Tupi: to paddle, Carib: a paddle, a tree providing wood for making paddles, *kasiri/kasi:ri* beer, made from grated, boiled cassava, *kurari, urari/urari* (Ahl. 481) curare, *kuri/ku:ri* red clay, *maraka/mara:ka* rattle, *pakara/paka:ra* basket, *pari/pa:ri* fish weir, *payawaru/pa:yawa:ru* beer, made from grated, baked cassava, *tawa/ta:wa* Tupi: loam, Carib: pipe-clay, *toka:ya/to:kai* hut, *turi/tu:ri* torch.

Others (10 cases): *amu,mu/a:mu, am* Tupi: other, Carib: somebody, something, *arana, ran/rañ* resembling, names plants and trees after species resembling them, *awasa/awa:si* friend *kapaũ/pa:u* island, *muna/mo:na* Tupi: thief, Carib: thievery, *paka/upa:ka* to awake, *parana/para:na* Tupi: river, Carib: waves, sea, *puka/pu:ka* to pierce, *pusiru/musi:ro* collective labour, *wehena/uwe:na* to vomit.

0.1.4. THE NUMBER OF CARIBS

In section 0.1.3c. I mentioned the astonishing figures given by Von Humboldt for the number of Caribs in the area of what is now Venezuela: according to him, as late as 1800, there were 40,000 Caribs living there. Since Von Humboldt's days, acculturation and assimilation must have advanced rapidly, for at present the number of Carib speakers in Venezuela is not more than 1500.⁴⁰

On the coast of Guiana, the decrease in number of the Caribs is reflected by the fact that the list of rivers on which they live has been reduced from 25 to 14 items (0.1.3a,b). The very few figures that are available to us suggest that both in French Guiana and in Surinam the lowest point was reached about the middle of the last century, and that since then there has again been a slow increase.

As early as the 17th century the number of Caribs in these parts does not seem to have been very large. Biet, in 1652, estimated the number of able-bodied men in what is now French Guiana, with the exception of the Mana, at 250,⁴¹ a number which hardly tallies with Rouse's view, that the main group of the Caribs lived in French Guiana.⁴² According to Sausse, in 1710 there were 500 Caribs in the whole of French Guiana. This figure points to a decrease since the time of Biet. In 1850 there were only 200 Caribs. Sausse thinks that this decrease was due to an abnormally low birth-rate and bad health; moreover a small-pox epidemic is said to have raged in 1716. After 1850 the number of Caribs started to increase again; it has since doubled to 400 in 1950.⁴³

In Surinam the same thing probably happened as in French Guiana. In 1804 the number of Caribs and Arowaks was estimated at three to four thousand; if, as is the case now, at that time too the two groups were about equal in number this would mean some 1500 or 2000 Caribs. In 1884 Bossers was amazed at the height of this figure, as he himself counted only 1000 Indians for the two groups together in

⁴⁰ J. Wilbert, Dringliche Forschungsaufgaben in Venezuela, *Akten des 34. Int. Amerikanistenkongresses*, Wien 1960. p. 70. H. Fuchs, Investigaciones Etnológicas de Urgencia en Venezuela, *Bulletin of the Int. Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* 2 (1959). p. 48.

⁴¹ Biet, o.c. p. 152.

⁴² I. Rouse, Guianas, Indigenous period. *Program of the history of America* I, 7. Mexico, 1953. p. 72.

⁴³ Sausse, o.c. p. 94, 95, 74, 79, 124-126.

Surinam, excluding the Maroni.⁴⁴ Since then, matters have improved, as in French Guiana: in 1924 there were 1240 Caribs in the whole of Surinam (without the Maroni: 960),⁴⁵ in 1940 their number was between 1700 and 1800,⁴⁶ and at present there are at least 2,000. To this last figure should be added a few hundred Caribs who live in Paramaribo and elsewhere, outside their native villages.⁴⁷

I do not know of any figures for British Guiana in former times. From a passage in Von Schomburgk, however, it is clear that there too a sudden decrease took place about the beginning of the 19th century. According to Von Schomburgk's book, which dates from 1841, old people still remembered that in their youth Essequibo and Corentine were densely populated.⁴⁸ Probably, since then the decline has come to a standstill also in British Guiana. In 1933 Gillin counted 21 large villages and a number of small ones on the Barama alone; the number of inhabitants in these villages was between 7 and 70. This was therefore a rather strong group; besides, it is probable that some more Caribs lived on rivers other than the Barama.⁴⁹ Finally, the number of the group in the Oyapock region is not known; but it is no doubt small.

0.2. THE SURINAM CARIBS

0.2.1. SOME HISTORICAL NOTES

0.2.1.1. TRADE AND WAR

The first Europeans to appear on the coast of Guiana were the Spaniards. They only settled in the extreme west, but the fact that Spanish loanwords are also found throughout eastern Guiana proves

⁴⁴ [A. Bossers], *Beknopte geschiedenis der Katholieke missie in Suriname door den pater Redemptorist*. Gulpen, 1884. p. 333.

⁴⁵ Ahlbrinck, o.c. p. 194.

⁴⁶ M. F. Abbenhuis, *Arawakken in Suriname. Paramaribo*, 1940. p. 6-8.

⁴⁷ *Tweede algemeene Volkstelling Suriname*. Paramaribo, 1954-1955. Serie A. Parts II-VIII include Indians living outside Indian villages; Part IX, on the Indians living in exclusively Indian villages, has not been published.

⁴⁸ R. H. Schomburgk, o.c. p. 263.

⁴⁹ J. Gillin, *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana. Papers of the Peabody Museum XIV*, 2 (1936). Cambridge, Mass. p. 98, 110. P. 113: "according to the best estimates, the total Carib population of the Barama country does not exceed six hundred souls". Recently, 474 Caribs were counted in Guiana: Audrey J. Butt, *The Guianas, Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research 7* (1965). Vienna. p. 81.

that their influence extended to that part of the country as well. When, at the end of the sixteenth century, the trade of the other European nations obtained a firm footing in this area, Spanish words had already become definitely accepted. In Surinam I have found the following words of evidently Spanish origin: ⁵⁰ *aku:sa* 'needle', *ara:kapu:sa* 'rifle', *a:sika:ru* 'sugar-cane', *ka:bara* 'sheep', *ka:biri:ta* 'goat', *kami:sa* 'cloth', *kare:ta* 'paper', *kawa:ri* 'horse', *pa:ka* 'cow', *pake:ru* 'donkey', *pandi:ra* 'flag', *pi:ra* 'sail', *pira:ta* 'money', *piro:to* 'bullet', *püru:ku* 'pig', *pe:ru* 'dog', *sambre:ru* 'hat', *sambu:ra* 'drum', *sapa:to* 'shoe', *timo:na* 'rudder', *ti:ru* 'gun, cannon'. Furthermore Carib shares with Spanish the word *kapu:ya* 'rope', but in this case the direction of the borrowing is not certain. Other loanwords are perhaps *mawa:sa* 'razor' (from *navaja*) and *sumba:ra* 'machete' (from *espada*).

The earliest European settlements in the area of what is now Surinam were English and Dutch trading-posts, such as the one at 'the village of Parmurbo' (1613).⁵¹ The European commodities obtained here were traded by the Indians into the interior, as is confirmed by a Spanish author who, as early as 1638, came across tools of Dutch origin on the R. Yapurá.⁵² In Guiana such long-distance trade was by no means a new phenomenon: before the arrival of the European commodities, gold and 'Amazon-stones' were traded in the same way.⁵³

The peaceful relations between the European settlements and the Indians continued to exist when after 1651 the English, and later the Dutch, began to plant sugar-plantations. In 1678, however, a war broke out, due to "bad government and mismanagement", as Nicolaas Combe put it.⁵⁴ It was not until six years later, after the colony had

⁵⁰ It might be difficult to determine, solely on account of the form of the loan words, that they come from Spanish and not from Portuguese. Borrowing from Portuguese, however, is unlikely as the Spaniards appeared on the coast of Guiana as early as the very beginning of the 16th century, and it was not until a hundred years later that the Portuguese began the conquest of the basin of the Amazon.

⁵¹ R. D. Simons, *Paramaribo. Over de oorsprong en betekenis van de naam Paramaribo*. Den Haag, no year. p. 8. H. D. Benjamins, *Iets over den ouden handel met de Indianen in Guiana. West-Indische Gids* 6 (1924-1925). 's-Gravenhage. p. 179-188.

⁵² C. de Acuña, *Relation de la rivière des Amazones*, traduite par Mr. de Gomberville sur l'original Espagnol. Paris, 1682. T. II, p. 106, 108-110.

⁵³ C. H. de Goeje, *Oudheden uit Suriname*, p. 449-471.

⁵⁴ F. Oudschans Dentz, *De oorsprong van de naam Combé, de eerste buitenwijk van Paramaribo. West-Indische Gids* 39 (1959). 's-Gravenhage. p. 31.

recovered from an almost hopeless position,⁵⁵ that a peace was concluded which applied not only to the Dutch and the Indians but also to the Indian nations amongst themselves (1684). All the parties concerned have adhered to this up to the present day.

With the peace trade resumed its rights. From the letters written by Governor Van Sommelsdijck during the negotiations the importance of this factor becomes quite clear: he orders goods for exchange and urges delivery of only the best quality axes, because otherwise arguments will be given to those Indians who oppose the peace.⁵⁶

As far as I know, no figures have been published about the Indian trade, but some reports seem to indicate that it was relatively important. The Venezuelan author L. Alvarado speaks of ineradicable smuggling by the Dutch and the Portuguese, supported by the Caribs;⁵⁷ and a Brazilian official, De Sampaio, reports about Dutch trade on the R. Branco brought there by the Caribs.⁵⁸

The activities of the Caribs were not confined to peaceful commerce either. When, between 1735 and 1750, hostilities between the Spaniards and Caribs flared up again and Spanish colonies and missionary stations on the Orinoco were destroyed, Caribs from Surinam also took part in the war. Caribs and Dutchmen are referred to as allies in the title of a pamphlet addressed to the king by the missionary Gumilla "sobre impedir a los Indios Caribes y a los Olandeses las hostilidades que experimentan las colonias del gran Rio Orinoco".⁵⁹

It is strange that these events have not left a single memory among the Surinam Caribs. Yet we have two reports which, at least partly, confirm the information from Spanish and Portuguese sources. The first is a report by a Surinam merchant Gerrit Jacobs who, in 1718, was taken by Caribs on a trading journey via the Corentine to the

⁵⁵ J. Voorhoeve, *Stukken uit Suriname en omliggende kwartieren ingekomen, 1667-1681*. Mim. 1961. 5 pp. R. Buve, Gouverneur Johannes Heinsius. De rol van Van Aerssen's voorganger in de Surinaamse Indianenoorlog, 1678-1680. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, Johanna Felhoen Kraal-nummer 45 (1966) p. 14-26.

⁵⁶ G. F. Rouffaer, Naschrift en Bijlagen bij Toegift tot de "Gegevens over Land en Volk van Suriname" door C. van Coll, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 58 (1905), p. 476-478.

⁵⁷ L. Alvarado, o.c. p. 361, Al. de Humboldt, o.c. T. II, p. 471, T. III, p. 20.

⁵⁸ Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1681 and 1723. Translated and edited by G. Edmundson. *Works issued by the Hakluyt Society* 2nd ser. no. LI. p. 42-43.

⁵⁹ R. Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum*. 3er Bnd. Aachen, 1927. p. 97.

Rio Branco.⁶⁰ The second is a letter from the missionary Zander, who happened to arrive on the Corentine in 1745 just at the time when a combined Carib and Arowak fleet set out for the Orinoco in order to attack the "Spanish" Indians.⁶¹

The foreign activities of the Caribs came to an end with the ever-growing power of the Spaniards and Portuguese. After 1750 the Caribs in the Orinoco area were collected in the missions where Von Humboldt found them fifty years later. The mouth of the Orinoco was continuously guarded by ships: about 1770, Arowaks told the missionary Quandt that entering the Orinoco had become difficult for them, and highly dangerous for the Caribs, who were hated by the Spaniards.⁶² At about the same time the Portuguese got the upper hand in the Rio Branco.⁶³ Thus the upper Essequibo was the only river that remained accessible for the Caribs, until in the second half of the last century their trade came to an end here too. This was probably due to the establishment of English rule and the competition from English commodities.

Only the route to the upper Essequibo — called *si:pu* by them — is still traditionally known among the Caribs. Some women have as an heirloom a red polishing-stone for earthenware, which was at one time brought back from the *si:pu*. Furthermore there are songs that preserve the memory of rivers which a hundred years ago were last visited by Caribs, and of the *kana:wa*, a boat holding 60-80 people, which is no longer made. For instance, in one of the songs it says: "row harder, younger brothers, the force of the waves is strong! *kure:wa's* oar is now broken, older brother, after having rowed the *kana:wa* on all the rivers, on the Cuyuni and the Essequibo". In another song the river *ma:surwa:na* is mentioned as being the home of the mythical nation of women: "I am going to travel far, in a bark with painted sides, skimming like a sea-gull over the waves, in order to see the mouth of the Essequibo, to see the *ma:surwa:na* and to visit the women without male relatives".

The fact that expeditions far afield became impossible — these being

⁶⁰ J. W. IJzerman, Twee reizen van Paramaribo, een naar de Parima in 1718 en een naar de boven-Corantijn in 1720, *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* XXVIII (1911), Leiden, p. 648-651.

⁶¹ F. Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice im 18ten Jahrhundert*. Herrnhut, no year. p. 94.

⁶² [C. Quandt], *Nachricht von Suriname und seinen Einwohnern sonderlich den Arawacken, Warauen und Karäiben*. Görlitz, 1807. p. 291, 292.

⁶³ De Goeje, Suriname ontdekt, p. 63, 68.

pre-eminently the common effort of men — may have been one of the factors that contributed to the disappearance of the *ta:pü* 'men's house'. The remains of the last two men's houses were seen by Ahlbrinck about 1920.⁶⁴

At present only the Caribs of the Maroni still undertake long journeys. Apart from journeys to Paramaribo or to the coastal villages of French Guiana, a few men will occasionally sail to the Oyapock or even as far as Belém. These journeys, however, are made by one man or a few men who want to see a little more of the world; they are no longer expeditions in which dozens of men take part, as they used to be in earlier times.

0.2.1.2. MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

In the course of the 18th century two attempts were made to christianize the Caribs and the Arowaks; both had to be abandoned, however.

In neighbouring French Guiana there were missionary villages such as were known in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies; in the missions of the Kourou (1714-1763) and in those of the Sinnamarie there lived many Caribs, and Carib was used as the language of communication. When the missions were requisitioned by the government they came to an end; a part of the inhabitants are supposed to have migrated to the Surinam bank of the Maroni.⁶⁵ This would account for the fact that some Caribs of the Maroni had their children baptized in Paramaribo or in French Guiana long before there was anything like organized missionary activity.⁶⁶

After their arrival in Surinam the Moravian missionaries undertook as their first task the Christianization of the Indians, and to this end they founded missionary villages on the upper Saramacca, the Corentine, and on a tributary of the Berbice. These areas were inhabited by Arowaks only: the differences of language made it impossible for the Moravians to address the two groups at the same time. Apparently the lingua franca, the English Creole of Surinam, was not, or little, known

⁶⁴ Ahlbrinck, o.c. p. 120.

⁶⁵ M. F. Abbenhuis, *Verhalen en schetsen uit de Surinaamse geschiedenis*, II, 3. Paramaribo 1944. p. 5. [M.-F. De Montézon], *Mission de Cayenne et de la Guyane Française*. Vol. I de: *Voyages et travaux des missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus etc.* Paris, 1857. p. 357.

⁶⁶ Bossers, o.c. p. 331, 333. J. Brunetti, *La Guyane Française*. Tours, 1890. p. 280, 291.

among the Indians at that time. The Moravian missions lasted from 1738 to 1808.

No new attempt was made until 1868, this time by Roman Catholic missionaries. Within the short space of 15 years their activities had resulted in the baptism of all the Indians between the Commewijne and the Nickerie. This new missionary enterprise was made easier by the fact that since the beginning of the century the lingua franca had spread among the Indians, although even then not everybody knew it. Even in 1914 the missionary Ahlbrinck found it necessary to learn Carib as well.⁶⁷

Little is known about the progress of the christianization. It is important, however, that no attempt was made to assemble the Indians in missionary centres. The old villages continued to exist and were visited by the travelling missionaries. It must be credited to this method that the christianization was not attended with an abrupt cultural and linguistic assimilation. In the religious field, however, the missionary activities, extending over a period of between 65 and 100 years, have been decisive: the old religion is no longer a possible alternative for the present-day Caribs. Thus we happen to know, merely as a result of the work of the Penard brothers, that in the beginning of this century there were still myths current in which divine twin brothers were the central figures.⁶⁸ At present any knowledge of this has vanished; only the name of the younger brother, *tamu:si* (= grandfather) has survived and is still used as the name for God. This does not mean that the old mythology has been completely lost; in particular everything that directly concerns the still widely practised shamanism has preserved its vitality. In the eyes of the majority of Caribs, however, these surviving beliefs are not incompatible with the new doctrine, indeed some of them — for instance, the flood myths — are in obvious agreement.

⁶⁷ Ahlbrinck, o.c. p. V.

⁶⁸ Summarized in C. H. de Goeje, Philosophy, initiation and myths of the Indians of Guiana and adjacent countries. *Archives Internationales d'Ethnographie* XLIV (1943). Leiden. p. 35. Certain publications by the Penards have rightly met with a sceptical reception because they contain a mixture of facts and the authors' own metaphysical theories. The reliability of what they have told us about the twin myth is, however, corroborated by parallels with myths from other parts of the Guiana's; see J. Haekel, Purá und Hochgott, *Archiv für Völkerkunde* XIII (1959), p. 25.

0.2.2. THE PRESENT SITUATION

About two thousand Surinam Caribs live in ten fairly large and fifteen small or tiny villages which lie dispersed over the coastal area. In the twenty years that have passed since Klinkhamer and Abbenhuis published their population figures⁶⁹ some concentration has taken place: fourteen villages have disappeared, and one large village has been added. The map (see map at back) shows the present situation. I am indebted to Father K. Klinkhamer at Paramaribo for the information he kindly gave me on the existence — or disappearance — of a number of villages and their position.

An increasing number of Caribs settle for good or for long periods outside their native villages. Their number is not known; on the basis of data of the last census I have arrived at an estimate of some four hundred people, including the children who live in Paramaribo with non-Indian foster-parents. This number of 400 also seemed plausible to Father Klinkhamer.

Clearly the Caribs are a small minority: they constitute one per cent. of the total population of Surinam. It is therefore to be expected that, in consequence of the rapid economic and social development which started after the war, they will cease to exist as a separate ethnic group, possibly even in the course of this century.

At present, however, the Caribs still constitute a vital, culturally and linguistically autonomous group. In view of the fact that they have lived for more than three centuries on the territory of a European colony it may seem surprising that their language and culture should have managed to survive. It is probable, however, that it is only since comparatively recent times that their community has been accessible to European and Creole influences, while at the same time the effect of these influences has been a very gradual one, not causing an abrupt break. As has been noted above, the autonomous position of the Caribs was not undermined until, during the last century, their last contacts with the Indians elsewhere were lost, and at the same time their number reached its lowest point. In the years following this crisis a moderate process of christianization began — in the west in 1868, in the east in 1895 — and it was this that led to a closer contact with other ethnic groups. Later on the balata-tapping and other work in the forest, which is often the combined effort of Indian and Creole labourers, increasingly contributed to establishing closer contacts.

⁶⁹ Abbenhuis, *Arawakken*, p. 6-8.

In providing education — at first by the church, and in more recent times also by the government — the aim has always been to leave the young children in their native village; to this end small schools have been set up in all the larger villages. These village schools provide the knowledge necessary for young people to find a place in Surinam society; a minority do this without, however, breaking their ties with their families and friends. Only a small number of pupils receive secondary education; up to now two Caribs have received higher education.

Relations between the Caribs and the other groups are good. The activities of the church and the government are, on the whole, also appreciated. Nevertheless, vague feelings of suspicion are sometimes noticeable, but these should be regarded in the light of events of the last 100 years. Until comparatively recent times the Caribs lived as a practically autonomous nation by the side of the colony; now they have become one of the many components constituting the population of present-day Surinam. They now have to accept the fact that, because they are small in number, they do not have any influence on the course of affairs in the country, and that they are completely dependent on the initiatives and decisions of non-Indian authorities.

In conclusion the following remarks may be made about the linguistic situation. All the men and most of the women do not only speak Carib, but also the lingua franca, a form of Creole based on English. From this language names for new things are borrowed, as used to be done from Spanish, e.g. *wro:ko* 'piece of work', *puru:ku* 'trousers' *datra* 'doctor', *be:gima* 'to pray'.

Amongst themselves they speak Carib with very few exceptions. Some Caribs — but they constitute a minority, also among the younger generation — may converse in Creole only, or use a large number of Creole words in sentences that are otherwise Carib, i.e. words which they know as speakers of Creole, but which do not belong to the current loanwords adopted by all Caribs.

As a third language Dutch is of some limited importance, although the Caribs never speak it amongst themselves. Owing to education many can speak some Dutch, and also read and write it, which is especially important for those who leave their village. A small number of Caribs who live or have lived in Dutch-speaking surroundings have a perfect command of Dutch and may be regarded as completely tri-lingual.

0.3. THE STUDY OF CARIB

The oldest information about Carib dates from the middle of the 17th century. Each of two attempts at founding a colony in Cayenne, in 1644 and 1652, yielded a short word-list in a French-Carib jargon. In the same period the missionaries Méland and Pelleprat compiled two extensive word-lists among the Caribs of the Guarapiche; unfortunately they were not printed in Pelleprat's Relation, and they were probably lost.⁷⁰ Pelleprat's book does contain a short word-list and some remarks about morphology.⁷¹

A hundred years after the making of these three short word-lists — two from Cayenne and one from the Guarapiche — they were compiled into one list by the agronomist De La Salle de l'Estaing (1763).⁷² This compilation was re-issued in 1867 by Von Martius, thus enabling the 19th-century comparativists to include Carib in their classifications.⁷³

De La Salle also wrote a grammar of Carib which, however, is only interesting as a curiosity. It had escaped his attention that the material from Cayenne reflected a jargon in which nothing of the morphology of Carib had remained; this led him to describe Carib as a very imperfect language "without any grammar".

Better descriptions of the language were provided by the missionaries Ximenez (1776) and De Taradell (1774), but their work remained unknown for a long time. Alexander von Humboldt brought an excerpt of Ximenez' grammar to Europe for his brother Wilhelm; the MSS. of De Taradell's work were not published until much later — in 1928 — at Madrid.⁷⁴

At about the same time Gilij — who was, like the other two, a missionary in the Orinoco region — laid the foundation for the comparative study of the Carib family of languages: he discovered the affinity between Carib and twenty other languages in the Orinoco

⁷⁰ Pelleprat, o.c., Introduction a la langue des Galibis, p. 15. De La Salle in: Bruletout de Prefontaine, *Maison rustique à l'usage des habitants de . . . Cayenne. Suivi d'un dictionnaire de Galibi précédé d'un essai de grammaire par M.D.L.S.* [= M. De La Salle de l'Estaing]. Paris, 1763. p. I-XVI.

⁷¹ Pelleprat, o.c., 30 pp.

⁷² De La Salle, o.c., XVI + 24 + 127 pp.

⁷³ C. F. Ph. v. Martius, *Wörterammlung Brasilianischer Sprachen; Iler B. von: Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens.* Leipzig, 1867. p. 325-370.

⁷⁴ De Humboldt, o.c. T: III, p. 22. De Taradell, o.c.

region (1782). The use of the name Carib for the whole family goes back to Gilij.⁷⁵

The 19th century yielded hardly any new descriptive material, although great progress was made in the domain of comparative linguistic studies. It is true that Von Martius's classification (1867), which was important for other families of languages, was a step back for Carib and related languages after Gilij's work, but great progress was made through the work of Von den Steinen (1886) and Adam (1890), who added many languages to those which had already been classified as belonging to the Cariban family.⁷⁶

It was the 20th century which at last yielded new descriptive data. De Goeje analysed the fairly extensive catechism of Van Coll⁷⁷ and also made full use of the MS. of Ximenez' work. The result was the first printed grammar of Carib.⁷⁸

A. Ph. and F. P. Penard wrote on Carib from extreme sound-symbolistic views.⁷⁹ After F. P.'s death his brother worked on more conventional lines; a great many loose notes dating from this later period have been preserved.⁸⁰

It was finally Ahlbrinck's *Encyclopaedie der Karaïben* (1931) which brought the description of Carib on a much higher level. This rich ethnography also contains a wealth of language data. It was the first work to use a consistent spelling system, it brought great progress in the field of morphology, but it is especially in the domain of lexicography that this encyclopaedia is of the greatest importance.⁸¹

⁷⁵ S. Gilij, *Saggio di storia americana*. Roma, 1782. T. III, lib. III, p. 135-213, appendice II, p. 219-393.

⁷⁶ K. von den Steinen, *Durch Central-Brasilien*. Leipzig, 1886. p. 290-299, 335-353. L. Adam, *Trois familles linguistiques des bassins de l'Amazone et de l'Orénoque, 7er Int. Am. Kong. Berlin 1888* (1890) p. 489-497. L. Adam, *Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de famille Caribe. Bibliothèque linguistique américaine XVII* (1893). Paris. 139 pp.

⁷⁷ C. van Coll, *Sanineec karetaale kalienja kapocewa itooriko-mc*. Gulpen, 1887. 87 pp.

⁷⁸ De Goeje, *Études linguistiques caribes* (1910), p. 90-154.

⁷⁹ F. P. en A. P. Penard, *De Menschetende Aanbidders der Zonneslang*. Paramaribo, 1907-1908. Vol. II, 80 pp., Vol. III, 194 pp.

⁸⁰ A. Ph. Penard, *De Caraïbische taal*. Newspaper clippings (De Periskoop nrs. 175-224, 1928, Paramaribo) and ms. notes, in the library of the Kon. Inst. voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden.

⁸¹ Ahlbrinck, o.c.

0.4. FIELD WORK

0.4.1. DURATION AND PLACE. DIALECTAL DIFFERENCE

The descriptive material was collected in the course of a stay in Surinam from December 1955 till March 1958. My field work was carried out in three places (see map at back): in Cornelis Kondre for 17 months, in Paramaribo for 4 months, in Bigiston for 5 months.

Cornelis Kondre lies on the busy Wayombo river, in a region where only a few non-Indians live. The number of inhabitants is over 200; they have family-relations with the villages on the Coppename, the Tibiti and the Donderkreek. The village has a church and a school.

My informant in Paramaribo came from Bigi Poika, near the upper Saramacca river. Bigi Poika is the largest Carib village in Surinam.

Bigiston lies on the river which is the frontier with French Guiana. It has about 100 inhabitants; they have family relations with the other villages on the same river and with the Carib villages on the coast of French Guiana. Beside Bigiston lies a village of Djuka Negroes with whom friendly relations are maintained. The villages share one government school; the Carib village also has a church. On the river there is a fairly busy canoe traffic; big ships do not go beyond Albina and St. Laurent, 12 kilometres downstream from Bigiston.

The dialect of my informant in Paramaribo proved to be identical with that of Cornelis Kondre. In Bigiston I found a slightly different dialect, the differences being restricted to some phonetical, morpho-phonological, lexicographical, and intonational features. The Caribs themselves distinguish two dialects: that of the *tire:wuyu* in the eastern half of Surinam and in French Guiana, and that of the *mura:to* in western Surinam and in some enclaves within the area of the eastern dialect. The name *mura:to* shows that the Caribs connect the dialectal difference with a difference in heredity: in long-past times the western Caribs intermarried with escaped Negroes. Results of the investigation in Bigiston and Paramaribo have only been used after it had been established, during a final stay in Cornelis Kondre, that they were also valid for the *mura:to* dialect, as spoken in this village. Some texts have been added, however, in the *tire:wuyu* dialect of Bigiston.

0.4.2. THE INFORMANTS

My chief informants in Cornelis Kondre were the following persons.

Theodoor Banga. Mr. Banga was born in Kalebaskreek, on the lower Coppename, and as a young man settled in Cornelis Kondre by marrying a woman belonging to that place. For years he held the office of deputy captain, and at present he has succeeded the late J. Mande as chief of the village. At the time of the investigation his age was about 60 years. Besides knowing Sranan, Mr. Banga has a good passive and some active knowledge of Dutch, which he can also read and write. In the investigation only Sranan was used as a contact language.

The late Juliaan Mande, former chief of the village. Mr. Mande was born on the upper Coppename and came to Cornelis Kondre at an early age. He spoke Sranan as a second language, his age was about 65.

Philip Cornelis. Mr. Cornelis was born in Cornelis Kondre as son of the founder of the village. He speaks Sranan as a second language, his age was about 70 years.

Wilhelmina Kassels. Mrs. Kassels was born on Surnau kreek (Surinam river), as a daughter of a well-known chief. She came to Cornelis Kondre as wife of the teacher-catechist, Mr. Henk Kassels. Her age was about 45. Mrs. Kassels has a perfect command of Dutch and also knows Sranan; because of her knowledge of two contact languages Mrs. Kassels was a most valuable informant during the first months of the investigation. Her dialect was identical with that of the other inhabitants of the village.

In Paramaribo my informant was Mr. Robert Kiban. He left his native village Bigi Poika at the age of 17 in order to receive secondary education in the capital. He always spent his school-holidays with his parents, who afterwards followed him to Paramaribo. At present Mr. Kiban is an official in the Department of Finance. At the time of the investigation his age was 35. He has a perfect command of Dutch and speaks it at home, he also knows Sranan well. Yet he has kept up his command of Carib: apart from his parents he is in constant contact with Caribs who visit Paramaribo to shop, to visit relatives, or for medical treatment. These people come to see him in connexion with his weekly programme in Carib for a local broadcasting station.

My informant in Bigiston was Alfons Stjoera, the chief of the village. Mr. Stjoera speaks Sranan, his age was about 60.

0.4.3. PROCEDURE

Learning the language has been an essential part of the whole investigation. During the first few months, the acquisition of some active

knowledge of the language was indeed my main concern. The trilingual Mrs. Kassels was my chief informant in these early stages: she gave the Carib equivalents of sentences formulated by me in Dutch and trained me in reproducing them correctly. This was accompanied by a provisional phonemic analysis. At the same time knowledge of some morphological processes was obtained by shared morpheme eliciting.

When I had acquired some active knowledge of the language, I proceeded to another method of interviewing. Taking as a starting-point the words that I had learnt, I made up new words in accordance with the morphological processes that were known to me, and put these before my informant. If the latter recognized my constructions as words or sentences belonging to his language, my next step was to investigate the semantic correlates of the formal changes made by me. For a first elucidation, translations by the informant into the contact language were often sufficient; when the need arose to delimit meanings more precisely I tried — with the help of the informant — to contrast the words in question in one or more contexts. If any obscurity remained the matter was later taken up again with the same, or with another, informant.

The method outlined in the preceding paragraph aimed at the morphological classification of the lexical material that presented itself, the criterion being the applicability of the various morphological processes. Furthermore it was suited to provide more detailed data on such processes as had already been discovered in principle. It is true that the method did not provide a means for directly discovering new morphological processes and for obtaining new lexicological material; yet in an indirect way data of this kind also were obtained during the interviews, because the informants used to give me extra information spontaneously.

Another important source of spontaneous information was provided by tape-recordings, taking from 5 tot 15 minutes. Generally the informants chose some traditional story; only in two cases did I succeed in making a good recording of a conversation. After the recording I put the spoken texts into writing as well as I could and read them out to the narrator, who made corrections and explained words that I did not know. In analyzing the material I aimed at being as detailed as possible, in determining slips of the tongue, anacoluthons, and the alternation or disappearance of phonemes occurring in rapid speech. This careful editing of the tape-recordings took more time than taking and editing

straightforward dictation. Yet the tape-recorder proved to be indispensable, if only because, of all the informants, Mr. Banga was the only one capable of telling a story at dictation speed.

The tape-recorder also served another purpose. If there were grounds for distrusting my transcription — which was especially the case with regard to the long vowels and the consonants *x* and *ʔ*, which sometimes alternate freely with vowel quantity — I supplemented my notes with tape-recordings made during the interview.

With regard to the analysis of the material the following additional remarks should be made. From what was said above it will be clear that in adopting the method outlined here much of the morphological analysis had to be done in the course of the field work in Surinam. It was equally inevitable that a provisional phonemic analysis had to be carried out at an early stage of the investigation. On the other hand, nearly the whole morphophonemic analysis was carried out after my return; for this section it proved to be of the greatest importance that I could fall back upon the material collected on tapes. The final phonemic analysis, too, was not made until after my return. After this the texts were edited definitively and then translated into English. Lastly the morphological analysis was completed.

0.4.4. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As far as general theory is concerned, the viewpoint adopted here is essentially that of Reichling and Uhlenbeck, as it was first set forth in Reichling's *Het Woord* of 1935, and was further developed in a number of articles by himself and by Uhlenbeck.⁸² For a general characterization it may be said, that on a number of fundamental points their views show a close affinity with those of the pre- and post-war Prague school. The most distinctive characteristic of the theory is the position it accords to the word — besides the sentence — as one of the two fundamental units in the structure of language.

⁸² A. Reichling, *Het woord*. Nijmegen, 1935; idem, 'De taal: haar wetten en haar wezen', in *Verzamelde studies over hedendaagse problemen der taalwetenschap*. Zwolle³, 1965.

E. M. Uhlenbeck, *De Structuur van het Javaanse Morpheem*. Bandoeng, 1949; idem, The study of wordclasses in Javanese, *Lingua* 3 (1953) p. 322-354; idem, De systematiek der Javaanse pronomina, *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde vol. XXX* (see p. 1 for further items on Javanese); idem, Some preliminary remarks on Javanese syntax, *Lingua* 15 (1965) p. 53-70.

In accordance with this central position of the word in all subsystems of language, the phonemes of chapter 1 are units that have as their function the marking and distinguishing of words, and their inventory is made by seeking for oppositions by means of the comparison of isolated words. No attempt has been made here to systematize the phonemic inventory on the lines of Jakobson's general theory: a conventional phonetic framework has been used. In one case however — that of the nasal phonemes — it could be shown that adoption of distinctive feature analysis will lead to a more satisfactory description than the present one.

In morphology, too, the fundamental unit is the word: the classes in chapter 3 are systems of categories of words, in which the words take up their place according to their mutual formal/semantic oppositions. Morphology being conceived of in this way, the WP (word and paradigm) style of morphological description⁸³ evidently is the most suitable one. As rightly stressed by Robins, this type of grammatical statement can easily accommodate a process terminology,⁸⁴ while on the other hand it also makes it possible to give due consideration to the entities on which the processes can operate.⁸⁵

As was stated above, morphological categorization started from regular formal and semantic differences between words. Now it has become clear that in Carib — as in other languages — many regular formal differences are not restricted to words belonging to a few categories, but can be seen as resulting from more general regularities that pervade the whole lexicon. Such general rules have been described separately, within the framework of a general discussion of the phonemic make-up of the Carib words, which is found in chapter 2. For further particulars the reader is referred to the introductory sections of the third and the second chapters (3.0., 2.0.).

Problems properly pertaining to syntax, such as the formation of word groups, had to be gone into at several points in chapters 2 and 3. I intend to devote a later publication entirely to this subject.

Finally, some transcriptions of tape-recorded material have been added.

⁸³ R. H. Robins, In defence of WP, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1960. p. 116-144.

⁸⁴ o.c. p. 134.

⁸⁵ Josef Vachek, On some basic principles of 'classical' phonology, *Zeitschrift für Phonetik Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 17 (1964) p. 413.

1. PHONOLOGY

Carib has 35 phonemes: 17 consonant phonemes and 18 vowel phonemes.

The consonant phonemes are (1) six stops: *p, t, k, b, d, g*, (2) four nasals: *m, n, ɲ, ŋ*, (3) *w* and *y*, (4) *r*, (5) *s*, (6) *x* and *ʔ*, (7) *h*.

The vowel phonemes are (1) six short vowels: *a, e, o, i, ɨ, u*, (2) six long vowels: *aː, eː, oː, iː, ɨː, uː*, (3) six diphthongs: *au, ai, ei, oi, ɨi, ui*.

1.1. THE CONSONANTS

1.1.1. ALLOPHONICS

With the exception of the glottal stop *ʔ* and the voiced glottal fricative *h* all the consonantal phonemes have two allophones, viz. a palatalized allophone and a non-palatalized one. Generally speaking¹ the occurrence of these allophones is determined by the preceding vowel: if this is a short or long *i* or an *i*-diphthong, then the palatalized allophone occurs; in all other cases the non-palatalized allophone is found.

In what follows we shall first discuss the allophones themselves and then the rules of palatalization.

1.1.1.1. THE ALLOPHONES

We find the following pairs of allophones:

<i>/p/</i>	<i>p</i> ²	<i>p</i> ^ɥ
<i>/t/</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i> ^ɥ
<i>/k/</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>/b/</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> ^ɥ
<i>/d/</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i> ^ɥ
<i>/g/</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ʃ</i>

¹ For a detailed formulation of the rules of palatalization see below, 1.1.1.2.

² Whereas in this study in general letters correspond to phonemes, in this section (1.1.1.) this is only true of letters between diagonal strokes. The absence of these strokes means that the letters represent phonetic segments.

/m/	m	m ^y
/n/	n	ñ
/ɲ/	ɲ	ñ
/w/	w	w ^y
/y/	y	j
/r/	r	dʲ
/s/	s	š
/x/	x	χ

Of the allophones set out in this table, more needs to be said about the lingual stops, /r/ and /y/, and the nasals. We shall treat them in this order, because the section on the nasals is by far the longest of the three.

A. The lingual stops.

The palatalized allophones of /t/ and /d/ are distinguished from the non-palatalized ones by having a laminal³ co-articulation, voiceless in the case of t^y, voiced in the case of d^y. The situation is somewhat different with /k/ and /g/: their non-palatalized allophones have a velar articulation, their palatalized allophones (*c* and *J*) have an articulation which is laminal only, without any velar co-articulation. This means that the articulatory difference between t^y and *c*, d^y and *J*⁴ lies in the fact whether the tongue tip is involved in the articulation or not: t^y and d^y are formed with the tip and blade of the tongue, *c* and *J* with the blade only.

The auditory resemblance between t^y and *c*, and between d^y and *J* was to me considerable, so that I found it difficult at first to hear any difference. The reaction of my informants, however, made it clear to me that there must be a contrast between e.g. *pi:t^yo* 'flatus' and *pi:co* 'little chap', or *i:t^ya* 'in it' and *i:ca* 'to get (something) out (of something else)'.

³ The articulatory terminology used is essentially that employed by Hockett, *A Manual of Phonology*, *Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics*, *IJAL Memoir* 11, Baltimore 1955. However, the written symbolization of the laminals differs from that used by Hockett. *c* and *J* are used in accordance with the IPA alphabet, *j* denotes a fricative sound and *y* a non-fricative.

⁴ *J* and *g* were only found in homorganic nasal clusters, see below, 1.1.2.1.

In these and similar cases where I was in doubt as to whether a pair of words was homonymous or showed a phonic difference unfamiliar to me, I proceeded as follows. I pronounced the two words of which I wanted to find out whether they were homonymous, and then gave the equivalent of each in the contact language. In all cases the informants were able to state without any hesitation, either that a difference which existed for them had been ignored by me, or that for them too there was no difference between the forms of the two words. The first proved to be the case e.g. with the pair cited above: *pi:tʸo* 'flatus' and *pi:co* 'little chap', the second e.g. with *awa:ra*¹ 'species of palm-fruit' and *awa:ra*² (*wa:ra* with *a-*) 'in your way'. This did not mean, of course, that the informants, after having stated that there was a difference, were able to say what the nature of the difference was or what its place was in the sound-form.

B. /r/ and /y/.

Allophones of /y/ are the laminal semi-vowel *y* and, in the case of palatalization, the laminal ungrooved fricative *j*; both *y* and *j* are voiced.

In the case of palatalized /r/ we find the same fricative *j*, now in co-articulation with *d*. The non-palatalized allophone of /r/ is an alveolar flap.

The difference in articulation between *j* and *dʲ* resembles that between *c* and *tʸ* in that here too the fact whether the tongue tip is involved in articulation or not plays a part. From an auditory point of view, however, the similarity between fricative *j* and affricate *dʲ* is not as great as between *c* and *tʸ*: it was not very difficult for me to hear the difference between, for instance *ija:ko* 'at that time' and *idia:ko* 'large ant'.

C. The nasals.

A phonological analysis of the nasals presents a number of complex problems. There seems to be room for more than one analysis. Our starting point is a distinction between six nasal phonetic segments, occurring in various positions within the word, as shown in the following table. A plus-mark indicates the occurrence of the nasal in a given position, a minus-mark its absence.

	Initially	Intervocally		Finally		In cluster	
		After a vowel other than <i>i</i>	After <i>i</i>	After a vowel other than <i>i</i>	After <i>i</i>	After a vowel other than <i>i</i>	After <i>i</i>
<i>m</i>	+	+	—	+	—	+, only before <i>b, p</i>	+, only before <i>br</i>
<i>mʸ</i>	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
<i>n</i>	+	+	—	—	—	+, only before <i>d</i>	+, only before <i>dʸ</i>
<i>ñ</i>	—	—	+	—	+	—	+, only before <i>J</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	—	—	—	+	—	+, only before <i>s</i>	—
<i>ɳ</i>	—	—	—	+	—	+, only before <i>g, k</i>	—

On the basis of these data there are three possible phonological interpretations, the first of which admits five variants.

1) First interpretation: four phonemes, viz. /*m n ɲ ɳ*/

All the variants of this interpretation have two elements in common. They all accept four nasal phonemes /*m n ɲ ɳ*/, and all of them give the same analysis of the data on initial and intervocalic position, i.e. they all assume the presence of /*m*/ with the allophones *m* and *mʸ*, and of /*n*/ with the allophones *n* and *ñ*. On this latter point the second and the third interpretation, too, agree with the first.

The data for the final position and for the clusters, however, admit of different interpretations, in each of which the phonematic identity of *ñ* (in final position or in the cluster *ñJ*) is at issue.

We shall now consider the five variant interpretations:

a) Final *ñ* is an allophone of the /*n*/-phoneme.

The *ñ* which occurs finally after *i*, being identified with the *ñ* that occurs intervocally, is interpreted as the palatalized allophone of /*n*/.

This view leads to the following conclusions: 1) /*n*/ occurs finally only after *i*, 2) the other nasals /*m ɲ ɳ*/ never follow *i* when they are in final position; consequently palatalization is out of the question in their case.

b) Final *ñ* is phonically not distinguished from final *ɲ*.

This interpretation is based on phonic data which are somewhat

different from those set out in the table. The table indicates the occurrence of \tilde{n} in final position after i , because a nasal occurs which, from the point of view of articulation, is identical with the intervocalic \tilde{n} of, for instance, *pi:n̄a* 'to catch, seize'. However, the inevitable predominance of the articulatory point of view in phonic description obscures the fact that to the ear a final \tilde{n} following i , and a final $\tilde{\eta}$ following a vowel other than i are hardly — or not at all — distinguishable (e.g. in *a:sin̄* 'heat', *a:tuη̄* 'fever'). In view of this it is possible to drop the distinction between final \tilde{n} and final $\tilde{\eta}$. This disposes of the occurrence of $/n/$ in final position, $/\tilde{\eta}/$ occurring finally both after i and after vowels other than i .

The consequence of this view is that the phoneme $/\tilde{\eta}/$, just like $/h/$ and $/ʔ/$, is not subject to palatalization.

c) Final \tilde{n} is an allophone of the $/\tilde{\eta}/$ -phoneme.

This interpretation differs from the preceding ones in that it takes into account both the articulatory and the auditory data. On account of their difference in articulation final \tilde{n} and final $\tilde{\eta}$ are distinguished, but because of their auditory identity they are regarded as allophones of one phoneme, $/\tilde{\eta}/$.

This view implies that $/\tilde{\eta}/$ and $/n/$ overlap with regard to \tilde{n} .

d) \tilde{n} in $\tilde{n}f$ is an allophone of the $/n/$ -phoneme.

In the clusters *mb*, *mbʷ*, *nd*, *ndʷ*, *ŋg* and *ŋs* the nasals can be recognized as being the phonemes $/m n \tilde{\eta} \ŋ/$ as already found in initial, medial or final position.

The nasal in $\tilde{n}f$ may be regarded as an allophone of $/n/$, if this \tilde{n} is identified with that in intervocalic position.

Before the distributional implications of this interpretation can be traced it is necessary to determine the phonematic identity of f . There is the same articulatory difference between f and g as between the two allophones of the $/k/$ -phoneme, c and k : c and f have a laminal articulation, k and g a dorsal articulation. This points to f and g being also allophones of one phoneme, the voiced counterpart of $/k/$.

The consequence of interpreting \tilde{n} in $\tilde{n}f$ as the phoneme $/n/$ is that a sequence of phonemes $/n/$ and $/g/$ does occur, but is only to be found after i . Conversely the sequence $/ŋ/$ + $/g/$ can only occur after vowels other than i .

e) \tilde{n} in $\tilde{n}f$ is an allophone of the $/ŋ/$ -phoneme.

From the fact that the dorsal homorganic cluster *ŋg* and the laminal homorganic cluster $\tilde{n}f$, as regards articulation, are completely parallel

with the two allophones of the /k/-phoneme it may be deduced that these two clusters as a whole are related to each other as co-allophones. From this it may be concluded that the nasal components of the clusters, η and \tilde{n} , too, are co-allophones of one phoneme, viz. / η /.

The consequence of this view is overlapping with regard to the \tilde{n} -allophone: with / n / (intervocally, and finally as well, if final \tilde{n} is interpreted according to a)), and with / $\tilde{\eta}$ / (if final \tilde{n} is interpreted according to c)).

2) Second interpretation: two phonemes, viz. / m n /.

A smaller number of nasal phonemes is obtained if certain nasals in mutually exclusive distribution are interpreted as positional allophones. The following analysis can be defended:

/m/, positional allophones m and η
/n/, positional allophones n and $\tilde{\eta}$.

This interpretation is only possible if one of the data set out in the table on p. 34 is judged differently from what has been done so far. I am referring to the statement that m occurs finally, which is only based on two cases: *am* 'somebody, something', and *roɔm* 'otherwise, else'. The facts might be more adequately stated by saying that as a rule m does *not* occur in final position, except for two special cases.

It is, however, necessary to prove that these cases are special ones, for, should this be impossible, it might be stated that final m is simply not very frequent. Now it is remarkable that *am* and *roɔm* are shortened forms of *a:mu* and *roɔmu $\tilde{\eta}$* , and although these short forms have so far not been found to be connected with differences in the speed of speaking or to be due to sandhi, yet I think that the fact that they are shortened forms justifies us in regarding them as special cases.

Arguments for classing m with η , n with $\tilde{\eta}$ (and not the other way about: m with $\tilde{\eta}$, n with η) are to be found in the analysis in distinctive features, as evolved by Jakobson.⁵

The production of n and $\tilde{\eta}$ with a relatively smaller, more divided oral cavity and that of m and η with a relatively larger, less divided oral cavity, justifies the surmise that there is an opposition of grave m , η : acute n , $\tilde{\eta}$.⁶

⁵ R. Jakobson, C. G. M. Fant, M. Halle, *Preliminaries to speech analysis*, Massachusetts 1955.

⁶ op. cit., p. 30.

Furthermore, the ratio of the volume of the resonating cavities in front of the stricture and those behind the stricture is higher for \bar{n} and $\bar{ɲ}$ than for m and n . This gives rise to the presumption that \bar{n} and $\bar{ɲ}$ share a feature of compactness, and m and n a feature of diffuseness.⁷ These two features are redundant here, and are induced by initial and medial position, respectively by final position.⁸

In the clusters the nasals are always homorganic with the occlusive component.

The foregoing may be summarized in the following table:

	(diffuse) initially and between vowels	(compact) finally	(homorganic) in clusters
(grave)/ <i>m</i> /	<i>m</i>	$\bar{ɲ}$	<i>m</i> before <i>p, b, bʸ</i> ; $\bar{ɲ}$ before <i>g, k</i>
(acute)/ <i>n</i> /	<i>n</i>	\bar{n}	<i>n</i> before <i>d, dʸ</i> ; \bar{n} before <i>s</i>

It remains to fit the palatalized allophones *mʸ* and \bar{n} into the picture. The situation is clear in intervocalic and final positions:

- /i/ after *i*, allophone *mʸ*
- /n/ after *i*, allophone \bar{n} .⁹

Because *n* and \bar{n} are now regarded as positional allophones of the same phoneme, there is no longer overlapping, as was the case in 1c) above.

In the clusters the only palatalized nasal allophone found is \bar{n} in $\bar{n}J$. This \bar{n} again gives rise to several different interpretations.

a) \bar{n} in $\bar{n}J$ is an allophone of the acute phoneme.

If the \bar{n} in $\bar{n}J$ is identified with intervocalic \bar{n} , it may be assumed that this first \bar{n} , too, is an allophone of /*n*/.

The consequence of this interpretation is that a sequence of the acute phoneme + /*g*/ is found only after *i*, and that a sequence of the grave phoneme + /*g*/ is found only after vowels other than *i*.

b) \bar{n} in $\bar{n}J$ is an allophone of the grave phoneme.

As was the case in 1e), from the fact that $\bar{ɲ}g$ and $\bar{n}J$ as a whole are clearly co-allophones the conclusion is drawn that \bar{n} as well as $\bar{ɲ}$ in these clusters belong to the grave phoneme. The result is that the grave and the acute phoneme overlap with regard to \bar{n} .

⁷ op. cit., p. 27.

⁸ op. cit., p. 5.

⁹ The grave phoneme does not occur in final position after *i*. As we have established that final \bar{n} is a co-allophone of $\bar{ɲ}$ or *n*, it belongs to the acute phoneme.

This overlapping is perhaps compatible with the results of feature analysis, seeing that in intervocalic position \tilde{n} only contrasts with m^y , whereas in the clusters \tilde{n} contrasts both with m and with n . This makes it conceivable that the intervocalic \tilde{n} is acute in opposition to the grave m^y , while in the clusters \tilde{n} , together with m , is grave in opposition to the acute n .

3) Third interpretation: by the side of the simple nasal phonemes there are six nasal cluster phonemes.

If the nasal clusters are interpreted as separate phonemes the following additions are to be made to the inventory of phonemes:

$/mp/$,	allophones	mp	and	— ¹⁰
$/mb/$,	„	mb	„	mb^y
$/nd/$,	„	nd	„	nd^y
$/\tilde{n}s/$,	„	$\tilde{n}s$	„	— ¹⁰
$/\tilde{n}k/$,	„	$\tilde{n}k$	„	— ¹⁰
$/ng/$,	„	ng	„	$\tilde{n}f$

4) Discussion.

This last, third interpretation has certain advantages. There is no overlapping with respect to \tilde{n} in $\tilde{n}f$, as results from the interpretations 1e) and 2b), nor does this give rise to distributional complications, as was the case in 1d) and 2a). Furthermore, this interpretation brings out the important fact that the nasal component of the clusters can always be predicted on the basis of the non-nasal component.

Against this, however, it has the serious drawback of unnecessarily increasing the number of phonemes considerably, while moreover the occurrence of mp — albeit sporadically — by the side of mb , and of $\tilde{n}k$ by the side of ng argues against this interpretation.¹¹

The second interpretation, on the other hand, has a great deal in its favour, and may be the right one. The interpretation of m and \tilde{n} , n and \tilde{n} as positional allophones throws light on the special distribution of \tilde{n} and \tilde{n} , and besides it fits in with Jakobson's distinctive feature theory.

As yet, however, we have insufficient phonetic data to carry out an analysis in distinctive features, which is indispensable for this interpretation: in 2) we could only put forward more or less well-founded

¹⁰ My material does not contain any cases in which the rare cluster $/\tilde{n}s/$ and the extremely rare clusters $/mp/$ and $/\tilde{n}k/$ follow i . On $/\tilde{n}k/$ see the next chapter, 2.1.1.1.1.

¹¹ See 2.1.1.1.1.

surmises. Especially in the case of \bar{n} very few phonetic data are known — acoustic phonetic data are completely lacking — while moreover comparison with the situation in other languages is impossible because of the rarity of the nasal.¹²

My conclusion is therefore that — at least for the time being — the first interpretation is the best one. It remains to find out to which variant of this interpretation preference should be given.

b) and c) are both more attractive than a) because they do not assume on merely articulatory grounds phonematic contrast of two nasals which are hardly — or not at all — distinguishable from an auditory point of view and which cannot contrast minimally. Moreover they avoid the distributional complications of a).

Of b) and c) the latter is slightly more attractive in that it takes into account the articulatory as well as the auditory point of view, while moreover / \bar{n} /, just like the other non-glottal phonemes, participates in palatalization. On the other hand, the overlapping inherent in c) does not seem to me to constitute a serious drawback.

With regard to the nasal in the cluster $\bar{n}f$ I opt for e) because this interpretation does not ignore the fact that $\bar{n}g$ and $\bar{n}f$ as a whole are co-allophones. Moreover, distributional complications are avoided. The drawback that / \bar{n} / overlaps with / n / and with / \bar{n} / is not serious enough to counterbalance this.

1.1.1.2. THE RULES OF PALATALIZATION

Except for the cases mentioned below, palatalization of consonants and consonant sequences occurs if they are preceded by / i /, / $i:$ / or an i -diphthong.

Examples:

/p/ $pi:p^yo$ 'skin', $okoip^yo$ 'species of tree'.

/t/ $pi:t^yo$ 'flatus', $kuit^ya$ 'spindle'.

/k/ $pi:co$ 'little chap', $kaicu:si$ 'jaguar'.

/b/ $kib^rainare$ 'proper name', —.¹³

/g/ $i\bar{n}fa:na$ 'behind him',¹⁴ $poi\bar{n}fo$ 'boar'.

/m/ $si:m^yo$ 'liana', aim^ya 'to smoke'.

/n/ $pi:\bar{n}a$ 'to catch, seize', $mai\bar{n}a$ 'plantation'.

¹² B. J. Hoff, Dorsal phonemes with special reference to Carib, *Lingua* 10 (1961) pp. 403-419.

¹³ The material does not contain any cases with /b/ after a diphthong.

¹⁴ Formed on the basis of $i\bar{n}ga:na$ 'behind', by prefixing with i - and loss of the initial vowel.

/ɲ/ *a:sin̄* 'heat', —.¹⁵

/ɲ/ *in̄Ju:na* 'behind him',¹⁴ *poiñJo* 'boar'.

/w/ *si:wra* 'species of fish', *taiw'o* 'sign'.

/s/ *pišu:ru* 'species of fish', *paiša:wa* 'cluster of fruits'.

/x/ *ixp'ori:rī* 'creek', *aixcu:ru* 'fluid'.

The rule given above does not apply, or not fully so, in the following cases.

1) Palatalization does not take place when consonants or consonant sequences are not only preceded but also followed by /i/ or /i:/, except the sequences /x + C/, where the second consonant is not palatalized, but the first is.

Examples:

tosi:pi 'dish', *pi:kiri* 'small fish', *imimbi* 'small', *taki:ni* 'species of tree', *sawi:wi* 'girl's name', *pix'pisi* 'species of bird', *ixki:rīxpa* 'not yellow' (*i-* + *ixki:rī* 'yellowness' + *-xpa*).

2) For /y/ and /r/ the rule only fully applies in the case of *i*-diphthongs. After them palatalization always occurs, e.g.: /y/ in *ūjo* 'husband', *aija:rī* 'hand', *sip'uija* 'I enlarge it' (*si* + *pu:i* 'to enlarge' + *-ya*, and replacement of the sequence *u:i* by the diphthong *ui*). /r/ in *aidie* 'presently', *pūd'u:ku* 'pig', *puid'i* 'the enlarging' (*pu:i* 'to enlarge' + *-rī*, and replacement of *u:i* by *ui*).

On the other hand, after *i* and *i:* palatalization generally does not take place. Here the situation is as follows.

Palatalization never occurs after non-initial /i/ or /i:/, e.g. /y/ in *miye:ro* 'over there', *kuri:yara* 'boat', *supi:ya* 'I am looking for it' (*s-* + *u:pi* 'to look for' + *-ya*).

/r/ in *sire:u* 'species of bird', *paki:ra* 'small boar', *tapi:re* 'red' (*t-* + *a:pi* 'redness' + *-re*).

After initial /i/ or /i:/ palatalization was always found to occur in five out of the six cases known to me in which /i/ is not part of a prefix: /y/ in *i:ja* 'thence', *i:je* 'there'.

/r/ in *i:d'io* 'this', *id'io:mī* 'dry season', *id'a:ko* 'large ant'.

In the sixth case, the place name *ira:ku* 'Iracoubo', no palatalization was found to occur.¹⁶

¹⁵ There are no cases with /ɲ/ after a diphthong in the material.

¹⁶ This may be due to the fact the Carib inhabitants themselves of this place in French Guiana do not palatalize /r/ in *ira:ku*. In the eastern dialect spoken there (see Introduction, 0.4.1.) palatalization of /r/ and /y/ after *i* and *i:* never occurs, also in the other four cases mentioned here.

After prefixed *i-*, palatalization was found to occur in some cases and in other cases not, without it being possible to state a rule.

/y/ in *i-* + *ya:ko* 'then' → *iya:ko* and *ija:ko* 'at that time'.

/y/ in *i-* + *rombĩ* 'to die' + *-xpa* → *irombixpa* and *idiombixpa* 'not dying'.

3) In the sequences /mb/ and /nd/ no palatalization of the nasals takes place. From an auditory point of view the palatalization is only observable in the off-glide *y* which does not follow until the explosion of *b*, resp. *d*. In the case of *ndʷ*, moreover, it should be noted that after /i/, too, the nasal is articulated with the tongue tip and not with the blade, as is the case with *ñ*.

With regard to /ŋg/ the situation is quite different: there is a clear auditory and articulatory difference between the nasals in *ŋg* and *ñJ*.

1.1.1.3. THE PALATALIZING VOWELS

The process of palatalization may be attended with certain modifications of /i/ or the diphthong.

An initial short *i* often, but not always, disappears as a separate phonetic segment, e.g. by the side of *iñe:ku* 'fish poison', *ñe:ku*; by the side of *ipʷo:türĩ* 'his lip' (prefix *i-*), *pʷo:türĩ*.

A similar phenomenon may be found to occur with the *i-* element of the diphthongs: thus, by the side of *poitʷo* 'young man', *po:tʷo*; by the side of *maiña* 'plantation', *ma:ña*; by the side of *waija:po* 'species of fish', *wa:ja:po*.

It is probable, however, that this loss of the *i-* element of the diphthongs as a separate segment is not possible in all phoneme sequences. In the first place an unmistakable diphthong was always heard before labial phonemes, e.g. in *okoipʷo*, *aimʷa:ra*, *taiwʷo:rĩ*. Furthermore I never heard the following words pronounced without a clear diphthong: *kaicu:si* 'jaguar', *wüino* 'from, out of', *püidʷi* 'shyness', *püidʷu:ku* 'pig', *wo:rüidʷi* (*wo:rüi* 'woman', with *-rĩ*). I have been unable to find out whether these cases also reflect a certain regularity.

1.1.1.4. FINAL REMARKS

In conclusion we shall consider the relation between the phonological phenomenon here referred to as palatalization and the phonetic phenomena attending it. The position of /y/ in particular will have to come up for discussion.

Let us first set out the articulatory data for the non-palatalized, resp. palatalized allophones in the following tables.

	bilabial	labio-dental	apical	laminal	front dorso-velar	dorso-velar
stop, voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>
stop, voiced	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>
nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
semivowel		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		
fricative				<i>s</i>		<i>x</i>
flap			<i>r</i>			

	bilabial and laminal	labiodental and laminal	apical and laminal	laminal	centro-domal
stop, voiceless	<i>p^Y</i>		<i>t^Y</i>	<i>c</i>	
stop, voiced	<i>b^Y</i>		<i>d^Y, dⁱ</i>	<i>ɸ</i>	
nasal	<i>m^Y</i>			<i>ɲ</i>	
semivowel		<i>w^Y</i>			
fricative				<i>j ʃ</i>	<i>ç</i>

On comparing these tables we find that the phonetic difference within each pair of allophones is not always entirely the same. The following types can be distinguished.

- 1) The palatalized allophone phonetically consists of two segments, the second of which is a laminal off-glide: unvoiced in *p^Y*, *t^Y*, voiced and frictionless in *b^Y*, *d^Y*, *m^Y*, *w^Y*, voiced with friction in *dⁱ*.
- 2) The palatalized allophone is phonetically one segment. In this type the following differences are found:
 - a) As compared with the non-palatalized allophone a complete shift has taken place to another zone of articulation; from tongue tip to blade: *ɲ*; from dorsum to blade: *c*; or from dorsum to centre: *ç*.
 - b) There is no such complete shift in the case of /s/. Both allophones, hissing *s* and hushing *ʃ*, are articulated with the blade; in *ç*, however, the centre of the tongue is raised.
 - c) In the case of /y/ the articulations of both allophones, *y* and *j*, are completely homorganic; the only difference between them is that there is friction in *j*, whereas there is none in *y*.

The term palatalization as used in phonetics cannot be applied to each of these types. In phonetic terms palatalization is only a special form of co-articulation: "any except a frontal (palatal) sound can be accompanied by a raising of the front toward the hard palate";¹⁷ only the allophones of our type 1) come under this heading. In those of type 2) it is not a matter of a sound being modified by a second stricture occurring simultaneously with the primary articulation, but of a simple articulation (e.g. *k*) being replaced by another (e.g. *c*).

This does not alter the fact, however, that the phonetic processes that give rise to the allophones of type 1) and those of the types 2a) and 2b) have clearly much in common. In all these three types we have allophones occurring after *i* which from an articulatory point of view are closer to *i* than their partners. This does not, however, apply to /*y*/. In this case the "palatalized" allophone, the fricative *j*, happens to differ more from *i* than its partner, the semivowel *y*. It may be asked whether, in view of this striking phonetic disparity — on the one hand a shift to the *i*-position, on the other a change away from it — it would not have been better to treat the allophonic situation in the case of /*y*/ and that in the case of the other consonants separately.

In my opinion, however, this disparity is not sufficient reason to question the phonological unity of the phenomenon, the more so as this unity is confirmed by the rules which we found in 1.1.1.2. There we have seen that in the case of /*y*/ these rules are different from what holds good for the large majority of consonants, but it is precisely in these differences that they are in complete agreement with the rules for /*r*/, one of the phonemes subject to palatalization, as the term is understood in phonetics.

Maintaining the phonological unity of the phonetically heterogeneous forms of *i*-allophonics, we need a term for the phonological phenomenon. I have retained the term palatalization, despite the fact that in its phonetic sense it is not applicable to the *i*-allophonics of all the phonemes.

1.1.2. DISTRIBUTION AND CONTRAST

1.1.2.1. VOICED AND VOICELESS STOPS

Contrast of voiced and voiceless stops is found in a limited number of cases. Examples:

¹⁷ B. Bloch and G. L. Trager, *Outline of linguistic analysis*, Baltimore 1962, p. 30.

b and *p* in *ba:ku* 'proper name', *pa:to* 'place', *ara:bo* 'species of fish', *uwa:po* 'before', *ambo:tī* 'to break', *tampo:ko* 'old man';

d and *t* in *diye:mo* 'proper name', *tīya:po* 'marsh', *wo:di* 'little sister', *wo:to* 'fish';

g and *k* in *īnga:na* 'behind', *mīnka:rī* 'gill-slit'.

Owing to the peculiar distribution of the stops it proved to be impossible to find a single minimal pair: *p* and *k* were practically only, and *t* was only, found in initial and intervocalic positions and after *x*; *b* and *d* were chiefly, and *g* was only, found after a homorganic nasal.

Yet there is contrast, because certain words are not subject to this distributional tendency and contain *p* or *k* after a nasal, or *b* or *d* in intervocalic or initial position. These words comprise only 3 cases with a cluster *mp* or *ŋk*, 21 monomorphemic cases with *b* or *d* in initial or intervocalic position, and two types of polymorphemic words which all contain intervocalic *b*.

The 3 cases with *p* or *k* after a nasal are: *tampo:ko* 'old man', *mīnka:rī* 'gill-slit', *kaŋkasa:pa* 'large lizard'.

With initial *b* the following words were found: *baŋga*, *ba:ku* 'proper names', *biyo:ro* 'term of abuse', *beda:ki* 'Christmas', *ba:siya* 'deputy', *bi:ribi:ri* 'flooded savanna', *bo* 'bang!', *baŋ* 'alas!', and *baŋ* 'who is afflicted with'; this last word is formed on the basis of *pe* 'afflicted with', by suffixing with *-ŋ*, vowel-change and replacement of *p* by *b*.¹⁸

With initial *d*: *diye:mo* 'proper name'.

With intervocalic *b*: *kibainare* 'proper name', *itu:biri* 'old woman', *tisa:bake* 'muddy', *ara:bo* 'species of fish', *tinu:berēŋ* 'plane' (tool), *waka:buŋ* 'species of tree', *su:rabaŋ* 'beam of roof', *ka:bara* 'sheep', *ka:biri:ta* 'goat'; a small number of demonstratives formed by suffixing with *-baŋ*,¹⁹ e.g. *o:tībaŋ* 'what kind of?' on the basis of *o:tī* 'what?'; and the words formed by suffixing with *-ŋ*, vowel-change, replacement of *p* by *b* and dropping of *x*, on the basis of words which in their turn are formed by suffixing of nouns or verbs with *-xpa*,²⁰ e.g. *ī:potī* 'hair', *ī:poxpā* 'hairless' (with *i-*, *-xpa* and loss of *ī* and *tī*), *ī:pobīŋ* 'a bald person'.

With *d* in intervocalic position: *wo:di* 'little girl', *ma:kido:na* 'proper name', *beda:ki* 'Christmas'.

There is reason to assume that the opposition voiced: voiceless stops is marginal in Carib. To this points in the first place the small number

¹⁸ See 3.3.4.

¹⁹ See 3.5.2.

²⁰ See 3.1.3.2.13. and 3.2.2.5.

of monomorphemic cases with *mp*, *ŋk* and with initial or intervocalic *b*, *d* which are available to prove the opposition. Moreover, at least 15 out of the 24 monomorphemic cases that are available belong to special sections of the lexicon: they include five proper names, three familiar designations of persons (*tampo:ko*, *itu:biri*, *wo:di*), an onomatopoeia, and a term of abuse; 5 words could be identified as loan words (*beda:ki* and *ba:siya* are borrowed from Sranan, *waka:buŋ* from Tupi,²¹ *ka:bara* and *ka:biri:ta* from Spanish²²) while the remaining 9 may also be loan words.

The exceptional character of the clusters *ŋk* and *mp* is further confirmed by external as well as internal sandhi phenomena, the effect of which is that only the clusters *mb* and *ŋg* — and not *mp* and *ŋk* — occur on the boundaries of words and parts of words.²³

1.1.2.2. ʃ AND ɲ

These two nasals have a limited distribution, which moreover coincides only to a small extent with that of the other consonants. They only occur in the clusters *ʃs*, *ŋg*, *ŋk*; and in final position. The only possibilities of contrast are the following:

1) In clusters.

ʃ and *x* contrast before *s*, e.g. *waʃsi:ri* 'little bird', *axsa:ri* 'gutter, neck'.

ŋ and *x* contrast before *k*, e.g. *mɪŋka:ri* 'gill-slit', *ixka:ri* 'fishes in water-pool'.

Such cases of contrast are rare because, except *xk*, these clusters have a very low frequency.²⁴

2) In final position.

Besides *ʃ* and *ɲ* the only other consonant found in this position is *m*. It only occurs, however, in two cases, *am* and *roʔm*, which are clearly exceptional.²⁵

Apart from *m*, therefore, in final position *ʃ* and *ɲ* only contrast with each other, e.g. *auraʃ* 'language', *e:raɲ* 'guard'. As we shall see, however, this possibility of contrast is subject to a further limitation. Words ending in *ʃ* or *ɲ* are not rare at all, but this is practically

²¹ C. Tatevin, *La Langue Tapihya*. Vienne 1910.

²² Other loanwords have *p*, *k* for Spanish *b*, *g* : *pa:ndi:ra* 'flag', *ara:kapu:sa* 'rifle', *pa:ka* 'cow', *aku:sa* 'needle'.

²³ See 2.1.1.1.1. and 2.4.2.

²⁴ About *ŋk* see 2.1.1.1.1.; on the limited distribution of *xs* see 2.1.1.4.

²⁵ See 2.1.2.1.2.

completely due to the fact that a number of processes of suffixation have suffix-alternants ending in one of these nasals; this is the case with 8 out of 38 productive processes of suffixation. In words without a suffix the frequency of the nasals — especially that of *ŋ* — is very low.

This situation, which Ahlbrinck pointed out as early as 1931,²⁶ accounts for the fact that, although final *ŋ* and *ɲ* occur frequently, hardly any cases of minimal contrast were found: the only instances known to me are *maŋ* 'he is', *maɲ* 'one who serves as' (*me* 'as', with *-ɲ* and vowel change), *baŋ* 'alas!' *baɲ* 'one who is afflicted with' (*pe* 'afflicted with', with *-ɲ*, vowel change and replacement of *p* by *b*).

The following list²⁷ shows the monomorphematic cases with final *ŋ* or *ɲ*:

With *ŋ* after *a*. *baŋ* 'alas', *maŋ* 'he, it is', *raŋ* 'resembling, in names of plants', *auraŋ* 'language, speech', *su:rabaŋ* 'beam of roof', *yo:rokaŋ* 'ghost, spirit', *ku:mikaŋ* 'trough', *waɔyo:baŋ* 'convulsion, fit', *parambaraŋ* 'butterfly', *watrakaŋ* 'jug'.

With *ɲ* after *a*. *e:raɲ* 'guard', *pa:raɲ* 'long fish-line with many hooks', *yaɔwaɲ* 'evil thing, person'.

With *ŋ* after *e*. *ro:teŋ* 'only', *heŋ* 'interjection', *skeŋ* 'body', *teŋ* 'time'.

With *ɲ* after *e*. *tano:seɲ* 'kind of arrow', *ayu:reɲ* 'man's name', *tĩnu:-berɲ* 'plane' (tool), *naɔneɲ* 'first'.

With *ŋ* after *i*. *a:siŋ* 'warmth, heat', *o:wĩŋ* 'one' (*o:wi* also occurs, without apparent difference in meaning), *mo:siŋ* 'length', *po:siŋ* 'sweetness', *sa:niŋ* 'shortness', *aɔwo:siŋ* 'heaviness', *ema:miŋ* 'work', *do:rindo:-riŋ* 'wobbling'.

With *ɲ* after *i*. No cases.

With *ŋ* after *o*. *noŋ* 'at this occasion', *po:roŋ* 'since then', *wa:toŋ* 'resembling', *roxkoŋ* 'only', *puxtoroŋ* 'crash!'.

With *ɲ* after *o*. No cases.

With *ŋ* after *u*. *tuŋ* 'bang!', *a:tuŋ* 'fever', *tu:muŋ* 'mound', *yextuŋ* 'illness, pain', *yaɔmuŋ* 'body', *roɔmuŋ* 'otherwise, else', *waka:buŋ*

²⁶ W. Ahlbrinck, Encyclopaedie der Karaïben. *Verhandeligen Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Afd. Lett. N.R.* XXVII, 1. Amsterdam 1931, pp. 311-312.

²⁷ Four of these words could be recognised as loanwords; perhaps the number of borrowings is actually larger. Borrowings from Sranan are: *watrakaŋ* 'jug', *skeŋ* 'body', *teŋ* 'time'. *Pa:raɲ* 'fish-line' comes from French or possibly Spanish *palangre*. The name of the species of tree *waka:buŋ*, and *raŋ* 'resembling' also occur in Tupi (Tatevin, op.cit.) and may therefore have been borrowed from that language.

'species of tree', *ame:kuŋ* 'wrist', *uwe:tuŋ* 'sleepiness', *apoxtuŋ* 'right-hand side', *kiye:repuŋ* 'pressed cassava'.

With *ŋ* after *u*. No cases.

With *ŋ* after *i*. *apo:remiŋ* 'owner', *ka:piŋ* 'is not' (*ka:pi* also occurs, without any apparent difference in meaning).

With *ŋ* after *i*. No cases.

The productive processes of suffixation that have alternants ending in a nasal are the following. A provisional indication of their semantic value is added:

- 1) plural: *-koŋ/-goŋ/-moŋ/-noŋ/-:toŋ/-saŋ/-seŋ/-ne/-to-*.
- 2) performer of the activity designated by the base: *-neŋ*.
- 3) possessor of characteristic designated by the base: *-ŋ/-no*.
- 4) temporal: *-yaŋ/-saŋ/-ya/-sa/-:no/-e*.
- 5) temporal, future: *-taŋ/-take*.
- 6) temporal, past: *-yakoŋ/-sakoŋ/-koŋ*.
- 7) temporal, past, affirmative: *-ŋ/-ŋ/-neŋ/-ne*.
- 8) interrogative: *-ŋ/-:no*.

To conclude this section, let us once again consider the material listed above, so as to make sure that the occurrence of *ŋ* or *ɲ* is not conditioned by the preceding vowel.

In monomorphemic words *ŋ* is found after all short vowels, *ɲ* after *a* and *e*. In words containing one of the suffixes 1-8, we find the following combinations: *ŋ* after *a*, *o*; *ɲ* after *a*, *e*, *i*.²⁸

Thus we find that the two nasals are in contrast after *a*, *e*, *i*. It could not be established whether the combinations *oŋ*, *uŋ*, *iŋ* were not found by chance or whether they are impossible.²⁹

1.1.2.3. THE SEMIVOWELS

The semivowels have been included in the group of consonant phonemes, as they are clearly not to be identified with the vowel phonemes *u* and *i*. We find that 1) *w* and *y* occur between *u:* and *i*, *i:* and *u* while 2) *u:i* and *i:u* are also found in immediate succession. Examples: 1) *su:wi* 'little sister', 2) *pu:i* 'to expand'; 1) *wi:yu* 'species of tree', 2) *e:kési:u* 'species of insect'.

Moreover, *w* and *y* are subject to palatalization after *i*. In this respect *w* was found to behave in exactly the same way as the other labial consonants, and *y* in the same way as *r*.

²⁸ Dorsal phonemes, pp. 412-414.

²⁹ Dorsal phonemes, p. 412.

The phoneme *w* has two allophones: after *u*, *u:* and *au* it is bilabial, after the other vowels labiodental. Because a short initial *u* before *w* is often not perceptible as a separate phonetic segment, a seeming contrast may occur between a labiodental and a bilabial semivowel, e.g. in *wa:no* 'honey bee' and *uwa:no* 'dancing'.

1.1.2.4. *x* AND ʔ

With the exception of one case where they freely alternate, *yuxpa* and *yuʔpa* 'good', *x* and ʔ have a completely mutually exclusive distribution, *x* being limited to the position before *p t k* or *s*, ʔ to the position before *m n w y* or *r*.

Yet, in my opinion *x* and ʔ are not to be regarded as allophones of one phoneme, because for this it is necessary to have some indication of a phonic nature besides the distributional facts. No such phonic indication can be found: *x* and ʔ are not very alike from an articulatory or auditive point of view, nor is it possible to correlate the articulatory difference between *x* and ʔ with that between *p t k* and *s* on the one hand, and *m n w y* and *r* on the other.

1.1.2.5. THE GLOTTAL FRICATIVE

h is found in the following interjections: *a:ha* 'yes, it is all right', *i:hï*, *hï*, or *ha* 'oh, yes' (so as to show that one is listening), *heñ* 'but (then)' (in a question, e.g. *o:we ko nañ heñ* 'but where is she then?').

Finally *h* was found in one more word, *kuru:hara* 'name of a species of tree'. This word also exists in Lokono (Arowak), and may have been borrowed from this language.

1.2. THE VOWELS

1.2.1. ALLOPHONICS

1.2.1.1. LONG AND SHORT MONOPHTHONGS

In the case of the phonemes / *i i:* *u u:* *ï ï:* *a a:* *e e:* *o o:* / we find monophthongal articulations, with the exception of one of the four allophones of /*e:*/, the diphthong *ei*, which is distinguished from the diphthong phoneme /*eï*/ by a more open articulation.³⁰ As the allo-

³⁰ Whereas generally in this book letters correspond to phonemes, in this section (1.2.1.) this is only true of letters between diagonal strokes. Their absence means that the letters represent phonetic segments.

phone *ei* has a very limited distribution, and the other allophones of /*e:*/ are monophthongs, we treat this phoneme here, together with /*i, i:*/ etc., rather than in the next section, together with /*au, ai*/ etc.

1.2.1.1.1. *Open and half-open*

Allophones were found to occur in the case of the phonemes with open articulation /*a a:*/ and those with half-open articulation /*o o: e e:*/. The number of allophones found with /*a a: o o:*/ was two, with /*e/* three, with /*e:*/ four. In general complete allophonic parallelism was found to exist in the case of the corresponding long and short phonemes, except for /*e/* and /*e:*/, as the allophone *ei* — referred to above — of the latter phoneme has no counterpart in the case of /*e/*.

In the following table I shall try to relate the qualitative differences which I heard with differences in tongue position, in terms of open-close, front-back. The scope of my investigation did not permit me to find out in each case in how far differences in both respects contributed to the qualitative differences which I observed, nor was it possible for me to establish whether factors other than these two might play a part.

	more front more open	less front less open	more front less open	less front more open
open, central				
/ <i>a/</i>	a	ɑ		
/ <i>a:</i> /	a:	ɑ:		
half open, back				
/ <i>o/</i>			o	ɔ
/ <i>o:</i> /			o:	ɔ:
half open, front				
/ <i>e/</i>		ɛ	e	ɛ
/ <i>e:</i> /		ɛ:	e:	ɛ:, eɪ

The distribution of the allophones is in part determined by rules, and for the rest they are free.

The rules are the following:

- 1) *ɑ* and *ɔ* are always found before *ʃ, ʒ* and clusters;³¹ *ɑ, a:, ɔ* and *ɔ:* are always found before *s*.
- 2) *ɛ* is always found before *ʃ* and *ʒ*.³²

³¹ This is not the case with the corresponding long variants *ɑ:* and *ɔ:*, because long vowels cannot occur in these positions. See 2.1.1.4.1.

³² Long vowels cannot occur here, cf. note 31.

Examples:

/ a a: / in: *auraŋ* 'language, speech', *e:raŋ* 'guard', *andiki:ri* 'tail', *axka:ri* 'shadow', *axsa:ri* 'groove, neck', *aŋna* 'we', *asa:ri* 'mouldering wood', *pa:se* 'cousin'.

/ o o: / in: *po:rɔŋ* 'in his turn',³³ *mɔndɔ* 'present', *mɔxkɔ* 'he', *ɔxsano:rɔi* 'it has cooled you', *ɔŋme* 'your child', *tɔsi:pi* 'dish', *mɔ:se* 'that person'.

/ e / in: *rɔ:iŋ* 'only', *se:nɪŋ* 'I have seen it'.

Apart from these cases, no fixed regularity could be found: in one and the same word now one allophone, now the other was found. Within this freedom, however, a clear preference was observable on some points. In a material comprising some 700 words, obtained from tape-recordings, the following tendencies could be noted:

1) a was the most common allophone in final position,³⁴ a and a: before vowels and *p t k m n w r*. Only before *y* no preference for either allophone could be found.

2) ɔ was the most common allophone in final position,³⁴ except when immediately followed by a word with initial *m w* or *r*; ɔ and ɔ: were the most common allophones before vowels and *p t k*.

o and *o:* were the most common allophones before *m w r*, except when /*o:/* or /*o/* occurred three times in successive syllables of a word; in that case ɔ: or ɔ is practically always heard all three times.

Before *y* and *n* no clear preference was found for either allophone.

3) *e* was the most common allophone in final position; ³⁴ *ɛ:* before an immediately following vowel; *e* and *e:* before all consonants, with the following exceptions: before a consonant followed by *i*, *ɛ:* was often found to occur; before a nasal cluster *ɛ* was often found to occur.

The diphthong *ɛi* only occurred before *r* in a few cases.

1.2.1.1.2. *Close*

No allophones were noted in the case of the three short and the three long close phonemes. From an articulatory point of view they differ as follows:

/ i i: / front, unrounded

/ ɨ ɨ: / back, unrounded

/ u u: / back, rounded

³³ /*o +ŋ*/ does not occur, see 2.1.1.4.1.

³⁴ In final position only short vowels can occur, see 2.1.2.2.3.

1.2.1.2. DIPHTHONGS

In / *au ai ei oi ui ü* / we find as the first component the vocalic segments indicated in the preceding sections as *α e ɔ u ĩ*.

1.2.2. DISTRIBUTION AND CONTRAST

1.2.2.1. LONG AND SHORT MONOPHTHONGS

The six long vowels contrast among themselves, e.g. in *a:ro* 'to take along', *i:ro* 'that', *u:ro* 'to blow', *ĩ:rĩ* 'to give', *e:ro* 'this', *o:ro* 'may' (in wish).

The six short vowels contrast among themselves, e.g. in *ara:we* 'cockroach', *ira:ko* 'large ant', *ura:na* 'large rodent', *ira:pa* 'bow', *era:pa* 'again', *ora:muku* 'sweat'.

Long and short vowels can contrast minimally in a very limited section of the vocabulary, because — apart from some exceptions mentioned below — as a rule it is the patterns of long and short vowels as a whole which contrast in a word, rather than the individual long and short vowels.³⁵ The occurrence of a long vowel in a certain position of a word implies the occurrence of short or long vowels in certain other positions.

Monomorphemic examples:

ka:rawa:si 'species of tree',
para:muuru 'geographical name';
tu:kusi 'type of arrow',
tuku:si 'colibri'.³⁶

Polymorphemic examples:

ku:riya:rari 'my canoe' (*kuri:yara* with *-ri* and length-modification),³⁷
kuri:yara:koŋ 'canoes' (*kuri:yara* with *-koŋ*);
e:marĩ 'his path' (*o:ma* with *-ri* and vowel change),
ema:ri 'to throw away' (*e:ma* with *-ri* and length modification).³⁸

Because of this morphonological phenomenon the contrast of a single short vowel with a single long one is restricted to two types.

1) Words having three vowels, with a sequence *x* + consonant or *ʔ* +

³⁵ See 2.1.3.

³⁶ Both words have alternation of *u:* with *ux*, see 2.1.3.1. and 2.1.1.4.3A. This does not alter the fact, however, that *u:* and *ux* are phonematically distinct, for they do contrast in other words, e.g. *yu:ku* 'species of ant', *uxku* 'to take aim'.

³⁷ See 2.1.3.1C1.

³⁸ See 2.1.3.1B1.

consonant after the first vowel. These words can have both a long second vowel and — in a limited number of mono- and polymorphemic words — a short second vowel.³⁹

Monomorphemic example:

tuxkusi 'type of arrow',⁴⁰

moxka:ro 'they'.

Polymorphemic example:

oʔma:ko 'stop it' (*iʔma:ti* with *o-*, *-ko* and modification of the base),
oʔmakoŋ 'your children' (*iʔme* with *o-*, *-koŋ* and modification of the base).

2) In general those words in which the rules of vowel structure that were mentioned above are disturbed, which happens when certain affixes are added to certain bases.⁴¹ For instance:

eta:no 'he hears him' (*e:ta* with *-no*, lengthening of the vowel before the suffix, and shortening of the initial vowel),⁴²

e:ka:no 'he bites him' (*e:ka* with *-no* and lengthening of the vowel before the suffix).

1.2.2.2. DIPHTHONGS

We now have to examine in how far the suggested interpretation of *au ai ei oi ui* and *ü* as diphthongal vowel phonemes is to be preferred to their being interpreted as sequences of two phonemes, either of a vowel and *w* or *y*, or of a vowel and *u* or *i*.

On one hand, the interpretation as a sequence of vowel and semi-vowel has the following disadvantages. The consonant *w* is articulated labio-dentally (except after *u*), whereas the second segment in *au* is bilabial. If this difference is ignored, we get into difficulties in distinguishing between, for instance, *awa:re* 'opossum' and *auwa:no* 'laughter'. A similar difficulty arises in interpreting the *i*-diphthongs as *ay*, *ey*, etc. A word like *kineiyaŋ* 'it becomes' would twice in succession contain the phoneme /y/: *kineyyaŋ*, with a non-palatalized first /y/ and a palatalized second /y/. This would mean that in a sequence of two identical phonemes /yy/ the occurrence of a certain allophone with the second phoneme is conditioned by the preceding other allophone of the same phoneme.⁴³ This is not very plausible, the more

³⁹ See 2.1.3.2.

⁴⁰ *tuxkusi* alternates with *tu:kusi*, see 2.1.3.2. and above, note 36.

⁴¹ See 2.2.3.

⁴² See 2.2.3.1. and 2.1.3.1B1.

⁴³ See above, 1.1.1.2.

so as there is no consonant gemination in Carib, apart from this /yy/.

The interpretation of *au*, *ai* etc., as sequences of two vowel phonemes, on the other hand, has definite advantages, in particular with regard to certain phenomena which occur in affixing. In the first place the formation of, for example *ima:roine* 'with them', on the basis of *ma:ro* 'with', is more simply described as suffixing with *-ine* than as suffixing with *-ne* and diphthongization of the final vowel. Secondly, in words of the type *apo:i* 'to seize, take', when certain suffixes are added, the sequence long vowel + *i* is replaced by *ai*, *oi* etc.; e.g. on the basis of *apo:i*, *apoiri*. One might prefer to describe this phenomenon as length-modification rather than the replacement of two phonemes by one diphthongal phoneme.

The decisive motive for preferring the interpretation as diphthongs, also to the interpretation as vowel sequences, is the fact that non-diphthongal sequences of vowels are a regular feature of Carib. If we confine ourselves to VV sequences with *u* and *i* as second vowels, we find the following combinations:

With long first vowel *a:u*, *e:u*, *o:u*, *i:u*, *a:i*, *u:i*, *ï:i*, *e:i*, *o:i*.

With short first vowel *eu*, *ou*, *ei*.

Now, in my opinion the few cases with a short first vowel in my material settle the matter.⁴⁴ Whereas no diphthongs *eu* or *ou* occur, the sequences *e + u*, *o + u* are found in *kape:seu* 'large wasp', *kiye:reu* 'species of tree', *mïro:kou* 'species of fish', all of which clearly contain four vowels, in contrast to, for instance, *tuku:mau* 'species of palm', which has three vowels. In one case, *ake:re-i* 'species of bird' (four vowels) we even find a sequence of two vowels which are also found as components of a diphthong; cf. e.g. *kïse:nei* (three vowels) 'don't look at it'.

In conclusion a number of examples in which the diphthongs contrast with long and with short vowels.

With long vowels: *a:ro* 'to take along', *auro* 'to weep, cry'; *a:mo* 'to bewail', *aima* 'to smoke'; *ku:po* 'upon', *kuita* 'spindle'; *i:ri* 'to place', *pïiri* 'shyness'; *ye:nï* 'storage place, packing', *aweinï* 'glimmer'; *po:to* 'great, large', *poito* 'young man'.

With short vowels: *po:ka* 'to shoot at', *sa:kau* 'sand', *to:kai* 'hut'; *pu:ru* 'to roast', *ï:rui* 'elder brother'; *e:pï* 'stick', *ta:pïi* 'men's house'; *pa:se* 'niece' (cousin), *wa:sei* 'species of palm'; *o:ro* 'may' (in a wish), *o:roi* 'cashew'.

⁴⁴ See also the next chapter, 2.1.3.3.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORD FORMS

2.0. INTRODUCTION

We open this chapter with an outline of the most conspicuous features of the Carib lexicon. To begin with, the number of words with relatively many syllables — three or more — is high as compared with that in many other languages. If we consider solely the words without affixes, we find that though bisyllabic words are the most frequent, they scarcely outnumber those with three syllables. Words with four syllables are also numerous. Only those with five and six syllables are relatively rare, while none was found with seven or more. Among the words that contain affixes much larger numbers of syllables were found. It was impossible to determine an upper limit: application of all the productive morphological processes could produce words of 14 syllables, but I am not certain whether words of such length are ever used and accepted as normal. However, words with as many as 8 or 9 syllables were found to occur, while words with 7 syllables are common, and words with 5 or 6 syllables are very common.

The high frequency of words with relatively many syllables is probably related to the drastic limitations on the distribution of many of the Carib phonemes, since the number of the latter is not particularly low (17 C, 18 V). The most important limitation consists in the strong preference for a regular alternation of consonants and vowels. This preference results from the following three factors:

- 1) Sequences of more than two consonants or of more than two vowels do not occur (with the exception of a few loan-words).
- 2) A sequence of two consonants is not possible in final position (except for one word which occurs as a doublet of a longer form which has no CC-sequence in final position), nor in initial position (except for a few enclitics). In addition part of the possible CC-combinations cannot occur in certain intervocalic positions either.
- 3) A sequence of two vowels is not to the same extent subject to positional limitations as that of two consonants: VV occurs in initial and final positions as well as between consonants. Yet the frequency of VV-sequences is low.

Another very important limitation pertains to the distribution of the long and the short vowels. In monomorphemic words of given length and given consonantal structure at most two different patterns of long and short vowels are possible, and in many cases only one such pattern is possible. For instance, in monomorphemic words containing four vowels, none of them diphthongs, and no consonant clusters, only two types of vocalic structure are possible: either that of *kuri:yara* 'canoe', with long second vowel, or that of *ka:rawa:si* 'species of tree', with long first and third vowel. Other vocalisms are either fully excluded, or restricted to polymorphemic words. An example of the latter is provided by *kine:ka:toŋ* 'they bite him', from *e:ka* 'to bite' with *kĩn-* and *-:toŋ*.

A third important distributional limitation consists in the exclusion of all consonants but *ŋ* and *ɲ* from final position.

Finally, the Carib word is characterized by carrying a word accent. Except in certain cases of sandhi and of special emphasis¹ it falls on the second long vowel counted from the beginning of the word, or, if there is no or only one long vowel, on the final vowel. Vowels followed by two consonants and diphthongs count as long for this purpose. Only if there are more than two long vowels, VCC-sequences, or diphthongs, the accent to a certain extent is free.

The formal properties of the Carib words outlined above will be dealt with more fully in the following sections. First, however, we must consider the method which has been used, and in particular two factors that have limited its application.

The first limitation concerns the establishment of negative structure rules: rules that state the impossibility of the occurrence of a particular phoneme in a certain position or in combination with certain other phonemes. Now the possibility of its occurrence can, of course, be proved by a single instance, but if no instance is attested this does not constitute any proof of the impossibility of its occurrence: since the available material comprises only part of the total lexicon the possibility of its fortuitous exclusion from our material cannot be ignored.

This problem scarcely arises when the negative rule applies to all or to a great many words in the lexicon, but it becomes the more apparent, the more specific the property to which the rule applies. Thus the rule that in Carib *ŋ* and *ɲ* cannot occur at the beginning of a word, can safely be established because it is supported by all the

¹ See 2.4.1. and 2.5.2.

available lexical material. However, the question, for instance, whether the absence from our Carib material of the vowel sequence *u:i* is accidental or not, cannot be answered with certainty. Many of the conceivable combinations of two vowels are found realized, and it may very well be that if our material had been more extensive, words containing this sequence would have been found. This consideration is corroborated by the fact that a case was found of the similar combination *i:i*.

Only the statistical examination of more extensive lexicographic material than is at present available could indicate the degree of probability that the lack of an instance of the occurrence of a phoneme in a particular combination or position reflects a negative structure rule. Yet on the basis of such considerations as were applied in the preceding paragraph with regard to the initial nasals and to the vowel sequence *u:i* it is possible, in spite of gaps in the material, to make rough distinctions between instances in which the existence of a negative structure rule is likely and those in which no statement as to its existence can be made. In the former case it will be said that in a particular position or in a particular sequence the occurrence of a certain phoneme is impossible; in the latter case I shall speak of its not having been found.

The second limiting factor occurs in the search for positive structure rules. These positive rules are in no sense "the reverse" of the negative ones since they do not pertain to what is possible in the language, but to what actually occurs.² Therefore they can only be established on the basis of the fullest possible inventory of the lexicon, which is out of the question in the present state of research. Only in a few cases of evident tendencies has it been possible to formulate some positive rules, that is to say, to make statements about the frequency of certain phoneme sequences or about the frequency of a particular phoneme in a certain position. For instance, the loan-words *ma:ti* 'mate' and *ti:ru* 'cannon' are stated to be the only cases found containing the sequence *ti*; or: final *ʒ* and *ŋ* are stated to be more frequent in words that contain suffixes than in words not containing suffixes.

The rules pertaining to the structure of the Carib word will be found to be of three kinds:

² E. M. Uhlenbeck, De structuur van het Javaanse morpheem, *Verhandelingen Kon. Bat. Genootschap* LXXVIII, Bandung 1949. p. 5-10.

E. Fischer-Jørgensen, On the definition of phoneme categories on a distributional basis, *Acta Linguistica* VII (1952), p. 33 nt.

- 1) sequential rules
- 2) positional rules
- 3) rules of vocalic structure.

The third type formulates the limitations — already mentioned in passing — on the distribution of long and short vowels, which are distributed over the word-forms in accordance with a limited number of regular patterns.

The validity of all these structure rules extends in principle to the whole vocabulary. We shall see, however, that in the formation of certain morphological categories this general regularity is sometimes disturbed. These disturbances occur with regard to only a few of the sequential and the positional rules. With regard to the rules of vocalic structure, however, they occur to a very considerable extent.

Our procedure will be as follows. First we shall formulate the rules (in 2.1.) and then give a survey of the phenomena that interfere with these rules (in 2.2.). This will be followed by separate sections on enclitics (2.3.), sandhi (2.4.) and word accent (2.5.).

2.1. GENERAL RULES OF WORD STRUCTURE

2.1.1. SEQUENTIAL RULES

The sequential rules apply to practically the whole vocabulary. This regularity is disturbed in one respect only: sequences of two long vowels, which are on the whole impossible, do occur as a result of certain suffixing processes. The rule is discussed in 2.1.1.2., its disturbance in 2.2.1.

2.1.1.1. CONSONANT SEQUENCES

2.1.1.1.1. *Sequences of two consonants*

With initial nasal the following clusters are found:

<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>ŋs</i>
<i>mp</i>		<i>ŋk</i>	

With regard to frequency these clusters fall into two well-marked groups. Combinations of a nasal with a homorganic voiceless stop hardly occur. Cases of *nt* are completely absent in our material, while *mp* was only found in *tampo:ko* 'old man', *ŋk* only in *mīŋka:rī* 'gill-slit', and *kaŋkasa:pa* 'large lizard'. I cannot account for the occurrence of *mp* and *ŋk* in just these three words.

With initial *x* or *ʔ* the following clusters were found:

<i>xp</i>	<i>xt</i>	<i>xk</i>	<i>xs</i>			
<i>ʔm</i>	<i>ʔn</i>			<i>ʔw</i>	<i>ʔy</i>	<i>ʔr</i>
<i>ʔp</i>						

The cluster *ʔp* was only found in one instance, *yuʔpa* 'good'. By the side of *yuʔpa* the forms *yuxpa* and *yu:pa* occur with the same meaning, as far as could be ascertained. Nor is the choice of any of the three forms influenced by the speed of speaking.

The other clusters occur, for instance, in the following, monomorphemic words: *ambo:ti* 'to break', *undi* 'trunk (of a tree)', *ĩnga:na* 'behind', *wañsi:ri* 'little bird', *itu:xpo* 'waterpool', *waxto* 'fire', *mo:xko* 'he', *axsa:ri* 'groove, neck', *aʔmo* 'to begin', *aʔna* 'we (exclusive)', *maniʔwi* 'little fish', *moʔya* 'over there', *itaʔro* 'really'.

Mention should also be made of the cluster *tr*, which was only found in the loan-word *watrakañ* 'jug'.

In the formation of polymorphemic words the only consonant clusters that result are the following ten out of the seventeen clusters mentioned above:

<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>		
<i>xp</i>	<i>xt</i>	<i>xk</i>	<i>xs</i>	
<i>ʔm</i>	<i>ʔn</i>			<i>ʔw</i>

To put it in another way: all affixing takes place in such a way that any sequences of consonants brought about by it are the same as those that occur in non-affixed words. They occur in the following cases:

A) In prefixing

A nasal cluster is only found in some polymorphemic words containing the prefix of the third person, formed on the basis of the words *wi:to* 'to go' and *wi:ka* 'to speak'. This prefix, which is *kini:-* when the base has an initial consonant, *kini:-* with loss of the initial vowel when this is *i* of *ĩ*; and *kin-* when the base has an initial vowel other than *i* or *ĩ*; is here *kĩn-*, c.q. *kĩñ-*, with simultaneous loss of the sequence *wi:* and replacement of *t* and *k* with *d* and *g*. E.g., *kĩndoñ* 'he went' (with *-ñ*), *kĩnga:no* 'he says' (with *-no*).

The clusters *xC* and *ʔC* only arise in a few words formed by means of the irregular prefix-alternants *wox-/woʔ-*. E.g. *woxka* 'to come

outside' (on the basis of *ka* 'to get something out'), *woʔwo* 'to bump oneself' (on the basis of *wo* 'to beat').

In all cases other than those mentioned above only prefix alternants ending in a vowel are used before consonants, whereas before vowels only prefix alternants ending in a consonant are used. An example is the prefix of the third person, which we have already discussed.

B) In suffixing

As the clusters occurring in suffixes are identical with those in monomorphemic words, and as they can only be added to bases ending in a vowel, it goes without saying that the resulting polymorphemic words do not contain any sequences of consonants other than those mentioned above.

Sequences in which the first consonant belongs to the base, and the second is part of the suffix also occur. They are brought about in two ways. Firstly, there are formations from bases with a final consonant, to which a suffix with initial consonant is added. Secondly, there are somewhat more complicated processes involving not only suffixing but also reduction of the base.

B1) Suffixing without reduction

The only consonants occurring in final position are the nasals *ŋ* and *ŋ*. By adding a suffix the clusters *nd* and *ŋg* may arise; e.g. on the basis of *e:ranŋ* 'guard', *se:randoya* 'I put a guard there', (cf. with a vowel in final position *o:ma* 'path', *se:maxtoya* 'I lay out a path there'), on the basis of *auraŋ* 'language', *auraŋgoŋ* 'languages' (cf. with a vowel in final position *o:ma* 'path', *o:makoŋ* 'paths').

The chances of finding consonant clusters in this type of polymorphemic words are small, because in general final *ŋ* and *ŋ* have a low frequency; besides, only some of the forms containing these final nasals admit of suffixation.

B2) Suffixing with reduction

Consonant clusters also arise, however, when to the vast majority³ of verbs ending in *pī*, *tī*, *kī*, *rī*, *mī*, *ku*, or *ru*, or to the verb *wī:to* 'to go',

³ The few instances in which reduction does not take place are all bivocalic: *a:tī* 'to clean', *kī:rī* 'to make', *a:mī* 'to build a house', *wo:mī* 'to enter'. There are also bivocalic words, however, where reduction does take place: e.g. *wo:pī* 'to come', *ī:rī* 'to give, to place', *po:mī* 'to plant'. I have not been able to find a rule governing the occurrence or non-occurrence of reduction, in these cases.

a suffix is added with one initial consonant, with the exception of *-ri* and *-.se*.⁴

In the process of suffixation, the final syllable of the verb undergoes reduction. This reduction is counterbalanced by what may be termed compensation, either by the insertion of *x*, *ʔ* or a nasal, or by lengthening, or by diphthongization of the vowel that has become final through the reduction. In this section we shall only deal with the first type of compensation, the insertion of *x*, *ʔ* or a nasal, as it is only this type that gives rise to clusters. We shall return to the second type — the lengthening of the final vowel — in 2.2.3.1B. and 2.2.3.3B2. The diphthongization of the final vowel will be discussed in 3.1.2.1. and 3.1.3.3.2.1.

In cases of reduction with loss of *pi*, *ti*, *ki*, *ku*, or *to*, the compensation consists in the insertion of *x* before suffixes with initial *p*, *t* or *k*. Thus, for instance, on the basis of *ena:pi* 'to eat', with *-poti*, *enaxpoti* 'to eat repeatedly', with *-taŋ*, *enaxtaŋ* 'he will eat', with *-ko*, *enaxko* 'eat it'. Before a suffix with initial *n*, however, *ʔ* is inserted; e.g. with *-no*, *enaʔno* 'act of eating', with *-nen*, *enaʔnen* 'he ate'. The occurrence of *x* before *p*, *t*, *k* and of *ʔ* before *n* is in complete agreement with the situation found in monomorphemic words — with the exception of *yuʔpa* 'good' — and accentuates the exceptional character of this one form.

In the case of reduction with loss of *mi* a homorganic nasal *m*, *n* or *ŋ* is inserted before suffixes with an initial stop, while at the same time an alternant with voiced stop, instead of voiceless stop, is used. Thus, on the basis of *eka:numi* 'to run', with *-boti/poti*, *eka:numboti* 'to run repeatedly', with *-daŋ/taŋ*, *kine:ka:nundaŋ* 'he will run', with *-go/ko*, *aye:ka:nungo* 'run!'. If the suffix has initial *n*, *ʔ* is inserted, just as in the case of reduction with loss of *pi*, *ti*, *ki*, or *ku*, discussed above. E.g. with *-no*, *eka:nuʔno* 'running'. Thus in the case of reduction with loss of *mi* we again find alternants which give rise to only those consonant sequences that also occur in monomorphemic words. The fact that, as in the case of formations on the basis of words with final *ŋ* or *ŋ* (see B1), suffix alternants with *b*, *d*, *g* occur instead of *p*, *t*, *k*, confirms the exceptional character of the clusters in *tampo:ko*, *kan:kasa:pa* and *min:ka:ri*.

Exactly the same phenomena of reduction and compensation occur

⁴ On the syntactical category with *-ri*, see the verbal class, 3.1.2. On the modal suffix *-.se*, see 3.1.3.3.2.8.

in some categories of polymorphemic words. Words formed with the suffix *-topo* lose *po* when they are further suffixed with *-koŋ* or with *-me*; in the former case there is compensation with *x*, in the latter with *ʔ*. Thus, on the basis of *wo* 'to kill', *wo:topo* 'a means of killing', *wo:toxkoŋ* 'means of killing', *wo:toʔme* 'as a means of killing'. The same phenomenon is found again when the two suffixes occur together, in which case *-koŋ* loses its final nasal before *-me*, and *ʔ* is inserted. E.g., *wo:toxkoŋ* 'means of killing', *wo:toxkoʔme* 'as means of killing'.

C) In compounds

In a number of compounds consonant sequences occur. In the process of compounding, the elements that constitute these compounds are considerably reduced. Thus, e.g., from *pi:mï* 'neck' and *ko:wei* 'hook', *piŋgoweiri* 'the crookedness of his neck'.

In some cases *x* or *ʔ* is inserted by way of compensation, in exactly the same way as in the cases of reduction through suffixation which were discussed in the preceding section. E.g., from *upu:po* 'head' and *a:pi* 'redness', *tuxpi:re* 'red-haired'; from *upu:po* 'head' and *amu:mu* 'whiteness'. *tuʔmu:ne* 'white-haired'.

2.1.1.1.2. Sequences of more than two consonants

Sequences of a nasal, stop and *r* occur only in loan-words, e.g. from Spanish *sambre:ru* 'hat', from Sranan *kandra* 'candle'.

2.1.1.1.3. Elision of a vowel in rapid speech

Often in rapid speech a short vowel between a consonant and *r* is not heard when *r* is followed by the same vowel. E.g., *poro:ro/pro:ro* 'yard', *sara:sara/sra:sra* 'bush-papaya'.

2.1.1.2. VOWEL SEQUENCES

In monomorphemic words no sequences occur in which the second vowel is long, nor sequences in which one of the two vowels is a diphthong. In general the same holds good for polymorphemic words, but there are some categories the members of which can contain a sequence of two long vowels (see 2.2.1.).

Apart from these last-mentioned categories, therefore, only the types V:V and VV (V representing a monophthongic vowel) occur. Attempts to establish more limited negative rules within these types have not yielded any clear results. The table below shows that 16

out of the 36 conceivable V:V sequences were found to occur, and 5 out of the 36 conceivable VV sequences. A great many of these sequences, however, were only found in one or two instances. It is therefore by no means impossible that it is only due to accident that other sequences were not found.

	first vowel											
	i:	u:	ī:	e:	o:	a:	i	u	ī	e	o	a
second vowel												
i		
u	
ī	.					.						.
e					.	.						.
o												
a						.						

The available monomorphemic instances are the following:

A) Type V:V

Two vowels differing only in quantity were found in *a:a* 'yes', *kuta:a* 'arrow transferring spirits', *ara:ari* 'species of bird', *u:ruru:u* 'species of tree', *kupi:i* 'species of tree'.

Sequences with *i* as a second vowel are slightly more frequent than the other sequences. E.g., *mar:i* 'wood-hen', *pu:i* 'to extend', *exke:i* 'to bake something', *wo:i* 'savannah'. The sequence *i:i* was found in one word only: *siki:i* 'little finger'.

As a second vowel *u* is found in *wana:u* 'otter', *pīya:usi* 'osprey', *e:kese:u* 'large beetle', *mīri:u* 'porcupine', *sire:u* 'species of bird', *ko:u* 'at once'.

As a second vowel *e* is found in: *na:e* 'now', *wa:e* 'species of tree', *ma:e* 'kinship term', *mo:e* 'over there'.

As a second vowel *ī* is found in: *aka:wana:ī* 'storage tin', *masi:īri:rī* 'species of fly'.

B) Type VV

As a second vowel *i* was found in *ake:rei* 'species of bird' (*ei* does not stand for a diphthong here).

As a second vowel *u* was found in *kiye:reu* 'species of tree', *kape:seu* 'large wasp', *miro:kou* 'species of fish'.

As a second vowel *e* was found in *aembo* 'ready'.

As a second vowel *i* was found in *awa:taï* 'small red ant'.

Subject to some reservations we may draw a conclusion from the fact that no sequences with *o* as a second vowel were found and that *a* as a second vowel was only found in the sequence *a:a*. If, in view of the occurrence of *a:a*, we do not want to exclude the possibility of the occurrence of *o:o*, as its absence in the material may be due to accident, it may perhaps be stated *a* and *o* cannot occur after vowels other than *a:* or *o:*.

It goes without saying that this survey of the possible vowel sequences is partly influenced by my analysis of the consonant phonemes. In, for instance, *ayu:wï* 'species of tree' I have felt it necessary to assume a sequence of a vowel (*u:*), a consonant (*w*), and a vowel (*i*), in view of considerations discussed in the chapter on phonemics (see 1.1.2.3.). If, however, we had regarded the consonants *w* and *y* as phonetic glides from the first vowel to the second, and denied them phonemic status, *u:i ue uo: ua: u:a ie: io: and ia* would have been found to occur as vowel sequences in the following words: *ayu:wï* 'species of tree', *uwembo* 'belly', *tuwa:ro* 'careful', *kuwa:ma* 'bamboo', *ama:naku:wa* 'geographical name', *kiye:re* 'cassava', *biyo:ro* 'term of abuse', *atu:riya* 'thorn-bush'.

We shall now consider the polymorphematic words. The most striking fact is that there is only one affixing process, which will be discussed below, in which a sequence of two vowels results which belong to different parts of the word. Except for this one process the production of such sequences is prevented by several factors which will be studied in what follows.

A) In prefixing

In prefixing, a sequence of two vowels can never result, because before vowels generally prefix alternants occur which end in a consonant, e.g., *u:pi* 'to look for', *kinu:piyañ* 'he looks for it'. In the case of bases with initial *i* or *i:*, alternants ending in a vowel are used, but here the initial vowels (*i* or *i:*) are lost in the process of prefixing. E.g. *imbo* 'to flatten', *kinimboyañ* 'he flattens it'. As regards the rare

initial *i*, in certain formations it is not preceded by a prefix, but replaced by a diphthong, e.g. on the basis of *ine:ku* 'fish-poison', *oineku:ru* 'your fish-poison'; in this case too, no sequence of vowels results.

We have already seen in 2.1.1.1.1A. that prefixing in general does not result in consonant-sequences either.

B) In suffixing

In suffixing, VV sequences generally do not result either, because all suffixes but one begin with one or more consonants. An exception is the suffix-alternant *-e*, which is only added to bases ending in *a*. E.g. on the basis of *e:ta* 'to hear', *seta:e* 'I hear him', on the basis of *ene:ma* 'to abstain', *scene:mae* 'I abstain from'. Depending on the structure of the base (see below 2.1.3.1.), the result is a sequence *a:e*, which was also found in monomorphemic words above, or *ae*, which was not found there but the possible occurrence of which can certainly not be excluded, in view of the limited material available.

C) In compounds

I know of no cases of vowel sequences occurring on the boundary between the two components of a compound. It is probable that their occurrence is always prevented by the more or less drastic reductions occurring in the formation of compounds. Thus, on the basis of *axsa:rī* 'groove, neck' and *ixko:to* 'to cut', *kaxsako:toko* 'cut the hair in my neck' (with the verbal affixes *k-* and *-ko*); on the basis of *eta:sipo:tī* 'moustache' and *amu:nu* 'whiteness', *tota:sipo:mune* 'with a white moustache' (with the affixes *t-* and *-ne*, and vowel change *e* → *o*).

2.1.1.3. SEQUENCES OF CONSONANT + VOWEL

The sequences *yi* en *yī* were not found; probably they are not possible. The sequence *tī* was found only in the loan-words *ma:ti* 'friend, mate' (Sranan *mati*), *ti:ru* 'cannon' (Spanish *tiro*), *timo:na* 'rudder' (Sp. or French), and the particle *ti:ro* 'it is said'.

After initial and intervocalic voiced stops not all vowels were found. However, in view of the extremely limited frequency of these stops, there is no point in stating negative structure rules. The same is true of the equally rare cluster *ʃs*, after which not all vowels were found either.

ʃ and *ʃs* are never followed by a vowel, as they only occur finally and before another consonant. We shall return to this in 2.1.2.1.

Apart from these, all CV sequences are possible.

2.1.1.4. SEQUENCES OF VOWEL + CONSONANT OR CONSONANT CLUSTER

2.1.1.4.1. *Impossible sequences*

Two successive consonants cannot be preceded by a long vowel; nor can \bar{n} and $\bar{ŋ}$ in final position be preceded by a long vowel.

Before \bar{n} , i , u , and o were not found. The limited material does not allow to conclude with certainty that these sequences are structurally impossible.⁵

Sequences of an i -diphthong and a cluster x C or $\bar{?}$ C are impossible, with the exception of i -diphthong + xt or xk . However, from the latter two sequences x may be dropped without consequences for the meaning of the word; see below, 2.1.1.4.2.

The sequences exs and ixs have not been found, and they probably do not occur. See also below, 2.1.1.4.3.

2.1.1.4.2. *Alternation of x with zero between i -diphthong and t or k*

Between an i -diphthong and t or k , x may be inserted or omitted without any consequences for the meaning of the word: $pepeito = pepeixto$ 'wind', $aiti = aixti$ 'whining', $poitome = poixtome$ 'beautiful', $kaiku:si = kaixku:si$ 'jaguar'. This is also true in polymorphematic cases, where a sequence diphthong + t or k arises by suffixing; e.g. $we:i$ 'to be'; with $-topo$, $weitopo$ or $weixtopo$ 'place of being'; with $-ko$, $eiko$ or $eixko$ 'you must be'.

Before the other voiceless consonants x is never found: $maipu:ri$ (never $maixpu:ri$) 'tapir', $paixa:wa$ (never $paixsa:wa$) 'cluster of small fruits'.⁶

2.1.1.4.3. *Alternation of vowel + x or vowel + $\bar{?}$ with long vowel*

Sequences of a short vowel and x or $\bar{?}$ generally contrast with the corresponding long vowels. E.g. $moxko$ 'he', $po:ko$ 'with', $a\bar{d}mo$ 'to begin', $a:mo$ 'to weep over', $aruxka$ 'to put in', $aru:ka$ 'to dry' (contains the suffix $-ka$).

In certain cases, however, these sequences can alternate with the long vowel, without this being attended by a semantic difference between the forms in question, e.g. $worxa$ and $wo:sa$, both meaning 'I come'. This alternation was found 1) in all forms where xs follows

⁵ Phonemics, 1.1.2.2.

⁶ The only u -diphthong, au , may be followed by xt : $auxto$ 'house', $itauxti$ 'rapid'. In these cases, x cannot be dropped.

a short back vowel or *s* follows a long back vowel; 2) in some isolated mono- and bivocalic and 3) trivocalic cases; 4) in numerous polymorphemic words, all of them with phonemic structures which cannot occur in monomorphemic words.

We shall here only discuss the two first-mentioned types, i.e. the type with the alternation $Vxs/V:s$, and the isolated mono- and bivocalic cases. The other two types will come up for discussion elsewhere: the trivocalic type in 2.1.3.2., the polymorphemic type in 2.2.2. and 2.2.3. Furthermore, something will be said here, in separate sections, about an extra co-variant of alternating *x* and vowel-length, and about the use of respectively the forms with *x* or ? and those with a long vowel.

A) Alternation before *s*.

Before *s*, there is alternation of *ux* and *u:*, *ix* and *i:*, *ox* and *o:*; e.g. *uxse:tĩ* and *u:se:tĩ* 'hair of the head', *potĩxsa* and *poti:sa* 'jug', *mo:se* and *mo:se* 'this'. The alternation also occurs in polymorphemic words, i.e. before the suffixes *-sa*, *-saŋ*, *-se*; e.g. on the basis of *uku:tĩ* 'to know', *sukuxsa* or *suku:sa* 'I know'; on the basis of *wo:pĩ* 'to come', *wo:rsa* or *wo:sa* 'I come'; on the basis of *wĩ:to* 'to go', *wĩ:rsa* or *wĩ:sa* 'I go'.⁷

Axs and *a:s* do not alternate; e.g. *pa:se* 'cousin (female)' always has *a:*, *axsa:ri* 'groove, neck' always *axs*. Polymorphemic words with *-sa*, *-saŋ* or *-se* always have *a:* before these suffixes, not *ax*; e.g. on the basis of *ena:pĩ* 'to eat', *sena:sa* 'I eat it'.

We have already seen that no cases with *exs* and *ixs* were found. The sequences *e:s* and *i:s* do occur, e.g. in *i:sano* 'his coldness' (on the basis of *ĩ:rsano/ĩ:sano*), *sene:sa* 'I bring it' (on the basis of *ene:pĩ*).

B) Alternation in mono- and bivocalic words.

Alternation, also before consonants other than *s*, and/or after vowels other than *u*, *i* and *o*, was found in two monovocalic and in five bivocalic words. Here, besides *x* also ? shows the alternation with vowel length. The monovocalic cases are $\text{?}wa/:wa$ ⁸ 'to, by' and

⁷ On the replacement of the final syllable of the base by *x*, see above, 2.1.1.1B2.

⁸ The alternants *:wa* and *:me* lengthen the final vowel of the preceding word. In accordance with general rules (2.1.1.4.1.), other alternants are found after words ending in an *i*-diphthong, viz. *wa* and *me*; e.g. *o:roi me* 'small cashew tree'. These same alternants are also found after words with final nasal, unless — as frequently happens — this nasal is lost in sandhi, in which case either ? or lengthening may be found: *ayu:mikoŋ wa*, *ayu:miko :wa* 'by your father'.

ɔme/:me 'small',⁹ exceptional because of their having a cluster in initial position.¹⁰ The bivocalic cases are *axta/a:ta* 'if', *yuxpa/yuɔpa/yu:pa*¹¹ 'good', *roxkoŋ/ro:koŋ* 'only', *oɔwiŋ/o:wiŋ* 'one', *iɔme/i:me* 'child',⁹ and the polymorphematic *sexpa/se:pa* 'refusing' (on the basis of *se* 'wishing'). They are clearly isolated cases: otherwise alternation does not occur in the very frequent type *po:ko*, nor in the not quite so frequent but no means rare type *moxko*.

C) A co-variant of *x/:*.

In those words in which alternation of V: with *Vx* occurs, it sometimes happens that what is heard is neither a long vowel nor a sequence of a vowel and a clear fricative. The sound is merely a weak, hardly localized noise without any voice, e.g. *paHporo* by the side of *paɔporo* and *pa:poro* 'all'. The voiceless sound which is here represented by *H* can therefore occur only in those cases where *x* and vowel-length do not contrast with each other: *moxko* 'he' can no more be replaced by *moHko* than by *mo:ko*; *po:ko* 'with' no more by *poHko* than by *poɔko*. *H* also does not occur in those cases where there is alternation, not of *Vx* and V:, but of *Vɔ* and V:.

D) The use of the forms with different alternants.

Little can be stated with certainty about the difference in use between the forms with *Vx*, respectively *Vɔ*, and the corresponding forms with V:. The only thing that is certain is that there is no semantic difference and that the same speakers use *Vx* and V: indifferently in the same word. I had the impression that my informants — men of about 60 —

⁹ I am not certain whether *ɔme/:me* 'small' and *iɔme/i:me* 'child' are one and the same word, the first being a shortened form of the second. Semantically this is not improbable: *piri:wa ɔme* 'child of an arrow' = 'small arrow'. An argument in favour of their identity may be found in the fact that both have the same irregular plural, with vowel change: *piri:wa ɔmakoŋ* 'small arrows', *iɔmakoŋ* 'children'.

¹⁰ Morphologically, *ɔwa/:wa* is a normal postposition, behaving in the same way as e.g. *ta* 'in', *ma:ro* 'with' (3.3). *ɔme/:me* perhaps is to be identified with *iɔme/i:me* 'child', which would make it a noun morphologically (see 3.4., and the preceding note). There are still two other elements with an initial cluster, both also showing the alternation with length of the preceding vowel: *ɔne/:ne* 'really' and *xkuru/:kuru* 'already'. In these two cases, the choice of the alternants to some extent depends on the structure of the preceding word. Partly for this reason, they are discussed separately (enclitics, 2.3.). Neither *ɔne/:ne* nor *xkuru/:kuru* belongs to a morphological word class: there is not any morphological process that may be applied to them.

¹¹ On *yɔɔpa*, see 2.1.1.1.1.

use the forms with Vx or $V\text{?}$ to a slightly lesser extent than their sons and daughters. On one occasion I was struck by the fact that in a conversation between a father and his son the former pronounced a word with $V:$; and the son, in reply, used the form with Vx .

Finally I do not know how the fact that the same speaker uses both $V:$ and Vx or $V\text{?}$ indifferently is to be accounted for. It does not seem improbable that in emphatic speech the use of Vx instead of $V:$ occurs more frequently, but even this is not certain.

2.1.2. POSITIONAL RULES

As has already been noted, there is very little difference between monomorphemic and polymorphemic words also with regard to the positional rules.

The difference concerns in the first place a limitation on the distribution of the clusters with x or ? for their first member. In a monomorphemic word they can only occur either after the first or after the second vowel, while in certain categories of polymorphemic words this restrictive rule is disturbed (2.1.2.1.3. and 2.2.2.1.). The positions after the first two vowels appear to be relevant only with regard to the above-mentioned clusters; otherwise the positional rules apply to initial, medial and final position.

In the second place the rule according to which sequences of certain vowels are limited to the end of the word may be disturbed (2.1.2.2.4. and 2.2.2.2.).

A third difference between monomorphemic and polymorphemic words concerns the frequency of ? and ? in final position (2.1.2.1.2. and 1.1.2.2.).

Apart from these three points all positional rules are valid for all words with the exception of six monomorphemic words of various kinds. They will be discussed under 2.1.2.1.1. and 2.1.2.1.2.

2.1.2.1. CONSONANTS

2.1.2.1.1. *Initial and medial position*

Initially all consonants were found except ? , ? and g ; x and ? however only in $\text{?}wa/:wa$ 'to, by', $\text{?}me/:me$ 'small' (already discussed in 2.1.1.4.3B.) and in the enclitics $xkuru/:kuru$ 'already' and $\text{?}ne/:ne$ 'really, the true one' (2.3.).

These are also the only four cases with a cluster in initial position.

The other consonants are found, for instance, in the following words: $pa:na$ 'ear', $tunda$ 'to arrive', $ka:pu$ 'heaven', $ban\text{ga}$ 'man's name',

diye:mo 'woman's name', *mo:ro* 'that', *no:kī* 'who', *wūino* 'away from, from', *yu:po* 'sweet cassava', *sa:kau* 'sand', *re:re* 'bat'.

Medially, all consonants occur except \tilde{n} , $\tilde{ŋ}$, g , x and \int , as well as all the consonant clusters already mentioned. Examples: *ra:pa* 'again', *pa:to* 'place', *po:ko* 'with', *itu:bīri* 'old woman', *wo:di* 'girl', *o:ma* 'path', *o:nu* 'eye', *ma:wi* 'species of fish', *o:ya* 'where to', *ku:sa* 'crab', *no:ro* 'still'. For examples with clusters see 2.1.1.1.1.

The fact that g is not found initially and medially is perhaps to be accounted for in not quite the same way as the non-occurrence of \tilde{n} , $\tilde{ŋ}$, x and \int . It is possible to regard the non-occurrence of g in these positions as being part of the more general fact that voiced stops are extremely rare initially and medially: b and d were also found in some very few cases (see 1.1.2.1.). It is therefore not impossible that further investigation may produce some instances of g in these two positions, which seems hardly likely in the case of the four other consonants (\tilde{n} , $\tilde{ŋ}$, x and \int).

2.1.2.1.2. Final position

In this position only \tilde{n} , $\tilde{ŋ}$ are found; and very rarely m , and the cluster $\int m$.

Examples: *aura \tilde{n}* 'language', *e:ra $\tilde{ŋ}$* 'guard'.

Only one case was found of both m and $\int m$ in final position: *am* 'somebody, something, a little', *ro $\int m$* 'otherwise, else'.

By the side of *am*, *a:mu* occurs. It would seem plausible enough to assume that *am*, with its exceptional final $-m$, is a reduced form used in rapid speech. Yet this is not the case. In the case of *ro $\int m$* , which is doubly exceptional because it does not only end in m but is moreover the only instance of a sequence of two consonants in final position, we find a situation similar to that of *am*. By the side of *ro $\int m$* the forms *ro:mu \tilde{n}* and *ro $\int mu\tilde{n}$* occur with a meaning which does not seem to be different from that of the shorter form. Again, *ro $\int m$* is by no means confined to rapid speech.

When through suffixing \tilde{n} and $\tilde{ŋ}$ lose their final position, the following phenomena occur:

If the suffix has an initial consonant the result is different clusters which can also occur in monomorphemic words: *mb*, *nd* (2.1.1.1.1B1) or $\int m$ (2.1.1.1.1B2, the type *wo:toxko $\int me$*).

If the suffix has an initial vowel, \tilde{n} and $\tilde{ŋ}$ are replaced by n . E.g. on the basis of *aura \tilde{n}* 'language, speech', with $-\tilde{i}mbo$, *auranimbo* 'chat-

ting'; on the basis of *wo:nən* 'murderer' (which is formed on the basis of *wo* 'to kill'), with *-imbo*, *wo:nenimbo* 'mean murderer'.

Finally a remark about the frequency of final *ŋ* and *ɲ*. It is strikingly low in monomorphemic words: there are only 39 instances of *ŋ* in my material, and even fewer instances of *ɲ* : 5. On the other hand, in polymorphemic words the frequency of *ŋ* and *ɲ* is by no means low, because a fairly large number of productive suffixes happen to end in these consonants (see phonemics, 1.1.2.2.).

2.1.2.1.3. *Position after first and second vowel*

In monomorphemic words clusters containing *x* or *ʔ* are only found either after the first vowel or after the second. E.g. *moxka:ro* 'they', *upiʔno* 'under'. A structure with such a cluster after, for instance, the fourth vowel, as in *anu:ku:tixpa* 'not knowing' (*uku:tī* 'to know', with *an-* and *-xpa*) can only occur in a polymorphemic word. The same is true for a structure with such clusters both after the first and after the second vowel: e.g. *uxtaʔnoŋ* 'things that do not emerge' (*uxta* 'emerge' with *-ʔnoŋ*); see 2.2.2.1.

2.1.2.2. VOWELS

2.1.2.2.1. *Initial position*

In this position all vowels were found except *ei* and *ui*, while *oi* was not found in monomorphemic words, but only in some polymorphemic words. In view of the generally low frequency of diphthongs, the chances are that in this case there is an accidental gap in the material. Examples of vowels in initial position: *a:ko* 'mortar', *e:ro* 'this', *o:ko* 'two', *i:tu* 'forest', *u:na* 'to wipe off', *ĩ:rĩ* 'to give', *aku:pa* 'species of fish', *eka:numĩ* 'to run', *okoipo* 'species of tree', *ine:ku* 'poisonous liana used for fishing', *uwembo* 'belly', *ĩra:pa* 'bow', *auxto* 'house', *aima* 'to smoke', *ũyo* 'husband', *oiyo* 'your husband' (with replacement of *ũ* by *oi*).

2.1.2.2.2. *Medial position*

All vowels occur in this position, except between the penultimate and the final consonant where only short vowels can occur.

Examples: *kuma:ka* 'cotton-silk tree', *ame:kuŋ* 'wrist', *amo:ro* 'you, thou (sg)', *kupi:ra* 'species of fish', *masu:wa* 'fish-trap', *woki:rĩ* 'man', *ameʔtari* 'geogr. name', *pere:pere:ri* 'ornament, wing-case of beetle', *to:koro* 'partridge', *pi:kiri* 'little fish', *ta:kuwa* 'polishing-stone', *ku:mikaŋ* 'trough', *itauxĩ* 'rapid (noun)', *amo:saikĩ* 'claw', *oseĩrĩ* 'new', *okoipo* 'species of tree', *apu:kuita* 'paddle', *ekũnĩ* 'smoke'.

2.1.2.2.3. *Final position*

All vowels occur in this position except the long ones.

Examples: *u:pa* 'to distribute, hand out', *o:we* 'where', *si:mo* 'liana', *u:pi* 'to look for', *ore:ku* 'war', *amo:ti* 'strap, sling', *sa:kau* 'sand', *to:kai* 'hut', *wa:sei* 'species of palm', *o:roi* 'cashew', *i:rui* 'older brother', *ta:pü* 'men's house'.

2.1.2.2.4. *Final and penultimate position*

An immediate sequence of vowels is generally not confined to a certain position. We found *aembo* 'ready', *masi:iri:ri* 'species of insect', *miro:kou* 'species of fish'. There are indications, however, that sequences of two vowels which can occur together as components of a diphthong are confined to the end of the word. These are the sequences: *a:u*, *a:i*, *e:i*, *ei*, *o:i*, *u:i* and *i:i*,¹² as found in *wana:u* 'otter', *mara:i* 'wood-hen', *we:i* 'to become', *ake:rei* 'species of bird', *ixtupo:i* 'to sit down on something', *pu:i* 'to extend', *siki:i* 'little finger'.

One of the 26 monomorphemic cases, however, *püya:usi* 'osprey' is apparently not subject to the supposed rule. This might be reason enough to give up the idea of regularity, but for the fact that when words ending in *a:i*, etc. are suffixed a modification occurs which also points to these vowel sequences being confined to final position. In suffixing the sequence of vowels is replaced by the corresponding diphthong: e.g. on the basis of *we:i* 'to become', with *-ya*, *weiya* 'I become' is formed, on the basis of *apo:i* 'to seize', *apoiko* 'seize him'; with diphthongs *ei*, *oi*. Our conclusion therefore, although with some hesitation, is that the rule according to which *o:i*, etc. are confined to word-final position is valid, and that *püya:usi* shows an exceptional structure.

2.1.3. RULES OF VOCALIC STRUCTURE

It has already been noted in the introduction that the possibilities for the combination of long and short vowels within one word-form are extremely limited. We shall see that with regard to all monomorphemic and many polymorphemic words the following general rules apply:

- 1) within a word-form not more than two long vowels can occur,
- 2) within a word-form two long vowels are always separated by a short vowel.

¹² Above, 2.1.1.2. On the diphthongs: 1.2.2.2.

Examples are: *asa:para:pi* 'species of fish', and *ka:rawa:si* 'rattle'. On the other hand a vocalic structure such as is found in *kine:ka:no* 'he bites him' (*e:ka* 'to bite' with *kĩn-* and *-:no*) does not occur in monomorphemic words but is restricted to certain categories of polymorphemic words in the formation of which the otherwise valid regular vocalic patterns are disturbed.

In the preceding sections we have already come across several rules — sequential and positional — which limit the distribution of the long vowels. These rules, applying without any restriction to poly- and monomorphemic words, were to the effect that:

- 3) long vowels do not occur finally,
- 4) long vowels do not precede final $\bar{\eta}$ and η ,
- 5) long vowels do not precede consonant clusters.

Together, the five rules mentioned above severely limit the distribution of the long vowels, and, as we shall see, a further limitation on this distribution is effected by rules of a less general application. In what follows I shall discuss successively the vocalic structures that can occur in 1) words without a cluster and without a diphthong, 2) words with a cluster and without a diphthong, 3) words with a diphthong. Disturbances of these rules of vocalic structure in the formation of certain polymorphemic words will be discussed in 2.2.3. They are far more numerous than disturbances of the sequential and positional rules.

2.1.3.1. VOCALIC STRUCTURE OF WORDS WITHOUT CLUSTER AND WITHOUT DIPHTHONG

In these words the distribution of long and short vowels corresponds to one of the following patterns (+ long, — short vowel).

Total number of vowels	First vowel short	First vowel long
1	—	
2		+ —
3	— + —	or + — —
4	— + — —	or + — + —
5	— + — + —	or + — + — —
6	— + — + — —	or + — + — — —
7	— + — + — — —	or + — + — — — —

The table shows that words containing three or more vowels may have two types of vocalic structure, one with a short first vowel, the other with a long one. A word containing four vowels, for instance,

may have either a vocalic structure like *kure:wako* 'green parrot' or one like *ka:rawa:si* 'rattle'.

Where two types of vocalic structure are possible, those with a long first vowel are the least frequent. This is especially apparent in the large group of monomorphemic words with three vowels: as against some hundreds of cases with — + —, only 15 cases were found with + — —; to wit *i:poti* 'body hair', *ma:puru* 'staff', *ku:miri* 'to be hungry', *ta:kuwa* 'polishing stone', *o:ruwa* 'three', *pa:timi* 'nephew', *ko:koro* 'early morning', *e:rome* 'now, today', *a:sito* 'a little', *ro:ripo* 'rather', *i:turu* 'forest', *ku:mikaŋ* 'trough', *su:rabaŋ* 'beam', *yo:rokaŋ* 'evil spirit', *ka:bara* 'sheep'. The not very numerous monomorphemic cases with five vowels in my material all belong to the type with a short first vowel; because their number is so small, while moreover the type with a long first vowel was found in polymorphemic words, there seem to be insufficient grounds for considering the latter vocalism impossible in monomorphemic words.

Vocalic structures with six and seven vowels were only found in polymorphemic words.

In a second table examples are now given of each of the patterns:

Number of vowels	First vowel short	First vowel long
1	<i>two</i> to beat	
2		<i>o:ro</i> may (wish)
3	<i>tono:ro</i> large bird	<i>ta:kuwa</i> polishing-stone
4	<i>kuri:yara</i> boat	<i>ya:kara:wa</i> deer
5	<i>asa:para:pi</i> species of fish	<i>ko:kapo:take</i> you will have me bitten
6	<i>epa:nama:toko</i> listen	<i>se:kapo:tirikoŋ</i> the fact that I keep tearing them
7	<i>awwi:topo:tirikoŋ</i> your (pl.) wandering	<i>i:poka:potirikoŋ</i> the fact that I keep shaving them

Not included in the table are three types of vocalic structure each of which was found in one case only; — —, — + + — —, and — + — — + —.

The first is found in *uwa* 'no', where the exceptional structure may be due to the fact *uwa* is a negation.¹³ That we may speak of an

¹³ E. M. Uhlenbeck, *De Structuur van het Javaanse Morpheem*, p. 32.

exceptional structure in this case is certain, in view of the great number of bivocalic words in the material.

The second pattern is found in *kuri:ta:nene* 'noon, mid-night', which may contain *kuri:ta* 'day' with an otherwise unknown reduplication of the enclitic *.ne* 'real'.

The third type of vocalic structure occurs in *ika:rikana:ri* 'cinnamon wood', the only monomorphemic word with six vowels. This pattern corresponds to a doubling of the trivocalic pattern — + —, so that *ika:rikana:ri* gives the impression of being compounded of two trivocalic words. Yet is it improbable that we have a compound here, as neither *ika:ri* nor *kana:ri* occur as separate words.

Let us once more consider the various types of vocalic structure as set out in the table. It is true for all of them that with regard to the first two vowels only two arrangements are possible: either the first vowel is short and the second long, or the first is long and the second short. Further comparison shows that also the length of the other vowels is related in a simple way to that of the first two: the second vowel following the long first or second vowel is long as well, provided it is not in final position or precedes a final consonant; since according to a general rule no long vowels can occur in these positions. We therefore find with a long second vowel, a long fourth vowel in the pattern — + — + —; and with a long first vowel, a long third one in the pattern + — + —; while the second vowel following the long one is not long in the patterns + — — and — + — —, where it has final position.

The fact that the table on page 72 also applies to a great many polymorphemic words, implies both the occurrence of affix-alternants which differ only as to the being either long or short of their vowels, and the occurrence of lengthening or shortening of vowels belonging to the base. These alternations and modifications are generally determined by the following factors:

- 1) the vocalic structure of the base,
- 2) the number of vowels added, either by single or repeated prefixing, or single or repeated suffixing,
- 3) the identity of the affixes used.

The third factor is of less importance than the other two. Affixing with the syntactical suffix *-ri*,¹⁴ the personal prefix *y-* (1st person),

¹⁴ *-ri*, or one of its coalternants *-ru*, *-ni* and *-di*, are added to many monomor-

or with both together, in certain circumstances may result in a shift of vocalic pattern, one regular pattern (short-long) being replaced by the other, corresponding, regular pattern (long-short). There are other suffixes that also may modify in a special way the length of one vowel in the base; however, this modification never leads to the emergence of a new, still regular pattern, but always to disturbance of the regularity. Therefore those other suffixes will be discussed later, in 2.2.

It would no doubt be better in our discussion to start from all the types of vocalic structure conceivable on the basis of the combination of the three factors mentioned above. My limited material, however, does not admit such treatment. I shall therefore begin at the opposite end and, starting from the available polymorphemic cases with a regular vocalic structure, I shall examine what alternations and modifications have occurred in their formation.

We shall deal successively with polymorphemic words containing 2, 3 and 4 or more vowels. Those affixing processes which do not add a vowel to the base need not be discussed; with the exception, however, of prefixing with *y-* which, as we have seen, may be attended by special quantitative modifications. The words will be discussed in this order: first those words which only contain suffixes, next those that only contain prefixes, and finally those that contain prefixes as well as suffixes.

A) Polymorphemic words containing 2 vowels.

A.1) Only suffixes.

The rule according to which bivocalic words have the vocalic structure + — also applies, without any limitation, to the polymorphemic words. This implies that the short vowel of a base with one vowel, in suffixing is always lengthened. E.g. on the basis of *ta* 'in', with *-no*, *ta:no* 'contents'; on the basis of *wo* 'to beat', with *-yaŋ*, *wo:yaŋ* 'he beats him'.

A.2) Only prefixes.

phemic nouns. This process has not any semantic consequence (*kuri:yara* = *ku:riya:rari* 'canoe'), its function being purely syntactical (3.2.1.).

Personal prefixing in nouns is not applied to the monomorphemic forms, but to the members of this syntactical *ri*-category; e.g. *kuri:yara* 'canoe', *aku:riya:rari* 'your canoe'. As both the process of the 1st person and that of the 3rd person have a zero alternant, nouns with *-ri* permit a personal as well as a non-personal interpretation, e.g. *ku:riya:rari* both 'canoe' and 'my canoe', *e:marī* both 'path' and 'his path' (3.2.2.1.).

When a prefix is added to a base with one vowel, the rule according to which bivocalic words have a vocalic structure + — implies the occurrence of an alternant with a long vowel. E.g. on the basis of *ta* 'in', with *i:-*, *i:ta* 'in it' (but on the basis of *po:ko* 'with', with *i-*, *ipo:ko* 'with it'); on the basis of *wo* 'to beat', with *tī:-*, *tī:wo* 'beaten' (but on the basis of *pi:na* 'to take', with *tī-*, *tīpi:na* 'taken').

B) Polymorphematic words with three vowels.

B.1) Only suffixes.

Words formed from bases with one vowel, by means of suffixes with two vowels, have a vocalic structure with a long first vowel and a short second one. E.g. on the basis of *kī* 'to rasp', *kī:potī* 'to rasp repeatedly'; on the basis of *wo* 'to beat', *wo:kepī* 'to stop beating'.

The words with three vowels formed by suffixing of a bivocalic base may, in accordance with the table on p. 72, have one of two types of vocalic structure, viz. — + — or + — —. In certain bases the first vowel is shortened and the second is lengthened when a suffix is added, whereas in other bases both vowels retain their original length. E.g. on the basis of *o:ma* 'path', *o:makoñ* 'paths', *e:marī* '(his) path';¹⁵ but on the basis of *o:wa* 'hammock-line', *owa:koñ* 'hammock-lines', *ewa:rī* '(his) hammock-line'.

It is impossible to predict in all cases whether the type + — — or the type — + — will result. It is certain that retention of the original length of the two vowels is found in all bases with an initial consonant. E.g. on the basis of *pi:ra* 'sail', *pi:rakoñ* 'sails'. This rule also holds good when a polymorphematic word with two vowels serves again as a base; e.g. on the basis of *po* 'at', *po:no* 'one who is at', *po:nokoñ* 'id. plural'.

On the other hand, of bases with an initial vowel some have quantitative modification, some not. No rule could be found: the phonemic structure of the base has nothing to do with it, while the following cases show that it also does not matter whether the base is a noun, a verb, or a demonstrative.

<i>o:ma</i> path	<i>e:marī</i>	(his) path
<i>e:ka</i> to bite	<i>e:kari</i>	to bite ¹⁶
	<i>o:kato</i>	given to biting
<i>e:ro</i> this	<i>e:rokoñ</i>	these

¹⁵ On *-rī*, see note 14.

<i>o:wa</i> hammock-line	<i>ewa:ri</i>	(his) hammock-line
	<i>towa:ka</i>	with hammock-line taken away
<i>e:ma</i> to throw	<i>ema:ri</i>	to throw ¹⁶
	<i>sema:e</i>	I throw him over
<i>i:ro</i> this (anaphoric)	<i>iro:koñ</i>	these (anaphoric)

Finally it should be pointed out that there is no question of the vocalic structure + — — being rare in words of this type, as was the case in monomorphemic words: it results from the suffixing of all bivocalic bases with initial consonant, and besides of part of the bases with initial vowel.

B.2) Only prefixes.

Generally the vocalic structure — + — is found, viz. in all cases where the base contains two vowels. E.g. on the basis of *a:ro* 'to take along', with *ay-*, *aya:ro* 'to take you'; on the basis of *ku:po* 'on', with *i-*, *iku:po* 'on it'.

The vocalic structure + — — was only found in formations from bases which already had this structure themselves. To this category belong a few words with initial *i:*, which vowel is dropped when a prefix is added; e.g. on the basis of *i:poti* 'hair of the body', with the long prefix-alternant *i:-*, *i:poti* 'the hair of his body', cf. on the basis of *sa:no*, with the short prefix-alternant *i-*, *isa:no* 'his mother'.

B.3) Both prefixes and suffixes.

In general we find a vocalic structure with a short first vowel and a long second one. E.g. on the basis of *ta* 'in', with *i-* and *-no*, *ita:no* 'its contents'; on the basis of *wo* 'to beat', with *si-* and *-ya*, *siwo:ya* 'I beat him'.

The other vocalic structure, with a long first vowel and a short second one, is found in formations of the following two types.

In the first place in formations from the bases with initial *i:*, mentioned in the preceding section; e.g. on the basis of *i:poti* 'hair of the body', by affixing with *i:-* and *-ta* and loss of the fragments *i:* and *ti*, *i:potata* 'to become hairy'.¹⁷

Secondly we find + — — in all formations from bivocalic bases containing the prefix *y-*. Thus we find on the basis of *e:ma* 'to throw'

¹⁶ Suffixation with *-ri*, with purely syntactical function, is found in the verbal as well as in the nominal system. See note 14, and 3.1.2. However, the two *ri*-processes are not identical, as the rules for the presence or absence of *-ri* are quite different in the two word-classes.

¹⁷ Before the suffix, the syllable *ti* is lost; see 3.2.2.7.1.

and *o:ma* 'path', *ema:rī* 'to throw' (*-rī* with syntactic function) and *e:marī* '(his) path'. In the forms with *y-*, however, we only find *ye:marī*, in the sense of 'to throw me over' as well as in the sense of 'my path'.

C) Polymorphematic words with four or more vowels.

C.1) Only suffixes.

The polymorphematic words with five or more vowels, and those with four vowels of the type with a short first vowel and a long second one, contain two long vowels; in accordance with the table on p. 72. Not only the first or second vowel, but also the third or fourth vowel are long.

This implies that in the formation of these words from bases containing only one long vowel, either a vowel in the base is lengthened or a suffix-alternant with a long vowel is used. E.g. on the basis of *kuri:yara* 'canoe', with *-koñ*, *kuri:yara:koñ* 'canoes'; on the basis of *ene:ma* 'to fast', with *-po*, *ene:mapo* 'to cause to fast', and when further suffixed with *-ko*, *ene:mapo:ko* 'make him fast'; on the basis of *e:ka* 'to bite', with the infix-alternant containing a long vowel *-to:-* and *-ko*, *e:kato:ko* 'bite them'; on the basis of *wo* 'to beat', with *-potī*, *wo:potī* 'to beat repeatedly', *wo:potī:rī* 'to beat repeatedly' (*-rī* has syntactic function).

In accordance with the table, vocalic structures with a long first vowel and a short second one (second column) as well as with a short first vowel and a long second vowel (first column) are found. Whether a polymorphematic word belongs to the first or second type, depends first of all on the base: generally the situation with regard to the length of the first two vowels remains unaltered.

An exception in this respect, however, are first of all the formations on the basis of certain bivocalic words discussed above, and secondly the formations with the syntactical nominal suffix *-rī/ru*.¹⁸

In part of the bivocalic words, as we have seen in B1), the long initial vowel is replaced by a short one and the short final vowel by a long one, when a suffix is added. E.g. on the basis of *e:ma* 'to throw away', *ema:toko* 'throw them away'; on the basis of *a:ru* 'dryness', with *-ta*, *-rī* and *-koñ*, *aru:tari:koñ* 'their getting dry'.

In words beginning with a consonant, and containing syntactical *-rī/ru*, the only type that occurs is that with long first and short

¹⁸ See note 14.

second vowel, no matter which pattern is found in the base. Thus, *ka:rawa:siri* '(my) rattle'¹⁸ and *ku:riya:rari* '(my) canoe' have the same vocalic structure, although this is not true of their respective bases *ka:rawa:si* 'rattle' and *kuri:yara* 'canoe'. An example of the same phenomenon of modification in a trivocalic base is *yama:tu* 'basket', *ya:matu:ru* '(my) basket'.

C.2) Only prefixes.

The only cases that are known to me are formations with four vowels from bases containing two vowels, e.g., with *a-* and *wos-*, on the basis of *e:ne* 'to see', *awo:sene* 'that fact that you look at yourself'.

C.3) Both prefixes and suffixes.

Except for certain formations from bases of the type *i:poti*, the result when a prefix is added is always a word containing a short first vowel and a long second one. Three cases can be distinguished:

- a) A prefix containing one vowel is added. In this case an alternant with a short vowel is always used. The following types occur: *i-*, *si-*, *ay-*, *kin-*.
- b) A prefix containing two vowels is added. These prefixes are all of the type *kini:-*.
- c) Two prefixes are added successively, each containing one vowel. In this case the first prefix has a short vowel, for the second an alternant with a long vowel is used; we find *kin-e:-*, *kin-o:t-*.

In certain cases this prefixing results in irregular vocalic structures, containing a long second vowel as well as a long third vowel (2.2.3.1F). In many cases, however, the result is regular. E.g. on the basis of *wo* 'to beat', with *i-* and *-poti*, *iwo:poti* 'to beat him repeatedly'. On the basis of *po:ka* 'to shoot', with *si-* and *-e*, *sipo:kae* 'I shoot at it'. On the basis of *a:ru* 'dryness', with *kin-*, *-ta* and *-taŋ*, *kina:ruta:taŋ* 'he will get dry'. On the basis of *me:ri* 'drawing', with *kini:-*, *-ro*, *-yaŋ* and loss of the fragment *ri*, *kini:mero:yaŋ* 'he draws it'. On the basis of *me:ri*, with *we-* and *-ta*, *weme:ta* 'to get markings' (said of the skin of a young animal), with *kin-*, *-no*, and replacement of *we* by *e:*, *kine:meta:no* 'he gets markings'.

In some formations from bases with initial *i:*, of the type *i:poti*, prefix-alternants occur which add a long first vowel, viz. *i:-* and *o:-*. The initial vowel *i:* of the base is lost, so that the polymorphematic

word retains the vocalic structure with a long first and a short second vowel.¹⁹ E.g. on the basis of *i:poti* 'the hair of his body', with *o:-*, *-ka*, *-taŋ* and loss of the fragments *i:* and *tī*, *o:poka:taŋ* 'he will dehair you'.

2.1.3.2. VOCALIC STRUCTURE OF WORDS WITH CLUSTER, WITHOUT DIPHTHONG

In words containing a cluster other vocalic structures occur than those that have just been discussed. Before setting them out in a table we have to return to the positional and other limitations to which clusters are generally subject.

We have seen that clusters containing *x* or *ʔ* in monomorphemic words can only occur either after the first or after the second vowel (2.1.2.1.3.).

This positional limitation does not apply to nasal clusters. As well as after the first and the second vowel they were found:

- 1) After a vowel other than the first or second, viz. in five monomorphemic cases: *wa:yarimbo* 'packing material woven from palm-leaves', *oko:yumbo* 'water-spirit', *oxkatombo* 'spirit of the dead', *o:-romenda* 'storm spirit'; *enu:menga* 'to think of'; and also in certain polymorphemic words, in the first place formations with the suffix *-mbo*.
- 2) After the second vowel, the first vowel being followed by a cluster with *x*C or *ʔ*C; in one monomorphemic word, *saʔrombo* 'leaves', and in polymorphemic words with *-mbo*.
- 3) After the first vowel, the second vowel being followed by a cluster with *x*C or *ʔ*C; only in polymorphemic words, e.g. *amboxko* 'break it', on the basis of *ambo:tī* 'to break', with *-ko* and replacement of *tī* by *x* (2.1.1.1.1B2).
- 4) After both the first and the second vowel. Only one, polymorphemic, case was found: *undimbo* 'rotten tree-stump', on the basis of *undī* 'trunk' with *-mbo*.

As there is either no, or very limited monomorphemic material available for the types listed in 1-4, we shall confine ourselves to the words with *x*C, *ʔ*C or a nasal cluster after the first or second vowel. In these words the following types of vocalic structure may occur:

¹⁹ Shorter words with long first vowel may also arise in the same way, see this section, B2 and B3.

Number of vowels	CC after the second vowel	CC after the first vowel
2		- || -
3	-- || -	- || + - or - || --
4	-- || --	- || - + -
5	-- || - + -	- || + - + - or - || - + - -

The limited distribution of the long vowels is largely accounted for by the general rules, which exclude the occurrence of a long vowel in final position, before a final consonant, and before a cluster. Within the scope left by these rules there are, however, further limitations, as will be seen from the table. First, examples are given of each type of vocalic structure:

Number of vowels	CC after the second vowel
2	
3	<i>waramba</i> mat <i>aruxka</i> to put into
4	<i>karaxsawa</i> species of fish
5	<i>anaɔwana:ri</i> species of fish

	CC after the first vowel			
2	<i>undi</i> <i>waxto</i>	trunk fire		
3	<i>wiŋgo:si</i> <i>moɔka:ro</i>	ant they	<i>tuxkusi</i>	type of arrow
4	<i>kaŋkasa:pa</i> <i>ixpori:ri</i>	lizard creek		
5	<i>maɔma:taka:ra</i>	species of fish	<i>oxkoto:poti</i>	the cutting of you into pieces

The table shows that two different vowel patterns were found in words containing a cluster after the first vowel, and 3 or 5 vowels. Only one vowel pattern was found in the words of this type that contain 4 vowels. The situation with regard to this point in words with 4 and 5 vowels, however, is not quite clear to me, because sufficient material is lacking.

In words with 5 vowels the vocalic structure with a long vowel after the cluster was only found in one monomorphemic case in the material: *maʔma:taka:ra*. The polymorphemic cases have the other type of vocalic structure, e.g. *oxkoto:poti* 'the cutting of you into pieces', formed on the basis of *ixko:to* 'to cut' with *o-*, *-poti*, and the loss of *i*. The remarkable thing here is the shortening of the second vowel in affixing, which prevents the occurrence of a pattern as found in *maʔma:taka:ra*.

With regard to the words with four vowels the question arises as to whether in these words, as in the words with three and five vowels, a vocalic structure with a long vowel after the cluster is not possible. The material does not allow us to answer this question with certainty: only seven monomorphemic cases were found, all with the vocalic structure of *kan:kasa:pa* 'lizard'. Polymorphemic words also have this structure, in some cases by means of affix-alternation or modification of the base. E.g. *aʔmo* 'to begin', *aʔmo:yaʃ* 'he begins', but *aʔmoya:toʃ* 'they begin'; *ka:pi* 'to make', *woxkapi:ri* 'to come into existence'.

In trivocalic words with CC after the first vowel the occurrence of two types of vocalic structure is beyond doubt. There is, however, another reason why we must discuss these cases in detail.

The vocalic structure — || — — is rarely found; there are 12 cases in my material. Besides the loan-word *watrakaʃ* 'water-jug', they include the following words: *paxporo* 'all', *paxpota* 'past', *iʔmuru* 'son', *pixpisi*, *toxkoro*, *pextoko* 'diff. species of birds', *pixkiri* 'species of very small fish', *puxtoroʃ* 'swish', *tuxkusi* 'type of arrow', *ixsano* 'cold', *tixpone*²⁰ 'being able to swim'. Apart from *watrakaʃ* all these words contain a cluster with *x* or *ʔ*. No nasal clusters were found, perhaps they are impossible.

Now in all these cases the sequence of a short vowel and *x* or *ʔ* alternates freely with a long vowel: by the side of *paxporo*, *pa:poro* occurs, by the side of *toxkoro*, *to:koro*, etc. For further details about this alternation, see 2.1.1.4.3. above.

The alternants *pa:poro*, *to:koro* etc. show the same vocalic pattern as the type *i:poti*, *ta:kuwa* etc. discussed in 2.1.3.1. It should be noted that *i:poti* and the eight other cases always are heard with a long vowel, which is never replaced by short vowel plus *x* or plus *ʔ*.

There are some indications that the monomorphemic words with the

²⁰ This word looks like an adjectival formation with *t-* — *-ne*, on the basis of the verb *ixpomu:mi* 'to swim'. The drastical reduction of the base, with two syllables instead of one, is otherwise not found (3.1.3.8., note).

vocalic structure — || — —, beside those with the much more frequent structure — || + —, take up a special position. In the first place, the possibility to replace *x* or *ʔ* by vowel length, as found in all 11 cases with the pattern — || — —, also arises when regular vocalic patterns are disturbed as a consequence of pre- or suffixing; see the next section, 2.2.2.1. Secondly, it is remarkable that of the 11 cases possibly no less than 6 are onomatopoeia or sound-symbolic words. This is certainly true for *puxtoroŋ* 'swish', and for the three bird's names, which reproduce the call of the bird; *pixkiri*, with its three *i*'s, denotes a very small fish swarming in large numbers, while *tuxkusi* may suggest the flash of the flying arrow.

There are polymorphemic words, too, with — || — —. One of these, *iʔmakonŋ* 'children', has alternation with a long vowel in the same way as the monomorphemic cases: *i:makonŋ* also occurs. The word is a formation, with the suffix *-konŋ* and vowel change, from *iʔme* or *i:me* 'child', one of the isolated bivocalic words with alternation of *ʔ* and vowel length (2.1.1.4.3B.).

The other polymorphemic cases in my material all contain a bivocalic suffix; when it is added a fragment of the base is replaced by *x* (2.1.1.1.1B2.). In these cases there is no alternation.²¹ E.g. *oxtoko* 'come (plur.)!', formed on the basis of *wo:pi* 'to come', with the suffixes *-to-ko*, loss of *w* and replacement of *:pi* by *x*; *wixtake* 'I'll go', on the basis of *wi:to* 'to go', with *-take* and replacement of *:to* by *x*; *pexpoti* 'to inundate again and again', on the basis of *pe:ki* 'to inundate', with *-poti* and replacement of *:ki* by *x*.

Of the two other trivocalic types, — || + — has no alternation of *ʔ* or *x* and vowel length. The same is true for the type containing CC after the second vowel; but for one exception which I cannot explain: *upuxpo/upu:po* 'head'. Otherwise, in this pattern *x* cannot be replaced by length: cf. *aruxka* 'to put in', but *aru:ka* 'to dry'; *enexpo* 'seen', but *ene:po* 'to show'.

2.1.3.3. VOCALIC STRUCTURE OF WORDS WITH A DIPHTHONG, WITHOUT A CLUSTER

Although diphthongs also occur as third or fourth vowel²² I shall

²¹ So we distinguish two patterns: + — — (2.1.3.1.), no alternation *:/x* or *:/ʔ*, in nine monomorphemic and many polymorphemic words; and — || — —, alternating with + — — in ten monomorphemic and one polymorphemic words, but without this alternation in other polymorphemic words.

²² *eka:nuiye* 'to run' (with *-ye*), *kura:siwai* 'species of bird', *paki:raki:raimo* 'fantastic peccary-like being'.

confine myself — as there is very little material for these types — to those words that contain a diphthong as a first or second vowel. The following types of vocalic structure were found:

	second vowel diphthong	first vowel diphthong
2 vowels	+ D	D —
3 vowels	— D —	D + — or D — —
4 vowels	— D — —	D + — —

Examples:

2 vowels	<i>sa:kau</i>	sand	<i>aima</i>	to smoke
3 vowels	<i>marauini</i>	Maroni river	<i>maipu:ri</i>	tapir, <i>püimeke</i> slow
4 vowels	<i>amüiyaro</i>	you (plur.)	<i>paipa:yana</i>	mythical tiger

Not included in the table is the pattern with just one (diphthongal) vowel, which is restricted to *au* 'I' and two onomatopoeic words: *pau* 'bang' and *tau* 'slap'. The same is true of a bivocalic pattern with a short first vowel, only found in *sowei* 'swish'.

In bivocalic words with a diphthongal first vowel, two vocalic structures have been found, exemplified by *maipu:ri* and *püimeke*. Of the second type, with short second vowel, only three further cases are known to me: *poitome* 'young, beautiful', *painaka* 'perhaps' and *painare* 'perhaps' (I could find no semantic difference between these two). The more frequent vocalism, that of *maipu:ri*, has also been found in trivocalic polymorphemic words formed on the basis of the bivocalic type *aima* 'to smoke': *aima:ko* 'you must smoke it'; in these formations the final vowel is lengthened before any suffix. This adaptation to the vocalic structure of the *maipu:ri*-type may be regarded as an indication that the latter represents a regular pattern; *püimeke*, *poitome*, *painare* and *painaka* for some unknown reason deviating from this.

Only three cases were found with four vowels: *amüiyaro* 'you (plur.)', *paipa:yana* 'mythical tiger', *aipa:yawa* 'shark'. Their vowel patterns conform to those of the more frequent types *marauini* and *maipu:ri*.

In discussing the phonemic status of the diphthongs (1.2.2.2.), we found it very difficult to find cases of truly minimal contrast between the diphthongs and the vowel sequences *a:u*, *a:i*, *e:i*, *o:i* *u:i*, *i:i*, *a-i*, *e-i*, *o-i*, *u-i*, *i-i*. It can now be shown that several rules of word structure cooperate to restrict the possibilities for such a minimal contrast; without however completely excluding it. Together with the rather low frequency of the diphthongs, this fact explains the absence of clear cases of contrast in my material.

- 1) A positional rule (2.1.2.2.3.) restricts the sequences *a:u* etc. to final position.
- 2) Because the frequency of the pattern — + — is very high, and that of the pattern + — — is very low (2.1.3.1.), it is to be expected that my trivocalic cases with a vowel sequence are all of the type *wana:u*, with short first vowel and long second vowel.
- 3) According to the rule formulated in this section, a bivocalic word with D for second vowel must have a long first vowel: type *sa:kau*.
- 4) Together, 2 and 3 are responsible for the fact, that in my material most cases of vowel sequence are of the type V:V, cooccurring with a short vowel (as in *wana:u*); while diphthongs cooccur with a long vowel (as in *sa:kau*).

Yet, a few representatives of still less frequent types come nearer to showing minimal contrast:

- 1) The monovocalic words *au* 'I', *pau* 'bang', *tau* 'slap', with e.g. *pa:u* 'island, land of the white people'.
- 2) The one exception on the rule restricting *a:u* etc. to final position (2.1.2.2.3.): *pīya:usi* 'osprey'; with e.g. *marau* 'Maroni river'.
- 3) The single fourvocalic case with sequence *e-i* known to me: *ake:re-i*²³ 'species of bird'; with e.g. *tapi:roi* 'blunt arrow', *kise:nei* 'don't look at it' (*e:ne* 'to see').

2.2. DISTURBANCE OF THE REGULAR PATTERNS

2.2.1. SEQUENTIAL RULES

A sequence of two long vowels regularly occurs in polymorphemic words when to words ending in V:V suffixes are added which lengthen the immediately preceding vowel of the base.

These suffixes are:

- 1) the seven suffixes *-:pa*, *-:po*, *-:to*, *-:to* *-:ma*, *-:ma* and *-:noŋ* which, as we shall see,²⁴ alternate with *-xpa*, *-xpo*, *-xto*, *-xto*, *-ɔma*, *-ɔma* and *-ɔnoŋ*;
- 2) *-:toŋ*, *-:se*.

²³ A hyphen is used here to distinguish the sequence *e-i* from the diphthong *ei*. Generally this is not necessary, because the diphthongs are marked sufficiently by their lacking the sign for length after the first vowel letter: *au* (diphthong), *a:u* (sequence). It is true that sequences have been found with short first vowel (e.g. *ae*, *ou*), but only of vowel pairs that are not also components of a diphthong (with the exception of *ake:re-i*).

²⁴ In 2.2.2.1. Because most morphological processes in Carib make use of several alternating affixes, the terms suffix and prefix are generally to be understood here as: suffix-alternant, prefix-alternant.

Examples:

ad 1:

apo:i 'to take' + *:-noŋ* → *apo:i:noŋ* 'those that are not taken',
we:i 'to become' + *:-pa* → *e:i:pa* 'not becoming' (with loss of
 the fragment *w*).

ad 2:

apo:i 'to take' + *s-* and *:-toŋ* → *sapo:i:toŋ* 'I took them',
we:i 'to become' + *m-* and *:-se* → *me:i:se* 'that you may become,
 later'.

The suffix *:-no*, which also causes lengthening of the preceding vowel, never gives rise to sequences of two long vowels, because it occurs only after verbs ending in *Ca*.

Whether in words ending in VV similar lengthening phenomena occur I have not been able to find out, which is not surprising since the suffixes mentioned above are for the most part verbal suffixes, and the very rare words in VV do not belong to the class of verbs.

Mention should be made here of the polymorphemic words *ana:poipa* 'not taking', formed on the basis of *apo:i* 'to take', with the prefix *an-* and the suffix *:-pa*, and *kina:poimataŋ* 'he will take it completely', with *kin-* and *:-ma-taŋ*. Whereas, in accordance with the rule formulated above, one would expect a sequence of two long vowels, *ana:poipa* and *kina:poimataŋ* contain the diphthong *oi*. Once again the limited material does not allow me to answer the question as to whether these cases are exceptions or whether there is a certain regularity, connected with the prefix occurring together with the lengthening suffix.

2.2.2. POSITIONAL RULES

2.2.2.1. CLUSTERS WITH A FIRST COMPONENT *x* OR *ʔ* IN POSITIONS OTHER THAN AFTER THE FIRST OR THE SECOND VOWEL

A) Owing to suffixing, if the base, alone or together with one or more prefixes, contains more than two vowels.

1) with a suffix containing *-xC* or *-ʔC*, e.g.

uku:ti 'to know' + *-xpo* → *uku:ti:xpo* 'known'

uku:ti 'to know' + *-ʔma* → *uku:tiʔma* 'to know completely'

2) with a suffix which causes a fragment of the base to be replaced²⁵ by *x* or *ʔ*; e.g.

epa:nopī 'to help' + *-ko* → *epa:noxko* 'help him' (*pī* replaced by *x*)

epa:nopī 'to help' + *-no* → *epa:noʔno* 'helping' (*pī* replaced by *ʔ*)

In this way it is even possible that polymorphemic words are formed which contain such clusters both after the first and after the second vowel, i.e. if the base already contains one. Thus, from:

aʔmo 'to begin something' + *-xpo* → *aʔmoxpo* 'something that has been begun'

aʔmo 'to begin something' + *-ʔnoʃ* → *aʔmoʔnoʃ* 'things that are not begun'.

In all the cases mentioned here the cluster *x*C or *ʔ*C which is the result of suffixing can alternate with lengthening of the preceding vowel + C.²⁶ Thus the following forms occur side by side:

uku:tixpo and *uku:ti:po* 'known'

uku:tiʔma and *uku:ti:ma* 'to know completely'

epa:noxko and *epa:no:ko* 'help him!'

epa:noʔno and *epa:no:no* 'helping'

aʔmoxpo and *aʔmo:po* 'something that has been begun'

aʔmoʔnoʃ and *aʔmo:noʃ* 'things that are not begun'.

B) Owing to prefixing, if words containing such a cluster get one or more extra vowels through prefixing. E.g.:

kīn-o:t- + *aʔmo* 'to begin something' + *-yaʃ* → *kīno:taʔmoyaʃ* or *kīno:ta:moyaʃ* 'he makes a beginning'

wot- + *aruxka* 'to put in' → *wota:ruxka* or *wota:ru:ka* 'to go into something'.

2.2.2.2. SEQUENCE OF VOWELS NOT IN FINAL AND PENULTIMATE POSITION

Such a sequence occurs when to words ending in V:V the following suffixes are added:

²⁵ See 2.1.1.1.1B2.

²⁶ This alternation is not possible when the word formed by suffixing with *-xpo*, or one of the other suffixes with *x*C or *ʔ*C, has a regular structure in accordance with the rules of 2.1. In e.g. *etaxpo* 'something that has been heard', formed on the basis of *e:ta* 'to hear', or *eneʔma* 'to see completely' formed on the basis of *e:ne* 'to see', *x* and *ʔ* cannot be replaced by vowel-length. Cf. *eta:po*, only permitting the interpretation 'to cause to hear' (with suffix *-po*) and *ene:ma*, only permitting the interpretation 'to bear a child'. On the shortening of the initial vowel in *e:ta* and *e:ne* when a suffix is added, see 2.1.3.1B.

1) those of the type $-\text{:}p\text{:}/x\text{p}\text{:}$,²⁷ 2) the suffixes $-\text{:}to\text{ŋ}$ and $-\text{:}se$,²⁷ 3) the suffix $-mbo$.

E.g.:

- 1) from $apo:i$ 'to take' + $-\text{:}p\text{:}$ → $apo:i:p\text{:}$ 'taken'
- 2) from $apo:i$ 'to take' + $-\text{:}to\text{ŋ}$ → $sapo:i:to\text{ŋ}$ 'I take them'
- 3) from $kuwa:i$ 'calabash' + $-mbo$ → $kuwa:imbo$ 'scraper made from calabash'.

2.2.3. RULES OF VOCALIC STRUCTURE

2.2.3.1. WORDS WITHOUT A CLUSTER, WITHOUT A DIPHTHONG, IN THE VOCALIC STRUCTURE OF WHICH TWO LONG VOWELS TAKE A CONSECUTIVE POSITION

A) Owing to the addition of 1) the seven suffixes of the type $-\text{:}p\text{:}$, 2) the suffixes $-\text{:}to\text{ŋ}$, $-\text{:}se$ and $-\text{:}no$.²⁷

E.g.:

- 1) $ay-$ + $e:ne$ 'to see' + $-\text{:}p\text{:}$ → $aye:ne:p\text{:}$ 'your having been seen'
- 2) $k\ddot{i}n-$ + $e:ta$ 'to hear' + $-\text{:}to\text{ŋ}$ → $k\ddot{i}ne:ta:to\text{ŋ}$ 'he hears them'
 $k\ddot{i}n-$ + $e:ta$ 'to hear' + $-\text{:}no$ → $k\ddot{i}ne:ta:no$ 'he hears him'.

B) Owing to the addition of suffixes with a single initial consonant, with the exception of the syntactical suffix $-r\ddot{i}$ and $-\text{:}se$, to

- 1) bases ending in $r\ddot{i}$, ru
- 2) bases ending in $p\ddot{i}$, $t\ddot{i}$, $k\ddot{i}$ or ku

As described in 2.1.1.1.1B2., the base suffers loss of the final syllable; and this is compensated by a lengthening of the vowel preceding the suffix, if it is not long already.

E.g.:

- 1) $ku:m\ddot{i}r\ddot{i}$ 'to be hungry' + $-ya$ → $ku:m\ddot{i}:ya$ 'I am hungry'
 $s-$ + $eta:puru$ 'to close' + $-ya$ → $seta:p\ddot{u}:ya$ 'I close it'
- 2) $epa:nop\ddot{i}$ 'to help' + $-ko$ → $epa:no:ko$ 'help him'
 $ay-$ + $uku:t\ddot{i}$ 'to know' + $-sa\text{ŋ}$ → $ayu:ku:sa\text{ŋ}$ 'he knows you'
 $ay-$ + $ene:p\ddot{i}$ 'to bring' + $-sa\text{ŋ}$ → $aye:ne:sa\text{ŋ}$ 'he brings you'.

Reduction of final syllable $r\ddot{i}$, ru (above, 1) does not lead to quite the same result as reduction of the other syllables (above, 2). While in the first case the reduction only can result in the lengthening of a

²⁷ Above, 2.2.1.

short vowel — as shown —, in the second case length generally alternates with *x* or *ʔ*:

epa:no:ko or *epa:nor̥ko* help him

ayu:ku:saŋ or *ayu:kur̥saŋ* he knows you

(see also the preceding section, 2.2.2.1A2.).

However, this is not true if the suffix begins with *s*, and follows a front vowel or *a*:

aye:ne:saŋ he brings you

Evidently, in these cases the general rules regarding sequences of front vowel or *a* + *x* + *s* retain their validity (2.1.1.4.).

C) Owing to the addition of the suffix *-wa:no*, with a long first vowel; which is also preceded by a long vowel because after a short vowel its co-alternant *-nano* always occurs.

E.g.:

e:ti 'name' + *-wa:no* → *oti:wa:no* 'names in general'²⁸

pi:ti 'wife' + *-wa:no* → *pi:wa:no* 'wives in general' (with loss of *ti*)²⁹

aki:ri 'plague, danger associated with a certain place' + *-wa:no* → *aki:wa:no* 'plagues, dangers in general' (with loss of *ri*).

D) Owing to the addition of prefixes containing one vowel, or the prefix *y-*.

The first vowel after the prefix is lengthened. This may, but need not, give rise to a vocalic structure in which two long vowels follow each other.

E.g.:

y- + *eko:sa* 'with' → *ye:ko:sa* 'with me'

ay- + *eko:sa* 'with' → *aye:ko:sa* 'with you'

si- + *kura:ma* 'to cure a.p.' + *-e* → *siku:ra:mae* 'I cure him'

a-n- + *epa:nopi* 'to help' + *-:po* → *ane:pa:nopi:po* 'a person helped by you'.

It turned out that in the case of a number of words prefixed in this way the regular form occurred by the side of the form with consecutive long vowels. Thus I found by the side of *isa:pa:toka* 'to take off his shoes' (*sapa:to* 'shoe' + prefix *i-* and *-ka*) the form *isa:pato:ka*, with regular vowel pattern; by the side of *kine:pa:no:saŋ* 'he helps him'

²⁸ On the shortening of the initial vowel of *e:ti*, see 2.1.3.1B.

²⁹ For the modification which the base undergoes, see 3.2.2.6.

(*epa:nopī* 'to help' + prefix *kīn-* and suffix *-sañ*) which contains three long vowels,³⁰ the regular form *kīne:pano:sañ* was found. My impression is that as words are more complex, a regular vocalic structure occurs more often by the side of the irregular one. On the other hand in words that are not very complex the irregular vocalic structure is the only or almost only one found.

Disturbance is never found in words containing the syntactic³¹ suffix *-rī*.

E.g.:

y- + *uma:rī* 'crown of feathers' + *-rī* → *yu:mari:rī* 'my crown of feathers'

a- + *sapa:to* 'shoe' + *-rī* → *asa:pato:rī* 'your shoe'

tī + *kuri:yara* 'canoe' + *-rī* → *tīku:riya:rārī* 'his own canoe'.

E) Owing to the addition of one prefix containing two vowels, or two prefixes each containing one vowel.

Vocalic structures with a long second vowel as well as a long third one result in certain cases by the addition of the following prefixes or sequences of prefixes: *kīni:-*, *kīsi:-*; *a-*, *i-*, *kī-* or *tī-* followed by *ni:-*; *kīn-* followed by *e:-*.

These irregular vocalic structures are found first of all in formations from bases which in their turn are formed, by suffixing with *-ma*, *-ta*, or *-ka*, from bivocalic words with an initial consonant.

E.g.:

kīni:- + *mo:rī* 'noise' + *-ka-tañ* → *kīni:mo:rīkatañ* 'he will make a noise'

kīni:- + *wa:re* 'song' + *-ta-tañ* → *kīni:wa:retatañ* 'he will sing'

kīn-e:- + *sa:pī* 'game' + *-ma-tañ* → *kīne:sa:pimatañ* 'he will play'.

In a few cases the regular vocalic pattern was found by the side of the irregular one, e.g. by the side of *kīni:wa:retatañ*, *kīni:ware:tatañ* 'he will sing'.

Furthermore the irregular pattern was always found to occur in the case of *pa:to* 'to cross something', e.g.

kīn-e:- + *pa:to* + *-yañ* → *kīne:pa:toyañ* 'he crosses (the river)'

i-ni:- + *pa:to* + *-rī-koñ* → *īni:pa:torikoñ* 'their crossing it'.

Apart from *pa:to*, a regular vocalic structure was found in all formations from bases with the structure CV:CV, in so far as they do

³⁰ Above, 2.2.3.1B.

³¹ On the nominal *rī*-process, see 3.2.1.

not contain one of the above-mentioned suffixes *-ma*, *-ta*, *-ka*.

E.g.:

kĩn-e:- + *ra:ma* 'to turn something' + *-taŋ* → *kĩne:rama:taŋ* 'he will return'.

2.2.3.2. WORDS WITH CLUSTER, WITHOUT DIPHTHONG, WITH THE STRUCTURE — || + — — INSTEAD OF — || — + —.

The irregular pattern occurs when a suffix containing one vowel, with the exception of the suffix *-ri*, is added to a trivocalic word with a cluster after the first vowel. E.g.:

aŋgi:sa 'shawl' + *-koŋ* → *aŋgi:sakoŋ* 'shawls'.

With *-ri* the regular pattern occurs:

aŋgi:sa 'shawl' + *-ri* → *yaŋgi:sa:ri* 'shawl'.

2.2.3.3. WORDS WITH CLUSTER, WITHOUT DIPHTHONG, CONTAINING ONE LONG VOWEL EXTRA

A) Vocalic structure + — || — instead of — — || —.

1) Owing to the addition of the seven suffixes of the type *-xpo*³² and of *-mbo*, to those bivocalic words which do not shorten their first vowel and lengthen their second vowel in suffixing.³³

E.g.:

e:ka 'to bite' + *-xpo* → *e:kaxpo* 'bitten'

ku:pi 'to bath' + *-ɔma* → *ku:piɔma* 'to bath thoroughly'

o:ma 'path' + *-mbo* → *o:mambo* 'former path'.

2) Through addition of the prefix *y-* to trivocalic bases with a cluster after the second vowel.³⁴

E.g.:

y- + *aruxka* 'to put in' → *ya:ruxka* 'to put me in something'

y- + *ereɔna* 'to faint' → *ye:reɔna* 'my fainting'

y- + *uwembo* 'belly' → *yu:wembo* 'my belly'.

In all these forms with the pattern + — — both *x* and *ɔ* can alternate with lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus we find side by side *e:kaxpo* and *e:ka:po* 'bitten'; *ku:piɔma* and *ku:pi:ma* 'to bath

³² Above, 2.2.1.

³³ See 2.1.3.1B1.

³⁴ After *y-* a short vowel is lengthened. See also 2.1.3.1B3.

thoroughly'; *ya:ruxka* and *ya:ru:ka* 'to put me in something'; *ye:reɔna* and *ye:re:na* 'my fainting'.

B) Vocalic structure — — || + — instead of — — || — —.

1) Through the addition of the seven suffixes of the type *-:po*, or through the addition of the suffixes *-:toŋ*, *-:se*, or *-:no* (see above, 2.2.1. and 2.2.3.1A.).

The irregular pattern occurs in the suffixing of (1) trivocalic words with a cluster after the second vowel, or (2) bivocalic words with an intervocalic cluster, provided that also a prefix containing one vowel is added.

E.g.:

aruxka 'to put into' + *-:po* → *aruxka:po* 'what has been put into'

n- + *aruxka* + *-:no* → *naruxka:no* 'does he put it into it?'

i- + *tunda* 'to arrive' + *-:po* → *itunda:po* 'his arrival'

kīn- + *uxta* 'to emerge' + *-:toŋ* → *kīnuxta:toŋ* 'they emerge'.

2) Through the addition of suffixes with a single initial consonant, with the exception of syntactical *-rī*, to bases ending in *pī*, *tī*, *kī*.³⁵

The irregular pattern occurs when one of the suffixes mentioned, and at the same time a prefix containing one vowel, are added to a trivocalic base with a cluster after the first vowel.

E.g.:

kīn- + *eɔmo:kī* 'to swallow' + *-:taŋ* → *kīneɔmo:taŋ* 'he will swallow it'

kīn- + *ambo:tī* 'to break' + *-:saŋ* → *kīnambo:saŋ* 'he breaks it'.

The long vowel may alternate with vowel plus *x*: *kīneɔmo:taŋ* or *kīneɔmoxtaŋ* 'he will swallow it', *kīnambo:saŋ* or *kīnamboxsaŋ* 'he breaks it'.³⁶

3) Through the addition of a prefix containing one vowel, to trivocalic words with a cluster after the first vowel.

E.g.:

ay- + *axka:rī* 'shadow' → *ayaxka:rī* 'your shadow'

wos- + *engu:na* 'to comb' → *wosengu:na* 'to comb each other'.

C) Vocalic pattern + — || — — instead of — — || — —.

The irregular pattern occurs when the syntactical suffix *-rī* is added

³⁵ See above, 2.2.3.1B. No cases with the other three final syllables (*rī*, *ru*, *ku*) are known to me.

³⁶ Unless there is a sequence of front vowel, or *a*., and *s*. See above, 2.2.3.1B.

to a trivocalic nominal base, with a cluster after the second vowel, and beginning with a consonant.

E.g.:

waramba 'mat' + *-ri* → *wa:rambari* '(my)³⁷ mat'.

2.2.3.4. OTHER IRREGULAR PATTERNS

The available material does not allow me to state whether similar irregularities occur in words formed from bases containing four or more vowels. Neither do I have sufficient material on the disturbance of patterns that contain a diphthong.

2.3. ALTERNATION OF *x*, *ɔ* AND VOWEL LENGTH IN TWO ENCLITICS

Separate mention must be made of the alternation of *ɔ* and *x* with vowel length in *ɔne*/*:ne* 'really, the real one', and *xkuru*/*:kuru* 'before-hand, already', which partly depends on the structure of the preceding word:³⁸

- 1) after monovocalic words, only *ɔne* and *xkuru* are used,
- 2) after words in which the last vowel but one is short, only *:ne* and *:kuru* are used.

In a number of cases both forms have been found, but I am not certain whether this is the case after all words that do not belong to 1 or 2.

The two rules are clearly illustrated by examples like the following:

- 1) *ipo:ko ro ɔne mandoŋ* 'really, they are indeed busy with it' (*ipo:ko mandoŋ* 'they are busy with it', *ro* 'indeed', *ɔne* 'really'),
- 2) *ipo:koro :ne mandoŋ* 'really, they follow after it' (*ipo:koro mandoŋ* 'they follow after it').

After the monovocalic word *ro*, only *ɔne* can occur, after *ipo:koro* only *:ne*.³⁹

³⁷ See note 14.

³⁸ In accordance with general sequential rules (2.1.1.4.), other alternants are found after words ending in an *i*-diphthong: *ne* and *kuru*; e.g. *ko:nei ne* 'I have really seen you'. They are also found after words with a final nasal, unless — as frequently happens — this nasal is lost in sandhi, in which case the other alternants are found: *kinixtaŋ ne*, *kinixta ɔne*, *kinixta :ne* 'he will definitely go'.

³⁹ It could be ascertained that these two sentences, and also similar pairs, were always distinguished by contrasting *ɔ* and vowel length. Removal of *ɔne*/*:ne* results in the loss of the distinction: there is no observable difference between *ipo:ko ro mandoŋ* 'they are indeed busy with it', and *ipo:koro mandoŋ* 'they are following it'.

The two enclitics must always occur together with some preceding word. This fact, and their dependence on this word according to rules 1 and 2, might convince us that actually *ʔne/:ne* and *xkuru/:kuru* are to be looked upon as suffixes. On the other hand, however, they may both be moved within the sentence. Because of this unclear status of the two elements, I have called them enclitics.

2.4. SANDHI

Because words succeed one another in time, certain contact phenomena may occur. The extent to which such phenomena are found undoubtedly depends on the speed of speaking; the emotional state of the speaker and different styles of speech probably playing a part too. In order to denote the different degrees in which I found the sandhi phenomena in my taped material, I shall use the following terms: 1) as a rule, 2) often, and 3) sometimes. The sandhi phenomena which occur are shortening and assimilation.

2.4.1. SHORTENING

A) If a final vowel is followed by an initial vowel other than *i* of *i:* the final vowel is often dropped. E.g.:

na:pa eyuxto:me → *na:p eyuxto:me* 'in order to answer in his turn'
po:müü aixku:ru → *po:m aixku:ru* 'pepper-water'.

If the final vowel that is lost was potentially bearer of the accent, the initial vowel of the second word takes its place as such. E.g.:

aweixtopó eya:toyá:toŋ → *aweixtop éyatoyá:toŋ* 'they give your dwelling place a name'.

B) If the initial vowel of the second word is *i* of *i:* this vowel is dropped as a rule. E.g.:

po:po i:ko → *po:po ko* 'put it on the ground'
auxto ixko:rī → *auxto xko:rī* 'the leaking of a house'.

Contrary to rule A), a few cases were found where initial vowels other than *i* and *i:* were dropped:

we:we undi → *we:we ndi* 'tree-trunk'
mirexkoko aiye → *mirexkoko ye* 'to fetch the young man'.

I do not know whether there is freedom here, or whether the rules applying here were not fully traced by me.

C) If initial *i* is followed by *x* or *ʔ*, this whole sound-fragment is often elided. E.g.:

e:marĩ iʔko:toyaŋ → *e:marĩ ko:toyaŋ* 'he barred his way'.

In one case elision occurred when a consonant preceded:

tu:nambo am iʔkaiye → *tu:nambo am kaiye* 'to empty a small pool'.

D) A final vowel and a consonant preceding it are sometimes dropped when the following word begins with a consonant. E.g.:

moxka:ro pita:nikoŋ → *moxka: pita:nikoŋ* 'the children'.

E) A final nasal and a vowel preceding it are sometimes dropped when the following word begins with a vowel. E.g.:

yauráŋ ane:tá:pa meixtoŋ → *yaur áne:tá:pa meixtoŋ* 'you (pl.) have not listened to my words'.

In this case, too, the initial vowel takes over the capacity of bearing the accent from the elided vowel; cf. above, A).

Final *ŋ* is often elided when the following word begins with a nasal or *w*. E.g.:

asa:nokoŋ naŋ → *asa:noko naŋ* '(where) is your (pl.) mother?'

a:mukoŋ wo:ya:toŋ → *a:muko wo:ya:toŋ* 'they killed some'.

Again, final *ŋ* is sometimes elided before the enclitic *ʔne/ :ne* and before *ʔwa/ :wa*.⁴⁰ E.g.:

kinixtaŋ ʔne → *kinixta ʔne* 'he will definitely go'

asa:nokoŋ :wa → *asa:noko :wa* 'by your (pl.) mother'.

2.4.2. ASSIMILATION

A) If a final nasal *ŋ* or *ŋ* is followed by initial *p*, *t* or *k*, the result is as a rule the sequences *mb*, *nd* or *ŋg*. E.g.:

e:raŋ ʔo:ko → *e:ram bo:ko* 'with a guard, provided with a guard'

auraŋ ʔo:ko → *auram bo:ko* 'with speech'

e:raŋ ta → *e:ran da* 'near a guard'

auraŋ ta → *auran da* 'in a language'

e:raŋ ke → *e:raŋ ge* 'by means of a guard'

auraŋ ke → *auraŋ ge* 'by means of speaking'.

In one case, however, I found one of the clusters of voiceless con-

⁴⁰ See 2.3. and 2.1.1.4.3B.

sonant and homorganic nasal, which rarely occur within word-forms, viz *mp*.⁴¹

po:tome po:re → *po:tom po:re* 'very big'.

2.5. ACCENT

2.5.1. RULES OF ACCENTUATION

The accent is a prominence which — it seems to me — is effected in the first place, if not solely, by pitch variations.⁴²

Accentuation in Carib is regular. The position of the accent mainly depends on the number of long vowels, diphthongs and VCC-sequences occurring in the word. From an accentual point of view there is a clear equivalence among these three.

1) If in a given word only one long vowel, diphthong or VCC-sequence occurs, then the accent always falls on the last vowel.

In the available material the following types are represented:

L	<i>o:ró</i>	<i>tono:ró</i>	<i>sī:také</i>	<i>kure:wakó</i>
D	<i>aimá</i>	<i>okoipó</i>	<i>saitaké</i>	<i>amüyaró</i>
CC	<i>aʒmó</i>	<i>uwembó</i>	<i>oxtokó</i>	<i>karaxsawá</i>

When a diphthong immediately precedes a CC-sequence, such a segment (diphthong-consonant-consonant) counts as one for the position of the accent: *poingó*, *itauxti*,^{42*} *samiixtaké*.

2) If two long vowels, diphthongs, or VCC-sequences occur in a word, the accent always falls on the second of these segments.

As in 1), their position is irrelevant. In the available material the following types are represented:

L	L	<i>ka:rawá:si</i>	<i>asa:pará:pi</i>	<i>ye:ká:no</i>	<i>kíne:ká:no</i>	—	—
L	D	—	<i>tuwo:tapóitopo</i>	<i>wo:riiri</i>	<i>apu:kúita</i>	<i>kura:siwái</i>	—
L	CC	<i>po:tirimbo</i>	<i>aye:marimbo</i>	<i>yu:wémbó</i>	<i>aye:kúndi</i>	—	—
D	D	—	—	<i>weiyáine</i>	<i>anaipáine</i>	—	<i>kisaimái</i>
D	L	<i>auwanó:pono</i>	<i>amiikiri:koñ</i>	<i>aipá:yarwa</i>	<i>kinaiyá:toñ</i>	—	—
D	CC	—	—	<i>wiinómbó</i>	<i>tuweiyémbó</i>	—	—
CC	CC	<i>timbakixka</i>	<i>iyandikixpa</i>	<i>saʒrómbó</i>	<i>etaxpómbó</i>	—	—
CC	L	<i>ixpori:ri</i>	<i>anaʒwaná:ri</i>	<i>wiñgó:si</i>	<i>awongá:toñ</i>	—	—
CC	D	<i>tixposúike</i>	—	<i>tuʒwéiye</i>	<i>ipindóine</i>	<i>kisambotii</i>	—

⁴¹ See 2.1.1.1.1.

⁴² D. L. Bolinger, A Theory of Pitch Accent in English, *Word* 14 (1958), p. 109-149. H. Mol and E. M. Uhlenbeck, The Linguistic Relevance of Intensity in Stress, *Lingua* V (1956) p. 205-213.

^{42*} For typographical reasons, ï had to be used to render accentuated i.

The available material does not allow us in all cases to state with certainty in how far the open spaces in the table are due to gaps in the material, or reflect certain structure rules. The latter is certainly the case in most of the open spaces in the fifth and the sixth column, which show the second, accented, segment in final position. All combinations with a long vowel or VCC-sequence for their second segment are excluded here, since these segments cannot occur finally.⁴³

When a diphthong stands immediately before a CC-sequence, such a segment (diphthong-consonant-consonant) is again counted as one. E.g.: *kuixkasé:re*, *auxtá:ri*, *kiteixtá:toŋ*, *auxtómbó*, *amüxpómbó*, *kina:-müixtaŋ*.

In three cases I noticed a second accent, besides the accent according to the rule: *ini:pá:torikoŋ*, *aye:pá:nopîri*, *mitu:wá:romatáke*. The fact that the accented vowel is followed by a fairly large number of vowels (3, resp. 4) will have played a part in these cases.

These three words also occur, however, without the second accent, without there being any difference in meaning.

No difference in degree between the two prominences was noticed by me.

3) If *three* long vowels, diphthongs, or VCC-sequences occur in a word, the second long vowel, diphthong or VCC-sequence bears the accent in 185 out of the 228 cases in my material.

If the available material is arranged according to type, the situation is as follows:⁴⁴

⁴³ See 2.1.2.1.2. and 2.1.2.2.3.

⁴⁴ Of the 9 conceivable combinations with D as the first of the three segments only D L L has been included in the table, this being the only combination that was found (in *kinaiŋa:sa:toŋ*).

Accent on the second long vowel, diphthong, or VCC-sequence

L	L	L	—	<i>kine:yá:toya:toŋ</i> <i>kini:momó:sa:toŋ</i> <i>kine:pori:toma:no</i>	} (43)	<i>ye:pó:ta:toŋ</i> (4)	<i>kine:ká:no:saŋ</i> (38)
L	L	D	<i>wi:topó:saine</i>	—	—	<i>i:pó:paine</i> (2)	<i>aye:kó:saine</i> (8)
L	L	CC	<i>na:nakó:nimbo</i> (5)	<i>kine:patá:yaxtoyaŋ</i> (12)	—	<i>mo:yá:nimbo</i> (2)	<i>kine:ká:nundaŋ</i> (3)
L	D	L	—	<i>kini:kawáima:toŋ</i>	—	—	<i>kine:máiya:toŋ</i> (2)
L	CC	L	<i>mi:pokiŋma:no</i> ^{44a}	<i>kine:pindo:ya:toŋ</i> <i>kino:numénga:no</i>	} (8)	—	<i>kini:túnda:no</i> (14)
L	D	D	—	—	—	—	—
L	CC	CC	—	<i>títu:waróŋgexka</i> (4)	—	—	<i>kino:tándiŋmoyaŋ</i>
L	D	CC	—	—	—	—	<i>aya:múikaxpo</i>
L	CC	D	—	—	—	—	<i>kini:kóŋmaiyaŋ</i> (2)
D	L	L	—	—	—	—	<i>kinai:pá:sa:toŋ</i>
CC	CC	CC	<i>ŋmatixsanimbo</i>	—	—	<i>yextúŋgexpa</i>	<i>irombixpombo</i>
CC	CC	L	<i>yandiŋmoya:koŋ</i> <i>nexkiríndoma:toŋ</i>	} (3)	—	—	—
CC	CC	D	—	—	—	—	—
CC	L	CC	<i>ŋmakó:nimbo</i>	<i>íwoŋníki:rimbo</i> (2)	<i>oxpé:maxpa</i> (2)	—	—
CC	D	CC	—	—	—	—	—
CC	L	L	<i>kíndopó:sa:toŋ</i> <i>extú:mika:senaŋ</i>	} (3)	<i>kisixkiri:mato:me</i> (7)	<i>oŋmá:ka:toŋ</i> (3)	<i>kinoŋná:sa:toŋ</i> (7)
CC	D	D	—	—	—	—	—
CC	L	D	—	—	—	—	—
CC	D	L	—	—	—	—	<i>kinuŋméiya:toŋ</i>
				(15)	(78)	(14)	(78)

Unlike the preceding tables, in this table figures have been added to indicate the number of cases of each type. The material appears to be predominantly concentrated in a few types: more than 2/3 belong to the types with a LLL, LLCC or LCCL structure. Of most types only a few cases, or sometimes only one case, have been found. In the latter case no figure has been added.

The large number of open spaces shows that often not a single case was found. I find it impossible to say in which cases this is due to a shortage of material and in which cases it may reflect a morphological rule.

Let us now consider the 43 cases in which the accent was *not* found on the second long vowel, diphthong or VCC-sequence. In these cases the *third* segment turns out to be the bearer of the accent.

The available material, arranged according to type, is set out in the table below.⁴⁵

^{44a} *i* = accentuated *i*.

⁴⁵ As not one case was found, the table does not take into account the 9 conceivable combinations with D as the first of the three segments.

Accent on the third long vowel, diphthong, or VCC-sequence

L	L	L	—	<i>kĩne:pori:tomá:no</i>	} (2)	<i>ye:ma:mí:natake</i>	<i>eni:rĩ:má:po</i> (11)
				<i>kĩni:mo:romá:no</i>			
L	L	D	—	—		—	—
L	L	CC	<i>tĩ:toto:kóɔme</i> (2)	<i>iwo:tĩ:totóxkoɔ</i>		<i>we:i:pómbó</i> (2)	<i>epo:rĩ:pómbó</i> (3)
L	D	L	—	—		—	<i>weto:kaitó:po</i>
L	CC	L	—	<i>uwa:nopotoxkó:me</i>	} (2)	—	<i>kini:tundá:no</i> (5)
				<i>ike:ixtotó:me</i>			
L	D	D	—	—		—	<i>kĩna:pĩmėiyaɔ</i>
L	CC	CC	—	—		<i>ĩ:rĩxpómbó</i> (2)	<i>kĩno:tandĩɔmoyaɔ</i> ^{45a} (2)
L	D	CC	—	—		—	—
L	CC	D	—	—		—	—
CC	CC	CC	—	—		—	—
CC	CC	L	<i>woxtuɔmeré:maɔ</i>	—		<i>koɔmangá:toɔ</i> (3)	—
CC	CC	D	—	—		—	—
CC	L	CC	—	<i>iweiɔto:konimbo</i> (3)		—	—
CC	D	CC	—	—		—	—
CC	L	L	—	—		<i>aɔno:ká:toɔ</i>	—
CC	D	D	—	—		—	—
CC	L	D	—	—		—	—
CC	D	L	—	—		—	—
				(3)	(8)	(9)	(23)

4) In the 26 cases where four long vowels, diphthongs or VCC-sequences occur the accent falls on the second segment in 19 cases, on the third segment in 5 cases, and on the fourth segment in 2 cases.

The material is set out below. It confirms again the equivalence of L, D and VCC with regard to the accentual pattern.

Accent on the second long vowel, diphthong, or VCC-sequence

L	L	L	L	<i>se:kapó:tĩ:ma:po</i>	<i>kĩni:yé:nono:sa:toɔ</i> (3)	—	<i>kino:pó:po:sa:toɔ</i>	
L	L	CC	L	—	<i>kĩni:pá:samaɔma:toɔ</i>	} (9)	—	
					<i>kĩni:koró:tĩɔma:no</i>			—
					<i>kinu:wapó:nondoya:toɔ</i>			—
					<i>ani:tó:ripaxpaine</i>			—
L	L	CC	D	—	<i>kĩni:putúɔtoɔma:no</i>	—	—	
L	CC	CC	L	—	<i>kĩnixkotó:po:sa:toɔ</i>	—	—	
CC	L	L	L	—	—	—	—	
CC	L	L	CC	—	—	<i>ambó:tĩ:pombo</i>	—	
CC	CC	L	CC	—	—	—	<i>tuwoxtándĩ:mombo</i>	
				(1)	(15)	(1)	(2)	

^{45a} *ĩ* = accentuated *ĩ*.

Accent on the third long vowel, diphthong, or VCC-sequence

L	L	L	L	—	<i>tuwe:sa:pimá:ma:sañ</i>	} (2)	—	—
					<i>kino:tamo:ké:sa:toñ</i>			
L	L	L	D	—	—		—	<i>ane:yu:kú:paine</i>
L	CC	CC	L	—	<i>kino:tandiñmoya:toñ</i>		—	<i>tuwo:pe:ká:tiñma</i>
							(3)	(2)

Accent on the fourth long vowel, diphthong, or VCC-sequence

L	L	CC	L	—	<i>kino:tamo:képiñmá:toñ</i>	} (2)	—	—
					<i>uwa:nopo:toxkó:me</i>			

Let us now examine the data listed in 1-4.

We found that in words containing one long vowel, diphthong or VCC-sequence a simple rule applied: the accent always falls on the last vowel. The same is true of words containing two of these segments: in these words the accent always falls on the second segment.

A complicated situation was found to exist, however, in words that contain more than two of these segments. It is true that in these words, too, the accent was usually found to fall on the second segment, but accent on the third segment was also found to occur, and even — although only in a few cases — accent on the fourth segment.

We must now ask ourselves how this situation is to be accounted for. There are three possibilities.

- All cases, both those with the accent on the second and those with the accent on the third or fourth segment, are subject to a set of rules applying to all of them, so that certain types have one accentual pattern and other types another.
- The rule is that the accent falls on the second segment; the 50 cases in which this is not the case form an exception to the rule. It will then be necessary to see whether this exceptional position can be accounted for.
- Only in words containing more than two segments the accent can fall either on the second, or on the third, or on the fourth segment.

Comparison of the tables in 3) and 4) shows that the first of these three alternatives can be rejected. In 3) we find no less than 14 types that have the accent both on the second and on the third segment. Besides, among these 14 types there happen to be the most frequent ones: out of the total number of 228 cases no fewer than 178 belong to a type in which both accentual patterns were found.

The same is true of 4) : 20 of the 26 cases belong to a type in which accent of the second, as well as of the third and fourth segment was found.

The second possibility cannot be excluded. However, the number of exceptions to the rule is on the high side : 43 out of a total of 228 cases with three segments, and 7 out of a total of 26 with four segments. Moreover none of them have special features of any kind to account for their supposedly exceptional character.

Finally, the third alternative is supported by the fact that a number of doublets were found: *kine:pori:toma:no* and *kine:pori:tomá:no*, *kini:túnda:no* and *kini:tundá:no*, *kini:túnda:toŋ* and *kini:tundá:toŋ*, *kino:tándiŋmoyaŋ* and *kino:tandíŋmoyaŋ*. It is true that the number of these doublets is small, but this might be explained by the way in which the data were collected: they were taken from a limited text-material, in which almost every word occurred once or at the most a few times. In this connexion it is perhaps significant that in *kini:túnda:no* 'he arrived' and *kini:tundá:toŋ* 'they arrived', words which occur rather frequently in stories, both accentual patterns were found.

The supposed freedom of position does not exclude a preference for one of the segments. Such a preference would then be reflected in the strong predominance of cases with the accent on the second segment.⁴⁶

We now arrive at our final conclusion. If we choose the last of the three alternatives (a free accent in words with 3 or 4 segments) as being the most plausible, it becomes possible to formulate a generally valid accentual rule.

It runs as follows: in each word the accent falls on a long vowel, diphthong or VCC-sequence, but never on the *first* segment of this type that occurs in the word. This rule applies to words with one segment, as well as to those with two, three or four segments:

in words containing only one long vowel, diphthong or VCC-sequence and therefore lacking a segment of this kind to bear the accent in accordance with the rule, the final vowel bears the accent;

in words containing a second segment the accent always falls on this segment;

⁴⁶ They constitute 81 % of the total number of cases. This preference for the second segment is possibly less strong in words in which three segments follow each other immediately without being interrupted by a short vowel (in the tables: the third and fourth columns). In these words the second segment is accented in almost 75 % of the cases, while for the words in the first two columns the percentage is almost 90 %.

in words which contain two or more segments besides the first the accent may fall on any one of these.

2.5.2. EXPRESSIVE ACCENT

A shifting of the accent to the first vowel has an expressive value, as it has in certain other languages. A small number of cases were found, both of the type with one, two and three long vowels and VCC-sequences.

Examples:

para:naki:rī wa:ra káre:ta po:ko kaxtaine 'if we had paper like the Europeans (*kare:ta* 'paper')'; *támpoko:rī* 'tremendous!'; *toko:kī wó:pe:matopombo* 'the dangerous place where (the monster) T. used to go to the river'.

The second example, *támpoko:rī*, strikingly illustrates the affective character of the shift of the accent. This word *támpoko:rī*, which means 'my old man', practically always has the accent on the first vowel when it is used in the sense 'tremendous!'.⁴⁷

In one case I noticed a second accent besides the expressive accent: *i:ro po:ko mīne:pu wóti:toxpómbó iwo:tī:totóxkoŋ* 'on that occasion a flight of stairs came down (*wóti:toxpómbó* came down, i.e. from Heaven) as a means for them to go down by'.

Finally it should be noted that also a first vowel that is short (and is not followed by CC) can bear this expressive accent.

2.5.3. ACCENT IN CERTAIN TYPES OF SENTENCE

In a number of cases⁴⁷ the accent was found on the last vowel of words which normally, in accordance with the rule formulated in 2.5.1., bear the accent on a vowel other than the last.

It is almost certain that this different position of the accent is related to phenomena which belong to the larger units, word-group and sentence. As, however, my investigation hardly concerned itself with these larger units, it is not possible for me to ascertain whether this shift of accent is subject to an absolute rule, in the sense that the shift invariably occurs in certain types of sentence.

I only found that all the sentences in my material in which the shift of accent occurs clearly agree in one respect: they are all characterized

⁴⁷ 27 cases with two long vowels, diphthongs or VCC-sequences, 6 cases with three such segments and 1 case with four such segments.

by a strong melodic rise on or towards the final vowel with the deviating accent, a rise that seems to indicate a certain incompleteness. In most cases this indication of incompleteness is as it were a prelude to a supplementation by a word-group or word in the same sentence; in other cases such a supplementation is lacking. We shall now consider some sentences of both these types.⁴⁸

1) Supplementation in the same sentence.

We find two word-groups, either placed beside each other in an enumeration, or connected with each other in a syntactic construction. In both cases we perceive by the melodic rise, which occurs in the first group,⁴⁹ that the rest of the sentence will provide an addition or a supplementation.

Between the two word-groups I generally perceived (in 21 out of the 26 cases) a clear pause, here indicated by /. E.g. *apo:ri ìmboka:tóŋ / isei:ri ìmboká:toŋ* 'they untied her arms / they untied her legs' (*ìmboka:toŋ* 'they untied').

In the following case there was no pause. The boundary between the two groups which — unlike the preceding 'enumeration' case — stand in a syntactic relation to each other, is indicated by —. *a:mukóŋ wo:ya:tóŋ — òna:noká:rìkoŋ* 'some they killed — to roast (them)'. The word with deviant accentuation here is *wo:ya:tóŋ* 'they killed'; *a:mukoŋ* means 'some', *òna:noká:rìkoŋ* 'what is roasted by them'.

The melodic rise usually occurs at the end of the first word-group, but not in all cases. In the following case the phenomenon occurred in the very first word, and the word-group does not end until after *mi:ya ðwa* 'to the other side': *tuwe:pa:to:sáŋ me ro mi:ya ðwa / pa:-poró maniðwí / kerengá:toŋ* 'when they had thus passed through it to the other side / all the prickle-fish / they pulled off' (*tuwe:pa:to:sáŋ* 'they had passed through it').

It is probable that in cases like these the words between the rise and the pause never have a perceptible accent.

⁴⁸ The melodic rise, and the expression of a certain 'incompleteness' are strongly reminiscent of what Bolinger, writing about English, has called the B-accent; in o.c. pp. 147, 143.

⁴⁹ This rise and the relation between two word-groups as described here, also occur when no shift of accent is possible because the word is always accented on the last vowel, or even contains only one vowel. E.g. *o:ruwá yu:ru titunda máŋ, kasi:ri su:ka:toŋ kaba* 'the third hour just began, when they already sieved the cassava beer'.

2) No supplementation in the same sentence.

Two kinds of cases are known to me.

In the first place the melodic rise with shift of accent was found in two sentences, expressing a question, respectively a request. In the first sentence the phenomenon occurs in *ayu:pa:kái* 'have you woken up', in the second sentence in *ipo:mangakó* 'stir it up': "*ayu:pa:kái he ya:konó*" *kĩnga:no i:wa* "have you woken up, my friend", he said to him'. "*waxto ipo:mangakó*" *kĩnga:no* "stir up the fire", she said'.

I think that, unlike the preceding cases, the rise does not link up the first group with the second group. It seems more probable that the anticipation expressed by the rise concerns the intended reaction of the listener.

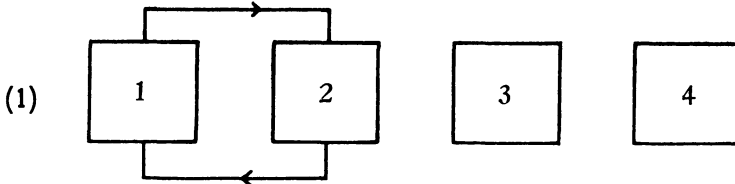
Secondly the phenomenon was observed more than once in sentences which, in the course of a story, merely indicated that the journey was continued: *irombo kĩarsa:tóŋ* 'then they set out', *te kĩarsa:tóŋ na:pa* 'then they set out again'. In these cases too, the rise can very well be explained as expressing incompleteness, hinting at the continuation of the story.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.0. INTRODUCTION

Morphological investigation is primarily concerned with the systematic formal-semantic correlations which may exist in the lexicon of a language. It brings to light morphological categories, i.e. series of words between which there is semantic and formal proportionality.¹ Besides these morphological categories proper, categories of another type may be found, which I shall call syntactical categories. Instead of a formal-semantic proportionality, they show a formal-syntactic proportionality only: in opposition to other categories of words they share both a formal feature and a potential for entering into certain syntactic constructions. All these proportionalities are best described in terms of a process terminology.

In the second place, morphological investigation has to answer the question to what extent and in what way the categories are interrelated, constituting systems which are generally called parts of speech or (morphological) word classes. In a number of languages these systems can be thought of as being largely autonomous, but for the frequently occurring relations that are dealt with under the headings of 'transposition' or hypostasis. This morphological model may be represented by the following diagram:²



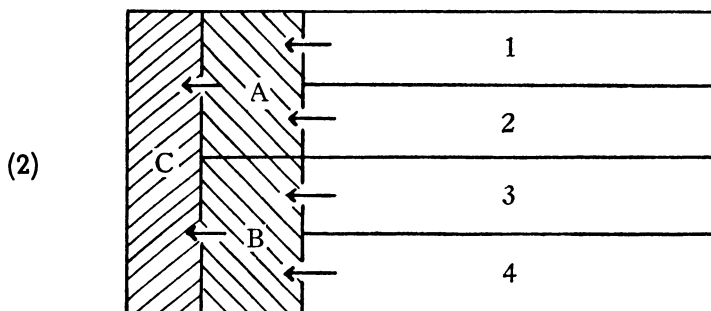
It is certain, however, that in other languages the word classes show a smaller or larger amount of overlapping, because they mutually

¹ See E. M. Uhlenbeck, The study of word classes in Javanese, *Lingua* 3 (1953), pp. 322-354. For the term proportionality see E. M. Uhlenbeck, Verb Structure in Javanese, in *For Roman Jakobson*, The Hague, 1956, p. 569, and J. Kurylowicz, *The inflectional categories of Indo-European* p. 37 (1964).

² An example of such a description is Schultink's study of the Dutch adjectives (H. Schultink, *De morfologische valentie van het ongelede adjectief in modern Nederlands*, Den Haag 1962). For the terms part of speech and word class see also A. W. de Groot, Structural linguistics and word classes, *Lingua* 1 (1948), pp. 427-500, and Uhlenbeck's articles cited in note 1.

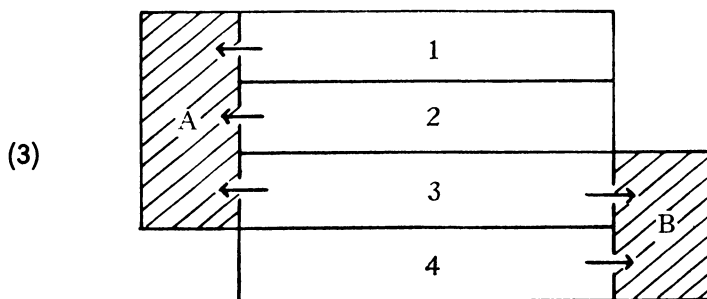
share a part of their categories. In such cases there are at least two other conceivable models of description.³ The hierarchic model would apply in those cases where systems form part of more-embracing super-systems. These super-systems in their turn may, of course, form part of still larger wholes.

This might be symbolized as follows:



There are here, too, four different systems of categories which, however, partly overlap. A represents categories which are found in system 1 as well as in system 2, B represents categories which are found both in system 3 and in system 4, while C represents categories that occur in all four systems.⁴

The chain-model would apply in those cases where some relatively autonomous system shares some of its categories with certain other systems, and some of its other categories again with other systems. What I mean may be illustrated by the following diagram:

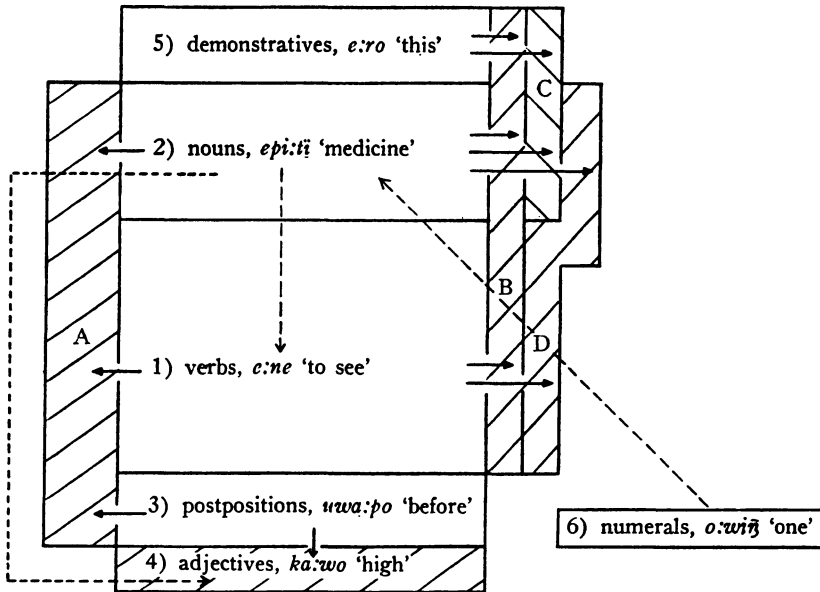


³ The present descriptive study is not the place to raise the theoretical question how many different models it might be possible to conceive. The question as to how far the first model has been developed under the influence of the traditional theory of word classes also cannot be gone into here.

⁴ Hockett assumes that as a rule a hierarchic presentation of the stem classes described by him is possible. See C. F. Hockett, *A course in modern linguistics*, New York 1958, pp. 221-222.

Of the four systems, 1, 2 and 3 share certain categories, on the one hand, represented by A. On the other hand, 3 shares some other categories with 4, represented by B. It is this double affinity of 3 which makes it impossible to arrange the systems in a hierarchic structure.

Now it seems to me that the most adequate method of description for Carib is a combination of methods (1) and (3). The main conclusion of my morphological investigation is that in this language there are six morphological systems to be distinguished, one of which, that of the numerals, is clearly separated from the other five: those of the verbs, nouns, postpositions, adjectives and demonstratives; which together can be adequately described with the aid of model (3). Thus, a schematic picture of the morphology of Carib may be given in the following diagram:



In the diagram the dimensions of the areas give an approximate indication of the extent of the six systems and of the degree to which they overlap.

Let us now first consider the five systems of categories (or word classes, the term that will be used from now on) which, while showing differences, at the same time share some unmistakable agreements. As to the differences, it is only the verbs (1) that have, for instance, categories of tense and mood, only the nouns (2) that have a general-

ising category with the suffix *-wa:no*, only the postpositions (3) that have a reflexive category with *as-*, only the postpositions and the adjectives (3, 4) that have a *no*-category, the members of which designate persons or things characterized by a property which is designated by the corresponding monomorphemic word,⁵ while only the demonstratives (5) have a category with the suffix *-baʃ*, the members of which characterize persons or things as belonging to a certain kind. Examples:

- (1) *e:ne* to see *sene:ya* I see it
 (2) *epi:ti* medicine *opi:wa:no* medicines in general⁶
 (3) *uwa:po* before *asu:wa:po* before each other
 (3) *uwa:po* before *uwa:pono* one who is before
 (4) *ka:wo* high *ka:wono* a high one
 (5) *e:ro* this *e:robaʃ* one of this kind.

Of the agreements the main one is the presence of the same set of five personal prefix-categories in the verbs (1), nouns (2) and postpositions (3); these categories are represented in the diagram by area A. The following examples show one of these five categories, viz. the one with the value 'second person', formed by prefixing with *ay-*:

- (1) *e:ne* to see *aye:ne* to see you
 (2) *epi:ti* medicine *aye:pi:ti* your medicine
 (3) *uwa:po* before *ayu:wa:po* before you

The fact that the postpositions take part in these personal formations, while the adjectives do not, is one reason for regarding them as different word classes. The second reason is that, whereas the reflexive *as*-category⁷ occurs with the postpositions, it does not with the adjectives. On the other hand, the adjectives do not have any categories which are not found in the postpositions as well. This is indicated in the diagram by the shading of the bottom area, shared by the adjectives (4) and the postpositions (3). Whereas the adjectives are limited to this bottom area, the postpositions belong to the two bottom areas, as well as to the large area A, shared with (1) and (2).

⁵ It is true that this *no*-category is not only found with postpositions and adjectives but also with the nouns and verbs; with the latter, however, the *no*-process requires combination with certain other morphological processes, whose occurrence does not depend on *-no*.

⁶ Suffixing is combined with modification of the base, consisting in loss of the final syllable and replacement of *e* by *o*.

⁷ As discussed above.

The classes of verbs (1), nouns (2) and demonstratives (5) agree in having a category formed by suffixing with *-mbo*, the members of which share a value 'distance, discrepancy', either in a temporal or in some other sense (area B in the diagram). Demonstratives (5) and nouns (2) agree in having a plural formed by suffixing with *-koŋ* (area C), nouns (2) and verbs (1) agree in having a category of negation, formed by suffixing with *-xpa* or *-ɖma* (area D). Examples:⁸

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------|------------------|--|
| (1) | <i>e:ne</i> | to see | <i>enembo</i> | away from seeing |
| | | | <i>enexpa</i> | unseen |
| (2) | <i>epi:vi</i> | medicine | <i>epi:vimbo</i> | medicine that is not effective or no longer used |
| | | | <i>epi:vikoŋ</i> | medicines |
| | | | <i>epi:viɖma</i> | without medicine |
| (5) | <i>e:ro</i> | this | <i>e:rombo</i> | this, no longer present |
| | | | <i>e:rokoŋ</i> | these |

Class 6, that of the numerals, differs from the other five, in having, among other things, a category with the suffix *-mboto* 'by . . . at a time'; e.g.:

- (6) *o:wiŋ* one *o:wimboto* once.

Whether there is any agreement between (6) and other classes is open to doubt. The numerals have a category with the suffix *-no*, which appears to show semantic agreement with the *no*-category found in the postpositions as well as in the adjectives, discussed above. Examples:

- (6) *o:ko* two *o:kono* the second
 (3) *uwa:po* before *uwa:pono* one who is before
 (4) *ka:wo* high *ka:wono* a high one.

An important difference between the numeral *no*-formations and those on the basis of adjectives and postpositions is, however, that the former have all the morphological and syntactic properties of the monomorphemic nouns, whereas this is not the case with the adjectives and postpositions. It would therefore be better to regard the numeral *no*-category as a transposition to the class of nouns (represented in the diagram by a long arrow) than to identify it with the *no*-category in (3) and (4).

⁸ The plural is also found in 1, both the plural and *-mbo* are also found in 3 and 4. In these classes, however, they require combination with certain other morphological processes, whose occurrence does not depend on that of the plural process or the *mbo*-process.

The diagram shows two other regular possibilities of transposition by means of affixes, both from nouns to verbs and adjectives, respectively. Examples:

- (2) *epi:vi* medicine → (1) *epi:nopi* to treat with a medicine
 → (4) *topi:ne* with curative power.

At the end of this survey of the interrelations between the word classes it should be noted that no account has been taken a) of categories of limited size, i.e. categories that show correlates with only a small number of members of the other categories belonging to the same class, and b) of categories which, though occurring in a certain class, are not in direct correlation with the monomorphemic category. Without these restrictions a slightly different picture would have emerged. In a few cases a delimitation would have been brought out more clearly: thus there is a category of direction with *-naka* which is only found with some of the postpositions (class 3) and the adjectives (class 4), and a category of extent with *-ro* which is only found with some postpositions (class 3). As against this, however, it may be said that the picture of inner coherence would have tended to emerge even more clearly. It will frequently be found, for instance, that categories which are productive in one word class also occur in another word class, but then only in a few isolated cases. Furthermore, the *no-* and especially the plural- and the *mbo-*categories occur in practically all classes when the restriction of b) above is not made.

Finally it should be noted that the demonstratives and the numerals are so-called closed classes, i.e. they show a closed system of formal-semantic relations and consequently cannot freely take in new elements.⁹ The postpositions and adjectives, although not closed in this sense, nevertheless comprise a relatively small number of words: in each of these two classes not more than a few dozen mono-morphemic words were found. The verbal class far exceeds all the other classes in the number of its categories.¹⁰

⁹ E. M. Uhlenbeck, *Word classes*, p. 336, 341.

¹⁰ A number of words does not belong to any of the morphological systems, and will therefore not be discussed here. Further research doubtless will show that semantically and syntactically they belong still to a number of different types. In the word index these words without morphological valence are marked with a (P). Apart from proper names and interjections, there are e.g. words like *naʎneŋ* 'first', *ro* 'indeed', *ko:ro* 'please', *ko* 'interrogative particle'.

3.1. VERBS

3.1.0. INTRODUCTION

From the preliminary, general survey given in this introduction it will become sufficiently clear that not in all verbs exactly the same morphological correlations are found. One group of verbs, which we shall call intransitive, generally shows a smaller number of correlations than the other, transitive, verbs. Conversely, the latter lack a correlation which some of the intransitive verbs have.

The following subjects will be discussed, in this order:

3.1.1. The monomorphematic category.

3.1.2. Syntactic categories, comprising verbs that are semantically completely identical with the corresponding monomorphematic verbs, thus, apart from their form, differing from these only in syntactic valence.

3.1.3. Polymorphematic categories, comprising verbs that both formally and semantically differ from the corresponding monomorphematic verbs.

3.1.4. The defective verb *wā* 'I am'.

As 3.1.3. is by far the longest section and forms the nucleus of the present chapter, a survey of its contents and arrangement will be given in what follows. Part of the polymorphematic categories may be described as the product of the application of a certain process to the monomorphematic verbs or, if certain processes cannot be directly applied to these, to polymorphematic verbs, but only to those of the simplest possible morphological structure. The total number of categories, however, is many times larger than the total number of processes, owing to the fact that it is possible to combine the latter (as in *booklet*, *books*, *booklets*, where two processes yield three categories). Now the division of 3.1.3. into nine sub-sections aims at giving the clearest possible picture of this combination of the various processes:

- 1) categories formed by processes which can occur in combination with others without any restriction,
- 2, 3, 4) three groups of categories formed by processes each of which can or must occur in combination with its own set of personal prefixes,
- 5, 6, 7) categories formed by processes which cannot occur in combination with personal processes,
- 8) a category formed by a process of transposition, i.e. a process which can occur in combination with processes belonging to a system other than the verbal one,

9) categories formed by combination of processes discussed in 1, with those discussed in 2-8.

I now give a survey of the contents of the first eight sub-sections of 3.1.3. The processes are designated by means of one of their affix-alternants or other formal modifications. A provisional indication of their semantic value is added.

1. On the basis of monomorphemic verbs the following affixations may occur, either in combination or not in combination with all the other verbal processes.

- we-* action is not aimed at another person or thing
- wos-* reciprocity
- potĩ* repetition
- kepĩ* non-continuation
- ɔma* completion
- po* causation
- nopĩ* direct causation.

Affixation with *we-* is confined to the transitive verbs, that with *wos-* to transitive verbs, the monomorphemic base beginning with *e* or *e:*. The result is verbs with the same morphological possibilities as monomorphemic intransitive verbs. All the affixations mentioned here may also occur in combination with each other, but *we-* cannot be combined with *wos-*, nor can *-po* with *-nopĩ*.

2. On the basis of monomorphemic verbs prefixing may occur with

<i>zero</i>	with transitive verbs:	aimed at,	with intransitive:	originating	with 1st pers.
<i>a-</i>	„	„	„	„	„
<i>i-</i>	„	„	„	„	„
<i>tĩ-</i>	„	„	„	„	„
<i>kĩ-</i>	„	„	„	„	„

originating with 2nd pers.

originating with 3rd pers.

originating with 3rd pers. reflex.

originating with 1st + 2nd pers.

Each of these personal prefixes can, as well as with those mentioned under 1., be combined with the following affixes:

- mbo* removal, distance, discrepancy

- ni-* the person referred to does not undergo the action, but performs it
- xpo* completed activity, origin or aim of activity
- xto* unable, not willing to
- xpa* negation
- topo* means, place to
- nen* performer.

It should be noted, however, that the negation-process with *-xpa*, although it occurs singly with all verbs, can be combined with a personal prefix only in the case of transitive verbs. Both the *ni-* and the *nen*-process are wholly confined to transitive verbs. All these affixations, both personal and non-personal, can also occur singly. We shall see that some of the seven non-personal affixations can also be combined with each other.

Together with some of the processes, further affixation is possible: personal processes except 1st person, and the non-personal ones, except *-mbo*, may be combined with

- ne* plural,
- the process with *-xpo* may be combined with
- to* when,
- the process with *-topo* may be combined with
- me* as,
- mi-* of all of us,
- the process with *-xpa* and that with *-me* may be combined with
- no* possessor of characteristic.

3. On the basis of monomorphemic transitive verbs eight personal prefixations can occur, and four on the basis of monomorphemic intransitive verbs:

with transitive verbs

<i>si-</i>	aimed at 3rd pers., and originating with 1st pers.
<i>mi-</i>	„ „ 3rd „ „ „ „ 2nd „
<i>kisi:-</i>	„ „ 3rd „ „ „ „ 1st + 2nd pers.
<i>kï-</i>	„ „ 1st or 2nd „ „ „ „ 2nd or 1st pers.
<i>y-</i>	„ „ 1st „ „ „ „ 3rd pers.
<i>a-</i>	„ „ 2nd „ „ „ „ 3rd „
<i>kini:-</i>	„ „ 3rd „ „ „ „ 3rd „
<i>zero</i>	„ „ 3rd „ „ „ „ 3rd „

with intransitive verbs

<i>kĩ-</i>	originating with 1st + 2nd pers.
<i>y-</i>	„ „ 1st pers.
<i>a-</i>	„ „ 2nd „
<i>kini:-</i>	„ „ 3rd „

Each of these prefixations may occur in combination with the affixations sub 1, and must occur in combination with one of the following processes:

<i>-ya</i>	event, not activity
<i>-yakoñ</i>	before speech event
<i>-take</i>	after speech event ¹¹
<i>-yaine</i>	durative
<i>-to</i>	before speech event, durative
<i>diphthongization</i> <i>of the final</i> <i>vowel of the base</i>	desired, affirmed
<i>-ñ</i>	desired, affirmed to have taken place before speech event
<i>:-se</i>	desired to happen after speech event
<i>-rĩ</i>	not really happened

All these combinations of a personal and a temporal/modal process may be further combined with

-ne plural,

some of them may also be combined with

-ñ question,

only the optative/affirmative process with diphthongization may be further combined with

-tamĩ- leaving in order to perform the activity referred to.

4. On the basis of monomorphemic transitive verbs two personal prefixations may occur, and one prefixation may occur on the basis of monomorphemic intransitive verbs:

with transitive verbs

<i>kĩ-</i>	aimed at 1st pers., originating with 2nd pers.
<i>i-</i>	„ „ 3rd „ „ „ 2nd „

¹¹ Roman Jakobson, *Shifters, verbal categories and the Russian verb*, Russian language project Harvard University, 1957, p. 3.

with intransitive verbs

a- originating with 2nd pers.

Each of these prefixations may occur in combination with the affixations mentioned under 1, and must occur in combination with one of the following processes:

-ko command
diphthongization prohibition
of the final
vowel of the base

All combinations of a personal process with the imperative or prohibitive one may be further combined with:

-ne plural.

Only the imperative combination may be further combined with

-tamī- leaving in order to perform the activity referred to.

5. On the basis of monomorphematic verbs affixation may occur with *t-* involved in the activity referred to.

This process may be combined with the affixations mentioned under 1, and with:

-mbo before speech event
-to before speech event, durative.

6. On the basis of monomorphematic verbs affixation may occur with *-toto* always occupied with.

This process may be combined with the affixations mentioned under 1, and with:

-ne plural
-xpa negation.

7. On the basis of monomorphematic verbs affixation may occur with *-no* activity, with the exclusion of reference to persons or things involved.

This process only may be combined with the affixations mentioned under 1.

8. Transposition to the adjectives takes place through affixation with *-se* just undergone (with transitive verbs), just performed (with intransitive verbs).

In the processes enumerated above numerous alternation-phenomena

occur. Sometimes the determining factor is found in the further morphological structure of the word; thus, for instance the interrogative category of the 1st and 2nd persons is formed by means of suffixing, but that of the 3rd person by prefixing. More often the alternation is determined by the form of the base. The rules that obtain in such cases pertain to the nature of initial or final phonemes, while the reduction of the final syllables *pī*, *tī*, *kī*, *mī*, *rī*, *ku* and *ru* as a result of suffixation, discussed in the chapter on morphonology, is also in many cases attended by the occurrence of a special suffix-alternant (2.1.1.1.1B2.).

Besides these special alternations, which are confined to certain categories, widespread alternation occurs as a result of the general rules of word structure, which were discussed in chapter 2. Of special importance are the rules distributing long and short vowels, in accordance with a limited number of patterns, over the word-form (2.1.3. and 2.2.3.). Except in special cases, such general rules will not be mentioned again in the present chapter; they may be found in chapter 2.

3.1.1. THE MONOMORPHEMATIC CATEGORY

Although monomorphematic verbs invariably occur together with other elements, they are independent words. This can be ascertained on account of the possibility of insertion of other words between the verb and the element it is combined with, and sometimes by the possibility to make these two change places.¹²

Two types of grouping with monomorphematic verbs occur:

1) Groups consisting of a transitive or intransitive verb preceded by a syntactically directly connected word or word-group. Examples:

a) with transitive *wo* 'to kill', *kinīksa:toñ moxko a:rawa:ta wo* 'they were going (*kinīksa:toñ*) to kill the howling-monkey (*moxko a:rawa:ta*)'; with insertion of *tine:ka:ritirikoñ* 'mentioned by them': *kinīksa:toñ moxko a:rawa:ta tine:ka:ritirikoñ wo* 'they were going to kill the howling-monkey mentioned by them'.

b) with intransitive *wotixto* 'to come down', *moxko a:rawa:ta wotixto se neixtoñ* 'they wanted (*se neixtoñ*) the howling-monkey to come

¹² A. Reichling, *De taal: haar wetten en haar wezen*. In: *Verzamelde studies over hedendaagse problemen der taalwetenschap*³, Zwolle 1965, pp. 33-35.
R. H. Robins, *General linguistics. An introductory survey*², London 1965, pp. 193, 194.

down'; with insertion of *païro* 'also, too': *moxko a:rawa:ta païro wotixto se neixtoŋ* 'they wanted the howling-monkey to come down too'.

2) Groups consisting of a monomorphemic intransitive verb¹³ and one of the following verbs: *wo:pï* 'to come', *wi:to* 'to go', *tunda* 'to arrive', *woxpe:ma* 'to go to the water's edge', or a formation on the basis of one of these four. The monomorphemic verb may either precede or follow the other verb: *u:wa kinoxsaŋ, kinoxsaŋ u:wa* 'he is coming to dance' (*kinoxsaŋ* 'he is coming', formed on the basis of *wo:pï*). Moreover, there is again the possibility of insertion: *u:wa naŋneŋ kinoxsaŋ* 'he is coming to dance first (*naŋneŋ*)'.

It will be necessary, also with a view to the later semantic description of certain polymorphemic categories, to say something about the meaning of the monomorphemic verbs.

The transitive verbs all designate an action aimed at certain persons or things and originating with certain other persons or things. The former are referred to by a word or a word-group which always must precede the monomorphemic verb in the sentence, and with which it is syntactically directly connected; the latter are referred to by some other word or word-group in the sentence. This twofold involvement with the persons or things concerned in the action designated by the verb is, as we shall see later on, removed by certain morphological processes (3.1.3.1.1. and 2.), while it is modified by others (3.1.3.2.3.), and expressed formally-semantically by others by means of personal prefixes which each refer to two different persons (3.1.3.3.1.).

The twofold involvement is lacking in the monomorphemic intransitive verbs. A word or a word-group which precedes an intransitive verb in a direct syntactic connection, does not refer to the person or thing undergoing the action but to the one who performs it. Cf., e.g. *moxko a:rawa:ta wo* 'the killing of the howling-monkey' (transitive), *moxko a:rawa:ta wotixto* 'the coming down of the howling-monkey' (intransitive).

3.1.2. SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES

3.1.2.1. THE *se-* AND *ri-*CATEGORIES

The members of the two syntactic categories with *-ri* and *-se* have

¹³ Not all monomorphemic verbs can occur in groups of this type; the verbs with reduction of the final syllable have a special formation with *-se*, see below, 3.1.2.1.

the same meaning as the corresponding monomorphemic verbs, and differ from these only in form and syntactic valence.

Ri-formations are found by the side of all monomorphemic verbs, except those which themselves end in *ri* or *ru*. They are formed by means of the alternants

- 1) *-ri*
- 2) *-ru*.

The first is found when the final vowel is not *u*, the second when it is.

Examples:

- 1) *e:ne, ene:ri* 'to see'
- 2) *uxku, uxkuru* 'to try'.

Verbs lacking the category are, e.g. *eni:ri* 'to drink', *ayu:ru* 'to roast'.

Se-formations are only found with verbs in which, when suffixing takes place, the final syllable of the base is reduced, and with verbs ending in *i* immediately preceded by a vowel. They are formed by means of the alternants

- 1) *-se*
- 2) *-ye*.

The first is found when the final syllable is *p̃i*, *t̃i*, *k̃i* or *ku*; the second when it is *ri* or *mi*, and also when the base ends in a vowel followed by *i*. When a final syllable *mi* is reduced the vowel preceding *-ye* is replaced by the corresponding *i*-diphthong. When the base ends in *i* immediately preceded by a vowel, this sequence is replaced by a diphthong having these two vowels for its components.

Examples:

- 1) *epa:nopi, epa:no:se* to help
- 2) *ku:miri, ku:mi:ye* to starve
eka:numi, eka:nuiye to run
apo:i, apo:iye to seize.

No semantic differences could be found between the corresponding verbs in the monomorphemic, the *ri*- and the *se*- categories. There are, however, clear differences in syntactic valence. For a description of these differences it is necessary to distinguish the following syntactic groups:

- I) Groups consisting of a transitive or intransitive verb, preceded by a directly connected word or word-group and followed by *se* 'wanting to'.
- II) Groups consisting of a transitive verb preceded by a directly connected word or word-group, or an intransitive verb without such a

word or group, both followed by *wo:pī* 'to come', *wi:to* 'to go', *tunda* 'to arrive', *woxpe:ma* 'to go the water's edge', or a formation formed on the basis of these verbs.

III) All other groups.

In groups of type I it is always the monomorphemic verb that is used; in groups of type II members of the *se*-category, if there are any; in groups of type III members of the *rī*-category, if there are any. If these categories are lacking, monomorphemic verbs occur in II and III, too.

The following examples contain verbs with the *rī*- but without the *se*-category: 1) *e:ne* 'to see' (trans.), 2) *u:wa* 'to dance' (intrans.); verbs with both *rī*- and *se*-category: 3) *ene:pī* 'to bring', 4) *aḏno:pī* 'to become full'; and a verb with *se*- but without *rī*-category: 5) *eni:rī* 'to drink'.

I, monomorphemic category:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) <i>moxko ayu:mī e:ne se maḥ</i> | he wants to see, call on your father
(<i>moxko ayu:mī</i> 'your father', <i>se maḥ</i> 'he wants') |
| 2) <i>moxko ayu:mī u:wa se maḥ</i> | he wants your father to dance |
| 3) <i>are:pa am ene:pī se maḥ</i> | he wants to bring some cassava-bread
(<i>are:pa am</i> 'some cassava-bread') |
| 4) <i>mo:ro timi:rikenḡ aḏno:pī se maḥ</i> | he wants the river-boat to take cargo
(<i>mo:ro timi:rikenḡ</i> 'the river-boat') |
| 5) <i>kasi:ri am eni:rī se maḥ</i> | he wants to drink some cassava-beer
(<i>kasi:ri am</i> 'some cassava-beer') |

II, *se*-category:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 3) <i>are:pa am ene:se kinoxsaḥ</i> | he is coming to bring some cassava-bread |
| 4) <i>aḏno:se kinoxsaḥ</i> | it is coming to take cargo |
| 5) <i>kasi:ri am eni:ye kinoxsaḥ</i> | he is coming to drink some cassava-beer |

II, monomorphemic category:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) <i>moxko ayu:mī e:ne kinoxsaḥ</i> | he is coming to see your father |
| 2) <i>u:wa kinoxsaḥ</i> | he is coming to dance |

III, *rī*-category:

In all other groups the *rī*-category, if there is any, is used. Remarkable is its use with *sexpa* 'not wanting', since the base of this negative formation, *se* 'wanting to', is combined with the monomorphemic verb.

Examples:

- 1) *mo:ko ayu:mī ene:rī sexpa maŋ* he does not want to see, call on
your father
- 2) „ „ *uwa:rī* „ „ he does not want your father to
dance
- 3) *are:pa am ene:pīrī* „ „ he does not want to bring some
cassava-bread
- 4) *mo:ro timi:riken aʎnopī:rī*
sexpa maŋ he does not want the river-boat to
take cargo.

Equally remarkable is the use of the *rī*-category with intransitives in combination with *wo:pī* 'to come', etc., when (unlike II) an intransitive verb is directly connected with a preceding word:

ye:mūrī e:mere:pīrī nī:toŋ my daughter's becoming foolish has gone; i.e. my daughter has become foolish and has gone away (*ye:mūrī* 'my daughter', *e:mere:pī* 'to become foolish', *nī:toŋ* 'has gone').

The *rī*-category is also used with postpositions:

tombata:rī ene:rī po:na so that this face should not be seen (*tombata:rī* 'his face', *po:na* 'against, lest').

Furthermore, the *rī*-category is used with verbs that are combined with verbs other than those mentioned in II above (*wo:pī*, etc.):

mo:ko yu:mī wo:rī sene:yakoŋ I saw my father's murder (*mo:ko yu:mī* 'my father', *wo* 'to kill', *sene:yakoŋ* 'I saw').

Finally we find intransitive verbs with *-rī* in direct connection with a preceding word or word-group, in sentences containing no other words. These sentences strike one as being somewhat elliptical: I have only heard them used in situations which seemed to call for concise expression. In all these cases there is a brief statement of a fact at the moment of its occurrence:

kusa:rī wepaxkarī deer appearing! (*kusa:rī* 'deer', *wepaxka* 'to appear')

mo:ro timi:riken aʎnopī:rī the boat is full!

III, monomorphemic category:

- 5) *kasi:rī am enī:rī sexpa maŋ* he does not want to drink cassava-beer.

3.1.2.2. THE CATEGORIES WITH VOWEL-ALTERNATION *e/o*

A purely syntactic function is also performed by a process with vowel alternation, in which initial *e* is replaced by *o*. It only occurs in combination with three processes:

- 1) *-xpo*, see 3.1.3.2.4.
- 2) *-topo*, see 3.1.3.2.7.
- 3) *-nen*, see 3.1.3.2.8.

Examples:

- 1) *e:ta* 'to hear', *etaxpo/otaxpo* 'the having been heard, something that has been heard'; *ema:mī* 'to live, dwell'; *ema:mīxpo/oma:mīxpo* 'the having dwelled, one who has dwelled'.
- 2) *e:ta* 'to hear', *eta:topo/ota:topo* 'place, means of hearing'; *ema:mī* 'to dwell'; *emandopo/omandopo* 'dwelling-place, village'.
- 3) *e:ne* 'to see', *ene:nen/one:nen* 'supervisor'.

The words with *e* are used in direct syntactic connection with a preceding word or word-group; in other cases those with *o* are used.

Examples:

- 1) *ayauran etaxpo ke iḍwa, e:ro suku:sa* 'because your words have been heard by me, I know this' (*ayauran* 'your words', *ke* 'with, because', *iḍwa* 'by me', *e:ro suku:sa* 'I know this'); but:

otaxpo am senu:mengae 'I am thinking about something that has been heard, about a rumour' (*am* 'a', *senu:mengae* 'I am thinking about something').

- 2) *pa:pa emandopo ḍwa wīxsa* 'I am going to where father lives' (*ḍwa* 'to', *wīxsa* 'I am going'); but:

omandopo ḍwa kīni:tunda:no 'he reached a dwelling-place, a village' (*ḍwa* 'to', *kīni:tunda:no* 'he arrived, reached').

3.1.3. THE POLYMORPHEMATIC CATEGORIES

3.1.3.1. PROCESSES ON THE BASIS OF MONOMORPHEMATIC VERBS, WHICH MAY OCCUR IN COMBINATION WITH ALL OTHER VERBAL PROCESSES

3.1.3.1.1. *The we-category*

This category is only formed on the basis of transitive monomorphemic verbs. The following alternants occur:

- 1) *we-*
- 2) *w-*
- 3) *wot-*

The first is found when the monomorphemic verb begins with a consonant or with *i*, the second when it begins with *e* or *e:*, the third when it begins with a vowel other than the three mentioned. Initial *i* is replaced by the prefix. Initial *e* and *e:* are replaced by *o*, *o:* after the prefix.

Examples:

- 1) *ku:pi* 'to bath', *weku:pi* 'to bath (oneself)'; *iɔmo* 'to break', *weɔmo* 'to break (intrans.), fall to pieces';
- 2) *e:ma* 'to throw', *wo:ma* 'to fall'; *e:me:pa* 'to teach', *wome:pa* 'to learn';
- 3) *andiɔmo* 'to seat', *wotandiɔmo* 'to sit'.

Contrary to the above rules, in thirteen cases with an initial consonant not *we-* was found but *wox-* or *woɔ-* (the first or the second alternant according to the general rules for the sequence of consonants, see 2.1.1.1.1.).

These exceptional formations were found to occur by the side of three monosyllabic verbs: *wo* 'to hit', *woɔwo* 'to knock oneself'; *ka* 'get out, draw out', *woxka* 'to come out'; *kɪ* 'to rasp', *woxkɪ* 'to be rasping'; I do not know whether this prefixing perhaps occurs with all monosyllabic verbs. Five cases belong to a sound-symbolic transposition type with *-ka* (3.2.2.7.2. note), viz. *koroika* 'to cause to graze (against)' *woxkoroika* 'to slip', *pi:ka* 'to peel', *woxpi:ka* 'to skin oneself', *iɪŋga* 'to pull tight', *woxiɪŋga* 'to stretch oneself'; *toro:roka* 'to cause to roll over', *woxtoro:roka* 'to roll over'; *kerɛŋga* 'to pull loose', *woxkerɛŋga* 'to let go, leave'. By the side of one verb of this type, however, a regular *we-*formation was found: *tifiɪxka* 'to make tremble', *weti:tifiɪxka* 'to tremble, be afraid'. The remaining five cases do not belong to any particular type, either formally, or semantically, or grammatically; they are *ka:pɪ* 'to make', *woxka:pɪ* 'to come into being'; *pa:pɪ* 'to strew', *woxpa:pɪ* 'to flutter down'; *pe:kɪ* 'to cause to sink', *woxpe:kɪ* 'to sink'; *po:mɪ* 'to plant', *woxpo:mɪ* 'to be planting'; *pe:ma* 'to take to the water's edge'; *woxpe:ma* 'to go to the water's edge'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be defined as 'what is designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verbs, with

a one-way involvement instead of a twofold involvement of persons or things concerned in the action'.

As has already become clear from the above examples, in translation this 'simple involvement' may be expressed in various ways, partly depending on the semantic value of the base. For an adequate rendering it may sometimes be necessary to explicitly indicate in the translation the absence of a specified object of the activity; e.g. on the basis of *exke:i* 'to bake' (certain things mentioned in the sentence or assumed to be known), *woxke:i* 'to be baking' (without it being mentioned in the sentence or assumed to be known what the woman in question is baking). In other cases a rendering in reflexive terms may be preferable, e.g. on the basis of *e:ne* 'to see', *wo:ne* 'to be visible, show oneself'; on the basis of *e:ma* 'to throw', *wo:ma* 'to fall'; on the basis of *apo:i* 'to seize', *wota:poi* 'to seize each other, to get stuck together'.

Finally it should be noted that all *we*-formations have the same morphological possibilities as monomorphemic *intransitive* verbs, although they are formed only on the basis of transitive verbs.

3.1.3.1.2. *The wos-category*

This category is only formed on the basis of transitive monomorphemic verbs beginning with *e* or *e:*. The formation takes place by means of the prefix *wos-*.

Example:

e:ne 'to see', *wose:ne* 'to look at each other, at oneself, to be visible'.

The semantic value correlating with *wos-* is very similar to that of *we-* discussed in the preceding section. The only difference is that, when by the side of the monomorphemic verb both a *wos-* and a *we-* formation occurs, the feature 'reciprocity' is invariably lacking in the semantic value of the latter, whereas this feature may be present in the formation with *wos-*. Example: on the basis of *e:ne* 'to see', *wo:ne* 'to be visible', *wose:ne* 'to look at each other, at oneself, to be visible'. Nevertheless, the feature 'reciprocity' is present in the semantic value of *we-*, as is clear, for instance, from *wota:poi* 'to get stuck together'. As far as I could tell, however, this feature is actualized only when there is no counterpart with *wos-*.

In accordance with this I could, in cases where the semantic value of the monomorphemic verb with initial *e* or *e:* does not lend itself to a relation of reciprocity, discover no semantic difference between

the *we-* and the *wos-*form; e.g., on the basis of *exke:i* 'to bake (certain things mentioned or assumed to be known)', *woxke:i* and *wosexkei* both with the meaning 'to be baking' (without it being mentioned or assumed to be known what is being baked).

The members of the *wos-*category as well as those of the *we-*category have the same possibilities of affixation as the monomorphematic intransitive verbs.

3.1.3.1.3. *The poti-category*

The formation of the members of this category takes place by means of the suffix *-poti*.

Examples:

e:ne 'to see', *ene:poti* 'to see repeatedly'; *we:i* 'to become', *weipoti* 'to become repeatedly'.

The syllable *ti* in *-poti* is reduced when other suffixes beginning with one consonant are added, except *-ri* and *-se* (2.1.1.1.1B2), just as this is the case with a final syllable *ti* in monomorphematic verbs. Example: *ene:poti* 'to see repeatedly', and by the side of it the *se-*formation *ene:po:se*, but the *ri-*formation *ene:poti:ri* (above, 3.1.2.1.).

The meaning of the words belonging to this category may be defined as: 'the multiple occurrence of what is designated by the corresponding monomorphematic verbs'. The 'multiplicity' may mean that the activity 1) consists in a repeated action, 2) takes place simultaneously in different places, 3) is gradually taking place, 4) is continually taking place.

Examples: 1) *uxku* 'to try', *uxkupo:ti* 'to try again and again'; *amo:mĩ* 'to bring in', *amomboti* 'to bring in again and again', e.g., in *tuwo:tori amombo:saŋ* 'he brought his meat in' (and in doing so had to walk to and fro a number of times; *tuwo:tori* 'his meat');

2) *wo:kuta* 'to brew', *wo:kuta:poti* 'to brew everywhere', i.e. for celebrations brewing goes on everywhere in the various houses;

3) *ewa:ruma:mĩ* 'to grow dark', *ewarumamboti* 'to grow darker and darker', e.g. because of an approaching shower;

4) *wose:ne* 'to be seen' (*wos-*formation on the basis of *e:ne* 'to see'), *wose:nepo:ti* the same, continually, all the time', e.g. *kito:sene:poti* 'remain unseen all the time, see to it that you remain invisible'.

3.1.3.1.4. *The kep̄i-category*

The formation of the members of this category takes place by means of the suffix *-kep̄i*.

Examples:

e:ne 'to see', *ene:kep̄i* 'to see no longer'; *ku:m̄ir̄i* 'to be hungry', *ku:m̄i:-kep̄i* 'to be no longer hungry', with reduction of the final syllable of *ku:m̄ir̄i*.

The syllable *p̄i* of the suffix, like the syllable *t̄i* in *-pot̄i*, is in its turn subject to reduction; e.g. by the side of *upi:kep̄i* 'to search no longer' we find the *se*-formation *upi:ke:se* (2.1.2.1.).

The meaning of the words belonging to this category may be defined as: 'to cease doing what is designated by the corresponding monomorphemic words'. Examples: *aki:ma* 'to tease', *aki:make:p̄i* 'to stop teasing'; *eka:num̄i* 'to run', *eka:nun̄gep̄i* 'to stop running'.

3.1.3.1.5. *The ɔ̄ma-category*

The formation of the members of this category takes place by means of the suffix *-ɔ̄ma*.

Examples:

e:ne 'to see', *eneɔ̄ma* 'to see completely'; *iɔ̄ma:t̄i* 'to run out', *iɔ̄mat̄iɔ̄ma* 'to run out completely'.

The meaning of the words belonging to this category may be defined as 'the completeness of what the corresponding monomorphemic verbs designate'. This 'completeness' may mean that the activity 1) is performed completely, 2) had already been performed, 3) was deemed sufficient by the speaker, 4) completely concerns all the persons or things involved.

Examples of 1): *eni:r̄i* 'to drink', *eni:r̄iɔ̄ma* 'to drink up completely'; *se:kapo:t̄i* 'to tear to shreds' (formation with *-pot̄i* on the basis of *se:ka* 'to tear'), *se:kapo:t̄iɔ̄ma* 'to tear completely to shreds'; *ema:m̄i* 'to see day breaking', *ema:m̄iɔ̄ma* 'to see dawn turning into daylight'. Example of 2): *pu:tuxto* 'to provide with a war-club', *putuxtoɔ̄ma* 'the same, beforehand', in: *k̄ini:pu:tuxtoɔ̄ma:no iwo:to:man̄* 'he had given him a club beforehand, already before they left home, in order to kill him' (*iwo:to:man̄* 'to kill him').

Example of 3): *w̄i:topo:t̄i* 'to go repeatedly' (formation with *-pot̄i* on the basis of *w̄i:to* 'to go'), *w̄i:topo:t̄iɔ̄ma* 'the same, enough now', in: *para:muru ɔ̄wa w̄i:topo:t̄iɔ̄mai, iseɔ̄me ye:pa:nop̄ixpa ne:i* 'I have

surely been to Paramaribo often enough, but he (the doctor there) has not been able to help me' (*para:muru ɔwa* 'to Paramaribo', *iseɔme* 'but, yet', *ye:pa:nopixpa ne:i* 'he has not helped me').

Examples of 4): *no* 'to leave', *noɔma* 'to leave a person altogether', or 'to leave everybody'; *wo:mĩ* 'to go in', *wo:mĩɔma* 'to go in altogether'.

3.1.3.1.6. *The po-category*

The formation of the members of this category takes place by means of the alternants

- 1) *-po*
- 2) *-nopo*
- 3) *-ka*.

As a rule 1) is found; 2) is found, however, when the base is an intransitive verb ending in *a*, and 3) when the base is an intransitive verb whose final syllable is reduced when suffixing takes place.

Examples:

- 1) *e:ne* 'to see', *ene:po* 'to show'; *wotixto* 'to descend', *wotixtopo* 'to make descend'; *ene:pĩ* 'to bring', *enexpo* 'to make bring' (with reduction of the final syllable);
- 2) *tunda* 'to arrive', *tundano:po* 'to cause to arrive';¹⁴
- 3) *uta:pĩ* 'to get lost', *utaxka* 'to cause to get lost'; *eto:ri* 'to burn oneself', *eto:ka* 'to roast something'; *awo:mĩ* 'to get up, rise', *awonga* 'to beg to get up'.

The meaning of the words in the *po*-category may be defined as 'to make another person or other persons perform, what the corresponding monomorphemic verb designates'. In those members of the category which correlate with an intransitive verb ending in *a* there is a semantic limitation, due to the fact that they also have the *nopi*-formations, to be discussed in the next section, by their side. When both these categories are available, the *po*-category is confined to denoting indirect influence, and the *nopi*-category to denoting direct causation; see below, 3.1.3.1.7.

Examples: *wo* 'to strike, kill', *wo:po* 'to cause to strike, kill'; *u:wa* 'to dance', *uwa:nopo* 'to invite to dance'.

¹⁴ Monomorphemic intransitive verbs in *-a* are few in number. However, by suffixation of nouns with transposition-suffixes ending in *a* a large number of intransitive verbs are formed which have exactly the same morphological properties as the monomorphemic type *tunda*; e.g., on the basis of *o:nu* 'eye', *enu:ta* 'to become aware of'; see 3.2.2.7.1.

All the members of the *po*-category have the morphological possibilities of monomorphemic transitive verbs, whether they are formed on the basis of a transitive verb or an intransitive verb.

A peculiarity of the *po*-process is that it is the only one in this language capable of being used twice, provided the base is an intransitive verb with reduction of the final syllable. We find, for instance, on the basis of *mo:tī* 'to cook' (intrans.), *moxka* 'to cook the meal', in accordance with 3), and on the basis of this, *moxka:po* 'to let someone cook the meal', in accordance with 1).

3.1.3.1.7. *The nopī-category*

This category is only formed on the basis of intransitive verbs ending in *a*.¹⁵ The formation of its members takes place by means of the suffix *-nopī*.

The meaning of the verbs with *-nopī* may be defined as 'by means of active intervention or influence make (an)other person(s) perform what is designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verbs'. The difference with the members of the *po*-category discussed above is that in the latter the person who, or the thing which, ultimately performs the activity has a certain autonomy with respect to the causer of the action, which autonomy is lacking in the verbs in *-nopī*. Examples: *uwa:nopī* 'to make dance' (said of a partner whom one holds and teaches the steps), *uwa:nopo* 'to make dance' (by means of an invitation, by making music, or by clearing a space in the house); *eta:nopī* 'to make squeak, whistle' (e.g., by squeezing a toy-animal), *eta:nopo* 'to make whistle' (a real bird, e.g., by taking good care of it, by showing it how to whistle, etc.).

The final syllable *pī*, like *pī* in *-kepī* and *tī* in *-potī*, is subject to reduction when certain suffixes are added; e.g., on the basis of *tundano:pī* 'to cause to arrive', by suffixing with *-saŋ*, *tura:ri tundano:saŋ* 'he caused his weeping to arrive' (he arrived weeping).

All members of the category, like those of the *po*-category, have the same morphological possibilities as monomorphemic transitive verbs, although all of them are formed on the basis of intransitive verbs.

3.1.3.1.8. *Combination of the processes with we-, wos-, -potī, -kepī, -ŋma, -po and -nopī*

Combination of the two processes of prefixing (*we-*, *wos-*) is impossible.

¹⁵ The same verbs which form the *po*-category with *-nopo* instead of *-po*.

The same applies to the combination of two suffixation-processes, viz. the two causative processes with *-po*, *-nopî*, respectively. Moreover, the process with *-nopî* can only be applied to bases that are intransitive and end in *a*. With these restrictions, however, each of the five suffix-processes occurs in combination with each of the other four.

We find a difference in the order of derivation,¹⁶ i.e. when, for instance, suffixation with *-kepî* takes place first and then suffixation with *-potî*, the result is a word which is formally and semantically different from the word produced when the same processes of suffixation take place in the reverse order. Cf., e.g., the two words formed on the basis of *paraka* 'to bring out': *parakakexpotî* (*-kepî*, next *-potî*, with reduction of the syllable *pî*), with the meaning 'to repeatedly stop bringing out', and *parakapoxkepî* (*-potî*, next *-kepî*, with reduction of *tî*), with the meaning 'to stop bringing out repeatedly'.

On the basis of *paraka* twelve words can be formed by means of repeated suffixation, as is shown in the following diagram. The horizontal rows contain formations of the same primary derivation, and the vertical columns formations of the same secondary derivation.

<i>paraka-</i>	<i>-potî</i>	<i>-kepî</i>	<i>-ɔma</i>	<i>-po</i>
<i>-potî-</i>	—	<i>parkapoxkepî</i>	<i>parkapo:tîɔma</i>	<i>parkapoxpo</i>
<i>-kepî-</i>	<i>parkakexpotî</i>	—	<i>parkake:pîɔma</i>	<i>parkakexpo</i>
<i>-ɔma-</i>	<i>parkaɔmapotî</i>	<i>parkaɔmakepî</i>	—	<i>parkaɔmapo</i>
<i>-po-</i>	<i>parkapo:potî</i>	<i>parkapo:kepî</i>	<i>parkapoɔma</i>	—

<i>paraka-</i>	<i>-potî</i>	<i>-kepî</i>	<i>-ɔma</i>	<i>-po</i>
<i>-potî-</i>	—	to stop bringing out repeatedly	to completely bring out repeatedly	to cause a person to bring out repeatedly
<i>-kepî-</i>	to repeatedly stop bringing out	—	to completely stop bringing out	to cause a person to stop bringing out
<i>-ɔma-</i>	to repeatedly bring out completely	to stop bringing out completely	—	to cause a person to bring out completely
<i>-po-</i>	repeatedly to cause a person to bring out	to stop causing a person to bring out	to completely cause a person to bring out	—

¹⁶ H. Schultink, *De morfologische valentie van het ongelede adjectief in modern Nederlands*. Den Haag 1962, pp. 24-29.

The second causative process, that with *-nopī*, was completely absent in the paradigm, because it cannot be applied to transitive verbs such as *paṛka*. Moreover it is confined to bases with final *a*, so that only the following four combinations with *-nopī* are found:

<i>uxta-</i>	<i>-poī</i>	<i>-kepī</i>	<i>-ḡma</i>	<i>-nopī</i>
<i>-nopī-</i>	<i>uxtanoṣpoī</i>	<i>uxtanoṣkepī</i>	<i>uxtano:ḡma</i>	—
<i>-ḡma-</i>	<i>(uxtaḡmapoī)</i>	<i>(uxtaḡmakepī)</i>	—	<i>uxtaḡmanopī</i>

<i>uxta-</i>	<i>-poī</i>	<i>-kepī</i>	<i>-ḡma</i>	<i>-nopī</i>
<i>-nopī-</i>	repeatedly to cause to emerge	to stop making to emerge	to completely cause to emerge	—
<i>-ḡma-</i>	()	()	—	to cause to emerge completely

Since we find that two affixing-processes can be combined to such an extent, it would not seem implausible to assume that combinations of three or even four processes are also possible. The occurrence of words formed in this way could, however, not be ascertained: formations suggested by me were rejected by the informants or, at most, accepted after long hesitation. Not a single instance occurs in my taped material.

There is no doubt, however, that one or two of the suffixing-processes discussed above may be combined with prefixing, either of *we-*, or of *wos-*. With the non-causative processes this does not lead to any complications: we find on the basis of *paṛka* 'to bring out', *wepaṛka* 'to come out, appear', *wepaṛkaḡma* 'to come out repeatedly', *wepaṛkaḡma* 'to stop coming out', *wepaṛkaḡma* 'to come out completely'; with two suffixes *wepaṛkakeṣpoī* 'to repeatedly stop coming out', etc.

Equally transparent is the combination of *we-* with the causative *po*-process in *intransitive* verbs:

- 3) *tunda* to arrive ¹⁷
- 4) *tundano:po* to cause somebody else or something else to arrive
- 5) *wetundano:po* to make oneself (refl.) arrive.

To the monomorphemic intransitive verb *tunda* the *we*-process

¹⁷ The numbering 3, 4, 5 will be used in what follows to refer to these formations.

cannot be applied, but the *po*-process can (see 3.1.3.1.1. and 6.). This produces 4, which is morphologically equivalent to a transitive verb (3.1.3.1.6.) and thus can be prefixed with *we-*, which produces 5.

When the monomorphemic verb is transitive, however, a complication arises: we find one category more than was to be expected on the basis of the combination of *we-* and *-po*:

- 1) *paxka* to bring out something or somebody
- 2) *paxka:po* to make somebody or something else bring out somebody or something
- 3) *wepaxka* to bring out oneself (refl.), to come out, appear
- 4) *paxkano:po* to make somebody else or something else bring out himself, itself (refl.); to make somebody else or something else come out, appear
- 5) *wepaxkano:po* to make oneself (refl.) to be brought out.

The following examples further illustrate the semantic differences between these five verbs:

1) *moxko paki:ra paxka:no iwüino* 'he produced the peccary from it' (*paxka:no* on the basis of 1, with *-:no*, *moxko paki:ra* 'the peccary', *iwüino* 'from it'; the reference is to a dead animal that was pulled from under the bushes).

2) *moxko paki:ra paxkapo:yañ iwüino* 'he made him to pull out the peccary from it' (*paxkapo:yañ* on the basis of 2, with *-yañ*).

3) *moxko paki:ra kïne:paxka:no* 'the peccary appeared' (*kïne:paxka:no* on the basis of 3, with *kïn-*, loss of *w*, and *-:no*).

4) *moxko paki:ra upu:po paxkano:po:yañ* 'he caused the peccary's head to appear' (*paxkano:po:yañ* on the basis of 4, with *-yañ*, *upu:po* 'head'; the reference is to a man who, hiding in a hut with a dead peccary, sticks the animal's head through the wall of leaves in order to deceive an attacker, thus making it appear as if the animal is alive and is coming out itself).

5) *moxko yextuñ ban kïne:paxkanopoyañ* 'the sick man caused himself to be brought out' (*kïne:paxkanopoyañ* on the basis of 5 with *kïn-*, loss of *w*, and *-yañ*; the sick man asked others to carry him out of his house).

From a closer study of the five verbs it will be immediately clear that 2 is the *po*-formation and 3 the *we*-formation on the basis of 1, while 5 combines the two processes. Less transparent, however, is 4: from a semantic point of view, just as is the case with 5, we find

the reflex both of the *po*- and of the *we*-process; yet the prefix *we*- is not present, while furthermore the meaning of 4 is not identical with that of 5.

It seems to me that there are two possible views of the morphological structure of 4 and 5, neither of which is completely satisfactory. The first and most plausible one proceeds from the assumption that there are the same correlations between 3, 4 and 5 as between the intransitive verb *tunda* mentioned above and its two correlates, a view which is supported by the clear semantic parallelism between the two series of three formations.

According to this view, *paxkano:po* (4) is formed on the basis of *wepaxka* (3), just like *tundano:po* on the basis of *tunda*. The occurrence in 4 of the alternant *-no:po*, not of *-po*, fully accords with this, since *-no:po* is found with intransitive bases in *a* (3.1.3.1.6.), and it is true that *we*-formations such as *wepaxka* have the morphological characteristics of intransitive verbs. What remains difficult to explain is the absence in 4 of *we*-, but it might be argued that the *we*-prefix is to be regarded as a kind of mark of intransitivity, which disappears when the *we*-formation is, as it were, made transitive again by the causative suffixation.

On turning to *wepaxkano:po* (5), we recognise a *we*-formation on the basis of *paxkano:po* (4), on the analogy of the correlation between *wetundano:po* and *tundano:po*. This would mean that in the formation of 5 the *we*-process has twice played a part: starting from *paxka*, *we*- would have been applied first (making it intransitive), then *-po* (making it transitive again), and finally *we*- for the second time (making it intransitive again).

In this interpretation, we have taken care of type 4 by explaining it as a category of secondary *po*-formations on the basis of the *we*-category (3). In view of the generally complete combinability of the processes discussed in this section, irrespective of order, it must be expected that also occur secondary *we*-formations on the basis of the *po*-category (2): *paxka:po* + *we*- → *wepaxkapo*. However, no such formations have been found, a fact which may raise doubts as to the correctness of the interpretation suggested here. It is possible that the type *wepaxkapo* does in fact occur but has escaped me, in which case there would be no difficulty. If my material is complete, however, we must think of an interpretation which does not force us to assume a restriction on the combinability of *-po* and *we*-. This aim is achieved if

we derive 5 not from 4 but from 2, so that the difference between 5 and 4 is merely a matter of the order of derivation:

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|--|
| 3) <i>wepaxka</i>
to bring out
oneself (refl.) | + <i>po</i> -process | → 4) <i>paxkano:po</i>
to make somebody else
bring out himself (refl.) |
| 2) <i>paxka:po</i>
to make somebody
else bring out
something | + <i>we</i> -process | → 5) <i>wepaxkano:po</i>
to make oneself (refl.)
to be brought out. |

What is completely inexplicable, however, is the replacement of the alternant *-po* in 2 by *-nopo* in 5. It therefore seems to me that, pending further investigation, the first interpretation is to be preferred.

In connection with the alternation of *-nopo* and *-po* two further points have to be discussed. The more important one is that, when the monomorphemic verb does not end in *a*, so that the *nopo*-alternant does not play any part in the formation of causatives, there is no formal distinction between the category of *paxka:po* (2) and that of *paxkano:po* (4). Yet we do distinguish both categories in these other verbs as well because there is always a semantic difference; e.g:

- 1) *e:ne* to see someone or something
- 2) *ene:po^I* to cause another person to see someone or something
- 3) *wo:ne* to be visible oneself, to show oneself
- 4) *ene:po^{II}* to cause another person to show himself
- 5) *wo:nepo* to cause oneself to become visible.

The second point concerns *e:ma* 'to throw', which ends in *a* so that, just as with *paxka*, one would expect to find two causative formations with *-nopo* (4 and 5). In fact, however, only *-po* occurs, so that we find the same situation as with *e:ne* above.

- 1) *e:ma* to throw someone or something, to throw over
- 2) *ema:po^I* to cause another person to throw away someone or something
- 3) *wo:ma* to fall
- 4) *ema:po^{II}* to cause another person to fall

5) *wo:mapo* to cause oneself to be tripped up.

In my material, which contains 19 causatives formed on the basis of a verb with final *a*, *ema:po^{II}/wo:mapo* is the only case not formed with *-nopo*. It is impossible to ascertain whether this is an exception to the rule or whether the rule has been insufficiently established on the basis of too limited a body of material.

What has so far not been discussed is the combinations of affixation with *we-* and with *-nopi*, as, for instance, in *ra:mano:pi* 'to cause someone to return' formed on the basis of *wera:ma* 'to return' (itself a *we-*formation on the basis of *ra:ma* 'to turn'). It seems probable that the phenomena found with the combination of *we-* and *-po* occur here too, but I have not investigated this.

Nor have I discussed combinations of *wos-* and one or more suffixing processes, such as in *wose:nepo:ti* 'to look at each other again and again', *wose:nepoxkepī* 'to stop looking at each other again and again', on the basis of *e:ne* 'to see'. Probably *wos-* completely duplicates *we-* in its possibilities of being combined with suffixing processes, but this too has not been further investigated.

3.1.3.2. A SET OF FIVE PERSONAL PREFIXING PROCESSES AND THE PROCESSES IN COMBINATION WITH WHICH THEY CAN OCCUR

3.1.3.2.1. *The five personal categories*

By prefixing and/or modification of the initial vowel, in some cases alternating with zero-alternants, five personal categories are formed on the basis of monomorphemic verbs: 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, 3rd person reflexive, and 1st + 2nd person ('both of us'). The processes are applied to transitive and intransitive verbs in exactly the same way; with the transitive verbs, however, the personal formations refer to the action and the person undergoing it, while with the intransitive verbs they refer to the action and the person performing it.

Depending upon the form of the monomorphemic verb, the formation of the categories takes place in a different way; the following table shows the various alternants and indicates the rules pertaining to their occurrence.

	monomorphemic verb contains more than one vowel monomorphemic verb begins with C, <i>i</i> , <i>i</i> :	V, except <i>i</i> , <i>i</i> :	monomorphemic verb contains one vowel monomorphemic verb begins with C
1st person	zero	y-	<i>i</i> :-
2nd person	a-, but if <i>i</i> or <i>i</i> : is replaced: o-, o:	ay-	o:-
3rd person	i-, but if <i>i</i> : is replaced: <i>i</i> :-	zero	<i>i</i> :-
3rd person reflexive	<i>ti</i> -, but if <i>i</i> or <i>i</i> : is initial phoneme: <i>t</i> -, and if <i>w</i> is initial phoneme: <i>tu</i> -	<i>t</i> - initial <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> : are replaced by <i>o</i> , <i>o</i> :	<i>ti</i> :-
1st + 2nd person	<i>ki</i> -, but if <i>i</i> or <i>i</i> : is initial phoneme: <i>k</i> -	<i>k</i> - initial <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> : are replaced by <i>o</i> , <i>o</i> :	<i>ki</i> :-

Examples (as far as possible both transitive and intransitive examples are given):

ku:pi to bath
ku:pi my being bathed
aku:pi your being bathed
iku:pi his being bathed
tiku:pi his own being bathed
kiku:pi both our being bathed

tunda to arrive
tunda my arriving
atunda your arriving
itunda his arriving
titunda his own arriving
kitunda both our arriving

u:pi to look for
yu:pi my being looked for
ayu:pi your being looked for
u:pi his being looked for
tu:pi his own being looked for
ku:pi both our being looked for

avi:ta to grow up
ya:ti:ta my growing up
aya:ti:ta your growing up
ati:ta his growing up
tati:ta his own growing up
kati:ta both our growing up

<i>iɔna:wa</i>	to disgust	<i>e:ne</i>	to see
<i>iɔna:wa</i>	my being disgusted	<i>ye:ne</i>	my being seen
<i>oɔna:wa</i>	your being disgusted	<i>aye:ne</i>	your being seen
<i>iɔna:wa</i>	his being disgusted	<i>e:ne</i>	his being seen
<i>tiɔna:wa</i>	his own being disgusted	<i>to:ne</i>	his own being seen
<i>kiɔna:wa</i>	both our being disgusted	<i>ko:ne</i>	both our being seen
<i>i:pota</i>	to get body-hair	<i>ereɔna</i>	to faint
<i>i:pota</i>	my getting body-hair	<i>ye:reɔna</i>	my fainting
<i>o:pota</i>	your getting body-hair	<i>aye:reɔna</i>	your fainting
<i>i:pota</i>	his getting body-hair	<i>ereɔna</i>	his fainting
<i>ti:pota</i>	his own getting body-hair	<i>toreɔna</i>	his own fainting
<i>ki:pota</i>	both our getting body-hair	<i>koreɔna</i>	both our fainting
<hr/>			
<i>wo:ma</i>	to combat	<i>wo</i>	to kill ¹⁸
<i>wo:ma</i>	my being combated	<i>i:wo</i>	my being killed
<i>awo:ma</i>	your being combated	<i>o:wo</i>	your being killed
<i>iwo:ma</i>	his being combated	<i>i:wo</i>	his being killed
<i>tuwo:ma</i>	his own being combated	<i>ti:wo</i>	his own being killed
<i>kiwo:ma</i>	both our being combated	<i>ki:wo</i>	both our being killed
<i>wo:p̄i</i>	to come		
<i>wo:p̄i</i>	my coming		
<i>awo:p̄i</i>	your coming		
<i>iwo:p̄i</i>	his coming		
<i>tuwo:p̄i</i>	his own coming		
<i>kiwo:p̄i</i>	both our coming		

There are also personal formations which moreover contain a suffix with a syntactic function, viz. *-ri* or *-se*. Thus alongside *aku:pi* 'your being bathed' there is *aku:p̄iri*, alongside *aye:pa:nop̄i* 'your being helped' there are *aye:pa:nop̄iri* and *aye:pa:no:se*. The syntactic possibilities of each of the three types conform to the rules formulated in 3.1.2.1., which means that the personal formations described above (without *-ri* or *-se*) are found only in combination with *se* 'wanting to' and, when they do not possess a *se*-category, in combination with verbs of the type *wo:p̄i* 'to come'.

¹⁸ My material does not contain any monosyllabic intransitive verbs.

Examples:

ku:pi se wa 'I want to be bathed' (*se* 'wanting to', *wa* 'I am'); *ku:pi se maŋ* 'he wants me to be bathed, he wants to bath me' (*maŋ* 'he is'); *tiku:pi se maŋ* 'he wants himself to be bathed'; *kiku:pi kinoxsaŋ* 'he is coming to bath both of us' (*kinoxsaŋ* 'he is coming'). With an intransitive verb: *ya:ti:ta se wa* 'I want to grow up'; *ya:ti:ta se maŋ* 'he wants me to grow up'; *tati:ta se maŋ* 'he wants to grow up'. With the intransitive verb *wotu:rupo* 'to make a request': *wotu:rupo woxsa* 'I am coming to make a request', *awo:turu:po mo:pü* 'have you come to make a request?', *tuwo:turu:po kinoxsaŋ* 'he is coming to make a request'.

3.1.3.2.2. *The mbo-category*

The members of the category are formed by means of the suffix *-mbo*. Example: *we:we ixko:to* 'to chop wood', *we:we ixko:tombo* 'the former chopping of wood, (coming home) away from wood-chopping (*we:we* 'tree, wood')'.

There are also *mbo*-formations which moreover contain a suffix with a syntactic function, *-ri* or *-se*; it seems plausible to assume that the possibility to combine each of the three types (*-mbo*, *-rimbo* and *-sembo*) with other words, here too, conforms to the rules formulated in 3.1.2.1. This would mean that members of the *mbo*-category (without *-ri* or *-se*) can only be expected to occur in a group (a) with *se* 'wanting to' or (b) with a verb of the type *wo:pi* 'to come', the latter only, however, when the verb has no reduction of the final syllable and thus does not have the possibility of being suffixed with *-se* (see 3.1.2.1.).

In fact, my material does not contain a single case of type (a) — which does not necessarily mean that these groups with *se* do not occur — but only groups of type (b) containing a verb meaning 'come, go', etc. E.g., *we:we ixko:tombo kinoxsaŋ* 'he is coming from the wood-chopping, which is now a thing of the past'. The addition of *wüino* 'away from' is possible, without my being able to establish any semantic difference: *we:we ixko:tombo wüino kinoxsaŋ*.

As long as one confines oneself to studying sentences like these, one will be inclined to describe the meaning of the *mbo*-formations in terms like 'removal in space'. It is more likely, however, that in fact the semantic value of *-mbo* is more general and comprises other forms of distance or discrepancy besides the spatial one. We find confirmation

for this when we consider *mbo*-formations that contain *-rĩ-* and thus, in accordance with the rules of 3.1.2.1., no longer require the presence of pre-eminently 'spatial' verbs like 'come' and 'go'. The semantic value of such formations may be expressed as 'not really taking place', e.g., in *ya:saka:rĩ wo:marĩmbo sapo:i* 'I caught my friend who was falling', (so that his fall did not really take place; *ya:saka:rĩ* 'my friend', *wo:ma* 'to fall', *sapo:i* 'I caught'). Purely temporal removal is found in *mo:ro mata:pi ka:pĩrĩmbo iḍwa eka:ri:ko* 'tell about his former making of the cassava-press' (*mo:ro mata:pi* 'the cassava-press', *ka:pĩ* 'to make', *iḍwa* 'by him', *eka:ri:ko* 'tell').

Non-spatial distance or discrepancy is also found when the *mbo*-process is combined with other verbal processes (see below, 3.1.3.2.14., paradigm III), and with *mbo*-formations in other morphological systems: nouns (3.2.2.2.), postpositions (3.3.6.), and adjectives (3.4.4.).

3.1.3.2.3. *The ni-category*

This category is only found with transitive verbs. Serving as bases for the *ni-process* are the members of the syntactic *rĩ-category* (3.1.2.1.), where it is present. If such a syntactic *rĩ-formation* is lacking, the monomorphemic verb as such serves as base for the *ni-process*.

The following prefix-alternants occur:

- 1) *ni-*
- 2) *n-*

The first is found when the base begins with a consonant or with *ĩ*, the second when it begins with a vowel other than *ĩ*.

Examples, verbs with syntactic *rĩ-category*:

- 1) *ka:pĩ/ka:pĩrĩ* 'to make', *nika:pĩrĩ* 'being made by —, who, what is made by —';

ĩxko:to/ĩxkoto:rĩ 'to cut', *nixkoto:rĩ* 'being cut by —, who, what is cut by —';

- 2) *e:ne/ene:rĩ* 'to see', *ne:nerĩ* 'being seen by —, who, what is seen by —'.

Examples, verbs without syntactic *rĩ-category*:

- 1) *pu:ru* 'to roast', *nipu:ru* 'being roasted by —, who, what is roasted by —';

- 2) *eni:rĩ* 'to drink', *nenĩ:rĩ* 'being drunk by —, what is drunk by —'.

Like the monomorphemic transitive verbs, the members of the *ni-*

category are only found when directly connected syntactically with a word or word-group preceding it (3.1.1.). The difference is, however, that this word, or word-group, does not refer to who or what undergoes the action but to who or what performs it. The *ni*-formation itself can refer both to the action and to the person or thing undergoing it. We thus arrive at the following definition of the meaning of the members of the *ni*-category: (a) the action designated by the corresponding monomorphematic transitive verb, not aimed at but originating with the person or thing referred to by the word or word-group preceding the verb, (b) the person at whom, or the thing at which, this action is aimed by the person or thing referred to by the word or word-group preceding the verb. Cf., e.g.:

1) *moxko pa:mī a:ro se wa* 'I want to take my brother-in-law' (*moxko pa:mī* 'my brother-in-law', *a:ro* 'to take', *se wa* 'I want to'), with:

2) *moxko pa:mī na:rōri se wa* (a) I want him (it) to be taken by my brother-in-law, (b) I want that which is taken by my brother-in-law'; and

3) *moxko pita:ni ene:rī po:na sunaiya* 'so that the child may not be seen, I am hiding it' (*moxko pita:ni* 'the child', *ene:rī* = *rī*-formation in accordance with 3.1.2.1. on the basis of *e:ne* 'to see', *po:na* 'against', *sunaiya* 'I am hiding it'), with:

4) *moxko pita:ni ne:nerī po:na sunaiya* (a) so that he (it) may not be seen by the child, I am hiding him (it)'.

3.1.3.2.4. *The xpo-category*

The formation of the members of this category takes place by means of the suffix *-xpo*.

Examples:

a:ro 'to take', *aroxpo* 'the having been taken of —, one who has been taken'; *wo:pī* 'to come', *wo:pīxpo* 'the having come of —, one who has come'.

Their meaning requires a twofold definition, just as with the *ni*-category discussed above: '(a) the fact of the action designated by the corresponding monomorphematic verb being already completed, (b) a person or thing with whom/which this action has already originated (with intransitive verbs) or at whom/which it has already been aimed (with transitive verbs)'.

The *xpo*-formations can be used when directly connected syntactically

with a preceding word or word-group.¹⁹ Some of the following examples can be interpreted in terms of 'action' (a) others rather in terms of 'source or object of action' (b).

Examples with intransitive verbs:

pandi:ra wotixtoxpo ipo:koro (a) 'it has been followed by the lowering of a flag' (*ipo:koro* 'following it', *pandi:ra* 'flag', *wotixto* 'to come down, descend');

urtaxpo (b) 'something that has risen above the water, a sandbank', *sa:kau urtaxpo* (b) 'sand that has risen above the water, a sandbank' (*sa:kau* 'sand', *urta* 'to emerge').

Examples with transitive verbs:

paxporo tamu:si ɔwa o:tiikoŋ ka:pixpo kisu:ku:sa:toŋ (a) 'we know that all things have been made by God' (*paxporo o:tiikoŋ* 'all things', *ka:pī* 'to make', *tamu:si ɔwa* 'by God', *kisu:ku:sa:toŋ* 'we know');

moxko waya:mu epo:riɔpo ɔo ro, kino:noyaŋ moxko kaiku:si (a) 'and indeed, in whatever spot the tortoise has been found, the jaguar eats it' (*moxko waya:mu* 'the tortoise', *epo:ri* 'to find', *ɔo* 'at', *ro* 'indeed');

ari:moxpo (b) 'something that has already been put into it', i.e. raspings of cassava that have been pressed into bars in the press (*ari:mo* 'to put in');

mauru expo:ɔpo (b) 'spun cotton, cotton string' (*mauru* 'cotton', *expo:i* 'to spin').

Very frequent in stories are constructions with *me* 'as, when', or with *me* plus *ro* 'indeed, quite'; e.g. (a) *aembo moxko we:ixpo me ro kinixsaŋ na:pa* 'as soon as he had (got) finished he went off again' (*aembo* 'finished, ready', *moxko* 'he', *we:i* 'to be, become').

3.1.3.2.5. *The xto-category*

The members of this category are formed by means of the suffix *-xto*. Example: *apo:i* 'to seize', *apo:ixto* 'one who does not want to seize'.

Their meaning may be defined as 'thing or person, not fit, willing or able to perform the activity designated by the monomorphemic verb'.

Example:

kaiku:si waya:mu enexto me i:tu ta maŋ 'Jaguar is like one that cannot

¹⁹ Unlike the *ni*-formations, for instance, they need not be used in this context, however. In my material the context is always present in cases requiring a translation in terms of (a) 'completed action'; see the immediately following examples. I have not investigated the question as to whether there is any connection between these facts.

bear to (Jaguar cannot bear to) see Tortoise, in the wood' (*kaiku:si* 'Jaguar', *waya:mu* 'Tortoise', *e:ne* 'to see', *me* 'as'; *i:tu ta* 'in the wood', *maŋ* 'he is').

The other cases in my material all agree with the example given, in that the *xto*-formation is directly connected with the postposition *me* 'as, when'. I suspect that other postpositions can take the place of this *me*, but I have not further investigated this.

Yet I have found constructions without *me*, but only with formations containing *-ri* besides *-xto*. E.g. *o:ti we:i:xtori moxko maŋ* 'he is a person who does not like the existence of anything' (i.e. one who breaks up everything; *o:ti* 'anything', *we:i* 'to be, exist', *moxko maŋ* 'he is').

The occurrence of this *-ri* apparently does not conform to the syntactic rules of 3.1.2.1.; I have not discovered what factors determine its use.

3.1.3.2.6. *The xpa-category*

The members of this category are formed by means of the suffix *-xpa*.

If the monomorphemic verb begins with a consonant or with *i*, in most cases there is further prefixation with *i-*; this prefix is placed before an initial consonant, but replaces initial *i*. An exception is formed by verbs that have *w* for initial consonant and, besides, are intransitive; in this case *w* is lost and prefixation does not take place. Examples:

- 1) *e:ne* 'to see', *enexpa* 'unseen'; *u:wa* 'to dance', *uwaxpa* 'not dancing';
- 2) *ka:p̄i* 'to make', *ika:p̄ixpa* 'not made'; *pu:wa* 'to grow', *ipu:waxpa* 'not growing'; *iɔma:ti* 'to be finished', *iɔma:ti:txpa* 'not finished'; *wo* 'to strike', *iwoxpa* 'not struck';
- 3) *we:i* 'to be, become', *e:ixpa* 'not become, not ripe'; *waip̄i:na* 'to stand together', *aip̄i:naxpa* 'not standing together'; *wotixto* 'to descend', *otixto:txpa* 'not descending';

wi:to 'to go', is an exception among the intransitive verbs with initial *w*: there is no loss of *w*, but *wi:* is replaced by *i-*; which produces *itoxpa* 'not going'.

The meaning of the *xpa*-formations may be defined as follows: 'not performing (with intransitive verbs) or not undergoing (with transitive verbs) the action designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb'.

Examples:

imixpa yaiya:ri neiri, awo:rikoŋ era:pa iɔwa 'if my hands were not

ried I would strike you a return blow' (*mi* 'to tie', *yaiya:ri* 'my hands', *neri* 'if they were'); *moxko pita:ni otixtoxa mañ* 'the child did not come down' (*moxko pita:ni* 'the child', *wotixto* 'to come down', *mañ* 'he was').

3.1.3.2.7. *The topo-category*

The members of this category are formed by means of the suffix *-topo*.

Their meaning may be defined as: 'thing or situation involved in performing the action designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb; viz. as instrument, as place of the action, as opportunity for the action, or as the way in which the latter takes place'.

Examples:

u:na 'to sieve', *u:nato:po* 'a sieve'; *a:ripa:pi* 'to distribute', *merki a:ripaxtopo e:ro mañ* 'this is the place where the milk-powder is distributed'; *we:i* 'to be, become', *weitopo* 'dwelling-place'; *pa:ka* 'to bring out', *e:rome ðne se:ri pa:kato:po mañ* 'to-day is the ceremony of Sylvia being taken outside', (*e:rome ðne* 'to-day', *mañ* 'is'; after a seclusion of eight days Sylvia is released with great ceremony); *yuðpa oðmuru weitopo mañ* 'good is your son's way of being', i.e. 'your son is well' (*yuðpa* 'good', *oðmuru* 'your son', *we:i* 'to become, be', *mañ* 'is').

3.1.3.2.8. *The neñ-category*

This category is only formed on the basis of monomorphemic transitive verbs. The formation takes place by means of the suffix *-neñ*.

Examples:

sano:ma 'to love', *sano:maneñ* 'lover'; *uku:ti* 'to know', *ukuðneñ* 'expert'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be defined as: 'performer of the action designated by the corresponding monomorphemic transitive verb'.

3.1.3.2.9. *The ne-categories*

The *ne*-process, by means of which plurals are formed, cannot be directly applied to monomorphemic verbs. It may only occur in combination with the following processes discussed above: A) the personal processes, except that of the first person (3.1.3.2.1.), B) the one with

-xpa (3.1.3.2.6.), C) the one with *ni-* (3.1.3.2.3.), D) the one with *-topo* (3.1.3.2.7.), E) the one with *-neŋ* (3.1.3.2.8.), F) the one with *-xpo* (3.1.3.2.4.). I have not gone into the question as to whether combination with the *xto*-process (3.1.3.2.5.) is possible; definitely impossible, however, is combination with first person and with the *mbo*-process (3.1.3.2.2.).

When the *ne*-process is combined with the other processes, a number of very different alternants occur. In the discussion below categories which have the same plural-alternant are kept together; for this reason there is some deviation from the order in 3.1.3.2.1-8.

A) In the case of combination with a personal process, suffixation with *-ne* occurs. Before *-ne*, the final vowel of the monomorphemic verb is replaced by the corresponding *i*-diphthong, unless this final vowel is *i*.

Examples:

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1) <i>aya:ro</i> | your being taken | <i>aya:roine</i> | your (plur.) | being taken |
| <i>a:ro</i> | his „ „ | <i>aroine</i> | their | „ „ |
| <i>ta:ro</i> | his own „ „ | <i>ta:roine</i> | their own | „ „ |
| <i>ka:ro</i> | both our „ „ | <i>ka:roine</i> | our (incl. hearer) | „ „ |
| 2) <i>ayu:pi</i> | your being looked | <i>ayu:pine</i> | your (plur.) | being looked |
| etc. | for | etc. | for | |

With the 2nd, 3rd and reflexive 3rd person the *ne*-formation is used when the number of persons referred to by the prefix is two or more, while with the 1st + 2nd person ('both of us') this number is three or more, because either the speaker, or the hearer, or both are included in a group comprising two or more persons.²⁰

B) Also in the case of combination with the *xpa*-process, there is suffixation with *-ne*, and replacement of the final *a* in *-xpa* by the corresponding *i*-diphthong, *ai*.

Examples:

ika:pixpa 'not made', *ika:pixpaine no:ro mandoŋ* 'they have not yet been made' (*no:ro* 'yet', *mandoŋ* 'they are'); *e:ixpa* 'not become, not ripe', *e:ixpaine no:ro mandoŋ* 'they are not ripe yet'.

C) In the case of combination with the *ni*-process, the alternant *-koŋ* occurs.

Example:

²⁰ An excluding 'our' can only be expressed with the aid of the demonstrative *aŋna*; *aŋna a:ro* 'our, excl. hearer, being taken'.

moxko pa:mĩ na:rori se wa 'I want it to be taken by (my) brother-in-law, I want what is taken by (my) brother-in-law'; *moxko pa:mĩ na:rori:koŋ se wa* 'I want them to be taken by (my) brother-in-law, I want the things taken by (my) brother-in-law' (*a:ro* 'to take').

D) Also in the case of combination with the *topo*-process, the alternant *-koŋ* occurs, placed after *-topo*. Before the suffix, the syllable *po* in *-topo* is reduced in the same way as regularly happens to final *pĩ*, *tĩ* and other syllables in monomorphemic verbs (see 2.1.1.1.1B2.). The loss of *po* is compensated for by the insertion of *x*.

Examples:

u:nato:po 'sieve', *u:nato:koŋ* 'sieves'; *weitopo* 'way of being, dwelling-place', *weitoxkoŋ* 'ways of being, dwelling-places'.

Reduction of *po* in *-topo* is also found in the case of combination with the *me*-process; see below, 3.1.3.2.11.

E) In the case of combination with the *neŋ*-process the alternant *-moŋ* is placed after the other suffix. Before the plural suffix, *eŋ* in *-neŋ* is replaced by *a:*.

Example:

wo:neŋ 'murderer', *wo:na:moŋ* 'murderers'.

F) In the case of combination with the *xpo*-process, the alternant *-saŋ* occurs. This suffix replaces *po*.

Examples:

noxpo 'the being left behind of one person, a person who has been left behind', *noxsaŋ* 'id., plur.>'; *uxtaxpo* 'something that has emerged, sandbank', *uxtaksaŋ* 'id., plur.'.

3.1.3.2.10. *The to-category*

The *to*-process can only occur in combination with the *xpo*-process (see 3.1.3.2.4.). The suffix *-to* is placed after *-xpo*.

Examples:

aroxpo 'the having been taken of —, one who has been taken', *aroxpoto* 'when — has been taken'; *uxtaxpo* 'the having emerged of —, one that has emerged', *uxtaxpoto* 'when — has emerged'.

Their meaning may be defined as follows: 'the completed action designated by the corresponding *xpo*-formation precedes, or is a condition for, another action'. This second action is always referred to by another verb or by a verbal group in the same sentence.

Examples:

ayaurañ amükaxpoto irombixpa iweiri manombo 'if he had believed your words he would not have died' (*ayaurañ* 'your words', *amiita* 'to believe', *irombixpa iweiri manombo* 'he would not have died');
koro:po mo:ro we:we eka:ramaxpoto tipira:take kineixtañ 'to-morrow, when he has sold the wood, he will have money' (*koro:po* 'to-morrow', *mo:ro we:we* 'the wood', *eka:rama* 'to sell', *tipira:take kineixtañ* 'he will have money').

3.1.3.2.11. *The me-category*

The *me*-process can only occur in combination with the *topo*-process (3.1.3.2.7.). Suffix *-me* is placed after the suffix of the *topo*-process. In this latter suffix, the syllable *po* is reduced before *-me*; it is replaced by ? (see also 3.1.3.2.9D.).

Examples:

paxkato:po 'opportunity for taking outside', *paxkato?me* 'in order to take outside'; *weitopo* 'way of being', *weitome* 'in order to be in a certain way, so that — might be in that way'.

The meaning of the members of the *me*-category may be defined as: 'in order to perform the part of what is designated by the corresponding *topo*-formation'.

Examples:

ori:no u:nato:po 'implement for sieving clay, sieve for clay', *ori:no u:nato?me e:ro sima:ri sika:sa* 'I make this sieve in order to sieve clay' (*ori:no* 'clay', *u:na* 'to sieve', *e:ro sima:ri sika:sa* 'I make this sieve');
merki a:ripaxtopo 'place for, means of, distributing milk', *merki a:ripaxto?me i:ke aka:wana:i a:tiya:toñ* 'in order to distribute milk with it, they are rinsing out a tin' (*i:ke* 'with it', *aka:wana:i* 'tin', *a:tiya:toñ* 'they are rinsing');
weitopo 'place, way of being, of becoming', *tipa:timì epi:no:sañ, ko:i po:tome ino:ro weitome* 'he treated his sister's child with herbs so that it might get big soon' (*tipa:timì epi:no:sañ* 'he treated his sister's child with herbs', *ko:i* 'soon', *po:tome* 'big', *ino:ro* 'the one referred to').

It is to be noted that what has been described as a suffixed *-me* is both semantically and morphologically similar to a certain word, the postposition *me* 'as, when',²¹ so that one cannot but wonder whether

²¹ Both the formations with suffixed *-me*, and the postposition *me* form their plural with *-ne* and diphthongisation (*meine*, see below 3.1.3.2.14. paradigm VII, and 3.3.5.); and both form a *no*-formation with *-ñ* and vowel change (3.1.3.2.14. paradigm IX, and 3.3.4.).

me in the type *paɣkatoʔme* is not identical with this word *me*. For that matter, the reverse possibility deserves consideration, too: is not it possible that in other cases where combination of a verbal form with this postposition *me* is assumed²² we really have to do with a suffixed *-me*, just as in *paɣkatoʔme*?

A clear distinction between word and suffix is made difficult in this case because *me*, like all other non-prefixed postpositions, always has to immediately follow the word with which it is connected and thus resembles a suffix in this respect.²³ Although there are, it seems to me, three arguments against the alternative interpretations mentioned above, I would certainly not exclude the possibility that, when more facts have come to light, a more satisfactory analysis may be put forward than the one given here.

1) On the whole there is no reason to regard *me* following a verbal form as anything other than the postposition *me*, because replacement by other postpositions is possible; e.g. *ke* 'with': *aembo moxko we:i:po me* 'when he had finished', *aembo moxko we:i:po ke* 'because he had finished'.

2) Only in the formation of the type *paɣkatoʔme* on the basis of *paɣkato:po* does the phenomenon of reduction clearly indicate that *-me* is a part of a word and not a word. Nor is replacement of this *-me* by a postposition possible.

3) The members of the *topo*-category can also be combined with *me* without reduction occurring, and in this case it is natural to regard *me* as a postposition. It is not certain whether the thus-formed groups differ semantically from the corresponding formations with *-me* and reduction. Perhaps such a difference may be found in the following cases — the only ones in my material — where with the same verbal

²² This is the case with the formations with *-ri* (3.1.2.1.), with *-xpo* (3.1.3.2.4.), with *-xto* (3.1.3.2.5.), and with *-neŋ* (3.1.3.2.8.). Examples:

1) *am wo:yaŋ tina:rori me* 'he killed one, as something that was taken by him' (i.e. as food for his journey; *am wo:yaŋ* 'he killed one'); 2) *aembo tuwe:i:po me ro kinixsaŋ nona:pa* 'as soon as he was ready he set off again' (*aembo* 'ready', *we:i* 'to be, become', *tu-* '3rd pers. refl.', *ro* 'indeed, quite, straightway', *kinixsaŋ nona:pa* 'he set off again'); 3) *moxka:ro pita:ni ne:nextori me ta:ro maŋ* 'while the children could not watch her, she was abducted' (*moxka:ro pita:ni* 'the children', *e:ne* 'to see, watch', *ta:ro maŋ* 'she was taken, abducted'); 4) *kerki ene:neŋ me ti:ye maŋ* 'he has been appointed verger' (*kerki* 'church', *ti:ye maŋ* 'he has been appointed').

²³ What it lacks is the separability with regard to other words which is characteristic of words, in contrast to parts of words. For the reason for regarding, despite this, postpositions as words and not as suffixes, see 3.3.1.

base both the *topo*-formation followed by the postposition *me*, and the formation with *-topo*, suffix *-me* and reduction occur:

- a) *weitopo* way of being or becoming, dwelling-place = village
- b) *weitopo me* as a village
- c) *weitoɔme* in order to be/become in a certain way
- a) *wo:to pi:nato:po* way, means of getting fish (*wo:to* 'fish')
- b) *wo:to pi:nato:po me* as a (material) means of getting fish
- c) *wo:to pi:natoɔme* in order to get fish.

In both cases the group with postposition seems to be better suited to refer to material means serving the activity, while the formation with *-me* seems to have a more general-final meaning; this needs further investigation, however, before a reliable conclusion is possible.

3.1.3.2.12. *The mĩ-category*

The *mĩ*-process can only occur in combination with the *topo*-process (3.1.3.2.7.). The following alternating prefixes occur:

- 1) *mĩ-*
- 2) *m-*

The first is used when the *topo*-formation begins with a consonant, the second when it begins with a vowel. After *m-*, *e:* and *e* are replaced by *o:*, *o*.

Examples:

- 1) *weitopo* 'dwelling-place', *mĩweitopo* 'the dwelling-place of all of us';
- 2) *aro:topo* 'means of taking', *maro:topo* 'means of taking all of us';
ene:topo 'means of seeing', *mone:topo* 'means of seeing all of us'.

Semantically, the members of the *mĩ*-category seem to agree with the personal prefix-categories, though their personal reference is not clearly dependent on the speech event. As far as I can see, their reference is not subject to any restriction to the speaker, the hearer, or the group to which they consider themselves to belong, but they can collectively refer to anybody. They can, however, only refer to human beings.²⁴

²⁴ The formation *mĩki:topo*, on the basis of *kĩ* 'to rasp', was at once understood and accepted, with the comment that rasps for people fortunately do not exist.

3.1.3.2.13. *The no-categories*

The substantivising *no*-process is also found in the nouns (3.2.2.5.), while it has a central position in the system of the postpositions (3.3.4.) and the adjectives (3.4.2.). In the last two classes the process is applied directly to the monomorphematic postpositions or adjectives, whereas in the verbal class it can only occur in combination with *-xpa* (3.1.3.2.6.) and *-me* (3.1.3.2.11.).

With postpositions and adjectives *-no* is the main suffix-alternant, while *-ŋ* also plays some part. Although with the verbs it is only the latter alternant that is found, we adhere to the names *no*-process and *no*-category.

A) In the case of combination with *-xpa*, the alternant *-ŋ* is placed after this negation-suffix, which undergoes the following modifications: *a* is replaced by *i*, *p* by *b* and *x* is lost.²⁵

Examples:

etaxpa 'unheard', *e:tabiŋ* 'one who is not heard'; *itundaxpa* 'not arriving', *itundabiŋ* 'one who does not arrive'.

Irregular is the *no*-formation by the side of *e:ixpa* 'not being', viz. *e:biŋ* 'one who is not', without *i-*.

B) In the case of combination with *-me*, the alternant *-ŋ* is placed after this suffix. The vowel *e* in *me* is replaced by *a*.

Example:

wo:toɔme 'in order to kill', *wo:toɔmaŋ* 'something to kill with'.

The meaning of the *no*-formations may be defined as: 'a thing or person to which/whom is applicable what is designated by the corresponding *xpa*- or *me*-formation'.

Examples:

A) *aurara:no ane:taxpa maŋ* 'he does not listen to stories' (*aurara:no* 'talk, stories', *e:ta* 'to listen', *maŋ* 'he is'), *aurara:no ane:tabiŋ me suku:sa* 'I know him as one who does not listen to stories' (*me* 'as', *suku:sa* 'I know him').

B) *pu:tu am ka:saŋ iwo:toɔme* 'he made a club to kill him with' (*pu:tu am* 'a club', *ka:saŋ* 'he made', *wo* 'to kill', *i-* 'him'), *kinixsaŋ para:muru ɔwa iwo:to:maŋ epe:ka:se* 'he went to Paramaribo, to buy something to kill him with' (*wo* 'to kill', *i-* 'him', *epe:ka:se* 'to buy').

²⁵ This is not the free alternation of *x* with length often found in other cases, such as e.g. *e:maxpa* = *e:ma:pa* 'without a path'. Here the vowel that preceded *x* remains short, unless it has to be long in accordance with some general rule of vocalic structure, see 2.1.3.

The *no*-process can also be applied to monomorphematic postpositions (3.3.4.) and adjectives (3.4.2.), so that the question arises as to whether in the suffixation with *-xpa* or *-me* transposition to one of these other systems has taken place. Transposition to the adjectives is out of the question, as they lack the personal prefixure and plural suffixation characteristic of the *xpa*- and *me*-formations (see 3.1.3.2.14. paradigm IX). The postpositions do, however, possess these processes (3.3.2., 3.3.5), so that there is no denying that they are morphologically similar to the *xpa*- and *me*-formations. There is, however, a difference: the postpositions lack the *mī*-process (see 3.1.3.2.12., above), while the *xpa*- and *me*-formations lack the *as*-process which is a productive one with the postpositions (3.3.3.). Semantically, too, the two verbal categories and the postpositions seem to have little in common. For these reasons I assume that no transposition has taken place in this case.

3.1.3.2.14. *Combination of the processes discussed in 3.1.3.2.1-13. with each other*

With the aid of paradigmatic tables (I-IX) it will be shown, first for the transitive verbs, which categories can be formed by combination of the processes that were discussed in the preceding 13 sections. Next the same is done for the intransitive verbs, where the situation is simpler because some processes or combinations of processes are lacking.

I. Combination of the processes with *ni*-, *-xpo* and *-xto*.

By these three processes, discussed in 3.1.3.2.3-5., five categories are formed:

		(b) <i>-xpo</i>	(c) <i>-xto</i>
	<i>a:ro</i> to take	<i>aroxpo</i> the having been taken of —; who, what has been taken	<i>aroxto</i> who does not want to or cannot take
(a)	<i>ni-</i> <i>na:rori</i> being taken by —; who, what is taken by —	<i>na:roxpo</i> having been taken by —; who, what has been taken by —	<i>na:roxtori</i> whom, what — does not want to or cannot take

II. Combination of personal prefixation with the processes with *ni-*, *-xpo*, *-xto*, *-xpa*, *-topo*, and *-nen*.

By combining one of the personal processes, e.g. that of the second person (3.1.3.2.1.) with the processes discussed in I, with their combinations, and furthermore with *-xpa*, *-topo*, and *-nen* (3.1.3.2.6-8.) the following categories are formed:

		(b) <i>-xpo</i>	(c) <i>-xto</i>
	<i>aya:ro</i> to take you	<i>aya:roxpo</i> your having been taken, you who have been taken	<i>aya:roxto</i> who does not want to or cannot take you
(a)	<i>ni-</i> <i>ana:rori</i> being taken by you; who, what is taken by you	<i>ana:roxpo</i> having been taken by you; who, what has been taken by you	<i>ana:roxtori</i> whom, what you do not want to or cannot take
(d)	<i>-xpa</i> <i>aya:roxpa</i> not taking you		
(e)	<i>-topo</i> <i>aya:roto:po</i> means, way of taking you		
(f)	<i>-nen</i> <i>aya:ronen</i> one who takes you		

As the place of *a/ay-* can be taken by four other personal prefixes and furthermore the personal prefix need not be present at all, six of these paradigms would be needed for a full illustration of the system.

The combination of personal prefixation with other processes generally does not affect the rules of prefix-alternation given in 3.1.3.2.1., except in one case: when the *xpa*-process (negation) is combined with the third person, *an-* occurs for the latter instead of *zero*, and *ani:-* instead of *i-*. E.g., on the basis of *a:ro*, *ana:roxpa* 'not taking him', on the basis of *ku:pi* 'to bath', *ani:kupixpa* 'not bathing him'.²⁶ The occurrence of the special alternant *ani:-* instead of *i-* in the third person may have something to do with the fact that the negation-category

²⁶ These negative formations with *an-*, *ani:-*, respectively, can be directly connected with a preceding word, as in *tuwe:mi ana:roxpa iweiri ke* 'because he did not take his carrier-basket' (*tuwe:mi* 'his carrier-basket' *iweiri ke* 'because he was'). Without *an/ani:-* the negative word does not have this possibility of connection.

itself is effected by (suffixation with *-xpa* and) prefixation with *i-*, at least when the base begins with a consonant or *i* (see 3.1.3.2.6.).

Example: *ku:pi* 'to bath', *iku:pixpa* 'not bathed', in which *i-* does not have any personal value. The other special alternant, *an-* instead of zero, would then have to be explained as due to the analogy of *ani:-*.

III. Combination of the *mbo*-process with personal prefixation and the processes with *ni-*, *-xpo*, *-xto*, *-xpa*, *-topo* and *-nen*.

By combining the *mbo*-process (3.1.3.2.2.) with all the processes discussed in II and their combinations, the following words are formed (the letters a-f refer to paradigm II):

<i>aya:rorimbo</i> ²⁷	to take you, in the past, or not really or not completely
(a) <i>ana:rorimbo</i>	being taken by you in the past, or not really; who, what was taken by you in the past, or not really
(b) <i>aya:roxpombo</i>	your having been taken in the past, or not really; you who have been taken in the past, or not really
(c) <i>aya:roxtombo</i>	who did not want to, or could not, take you in the past; who does not really want to, or cannot really take you
(a+b) <i>ana:roxpombo</i>	having been taken by you in the past, or not really; who, what has been taken by you in the past, or not really
(a+c) <i>ana:roxtorimbo</i>	who, what you did not want to, or could not take in the past; who, what you do not really want to, or cannot really take
(d) <i>aya:roxpombo</i>	not having taken you in the past, not really taking you
(e) <i>aya:roto:pombo</i>	former, or unsuitable means of taking you
(f) <i>aya:rone:nimbo</i>	one who took you, in the past; one who does not really take you.

²⁷ The formation *aya:rombo*, without *-ri-*, which one would expect here is lacking in my material, but does probably occur. As we have seen, the *mbo*-formations have limited possibilities of connection from a syntactic point of view and, in accordance with rules formulated in 3.1.2.1., in most cases a semantically equivalent form has to be used, containing, besides *-mbo*, *-ri-* or in certain cases, *-se-*.

As the place of *a/ay-* can be taken by four other personal prefixes and the personal prefix may be absent, once again six paradigms would be necessary for a full illustration.

IV. Combination of the *ne*-process with personal prefixation and *ni-*, *-xpo*, *-xto*, *-xpa*, *-topo*, and *-nen*.

By combining the *ne*-process (3.1.3.2.9.) with the processes discussed in II and their combinations, the following words are formed. It should be noted that some ambiguity arises in a number of these plural formations: the plurality may reside either in the persons referred to by the prefix, or in that to which the rest of the word refers, or in both.

	<i>aya:roine</i>	to take you (plur.)
(a)	<i>ana:rori:koñ</i>	being taken by you (plur.), who, what is taken by you (plur.); those that are taken by you (sing. or plur.)
(b)	<i>aya:roxsañ</i>	your (plur.) having been taken, you (plur.) who have been taken
(c)	<i>aya:roxtorikoñ</i> ²⁸	who does not want to or cannot take you (plur.) ²⁹
(a + b)	<i>ana:roxsañ</i>	having been taken by you (plur.), who, what has been taken by you (plur.); those that have been taken by you (sing. or plur.)
(a + c)	<i>ana:roxtorikoñ</i>	who, what you (plur.) do not want to or cannot take ³⁰
(d)	<i>aya:roxpaine</i>	not taking you (plur.)
(e)	<i>aya:rotaxkoñ</i>	means, way of taking you (plur.); means (plur.) of taking you (sing. or plur.)
(f)	<i>aya:rona:moñ</i>	one who takes you (plur.); persons who take you (sing. or plur.)

²⁸ I have not attempted to find out whether there is a plural form correlating with *aya:roxto*. The formation with *-koñ* given here correlates with *aya:-roxtori* 'one who is not willing or able to take you', which word contains *-ri*, besides *-xto*. I do not know what the function of *-ri* is, see 3.1.3.2.5. end.

²⁹ I have not gone into the question whether the ambiguity mentioned above with regard to the plural value also exists in this case; perhaps the following interpretation is also possible: 'those who are not able or willing to take you (sg. or plur.)'.

³⁰ See note 29; perhaps the interpretation 'those who cannot be taken by you (sg. or plur.)' is also possible.

As the place of *a-/ay-* can be taken by four other personal prefixes and furthermore the personal prefix may be lacking, six paradigms would be necessary for a full illustration. Of these six, however, there are two which are not completely identical with the above, because they lack a counterpart for the form topping the list: *aya:roine*. The reason for this is that the *ne*-process can only be applied in combination with at least one of the other processes (a plural without prefix, *aroiné*, is therefore impossible), while moreover if only one other process is applied this cannot be prefixation for the first person (which excludes *ya:roine*).

V. Combination of both the *mbo*-process (III) and the *ne*-process (IV) with personal prefixation and the processes with *ni-*, *-xpo*, *-xto*, *-xpa*, *-topo*, and *-neŋ*.

By combining both the *mbo*-process (III) and the *ne*-process (IV) with all the processes discussed in II and their combinations the following words are formed:

<i>aya:rori:konimbo</i> ³¹	to take you (plur.), in the past, or not really
(a) <i>ana:rori:konimbo</i>	being taken by you (plur.), in the past, or not really, etc. ³²
(b) <i>aya:roxsanimbo</i>	your (plur.) having been taken, in the past, or not really, etc. ³²
(c) ³³	
(a+b) <i>ana:roxsanimbo</i>	having been taken by you (plur.), in the past, or not really, etc. ³²
(a+c) <i>ana:roxtorikonimbo</i>	whom, what you (plur.) did not want to, or could not take in the past; whom, what you (plur.) do not really want to, or cannot really take ²⁹
(d) ³³	
(e) <i>aya:rotoxkonimbo</i>	former, or unsuitable, means of taking you (plur.), etc. ³²

³¹ There are no cases without *-ri-* in my material; cf. the note to III (note 27).

³² For the further definition of the plural aspect in the meaning of this word, see the corresponding translations in IV.

³³ I have not ascertained whether plural formations exist by the side of *aya:roxtombo* and *aya:roxpambo*.

- (f) *aya:ronambo*³⁴ one who took you (plur.), in the past,
one who does not really take you (plur.),
etc.³²

As in IV, six paradigms would be needed to illustrate the system fully, two of which would differ from the above because of the absence of a counterpart of the form at the head of the list, *aya:rori:konimbo*. The reason is that the *ne*-process (plural) can only be applied in combination with at least one other process which is not *-mbo* or personal prefixation of the first person.

VI. Combination of the *to*- and *xpo*-process, and of these two with the *ni*-, *mbo*-, and *ne*-process, and personal prefixation.

In 3.1.3.2.10. we saw that the *to*-process requires previous application of the *xpo*-process. This combination has no effect on the possibility to be combined with other processes which *-xpo*, as was shown above, has. In the words formed in this way the suffix *-to* is always at the end.

- (II) *aya:roxpoto* when you have been taken
 (II) *ana:roxpoto* when — has been taken by you
 (III) *aya:roxpomboto* when you had been taken, in the past ; when
you have not really been taken
 (III) *ana:roxpomboto* when — had been taken by you, in the past ;
when — has not really been taken by you
 (IV) *aya:roxsando* when you (plur.) have been taken
 (IV) *ana:roxsando* when — has been taken by you (plur.),
when — have been taken by you (sing. or
plur.)
 (V) *aya:roxsanimboto* when you (plur.) had been taken, in the
past ; when you (plur.) have not really been
taken
 (V) *ana:roxsanimboto* when — had been taken by you (plur.), in
the past ; when — has not really been taken
by you (plur.) ; when — had been taken by

³⁴ By the side of *aya:rona:moŋ* one would expect *aya:rona:monimbo* as *mbo*-formation, since the *mbo*-process in all other cases of a final nasal always makes use of the alternant *-imbo*. Only in this case is the final nasal replaced by the alternant *-mbo*.

you (sing. or plur.), in the past, when —
have not really been taken by you (sing. or
plur.)

As, instead of *a-/ay-*, four other personal prefixes, or no prefix, may be present, a full illustration would require six of these paradigms.

VII. Combination of the *me-* and the *topo-* process, and of these two with personal prefixation and the *ne-* process.

In 3.1.3.2.11. we saw that the *me-* process requires combination with the *topo-* process. In this, *-topo* loses the possibility of being combined with *-mbo*, but not of being combined with personal prefixation and with the plural process. By means of the latter as many as three different plural categories are formed, because it may be either combined primarily with the *topo-* process, or primarily with the *me-* process, or with both. In the paradigm, *g* marks the plural process (*ne-* and diphthongization, or *-koŋ*), and *h* marks the *me-* process.

		<i>g</i> <i>-ne</i>	<i>gg</i> <i>-ne, twice</i>	
		<i>aya:roto:po</i> means of taking you (II)	<i>aya:roto:koŋ</i> means (sg. or plur.) of taking you (sg. or plur.)	—
(h)	<i>-me</i>	<i>aya:roto:me</i> in order to take you	<i>aya:roto:ko:me</i> in order to take you (plur.)	<i>aya:roto:ko:meine</i> in order to take you (plur.), if there is more than one who takes
		<i>aya:roto:meine</i> in order to take you (sg.), if there is more than one who takes		

For a full representation six of these paradigms would be needed. It may be assumed that formations without a prefix, or with the prefix for the first person will be lacking; however, I have not further investigated this.

VIII. Combination of the *mī*- and the *topo*-process, and of these two with *-me*.

In 3.1.3.2.12. we saw that the *mī*-process requires combination with the *topo*-process. In this, *-topo* loses the possibility of being combined with personal prefixation and with the *ne*-process but retains the possibility of being combined with the *me*-process.³⁵

Thus the following words can be formed:

maro:topo means, way of taking all of us

maro:toɔme in order to take all of us.

IX. Combination of the *no*-, the *xpa*-, and the *me*-process, and further combination with *-topo*, *-ne* and personal prefixation.

In 3.1.3.2.13. we saw that the *no*-process requires combination with either the *xpa*- or of the *me*-process; the latter of which is, in its turn, dependent on the *topo*-process.

A) The combination of the *no*-process with the *xpa*-process can, like *-xpa* itself, be combined with personal prefixation and with the plural process. The latter uses, not one of the suffix-alternants mentioned in 3.1.3.2.9., but *-ɔnoŋ*, which replaces *bīŋ*:³⁶

aya:robin one who does not take you

aya:roɔnoŋ those who do not take you.

B) The combination of the *no*-process with the *me*-process can, like the latter itself, be combined with personal prefixation.³⁷ In this case the following words are formed:

aya:rotoɔman something to take you with

aya:rotoɔkoɔman something to take you(plur.) with.

Instead of *ay*- the four other personal prefixes or no personal prefix may be present.

★ ★ ★

So far we have dealt with the system applying to the transitive verbs. With intransitive verbs the situation only differs in that some processes are lacking or, while being present, lack a certain possibility of combination. The differences are confined to processes illustrated above in the paradigms, I, II and VII.

³⁵ And perhaps with the *mbo*-process, but I have not gone into this.

³⁶ The alternant *-ɔnoŋ* for the plural corresponds, with the exception of the *ɔ*, to the *-noŋ* for the plural of certain adjectives, see 3.4.3.

³⁷ I have not ascertained the possibility of combination with *-mbo*, *mī*-, and repeated combination with *-ne* (above, VII).

I. As the *ni*-process cannot be applied to intransitive verbs, both the *ni*-category and the categories formed by combination of *ni*-, *-xpo* and *-xto* are lacking.

II. Besides *ni*-, *-neŋ* cannot be applied either, while *-xpa* in the case of intransitive verbs cannot be combined with personal prefixation. Thus the following formations are left:

		(b) <i>-xpo</i>	(c) <i>-xto</i>
	<i>ayuxta</i> your emerging	<i>ayuxtaxpo</i> your having emerged, you who have emerged	<i>ayuxtaxto</i> who does not want you to emerge
(e)	<i>-topo</i> <i>ayuxtato:po</i> means, place for you to emerge		

When there is no personal prefix, *-xpa* does occur:

		(b) <i>-xpo</i>	(c) <i>-xto</i>
	<i>uxta</i> to emerge	<i>uxtaxpo</i> the having emerged of —; who, what has emerged	<i>uxtaxto</i> who, what does not want — to emerge
(d)	<i>-xpa</i> <i>uxtaxpa</i> not emerging		
(e)	<i>-topo</i> <i>uxtato:po</i> means, place to emerge		

VII. Combination of the *topo*-, the *me*-, the *ne*-process (plural) and personal prefixation is possible with intransitive verbs, too, but the plural process can only be applied in one way: in direct combination with the *topo*-process, and not also in direct combination with the *me*-process. Again, *g* marks the plural process (here represented by the alternant *-koŋ* only), and *h* represents the *me*-process:

		(g) <i>-ne</i>
	<i>aweitopo</i> your way of being, your dwelling place	<i>aweitoxkoŋ</i> your(plur.) way of being, your(sg. or plur.) dwelling place(s)
(h)	<i>-mc</i> <i>aweitome</i> so that you may be	<i>aweitoxkoŋme</i> so that you(plur.) may be

As to the other processes and combinations of processes, illustrated in III-VI, VIII and IX, I have not found any differences between transitive and intransitive verbs.

3.1.3.2.15. *The ke- and the poro-category*

Two processes have so far not been discussed, although they too can be combined with the five personal processes of 3.1.3.2.1. The reason for this omission is that they fall outside the system discussed in several respects.

A) The *ke*-process is unproductive. The following cases are the only ones known to me: *e:ne* 'to see', *ene:ke* 'looking just like'; *e:ta* 'to hear', *eta:ke* 'sounding just like', *pa:pi* 'to strew', *pa:ke* 'resembling the strewing of'. Example: *kini:pa:ka:toŋ api:ri:po pa:ke* 'they appeared, like remnants left in a sieve which are strewn about' (*api:ri:po* 'remnants left in a sieve'; the reference is to a swarm of insects).

The meaning of the *ke*-formations may be defined as: 'resembling a certain person or thing, with regard to the action designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb'.

Combination with personal prefixure is possible, e.g. *aye:neke maŋ* 'he is like you in appearance' (*maŋ* 'he is'). Instead of a personal prefix, reflexive *as-* may occur too, which is productive with the postpositions (see 3.3.3.); e.g. *para:nak:i:ri pa:xporo ase:neke mandoŋ* 'Dutchmen all look alike' (*para:nak:i:ri* 'Dutchman', *pa:xporo* 'all', *mandoŋ* 'they are'). Combination with any of the other, non-personal, categories discussed in the preceding 14 sections is impossible, however. It is for this reason, as well as because of its unproductivity, that the *ke*-process has a place of its own.

B) It is not certain whether the *poro*-process is productive. Just as in the case of *-ke*, the possibilities of combination are confined to combination with the personal processes. Furthermore, the *poro*-formations are exceptional in that they only occur in connection with the word *wa:ti* 'is not'.

The formation of the category takes place by suffixation with *-poro*; intransitives beginning with *w* lose this *w*. Examples: *aru:ka* 'to dry', *aru:kapo:ro*; *woni:k:i* 'to sleep', *oni:xporo*.³⁸

³⁸ With reduction of the final syllable *k:i*, as found before all suffixes beginning with a single consonant, except *-ri* and *-:se* (see 2.1.1.1.1B2). The occurrence of reduction is a clear indication that *-poro* is a real suffix and not the word *po:ro* 'past, full, sufficient'. It also excludes the interpretation *-xpo ro*, because before *-xpo* reduction does not take place either.

As has already been stated, the members of this category only occur in combination with *wa:tī* 'is not'. The semantic content of the thus-formed groups may be defined as: 'contrary to what was intended or, to what could be expected, not performing the activity designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb'; e.g.:

1) *awo:mī aru:kapo:ro wa:tī tera:pa, tikexpure aweiṛi iseḍme* 'contrary to what might be expected, you again are not drying your clothes, in spite of the fact that you are wet' (*awo:mī* 'your clothes', *aru:ka* 'to dry', *tera:pa* 'again');

2) *kīne:ka:nuiyaḡ, tu:na anumboro wa:tī* 'she ran off, without, as she intended, drawing water' (*kīne:ka:nuiyaḡ* 'she ran off', *tu:na* 'water', *anu:mī* 'to draw water').

By eliminating the negation from the definition of the semantic content of the groups with *wa:tī* 'is not' given above, we may perhaps arrive at a definition of the semantic aspect of the *poro*-formations themselves: 'the performance, according to plan or expectation, of the activity designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb'.

Finally an example of *-poro* combined with a personal process: *aya:ropo:ro wa:tī o:wīḡ upu:po tī:to maḡ* 'instead of taking you, as might have been expected, he went off alone' (*a:ro* 'to take', *o:wīḡ upu:po* 'alone', *tī:to maḡ* 'he went').

3.1.3.3. PERSONAL PREFIXATION COMBINED WITH TEMPORAL AND MODAL PROCESSES

3.1.3.3.0. *Introduction*

The personal processes to be discussed here differ from those dealt with in 3.1.3.2. in that they cannot be applied alone but only in combination with another process. This compulsory combination takes place with one out of a set of nine temporal and modal processes; e.g.: *kīne:neyaḡ* 'he sees him', with personal prefix *kīn-* and temporal suffix *-yaḡ*.

The reverse is also true: these nine temporal and modal processes can only be applied in combination with a personal process. This is only true, however, if, in accordance with the analysis given in the next section, personal prefixation with zero is assumed for one of the

categories.³⁹ If such an analysis is rejected, temporal or modal formations without a personal prefix are found; e.g. *ku:piyaŋ*, formed on the basis of *ku:pi* 'to bath' with the temporal suffix *-yaŋ*, in, e.g. *tiiŋme ku:piyaŋ* 'he bathes his child'.

Furthermore we find that in all the verbs discussed here

(1) the personal process modifies the beginning of the sound-form of the monomorphemic verb (by prefixure), and

(2) the temporal or modal process modifies its end (by suffixation or by diphthongisation of the final vowel).

As the processes mentioned sub (1) and sub (2) are only to a small extent dependent upon each other as to the way in which they occur formally, it is possible to discuss them separately; (1) will be discussed in 3.1.3.3.1., (2) in 3.1.3.3.2. Besides the personal (1) and the temporal/modal process (2) it is possible for some other processes to be applied; they are dealt with in 3.1.3.3.3.

3.1.3.3.1. *Personal prefixation*

To the transitive verbs eight personal processes can be applied, numbered I-VIII in the table below. Different alternants are used, depending in the first place on the nature of the initial phoneme of the monomorphemic verb. If it is a vowel other than *i-*, the alternants in the extreme right column are used; if it is a consonant or *i-*, the alternants in the column next to it are used, with this provision that with an initial consonant the prefix is put before it and with an initial *i* this vowel is replaced by the prefix.

Moreover, in the case of one process (VII) an alternation occurs which depends on the temporal or modal process with which it is combined. If this is one of the following processes: *-ya*, *-take*, *-yakoŋ*, *-yaine* or *-ŋ* (see below, in 3.1.3.3.2., the subsections 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7), *kīni:-* or *kīn-* occur; if it is one of the following processes: diphthongisation, *:-se*, or *-ri* (3.1.3.3.2., the subsections 6, 8, 9), *ni-* or *n-* occur; if it is the *to*-process (3.1.3.3.2.5.), zero occurs.

³⁹ This process will be discussed at length in the next section as personal process VIII; see the reasons given there for assuming the existence of a zero-prefix.

	action directed at:	action proceeding from:		monomorphemic verb begins with	
				C or <i>ĩ</i>	V, except <i>ĩ</i>
I	3rd pers.	1st pers.		<i>si-</i>	<i>s-</i>
II	3rd pers.	2nd pers.		<i>mi-</i>	<i>m-</i>
III	3rd pers.	1st + 2nd pers. ⁴⁰		<i>kĩsi:-</i>	<i>kĩs-</i>
IV	1st or 2nd pers.	2nd or 1st pers.		<i>kĩ-</i>	<i>k-</i> initial <i>e, e:</i> are replaced by <i>o, o:</i>
V	1st pers.	3rd pers.		<i>zero</i>	<i>y-</i>
VI	2nd pers.	3rd pers.		<i>a-</i> but when <i>ĩ</i> is replaced: <i>o-</i>	<i>ay-</i>
VII	3rd pers.	3rd pers.	when combined with temporal/modal process:		
			1, 2, 3, 4, 7:	<i>kĩni:-</i>	<i>kĩn-</i>
			6, 8, 9:	<i>ni-</i>	<i>n-</i>
			5:	<i>zero</i>	<i>zero</i>
VIII	3rd pers.	3rd pers.		<i>zero</i>	<i>zero</i>

Examples⁴¹:

			<i>a:ro</i>	to take
	<i>ku:pi</i>	to bath	<i>e:ne</i>	to see
I	<i>siku:piya</i>	I bath him	<i>saro:ya</i>	I take him
II	<i>miku:piya</i>	you bath him	<i>maro:ya</i>	you take him
III	<i>kĩsi:kupi:ya</i>	both of us bath him	<i>kĩsa:roya</i>	both of us take him
IV	<i>kĩku:piya</i>	I bath you, you bath me	<i>karo:ya</i>	I take you, you take me

⁴⁰ It will be noted that the table does not include, alongside III, a process where, conversely, the action proceeds from the 3rd pers. and is directed at the 1st + 2nd pers. I am practically sure that such a process does not in fact exist. In order to express the equivalent of 'he bathes the two of us' use is made of the demonstrative *kĩrko* 'both of us' (3.5.).

⁴¹ All the examples contain, as well as a prefix, one of the temporal/modal suffixes to be discussed later; for, as we have already seen, personal and temporal/modal processes occur only in combination with each other. The temporal/modal suffix is in most of the examples the alternant *-yaŋ* (action proceeding from 3rd pers.) or *-ya* (action proceeding from one of the other persons). In VII examples are also given with *-ri* and *-to*, respectively.

			<i>kone:ya</i>	I see you, you see me
V	<i>ku:piyañ</i>	he bathes me	<i>ya:royañ</i>	he takes me
VI	<i>aku:piyañ</i>	he bathes you	<i>aya:royañ</i>	he takes you
VII	<i>kini:kupi:yañ</i>	he bathes him	<i>kina:royañ</i>	he takes him
	<i>niku:piri</i>	he would bath him	<i>naro:ri</i>	he would take him
	<i>ku:pito</i>	he used to bath him continually	<i>aro:to</i>	he used to take him continually
VIII	<i>tĩ?me</i> ⁴² <i>ku:piyañ</i>	he bathes his child	<i>tĩ?me aro:yañ</i>	he takes his child
	<i>ĩmbo:i</i>	to crush		
I	<i>simboiya</i>	I crush it		
II	<i>mimboiya</i>	you crush it		
III	<i>kisimboiya</i>	both of us crush it		
IV	<i>kĩmboiya</i>	I crush you, you crush me		
V	<i>ĩmboiyañ</i>	he crushes me		
VI	<i>omboiyañ</i>	he crushes you		
VII	<i>kinimboiyañ</i>	he crushes it		
	<i>nimboiri</i>	he would crush it		
	<i>ĩmboito</i>	he used to crush it continually		
VIII	<i>itu:pu imboiyañ</i>	he crushes the weeds.		

The personal prefixes may be regarded as exponents, which indicate both the starting-point and the aim of the action designated by the verb, with regard to the speech event. As to the latter a distinction is made between 1) the speaker, 2) the hearer, and 3) anything that is neither speaker nor hearer. As can be seen from the first two columns of the table, there is one process, viz. IV, in which the action only takes place between speaker and hearer; and this without it being expressed at which of the two the action is aimed and with whom it originated: *kiku:piya* may be interpreted as 'you bath me' and as 'I bath you'. In three categories (I, II, III) the action is directed at a person who or thing which is neither speaker nor hearer, and proceeds from speaker (I), hearer (II), or these two together (III); in three others it, conversely, proceeds from a person who or a thing which is neither speaker nor hearer, and is directed at speaker (V), hearer (VI), or

⁴² VIII occurs only in syntactic connection with a preceding word. We return to this in the present section.

another person who or thing which is neither speaker nor hearer (VII). In VIII the personal distinctions are identical with those of VII, with this difference that the person at whom or the thing at which (being speaker nor hearer) the action is directed, is specified by a word directly connected with the verb. It is not possible to use VIII except in connection with such a word, this in contrast to the members of the categories I-VII, which may quite well occur as the only word-content of a sentence.

In the verbs with I-VI the twofold personal indication is duplicated by a twofold possibility of being syntactically connected with certain other words or word-groups, which serve to make the persons or things involved in the action more explicit. Thus, e.g., *siku:piya* 'I bath him' may be connected with *au* 'I': *au siku:piya* 'it is I who bath him'; or with *iɔme* 'my child': *iɔme siku:piya* 'I bath my child'. The two words need not precede the verb: *siku:piya au* and *siku:piya iɔme* are also possible. There is probably a tendency to place *iɔme* before the verb and not to separate it from the verb by *au*, but I have not further investigated this.

With the verbs formed with VII (he/him) the situation is different from that of the verbs formed with I-VI, in that only one of the two possibilities of connection is present; viz. that with a word which makes explicit the person from whom the action proceeds: VII *iɔme kɪni:kupi:yaŋ* 'my child bathes him'.

Finally as to the verbs with VIII, we have already seen that the situation is different from that found with I-VI, in that the person at whom the action is directed must be made explicit by another accompanying word. With regard to the person from whom the action proceeds there is, as with I-VI, only the possibility of making explicit, which need not be used.

Examples:

VIII *moxko kariɔna ene:yaŋ* 'he saw the Indian',

VIII *moxko kariɔna ene:yaŋ moxko kuru:pi*, or

VIII *moxko kuru:pi moxko kariɔna ene:yaŋ* 'Kuru:pi saw the Indian'.

The word-group referring to the person from whom the action proceeds (*moxko kuru:pi*) may without any apparent semantic difference, be placed both before and after the verb, see the above example. The group can never be placed, however, between the verb and the word or group — always compulsorily present before the verb — which makes explicit who undergoes the action (here: *moxko kariɔna*).

In what follows we shall see that VII and VIII complement each other syntactically and semantically. In fact this is the strongest argument for regarding VIII as an essential component of the system of personal prefixation described here, so that it is reasonable to assume the existence of a personal zero prefix in VIII as a counterpart of the other prefixes. Before this complementary character of VIII and VII can be demonstrated, however, we must first discuss in some detail the words and groups with which the verbs may be connected. They belong to five types:

A) Nouns (3.2.) and nominal groups; e.g. *i?me saro:ya* 'I am taking my child', *mo:ro tapi:ren ta:kuwa saro:ya* 'I am taking the red polishing-stone'.

B) Proper names ⁴³; e.g. *Ya:nume:si ya:royaŋ* 'Y. is taking me'.

C) *No*-formations on the basis of verbs (3.1.3.2.13.), postpositions (3.3.1.4.) and adjectives (3.4.1.2.), and groups of which they form part; e.g. *ka:wono sako:toya* 'I am cutting the high one' (*sako:toya* 'I am cutting it').

D) Verbal formations with *-ri*, *ni-*, *-nen*, and *-xpo* (3.1.2.; 3.1.3.2,3,4,8.), and groups of which they form part; e.g. *aya:rori supi:ya* 'I cannot take you' (*supi:ya* 'I cannot'), *ana:rori sapoiya* 'I seize what you take' (*sapoiya* 'I seize it'), *aya:roxpo sene:ya* 'I see that you have been taken' (*sene:ya* 'I see it').

E) The demonstratives discussed in 3.5.1., i.e. those that do not refer to place or direction; e.g. *e:ro kisa:roya* 'both of us are taking this', *au ya:royaŋ* 'he is taking me'.

As might be expected, the words and groups mentioned sub A-E are not indiscriminately suited for making explicit all personal distinctions:

Where a 1st person ('speaker') is present, he can be made explicit by the demonstrative *au* 'I' (belonging to type E). A 1st person is found in I, IV and V.

Where a 2nd person ('hearer') is present, he can be made explicit by the demonstrative *amo:ro* 'you' (belonging to type E). A 2nd person is found in II, IV, VI.

Where a 1st + 2nd person is present ('speaker' + 'hearer'), it can be made explicit by the demonstrative *kixko* 'both of us' (belonging to type E). A 1st + 2nd person is found in III.

Where a 3rd person is present ('anything that is neither speaker

⁴³ In this study not discussed as a separate category or class, as they are not morphologically structured.

nor hearer'), he or it can be made explicit by the other demonstratives mentioned sub E,⁴⁴ and furthermore by all the words and groups mentioned sub A-D. A 3rd person is found in I-III and V-VIII.

As a result of these limitations it is in practically all cases unambiguously clear whether the word or group connected with the verb makes explicit the person from whom the action proceeds, or the person at whom the action is directed. The following examples illustrate this for the categories formed with I-III, V, VI; *pa:pa* represents all the types of words and word-groups which can make a 3rd person explicit.

		word connected with verb refers to the person	
at whom the action is directed		from whom the action proceeds	
I	<i>pa:pa saro:ya</i> I am taking father	<i>au saro:ya</i> it is I who am taking him	
II	<i>pa:pa maro:ya</i> you are taking father	<i>amo:ro maro:ya</i> it is you who are taking him	
III	<i>pa:pa kisa:roya</i> both of us are taking father	<i>kixko kisa:roya</i> it is both us who are taking him	
V	<i>au ya:royaʒ</i> he is taking me	<i>pa:pa ya:royaʒ</i> father is taking me	
VI	<i>amo:ro aya:royaʒ</i> he is taking you	<i>pa:pa aya:royaʒ</i> father is taking you	

When each of the two persons is made explicit by a word or word group, it is still clear which of the two undergoes the action and which performs the action:

I *au pa:pa saro:ya* or: *pa:pa au saro:ya* it is I who am taking father, etc.

As far as I could discover it does not make any semantic difference whether it is *au* or *pa:pa* that precedes; there may, however, be a some difference in emphasis.

Ambiguity does arise in the verbs formed with IV, but this ambiguity also exists when such a verb is not connected with another word

⁴⁴ They are *o:ti* 'something, what?', *no:ki* 'somebody, who?', *e:n̄i* 'this one here', *mo:n̄i* 'that one over there', *e:ro* 'this one with me', *mo:ro* 'that one, not with me', *mo:se* 'this living creature here', *mo:ki* 'that living creature over there', *moxko* 'he', *i:ro* 'the thing referred to', *ino:ro* 'the living creature referred to'. Polymorphemic demonstratives (3.5.2.) generally perform their function of making explicit with the same personal categories as their monomorphemic counterparts. An exception in this respect is *aʒna* 'we, excl. hearer'. Although this *aʒna* should probably be regarded as the plural of *au* 'I', it makes explicit not a 1st pers. but a 3rd pers.: *aʒna kini:-kupi:yaʒ* (VII) 'we (excl.) bath him', *aʒna ku:piyaʒ* (VIII) 'he bathes us (excl.)'.

or group. The only words that can serve to make persons explicit are *au* 'I' and *amo:ro* 'you':

IV *au karo:ya* it is I who am taking you / it is me you are taking

IV *amo:ro karo:ya* it is you I am taking / it is you who are taking me.

The addition of *au* or *amo:ro* only gives some emphasis to the reference to a 1st or 2nd person.⁴⁵

Finally, in VII and VIII we find two processes where the personal exponent twice refers to the same person: the action proceeds from a 3rd person and is directed at a(nother) 3rd person. In view of this, ambiguity might be expected to arise when a verb formed with VII or VIII is connected with a word or group capable of making a 3rd person explicit. Yet ambiguity does not arise: in the first place, because in VII only one of the two persons can be made explicit instead of both, as is the case with the other processes; secondly, because in VIII one of the persons *has* to be made explicit, and not just *may* be made explicit, as is the case with other processes:

	action directed at	action proceeding from
VII	3rd person, cannot be made explicit	3rd person, may be made explicit
VIII	3rd person, must be made explicit	3rd person, may be made explicit

It will now be clear that VII and VIII complement each other: they have the same personal exponent, but the latter is made explicit in accordance with different rules. Because of this complementary character ambiguity does not arise, provided the verb is connected with not more than one word or wordgroup.

Example:

VII *moxko kariḍna kine:neyaḥ* the Indian sees him (*moxko kariḍna*
'the Indian')

VIII *moxko kariḍna ene:yaḥ* he sees the Indian.

When both persons are made explicit, a second factor operates, viz. a rule of word order. The verb, which in this case is always VIII, is preceded by (A) the word or the group making explicit the person at whom the action is directed,⁴⁶ whereas (B) the word or the group

⁴⁵ *Au amo:ro karo:ya* 'It is I who take you' is probably possible, too; I have not investigated this, however.

⁴⁶ The verb VIII must always follow the word or the group with which it is connected, but need not follow it immediately. Separation is, for instance, possible by *naḍneḥ* 'first': *tīme naḍneḥ ku:ḥiyaḥ* 'he first bathed his child'

making explicit the person from whom the action proceeds may be placed either before or after the verb, provided it is not placed between (A) and the verb.

Example:

VIII *moxko kuru:pi moxko kariɔna ene:yaʒ* or *moxko kariɔna ene:yaʒ*
moxko kuru:pi Kuru:pi saw the Indian (*moxko kuru:pi* 'Kuru:pi',
moxko kariɔna 'the Indian').

I have not been able to ascertain whether the different position of the group *moxko kuru:pi* involves any semantic difference.

Finally we return to the description, given at the beginning of this section, of the verbs of type VIII as the product of personal prefixation, with a prefix that is invariably zero, irrespective of the nature of the initial phoneme of the monomorphemic verb.⁴⁷

Two arguments can now be put forward in favour of such an analysis:

(1) In these verbs a personal exponent is clearly present: '3rd person as starting-point of the action'. As this personal exponent neither belongs to the monomorphemic base, nor is contributed by the temporal/modal suffixing-process, it is reasonable to assume the existence of a zero-prefix as its bearer.

(2) The assumption that the verbs of type VIII have a place in the system of personal prefixations is now confirmed by their relation to VII described above: both VII and VIII have such syntactic and semantic properties as to complement each other.

On passing on to the personal prefixation with intransitive verbs we find a smaller number of distinctions, and with every personal exponent only one instead of two indications as to the persons involved in the action. In the table below the four personal processes are numbered 1-4, while the first column gives the person from whom the action proceeds. The prefix-alternants are distributed over the three columns, which show how the alternation is determined by the nature of the initial phoneme of the monomorphemic verb. As with the transitive verbs, the same alternants mainly occur with verbs with initial *i* as with those with an initial consonant, the difference being

⁴⁷ In V, too, prefixation with zero takes place, but this zero alternates with *y-* : zero occurs when the monomorphemic verb begins with C or *i*, *y-* when it begins with a vowel other than *i*. The fact that the system comprises different zero's results in ambiguity of some word-groups; e.g. *bi:ri ixsano:royaʒ* means both 'he cools the beer' (VIII) and 'the beer cools me' (V). *ixsano:ro* 'to cool' (trans.).

that the prefix is not placed before *i* but replaces this vowel. In contrast to the transitive verbs, special alternants occur when the initial phoneme is *w*, but only with processes 1 and 3. Finally, in process 4, in exactly the same way as in the transitive process VII, there is alternation depending on the temporal or modal process with which the prefixation is combined.

	action proceeding from	monomorphemic verb begins with			
		C, except <i>w</i> or <i>i</i>	V, except <i>i</i>	<i>w</i>	
1	1st + 2nd pers.	<i>kī-</i>	<i>k-</i> initial <i>e, e:</i> are replaced by <i>o, o:</i>	<i>kīt-</i> (replaces <i>w</i>)	
2	1st pers.	zero	<i>y-</i>	zero	
3	2nd pers.	<i>a-</i> but when <i>i</i> is replaced: <i>o-</i>	<i>ay-</i>	<i>m-</i> (replaces <i>w</i>)	
4	3rd pers.	when combined with temporal/ modal process 3.1.3.3.2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7:	<i>kīni:-</i>	<i>kīn-</i>	<i>kīn-</i> (replaces <i>w</i>)
		6, 8, 9 ⁴⁸	<i>nī-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i> (replaces <i>w</i>)

Examples: ⁴⁹

	<i>ku:mīri</i>	to be hungry	<i>awo:mī</i>	to get up
			<i>eka:numī</i>	to run
1	<i>kīku:mī:ya</i>	both of use are hungry	<i>karwoiya</i>	both of us get up
			<i>koka:nuiya</i>	both of us run
2	<i>ku:mī:ya</i>	I am hungry	<i>ya:woiya</i>	I am getting up
3	<i>aku:mī:ya</i>	you are hungry	<i>aya:woiya</i>	you are getting up
4	<i>kīni:ku:mī:yaŋ</i>	he is hungry	<i>kīna:woiyaŋ</i>	he is getting up
	<i>nīku:mīri</i>	he would be hungry	<i>nawo:mīri</i>	he would get up

⁴⁸ It may be assumed that, as with the transitive verbs, combination is possible with the temporal/modal *to*-process (3.1.3.3.2.5.), and that, as with the transitive prefixation VII, a zero-alternant takes the place of *kīni:-* and *kīn-*. I have not investigated this, however.

⁴⁹ Most of the examples contain, as well as the personal prefix, one of the suffix-alternants of the temporal/modal *ya*-process: *-ya, -yaŋ, -sa, -saŋ, -e* or *-:no*. Furthermore, in 4 a *ri*-formation is given as the second example (3.1.3.3.2.9.). The final syllables *rī, mī, tī* are subject to reduction in accordance with the general rule.

	<i>iɔma:tĩ</i>	to be, have finished	<i>waipĩ:na</i> ⁵⁰	to be one (with your people)
1	<i>kĩɔma:sa</i>	both of us have finished	<i>kĩtaipĩ:nae</i>	both of us are one (with our people)
2	<i>iɔma:sa</i>	I have finished	<i>waipĩ:nae</i>	I am one (with my people)
3	<i>oɔma:sa</i>	you have finished	<i>maipĩ:nae</i>	you are one (with your people)
4	<i>kĩniɔma:saŋ</i>	he has finished	<i>kĩnaiipĩ:na:no</i>	he is one (with his people)
	<i>niɔma:tĩrĩ</i>	he would have finished	<i>naiipĩ:nari</i>	he would be one (with his people)

There is a formal and, partly, semantic similarity between these four processes and certain personal processes in the transitive verbs:

processes between which there is formal and semantic similarity			
intransitive verbs		transitive verbs	
1	both of us (monomorphematic verb does not begin with <i>w</i>)	III	I/you, you/me
1	both of us (monomorphematic verb does begin with <i>w</i>)		—
2	I	V	he/me
3	you (monomorphematic verb does not begin with <i>w</i>)	VI	he/you
3	you (monomorphematic verb does begin with <i>w</i>)	II	you/him
4	he	VII	he/him

As the table shows, the intransitive verbs beginning with *w* behave in a deviant manner: (1) they form their 1st + 2nd person ('both of us') with an alternant *kĩt-* which is not found at all with the transitive verbs, and (2) the way in which they form the 2nd person (with *m-*) is similar to the transitive process II, while with the other intransitives (where *ay-* occurs) it is similar to VI.

⁵⁰ With *wĩ:ka* 'to say' and *wĩ:to* 'to go' some prefixations take place differently: (1) *kĩka:e* 'both of us say' (*k-* instead of *kĩt-*), *ka:e* 'I say' (loss of *wĩ*, instead of zero), *mĩka:e* 'you say' (regular), *kĩngga:no* 'he says' (loss of *wĩ* instead of loss of *w*, and replacement of *ŋk* by *ŋg*); (2) *kĩrsa* 'both of us go' (*k-* instead of *kĩt-*), *wĩrsa* 'I go' (regular), *mĩrsa* 'you go' (regular), *kĩnĩrsaŋ* 'he goes' (regular, but irregular in combination with one of the other suffixation-processes, that with *-ŋ*: *kĩndoŋ* 'he really went then', with loss of *wĩ* instead of *w*, and replacement of *nt* by *nd*).

The way in which the personal exponent is made explicit, by means of a word or word-group connected with the verb, is identical with that used for the transitive verbs; but the situation is simpler in that there is only one person to be made explicit.

Examples: *au ya:woiya* 'I get up', *amo:ro aya:woiya* 'you get up', *kixko kawoiya* 'both of us get up', *moxko kina:woiyaŋ* 'he gets up', *moxko yopo:to kina:woiyaŋ* 'the chief of the village gets up', etc.

3.1.3.3.2. *Temporal/modal processes*

In nine sections a formal description will first be given of the categories formed by means of the nine temporal/modal processes in combination with personal prefixation. Next their semantic description will be given in a tenth section.

3.1.3.3.2.1. The categories with *-ya*

In the categories with *-ya* the following alternating suffixes may occur:

- 1) *-ya*
- 2) *-sa*
- 3) *-e*
- 4) *-yaŋ*
- 5) *-saŋ*
- 6) *:-no*

Of these, 4-6 occur in case of combination with a personal process with the action proceeding from 3rd person, i.e. with transitive verbs the processes V, VI, VII, VIII (he/me, he/you, he/him, he/him) and with intransitive verbs process 4 (he). In the case of combination with all the other personal processes, 1-4 apply.⁵¹ Furthermore 1 and 4 occur when the monomorphemic verb does not end in *a*, contains a final syllable not subject to reduction, or contains a final syllable *mī*, *rī*, *ru* subject to reduction. The alternants 2 and 5 occur when the final syllable is *pī*, *tī*, *kī*, *ku* or *to* and is subject to reduction.⁵² The alternants 3 and 6 occur when the final vowel is *a*.

⁵¹ With interrogative verbs it is only the alternants 4-6 that occur, see 3.1.3.3.3.2.

⁵² In practically all the verbs ending in *pī*, *tī*, *kī*, *ku*, *rī*, *ru* or *mī* that are known to me, reduction of this syllable takes place, see 2.1.1.1.1B2. Reduction of *to*, however, is limited to *wī:to* 'to go'. Compensatory lengthening takes place of the vowel before the suffix, if it was not long before suffixation; except in the case of reduction of *mī* where, instead of lengthening, diphthongisation of the preceding vowel takes place.

Examples:

1, 4) *e:ne* 'to see', *sene:ya* 'I see him', *kine:neyaŋ* 'he sees him'; *wo:mī* 'to enter', *wo:mīya* 'I enter', *kino:mīyaŋ* 'he enters'; with reduction of *mī*: *po:mī* 'to plant', *sipoiya* 'I plant it', *kini:poiyaŋ* 'he plants it'; *eka:numī* 'to run', *ye:ka:nuiya* 'I run', *kine:ka:nuiyaŋ* 'he runs'; with reduction of *ru*: *eta:puru* 'to lock up', *seta:pu:ya* 'I lock him up', *kine:ta:pu:yaŋ* 'he locks him up'.

2, 5) *epa:nopī* 'to help', *sepa:no:sa* 'I help him', *kine:pa:no:saŋ* 'he helps him'; *e:mere:pī* 'to go mad', *ye:mere:sa* 'I go mad', *kine:mere:saŋ* 'he goes mad'; *wī:to* 'to go', *wī:sa* 'I go', *kīnī:saŋ* 'he goes'.

3, 6) *e:ta* 'to hear', *seta:e* 'I hear it, him', *kine:ta:no* 'he hears it, him'; *ere?na* 'to faint', *aye:re?nae* 'you faint', *kine:re?na:no* 'he faints'.

This does not fully describe the formation of the categories. In certain cases we find besides:

A) insertion of *x* after the first vowel of the monomorphemic verb

B) " " ? " " " " " " " " "

The first is the case when 1) the monomorphemic verb contains three vowels, 2) the personal prefixation takes place with *kin-* (VII, 4) or with *kīs-* (III), 3) reduction occurs of a final syllable *pī*, *tī*, *kī* or *ku*,⁵³ and 4) the first vowel in the monomorphemic verb is followed by a voiceless consonant. The second (B) is the case when the first vowel is followed by a voiced consonant, and furthermore the same conditions 1-3 are fulfilled as in (A).

Examples:

2A, 5A) *uta:pī* 'to lose one's way', *kīsuxta:sa* 'both of us lose our way', *kīnuxta:saŋ* 'he loses his way'.

2B, 5B) *ene:pī* 'to bring', *kīse?ne:sa* 'both of us bring it', *kine?ne:saŋ* 'he brings it'.

3.1.3.3.2.2. The categories with *-take*

In the categories with *-take* the following alternants occur:

1) *-take*

2) *-taŋ*

The second occurs in combination with a personal process with the action proceeding from a third person, the second in combination with the other processes. Unlike the *ya*-process discussed in the preceding

⁵³ Perhaps *rī* and *mī*, too; but for these final syllables I have no material.

section, reduction of the final syllable of the base is in this case not accompanied by the occurrence of a special suffix-alternant.

Examples:

- 1) *e:ne* 'to see', *sene:take* 'I'll see him'; *e:mere:pī* 'to go mad', *ye:mere:take* 'I'll go mad'.
- 2) *e:ne* 'to see', *kīne:netaŋ* 'he'll see him'; *e:mere:pī* 'to go mad', *kīne:mere:taŋ* 'he'll go mad'.

3.1.3.3.2.3. The categories with *-yakoŋ*

In the categories with *-yakoŋ* the following alternants may occur:

- 1) *-yakoŋ*
- 2) *-sakoŋ*
- 3) *-koŋ*

Except for the fact that no special alternation occurs in the case of combination with the 3rd person processes, the same rules apply as to the *ya*-categories (3.1.3.3.2.1.):

- 1) occurs when the monomorphemic verb does not end in *a*, contains a final syllable not subject to reduction, or contains a final syllable *mī*, *rī*, *ru* subject to reduction.
- 2) occurs when the final syllable is *pī*, *tī*, *kī*, *ku* or *to* and is subject to reduction. Here, too, reduction is accompanied by lengthening or diphthongisation of the vowel before the suffix.
- 3) occurs when the monomorphemic verb ends in *a*.

Examples:

- 1) *e:ne* 'to see', *sene:yakoŋ* 'I saw him then'; *wo:mī* 'to enter', *wo:mīya:koŋ* 'I went in then'; with reduction of *mī*: *po:mī* 'to plant', *sīpoi:yakoŋ* 'I planted it then'; with reduction of *rī*: *ku:mīrī* 'to be hungry', *ku:mī:yakoŋ* 'I was hungry then'.
- 2) *epa:nopī* 'to help', *sepa:no:sakoŋ* 'I helped him then'; *e:mere:pī* 'to go mad', *ye:mere:sakoŋ* 'I went mad then'.
- 3) *e:ta* 'to hear', *seta:koŋ* 'I heard it then', *ereŋna* 'to faint', *ye:reŋnakoŋ* 'I fainted then'.

As in the *ya*-categories, under the conditions described (3.1.3.3.2.1.) we find:

- A) insertion of *x* after the first vowel of a monomorphemic verb
- B) „ „ ʔ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „

Examples:

2A) *uta:pī* 'to lose one's way', *kinuxta:sakoŋ* 'he lost his way then'

2B) *ene:pī* 'to bring', *kīne?ne:sakoŋ* 'he brought it then'.

3.1.3.3.2.4. The categories with *-yaine*

In the categories with *-yaine* the following alternants may occur:

1) *-yaine*

2) *-saine*

Alternant 1) occurs when the monomorphemic verb contains a syllable not subject to reduction, or a final syllable *mī*, *rī* or *ru* subject to reduction;⁵⁴ alternant 2) occurs when the final syllable is *pī*, *tī*, *kī*, *ku* or *to* and is subject to reduction.⁵⁵ Reduction is, as usual, accompanied by lengthening or diphthongisation of the vowel before the suffix.

Examples:

1) *e:ne* 'to see', *sene:yaine* 'I see it continually'; with reduction of *mī*: *eka:numī* 'to run', *ye:ka:nuiyaine* 'I run continually'.

2) *wū:to* 'to go', *wūrsaine* 'I go continually'.

3.1.3.3.2.5. The categories with *-to*²

In the *to*²-categories⁵⁶ suffixation with *-to* takes place.

Examples:

e:ne 'to see', *sene:to* 'I saw him continually then';

eka:ritī 'to tell', *seka:rixto* 'I told it then continually'.

As had already been indicated in 3.1.3.3.1., the he/him-process (VII) and the intransitive he-process (4), when combined with *-to*, do not have the usual prefix-alternants *kīn-* or *kīni:-*, but zero. E.g. *e:ne* 'to see', *kīne:neyaŋ* 'he sees him', but *ene:to* 'he saw him continually'; *poro:pī* 'to stop' (intrans.), *kīni:poro:saŋ* 'he stops', but *poro:to* 'he stopped then continually'.

3.1.3.3.2.6. The categories with diphthongisation

The diphthongisation-categories are characterized by replacement of

⁵⁴ It is probable that, as in the case of the *ya-* and the *yakoŋ*-categories, a special alternant occurs when the monomorphemic verb ends in *a*. I have, however, not investigated this, nor the possible insertion of *x* or *ʔ* in the conditions described in 3.1.3.3.2.1. sub A and B.

⁵⁵ On reduction see 3.1.3.3.2.1., note 52.

⁵⁶ *to*², to distinguish it from another process which also consists in suffixation with *-to* (3.1.3.2.10.).

the final vowel of the monomorphemic verb by the corresponding *i*-diphthong, except when the final vowel is *i*. In the latter case no modification takes place, so that the only formal difference from the monomorphemic verb is the presence of the personal prefix.

Examples:

1) *e:ne* 'to see', *se:nei* 'I have really seen it, may I see it'; *poro:pī* 'to stop' (intrans.), *poro:pīi* 'I have really stopped, may I stop'.

2) *u:pi* 'to look for', *su:pi* 'I have really looked for it, may I look for it'; *apo:i* 'to seize', *sapo:i* 'I have really seized it, may I seize it'.

As was already shown in 3.1.3.3.1., the he/him-process (VII) and the he-process (4, in the intransitive verbs), when combined with the diphthongisation-process, do not have the usual prefix-alternants *kin-* or *kini:-*, but *n-*, *ni-*, respectively. E.g. *e:ne* 'to see', *kīne:neyaŋ* 'he sees it', but *ne:nei* 'he has really seen it, may he see it'; *poro:pī* 'to stop' (intrans.), *kīni:poro:saŋ* 'he stops', but *nipo:ro:pīi* 'he has really stopped, may he stop'.

The diphthongisation-process cannot be applied to *wi:to* 'to go', except in combination with the *tamī*-process; see 3.1.3.3.3.4. below.

3.1.3.3.2.7. The categories with -ŋ

In the categories with -ŋ the following alternants occur:

- 1) -ŋ
- 2) -ŋ̄
- 3) -ne
- 4) -neŋ

Of these, 1 or 2 occur when the monomorphemic verb does not end in a sequence of vowel + *i*, nor has a final syllable subject to reduction. There is probably a hard-and-fast rule for the choice between 1 and 2, but I have not been able to fully establish it. It is certain, however, that the nature of the final vowel plays a part. After *e*, alternant 1 was invariably found; e.g. *e:ne* 'to see', *se:neŋ* 'I really saw it then, may I see it'. After *o*, 2 was invariably found; e.g. *andiŋmo* 'to cause to be seated', *yandiŋmoŋ* 'he really asked me to be seated then, may he ask me to be seated'. After *a*, 1 was found with *e:ma* 'to throw', *se:maŋ* 'I really threw it then, may I throw it'; 2, however, with *aruxka* 'to put in', *saruxkaŋ* 'I really put it in then, may I put it in'; *apo:siwa* 'to fall in love', *ya:po:siwaŋ* 'I really fell in love then'.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ I have no data on -ŋ̄ and -ŋ after other final vowels.

Alternant 3 is found when the monomorphemic verb ends in a sequence of vowel + *i*. Before the suffix this vowel-sequence is replaced by the corresponding *i*-diphthong. E.g. *apo:i* 'to seize', *sapoine* 'I really seized it then, may I seize it'.

Alternant 4 is found when the final syllable of the monomorphemic verb undergoes reduction; e.g. *ene:pī* 'to bring', *seneɔnenɔ* 'I really brought it then, may I bring it'; *ema:mī* 'to live, dwell', *ye:maineɔ* 'I really dwelled then, may I dwell'.⁵⁸

This does not yet provide a full description. As with the *ya*-categories (3.1.3.3.2.1.) and under the conditions described there, we find:

- A) insertion of *x* after the first vowel of the monomorphemic verb
 B) „ „ ʔ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „

Examples:

4A) *uta:pī* 'to lose one's way', *kinuxtaɔnenɔ* 'he really lost his way then';

4B) *eni:rī* 'to drink', *kiseɔni:nenɔ* 'both of us really drank it then, may both of us drink it'.

3.1.3.3.2.8. The categories with *-:se*

These categories are characterized by suffixation of *-:se*.

Examples:

e:ne 'to see', *sene:se* 'so that I may see it',

ene:pī 'to bring', *sene:pī:se* 'so that I may bring it',

we:i 'to be, become', *we:i:se* 'so that I may be, may become'.

As was already shown in 3.1.3.3.1., the he/him-process (VII) and the he-process (4, with intransitive verbs), when occurring in combination with *-:se*, do not have the usual prefix-alternants *kīn-* or *kīni:-* but *n-*, *ni-* respectively. E.g. *e:ne* 'to see', *kīne:neyaɔ* 'he sees it', but *nene:se* 'so that he may see it'; *poro:pī* 'to stop', *kīni:poro:saɔ* 'he stops', but *nipo:ro:pī:se* 'so that he may stop'.

⁵⁸ In two cases a formation with alternant 3 was found beside one with alternant 4, without any apparent difference in meaning. They are two verbs in *mī*, viz. *ema:mī* 'to live, dwell', with *ye:maineɔ* in accordance with 4 and *ye:maine* in accordance with 3, both 'I really dwelled then, may I dwell', and *eka:tumī* 'to run', with *ye:ka:tuineɔ* according to 4 and *ye:ka:tuine* according to 3, both 'I really runned then, may I run'. It is plausible to assume that alternant 3, otherwise only found after a diphthong (*sapoine*), has found acceptance in these cases as a rival of *-nenɔ*, because in the *mī*-verbs before the suffix a diphthong is found too, the result of reduction of the syllable *mī*.

3.1.3.3.2.9. The categories with *-ri*

In these categories suffixation of *-ri* occurs, except when the final syllable of the monomorphemic verb is itself *ri*. In the latter case no modification takes place, so that the only formal difference from the monomorphemic verb consists in the presence of the personal prefixes.

Examples:

e:ne 'to see', *sene:ri* 'I would see it';
epo:ri 'to find', *sepo:ri* 'I would find it';
we:i 'to be, become', *weiri* 'I would be, become'.

As was shown in 3.1.3.3.1., the he/him-process (VII) and the he-process (intransitive verbs, 4), when occurring in combination with *-ri*, do not have the usual alternants *kin-* and *kini:-*, but *n-* and *ni-*. E.g. *e:ne* 'to see', *kine:neyaŋ* 'he sees it', but *nene:ri* 'he would see it'; *we:i* 'to be, become', *kineiyaŋ* 'he is, becomes', but *neiri* 'he would be, would become'.

3.1.3.3.2.10. The semantic correlations between the categories discussed in 3.1.3.3.2.1-9.

The following table includes a representative of each of the temporal/modal categories discussed in the preceding nine sections. On the basis of this table the semantic correlations between these categories will now be dealt with.

	I non-modal		II affirmative/ optative	III irrealis
	I A non-durative	I B durative		
non-temporal	1) <i>sene:ya</i> I see him	4) <i>sene:yaine</i> I see him continually	6) <i>se:nei</i> I have really seen him/may I see him	9) <i>sene:ri</i> I would, could see him (but actually I didn't)
before speech event	2) <i>sene:yakoŋ</i> I saw him then	5) <i>sene:to</i> I used to see him then continually	7) <i>se:neŋ</i> I really saw him then/may I see him	
after speech event	3) <i>sene:take</i> I'll see him	—	8) <i>sene:se</i> so that I may see him	

IA) On comparing the categories in the first column (those with *-ya*, *-yakoŋ* and *-take*, see 3.1.3.3.2.1-3.) we find two purely temporal distinctions. When referring to an event which occurred before the speech event,⁵⁹ 2 must be used; examples: *ise:nuxkarī kīna:nīḍmakoŋ* 'his stubbornness spoiled it' (*ise:nuxkarī* 'his stubbornness', *anīḍma* 'to spoil'; the reference was to an event in mythical prehistory); *o:we ko miwo:yakoŋ* 'where did you kill him?' (*o:we* 'where', *wo* 'to kill'; this sentence was used in a story, both a day and a year after the murder had taken place. The period might be longer or shorter than this, provided there is an explicit lapse of time between narrated event and speech event).

If an event which will take place after the speech event is referred to, 3 is used; examples: *moḍnīngoro:po sene:take ra:pa* 'I'll see, visit him again the day after to-morrow' (*moḍnīngoro:po* 'the day after to-morrow', *e:ne* 'to see, visit'; *ra:pa* 'again'); *woxtake ra:pa* 'I'll come back' (*wo:pī* 'to come').

As against 2 and 3, 1 occupies the unmarked position: the members of this category do not refer to any lapse of time between speech event and narrated event. They are used: a) when the narrated event happens to occur during the speech event, b) when a general statement is made without some particular event being thought of, c) in narrative style. Examples:

a) *kīku:pīya* 'I am going to bath you, throw water at you' (*ku:pī* 'to bath', the speaker was in the water, threatening to throw water at someone on the bank);

b) *ta:saka:rī unaiyaŋ mo:xko kariḍna* 'the Indian protects (always) his friend, his co-tribesman' (*ta:saka:rī* 'his friend', *una:mī* 'to hide, protect');

c) *kīni:ko:māiyaŋ. irombo kīni:poro:saŋ, tīpa:taya:rī amī:yaŋ* 'It was getting dark. Then he stopped and built his shelter'. (*koḍma:mī* 'to get dark', *irombo* 'then', *poro:pī* 'to stop', *tīpa:taya:rī* 'his shelter', *a:mī* 'to build').

IB) In the second column we find durative categories, between which the same temporal distinction exists as between 2 and 1; a durative counterpart to the future is lacking. Examples:

4) *tu:na wara:ro sene:yaine* 'I continually see, visit all the rivers' (*tu:na wara:ro* 'all the rivers');

⁵⁹ Roman Jakobson, *Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb*. Harvard University, 1957.

5) *tu:na wara:ro sene:to* 'I used to see, visit all the rivers continually'.

Of these two sentences, the one with 4 might be spoken, for instance, by a vigorous man who is still capable of undertaking long journeys, while the one with 5 might be used by an old man talking about his youth. Other examples:

4) *e:ro po su weiyaine, paxporo :ne noɔmato:koŋ* 'I am always in this same spot, all have left me'⁶⁰ (*e:ro po* 'here', *su* 'exactly', *we:i* 'to be', *paxporo :ne noɔmato:koŋ*⁶¹ 'all have left me');

5) *ye:ma:miŋ po:ko weito* 'I was all the time busy doing my work' (*ye:ma:miŋ po:ko* 'busy doing my work'; the work was completed before the speech event).

II) The three categories in the third column are semantically more complicated, and I am not sure that the interpretation given here is perfectly correct. If I am not mistaken, the two temporal distinctions of the first column are found here too, together with one and the same modal value, which is of an affirmative/optative nature. In certain usages these categories denote that a) the speaker declares, finds, confirms or admits that some event is taking or took place; in other cases they denote that b) the speaker wishes a certain event to take place.

This modal value and the two temporal distinctions seem, furthermore, to inter-operate to some extent, as we shall see.

On comparing category 6 with the unmarked category 1 (column IA) we find that the modal distinction can be established without any difficulty, both in its affirmative and in its optative usage:

1) *ba:siya me yandiɔmoyaŋ* 'he appoints me deputy-chief' (*ba:siya me* 'as deputy-chief', *andiɔmo* 'to appoint'),

6) *ba:siya me yandiɔmoi* (a) 'he really has appointed me deputy-chief', (b) 'may he appoint me deputy-chief'.

When, however, we include 7 in the comparison, we find an important difference between the optative (b) and the affirmative (a) usages. In the case of an optative interpretation of 6 and 7, there is no temporal difference to be discerned between these two categories, whereas in the case of an affirmative interpretation the same temporal difference emerges as was found between 2 and 1.

⁶⁰ The speaker is a young man who has been left in the village all by himself and is not allowed to leave it; the hearer is his first visitor after a long time.

⁶¹ A member of category 3: the speaker's being left by the other villagers took place some time in the past.

First example, optative use (b):

6) *ba:siya me yandiɔmoi* 'may he appoint me deputy-chief'

7) *ba:siya me yandiɔmoŋ* „ „ „ „ „ „

First example, affirmative use (a):

6) *ba:siya me yandiɔmoi* 'he has really appointed me deputy-chief'

7) *ba:siya me yandiɔmoŋ* 'he really appointed me deputy-chief then'.

Second example, optative use (b):

6) *kariɔna am so:noi* 'may I eat an Indian' (*kariɔna am* 'an Indian', *o:no* 'to eat').

7) *upuxpo sewi:riwi:rikaŋ* 'may I pluck all the hair off his head' (*upuxpo* 'his head', *wi:riwi:rika* 'to pluck off a person's hair').

These two sentences were used by two colibris for the purpose of scaring an Indian who has lost his way. There is nothing to show any temporal or other difference caused by the use of a member of 6 or 7.

Third example, affirmative use (a):

6) *mo:pü? a:a wo:pü* 'so, you have come?' 'yes, I have come' (*wo:pü* 'to come', *a:a* 'yes'),

7) *paki:ra po:ko woɔneŋ* 'I admit that I came then because of a peccary' (*paki:ra po:ko* 'because of a peccary').

In these cases a (temporal) difference can be established again: the sentences with 6 are commonly exchanged by way of greeting immediately after a person's arrival, whereas by using the sentence with 7 the speaker, a huntsman who had lost his way, admitted a day after his arrival that, as a result of his chasing a peccary, he had landed up in the village of these animals.

A third modal category, 8, is distinct from 6 by the presence of the value 'future'. Examples:

8) *nimo:ku ewaxoto:ko i:rato ro. i:ya ro:teŋ su:ropo:tü:se* 'string up a hammock next to mine. let me blow a little on her here and there' (*i:ya ro:teŋ* 'a little', *u:ropo:tü* 'to blow on a person here and there'; a medicine-man is talking about his patient),

8) *etu:wa:romako ko:koro wara:ro eku:piko. po:to kariɔna me:i:se* 'take good care of yourself, take a bath with herbs every morning. so that you may later become a big man' (*po:to kariɔna* 'a big man', *we:i* 'to become').

The fact that in this category the difference between affirmative and optative usages is considerably less obvious than was the case in 6 and 7

may very well be due to its combination with the value 'future': the positive statement that something is going to happen (a), and the wish for something to happen (b), can more easily be put under a common denominator by the investigator than the positive statement that something has happened (a) and the wish for something to happen, which implies that it has not yet happened.

III) The last column of the table contains a fourth modal category, 9. Whereas by means of the categories in II the speaker confirms the occurrence of a certain event or states it as desirable, he indicates by using 9 that, according to him, the event does not take place or cannot possibly take place. Combination with the two temporal distinctions is lacking here. Examples:

9) *imi:potixpa yaiya:ri neiri, siwo:ri era:pa* 'if my hands were not tied on all sides, I would deal him a return blow' (*imi:potixpa* 'not tied on all sides', *yaiya:ri* 'my hands', *we:i* 'to be', *wo* 'to strike, beat', *era:pa* 'back');

9) *o:we ko sepo:ri* 'where could I have found it?' (*o:we ko* 'where?', *epo:ri* 'to find', the sentence is a reaction to the question *o:we ko mepo:ri* 'where did you find it?').

3.1.3.3.3. *The processes which must be combined with a personal and a temporal/modal process*

3.1.3.3.3.1. The *ne*-categories

The process by means of which plurals are formed can be combined with probably all combinations of personal and temporal/modal processes (3.1.3.3.1. and 2.); in this respect there is uncertainty only with regard to the irrealis-formations with *-ri* (3.1.3.3.2.9.), where I have omitted to ascertain the occurrence of such a plural process. The name *ne*-process for the plural process was introduced in an earlier section of this study and is used in what follows, although the alternant *-ne* in the temporal/modal part of the paradigm plays only a minor part in the formation of plurals (see, however, 3.1.3.2.9., where *-ne* plays an important part).

When the *ne*-process is combined with the temporal/modal process a number of very different alternants occur. In the discussion below categories which have the same plural-alternant are kept together; for this reason there is some deviation from the order in 3.1.3.3.2.

A) In the case of combination with the *ya*-process (3.1.3.3.2.1.) the alternant *-:toŋ* occurs, placed after the temporal suffix. This involves loss of:

- 1) the nasal in the temporal suffix-alternant *-yaŋ* or *-saŋ*;
- 2) the whole suffix, if the temporal suffix-alternant is *-e* or *-:no*.

Examples:

sene:ya 'I see him', *sene:ya:toŋ* 'I see them';

1) *kine:neyaŋ* 'he sees him', *kine:neya:toŋ* 'he sees them, they see him, them'; *kine:pa:no:saŋ* 'he helps him', *kine:pa:no:sa:toŋ* 'he helps them, they help him, them';

2) *meta:e* 'you hear him', *meta:toŋ* 'you hear them, you (plur.) hear him, them'; *kine:ta:no* 'he hears him', *kine:ta:toŋ* 'he hears them, they hear him, them'.

B) In the case of combination with the *take*-process (3.1.3.3.2.2.) *-:toŋ* occurs too, placed after the temporal suffix. This involves the loss of:

- 1) the syllable *ke* in the temporal suffix-alternant *-take*;
- 2) the nasal in the temporal suffix-alternant *-taŋ*.

Examples:

1) *sene:take* 'I'll see him', *sene:ta:toŋ* 'I'll see them';

2) *kine:netaŋ* 'he'll see him', *kine:neta:toŋ* 'he'll see them, they'll see him, them'.

C) In the case of combination with the diphthongisation-process (3.1.3.3.2.6.) the alternant *-:toŋ* occurs, too. Before *-:toŋ* the diphthongised final vowel of the modal verb is replaced by the original final vowel of the monomorphematic verb.

Examples:

se:nei 'I have really seen him, may I see him', *sene:toŋ* 'I have really seen them, may I, etc.'; *nu:pi* 'he has really looked for him, may he look for him', *nupi:toŋ* 'he has really looked for them, they have really looked for him, them; may he, etc.'.

As a result of the suppression of the diphthongisation before *-:toŋ* this suffix comes to follow the same vowel that has final position in the monomorphematic verb. The latter is also the case when certain members of the *ya*-category are suffixed with *-:toŋ*, i.e. those that are formed by means of the alternants *-e* and *-:no*, as these suffix-alternants

also disappear before *-:toŋ* (see A, above and 3.1.3.3.2.1.). A consequence of this is that, if the monomorphemic verb ends in *a* (for it is only then that *-e* and *-:no* occur), there is no formal difference between the plural correlates of the diphthong-category and the *ya*-category; at least in so far as this difference is not expressed by the occurrence of the special prefix-alternants *n-* and *ni-* instead of *kin-* and *kīni:-* (he/him, he; see 3.1.3.3.2.6.).

Examples of complete homonymy:

seta:toŋ means both 'I hear them' (correlate *seta:e*) and: 'I have really heard them, may I hear them' (correlate *se:tai*); *aye:ta:toŋ* means both 'he hears you (plur.), they hear you (sing. or plur.)' (correlate *aye:ta:no*) and: 'he has really heard you (plur.), they have really heard you (sing. or plur.), may he, etc.' (correlate *aye:tai*). Examples of formal difference as a result of prefix-alternation: *kīne:ta:toŋ* 'he hears them, they hear him, them' (correlate *kīne:ta:no*), but *neta:toŋ* 'he has really heard them, they have really heard him, them; may he, etc.' (correlate *ne:tai*).

D) In the case of combination with the *yakoŋ*-process (3.1.3.3.2.3.) the alternant *-to-* occurs, placed before the syllable *-koŋ*.

Examples:

sene:yakoŋ 'I saw him then', *sene:yato:koŋ* 'I saw them then'; *kīne:-pa:no:sakoŋ* 'he helped him then', *kīne:-pa:no:satokoŋ* 'he helped them then, they helped him, them then'; *seta:koŋ* 'I heard him then', *seta:-tokoŋ* 'I heard them then'.

E) In the case of combination with the *yaine*-process (3.1.3.3.2.4.) the alternant *-to-* occurs too, placed within the temporal suffix; *ai* in *-yaine* or *-saine* is replaced by *a*, *o* in *-to-* is replaced by *oi*.

Examples:

sene:yaine 'I see him continually' *sene:yatoine* 'I see them continually'.
sene:saine 'I bring it continually', *sene:satoine* 'I bring them continually'.

F) In the case of combination with the *:sc*-process (3.1.3.3.2.8.) the alternant *-to-* occurs too, placed before the temporal suffix.

Examples:

kīsi:tī:mī:se 'let the two of us make him drunk, in the future',
kīsi:fīndo:se 'let the two of us make them, let us make him (them) drunk in the future'; *aye:ma:mī:se* 'so that you may dwell', *aye:mando:-se* 'so that you (plur.) may dwell'.

G) In the case of combination with the *to*-process (3.1.3.3.2.5.) the alternant *-ne* occurs, placed after the temporal suffix. The vowel *o* in this suffix is replaced before *-ne* by the corresponding diphthong *oi*.

Example:

kise:neto 'the two of us saw him then continually', *kise:netoine* 'the two of us saw them then continually, we saw him, them then continually'.

H) In the case of combination with the *ɲ*-process (3.1.3.3.2.7.) the alternant *-senɲ* occurs. It completely replaces the four suffix-alternants of the *ɲ*-process (*-ɲ*, *-ɲ̃*, *-ne*, *-nenɲ*).

Examples:

1) *se:nenɲ* 'I really saw him then, may I see him', *sene:senɲ* 'I really saw them then, may I, etc.';

2) *yandiɲmoɲ̃* 'he really asked me to sit down then, may he ask me to sit down', *yandiɲmosenɲ* 'they really asked me to sit down then, may they, etc.';

3) *sapoine* 'I really seized him then, may I seize him', *sapoisenɲ* 'I really seized them then, may I, etc.';

4) *seneɲnenɲ* 'I really brought him then, may I bring him', *seneɲsenɲ* 'I really brought them then, may I, etc.'.

Finally two points of semantic interest must be noted.

a) As has already been remarked, with transitive verbs the personal prefixes designate both the person from whom the action proceeds and the person at whom the action is directed. Now the *ne*-formations denote that either the persons from whom the action proceeds, or the persons at whom the action is directed, or both groups are more than 2; or more than 3 in the case of *kis*-formations ('both of us'). Pluralisation of the first person, however, does not occur here any more than it does elsewhere in the verbal paradigm.⁶²

Examples:

sene:ya:toɲ̃ I see them

mene:ya:toɲ̃ you (sg.) see them, you (plur.) see him, them

kise:neya:toɲ̃ both of us see them, we see him, them

⁶² See 3.1.3.2.9., especially A. In order to express 'we, excl. hearer' use may be made of a construction with *aɲna* : *aɲna enc:yaɲ̃* 'he sees us', *aɲna kine:neyaɲ̃* 'we see him'.

kone:ya:toŋ I see you (plur.)
ye:neya:toŋ they see me
aye:neya:toŋ he sees you (plur.), they see you (sg. or plur.)
kime:neya:toŋ he sees them, they see him, them.

b) The persons designated by the personal prefix may be further specified by a word or word-group combined with the verb (3.1.3.3.1.); e.g. *sene:ya* 'I visit him', *iɗme sene:ya* 'I visit my child'; *ye:neyaŋ* 'he visits me', *iɗme ye:neyaŋ* 'my child visits me'. Provided the word combined with the verb is not a proper name, it may itself contain a plural-suffix, too. If this is the case the verb may also take the plural form, but it need not: *iɗmakoŋ* 'my children' may be followed either by *sene:ya* 'I visit' or *sene:ya:toŋ* 'idem, plur.'. In the latter case the verbal plural form appears to add an extra element of diversity or multiplicity; cf., e.g., *mo:yaŋ wo:rüyaŋ ye:nepo:saŋ* 'those women keep looking at me', with *mo:yaŋ wo:rüyaŋ ye:nepo:sa:toŋ* 'those women keep looking at me, from all sides'; the first of these sentences refers to a group of women who, as is usual during festivities, are sitting together, while the second refers to a number of women or little groups of women who are observing the speaker from different directions.

3.1.3.3.3.2. The interrogative categories

Alongside some of the temporal/modal verbs discussed in 3.1.3.3.1. and 2., separate interrogative formations are found; e.g. alongside *mene:ya* 'you see it', *mene:yaŋ* 'do you see it?'. This is the case with:

A) the verbs formed by combination of

a) the *ya-* or the *take*-process, with

b) one of the personal processes I, II, III, IV (transitive verbs), 1, 2, 3 (intransitive verbs);

B) the verbs formed by combination of

a) the *ya-*, *take-*, *yakoŋ-*, *yaine-* or *ŋ*-process, with

b) the personal process VII (transitive verbs) or 4 (intransitive verbs).

In the type A the interrogative categories are formed by suffixation with one of the following alternants:

1) *-ŋ*

2) *:-no*

The first of these alternants is placed after the temporal alternants

-*ya* and -*sa*, and replaces the final syllable *ke* of -*take* (3.1.3.3.2.1. and 2.), the second replaces the temporal alternant -*e* (3.1.3.3.2.1.).

Examples:

ya-categories, monomorphemic correlate *ku:pi* 'to bath':

non-interrogative		interrogative	
I <i>siku:piya</i>	I bath him	<i>siku:piyaŋ</i>	do I bath him?
II <i>miku:piya</i>	you bath him	<i>miku:piyaŋ</i>	do you bath him?
III <i>kisi:kupi:ya</i>	the two of us bath him	<i>kisi:kupi:yaŋ</i>	do the two of us bath him?
IV <i>kiku:piya</i>	I bath you, you bath me	<i>kiku:piyaŋ</i>	do I bath you? do you bath me?

ya-categories, monomorphemic correlate *uta:pi* 'to lose one's way':

non-interrogative		interrogative	
1 <i>yu:ta:sa</i>	I lose my way	<i>yu:ta:saŋ</i>	do I lose my way?
2 <i>ayu:ta:sa</i>	you lose your way	<i>ayu:ta:saŋ</i>	do you lose your way?
3 <i>kuta:sa</i>	the two of us lose our way	<i>kuta:saŋ</i>	do the two of us lose our way?

take-categories, monomorphemic correlate *ku:pi* 'to bath':

non-interrogative		interrogative	
I <i>siku:pita:ke</i>	I'll bath him	<i>siku:pitaŋ</i>	shall I bath him?
II <i>miku:pita:ke</i>	you'll bath him	<i>miku:pitaŋ</i>	will you bath him?
III <i>kisi:kupi:take</i>	the two of us will bath him	<i>kisi:kupi:taŋ</i>	shall the two of us bath him?
IV <i>kiku:pita:ke</i>	I'll bath you, you'll bath me	<i>kiku:pitaŋ</i>	shall I bath you, will you bath me?

take-categories, monomorphemic correlate *uta:pi* 'to lose one's way':

non-interrogative		interrogative	
1 <i>yu:taxtake</i>	I'll lose my way	<i>yu:taxtaŋ</i>	shall I lose my way?
2 <i>ayu:taxtake</i>	you'll lose your way	<i>ayu:taxtaŋ</i>	will you lose your way?
3 <i>kutaxtake</i>	both of us will lose our way	<i>kutaxtaŋ</i>	shall both of us lose our way?

ya-categories, monomorphemic correlate *e:ta* 'to hear':

non-interrogative		interrogative	
I	<i>seta:e</i> I hear him	<i>seta:no</i>	do I hear him?
II	<i>meta:e</i> you hear him	<i>meta:no</i>	do you hear him?
III	<i>kise:tae</i> the two of us hear him	<i>kise:ta:no</i>	do the two of us hear him?
IV	<i>kota:e</i> I hear you, you hear me	<i>kota:no</i>	do I hear you? do you hear me?

In type B the interrogative categories are formed by removal of the fragment *kī* at the beginning of the word. This *kī* forms part of the personal prefix VII (transitive verbs) or 4 (intransitive verbs), *kīni:-* or *kīn-*; after the loss of *kī*, *ni-* or *n-* remains.

Examples:

non-interrogative		interrogative	
<i>ya</i> -category (3.1.3.3.2.1.), monomorphemic correlate <i>ku:pi</i> 'to bath':			
VII	<i>kīni:kupi:yaŋ</i> he bathes him	<i>niku:piyaŋ</i>	does he bath him?
<i>ya</i> -category, monomorphemic correlate <i>uta:pi</i> 'to lose one's way':			
4	<i>kīnuxta:saŋ</i> he loses his way	<i>nuta:saŋ</i>	does he lose his way?
<i>ya</i> -category, monomorphemic correlate <i>e:ta</i> 'to hear':			
VII	<i>kīne:ta:no</i> he hears him	<i>neta:no</i>	does he hear him?
<i>take</i> -category (3.1.3.3.2.2.), monomorphemic correlate <i>ku:pi</i> 'to bath':			
VII	<i>kīni:kupi:taŋ</i> he'll bath him	<i>niku:pitaŋ</i>	will he bath him?
<i>take</i> -category, monomorphemic correlate <i>uta:pi</i> 'to lose one's way':			
4	<i>kīnuxtaxtaŋ</i> he'll lose his way	<i>nutaxtaŋ</i>	will he lose his way?
<i>yakoŋ</i> -category (3.1.3.3.2.3.), monomorphemic correlate <i>ku:pi</i> 'to bath':			
VII	<i>kīni:kupi:yakoŋ</i> he bathed him then	<i>niku:piya:koŋ</i>	did he bath him then?
<i>yaine</i> -category (3.1.3.3.2.4.), monomorphemic correlate <i>ku:pi</i> 'to bath':			
VII	<i>kīni:kupi:yaine</i> he bathes him continually	<i>niku:piyaine</i>	does he bath him continually?
<i>ŋ</i> -category (3.1.3.3.2.7.), monomorphemic correlate <i>ku:pi</i> 'to bath':			
VII	<i>kīni:kupiŋ</i> he really bathed him then, may he bath him	<i>niku:piŋ</i>	did he really bath him then?

All interrogative verbs have now been fully described formally, and this in terms of the modifications which the members of the non-interrogative categories have to undergo so as to produce the interrogative verbs. The formation of the interrogative verbs may, however, be approached from a completely different angle. When discussing the temporal/modal and personal processes in 3.1.3.3.1. and 2., we found in a number of cases an alternation of affixes which did not depend on the form of the monomorphemic verb but was determined morphologically only. This kind of alternation was found to occur:

1) In the *ya-* and the *take*-process (3.1.3.3.2.1. and 2.); where the alternants *-ya*, *-sa*, *-e*, *-take* occur in the case of combination with the personal processes I-IV (transitive verbs) and 1-3 (intransitive verbs), while other alternants: *-yaŋ*, *-saŋ*, *-no*, *-taŋ* occur in the case of combination with the personal processes V-VIII (transitive verbs) and 4 (intransitive verbs).

2) In the personal process VII (transitive verbs) and the personal process 4 (intransitive verbs); where the alternants *kini:-* or *kin-* occur in combination with the temporal/modal processes with *-ya*, *-take*, *-yakoŋ*, *-yaine*, *-ŋ* (3.1.3.3.2.), while the alternants *ni-* or *n-* occur in combination with the processes with diphthongisation, *-:se* or *-ri*.⁶³

Now the interrogative verbs may all be regarded as products of the non-applicability of these two rules, the alternants *-ya*, *-sa*, *-e*, *-take*, *kini:-* and *kin-* being replaced by their co-alternants *-yaŋ*, *-saŋ*, *-no*, *-taŋ*, *ni-* and *n-*. Where the latter are already present in accordance with the rules applying to non-interrogative verbs, the possibility to form interrogative verbs is lacking.

As to the semantic value of the process the following may be noted. On the whole it is well characterised by the term 'interrogative', but there are two types of cases for which this is not entirely correct.

a) Without there being anything like a question, the interrogative formations are invariably used in syntactic combination with *ti:ro* 'it is said, it seems that', and *o:ro* 'let, may'; e.g. *kariŋna ti:ro no:saŋ* 'it seems that people are coming' (*no:saŋ* on the basis of *wo:pĩ* 'to come', with *ya*-process and *n-* instead of *kin-*); and the answer: *o:ro noŋneŋ* 'let them come' (*noŋneŋ* on the basis of *wo:pĩ*, with *ŋ*-process and *n-* instead of *kin-*).

b) Interrogative formations may be used in a modest or reserved

⁶³ There is a third alternant: zero, used in combination with *-to* (3.1.3.3.2.5.). This zero-alternant, however, plays no part in the interrogative verbs.

reply, to a question like *yuḍpa meiyaṅ* 'are you doing well?'; to which one might reply *yuḍpa weitaṅ painare* 'shall I perhaps be doing well?'; i.e. 'not too badly' (*yuḍpa* 'well', *painare* 'perhaps', *weitaṅ* on the basis of *we:i* 'to be, become', with *-taṅ* instead of *-take*).

Although I have only come across this use of interrogative verbs in polite phrases like the one cited, it seems not impossible to me that they may be used in other cases where the speaker wants to avoid making a definite statement.

3.1.3.3.3.3. Combination of the *ne*-process (plural) and the interrogative process

In a limited number of cases combination may occur of the processes discussed in the two last sections, viz. in those cases where the interrogative process implies a modification at the beginning of the word (see 3.1.3.3.3.2., the interrogative type B).

Examples:

<i>kīne:neya:toṅ</i>	he sees them, they see him, them	<i>nene:ya:toṅ</i>	does he see them? do they see him, them?
<i>kīne:neta:toṅ</i>	he will see them, etc.	<i>nene:ta:toṅ</i>	will he see them? etc.
<i>kīnīxsatoine</i>	they went contin- ually then	<i>nīxsatoine</i>	did they go contin- ually then?
<i>kīne:nesen</i>	he really saw them then, etc.	<i>nene:sen</i>	did he really see them then? did they really see him, see them then?

3.1.3.3.3.4. The *tamī*-categories

As far as I could discover — but the matter requires further investigation — the *tamī*-process can only be combined with one of the temporal/modal processes, viz. that with diphthongisation (3.1.3.3.2.6.). However, *-tamī-* was also found in combination with the imperative *ko*-process, see below 3.1.3.4.2.2.

When *-tamī-* is combined with the modal diphthongisation-process, it is not the final vowel of the monomorphemic verb, but the vowel *i* in *-tamī-* which is diphthongised.

Example:

<i>e:ne</i>	to see
<i>se:nei</i>	I have really seen it, may I see it (only diphthongisation)
<i>sene:tamīi</i>	may I go see it (diphthongisation and <i>-tamī-</i>).

The verbs with *-tamĩ-* have an optative-locative meaning: the wished-for action is to take place at some other location than that of the speech event ⁶⁴.

I have found the verbs with *-tamĩ-* and diphthongisation only in optative usages, never in affirmative ones (see for this distinction 3.1.3.3.2.6.). It is possible, however, that the latter do in fact occur ⁶⁵.

3.1.3.4. PERSONAL PREFIXATION IN COMBINATION WITH THE IMPERATIVE OR WITH THE VETATIVE PROCESS

3.1.3.4.0. *Introduction*

As was the case with the temporal/modal categories discussed in 3.1.3.3. above, compulsory combination is found here of (1) a personal process which modifies the *b e g i n n i n g* of the phonetic form of the monomorphemic verb, and (2) a non-personal (here: imperative or vetative) process which modifies the *e n d* of this phonetic form. The processes mentioned, both those of type (1) and those of type (2), will be discussed in 3.1.3.4.1.

Besides the personal and the imperative or vetative process some other processes may operate. The verbs formed by these processes will be discussed in 3.1.3.4.2.

3.1.3.4.1. *The categories formed by personal prefixation, in combination with -ko (imperative) or with diphthongisation (vetative)*

3.1.3.4.1.1. Formation of the categories

These categories are formed on the basis of the monomorphemic verbs, by:

- A1) In the case of the imperative categories, suffixation with *-ko*,
- or
- A2) In the case of the vetative categories, replacement of the final

⁶⁴ Semantically the *tamĩ-* process is similar to the aspect-processes with *-potĩ*, *-kepi* and *-ma* discussed in 3.1.3.1.3-5.; but it differs from these in being applied only in combination with another process, while moreover the number of processes with which combination is possible is small; whereas *-potĩ*, etc. may be combined with all other verbal processes (see below, 3.1.3.9.).

⁶⁵ *Wi:to* 'to go' is exceptional in that the diphthongisation-process can only be applied in combination with *-tamĩ-* : *wi:toi* does not occur, but *wixtamĩ* 'may I go' does.

vowel by the corresponding *i*-diphthong, unless the final vowel is *i*, in which case no modification occurs;

and

B) Personal prefixation, with one of the prefix-alternants shown in the two tables.

With the transitive verbs there is a choice between two personal distinctions, designated I and II (horizontally) in the table below. For I the same prefix-alternants are invariably used, whether the combination is with *-ko* (imperative) or diphthongisation (vetative); II, on the other hand, has different alternants in these cases. Moreover there is prefix-alternation depending on the nature of the initial phoneme of the monomorphemic verb: one alternant occurs when the latter begins with a vowel other than *i*, the other when it begins with a consonant or with *i*; in which latter case the prefix does not precede *i*, but replaces this vowel (vertically, in the table):

	action directed at:	action proceeds from:	combination with:	monomorphemic verb begins with	
				C or <i>i</i>	V except <i>i</i>
I	1st pers.	2nd pers.	both imperative and vetative	<i>kī-</i>	<i>k-</i> initial <i>e, e:</i> are replaced by <i>o, o:</i>
II	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	imperative	<i>i-</i>	<i>ɛro</i>
			vetative	<i>kisi:-</i>	<i>kis-</i>

Examples:

Beginning with C, *i*:

kura:ma to look after

I *kīku:ra:mako* you must look after me
kīku:ra:mai you must not look after me

II *īku:ra:mako* you must look after him
kīsi:kura:mai you must not look after him

Beginning with V, not *i*

a:ro to take

I *karo:ko* you must take me
ka:roi you must not take me

II *aro:ko* you must take him
kīsa:roi you must not take him

<i>iɔna:wa</i> to disgust		<i>e:ne</i> to see, look at	
I <i>kɨɔna:wako</i> you must disgust me		I <i>kone:ko</i> you must look at me	
<i>kɨɔna:wai</i> you must not disgust me		<i>ko:nei</i> you must not look at me	
II <i>iɔna:wako</i> you must disgust him		II <i>ene:ko</i> you must look at him	
<i>kisiɔna:wai</i> you must not disgust him		<i>kise:nei</i> you must not look at him	

Transitive verbs of the personal type II may be connected with a word or word-group, which further specifies the person at whom or the thing at which the action is directed; e.g. *mo:ro ki:se iɔmo:ko* 'you must break open that case', *mo:ro ki:se kisiɔmoi* 'you must not break open that case' (*mo:ro ki:se* 'that case', *iɔmo* 'to break'). The verb may also precede, without this resulting in any apparent semantic difference: *iɔmo:ko mo:ro ki:se*, *kisiɔmoi mo:ro ki:se*.

The distinction I/II is lacking with the intransitive verbs; as is clear from the following table, they have only one prefixation. The same prefix-alternant (*a-*, *ay-*, respectively) is used for the imperative and the vetative category, except when the monomorphemic intransitive verb begins with *w*:

	combination with:	monomorphemic verb begins with		
		C, except <i>w</i> ; <i>i</i>	V, except <i>i</i>	<i>w</i>
action proceeds from 2nd pers.	imperative	<i>a-</i> , but <i>o-</i> when <i>i</i> is replaced	<i>ay-</i>	loss of <i>w</i>
	prohibitive			<i>w</i> replaced by <i>kɨt-</i>

Examples:

Beginning with C, *i*:

poro:pɨ to stop
apo:roxko you must stop
apo:ro:pɨ you must not stop

Beginning with V:

awo:mi to get up
aya:wɔŋgo you must get up
aya:wo:mɨ you must not get up

iɔma:tɨ to cease
oɔmaxko you must cease
oɔma:tɨ you must not cease

Beginning with *w*:

waīpi:na be one (with your
people)

aīpi:nako you must be one (with
your people)

kītaīpi:nai you must not be one
(with your people) ⁶⁶

3.1.3.4.1.2. Homonymy of vetative and optative/affirmative verbs

Diphthongisation of the final vowel as it occurs in the vetative verbs was also found in the optative-affirmative diphthongisation-process (3.1.3.3.2.6.). As the latter is also combined with personal prefixations which, formally at least, are identical with those found here, we find that by the side of every verb here designated 'vetative', a formally identical optative/affirmative verb occurs; e.g., alongside *kīku:ra:mai*¹ 'you must not look after me', *kīku:ra:mai*² 'may you look after me, you have really looked after me'.

The question now arises whether — as has so far been assumed — we have to do with different (homonymous) words, or with one and the same? An argument against identification would seem to be, in the first place, the considerable difference between the meanings as defined for the vetative verbs on the one hand, and the optative-affirmative verbs on the other: one category prohibits the same thing that the other describes as desirable. Yet it is not inconceivable that the suggestion as to the existence of an important semantic difference might be due to the definition we have chosen to give of the meanings

⁶⁶ *Wi:ka* 'to speak' and *wi:to* 'to go' behave irregularly, just as this was the case in the formation of temporal and modal categories (see 3.1.3.3.1.). In *wi:ka* loss of *w* does not occur, but the syllable *wi:* is replaced by *i:* : *ika:ko* 'you must speak'. The vetative has *k-* instead of *kī-* : *kī:kai* 'do not speak'. In the case of *wi:to* 'to go' the *ko*-process may only be used in combination with the *tamī*-process, which has itself the semantic value 'to go' (below, 3.1.3.4.3.). As with *wi:ka*, prefixation takes place with *i:*; furthermore the syllable *to* is lost by reduction before the infix *-tamī-*, which in its turn reduces the syllable *mī* to *ŋ* before the imperative suffix *-ko*. Thus is formed *itan̄go* 'you must go'. As is always the case with imperatives formed both with *-ko* and *-tamī*, a shortened doublet in *-ta* occurs here: *i:ta* 'you must go'. The vetative of *wi:to*, like that of *wi:ka*, is formed irregularly with *k-* instead of *kī-*, while moreover, instead of diphthongisation of the final vowel, suffixation with *-ŋ* occurs: *kī:toŋ* 'you must not go'. *We:i* 'to be' has *aiko* by the side of regular *eiko* 'you must be', with — as far as I could tell — the same meaning.

in English. If we define the meaning of *kiku:ra:mai* always as 'I appeal to you — either in a positive or in negative sense — with respect to looking after me', it would seem possible to conclude that we have to do with one word, whose meaning may be interpreted either in a positive sense ('may you look after me'), or in a negative sense ('do not look after me').

There are, however, three arguments against identification. In the first place there is no complete correspondence between the semantic correlates of the personal prefixes in the vetative verbs and the formally corresponding prefixes in the optative/affirmative verbs. As the following table shows, in the transitive formations with *kī-* (first line) there is not much difference between the personal exponent of the vetative and that of the optative-affirmative: the only difference is that the former, unlike the latter, does not seem to have the I/you-reference as well as the you/me-reference. In the case of the formations with *kīsi:-* however, there is no correspondence at all: to 'you' (left) corresponds 'both of us' (right). In the case of the intransitives there is correspondence again in so far as formation takes place with *a-*, *o-*, *ay-* (third line), but not in so far it takes place with *kī-* (fourth line):

	prefix	semantic value of this prefix when part of vetative verb		semantic value of this prefix when part of optative/affirmative verb	
		action directed at:	action proceeding from:	action directed at:	action proceeding from:
transitive	<i>kī-</i> , <i>k-</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	1st or 2nd pers.	2nd or 1st pers.
transitive	<i>kīsi:-</i> , <i>kīs-</i>	3rd pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.	1st + 2nd pers.
in-transitive	<i>a-</i> , <i>o-</i> , <i>ay-</i>	—	2nd pers.	—	2nd pers.
in-transitive	<i>kī-</i>	—	2nd pers.	—	1st + 2nd pers.

Examples:

kiku:ra:mai you must not look after me; may you look after me, may I look after you, you have really looked after me, I have really looked after you.

kīsi:kura:mai you must not look after him; may both of us look after him, both of us really looked after him.

apo:ro:pīi you must not stop (intrans.); may you stop, you have really stopped.

kitaipi:nai you must not be one (with your people); may both of us be one (with our people), both of us really have been one (with our people).

A second indication that the two types are not identical is the fact that the transitive verbs have only two vetative categories, viz. those with the personal exponents you/me and you/him, while the intransitive verbs have only one, that with the personal exponent you. If there was identity it might surely be expected that for all the eight (transitive verbs) or four (intransitive verbs) personal distinctions of the optative/affirmative, the vetative interpretation would be possible as well; so that, e.g. *aku:ra:mai* 'may he look after you, he has really looked after you' would also admit of the interpretation 'he must not look after you'. The latter is not the case, however. Moreover, the personal distinctions which the vetative verbs do have, are exactly the same as those of the imperative verbs, whose status as separate categories is beyond dispute.

Finally, a third argument against identification is to be found in the fact that whereas the same optative/affirmative value also belongs to the categories with *-ŋ* and to those with *:-se* (3.1.3.3.2.10.), these categories can never be interpreted in a vetative way; e.g. *apo:roŋnen* 'may you stop, you have really stopped', and *apo:ro:pi:se* 'so that you may stop', can neither of them be interpreted as: 'you must not stop'.

3.1.3.4.2. *The processes which must be combined with personal prefixation and the imperative or the vetative process*

3.1.3.4.2.1. The *ne*-categories

We continue to call the process by means of which plurals are formed after the suffix-alternant *-ne*, although it does not play any part in the imperative and vetative verbs. Elsewhere in the verbal paradigm, however, *-ne* plays an important part in the formation of the plural (3.1.3.2.9.).

1) In combination with the imperative process (*-ko*) the alternant *-to-* occurs, placed before *-ko*.⁶⁷

Examples:

<i>kiku:ra:mako</i>	you must look after me	<i>kiku:ra:matoko</i>	you (plur.) must look after me
<i>iku:ra:mako</i>	you must look after him	<i>iku:ra:matoko</i>	you must look after them, you(plur.)

⁶⁷ The plural is also formed by means of the alternant *-to-* in certain temporal and modal categories, see 3.1.3.3.1. D.E.F.

			must look after him, them
<i>apo:roxko</i>	you must stop	<i>apo:roxtoko</i>	you (plur.) must stop

2) In combination with the vetative process the alternant *-:toŋ* occurs. Before *-:toŋ* the diphthongised final vowel of the vetative is replaced again by the original final vowel of the monomorphematic verb ⁶⁸.

Examples:

<i>kiku:ra:māi</i>	you must not look after me	<i>kiku:ra:ma:toŋ</i>	you(plur.) must not look after me
<i>kisi:kura:māi</i>	you must not look after him	<i>kisi:kura:ma:toŋ</i>	you must not look after them, you (plur.) must not look after him, them
<i>apo:ro:pūi</i>	you must not stop	<i>apo:roxtoŋ</i>	you (plur.) must not stop

3.1.3.4.2.2. The *tamī*-categories

The imperative *-ko* may be combined with the *tamī*-process which, as we saw before, also occurs in combination with the optative diphthongisation-process (see 3.1.3.3.3.4.).

In combination with *-ko* the alternant *-tanŋ-* occurs, placed before the imperative suffix.

Examples:

<i>iku:ra:mako</i>	you must look after him	<i>iku:ra:matanŋo</i>	you must go and look after him ⁶⁹
<i>ayu:wako</i>	you must dance	<i>ayu:watanŋo</i>	you must go dancing

The verbs with *-tamī-* have an imperative-locative meaning: the action demanded by the speaker is to take place at some other location than that of the speech event.

Alongside all the verbs formed in this way with *-ko* and *-tanŋ-* and ending in *-tanŋo*, a shorter form in *-ta* also occurs; thus alongside *iku:ra:matanŋo* 'you must go and look after him', *iku:ra:mata*, and alongside *ayu:watanŋo* 'you must go dancing', *ayu:wata*. As there is

⁶⁸ The plural is also formed by means of *-:toŋ* in certain temporal and modal categories, see 3.1.3.3.3.1. A, B, C.

⁶⁹ In my material there are no cases with combination of *-tamī*, *-ko*, and the other personal prefixation, that with *kī-* 'you/me'.

no apparent semantic difference between each pair and no separate plural occurs by the side of the *ta*-imperatives (see the next section), it seems to me that they should be regarded as shortened doublets of the imperatives in *-tango*.

3.1.3.4.2.3. Combination of the *ne*- and the *tamī*-process

The two processes discussed in the preceding sections may also be applied simultaneously, together with *-ko*:

	without <i>ne</i> -process	with <i>ne</i> -process
without <i>tamī</i> -process	<i>iku:ra:mako</i> you must look after him	<i>iku:ra:matoko</i> you must look after them, you(plur.) must look after him, them
with <i>tamī</i> -process	<i>iku:ra:matango</i> you must go and look after him	<i>iku:ra:matandoko</i> you must go and look after them, you(plur.) must go and look after him, them

3.1.3.5. THE NON-PERSONAL *tī*-PROCESS AND THE PROCESSES WITH WHICH IT MAY BE COMBINED

All the verbal processes discussed so far were either personal or they could, or had to, be combined with personal processes. Neither applies to the *tī*-process to be discussed now.

3.1.3.5.1. *The tī-category*

Serving as base for the *tī*-process are the members of the syntactic *se*-category (3.1.2.1.), where it is present. When such a syntactic *se*-formation is lacking, the monomorphemic verb as such serves as base for the *tī*-process.

The following prefix-alternants occur:

- 1) *tī*-
- 2) *tu*-
- 3) *t-*

The first is the case when the monomorphemic verb begins with a consonant other than *w*, the second when it begins with *w*, and the third when it begins with a vowel.

Examples, verbs with syntactic *se*-category:

- 1) *ka:pī/ka:se* 'to make', *tika:se* 'made'; *po:mi/poiye* 'to plant', *tīpoiye* 'planted';

- 2) *we:i/weiye* 'to become', *tuweiye* 'having become';
 3) *ĩ:ri/ĩ:ye* 'to give, place', *tĩ:ye* 'given, placed'; *ambo:tĩ/ambo:se* 'to break' (trans.), *tambo:se* 'broken'; *apo:i/apoiye* 'to seize, hold', *tapoiye* 'seized'.

Examples, verbs without syntactic *se*-category:

- 1) *ku:pi* 'to bath', *tiku:pi* 'bathed'; *tunda* 'to arrive', *titunda* 'arrived';
 2) *wo:ma* 'to fight against', *tuwo:ma* 'fought against'; *waiþi:na* 'to stand together', *tuwaiþi:na* 'having stood together';
 3) *a:ro* 'to take (with you)', *ta:ro* 'taken'; *ati:ta* 'to grow', *tati:ta* 'having grown'.

After *t-*, an initial vowel *e* or *e:* is replaced by *o*, *o:*.

Examples:

- 3) *e:ne* 'to see', *to:ne* 'seen'; *ereʔna* 'to faint', *toreʔna* 'fainted'.

In three cases the formation is not in accordance with the rules given above.

With *wo* 'to strike, kill' prefixation occurs not in accordance with 2, but in accordance with 1: *tĩ:wo* 'struck, killed'.⁷⁰

With *wĩ:ka* 'to speak' and *wĩ:to* 'to go' prefixation occurs not in accordance with 2, but in accordance with 3, the prefix *t-* replacing *w:* *tĩ:ka* 'having spoken', *tĩ:to* 'gone'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be defined as 'having undergone (transitive verbs) or having performed (intransitive verbs) the action designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb'.

Examples:

moxko pita:ni tiku:pi tera:pa mañ 'the child has already been bathed'. (*moxko pita:ni* 'the child', *ku:pi* 'to bath', *tera:pa* 'already', *mañ* 'he is'); *ye:müiri tuta:se mañ* 'my daughter is lost, has lost her way' (*ye:müiri* 'my daughter', *uta:pi* 'to get lost, lose one's way', *mañ* 'she is').

The verbs with *tĩ-* were found (a) directly connected with one of the members of the defective paradigm *mañ* 'he, she, it is', *ma:na* 'you are', *wa* 'I am', *kĩna:koñ* 'he, it was', etc. (see 3.1.4.); (b) in direct connection with *we:i* 'to be, become', *wo:pi* 'to come', *wĩ:to* 'to go', or a derivation from one of these verbs, (c) in direct connection with the conditional postposition *axta*, (d) without one of the above words

⁷⁰ It is possible that the deviant behaviour of *wo* is connected with the monosyllabic word-structure. It should be noted that also in the formation of the reflexive personal category (see 3.1.3.2.1.) *wo* is provided with an alternant *tĩ-* while otherwise *tu-* is always used before *w-*.

being present, but in this case I have not found any semantic difference from a group which would arise if the form *maḥ* 'he, she, it is', mentioned sub (a), was added. The word with *tī-* invariably precedes the word directly connected with it, but need not precede it immediately. Examples:

a) *tuta:se maḥ* 'she has lost her way', *tuta:se wa* 'I have lost my way', *to:ne ma:na* 'you have been seen';

b) *tuta:se me:i* 'you have really lost your way' (*me:i* optative/affirmative 2nd pers. to *we:i*), *toka:nuiye kinoxsaḥ* 'he comes running' (*eka:numī* 'to run', *kinoxsaḥ* 'he comes'), *am anuiye toka:nuiye mīrsa* 'you go to pick up a couple, running' (*am anuiye* 'to pick up a couple', *mīrsa* 'you go');

c) *tuwo:tapoiye tera:pa axtaine* 'as they had already taken each other', (*tera:pa* 'already', *axtaine* 'as they');

d) *am po:to ixpori:rī iḍwa tīpa:to* 'a big creek has been crossed by him' (*am po:to ixpori:rī* 'a big creek', *iḍwa* 'by him', *pa:to* 'to cross'). The semantic content of the sentence remains the same, as far as I could tell, when *maḥ* 'he, it is' is added after *tīpa:to*. In my text-material cases without *maḥ* are rare.

I do not know whether, apart from the verbs mentioned under a, b above and *axta*, any other verbs and postpositions may be connected with the members of the *tī-*category. On the basis of my material it would seem that the constructions with *maḥ* and *we:i* are much more frequently used than those with the other verbs and *axta*.

As the examples cited showed, the word connected with a member of the *tī-*category gives, by means of its personal exponent, an indication with regard to the person involved in the action. In the case of intransitive verbs it is the person from whom the action proceeds, in the case of transitives it is the person at whom the action is directed. In order to indicate the performer of the action, too, in a transitive *tī-*formation, use may be made of a group with the postposition *ḍwa* 'to, by', or of a personal derivation from this postposition: *iḍmuru ḍwa tīka:se maḥ* 'it has been made by my son' (*iḍmuru* 'my son', *ka:pī* 'to make'), *iḍwa tīka:se maḥ* 'it has been made by him'.

3.1.3.5.2. *The mbo²-category* ⁷¹

The *mbo²*-process only occurs in combination with the *tī*-process.

⁷¹ *Mbo²*, to distinguish it from a process with *-mbo* discussed before which, as we shall see, is probably not identical with the process discussed here (see 3.1.3.2.2.).

Examples: *tiku:pi* 'bathed', *tiku:pimbo* 'bathed then, in the past'; *tuweiye* 'been, become', *tuweiyembo* 'been, become then, in the past'.

The meaning of the words with *-mbo* may be defined as follows: 'having performed (intransitive) or having undergone (transitive) an action, as designated by the corresponding word in the *tī*-category, at a time before the speech event'. Example:

pena:ro mo:ro tuku:sembo 'that was known long ago' (*pena:ro* 'long ago', *mo:ro* 'that', *uku:tī* 'to know').

Like the *tī*-formations without *-mbo*, these words are as a rule connected with a following verb, mostly with members of the defective paradigm *mañ* 'he, she, it is'. Unlike those without *-mbo*, however, connection with a following verb is here accompanied by the addition of *me* immediately after *-mbo*. Examples:

ta:rombome a:saka:rikoñ wa mañ 'he was taken then by his comrades' (and has been back long since; *a:ro* 'to take', *a:saka:rikoñ wa* 'by his comrades'); *pena:ro tuweiyembome mañ* 'long ago it happened' (*pena:ro* 'long ago', *we:i* 'to be, become').

It is possible that this *me* may be identified with the postposition *me*. An obstacle to such an identification, however, is the fact that there is no discernible semantic difference between *ta:rombo* (not connected with *mañ*) and *ta:rombome* (connected with *mañ*) corresponding to the semantic aspect of this *me*: 'as, serves as'. Therefore it would seem better to assume the existence of a second element *me* or *-me*, with an exclusively syntactic function.

The *mbo*²-process shows similarity to two processes that have already been discussed, that with *-mbo* (3.1.3.2.2.) and that with *-yakoñ* (3.1.3.3.2.3.). With *-mbo* there is complete formal identity, but only a partial semantic similarity. There is similarity in as much as *-mbo*, too, may denote 'distance in time', e.g. *ka:pirimbo* 'the fact that . . . was made then'; the difference, however, is that the *mbo*-formations may also refer to modes of distance other than the temporal one (spatial distance, distance in the sense of 'not really happened'), whereas *-mbo*² seems to be purely temporal. On the other hand, *-mbo*² does show complete semantic identity to *-yakoñ*, since the latter also denotes solely that the activity took place in the past.

It is hardly possible to identify *-mbo*² either with *-mbo* or with *-yakoñ* merely on the above grounds. In the next section, however, we shall find an important indication pointing to identification of *-mbo*² with *-yakoñ*.

3.1.3.5.3. *The to²-category*⁷²

The *to²*-process occurs in combination with the *tī*-process (3.1.3.5.1.).
Example:

e:ne 'to see', *to:ne* 'seen', *tone:to* 'seen then, in the past, and continually'.

In the case of combination of the *tī*-process with *-to²*, the syntactic suffix (alternants *-se* and *-ye*, see 3.1.3.5.1.) is never found.

Examples:

ka:pā/ka:se 'to make', *tika:se* 'made', *tikaxto* 'made then, in the past, and continually'; *we:i/weiye* 'to become', *tuweiye* 'having become', *tuweito* 'having become then, in the past, continually'.

The meaning of the words with *-to²* may be defined as: 'having performed (intransitive) or having undergone (transitive) an action as designated by the corresponding word in the *tī*-category, at a time before the speech event and continually'.

Examples:

i:ro wa:ra uwa:poto:saṅ to:riri tī:kato 'thus the story of the ancestors always said, in the past' (*i:ro wa:ra* 'thus', *uwa:poto:saṅ to:riri* 'the story of the ancestors', *tī:kato* 'always having said in the past');

pena:ro tona:rike wī:topo:no tuweito 'long ago wandering about was always in fear' (*pena:ro* 'long ago', *tona:rike* 'restive, in fear', *wī:topo:-no* 'the wandering about', *tuweito* 'formerly always having been').

As was the case with the category with *-mbo²* discussed in the last section, the rule is that when the sentence is amplified with *maṅ* 'he, she, it is', or with one of the other words mentioned there, *me* must be added immediately after *-to²*.

Example:

tuwo:mu:ka yu:mī ayu:mī mi tuweitome maṅ 'your late father was always very capable' (*tuwo:mu:ka yu:mī* 'very capable' *ayu:mī mi* 'your late father').

3.1.3.5.4. *Semantic proportionality to categories discussed in 3.1.3.3.*

When we finally compare the semantic value of *-to²* discussed in the last section with that of temporal-durative *-to²* occurring in combination with personal prefixation (3.1.3.3.2.5.), we find such an evident similarity that identification is the obvious conclusion. On the basis of this it is easier to conclude that the non-durative *mbo²*-category

⁷² *to²*, to distinguish it from a process with *-to* discussed before (3.1.3.2.10.).

(3.1.3.5.2.) is semantically equivalent to the *yakoŋ*-category, since the latter in 3.1.3.3. proved to be the non-durative counterpart of *-to*². We thus find the following semantic proportionality:

	personal	non-personal
no time-relation with regard to speech event	1) <i>sene:ya</i> ⁷³ I see him	<i>to:ne</i> seen
before speech event	2) <i>senc:yakoŋ</i> I saw him then	<i>tonembo</i> seen then
before speech event, durative	5) <i>sene:to</i> I saw him continually then	<i>tone:to</i> seen then, continually then

3.1.3.6. THE NON-PERSONAL *toto*-PROCESS, AND THE PROCESSES WITH WHICH IT MAY BE COMBINED

3.1.3.6.1. *The toto-category*

The members of this category are formed on the basis of the monomorphemic verbs, by suffixation with:

- 1) *-to*
- 2) *-toto*

The first is the case with transitive verbs, the second with intransitive verbs. If the monomorphemic verb begins with *e:* or *e* this vowel is replaced by *o:*, *o*, respectively. Examples:

- 1) *o:no* 'to devour', *ono:to* 'one who devours'; *e:ka* 'to bite', *o:kato* 'one who bites, is apt to bite';
- 2) *wota:ro* 'to go hunting', *wota:roto:to* 'one who goes hunting'; *ema:mĩ* 'to dwell', *omandoto* 'one who dwells'.

Their meaning may be defined as: 'regular, continual performer of the activity designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb'. Examples: *nendoto moxko maŋ* 'he is a person who respects others' (*nendo* 'to respect', *moxko maŋ* 'he is'), *one:to ma:na* 'you are a person who takes notice of people' (*e:ne* 'to see', *ma:na* 'you are'), *ome:pato* 'teacher' (*eme:pa* 'to teach'), *e:ro po omandoto au wa* 'I am an inhabitant here' (*e:ro po* 'here', *ema:mĩ* 'to live, dwell', *au wa* 'I am').

3.1.3.6.2. *The ne-category*

We continue to call the process by means of which plurals are formed after the suffix-alternant *-ne*, although it is not used here. Elsewhere

⁷³ The numbering 1), 2), 5) refers to that used in 3.1.3.2.10.

in the verbal paradigm, however, *-ne* plays an important part in the formation of plurals (3.1.3.2.9.).

In combination with the *toto*-process suffixation with *-noŋ* occurs for the *ne*-process. In intransitive verbs this suffix replaces the second syllable *to* in *-toto*, in transitive verbs the plural-suffix is placed after *-to*. Examples:

omandoto 'one who dwells', *omandonoŋ* 'persons who dwell';
one:to 'one who sees, takes notice', *one:tonoŋ* 'persons who see, take notice'.

3.1.3.6.3. *The xto- and the xpa-category*

The two negation-processes with *-xto* and *-xpa* have already been discussed because, as well as in combination with the *toto*-process, they can also be applied directly to monomorphemic verbs, either in combination or not in combination with personal prefixure (3.1.3.2.5., 6., 14. II). The rules given in the sections mentioned fully apply here too. Examples: *nendoto* 'a person who respects other people', *nendotoxto* 'a person who cannot or does not want to respect other people', *inendotoxpa* 'not respecting other people'. In most syntactic constructions *nendotoxto* undergoes further suffixation with *-ri* (see 3.1.3.2.5.), e.g. *nendotoxtori mo:se maŋ* 'he over there is a person who cannot or won't respect other people' (*mo:se* 'he over there', *maŋ* 'he is').

The formations with *-xpa* may further be subject to application of the *no*-process (3.1.3.2.13A.). For these negations this means suffixation with *-ŋ*, vowel-change, loss of *x*, and replacement of *p* by *b*; e.g. *inendotoxpa* 'not respecting others', *inendoto:biŋ* 'one who does not respect others'.⁷⁴

3.1.3.7. THE NON-PERSONAL *no*²-PROCESS ⁷⁵

The members of the *no*²-category are formed on the basis of the monomorphemic verbs, by suffixation with *-no*. If the initial vowel of the monomorphemic verb is *e* or *e:*, it is replaced by *o*, *o:*, respectively. Examples:

pako:to 'to cut (wood)', *pako:tomo* 'the fact of doing wood-cutting on a certain occasion'; *u:wa* 'to dance', *u:wa:no* 'the fact of being dancing

⁷⁴ Probably combined application of the *xpa*- and the plural process is also possible, but I have not investigated this.

⁷⁵ *No*², to distinguish it from another process which was also called *no*-process, after one of its alternants (3.1.3.2.13.).

on a certain occasion'; *eme:pa* 'to teach', *ome:pano* 'the fact of being teaching on a certain occasion'.

Their meaning may be described as follows: 'a performance on a particular occasion, of the action designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb'. Examples: *auwano:pono po:ko mandoŋ* 'they are making (people) laugh' (*auwano:po* 'to make laugh', *po:ko* 'engaged on', *mandoŋ* 'they are'); *ku:mü:no ta mandoŋ* 'they are in a condition of starving' (*ku:mü:ri* 'to starve', *ta* 'in'); *weino yu:mü* '(there is) a lot of being there', i.e. there is a noisy atmosphere of swankiness (*we:i* 'to be', *yu:mü* 'very'); *wa:reta:no se:tai tu:na ta* 'I have really heard singing on the river' (i.e. singing of unknown origin, *wa:reta* 'to sing', *se:tai* 'I have really heard', *tu:na ta* 'on the river').

The *no*²-process cannot be combined with other processes, whether personal or non-personal, excepted the voice- and aspect-processes discussed in 3.1.3.1.

3.1.3.8. THE TRANSPOSITION-PROCESS WITH *-sene*

The members of this category are formed on the basis of the monomorphemic verbs, by suffixation with *-sene*.

If the monomorphemic verb begins with a consonant, *i-* is further prefixed, unless the initial consonant is *w* and, besides, the verb is intransitive; in the latter case initial *w* is lost and prefixure does not take place.⁷⁶

Examples:

epe:kati 'to buy', *epe:ka:sene* 'just bought'; *tunda* 'to arrive', *itunda:se:ne* 'just arrived'; *wo:pü* 'to come', *opü:sene* 'just come'.

Their meaning may be defined as: 'just having undergone (transitive verbs) or just having performed (intransitive verbs) the action designated by the monomorphemic verb'. E.g.: *o:we ko naŋ?* *ito:sene tauxti ʔwa maŋ* 'where is he?' 'he has just gone home'.

If the *sene*-process is applied, (A) the *no*-process may be combined with it (3.1.3.2.13.); furthermore this combination of the *sene*- and the *no*-processes may be further combined with (B) the *ne*-process (3.1.3.2.9.), with (C) the *mbo*-process (3.1.3.2.2.), or with B and C together. E.g.:

⁷⁶ *Wi:to* 'to go' is an exception among the intransitive verbs with initial *w* : there is no loss of *w*, but *wi:* is replaced by *i*, which produces *ito:sene* 'just gone away'. *Wi:to* and *wo:pü* 'to come' have no reduction of the final syllable before *-sene*.

	<i>opī:sene</i>	just come
A	<i>opī:senaŋ</i>	one who has just come
A+B	<i>opī:senaŋgoŋ</i>	persons who have just come
A+C	<i>opī:sena:nimbo</i>	one who has not really just come
A+B+C	<i>opī:senaŋgonimbo</i>	persons who have not really just come

This morphological paradigm of *opī:sene* is completely identical with that of the adjectives (3.4.5). As *opī:sene* and its derivatives are probably ⁷⁷ fully identical with the adjectives in their syntactic properties as well, there is every reason to assume transposition here, from the system of the verbs to that of the adjectives.⁷⁸

3.1.3.9. COMBINATION OF THE VOICE- AND ASPECT-PROCESSES DISCUSSED IN 3.1.3.1., WITH THE OTHER VERBAL PROCESSES

In 3.1.3.1. seven processes were discussed which may be characterised from a semantic point of view as voice- and aspect-processes; viz. the processes with *we-*, *wos-*, *-poŋi*, *-kepi*, *-ŋma*, *-po*, and *-nopi*, illustrated by *ku:pi/weku:pi* 'to bath(trans.)'/'to take a bath', *e:ne/wose:ne* 'to see'/'to see each other',⁷⁹ *ku:pi/ku:pi:po:ti* 'to bath(trans.)'/'to bath repeatedly(trans.)', *ku:pi/ku:pikē:pi* 'to bath(trans.)'/'to stop bathing (trans.)', *ku:pi/ku:piŋma* 'to bath(trans.)'/'to bath completely(trans.)', *ku:pi/ku:pi:po* 'to bath(trans.)'/'to make (someone) bath (another person)', *tunda/tundano:pi* 'to arrive'/'to cause to arrive'.⁸⁰

In 3.1.3.1. it was stated as characteristic of all these processes that they cannot only be combined with one another without practically any restriction, but that they may also be combined with all the other verbal processes. Now that we have come to the end of 3.1.3. and have discussed all these other processes, too, it has become possible to consider in greater detail their combination with the voice- and

⁷⁷ No systematic syntactic investigation has been made.

⁷⁸ A few verbs also form words with the properties of adjectives by prefixation with *t-* or *tu-* and suffixation with *-ke* or *-ne*, a transposition-process which is productive with the nouns (3.2.2.8). I have noted the following cases: *u:wa* 'to dance', *tuwa:ke* 'fond of dancing'; *we:i* 'to be, become', *tuwei:ke* 'very much present, noisy, fussy, swanky'; *wota:ro* 'to hunt', *tuwo:ta:roke* 'skilful at hunting'; among these may be included three cases which show further irregularities: *cxpo:i* 'to spin', *tuwexpoine* 'skilful at spinning' (instead of *toxpoine*); *e:yu* 'to call a person names, to be abusive', *toru:ke* 'fond of being abusive' (instead of *toyu:ke*); *ixponu:mi* 'to swim', *tixpone* 'being able to swim' (instead of *tixponu:ne*).

⁷⁹ The *wos-* process may only be applied to transitive verbs with initial *c*.

⁸⁰ The *nopi-* process may only be applied to intransitive verbs ending in *a*.

	I	II	III
	with <i>we-</i> (3.1.3.1.)	with <i>-poñi</i> (3.1.3.1.)	
1 3.1.1.	<i>ku:pi</i> to bath (trans.)	<i>weku:pi</i> to take a bath	<i>ku:pipo:fi</i> to bath repeatedly (trans.)
2 3.1.2.	<i>ku:piri</i> to bath (trans.)	<i>weku:piri</i> to take a bath	<i>ku:pipo:firi</i> to bath repeatedly (trans.)
3 3.1.3.1.			
4 3.1.3.2.1.	<i>aku:pi</i> your being bathed	<i>awe:ku:pi</i> your taking a bath	<i>aku:pipo:fi</i> your being bathed repeatedly
5 3.1.3.2.2.	<i>ku:pirimbo</i> to have bathed in the past, not really to bath	<i>weku:pirimbo</i> to have taken a bath in the past, not really to take a bath	<i>ku:pipo:firimbo</i> to have bathed repeatedly in the past, not really to bath repeatedly
6 3.1.3.2.3.	<i>niku:piri</i> the being bathed by —, one who is bathed by —		<i>niku:pipo:firi</i> the being repeatedly bathed by —, one who is repeatedly bathed by —
7 3.1.3.2.4.	<i>ku:pixpo</i> the having been bathed of —, one who has been bathed	<i>weku:pixpo</i> the having taken a bath of —, one who has taken a bath	<i>ku:pipo:firpo</i> the having repeatedly been bathed of —, one who has repeatedly been bathed
8 3.1.3.2.5.	<i>ku:pixto</i> one who does not want to or cannot bath	<i>weku:pixto</i> one who does not want — to take a bath	<i>ku:pipo:firto</i> one who does not want to or cannot bath repeatedly
9 3.1.3.2.6.	<i>iku:pixpa</i> not bathed	<i>eku:pixpa</i> not taking a bath	<i>iku:pipo:firpa</i> not repeatedly bathed
10 3.1.3.2.7.	<i>ku:pito:po</i> place, means to bath	<i>weku:pito:po</i> place, means to take a bath	<i>ku:pipo:zoto</i> place, means to bath repeatedly
11 3.1.3.2.8.	<i>ku:pimen</i> one who bathes		<i>ku:pipo:men</i> one who bathes repeatedly

12	3.1.3.3.1., 2.	<i>siku:piya</i>	I bath him	<i>weku:piya</i>	I take a bath	<i>siku:pipo:sa</i>	I bath him repeatedly
13	3.1.3.4.1.	<i>iku:piko</i>	you must bath him	<i>eku:piko</i>	you must take a bath	<i>iku:pipoxko</i>	you must bath him repeatedly
14	3.1.3.5.1.	<i>tiku:pi</i>	bathed	<i>tuwe:ku:pi</i>	having taken a bath	<i>tiku:pipo:se</i>	bathed repeatedly
15	3.1.3.6.1.	<i>ku:pito</i>	one who bathes regularly	<i>weku:pito:to</i>	one who takes a bath regularly	<i>ku:pipoxto</i>	one who bathes repeatedly
16	3.1.3.7.	<i>ku:pino</i>	the fact of being bathing on a particular occasion	<i>weku:pino</i>	the fact of taking a bath on a particular occasion	<i>ku:pipo:ɔno</i>	the fact of being bathing repeatedly on a particular occasion
17	3.1.3.8.	<i>iku:pise:ne</i>	just bathed	<i>eku:pise:ne</i>	having just taken a bath	<i>iku:pipo:sene</i>	just bathed repeatedly

aspect-processes of 3.1.3.1. This will be done with the aid of the table on pages 204 and 205. However, for the sake of clarity, this table does not illustrate all the combinations that are in fact possible. The limitations are of two kinds:

- 1) Of the seven voice- and aspect-processes only two are shown in the table, viz. those with *we-* and *-poti*. This limitation is feasible because with respect to combination with other processes *-poti* is in complete agreement with the other suffixations (*-kepī*, *-ɔma*, *-po*, *-nopī*), and *we-* with the other prefixation (*wos-*).
- 2) Also of other processes which clearly behave similarly (e.g. sets of personal prefixations) only one has been chosen as representative of its set.

Finally it should be noted that the table naturally does not contain words which may further be formed, because many of the processes that may be combined with *we-* and *-poti* may besides be combined with one another. The notes to the table briefly mention these further possibilities of combination, with a reference to the section in which they are discussed.

The words in column I belong to categories that have already been discussed in the sections indicated on the left (the figures on the extreme left have only been added to facilitate reference to the table). The words in column II and III have been formed by means of the same processes as the corresponding words in I, with this difference, however, that they occur in combination with *we-* and *-poti*. Let us now study the table from the top downwards.

Lines 1 and 2

The difference in syntactic valence between *ku:pi* (I,1) and *ku:pīri* (I,2) — there is no semantic difference — is found again in the two corresponding formations with *we-* (II) and *-poti* (III); e.g. *weku:pi se wa* 'I want to take a bath', but *weku:pīri sexpa wa* 'I don't want to take a bath' (*se* 'wanting to', *sexpa* 'not wanting to', *wa* 'I am'); *iɔme ku:pipo:tī se wa* 'I want to bath my child repeatedly', *iɔme ku:pipo:tīri sexpa wa* 'I don't want to bath my child repeatedly'.

Line 3

Combination with each other of *we-*, *-poti* and the other processes discussed in 3.1.3.1. has already been treated in 3.1.3.1.8.

Lines 4-11

As was noted in the discussion of the *we*-category, its members behave like intransitive monomorphemic verbs (3.1.3.1.1.). This means that we find a few other differences between column I and II than only the presence or absence of *we*-; viz.:

- 1) by the side of *niku:pīri* (line 6) and by the side of *ku:pīneŋ* (line 11), II lacks the *we*-correlate, as was to be expected since the *ni*- and *neŋ*-processes are not applicable to intransitive verbs;
- 2) in the formation of *eku:pīxpa* (line 9, II) initial *w* is lost, in accordance with the rule applying also to the monomorphemic verbs (see 3.1.3.2.6.).

Column II shows only part of the verbs that may be formed by *we*- in combination with other processes. In the first place *a*- in line 4 may be replaced by four other personal prefixes:

<i>weku:pi</i>	my taking a bath (zero-prefix)
<i>iwe:ku:pi</i>	his taking a bath
<i>tuwe:ku:pi</i>	his taking a bath himself
<i>kīwe:ku:pi</i>	both our taking a bath

All five personal prefixes may also be added to the *we*-formations in lines 2, 5, 7, 8 and 10:

<i>awe:ku:pīri</i>	your taking a bath
<i>awe:ku:pīrimbo</i>	your taking a bath in the past, or not really
<i>awe:ku:pīxpo</i>	your having taken a bath, you who have taken a bath
<i>awe:ku:pīxto</i>	one who does not want you to take a bath
<i>awe:ku:pītopo</i>	place, means for you to take a bath

No personal prefixation is possible for the *we*-formation in line 9, *eku:pīxpa*. This is not surprising, in view of the intransitive nature of the *we*-formations: monomorphemic intransitive verbs (e.g. *uxta* 'to emerge'), too, cannot be affixed with *-xpa* and a personal prefix at the same time.

Secondly, there are words not included in the table which are formed by combination of *-mbo* (line 5) and the other processes active in line 4, 6-10; e.g. *awe:ku:pīxpombo* (cf. lines 4, 7, and 5 in column II) 'your having taken a bath in the past, or not really; you who have taken a bath in the past, or not really'. As the presence of *we*- does not in any way affect the combinability of *-mbo* with other processes, this one example must suffice here; the reader is referred to the paradigm in 3.1.3.2.14 III, which illustrates the possibilities of combination with *-mbo*.

Thirdly, lines 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 admit of being combined with the plural process (3.1.3.2.9.); e.g. *awe:ku:pi:sañ* (cf. lines 4 and 7 in column II; the plural is formed by replacing *-xpo* by *-:sañ*): 'your (plur.) having taken a bath, you (plur.) who have taken a bath'. As the presence of *we-* does not affect the plural process, I may refer the reader to the paradigm in 3.1.3.2.14 IV.

Fourthly, *-mbo* and the plural process may also occur together; e.g. *awe:ku:pi:sanimbo* (cf. lines 4, 7, 5 in II): 'your (plur.) having taken a bath in the past, or not really; you (plur.) who have taken a bath in the past, or not really'. See further the paradigm in 3.1.3.2.14 V.

Fifthly, the *xpo*-process (line 7) may be combined with the *to*-process; e.g. *awe:ku:pixpoto* (cf. lines 4, 7): 'when you have taken a bath' (3.1.3.2.10.).

Sixthly, the *topo*-process (line 10) may be combined with the *me*-process (3.1.3.2.11.); e.g. *awe:ku:pitoɔme* 'so that you may take a bath'. For further combination with the plural process, see 3.1.3.2.14 VII, paradigm *urta*.⁸¹

In the seventh place, the *topo*-process (line 10) may be combined with the *mī*-process (3.1.3.2.12.); e.g. *mīwe:ku:pitopo* 'place, means for all of us to take a bath'. See 3.1.3.2.14 VIII.

In the eighth place, both the *xpa*-process (line 9) and the combination of *topo*- (line 10) and *me*-process may be combined with the *no*-process (3.1.3.2.13.); e.g. *eku:pibim* 'one who does not take a bath', *awe:ku:pitoɔman* 'something that serves as a means for you to take a bath'. See further 3.1.3.2.14 IX.

Finally, as to lines 4-11 in column III, here again only part of the categories are included which may be formed by combination of *-poti* with other processes. As, however, *ku:pipo:ti* has exactly the same morphological properties as the monomorphemic verb *ku:pi*,⁸² the reader may be referred to the paradigms in 3.1.3.2.14.

Line 12

The presence of *we-* again produces in II a word with the properties of an intransitive verb. This means that, whereas *si-* in *siku:piya* (column I) may be replaced by seven other personal prefixes, the

⁸¹ The intransitive verbs, with *urta* 'to emerge' for their paradigm, are discussed at the very end of 3.1.3.2.14.

⁸² Except that a second suffixation with *-poti* probably never occurs.

personal zero-prefix of *weku:piya* may be replaced by only three other prefixes:

weku:piya I take a bath
meku:piya you take a bath
kūte:ku:piya the two of us take a bath
kīnc:ku:piyaŋ he takes a bath

fully in accordance with the rules formulated in 3.1.3.3.1. for monomorphemic intransitive verbs beginning with *w*.

Furthermore, as well as of *-ya*, use may be made of one of the eight other temporal and modal processes; e.g. *weku:pita:ke* 'I'll take a bath', *weku:piya:koŋ* 'I took a bath then', etc. (see 3.1.3.3.2.).

Moreover there is the possibility of forming interrogative verbs; e.g. *meku:piyaŋ* 'do you take a bath?', *neku:piyaŋ* 'does he take a bath?' (see 3.1.3.3.3.2.). Plurals may be formed; e.g. *meku:piya:toŋ* 'you (plur.) take a bath' (see 3.1.3.3.3.1.), and the *tamī*-process may be applied, e.g. *weku:pita:mīi* 'let me go and take a bath' (3.1.3.3.3.4.).

With regard to *siku:pipo:sa* (column III) it should be noted that the syllable *tī* in *-poŋi* undergoes reduction, which is accompanied by the occurrence of the alternant *-sa* instead of *-ya*, in accordance with the rule given in 3.1.3.3.2.1. The same applies to formations with *-kepī* or *-nopī*, e.g. *siku:pīke:sa* 'I stop bathing', *situndano:sa* 'I make him arrive'; on the basis of *ku:pīke:pī* 'to stop bathing' and *tundano:pī* 'to cause to arrive', respectively. In the case of suffixation with *-ɖma* instead of *-poŋi*, the alternants *-e* and *-no* occur after the *a*, again in accordance with the rule of 3.1.3.3.2.1.: *siku:pīɖmae* 'I bath him completely', *kīni:ku:pīɖma:no* 'he bathes him completely'.

The presence of *-poŋi* in no way affects the possibility to apply other processes as well: just as with *siku:piya* (column I), the seven other personal processes may be used instead of *si-*, and the eight other temporal and modal processes instead of *sa-*. Further combination with the plural, the interrogative and the *tamī*-processes (3.1.3.3.3.) takes place in exactly the same way as when *-poŋi* is not present.

Line 13

The intransitive character of the verb with *we-* (column II) is again in evidence when personal prefixation occurs: whereas in *iku:pīko* (column I) another personal prefix may occur instead of *i-* (*kīku:pīko* 'you must bath me'), such an alternative does not exist by the side of *eku:pīko*. The loss of initial *w* takes place here in accordance with

the rule given for the monomorphemic intransitive verbs with initial *w*.⁸³ Instead of *-ko* the vetative process may be applied: ⁸⁴ *kīte:ku:pi* 'you must not take a bath', while furthermore *-ko* may be combined with *-tamī* and with the plural process: *eku:pitan̄go* or *eku:pita* 'you must go and take a bath', *eku:pito:ko* 'you (plur.) must take a bath' (3.1.3.4.2.).

Suffixation with *-potī* (column III) again does not affect the possibility to apply other processes: instead of *i-*, the other personal prefix may also occur: *kīku:pīpoxko* 'you must bath me repeatedly'; instead of *-ko*, the vetative process may occur: *kīsī:ku:pīpotīi* 'you must not bath him repeatedly'. Furthermore combination is possible with the plural process: *iku:pīpoxtoko* 'you (plur.) must bath him repeatedly, you (sg. or plur.) must bath them repeatedly', and with *-tamī-*: *iku:pīpoxtan̄go* 'you must go and bath him repeatedly'.

Line 14

The *tī*-process takes place in all columns in accordance with the rules given before: before *we-* (column II) the prefix is *tu-*, as is also the case before initial *w* in a monomorphemic verb, and in *tīku:pīpo:se* (column III) the final syllable *tī* has been replaced by *-se*, as is invariably the case in verbs with a reducible final syllable. Both in II and in III further combination is possible with *-mbo* (3.1.3.5.2.) and with *-to* (3.1.3.5.3.); in II: *tuwe:ku:pimbo* 'formerly having taken a bath', *tuwe:ku:pito* 'formerly having taken baths continually', in III: *tīku:pīpo:sembo* 'formerly bathed repeatedly', *tīku:pīpoxto* 'formerly bathed repeatedly and continually'.

Line 15

In column II suffixation takes place with *-toto* instead of with the alternant *-to*, as a result of the intransitive character of the formations with *we-*. Furthermore plurals may be formed with *-noñ*; in II: *weku:pīto:noñ* 'persons who regularly take a bath', in III: *ku:pīpoxtonoñ* 'persons who bath repeatedly' (3.1.3.6.2.).

Line 16

In III the syllable *tī* before *-no* is reduced to ʔ . The presence of

⁸³ See 3.1.3.4.1. The intransitive verbs are discussed at the very end of the section.

⁸⁴ This generally involves diphthongisation of the final vowel; *i* remains unchanged, however.

-no excludes combination with processes other than *we-*, *-poŋi* and the five other voice- and aspect-processes discussed in 3.1.3.1.

Line 17

In column II suffixation with *-sene* is accompanied by loss of the initial *w*, as is also the case when a monomorphemic verb with initial *w* is suffixed with *-sene* (3.1.3.8.). It should be noted that in the transitive columns I and III, *i-* is prefixed (in accordance with the rule formulated in 3.1.3.8.), and that this concurrence of loss of *w* in II and addition of *i-* in I and III is paralleled in lines 9 and 13.

Finally, it is not necessary to devote a separate table to the intransitive verbs, since they do not differ from the transitive verbs as to the point with which we are here concerned: the combination of aspect and voice with the other verbal processes. When nevertheless the intransitive paradigm is much more limited in scope than the transitive one, this is the result not of limitations on the combinability of processes with each other, but of the fact that some separate processes occurring with transitive verbs are lacking in the case of intransitive verbs; while, on the other hand, there is only one process lacking in the case of transitive verbs but occurring with (part of) the intransitive verbs. These limitations have already been noted in the discussion of separate processes; they are once more listed below:

- 1) The intransitive verbs lack the *we*-process (3.1.3.1.1., column I in the table) and the *wos*-process (3.1.3.1.2.),⁸⁵
- 2) The intransitive verbs lack the *ni*-process (3.1.3.2.3., line 6 in the table),
- 3) The intransitive verbs lack to the *neŋ*-process (3.1.3.2.8., line 11 in the table),
- 4) With the intransitive temporal-modal, imperative and vetative verbs the number of personal distinctions is smaller (3.1.3.3.1., 3.1.3.4.1.; lines 12, 13 in the table), while they are completely lacking in the negative verbs with *-xpa* (see paradigm *uxta*, at the end of 3.1.3.2.14.).
- 5) The transitive verbs lack the causative *noŋi*-process, which does occur with intransitive verbs, although only with those ending in *a* (3.1.3.1.7.).

⁸⁵ The causative processes with *-po* and *-noŋi* turn intransitive verbs into transitive ones; e.g. *tunda* 'to arrive', *tundano:pi* 'to cause to arrive'. This means that application of *we-* and *wos-* becomes possible after all. About the complications arising in the matter, see 3.1.3.1.8.

3.1.4. THE DEFECTIVE VERB *wa* 'I AM'

Wa 'I am' and a number of morphologically related words show some of the distinctions which we found in the intransitive verbs, viz.:

- 1) the four personal distinctions which, with the intransitive verbs, occur in combination with the temporal/modal processes,
- 2) of the temporal/modal distinctions, only that of the non-durative preterite,
- 3) the distinction interrogative/non-interrogative,
- 4) the distinction plural/non-plural.

Moreover, as we shall see below, there is one additional distinction which does not occur in the normal intransitive paradigm.

We are concerned with the following words:

			plural	
I	1st pers.	<i>wa</i> I am	....	....
	2nd pers.	<i>ma:na</i> you are	<i>mandoŋ</i>	you are (plur.)
	1st + 2nd pers.	.... ....	<i>kita:toŋ</i>	we are
	3rd pers.	<i>maŋ, na</i> he, she, it is	<i>mandoŋ</i>	they are
II preterite	1st pers.	<i>wa:koŋ</i> I was then	....	....
	2nd pers.	<i>ma:koŋ</i> you were then	<i>ma:tokoŋ</i>	you (plur.) were then
	1st + 2nd pers.	.... ....	<i>kita:tokoŋ</i>	we were then
	3rd pers.	<i>kina:koŋ</i> he, she, it was then	<i>kina:tokoŋ</i>	they were then
III interrogative	1st pers.	<i>waŋ</i> am I?	....	....
	2nd pers.	<i>maŋ</i> are you?	(<i>mandoŋ</i>)	are you? (plur.)
	1st + 2nd pers.	.... ....	(<i>kita:toŋ</i>)	are we?)
	3rd pers.	<i>naŋ</i> is he, she, it?	<i>nandoŋ</i>	are they?

Let us now consider, first (I) the temporally unmarked, non-interrogative verbs with their plural correlates; next (II) the preterites and (III) the interrogative verbs.

I. The plurals in the right-hand column are formed by means of *-:toŋ* or, after a nasal, *-doŋ*, which alternant occurs with the regular verbs as well (3.1.3.3.1A-C.). The absence of a plural 1st pers. is also in accordance with what is invariably found in the regular verbs. As to the personal distinctions, the replacement of *w* by *m*- (2nd pers.) and by *kita*- (1st + 2nd pers.) is in accordance with the rule applying

to all intransitive verbs with initial *w*, see 3.1.3.3.1. With regard to the 1st + 2nd pers., I have omitted to ascertain whether by the side of the plural *kīta:toŋ* the singular (*kī:ta* ? or *kīta:na* ? 'both of us are') occurs, too; it is probable that this is the case. In the 3rd pers. the regular prefix *kīn-* is not found, but in the plural *m-* occurs, and in the singular *m-* or *n-*. We shall return to the difference between these two third person-forms.

At the end of the word we find in the 2nd pers. *ma:na* an extra syllable *-na*, different from the normal intransitive paradigm (e.g. *wo:mīya* 'I enter', *mo:mīya* 'you enter'). On the other hand, the occurrence of *ŋ* in one of the two 3rd pers.-forms, *maŋ* 'he is', is fully in accordance with the rule (e.g. *kīno:mīyaŋ* 'he enters'); the other 3rd pers., *na*, is irregular in this respect.

Finally the semantic difference between *maŋ* and *na* has to be discussed, a distinction which does not occur in the normal intransitive paradigm. *Na* is used when the speaker makes a statement about a state of affairs he finds in existence at the moment of speaking, *maŋ* is used when he makes a statement about a state of affairs which he already knew about apart from the speech event.

Examples:

(1) *ya:kono ka:pīŋ te mo:se na* 'but this is not my friend' (*ya:kono* 'my friend', *ka:pīŋ* 'not', *te* 'but', *mo:se* 'this one here'; said by a girl on discovering that the one who accompanied her at night was very hairy, and so was not her friend but must be a wood-spirit).

(2) *ya:kono ka:pīŋ te mo:se maŋ* 'but that is not my friend' (statement to inform a third person of the speaker's friendly relations long known to herself).

(1) *īta:rīxpa na* 'it is empty' (*īta:rīxpa* 'without contents'; the speaker opens a box and to his disappointment finds nothing in it).

(2) *īta:rīxpa maŋ* 'it is empty' (the speaker sees that somebody else is about to open the box and tells him that he can save himself the trouble).

II. The preterite-forms contain *-koŋ*, in the plural preceded by *-to-*, fully in accordance with the rules formulated in 3.1.3.3.2.3. and 3.1.3.3.3.1D.

III. The 1st and 2nd persons of the interrogative verbs have *ŋ* as final consonant, the 3rd pers. has *n-* as initial consonant.

It is likely that there is also a separate interrogative form for the 1st + 2nd person, but I have not further investigated this. There is, again in accordance with the rule, no separate interrogative form for the 2nd pers. and for the 1st + 2nd person.

3.2. NOUNS

3.2.0. INTRODUCTION

In the greater part of the nominal system we find either partial or complete correspondence to certain parts of the — much more extensive — verbal system.

In the first place, a great many nouns form syntactic categories, although the rules that apply are for the greater part different from those applying to verbs (see 3.1.2.).

Secondly, complete or partial similarity to the verbs is found with regard to the following morphological categories:

1. Five personal categories, formed with the same prefixes as described for the verbs in 3.1.3.2.1.,
2. The *mbo*-category (for the verbs, 3.1.3.2.2.),
3. The *xpa*-category (for the verbs, 3.1.3.2.6.),
4. The plural categories (for the verbs, 3.1.3.2.9.),
5. The *no*-category (for the verbs, 3.1.3.2.13.).

There are also categories, however, which are confined to the nominal system:

6. The generalising category with *-nano*,
7. Two transposition-categories the members of which have the morphological valence of verbs,
8. A transposition-category whose members have the morphological valence of adjectives.

In a final section it will be shown how the various nominal processes may form further categories by combination with each other.

3.2.1. SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES

3.2.1.1. FORMATION AND SYNTACTIC VALENCE

In a large part of the nouns we find two formally distinct categories, between which there is no semantic difference but only a difference in syntactic valence. The members of these syntactic categories, here provisionally designated A and B, are found as follows: A in isolation, and besides in all word-groups where no members of the other category occur, B in groups formed by the noun being directly connected with a preceding other noun or nominal group, or also with a preceding

demonstrative (3.5.), provided the latter refers to a separate person or thing and does not perform the function of an article, in which case A occurs. Examples:

A) *kuri:yara!* 'a boat!'; *e:ro po:no kuri:yara* 'a boat from here'; *kuri:yara am wo:pīrī sene:ya* 'I see a boat coming' (*am* 'a', *wo:pīrī* 'to come'); with a demonstrative: *mo:ro kuri:yara wo:pīrī sene:ya* 'I see the boat coming' (*mo:ro* 'that, the').

B) *kasi:ri ku:riya:rārī* 'boat for cassava-beer' (*kasi:ri* 'cassava-beer'); *moxko ya:wo ku:riya:rārī* 'my uncle's boat' (*moxko ya:wo* 'my uncle'); with a demonstrative: *moxko ku:riya:rārī wo:pīrī sene:ya* 'I see his boat coming' (*moxko* 'he, his').

We now pass on to the description of the formal difference between the two categories.

Apart from certain cases with vowel-alternation, which will be discussed presently, the situation is as follows:

The members of A are monomorphemic nouns;

The corresponding words in B are formed by suffixation with one of the following alternants:

- 1) *-rī*
- 2) *-ru*
- 3) *-nī*
- 4) *-dī*

The first alternant occurs when the monomorphemic noun ends in a vowel other than *u*, the second when it ends in *u*. Examples:

A) <i>kuri:yara</i>	B) <i>ku:riya:rārī</i>	boat
<i>to:pū</i>	<i>to:puru</i>	stone ⁸⁶

The third alternant occurs when the monomorphemic noun ends in a nasal, except in one case, *e:raŋ* 'watchman', where the 4th alternant was found: Examples:

A) <i>a:siŋ</i>	B) <i>a:si:nī</i>	heat
<i>e:raŋ</i>	<i>e:randī</i>	watchman

The productive character of the formations with *-nī*, at least where *e* precedes the nasal, is perhaps shown by the occurrence of *-nī* in two recent loanwords from Sranan:

⁸⁶ In a number of cases suffixation is accompanied by contraction: *we:we/we:rī* 'wood', *wī:wī/wī:rī* 'axe'; *we:yu/weiru* 'sun', *sese:wu/seseuru* 'fringe on a garment'; *kiye:re/iɔkerc:rī* 'cassava'.

A) <i>teʃ</i>	B) <i>te:nī</i>	time
<i>skeʃ</i>	<i>ske:nī</i>	body

In a number of isolated cases the rule given above does not apply. Vowel-change instead of *-ri* was found in:

A) <i>auxto</i>	B) <i>auxti</i>	house
<i>pa:to</i>	<i>pa:tī</i>	place, spot

Besides there are a number of cases, including some words denoting next-of-kin, which are completely unsystematic from a formal point of view:

A) <i>ta:ta</i>	B) <i>sa:no</i>	mother, maternal aunt ⁸⁷
<i>pa:pa</i>	<i>yu:mī</i>	father, paternal uncle ⁸⁷
<i>pi:pi</i>	<i>no:tī</i>	grandmother ⁸⁸
<i>ya:wo</i>	<i>kaxto:po</i>	maternal uncle, husband of paternal aunt ⁸⁸
<i>se:wo</i>	<i>ī:ruī</i>	older brother
<i>mu:re</i>	<i>apo:nī</i>	small bench
<i>nimo:ku</i>	<i>pa:tī</i>	hammock ⁸⁹
<i>pīri:wa</i>	<i>ixpe</i>	arrow

In some words there is, besides the suffix, another formal difference between A and B, which consists in A beginning with *o* or *o:* and B with *e* or *e:*. My material contains the following cases:

A) <i>o:ma</i>	B) <i>e:marī</i>	path
<i>o:mī</i>	<i>emī:rī</i>	louse
<i>o:nu</i>	<i>enu:ru</i>	eye
<i>o:wa</i>	<i>ewa:rī</i>	hammock-line
<i>oku:sa</i>	<i>eku:sarī</i>	knee
<i>ona:pi</i>	<i>ena:pīrī</i>	lie
<i>onaxta</i>	<i>enaxtarī</i>	nose
<i>ore:kī</i>	<i>ere:kīrī</i>	wound
<i>ore:mī</i>	<i>ere:mīrī</i>	medicine-man's song
<i>omba:ta</i>	<i>embata:rī</i>	face

As I have not specially investigated the phenomenon, it is very well possible that the *e/o*-alternation occurs in many more cases than these

⁸⁷ Alongside *sa:no* and *yu:mī* the regular formations *ta:tārī* and *pa:parī* occur, but always with a childish connotation.

⁸⁸ Grandfather and paternal aunt are irregular, but not completely unsystematic: *tamu:si/ta:muru* 'grandfather', *wo:pi/o:pīrī* 'paternal aunt'.

⁸⁹ This *pa:tī* is undoubtedly identical with the word *pa:tī* 'place', which correlates as B-form with the A-form *pa:to* 'place'.

ten. If, however, we try to formulate a provisional rule on the basis of this limited material, both A and B may serve as the starting-point: (A → B) In certain A-nouns with initial *o* or *o:* formation of B takes place partly by replacement of *o* or *o:* with *e* or *e:*; or (B → A) In certain B-nouns with initial *e* or *e:* formation of A takes place by loss of *-rĩ* or *-ru*, and replacement of the initial vowel by *o* or *o:*.

An argument in favour of the first of these statements is that, as is usually the case, the shorter form is held to serve as the base. Yet I suspect that further investigation will show that the second statement is to be preferred. For one thing it is an established fact that there are nouns that always begin with *o* or *o:*; e.g.

A) <i>oko:mo</i>	B) <i>oko:morĩ</i>	wasp
<i>o:tĩ</i>	<i>o:tĩrĩ</i>	thing
<i>oxta</i>	<i>oxta:rĩ</i>	cave, hole
<i>oxto:no</i>	<i>oxtono:rĩ</i>	cold

This means that for each of the A-nouns beginning with *o* or *o:* it would be necessary to state whether or not they replace the initial vowel by *e*, *e:* in case of suffixation with *-rĩ*. On the other hand no B-nouns with initial *e*, *e:* have so far been found, to which an A-noun with *o*, *o:* does not correspond. If further investigation does not bring to light such cases, the conclusion will have to be that A is best described on the basis of B.

The belief that it is the words with *e*, *e:* that are best regarded as the base is strengthened by what we found in three verbal categories: those with *-xpo*, *-topo* and *-nen* (3.1.2.2.). There *e/o*-alternation was found to occur, too, with the same function as is performed in the nouns by *-rĩ* and *e/o*-alternation together. Now in these verbal cases there is a conclusive reason for considering the form with *e* as the base, viz. the fact that it is the initial vowel of the monomorphemic verb. E.g.:

<i>e:ne</i>	to see	
A) <i>onexpo</i>	B) <i>enexpo</i>	the fact of having been seen, something that has been seen
<i>one:topo</i>	<i>ene:topo</i>	place, means to see
<i>one:nen</i>	<i>ene:nen</i>	supervisor

Finally, in a small number of cases we find *-rĩ* accompanied by a modification other than the *e/o*-alternation. In one case *a* and *e* alternate:

A) <i>are:pa</i>	B) <i>ere:parĩ</i>	cassava-bread
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An additional *y-* in the B-nouns was found in:

A) <i>angî:sa</i>	B) <i>yangîsa:rî</i>	scarf
<i>oru:ko</i>	<i>yo:ruko:rî</i>	worm
<i>ara:bo</i>	<i>ya:rabo:rî</i>	eel-like fish

Perhaps this list is not complete, but it is certain that we are concerned here with an isolated phenomenon.

★ ★ ★

As was noted at the beginning of this section, many nouns lack the distinction between a syntactic A- and B-category. Thus we find alongside *exküni se:nei* 'I have really seen smoke', *waxto exküni se:nei* 'I have really seen the smoke of the fire', with the same form *exküni*, without *rî* or vowel-alternation.

I have not completely succeeded in formulating rules for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the formation of syntactic categories. This may be due to the fact that my investigation was not thorough enough, but I believe that there is in fact no complete regularity in this matter.

In so far as it is possible to detect regularity, it lies in the fact that (1) there is no formation of syntactic categories in the great majority of nouns ending in *î*. There are, however, (2) also nouns in *î* where syntactic categories are found, and conversely (3) nouns ending in a vowel other than *î* or in a nasal where they are not found. I have not succeeded in finding any rule enabling one to predict whether a noun belongs to 1, 2 or 3.

1) Examples of nouns in *î* without syntactic categories: *emexpî* 'fore-head', *koxî* 'cry', *e:kî* 'pet animal', *wo:mî* 'garment', *ye:nî* 'storage, packing', *undi* 'treetrunk', *wokî:rî* 'man', *ekî:rî* 'thorn', *isudwî* 'lath, split palm rib'.

2) The cases in my material ending in *î*, with syntactic categories: *o:tî/o:tîrî* 'thing', *po:tî/po:tîrî* 'upper lip', *re:tî/re:tîrî* 'top', *ore:kî/ere:kîrî* 'wound', *pî:mî/pî:mîrî* 'neck', *ta:mî/ta:mîrî* 'tobacco'.

3a) The cases in my material ending in a vowel other than *î*, without syntactic categories: *epîxpo* 'pip, seed', *pî:po* 'skin, bark', *turu:po* 'heart', *upuxpo* 'head', *ye:po* 'bone';⁹⁰ *ako:no* 'friend' (male or female), *eku:nu* 'waist', *pu:nu* 'flesh', *îɔme* 'child', *îɔmo* 'egg', *îɔmuru* 'son', *imba* 'shoulder-blade', *üyo* 'husband', *uwembo* 'belly'.

3b) The cases in my material ending in a nasal, without syntactic

⁹⁰ As against these 5 cases in *po* that are not suffixed with *-rî*, there are two where this does happen: *tuxpo/tuxporî* 'spoon', *wîrî:po/wî:rîpo:rî* 'sweepings'.

categories: *auraŋ* 'language, speech', *uwe:seŋ* 'backside', *awo:siŋ* 'weight, heaviness', *ema:miŋ* 'work', *po:siŋ* 'sweetness', *apoxtuŋ* 'right-hand side', *a:tuŋ* 'fever', *tu:muŋ* 'mound', *uwe:tuŋ* 'sleepiness', *yaɔmuŋ* 'body', *yextuŋ* 'illness, pain'.

In fact these 11 cases constitute the greater part of the very limited⁹¹ material with a final nasal; I know of only 7 cases where the syntactic categories do occur: *su:rabaŋ/su:raba:nī* 'beam of roof', *skeŋ/ske:nī* 'body', *teŋ/te:nī* 'time', *a:siŋ/a:si:nī* 'heat', *mo:siŋ/mo:si:nī* 'length', *sa:nīŋ/sa:ni:nī* 'shortness', *e:raŋ/e:randī* 'watchman'.

Finally, *i:tu/i:turu* 'forest' is an isolated case, since the presence or absence of *ru* has nothing to do with a difference in syntactic valence: both forms are syntactically and semantically fully interchangeable.

3.2.1.2. NOMINAL WORD-GROUPS

It is necessary to make some observations about the wordgroup-character of the constructions designated B in the last section. As we saw there, in many nouns a special syntactic suffixation with *-rī* occurred, sometimes accompanied by vowel-alternation, e.g. A *kuri:yara* 'boat', B *moxko ya:wo ku:riya:rari* 'uncle's boat'; whereas in cases where the syntactic category is lacking these constructions merely contain the monomorphematic noun: *e:tī* 'name', *moxko ya:wo e:tī* 'uncle's name'.

What has so far not been mentioned, however, is that in the B-constructions the two components must always immediately follow each other,⁹² a fact which may well make us wonder whether these constructions are not compounds rather than word-groups. The consequence of such an assumption would be that what we called 'members of the syntactic B-category' in the last section could no longer be assigned the status of words since they would only occur as parts of compounds.

There are, however, three indications pointing to the fact that, in

⁹¹ A nasal as final phoneme is rare in monomorphematic words, see 1.1.2.2.

⁹² It is true that *mi* 'late' and *ɔme* plural *ɔmakox* 'small' may be placed between the two nouns, but it is doubtful whether these elements themselves are words and not parts of words. *Mi* itself cannot be separated by a third word from the word to which it belongs (*ya:wo mi* 'my late uncle'); *ɔme* and *ɔmakox* are perhaps identical with the words *iɔme*, *iɔmakox* 'child, children' (loss of initial *i* is a normal sandhi-phenomenon) but, when used as diminutives, they must always immediately follow the word to which they belong (*piri:wa ɔme* 'small arrow', *piri:wa ɔmakox* 'small arrows'). On *ɔme*, also 2.1.1.4.3B.

spite of the absence of clear separability, we have to do with word-groups and not with compounds.⁹³

1) In analogous constructions with a monomorphemic verb following a noun there is clear separability, e.g. by *naʎneŋ* 'first': *moʒko ya:wo* (*naʎneŋ*) *kura:ma kinoxtaŋ* 'he will (first) come to look after uncle', see 3.1.1.(1b).

2) The first nominal component of the construction remains subject to suffixation without any restriction, which is generally not the case with compounds. E.g. *maina e:marī* 'path to a garden' (*maina* 'garden', *o:ma* 'path'), *imainarī:koŋ e:marī* 'a path to their gardens'.

3) Each of the two components remains subject to the rules of word-structure, formulated in chapter 2.

Finally, clear isolability exists in the A-nouns or, where the syntactic differentiation is lacking, in the monomorphemic nouns. They may constitute the total word-content of a sentence, e.g. *kuri:yara!* 'a boat!', a possibility which monomorphemic verbs (3.1.1.) and postpositions (3.3.1.) do not have.

3.2.2. MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

3.2.2.1. THE FIVE PERSONAL CATEGORIES

The five personal prefixations discussed in 3.1.3.2. may be applied to nouns as well as to verbs. For the form of the various prefix-alternants and the rules in accordance with which they alternate the reader may be referred to the table at the beginning of 3.1.3.2.1. All that need be added is a note on the special way in which the personal processes take place with nouns beginning with *i*. The phenomenon in question could not possibly be operative in the verbal class as *i* does not occur as an initial vowel in monomorphemic verbs. With nouns having *i*- the five processes take place as follows:

1st pers.	initial <i>i</i> replaced by <i>ii</i>
2nd pers.	initial <i>i</i> replaced by <i>oi</i>
3rd pers.	initial <i>i</i> does not undergo any modification
3rd pers. refl.	initial <i>i</i> replaced by <i>tii</i>
1st + 2nd pers.	initial <i>i</i> replaced by <i>kii</i>

As a glance at the table in 3.1.3.2.1. shows, *o-*, *tii-* and *kii-* occur as prefix-alternants. The diphthongs *oi*, *(t)ii* and *(k)ii* may therefore be regarded as a result of the coalescence of the prefix-vowel with the *i* belonging to the noun itself.

⁹³ See also B. J. Hoff, 'The nominal word-groups in Carib', *Studia Gratulatoria* dedicated to A. W. de Groot = *Lingua* 11 (1962), pp. 163, 164.

Serving as bases for the personal processes are the members of the syntactic B-category, where it is present. Where the distinction between a syntactic A- and B-category is lacking, the monomorphemic noun as such serves as the base for personal prefixation.

Examples (nouns with syntactic distinction A/B):										
A	<i>to:pu</i>	stone	<i>ira:pa</i>	bow	<i>a:siʃ</i>	heat	<i>o:ma</i>	path	<i>inc:ku</i>	sp. of liana
B	<i>to:puru</i>	stone	<i>ira:pari</i>	bow	<i>a:si:n̄i</i>	heat	<i>e:mari</i>	path	<i>inc:kuru</i>	sp. of liana
my	<i>to:puru</i>		<i>ira:pari</i>		<i>ya:si:n̄i</i>		<i>ye:mari</i>		<i>ʔineku:ru</i>	
your	<i>ato:puru</i>		<i>ora:pari</i>		<i>aya:si:n̄i</i>		<i>aye:mari</i>		<i>oineku:ru</i>	
his	<i>ito:puru</i>		<i>ira:pari</i>		<i>a:si:n̄i</i>		<i>e:mari</i>		<i>ine:kuru</i>	
his own	<i>ʔito:puru</i>		<i>ʔira:pari</i>		<i>ta:si:n̄i</i>		<i>to:mari</i>		<i>ʔineku:ru</i>	
both our	<i>kito:puru</i>		<i>kira:pari</i>		<i>ka:si:n̄i</i>		<i>ko:mari</i>		<i>kineku:ru</i>	
Examples (nouns without syntactic distinction A/B):										
	<i>turu:po</i>	heart	<i>we:m̄i</i>	carrier	<i>e:ʔi</i>	name				
				basket						
my	<i>turu:po</i>		<i>we:m̄i</i>		<i>ye:ʔi</i>					
your	<i>atu:ru:po</i>		<i>awe:m̄i</i>		<i>aye:ʔi</i>					
his	<i>ʔtu:ru:po</i>		<i>ʔwe:m̄i</i>		<i>e:ʔi</i>					
his own	<i>ʔitu:ru:po</i>		<i>ʔwe:m̄i</i>		<i>to:ʔi</i>					
both our	<i>kʔtu:ru:po</i>		<i>kʔwe:m̄i</i>		<i>ko:ʔi</i>					

Also in these cases where the formal difference between A- and B-nouns is irregular or completely unsystematic, personal prefixation invariably takes place on the basis of the B-noun. E.g.

A *auxto*, B *auxti* 'house', *yauxti* 'my house';

A *mu:re*, B *apo:nĩ* 'small bench', *ya:po:nĩ* 'my bench';

A *are:pa*, B *ere:parĩ* 'cassava-bread', *ye:repa:rĩ* 'my cassava-bread';

A *angĩ:sa*, B *yangĩsa:rĩ* 'scarf', *yangĩsa:rĩ* 'my scarf', *iyangĩsa:rĩ* 'her scarf'.

3.2.2.2. THE *mbo*-CATEGORY

The formation of the members of this category takes place by means of the alternants

- 1) *-mbo*
- 2) *-ĩmbo*

The first of these alternants occurs when the monomorphemic noun ends in a vowel, the second when it ends in a nasal. In the latter case \tilde{n} and $\tilde{ŋ}$ before the suffix are replaced by *n*.

Examples:

- 1) *auxto* 'house', *auxtombo* 'dilapidated house',
- 2) *auraŋ* 'story', *auranimbo* 'old, former story'.

In a small number of cases a formation with *-po* was found alongside the one with *-mbo*, without any apparent semantic difference. The words in question are: *mari:ya* 'knife', *mari:yapo* 'old knife'; *to:ri* 'story', *to:ripo* 'old story, strange story'; *pa:na* 'ear, sting at the side of the head of a fish', *pa:napo* 'loose sting, of a fish that has been eaten'; *i:potĩ* 'hair on body, feathers', *i:popo* 'plucked hair, feathers'; *maina* 'garden', *mainapo* 'former garden'; *ĩɔmuru* 'son', *ĩɔmu:po*⁹⁴ 'son whose father is dead'; *andikĩ:rĩ* 'tail', *andikĩ:po* 'tail-piece (meat)'.⁹⁴ In all these cases regular *-mbo* may also occur, and moreover *-po* and *-mbo* may be used together, again without any semantic difference: *mari:yapombo* 'old knife', *i:popombo* 'plucked hair, feathers'; *andikĩ:pombo* 'tail-piece'.

The latter does not apply to *ku:pesi:ni po:ripo* 'non-genuine branch

⁹⁴ Before *-po* the final syllable is lost. As we shall see, this phenomenon also occurs in other suffixations than *-po*; not however with its regular counterpart *-mbo*: *ĩɔmurumbo* likewise meaning 'son whose father is dead'.

of the tree *ku:pesi:nĩ*, as a name for the bushmaster-snake. Here we invariably find *-po*, not *-mbo* or *-pombo* (*po:riri* = 'branch').⁹⁵

The meaning of the members of the category may be defined as: 'what is designated by the monomorphemic noun, applied by the speaker with some reserve because of the existence of a discrepancy with regard to the real state of affairs'.

The discrepancy may be of various kinds:

I. The noun used was at one time fully applicable to the thing in question, but is so no longer. This temporal discrepancy may be expressed by terms like (A) 'formerly, at one time, originally'; other cases, which may be rendered by (B) 'known for ages, you know what I mean', probably also belong to this temporal interpretation of *-mbo*.

Examples:

A) *paru:ru e:pĩmbo aro:yaʒ* 'he took with him something that used to be the stem of a banana-tree' (but has now been cut down and stripped of its leaves; *paru:ru* 'banana', *e:pĩ* 'stem');

A) *e:ĩmbo xkuru mo:ro xudhop* 'the original name of it, that was formerly Good Hope' (but now the name has been changed to *gudo:pu*; *e:ĩ* 'name', *xkuru* 'formerly', *mo:ro* 'that').

B) *na:nambo am kiseʒni:ne* 'let us eat some pineapple, you know what I mean' (*na:na* 'pineapple', *am* 'some').

II. The noun is not fully applicable: there is either (A) partial identity, resemblance, or (B) irreality, non-genuineness.

Examples:

A) *apo:nĩmbo* 'what was his bench in a manner of speaking' (it was not a real bench, but a rock that was used by a giant as a seat; *apo:nĩ* 'his bench');

A) *auxtombo* 'species of fish, the form of which reminds one of a house' (*auxto* 'house').

B) *tako:nombo ti:kaʒma:no* 'her so-called friend made her tremble

⁹⁵ At first sight *maina:po* 'old garden, where the forest is coming back, capoeira', would seem to belong to this category, too. However, from a synchronic point of view at any rate, this is a monomorphemic noun, alongside *maina* 'garden' and the formations with *-po* and *-mbo* which do correlate morphologically with it: *mainapo*, *mainambo* 'former garden, bad garden'. My informants showed no hesitation in distinguishing between *maina:po* and *mainapo* which, for that matter, also differ formally from each other.

violently' (the girl discovered that the person who in the dark had pretended to be her friend was a wood-spirit; *tako:no* 'her friend').

III. The noun is, strictly speaking, applicable, but the thing or person in question is in such a bad or miserable condition that the name is used reluctantly. The speaker's attitude may be contemptuous: 'poor, bad'; either meant (A), or pretended out of modesty (B), when speaking about his own property or his own work. The speaker may also express (C) pity or sympathy: 'poor, wretched'. It is probably on the basis of (A) and (C) that we should interpret those cases where the speaker shows himself to be emotionally involved with regard to a thing which, or a person who, is not really in bad condition. The emotions involved may be (D) tenderness, familiarity: 'dear', and (E) annoyance:

A) *auxtombo* 'ruin of a house';

A) *wo:kurumbo mo:ro mañ, isexpa wa* 'this is bad beer that I have here, I don't like it' (*wo:kuru* 'my beer', *mo:ro mañ* 'that is').

B) *mu:rembo ya:wo! ta:mimbo ya:wo!* 'a poor bench, uncle! a poor cigar, uncle!' (when receiving a guest);

B) *e:ro watraka:nimbo po:ko ye:ma:minae* 'I am working on this worthless jug' (*e:ro* 'this', *watrakañ* 'jug').

C) *uwembombo tuwo:mĩ* 'his poor belly had shrunk' (referring to a starving man; *uwembo* 'his belly', *tuwo:mĩ* 'gone inside').

D) *ita:rĩxpa :ne yauxtĩmbo na* 'my poor, dear house will be quite empty' (reply from an old woman when she was asked to join other people on a journey; *ita:rĩxpa :ne* 'quite empty', *yauxtĩ* 'my house', *na* 'is').

E) *no:kĩbañ ke ko oiyo:tai? aru:wakombo ke!* 'to what kind of person are you married?' 'to an Arowak, and what business is it of you!' (*aru:wako* 'an Arowak', *ke* 'to, with').

IV. The thing in question exists but in a practically negligible quantity: 'a bite, a little bit'.

Examples:

mo:ro awo:kurumbo ema:ko 'throw away that little bit (remnant) of beer of yours'⁹⁶; *epe:rĩrimbo roxkoñ a:mu sena:pĩrĩ* 'I would eat just

⁹⁶ The interpretation 'bad beer' is also possible, see above, III.A.

a little rice (*epe:riri* 'rice', *roxkoŋ* 'just', *a:mu* 'some', *sena:p̄iri* 'I would eat'); *kuwa:imbo* 'little piece of a gourd', i.e. a small implement cut from a gourd and used for moulding pots (*kuwa:i* 'gourd').

We have already come across suffixation with *-mbo* in the verbs (3.1.3.2.2.). The process also occurs with the demonstratives (3.5.2.), the postpositions (3.3.6.), and the adjectives⁹⁷ (3.4.4.). In all these classes the *mbo*-category may be semantically defined by the term 'discrepancy' as it was used above; although not *all* the differences found here were also found in classes other than that of the nouns. Only I ('formerly, at one time') and II ('resembling, not real') were found in all four classes; III ('bad, wretched, dear') and IV ('little bit') are only known to me from nominal cases. On the other hand, however, I do not know of any nominal cases where the 'discrepancy' is to be taken in the sense of 'spatial distance or removal', as it occurs in the verbs and demonstratives, and occasionally in the postpositions (3.3.8E.) and the adjectives (3.4.6B.).

3.2.2.3. THE *xpa*-CATEGORY

The formation of the members of this category takes place by suffixation with one of the alternants:

- 1) *-xpa*
- 2) *-ɔma*
- 3) *-pa*
- 4) *-ma*

in certain cases accompanied by prefixation of *i-*.

A simple rule determines this prefixation of *i-*: the prefix invariably precedes initial *C*, replaces initial *i* or *ii*, but is not used if the initial phoneme is a vowel other than *i* or *ii*.

The occurrence of the suffix-alternants, on the other hand, is only partly determined by rules. Fully predictable is, in the first place, the occurrence of the 3rd or the 4th alternant with nouns ending in a diphthong.⁹⁸

Examples:

ka:rai 'blackness', *ika:raipa* 'not black'; *i:ru* 'older brother', *i:ruima* 'without elder brother'.

⁹⁷ With the postpositions and the adjectives *-mbo* occurs only in combination with *-no*, apart from isolated instances listed in 3.3.8E. and 3.4.6B.

⁹⁸ The occurrence of special alternants without *x* and *ɔ* after diphthongs may be seen as a consequence of a general sequential rule, see 2.1.1.4.1.

Also predictable is the occurrence of *-ɔma* when the monomorphemic noun ends in *ŋ* or *ɳ* (which are dropped), and that of *-ɔma* or *-ma* when the monomorphemic noun ends in the syllable *nī*, which also disappears when suffixation takes place⁹⁹. Again, *-ma* is used here after a diphthong and *-ɔma* after other vowels.

Examples:

po:siŋ 'sweetness', *ipo:siɔma* 'not sweet'; *e:raŋ* 'watchman', *e:raɔma* 'unguarded'; *ixko:nī* 'dirt', *ixkoɔma* 'not dirty'; *a:sŋ* 'heat', *a:siɔma* 'not hot'; *exküni* 'smoke', *exküma* 'not smoky'.

In all other cases either *-xpa* or *-ɔma* is found without it being possible to give a rule.

Examples with *-xpa*: *wo:to* 'fish, meat', *iwo:toxpa* 'without fish, meat'; *ixka:rī* 'anything living in water', *ixka:rīxpa* 'without living inhabitants'; *u:ra* 'weeping', *uraxpa* 'without weeping'.

Examples with *-ɔma*: *pe:tī* 'thigh', *ipe:tīɔma* 'without a thigh'; *üyo* 'husband', *iyoyma* 'unmarried (woman)'; *are:pa* 'cassava', *ere:paɔma* 'without cassava'.

The fact that recent loanwords are suffixed with *-xpa* might be an indication that it is the productive alternant: e.g. *bu:ku* 'book', *ibu:kuxpa* 'not possessing books'. A further indication is perhaps the fact that *-ɔma* is not found with verbs, although otherwise they form the negative category in exactly the same way as nouns.¹⁰⁰

A number of nouns loses the final syllable before *-xpa* and *-ɔma*. This phenomenon occurs in all cases ending in *nī* in my material, and in some of the cases in *tī* and *rī*, again without it being possible to find a rule for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the reduction.

Nī is lost in *amo:nī* 'avarice', *amoɔma* 'not avaricious'; *ereɔnī* 'quickness, nimbleness', *ereɔma* 'motionless'; *exküni* 'smoke', *exküma* 'not smoky'; *ixko:nī* 'dirt', *ixkoɔma* 'not dirty'.

Rī is lost in *me:rī* 'drawing, marking', *imexpa* 'without marking' (said of skin of young animal); *püri* 'shyness', *ipi:ixpa* 'not shy'; *ye:rī* 'tooth, sharpness', *iyexpa* 'toothless, blunt'; *ra:rī* 'flat surface', *iraxpa* 'without a flat surface'; *apo:rī* 'arm', *apoxpa* 'armless'; *eka:rī* 'message', *ekaxpa* 'without a message'; *ekī:rī* 'thorn', *ekixpa* 'without

⁹⁹ Not only *nī* but also the final syllables *nu*, *rī*, *kī* and *tī* are lost before the suffix in certain cases; see further on in this section.

¹⁰⁰ That is, as far as the transitive verbs are concerned. In intransitive verbs there is yet another difference: initial *w* is lost in the verbs, while in the nouns *w* is treated as the other consonants, i.e. *i-* is prefixed before *w*. See 3.1.3.2.6.

thorns'; *epe:ri* 'fruit', *epexpa* 'without fruit'; *iɔno:ri* 'raw smell', *iɔnoxpa* 'without raw smell'; *andiki:ri* 'tail', *andikixpa* 'without a tail'; *yaɕsiki:ri* 'depth', *iyasikixpa* 'shallow'.

Ri remains in *a:ri* 'foliage', *a:rixpa* 'bare, of tree'; *ta:ri* 'contents', *ita:rixpa* 'without contents'; *ixka:ri* 'anything living in the water', *ixka:rixpa* 'without living inhabitants'; *emüri* 'daughter', *emürixpa* 'without a daughter'.

Ti is lost in *epe:ti* 'price, payment', *epeɔma* 'cheap'; *i:poɕi* 'hair (on the body)', *i:poɕpa* 'hairless'; *urxe:ti* 'hair (on the head)', *urxexpa* 'bald'.

Ti remains in *e:ti* 'name', *etixpa* 'nameless'; *o:ti* 'thing', *o:tixpa* 'without thing, without substance'; *pe:ti* 'thigh', *ipe:tiɔma* 'without a thigh'; *yaxti* 'firewood', *iyaxtiɔma* 'without firewood'; *ixkaiti* 'dysentery', *ixkaitixpa* 'not suffering from dysentery'; *epi:ti* 'medicine', *epi:tiɔma* 'without medicine'.

Finally, something must be said about the nouns that are regarded as bases for the formations described here. In general it may be stated that the monomorphemic nouns serve as such, but a further specification must be given for those nouns in which the syntactic distinction discussed in 3.2.1. is partly expressed by means of vowel-alternation. Where this is the case, the same vowel appears in the negative formations as in the syntactic B-category. In the first place this applies to the words with *o/e*-alternation; e.g.

A *o:ma*, B *e:ma:ri* 'path', *e:maxpa* 'without a path'; furthermore to the isolated case with *a/e*: A *are:pa*, B *ere:pa:ri* 'cassava-bread', *ere:paɔma* 'without cassava-bread'. It also applies, however, to the two irregular cases with *o/i*-alternation at the end of the word: A *auxto*, B *auxti* 'house', *auxtiɔma* 'without a house'; A *pa:to*, B *pa:ti* 'place, spot', *ipa:tiɔma* 'without a place, spot'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be described as 'without that which is designated by the corresponding monomorphemic noun'.

3.2.2.4. THE *ne*-CATEGORY

The process by means of which plurals are formed is applicable to the monomorphemic nouns. The name of *ne*-process was introduced in an earlier chapter (the verbs, 3.1.3.2.9.) and is used here, too, although in fact the alternant *-ne* does not play any part. Instead, two

other alternants occur, the first of which was also found with the verbs (by the side of *-ne*):¹⁰¹

1) *-koñ*

2) *-goñ*

The first of these is used when the monomorphemic noun ends in a vowel, the second when it ends in a nasal. Examples:

1) *wo:to* 'fish', *wo:tokoñ* 'fishes';

2) *e:rañ* 'watchman', *e:rañgoñ* 'watchmen'; *aurañ* 'speech, story', *aurañgoñ* 'stories'.

In three cases suffixation with *-koñ* is accompanied by a further modification of the base: *iðme* 'child', *iðmakoñ* 'children'; *tamu:si* 'grandfather', *ta:mukoñ* 'grandfathers'; *kaxto:po* 'uncle', *kaxto:koñ* 'uncles'.

In a number of cases the rule given above does not apply at all: suffixation takes place with *-sañ*, *-yañ* or *-nañ*, and the final syllable before the suffix is usually lost.

-Sañ was found in three nouns ending in *po*: *epixpo* 'pip, seed', *epixsañ* 'pips, seeds'; *upuxpo* 'head', *upuxsañ* 'heads'; *ye:po* 'bone', *ye:sañ* 'bones'.¹⁰² Also in *uwa:poto* 'prominent person', *uwa:poto:sañ* 'prominent persons', where the final syllable remains.

Most words which form their plurals with *-yañ* or *-nañ* refer to relatives:

-Yañ was found in *apo:remiñ* 'owner', *apo:reyañ* 'owners'; *no:ti* 'grandmother', *no:yañ* 'grandmothers'; *pa:ri* 'grandchild', *pa:yañ* by the side of regular *pa:rikoñ* 'grandchildren'; *pi:ti* 'wife', *pi:yañ* 'wives'. In other cases the final syllable remains: *pi:ri* 'younger brother', *pi:riyañ* 'younger brothers'; *woki:ri* 'man', *woki:riyañ* 'men'; also in *wo:rü* 'woman', *wo:rüyañ* 'women' there is no modification of the base.

-Nañ was found in *enaurti* 'sister', *enaunañ* 'sisters'; *i:rui* 'older brother', *iruinañ* 'older brothers'.

With all words denoting relatives the plural can also be used honorifically; this applies both to the regular plurals (with *-koñ*) and to the irregular plurals enumerated above. E.g. *tiðwo* 'brother-in-law', *tiðwokoñ* 'brothers-in-law, honoured brother-in-law'; *no:ti* 'grandmother', *no:yañ* 'grandmothers, honoured grandmother'. To the words with *-yañ* or *-nañ* the regular suffix may be added as well, in which

¹⁰¹ See 3.1.3.2.9C, D.

¹⁰² The verbal *xpo*-category invariably forms its plural with *-sañ*, see 3.1.3.2.4.

case plural value and honorific value go together: *no:yaŋgoŋ* 'honoured grandmothers'.

3.2.2.5. THE *no*-CATEGORY

We already found the substantivising *no*-process in the verbs (3.1.3.2.13.), while — as we shall see later — it has a central position in the system of the postpositions (3.3.4.) and the adjectives (3.4.2.). In the last two classes the process is applied directly to the monomorphemic postpositions or adjectives, whereas in the nominal class it can only occur in combination with the negation-process discussed in 3.2.2.3.¹⁰³

With postpositions and adjectives *-no* is the main suffix-alternant, while *-ŋ* also plays some part. Although with the nouns it is only the latter alternant that is found, we adhere to the names *no*-process and *no*-category.

The suffix-alternant *-ŋ* is placed after the negation-suffix, which undergoes the following modifications:

- 1) in the alternant *-xpa*, *a* is replaced by *ĩ*, *p* by *b*, and *x* is lost.¹⁰⁴
- 2) in the alternant *-ɔma*, *a* is replaced by *ĩ*, and *ɔ* is lost.

Examples:

- 1) *ĩ:potĩ* 'hair (on body)', *ĩ:poxpɑ* 'hairless', *ĩ:pobĩŋ* 'a hairless one';
- 2) *epe:ĩ* 'price, payment', *epeɔma* 'cheap', *epe:mĩŋ* 'a cheap one'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be defined as: 'a thing or person to which/whom applies what is designated by the corresponding word in the *xpa*-category'.

3.2.2.6. THE *nano*-CATEGORY

The members of this category are formed on the basis of monomorphemic nouns, by suffixation with one of the alternants:

- 1) *-nano*
- 2) *-wa:no*

Furthermore, initial *e* or *e:* is always replaced by *o* or *o:*.

¹⁰³ For the verbs we find the same situation as for the nouns, with this difference that with the former, the *no*-process may also be combined with another process, that with *-me*; which does not occur with the nouns. See 3.1.3.2.13.

¹⁰⁴ This is not the alternation with length of *x* or *ɔ* often found in other cases, such as, e.g., in *e:kaxpa* = *e:ka:pa* 'not bitten'. Here the vowel that preceded *x* remains short, unless it has to be long in accordance with some general rule of vocalic structure, see 2.1.3.

Examples:

1) *maina* 'garden', *mainana:no* 'gardens in general, the whole complex of gardens belonging to a village';

2) *pī:tī* 'wife', *pī:wa:no* 'wives in general'.

With vowel-alternation: *e:tī* 'name', *otī:wa:no* 'names in general'.

The occurrence of the suffix-alternants is partly determined by the nature of the final phoneme: in nouns with a final nasal the formation invariably takes place with *-nano*. E.g. *tu:muŋ* 'mound', *tu:muna:no* 'mounds in general'; *uwe:tuŋ* 'sleep', *uwe:tuna:no* 'sleep in general'

With nouns ending in a vowel both alternants occur. It is fairly certain that their occurrence is connected with the vocalic structure of the polymorphemic word: we find that *-nano* is always preceded by a short vowel and *-wa:no* by a long vowel. Yet I have only partly succeeded in finding a rule which, on the basis of the form of the monomorphemic noun, predicts which of the two alternants will occur; viz. only for the dissyllabic nouns. In these (1) *-nano* occurs, except when (2a) the noun belongs to the type which, when suffixation occurs, shortens the first vowel and lengthens the second¹⁰⁵, or when (2b) the noun loses its final syllable when suffixation takes place; in the last two cases we find *-wa:no*.

Examples:

1) *e:kī* 'pet animal', *o:kīna:no* 'pet animals in general'; *iɔmo* 'egg', *iɔmona:no* 'eggs in general'.

2a) *e:tī* 'name', *otī:wa:no* 'names in general'.

2b) *pūri* 'shyness, shame', *pūwa:no* 'general shame, a great scandal'.

On account of my limited material I have not been able to find a rule applying to trisyllabic nouns:

Cases with *-nano*, final syllable remains:

pīra:ta 'money', *pīra:tana:no* 'money in general'; *kare:ta* 'paper', *kare:tana:no* 'paper in general'.

Cases with *-nano*, final syllable is lost:

po:riri 'shin', *po:rina:no* 'shins in general'; *axka:ri* 'shade, shadow', *axkana:no* 'shade, shadow in general'; *uxse:tī* 'hair (on head)', *uxsena:no* 'hair (on head) in general'; *aiya:ri* 'hand', *aiyana:no* 'hands in general'.

¹⁰⁵ See 2.1.3.1B1.

Case with *-wa:no*, final syllable remains:
ona:pi 'lie', *ona:pi:wa:no* 'lies in general'.

Cases with *-wa:no*, final syllable is lost:
epi:ti 'medicine', *opi:wa:no* 'medicines in general'; *aki:ri* 'plague, something that makes a place unsafe', *aki:wa:no* 'plagues in general'.

With regard to the replacement of *e* by *o* it should be noted that this is not connected with the syntactic *e/o*-alternation discussed in 3.2.1. For vowel-alternation takes place not only in the words that are suffixed with *-ri* and thus take part in the syntactic mechanism in question, but in all nouns beginning with *e* or *e:*. E.g. *e:ti* 'name', unchanged in *iɔmuru e:ti* 'my son's name', but with *o* in *oti:wa:no* 'names in general'.

We have already seen that a final syllable *ti*, *ri* may be lost before *-nano* or *-wa:no*. In which cases this phenomenon occurs needs further investigation. One is inclined to assume that the same nouns are involved which lose these syllables before negative *-xpa/-ɔma*; there is, however, one case in my material for which this is not true: *epi:ti* 'medicine' retains *ti* in *epi:tiɔma* 'without medicine', but loses *ti* in *opi:wa:no* 'medicine in general'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be described as follows: 'what is designated by the corresponding noun, in general'.

The generality referred to may be of two kinds:

I. There is not one concrete thing to which the noun can refer. E.g. *nu:wa:no ene:ke maŋ* 'it is like a tongue, it is tongue-shaped' (*nu:ru* 'tongue', *ene:ke maŋ* 'it is like'); *po:rina:no ta:ro ro:teŋ iyaŋsiki:ri* 'its depth was only the length of a shin' (*po:riri* 'shin', *ta:ro* 'as far as, as long as', *ro:teŋ* 'only'; *iyaŋsiki:ri* 'its depth').

II. There are concrete things to which the noun refers, but the number of these things is not in any way limited or known. E.g. *mainana:no kopo:seme maŋ* 'the complex of gardens is across the river' (*maina* 'garden', *kopo:seme maŋ* 'is across the river'); *moxko e:ti anu:ku:ti:xa maŋ?* 'don't you know his name?' (question put to narrator about a person in a story he has just told, answer: *uwa, pena:to to:ri mo:ro maŋ, mo:ro para:naki:ri wa:ra kare:ta po:ko kaxtaine te, e:rome no:ro neiri mo:ro oti:wa:no paxporo* 'no, this is an old story, but if we had paper, like the Dutch, all those names would exist up to the present day' (*te* 'but', *e:rome no:ro* 'up to the present day', *neiri* 'it would be', *mo:ro* 'that, those', *e:ti* 'name', *paxporo* 'all').

3.2.2.7. TRANSPOSITION TO THE VERBS

3.2.2.7.1. *Transposition to the intransitive verbs*

On the basis of monomorphemic nouns a transpositional category is formed, the members of which behave like monomorphemic intransitive verbs. This takes place by suffixation with:

- 1) *-ta*
- 2) *-na*
- 3) *-da*
- 4) *-wa*
- 5) *-pamĩ*
- 6) *-nopamĩ*
- 7) *-mamĩ*

Apart from a small number of cases, which will be enumerated later, the rule is that alternant 1 occurs when the noun ends in a vowel, and alternant 2 when it ends in a nasal, which is lost when suffixation takes place.

Examples:

- 1) *ĩyo* 'husband', *ĩyota* 'to find a husband, get married'; *wa:re* 'song', *wa:reta* 'to sing'.
- 2) *po:siŋ* 'sweetness', *po:si:na* 'to become sweet'.

Contrary to the rule given above, suffixation with 2 was found in the following nouns ending in a vowel: *a:rĩ* 'foliage', *a:rĩna* 'to bud, get leaves'; *apeinĩ* 'tidal current in the river', *apeina* 'to flow'; *asi:woinĩ* 'clarity' (water), *asi:woina* 'to become clear'; *pu:nu* 'flesh', *pu:na* 'to grow, become sturdy'; *amu:nu* 'whiteness', *amu:na* 'to become white'. Of these five, the first case is an isolated one, the other four agree in having *nĩ* or *nu* for their final syllable. Now it might be supposed that there is a rule here, viz. one prescribing the second alternant also for nouns ending in *nĩ* or *nu*. In two other cases it was found, however, that they are suffixed not with the second alternant but with the third, while the final vowel *ĩ*, *u* is lost:

- 3) *ixko:nĩ* 'dirt', *ixkonda* 'to get dirty'; *me:nu* 'blood', *menda* 'to bleed'.

In seven cases alternant 4 was found, viz. in:

- 4) *auru* 'laughter', *auwa* 'to laugh'; *e:napo:rĩ* 'snoring', *e:napo:wa* 'to snore'; *mo:rĩ* 'rumbling', *mo:rĩwa* 'to rumble' (e.g. of a drum); *sa:pi* 'play, playfulness', *sa:piwa* 'to be playful'; *to:ri* 'story', *to:riwa* 'to tell a story';¹⁰⁶ *ona:pi* 'lie', *ena:piwa* 'to lie'; *mo:na* 'theft', *mo:nawa* 'to

¹⁰⁶ It is strange that it is this word that belongs to the irregular formations, as *to:ri* is probably not a very old loanword, from Sranan.

steal'. Alongside *ena:piwa* regular *ena:pita* occurs, and *mo:nata* alongside *mo:nawa*, as far as I could tell, with exactly the same meaning.

The last three alternants were each found in one case:

- 6) *a:siŋ* 'heat', *a:simbamī* 'to become hot'.
- 7) *koiye* 'afternoon, after four o'clock', *koiyeno:pamī* 'to become late afternoon'.
- 8) *ewa:rumī* 'darkness', *ewa:ruma:mī* 'to grow dark'.

By the side of *a:simbamī* regular *a:si:na* occurs, without any apparent difference in meaning.

Nouns in which the syntactic distinction A/B is characterised not only by suffixation with *-rī* or *-ru* but also by vowel-alternation, have the same vowel in the transposition-category as in the B-category. E.g. A *o:nu*, B *enu:ru* 'eye', *enu:ta* 'to begin to understand'.

As was the case with the *xpa-* and *nano-*categories (above, 3.2.2.3., 3.2.2.6.), suffixation may be accompanied by loss of the final syllable of the noun. The phenomenon was found in the following syllables: *tī*, *kī*, *ku*, *rī*, *ru*, and — as we saw above — *nī* and *nu*; however, it does not occur in all words that end in one of these syllables. Loss of the final syllable was found in: *ka:tī* 'fat', *ka:ta* 'to become fat', *mi:tī* 'root', *mi:ta* 'to be rooted'; *pī:tī* 'wife', *pī:ta* 'to find a wife, get married'; *ixkaitī* 'dysentery', *ixkaita* 'to get dysentery'; *anī:kī* 'illness', *anī:ta* 'to fall ill'; *asi:wokī* 'satiety', *asi:wota* 'to become satiated'; *ora:muku* 'sweat', *era:muta* 'to sweat'; *ko:rī* 'decay', *ko:ta* 'to decay, become rotten'; *me:rī* 'drawing, marking', *me:ta* 'to get marking (animal)'; *pūrī* 'shame, shyness', *pūita* 'to become shy'; *ye:rī* 'tooth, sharpness', *ye:ta* 'to get teeth, become sharp'; *akī:rī* 'plague', *akī:ta* 'to be visited with a plague'; *ixkī:rī* 'yellowness', *ixkī:ta* 'to become yellow'; *ena:rīrī* 'nervousness', *ena:rīta* 'to become nervous'; *iḍno:rī* 'raw, polluted air', *iḍno:ta* 'to smell raw'; *auru* 'laughter', *auwa* 'to laugh', *aku:ru* 'soft substance', *aku:ta* 'to become soft'; *ya:puru* 'decayed wood', *ya:puta* 'to moulder'. Two syllables are lost in *andīkī:rī* 'tail', *andī:ta* 'to grow, get a tail'; ¹⁰⁷ *umī:rīkī:rī* 'to curl', *umī:rīta* 'to become curly'.

As against this, there are three cases which retain *tī* or *rī*: *we:tī* 'rust', *we:tīta* 'to become rusty', *a:rī* 'foliage', *a:rīna* 'to bud'; *mo:rī* 'rumbling', *mo:rīwa* 'to rumble'.

¹⁰⁷ Before the negative suffix *-xpa*, only *rī* is lost: *andīkīxpa* 'tailless' (3.2.2.3.).

Finally as to the meaning of the members of the intransitive transposition-category, it may be defined as:

- (a) to become,
- (b) to produce by oneself or for oneself,
- (c) to get, obtain,

that which is designated by the monomorphemic noun. I suppose that we have to do here with one and the same semantic distinction, and that it depends on the lexical meaning of the noun whether the resulting verb is best interpreted in terms of a, b, or c.

Examples:

(a) *a:ru* 'dryness', *aru:ta* 'to become dry'; *pi:pa* 'the flat frog pipa', *pi:pata* 'to become as flat as a pipa'; *püri* 'shame, shyness', *püta* 'to become ashamed, shy'.

(b) *ora:muku* 'sweat', *era:muta* 'to sweat'; *wa:re* 'song', *wa:reta* 'to sing'; *wo:ku* 'cassava-beer', *wo:kuta* 'to prepare beer for a party one intends to give'.

(c) *o:nu* 'eye', *enu:ta* 'to receive an insight, to begin to understand'; *üyo* 'husband', *üyota* 'to find a husband, to get married'; *areisi* 'rice', *areisita* 'to get rice'.

3.2.2.7.2. *Transposition to the transitive verbs*

Transposition to the transitive verbs shows great formal diversity. We find suffixation of monomorphemic nouns with:

- 1) *-xto*
- 2) *-ma*
- 3) *-ka*
- 4) *-no*
- 5) *-do*
- 6) *-ga*
- 7) *-ro*
- 8) *-ko*
- 9) *-ndo*
- 10) *-pa*
- 11) *-katï*
- 12) *-nopï*

In this section I shall try to show that, in spite of this great diversity, there is only one transpositional category, the counterpart of the

intransitive category discussed in the last section; the reasons being a) the almost fully complementary distribution, and b) the semantic identity of the twelve suffixes.

There are, however, some facts that would seem to argue against the assumption that there is one category: c) the occurrence of the twelve suffixes is only very partly dependent upon rules, d) in the case of some nouns we find doublets, and e) a number of these doublets are, to a certain extent, semantically differentiated, so that in these cases there is no complete semantic identity of the suffixes. As will be apparent from the material to be presented here, in d) and e) we are concerned with phenomena of marginal importance which do not detract from the assumption of a predominant unity. The impossibility to formulate a rule which predicts the occurrence of all the alternants is a more serious objection; we shall, however, find some indications pointing to the fact that the first suffixation in our list, that with *-xto*, is at present the only productive one among the 12 suffixations.

We shall first discuss the twelve suffixations and the reduction which certain nouns undergo in the process of suffixation. This will be followed by a definition of their semantic aspect, and a discussion of the doublets referred to sub d and e).

The only regularity that could be established concerns the occurrence of certain alternants with nouns ending in a nasal or in *nĩ*, *nu*. In the first place we find that the fourth alternant, *-no* invariably occurs with nouns ending in *ŋ*; e.g.:

4) *po:siŋ* 'sweetness', *po:si:no* 'to sweeten'.

This *-no* shows clear parallelism to the alternant *-na* of the intransitive process. Like *-na*, *-no* was further found with some nouns ending in *nĩ* and *nu*:

4) *asi:woinĩ* 'clearness', *asi:woino* 'to cause to become clear'; *amu:nu* 'whiteness', *amu:no* 'to cause to become white'.

Here too, however, other alternants are found with *ixko:nĩ* and *me:nu*.

5) *ixko:nĩ* 'dirt', *ixkondo* 'to make dirty'.

6) *me:nu* 'blood', *menga* 'to cause to bleed'.

The same alternant may perhaps be assumed to occur with the word *e:ranŋ*, ending in the other nasal, *ŋ*:

5) *e:ranŋ* 'watchman', *e:rando* 'to have guarded'.

The same may apply to:

5) *yondi* 'covering', *yondo* 'to cover'.

The other nine alternants are found with nouns not ending in a nasal, *nī*, *nu* or *ndī*; apart from this, their occurrence does not seem to be subject to any rule. We do find, however, that in the available material three alternants occur much more frequently than the others. The numerical proportions in a total of 127 cases are as follows:

1) <i>-xto</i>	47 times
2) <i>-ma</i>	29 „
3) <i>-ka</i>	26 „
7) <i>-ro</i>	12 „
8) <i>-ko</i>	5 „
9) <i>-ndo</i>	4 „
10) <i>-pa</i>	2 „
11) <i>-katī</i>	once
12) <i>-nopī</i>	„

Of the three most frequent alternants, *-ka*¹⁰⁸ was not found in loanwords, while *-xto* and *-ma* were; e.g. *areisi* 'rice', *areisixto* 'to supply with rice'; *po:si* 'kiss', *po:sima* 'to kiss'.¹⁰⁹ It may be concluded from this that only *-xto* and *-ma* are possibly productive suffixes. If one has to choose between these two, it seems most probable to me that *-xto* is productive. The reasons are (a) the greater frequency of *-xto* in the material, (b) the fact that verbs with *-xto* formed by myself were often accepted, and (c) the fact that in at least six loanwords, where a form from Sranan, clearly recognisable as such, precedes *-ma*, it is very doubtful whether the latter ever occurs by itself, as a noun. This is the case with: *fangama* 'to receive', *kara:rima* 'to get finished', *pa:sama* 'to pass', *pīreima* 'to pretend something', *ru:ruma* 'to spy, lie in wait for', *wi:nima* 'to win something'. A different case, however, is *po:sima* mentioned above, by the side of which *po:si* 'kiss' does occur. Further investigation will be necessary as to this problem of productivity. More examples and an enumeration of the

¹⁰⁸ Transpositional suffixation with *-ka* (in case of final nasal with *-ga*) is also found with onomatopoeic and soundsymbolic words; it results in transitive verbs. E.g. *ko:ro* 'depicts a scrubbing sound', *ko:roka* 'to scrub, rub, sweep'; *pi:ri* 'flash!', *pi:rika* 'to make glitter, to make shoot sparks'; *bonbon* 'bang bang!' *ixsano:ri kibonbonga:toŋ* 'its coldness (its, of the rain) came bang bang down upon us' (*ixsano:ri* 'its coldness').

¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that one of the extremely rare cases with 10) *-pa* happens to be a loanword as well: *to:ri* 'story', *to:ripa* 'to tell someone a story'. The intransitive transposition, too, in *to:ri* takes place, not with the regular *-ta*, but with *-wa* (3.2.2.7.1.).

cases in my material with the infrequent alternants 7-12, will be given in the discussion of the semantic aspect.

Nouns where the formation of a syntactic category does not, or does not only, depend on suffixation with *-ri* or *-ru*, have the same vowel in the transposition-category as in the B-category. Also in the case of irregularities in the syntactic categories, the transpositional categories always follow the B-category. E.g. A *o:ma* B *e:marī* 'path', *e:maxto* 'to make a path for someone'; A *auxto* B *auxti* 'house', *auxtima* 'to build a house for someone'; A *kiye:re* B *ixkere:ri* 'cassava', *ixkerexto* 'to give someone cassava'.

With regard to the loss of a final syllable *ti*, *kī*, *ku*, *ri*, or *ru*, the situation is probably exactly the same as with the intransitive process discussed in the last section. In practically all the cases mentioned there, and in twelve further cases, it was established that they also lose the final syllable when they are suffixed with *-xto*. The twelve new cases are: *yaxti* 'firewood', *yaxto* 'to put firewood on fire'; *amo:ti* 'strap, sling', *amoxto* 'to provide with a strap, sling'; *apu:ti* 'cover', *apuxto* 'to provide with a cover'; *uwe:ti* 'stool', *uwe:ka* 'to relieve oneself'; *i:poti* 'hair, feathers growing on body', *i:poxtto* 'to provide with hair, feathers'; *eḍwe:ti* 'fringe', *eḍwexto* 'to provide with fringe'; *imbakī:ti* 'lath', *imbakixka* 'to strengthen with laths'; *ra:ri* 'flat surface', *ra:ka* 'to cause something to get flat surfaces'; *anu:ru* 'tongue, vibrating lath on drum-skin', *anuxto* 'to provide with such a lath'; *aiku:ru* 'liquid', *aikuxto* 'to make liquid'; *inda:ri* 'mouth', *indaxto* 'to provide with a mouth, an opening'; *arsa:ri* 'gutter', *arsaxto* 'to dig a gutter round a house'.

Retention of the final syllable *ti* or *ri*, as with the intransitive verbs, was found in *a:ri* 'foliage, wick of oil-lamp', *a:rixto* 'to provide with a wick'; *mo:ri* 'noise', *mo:rīka* 'to cause to make a noise'; and also in *e:ti* 'name', *e:ti:ka* 'to give a name'.

The meaning of the members of the transitive category may be defined as:

- (a) to cause to become,
- (b) to make produce, to produce for another,
- (c) to give, provide with,
- (d) to handle, to apply to something,

that which is designated by the corresponding monomorphemic noun.

I suppose that we are again concerned here with one and the same semantic distinction, and that it depends on the lexical meaning of

a noun whether the resulting verb is to be interpreted in terms of a, b, c or d. As to a, b and c, there is clear parallelism to the semantic definition of the intransitive category: we find side by side (a) to become versus to cause to become, (b) to produce by oneself or for oneself versus to make produce, to produce for another person, (c) to obtain versus to give, provide something with something else.

In support of the assumption that there is no semantic difference among the nine suffix-alternants, even though their occurrence is not subject to a hard-and-fast rule, as far as possible examples will now be given for each alternant which represent all the four semantic types. For the rare alternants 7-12 all the cases in my material are listed.

1) Examples with *-xto*: (a) *tiya:po* 'marsh, swamp', *tiya:poxta* 'to cause to become swampy'; *püri* 'shyness', *püxto* 'to cause to become shy'; (b) *ora:muku* 'sweat', *eramuxto* 'to cause to sweat'; *ixkere:ri* 'cassava', *ixkerexto* 'to help a person lift his cassava'; *wo:ku* 'cassava-beer', *wo:kuxto* 'to make cassava-beer for somebody else'; (c) *o:nu* 'eye', *enuxto* 'to make eyelets in wicker-work'; *ixkere:ri* 'cassava', *ixkerexto* 'to give someone cassava';¹¹⁰ (d) *puru:re* 'small hand-adze', *puru:rexta* 'to adze'; *ke:i* 'key', *ke:ixto* 'to lock up in jail'.

2) Examples with *-ma*: (a) *kariɲna* 'human being', *kariɲnama* 'to cause to become human'; (b) *auxto* 'house', *auxtima* 'to build a house for someone'; (c) *epe:ti* 'price', *epe:ma* 'to pay for something, to take revenge for something'.

3) Examples with *-ka*: (a) *a:ru* 'dryness', *aru:ka* 'to cause to dry'; (b) *mo:ri* 'noise, rumble', *mo:rika* 'to cause to rumble' (e.g. drum, by beating it); *me:nu* 'blood', *menga* 'to cause to bleed'; *wo:to* 'fish', *wo:toka* 'to go catching fish for a person'; (c) *e:ti* 'name', *eti:ka* 'to give a person a name'; (d) *wa:re* 'song', *wa:reka* 'to make a song on a particular event'.

7) The cases with *-ro*: (a) *a:pi* 'redness, ripeness', *api:ro* 'to cause to become red, to cause to ripen'; *ka:rai* 'blackness', *ka:rairo* 'to cause to become black'; *ka:mi* 'pale-red colour', *ka:muro* 'to cause to become pale-red'; *ke:pu* 'wet', *ke:puro* 'to cause to become wet'; *ko:ri* 'decay',

¹¹⁰ See sub (b) the same word, with an interpretation in terms of 'to produce for someone else'. In this case the informant spontaneously indicated the two situations in which the word could be used: one "when someone needs much cassava at a time, so that he is assisted in lifting it", the other "when people have nothing more to eat and friends provide them with the necessities of life".

ko:ro 'to cause to decay'; *owaxpo* 'calmness, kindness', *ewaxporo* 'to calm'; *ixsa:no* 'cold', *ixsano:ro* 'to cool'; *aki:nu* 'laziness', *aki:nuro* 'to make lazy, languid'; (b) *ka:mu* 'flame', *ka:muro* 'to cause to flare up'; *we:se* 'watery stool', *we:sero* 'to cause someone to have a watery stool'; (c) *me:ri* 'drawing', *me:ro* 'to cause to get drawing, to write on something'; *sese:wu* 'fringe on clothing', *sese:wuro* 'to provide with a fringe'.

8) The cases with *-ko*: (a) *ani:ki* 'illness', *ani:ko* 'to cause to fall ill'; *asi:woki* 'satiety', *asi:woko* 'to satiate'; *umi:riki:ri* 'to curl', *umi:riko* 'to set curls'; *we:riki* 'dirt, mess'; *we:riki:ko* 'to cause to become dirty, messy'; *sabaxti* 'slipperiness', *sabaxko* 'to cause to become slippery'.

9) The cases with *-ndo*: (b) *ixpe* 'arrow', *ixpendo* 'to make an arrow for someone'; (c) *axto* 'stick with fork', *axtondo* 'to give support on such a stick'; *e:pi* 'little stick', *e:pi:ndo* 'to provide something with a little stick'; *ra:ri* 'flat surface', *rando* 'to provide a house with a floor of boards'; *wo:mi* 'garment', *wo:mindo* 'to dress'.

10) The cases with *-pa*: (c) *üyo* 'husband', *üyopa* 'to give a woman a husband'; (d) *to:ri* 'story', *to:ri:pa* 'to tell someone a story'.

11) The case with *-katä*: (d) *epe:ti* 'price', *epe:katä* 'to buy something'.

12) The case with *-nopä*: (d) *epi:ti* 'medicine', *epi:nopä* 'to treat a person with a medicine'.

The material listed above accords with the assumption that the formal differences among the nine suffixes are not paralleled by a semantic difference. It is true that in 8-12 not all three possibilities of interpretation a, b and c are represented in each case, but in view of the limited material this was hardly to be expected.

The picture of unity from a semantic point of view is hardly disturbed by those cases where two different alternants were found to occur with one and the same noun. In the first place there is no apparent semantic difference between some of these doublets:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 2) <i>aku:tuma</i> | 4) <i>aku:tuno</i> | to cause to become turbid, cloudy (a) |
| 1) <i>puruxsaixto</i> | 3) <i>puruxsaika</i> | to adze with the long adze (d) |
| 7) <i>ka:muro</i> | 3) <i>ka:muka</i> | to cause to flare up (b) |
| 8) <i>asi:woko</i> | 3) <i>asi:woka</i> | to satiate (a) |
| 1) <i>üyoxto</i> | 10) <i>üyopa</i> | to give a husband (c) |

Furthermore, among the cases that do show differentiation there are two in which it does not lie in the semantic aspect of the suffixes, but in that of the noun which serves as base for the formation:

1) *c:maxto* 'to cut out a path for someone, or for a boat so as to drag it to the water' (c), 3) *e:maka* 'to comb a parting in somebody's hair' (c);

1) *wepandaxto* 'to grow a branch', said of a tree (b), 3) *woxpanadaka* 'to branch, to flow together', said of rivers (b).

In the second doublet, on the basis of *panda* 'branch', the *we*-process has been applied after transposition, which gives the resulting verbs an intransitive, reflexive character. It is remarkable that, whereas *-xto* is combined with the regular alternant *we-*, *-ka* in this case is combined with *wox-*, an alternant which is confined to very few verbs (3.1.3.1.1.). This would seem to support the assumption that *-ka* is no longer productive.

Thus only five doublets remain in which the suffixes seem to be semantically differentiated. In four of them the difference may be one between (c) 'to give, to provide with something', and (a) 'to cause to become':

2) *aiku:ma* 'to add a liquid to something', i.e. water, to rasped cassava in making beer (c), 1) *aikuxto* 'to make liquid by kneading', e.g. berries (a);

2) *karaima* 'to blacken', viz. the backs of the hands by applying black pigment to them (c), 7) *ka:rairo* 'to cause to become dark in colour', viz. the sun tans the skin (a);

2) *ku:yuma* 'to make brownish-red', viz. the feet by applying red pigment to them (c), 7) *ku:yuro* 'to cause to become yellowish-brown', viz. bread by baking it (a);

9) *rando* 'to provide with a floor of boards' (c), 3) *ra:ka* 'to cause something to get a flat surface', viz. a tree by splitting it (a).

I am not quite certain that the differentiation is really fixed in these cases, so that it would be impossible for a and c to be interchanged; this would need further investigation.

Finally there is a doublet which seems to be completely isolated:

2) *epe:ma* 'to pay for something, to take revenge for something' (c), *epe:kati* 'to buy something' (d?).

★ ★ ★

To conclude this section, mention is made of formations which, in my opinion, should be regarded as compounds, the components being a noun and the verb *ka* 'to take away, to remove'. This is done because

they strongly resemble a transitive transposition-category: for instance, we find side by side *se:puxto* 'to adorn a person's legs with bands', and *se:puka* 'to strip a person's legs of bands'; *era:muxto* 'to make a person sweat' and *era:muka* 'to wipe the sweat from a person's brow'; *ixkondo* 'to cause to become dirty, messy' and *ixkongga* 'to clean, clear up'.

In view of this clear parallelism it is perhaps possible to defend the view that *-ka* is a suffix; it seems to me, however, that its description as a component of a compound is unavoidable on account of (1) the semantic similarity of *-ka* to the isolable verb *ka* 'to take away', and (2) the fact that other verbs, too, may be combined with a preceding noun to form a compound.

(1) The semantic similarity of *-ka* to *ka* becomes clearly apparent when the constructions in question are compared with constructions which are evidently word-groups, containing a word *ka* 'to take away, remove' which may be separated from the noun:

Compound: *tīpu:puru ekī:ka se mañ* 'he wants to remove the thorns from his foot' (*tīpu:puru* 'his foot', *ekī:rī* 'thorn', *se mañ* 'he wants');
 Word-group: *ipandari ekī:rī ka se mañ* 'he wants to remove the thorns of its branch'. Here separation is possible, for instance by *naḍneṅ* 'first': *ipandari ekī:rī naḍneṅ ka se mañ* 'he first wants to remove the thorns of its branch'.

Moreover the verb, with the required affixes, may be used without any noun at all: *kini:ka:no* 'he removes it'.

(2) Other verbs may also be combined with nouns to form compounds; and, as far as I could tell, this is not subject to any restrictions. Reduction of one of the components or of both occurs frequently, and always results in the compound being more in accordance with the general rules of word structure, see 2.1.1.1.C.

Thus we find by the side of the word-group *pe:rī ka:no* 'he removes the hair from my forehead' (*pe:rī* 'the hair on my forehead') and the compound *pe:ka:no* 'he removes hair from my forehead', the compound *pe:ko:to* 'he cuts the hair on my forehead' (with *pe:rī* and *ixko:to* 'to cut').

3.2.2.8. TRANSPOSITION TO THE ADJECTIVES

Except in five cases to be discussed later, transposition to the adjectives takes place by simultaneous prefixation and suffixation of the monomorphemic nouns. Prefixation occurs with:

- a) *t-*
- b) *t̃i-*
- c) *tu-*

Suffixation occurs with:

- 1) *-ke*
- 2) *-ne*
- 3) *-re*
- 4) *-me*

Of the prefix-alternants, a) is found when the noun begins with a vowel, b) when it begins with a consonant other than *w*, c) when it begins with *w*. After *t-*, initial *e*, *e:* are replaced by *o*, *o:*. Examples: *u:ra* 'weeping', *tura:re* 'whining, tearful'; *müiri* 'snare', *t̃imüike* 'with a snare'; *wa:re* 'song', *tuwa:reke* 'knowing many songs'; *epe:ri* 'fruit', *tope:ke* 'fruit-bearing'; *e:ki* 'pet animal', *to:kine* 'having a pet animal'.

As to the suffix-alternants, there is again no hard-and-fast rule. It is true that with regard to 2) and 3) there is a considerable similarity in distribution to the verbal alternants discussed in the preceding sections, but it is not complete.

-Ne is invariably found to occur with nouns ending in *ñ*, *ñi* or *nu*, which have *-na* in the case of intransitive verbal transposition and *-no* in that of transitive verbal transposition.

Examples with *-na*, *-no* and *-ne*: *po:siñ* 'sweetness', *po:sina* 'to become sweet', *po:sino* 'to sweeten', *t̃ipo:sine* 'sweet'; *asi:woiñi* 'clearness', *asi:woina* 'to become clear', *asi:woino* 'to make clear', *tasi:woina* 'clear'.

Of the two cases with *ñi*, *nu* where the verbal transposition is irregular, one has *-ne*, while the other has the third alternant, *-re*: *ixko:ñi* 'dirt', *ixkonda* 'to become dirty', *ixkondo* 'to make dirty', *fixko:ne* 'dirty'; *me:nu* 'blood', *menda* 'to bleed', *menga* 'to cause to bleed', *time:nure* 'bloody'.

The parallelism to the verbal transposition is incomplete, however, in that *-ne* was also found with some nouns which do not end in *ñ*, *ñi* or *nu*, and which — in so far as the verbal transposition-forms are known to me — do not have *-na* or *-no* in these forms.

The nouns in question are:

<i>auxto</i>	house	<i>auxtima</i>	to build a house for someone	<i>tauxtine</i>	having a house
<i>e:ki</i>	pet animal	....	....	<i>to:kine</i>	having a pet animal
<i>e:ti</i>	name	<i>eti:ka</i>	to give a name	<i>toti:ne</i>	named
<i>no:ti</i>	grandmother	....	....	<i>tino:tine</i>	having a grandmother
<i>epe:ti</i>	price	<i>epe:ma</i>	to pay	<i>tope:ne</i>	expensive
<i>emiuri</i>	daughter	....	....	<i>tomurine</i>	having a daughter
<i>omo:ri</i>	family	....	....	<i>tomo:ne</i>	having a family
<i>iɔme</i>	child	<i>iɔmeka</i>	to give a child	<i>tiɔmene</i>	having a child

Furthermore *-ne* corresponds to the verbalising alternants *-do* and *-ndo*, in *yondi* 'to cover', *yondo* 'to give cover', *tiyoɔne* 'provided with a covering'; *wo:mi* 'garment', *wo:mindo* 'to dress', *tuwo:mine* 'dressed'.

We find the same situation for the third suffix-alternant *-re*. It is found with all nouns in which the transitive transposition takes place by means of *-ro*, but also with some others. Examples of *-ro* and *-re*: *me:ri* 'drawing', *me:ro* 'to provide something with drawing', *tire:re* 'provided with drawing'; *owaxpo* 'calmness, kindness', *ewaxporo* 'to calm down, to put into a friendly mood', *towaxpore* 'calm, kind'.

There are also nouns, however, which are suffixed with a verbal alternant other than *-ro*, but still have *-re* here:

<i>a:ru</i>	dryness	<i>aru:ka</i>	to make dry	<i>taru:re</i>	dry
<i>a:to</i>	hole	<i>ato:ka</i>	to make a hole in	<i>taro:re</i>	full of holes
<i>me:nu</i>	blood	<i>menga</i>	to cause to bleed	<i>time:nure</i>	bloody
<i>mo:ri</i>	noise	<i>mo:rika</i>	to cause to make a noise	<i>timo:re</i>	sounding loudly
<i>sa:pi</i>	game	<i>sa:pima</i>	to play with	<i>tisa:pire</i>	playful
<i>ya:puru</i>	mouldered wood	<i>ya:puka</i>	to cause to moulder	<i>tiya:pure</i>	mouldered
<i>a:pi</i>	broadness	<i>api:ka</i>	to broaden	<i>tambi:re</i>	broad ¹¹¹

The fourth suffix-alternant, *-me*, is only known to me from two

¹¹¹ With an additional modification, consisting in the replacement of *p* by *mb*. It is possible that this owes something to avoidance of homonymic clash with *tapi:re* 'red'.

cases: *ewa:rumi* 'darkness', *towa:rume* 'dark'; *ona:pi* 'lie', *tona:pime* 'given to lying, mendacious'.

In cases other than those so far mentioned, alternant 1) occurs; e.g. *mauru* 'cotton', *timauruke* 'provided with cotton'; *ye:ri* 'tooth, sharpness', *tiye:ke* 'with teeth, sharp'; *wa:re* 'song', *tuwa:reke* 'knowing many songs'.

An exception is formed, however, by five nouns in which transposition takes place in a very different way, viz. without prefixation, only with suffixation. Four have *-pe*, one has *-me*. They are: *panaxtorï* 'strength', *panaxpe* 'strong'; *parixtorï* 'violence', *parixpe* 'violent'; *yañsiki:ri* 'depth', *yañsi:pe* 'deep'; *mo:siñ* 'length', *mo:si:pe* 'long'; *sa:niñ* 'shortness', *sa:ni:me* 'short'.

In this category, too, affixation is in many cases accompanied by reduction of the noun, in the process of which the final syllables *tï*, *kï*, *ku*, *rï*, *ru*, *nï* or *nu* often, but not always, disappear, without it being possible to formulate a rule for this. It also happens that a particular noun undergoes reduction in one process and not in another. A list of these discrepancies is given here, but it is no doubt incomplete. The matter needs further investigation. The enumeration given in 3.2.2.3. serves as a basis.

a) Nouns that are reduced in the negation-category (with *-xpa* or *-ɔma*) and in the transposition-categories as well.

Example:

i:potï 'hair, feathers on body'; *i:poxpa*, *i:poxto*, *tï:poke*.

b) Nouns that are not reduced in the negation-category and not in the transposition-categories either.

Example:

ta:ri 'contents'; *ita:rïxpa*, *ta:rïxto*, *tita:rïke*.

c) Nouns that are not reduced in the negation-category, but are in the transposition-categories. The following cases are known to me. Gaps do not indicate that a particular form does not exist, but only that it is lacking in my material.

<i>epi:tï</i>	medicine	<i>epi:tïɔma</i>	<i>epi:nopi</i>	...
<i>ixkaitï</i>	dysentery	<i>ixkaitïɔma</i>	<i>ixkaita</i>	<i>tixkaike</i>
<i>yaxtï</i>	firewood	<i>iyaxtïɔma</i>	<i>yaxto</i>	...
<i>ya:puru</i>	mouldered wood	<i>iya:puruɔma</i>	<i>ya:puka</i>	<i>tiya:pure</i>
<i>yondi</i>	covering	<i>iyondiɔma</i>	<i>yondo</i>	<i>tiyoɔne</i> ¹¹²

¹¹² The ɔ would seem to serve as compensation for the lost syllable, a phenomenon which is regular in the verbs (2.1.1.1B2.).

An exceptional case in *mo:rī* 'noise', where it is certain that reduction only takes place in the adjectival transposition:

mo:rī noise *imo:rīxpa* *mo:rīka* *tīmo:re*

Finally, the meaning of the members of the adjectival transposition-category may be defined as follows: 'having what is designated by the monomorphemic noun, as a possession, quality, outward characteristic, social relation'. E.g.:

tīpi:ra:take 'possessing money', *tīpūke* 'shy, ashamed', *tīpi:pake* 'as flat as the frog pipa', *tomūirīne* 'having a daughter'.

3.2.3. COMBINATION OF THE NOMINAL PROCESSES WITH EACH OTHER

In the course of the discussion of the substantivizing *no*-process we already found that it can only occur in combination with the negation-process (3.2.2.5.). In the other processes combination is not compulsory, although it is possible.

Through combination of processes new categories are formed. The following paradigmatic tables illustrate this.

I. Combination of personal prefixation, the plural process and the *mbo*-process.

By combining one of the personal processes, e.g. that of the second person (3.2.2.1.), with the *mbo*-process (3.2.2.2.), the plural process (3.2.2.4.), and with both, three categories are formed:

		<i>mbo</i> -process
	<i>aye:mari</i> your path	<i>aye:marimbo</i> your former path
plural process	<i>aye:mari:koñ</i> your (plur.) path, your (sg. or plur.) paths	<i>aye:mari:konimbo</i> your (plur.) former path, your (sg. or plur.) former paths

As the place of *ay-* may be taken by four other prefixes, another four of these paradigms would be needed to present a complete picture. The combination of 1st person and plural is of especial interest, in that — unlike the other persons — the plurality cannot refer to the personal exponent, too: *ye:mari:koñ* means 'my paths', and cannot be interpreted as 'our path'. This restriction applies to verbs, as well as to nouns and postpositions.

As, moreover, the personal prefix may also be lacking, a sixth paradigm is necessary:

<i>mbo</i> -process		
	<i>e:marĩ</i> path	<i>e:marĩmbo</i> former path
plural process	<i>e:marĩ:koŋ</i> paths	<i>e:marĩ:konimbo</i> former paths

This paradigm contains words which can only be used in syntactic constructions of type B, see 3.2.1. Loss of *-ri* and replacement of *e:* by *o:* produces a seventh paradigm, which contains the corresponding A-forms:

<i>mbo</i> -process		
	<i>o:ma</i> path	<i>o:mambo</i> former path
plural process	<i>o:makoŋ</i> paths	<i>o:mako:nĩmbo</i> former paths

In the six cases with *-po* instead of *-mbo* (e.g. *ama:ri:yapo* 'your old knife'), when combined with plural, not *-kon-* but *-saŋ* occurs, replacing the alternant *-po:* *ama:ri:yasaŋ* 'your (plur.) old knife, your (plur. or sg.) old knives'. This same *-saŋ* is also found with some monomorphemic nouns ending in *po*, see 3.2.2.4. The syntactic *ri*-process which, as we saw above, may be combined with *-mbo*, cannot be used in combination with *-po*.

II. Combination of the *xpa*-process with the *mbo-*, *no-* and plural processes.

By combination of *-xpa* with one or two of the other processes at least four, and probably five, categories may be formed:

	<i>no</i> -process	<i>mbo</i> -process
	<i>e:mabĩŋ</i> one who is without a path	<i>e:maxpambo</i> <i>e:mamboxpa</i> as it where without a path, not (even) with an old path
plural process	<i>e:maxpaine</i> without path (plur.)	<i>e:maŋnoŋ</i> those who are without a path

The space for a fifth formation, with combination of *-mbo* and plural, has been left open, because I have omitted to find out whether it occurs. It seems probable that it does.

In the combination of *-xpa*, *-no* and the plural process a special alternant occurs, *-ʒnoŋ*.

In words formed by combination of *-xpa* and *-mbo* I found *-xpa* both before *-mbo* and after it. I do not know whether this difference in order involves any semantic difference.

Finally it seems possible to me that, together with *-xpa*, the *no*- and the *mbo*-process may be combined, too; I have not investigated this, however.

III. Combination of *-nano* and the plural process.

In three cases I found generalizing *-nano* (3.2.2.6.) combined with the plural suffix, *-koŋ* (3.2.2.4.): *maina* 'garden', *mainana:nokoŋ* 'gardens in general, and in all their diversity'; *aiya:ri* 'hand', *aiyana:-nokoŋ* 'hands, of all kinds of people'; *imba* 'shoulder', *imbana:nokoŋ* 'shoulders, of all kinds of people'.¹¹³

I have not further investigated the combination of the two processes, but I would call attention to the possibility that they may be freely combinable. If only from a semantic point of view (combination of 'generalizing aspect' and 'plurality'), this would be an important datum.

Combination of *-nano* with personal prefixation, *-xpa* and *-mbo* may be ruled out as impossible.

3.2.4. THE CATEGORIES WITH *-xto*, *mī-*, *-kepī*, *-po*, *as-*

These five categories have so far not been mentioned. As they occur only a few times in my material and as attempts to obtain more cases failed, I suspect that these are processes which, at any rate in the nouns, are unproductive; in the verbal system, *-xto*, *mī-* and *-kepī* are definitely productive, and *as-* is productive with the postpositions.

My researches on this point have not been thorough enough, however, so that a further check will be necessary; especially with regard to *-xto* and *mī-*.

A) The *xto*-category.

I know of *mainaxto* 'no garden, without garden' (*maina*), and *yexto* 'without sharpness' (*ye:ri*). As with the verbs, further suffixation

¹¹³ A somewhat similar 'double plurality' occurs in groups consisting of a noun in the plural, and a temporal/modal verbal form, also in the plural (3.1.3.3.3.1., at the end).

takes place with *-ri*, unless *me* follows: *mainaxto me maŋ* 'it is not a garden', *mari:ya yextori mo:ro wa:ra nixkoto:poi* 'the bluntness of the knife caused it to be cut like this' (*mo:ro wa:ra* 'like this', *nixkoto:poi* 'it has caused it to cut like this'). For *-xto* in the verbal system, see 3.1.3.2.5.

B) The *mī*-category.

In the two cases in my material, *mī*- is combined with generalizing *-nano* (above, 3.2.2.6.): *wo:ku* 'beer', *mīwo:kuna:no* 'the beer of all of us'; *i:poti* 'hair on body', *mī:powa:no* 'the hair on all our bodies'. For *mī*- in the verbal system, see 3.1.3.2.12.

C) The *kepī*-category.

Some nouns may be directly suffixed with the aspect-suffix *-kepī* 'to stop, cease', without a special transposition-suffix being necessary. The resulting formation has all the properties of a verb. The cases in my material are: *o:nu* 'eye', *enu:kepī* 'to be dazzled'; *are:pa* 'bread', *ere:pake:pī* 'to be left without any bread, to run out of bread'; *auraŋ* 'speech', *aurangepī* 'to stop speaking'; *a:ri* 'leaf', *a:riŋgepī* 'to be stripped of leaves'. I cannot account for the introduction of a nasal in this last case. For *-kepī* in the verbal system, see 3.1.3.1.4.

D) The *po*-category.

Suffixation with *-po* is combined with the syntactic process (*-ri*), and may furthermore be combined with the transpositional process *t- -re*. I know of only the following cases: *aiya:ri* 'hand', A *aiya:po*, B *aiyapo:ri* 'dexterity', *taiyapo:re* 'handy'; *e:ti* 'name, cry, sound of musical instrument', A *oti:po*, B *eti:pori* 'beautiful sound of musical instrument', *toti:pore* 'sounding beautiful'; *undi* 'trunk, steersman', A *undi:po*, B *undipo:ri* 'skill in steering', *tundipo:re* 'skilful at steering'.

E) The *as*-category.

The reciprocity-prefix *as-* has been found with kinship-terms: *enauxti* 'sister', *enaunaŋ* 'sisters', *ase:naunaŋ* 'sisters of one another'. For *as-* with postpositions, see 3.3.3.

3.3. POSTPOSITIONS

3.3.0. INTRODUCTION

The postpositions constitute a small class: my material comprises not more than 31 monomorphemic words that belong to the system described below. They are:

apo:rito 'beside', *ato:ke* 'vexatious to', *axta* 'if', *eko:sa* 'at, with', *e:po*

'above', *esi:wo* 'on the bank', *ĩnga:na* 'behind', *ira:to* 'facing', *ke* 'with', *koxpo* 'surpassing', *ku:po* 'on', *ma:ro* 'together with', *me* 'as, serving as, then', *pa:to* 'on the side of', *pe* 'subject to', *po* 'at', *po:ko* 'occupied with', *po:na* 'against', *po:pa* 'towards', *raɗna* 'in the middle of', *se* 'wishing, liking', *ta* 'in', *unda* 'right beside', *upiɗno* 'below', *uwa:po* 'before', *wa:ra* 'like', *uwa:roro* 'in disregard of', *wa:toŋ* 'looking like', *wena:po* 'behind', *wĩino* 'from', *ya:ko* 'at the time of', *ɗwa* 'to, by'.

The monomorphemic postpositions, like the monomorphemic verbs, are never used in isolation. The question whether nevertheless they can be accorded word status, is answered positively in a first section (3.3.1.).

As to the polymorphemic categories, the greater part of the postpositional system shows partial or complete correspondence to certain parts of the verbal and nominal system.

2. Five personal categories (verbs 3.1.3.2.1., nouns 3.2.2.1.).
3. The reflexive category with *as-* (confined to the postpositions).
4. The *no*-category (verbs 3.1.3.2.13., nouns 3.2.2.5.).
5. The plural categories (verbs 3.1.3.2.9., nouns 3.2.2.4.).
6. The *mbo*-category (verbs 3.1.3.2.2., nouns 3.2.2.2.).

Some of the processes can only occur in combination with one of the others, some may be combined but may also occur on their own. Categories formed by these combinations of processes are discussed in a final section.

3.3.1. THE MONOMORPHEMATIC CATEGORY

Monomorphemic postpositions are found only in connection with an immediately preceding word. E.g. *ayu:mĩ wa:ra* 'like your father', *ayu:mĩ eko:sa* 'with, near your father', *tuwo:marĩ po:na* 'against falling down', *auxto ta* 'in a house', *para:muwu ɗwa* 'to Paramaribo'.

In word-groups of this type no word can be inserted between the postposition and the word preceding it,¹¹⁴ in the same way as this was

¹¹⁴ One of the monosyllabic postpositions, *se* 'liking, wanting to' differs syntactically somewhat from the other postpositions; thus it may be separated from the words to which it belongs, e.g. *c:ro (tampoko:rĩ) se wa* 'I like this (very much)'. Morphologically, too, it has a verbal feature, see 3.3.8F. On a tape-recording of a rapid conversation, I found one insertion of *paĩnare* 'perhaps' before the postposition: *wĩrĩ:wĩrĩ paĩnare ta:ka nĩ:toŋ* (*ta:ka* = *ta* 'in' with suffix) 'it has perhaps gone into a fly', i.e. a fly has perhaps heard the rumour and spread it. The informant preferred moving *paĩnare* to the position following *ta:ka* without, however, positively rejecting the sentence.

impossible in the case of analogous constructions with a noun for their second member (3.2.1.2.), but unlike the analogous verbal constructions where this possibility was found to exist (3.1.1.).

Arguments for the view that, in spite of this, postpositions are words can be found in their analogy with the verbs and especially in the fact that they fully conform to the morphonological rules for the vowel structure of words. As to the first point, the postpositions are subject to prefixing in exactly the same way as verbs, the result being forms which in both classes show all the properties of words (3.1.3.2.1., and 3.3.2. below). Compare, e.g.:

(A) *moxko pita:ni ku:pi* 'bathing the child' (B) *aku:pi* 'bathing you' with:

(A) *moxko pita:ni wa:ra* 'like the child', (B) *awa:ra* 'like you'.

Since *ku:pi* (in A) was found to be a word, we assume the same for the postposition *wa:ra* in the parallel construction. That we do have parallelism here is confirmed by the two words in B with an analogous structure.

With regard to the argument based on the morphonological structure of the postpositions it must first of all be admitted that the postposition *ɔwa* 'to, by', because of its initial cluster, looks more like a suffix than a word. We have already seen, however, that there are two more exceptions to the rule which excludes a cluster in initial position: the enclitics *ɔne* 'really' and *xkuru* 'formerly', both showing the mobility within the sentence held to be characteristic for words (2.1.2.1.1. and 2.3.). What settles the matter for me, however, is the fact that all postpositions conform to the vocalic structure rules for words. Two kinds of phenomena are involved: contrary to what happens in the process of suffixing, a combination with, for instance, *ta* never affects the vocalic structure of the preceding word; and, unlike sequences of suffixes, the products of suffixing of *ta*, etc. always take the kind of vocalic structure found in words. Some examples may illustrate this.

When, e.g., *wotu:rupo* 'to ask' is suffixed with causative *-po*, in accordance with a general rule (2.1.3C1.) lengthening of the fourth vowel occurs in the resulting word: *wotu:rupo:po* 'to cause to ask'. Further suffixing does not produce any new quantitative modifications: *wotu:rupo:poyaŋ* 'he causes me to ask', *wotu:rupo:poyakoŋ* 'he caused me to ask'. Now a structure with three short vowels, as in the fragment *-poyakoŋ*, is not found in any tri-vocalic word.

The situation is completely different when *ta* is placed after a word

containing four vowels; there is no question of the vowel before *ta* being lengthened: *kuri:yara ta* 'in a boat'. And when *ta* is subjected to further suffixing lengthenings occur resulting in vocalic structures such as are found in words: *kuri:yara ta:no* 'what is in a boat', *kuri:yara ta:nokoŋ* 'who, which are in a boat', *kuri:yara ta:noko:nimbo* 'who, which were in a boat'.

The same thing is found in polysyllabic postpositions. Suffixing of, for instance, *wotu:rupo* with *-take* produces *wotu:rupo:take* 'I shall ask', with regularly lengthened fourth vowel;¹¹⁵ cf. *kure:wako wa:ra* 'like a green parrot', without modification in the first word, *kure:wako wa:rano* 'one that is like a green parrot', *kure:wako wa:rano:koŋ* 'those that are like a green parrot'.

3.3.2. THE FIVE PERSONAL CATEGORIES

The five personal prefixations discussed in 3.1.3.2. may be applied to postpositions as well as to verbs and nouns. For the form of the various prefix-alternants and the rules in accordance with which they alternate the reader is referred to the table at the beginning of 3.1.3.2.1.

Examples:

<i>pa:to</i>	on the side of	<i>uwa:po</i>	before
<i>pa:to</i>	on my side	<i>yu:wa:po</i>	before me
<i>apa:to</i>	on your side	<i>ayu:wa:po</i>	before you
<i>ipa:to</i>	on his, its side	<i>uwa:po</i>	before him, it
<i>tipa:to</i>	on his own, its own side	<i>tuwa:po</i>	before himself, itself
<i>kipa:to</i>	on both our sides	<i>kuwa:po</i>	before both of us
<i>inga:na</i>	behind	<i>eko:sa</i>	at, with
<i>inga:na</i>	behind me	<i>ye:ko:sa</i>	at, with me
<i>oŋga:na</i>	behind you	<i>aye:ko:sa</i>	at, with you
<i>inga:na</i>	behind him, it	<i>eko:sa</i>	at, with him, it
<i>tinga:na</i>	behind himself, itself	<i>toko:sa</i>	at, with himself, itself
<i>kinga:na</i>	behind both of us	<i>koko:sa</i>	at, with both of us
<i>wa:ra</i>	like		
<i>wa:ra</i>	like me		
<i>awa:ra</i>	like you		
<i>iwa:ra</i>	like him		
<i>tuwa:ra</i>	like himself, itself		
<i>kīwa:ra</i>	like both of us		

¹¹⁵ On this type of lengthening, see 2.1.3.1.

<i>ta</i>	in
<i>ĩ:ta</i>	in me (e.g. <i>ĩ:ta</i> <i>mĩxtake</i> 'you'll go in me', i.e. in my boat)
<i>o:ta</i>	in you
<i>i:ta</i>	in him, it
<i>tĩ:ta</i>	in himself, itself
<i>kĩ:ta</i>	in both of us

The unique form with initial cluster, *ɔwa*, is prefixed like the other postpositions containing one vowel but, as is to be expected, with a short vowel before the clusters (2.1.1.4.1.): *ĩɔwa* 'by me', *oɔwa* 'by you', *iɔwa* 'by him, it', *tĩɔwa* 'by himself, itself', *kĩɔwa* 'by both of us'.

3.3.3. THE *as*-CATEGORY

The members of this category are formed by prefixation with:

- 1) *ase:-*
- 2) *as-*

The first is the case when the monomorphemic word begins with a consonant or with *ĩ*, the second when it begins with a vowel other than *ĩ*. The first alternant is placed before a consonant, but replaces initial *ĩ*.

Examples:

- 1) *po:na* 'against', *ase:po:na* 'against each other'; *ĩnga:na* 'behind', *aseŋga:na* 'behind each other'.
- 2) *apo:rito* 'beside', *asa:po:rito* 'beside each other'.

Beside regular *ase:ta* 'in each other' (*ta* 'in') occurs *ase:na*, as far as I could tell, with exactly the same meaning.

The meaning of the members of the category can be defined as 'the mutual applicability to two persons or objects, or the applicability to one person or object with regard to him/itself, of what the monomorphemic postposition designates'. Cf. *apo:rito kĩno:tandĩɔmoyaŋ* 'he is sitting beside him', with *asa:po:rito kĩno:tandĩɔmoya:toŋ* 'they sit next to each other'; *i:ke kĩni:ka:saŋ* 'he is making it with it', *ase:ke kĩni:ka:saŋ* 'he is making it himself'.

3.3.4. THE *no*-CATEGORY

The members of this category are formed by suffixation with:

- 1) *-no*
- 2) *-ŋ*

The former is the case when the monomorphemic word ends in *o* or *a*, the latter when it ends in *e*.¹¹⁶ Before *-ŋ*, *e* is replaced by *a*.

Examples:

- 1) *po* 'at', *po:no* 'somebody or something in a certain place'; *eko:sa* 'at, with', *eko:sano* 'somebody or something staying with someone else'.
- 2) *me* 'as, serving as', *maŋ* 'somebody, something serving as'.

The meaning of the members of the category can be defined as 'person or object to whom/which applies what the corresponding monomorphemic word designates'. Cf. *para:muru po maŋ* 'he is at Paramaribo', with *para:muru po:no moxko maŋ* 'he is an inhabitant of Paramaribo' (*moxko* 'he', *maŋ* 'he is').

3.3.5. THE *ne*-CATEGORIES

The *ne*-process, by which plurals are formed, can only be applied in combination with:

- A) personal prefixation, except that of the first person (3.3.1.).
- B) the *as*-process (3.3.3.).
- C) the *no*-process (3.3.4.).

Three alternants occur:

- 1) *-ne* (the vowel before this alternant is replaced by the corresponding *i*-diphthong),
- 2a) *-koŋ*
- 2b) *-goŋ*

The first alternant occurs in combination with personal prefixation or with the *as*-process, the second and the third occur in combination with the *no*-process: 2a after the alternant *-no* and 2b after the alternant *-ŋ*.

Examples:

- | | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--|
| 1) <i>awa:ra</i> | like you(sg.) | <i>awa:raine</i> | like you(plur.) |
| <i>iwa:ra</i> | like him, it | <i>iwa:raine</i> | like them |
| <i>tuwa:ra</i> | like himself, itself | <i>tuwa:raine</i> | like themselves |
| <i>kiwa:ra</i> | like both of us | <i>kiwa:raine</i> | like us, incl.
hearer(s) |
| <i>ase:wara</i> | like one another | <i>ase:waraine</i> | like one another, of
three or more
persons or things |

¹¹⁶ Final vowels other than *o*, *a* and *e* do not occur in the material.

2a) <i>po:no</i>	inhabitant of —	<i>po:nokoŋ</i>	inhabitants of —
2b) <i>man</i>	somebody, some- thing serving as —	<i>mangoŋ</i>	persons, things serving as —

In the combination with personal prefixation, the plurality pertains to the number of persons referred to by the prefix. With *a-*, *i-*, and *tu-* this number is more than two; with *kī-*, however, three or more than three, as either the number of hearers, or that of the speaker and those on whose behalf he speaks, or that of both groups is two or more than two.¹¹⁷

In combination with the *as*-process, the plurality implies reciprocity between again at least three persons or things.

3.3.6. THE *mbo*-CATEGORY

The *mbo*-process can only be applied in combination with the *no*-process (3.3.4.). There are two alternants:

- 1) *-mbo*
- 2) *-imbo*

Both are placed after the suffix of the *no*-process. The first occurs if the alternant of the *no*-process is *-no*, the second if it is *-ŋ*; before *-imbo* this nasal is replaced by *-n*.

Examples:

- 1) *ita:no* 'its contents', *ita:nombo* 'its former contents'.
- 2) *epi:tī man* 'something that serves as a medicine', *epi:tī ma:nimbo* 'something that cannot really serve as a medicine'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be defined as 'that which is designated by the corresponding word in the *no*-category, regarded by the speaker with some reserve as not or no longer agreeing with the present state of affairs'. E.g. *ita:no kīna:ruta:no* 'its contents are drying', but *ita:nombo kīno:ta:pika:no* 'its contents were scattered', i.e. of a basket which ripped, so that its contents fell on the ground and thus at the moment spoken about were no longer really in the basket.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ There is no affixed form to refer to 'like us, excluding the hearer'. In order to express this, use must be made of the demonstrative *aŋna* 'we, excl.' e.g. *aŋna wa:ra* 'like us, excl.'.

¹¹⁸ For more information on the semantic value of *-mbo* see the sections on the adjectives and the nouns, where the category also occurs and more data were available (3.4.4. and 3.2.2.2.).

3.3.7. COMBINATION OF THE POSTPOSITIONAL PROCESSES WITH EACH OTHER

When we discussed the separate categories we already saw that certain processes must occur in combination with certain other processes: the plural process requires either personal prefixing, or reflexive prefixing with *as-*, or suffixing with *-no*, the *mbo*-process requires suffixing with *-no*.

Beside these compulsory combinations optional combination is also possible, namely of all prefixings (personal, and with *as-*) with the *no*-process, and of the *mbo*-process with the plural process. This means that in all 40 categories are formed, belonging to a system which may be illustrated by the following paradigm:

		plural process	<i>mbo</i> -process	<i>mbo</i> -process and plural combined
	<i>awa:ra</i> like you	<i>awa:raine</i> like you(plur.)	—	—
<i>no</i> - process	<i>awa:rano</i> one who is like you	<i>awa:rano:koŋ</i> those who are like you	<i>awa:ranombo</i> one who is not really like you	<i>awa:rano:konimbo</i> those who are not really like you

All the words in this paradigm share the prefix *a-*, for second person. Since instead of this *a-* it is possible for 4 other personal prefixes, the prefix *as-*, or no prefix to be present, the system to be represented in its entirety requires 7 paradigms in all. Five of these completely share the structure shown above, two are different, in lacking an equivalent for the plural *awa:raine*. This regards:

1) The postpositions without prefix, which always occur in connection with an immediately preceding word, e.g. *ayu:mī wa:ra* 'like your father'. Plural suffixing is confined to the word preceding the postposition, e.g. *ayu:mīkoŋ wa:ra* 'like your(plur.) father(s)'. The paradigm of these postpositions is in other respects equal to the one shown above:

		plural process	<i>mbo</i> -process	<i>mbo</i> -process and plural combined
	<i>wa:ra</i> like	—	—	—
<i>no</i> - process	<i>wa:rano</i> one who is like —	<i>wa:rano:koŋ</i> those who are like —	<i>wa:ranombo</i> one who is not really like —	<i>wa:rano:konimbo</i> those who are not really like —

2) The postpositions containing the personal prefix for first person,¹¹⁹ e.g. *wa:ra* 'like me', *ye:ko:sa* 'with me, at my house', *i:ta* 'in me'. Their paradigm is equal to the one shown under 1): *wa:rano* 'one who is like me', *ye:ko:sano* 'one who lives with me', etc.

As shown in the first paradigm, in the word formed by a combination of personal prefixation and the plural process (*awa:raine*) the plurality pertains to the personal exponent: 'you, plural'. When besides these two also the *no*-process is applied (*awa:rano:koŋ*) the situation may be more complicated. In the cases known to me, the plurality is related to the non-personal part of the word: 'those who are like you'. However, it is conceivable that the plurality may also pertain to the personal part of the word, making possible two further interpretations: 'those who are like you (plur.)' and 'one who is like you (plur.)'. Actually, this kind of ambiguity has been found in similar verbal formations; but I have omitted to ascertain its existence with the postpositions (see 3.1.3.2.14 IV).

Finally, the position of the system in relation to the other word classes may be summarized. The personal prefixes are shared with verbs and nouns, and furthermore the plural with *-ne* and diphthongization is shared with the verbs only. The *as*-category, formed by means of a prefix that can replace *a-* in the paradigm, is as a productive category peculiar to the postpositions (for this reason it was not discussed in 3.3.2. together with the personal categories). Finally, the reduced system as shown sub 1), without the *ne*-plural, is identical with the complete system of the adjectives (see below, 3.4.5.).

3.3.8. INCIDENTAL FORMATIONS

Apart from the categories discussed so far, a number of incidental formations were found with a larger or smaller number of postpositions.

A) The *ro*-category.

Suffixing with *-ro* has been found with the following postpositions: *apo:rito* 'beside', *e:po* 'above', *ira:to* 'facing', *ku:po* 'on top of', *pa:to* 'on the side of', *pe* 'subject to', *po* 'at', *po:ko* 'with, occupied with', *po:na* 'against', *ta* 'in', *uwa:po* 'before', *wa:ra* 'like, in the manner of'.

The meaning of the members of the *ro*-category may be defined as

¹¹⁹ The conceivable plural beside 'I', i.e. 'we, excl.' is thus not expressed by means of the plural suffix. Instead there is a construction with the demonstrative *aŋna* 'we, excl.'.

'taking (up) a certain distance, area, space or duration, as circumscribed by the corresponding monomorphemic postposition'.

Examples:

1) *ta* 'in', *ta:ro* 'till, as far as, at the end of a space or a period'. E.g. in *e:ro ta:ro iyañsiki:rī* 'as far as this is its depth' (*e:ro* 'this', the speaker pointed at his knees); *mo:ro itundarī ta:ro kinoxsañ na:pa* 'at the moment when his arrival had taken place — i.e. the whole series of events connected with the arrival, taking a certain amount of time — he came again' (*mo:ro itundarī* 'his arrival', *kinoxsañ* 'he came again').

2) *po:ko* 'with, occupied with', *po:koro* 'following it, after it'.

3) *wa:ra* 'like, in the manner of', *wa:raro* 'having the same proportions over a certain area or space = fitting', e.g. of a garment, a cork.

Suffixing with *-ro* may be combined with all other postpositional processes; e.g. *apo:ko* 'with you', *apo:koro* 'following you', *ase:po:koro* 'succeeding each other', *apo:koro:no* 'who, what is following you', etc.

B) The *o:-* category.

Prefixing with *o:-* has been found with only two postpositions, viz. *wa:ra* 'like', *o:wa:ra* 'mutually resembling, agreeing'; *pa:to* 'on the side of', *o:pa:to* 'on either side'.

The meaning of the words with *o:-* may be defined as: 'the relation designated by the monomorphemic postposition, in a two-sided or symmetrical way'.

Examples:

o:wa:ra mo:si:pe mandoñ 'mutually agreeing they are long = they are of the same length' (*mo:si:pe* 'long', *mandoñ* 'they are'); *owa:ra kitundae* 'the two of us arrive at the same point, from opposite directions' (*kitundae* 'the two of us arrive').

o:pato:ro aye:nuru siðmota:ke 'I'll blind your eyes on either side' (*aye:nuru* 'your eyes', *siðmota:ke* 'I'll break').

C) The *naka*-category.

Suffixing with *-naka* has been found with the following postpositions: *apo:rito* 'beside', *esi:wo* 'on the bank, on the rim', *iñga:na* 'behind', *ku:po* 'on', *po* 'at', *raðna* 'in the middle of', *ta* 'in', *unda* 'right beside', *upiðno* 'under', *uwa:po* 'before', *wiino* 'from'.

After final *a*, the alternant *-ka* is used instead of *-naka*. E.g. *i:ta* 'in it', *ita:ka* 'into it'.

The meaning of the members of the category may be described as

'moving into or from the direction indicated by the corresponding monomorphemic postposition'.

Examples:

ya:po:rito 'beside me', *ya:po:ritonaka oxko* 'come beside me'; *kupa:-nama wüino mañ* 'he is, comes from the Coppename', *kupa:nama wüinona:ka nitundai* 'he has arrived, coming from the Coppename'.

D) The *ne*-category (plural).

In a small number of cases two *ne*-formations were found alongside the personal prefix-categories: a regular one with *-ne* and diphthongization, and an irregular one with *-koñ*, the alternant which otherwise is only applied in combination with the *no*-process (see 3.3.5.). E.g. *ima:ro* 'with him', *ima:roine* 'with them', *ima:rokoñ* 'with him, plur.'.

There is a semantic difference between the two plural formations: in the regular one the plurality pertains to the persons referred to by the prefix, in the irregular one it pertains to the persons referred to by another word or other words in the same sentence. Cf., e.g. *ima:roine nü:toñ* 'he has gone away with them', *ima:rokoñ paxporo nü:toñ* 'they have all gone away with him'.

As well as with *ma:ro* 'with', the double plural was found with *unda* 'right beside' and *wa:ra* 'like'.

E) The *mbo*-category.

In two cases the *mbo*-process was found directly applied to the monomorphemic postposition, without the *no*-process also being used (which in general is necessary): *apo:rito* 'beside', *apo:ritombo* 'away from the place beside'; *uwa:po* 'before', *uwa:pombo* 'away from the place before'. To these should perhaps be added *wüino* 'from', *wüinombo* 'from'; I have not been able, however, to ascertain whether the semantic distinction 'distance' is actually present here.

F) The categories with *-xpa*, *-ɔnoñ* and *-xto*.

One postposition, *se* 'liking, wishing', shares the negation-forms with the verbs: *sexpa* 'not wanting to', *seɔnoñ* 'people not wanting to', *sexto* 'who does not want'. They may be further combined with prefixes: *isexpa* 'not liking him, it', *o:seɔnoñ* 'people not liking you', *nisextono:rĩ* 'whom, what I do not like' (verbs, 3.1.3.2.5. and 6.; *-xpa* is also productive with the nouns, 3.2.2.3.).

G) Transposition to the adjectives, with *t-* *-ne*.

This was found with one member of the *no*-category, *po:no* 'one who

is at': *tīpo:none* 'with inhabitants' (said of a village that is not deserted). See the nouns, 3.2.2.8.

H) Transposition to the verbs, with *-ndo*.

This, too, was found with only one member of the *no*-category, *uwa:pono* 'one who anticipates, who is earlier': *uwa:ponondo* 'to anticipate a person, to do something before a person arrives'. See the nouns, 3.2.2.7.2.

I) Composition.

Only one case is known to me, *rexta:ka* '(descending) on the ridge'. The components are *re:ti* 'ridge (of roof)' and *ta:ka* 'into', a member of the *naka*-category (see C, above). The replacement of the final syllable by *x*, as in *re:ti*, is also found in other cases of the formation of compounds.¹²⁰

3.4. ADJECTIVES

3.4.0. INTRODUCTION

The adjectives constitute a small class: my material contains not more than 43 monomorphemic words belonging to the system to be discussed here.

The categories of which the adjectives form part are all found in other word classes as well, but there they belong to other, more extensive systems. It is for this reason that the adjectives are treated as a separate class.¹²¹

The following categories are to be dealt with:

1. The monomorphemic category.
2. The *no*-category (postpositions 3.3.4., verbs 3.1.3.2.13., nouns 3.2.2.5.).
3. The plural category (postpositions 3.3.5., verbs 3.1.3.2.9., nouns 3.2.2.4.).
4. The *mbo*-category (postpositions 3.3.6., verbs 3.1.3.2.2., nouns 3.2.2.2.).

Further categories, formed by combination of the three processes (*-no*, plural and *-mbo*) are discussed in a final section.

3.4.1. THE MONOMORPHEMATIC CATEGORY

Monomorphemic adjectives, like monomorphemic nouns, but unlike verbs and postpositions, can be used as the only word of a

¹²⁰ See 2.1.1.1.C.

¹²¹ See the introduction to this chapter (3.0.).

sentence, as a rule with non-neutral intonation: *yuʔpa?* 'is it all right?',
ka:wo! 'oh, how high!'

3.4.2. THE *no*-CATEGORY

The formation of the members of this category takes place by:

- 1) suffixation with *-no*
- 2) suffixation with *-ŋ*, and change of the preceding vowel
- 3) removal of the final syllable.

It was not found possible in all cases, on the basis of the structure of the monomorphemic words, to predict the form of the word in the *no*-category, or vice versa. It is possible, however, to formulate some rules:

A) If the monomorphemic word ends in *o*, suffixing with *-no* always takes place. Twelve cases are known to me:

<i>embo/embo:no</i>	past, on the other side/a past one, one from the other side
<i>ka:wo/ka:wono</i>	high/a high one
<i>koro:mo/koro:mono</i>	recent/a recent thing
<i>kowa:ro/kowa:rono</i>	very small/a very small one
<i>kurando/kurandono</i>	outside/one who is outside
<i>ma:po/ma:pono</i>	ashore/one who is ashore
<i>mondo/mondo:no</i>	present/one who is present
<i>no:mo/no:mono</i>	menstruating/one who menstruates
<i>nu:ro/nu:rono</i>	living/a living one
<i>poxpo/poxpo:no</i>	low/a low one
<i>tuwa:ro/tuwa:rono</i>	thoughtful/a thoughtful one
<i>tuwo:ro/tuwo:rono</i>	different/one who is different

B) Of the two cases ending in *a*, one is formed according to 1), the other according to 2):

<i>tuwo:muxka/tuwo:muxkano</i>	skilful, handy/a skilful, handy one
<i>yuʔpa/yuʔpiŋ</i>	good/a good one

C) With words ending in *e* there are the following possibilities:

a) In the following twelve cases suffixing with *-ŋ* and replacement of *e* by *a* takes place:

<i>püme/pümanŋ</i> ,	
<i>apüme/apümanŋ</i>	many, much/a manifold one
<i>ipi:piye/ipi:piyanŋ</i>	thin/a thin one

<i>it̩ɪ̩me/it̩ɪ̩man̩</i>	silent/a silent one
<i>me:ne/me:nan̩</i>	difficult/a difficult one
<i>miɪ̩me/miɪ̩man̩</i>	sleepy/a sleepy one
<i>patoɪ̩ne/patoɪ̩nan̩</i>	transverse/a transverse one
<i>p̩imeke/p̩imekan̩</i>	slow/a slow one
<i>ruɪ̩me/ruɪ̩man̩</i>	weak/a weak one
<i>sama:ne/sama:nan̩</i>	overturned/one that has been overturned
<i>sa:me/sa:man̩</i>	extinguished quickly/one that is extinguished quickly
<i>sawo:ne/sawo:nan̩</i>	light (of weight)/a light one
<i>t̩ip̩ime/t̩ip̩iman̩</i>	thick/a thick one

b) In three cases there is suffixing with *-no*; in one of these *-no* replaces the final syllable *me*:

<i>t̩ixse/t̩ixse:no</i>	far/a far one
<i>sen̩ge/sen̩ge:no</i>	near/a near one
<i>kopo:seme/kopo:seno</i> ¹²²	on the opposite side/one on the opposite side

c) In the other fourteen cases ending in *e*, which are all formally characterized by the fact that the final *e* is preceded by *m*,¹²³ the *no*-category is formed by means of reduction. It consists in loss of the final syllable *me*, except in one case, *yaɪ̩wa:me* 'bad', where the final syllable is replaced by *ŋ*.

<i>api:pime/api:pi</i>	shallow/a shallow one
<i>ara:suka:me/ara:suka</i>	soft/a soft one
<i>ase:rime/ase:r̩i</i>	new/a new one
<i>awo:pame/awo:pa</i>	on the edge/one that is on the edge
<i>imbo:me/imbo</i>	fed up with/one who is fed up with
<i>imembome</i> ¹²⁴ / <i>imembo</i> ,	
<i>imemboko:me/imemboko</i>	small/a small one
<i>m̩ino:tome/m̩ino:to</i>	pregnant/a pregnant one

¹²² By the side of *kopo:seme* and *kopo:seno* there is *kopo:se* 'opposite side', which with regard to its syntactic valence is reminiscent of a noun (e.g. *kopo:se :ne t̩ixse maŋ* 'the opposite side is really far away', *kopo:se w̩ino* 'from the opposite side'). Morphologically, however, *kopo:se* lacks all the possibilities of the nouns, whereas *kopo:seme* and *kopo:seno* clearly belong to the system discussed here.

¹²³ It does not, however, comprise all adjectives in *me*, as is clear from the foregoing discussion.

¹²⁴ I have not been able to find any semantic difference between this word and the next one. The second is possibly more expressive: it also has a sound-symbolic counterpart *imimbiki:me* 'tiny', which *imembome* seems to lack.

<i>omi:yame</i> ¹²⁵ / <i>omi:ya</i>	young beautiful (woman)/a young, beautiful one
<i>pena:tome</i> / <i>pena:to</i>	of former days/a former one
<i>po:tome</i> ¹²⁶ / <i>po:to</i> ,	
<i>opo:tome</i> / <i>opo:to</i>	large/a large one
<i>poitome</i> ¹²⁵ / <i>poito</i>	young, beautiful/a young, beautiful one
<i>pise:reme</i> / <i>pise:re</i>	not horizontal/a non-horizontal one
<i>sira:pime</i> / <i>sira:pi</i>	narrow/a narrow one
<i>yaɔwa:me</i> / <i>yaɔwan</i>	bad/a bad one

That in these 14 word-pairs the longer correlate is morphologically less complex than the shorter one follows from their semantic parallelism with the cases listed under A, B, C. a and b above, where it was the shorter form that was regarded as the less complex one.

Furthermore, to all the words of the type *api:pime* rule 2 can also be applied, in which case, however, final *e* before *-ŋ* is replaced by *i*, not by *a*, as in the type *apime/apiman*. Thus we find side by side with the same meaning, *api:pi* and *api:pimɪŋ* 'a shallow one', *po:to* and *po:tomɪŋ* 'a large one', etc.

The short form (*po:to*) and the long one (*po:tomɪŋ*) are freely interchangeable in all syntactic contexts, except in direct connection with a noun, where the form with *mɪŋ* is excluded. Thus we find without any semantic difference *po:to am se wa* or *po:tomɪŋ am se wa* 'I want a large one' (*am* 'a', *se wa* 'I want'), whereas in *mo:ro po:to ma:riya:ri tuta:se maŋ* 'my big knife is lost' (*mo:ro ma:riya:ri* 'my knife'), *po:to* cannot be replaced by *po:tomɪŋ*.

The meaning of the members of the *no*-category may be defined as 'person or thing possessing the quality designated by the corresponding monomorphemic adjective'. Cf., e.g., the meanings of *ka:wo* and *ka:wono* in *ka:wo ma:mii* 'you have built it high', *mo:ro ka:wono sa:mii* 'I have built the high one' (*mo:ro* 'the', *a:mii* 'to build'), *ka:wono am sa:mii* 'I have built a high one' (*am* 'a'; the reference is to houses).

¹²⁵ *Omi:yame* and *poitome* were felt by the informants to be clearly related to the nouns *o:miya:ko* 'girl' and *poito* 'young man, son-in-law, paid labourer'. There is, however, no question of identity of adjectival *poito* or *omi:ya* 'a young, beautiful one' with these nouns: apart from the fact that they belong to a different morphological system, there is also a formal difference in the case of *omi:ya* and *o:miya:ko*.

¹²⁶ By the side of *po:tome* occur *opo:tome* and *apo:tome*, apparently without any semantic difference. There is, however, a morphological difference: of the three *no*-forms *po:to*, *apo:to* and *opo:to* it is only the last one that admits of possessive affixing and transposition; see 3.4.6C. and 3.4.6E.

Unlike the monomorphemic adjectives, the members of the *no*-category can also be used in direct connection with a noun. This noun always immediately follows the adjective: *mo:ro ka:wono waxto tixse kīno:neyaŋ* 'that high light is visible from afar' (*waxto* 'light', *kīno:neyaŋ* 'is visible', *tixse* 'far').

3.4.3. THE *ne*-CATEGORY

The process by means of which plurals are formed only can occur in combination with the *no*-process, discussed in the preceding section. The name *ne*-process was introduced in an earlier chapter (verbs, 3.1.3.2.9.) and is retained here, although in fact the alternant *-ne* does not play any part. Instead, three other alternants occur:

- 1) *-koŋ*
- 2) *-goŋ*
- 3) *-noŋ*

The first is found with words formed by suffixing with *-no*, e.g. *ka:wono* 'a high one', *ka:wono:koŋ* 'high ones'.

The second is found with words ending in *ŋ*, except the 14 doublets ending in *mīŋ* discussed in 3.4.2C.c., since these cannot be suffixed at all. Besides these 14, final *ŋ* occurs: (a) in the formations with *-ŋ* and vowel-change, e.g. *ipi:piyaŋ* 'a thin one', *ipi:piyaŋgoŋ* 'thin ones', *yuḍpīŋ* 'a good one', *yuḍpīŋgoŋ* 'good ones'; (b) in *yaḍwaŋ* 'a bad one', *yaḍwaŋgoŋ* 'bad ones' (see 3.4.2C.c.).

The third is found with words formed by loss of *me*, except for the irregular *yaḍwaŋ*, which does not end in a vowel and as we have just seen, is suffixed with *-goŋ*. E.g. *po:to* 'a large one', *po:tonoŋ* 'large ones'.

The meaning of the members of the *ne*-category differs from that of the corresponding words in the *no*-category in that it has a plural feature. E.g. *po:to am ka:saŋ* 'she is making a large one' (*ka:saŋ* 'she is making', the reference is to a jug), *po:tonoŋ am ka:saŋ* 'she is making a couple of large ones'.

When connected with a noun the adjective as well as the noun, either both or one of the two, can take the plural suffix: *yuḍpīŋgoŋ wī:wīkoŋ*, *yuḍpīŋgoŋ wī:wī*, *yuḍpīŋ wī:wīkoŋ* 'good axes'. As far as I could tell, there was no semantic difference.

Finally mention should be made of formations with *-nokoŋ*, which occur by the side of the 13 plural forms in *-noŋ*; e.g. with *po:to* 'a large one' both *po:tonoŋ* and *po:tono:koŋ* occur as plural forms.

It is uncertain whether there is any semantic difference. The type *po:tono:koŋ* is possibly to be explained as due to formal analogy with formations like *ka:wono:koŋ* 'high ones', which closely resemble the forms under discussion but contain the suffix-alternant *-no:-*.

3.4.4. THE *mbo*-CATEGORY

The *mbo*-process only can occur in combination with the *no*-process discussed in 3.4.2.¹²⁷ There are two alternants:

- 1) *-mbo*
- 2) *-imbo*

The first occurs with words ending in a vowel, i.e. (a) the formations with the alternant *-no*, e.g. *ka:wono* 'a high one', *ka:wonombo* 'a not really high one', and (b) the formations with reduction of *-me*, except *yaɽwanɳ*, e.g. *po:to* 'a large one', *po:tombo* 'a not really large one'. Furthermore, the first alternant occurs with *yuɽpinɳ* 'a good one', *yuɽpimbo* 'a not really good one'. (The other cases of *inɳ*, i.e. the 14 doublets of the type *po:tominɳ* 'a large one', cannot take any suffixes).

The other alternant is found with words ending in *anɳ*, i.e. (a) the formations with *-nɳ* and vowel change of the type *ipi:piyanɳ* 'a thin one', *ipi:piya:nimbo* 'a not really thin one', and (b) *yaɽwanɳ* 'a bad one', *yaɽwa:nimbo* 'a not really bad one'. Before the suffix, *nɳ* is replaced by *n*.

The meaning of the members of the category may be defined as 'what is designated by the corresponding word in the *no*-category, applied by the speaker with some reserve because of the existence of a discrepancy with regard to the real state of affairs'.

The term 'discrepancy' for this semantic value needs further comment. In the first place there may be a discrepancy between the quality designated by the adjective and the situation as it presents itself to speaker and hearer, in the sense that the quality mentioned is not really or not completely present. E.g. *yaɽwanɳ moxko maŋ* 'he is a bad man', *yaɽwa:nimbo moxko maŋ* 'he is a poor, wretched man; a man who makes a bad impression, but is not bad'. In other cases the reverse seems to be true: the discrepancy consists in the fact that the quality mentioned is present but is not clearly apparent to the observer. E.g. *omi:ya wo:rɪi* 'a young, beautiful woman', *omi:yambo wo:rɪi moxko maŋ* 'she is a woman who is young, but impresses one as old'. In yet another group of cases the quality designated by the adjective may

¹²⁷ In a limited number of cases the *mbo*-process is also applied without the *no*-process, see 3.4.6B.

have existed at one time but is now no longer there. Thus *omï:yambo su ro:rïpo moxko mañ* may be interpreted in the sense discussed above (young, but not looking it), but another possible interpretation is 'she may once have been very young and beautiful, but that is no longer true' (*su* 'very', *ro:rïpo* 'it is true').

Finally, there need not be any real discrepancy between the quality designated and the actual situation. In this case the discrepancy would seem to be between the presence of the quality, or the degree of its presence, and what the speaker regards as to be expected or normal. E.g. *po:tombo su!* 'what an incredibly large one!' (*su* 'very') *kïnoxsañ aka:re yu:mï, po:tombo po:re* 'there came Father of the Caymans, an amazingly huge creature' (*po:re* 'exceedingly', Father of the Caymans does not have the dimensions of a normal cayman, but appears to be larger than a house).

3.4.5. COMBINATION OF THE PROCESSES WITH EACH OTHER

When we discussed the separate categories we already saw that both the *ne-* (plural) process and the *mbo-*process must occur in combination with the *no-*process. Besides these compulsory combinations, optional combination is possible of the *ne-* and the *mbo-*process, in which case the suffix of the *ne-*process precedes that of the *mbo-*process.

Thus there are five categories, which form part of a system that may be illustrated by the following paradigm:

		plural process	<i>mbo-</i> process	<i>mbo-</i> process and plural combined
	<i>ka:wo</i> high	—	—	—
<i>no-</i> process	<i>ka:wono</i> one who is high	<i>ka:wono:koñ</i> those who are high	<i>ka:wonombo</i> one who is not really high	<i>ka:wono:konimbo</i> those who are not really high

The system is identical with a part of the postpositional system (3.3.7.).

3.4.6. INCIDENTAL FORMATIONS

Apart from the categories discussed so far, a number of incidental formations has been found with a larger or smaller number of adjectives.

A) The *naka*-category.

Suffixing with *-naka* has been found in the following cases: *ka:wo/ka:wona:ka* 'high'/'up', *koro:na/koro:naka* 'deep'/'into the depths', *ma:po/ma:pona:ka* 'ashore'/'ashore (direction)' *poɣpo/poɣpona:ka* 'low'/'down', *senge/sengena:ka* 'near'/'nearer', *tixse/tixsena:ka* 'far'/'farther away', *kurando/kurandona:ka* 'outside'/'out, outside (direction)'. The one case with final *a*, *koro:na*, has *-ka* instead of *-naka*.

A special case is *kopo:sena:ka* 'to the other side of the river', which might equally well correlate with *kopo:seme* 'at the opposite side' and with *kopo:se* 'opposite side' (see 3.4.2C.b., and note).

The meaning of the words with *-naka* is 'moving into the direction of a place indicated by the monomorphemic adjective'. Cf., e.g. *ka:wo kinoxsañ* 'it (an aeroplane) is approaching at a great height', *ka:wona:ka kinoxsañ* 'it (a tree-trunk) is coming up', i.e. one end of the cut-down trunk because the other end sank away.

Formations with *-naka* are also found with some postpositions (3.3.8C.).

B) The *mbo*-category.

In six cases the *mbo*-process was found directly applied to a monomorphemic adjective, without the *no*-process being applied at the same time: *ka:wo/ka:wombo* 'high'/'from above', *tixse/tixsembo* 'far'/'from afar', *sawo:ne/sawo:nembo* 'light (of weight)'/ 'abnormally light',¹²⁸ *omi:yame/omi:yambome* 'young, beautiful'/'not really beautiful', *po:tome/po:tombome* 'large'/'abnormally large', *poitome/poitombome* 'beautiful'/'not really beautiful'.

The cases ending in *me* discussed in 3.4.2C.c. have *-mbo-* infixes before *me*.

Their meaning again may be characterized by the term 'discrepancy'. In the first two cases this discrepancy or deviation has the same purely spatial sense as is found in certain postpositions and demonstratives (3.3.8E. and 3.5.2.).

C) The category with *i-* and *-ri*.

Personal formations with a personal prefix and *-ri*, such as are found with the nouns (3.2.2.1.), have been found with three adjectives:

<i>ipa:toɲnari</i>	the transverse part of it
<i>isa:wona:ri</i>	the light part of it
<i>iyo:poto:ri</i>	the size of it.

¹²⁸ Used by the informant with reference to a picture of a woodskin canoe.

Comparing these words both with the monomorphemic adjectives (left) and the members of the *no*-category (right), it is difficult to ascertain whether *i-* *-ri* are used here in combination with the *no*-process, or not:

<i>patoʔne/patoʔnaŋ</i>	transverse/a transverse one
<i>sawo:ne/sawo:naŋ</i>	light (of weight)/a light one
<i>opo:tome/opo:to</i>	large/a large one

From a semantic point of view the second possibility is the more plausible one; it accords well with the occurrence of *a* instead of *e* in the first two cases and the absence of *me* in the third case. The loss of *ŋ*, however, is left unexplained.

D) The category with *-xpa*.

The following six negative formations formed, just as in the case of nouns, with *i-* *-xpa*, *i-* *-ʔma*, *-xpa* or *-ʔma* (3.2.2.3.) confront us with the same problem as the personal words discussed above (C).

<i>isa:wo:naxpa</i>	not light
<i>imi:no:toxpa</i>	not pregnant
<i>emï:yaʔma</i>	not young, beautiful
<i>ipoitoʔma</i>	not young, beautiful
<i>tuwa:roxpa</i>	imprudent
<i>omuxkaxpa</i>	clumsy, incompetent

The monomorphemic adjectives and *no*-formations are:

<i>sawo:ne/sawo:naŋ</i>	light/a light one
<i>mïno:tome/mïno:to</i>	pregnant/a pregnant one
<i>omï:yame/omï:ya</i> ¹²⁹	young, beautiful/a young, beautiful one
<i>poitome/poito</i>	young, beautiful/a young, beautiful one
<i>tuwa:ro/tuwa:rono</i>	thoughtful/a thoughtful one
<i>tuwo:muxka/tuwo:muxkano</i> ¹³⁰	competent/a competent one

The view that there is combination with the *no*-process in these

¹²⁹ Vowel-alternation of *o/e* in initial position also occurs in nouns; e.g. *o:ma* 'path', *e:marpa* 'without a path'.

¹³⁰ As *omuxka* does not exist as a word and *tuwo:muxka* does not appear to have any semantic feature that can be specially correlated with *tuw-*, the word must be regarded as being monomorphemic. Strangely enough, it behaves as if *tuw-* was a prefix, for this fragment is lost when *-xpa* is affixed; while moreover *tuwo:muxka* has a structure which is only found in polymorphemic words (2.2.2.1.): *x* follows a vowel other than the first or second, and it can alternate with length (*tuwo:mu:ka* occurs too).

cases is supported by the occurrence of *a* instead of *e* in the first case, and the absence of *me* in the next three. However, the last two cases, without *-no-* in the negative form, seem to point in the opposite direction.

E) Transposition to the verbs.

The following cases are known to me: *apüme/apümmamü* 'many, much'/'to become numerous', *miðme/miðme:mü* 'sleepy'/'to become sleepy', *opo:tome/yopo:toma:mü* 'large'/'to become large', *itiðme/itiðna* 'silent'/'to fall silent', *sama:ne/sama:nando* 'overturned'/'to overturn', *sawo:ne/sawo:na*¹³¹ or *sawo:napa:mü* 'light (weight)'/'to become light', *sawo:ne/sawo:no* 'light'/'to make light', *tuwa:ro/tuwa:rongepi* 'thoughtful'/'to forget', *tuwa:ro/tuwa:roma* 'thoughtful'/'to care for'.

3.4.7. TRANSPOSITIONAL ADJECTIVES

Every verb and every noun can probably be transposed to the system of the adjectives. This is effected in the following ways.

1) Verbs, by suffixation with *-sene*, in certain cases attended by prefixure of *i-* or by removal of an initial *w*, according to the rules formulated in 3.1.3.8. E.g. *wo:pü* 'to come', *opü:sene* 'just come'.

2) Nouns, except the five cases mentioned under 3, by prefixing with *t-*, *tü-* or *tu-* and suffixing with *-ke*, *-ne*, *-re* or *-me*; e.g. on the basis of *wa:re* 'song', *tuwa:reke* 'knowing many songs' (3.2.2.8.). The same process is applied to a small number of verbs as well, e.g. *u:wa* 'to dance', *tuwa:ke* 'fond of dancing' (3.1.3.8. note).

3) Five nouns are transposed by suffixation with *-pe* or *-me* and removal of a fragment of the base: *panaxtori/panaxpe* 'strength'/'strong', *parixtori/parixpe* 'violence'/'violent', *yañsiki:ri/yañsi:pe* 'depth'/'deep', *mo:sñ/mo:si:pe* 'length'/'long', *sa:niñ/sa:ni:me* 'shortness'/'short'.

The transposed verbs with *-sene* have a *no*-category with *-ñ* and vowel change, exactly like the monomorphematic adjectives of the type *ipi:piye* (3.4.2C.a.); e.g. *opü:sene/opü:senañ* 'just come'/'one who has just come'. Also the *ne-* and the *mbo*-processes, and their combination, are applied in a fully regular way (3.1.3.8. and 3.4.5.).

Both the regular transposed nouns and the five irregular cases mentioned under 3, fully share the semantic distinctions as illustrated in the paradigm of 3.4.5. Formally however, they show some deviations. These concern:

¹³¹ I have not found any semantic difference between this word and the next one.

A) The formation of the *no*-category.

This is effected by suffixing with *-ŋ*, as with a number of monomorphemic adjectives ending in *e* (3.4.2C.a.). The replacement of *e* by *a* before the suffix does not take place, however. E.g. *tuwa:reke* 'knowing many songs', *tuwa:rekeŋ* 'one who knows many songs', *tuwa:-rekeŋ tampo:ko* 'an old man knowing many songs'. Three of the irregular formations mentioned under 3 do have the vowel change: in one case *e* is replaced by *a*, in two others by *i*: *yaŋsi:pe/yaŋsi:paŋ* 'deep'/'a deep one', *mo:si:pe/mo:si:biŋ* 'long'/'a long one' (with further replacement of *p* by *b*), *sa:ni:me/sa:ni:mŋ* 'short'/'a short one'. I do not know how the formation is effected in *panaxpe* and *parixpe*.

B) The formation of the *ne*-category.

Plurals are formed by suffixation with:

- 1) *-moŋ*
- 2) *-noŋ*

The first occurs with the regular transpositions of the type *tuwa:reke*. Before *-moŋ*, *ŋ* disappears and the preceding vowel is replaced by *a*: E.g. *tuwa:rekeŋ* 'one who knows many songs', *tuwa:reka:moŋ* 'persons knowing many songs'.¹³²

The second alternant is found with the three cases with *-ŋ* and vowel-change mentioned above; before the suffix, the final syllable is removed: *yaŋsi:paŋ/yaŋsi:noŋ* 'a deep one'/'deep ones', *mo:si:biŋ/mo:si:noŋ* 'a long one'/'long ones', *sa:ni:mŋ/sa:ni:noŋ* 'a short one'/'short ones'.¹³³

There is nothing that deserves special notice in:

C) The formation of the *mbo*-category.

Suffixation takes place with *-imbo*, final *ŋ* being replaced by *n*; e.g. *tuwa:rekeŋ/tuwa:reke:nimbo* 'one who knows many songs'/'one who does not really know many songs'.

¹³² This way of forming the plural is also found with the verbal *neŋ*-category, see 3.1.3.2.9E.

¹³³ Both in the vowel-alternation *e/i* (in *mo:si:biŋ*, *sa:ni:mŋ*) and in the plural with *-noŋ* the irregular cases of transposition correspond to the adjectives of the type *po:tome/po:to* (3.4.2C.c.). Yet there is an important difference: *mo:siŋ*, etc., possess all the morphological possibilities and the syntactic valence of the nouns, while this is not the case with *po:to*.

		indefinite				definite				
		place or direction		no place or direction		place or direction		no place or direction		
		place	direction	place	direction	place	direction	characterizes with reference to place of speech event	characterizes with reference to participants of speech event	characterizes with reference to preceding utterance
in- animate	<i>o:we</i>	<i>o:ya</i>	<i>o:fi</i>	<i>i:ye</i>	<i>i:ya</i>	<i>e:mi</i>	<i>e:yo</i>	<i>mo:mi</i>	<i>mo:yo</i>	<i>i:yo</i>
animate			<i>mo:ki</i>	<i>mo:e</i>	<i>mo:ya</i>	<i>mo:se</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>mo:ko</i>	<i>amo:yo</i>	<i>ki:ko</i>

3.5. DEMONSTRATIVES

3.5.1. THE MONOMORPHEMATIC DEMONSTRATIVES

First of all we are concerned with the twenty words in the table on page 270, most of them clearly of a deictic character,¹³⁴ which are closely related both semantically and formally. Later on we shall discuss the morphological processes to which these words are subject.

Let us first consider the semantic aspects. An important part is clearly played by two distinctions: indefinite as opposed to definite, and inanimate as opposed to animate.¹³⁵

Both indefinite and referring to an inanimate object are *o:tī*, *o:we* and *o:ya*. Of these three words, *o:we* 'where' and *o:ya* 'whither', which denote place and direction, respectively, are distinguished from *o:tī* 'what, something', which does not have this spatial meaning. Examples: *o:we ko nañ?* 'where is he?' (*ko* 'interrogative particle', *nañ* 'is he'), *o:we na:re* 'I don't know where' (*na:re* 'unknown to speaker'). *o:ya ko nī:toñ?* 'where has he gone?', *o:ya na:re* 'I don't know where (whither)'. *o:tī ko e:ro nañ?* 'what is this?' (*e:ro* 'this'), *a:mu o:tī ye:nuru ta:ka nī:toñ* 'something got into my eye' (*a:mu* 'a', *ye:nuru ta:ka* 'into my eye', *nī:toñ* 'went').

A special feature of *o:tī* is that besides its function as a demonstrative, it can also function as a noun or a verb. E.g. *yo:tīri* 'something of mine', *kīno:tīyañ* 'he does something'.

Corresponding to *o:tī*¹³⁶ 'what, something' is *no:kī* 'who, somebody', as an indefinite demonstrative word referring to a living creature.

¹³⁴ The exceptions are *o:tī* 'something, what', and *no:kī* 'somebody, who', as it is not evident that they "characterize with reference to the speech event or its participants" (Roman Jakobson, *Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb*, 1957). On the other hand, some words that clearly do have the "shifting" character of deictic words do not belong to the morphological class described here: *mi:ya* 'to the opposite side', *miya:ro* and *miy:ro* 'over there, far away', and *ya:rowa* 'hither'.

¹³⁵ In this distinction animate applies to people and animals, inanimate to plants and all other things.

¹³⁶ *Oxto* 'whatever' is closely related in meaning to *o:tī*; perhaps the only difference is that *oxto* has an affective connotation. *Oxto*, however, has no counterpart referring to living creatures, such as *o:tī* has in *no:kī* 'somebody, who', nor does it take affixes as *o:tī* does (see 3.5.2.). The same applies to two other words which show some semantic and formal resemblance to *o:tī*: *oxtoro* 'a certain number, how many', and *oxtono:me* 'for some reason or other, why'; these words, too, do not fit into the morphological system of the demonstratives. There is, however, a word *oxtono:man* 'the reason why', which occurs by the side of *oxtono:me* in accordance with a process belonging to the postpositions and the adjectives (3.3.4. and 3.4.2.).

Examples:

no:kī ko me:nei? 'who did you see?' (*ko* interrogative particle),
imemboko no:kī e:biñ ke 'because he was not a small living creature'
 (*imemboko* 'small', *e:biñ ke* 'because he was not').

O:we 'where' and *o:ya* 'whither' have no animate counterpart.

In the case of the definite demonstratives we also find the two distinctions animate/inanimate and locational-directional as opposed to non-locational-directional. Apart from these, however, there are some further distinctions.

In the case of words referring to place or direction there is one further distinction: near as opposed to far-off. Corresponding to the indefinite *o:we* 'where' there are *i:ye* 'there' and *mo:e* 'yonder', corresponding to *o:ya* 'whither' there are *i:ya* 'thither' and *moɔya* 'to yonder'. *I:ye* and *i:ya* are only used to refer to the immediate vicinity of the spot where the speech event is taking place, otherwise *mo:e* and *moɔya* are used.

Examples:

mene:yañ? 'do you see it?', *i:ye seta:e* 'I hear it over there' (nearby, speaker and hearer are looking for an animal in the bushes),

o:ya ko nī:toñ? 'where has he gone?', *i:ya nī:toñ* 'he has gone that way' (speaker indicates the direction).

o:we ko nañ? 'where is he?', *mo:e kīnoɔna:sañ* 'he is eating over there' (somewhere else in the village),

o:ya ko nī:toñ? 'where has he gone?', *moɔya nī:toñ ya:rī :wa* 'he has gone over there, up the river'.

The distinction between nearby and farther off is also present in four of the five demonstratives which do not denote a place or a direction. Thus *e:nī* refers to what is in the immediate vicinity of the spot where the speech event is taking place, *mo:nī* to what is farther off.

Examples:

e:nī se mañ? 'do you want this one here?' (*se mañ* 'do you want'),
mo:nī para:pi aitanɔ 'go and get that dish over there (*para:pi* 'dish'),
o:tī po:ko mo:nī po neixtoñ? 'what were they occupied with over there?'
 (*o:tī po:ko* 'with what', *po* 'at, in', *neixtoñ* 'were they').¹³⁷

¹³⁷ When combined with an indication of time, *mo:nī* refers to greater remoteness in time, e.g. *mo:nī wi:ki* 'next week'. When *koro:po* 'to-morrow' follows *mo:nī*, a nasal is inserted: *mo:nī ŋgoro:po* 'the day after to-morrow'. The addition of *ɔne* 'really, to a high degree' produces *mo:nī ɔne ŋgoro:po* 'two days after to-morrow'. Perhaps these combinations with inserted *ŋ* are compounds.

There is a similar distinction in the use of *e:ro* and *mo:ro*, but here it does not function in relation to the place where speaker and hearer are, but to the speaker only. *E:ro* refers to what concerns the speaker, *mo:ro* to everything, whether nearby or far-off, that does not concern the speaker.

Examples:

e:ro auxto ta aye:mango 'you must live in this house' (*auxto* 'house'),
e:ro tu:na ta kine:maiya:toŋ 'they live in this river area' (*tu:na* 'river,
 river area'),

i.e. in the house, or the river area, where or near where the speaker is;

mo:ro auxto ta aye:mango 'you must live in that house',

mo:ro tu:na ta kine:maiya:toŋ 'they live in that river area',

i.e. in a certain house or area where or near where the speaker is not present.

The only decisive factor here is the presence or absence of the relation to the speaker and not, as with *e:nĩ* and *mo:nĩ*, the smaller or greater distance from the spot where the speech event is taking place. The following examples may serve to further illustrate this difference.

After the question: *e:nĩ se maŋ?* 'do you want the one here?' it is possible for an answer in the affirmative to contain another *e:nĩ*, e.g. *a:a e:nĩ se wa* 'yes, I want the one here'. An answer in the negative may contain, for instance, the counterpart of *e:nĩ*, i.e. *mo:nĩ* 'the one over there': *uwa, mo:nĩ se wa* 'no, I want the one over there', or also *e:ro* 'the one near me': *uwa, e:ro se wa* 'no, I want the one near me'.

After the question *e:ro se maŋ?* 'do you want the one near me?', on the other hand, an answer in the affirmative does not contain another *e:ro*, but *mo:ro*: *a:a, mo:ro se wa* 'yes, I want that one (the one not near me)'. Here it is an answer in the negative that may contain another *e:ro*: *uwa e:ro se wa* 'no, I want the one near me'; or also, for instance, *e:nĩ*: *uwa, e:nĩ se wa* 'no, I want that one here'.

Besides the demonstratives referring in relation to the place of the speech event and those referring in relation to the speaker, there is thirdly, an anaphoric one: *i:ro* 'what has just been mentioned'.

Examples:

i:ro wa:ra ro mandoŋ 'they did act in the way just described' (*wa:ra* 'like, way', *ro* 'indeed', *mandoŋ* 'they were, acted'),

i:ro ʔne se wa 'what you have just said I really want' (*ʔne* 'really', *se wa* 'I want').

There is no distinction between nearby and farther off in this case.

When we turn to the definite demonstratives referring to living creatures, we find a complete parallelism with *e:nī* and *mo:nī* in *mo:se* 'living creature nearby', and *mo:kī* 'living creature not nearby'.

Examples:

mo:se o:mīya:ko kīsa:kī:mai no:ro 'you must not trouble this girl here any more' (*o:mīya:ko* 'girl'),

moɔya wīxsa ya:rī :wa mo:kī pī:yei wa 'I am going over there up the river, to the medicine-man there' (*pī:yei* 'medicine-man').

Mo:se may express irritation or contempt, in which case the person referred to is not necessarily in the immediate vicinity: *o:we ko mo:se wo:di naʒ* 'wherever is that girl!'

No such complete parallelism with the corresponding demonstratives referring to inanimate objects, is found in the demonstratives involving the participants of the speech event. Instead of two terms we find four: *au* 'I', *amo:ro* 'you', *kīxko* 'you and I', and *moxko* 'he'; moreover there is a semantic difference: whereas in the case of *e:ro* and *mo:ro* the speaker is only involved as a means to characterize something else (*e:ro* 'this with me'), *au* etc. refer directly to the participants in the speech event themselves. Yet it seems to me that, rather than stressing these differences, more importance should be attached to the agreement shown by the six words in the *e:ro-kīxko* column, in that they all in some way involve the participants; for it is in this that all these six words differ from those in the *e:nī-mo:kī* column.

Finally there is here, too, one anaphoric word, *ino:ro* 'the living creature just mentioned'.

Example:

"*paki:ra am se:nei*". "*ino:ro ro xkuru au wa*". 'I have seen a peccary'. 'That, indeed, was me'. (*ro* 'indeed', *xkuru* 'then, on that occasion', *au wa* 'was me'; speaker is Peccary-girl, showing herself in human shape).

The semantic system is paralleled by a formal one. The formal-semantic parallelism is very complete with the demonstratives referring to inanimate objects. We find here:

- 1) In three indefinite demonstratives: initial *o:*.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ It should be noted that the 'indefinite' words *oxto*, *oxtoro* and *oxtono:me* mentioned on page 271 note, although not fitting into the morphological system of the demonstratives, also seem to possess this formal characteristic.

- 2) In all the definite demonstratives referring to what is nearby and in the anaphoric demonstrative: initial front vowel.
- 3) In all the definite demonstratives referring to what is farther off: initial *mo:* or *moʔ*.
- 4) In the definite demonstratives referring in relation to the place of the speech event: final *nĩ*.
- 5) In the definite demonstratives involving the participants of the speech event, and in the anaphoric demonstratives: final *ro*.
- 6) In the local demonstratives, both the indefinite and the definite ones: final *e*.
- 7) In the directional demonstratives, both indefinite and definite: final *ya*.

With the demonstratives referring to living creatures the formal-semantic parallelism is less marked. Yet, even here we find:

- 1) Parallelism between the indefinite *no:kĩ* and the definite *mo:kĩ*.
- 2) In three of the six definite demonstratives, viz. *mo:kĩ*, *mo:se* and *moxko*, the initial sequence *mo:* or *mox* which is also found in the series *mo:e*, *moʔya*, *mo:nĩ* and *mo:ro*. Perhaps *amo:ro* 'you', which shows much resemblance to *mo:ro* 'this, not with me', is also to be included in this group.
- 3) Parallelism between *moxko* and *kĩxko*.
- 4) Parallelism between the anaphoric *ino:ro* and the corresponding word for inanimate objects, *i:ro*.

In respect of these formal features *au* 'I' is the only word to take up a completely isolated position.

3.5.2. THE POLYMORPHEMATIC DEMONSTRATIVES

After having determined the semantic and formal relations between the 20 monomorphematic demonstratives, we shall now proceed to describe the categories formed by the application of three processes, and by combinations of these:

1. The *baŋ*-category (only found with the demonstrative class).
2. The *mbo*-category (shared with the verbs, 3.1.3.2.2., with the nouns, 3.2.2.2., with the postpositions, 3.3.6., with the adjectives, 3.4.4.).
3. The plural-category (shared with the verbs, 3.1.3.2.9. and 3.1.3.3.3.1., with the nouns, 3.2.2.4., with the postpositions, 3.3.5., with the adjectives, 3.4.3.).

4. Categories formed by combination of the *bañ-*, *mbo-*, and plural processes.

3.5.2.1. THE *bañ*-CATEGORY

Suffixation takes place with *-bañ*.

Examples:

o:tibañ se mañ 'what kind do you want?' *e:robañ* 'one of this kind'.

o:webañ 'in what kind of a place?' *mo:ebañ* 'like yonder'.

o:yabañ kino:sañ? 'in what direction is he coming?'

o:yabañ itoxpa wa 'wherever it may be, I am not going' (*itoxpa wa* 'I am not going').

mo:nibañ wa kinixsañ 'he went to a point like that over there' (*wa* 'to, as far as').

no:kibañ tampo:ko? 'what kind of old man (do you mean)?'

mo:sebañ 'somebody like him here', *amo:robañ* 'somebody like you'.

The meaning of the members of this category may be defined as: 'place, direction, thing or person as indicated by the corresponding monomorphemic demonstrative, presented as referring to a kind'.

3.5.2.2. THE *mbo*-CATEGORY

Suffixation takes place with *-mbo*.

Examples:

o:wembo tuwo:se nañ? 'where has he come from?' *mo:embo* 'from over there'.

e:ro ta:ro ro:teñ e:rombo mañ 'so far this story' (*e:rombo* 'this, now belonging to the past', refers to the story just finished; *e:ro ta:ro ro:teñ* 'only lasting so far', *mañ* 'is').

moxkombo ene:ko 'look at him, you know whom I mean'.

o:timbo anu:ku:tixpa mañ 'he does not know anything at all, even the simplest things' (*anu:ku:tixpa mañ* 'he does not know', *o:timbo* 'anything whatever, contrary to what one might expect').

Semantically, the category may be characterized by means of the term 'discrepancy', as explained in the sections on the *mbo*-categories within the other word classes (see especially 3.2.2.2.). The cases that express a spatial removal: *o:wembo* 'from where', *mo:embo* 'from over there', are most clearly paralleled by some verbal cases, and especially by a few incidental postpositional and adjectival *mbo*-formations (3.3.8E. and 3.4.6B.).

The anaphoric words *irombo* and *ino:rombo*, formed with *-mbo*, are

used in a special way in stories, where they may serve to conclude a passage and open a new one. In this — very frequent — use they can be aptly rendered by some such term as 'next'. E.g. *ironbo mo:ro po mañ* 'next he lived there' (*ironbo* 'the matter just mentioned, now dealt with', *mo:ro po* 'there', *mañ* 'he was'); *ino:rombo kīnga:no* "yu:ta:pū ra" 'next he said "I have lost my way" (*ino:rombo* 'he who is known from the preceding part that is now finished', *kīnga:no* 'said').

3.5.2.3. THE *ne*-CATEGORY

The name '*ne*-category' for the plural has been retained here for the sake of uniformity. It is not meant to indicate that the alternant *-ne* plays any part here in the formation of plurals.

In the same way as practically all nouns, the demonstratives referring to inanimate objects have a plural formed by means of the suffix *-koñ*; e.g. *e:rokoñ* 'these', *iro:koñ* 'those just mentioned'.

The plural of demonstratives referring to living creatures, with the exception of *au* 'I', is formed by suffixing with either *-añ* (also found with a few nouns) or *-aro*; combined with modification of the base.

The suffix is *-añ* in the following three cases:

<i>no:kī</i>	who	<i>noxkañ</i>	who, plural
<i>mo:kī</i>	that	<i>moxkañ</i>	those
<i>mo:se</i>	this	<i>mo:yañ</i>	these

The suffix is *-aro* in the following four cases:

<i>moxko</i>	he	<i>moxka:ro</i>	they
<i>kixko</i>	both of us	<i>kixka:ro</i>	we, including hearer
<i>amo:ro</i>	you	<i>amūyaro</i>	you, plural
<i>ino:ro</i>	the one just mentioned	<i>ina:ro</i>	those just mentioned

An isolated position is taken up by *au* 'I', which has for its plural *aḍna* 'we, excluding hearer'. It is to be noted that *au* takes up a similar isolated position in the system of formal-semantic relationships discussed in 3.5.1.

The plurals *moxka:ro* and *noxkañ* can both be further suffixed with the ordinary plural suffix *-koñ*. *Moxka:rokoñ* is used to refer respectfully to a third person (father, mother, wife's brother),¹³⁹ while *noxkañgoñ* occurs as a plural of the taboo-word *noxkañ* 'snake', which to the speakers is probably identical with *noxkañ* 'certain creatures'.

¹³⁹ There are analogous honorifics on the basis of *pī:tī* 'wife' and *tamu:si* 'grandfather', viz. *pī:yañgoñ* 'my respected wife' (*pī:yañ* = plural 'spouses') and *ta:mukoñ* 'my respected grandfather'.

3.5.2.4. COMBINATION OF THE PROCESSES WITH EACH OTHER

The plural can be combined with either of the two other processes discussed above as well as with both together:

	<i>ne-</i> process	<i>mbo-</i> process	<i>ne-</i> and <i>mbo-</i> processes combined
<i>e:ro</i> this	<i>e:rokoŋ</i> these	<i>e:rombo</i> this, belonging to the past	<i>e:roko:nimbo</i> these, belonging to the past
<i>baŋ-</i> process	<i>e:robaŋ</i> one like this	<i>e:robaŋgoŋ</i> some like these	—
			<i>e:robaŋgonimbo</i> some like these, belonging to the past

As is shown by the diagram, I could not ascertain the occurrence of combined application of *-mbo* and *-baŋ*, without the plural process also being present. It is my opinion that this combination (as in *e:roba:-nimbo*) actually is impossible, but I may be mistaken on this point.

When the suffixes are added to *e:ro*, their order is 1) *-baŋ*, 2) *-koŋ/-goŋ*, 3) *-mbo/-imbo*. This applies fully to the demonstratives with a regular plural-formation, i.e. those referring to inanimate things. With regard to the others it should be noted, however, that when the *baŋ*-process and plural are combined, both the irregular and the regular plural alternant are used at the same time, the former before *-baŋ*, the latter after it. Before *-baŋ*, *-aŋ* is replaced by *-a:*. E.g. *no:kibaŋ ko moxko naŋ?* 'what sort of person is he?', *no:xka:baŋgoŋ ko moxka:ro nandoŋ?* 'what sort of people are they?'

By the side of *ina:rombo* 'those already mentioned', which contains the irregular plural *ina:ro* with *-mbo*, the form *ina:romombo* also occurs, without any difference in meaning.

Finally it should be noted that in certain demonstratives not all categorial distinctions seem to be found. No plural could be found to occur with the local and directional demonstratives: *o:we* 'where', *o:ya* 'whither', *mo:e* 'over there', *i:ye* 'there', *moɔya* 'to yonder', *i:ya* 'thither'. Further, there seems to be no *mbo*-category in *o:ya* 'whither', *moɔya* 'to yonder', and *i:ya* 'thither' ¹⁴⁰.

¹⁴⁰ Conversely, I found once a further possibility of affixing, viz. in the case of *i:ro* 'what has just been mentioned' to which was added the nominal and verbal suffix of negation *-xpa:* *iroxpa na* 'he is not so (bad) as has just been said' (*na* 'he is'). I have not been able to receive confirmation as to the occurrence of this *iroxpa*, or of analogous formations on the basis of other demonstratives.

3.6. NUMERALS

3.6.0. INTRODUCTION

The following survey gives an outline of the system of numerals and their use.

1. Monomorphemic and compound numerals:

<i>o:wiñ</i>	1	}	+ <i>-tuwo:püma</i> →	}	6	}	+ <i>-kariɗna</i> 'score' → 20, 40 etc.
<i>o:ko</i>	2				7		
<i>o:ruwa</i>	3				8		
<i>aiyato:ne</i>	5	(transparent compound)					
<i>aiyapato:ro</i>	10	(transparent compound)					
<i>o:kopaiɛ</i>	4	(non-transparent compound)					
<i>o:winapo:siki:rĩ</i>	9	(non-transparent compound)					

2. Groups containing numerals and *ku:pona:ka* 'down upon'.

3. Suffixation: three categories are formed by suffixation of all the numerals mentioned under 1, both monomorphemic and compound ones.

<i>pai</i> -category	'by at a time'
<i>mboto</i> -category	' . . . times'
<i>no</i> -category	transposition to the nominal system.

3.6.1. MONOMORPHEMATIC AND COMPOUND NUMERALS

A) The three monomorphemic numerals and their compounds with *-tuwo:püma*.

The only monomorphemic numerals are *o:wiñ* 1, *o:ko* 2 and *o:ruwa* 3. Four alternants occur of the word for 1: *o:wiñ*, *oɗwiñ*, *o:wi* and *oɗwi*; apparently used without any semantic difference¹⁴¹.

The words for 1, 2, 3 form compounds with *tuwo:püma*, which are used for 6, 7, 8: *o:winduwo:püma*, *o:kotuwo:püma*, *o:ruwatuwo:püma*.

It is possible to identify this *tuwo:püma* as a regular verbal formation with *tu-*, on the basis of *wopüma* 'to pass over, to jump over'

¹⁴¹ See 1.1.2.2. and 2.1.1.4.3B.

(intransitive), which in its turn is formed on the basis of *epüma* 'to pass over something, to jump over something' (transitive). The three compounds may be interpreted as '1, 2, 3 has, or have, passed over' ¹⁴².

Apart from being used in compounds together with a numeral, *tuwo:püma* also occurs as a separate word, e.g. in *au* (*païro*) *tuwo:püma wa* 'I (too) have passed over' (e.g. from one boat into another) where, since *païro* 'too' can be inserted, it does not form a compound with *au*. That *o:winduwo:püma*, etc. are compounds and not word-groups is clearly shown by the fact that these forms can take affixes, in the first place *-no*: *o:winduwo:pümano* 'sixth', and then *iy-*, *-ri* and *-koñ*: *iy:winduwo:pümanorikoñ* 'the sixth of them'. These possibilities of affixation which the compounds with *-tuwo:püma*, just like the other numerals, have are lacking in the case of *tuwo:püma* when used as a separate word.

B) Transparent compounds.

Aiyato:ne 5 and *aiyapato:ro* 10 are compounds formed on the basis of *aiya:ri* 'hand' and *oxto:ne* 'on one side', resp. *o:pato:ro* 'on both sides' ¹⁴³.

The reduction of the two components in this process is normal in the formation of compounds in Carib ¹⁴⁴. They are transparent: my informants explained them at once as 'one hand' and 'both hands'. This does not mean, however, that the compounds are ever used when speaking about 'one hand' or 'both hands'. In this case word-groups are used, as illustrated by the following sentences: *o:pato:ro aiya:ri apoitoko* 'seize his hands at both sides', *oxto:ne ro:teñ aiya:ri napo:i* 'he has seized his hand at one side only'.

C) Non-transparent compounds.

O:kopaimé 4 and *o:winapo:siki:ri* 9 are undoubtedly compounds. As such, however, they are less transparent than the two numerals discussed in the preceding section.

The composite character of these words is indicated by the unmistakable presence of *o:ko* 2, resp. *o:wíñ* 1; moreover in the case of the word for 9 there is its relatively great length and the presence of three long vowels ¹⁴⁵.

As to the identity of the parts following *o:ko-* and *o:win-*, however,

¹⁴² On *tu-*, see 3.1.3.5.1., on *w-* and the replacement of *e* by *o*, see 3.1.3.1.1.

¹⁴³ See 3.3.8B.

¹⁴⁴ See 2.1.1.1.1C.

¹⁴⁵ Monomorphemic words contain maximally two long vowels, see 2.1.3.

we can only make more or less plausible assumptions. *O:kopaimē* may be interpreted as a combination of *o:kopai* 'by twos'¹⁴⁶ and the post-position *mē* 'as, serving as'.

The interpretation of *o:winapo:siki:ri* 9 is undoubtedly to be found in something like one finger missing in a complete series of ten or five. Several of Ahlbrinck's informants did in fact explain the word for 9 as 'one is missing', but without apparently being able to state how they arrived at this interpretation. Ahlbrinck himself suggests that the fragment following *o:win-* may be identical with a word *aposikiri* 'tip of a bird's wing'. This tip must not be eaten by boys, and this 'leaving' of food might be connected with the 'leaving' of a finger in counting¹⁴⁷. Another, perhaps more plausible but by no means certain interpretation is found by connecting *-apo:-* with a fragment *-apo(:)-* as found in *apoxtuŋ* 'right hand' and *apo:we* 'left hand' and by identifying *-siki:ri* with *siki:iri* 'little finger'.

O:winapo:siki:ri might then be interpreted as 'one finger, on the right or left side', i.e. the finger missing in a complete series of five.

D) Compounds with *-kariŋna* 'score'.

All the numerals discussed in the preceding sections A, B, C (i.e. those from 1 to 10) can form compounds with *-kariŋna* 'score'; e.g. *o:wiŋgariŋna* 20, *o:windurwo:püimakariŋna* 120, *aiyato:nekariŋna* 100, *o:kopaimekariŋna* 80.

The identity of this *-kariŋna* 'score' with the word *kariŋna* 'man' was evident also to my informants. The formal difference between, for example, *o:ko kariŋna* 'two people' and *o:kokariŋna* 40 is limited to the possibility of accentuating *o:kó* in the word-group, which is impossible in the case of *o:ko-* in the numeral. There is, however, an important difference with regard to morphological possibilities. Whereas the nominal processes¹⁴⁸ can be applied to *kariŋna* 'man', the compounds with *-kariŋna* 'score' can only take the affixes occurring with numerals; e.g. *o:wiŋgariŋnana* 'the twentieth'¹⁴⁹, *iyo:wiŋgariŋnanori-koŋ* 'the twentieth of them'.

3.6.2. WORD-GROUPS WITH *ku:pona:ka*

The numerals discussed in 3.6.1. can only be used to indicate the

¹⁴⁶ See below, 3.6.3A.

¹⁴⁷ W. Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopaedie der Karäiben*, p. 202.

¹⁴⁸ As discussed in 3.2.

¹⁴⁹ Below, 3.6.3.

numerical values from 1 to 10 and the whole scores 20, 40, 60, etc. In order to express other numerical values numerals have to be joined together in groups, of which the postposition *ku:pɔna:ka* 'down upon' always forms part. This word is formed on the basis of *ku:po* 'upon' with the suffix *-naka* 'directed towards, moving towards'. An example in which *ku:pɔna:ka* is not used with a numeral is the following sentence: *e:ro mu:re ku:pɔna:ka otandī:moko* 'sit down on this bench' (*e:ro mu:re* 'this bench').

In the formation of word-groups a more and a less complex type may be distinguished.

a) The numerical values 11 to 19, 21 to 30, 41 to 50, etc.

In 11 to 19 we find the numeral for 10 connected with *ku:pɔna:ka*, to which group is then added one of the numerals for 1 to 9. In 21 to 30, 41 to 50, etc. the numerals for 20, 40, etc. occur, connected with *ku:pɔna:ka* to which the numerals 1 to 10 are added.

Examples:

<i>aiyapato:ro</i>	<i>ku:pɔna:ka</i>	<i>o:wĩŋ</i>	11 (on top of 10, 1)
„	„	<i>o:winduwo:püma</i>	16
„	„	<i>o:winapo:siki:ri</i>	19
<i>o:wĩngariŋna</i>	„	<i>o:wĩŋ</i>	21 (on top of 20, 1)
„	„	<i>aiyapato:ro</i>	30

b) The numerical values 31 to 39, 51 to 59, etc.

A group consisting of a numeral 20, 40, etc. and *ku:pɔna:ka* is combined with one of the groups discussed above.

Example:

o:wĩngariŋna ku:pɔna:ka aiyapato:ro ku:pɔna:ka o:wĩŋ 31 (on top of 20 comes 1 on top of 10).

3.6.3. THREE CATEGORIES WITH *-pai*, *-mboto*, *-no*

All the compound and non-compound numerals mentioned in 3.6.1. can take the suffixes *-pai*, *-mboto* and *-no*. So far as I have found, these three processes cannot be applied to the groups discussed in 3.6.2.

A) The *pai*-category.

The meaning of these numerals is: 'by so many at a time as is indicated by the base'. E.g. *o:kopai woŋni:take* 'by two (nights) at a time I'll sleep' (said by a man who has to go fishing at night for some

time and who now intends to stay at home for two nights running and to fish one night alternately); *o:wimbai are:pa se wa* 'I only want a single piece of cassava-bread' (*are:pa* 'cassava-bread'); *o:wĩngariḽ-napai* 'twenty at a time'.

B) The *mboto*-category.

The meaning of these numerals is: 'so many times as is indicated by the base'. E.g. *o:komboto ro:teḽ koro:toko iḽmoka:toḽ* 'only twice did they take the eggs from the hens' (*ro:teḽ* 'only', *koro:toko iḽmoka:toḽ* 'they deprived the hens of eggs').

C) The *no*-category.

The meaning of the numerals with *-no* may be defined as 'something containing so many components as indicated by the base, or: a member of a group taking therein a place as indicated by the base'. E.g. *o:wi:no* 'a single one' (also a single-barrelled rifle), for instance in *o:wi:no me roxkoḽ si:woi* 'let me deal him a blow as a single one only' (= 'let me deal him a single blow only', *me* 'as', *roxkoḽ* 'only', *si:woi* 'let me deal him a blow'); *o:ruwa:no* 'one who is third', for instance in *no:kĩ ko o:ruwa:no me naḽ?* 'who is third?'

Unlike *-pai* and *-mboto*, *-no* may be combined with other morphological processes, viz. with:

- 1) Syntactical affixation, with *y-* and *-ri*, as found with many nouns ¹⁵⁰.
- 2) Personal prefixation, with one of the five processes used with verbs as well as with nouns and postpositions ¹⁵¹.
- 3) Plural suffixation, with the alternant *-koḽ*, as occurring in all word classes ¹⁵².

Examples:

- 1) *yo:mori yo:ruwa:nori mo:se maḽ* 'he is the third member of my family' (*yo:mori* 'my family', *mo:se maḽ* 'he is').
- 2) *o:we ko iyo:ruwa:nori* ¹⁵³ *naḽ?* 'where is the third one of it?' (*o:we ko* 'where?', *naḽ* 'is').

¹⁵⁰ See 3.2.1. The syntactical process consists here in the simultaneous addition of a suffix *-ri* and a prefix *y-*. The occurrence of *y-* with these numerals is remarkable, because with the nouns it is confined to a few isolated cases: as a rule, there is only *-ri*.

¹⁵¹ See 3.1.3.2.1.; 3.2.2.1.; and 3.3.2.

¹⁵² See 3.1.3.2.9C and D.; 3.2.2.4.; 3.3.5.; 3.4.3.; 3.5.2.

¹⁵³ The personal prefixes (in this example, *i-* for third person) are always added to the words as they appear in the syntactic *ri*-category; see 3.2.2.1.

3) *mo:rokoñ o:ruwa:nokoñ se wa* 'I want those triple ones' (*mo:rokoñ* 'those', *se wa* 'I want').

Personal prefixation and *-koñ* may be applied together:
iyo:ruwa:norikoñ mo:se mañ 'he is the third of them'.

Suffixing with *-no*, with similar semantic correlate, has also been found with the postpositions and the adjectives, e.g. *eko:sa* 'at, with', *eko:sano* 'one who is at, with', *ka:wo* 'high', *ka:wono* 'one who is high' (3.3.4., 3.4.2.). Yet, I do not believe that this process is to be identified with the process discussed here, because there are also important differences, both with regard to their morphological and to their semantic properties.

Morphologically, both processes can be combined with plural *-koñ*: *o:ruwa:nokoñ* 'triple ones', *eko:sano:koñ* 'those at, with', *ka:wono:koñ* 'high ones'. Personal prefixation, however, may be combined with numerical *-no*, but cannot be combined with adjectival *-no*. It is true that with the postpositions, *-no* and a personal prefix may be found within the same word (e.g. *aye:ko:sano* 'one staying with you'); but still the situation is essentially different from the one we are finding with the numerical category, because with the postpositions personal prefixure may occur as well without *-no* being present (e.g. *aye:ko:sa* 'with you'), which is not true for the numerals. Finally, the syntactic *rĩ*-distinction does not occur together with the adjectival and postpositional *no*-process, but is strictly confined to the nouns and the numerals with *-no*.

Syntactically, adjectival and postpositional *no*-formations may be connected with an immediately following noun, e.g. *ka:wono we:we* 'a high tree', *aye:ko:sano kariñna* 'a man staying with you'. Neither numerical *no*-formations nor nouns can be used in groups of this type.

On the other hand, the numerical *no*-category has one important feature in common with the nouns, and with the nouns only: the syntactic *rĩ*-distinction. Moreover, syntactically they are probably ¹⁵⁴ fully equivalent. Therefore, I am of the opinion that the numerical *no*-process may well be regarded as a means by which numerals are transposed to the nominal class.

3.6.4. INCIDENTAL FORMATIONS

By the side of *o:wĩñ* 1, *o:wĩ:ne* 'alone' was found, by the side of *o:ko* 2, *o:koro:ro* 'both'. I have not gone into the question as to

¹⁵⁴ No systematic syntactic investigation has been made.

whether we may have to do with suffixes that can also be added to other numerals.

3.6.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In principle any number can be expressed by means of the system described in the preceding sections. In certain cases, however, it would lead to very complicated combinations, and it is my impression that in actual practice these are not, or rarely used.

It is always possible to make use of numerals from Dutch or Sranan, or of written figures, because, at least in the larger villages, instruction in arithmetic has been given for years. Today the situation seems to be that the Carib numerals are used by preference, but only in so far as they are manageable.

A symptom of the existence side by side of two different systems of counting is the mistaken use of *-kariɔna* for 'ten' instead of for 'score'. This mistake, which I heard people make and correct a few times, is probably due to the fact that it is impossible in the Carib system to combine *aiyapato:ro* 10 with 2, 3, etc., so as to arrive at 20, 30, etc., while *-kariɔna* can be thus combined with a numeral.

TEXTS
TRANSLATIONS
WORD INDEX

4. TEXTS

In my transcriptions of tape-recorded stories and conversations, I have tried to reflect the special character of these spontaneous speech documents. To this end, I have retained false starts, errors, hesitations and anacoluthons, indicating them as such by a row of dots and, if necessary, by an explanation in a note. Mutilation of word forms in rapid speech has been indicated by placing in parentheses that part of the word form, which was not audibly pronounced. In case of sandhi, words have been written as they were heard, notes indicating how they would appear in isolation. Words with free alternation of *x* or *ʔ* with vowel length have in each case been written as they were actually heard.

Of the prosodic phenomena I can only give an incomplete picture. Any interruption of the continuity of speech, linguistically relevant or not, has been indicated by /; unless the interruption is associated with a terminal pitch change, in which case // has been used. Word accent has only been indicated when it was clearly perceptible. For typographical reasons accent on *i* had to be indicated by replacement of the two dots by a circumflex: *î*. Stretching of vowels has been rendered by repeating the vowel letter several times; e.g. *kiii* 'oooh'.

In the English translations parentheses mark off insertions that have no direct counterpart in the Carib text, but were added to facilitate reading.

On the method used for recording and transcribing, see also the section on field work, 0.4.3.

4.1. **ORIOLE**¹ (J. Mande)

e:ro / e:ró to:ri sika:sa // pena:ró ito:meró:norī ya:konómbo / moxko
 wo:rīi / ipo:síḡma maḡ / kīne:yá:toya:toḡ / wa:yama:ka wo:rīirī me //
 auwá:pa maḡ // paxporó kīno:saḡ / auwanó:pono / auwá:pa maḡ /
 paxporó kīni:koḡma:toḡ paxporó te tiḡmá:se maḡ // ina:romombo
 kīḡga:toḡ / “no:kī kó nauwanó:potaḡ // mo.. mo:kī painare //
 kīno:tó ikoḡmatándoko // moxko painare kīnauwanó:potaḡ” / kīḡga:-
 toḡ // “a:a painare” // irombo kīni:kó:mapoya:toḡ // kīno:sáḡ poḡ
 poḡ poḡ poḡ poḡ poḡ poḡ poḡ poḡ² puxtoroḡ³ kīno:tapoiyaḡ sa:ka
 sa:ka sa:ka⁴ tofeeee⁵ kīno:seré:rema:no moxko kīno:to // “hehehehe-
 heee” (k)īḡgá:no moxko wo:rīi moxkómbo po:re kīnauwanó:poyaḡ //
 “ye:marī ta :ne / ya:wo wī:torī seka:nopīi rī”⁶ / kīḡga:no moxko
 wo:rīi // irombo po:ro(ḡ) moxko wo:rīi / te :n(e) au... auwá:pa
 ra:pa tuweiyémbome maḡ //

4.2. **KURU:PI AS TEACHER** (J. Mande)

kariḡna uwambo iweitopo pena:ro maḡ // irombo / aki:nuru po:ko
 ta:rombome i:tu ta:ka a:saka:rīkoḡ wa maḡ // irombo kīnīxsa:toḡ
 wota:roto:to me // kīnīxsa:toḡ teee i:tu ra:naka // irombo “e:ro po
 ko:ro aixko heḡ” / kīḡga:toḡ i:wa // “we:ka aḡna nī:saḡ” // irombo
 mo:ro po maḡ ereḡma kīni:momo:sa:toḡ / iwo:pīrī:koḡ eka:no:saḡ
 ra:pa tí:wa // so // kīni:ko:maiyaḡ mo:ro po // ino:rombo kīḡga:no /
 “koḡma:mīi ra”⁷ // ino:rómbo / “yu:ta:pīi rá” (k)īḡga:no // “kuru:pí

¹ Sranan pompon, *Psarocolius decumanus decumanus* (F. Haverschmidt, List of the birds of Surinam, Utrecht 1955). Also in another story *kīno:to* is described as a funny animal. When gardens were still unknown and mouldered wood had to be eaten instead of cassava, people who followed a pet tapir found a garden in the forest. *Kīno:to* was in a nearby tree. Jumping and making fun he informed the people about cultivation and cooking. Children are told never to trouble *kīno:to* (R. Kiban). Cf. Ahlbrinck p. 103, 546; Gillin 1936 p. 189.

² Call of *kīno:to*.

³ Depicts his sudden grip on a branch.

⁴ He shakes his feathers.

⁵ Depicts his headlong swishing movement, when he goes and hangs head downwards, clasping the branch with his claws.

⁶ Iguanas jump into the water from overhanging branches.

⁷ Here the tape-recorded text begins. The preceding part was dictated to me later after the informant had heard the recording.

4.1. **ORIOLE** (J. Mande)

This . . . this tale I am telling now. Long ago, one of those who belonged to the mythical age . . . this woman was not affable; they called her Iguana-woman. She never laughed. Everybody came to cause laughter, she did not laugh; everybody they called, everybody, but (at last) there were no more. Then these people said: "Who will make her laugh?" "Perhaps he, over there. Go call Oriole. Perhaps he will make her laugh", they said. "Yes, perhaps". Then they had him called. He comes: pon pon pon pon pon pon pon pon . . . crash! he grips, rustle rustle rustle swish! Oriole hangs himself up. "Heheheheeee" laughed the woman. That one made her laugh at last. "O my dear, I thought uncle was going on my path", said the woman. But after that one occasion the woman never laughed again.

4.2. **KURU:PI AS TEACHER** (J. Mande)

Once there was a Carib who was worthless. Because of his laziness he was taken into the forest by his fellows. They went off to hunt. They went on, far into the heart of the forest. Then they said to him: "you must stay here, the two of us are going to defecate." Then he stayed there, not moving from the spot, and waited for them; he believed that they would come back to him. So. Darkness overtook him. Then he said: "Oh, darkness has overtaken me, oh, I have lost my way, Kuru:pi will find me." Then (of all places) it was on Kuru:pi's path that he made himself a hut, a shelter was placed by him as his hut. Kuru:pi

ye:pó:yaṣ ra" // irombo kuru:pí e:marī tá :ne / tuwo:táuxtíma suṅga
 tí:ye i:wa tauxtí mé maṣ // kīnīxsáṣ moxko kuru:pi seṅgená:ka //
 kīni:woyáṣ de 8 xtuṣṣṣ⁹ / we:we mí:ti¹⁰ wo:yaṣ // teee kīni:tunda:no
 iḡwa mo:ro we:we mí:taxpo na¹¹ tuweiye moxko kariḡná maṣ //
 irombo moxko kuru:pí / mo:ro we:we mí:ti¹⁰ wo:yaṣ / tuṣṣṣ //
 moxko kariḡna kīni:koxta:no "heee" // "po" kīnga:no / moxko kuru:-
 pi // "ixpopo:tai rá // pena:ró wīxsáine ra // paxporó wī:toṣ / tu:ná
 wara:ro // maraunī :wa wī:toṣ / si:pú :wa wī:toṣ kuru:wīnī :wa
 wī:toṣ¹² // iya:ko / e:ro wa:ra sambú:rari tikoxta wa:tī (i)ḡwa ra //
 o:wí:no mé ro:koṣ si:woi" // tuṣṣṣ kīni:woyá(ṣ) na:pa // kīni:-
 kóxta:no moxko kariḡna "heee" // irombo moxko kuru:pí mo:ro
 we:wé (u)nd(i) uḡmeiyaṣ // kīne:neyáṣ // "pa" "no:k(i) amo:ro
 maṣ sé" (k)īnga:no // "au te wá to tamu:sí" (k)īnga:no // "epaxkako
 ko:néi" kīnga:no kuru:p(i) iḡwa // "uwa" / kīnga:no / kono:take" //
 "uwa / ayo:nó:pa ḡne weitake" / kīnga:no i:wa // ino:rombo kīne:-
 pá:ka:no // "pīī uru:pé pe yu:mī ma:na se" / kīnga:no moxko kuru:pí
 moxko kariḡná :wa // irombo kīnga:no moxko kariḡna :wa moxko
 kuru:pí / "mo:nī para:pi aixtángo" // "o:we kó na(ṣ) se tamu:si"
 (k)īnga:no moxko kariḡna i:wa // "mo:ro i:ró" (k)īnga:no // moxko
 kariḡna kīne:neyaṣ rī:po // para:pi :ne ro i:y(e) a:ta kīne:ka:-
 nó:saṣ // dis te mo:ro po moxk(o) oko:yu tuwo:taméiye maṣ / moxko
 moxko kuru:pi pa:rapí:ri¹³ moxko maṣ moxko oko:yú // "mo:ro i:ye
 i:ro¹⁴ heṣ" / kīnga:no moxko kariḡna ḡwa moxko kuru:pí // irombo
 kīne:nepó:yaṣ i:wa // "pa" / kīnga:no / mo:se oko:yú :ne ye:kataṣ" //
 "uwa" / (k)īnga:no moxko kuru:p(i) i:wa // "aye:ká:pa :ne kīneix-
 taṣ // pa:rapí:ri¹³ ḡne mo:ro maṣ // irombo ase:ke ró moxko kuru:pi
 aiyé kīnīxsáṣ / kīneḡné:saṣ // "ndo" (kī)ṅga:no / "otandí:moko
 iku:po¹⁵ to" // irombo / moxko kuru:pí / saḡrombo po:saṣ / daṣ
 moxko kariḡná / ko:roká:no // gīrīrī / is(k)i:nī po:ko kīna:royaṣ

⁸ Sandhi ḡ t.

⁹ Sandhi te tuṣṣṣ

¹⁰ The narrator has *i* instead of other speakers' *ī* wherever *i* is the preceding vowel, and does not palatalize the intervening consonant; *mī:ti* for *mī:tī*.

¹¹ I do not understand the occurrence of *na* in this context. Possibly it is a borrowed Sranan *na* 'it'.

¹² See 0.2.1.1.

¹³ *Pa:rapí:rī*, cf. note 10.

¹⁴ Sandhi produced *i:yeiro*, phonetically *i:jedio*.

¹⁵ Here as often with this narrator the palatalized variant of /k/ is not *c* but *ḡ*.

came near. He hit them, wham! the roots of the trees he hit. At last he reached him, at the spot where the tree gets its roots, where the Carib was. Then Kuru:pi hit the root of the tree: wham! The Carib cried out: "aaay!" "Eh", Kuru:pi said. "I have met with an evil omen. From of old I am going everywhere. I went to them all, to all rivers. To the Maroni I went, to the Essequibo I went, to the Cuyuni I went; at those times my drum has never cried out to me like this. Let me strike it once more." Wham! he struck it again. The Carib cried out: "aaaay!" Thereupon Kuru:pi went around the trunk of the tree. He saw him: "Pah, who are you?" he said. "It is but me, grandfather", he said. "Come out, let me see you", Kuru:pi said to him. "No", he said "you will eat me." "No, I am really not going to eat you", he said to him. Then he came out. "Fie, you are much afflicted by mushrooms!" Kuru:pi said to the Carib. Thereupon Kuru:pi said to the Carib: "Go fetch that bowl." "Where is it, grandfather?" the Carib said to him. "That is the one (I mean)," he said. The Carib saw it right enough, but he believed it was a real bowl (Kuru:pi was talking about); at that time the coiled up snake was there, and this was Kuru:pi's bowl, this snake. "This one here it is, see", Kuru:pi said to the Carib. Then he showed it to him. "Pah", he said, "that snake will bite me." "No", Kuru:pi said to him, "it will not bite you, it is my bowl." Then Kuru:pi went to fetch it himself, he brought it. "There you are", he said. "Sit down upon it." Then Kuru:pi cut off leaves and scrubbed

poxpóna:ka / gororororo mo:(ro) uru:pe wo:pa:píri mene:ya ime:ró
 ro // teee mo:ro para:pi á:noxka:no // “so” / kínga:no // daṣ moxko
 kariḡna (ix)péndoyaṣ moxko kuru:pi e:ro tá roxko(ḡ) imo:sí:ní //
 so // kíne:me:pá:no ḡne / ta:moré:rí po:ko // irombo / kuru:pi fó:si
 me kínga:no i:wa / “expéndoko ko:ro se pa:rí” // irombo tíxfá:sírí
 me e:ro mo:sí:ní me íra:pa kí:ríyaṣ // “uwá to” kínga:no moxko
 kuru:pi / e . . mo:ro wa:ra wa:tí / e:ro wa:ra te ḡne // ene:ko ko:ro”
 (kí)nga:no // e:ro tá roxko(ḡ) kíni:kírí:yaṣ imo:sí:ní pí:rí:wa ene:ke
 era:pa // daṣ / uxku kíñíksa:toṣ // tonó:m(i) wó:ya:toṣ mo:(ro)
 pí:rí:wá :me ke paki:rá poiṅgó maipu:ri ya:kará:wa ¹⁶ paxporó wo:kó /
 aku:rí / ina:ro wo:yaṣ // so // “mo:ro / waya:rímbo ko:ro am
 ikaxko ¹⁵ he pa:rí” kínga:no moxko kuru:pi moxko kariḡná :wa //
 irombo tíxfá:sírí me ro po:tóm(e) po:re waya:rímbo ka:saṣ // “uwa /
 uwa” kínga:no moxko kuru:pi moxko kariḡná :wa // “mo:ro wa:ra
 wa:tí to / pa:rí / e:ro wa:ra te ḡne / ene:ko ko:ro” (k)ínga:no daṣ
 e:(ro) pó:ko waya:rímbo :me ko ka:saṣ // “ndo” (kí)nga:no / “arux-
 kakó to” // “kína:póimata(ḡ) naxk(a) e:(ro) waya:rímbo :me ko ra”
 (k)ínga:no moxko kariḡna // “kína:póimata(ḡ) i:t(a) am (u:)p(i)
 i:ta no:ro” kínga:no moxko kuru:pi moxko kariḡna :wa // irombo /
 (kí)naruxka:no // irombo kína:rúxka:no te kínaḡnó:ka:no moxko
 tonó:mí // iwa:raró :ne kíneiyaṣ // irombo / “mo:ní si:mo apoxta to
 pa:rí” kínga:no moxko kuru:pi / mo(xko) kariḡná :wa // moxko
 kariḡna kíñíksaṣ si:mó aye si:mó :ne ro // kíneḡné:saṣ // “uwa se
 pa:rí” (k)ínga:no moxko kuru:pi “ko:kapó:tak(e) oko:yu :wá to //
 mo:n(i) te ḡne si:mó” (k)ínga:no // “aixtángo // ene:ko ko:ro”
 ase:ke ró moxko kuru:pi kíñíksaṣ mo:(ro) si:mo / si:mo apo:se //
 irombo mox(ko) kuru:pi si:morí m(e) e:ro po:no ika:to:ko(ḡ) oko:yú
 :me ino:r(o) éne:sa(ṣ) i:ya / moxko kariḡná :wa // “ndo / e:ro te ko
 si:mo he pa:rí” (kí)nga:no moxko kariḡná :wa moxko kuru:pi //
 “na ye:katám bo:ré ¹⁷ ra” (k)ínga:no po:ro(ṣ) moxko kariḡná po:-
 roṣ // “uwa” (kí)nga:no “aye:ká:pa :ne maṣ” // irombo kíni:míyaṣ
 mo:ro waya:rímbo etaiya(ḡ) i:ke // so // irombo aembo mandoṣ /
 kíñíksá:toṣ // aembo / tuwe:i:sa(ḡ) me ro o:ma ta kíñíksá:toṣ //
 daṣ mo:ní po tí:torí me ro moxko kariḡná kínga:no / “na:e paxporó
 naxka mo:ro tamu:si / mo:yaṣ / tonó:mí / aruxkáí me:ro ra” kínga:-
 no // irombo me:ro mo:ro waya:rímbo kíno:tuwé:seka:no gírírí pax-
 poró tonó:mí kínoxpá:saṣ // “oxto ne:i sé” / kínga:no moxko kuru:pi

¹⁶ I hear *poiṅgó maipu:ri:ya kara:wa*.

¹⁷ Sandhi ḡ p.

the Carib. Rrrrr, he moved it downwards over his body; flop flop flop flop . . . at once you saw the mushrooms pouring down. At last they filled the bowl. "So", he said. Then Kuru:pi made the Carib (bow and) arrows of which the length was only between this (the narrator indicated about a foot length). So. He taught him thoroughly his magical handling (of the arrows). Now Kuru:pi had first said to him: "make yourself (bow and) arrows, my grandchild." Then he made the bow in his own way, of this length. "Oh, no", Kuru:pi said, "not in that way, but in this way; look!" he said. He made its length between this only, but yet with the appearance of a (normal) arrow. Then they went to try it. They killed game with the little arrow: peccary, wild boar, tapir, deer, all of them, powisi, aguti, those they killed. So. The . . . "make a basket, grandchild", Kuru:pi said to the Carib. Then he made this basket in his own way, very large. "No, no", Kuru:pi said to the Carib. "Not that way, grandchild, but this way, look!" he said. And then of this size he made a neat little basket. "Here you are", he said, "put it in." "This neat little basket surely is not going to hold everything," the Carib said. "It is going to hold everything, go, go look for some more", Kuru:pi said to the Carib. Then he put it in. He put it in, at last the game filled it. It became exactly fitting. Then "go and cut yonder bush rope, my grandchild", Kuru:pi said to the Carib. The Carib went to fetch a real bush rope. He brought it. "No, my grandchild", Kuru:pi said. "You will have me bitten by a snake. Go get yonder bush rope instead," he said. "Look!" Kuru:pi himself went the bush rope . . . to cut the bush rope. Now the little snake, the one with this (length) that they call Kuru:pi's rope, that he brought there, to the Carib. "Here you are, this rope instead, my grandchild", Kuru:pi said to the Carib. "It will bite me terribly", the Carib in his turn said to Kuru:pi, in his turn. "No", he said, "it will certainly not bite you." Then he tied it up, he laced the basket with it. So. They were ready and went off, when they were ready they went on the path and while they went on the Carib said: "why, grandfather surely has not put in everything, (all) this game, just like that", he said. Then at once the basket burst open, rrrr . . . all the game poured out. "What happened?"

kariʔna :wa // “paxporó naxka mo:ro tamu:si naruxkai ra” mi:kái”
 (k)ĩnga:no “ire:ké :ne notu:wesé:kei” // irombo (kĩn)a:mĩisa:tó(ʔ)
 na:pa kĩna:mĩikiʔma:tó(ʔ) na:pa // kĩnĩksa:toʔ // kĩni:tũnda:t(oʔ)
 auxtó :wa // auxtó :wa (tĩ)tundá:sa(ʔ) me ró / daʔ “koro:po tu-
 námb(o) am (ix)kaiye po:ro(ʔ) kaʔma to pa:rĩ” kĩnga:no i:wa //
 ixporĩ:rĩ :wa tĩ:tori:k(oʔ) eka:no:sa:toʔ // kĩnĩksá:toʔ // irombo /
 kĩni:tũnda:toʔ para:na wombata:ká:po :wa // “e:ro :ne mo:(ro)
 k̄isixkáiya” (k̄i)ʔ(g)a:(no) // “eee” kĩnga:no “oxtén de¹⁸ naru-
 tat(aʔ) e:ro tu:na (na:)pa” (k)ĩnga:no moxko kariʔna // kĩna:rutá:tan
 do¹⁸ pa:rĩ” (k)ĩnga:no / “ime:ne wa:tĩ :ne maʔ // irombó / k̄inĩksa-
 tóʔ // mo:ro . . . / “ixkángo ko:ro he pa:rĩ” (k)ĩnga:no // ma moxko
 kariʔna tixfá:sirĩ m(e) e:ro kuru:wesémbo ta ipo:ko maʔ // “uwa to
 pa:rĩ (k)ĩnga:no mo:ro wa:ra wa:tĩ / e:ro wa:ra te ʔne // irombo
 wiino mé mo:ro / ixkándopo (i)ʔkaiya(ʔ) k̄ini:waré:ta:no / “waru:ma
 pi:saráipo¹⁹ bo:á / bo:á daʔ mo:ro para:na k̄ina:ruta:no tera:(pa)
 waʔ he:(de) // me:ró ro taru:ta maʔ // moxka:ro wo:t(o) apoiya:toʔ
 po:tonóm bo:re²⁰ // “kawe:rĩ ʔmako(ʔ) k̄isa:póine” k̄iŋga:no moxka-
 (:ro) wo:to yo:potó:r̄iko(ʔ) :wa moxko kuru:p̄i²¹ / mo(xko) kariʔná
 :wa // irombo pa:potá moxko kariʔná :wa mo:(ro) wroxko tuku:sé
 kaba maʔ // mo:(ro) tamo:repá:to(po) (a)poiyaʔ // daʔ mo:ro
 waya:r̄imbo ʔme ka:saʔ // paxporó k̄ina:ruxká:no moxka:(ro) pasi:si
 yo:potó:r̄ikoʔ aruxka:no mo:(ro) waya:r̄imbo :me ta:ka // k̄inĩksa-
 tó(ʔ) na:pa auxtó :wa // ina:rombó / tuwa:ponóndo mandoʔ mo:e
 auxtó po // wo:ku ke // k̄ini:tũnda:toʔ // irombo / “pa:rĩ ko:r(o)
 upa:toko wo:ku ke” k̄iŋga:no moxko kuru:p̄i // k̄inu:pá:toʔ // “eee”
 k̄iŋga:no “ya:siwó:tai membo ra” // “aya:siwó:tai he pa:rĩ” k̄iŋga:no //
 “a:a se tamu:sí” k̄iŋga:no // “enexko sapa:i ayu:wémbo” daʔ e:(ro)
 wa:ra m(o:ro) uwembo t̄iŋga:no t̄iʔʔʔ / irombo me:ro tera:p(a) asi-
 wo:ki:pa ra:pa tuwe:i:ma maʔ // daʔ / “enĩ:ko ko:u ra:pa” (k)ĩnga:no
 // k̄ine:n̄i:yaʔ / ta:siwó:tar(i) ana:pó:pa no:ro maʔ teee k̄iniʔmá:-
 ka:no // mo:ro kuri:yará ta:no (i)ʔmá:ka:n(o) oʔwi:ne // irombo /

¹⁸ Sandhi ʔ t.

¹⁹ *Pi:saráipo* or perhaps *pi:karaipo* is no everyday speech but belongs to Kuru:p̄i's language. To the informant the word is associated with *waru:ma ra:p̄ika*, removing the inner layer of reed when preparing it for plaiting. Another informant, R. Kiban, agreed with this and suggested that in Kuru:p̄i's song the water is compared with the useless inner layer of reed, only good to be thrown away.

²⁰ Sandhi ʔ p.

²¹ *Kawe:ri* a very small, *wo:to yo:potó:ri* a very large fish.

Kuru:pi said to the Carib. "Grandfather surely has not put in everything, you said", he said; "that is why it burst open." Then they gathered it again, they gathered it completely again. They went away. They arrived at a house. When they had come to the house, then, "tomorrow for a change let us go and scoop a small water, my grandchild", he said to him. He believed that they were to go to a creek. They went on. Then they arrived at where the sea was spreading wide. "This one, let us scoop it", he said. "But when will it become dry, this water", the Carib said. "It will become dry, my grandchild", he said. "It is not difficult." Then they went on. The... "Scoop it, my grandchild", he said. The Carib, however, went about it in his own way with a sheath. "No, my grandchild", he said, "not that way, but this way." And thereupon he scooped with the tool for scooping it and sang: "splittings of basket reed, splash! splash!" and then the sea became dry at once. Suddenly it had become dry. They took the fishes, very big ones. "Let us take the little kaweris", Kuru:pi said of the big chiefs of the fishes to the Carib. Then it was finished, and the work was known already by the Carib. He had caught the way to handle the magic. Then he made the little basket. Everything he put in, the chiefs of the fishes he put into the little basket. They went back home. At the house yonder they had made something in advance for them: cassava beer. They arrived. Then "serve my grandchild with cassava beer", Kuru:pi said. They served him. "Ah", he said, "I am quite satiated." "Are you satiated, my grandchild?" he said. "Yes, grandfather", he said. "Take it here, that I may grip your belly"; then in such a way he pulled his belly, pull! and then at once he had become unsatiated again. Then he said: "now you may drink again." He drank and no more did he feel any satiety; he finished it. The boat's contents he finished, all by himself. Then Kuru:pi said to him: "pah, my grand-

kĩnga:no moxko kuru:pi i:wa / "pa / pa:rĩ asa:nó tura:ré :ne maḡ se / mo:ró :n(e) ura:rĩ / mo:ró weru:si e:tĩ wa:ra i:ya ro:rĩpo meta:e" kĩnga:no / moxko kariḡná :wa // daḡ / "aya:ró / wixtake / moḡnĩneḡgoro:po koro:po wota:ró no(ḡ) kĩ:sa" / kĩnga:no moxko kariḡná :wa moxko kuru:pi // irombo / (kĩ)no:taró:yaḡ tina:rorĩ me // wo:t(o) áno:ka:no / tonon:m(i) áno:ka:no / paxporó kina:noká:no / waya:rĩmbo :me ta:ka // "oḡwĩn de ²² ko:ro / mo:r(o) auxtó :w(a) awĩ:to:poto ko:ro koka:ritĩ ²³ ko:ro // 'no:kĩ ko u... o:we ko e:ro o:tĩ mepo:rĩi' ika:rĩko(ḡ) ya:ko ko:ro kĩse:ká:ritĩ" ²³ kĩnga:no moxk(o) e:mepá:nenĩmbo kuru:pi moxko kariḡná :wa // "a:ha / ane:ká:riti:pa ²³ :ne weixtake" kĩnga:no // kĩnĩxsá:toḡ // kĩnĩ:tũnda:no auxtó :wa // isa:no tuwa:ró:pa :ne maḡ // irombo :ne tĩtunda moxko iḡmé maḡ // tisa:nó :wa ra:pa // "ta:ta" kĩnga:no "mo:(ro) warambá :me enexko tonon:mĩ apo:nĩ me" // e:ro po:ko mo:ro / iḡgá:na mo:(ro) waya:rĩmbo :me ko maḡ // i:y(a) (kĩn)e:neyaḡ isa:no // daḡ isa:no kĩnĩ:yaḡ poxpo // kĩnĩ:yá(ḡ) iku:poná:ka ²⁴ // isa:no kĩnĩ:n... (kĩ)ne:támboka:no me:ro :ne mo:nĩ po :ne kĩno:ta:pika:no ita:nómbó // "mo:kĩmbo su ra:pa nepaxkai sé" / kĩnga:no moxka:r(o) a:saká:rĩko(ḡ) ino:na:mómbó // "itaḡro héḡ" (kĩḡ)ga:t(oḡ) // "a:á to // tuwo:mú:ka yu:mĩ tuweye maḡ sé o:we kó nepo:rĩi to" / (k)ĩḡga:toḡ // irombo "o:we kó mepo:rĩi sé" kĩnga:no moxka:r(o) a:saká:rĩkoḡ i:wa "o:we wa:tĩ" kĩnga:no // "o:we kó sepo:rĩ" // (kĩ)no:turú:poya:t(oḡ) i:wa ane:ká:riti:pa maḡ ²³ // "wo:k(u) ám kĩsi:kĩ:rĩsĩn do ²⁵ / kĩsi:tĩndo:se eka:ri:tó:me i:wa" / kĩnga:toḡ moxka:r(o) a:saká:rĩkoḡ // i:ro wa:ra ro mandoḡ wo:ku kĩ:riyá:toḡ / kĩnĩ:tĩ:ya:toḡ ²⁶ / kĩno:turú:poya:toḡ / ane:ká:riti:pa ²³ maḡ // teee am ya:ko po:re / tomuḡmá:ma i:waine maḡ / teee iwe:tĩm(i):po :wa toka:ri:se ko:u maḡ "kuru:pi :ne ye:me:pái" (k)ĩḡga:no // dis teḡ paxporó :ne tome:pa rĩ:po i:wa maḡ // paxporó / main(a) áko:torĩ po:ko maina po:mĩri po:ko / oḡwĩḡ de ²⁷ paxporó / ipo:mĩr(i) oḡwĩn de ako:tor(i) oḡwĩn de api:pokĩ:r(i) oḡwĩn de / iwe:riká:r(i) oḡwĩn de paxporo mo:rokom bo:ko ²⁸ tuwo:mepá rĩ:po maḡ // daḡ mo:ro wa:ra te ko tanĩḡmapó moxka:r(o) a:saká:rĩkoḡ wa ra:pa maḡ // sondro waxto ke / mo:ro imainarĩ ipoḡmá:pa / iweixtopómbó maḡ // le:kĩ wepi:kotá

²² Sandhi ḡ t.

²³ With other speakers *koka:ritĩi*, *kĩse:ka:ritĩi*, *ane:ka:riti:pa*; cf. note 10.

²⁴ ḡ for /k/, cf. note 15.

²⁵ Sandhi ḡ t.

²⁶ *Kĩnĩ:tĩya:toḡ*, cf. note 10.

²⁷ Sandhi ḡ d.

²⁸ Sandhi ḡ p.

child, your mother is crying, probably you will hear her crying like the call of a dove, in this direction”, he said to the Carib. “I shall go and take you with me the day after tomorrow; tomorrow we shall go hunting for a while”, Kuru:pi said to the Carib. Then he hunted for something to take home. He barbecued fish, he barbecued game, he barbecued everything (and put it) in the little basket. “But just one thing . . . when you come home you must not tell (them) about me. ‘Who . . . where did you find this?’ when they say this you must not tell it”, his teacher, Kuru:pi, said to the Carib. “All right, I shall not tell it”, he said. They went. He arrived home. His mother was unaware and then her child arrived, back to his mother. “Mother”, he said, “bring the little mat to put the game upon.” With this (small size) the neat little basket was on his back. There his mother looked at it. Then his mother placed it (the mat) on the ground. She placed it (the basket) on it. His mother untied it and suddenly its contents spread there. “That one has come out again”, his fellows said, the ones who had left him. “Really?”, they said. “Yes. He has become very able, where could he have acquired it?” they said. “Where have you acquired it?” his fellows said to him. “There is no where”, he said. “Where could I have acquired it?” They asked him, he did not answer. “Let us make some drink so that we shall make him drunk, that it may be told by him”, his fellows said. So they did, they made drink, they made him drunk; they asked him, he did not tell it. At last at some time he was fooled by them, at last, after he had been made drunk it was told: “Kuru:pi has taught me”, he said. At that time everything had been taught by him already. Everything: cutting a garden, planting a garden all in one day, planting it in one day, cutting (the trees on) it in one day, slashing (the underwood on) it in one day, cleaning it (from charred rests) in one day; all these things had been learned already by him. But then it was caused to be spoilt again in this way by his fellows. Without fire . . . his garden was (made) without burning. In such a way: he went to break wind right into the middle of it, into it.

kīnixsāḡ (o:)wa(:ra) ira:naká :ne ita:ka / daḡ mo(:ro) waxto kīni:ká:muta:no // maina kīni:koró:tīḡma:no // i:ro wa:ra kuru:pí :wa tome:pámbome rī:po maḡ // ma moxka:r(o) a:saká:rīkoḡ wa / taniḡmapó maḡ // ero:tonó:ma(ḡ) me / kuru:pí kariḡná / enextó me iweixtó:ma(ḡ) me // i:ro wa:ra / erexkopó:pombo i:waine //

4.3. DE GOEDE HOOP (J. Mande)

e:ro ra:pa am / to:ri // e:ró / gudo:pu ²⁹ ke totí:neḡ kondre / gudo:pu :ne ka:pīḡ e:tī // moxko para:nakí:rī / etimbo xkurú mo:ro xuthóp / xuthóp me / eya:toto:pombo i:waine maḡ // irombo / te xkuru tuḡma:ma i:waine ³⁰ gudo:pu me maḡ // ma moxko para:nakí:rī / mo:ro pó oma:miná:no po:ko / tuweiyémbome maḡ / we:we woro:kīrī po:ko / apiime po:re / ma:ro tuweye maḡ / oma:miná:no po:ko // pena:ró mo:ro pó / mo:ro xudo:pu po me totí:nem bo ³¹ / yaḡwá:me iweixtopómbome maḡ // irombo te xkuru / tikí:rī moxko para:nakí:rī :wa maḡ // iinei wa:rá ko mo:ro yaḡwa:me iweixtopómbome naḡ / mo:ro pó / iwoxpé:matopombo máḡ / toko:kī wó:pe:matopombo // moxko toko:kī totí:neḡ / kuru:pi ³² wa:ra era:pa / kuru:pi wa:ra era:pa maḡ // ipu:purú / wewe mi:ti ³³ wo:yáḡ / kuru:pi wa:ra era:pa // ma e:tī te ko toko:kī // irómbome / ám ya:ko / moxko / para:nakí:rī :wa kīni:túnda:no / kariḡna wa:ra // kīni:túnda:no / “ya:kono” / kīḡga:no “yuxpa ro:rīpo maḡ heḡ” // “a:a tó / ya:konó” kīḡga:no // “o:wémbome ko mo:pīi sé” kīḡga:no moxko para:nakí:rī :wa ³⁴ // “au ḡne / e:ro pó omandotó au wa” // kīḡgá:no moxko para:nakí:rī // “ire:ke :ne / ya:konó me o:se wa / ata:konó me kīteiné” // kīḡgá:no moxko para:nakí:rī ḡwa moxko toko:kī // “ko” kīḡgá:no moxko para:nakí:rī i:wa / iya:ko ya:kono m(e) aikó ra” // ino:rombo / kīnī:sáḡ moxko para:nakí:rī / para:murú :wa ra:pa // moxká:ro / típoitorí:koḡ ³⁵ ere:parí aiye // ino:rómbome kīnoxsá(ḡ) na:pa // tuwo:kuké maḡ // mo:ro itundarí ta:ro ró / kīnoxsá(ḡ) na:pa moxko tiko:kī

²⁹ Dutch: De Goede Hoop, Sranan: Gudopu. A small Carib village on the left bank of the Coppename, about 40 km from the sea.

³⁰ The speakers of other languages than Dutch.

³¹ Sandhi ḡ p.

³² See 4.2.

³³ See 4.2., note 10.

³⁴ The recording has *i:wa* to him, a mistake for *:wa*.

³⁵ *Poito* are the sons-in-law and other young men whose houses surround that of an *uwa:potombo*, a prominent elder. Here paid labourers are meant.

Then the fire flared up and the garden was fully burnt off. In this way it had been taught by Kuru:pi already. But his fellows caused it to be spoilt. From that time on Kuru:pi has not been able to bear the sight of a Carib. In this way he has been made angry by them.

4.3. DE GOEDE HOOP (J. Mande)

This is another tale. This village named Gudo:pu — its name is not exactly Gudo:pu. Its real name in Dutch was Goede Hoop, Goede Hoop it was named by them. But then it was turned by them into Gudo:pu. Now the Dutchman was there on a job, on a lumbering job. He was with very many people on the job. Long ago at that place, at that place called Gudo:pu . . . that (place) was evil. But then it was made (cleared) by the Dutchman. As to the reason that it was evil, at that spot was the place where he used to go to the river, where Toko:kī used to go to the river. He who was named Toko:kī was just like Kuru:pi, just like Kuru:pi he was. His feet hit the buttresses of the trees, just like Kuru:pi's. Only, his name was Toko:kī. Then one day he came to the Dutchman, as a human. He arrived. "My friend," he said, "are you fairly well?" "Yes, my friend," he answered. "Whence did you come?" he said to the Dutchman. "I, I am an inhabitant of this place," the Dutchman said. "In that case I want you to be my friend, let us be friends," Toko:kī said to the Dutchman. "Well," the Dutchman said to him, "in that case be my friend." Thereupon the Dutchman went back to Paramaribo to fetch food for his men. Then he came back. He was provided with liquor. Exactly at the time of his arrival Toko:kī came again to the Du . . . to his

moxko para . . . tako:nó :wa // “(a)tundái ra:pa se ya:konó / kíŋga:no i:wa // “a:a (k)íŋga:no / wo:píi su :ne ra:pa // ino:rombo / mo:ro / tíga:rasí:r(i) atí:yáŋ / paranduwí:ni ke kínu:pa:no // to:ri po:ko mandoŋ / to:ri po:ko mandoŋ / tee / moxk(o) ako:no kínu:pá:no / ino:rombo kíne:tíiyaŋ moxko toko:kí // a / itoxpa no:ró / tuweitopó :wa mo:ró / mo:ro ku:ritá:norí ta maŋ // “ya:konó neti:míi rá” kíŋga:no moxko para:nakí:rí // mo:ro tube:díri kupo:naká kína:núiyaŋ // típa:tí // kínoŋní:saŋ // (kí)ne:napó:wa:no // “na:e” / kíŋga:no moxko para:nakí:rí / e:ro wa:ra :ne ko:re / ya:konó e:napó:rí na ra // kariŋna su ro:rípo naxka mo:se na ra” / kíŋga:no i:wa // “aire ko:ro ya:nó // aire ko:ro ya:no” kíŋga:no i:wa // “au te ŋne ro ya:no / kísa:pató:kae” // irombo / mo:ro isa:pató:rí soxká:no // eee tíxposaike tangóŋ / ipu:purú me:ró / puru:ré axsa:rí wa:ra mo:ro ito:purú // mo:ro we:we mí:ti³⁶ wo:topó i:wa // “pa” / kíŋga:no moxko para:nakí:rí / “mo:sé :ne kariŋna ka:pín de³⁷ ra:pa” // irombo kínu:pa:ká:no // mo:ro isa:pató:ka:po paxpotá kíni:sapá:toyaxti . . . kíni:sapá:toyaxto(ŋ)³⁸ na:pa // isa:pató:r(i) emíndoya(ŋ) na:pa i:wa yuxpí(ŋ) me // irombo ma:ro kínu:pá:ka:no ra:pa // “ayu:pa:kái he ya:konó” / kíŋga:no i:wa // “a:a sé ya:kono” kíŋga:no / “tuwe:tíiye yu:mí se te ra:pa tuweiyé wa” / kíŋga:no i:wa // ino:rómbo “wíxsa ra:pa se ya:konó” / kíŋga:no // “a:há” (k)íŋgano moxko para:nakí:rí // daŋ tímenŋá:ma kabá i:wa maŋ // paxporó mo:ro ipu:purú tímenŋa:ma i:wa maŋ // kíniŋxa(ŋ) na:pa // bi:fó:s(i) ito:rí / kíŋga:no moxko para:nakí:rí i:wa / “mo:ní wí:ki ta na:ú / para:murú :wa wíxtake ra:pá / oxkó :ne ko:ro ra:pa tundá:po :wa” // kíŋgá:no i:wa // “a:há to ya:kono” kíŋga:no // irombo ta:ro ro kíno:sa(ŋ) na:pa moxko toko:kí / moxko para:nakí:rí tundá:po :wa / moxko tako:nó :wa // “mo:píi ra:pá se ya:konó” / kíŋga:no // moxko para:nakí:rí tuwo:numéŋga maŋ / iwo:rí po:ko // bi:fó:si / bi:fó:si mo:ró / e:ro iwo:rí / daŋ / moxkó / típoitor(i) ám tí:nó iŋwa maŋ oŋwí (u)pu:po mo:ró / tore:parí ye:ní ene:ne(ŋ) (i:)tá / tauxtí ene:ne(ŋ) me // i:ro ya:ko ró / kíno:saŋ moxko toko:kí / ino:rombo moxko / auxtó ene:né:nímbo to:nó i:wa maŋ // kíni:túnda:no para:nakí:rí / moxko / típoitorí ane:né:pa // “o:ya tí ní:tom baŋ”³⁹ (k)íŋga:no // irombo kíndopó:saŋ mo:ro po kíndopó:saŋ mo:r(o) o:má ta mo:níbaŋ wa

³⁶ Vid. note 33.

³⁷ Sandhi ŋ t.

³⁸ Probably the narrator intended to say *kíni:sapa:toxtoya:toŋ* or *kíni:sapa:-toxtoyaŋ*.

³⁹ Sandhi ŋ b.

friend. "Have you come back again, my friend?" he said to him. "Yes," he said, "indeed I have come back." Then he washed his glass, he gave him rum. They talked, they talked . . . and all the time he gave his friend rum. Then Toko:kī became drunk. Well, that same day he did not go to his dwelling place any more. "My friend has actually become drunk," the Dutchman said. He lifted him onto his bed, his sleeping place. He slept. He snored. "Dear me," the Dutchman said, "as such is the snoring of my friend, how could he be a human being, that one," he said of him. "Wait a moment, wait a moment," he said to him. "But as for me, I am going to take off your shoes." Then he pulled off his shoe. Oh! with enormous nails suddenly his foot (appeared). Like the back of an adze was his heel, the instrument for him to strike the buttresses of the trees with. "Fie!" the Dutchman said, "that one it not a human being to be sure." Then he was waking up; at its former place, where the shoe had been taken from, he put on the shoe . . . put on the shoe again. He put on his shoe again. At the same moment he woke up again. "Have you woken up, my friend?" he said to him. "Yes my friend," he said, "but I have been very drunk," he said to him. Thereupon he said: "I am leaving, my friend." "It is well," the Dutchman said. Now he had already been closely watched by him. His foot had entirely been closely watched by him. He left. Before he went, the Dutchman said to him: "Well, next week I shall leave for Paramaribo, please come again at my arrival," he said to him. "It is well, my friend," he said. Upon this fixed time Toko:kī came again to the arrival of the Dutchman, to his friend. "Have you come back, my friend," he said. The Dutchman was thinking about killing him. Before . . . before that, this killing of him . . . now one labourer of his had been left by him, one man alone, to watch over his storehouse, as a watchman over his house. At that time Toko:kī came and that man who kept watch over the house was eaten by him. The Dutchman arrived; he did not see his labourer. "Wherever may he have gone," he said. Then there he went and went, he went and went, on the path he went to a place at such a distance. And oh! at that place he found

kīnixsáŋ // pī / mo:ro pó ro / uʔyepómb(o) epo:yaŋ // “koo” / kīŋga:no // “suku:sá :ne mo:ro // ‘kariʔna ka:p(ŋ) amo:ro ma:na’ ka:kó(ŋ) :ne mo:ro poitori to:nó oʔwa maŋ / yuʔpá :ne maŋ” kīŋga:no // irombo moxko para:murú :wa kīnī:sa(ŋ) na:(pa) mo(xko) par... para:naki:rī / iwo:tó:maŋ epe:ká:se // kīŋga:no moxko tako:no :wa / “tundá:po ʔwa ko:r(o) oxkó :ne ra:pá / i:ro wa:ra axta woxtaké ra:pa” // irombo ta:ro ró / kīno:sa(ŋ) na:pa moxko toko:kī // moxko tako:no tunda:p(o) e:né // kīni:túnda:no / tīga:rasí:r(i) atī:yaŋ tītundá:po me ro / kīnu:pá:no ra:pa // mo:ro ina:pí:rindarī wa:raro / “yu:pí(ŋ) no:kī / ya:t(a) eka:no:s(aŋ) i:ro wa:ra” // kīnu:pá:no ra:pa / parand(u)wí:ni ke // mo:ro iwo:topó tī:y(e) i:wa ita:ká maŋ // tee kīne:tīya(ŋ) na:pa kīne:tīyaŋ / pa // mo:ro ya:ko oʔnī:kī:pa no:ro mo:ro pó maŋ // “wīksa kó ra:pa se ya:konó” (k)īŋga:no // “a:há” (k)īŋga:no / moxko para:naki:rī i:wa // “yuxpa ko:ro / itaŋgo he ya:konó” “a:há” (k)īŋga:no / “yu:pá :ne wīxtake” / ino:rómbo kīnixsáŋ / o:ma ta / tuwe:tīye // pataipatái me kīnixsaŋ / patapatai me tee tīmo:romá mo:ro / upa:topómbo ʔwa iwo:kurú :wa maŋ // tuwo:má maŋ / poxponá:ka // irombo ro mo:ro maŋ airé awoiye wa:tī tuwo:ma máŋ / irombirī ro mo:ro / mo:ro upa:topómbo kīni:woyaŋ // i:ro wa:ra te xkurú / e:ro / xudo:pu ke totī:néŋ / kīweixtó:koŋ yu:pá iweirī / pena:ró tīnendómbome mo:ró maŋ ⁴⁰ / toko:kī wo:pé:mató-pombo :ne mo:ro / e:ro gudo:pu ke totī:néŋ / kīweixtó:koŋ / e:ro wa:ra ro:teŋ / e:ro to:rír(i) iʔmatī:rī maŋ / e:ro ta:ro ro:teŋ sukuxsá //

4.4. THE DEPUTY-CHIEF (Th. Banga)

au / woxsakóŋ // e:ro po:no ka:pī / e:ro po:no woxkapi:rī ka:pī au wa // ame:tarī po:no woxkapi:rī te / au wa // irombo woxsakóŋ / ya:wo mí ʔwa // ya:wo mí ʔwa woxsakoŋ // mo:rómbo pa:potá / o:wínduwo:piima nu:no weine ya:wo m(i) eko:sa // tee / irombo pa:potá ya:posí:wa(ŋ) wo:rīi po:ko / tundá:pombo paxpota // irombo / mo:rómbo pa:potá ye:máine / ye:máine / o:wí siri:ko // mo:rómbo pa:potá / daŋ uwa:ponó ka:pité:ni / yandī:moŋ / tība:siyá:rī me / tība:siyá:rī me yandīʔmoyakoŋ // ero:tonó:ma(ŋ) me / ba:siyá me / e:ro po weixtó:me / uwa:potómbo weixtopómbo po ko:ronérsi me

⁴⁰ One actually hears *tīnendómbimo mo:ró maŋ*.

a skull. "So," he said, "now I understand everything. You are not a human being, was what I said. My labourer has been eaten by you. Very well," he said. Then the Dutchman went again to Paramaribo, to buy something to kill him. He said to his friend: "Please come again to me at my arrival, at such and such a time I shall come back." Upon this fixed time Toko:kī came again, to visit his friend at his arrival. He arrived; he washed his glass after his arrival. He gave him just enough to make him slightly drunk: "in that way he will believe I am a good person." He gave him rum once more. The stuff for killing him he had put into it. At last . . . he got drunk again, he got drunk; fie! That time he slept at that place no more. "I must be leaving, my friend," he said. "It is well," the Dutchman said to him. "A pleasant journey to you, my friend," "It is well," he said, "I shall have a pleasant journey." Then he went, on the path, drunk. He went reeling, reeling; at last he was overcome by what he had been given, by his liquor. He fell down on the ground. It was finished now: he fell down without getting up after some time, it was his dying, what he had been given killed him. However, in such a way it has come about that this dwelling place of ours, named Gudo:pu, has become safe. Long ago it was dreaded, it was the place where Toko:kī used to go to the river, this dwelling place of ours, named Gudo:pu. Thus only; this is the end of my tale, so far only I know.

4.4. THE DEPUTY-CHIEF (Th. Banga)

I came (to this village) long ago. I am not from here, I was not born here. But I was born at Calabash Creek. Then long ago I came to my late uncle. I came to my late uncle. After this had happened, I actually stayed for six months with my late uncle. Then, after this had happened, I actually fell in love with a woman, after I had arrived (here). After this had happened I actually lived, lived (here) for one year. After this, the first chief actually appointed me his second, as his second he appointed me. So that I have been here until today as a deputy-chief at the former living place of the old man, whose name was Cornelis.

toti:neɟ // kite... ye:mepá:neɟ ⁴² maɟ e:ro po // daɟ / e:ro pó:no
 me / tuweiyé wa wayu:mo pó:no me weiyakoɟ // Pa:pá upiʔno //
 ya:saká:ríkoɟ ma:ro ye:máiya // iba:siyá:ríko(ɟ) me // mo:rombo
 paxpotá / e:ró / a:mukóm bo:re ⁴³ yu:pi... wena:po ta ⁴⁴ kīnoʔneɟ /
 ba:siya:kó(ɟ) me // ma au uwa:ponó :ne ba:siya au weiyaine //
 teee ero:tonó:ma(ɟ) me / e:ro po ko:u / weyo:pó:tomatoʔme /
 waya... e:ro po:nokoɟ / wayu:mo po:nokoɟ / raʔna // eɟ wayu:mo
 pó:no me era:pa / au ba:siyá me tuweiyé wa // o:ruwá:kariʔna /
 o:ruwá:kariʔna siri:ko kaba e:ro pó ye:máiya // iro:ké ko / e:ro
 po:no woxkapi:rī wa:ra era:pa tuweiyé e:ro pó wa // mo:ro ka:e te /
 mo:ro wa:ra wo:pī:pombo maɟ //

4.5. PECCARY-GIRL ⁴⁵ (Th. Banga)

a:mú / mürekkoko / kīni:sáɟ / wota:ró / ko:koro // mo:r(o) o:má ta
 kīni:sáɟ // irombo kīniɟsaɟ teee / a:mú tono:mī / epo:yáɟ // moxko
 tono:mī / e:marī / (ix)koto:yáɟ / kīno:saɟ ma:n(oɟ) ipo:ko //
 irombo / ipo:ká se maɟ moxko tono:mī kīniɟsaɟ // kīniɟsaɟ teee /
 irombo kīni:kó:maiya(ɟ) // kīni:kó:maiya(ɟ) // irombo / kīne:páxka:-
 no / mo:ró emandó:kon da:ka ⁴⁶ // kīne:pó:yáɟ / oʔwī tampo:ko /
 naɟga moxko ipī:tī // emīirī / iyo:ruwá:noríkoɟ // irombo / “yu:pa
 ro:rīpo maɟ he tamu:sí” ⁴⁷ kīnga:no // “a:a se pa:rī / yu:pa su ro:rīpo
 // amo:ro ra:pa” / “ha yuʔpa weitáɟ se tamu:si” // “o:ya ko mī:saɟ”
 // “a yu:ta:pī se tamu:si” “ irombo e:ro pó oʔni:ko” // “ha:há” //
 irombo tomīirī kó:ma:no // “ye:mīirī / mo:r(o) apa:tī aro:kó /
 mo:n(i) ita:rībīn da:ka” ⁴⁸ // irombo kīniɟsáɟ moxko / emīirī tīpa:t(i)
 aiye / (t)uwo:wá:to kīniɟsaɟ // irombo moxko / akaxtopó ma:ro ase:na
 oʔni:toko” // kīnga:no iyu:mī // “a:há pa:pa / kīnga:no moxk(o)
 emīirī // i:ro wa:ra ro mandóɟ / nexkīrindoma:toʔ tuwe:sá:pima-

⁴² I hear *ye:mepá:mī*.

⁴³ Sandhi ɟ p.

⁴⁴ The narrator corrected himself, replacing *yu:pi:no* ‘under me’, by *wena:po ta* ‘after me’, as formally his five colleagues, though of less influence, are his equals.

⁴⁵ The name of the girl *paki:ru:mī* is not found in the text, the narrator mentioned it on another occasion. *-ru:mī* is part of several girls’ names, e.g. *tu:tiru:mī*, *se:riru:mī* (*se:ri* = Sylvie).

⁴⁶ Sandhi ɟ t.

⁴⁷ The sibilant preceding *i* in *tamu:si* is the palatalized allophone of /s/, normally found only following *i*. Usually in *tamu:si* non-palatalized *s* is heard.

⁴⁸ Sandhi ɟ t.

He was my teacher here. So I have become an inhabitant of this place, I became one who lives at Wayombo River. Under God. I live here with my fellows as their deputy-chief. Since then, it is true that quite a few have come un(der) . . . after me as deputy-chiefs. But I have in fact always been the first deputy-chief. So that from then on, until now, I have been a chief among the people of this place, the Wayombo people. And as one who lives at Wayombo River himself, I have become a deputy-chief. Thirty, thirty years I have lived here, and so I have become like one who was born here. Yet I am telling (you): it was in such a way that, long ago, I came.

4.5. PECCARY-GIRL (Th. Banga)

In the morning a young man went hunting. On the path he went. Then he went on and on; he found a game animal. The animal crossed his path; obliquely (leaving the path) he came after it. Then he wanted to shoot it, the animal went away. It went on and on until it became dark, it became dark. Then he came out (from the bush) into their dwelling place. He found one old man, with his wife. His daughter was the third of them. Then "Are you fairly well, grandfather", he said. "Yes, my grandchild, fairly well indeed. And you?" "I may be doing well, grandfather." "Where are you going?" "I eh have lost my way, grandfather." "In that case sleep here." "Yes, please." Then he called his daughter. "My daughter, take your hammock into yonder empty house." Then his daughter went to take her hammock, she went to tie it. Then "You and your uncle must sleep side by side", her father said. "Yes, father", said his daughter. And so they did, they lay down and began their play. They played, they played, they played

rík(oṛ) aḷmoyá:toṛ // kīne:sá:pima:toṛ / kīne:sá:pima:toṛ / kīne:sá:pima:ton de moxk(o) o:mīyá:ko kīni:sá:pima:no // irombo moxk(o) o:mīyá:ko / mo:ro tī:sé isa:pimá se maṛ // daṛ moxko mīrekkoko / ewaḷnó:sāṛ / kīno:wá:no:sāṛ moxko mīrekkoko // irombo e:ro pa:to / mo:r(o) ita:rībīn da kīṅga:no “uwa / apo:rú:ko po:ré” // kīṅga:no // mo:r(o) auraná:no // irombo moxko mīrekkoko kīnaiké:sāṛ mo:r(o) o:tī po:ko // irombo wīinó / kīnoḷnī:sa:toṛ / tee ko:koró // ko:koró :n(e) isa:no kīni:kó:ma:no // “ye:miiri” // “haaa” // “oxkó :ne noṛ // ko:i ro:teṛ” // (k)īṅga:no isa:no // kīnīxsáṛ moxkó emīiri // “mainá:po ta:ka itandoko⁵⁰ akaxtopó ma:ro // e:romé róḷn na:nakó:nīmbo / na:nakó:nīmbo ambó:tandoko” // (k)īṅgá:no / moxko isa:no // “ha:há ta:tá” // (kīṅ)ga:no // irombo kīnīxsá:toṛ // (kī)nī:sá:toṛ tee kīni:túnda:toṛ mo:ro mainá:po ta:ka // daṛ mo:ro p(o) am we:we wo:ma:po mo:ro mainá ta maṛ // (kī)no:tandiḷmoya:toṛ // “enexko / aye:mīri :n(e) am sapo:i” // kīṅga:no moxko o:mīyá:ko moxko mīrekkokó :wa // irombo moxko mīrekkoko kīna:kí:ma:no // “oxtonó:me⁵¹ ko / awo:pī:po / eka:riti:rī se:p(a) iḷwa máṛ” kīṅga:no // “iinei wa:rá” kīṅga:no / “wo:pī:p(o) anu:kuti:pa ḷne wa” // “aye:nápī:rī” / kīṅga:no moxko o:mīyá:ko // “a:(a) anu:ku:tī:pa ḷne wa // ka:é :ne mo:r(o) óḷwa” / (kī)ṅga:no // irombo xteee⁵² / “kaḷma iro:ké ro na:nakó:nīmbo(ō) ambó:se” / (kī)ṅga:no moxko o:mīyá:ko // kīnīxsá:to(ṛ) na:n(a) ambó:se // tuwe:mīkóṛ aḷno:ká:toṛ // kīnīxsá:to(ṛ) na:pá auxtó :wa // “wo:pīi ra:pa ta:tá” / kīṅga:no moxk(o) o:mīyá:ko “ha:há yuḷpá :ne maṛ” // are:pa ké / moxko mīrekkok(o) upa:no / (tī)tundá:po me ro irombo xtee⁵² kīni:kó:maiya(ṛ) na:pa // koiye ra:pa / wóḷnī:se kīnīxsá:to(ṛ) na:pa wexkírīndoma // kīne:sá:pima:to(ṛ) na:pa / kīne:sá:pima:toṛ / kīne:sá:pima:toṛ // “sooo” kīṅgá:no “irombo roḷmuṛ // e:rom(e) é:romé ro / awo:pī:po ko:u meka:ri:s(a) iḷwa” // (k)īṅgá:no moxk(o) o:mīyá:ko // “iinei wa:rá wī:kái kurú mo:r(o) óḷwa” // “a:a e:rome :n(e) awo:pī:po meka... meka:ri:sa ko:u iḷwá // no:kī kó me:nei / e:ró :wa awoxtó:me / mo:ro wota:ro awo:pī:po po no:kī kó me:nei / mo:r(o) o:má tá” // “a:a” / kīṅga:no moxkó / mīrekkoko // “paki:rá :ne se:nei” // “sooo / ino:ro ró xkurú au wa” // daṛ irombo ro mo:ro maṛ // daṛ kīne:sá:pima:to(ṛ) na:pa / kīne:sá:pima:toṛ // irombo / mo:r(o) auraná:n(o) eta:no ra:pa ita:rībīn

⁵⁰ I actually hear: *mainá:po ta:ka itandó:ko ta:ta au s emiiri*. This makes no sense, either to me or to the narrator, and must be a slip of the tongue.

⁵¹ I hear *intou me*, what made no sense to the narrator.

⁵² Sandhi *irombo teee*.

on and on. The girl played with him. Then the girl wanted to go further in her play with him. So she incited the desire of the young man, and the young man's desire was incited. Then at that place, in the empty house, it said: "No, wait a little", the voice said. Then the young man no longer did that. From then on they slept, until daytime. In the morning her mother called her. "My daughter!" "Yes." "Just come here, for a moment only!" her mother said. Her daughter went. "Go into the deserted clearing with your uncle. This day you must go picking some pineapples, pineapples", her mother said. "Yes, mother", she said. Then they went, they went on and on, until they arrived at the deserted clearing. Now there was a fallen tree in the garden. They sat down. "Put it here, let me catch some lice of yours", the girl said to the young man. Then the young man importuned her. "Why don't you want to tell me how you have come?" she said. "But, how", he said, "I do not know at all how I have come." "You are lying", the girl said. "I assure you, I really do not know, so I tell you", he said. Then at last: "In that case, let us go and pick some pineapples", the girl said. They went to pick pineapples. They filled their carrying baskets. They went home. "I have come back, mother", the girl said. "Yes, it is well." She gave the young man cassava bread, after she had arrived, and at last it became dark again. When it was evening again, they went again to sleep, and lay down. They played again, played, they played again. "So now, it is quite enough now. This very moment you are going to tell me how you have come here," the girl said. "But how, how? I told you already." "Surely, now you are going to tell me how you have come. Did you see anyone, so that you came here; when you came hunting did you see anyone, on the path?" "It is true", said the young man, "it was a peccary I saw." "Quite so! That was me." So this had been settled. They played again, they played. Then the voice was heard again in the empty house.

da⁵³ / "eixko ko:u" / kɪŋga:no mo:r(o) auraná:no // kine:pá:nama:no
 moxko m̄irexkoko "no:kī tī mo:se nam baṣ" ⁵⁴ / kɪŋga(:no) // tee
 sa:pí k̄in̄ixsaṣ sa:pí k̄in̄ixsaṣ / pam k̄ine:sá:pimaṣma:toṣ // tuwe:sa:-
 pimá:ma:sa(ṣ) ⁵⁵ me ró / k̄inoṣní:sa:toṣ go:u ⁵⁶ // wota:piino kabá
 // moxko ko:koró :ne kɪŋga:no / "ta:ta" / kɪŋga:no / "pa:pa /
 awond(i) e:né :n(e) (w)i:tó se wá / pena:ro po:re :n(e) awondí
 sene:kep̄ii" // "koo" kɪŋga:no ⁵⁷ / ene:tandoko // (mox)k(o)
 oiyotá:topo ene:potá noṣ" // waṣ te(ṣ) me / k̄ino:sí:má:toṣ // tí:toto:-
 kóṣme // "koro:po :ne ra:p(a) aṣna k̄inoxtaṣ ta:ta" // "a:há" //
 irombo k̄in̄ixsátoṣ // k̄in̄ixsá:to(ṣ) xtee ⁵⁸ kuri:tá:nene paxpota //
 k̄ini:tundá:toṣ / tikaxto:kó(ṣ) :wa // "yuṣpa ro:r̄ipo ya:wó" kɪŋga:no
 / "yuṣpa ro:r̄ipo awondí" // "a:há su:wí yuṣpá su ro:r̄ipo // atundai"
 // "a:á / tundái ne" // "koo yuṣpá :ne tuwo:se ma:na // kasi:ri ⁵⁹
 pa:to :n(e) atundái" / kɪŋgá:no moxko ikaxtopó moxk(o) o:m̄iya:kó
 :wa // irombo / kasi:r(i) ⁵⁹ éni:ya:toṣ ⁶⁰ kasi:r(i) éni:ya:toṣ k̄ine:-
 napí:rinda:toṣ // irombo te ko moxkó / ikaxtó:ko(ṣ) (i)ṣmakóṣ /
 k̄ino:wá:no:saṣ moxko ṣiye:rú:naṣ / īiyo po:ko // daṣ i:ro se:pa
 moxko o:m̄iyá:ko maṣ // daṣ k̄ini:wó:ma:ton de ⁶¹ ra:pa // ṣiye:rú:-
 naṣ wo:ma:toṣ / k̄ini:pakó:toya:toṣ / emexpi po / ṣiye:r̄ikóṣ ge ⁶² //
 so tee mo:ro kawa:i k̄inaiké:saṣ // irombo irom̄goro:pó titunda:saṣ
 paxpotá / k̄ino:sí:ma:no ra:pa tí:tori po:ko "a:wo aṣna k̄ini:saṣ róṣm
 ra:pa" kɪŋga:no // "a:ha su:wí" kɪŋga:no // "yu:pa ko:ro itaṣgo" //
 irombo k̄in̄i:sá(ṣ) na:pa / īiyo ma:ro // k̄ini:túnda:no // "wo:p̄ii
 ra:pa pa:pa / ta:ta / wo:p̄ii ra:pa" "a:ha yuxpá :ne maṣ // oxto kó
 maṣ ye:m̄iiri" // "a:wó (i)ṣmako(ṣ) i:ro pako:toi pa:pa" // "m̄i:ri //
 mo:ró :kuru mo:ro suku:sa // awi:to se aweiri ké m̄i:toṣ // irombo
 yuṣpa wa:ṣi tuweye ma:na // yuṣpa ya:no tuweye ma:na // we /
 irombo roṣmuṣ ye:m̄iiri // e:ro roṣm irombo ro // koro:po ko:koró :ne
 e:ro ko:koró :ne roṣmuṣ / ema:m̄i:poto ko:koró :ne / osi:mako / itaṣgo

⁵³ Sandhi ṣ t.

⁵⁴ Sandhi ṣ b.

⁵⁵ I hear *tuwe:sa:mimá:ma:sa*.

⁵⁶ Sandhi ṣ k.

⁵⁷ Of *kɪŋga:no* only a nasal sound is heard.

⁵⁸ Sandhi *k̄in̄ixsa:toṣ tee*.

⁵⁹ The sibilant preceding *i*: in *kasi:ri* is the palatalized allophone normally found only following *i*. Usually in *kasi:ri* non-palatalized *s* is heard.

⁶⁰ I hear *eni:ya:toṣn*.

⁶¹ Sandhi ṣ t.

⁶² Sandhi ṣ k.

“Go ahead”, the voice said. The young man listened. “Who could it be”, he said. The play went on and on, the play went on; and then . . . they played it to the end. After they had finished their play they went fast asleep. Now they had taken one another. In the early morning she said: “Mother”, she said, “Father, I want to go to see my uncles, for a long time I have not seen my uncles.” “Really”, he said, “go to see them, just go show the man you are married to.” At once they hastened to depart. “Tomorrow we shall come back, mother.” “It is well.” Then they went, they went until noon had passed. They arrived at her uncles’. “Are you fairly well, my uncle”, she said, “are you fairly well, my uncles.” “Yes, little girl, fairly well indeed. Have you arrived?” “Yes, I have arrived.” “Well, you have come at the right time: you have arrived while cassava beer stands ready”, her uncle said to the girl. Then they were drinking cassava beer, drinking cassava beer, they became slightly drunk. Then, however, the children of her uncles desired the husband of their cousin. Then the girl did not want this. So for her part, she fought them, she fought her cousins, they slashed her, on her forehead, with their tusks. At last the fight came to an end. Then the day after that of their arrival, they hastened to leave. “So we are going again, my uncle”, she said. “Yes, little girl”, he said. “A safe journey to you!” Then she went off again with her husband. She arrived home. “I have come back, father, mother, I have come back.” “Yes, very well. What happened to you, my daughter?” “The children of my uncle slashed it, father.” “Dear me! I have known this beforehand! You wanted to go, so you went. And then you did not fare well. Really, very well you fared! Well, it is finished, my daughter. This has been the last time. Tomorrow early in the morning that is the next early morning, early in the morning when dawn breaks, you must prepare yourself in haste; you must go to your mother-in-law.

oʔmé no:tí :wa // aweka:rí:nama:po me ro...”⁶³ // irombo kine:-
 kari:nama:no⁶⁴ moxko emiiri / tise:seureŋ⁶⁴ emindoyaŋ tise:-
 puru // “we ye:miiri” kiŋgá:no /au roʔmuŋ / au aʔna roʔmuŋ asa:no
 ma:ro / awo:tori:ko(ŋ) me kineixtaŋ / akaxtó:ko(ŋ) ma:ro / awo:-
 tori:ko(ŋ) me aʔna kineixtaŋ / ye:miiri” (ki)ŋ(ga:no) // ikaxtopó
 pak.. poiŋgó moxko maŋ // moxko iyu:mí paki:rá / paki:rá moxko
 maŋ // i(:)ro wa:rá / “itaŋgo ye:miiri” kiŋga:no “oʔme no:tí :wa
 yu:pa ko:r(o) aye:máŋgo” // irombo kinixsá:toŋ teŋŋŋ / e:ro ta:ro te
 apo:t(o) ó:ma ta:ka kine:pákka:toŋ // kinixsá:toŋ // kinixsá:toŋ //
 kinixsá:toŋ // kine:pákka:toŋ mo:ró / apa:raré ta:ka wo:i ta:ka //
 noxpó:ko / mo:ní me kino:pó:saŋ wo:i tá // “mo:kí páinak(a) iʔme
 wo:píri r(i) i:ye” / kiŋgá:no noxpó:ko // “iʔmé :ne mo:(kí) kino:saŋ”
 // o:nuká:pa noxpó:ko maŋ // “mo:se té ʔne / o:kó na / wo:rii
 ma:ro // iʔme ko o:wí (u)pu:po kindó(ŋ) :ne” // kino:sán de⁶⁵ /
 moxko mirekkoko // m.. “iʔme te ʔne mo:se maŋ” / kiŋga:no noxpó:-
 ko // ipo:woró kino:saŋ moxko mirekkoko seŋgená:ka // yuʔpa :ne
 kine:né:ma:no moxko noxpó:ko // “ce” kiŋga:no “iʔme te mo:se :n(e)
 iʔme nitundai ra:pá” kiŋgá:no // moxk(o) o:míya:k(o) iwe:ná:po
 ta maŋ / ipí:tí // irombo kini:túnda:no // “yuʔpa ro:rípo ta:tá” /
 kiŋgá:no // “a:a iʔmé” / kiŋga:no “yu:pa su ro:rípo mo:píi ra:p(a)
 iʔmé” / noxpó:ko kine:wá:pota:no // “o:we kó mo:sé o:míyá:ko
 mepo:rii” / kiŋga:no noxpó:ko // “mo:se :ne / i:tu raʔna sepo:rii /
 ta:ta / pí:tí :ne mo:se maŋ” // “koo / yuʔpá :ne maŋ // iinéi wa:rá
 kó / mene:píi” // “we / wo:píri wo:pír(i) é:ro maŋ / mo:se wo:rii /
 isa:nó iyu:mí nimo:kíi / ma:ro oʔwá / emaŋgá // daŋ itoxpá no:r(o)
 aʔna kineixta(ŋ) i:tu ra:naka⁶⁶ // i(:)ro wa:rá ʔne / aʔná / enexpoi
 iyu:mí isa:no ma:ro” // “yuʔpa :ne m(aŋ) iʔme // iro:ké ko:ró /
 yuxpa ko:ro mo:se / wo:rii / ene:kó iʔmé / yuʔpá aye:máŋgo ima:ro⁶⁷
 // irombo ro mo:ro maŋ //

⁶³ From here on the recorder did not work for a short time. The next seven words of the text were inserted later to fill the gap.

⁶⁴ *Kine:kari:nama:no* ‘she made herself a human’ perhaps should be translated ‘she made herself a *kariʔna*, a Carib’. Carib women wear leg bands with a heavy fringe.

⁶⁵ Sandhi ŋ t.

⁶⁶ They have come to stay and will not return to live with the parents of the woman, as would be customary.

⁶⁷ The recording has *ma:ro* ‘with me’, *ima:ro* ‘with her’ being a later correction by the narrator.

And when you shall have become a human . . ." Then she made herself a human, his daughter: she put on her leg bands with fringe. "Well, my daughter", he said, "so I, I, so we — your mother included — shall be meat to you, with your uncles we shall be meat to you, my daughter", he said. Her uncle is a wild boar, her father a peccary, a peccary he is. "Thus you must go, my daughter" — he said — "to your mother-in-law: live well!" Then they went on and on: after a short distance they came out on a large path. They went, they went, they went, they went. They came out on the savanna. The old woman was looking far away, over the grassy plain. "That there is perhaps my child coming!" the old woman said. "It is my child coming." The old woman did not take her eyes from him. "But this one is with a second person, with a woman. And my child went away alone." The young man was coming nearer. "Yet it is my child", the old woman said. Little by little the young man came nearer. The old woman could clearly and entirely see him. "Oh!" she said, "so it is my child, my child has really come home again", she said. The girl was behind him, his wife. Then he arrived. "Are you fairly well, mother", he said. "Yes, my child", she said, "fairly well indeed. Have you come back, my child?" The old woman was glad. "Where did you find this girl?" the old woman said. "I found her in the deep forest, mother; she is my wife." "I see, it is very good. How did you bring her?" "Well, this is the way of my coming: this woman . . . her mother and her father have sent her with me to you, to make her dwell. And we shall not go any more into the deep forest; in such a way her father and mother have made us look after her." "It is very well, my child. Because of this you must look well after this woman, you must live with her in the right way." And this is the end.

4.6. THE ABDUCTED GIRL (Th. Banga)

a:mú imendá:masena(ŋ) maʃ // tota:purú:po po / tito:káiri ta⁶⁸ //
 irombo moxko isa:nó / iyu:mī ma:ro / kīnixsáʃ / moʔyá / wo:póiyē //
 wo:póiyē kīni:nyó:toʃ // o:kó / pita:ní e:raŋgoʃ // pita:nikóʃ kīne:-
 sá:pima:no / kurandó // tuwa:ró:pa pita:nī maʃ // irombo te ko /
 moxko isa:nomá:neʃ / oko:yúmbó / tuwo:nú:se i:wa maʃ // pa ta:ro
 i:wa maʃ // moxka:(ro) pita:nikóʃ ne:nextóri me ta:ro i:wa maʃ //
 moxka:(ro) pita:nikóʃ tuwa:ró:pa kīne:sá:pima:no // irombo te kó /
 a:mukóʃ kīni:tunda:no ya:rī wīinombo // are:pá upi:ya:toʃ // kīno:-
 nú:sa:toʃ “o:we (k) o asa:nokó(ʃ) naʃ” // “moʔyá :ne nī:to:toʃ /
 mainá :wa” / kīŋga:no moxka:(ro) pita:nikoʃ // “are:p(a) ám se
 kowe:r(o) aʔna naʃ” // “moxkó :ne waʔwa / apu:rú:po ta / otu:-
 rupó:tok(o) i:wa” / kīŋga:no moxka:(ro) pita:nikóʃ // kīno...
 kīno:turú:poya:t(oʃ) kīno:pó:sa:toʃ / mo:ro po moxkó / are:pa saʃ //
 moxko / imendá:masen(aŋ) upi:ya:toʃ mo:ro to:kái ta // kinu:píya:-
 toʃ kinu:píya:toʃ poxpó ka:wo / ipa:tī ita:rī:pa // “uwa na” / kīŋga:-
 toʃ moxka:(ro) pita:nikó(ʃ) :wa // “mo:ro pó :ne waʔwa maʃ” //
 “mo:ro apu:rú:po ta t(i)pa:t(i) ta po uwá maʃ” kīŋga:toʃ // “uwa
 ro maʃ” // irombo mo:ro po kīno:tandiʔmoya:toʃ // teee kuri:tá:-
 nene / kīneiyaʃ // isa:nó / iyu:mī / kīni:túnda:no ra:pa oma:miná:-
 nombo wīino // wo:póiyémbo // “yuʔpa ro:rīpo mandoʃ” / kīŋga:toʃ
 moxka:ro itundá:sáʃ wa // “a:a yuʔpá su ro:rīpo // are:pá am u:pi
 ke xkur(u) aʔna nipo:ro:pīi era:(pa) aye:kó:saine” // “ko / iseʔme
 te ko moxkó / ye:mīiri :wa moxko tapu:tī ta:nó :wa / otu:rupó:pa
 meixtoʃ” / kīŋga:no moxko isa:no // “uwa :ne maʃ” / kīŋga:toʃ na:pa
 eyuxtó:me // “ceee / o:ya ko nī:tóʃ // mo... o:tī... o:ya kó ra:pa
 e:meré:pīri nī:toʃ” / kīni:koiyaʃ moxko ipeiiri // “uwa ró ko:ré na rī”
 / kīŋga:toʃ // “uwa i:ro na ta:ta” / isa:no kīni:koiyaʃ // wara:ró
 kīnu:píyaʃ auxtó wara:ro // “o:we ko mo:se to:merexse(ŋ) naʃ / o:ya
 ko mo:se to:merexse(ŋ) nī:tóʃ” / kīŋga:no isa:no // “ane:né:pa p...
 aʔna ne:i” / kīŋga:toʃ // a so mo:ró / kīndo:pó:sáʃ mo:ro omandopó
 ta / omandopó (iʔ)maxká:no // tomīiri ane:po:rī:pa maʃ // kīno:-

⁶⁸ A girl who is menstruating for the first time is confined to a special small hut, sometimes built inside the house. She is subjected to food restrictions, wears a cheap cloth, and may not comb or cut her hair. After a month she is stung with ants, bathed in the river, presented with all kinds of food, painted and dressed in festive attire. She has to dance the rest of the day on a feast given for her by her parents. During this month of seclusion, and also later during menstruation and after childbirth the water spirits are dangerous for women.

4.6. THE ABDUCTED GIRL (Th. Banga)

There was a girl who had menstruated recently (for the first time), in her seclusion, in her hut. Then her mother and her father went yonder, to plant. They left her to go planting. Two children were guards. The children played outside. The children were not careful. But then he who loved her, Oko;yumbo, came up to her. Fie! she was carried off by him. The children did not notice, they were playing. But then there arrived some people from upstream. They wanted cassava bread. They came up (on the shore); "where is your mother?" "They have gone yonder, to the garden," the children said. "We would like to have some cassava bread." "She, our elder sister, is in the closed house. Ask her," the children said. They . . . they asked . . . they looked for her again and again at that place, the person(s) who wanted cassava bread. In her hut they sought for the girl who had menstruated recently. They sought for her, they sought for her, low and high; her hammock was empty; "she is not there," they said to the children. "Our elder sister is there." "She it not in the closed house, in her hammock," they said. "She certainly is not there." Then they sat down there. After some time it became noon. Her mother and father came back from work, from planting. "Are you fairly well," they said to the people who had arrived. "Yes, fairly well indeed. We have stopped at your house to ask for some cassava bread." "Why did you not ask my daughter, who is in the closet?" her mother said. "She is not there at all," they said in reply. "Oh, where has she gone? The . . . what . . . where (in) her foolishness (she) has gone?" Her elder sister sprang up. "She really is not there, girl," they said. "She is not there, mother!" Her mother sprang up. She sought everywhere, in all houses. "Where is that foolish one, where has that foolish one gone?" her mother said. "We did not see her," they said. So she went everywhere in the living place (the village), she sought all the living place over. She did not find her daughter. She came back. "My daughter is lost

sá(ṛ) na:pa // “ye:mīirī / painaka nuta:pīi rī” / kīnga:no // irombo
 moxko ipeirī // pisa:w(a) anuiyaṛ titu:narī ye:nī peḷyá :wa kīnixsaṛ /
 am ro:te(ṛ) peḷya pa:to // irombo / mo:ro po r(o) iwo:mimbo peḷyá
 po maṛ // ipeirī kīna:nuiyaṛ kīne:ká:nuiya(ṛ) na:pa / tu:n(a) ánum-
 boro wa:tī // “ta:ta” / kīnga:no // “e:r(o) iwo:mimbo peḷyá po” //
 “ceee” kīnga:no / oko:yúmbo :wa ta:ro / ye:mīirī na” / kīnga:no /
 moxko / isa:no / kīno:tamó:yaṛ // pa:poró kīno:tamó:ya:toṛ // iyu:mī
 kīno:tamó:yaṛ / pa:poro na e:ri omo:rī kīno:tamó:yaṛ // “ye:mīirī”
 tī:ka “ta:ro maṛ ma:é” / kīnga:no // a so tura:rīkoṛ koḷmaṅgá:toṛ //
 kīni:ko:maṅga:to(ṛ) tura:rīkoṛ // ko:i wa:tī / o:kótuwo:pīima yu:ru
 a:ta koiye / kīno:numénga:no moxko tampo:ko / iyu:mī // “ino:ró”
 kīnga:no tura:rī ta “moḷya ró me:ro wīxsa ya:rī :wa / mo:kī pī:yéi
 wa // moxko páinare ye:mīir(i) ukuxtáṛ / o:we iweirī” // “itaṅgo” /
 kīnga:no “itaṅgo ro:teṛ” // kīno:tá:ru:ká:no moxko uwa:potombo //
 kīnixsáṛ mo:ro ko:ko / kīnixsáṛ // kīnixsáṛ // tee kuri:tá:nene
 ko:ko titundá maṛ moxko pī:yéi wa // kīni:tundá:no // “au / tīḷwó” /
 kīnga:no // o:wá wo:pīi se / woxtu:mere... woxtuḷmeré:maṛ”
 kīnga:no // “oxto kó naṛ” / kīnga:no moxko pī:yéi // “ye:mīirī :ne /
 ta:ró maṛ iwo:mimbo roxkoṛ peḷya po maṛ imendá:masenaṛ (tī)ta:-
 putī⁶⁹ tá wīino ro” kīnga:no // iro:ké :ne / woxtuḷmeré:maṛ
 (o:)wa wo:pīi / ayaiyé wo:pīi / o:wé ukuxtó:me” // “kooo” kīnga:no
 moxko pī:yéi // “e:ro ko:ko ro me:r(o) (w)ī:tori supi:yá” / kīnga:no
 moxko pī:yéi // “ko:koró te wixtake” // tura:r(i) áro:ya(ṛ) na:pa
 moxko / u... i... tampo:ko // tee tura:rī túndano:saṛ kīno:tamó:ya:-
 to(ṛ) na:pa (a)sendá:ka // irombo moxko iwe:ná:po me:ró / pī:yéi /
 kīno:tandīḷmoya(ṛ) tīma:raká:r(i) apoiyaṛ // kīno:turú:poyaṛ /
 tīya:kuwá:rīko(ṛ) ḷwa tīya:kuwá:rīko(ṛ) mo:saṛ / o:we iweir(i)
 ukuxtó:me // (ir)o(mbo) tīya:kuwá:rīkoṛ kīne:ka:ri:saṛ / “mondó
 :ne maṛ pī:yéi // irombī:pa :ne maṛ tīpī:tī me te ḷne ta:ro i:wa maṛ /
 ano:nó:pa :ne tuweiye maṛ” / kīnga:no moxko / pī:yéi / moxko /
 tīyo:potó:rī :wa // “yuxpá :ne maṛ” / kīnga:no // tee ko:koró :ne /
 kīno:si:ma:no moxko pī:yéi tiku:riya(:ra)rī t... aṫ:yaṛ tīpī:tī ma:ro
 kīnixsa:tóṛ ike:nī :wa / moxko o:mīya:ko pa:p(a) e:ne // tee koiyé /
 kīni:túnda:toṛ // “kito:tamó:to(ṛ) no:ró” kīnga:no // “mondo :ne
 moxko aye:mīiríko(ṛ) :ne mondó maṛ // irombī:pa :ne maṛ // waṛ
 té(ṛ) me kīno:tamo:ké:sa:toṛ pa:poró ro kīno:tamo:kepīḷmá:toṛ //
 iko:ma:m(i)po me ró / tīma:raká:r(i) apoiyaṛ moxko pī:yéi // kīno:-
 tamónnga:no tīya:kuwa:rī koḷma:no pa:poro tīya:kuwa:rī koḷma:no //

⁶⁹ One actually hears *tīta:pux*.

perhaps," she said. Then the elder sister of hers took up a calabash, her water-bottle; she went to the landing place, at another landing place (not the one where the guests had arrived). Then her dress was there, at the landing place. Her sister took it up; she ran, she ran back, without caring to dip up water. "Mother," she said, "this dress of hers was at the landing place!" "Oh!" she said, "my daughter has been carried off by Oko:yumbo," her mother said; she wailed. All wailed. Her father wailed, all people, all her family wailed. "My daughter," she said, "has been carried off, alas!" she said. So they wept until it became dark, until it became dark they wept. Not soon, at seven . . . seven o'clock in the evening the old man began to think, her father. "He!" he said, while weeping, "I shall go at once, yonder, upstream, to the shaman. Perhaps he will know about my daughter, where she is." "Go," she said, "just go." The old man went into (his boat). He went that same night, he went . . . he went . . . At last, at midnight, he arrived, at the shaman's. He arrived. "I, cousin," he said, "have come to you in distress, in distress," he said. "What has happened?" the shaman said. "My daughter has been carried off, her dress only was at the landing place, (being) one who menstruated recently, (she disappeared) out of her closet," he said. "Therefore I have come to you in distress, I have come to get you, to know where she is." "I see," the shaman said. "I cannot leave at once, in this night," the shaman said. "But I shall go in the morning." The old man went home weeping. He arrived back home weeping, they all wailed once more facing each other. Then after his departure the shaman sat down at once and took his rattle. He consulted his spirits, he sent out his spirits to learn where she was. Then his spirits told him: "She is still there, shaman. She is not dead, but she has been carried off by him to be his wife, he did not eat her," they said to the shaman, to their chief. "It is well," he said. In the morning the shaman hastened to wash his boat; with his wife he went downstream to see the girl's father. In the afternoon they arrived. "You must not wail any more," he said. "Your daughter is still there, she is still there. She is not dead." At once they stopped wailing, they all did not wail any more. Then after it had become dark the shaman took his rattle. He raised his spirits, he called all his

kaiku:si ta:muru koʔma:no / oko:yúmbo ⁷⁰ koʔma:no // i:tu yo:potó:-
 rī ⁷¹ koʔmá:no // pa:poró tiya:kuwa:rī koʔma:no // kīni:mó:sa:toʔ //
 “moxko o:míyá:k(o) aitandok(o) i:wa” / kīnga:no moxko pī:yei //
 kīnīxsá:toʔ // irombo kīni:túnda:toʔ moxká:ro / ya:kuwá:rīko(ʔ)
 na:pa // “o we / menextoʔ” kīnga:no moxko ya:kuwa:rīkoʔ (ʔwa) //
 “kīna:yomá:no yu:mī moxko mīrexxkoko // enexporī sexpa paio maʔ”
 kīnga:no // “ko” kīnga:(o) “yuxpá :ne maʔ” // so kīno... tuwo:-
 tamón̄gar(i) eman̄gá:no // kīnaiké:saʔ // opīxpá moxk(o) o:míya:ko
 mo:ro ya:ko maʔ // irombó / kīnoʔní:s(aʔ) a:sitó / moxko pī:yei //
 tuwoʔnīkī:rī uwa:poró kīnga:no / “ko:i po:re ko:ro / e:rome / kasi:rī
 am imo:kato:ko oʔwi(ʔ) poti:sa iwei:rī ro:teʔ” // kīnga:no isa:nó :wa
 iyu:mī ma:ro // “o:ruwá / o:ruwá yu:ru / a:ta ko:ro mo:ro / kasi:rī /
 ipo:si(ʔ) náʔ kaba // poti:sa ta:ka isu:kato:ko” / kīnga:no moxko
 pī:yei // “a:há” kīnga:toʔ // ewaxporī:ko(ʔ) (i:)ya :ne ro:teʔ /
 kiye:ré ka kīnīxsasʔ // ase:pasé pa:to kīni:kīrī:ya:toʔ // ase:pasé pa:to
 kīni:kīrī:ya:t(oʔ) i:ya :ne ro:teʔ / kīni:mó:ka:toʔ // o:ruwa yu:ru
 tītunda máʔ / kasi:rī sú:ka:toʔ kaba // o:wí poti:sa / kīna:rīmó:ya:toʔ
 // irombo / kīna:royá:toʔ moxko pī:yei wa // irombo / iyu:mī kóʔma:-
 no / koiyé kaba maʔ / pi:po wo:neké:pīrī ⁷² // ta:ro // “mo:ro
 potīxs(a) aro:ko mo:nī peʔyá :wa / mo:r(o) iku:marī / iku:mato:po
 pe:rī :wa / yu:pa ko:r(o) enextoko” // kīnga:no moxko pī:yei iyu:mī
 :wa // “naʔga o:wí / po:si ma:ro iseirī po:si axku:bī(ʔ) no:ró / irexta
 kó:r(o) i:ko / mo:ro ine:nī:rī mo:ro maʔ / tuwo:pī:poto” // kīnga:no
 moxko pī:yei // “a:há” kīnga:toʔ // “yuʔpá :ne maʔ” // i(:)ro wá:ra ro
 kīneiya:toʔ // (mox)ko isa:no kóʔma:no moxko pī:yei / bi:fó tuwo:tan
 ... tuwo:tandiʔmori / iyu:mī kóʔma:no / ipei:rī koʔma:no // “mene:ya:-
 tóʔ mo:ro/o:ma tunda:rī” kīnga:(no) “mo:ro o:roi (u)piʔnó” kīnga:no
 moxko pī:yei // “amo:ro ko:re ipei:rī mé / mo:r(o) ó:m(a) apo:rit(o)
 aiko // ma kīto:sené:poi te ko:r(o) iʔwa // amo:r(o) isa:no kīto:-
 sene:poi era:pa iʔwa” / kīnga:no moxko pī:yei // “iya:ko roʔmuʔ
 kīne:ká:nund(aʔ) awīinoine / aye:ne:sando / k(i)to:sené:potī ereʔmá
 :n(e) aiko // ara:tonó:marī no:ron de ⁷³ ko:ro apoiko a:ruwa:si mo...
 mema:take // apo:i:po me r(o) asa:nó :w(a) akoxtake aye:panó:toʔme
 i:wa // irombo asa:nó / tundá:po me r(o) ayu:(mī) :wa tera:(pa)
 kīni:ko:tata(ʔ)” kīnga:no moxko pī:yei // “a:ha” kīnga:toʔ / i(:)ro

⁷⁰ Some other *oko:yumbo* than the abductor of the girl.

⁷¹ *Maipu:ri ta:muru*, Tapir grandfather.

⁷² A standing expression.

⁷³ Sandhi ʔ t.

spirits. He called Jaguar Grandfather, he called Oko:yumbo, he called the Lord of the Forest. He called all his spirits. He sent them out. "Go, take the girl to me," the shaman said. They went. Then the spirits came back. "Well, did you bring her," he said to the spirits. "The young man positively refuses to give her. And he also does not want to let her be brought (home)," they said. "I see," he said, "it is well." So he raised (the spirits) till dawn. He stopped. That time the girl did not come. Then he slept a little, the shaman. Before he went to sleep he said: "Today you must quickly boil some cassava beer, just one jug will do," he said to her mother and her father. "Let the cassava beer be sweet already at three . . . three o'clock, and strain it into a jug," the shaman said. "Yes," they said. Gladly they went there without more ado to dig cassava, together they made it. Together they made it without more ado. They boiled it. When it became three o'clock, they already strained the cassava beer. One jug; they put it into (the jug). Then they carried it to the shaman. Then he called her father; it was evening already, skin was no longer visible. It was carried. "Carry the jug to yonder waterside, to the flood . . . floodmark; bring it well," the shaman said to her father. "With one . . . with a new calabash . . . place a calabash that has not been used before on top of it; it is for her to drink when she will come," the shaman said. "Yes," they said, "it is well." So they did. The shaman called her mother before he sa . . . sat down; he called her father, he called her elder sister. "You see the end of the path, under the cashew tree," the shaman said. "You, as you are her elder sister, will be beside the path. But you must not show yourself to her. And you, her mother, must not show yourself to her either," the shaman said, "otherwise she will run away from you when she sees you; all the time you should not be visible, be quite still. But when she is still passing you, you must get hold of her and throw her down. When you will have got hold of her you must call out to your mother that she will come to help you. Then after your mother will have arrived she will call out to your father," the shaman said. "It is well," they said. And so they

wa:ra ro mand(oŋ) o:ma tunda(:ri) me ⁷⁴ // kini:porú:sa:toŋ / pī:yei
 kīno:tandiŋmoyaŋ // kīno:tamónŋa:no / kīno:tamónŋa:no / teee kīne:-
 yakú:waxtoyaŋ // daŋ go:u ⁷⁵ / kīni:kó:ma:to(ŋ) na:pa // “so”
 kīŋga:no “e:ro roŋm irombo ro” / kīŋga:no “áitandoko moxko o:mīya:-
 ko iŋwa” / kīŋga:no tīya:kuwá:rīkoŋ wa // kaikú:si ta:muru mo:sa(ŋ)
 na:pa / iyo:potó:rīko(ŋ) me // kīnīxsá:toŋ / kīna:wónŋa:toŋ / tīya:-
 kuwá:r(i) awoŋgá:toŋ // itunda(:san)do moxko mīrexxkokó ra:pa mo:e
 kawa:i po:ko maŋ tu:na koro:na ima:roine // enexporī sexpa tuweiri
 ke // kīno:sá:to(ŋ) tīru:pota // “o menextó(ŋ)” kīŋga:(no) “uwa
 paio pī:yei” / kīŋga:no // “enexporī sexpá :ne moxk(o) aro:nenimbo
 maŋ” // “kó” kīŋga:no // daŋ go:u ⁷⁵ wana:u ta:muru koŋma:no
 tīya:kuwá:rī // “wana:u” kīŋga:no // “mo:yáŋ / moxko o:mīya:k(o)
 ait(a) i:wa moxko aro:nenimbo :wa oko:yumbo :wá” / kīŋga:no //
 “mo:yáŋ / aya:saka:rī me s . . . aro . . . / aro:kó” k(īŋga:no) // “uwa
 paio” / kīŋga:no wana:u // “o:wí:ne :ne wī:sa pī:yei” / kīŋga:no //
 “au ne panaxpe wá to // o:ro mo:ya(ŋ) neine” (kī)ŋ(ga:no) //
 “iro:ké menextáŋ” / kīŋga:no moxko / iyo:potó:rī // “senextaké
 :ne pī:yei” kīŋga:no / wana:u ta:muru // “kawoŋgakó iro:ké ro
 pī:yei” / kīŋga:no // moxko iyo:potó:rī kīna:wónŋa:no kīnīxsáŋ /
 wana:u o:wí:ne / moxko o:mīyá:k(o) aiye // kīni:túnda:no // moxko /
 aro:nenimbo :wa kīno:turú:poyaŋ // “mo:se o:mīyá:ko aiyé wo:pīi”
 kīŋga:no // enexporī sexpa m(aŋ) “o:t(i) ya:kó” / kīŋga:no moxko
 wana:u // “au kur(u) aiye wo:pīi” // kawa:i po:ko wana:u maŋ //
 (kīni:)kawáima:toŋ // moxko o:mīyá:k(o) ene:sarŋ go:u ⁷⁵ // kīneŋné:-
 saŋ // kīneŋné:sarŋ yu:ku ⁷⁶ mo:sarŋ e:ne // yu:ku kīno:sa(ŋ) na:pa
 “iiné po naŋ” / pī:yei kīŋga:no moxko iyo:potó:rī / “mo:nī pó kaba
 maŋ // o:wa:r(a) iraŋna” kīŋga:no / moxko yu:ku // “ko yuŋpá :ne
 maŋ” // a no ko:u / tīma:raká:rī / ewa:namá:no ko:u ⁷⁷ // kīno:sáŋ
 moxko o:mīya:ko / kīneŋné:sarŋ // (kīneŋ)ne:sarŋ // irombo tītunda
 mandoŋ peŋyá :wa / mo:ro kasi:rī weixtopó :wa // kīno:sá(ŋ) na:pa
 moxko yu:ku // “mo:se ino:ro kaba pī:yei” kīŋga:no “peŋyá po” //
 “yuxpa máŋ” kīŋga:no // “ene:ta ra:pa e:fi mo:ro / tu:ná / so:so
 kariŋná” kīŋga:no // mo:(ro) kasi:rī so:so kariŋna” // kīnī:sarŋ
 e:ne ⁷⁸ // “a nenī:rīi kaba pī:yei” kīŋ(ga:no) // “irombo ró ŋne mo:ro

⁷⁴ I hear *tundaŋme*.

⁷⁵ Sandhi ŋ k.

⁷⁶ *Yu:ku*, a cheerful spirit having a high pitched voice. Whether he is related to the stinging ants called *yu:ku* I could not ascertain.

⁷⁷ He causes the stones to circle around in the calabash.

⁷⁸ I hear *kīnīxsein*.

were (at) the end of the path. They waited; the shaman sat down; he performed, he performed his shamanistic rite, at last he got himself spirits. Then at once he called them. "So," he said, "let this be the last time," he said. "Go get the girl for me," he said to his spirits. He sent again Jaguar Grandfather as their leader. They went, he raised them, he raised his spirits. When they arrived the young man put up a fight with them under water, because he did not want to let her be brought (home). They came, tired. "Did you bring her?" he said. "No again, shaman," he said. "The abductor does not want her to be brought (home)." "I see," he said. Then at once he called Otter Grandfather. Otter Grandfather he called, his spirit. "Otter," he said, "these . . . go to the abductor, Oko:yumbo, to get the girl to me," he said. "Take . . . take . . . take these as your companions." "Certainly not," Otter said. "I shall go alone, shaman," he said. "I am strong, let these stay." "You will bring her then," his chief said. "I certainly shall bring her, shaman," Otter Grandfather said. "Therefore raise me, shaman," he said. His chief raised him, he went; Otter alone, to get the girl. He arrived. He asked her from the abductor. "I have come to get this girl," he said. He did not want to let her be brought (home); "nonsense," the otter said. "I have come to get her." Otter put up a fight. He fought them all. There! he brought the girl (home). He brought her (home). He brought her (home), (the shaman) sent Yu:ku to have a look. Yu:ku came back; "where is she?" the shaman, his chief, said. "There she is already. She is halfway", Yu:ku said. "I see, it is very well." Now, there . . . there he turned his rattle. The girl came, he brought her (home). He brought her (home). Then they arrived at the waterside, the place where the cassava beer was. Yu:ku came again. "It is her already, shaman", he said, "at the waterside". "It is well", he said. "Go again to see whether . . . The water is only (a thing of) man", he said. "The cassava beer is only (a thing of) man". He went. "Indeed she did drink it, she actually has drunk it, shaman", he said. "That is all to it", his chief said. "She will certainly come".

maḷ” kɪŋga:no moxko iyo:poto:rɪ // “kɪnoxtáḷ ne” // daŋ go:u ⁷⁹
 kɪna:wonó:poyaḷ /moxko pɪ:yei ko:u / pɪimeké tɪma:raka:rɪ wo:yaḷ ⁸⁰
 // kɪno:nú:saḷ // te ⁸⁰ tɪtunda maḷ mo:(ro) peʔya :wa / iʔno:rɪ /
 iʔno:rɪ / tɪʔno:re da:ti onaxta wa:tɪ // so:so moxko o:mɪya:ko
 (i)ʔno:rɪ // tɪʔna:wa kaba i:waine maḷ // kɪno:nú:saḷ pɪimeké /
 tona:rɪxke maḷ / pɪimeké :ne kɪno:nú:saḷ mo:(ro) pe(ʔya) e:marɪ
 ta / auxtó :wa / pɪimeké :ne tona:rɪrɪ ta // te moxko tɪpairɪ pa:to
 tuweiye maḷ // tɪpa:sá:marɪ me ro moxkó / ipairɪ / itu:pona:ka
 tɪkoɪye maḷ / tapo:í i:wa maḷ // irombo tisa:nó / tɪkoʔma i:wa maḷ //
 isa:no tɪ:t(o) épa:nó:se maḷ // iwo:mɪ:ma maḷ / mo:ro wa:ra ro
 tɪ:to:po wa:ra // naŋga o:k(o) tɪyu:mɪ / tisa:n(o) / tɪiyó / koʔma:no
 moxko isa:no // kɪno:sáḷ moxko / tampo:ko / si:mo ma:ro / imɪ:-
 pó:se // moxka:(ro) ... o:t(i) anu:ku:tɪxpa no:ro tuweiye maḷ //
 to:meré:ka maḷ kaba axta moxko oko:yumbó :wa // irombo / u:ropó:-
 t(i):po me ro moxko pɪ:yéi / “enextoko” kɪŋga:no “iku:mɪ:ko koʔno”
 kɪŋga:no // “iko:roká:toko yuʔpɪ(ŋ) me” kɪŋga:no / “yuʔpɪ(ŋ) me
 ipo:ke:to:me a:sito // irombo / ko:ro / ipaŋgɪ:totoko kami:sá ke”
 kɪŋga:no // “o:ti:ma:po me ro enextoko ko(:u) i:wá” / kɪŋga:no /
 moxko pɪ:yei // kɪna:royá:toḷ i:wa e:ka ta:ka // kɪnexkɪrɪ:rɪka:no ⁸¹
 // mo:ro tɪmɪxpo pe ro kɪnexkɪrɪ:rɪka:no ⁸¹ / kɪnexkɪrɪ:rɪka:no /
 teee “kɪsimboká:to(ḷ) naʔneŋ go:ró” ⁸² kɪŋgá:no // “ipa:tɪ ta:ka
 i:tokó” kɪŋga:no / “nimo:kú ewaxtotó:k(o) ɪra:tó ro // i:ya ro:teḷ
 su:ropó:ti:se” // i:ro wa:ra ro mandoḷ nimo:kú ta:ka kɪni:ya:toḷ //
 irombo fo:si / bi:f(osi) aruxkarɪ / “apo:r(i) imboká:toko” kɪŋga:no /
 moxko pɪ:yei // “itoxpá no:ró ʔne kɪneixtaḷ” // apo:rɪ (i)mboka:tóḷ
 iseɪrɪ (i)mboká:toḷ // “irombo ró ʔne mo:ro” / kɪŋga:no moxko
 pɪ:yei // kɪnu:ropó:saḷ // kɪnu:ropó:saḷ // so // “irombo ro mo:ro
 maḷ” pɪ:yéi kɪŋga:no // so dá(ḷ) na:pa wana:u koʔmá:no / “wana:u”
 kɪŋgá:no / “moxko mɪrexxoko aro:nenimbo / ko(:u) aítáŋg(o) i:wa”
 kɪŋga:no // kɪnɪxsá(ḷ) na:pa wana:u // “kawoŋgakó iro:ke ro
 pɪ:yéi” kɪŋga:no // kɪna:wonḡá:no moxko e:mɪ // kɪni:mo:sa(ḷ) na:pa
 moxko / mɪrexxoko aɪye oko:yúmbo aɪye / moxko mɪrexxoko /
 aro:nenimbo // kɪnɪxsáḷ // kɪnɪxsáḷ kɪnɪxsáḷ tuwo:pɪ(rɪ) se:pa maḷ
 “o:ti yá:ko” kɪŋgá:no / “pɪ:yéi ne aya:ropó:yaḷ” // kɪnɪxsáḷ //
 “yu:pa maḷ kɪ:sá :ne” kɪŋga:no // moxko mɪre ... / moxko aro:-
 nenimbo / oko:yúmbo kɪno:saḷ // kɪni:túnda:no // kɪnandi:moyaḷ

⁷⁹ Sandhi ḡ k.

⁸⁰ Here I omitted a word that I could not ascertain.

⁸¹ By pulling evil objects out of the body of the patient.

⁸² Sandhi ḡ k.

Then, there! he made her rise, the shaman, there! Slowly he shook his rattle. She came up. At last she arrived at the waterside; her smell! her smell! she was smelling that is was impossible to bear the smell of her, such was the smell of the girl. She nauseated them. Slowly she came up, she was shy, slowly she came up on the path from the waterside, to the house; slowly in her shyness. At last she was at the place of her elder sister. When she passed her, her elder sister jumped upon her, she was caught by her. Then her mother was called by her. Her mother came to help her. She was undressed like she had gone. With two . . . her father . . . her mother . . . her mother called her husband. The old man came, with a vine, to bind her over and over. They . . . she did not know anything any more, as she had been made crazy by Oko:yumbo already. Then, after he had blown on her again and again, the shaman said: "fetch her, wash her first", he said. "Scrub her well", he said, "well, so that she may stop smelling a little, and then put a cloth on her for a loin cloth", he said. "When you are ready with doing these things just bring her to me", the shaman said. They carried her to him, face to face with him. He treated her. He treated the spot where she was tied. He treated her, after some time he said: "you must not untie her yet", he said. "Put her in her hammock", he said. "Tie a hammock for her beside me. Just let me blow some smoke on her repeatedly." So they did, they put her in a hammock, and only then, before she had been put (there), the shaman said: "untie her arms, she will no longer go away." They untied her arms, they untied her legs. "This is it", the shaman said. He blew smoke on her, he blew smoke on her. So. "This is it", the shaman said. So, and then again he called Otter. "Otter", he said, "the young man, the abductor, well, get him for me", he said. Otter left once more. "In that case raise me, shaman", he said. His owner raised him. He sent him out once more to fetch the young man, to fetch Oko:yumbo, the young man, the abductor. He went. He went and went, he did not want to come, "nonsense", he said, "the shaman has you carried off." He went. "It is well, let us go", he said. The yo . . . the abductor, Oko:yumbo, came. He arrived. The shaman made him sit down. "Look", the shaman said. "At this, this, this, this moment you shall stop to have anything to do with this girl who was carried off by you. Have finished, for that is

moxko pī:yei // “(e)ne:kó” kīŋga:no moxko pī:yei // “mo:sé / ana:ró:p(o) o:mīyá:ko po:ko ko:ro / e:rom(e) e:rom(e) e:rom(e) e:rom(e) ayaixké:ko // oḵmá:ko ka:e roḵmuḵ” kīŋga:no moxko pī:yei // “iḵma:ti:pa ayaxta roḵmuḵ / o:pató:ro aye:nuru siḵmotá:ke / (o:)pató:ro aye:nuru siḵmota:ke / opo:t(ix)pa no:r(o) aweixtó:me // ata:muḵ enu:ru mene:yaḵ / niḵmó:po ro xkuru mo:ro / ata:muḵ(u) enu:ru” / kīŋga:no moxko pī:yei // “tu:ná :wa kīnīxtáḵ / kīsa:kí:mai / peḵyá :wa kīnīxtáḵ kīsa:kí:mai / tu:na tīye kīnīxtáḵ / kīsa:kí:mai / kuri:yaḵ ta ito:poti:ri / kīsa:kí:mai // iya:ko roḵm aro:mó:take” // kīŋga:no moxko pī:yei moxko oko:yumbó :wa // “ana:kī:ma:pa no:ró :ne weixtake pī:yéi” kīŋga:no // “atu:waróŋgexko e:rom(e) e:rome / mo:se o:mīyá:ko po:ko e:romé / ka:e roḵmuḵ / iya:ko roḵm ase:ké meixtake” // irombo ró ḵne mo:ro maḵ //

4.7. CHICKEN FATHER (Th. Banga)

koro:tokó / (iḵ)mo:ká kīnīxsá:toḵ // moḵya / si:pú ya:ri ḵwa // moxko ukuḵnéḵ kīna:royá:t(oḵ) oḵwí (i)yo:potó:rīkoḵ // oḵwí nu:no / kīnīxsá:toḵ // irombo a:mú :wa kīni:tunda:toḵ / kuri:ta:nen(e) axta // kuri:tá:nen(e) (w)e:i:po me ro / aro:ná:moḵ / iyo:potó:rīko(ḵ) kīŋgá:no / “e:ro pó kīpo:ro:seḵ // kīte:patá:ya:tos(er) e:ro po” // i(:)ro wa:ra ro mandoḵ // “yuḵpa po:re ko:ro kīte:patá:ya:toseḵ” / kīŋga:no moxko iyo:potó:rīkoḵ // “tīmbakixka me // e:ro po te e:re⁸³ / re:re ta:muḵ maḵ // irombo moxka:r(o) o:ko tīpa:nayaḵnar(e) a:mu // “au pata:y(a) ana:mī:pa wa” / kīŋga:toḵ // “siwo:také :ne moxko re:re” / kīŋga:toḵ moxka:r(o) a:saká:rīkoḵ paxporó kīne:patá:yaxtoyaḵ kīna:purú:ma:toḵ tīmbakixka me // kīni:kó:maiyaḵ / koiyé :ne / re:ré tuwo:pīr(i) aḵmo:yaḵ // moxka:ro pa:poró kīno:mīḵma:no⁸⁴ / aiyato:ne yu:ru axta / kīno:mīḵma:no⁸⁴ apu:ru:po ta:ka // moxka:r(o) o:ko kurando maḵ // re:re kīno:sáḵ / bobobobobo // kīni:woyá:toḵ / am ra:pa kīno:saḵ bobobobo kīni:woyá:toḵ // ipo:woró kīna:pīiméiyaḵ // bobobo / tau kre // e “au ye:kai se” / kīŋga:no moxko i:wa / am ra:pa kīno:saḵ bobobo tau kre // “ye:kai se” / “au ye:kai era:pa se” // kīno . . . kīna:pīimeiya(:toḵ) moxka(:ro) re:re // a so kīne:ká:toḵ / iwo:pa:pīri ya:ko⁸⁵ toḵna kuru:mu / yo:potó:rī poine mandoḵ // kīniḵma:ka:toḵ // irombo / kīni:ti:na:toḵ //

⁸³ *E:re* I could not identify.

⁸⁴ I hear *kīnoḵmī:ma:no*.

⁸⁵ Sandhi *i y*.

what I am telling you", the shaman said. "And in case you should not be done with it I shall break your eyes at both sides, at both sides I shall break your eyes that you may not be able to see any more. Have you seen your grandfather's eye? Your grandfather's eye that was broken by me?" the shaman said. "She will go to the river, you shall not importune her; she will go to the landing place, you shall not importune her; she will go poison the water, you shall not importune her; when she is travelling about by boat, you shall not importune her. Otherwise, you shall die," the shaman said to Oko:yumbo. "I shall not importune her any more, shaman," he said. "At this, this moment you shall stop thinking of this girl, at this moment, for that is what I am telling you. Otherwise it will be you yourself (whom you have to blame)." This is the end of it.

4.7. CHICKEN FATHER (Th. Banga)

They went to take chicken's eggs. Yonder, to the upper Essequibo. A man who knew took them with him, one was their leader. They travelled for one month. Then they came to a certain place, at noon. When it was noon the one who took them with him, their leader, said: "let us stop here. Let us build ourselves a hut at this place." So they did. "Now let us build our hut very well", their leader said, "by putting in little sticks. For at this place Bat Grandfather stays." Thereupon two people turned a deaf ear, saying: "I won't build a hut, I shall kill this bat", these two people said. The leader did not answer them. Their fellows all made themselves a hut and closed it by putting in little sticks. It became dark. In the late afternoon bats began to come. They all went inside. At five o'clock they all went inside into the closed house. The two men were outside. The bats came: bobobobobo. They killed them, others came: bobobobobo, they killed them. Successively they became numerous. Bobobo snap! tear! "Ay! It has bitten me", he said to him; another came: bobobo snap! tear! "It has bitten me", "it has bitten me also." The bats became numerous. So they were biting them as they swarmed down; they had the size of the big vulture. They finished them. Then they became silent, they had been finished off

tí?matí?ma kaba mandoŋ // irombo / kine:maiyaŋ / ko:koro / iyo:-
 potó:ríkoŋ kine:pa:ká:no // pī / so:so ye:samómbo ⁸⁶ tera:pa // re:ré
 :wa timiiká?ma mandoŋ o:koro:ro // “e:ro ka:e :kuru mo:ró rī:po
 heŋ” / kíŋga:no iyo:potó:ríkoŋ // “yaur(aŋ) áne:tá:pa meixtoŋ //
 aŋi:ramá:ríkoŋ / o?má:ka:toŋ” // irombo / “kixká:ro ka?mako(ŋ)
 mo?yá ro” / kíŋga:no iyo:potó:ríko(ŋ) :wa a:saká:rī(koŋ) ko:u //
 to:tíri:koŋ / aruxkapó:sa:toŋ / kīnixsa:to(ŋ) na:pa ya:rī :wa //
 kīnixsa:toŋ te... kuri:tá:nene / apoiyaŋ // “e:ro po kípo:ro:se(ŋ)”
 kíŋga:no ra:pa // “pata:ya kisa:miseŋ” // “a:ha” kíŋga:toŋ / “yu?pa
 :ne maŋ” // irombo / pata:y(a) a:mu i:rí?ma:toŋ / “e:ro pó ro?muŋ /
 o:mu yu:mī maŋ” / kíŋga:no // “paxporó ko:ro / kíto:tupú:ka?-
 maserŋ” // “a:ha” kíŋga:toŋ / wo:rīi ma:ró ro / paxporó kíno:tupu:-
 ka:toŋ // irombo / i(:)ro wa:ra ro mandoŋ ko:ye kíno:tupú:ka?ma:toŋ
 // kīni:kó?maiyaŋ / iko?mamí:rī pe:rī me:ró / o:mu tuwo:pa:pīr(i)
 a?mo:yaŋ // o:mu kínoxpá:saŋ o:mu / me:ró :ne / api:ripó / paxke /
 kínoxpá:sa:toŋ itu:pona:ka irom(bo) mokí:ne o:mu // daŋ tuwo:-
 tapóitop(o) upi:yaŋ / uxse:p(a) axtaine // pa:poro tuwe:poka?ma
 mandoŋ // eee ema:mīrī :wa kuri:ta:nene pa:pota / o:mu wa:tī no:ro
 maŋ tí:to maŋ kaba maŋ // irombo / kine:maiyaŋ / yu?pa paxporo
 ko(:u) kine:maiya:toŋ // to:tíri:koŋ / aruxkapó:sa:to(ŋ) na:pa /
 “ka?makóŋ do:ro me” kíŋga:no iyo:potó:ríkoŋ // kīnixsá:toŋ kīnixsa:-
 toŋ te kuri:tá:nene(e) epo:ya(ŋ) na:pa // “e:ro po kípo:ro:se(ŋ)
 na:pá” / kíŋga:no iyo:potó:ríko(ŋ) na:pa // “er... pata:ya kisa:-
 miseŋ / e:ro po ro?muŋ / aka:re yu:mī maŋ” // kíŋga:no iyo:potó:-
 ríkoŋ // “awo:wá:toríko(ŋ) ya:ko ko:ro poxpo k(o) owaxtotó:ko //
 iya:ko ro?m aka:re yu:mī ayo:notá:to(ŋ)” / kíŋga:no iyo:potó:rik(oŋ)
 i:waine // i(:)ro wa:ra ro mandoŋ // típa:tayá:rik(oŋ) amí?ma:po
 me ro kíno:wáxtoya:toŋ / poxpó ko // ito:poine moxko aka:re yu:mī
 wī:toto?me // imemboko no:kī e:bīŋ ge ⁸⁷ // i(:)ro wa:ra mandoŋ /
 kīni:kó:maiyaŋ / aka:re yu:mī kíno:saŋ / kuri:tá:nene / iweirī :wa
 kínoxs(aŋ) aka:re yu:mī // po:tómbo po:re // ipa:tá:yaríkoŋ e:po ro
 kīnixsaŋ // pa:poró kīni:pá:sama?ma:toŋ // moxk(o) aka:re yu:mī //
 ot... o:tī wa:tī no:ro maŋ // iya:kó itī:ra:má:pa no:r(o) axtaine //
 iro(mbo) kine:ma:m(i?)ma:toŋ / poítome :ne ko:koro ra:pa / to:-
 tíri:k(oŋ) aruxkapó:sa:toŋ kīnixsá:toŋ // kīnixsá:toŋ te kuri:tá-

⁸⁶ Seems equivalent to ye:sanímbo, the bones that formerly made part of them. I do not know whether besides all words ending in -sanímbo a doublet on -samombo occurs; also the possibility remains that after all there is a difference in meaning.

⁸⁷ Sandhi ŋ k.

already. Thereupon it dawned, in the morning their leader came out. Pah! only bones remained. Both were totally gnawed off by the bats. "I have said this before already" their leader said. "You did not listen to my words. Your incredulity has put an end to you." Then "we all, let us go on yonder", their fellows said to their leader. They put and put their things into the boats, they went off again, upstream. They travelled on until noon. "Let us stop here", he said again. "Let us build a hut." "Right", they said, "it is well." Thereupon they completed the putting up of a hut, "for here Father of Lice stays", he said. "Let us all completely remove the hair on our heads." "Right", they said, including the women; they all removed the hair on their heads. Then so they did, in the afternoon they completely removed the hair on their heads. It became dark, on the treshold of darkness suddenly the lice began to pour down. Lice poured down, lice, all at once; like the throwing out of cassava siftings, they poured themselves upon them; then the lice swarmed all over the place. Then they could not find a place to get hold of, as they were without hair. They all had completely removed their body hair. At last, about the time when midnight was past, there were no more lice, they were gone already. Then it became day, luckily all of them were all right when day came. Again they put and put their things in the boats, "let us go on", their leader said. They went on and on and on, at last it became noon again. "Let us stop again here", their leader said again. "Let us build a hut, for Cayman Father stays here", their leader said. "When you sling your hammocks, you better sling them a bit low. Otherwise Cayman Father will eat you", their leader said to them. So they did. When they were ready building their hut, they slung their hammocks a bit low, so that Cayman Father should pass over them. For he was not a small creature. So they did; it became dark, Cayman Father came, about the time it became midnight. Cayman Father came. Very big. He went over their hut. He passed all of them, Cayman Father. Nothing happened as at that time they were not incredulous any more. Then in the morning again day broke beautifully for all of them, they put and put their things in the boats, they went off. They went on until noon

:nen(e) epo:ya(ŋ) na:pa // "e:ro pó kíte:patá:ya:tose(ŋ) sengé :ne kíteixtoŋ" // kɪŋga:no iyo:potó:ríkoŋ // "koro:po te / koro:tókó (i)ŋmo / ka kaŋmakoŋ // e:ro pó ro kíteixtá:toŋ // e:ro po roŋmuŋ / maniŋwi yu:mí / maŋ" kɪŋga:no iyo:potó:ríkoŋ // "koro:po kí:to:ríko(ŋ) ya:ko kuwa:tíri kísiŋmotá:to(ŋ) kisa:pató:ríko(ŋ) me" kɪŋga:no // i(:)ro wa:ra ro mandoŋ / kínoŋní:sa:toŋ yuŋpí(ŋ) me / ko:ko / moxko koro:tókó yu:mí kíni:koxta:no // ikoxtí ko... / ikoxtí pá:nama:no moxko ukuŋneŋ // kíneboká:t(oŋ) "epa:namá:toko" / kɪŋga:no "koro:toko yu:mí kíni:kó:tataŋ" // pa:poró kínu:pa:ká:toŋ (w)epa:nama // irombo kíni:kó:ta:no // "kariŋna ti:ro no:saaŋ" // "o:ro noŋneenŋ" kɪŋga:no moxko ipí:tí kíne:yu:saŋ // kíne:tá:toŋ itíŋmé / teee kíne:maiyaŋ // "ko:koró :ne e(:)ro kuwa:tíri kísiŋmoséŋ" kɪŋga:n(o) aro:ná:moŋ "kisa:pató:ríkoŋ me" // i(:)ro wa:ra mandoŋ pa:poró tuwe:i:saŋ me ro kuwa:tír(i) iŋmoyá:toŋ // típu:purú:koŋ...⁸⁸ // yaŋsí:pe wa:tí mo:r(o) ixporí:rí :ne maŋ / ini:pá:tori:koŋ // po:ríná:no ta:ro ro:t(eŋ) iya(ŋs)ikí:rí // daŋ mo:ro wa:ra ro:teŋ awí:torí ya:ko⁸⁹ maniŋwi / wa... maniŋwi yu:mí / so:so awo:yáŋ / apu:kapo:tíri ke // daŋ ití:ra:má:pa mandoŋ / mo:ro wa:ra ro / (kíni:)sapá:toxtoya:toŋ pa:poro / "kaŋmakoŋ ko:u" kɪŋga:no // ixporí:rí pa:toyá:toŋ mokí:ne / tími:suré / :ne / maniŋwi ipu:purú:kóm bo:ko⁹⁰ // tuwe:pa:to:sáŋ me ro mi:ya ŋwa / pa:poro moxka(:ro) maniŋwí / kereŋga:toŋ típu:purú:ko(ŋ) wíino // daŋ kíniŋsa:tóŋ go:u⁹¹ // mo:ní me no:ro / mo:ro tawainí wo:i tawainí kíno:neyáŋ // "oxtoko" kɪŋga:no // kíne:ta:no ra:pa moxko / koro:toko yu:mí // "kariŋna ti:ro no:saaŋ" // "o:ro noŋneenŋ" kɪŋga:n(o) ipí:tí // po:to po:re i:ro // i:pó:pa // auxto wa:ra moxko koro:toko yu:mí maŋ⁹² asa:porí:to ro mandoŋ típí:tí ma:ro // i:pó:pa páiro // kíne:pá:ka:toŋ // mokí:ne / iŋme maŋ koro:toko // tí:po / iŋmo / wo:i unda // extú:mika:senaŋ / i:po:paine apo:tonóm bo:re⁹³

⁸⁸ They wrap their feet with bark. One or two words in the recording were mutilated beyond recognition.

⁸⁹ Sandhi *i y*.

⁹⁰ Sandhi *ŋ p*.

⁹¹ Sandhi *ŋ k*.

⁹² The narrator compares Chicken Father to *wo:koimo*, the tutelary spirit of the bird *wo:ko*, Sranan *powisi*. The latter however is not naked, but covered with curly black hair. The fathers or grandfathers of the different kinds of animals also appear as spirits at the seances of the shamans, see 4.6., in which text Jaguar, Tapir and Otter grandfathers are summoned. Diphthongization plus *-mo*, as in *wo:koimo*, is also found in a few other names of dangerous beings; e.g. *paki:raki:raimo* 'peccary-spirit'.

⁹³ Sandhi *ŋ p*.

again. "Let us make ourselves a hut at this place, we have come very near", their leader said. "But let us not go to take chicken's eggs until tomorrow. We shall stay at this same place. For at this place Prickle-fish Father stays", their leader said. "Tomorrow when we go we shall break (bark of the tree) *kuwa:tiri* for our shoes", he said. So they did, they slept well. During the night Chicken Father crowed. His crowing . . . cr . . . the man who knew listened to his crowing; he woke them up, "listen", he said, "Chicken Father is going to crow." They all woke up to listen. Then he crowed: "There is word that men are coooming!" "Let them coome!" his wife said in reply. They listened in silence, at last it became day. "During the morning let us break this (bark of) *kuwa:tiri*", the one who took them with him said, "for our shoes." So they did, and when they were all there they broke *kuwa:tiri*. Their feet . . . The creek they crossed was not deep. Its depth was only about to one's shins. Now if you should go only that way (without precautions) Prickle-fish . . . Prickle-fish Father would just kill you by stabbing you again and again. Then they were not incredulous, they all put shoes on in exactly that way, "let us go on", he said. They crossed the creek, the prickle-fishes in swarms on their feet, making them shaggy. After they had crossed to the other side they pulled all prickle-fishes from their feet. Then they went on. At a distance the dim light . . . the dim light of a savanna became visible already. "Come", he said. Chicken Father crowed again: "There is word that men are coooming!" "Let them coome!" his wife said. Very big he was. Without feathers on his body. Chicken Father was like a house; he and his wife stood side by side. She was also without feathers on the body. They came out (of the forest). Her children were a hoard, chickens. Her eggs were at their places on the grass. Those which had just come out of the eggs were without feathers on the body, and very

// i(:)ro wa:ra ro / we:we ke moxka(:ro) toko:ná:moḡ wo:píri wo:-
 yá:toḡ // i:ya / iḡmó amiisa:tóḡ tuwe:mikón da:ka ⁹⁴ // toko:nenimbo
 wo:ya:toḡ // iḡm(o) ámiisa:toḡ tamu:ne :n(e) axta / wo:i emba:tá:po
 wa:ra ro // (mo)kí:ne koro:toko / toko:ne mandoḡ / irombo kínoxsa:-
 tó(ḡ) na:pa / tuwe:mik(oḡ) áḡno:pí:maxpo me ro // daḡ mo:ró /
 tímauruké kíniḡsa:toḡ mo(:ro) koro:tokó (i)ḡmo (w)eḡmori po:na //
 ita:ri:tori po:woru mauru i:ya:toḡ // a:muko(ḡ) wo:yá:toḡ / tína:-
 noká:ríko(ḡ) me / tuwo:tori:ko(ḡ) me // kíni:túnda:to(ḡ) na:pá /
 típa:tá:yaríko(ḡ) :wa // koro:tokó (i:)poká:toḡ tíni:wó:saḡ // e
 kína:noká:toḡ // koro:po kíne:maiya(ḡ) na:pá / kíniḡsa(ḡ) na:pa /
 i:ka ra:pa / típoixtor(i) aro:yaḡ // koro:tokó (i)ḡmo / amiisa:toḡ /
 kíni:woyá:toḡ tína:noká:ríkoḡ // irombo roḡmeró / kína:múisa:toḡ //
 o:kómboto ro:teḡ / koro:tokó (i)ḡmoká:toḡ // i(:)ro wa:ra ro mandoḡ
 / tuwe:ní . . . tuwe:mik(oḡ) aḡno:píxpo me ro / kíniḡsa:tó(ḡ) na:pa //
 a:mukoḡ wo:ya:tóḡ tína:noká:ríko(ḡ) // (ti)na:noká:ríko(ḡ) wo:ya:-
 toḡ // kíni:túnda:toḡ pata:yá :wa / iyo:potó:ríkoḡ / "i:ro roḡm
 irombo ro" kíḡga:no / "koro:po ra:pa kíxta:toḡ // kíte:ramá:ta:to(ḡ)
 na:pa kíweixtó:ko(ḡ) :wa" // i:ro wa:ra / itundá:samombo ⁹⁵ / koro:-
 toko (i)ḡmó:ka // irombo ro mo:ro maḡ //

4.8. THE DESCENT AT IRACOUBO (Ph. Cornelis)

wepaxkano eka:ri / we:i:pombo i:rakú po ⁹⁶ // ka:pí ta:no / pena:ro
 iḡma:tíxsaḡ / eníxtopó:ri / pa:pá :wa iwe:i:pombo // i:ro po:ko /
 paxporó / mo:ro po:no / auranimbo enexpo:po tu:ná wara:ro //
 . . paxkano . . iwe:páxkarí:k(oḡ) e:ne ito:tó:ko:me // daḡ / tí:to
 mandoḡ / tu:na wara:ro e:ne // títundá mandoḡ i:rakú :wa // irombó
 / tíra: . . . ⁹⁷ / míne:pu wótí:toxpómbo // iwo:tí:totoxkoḡ ka:pu wíino /
 iḡma:tíxsanimbo pena:r(o) iḡma:tíxsaḡ // kíno:tíxtoyaḡ pa:pá /
 kíne:ní:topó:ya:toḡ / mo:e ka:pí ta taḡnó:se iweirí ke / iweixto:ko(ḡ)
 no:ro am wa:tí maḡ / daḡ e:ro pó / no:nó ku:pona:ká / a:ripá:toxko:-
 me tí:wa // i:ro po:ko tíra:pu wótí:toxpómbo / iwo:(tí:)totóxkoḡ //
 ako:kowá / naḡne(ḡ) wotíxto:p(o) auxto réxta:ka // irombo /
 pandí:ra wotíxto:po ipo:koro // ipo:koró / sambú:ra / ipo:koró /

⁹⁴ Sandhi ḡ t.

⁹⁵ Equivalent to *itunda:sanimbo*. Cf. in this same text *ye:samombo* = *ye:sanimbo*, page 326, note 86.

⁹⁶ *Ira:ku*, on the coast of French Guiana. My informant at Bigiston (Maroni river), however, placed the appearing at Mana river, west of Iracoubo.

⁹⁷ *tíra:pu*.

big. So with sticks; they killed the ferocious ones with sticks when they came (to attack). There they gathered the eggs in their baskets. They killed the ferocious ones. They gathered the eggs that were white, exactly like the surface of the savanna. There was a hoard of chickens, they were ferocious. Then they went back after they had completely filled their baskets. They went with cotton to prevent the chicken's eggs from breaking. Every time they packed (an egg) they put in cotton. A few they killed to be barbecued by them for their meat. They arrived back at their hut. They plucked the chickens they had killed. They barbecued them. The next day came, they went again to take them, he took his young men with him. They gathered chicken's eggs, they killed them to be barbecued by them. Then they gathered them still more. Twice only they took chicken's eggs. So they did, after they had filled their baskets they went away again. A few they killed to be barbecued by them. They arrived at the hut; their leader said: "this must be the end of it, tomorrow we shall go. We shall return to our village." So it happened when they came to take chicken's eggs. This is the end.

4.8. THE DESCENT AT IRACOUBO (Ph. Cornelis)

The message on the appearing has been (received) at Iracoubu. The inhabitants of heaven, those who had passed away long ago... they were sent down by Our Father. After this, by all people of that place (Iracoubu) word was sent to all rivers that people should go (from home) to see the appearing of them (of the inhabitants of heaven). Then they went, (people from) all rivers, to see. They arrived at Iracoubu. Then a lad... a ladder was lowered, for them to descend from heaven; for those who had passed away before, those who had passed away long ago. They descended. Our Father made them descend — because it had become crowded yonder in heaven, there being no more living space for them — to be dispersed by Him here, on earth. To this end a ladder came down for them to descend. A dove first came down, into (the opening under) the ridge of the roof, then a flag came down after it. Following it: a drum, following this: a

ka:rawá:si // sama:kú / sape:rá / kuwa:má iro:ko(ŋ) wotixto:po // irombo / am kariŋná e:ro wiinombo tikoŋma:po i:waine maŋ / maka:-nowá:ka // uwa:nopotoxkó:me iwo:tí:tó:ríko(ŋ) ya:ko // (kī)nu:wá:-nopoya:toŋ // wo:kú / mo:émbo r(o) (kin)o:tixtopoyaŋ era:pa ka:pu wiino ro e:ro pó ikí:ri:po ka:pī // irombo moxko maka:nowa:ka ase:ke ro kīnu:pá:toŋ / iyo:potó:ríko(ŋ) me pa:pa (n)ī:rīxpómbó // kīnu:pá:toŋ / ina:ro so:so / e:ro we:yu wa:ra / we:yu mene:ya i:ro wa:ra / o:nepoxpa / aye:nur(u) apu:yaŋ so:so ene:ríkoŋ so:so karu:kurí pe / moxko wotixtoto:to we:i:pombo // ire:ke moxko (u)pa:na:moŋ enu:ru aniŋmá:po i:wa / e:ro wa:ra rī:po kīnu:pa:toŋ tīso:ropá:ne iseŋme po:re enu:ru taniŋma i:ke i:wa // irombo te ŋna:e⁹⁸ / am kariŋna ra:pa / ise:núxkarí kīna:níŋmapoyakoŋ / (tī)pa:rī sa:no / po:ko maŋ / wo:rīi po:ko / tīpa:rī sa:no se maŋ / ino:ro nu:pimá:no i:r(o) énxepo pa:pá :wa ra:pá / pa / pa:pá :wa / mo:ro o:t(i) ambó:t(i:)pombo // ma tuweiye támpoko:rī maŋ / rī:po / paxporó :ne rī:po tuwo:tí:to ka:pu wiino / kariŋna maŋ // kariŋna yu:mī rī:po kariŋna so:so karu:kurí pe // kuwa:m(a) e:tī / ka:rawá:si / iro:koŋ // ino:ro po:to po:re yo:poto:rī me (iw)e:i:pombo wa:re / yo:poto:rī me e:rokom bo⁹⁹ ito:potixpombo¹⁰⁰ i:yá kuru:wini :wa ino:ro wī:toxpómbó // e:ro po¹⁰¹ ika:pīxpo támpoko:rī i:wa tī:torī me ro // “mo:embo te / wera:marī me ro yuxpa kome:pata:toŋ” ika:po rī:po // ino:rombo (tī)tunda sí:pú :wa maŋ / sí:pú pó / ino:rombo tera:pa kīni:yé:nono:-sa:toŋ¹⁰² / pa / tīro:mó:ka i:waine maŋ // tīro:mó:se moxko kariŋna

⁹⁸ Sandhi *tc na:c*.

⁹⁹ Sandhi *ŋ p*.

¹⁰⁰ I actually hear ito:póxtipombo.

¹⁰¹ Coming from his village in the east (Sinnamarie, vid. below) *Maka:nowa:ka* went via the Wayombo and the Corentyne to the upper Essequibo. He stayed for some time with the Caribs of the Wayombo, promising to visit them again on his way home. The name *Sīpu* is found on the map in R. H. Schomburgk's *Reisen in Guiana und am Orinoko* (Leipzig 1841): Essequibo oder *Sīpu*. Later maps have the name *Chip Wa* for the upper course of the Essequibo. The upper reaches of the Essequibo were once frequented by Carib trading expeditions. The river *Kuru:wini* by which *M.* reaches the *Sīpu* apparently is the Corentyne.

According to a second informant, the *Kuru:wini* is a river further to the west. On the maps the name *Cuyuwini* is found for three different rivers. The map of R. H. Schomburgk, *A description of Guiana* (London, 1840) calls *Cuyuwini* one of the tributaries of the Corentyne, at present called *Koeroeni*. A second *Cuyuwini* is one of the source rivers of the Essequibo. A third river is both called *Cuyuwini* and *Cuyuni*; coming from the west it empties itself into the estuary of the Essequibo. According to Gillin, this last *Cuyuwini* used to be inhabited by Caribs not very long ago.

¹⁰² The narrator explained that probably the local dance leaders were jealous of *M.*'s superior knowledge of songs.

rattle, a large cooking vessel, a drinking bowl, a flute; these things came down. Then a man from this side (from earth) they had called: Maka:nowa:ka, to make them dance at the time of their descent; he made them dance. Also from yonder the beer was made to come down, from heaven, it was not made here. Then Maka:nowa:ka himself served out to them, he who had been appointed as their leader by Our Father. He served out to them, they were just like this sun, in this way you saw them; impossible to look at, only the looking at them burned your eyes, full of nothing but splendour was he who came down. Because of this the eyes of him who served out to them were spoilt for him, even though he served out to them in this way: sideways; nevertheless his eyes were spoilt badly for him by it. Then, however, well . . . the conceit of some other Carib spoilt it. He was with his grandchild's mother, with a woman, he desired his grandchild's mother. He made love to her, and then this was seen by Our Father; fie! by Our Father this thing (the dance) was broken off. However, it had been an enormous thing already, people already, people! . . . full with nothing but splendour. The sound of flute, rattle; these things. Now he (Maka:nowa:ka) was a very great leader, as a leader of song at these places he went (travelling) time and again; there, to the Corentine he went. Here he made it (the dancing festival) very great, when he left. "But wen I shall return from there I shall teach you well," he said. Then he arrived at the Essequibo; at the Essequibo, then, they quarreled with him. Fie! he was killed by them. The man was killed and then he did not return, because of being killed he died.

maṣ // ino:rombo era:má:pa ra:pa tuweiyé maṣ / tíro:mó:ka:po ke tíro:mó:se maṣ // itundabī(ṅ) m(e) era:pá tuweixtopó :wa t . . tuweiyé maṣ // tíro:mó:ka tuweiri ke // i:ro wa:ra iwe:i:pombo // ikundire:rī / e:tī irombo / iweixtopó / e:tī / sira:maré¹⁰³ / i:ro pó:nombo / kariṅna / ino:ro / era:ma:pa ra:pa tuweiyé maṣ // i:ro wa:rá xkuru iwe:i:pómbó // e:(ro) wa:ra xkuru uwa:poto:saṣ to:riri tuweixtó / daṣ paxporó su:ma e:rok(oṣ) auraná:n(o) anu:ku:tixpa maṣ / au roxkoṣ pa:pa :w(a) eka:rí:potixpo ke / ukuxpo:po ke suku:sá / e:ro wa:ra irombo sika:sa // iṅmakóṣ (n)e:tari me / pa:yáṣ (n)e:tari me / koro:po paxporó ukuxtó:me i:waine / e:r(o) aṅna(o) o:tiri / (:)ne r(o) e:ro maṣ / para:nakī:rī o:tiri ka:p(i) aṅna(o) o:tiri te iromb(o) e:ro maṣ // ire:ke para:nakī:rī anu:ku:tixpa maṣ // o:wimbai ko ukuṅne(ṅ) m(aṣ) au ko roxk(oṣ) e:ro po e:rok(oṣ) auraná:no suku:sa / pa:pa :wa ikaxpoti:po k(e) i:wá / e:fi ta:ki / auraná:no ane:tabī(ṅ) me we:i:potó / uta:pīri manombo e:r(o) auraná:no / ma pa:pa / auraṣ / te ṅne sipa:namá:to itīṅmé / i:ro wa:ra te ṅné / e:r(o) auraná:no (u)ku:tiri (i:)wa / ya:saká:rikonimbo e:ro p(o) anu:ku:tixpa maṣ / (i:)wa (e)ka:ritixpoto daṣ kinu:kú:sa:toṣ // opixpá iweirikorṣ ge¹⁰⁴ ani:tó:ripaxpain(e) e:ro wa:ra wa // ire:k(e) anu:ku:tixpa mandoṣ // iro:kóṣ wa:re mondó maṣ / mo:ro tuwo:ro té ra:pa maṣ // am ya:ko te ra:(pa) mo:ro / s(i)kaxtaké era:pa // e:ro ta:ro ro té ṅnoṣ¹⁰⁵ / e:rombo maṣ iṅma:tī:rī r(o) e:ro maṣ // mo:ro wa:rekáxpo uwa:potó:saṣ wa¹⁰⁶ //

¹⁰³ Also in French Guiana.

¹⁰⁴ Sandhi ṅ k.

¹⁰⁵ Sandhi te noṣ.

¹⁰⁶ The text of the song was dictated at another occasion. The setting is a village deserted by its inhabitants, who all have gone to Iracoubo. Only one young man has been left behind, he is receiving a visitor: *mo:ro mu:rembo se ya:wo / mo:ro ta:mimbo se ya:wo / au roxkoṣ ita:rībīṅ ta wa se ya:wo / paxporo :ne noṅmato:koṣ se ya:wo / wepaxkano eka:ri po:ko / wepaxkano ti:ro naṣ do / e:nī po i:raku po are:pa undi:po po //* Translation: this (is) a poor bench, uncle / this (is) a poor cigar, uncle / I only am (present) in the empty one (house), uncle / they have all left me uncle / on the message of the appearing / it is said that there is an appearing / here, at Iracoubo, at the Cassava-trunk // *Are:pa undi:po* 'Cassava-trunk' is a tree as huge as a cotton silk tree, not very high, but wide. On it cuttings grow for all kinds of cassava. A second informant placed the cassava-trunk at the *si:pu*, and in his version of the song the last line did not contain the reference to Iracoubo. According to this informant people living near the cassava-tree revived after they died, and this coming to life again was called by him *wepaxkano* 'appearing'. In his opinion all went to the cassava-tree to settle there and escape death, not to celebrate a descent from heaven as described in the present tale.

He did not come back to his home, because he was killed. This way it happened. The name of his village, the name of his dwelling place, was Sinnamarie. He who had lived there, the Carib, never returned. This is the way it happened to him. Thus the tale of the ancients has often been. Now all people are ignorant of these tales, only I know them because my father often told them, because he often made them known; and now I tell them this way (as I did). For my children to hear, for my grandchildren to hear, that it may be known by them tomorrow, when I am no longer here. This is really a thing of us, not a thing of the Dutch, but our thing it is, this what I told you. Therefore the Dutch do not know this, and not all Caribs know it either. A few do know, in this place only I know these tales: because they were often told to me by my father. If I had not been listening to the tales, these tales would have been lost, but I always listened silently to my father's words, and so it is that I know this story, but all those companions of mine here do not know it. If it were told by me they might know it. As they do not come, I do not tell it to them this way. Therefore they do not know it. These things also exist as songs, but that again is a different matter. Some other time I shall make that again. So far only for this time, this has been it, this is the end of it. The ancients have made a song about it.

4.9. THE KILLING OF PA:YAWA:RU¹⁰⁷ (Ph. Cornelis)

pena:ró / uwa:potó:saḡ / wota:ró a:mu ko wī:toxpómbó // tí:muru
 ma:ro // kupa:nama ya:rī :wa // ino:rómbo kīni:poró:sa:toḡ / kīne:-
 patá:yaxtoya:toḡ // mo(:ro) pata:ya amī:rī ya:ko moxko i:muru
 kuri:yará (u)ndī ta maḡ // daḡ / kariḡna am kīneyaḡ / sa:káu tu:pó
 iro:mī ya:ko // “pa:pá” / kīḡga:no / tiyu:mī :wa // “pa:pá” // “eee”
 (k)īḡga:no iyu:mī // “mo:y(aḡ) a:mukoḡ kariḡna sa:kau tu:po nera:-
 mapo:saḡ noxkaḡ go¹⁰⁸ mo:ya(ḡ) naḡ se / ene:tokó se to pa:pá” /
 kīḡga:no // “a:ha aye:napī:rī to // kuma:wari :ne moxka:ro mandoḡ /
 daḡ sa:kau tu:pó :ne kīndopó:sa:toḡ // kīne:wotó:ka:toḡ” / kīḡga:no
 tí:murú :wa // “uwa to pa:pá” / kīḡga:no moxko i:muru // “kariḡná
 :ne te ḡne mo:ya(ḡ) maḡ” // “uwa to” (k)īḡga:no / “kuma:wari
 tonó:ró :ne moxko maḡ” // “uwa pa:pá” kīḡga:no “kariḡná :ne
 mo:ya(ḡ) na to kariḡná / kariḡná xkuru mo:ya(ḡ) maḡ” // iyu:mī
 tuwoxpé:marī sexpa mo:ro pata:ya amī:rī wīino maḡ // “kariḡná :ne
 te ḡne mo:yaḡ se pa:pá” / ika:rī iseḡme oxpé:maxpa maḡ // itī:ramá:rī
 / so:so itu:rará:rīkoḡ¹⁰⁹ / mo:ro oxpe:maxp(a) eneine maḡ / moxko
 pita:ni kīno:táxkari:ka:no / kariḡna m(e) ene:rīkóḡ ge¹¹⁰ // kariḡna
 moxka:ro mandóḡ / ito:tó // wo:ná:mo(ḡ) // tee tīkoḡmaiye //

¹⁰⁷ Essentially the same story was told to me by Maroni Caribs. In their version the name of the victim was the same but they situated his death at Mana R. instead of Coppename R. According to them the avenging Caribs were assisted by other upland Indians to find and wipe out the entire village of their enemies, while in the present version only two girls are taken as compensation. See also A. Ph. and F. P. Penard, *De menschetende aanbidders*, p. 70. In this version the skull of the victim is blown not by the enemy but by the son of the victim himself during the attack on the Ito:to's. Maroni Caribs still remember that war parties went up the river until Ito:to shamans made a certain rapid unpassable; actually the settlement of the Djuka, Paramacca and Bonni Negroes between the villages of the Caribs and the Ito:to's may have ended the wars between the Indians. In these wars, adults were killed, but boys and girls were taken and married off to Carib partners. The present informant — from western Surinam — knew nothing of raids by large numbers on either side. He knew however that in the past it was not safe to travel in small parties or to inspect one's jumping hooks alone as one might be attacked by upland Indians out to steal women.

Maroni Caribs still apply the name Ito:to both to Wayana and Trio Indians: “all upland people with long hair”.

¹⁰⁸ Sandhi ḡ k.

¹⁰⁹ Tuber magic carried by the Ito:to made the father careless and sleepy. Also used in hunting charms, vid. Penard o.c. p. 177 ff. and Ahlbrinck, *Enc.* p. 298.

¹¹⁰ Sandhi ḡ k.

4.9. THE KILLING OF PA:YAWA:RU (Ph. Cornelis)

Long ago the forefathers . . . ah! somebody went hunting with his son to Upper Coppename River. Then they stopped and built themselves a shelter. During the building of the shelter his son was in the stern of the canoe. Then there was some Indian on the sands (which were dry as it was) during the dry season. "Father", he said to his father, "father". "Eh", his father said. "Are those persons, (those) Indians, walking about on the sands? What kind of people are they, look at them, father", he said. "Certainly, you are talking nonsense. They are herons walking about on the sands. They are fishing", he said to his son. "No father", his son said, "on the contrary, these are certainly Indians." "No boy", he said, "they are herons, birds." "No father", he said, "they are really Indians, Indians they are for sure." His father did not want to go to the bank, away from his building of the shelter. "But they are really Indians, father", he said; but yet he did not go to the bank. In his incredulity, only (caused by) their tuber magics, he did not go to the bank to have a look at them; the boy did his utmost, because he had seen them for what they were: Indians. They were Indians, Ito:to's, killers. After some time twilight came over

nnn ko:wéi / i:ya:toŋ // kīne:pindoya:toŋ / kīni:yá:toŋ // kinoxsa:tóŋ
 na:pa // ino:rombo koyémbo ro / kīnoŋni:sáŋ ¹⁰⁹ moxko uwa:potómbó
 / iyu:mī // moxko pita:ni oŋni:kī:pa m(aŋ) ene:sáŋ ge ¹¹¹ // moxk(o)
 e:napó:rī maŋ // moxko pita:ni oŋni:kī:pa maŋ // (kī)ne:tī:ka:no /
 e:n(i) ta:ro ro:teŋ / auraná:no wo:pīr(i) eta:no // kīno:sáŋ moxka:ro
 ito:to / kariŋna / moxko iyu:mī wo // moxko pita:ni kīno:nú:sáŋ
 ka:wona:ká / pita:ni / auxtó (i)ŋgana:ka // mo:ro pata:yá (i)ŋgana:-
 ka // ereŋmá :ne maŋ kīni:tundá:toŋ // saŋrómb(o) ani:p(i)sú:ka:pa
 maŋ // tone:rī pó:na // aaa iyu:mī wo:ya:toŋ pu:tu ke / booo kīni:-
 woyá:toŋ / booo iwoŋniki:rímbo // irombo moxko / pita:ni upi:ya:toŋ
 // pita:nī te ereŋmá maŋ / topo:rī po:na tuwo:rī po:na era:pa // teee
 kīnu:piyá:toŋ kīnu:piyá:toŋ uwa / ereŋma maŋ // daŋ moxko upu:-
 pómbo tixko:to i:waine maŋ // tī:to iwe:i:sáŋ / mo:nība(ŋ) me //
 ina:rómbo tuwe:ramá ra:pá maŋ // moxko pita:ni u:pi // uwa kīnu:-
 piyá:toŋ kīnu:piyá:toŋ / ane:pó:rī:pa tuwe:i:sáŋ me kīnixsá:toŋ na:pa
 // uwa kīne:ramá:to(ŋ) na:pa // “kaŋmak(oŋ) u:pi” (k)īnga:toŋ //
 kīnu:piyá:toŋ kīnu:piyá:toŋ uwa pita:ni // mo:ro po maŋ pata:ya
 (i)ŋga:na // tuwo:tuné:m(i:)po po // teee kīnixsa:tó(ŋ) na:pa // pa
 // tī:tó iwe:i:sáŋ // moxko pita:ni otixtó:pa maŋ pata:ya (i)ŋga:na
 kīne:máiyáŋ / ema:m(i:)po me ro pita:ni tuwo:tī:to / tiku:riyá:(ra)-
 rīkonīmbo ta kinoxsáŋ / auxtó :wa ra:pa // tīsa:nó :wa // tomo:-
 rīkóŋ wa // “o:we kó ayu:mī náŋ” / kīnga:toŋ itundá:poto // “aaa
 pa:pa woi kariŋná / ito:to // pena:ro po:ré :ne rī:po seka:rī:sa i:wá /
 pata:y(a) ámī:rī ya:ko // iseŋmé / yaur(aŋ) amīixká:rī sexpa maŋ” //
 “itī:ramá:rī :ne mo:ro tuweye maŋ yó” / kīnga:no isa:no // tīra:ma pé
 rexkeré mo:ro tuweixtó / aya:m... aya:mīikaxpoto irombī:pa iweiŋ
 mánombo / kande mo:ro wīino awo:mimá:rīkoŋ manombo // enexpotó
 manombo / i:wa / tonu:ru ké mo:ro enexpo wa:ra // oiní po ko
 ni:wói” / “ama:naku:wa wendaká:rī ta // ama:nakú:wa wendaká:rī ta
 ŋne pa:pa wo:toŋ” // apīimé moxka:ro kariŋna me:néi” / “apīime
 kīna:tokoŋ ta:ta” / kīnga:no tīsa:nó :wa / moxko pita:ni / moxko
 ini:wó:sa(ŋ) (i)mu:po // (tī)sa:nó :wa kīne:ká:ri:sáŋ // ikaxtó:koŋ
 mondó maŋ // ikaxtó:koŋ wa kīne:ká:ri:sáŋ // “itaŋro heŋ pa:tīmī”
 kīnga:no // “a:a se ya:wo” kīnga:no // “(oi)n(e)jī pó ko ni:wai /
 ayu:mī wo:toŋ” // “ama:nakú:wa wendaká:rī ta ŋne niw... pa:pa
 wo:toŋ mo:ro po :ne pata:ya amī:yaŋ pa:pa” // “ko / yuxpá :ne mau
 do ¹¹² pa:tīmī // etu:wá:romako / kīto:se eneine // iweixto:ko(ŋ)

¹¹¹ Sandhi ŋ k.

¹¹² Sandhi ŋ t.

them. Mm, they placed hooks. They put the sticks on (bending them), and placed them (fastening the trigger sticks). They came back. Then it was already in the early evening that the old man fell asleep, the father. The child did not sleep because he had seen them. He snored. The child did not sleep. He was afraid: from such a distance only he heard the coming of voices. The Ito:to's came, the Indians, to kill his father. The child climbed up, the child, behind the hut. Behind the shelter. He stayed motionless, they arrived. He did not make rustle the leaves lest they should see him. They killed the father with a club, wham! they struck him, wham! in his sleep. Then they searched for the child. The child stayed motionless lest they should find him and kill him too. For a long time they searched for him, searched for him, no! he stayed motionless. Then they cut off his head. They went away, only so far, then returned again. To search for the child. No. They searched for him, they searched for him, and when they did not find him they went off again. No, they returned again. "Let us go and search for him", they said. They searched for him, searched for him, no child. He was there, behind the shelter, at his hiding place. At last they went off again. Pah! They are gone. The child did not come down, daybreak found him on the back side of the shelter; after daybreak the child came down and came home in their canoe to his mother and his family. "Where is your father?" they said when he arrived. "Ah, Indians, Ito:to's, really have killed father. Long before I told him, while he was building the shelter, yet he did not wish to heed my words." "It has been his incredulity my boy", his mother said. "Incredulous he has always been; if he had . . . had believed you he would not have died, perhaps you both would have moved from there, if he had seen them with his own eyes, as they had been seen (by you). Where did they kill him?" "At the bend (called) Ama:naku:wa. At the bend Ama:naku:wa it was that they did kill father". "Have you seen if they were with many?" "They were with many, mother", he said to his mother; the child, the son of the one killed by them. He told it to his mother. His uncles were present, he told it to his uncles. "Really, my nephew", (one of the uncles) said. "Yes, uncle", he said. "Where did they kill him, did they kill your father?" "At the bend Ama:naku:wa it was that they did kill father, at that place father made a shelter". "I see, it is well, my nephew. Take good care of yourself. Let us go to pay them a visit. I know

ʔne suku:sá / emandó:ko(ʔ) ʔne suku:sa // etu:wá:romako ko:koro
 wara:r(o) eku:pikó // po:to kariʔna me me:i:se ¹¹³ // karo:take :n(e)
 eneine noʔ // ina:rombo / kinixsáʔ moxko t̃pa:t̃im(i) aro:yaʔ //
 emandó:koʔ wa // ina:romombo k̃ni:t̃unda:no // aaa / wo:ku pa:to /
 wo:k(u) éni:r̃i ya:ko / k̃ni:t̃unda:toʔ // daʔ moxko tiyu:m̃i upux-
 pómbo eto:r̃(i) ene:yáʔ / moxko ikaxtopo k̃ne:neyáʔ era:pa //
 k̃ne:t̃á:no / “na:e / eto:ko ra:pa mo:ro / asi:na:r̃i to / pawa:ná” /
 k̃nga:no moxko ikaxtopo // “a(:ha) / oxto wa:t̃i maʔ se pawa:na” /
 k̃nga:no // k̃ne:toyáʔ su ra:pa / “pa:yawá:r(u) upuxpómbo tuuu
 tuxtu” // “aaa tot̃i:poré yu:m̃(i) asi:na:r̃i na se pawa:na” / k̃nga:no
 moxko / ikaxtopo // it̃iʔme maʔ / “ayauraná ko:ro” / k̃nga:no
 t̃pa:t̃im̃i :wa / t̃itunda... / t̃itundar̃i:koʔ me ro // “e:ro p(o) o:ma
 ta te k(o) to:r̃i po:ko ra:(pa) k̃iteixtake // wo:p̃ir̃i ya:ko ¹¹⁴ ra:pa //
 daʔ ino:ro me :ne sukuxtake” k̃nga:no // “mo:sé ino:ro / ino:ro
 k̃i:ká te ʔne” k̃nga:no / “mitu:wá:romatáke roʔmuʔ” // ina:romómbó
 k̃ni:ksa(ʔ) na:pa / am wo:k(u) eni:r̃i:má:po w̃ino // am ya:ko ra:pa
 k̃inoxsaʔ / ám ya:ko t̃ima:rik̃i:r̃(i) i:ya(ʔ) na:pa // “oinei wa:ra
 axta ko ra(:pa) moxtáʔ se pawa:ná” / “i:ro wa:ra nu:no mo:e weixtake
 // daʔ woxtake ra:pa” // a(:ha) ayu:wá:po pa:yá k̃ni:k̃ir̃i:taʔ na:pa
 wo:ku támpoko:r̃i mepo:také” / k̃nga:toʔ // “o:t̃i wa:t̃i maʔ se
 pawa:na” // k̃ni:ksá(ʔ) na:pa // aaa t̃itundá:saʔ me ro ra:pa t̃pa:-
 t̃im̃i / epi:no:saʔ ko:(i) ipu:wato:me // t̃inu:kuti:r̃ikoʔ ge ¹¹⁵ / tura:-
 rakóʔ // k̃ni:kup̃i:poyaʔ / ko:(i) ipu:wato:me // teee / ita:ro te
 mo:ro... mo:ro nu:no tundáxpó me ro k̃ni:ksa:tó(ʔ) nona:pa /
 “kaʔma ra:pa” (k)̃nga:no / “e:ne ra:pa” // teee k̃ni:t̃unda:toʔ //
 aaa wo:ku támpoko:r̃(i) era:pa // ĩĩi // mo:ro eto:r̃i / ene:ya:tó(ʔ)
 na:pa / iyu:m̃i (u)puxpómbo // ĩi “tot̃i:poré po:r̃é asi:ná:r̃i na se
 pawa:na” (k)̃nga:no // “eto:ko ra:pa” // “pa:yawá:r(u) upuxpómbo
 tuuu tuxtu” // a “iinei pó ko miwo:yakoʔ se pawa:na” / “ama:-
 nakú:wa wendaká:r̃i ta ʔne siwo:yakoʔ” // “kooo / kariʔna moxko
 miwo:yakoʔ” // “a:a” // “no:kibáʔ kariʔna ¹¹⁵ ko moxko miwo:-
 yakoʔ” / k̃nga:no // “pa:yawá:ru :ne moxko kariʔn(a) e:t̃i” //
 “kooo / yu:pá :ne maʔ // tot̃i:poré yu:m̃i mo:ro / upuxpómbo t̃ik̃i:r̃i
 o:wa na to pawa:na” / k̃nga:no // so teee wo:ku k̃ni:ma:saʔ //
 ina:romombo aembo tuwei:sa(ʔ) me k̃ni:ksa:to(ʔ) nona:pa / k̃ni:-
 t̃unda:to(ʔ) na:pa // eee apo:to kariʔna me iwei:po me ro / t̃ixté:m̃i

¹¹³ The growth of the boy is stimulated by washings with tuber extracts.

¹¹⁴ Sandhi *i y*.

¹¹⁵ Sandhi *ʔ k*.

the place where they live, I know their dwelling place. Take good care of yourself, wash yourself every morning that you may become a big man. I shall take you with me just to pay them a visit". Then he went, taking his nephew with him to their dwelling place. After that, he arrived. They arrived when there was cassava-beer, when they were drinking cassava-beer. Then he saw one blowing what was once his father's head, and his uncle saw it too. He listened to it, "well, blow that flute of yours once more, my friend", his uncle said. "I don't mind if I do, my friend", he said. He blew it again, loudly: "Pa:yawa:ru's severed head, tu . . . tutu!" "Ah, your flute has a beautiful sound, my friend", his uncle said. He remained silent (about the murder); "please don't talk" he said to his nephew when they arrived. "But here, on the path, we shall talk again when we shall come back. Then I shall know him as the man (we are seeking)", he said. "But you must not say: this one it is, it is", he said. "For you will be careful". Thereupon they left, when the drinking of some cassava-beer had been finished. Some other time he will come back, for some other time he made a new appointment. "When shall you come back, friend?" "So many months I shall be yonder. Then I shall come back". "Good, in advance of your arrival they will make pa:ya again, you shall find a lot of drink", they said. "There is nothing (against it), friend". They went home. Aaah, after they had arrived he treated his nephew to make him grow fast, with tuber magics they knew. He had him washed to make him grow fast. At last, when after the fixed time the month had arrived, they went again. "Let us go again, visit them again", he said. At last they arrived. Oh! again there was a lot of drink. Again they saw the blowing on what was once his father's head: "ha, your flute has a very beautiful sound, my friend", he said. "Blow it again". "Pa:yawa:ru's severed head . . . tu . . . tutu!" "Where did you kill him, my friend?" "At the bend Ama:naku:wa I killed him". "I see . . . was it a Carib you killed?" "Yes". "What kind of Carib was it that you killed?" he said. "The name of this Carib was Pa:yawa:ru". "I see . . . it is very well. You have given this severed head a very good sound, friend", he said. So at last the cassava-beer was finished. Being ready they went off again and arrived back (home). When he had become a big man he fixed his time again, again counting the months.

i:ya(ṛ) na:pá / nu:no po:ko ra:pa kīno:túxkuya(ṛ) na:pa // ina:
 romómbo kīni:wokúxtoya(ṛ) na:pa / itundá:r(i) uwa:po // po:to po:re
 wo:ku ra:pa pa:yá / sambú:ra mo:rī pa:to / kīni:túnda:toṛ era:pa /
 kīnixsa:tó(ṛ) na:pa // aaa “tundái su ra:pa se pawa:na” kīnga:no //
 “koo o:tī wa:tī maṛ se pawa:na // mo:ro mu:rembo to” // “indo”
 kīnga:no // teee mo:ro ya:ko kīni:wopó:taṛ go:u ¹¹⁶ // moxko /
 i:mú:po :wa / moxko kariṽna wó:potar go:u ¹¹⁶ // “iya:ko ro roṽm
 iwo:rī maṛ ya:ko kopi:sándake” / kīni:putúxtoṽma:no iwo:tó:maṛ /
 pu:tu ke kīni:wopó:yaṛ era:pa // aaa iwe:tī:mī:saṛ me iwe:tī:m(i)-
 poto :ne ro / mo:r(o) eto:rī kīne:toyan daṛ ¹¹⁷ kīne:toyán de ¹¹⁸ /
 mo:ro tīsi:ná:rī // a / “eto:ko ra:pa to pawa:na” kīnga:no // (o:)tī
 “poitomé :ne n(a) asi:na:rī e:tī / seta:e to” // irombo / kīne:piśáiyaṛ
 moxko / ikaxtopo / a / kīni:woyáṛ moxko i:mú:po // booo kīni:woyáṛ
 e:ro wa:ra booo / puṛ kīni:woyáṛ // o:kó / iṽmakó:nimbo apoiyaṛ /
 ipī:tī me wo:rīi // o:kó wo:rīi tapo:(i) i:wa maṛ / moxko iwo:nenimbo
 iṽmakó:nimbo // “so” / kīnga:no “mo:yá:nimbo / saroya apī:tī me /
 ayu:mī woxpo peta:ka me” // iyo:potó:rīkoṛ oxto kaxpa maṛ / iya:kó
 / pena:ró / oma:no / tuwo:ró era(:pa) iweixtopómbo maṛ / ire:k(e)
 oxto kaxpa iyo:potó:rīko(ṛ) maṛ // teee tuwe:kara:rīma:sa(ṛ) me ro
 aembo tuwe:i:sa(ṛ) me ro / kīnixsá:toṛ moxko wo:rīi aro:yáṛ /
 ikaxtopo / ipī:tī me / o:ko wo:rīi ta:ró i:wa / i:waine maṛ // eee
 ina:romómbo / (kī)ni:túnda:no ra:pa // tīsa:nó :wa / “mo:se / ya:wo
 nene:pīxpo ta:ta” kīnga:no // mo:yaṛ pī:tī me ka:pī naxka ya:wo
 nene:pīi i:wa” // “koo yuxpá :ne maṛ iṽme” / kīnga:no isa:no //
 “moxka:ro mo:r(o) ayu:mī woxpómbo / ya:toxke neiyáine / ya:pó:yo
 me ṽne / ayu:mī paxpopo / mo:ya:nimbo maṛ // ayu:mī :wa /
 ye:nepó:t(i)po wa:ra era:pa / ye:netóṽme i:waine” / kīnga:no isa:no
 // i:ro wa:ra / iwe:i:sánimbo / pena:ró / uwa:potó:saṛ apīime no:r(o)
 axta // ise:nurú:pīrī ya:ko / e:roko(ṛ) to:ri we:i:pombo // pena:ro
 uwa:potó:sa(ṛ) / a.. apīime po:re uwa:potó:saṛ axta / e:romé noṛ
 ka:pī to:ri irombo e:rokó(ṛ) maṛ / pena:to ró / pa:pa e:rokoṛ to:ri
 eka:rī:to // uwa:potó:saṛ to:riipo / pena:ro takī:re tu:n(a) áxta /
 tu:na ya:rī / ito:toko(ṛ) mondó maṛ / ina:romómbo te irombo /
 e:rome tīxse tuwo:mimá:po:se mandoṛ // mo:ro tu:ná ya:rīko(ṛ)
 wīino // tīxse po:re tī:to mandoṛ // daṛ a:sit(o) e:romé ro:ko(ṛ)
 tu:na ya:rī / yuxpá maṛ wī:topo:tóṽme // pena:ro te tona:riké wī:-

¹¹⁶ Sandhi ṛ k.

¹¹⁷ Sandhi ṛ d.

¹¹⁸ Sandhi ṛ t.

And again they made cassava-beer for him, in advance of his arrival. The drink was again in great plenty: pa:ya; at the sound of the drum they arrived, they went there again. Aaah, "have you arrived again, friend", they said. "Well, there is nothing (against it), friend. Here is a poor bench". "Thank you very much", he said. So this time at last he was going to have him killed by the son of the dead man, he was going to have this man killed. "When the time is there, when it is time to kill him, I shall give you a wink"; he made him a club to kill him with, he was going to have him to kill him too with a club. Aaah, when they had become drunk, when he had become drunk he was blowing his blowing, he was blowing his flute. Aaah, "Blow it again, friend", he said. "I hear that the sound of your flute is beautiful". Then his uncle winked his eye and the son of the dead man struck him. Wham! so he struck him, wham! Thud . . . he struck him. He took two daughters of the dead man as his (nephew's) wife; women. Two women were taken by him, daughters of the murderer. "So", he said, "these I take with me to be your wives, as a compensation for the killing of your father". Their chief did not say a word: at that time, long ago, the customs were different from now. Therefore their chief did not say one word. Then when they were ready, when they were ready they went on and his uncle took the two women with him as his (nephew's) wives; two women were carried off by him, by them. Then he came back to his mother. "This one here has been brought by uncle, mother", he said. "Would not uncle have actually brought these for me to be my wives?" "I see, it is very good, my child", his mother said. "Their killing of your father has always been on my mind; these poor ones are to help me now that your father has passed away. May these look after me as your father too has always looked after me", his mother said. Thus these things have happened, long ago, when the forefathers were still numerous. In olden times these stories have happened, long ago when the forefathers, when the forefathers were still very numerous; these stories then are no things of today, they are of old, my father often told these stories. The old stories of the forefathers. When long ago the rivers were full of dangers, the upper reaches of the rivers, the Ito:to's were present, but then today they have moved far away, on and on, away from the upper reaches of the rivers. They went away very far. So only at present the upper reaches of the rivers have become reasonably good for travelling about. But in the past people used to be afraid when

topo(:no) / tuweixto / iweixtopómbo // tí:kato pa:pa // i:ro wa:ra
 pa:p(a) eka:ri:to // takí:ré yu:mí :ne tu:na ya:rí pena:ro iwe...
 iweipotí:po #//

4.10. EATING SNAKES (Ph. Cornelis)

e:ro wíinono:kóř / pena:ro wota:wa / ito:toko:nímbo ¹¹⁹ / si:pu y...
 si:pú :wa // ta:saka:rík(oř) eta:wa // i:ro pó / a:mukoř / am kını:-
 pítá:no // ino:rómbo / ipí:ta:po me ro moxká:ro / iyu:mí isa:no
 kını:noyá(ř) na:pa // moxkombo mo:ro po mař // ino:rombo / mo-
 (xka:ro) (a:)saká:rík(oř) wota:ro kını:sař // moxka:ro mo:ro pó:-
 nokoř / mo:ro p(o) ómandó:noř // irombo kını:sa(ř) na:pa //
 "a:rawá:ta sepo:rri to" / kįnga:no ta:saka:rík(oř) :wa // "ítaŋro mář
 heř" // "a:a" // "koro:po i:wo kaŋmakoř" / kįnga:toř // irongoro:pó
 / kine:maiyař ko:koro / kını:tıyař kını:sí:ma:toř // aembo tuwe:-
 i:sař me kınıksa:toř // moxk(o) a:rawa:ta tıne:ká:rıtıřikoř wo //
 a:rawa:ta ka:pı moxko mař / opo:t(o) oko:yu moxko mař kuma:ka
 po:ko // dař moxko kariŋna / e:ro wíino itoxpo kine:neyař / kını:-
 woyá:toř // kını:woyá:toř teee kını:poká:toř pıřı:wá ke // pıřı:wá
 ke so:so pıřı:wá ke so:so pa / tí:wó i:wáine // ino:rómbo iwoxpo mé
 ro / kınıxkotó:po:sa:toř kınıxkırı:ma:toř / tuwa:raroıne / waya:rímbo
 / wa:raro // kınaipá:sa:to(ř) // dař moxko kariŋna e:ro wíin(o)
 itoxpo kinoxpó:sař "mo:se naxka a:rawa:ta ra" kįnga:no // "au te
 ko:re ano:nó:pa po:re wa ra" // kįnga:no // "ye:tu:ná:no / yextúm be¹²⁰
 wa ka:také :ne yu:wémbo ye:kari ka:také :ne bika mo:se oko:y(u)
 ano:nó:pa wa // bika:s(i) e:ro p(o) oko:yu ono:rı se:pa wa" kįnga:no
 // dař / kını:sa:to(ř) na:pa aembo tuwe:i:sař me ro // aaa worııyář
 towaxporé yu:mí // kine:tumá:moxkapo:sa:toř // moxko kine:kırın-
 doma:no tıpa:(tı) tá po // moŋya po:r(e) aıxtı mař // irombo te o..
 "oxto ko oıyonó nař ye:mıiri" kįnga:no moxko iŋme ta:muru // "a
 yu:wémbo te ko:(re) ra:(pa) ye:ka(e) era:(pa)" // "oxto ko mař
 ııyo" kįnga:no moxko / ipı:tı // "yu:wémbo te :n(e) era:(pa) ye:kae
 me:ro :ne tera:pa // are:pa se:pa paio / roŋmero wa" kįnga:no
 tıpı:tı :wa // tupa:rı pó:na moxk(o) oko:yu ke // (kı)noŋná:sa:toř
 are:p(a) éna:pó:sa:toř // ina:romómbo / na:ı kumı:no iseŋme tera:pa

¹¹⁹ This word was inserted later by the informant, as the word or words actually recorded could not be ascertained.

¹²⁰ Sandhi ř p.

they were travelling about. Father has always said it, father has always told it thus. In the past the upper reaches of the rivers often were full of dangers.

4.10. EATING SNAKES (Ph. Cornelis)

Long ago, a place that the people from this side (of the country) used to go to on a visit was the upper Ess . . . to the Essequibo, to visit their fellows. At that place a few . . . one found a wife. After he had found a wife his father and mother left him behind, and that man stayed there. After that, his fellows went hunting, the people of that place, the people who lived there. Then one came back. "I have really found a howling-monkey", he said to his fellows. "Really?" "Yes". "Tomorrow let us go and kill it", they said. The next day it became morning, they did their things and got themselves ready. When they were ready they went off to kill what they called a howling-monkey. It was not a howling-monkey: it was a big snake on a cottonsilk tree. Then the Indian who had come from here saw it, they killed it. They killed it, all the time they shot arrows at it. Arrows nothing but arrows, pah! it was killed by them. Then after it was killed they cut it up, they made it into pieces for everyone of them, one piece for every basket. Then the Indian who had come from here looked at it, "how could that be a howling-monkey", he said. "But I am certainly not going to eat it", he said. "I am aching, I am in pain, I shall say, my belly is hurting me, I shall say; for I won't eat this snake. For I do not want to eat snakes here," he said. Then they went back, when they were ready. Oh! the women were very glad. Everywhere they got their pots a-boiling. He lay down in his hammock. His screams (sounded) everywhere. After this: "what is wrong with your respected husband, my daughter", his father-in-law said. "Oh, my belly is surely hurting me again!" "What is wrong, my husband", his wife said. "My belly is hurting me more and more again. I do not even want bread either", he said to his wife. To prevent them from giving him of the snake. They were eating, they ate lots of bread. For these people, oh! yet they were hungry again already. "I am aching", he said to his

ra(:pa) / "ye:tu:ná:no ra" kīŋga:no moxko i:me ta:muru (:wa) // yextú:ma maṣ / ma moxko oko:y(u) ono:rī po:na te ko:u / "yextúm be¹²⁰ wa" kīŋga:no / oko:y(u) ano:noxp(a) e:ro pó:no weirī ke // (mox)ko mi:yeró:noṣ / oko:y(u) ono:yaṣ a:rawa:ta me i:wáine maṣ / ara:mari¹²¹ // kuma:ka po:kono / oko:yu támpoko:rī // oko... eṣ... kuma:ka / po:rīrī tiṣmáxka i:wa maṣ / ino:ro :wa a:rawa:ta (kī)ŋga:toṣ // kīno:noyá:toṣ sa¹²² mo:ró / iṣma:tixpa axta / iṣmatī... iṣmatī:(pa) iweirī ke na / so:so ye:tu:na:no píreima:no // "yextúm be¹²⁰ wa" (k)īŋga:no "yextum be / yextúŋgexpa yu:wembo na ipo:ró:ta:pa yu:wembo na" (k)īŋga:no // iṣma:t(i:)po me ro po // aembo / "a:sito ya(ṣmuṣ) miṣkóndoto wa:ra ra:pa maṣ" // onoṣma:po me ro i:waine // "pa" / kīŋga:no ino:rombo / "au i:ke ro e:ro po ema:m(i:)pa no:ro wa ra // oma:miná wī:sa taurone me wixsa ra:pa // (s)ino:y(a) era:pa mo:se wo:rīi / e:ro po ro te yaxtá / e:ro wa:ra t(e) oko:yu ke yu:pata:toṣ¹²³ // ano:no:po kaba kande noxkaṣgoṣ¹²⁴ awo:rī" / (k)īŋga:no "oko:yu onoxpo awo:rī // (mox)ka(:ro) undī wīinono¹²⁵ / oko:y(u) ano:no:pa maṣ" kīŋga:no // kīŋga:no moxko kariṣna // teee na so / "wroxko / oma:mina wixsa" / kīŋga:no // "wroxko am u:pi wixsa" // i:ro wa:ra nu:no kīno:túxkuyaṣ / "o:wīnduwo:pīima nu:no / weixtake / ye:ma:mí:natake / ye:ma:mí:na: maxpo me ro woxtaké ra:pá" / kīŋga:no // "koo" (k)īŋga:no ipī:tī // tí:me ta:muru :wa kīno:tī:toy(aṣ) ema:mīri ya:ko¹²⁶ // "oma:mina ro:teṣ ko:re wī:to se wa ra // o:tī / wotu:pinó :ne tera(:pa) (o:)tīkom bo:ko¹²⁷ na" / kīŋga:no tí:me ta:muru :wa // "kooo" kīŋga:no i:me ta:muru // "yuxpa :kurú man do¹²⁸ / yuxpa :ne maṣ // aye:má:minata" (k)īŋga:no "oxtoro nu:no na:re meixtake" "o:wīnduwo:pīima nu:no weixtake / daṣ woxtaké ra:pa" kīŋga:no // "aembo we:i:po me ro" // mo:rombo wīino ro kīno:sa(ṣ) na:pa ya:rowa ra:pa // mo:ro wa:ra ene:sáṣ ge¹²⁹ mo:ro wa:ra / moxko wo:rīi nundá:no

¹²¹ On the snake *ara:mari*, see Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopedia*, page 95.

¹²² *Sa* I do not understand.

¹²³ I hear *yu:pataxtoṣ*.

¹²⁴ Taboo term referring to snakes.

¹²⁵ Perhaps the narrator said *wīinonoṣ* or *wīino noṣ*. A suffix *-noṣ* or a particle *noṣ*, semantic value 'he who is . . .' was regularly used by mr. Kiban, but I did not succeed in getting confirmation of its occurrence in Cornelis Kondre, apart from this doubtful case. The matter has not sufficiently been investigated. For an occurrence of *noṣ* in mr. Kiban's speech, see 4.15 end, note 192.

¹²⁶ Sandhi *i y*.

¹²⁷ Sandhi *ṣ p*.

¹²⁸ Sandhi *ṣ t*.

¹²⁹ Sandhi *ṣ k*.

father-in-law. He was not aching, but to save himself from eating snake he just said: "I am in pain", because the people from these parts do not eat snake. The people from over there do eat snake, to them it is a howling-monkey: ara:mari, the enormous snake that is on the cotton-silk-tree. Sn . . . and . . . The branches of the cottonsilk-tree are covered completely by it; this one they call a howling-monkey. They were eating it, but as it was not finished, because it was not finished he could do nothing but pretend that he was suffering. "I am in pain", he said, "I am in pain, my belly does not stop aching, my belly does not become better", he said. When it was finished, ha! he was ready. "It seems my body is a little better again." After it had been completely eaten by them. "Pah!" he said thereupon, "because of this I am not going to live here any longer. I shall pretend to go to work, I shall go. I shall also leave this woman for if I stay here they will give me snake in the same way. Perhaps certain ones after having been eaten by you will kill you", he said, "snakes, if eaten, will kill you. People of the east do not eat snakes", he said, the Carib said. So he said: "I shall go working. I shall go to look for a job." Thus he counted the months: "six months I shall be (away), I shall work, when I shall be ready with working I shall come back", he said. "I see", his wife said. He went down to his father-in-law when it became day. "You see, it is only to work that I want to go." What . . . "There is a lack of things again", he said to his father-in-law. "I see", his father-in-law said. "Of course it is well, it is very good. Go to work", he said. "I should like to know how many months you will be (away)." "I shall be (away) six months, then I shall come back", he said. "When I am ready." After this he came back, back here, because he had seen them in such a way. Thus he also left the woman, he left her, he left her, he left her

ra:pa inundar(i) inundarī mo(xko) kīni:noyá(ṛ) na:pa // miye:ronó
 ema:mīrī tuwo:ro iweirī ke // omī:ya po:re wo:rīi rī:po i:wa tapoiye //
 iwe:tixka:po ro:teṛ kīni:noyá(ṛ) na:pa // i:ro wa:ra / uwa:poto:saṛ
 to:rīrī seta:to // are:tīrī wīnono:koṛ / mo:ro wa:ra mandoṛ // mo:se
 wo:to pi:nato:pó / ara:kaní:ru / aṛna kīne:ya:to(ya:toṛ) ino:ro ina:-
 rómbo (p)ai ono:ya:toṛ // oko:wénde / apo:kapo:tīrī iṛwaine / ina:-
 romombo / ayu:pó:sa:toṛ // tīneṛnapī:rīko(ṛ) me tuwo:tóṛko(ṛ) me
 // i:ro wa:ra uwa:poto:saṛ tī:kato // ma e:ro wīnono me / aṛna /
 moxka:ro wo:to pí:natoṛme te aṛná :wa maṛ // ano:no:pa :n(e) aṛna
 maṛ // i:ro wa:ra / e:ro wīnono me aṛna maṛ // moxka:ro te ko:u /
 paxporo :ne kīno:noyaṛ / e:ro wīnono te ṛn(e) uwa maṛ //

4.11. THE OLD WOMAN

au / o:wī:ne xko¹³⁰ wa / o:wī:né xko¹³⁰ wa / ita:rībīn da¹³¹ /
 noṛmá:po po // paxporó / noṛma:tóṛ / au ko roxk(oṛ) e:ro pó wa //
 pa:rī ma:ro xko¹³² pa:yaṛ go¹³³ o:ko / ina:ro ma:ro e:ro po :ne
 ita:rībīn da¹³¹ // atī:pīti :wa paxporó nī:to:toṛ // au noṛmá:toṛ //
 oxté(ṛ) na:re ra:pa ye:pó:ta:tóṛ / ye:po:r(i) ra:(pa) anu:ku:tī:pa
 i:waine wa / oxte(ṛ) na:re ye:pó:ta:toṛ // i:nīwaṛ de ye:pó:ta:toṛ //
 ipo:naine yu:mī kó wa // o:wī:ne weirī po:ko / o:wī:ne xko¹³⁰ ya:ta
 // oyuxpó:pa :né wa / ita:rībīn d(a)¹³¹ oyuxpó:pa wa // na wī:kae
 :kur(u) e:ro / o:tī / ya:saká:rīkoṛ wa noṛmá:(p)o po:ko :kuru wī:-
 kae / “au o:ro e:ro po we:i” // ya:royá:tokó(ṛ) :ne rī:po sexpa weine
 / (wī:)tórī sexpa // “o:yabaṛ itoxpa wa ita:rī:pa :ne yauxtīmbo na” //
 ka:ko(ṛ) “ita:rī:pa :ne yauxtīmbo na e:ro po ro we:i // awī:topó:-
 tīrīkoṛ sanīṛmatá:ke” // ka:ko(ṛ) :ku(ru) i:waine // daṛ / pena:ro
 i:ro am we:i:pómbo / e:ro wa:ra ro i:ro // o:wī:ne xko¹³⁰ tīnoṛma:po
 po daṛ irombīxpombo :wa / me:ro pe:rú :wa to:nó ma(ṛ) // iro:kóm
 bo¹³⁴ xkuru ye:nurú maṛ / e:ro o:wī:ne weirī po:ko // pena:ro te
 ṛne wī:topó:tī se te e:romé :ne wī:topó:tīrī sexpa wa ya:tī:pīi kaba
 :ne noxpo:ko me wa / ire:ké :ne wī:topó:tīrī sexpá wa // “o:ro :n(e)
 ereṛma we:i” // daṛ wī:kae xkur(u) e:ro // daṛ to:rīrī :kur(u) e:ro
 saro:ya // ta:ta :wa noxpómbo po ro ṛne e:ro po wa // ta:ta uta:pīrī

¹³⁰ Sandhi *o:wī:ne ko*.

¹³¹ Sandhi *ṛ t*.

¹³² Sandhi *ma:ro ko*.

¹³³ Sandhi *ṛ k*.

¹³⁴ Sandhi *ṛ p*.

behind. Because the way of life of the people over there is different. Though he had taken a very beautiful woman. Only because he had been made afraid he left her. Thus I have often heard the story of the elders. Such are the people of the west. The one that is a means for catching fishes, that we call *ara:kani:ru*, even that one they eat. And also the red worm, after they have dried them they bake them for eating, as their meat. Thus the elders have often told (it). But we, the people of this side (of the country), to us they are for getting fish. We do not eat them. That is the way we are as people of this side. But they eat everything, the people of this side, however, do not.

4.11. THE OLD WOMAN

Alas! I am alone, am alone in an empty house. I am in the situation of having been left by all. They all have left me, alas! only I am here. With my poor grandchild, with my two poor grandchildren, with them; here in an empty house. They all have left for Tibiti River. They left me behind. When they will find me again is not known, I do not know when they will find me again, when they will find me again is not known. Any day they may find me. Oh! my mind is turned towards them intensely, while I am alone, as I am all alone. I do not feel happy, in the empty house, I do not feel happy. Well then, I was saying this thing. I was telling about my having been left behind by all my people. "Let me stay here". It is true that they were going to take me with them, but actually I did not want it, I did not want to go. "I won't go anywhere, my dear old house will be empty", I said. "My dear old house will be empty, just let me stay here. I would spoil your travelling about." So I spoke to them. Now long ago somebody has been in this situation, in such a way it was. All alone, in the situation of having been left behind by all, she, because she had died, was eaten by the dogs. These things have been (before) my eyes, because of this my being alone. True, long ago I loved travelling about, but today I do not like to travel about. I have become old already. I am an old woman, therefore I do not like to travel about. "Let me be at rest." That is what I said. Now I carry on this story of mine. It is having been left by mother that I am here. Because mother passed

:wa ye:ne:pīxpombo e:ro :wa ra:pa kupa:nama ya:rī wīnombo ¹³⁵ /
e:ro po weixtó:ma(ŋ) me // e:ro po paxporo iŋmakoŋ niŋma:tī:mai //
iŋmakoŋ niŋma:tī:mai paxporó //

4.12. THE LOST GIRL (W. Kassels)

e:r(o) auraná:no neka:rí:tirī xkuru / suri:namá po ¹³⁶ tuweiyémbo
me maŋ // a:mu kariŋna ka:po mo:ro po tomaiye naŋ ¹³⁷ / tīpī:tī
ma:ro o:kó (u)pu:po // irombo a:m(u) ya:(ko) kīŋga:no tīpī:tī :wa /
“iwo:tó:pa kita:tó(ŋ)” (kī)ŋga:no / “koro:po ko:koró roŋmúŋ /
wota:ro wīksa” (kī)ŋga:no tīpī:tī :wa // “a:ha” (kī)ŋga:no moxko
ipī:tī // koro:po ko:koró :ne ka . . . kīnīksaŋ // tīiyo wéna:po ta maina
:wa kīnīksaŋ / tomīirī ma:ro // moxka:ro kiye:re i:ka kīnīksaŋ //
aembo tuwe:i:poto auxtó :wa ra:pa kīno:saŋ // irombo kīni:kīyáŋ /
kīni:piká:no kīni:kīyáŋ / irombo kīna:rīmó:yaŋ // aembo tuwe:i:poto
(k)īŋga:no tomīirī :wa / “oxkó wo:to u:ku wo:dí” (k)īŋga:no //
“a:ha” (k)īŋga:no moxk(o) emīirī // kīnīksa:toŋ peŋya :wa wo:to
u:ku // wo:to u:kuyá:toŋ // irombo / o:wí ko no:t(eŋ) am tapoiye
i:wa maŋ // “oxko ra:pa auxto :wa wo:dí” (k)īŋga:no // “a:ha
ma:ma” (k)īŋga:no // “kaŋma” // kīnīksa:t(oŋ) auxtó :wa // isa:nó
uwa:pó kīnīksaŋ // irombo auxtó :wa tuwo:pī:potó / (k)īŋga:no
tomīirī :wa “wo:dí” (k)īŋga:no / “waxtó ipoŋmangakó” (k)īŋga:no //
moxk(o) emīir(i) ane:yukú:pa maŋ // “oxtono:me ko ye:yuk(u):pa
wo:dí” (k)īŋga:no // kīnoxpo:sáŋ / tīŋganá:ka // kīnoxpo:sáŋ
tīŋgana:ka // “o:we ko mo:se wo:dí na(ŋ)” (kī)ŋga:no // “wo:dīii”
(kī)ŋga:no // “o:we ko máaaa(ŋ)” (kī)ŋga:no // irombo / kīnoxpo:-
sa(ŋ) tīŋganá:ka // emīirī ane:yukú:pa maŋ // “o:we ko mo:se wo:dí
ná(ŋ)” (k)īŋga:no // tomīirī mómo:saŋ // kīni:mómó:saŋ // irombo /
kīnīksá(ŋ) era:(pa) peŋya :wa // peŋyá :wa kīnīksáŋ “o:we ko mo:se
wo:dí ná(ŋ)” (kī)ŋga:no / “wo:dīii” (kī)ŋga:no // ikoxtī maŋ //
“o:we ko maŋ wo:dí” (kī)ŋga:no // ikoiyeno:pamīrī / kīnaxkari:ka:no
// irombo kīno:tamó:yaŋ // “o:we ko wo:dí nam baŋ” ¹³⁸ (kī)ŋga:no
// kīnīksaŋ ra:p(a) auxtó :wa // tomīir(i) upi:yaŋ // koiyé :ne i:yo
auxto :wa kīnoxsaŋ // kīnoxsaŋ auxtó :wa // irombo kīnīksáŋ tīiyo

¹³⁵ A few unintelligible words have been omitted.

¹³⁶ At Surnau Creek on the right side of the Surinam river.

¹³⁷ I hear *naŋ*, not *maŋ*; yet the sentence clearly is not to be understood interrogatively (3.1.4.).

¹³⁸ Sandhi ŋ b.

away I was brought here from Upper Coppename River, that I should live here. Here all my boys have died, all of them, my boys all have died, all.

4.12. THE LOST GIRL (W. Kassels)

This story I am going to tell has happened at Surinam River. A Carib is said to have lived there with his wife: two people. One day he said to his wife: "we are without meat", he said, "so tomorrow early in the morning I shall go hunting", he said to his wife. "It is good", his wife said. Next morning he went off. In the tracks of her husband she went to the garden with her daughter. They went to dig up cassava. When they were ready they went back home. Then she grated it, she peeled it and grated it, then she put it in (the press). When she was ready she said to her daughter: "Come (let us) hook fish, girl", she said. "Yes", her daughter said. They went to the landing place to hook fish. They hooked fish. Then one little fish only she caught. "Come back home, girl", she said. "Yes mother", she said. "Let us go." They went home. Her mother went in front of her. Then, having come home she said to her daughter: "girl", she said, "fan the fire", she said. Her daughter did not reply. "Why don't you answer me, girl?" she said. She looked behind her. She looked behind her. "Where is this girl", she said. "Giiirl!" she said. "Where aaare you?" she said. She looked behind her. Her daughter did not reply. "Where is this girl", she said. She waited for her daughter. She waited for her. Then she went back to the landing place. "Where is this girl", she said. "Girl", she said, was her cry. "Where are you, child", she said. The coming of the evening frightened her. Then she wailed. "Oh, where is the girl", she said. She went back home. She searched for her daughter. In the evening her husband came home. He came home. She went to her husband. She wailed. "What is the matter, girl", her

:wa // kīno:tamó:yaḡ // “oxto ko maḡ wó” (kī)ḡga:no moxko i:yo
 i:wa // “oxto ko maḡ” // “ye:mīrī :ne tuta:se naḡ”¹³⁹ / (k)ḡga:no
 // “oinei wa:ra ra:pá” (k)ḡga:no moxko i:yo // kīno:tamó:yaḡ //
 irombo / auxto :wa kīnīksa:toḡ / moxko o:mīyá . . no . . o:mīi . . i . .
 tomīrīk(oḡ) upi:ya:toḡ // irombo / aya:wa poḡmaḡga:tóḡ moxko
 pita:ni upi:tó:me // main(a) e:marī ta / kīnīksa:toḡ / irombo kīno:-
 sa:t(oḡ) ra:pa auxtó :wa // peḡya :wa kīnīksa:t(oḡ) era:(pa) moxko
 / pita:ni u:pi // kuri:yará¹⁴⁰ ta kīnīksa:toḡ // “o:we kó wo:di nam
 ba(ḡ)¹³⁸ kīḡga:no iyu:mī // tu:na xka:ka¹⁴¹ moxko iyu:mī kīno:-
 má:no // tomīrī upi:yaḡ // ane:pó:rī:pa ne:i / kīno:tamó:ya:toooḡ //
 kīnīksa:t(oḡ) era:p(a) auxtó :wa // mo:ro wa:ra :kuru tuweiyémbome
 maḡ / moxko o:mīyá:ko // suri:nama po // o:kó siri:kó¹⁴² e:ro /
 auraná:no / tuweiyémbome maḡ / moxko o:mīya:ko uta:pī:po // mo:ro
 wa:ra xkuru maḡ // irombo tuwo:mi:ma mandoḡ aka:raní¹⁴³ :wa //

4.13. THE MURDERER (Elisabeth, Veronica)¹⁴⁴

Elisabeth: moxka:ro ko a:mukoḡ pena:ró / pena:ro iweixto:konimbo //
 kīnīksa:tóḡ / mixta:ri :wa // kīnīksa:toḡ kīnīksa:toḡ / kīnīksa:toḡ //
 tee kīni:tundá:toḡ mixta:ri ke:nī :wa // o:tī / wo:peká:se kīnīksa:toḡ
 tīkī:rīkoḡ apoiye // ina:romómbo / kīni:tundá:toḡ / mixta:ri ke:nī¹⁴⁵
 :wa // o:wī(ḡ) wī:ki mandoḡ mixta:ri ke:nī po / tuwo:peká:tīrikom
 bo:ko¹⁴⁶ // ina:romombo / mandoḡ mo:ro o:wī wī:ki tax(pu)ma:toḡ
 kīnoxsa:to(ḡ) na:pa // mo:nī po / o:tī po:ko :ne ako:re:pe nandoḡ //
Veronica: o:t(i) po:ko :ne ko ako:rexpe neixtoḡ // ot . . . // *Elisabeth*:

¹³⁹ I hear *naḡ*, not *na*; yet the sentence clearly is not to be understood inter-rogatively (3.1.4.).

¹⁴⁰ I hear *kuru:ya:ra*.

¹⁴¹ Sandhi *tu:na ka:ka* = *tu:na ta:ka*.

¹⁴² *paxpota* ‘ago’ is perhaps omitted.

¹⁴³ Bigi Poika, a large village near the upper Saramacca river.

¹⁴⁴ I asked the sisters for permission to place a microphone near them while they were chatting, but they preferred to tell a story instead. It was told by Elisabeth, Veronica only contributing a few remarks. The women were about 30 years of age, both know English Creole, Elisabeth moreover has some knowledge of Dutch. As will appear from the text the events as told took place on Corentyne R. where at present only a few Caribs are living among the Arowaks. Therefore E.’s father-in-law was probably right when he assured me that the story is of Arowak origin and was introduced by an Arowak son in law of his.

¹⁴⁵ The village of Nieuw Nickerie.

¹⁴⁶ Sandhi ḡ p.

husband said to her. "What is the matter." "My daughter is lost", she said. "In which way then", her husband said. She wailed. They went to the house. They searched for the gir . . . for their daughter. Then they lighted a torch to search for the child. They went on the garden path, then they came back to the house. Again they went to the landing place to search for the child. They went off in the canoe. "Oh, where is the girl", her father said. Her father jumped into the water. He searched for his daughter, he did not find her. They wailed. They went back home. In this way then it has happened with that girl at Surinam River. Two years ago this story has happened of the lost girl. Thus it has happened. Afterwards, they have moved to Bigi Poika.

4.13. THE MURDERER (Elisabeth, Veronica)

Elisabeth: Long, long ago there were some people. They went to Nickerie. They went on and on and on. At last they arrived at the mouth of Nickerie River. What . . . they went to buy. To get their things. Then those people arrived at New Nickerie. For one week they stayed at New Nickerie (busy) with their buying. Then those people finished that week and came back. What were they on (such) a long time, yonder? *Veronica:* What were they on (such) a long time?

tuwo:peká:tírikom bo:ko¹⁴⁶ / soxso / ako:re:pe tuweye mandoŋ // *Veronica*: o:tí / irombo tuwo:p... o... tuwo:peká:tí^oma mandoŋ // *Elisabeth*: a:a / daŋ tuwoxse ra:pa mandoŋ // daŋ moxka:ro / ema:míri:koŋ a:saká:ríkoŋ kinu:wapónondoya:toŋ (wo:)ku kí:ríyá:toŋ i:wa / iwo:kurú:koŋ uwa:poine // *Veronica*: irombo kínoxseni:ya:toŋ titunda:sando // *Elisabeth*: a:a kínoxseni:ya:toŋ // ina:romombo / o... mo:ro tuwo:píri maŋ, (i)ya:ko / o:tí po:tó su / paxtré ta / paranduwi:ni apoíyaŋ moxka:ro ta:saka:ríkoŋ upa:topo tí:wa // *Veronica*: irombo kíno:tupá:toŋ i:ke titunda:sando / kíno:tupa:toŋ i:ke // *Elisabeth*: a:a / kíne:tíiya:toŋ ina:romombo mo:ro o:tí paranduwi:ni po:ko kíne:tíiya:toŋ // ina:romómba / o:tí m(o:ro) iwe:tími:ríkoŋ / aŋgre:si auran da¹⁴⁷ mandoŋ // *Veronica*: irombo kíne:rexkoya:toŋ mo:ro ito:riri:konímbo ro ra:pa nerexkoyaŋ // *Elisabeth*: a:a moxko ipa:mí moxko iwo:ne(ŋ) máŋ kíne:rexkoyaŋ / mo:ro auraŋ // irombo kíŋga:no i^owa / “koyu:yán de¹⁴⁷ ra:pa se” kíŋga:no // irombo moxko / ipa:mí (k)íŋga:no “uwa / mo:ro :ne aŋgre:si auraŋ wí:tórí mo:ro maŋ” / kíŋga:no i^owa // *Veronica*: daŋ moxko ipa:mí kíno:rexkoyaŋ // *Elisabeth*: a:a kíno:réxkoyaŋ / mo... i:wo se té ra:pa maŋ // *Veronica*: daŋ so iyogriyatiri / daŋ so iyogriyatiri i:wo xse¹⁴⁸ maŋ / itu:rú:po poxtorí // *Elisabeth*: o:tí / ino:rombo / mo:(ro) iwoxpo me ro ipu:ka:po me ro kíne:ká:nuiya(ŋ) ní:po moxko ini:wó:po tuwo:pemá:-to^oma(ŋ) aiyé // mari:yá // *Veronica*: irombo / kíni:mo:romá:no mo:ro / ipu:káxp(o) // *Elisabeth*: a:a / mo:(ro) toka:nu:mí:po po tauxti ra:rí ta ro kíno:má:no / mo:rombo po ro kíni:romó:saŋ // irombo moxko iwo:nenímbo kíne:ká:nuiyaŋ i:tu ta:ka // *Veronica*: irombo ana:póipa tuweye mandoŋ moxko iwo:nenímbo // *Elisabeth*: uwa / tuwoxtunáiyé tu:pi rí:po i:waine tu:pi / i... mo:ro a sre:fi de mo:r(o) irombí:poto (a)ne:pó:rí:pa tuweye iwe:i:saŋ / toka:nuiye tuwo:tunáiyé te mo:s(e) ini:wó:po i:waine / tunaiyé // *Veronica*: daŋ moxko / upi:ya:toŋ moxko iwo:nenímbo / iwo:nenímbo upi:ya:toŋ // *Elisabeth*: a:a // daŋ ane:po:rí:pa tuweye mandoŋ¹⁴⁹ / tupi:ké:se i:waine maŋ // tuwo:turú mandoŋ ta:ki / “e:fi iwe:pakaxpotó upa:tokó” / kíŋga:no / moxko / a:saká:ríkoŋ // o:tí / “kísi:wotóŋ / upa:toko yu^opa / upa:-toko tu:na k(e) are:pa k(e) upa:tokó” kíŋga:no // *Veronica*: daŋ iwe:pakaxpoto nupa:toŋ // *Elisabeth*: a:a moxko wo:ríi a:mu inu:kuti:rí ino:r(o) eko:sa tuwe:paxka / daŋ kinu:pá:no moxko wo:ríi //

¹⁴⁷ Sandhi ŋ t.

¹⁴⁸ Sandhi i:wo se.

¹⁴⁹ I hear o:tí to:tí i:waine maŋ, something was done (thing-ed) by them.

What . . . *Elisabeth*: Only with their buying they were (busy) a long time. *Veronica*: What . . . and were they ready with their buying then? *Elisabeth*: Yes, then they came back. Now their fellow-villagers prepared something for them in advance, they made cassava-beer for them, cassava-beer for them to be ready in advance of their coming. *Veronica*: And then they were drinking when they arrived? *Elisabeth*: Yes, then they were drinking. Now these people for the occasion of their homecoming, what . . . in a big bottle they had got rum, as a means for them to treat their friends. *Veronica*: And then they served it at their arrival, they served it? *Elisabeth*: Yes, they became drunk, those people became drunk on that stuff, rum. Then those people, what . . . in their intoxication they talked English. *Veronica*: Then they made him angry, these silly stories of them in his turn made him angry? *Elisabeth*: Yes, his brother-in-law, the one who was to kill him, this talking of him made him angry. Then he said to him: "you are abusing me again", he said. Then his brother-in-law said: "no, this is the way the English language goes", he said to him. *Veronica*: And then his brother-in-law became angry. *Elisabeth*: Yes, he became angry, and already he wanted to kill him. *Veronica*: Then such was his wickedness of heart, such was his wickedness of heart that he wanted to kill him, his wickedness of heart. *Elisabeth*: What . . . then he, after he had been struck, after he had been stabbed, the man who had been stabbed by him at once ran off to get something to revenge himself with. A knife. *Veronica*: And then it overpowered him, his stab wound. *Elisabeth*: Yes, and it was at the place he had ran to, it was on the floor of his house that he fell, and it was at the same place that he died. Then the one who had killed him ran into the forest. *Veronica*: Did they not catch him afterwards? The man who killed him? *Elisabeth*: No, he hid himself, and though he was searched and searched for by them, yet at the same day that he died they did not find him, but he ran off and hid himself, and the one who was killed by him they buried. *Veronica*: Then they searched for him, his murderer, they searched for his murderer. *Elisabeth*: Yes. Then they did not find him, so they stopped searching for him. They told each other: "if he comes out serve him", his people said. What . . . "do not kill him, serve him well, serve him with water, serve him with bread", they said. *Veronica*: Then did they serve him when he came out? *Elisabeth*: Yes. He came out to some woman he knew, then this woman served him. Then the

irombo moxko / iwo:nenimbo kīno:turú:poyaṣ̃ “mo:kimbo nirombīi”
 // irombo moxko wo:rīi kīne:yú:saṣ̃ “a:a nirombīi exka // ma yuxpa
 t... yuxpa te aurajgoṣ̃ apo:ko maṣ̃” / kīnga:no moxko wo:rīi i:wa //
Veronica: daṣ̃ o:tī / oxt(o) ane:náxpá neixta:toṣ̃ moxko iwo:nenimbo
 // ani:wóxpá neixta:toṣ̃ // *Elisabeth*: u(wa) kīni:wotá:toṣ̃ / ma /
 o:tī / moxko wo:rīi wa te xkuru kīnga:toṣ̃ / mo:ro eka:numi:rī po:ná /
 “kīse:karí:tīi mo:ro wa:ra i:wá” (k)īnga:no “iwo:pī:poto era:pa /
 o:tī e:romémbo o:wa // ‘we:ká noṣ̃ roṣ̃muṣ̃ wīxsa / tuwexsé:re te ṽne
 ra:pa wa’ // kaixko i:wa” / kīnga:no moxko ema:mīri:koṣ̃ a:saká:-
 rīkoṣ̃ // *Veronica*: so:so iwo:tó:me / era:pa / kīno:turú:ya:t(oṣ̃)
 ase:wa // *Elisabeth*: aaa // mo:ro iwo:tó:me era:pa // irombo moxko
 wo:rīi kīnixsáṣ̃ moxka:(ro) toma:mīri:k(oṣ̃) a:saká:riko(ṣ̃) :wa //
 ino:rombo kīnga:no “mo:kimbo exka nepaxkái / nepaxkai mo:kimbo”
 kīnga:no // irombo “itaṽro” // “a:a / e:ro koiye :ne ra:pa tuwe:-
 paxkar(i) eka:ri:s(aṣ̃) iṽwa” / kīnga:no moxko / wo:rīi / moxka:ro
 toma:mīri:k(oṣ̃) a:saka:rikóṣ̃ wa // *Veronica*: daṣ̃ kīni:rurumá:toṣ̃
 po:noṣ̃ / iwo:tó:me // *Elisabeth*: a:a mo:(ro) ko:ko / paxporó mo:ro /
 apu:rú:po ta:ka irombo mo:(ro) iwe:pakáxpó me ro moxko wo:rīi
 kīno:saṣ̃ // “mo:kimbo nepaxkái” (k)īnga:no // “mo:e :ne kīnoṽná:-
 saṣ̃” kīnga:no “apu:rú:po ta nimo:kú ta” / (k)īnga:no // ino:rombo
 kīnixsá:toṣ̃ // mo:ro apu:rú:po ron(tu)m(a:toṣ̃) e:(ro) w(a:r)aro /
 kīno:tī... kīnuṽméiya:toṣ̃ mokī:ne / o:tī / i... o:t(i) kīni:momó:-
 sa:toṣ̃ daṣ̃ moxko a:mu kīnixsaṣ̃ mo:(ro) apu:rú:po ta:ka // apoiye //
Veronica: daṣ̃ mo:kī :ne kīne:po:ya:tóṣ̃ / i... kīni:paxka:t(oṣ̃)
 i(wīino) // *Elisabeth*: a:a / ino:romb(o) apoiya:tóṣ̃ / (mo:)kī ni:-
 pasá:morī paxka:toṣ̃ mo:(ro) apu:ru:po wīino // kīni:woyá:to(ṣ̃) :ne
 ro:téṣ̃ / kīni:woyá:toṣ̃ kīni:pasá:moya:toṣ̃ / kīne:mapó:sa:to(ṣ̃) :ne
 ro:teṣ̃ // *Veronica*: daṣ̃ / so:so mo:ro / i... iwo:marī ke kīni:woyá:-
 toṣ̃ era:pa // *Elisabeth*: uwa ani:wo:pa ro:rīpo mandoṣ̃ // kīni:mīyá:-
 ton de ¹⁵⁰ / o:koro:ro aiya:rī naṣ̃a ipu:purú mī:ya:toṣ̃ / o:tī /
Veronica: aro:tó:me // *Elisabeth*: o:tī ike:ixto:po moxka:ro / o:tī /
 tīpe:poti:ra:mo(ṣ̃) ¹⁵¹ ṽwa / ike:ixtotó:me kīna:royá:toṣ̃ // *Veronica*:
 te irombo ro ano:t(i):pá no:ro naṣ̃ // *Elisabeth*: uwa e:ro / kom-
 bebá(ṣ̃) ¹⁵² me mo:r(o) am kondre / i:ro pó / kīni:poró:sa:toṣ̃ tiko:-
 maiye iwe:i:saṣ̃ // ino:rombo / mo:ro kīni:ká:toṣ̃ / iro(m)bo kīni:-

¹⁵⁰ Sandhi ṣ̃ t.

¹⁵¹ Police, called thus because of the brass decorations on the fronts of their caps.

¹⁵² Combe, lower part of Cornelis Kondre called after a quarter of Paramaribo which is comparably situated.

murderer asked: "Did that man really die?" Then the woman answered: "yes, indeed he died. But they speak well of you", the woman told him. *Veronica*: Then what . . . didn't they treat him (badly) in some way, didn't they strike him? *Elisabeth*: No. They will strike him, but what . . . but first they said to the woman, to prevent him from running away: "don't tell him such and such", they said, "when he comes back, what . . . sometime soon, to you, you must say to him: "I must go for a moment to defecate, I have got diarrhoea again", her fellow-villagers said. *Veronica*: Only to kill him too, they are plotting with one another. *Elisabeth*: Yes. To kill him too. Then the woman went away to her fellow-villagers. "That one", she said, "has come out indeed, that one has come out", she said. Then: "really?" "Yes, he told me that he would come out again late this afternoon", the woman said. *Veronica*: And then they are lying in wait for him to kill him. *Elisabeth*: Yes. That night they (went) all into the closed house. Then after he had come out the woman came. "That one has come out", she said. "He is eating over there", she said, "in the closed house, in a hammock", she said. Then they went. They surrounded the closed house from all sides, many surrounded it. What . . . what . . . they waited for him and then someone went into the closed house. To catch him. *Veronica*: And then all those people found him, and made him come out from it. *Elisabeth*: Yes. They caught him and, by slapping his cheeks they all made him come out from the closed house. They did nothing but hit him, hit him, and slap his cheeks; they did nothing but throw him down. *Veronica*: So only by beating him up they killed him already. *Elisabeth*: No, they did not kill him for the moment. But they tied him, both his hands and feet they tied, what . . . *Veronica*: To carry him. *Elisabeth*: What . . . his being locked up, what . . . to the shining foreheads they carried him for locking him up. *Veronica*: But then didn't they do anything else? *Elisabeth*: No. There was a village like Combe at this place and there they stopped when they were overtaken by darkness. And then he . . . they took him out

pasá:moya:toñ ne ro:teñ era:pa kīni:woyá:toñ // irombo kīnga:no
 “eee” (k)īnga:no “oxto :ne ko kī:ya:toñ se” kīnga:no // o:tī “yuxpa /
 imi:pot(i:)pa mī:re yaiya:rī neirī” kīnga:no “e:rome :ne / o:tī awo:-
 rikóñ era:pa iñwá” / (k)īnga:no moxko ta:saká:rīko(ñ) :wa //
Veronica: iseñme wañ tro(ñ) me iwo:poro wa:tī mandoñ era:pa /
 te i:wo sé :ne iweirikoñ / tuweiye iseñme // *Elisabeth*: irombo mo:-
 rombo po xtee 153 kine:máiya:toñ / ema:m(i:)po me ro kīnixsa:to(ñ)
 na:pa / kīnixsa:toñ teee kīni:tunda:toñ / para:na ra:naka moñyá /
 sura:ma ke:niba(ñ) me 154 / ino:rombo / titu:waróngexka moxka(:ro)
 taro:na:m(oñ) i:wa tuwo:má tu:na xkaka 155 mo:rombo po // irombo
 tuxta mo:é / o:tī apaxpo pe:rī me do:(ro)do:ro i:tu ta:ka toka:núiy(e)
 // *Veronica*: dañ ane:pó:rī:pa no:ro tuweiye nandoñ // *Elisabeth*:
 uwa / ane:pó:rī:pa no:ro tuweiye iwe:i:sañ moxko tuwo:nú:se tuwoxsé
 / dañ mo:r(o) am po:tó ixpori:r(i) i:wa tīpa:to // irombo kīnixsáñ
 mo:ro awo:pame kīnixsáñ / mo:ro am kondre :wa // irombo tītunda /
 am / am fadrī :wa / ino:ro :wa tītunda // irombo kīnga:no moxko
 fadrī kīno:turú:poya(ñ) i:wa / “eee” (k)īnga:no “oxto kó me:i sé”
 (k)īnga:no i:wa // ino:rómbo kīnga:no moxko fadr(i) éyuxto . . . o . . .
 fadr(i) éyuxtó:me moxko kariñná / “am ne si:wói” / (k)īnga:no //
 “eee” kīnga:no / “aye:pá:nopīrī :ne s(u)pi:yá” (k)īnga:no moxko
 fa:dir iñwa // o:tī / “wa:tī tī:wó :ne tera:pa moxko kariñna oñwa
 mañ // m(a) pa:pa sre:fi aye:pa:nopīxpa kīneixtañ // o:tī aye:panó:-
 pī(rī) upi:tañ wa:(tī) moxko tī:wó :ne tera:pa moxko aya:saká:rī
 o:wa mañ” kīnga:no iñwa // *Veronica*: epa:nopī:rī upi:yañ no:ro /
 paxpor(o) a:saká:rīkoñ sre:fi / ani:robí:ma tox // *Elisabeth*: uwa /
 dañ e:ro o:tī ere:parī ma(ñ) moxk(o) apoiyañ moxko / fa:dir iñwa //
 kīni:moxkapoyañ i:wa irombo moxko itu:ma(rī) moxka:neñ / itu:marī
 moxka:neñ kīnu:pá:no // iromb(o) ena:pīrī sexpambo no:(ro) mañ //
 o:tī so:so mo:ro / me:r(o) uwembombo tuwo:mī me:(ro) tuwexfo:ma
 x ita:ka 156 // *Veronica*: o:t(i) ona:pī:pa iweirī / wa . . . so:so mo:(ro)
 wa:(ra) tī:ye uwembo mañ / uwembo yo:potó:rīmbo / tīpi:paxtañma
 mañ / uwe:ta:rī:pa ito:potī:rī ta // *Elisabeth*: ino:rombo moxko /
 fadrī (k)īnga:no i:wa “enaxko mo:ro aye:re:parī” / irombo / wex

153 Sandhi *po teee*.

154 The boat coming from Corentyne R. has to go out upon open sea before entering Nickerie R. The situation is compared to that at the mouths of Saramacca and Coppename R. The high waves in the estuary demanded the attention of his guards and enabled the prisoner to escape.

155 Sandhi *tu:na ta:ka*.

156 *Tuwexfo:ma ita:ka*, *x* inserted.

of the boat and then they did nothing again but slapping his cheeks and beating him. Then he said: “ah”, he said, “what are you doing to me”, he said. What . . . “Truly, if my hands were not tied over and over”, he said, what . . . “I would hit you back at once”, he said to his fellows. *Veronica*: Yet, though they did not kill him at once, yet they still wished to kill him. *Elisabeth*: Then at that same place they stayed until daybreak. After daybreak they went on, they went on and on until they came upon open sea, yonder, like at the mouth of Saramacca River. Then at that place he caused the people who transported him to pay no attention to him and jumped into the water. Then he emerged far away, what . . . at the low water line and ran right into the forest. *Veronica*: And then, did not they find him again? *Elisabeth*: No, they did not find him again after he came on shore; thereupon he crossed a large creek. Then he went along the bank, he went on to a village. He arrived at (the house of) a priest, to him he arrived. Then the priest spoke and asked him: “ah”, he said, “what happened to you?” he said to him. Then the Indian said, answering the priest: “I have killed someone,” he said. “Ah”, he said, “I cannot help you”, the priest said to him. What . . . “Didn’t you kill this Indian then. Our Father Himself will not help you.” What . . . “He will be unable to help you, as he, your fellow, has been killed by you”, he said to him. *Veronica*: He cannot help him any more, even all his own people do not love him, do they? *Elisabeth*: No. Then the priest got this stuff for him for his food. He had it cooked for him, and then his cook, his cook served him. Then he did not want to eat it any more. What . . . his poor belly, look! was all fallen in, look! it was folded together. *Veronica*: What . . . only his not eating brought his belly in such a shape, his bowels had fully become flat, his belly had become empty during his wandering about. *Elisabeth*: Then the priest said to him: “eat your food”, and then, well, while he did not eat it, at that same

mo:ro ane:ná:pībī(ŋ) me tera:pa mo:ro pó ro / kino:má:no kīni:-
romó:saŋ era:pa so:so mo:ro ona:pī:pa iwe:i:po iweirī¹⁵⁷ atu:riyá
ekī:ri :wa / iske:nī / tuwi:towi:tore :ne tī:y(e) // *Veronica*: daŋ
iwo:mī:ma pa(iro) tuweiye maŋ / so:so mo:ro ekī:ri :wa iwo:mī
se:kapó:tī:mia:po // *Elisabeth*: uwa //

4.14. THE RED POLISHING STONES (A. Stjoera)

Kiban: ene:ko uwa:potómbó / amo:ro yopo:to / situ:ra aye:t(i) áine //
Stjoera:¹⁵⁸ n n // *Kiban*: e:ro ta:kuwá sene:yax¹⁵⁹ / mo:ro / o:tī
ki:topo kīni:kapi:rīkoŋ watrakaŋ / oinei wa(:ra) aŋna kariŋna neya:-
toyaŋ // *Stjoera*: ta:kuwa¹⁶⁰ // *Kiban*: ta:kuwa // mo:ro epo:rī:-
pómbó muku:saŋ // *Stjoera*: a mo:ro suku:sa / to:ri seta:to //
Kiban: kī // *Stjoera*: no:tī to:riri / seta:to // *Kiban*: a // *Stjoera*:
pena:ro / pena:ro au ta:mu ru tuwáye maŋ / po:tó s(u) yopo:to m(e)
moxko tuwáye maŋ / situ:ra to:tī:ne tuwáye maŋ // *Kiban*: ata:mu ru
e:tī mo:ro maŋ // *Stjoera*: tamu:si e:tī mo:ro maŋ tamu:si e:tī tuwe . . .
moxko pa:poró tī:to maŋ / pa:poro tu:n(a) i:wa to:ne maŋ / daŋ
moxko ma . . . / moxko / ro tī:to maŋ mo(:ro) ta:kuwa aiyé / o:tī /
si:pu to:tī:ne(ŋ) tu:ná :wa // *Kiban*: kī // *Stjoera*: a:a tī:to tuwáye
maŋ // daŋ tī:tori ya:ko / pe:r(o) aro:yaŋ // e:fi na pe:ro wa:t(i)
axta / paru:rú / e:pimbo aro:yaŋ / *Kiban*: kī // *Stjoera*: daŋ irombó /
daŋ moxk(o) oko:yumo toko:ne mo:ro pó maŋ / muro:kotox¹⁵⁹ /
muro:koto¹⁶¹ oko:yumo / oko:yumo moxko maŋ // *Kiban*: muro:koto

¹⁵⁷ I hear *so:so mo:ro enampa we:i:po me ne*.

¹⁵⁸ The story is told by chief Alfons Stjoera of Bigiston to his visitor Mr. Robert Kiban, who stimulates the narrator with questions and numerous polite interruptions *kī* 'I see' and *a:ha* 'right'. Utterances of both speakers that only contain such an interjection are included in the Carib text, but they are not translated. Chief Stjoera speaks the *tire:wuyū* dialect of Carib, which differs on a number of points from the *mura:to*-dialect on which the present description has been based (see 0.4.1.).

¹⁵⁹ Both speakers occasionally add *x* after a final vowel. At Cornelis Kondre I have never heard this.

¹⁶⁰ Pebbles of a bright red colour that are used for polishing pottery after baking. Only some women possess such a pebble as there is no new supply of them, the others have to do with common pebbles found at home.

¹⁶¹ The spirit *Muro:koto*, a shark-like monster, is said to be *mīro:kou yu:mī* 'Father of (the fish) *mīro:kou*'. On the fathers and grandfathers of the different animal species, see the story on Chicken Father, 4.7. In English, the name *morocot* does not refer to a spirit but to a fish, perhaps the Carib *mīro:kou* (W. Roth).

place already he fell down and died; only because he had not eaten. His body was made streaky all over by the thorns of *atu:riya* shrubs. *Veronica*: For also he had no clothes on, as by the thorns his clothes had been torn to pieces altogether. *Elisabeth*: Yes.

4.14. THE RED POLISHING STONES (A. Stjoera)

Kiban: Look head-man, you, chief, your name is Stjoera, isn't it?
Stjoera: n n *Kiban*: I see this pebble, this . . . thing . . . polishing tool with which we make jugs, how do we Caribs call it? *Stjoera*: ta:kuwa.
Kiban: ta:kuwa. Do you know the way it was found, in the past?
Stjoera: Yes, that I know. I have often heard a tale, I have often heard a tale of my grandmother. Long ago, long ago my grandfather lived who was a very great chief, his name was Stjoera. *Kiban*: That was the name of your grandfather? *Stjoera*: It was the name of grandfather, grandfather's name. He went everywhere, all rivers were visited by him, and then he was . . . it was he who went to fetch pebbles, to a river called what . . . Essequibo. Yes, he went. Now when he went he took a dog with him. If there was no dog available he would carry a banana stem. Now furthermore at that place there was the ferocious water spirit Muro:koto, Muro:koto a water spirit, he is a water spirit.

moxko oko:yumb(o) e:tī // *Stjoera*: muro:koto moxko maṣ / muro:-koto moxko maṣ oko:yumo e:tī moxko maṣ // *Kiban*: kī // *Stjoera*: mo:r(o) e:ro wa:ra ro:teṣ awī:to:poto / ayo:noyáṣ // ta:kuwa anuiye awī:tori ya:ko ¹⁶² / kuru:kuru maro:ya e:ro po:no kuru:kuru // daṣ mo:mae tu:na xta:k(a) e:ro tá:ro // *Kiban*: kī // *Stjoera*: mo:mae // so / daṣ i:reké / n / kīxka:roṣ kariḡna mé kataipi:ná:toṣ ¹⁶³ // *Kiban*: a:a kītai... / *Stjoera*: o:tī kariḡna :n(e) ema:rī kīsu:piyá:toṣ / moxk(o) oko:yumo wo:tori me / uwa uwa / da:tī na / am te ro:teṣ / kīse:pó:ya:toṣ / mo:ro ko:tīrī:ko(ṣ) me / *Kiban*: a:a // *Stjoera*: pe:ró / paru:r(u) e:pimbo / pe:ro mond(o) a:ta / pe:ro / kasa:piró:-ma:toṣ ¹⁶³ / ino:rombo kīse:ma:toṣ tīpúṣ / tu:na ta:ka // *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: daṣ / moxko muro:kotó kīne:pori:toma:no ipo:ko i:r(o) (y)a:ko ro / amo:ro awe:mī maro:ya ko:u / soweix / maro:ya / daṣ irombo ma:pó:naka maro:ya ko:u // *Kiban*: kī // ma:po:naka maro:ya / daṣ miko:roro:kae ime:n... / o:tī / (m)i:meṅgae // daṣ am manuiya mo:ro tapi:ra:moṣ ta:kuwa // ta:kuwa watrakaṣ kī:topo // manuiya // so // te o:kombot(o) awī:to s(e) aya:ta / ef pe:ro wa:t(i) axta daṣ mo:ro o:tī pai / paru:ru e:pimbo niso:romi:kae sororo / daṣ irombo / (m)ime:ro... (m)ime:roya / kuse:we ke // daṣ irombo paru:ru e:pimbo mema:e tīpuṣ / daṣ am anuiye ra(:a) mīxsa ra:a mo(xko) muro:koto ipo:ko ra(:a) kīne:pori:tomá:no // *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: daṣ am anuiye ra(:a) taka:nuiye ¹⁶⁴ era:a mīxsa ra(:a) anuiye ra:a soweix / daṣ ma... maro:ya ra(:a) moḡya ra(:a) ma:po:-naka ra:pa // *Kiban*: a:ha // daṣ ta:kuwa tanuiye i:wa maṣ so irmobo ro mo:ro maṣ / o:komboto ro:teṣ // *Kiban*: kī // *Stjoera*: a:a o:kómboto ro:teṣ manuiya // ito:pó :n(e) itoxpa ma:na / itoxpo :n(e) awī:toxpoto / mo:ro wa:r(a) e:i:pa aya:ta / amo:ro ayu:tá:sa // muro:-kot(o) ayo:noyaṣ muro:koto oxt... oxkotó:po:saṣ // iwa:ra maṣ // *Kiban*: mure... okoxtī moxko oko:yum(bo) e:(tī) // *Stjoera*: m(ur)o:koto moxko / oko:yum(o) e:tī moxko maṣ // *Kiban*: iro:-ke mo:ro wa:ra mo:ro tapi:reṣ ta:kuwa epo:rī:pómbó // tu:na xka ¹⁶⁵ wa:ne tuweye maṣ / *Stjoera*: epo:rī:pómbó / tu:na tu:na xká ¹⁶⁵ maṣ / tu:na xka maṣ ma:pó wa:tī maṣ tu:na xka / *Kiban*: tu:na xka / *Stjoera*: a:a tu:na xka te maṣ // *Kiban*: irombó ko moxko pe:ró /

¹⁶² Sandhi *i y*.

¹⁶³ The vowel of the prefix has been assimilated to the first vowel of the base. In the dialect of Cornelis Kondre this assimilation does not occur.

¹⁶⁴ *Toka:nuiye*.

¹⁶⁵ Sandhi *tu:na ta*.

Kiban: Muro:koto is the name of the water spirit? *Stjoera:* He is Muro:koto, it is the name of the water spirit. If you should come just so (without precautions), he would eat you. When you go to pick up pebbles you carry a basket, a basket of this size. Then you jump into the water that deep (points at his breast). You jump; so. Then because of this... we as Caribs love one another. *Kiban:* Certainly, we I... *Stjoera:* What... a real Carib we cannot throw as food for the water spirit. No, no; that is, we have just found something else for our purpose. A dog, a banana stem; if a dog is available we paint a dog red and then we throw it plump! into the water. Muro:koto then hurries towards it and meanwhile you move your basket at once: swish! you carry it, you carry it on shore. You carry it on shore, then you pour them out, what... you sort them. You pick up the red polishing stones, the polishing stones: the tools for polishing jugs. You pick them up. So. And if you want to go twice and if there is no dog, then you may also peel srrr! a banana stem, you paint it with arnotto, and then you throw the banana stem, plump! After this, you go again to pick up some, and Muro:koto again hurries towards it. Then you go running again to pick up some, pick up some again: swish! and you ca... carry it again yonder on shore. Then the polishing stones are picked up by you, and thus it is finished: twice only. Yes, twice only you pick them up, you do not go too often. If you go too often, if you do not go about it in this way, you will be lost. Muro:koto will eat you, Muro:koto will t... tear you to pieces. So it is. *Kiban:* Mure... okoxti is the name of the water-spirit? *Stjoera:* Muro:koto is the name of the water-spirit. *Kiban:* So in such a way it was that the red polishing stones were found; it was in the water, wasn't it? *Stjoera:* The finding of them was in the water, water; it was in the water, not on land, in the water. *Kiban:* In the water. *Stjoera:* Yes, only in the water it is. *Kiban:* And then you send the dog... *Stjoera:*

memo:sá // *Stjoera*: mema:e // *Kiban*: mo(:ro) tu:ná xka:ka ¹⁶⁶ //
Stjoera: tu:na xka:ka // n // a:a moxko oko:yumo waimanembato:me
 // *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: iwaimanembato(:me) a:a // *Kiban*: mo:ro
 kuse:we pe // *Stjoera*: a:a kuse:we pe / kuse:we po:rĩ po:ko ro moxko
 oko:yumo kono:saḡ ¹⁶⁷ // *Kiban*: kuse:we ke :ne mapi:roya //
Stjoera: a:a kariḡna :n(e) axta kine:ka:nó:saḡ // *Kiban*: a:ha //
Stjoera: kariḡna :ne a:ta kine:ka:nó:saḡ / mo(:ro) kuse:we po:rĩ
 iweirĩ ke // *Kiban*: a:ha mo:ro wa:ra kariḡna / ta:saká:r(i) unaiyaḡ /
 moxko koro... / o:tĩ wĩno // moxko oko:yumbo wĩno // mo:ro
 wa:ra te naḡ heḡ uwa:potómbo // *Stjoera*: a:a / iwa:ra maḡ // iwa:ra
 o:tĩ... pena:ro / ta:murú / no:yaḡ to:riri seta:potĩ //

4.15. THE PETROGLYPHS AT BIGISTON (A. *Stjoera*)

Stjoera: ¹⁶⁸ pena:ro uwa:potómbo to:riri mo:ro maḡ / e:ro time:reḡ
 woxkapi:po // tamu:si :wa tika:se maḡ / paxporó tamu:si :wa o:
 tiko(ḡ) ka:(pi:)po kisu:ku:sá:toḡ // *Kiban*: a *Stjoera*: maaa /
 kariḡna to:riri te / a:sito o:tĩxpa maḡ // a:a // ma i:ro ke ¹⁶⁹ seka:
 ri:sá ro:teḡ / mo:ro kariḡna to:ri(rĩ) dera(:a) mo:ro maḡ // kariḡna
 :n(e) ibu:kuxpá maḡ / *Kiban*: a:ha *Stjoera*: a:a // so:so tupuxpo ke
 mo:r(o) o:tĩ eka:ri:saḡ // *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: a:a o:tĩ to:ri po:ko
 // *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: so // time:re(ḡ) maḡ / tuweiye maḡ /
 pena:ró / no:kĩ tuwaiye maḡ / yo:rokaḡ ro:fir ¹⁷⁰ (kĩḡ)ga:to(ḡ)
 irom(bo) ¹⁷¹ yo:rokaḡ / ti:topó:se maḡ e:ro po // kariḡna i:wa
 tiḡmaxka maḡ moxko / a:a / kariḡna i:wa tiḡmaxka maḡ // *Kiban*:
 kĩ // *Stjoera*: a:a // so / e:kĩ me no:kĩ tuwaiye maḡ / aka:re //
Kiban: aka:re // *Stjoera*: aka:re aka:re e:kĩ me tuwaiye maḡ // so //
 ti:topó:se maḡ // nanga pe:ro // *Kiban*: pe:ro // *Stjoera*: a:a / e:kĩ
 me tuwaiye maḡ // so ti:topó:se maḡ teee e:ro marauni tuwaiye maḡ /
 mu:kumu:ku ¹⁷² pa:tĩ me // *Kiban*: kĩ // *Stjoera*: a:(a) i:ro e:ro

¹⁶⁶ Sandhi *tu:na ta:ka*.

¹⁶⁷ The vowel of the prefix has been assimilated to the first vowel of the base.

¹⁶⁸ See the first note to 4.14.

¹⁶⁹ I hear *i:reko*.

¹⁷⁰ *Ro:fir* or *Rofru*, the Dutch word 'rover' = 'robber'. The real name of the monster was mentioned later by the same informant: *Paira undi* 'trunk of letterwood tree'. He devoured the Caribs, helped by his dog to find those who tried to hide themselves in holes. *Paira undi* went away to the east, never to be seen again. Some say he has been bound in iron fetters by the Portuguese.

¹⁷¹ For the last two words I hear *ga:do yom*.

¹⁷² *Sranan mokomoko*, a plant growing on river banks and in shallow water.

You throw it. *Kiban*: Into the water . . . *Stjoera*: Into the water, yes, to get the water-spirit away. To get him away. *Kiban*: It is with arnotto? *Stjoera*: Yes, with arnotto. Indeed the water-spirit comes by the smell of the arnotto. *Kiban*: You paint it red with arnotto. *Stjoera*: Yes, he thinks it is a Carib. *Kiban*: True. *Stjoera*: He thinks that it is a Carib, because of there being the smell of arnotto. *Kiban*: True, and so the Carib protects his fellow against the Koro . . . thing, against the water-spirit. Isn't it like that, head-man? *Stjoera*: Yes, so it is. Thus what . . . long ago I have indeed often heard the story from my grandfather and my grandmothers.

4.15. THE PETROGLYPHS AT BIGISTON (A. Stjoera)

Stjoera: Of old it was a tale of the elders, the making of this engraved (rock). It was made by God, we know that all things are made by God. However, it is a Carib tale; more or less it is without substance. Indeed; so I shall just tell it. Once more: it is a Carib tale. The Caribs have no books. Yes, they tell this thing only by heart. Well, what, now for the tale. So. It is engraved, it has become engraved; long ago, who was there? A monster, Ro:fir they say, a monster. He went around and about, here. The people were finished off by him, yes, the people were finished off by him. Yes. So. What was his pet animal? A cayman. *Kiban*: A cayman? *Stjoera*: A cayman, his pet animal was a cayman. So. He went around and about. With a dog. *Kiban*: A dog? *Stjoera*: Yes it was his pet animal. Yes. So he went around and about for a long time. After a long time this Maroni came into being as a place of mokomoko. Yes, that is what this Maroni was; so it was like this,

marauní m... ire:(k)e ko e:ro wa:ra maṣ / iyaṣsikiṣma maṣ /
 e:ro :ne tu:na am mese:ku e:ro maṣ // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:*
 a:a mese:ku e:ro maṣ // tu:na me i:ya / tuwaiye maṣ biri:biri
 wa:ra / tuwaiye maṣ ¹⁷³ // teee irombo te ko daṣ tuwo:tapi:ka:má
 maṣ / daṣ e:ro tu:na me tuwaiye maṣ ¹⁷⁴ // dáṣ moxko maṣ / yo:-
 rokaṣ tī:topó:se maṣ / daṣ mo:ro to:p(u) i:wa topo:ye maṣ // *Kiban:*
 kī // *Stjoera:* daṣ mo:ro po ro tuwo:tandī:mo (mox)ko tuwaiye ko:u
 maṣ // tuwo:tandī:mo tuwaiye maṣ // teee mo:ro po tuwaiye maṣ /
 apo:nimbo paxporo tīpiixtori ma:ro tuwaiye maṣ // *Kiban:* a:ha //
Stjoera: a:ha // ino:(ro) o:tī tuwo:tandī:mombome ¹⁷⁵ maṣ / mo:ro
 to:pu pe:rī ¹⁷⁶ i:wa / mo:ro / tīme:ro ko(:u) i:wa maṣ // *Kiban:*
 a:ha // *Stjoera:* daṣ o:ko inda:rī tuwaiye maṣ / moxko yo:rokaṣ //
Kiban: a:ha // *Stjoera:* o:ko inda:rī / e:ro po am tuwaiye maṣ / daṣ
 e:ro po ra(:a) am tuwaiye maṣ // a:ha / daṣ i:ro ro mo:ro tuwo:tukú
 maṣ ¹⁷⁷ // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* o:ko ka:(pīṣ) upuxpo naṣ // *Kiban:*

¹⁷³ An unclear fragment has been omitted. Probably K. asked *tuweiymbome naṣ pena:ro* 'did it come to be so, long ago?', and S. confirmed this.

¹⁷⁴ According to the Maroni Caribs, the Maroni does not exist of old, and in so far is less venerable than Mana river, east of it. To the Caribs in the western part of the country the Maroni is the most venerable river of all, where the dead travel to on their way to heaven.

¹⁷⁵ I hear *tuwoxtándimoma maṣ*.

¹⁷⁶ Conjecture. Instead of *mo:ro to:pu pe:rī* 'the forehead of the rock' I hear *tībe:rī*. The rock has a globular form.

¹⁷⁷ Paira undī engraved his own image in the rock. The other figures show his poito's = satellites. The latter sprang from the monster's blood whenever he was wounded — he could not be killed. For representations by different authors of the petroglyphs see W. G. Hellinga, *Pétroglyphes Caraïbes: problème sémiologique*, *Lingua* IV pag. 121-165 (1954). According to chief Stjoera the petroglyph numbered 5 by Hellinga shows *Paira undī*. The article contains an analysis and interpretation of the inscription, admirable because of the systematic, rigorous way in which a seemingly insolvable problem is attacked. Also the tentative connection of the inscription with motives of present-day Carib religion as collected by A. Ph. Penard and father Ahlbrinck, seems sound and valuable. Less felicitous is the final part of the article, where it is shown that the petroglyphs are arranged in agreement with a certain syntactic structure supposed to be typical, or at least to have been typical, for the Cariban languages in general. Actually in modern Carib such a construction does not exist, nor is there any indication for its existence in the past. Also the theory of a cultural desintegration seems unfounded and, moreover, not necessary for the interpretation of the inscription as it is given (page 153). At one point of prof. Hellinga's argument the present story is of some relevance: where he attributes an objective attitude to the

not deep, it was a baby-river. Yes, it was a baby. There it came to lie: a water, it came to be like a flooded savanna. But at last it widened, and became like the present river. Then he was there, the monster, he went around and about and found this rock. Then at that same place he sat down at once. Yes, he sat down. A long time he was there, it was his seat and that of all his followers. Yes. He . . . what . . . he sat there, the forehead of the rock just was engraved by him. And he had two mouths, the monster. He had two mouths, here was one, and here was another one. Yes. Then this was what he drew. Didn't he

Carib informant who helped him in ascertaining the shapes of the petroglyphs (page 124, note 2, 125). Actually it appears that the Caribs are interested in the petroglyphs, and do attach a meaning to them: they hold them to represent cannibal monsters. On *Paira undi* see also F. P. and A. Ph. Penard, *De menschetende aanbidders* page 20 (Paramaribo, 1907).

a:a // *Stjoera*: o:ko upuxpo e:ro p(o) ám maṣ / e:ro wa:ra // so e:ro po ra(:a) am ko:waro xko dat(i) na upu:po era(:a) mo:ro maṣ // iwa:ra tuwaiye / iwa:ra pena:ro to:ri uwa:potombo e:ro po:nokoṣ uwa:potombo to:riri seta:to // *Kiban*: kī // *Stjoera*: a:ha // a:ha // so iwa:ra :kuru tuwaiye // daṣ irombo tī:to ko:(u) maṣ té / undi wīnona:ka tī:to maṣ // moxk(o) aka:re tu:po ro tī:to moxko maṣ / *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: moxko to:kī ku:po ro tī:to ra:a // te kari?na ono:rī i:wa xta:ro¹⁷⁸ maṣ // daṣ iwe:tīmbo ró / indapí:po e:ro mapi:wará maṣ // *Kiban*: mapi:wará // *Stjoera*: mapi:wará maṣ // ire:ke ko paxporo tu:na po wa:tī mapi:wará maṣ // *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: ma e:ro po te mapi:wara maṣ iwe:tīmbo ro mo:ro maṣ so:so mo:r(o) enaxtopo i:wa maṣ // a:ha // *Kiban*: o:tī ya:ko am mapi:wara mupi:yaṣ // *Stjoera*: mapi:wara e:ro o:tī ya:ko mena:pī moxko ka:pīteṣ ma:ri¹⁷⁹ eko:sa maṣ // *Kiban*: kī // *Stjoera*: a:a // *Kiban*: mo:r(o) epe:r(i) ena:saṣ // *Stjoera*: a:a sooo i:ro mo:ro maṣ / a:ha / i:ro mo:ro maṣ // a:ha // daṣ tī:to ko:u // *Kiban*: moxko / yo:rokaṣ we:tīmbo // *Stjoera*: yo:rokaṣ we:tīmbo mo:ro / indapí:po mo:ro maṣ atī:tá:po // *Kiban*: yo:rokaṣ we:tīmbo tera:(pa) i:wa tona:se // *Stjoera*: to:ri to:ri to:ri ke mo:ro maṣ ka:e irombo // to:ri ke mo:ro maṣ // *Kiban*: seta:e seta:e // *Stjoera*: to:ri ke mo:ro maṣ // *Kiban*: a:a // *Stjoera*: ma otu:ku:tīxpa mo:ro maṣ / au sre:f(i) tamu:sī we o:tīrī mo:ro maṣ // *Kiban*: a / *Stjoera*: ma to:ri ke mo:ro maṣ // *Kiban*: a:a // *Stjoera*: uwa:potómbó to:riri // bika:sī uwa:potómbó to:riri pīimé maṣ // *Kiban*: a / *Stjoera*: te tino:tīne ayaxta / tīta:mun(e) ayaxta / *Kiban*: a / *Stjoera*: oxto . . . tota:sipo:muné maṣ / daṣ / to:ri po:k(o) axta aye:pana:marī ya:ko meta:e mo:ro to:ri // *Kiban*: a // *Stjoera*: iwa:ra au tuwaiye wa / tuwe:pana:ma tuwaiye wa / paxporó uwa:potombo to:riri(i) i:wa xto:ta¹⁸⁰ maṣ // *Kiban*: a:a // *Stjoera*: pi:pi to:riri tamu:sī to:riri(i) i:wa xto:ta¹⁸⁰ maṣ // a:ha // so paxporo mo:ro oxka:noṣ¹⁸¹ i:rokoṣ i:wa xto:ta¹⁸⁰ m(aṣ) ire:(k)e k(o) e:ro tīme:reṣ (to:riri suku:sa) // so // daṣ irombo / tī:to maṣ mo:ro tuwoxka:sé maṣ // *Kiban*: a:ha // *Stjoera*: dáṣ mo:se / kari?na mo:ro o:tī ya:(ko) seka:ri:s(a) i:ro // a mo:r(o) po kari?na

¹⁷⁸ Sandhi *i:wa ta:ro*.

¹⁷⁹ The chief of the neighbouring Djuka village.

¹⁸⁰ Sandhi *i:wa to:ta*.

¹⁸¹ *Oxka:noṣ*, in the dialect of Cornelis Kondre *worxa:no*, 'the making, emergence of things', creation. The base is *ka:pī* 'to make', with the intransitivising prefix *wor-* (3.1.3.1.1), and *-no* (3.1.3.7).

have two heads? Two heads, here one, this way; and here again a little one, that was his other head. Thus it happened, thus of old the tales of the elders, the tales of the elders of this . . . this place I have heard. Yes. Yes. So did it happen. Then suddenly he went away, he went in eastern direction. He left on the cayman, on his pet animal he left again. Wherever he came he devoured the people. Now his droppings were stones of the mapi:wara-tree. *Kiban*: Mapi:wara? *Stjoera*: It was mapi:wara. Therefore there is no mapi:wara on (the banks of) all rivers; but here, there is mapi:wara; it were his droppings, it was the only vegetable food for him. Yes. *Kiban*: When do you find some mapi:wara? *Stjoera*: Indeed you have eaten this mapi:wara the other day, it is at chief Marius(' house). *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: Yes. *Kiban*: He ate the fruits of it. *Stjoera*: Yes. Indeed, so it is. Yes, so it is. Yes. And then suddenly he went away. *Kiban*: Droppings of the monster. *Stjoera*: It were droppings of the monster. It were the stones that have come up. *Kiban*: Monster's droppings have been eaten by me (general laughter). *Stjoera*: A tale, a tale, it is just a tale, I said. It is just a tale. But it is a thing you can never know, I for me . . . well, it is a thing of God. But it is just a tale. A tale of the elders; for the tales of the elders are many. If you have a grandmother, if you have a grandfather, what . . . if he has a white beard, then, if you listen when he is telling a tale you will hear the tale. So I have done, I have listened, all the tales of the elders I have heard. Grandmother's tales, grandfather's tales I have heard. Yes. So all about the making of things . . ., these things have been heard by me. Therefore (I know this story about) the engraved (rock). So. Then it went on, it came into being. *Kiban*: True. *Stjoera*: And now this Carib I was talking about the other day. Well, there has been a Carib village, exactly at the

kondre tuwaiye mař / mo:ro kopo:seme ro ¹⁸² // ino:rombo mox(ko) kariʔná / tuwe:pa:to mař itu:pó:naka mata:pi ka:se ko:u // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* mata . . . a:ha mata:pi ka:se // *Kiban:* a:ha // *Stjoera:* mo:(ro) seka:ri:sa o:tī ya:ko i:ro // so // mata:pi / mata:pi ka:se tuwe:pá:to mař / *Kiban:* mo:ro to:pu tu:pona:ka // *Stjoera:* to:pu ku:pona:ka // a:ha // to:pu ku:pona:ka // dař ino:rombo tika:s(e) i:wa mař tika:s(e) i:wa mař / tika:s(e) i:wa mař pó / ino:rombo moxkó / kariʔná / ta:ro i:wa mař / ta:ro i:wa mař // dař mo:ro po ro tīma:tapi:(rī) i:wa tī:no mař / *Kiban:* kī mo:ro mata:pi ka:pīrimbo i:wa // *Stjoera:* a:ha mata:pi ka:pīrimb(o) i:wa // wīino ta:ro // *Stjoera:* a:ha / ta:ro mox(ko) tu:na xta:ka ¹⁸³ i:wa mař // *Kiban:* a:ha // *Stjoera:* a:ha // so // dař irombó / dař te koro:pó / koro:po ko:u / koine / *Kiban:* a:ha / *Stjoera:* dař am kinīksař kuri:yará ta / kinīksař // te po xkīne:neyař ¹⁸⁴ mox(ko) kariʔna ene:ya(ř) mo:ro iwo:t . . . / mo:r(o) apo:nī apo:nīmbo ku:pó ro // kīne:neyař a:ha / kīne:neyař // “eee” (kī)ŋga:no “moxko ino:ro ra” (kī)ŋga:no // “moxko ino:ro ra” (k)ŋga:no o:tī ko kinīksa:t(oř) i:wa rī:pó / kinīksař ra:pa // a:ha / tu:na ta:ka // teee mo:ro wa:ra ro:teř mař / te mo:ro wa:ra / dař irombī:pa tuwaiye m(ař) (k)ŋga:toř // a:ha // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* ano:noxpa tuwaiye / oko:yumo m(ař) (k)ŋga:toř // *Kiban:* a:ha // *Stjoera:* dař ta:ro te i:wa ma(ř) (kī)ŋga:toř // a:ha // *Kiban:* ta:ro i:wa nu:ró ro // *Stjoera:* a:ha ta:ro i:wa nu:ró ro mař // no wař / te e(ke:)pixpo amiixpombo wa:tī mař / e:ro tu:na ku:po tuwaiye mař // *Kiban:* a:ha // *Stjoera:* a:ha / na so iwa:ra tuwaiye mař // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* teee tuwaiye mař / moxkī / am kinīksař kuri:yará ta / “moxko ino:ro ra” (kī)ŋga:no // ino:rombo po ito:rī no:ro tīxse wa:tī iwei(rī) no:ro dař kīno:ma:no ra:a tu:na xta:ka ¹⁸³ ra:a // *Kiban:* kīne:neyař itundari no:roř // *Stjoera:* a:ha // *Kiban:* irombo tīxse wa:tī iwei:po me ró / *Stjoera:* kono:má:no / *Kiban:* kīno:ma:no / *Stjoera:* tu:na xta:ka ¹⁸³ kīno:ma:no ra:a // dař iwa:ra iweixtopómbo // teee ase:me no:ro / dař / aka:re ko:u mař // aka:re tu:na ku:po mař // aka:re mař // a:ha // *Kiban:* e:ro marauni ta // *Stjoera:* a:ha e:ro ma . . . mo:ro pó ro mař / mo:ró po / aka:re mař // po:tó s(u) aka:re kinuxta:no // *Kiban:* a:ha // *Stjoera:* a:ha // so // ino:ro mo:ro po:no ro moxko mař /

¹⁸² Opposite to the rock, which is separated from the bank of the river by a narrow channel.

¹⁸³ Sandhi *tu:na ta:ka*.

¹⁸⁴ Sandhi *po kīne:neyař*.

opposite side. Now this Carib crossed (the channel between the river bank and the rock to sit down) upon it, just to make a cassava-press there. To make a cass . . . yes, a cassava-press. This is what I told you the other day. So. He crossed to make a cassava-press . . . *Kiban:* (Sitting down) upon the rock. *Stjoera:* (Sitting down) upon the rock, yes, upon the rock. Then he plaited it, plaited it, plaited it . . . oh! then this Carib was carried off by him. Then at the same place he left his cassava-press behind. *Kiban:* I see, the cassava-press he had been making . . . *Stjoera:* Yes, the cassava-press he had been making . . . *Kiban:* he was carried away from. *Stjoera:* Yes, he was carried by him into the water. Yes. So, then, then the next day, the next day already in the afternoon . . . then somebody went out in a boat, he went out. Then, ah! He saw him, he saw the man, right on top of his seat, of what served him for a seat. He saw him, yes, he saw him. "Ah", he said. "it is him", he said. "It is him", he said; what (happened)? It is true they moved to him, but he moved also. Yes, into the water. And all the time it happened that way only, all the time it happened that way. But he did not die, they say. Yes. The water-spirit did not eat him, they say. But he was carried off by him, they say. Yes. *Kiban:* He was carried off by him alive. *Stjoera:* Yes, he was carried off by him alive. Nobody . . . his body has not been (floating) on this river, to be recovered. Yes. Well, so it happened. At last it happened that someone went off by boat. "It is him", he said. And then ah! when he had not gone far yet, he threw himself back into the water. *Kiban:* He saw him when he was still coming . . . *Stjoera:* Yes. *Kiban:* And then, when he was not far . . . *Stjoera:* He threw himself, *Kiban:* He threw himself, *Stjoera:* He threw himself into the water. Thus it has happened. And then suddenly there was yet, of itself, a cayman. A cayman on the water. There was a cayman. Yes. *Kiban:* In this Maroni river. *Stjoera:* Yes, this was . . . right there it was, there the cayman was. A huge cayman emerged. *Kiban:* Yes. *Stjoera:* Yes. So. It belonged to that same place; yes, this way this engraved rock has come

a:ha / iwa:ra tuwaiye e:ro time:reŋ // a:ha // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera.*
 n // daŋ irombo ro to:ri mo:ro // *Kiban:* irombo ro / au po:roŋ
 wotu:rupo:ya o:wa // *Stjoera:* a:ha // *Kiban:* mo:ro to:pu ku:po
 taŋgutáŋgure sene:ya o:tímbo ko mo:ro naŋ // *Stjoera:* a da:ti na
 apo:nímbo ro mo:ro maŋ moxko ika:nenímbo moxko / moxko yo:-
 roka(ŋ) apo:nímbo ro mo:ro maŋ // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* iwo:-
 numeŋgarī te mo:ro / tuwo:tukú:ri ya:ko / tuwo:tukú:ri ya:ko
 apo:nímbo ro mo:ro maŋ // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* a:ha / tuwo:tukú:ri
 ya:ko // *Kiban:* amiiyarón de¹⁸⁵ e:ro po:nokó(ŋ) me / míxsa:toŋ
 mo:ro to:pu tu:poná:ka // *Stjoera:* a:ha // *Kiban:* iro:ke ko /
 ena:ri:ma mī:saŋ // *Stjoera:* uwa / irombo ka:bī seka:ri:s(aŋ) i:ro
 / mo:(ro) tu:na koroŋna / tī:to wa e:ro wa:ra wa // *Kiban:* kī mo:ro
Stjoera: mo:ro ato:ri¹⁸⁶ ene:ri se ka:bīŋ i(:)ro ke wa / e:fi :né upiŋno
 mo:ro / tato:r(e) iweiri¹⁸⁷ // *Kiban:* a:ha // *Stjoera:* ire:(ke) ko daŋ
 iyongu / pīta:nī me yaxta / pīixtome ya:(ta) ena:ri:má wa // *Kiban:*
 a:ha // *Stjoera:* a:ha / wixsa mo:(ro) koroŋna naŋna kīnixsaŋ //
Kiban: kī // *Stjoera:* a:ha / irombo po e:ro wa:ra undī po:ko ra:a
 tuwoxtapiiye poxpona:ka / a:ha // e:ro wīino // *Kiban:* moxtú:-
 mu:sax // *Stjoera:* a:ha woxtu:mu:sa koroŋna / a:ha // boiti e:ro
 wīino wa:ti irombo // *Kiban:* a / *Stjoera:* a e:ro wīino / e:ro wīino
 yaŋsi:pé maŋ daŋ kande mo:ro po pai ato:ri suku:sa // *Kiban:* kī //
Stjoera: da:ti mo:ro wīino ma¹⁸⁸ e:ro wīino te / e:ro wīino / a:ha
 e:ro wīino tuwo:tapiiye maŋ mo:(ro) no:no po:(ko) :ne ro // *Kiban:*
 a:ha // *Stjoera:* ase:pokó ro / tuwo:tapiiye // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:*
 iwa:ra tuwaiye // *Kiban:* itu:po mo:ro awa:ra :me xko¹⁸⁹ atī:tarī
 sene:ya // *Stjoera:* a:ha / da:ti na iwe:i:po ro mo:ro maŋ // *Kiban:*
 kī // *Stjoera:* da:ti iwe:i:po ro mo:ro // *Kiban:* pena:ro // *Stjoera:*
 pena:ro iwe:i:po ro mo:ro maŋ // *Kiban:* mo:ro ipu:wa:pax / *Stjoera:*
 ipu:wa:pax iwe:i:po ro mo:ro maŋ // *Kiban:* awa:rá :me xko¹⁸⁹ //
Stjoera: a:ha / awa:ra naŋga moro o:tī / si:pó maŋ / *Kiban:* si:po //

¹⁸⁵ Sandhi ŋ t.

¹⁸⁶ The den of the cayman, *Paira undī's* pet. Until the present day shamans from time to time have to check dangers associated with *Paira undī's* animals

¹⁸⁷ Whether the rock had a hole underneath.

¹⁸⁸ Apparently the narrator at first made a mistake, saying *e:ro wīino* 'this side', while he meant to say *mo:ro wīino* 'that side'. Now he is putting this straight: on this side, that is the side of the rock facing the shore, it rests on the bottom leaving no opening; on the other side of the rock, facing the river, the water is so deep that he cannot exclude the possibility that there may be a hole after all.

¹⁸⁹ Sandhi ŋme ko.

into being. Yes. So this is the end of the story. *Kiban*: This is the end. In my turn I am asking you a question. *Stjoera*: Right. *Kiban*: I see that this rock on its upper side has grooves all over, what has that been for? *Stjoera*: Well, that was his seat, of the maker of it, is was the seat of the monster. *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: When he was pondering, when he was drawing, when he was drawing it was his seat. *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: Yes, when he was drawing. *Kiban*: Now you as inhabitants of this place, do you go upon the rock? *Stjoera*: Yes. *Kiban*: So when you go you are not afraid? *Stjoera*: No. Didn't I tell it then, I went under water, this way. *Kiban*: I see, the . . . *Stjoera*: Didn't I want to see his den, that's why; whether underneath it had a hole. *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: That's why, and then as I was young, as I was a child, as I was young I was not afraid. *Kiban*: Yes. *Stjoera*: Yes, I went, we went under water. *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: Yes. And then, why! this way, with its body it held itself downward (directly to the bottom, leaving no room between rock and bottom); yes. At this side . . . *Kiban*: You dived. *Stjoera*: Yes, I dived deep. Only, that was not so at this side. *Kiban*: Yes. *Stjoera*: Yes, at this side, at this side it was deep, and perhaps at that place I have come to know its den. It is at that side; but at this side, at this side, yes at this side it holds itself (directly) to the bottom. *Kiban*: Yes. *Stjoera*: Closely to one another they hold together (the rock and the bottom). *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: It was that way. *Kiban*: I see the little awara-palm growing on it. *Stjoera*: Yes, that is what it has become, that is what it has become. *Kiban*: Since long ago? *Stjoera*: What it has become since long ago. *Kiban*: It doesn't grow? *Stjoera*: It has become so that it doesn't grow. *Kiban*: The little awara-palm. *Stjoera*: Yes, awara with this thing . . . si:po there is . . . *Kiban*: Si:po? *Stjoera*: Yes, there is

Stjoera: a:ha / si:po maṣ naŋga wa:me mo:ro sambu:r(a) ekundī //
Kiban: a:ha // *Stjoera:* i:ro ip... itu:p(o) era:a // naŋga maumáu //
 a:ha // *Kiban:* ixtu:po era:pa // *Stjoera:* ixtu:po era:a maṣ / a:ha //
Kiban: kī // *Stjoera:* a:ha // i:rokó:nimbo o:tī ko... / we:we mo:-
 rokoṣ maṣ ka:e i:ro // *Kiban:* daṣ mo:ro to:pu eme:rī ró mo:ro naṣ
 mo:ro (i)we:ixpo / a:mu opixpa ra:pa naṣ // *Stjoera:* uwa am ra:a
 opixpa // *Kiban:* ita:ka (opix)pax // *Stjoera:* uwa // *Kiban:* pita:ni
 ma:ro itu:poná:ka mī:saṣ // *Stjoera:* a:ha pita:ni ma:ro / naṣna
 ixtu:pona:ka kīnīxsaṣ // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* a:ha pita:ni ma:ro
 naṣna kīnīxsaṣ // pa:poro pita:ni kīnīxsaṣ sa:pi // e:rome tixse
 iweiṛi ke itoxpa mandoṣ // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* pena:ro mo:ro
 po ro kariṣna tuwaiye maṣ mo:ro po // *Kiban:* n n // *Stjoera:* a
 i:ro ke ¹⁹⁰ seṅge ro:teṣ iwe:pat(o:rī) naṣna / tuwexsa:pimarī mo:ro
 maṣ ¹⁹¹ // *Kiban:* kī // *Stjoera:* a:ha // o... am uta:pixpa maṣ
 irombó po:roṣ // moxko aroxpo po:roṣ / am uta:(pī:)pa no:ro maṣ //
Kiban: moxko mata:pi ka:nenimbo *Stjoera:* mata:pi a:ha uta:pī...
 aroxpo po:r(oṣ) uta:pī:pa no:ro a:mu maṣ a:ha // *Kiban:* o:we noṣ
 go ¹⁹² moxko mata:pi ka:nenimbo... *Stjoera:* mo:ro po:no ro moxko
 maṣ mo:ro po:no ro // moxko káriṣna moxko mo:ro po tikondré:rī //
Kiban: a:ha // *Stjoera:* moxko :ne kobo:seme / ma:po tuwaiye maṣ //
Kiban: moxk(o) e:tī anu:ku:tī:pá maṣ // *Stjoera:* uwa / dati na
 pena:to to:rī mo:ro maṣ / e:t(i) anu:ku:tixpa wa // a:ha // mo:ro
 káre:ta mo:ro / para:nakī:rī wa:ra káre:ta po:(ko) kaxtaine tī / tee
 e:romé no:ró nairī mo:ro otī:wa:noṣ paxporó ime:ro // *Kiban:* a:ha //
Stjoera: a:ha yuxpa te / so:so tupu:po ke / mo:ro o:tik(oṣ) apīiyaṣ
 mo:ro to:rī wī:torī ka:e irombo / a:ha //

4.16. A CONVERSATION

Kiban ¹⁹³: na:(i) e:romé po:ré tundai / marauni :wa ra // e:ro po

¹⁹⁰ I hear *i:reko*.

¹⁹¹ In recent times the village was moved upstream a little, away from the rock.

¹⁹² Sandhi ṣ k. On *noṣ*, see also 4.10. at the end, note 125.

¹⁹³ Mr. Kiban, Kibainare by his Carib name, from Saramacca R. Together we went for a week to Maroni R. on what was also for Mr. Kiban his first visit to a *tire:wuyu* village (see 0.4.1.). A day after our arrival Mr. Kiban and our hosts engaged in lively conversation specially to provide me with text material. Later, Mr. Kiban helped me in working out the recording. His contributions to the conversation are marked with his full name; as at the time I could not identify the numerous people of Bigiston who came to take part in the conversation, their utterances have only been marked A, B, C etc.

si:po, and wa:me, the hoop for the drum. That is also on it. And maumau. Yes. *Kiban*: Also on it. *Stjoera*: It is also on it, yes. These things; what . . . I would (still) call them trees. *Kiban*: So that is the custom regarding the rock, that has come into being? Hasn't anything come again? *Stjoera*: No, nothing has come again. *Kiban*: Hasn't come into it? *Stjoera*: No. *Kiban*: Do you go upon it with children? *Stjoera*: Yes, with children we go upon it. *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: Yes with children we go, all children go in play. At present, because it is far, they don't go. *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: Formerly the Caribs lived right there, there. And therefore the crossing was just near for us, it was in play. *Kiban*: I see. *Stjoera*: Nobody has been lost since then. Since he . . . he was carried off nobody else got lost. *Kiban*: The maker of the cassava-press? *Stjoera*: Cassava-press, yes, lost . . . since he was carried off nobody else has been lost; yes. *Kiban*: From where was the maker of the cassava-press? *Stjoera*: He was of that same place, of that same place. There was the Carib's village. *Kiban*: Yes. *Stjoera*: He lived opposite to (the rock), on the bank. *Kiban*: Don't you know his name? *Stjoera*: No, it is an old tale, I don't know his name. Yes. But if we had paper, paper like the Europeans, till today just all those names would still be there. *Kiban*: Yes. *Stjoera*: Yes, right, with his head only he holds these things, the thread of the tale so to say; yes.

4.16. A CONVERSATION

Kiban: Well, at last I have come to the Maroni. Here I am, at

wa // time:rem¹⁹⁴ bo¹⁹⁵ // yuɔpa ro:rīpo he pa:mī¹⁹⁶ // A: a:a to pa:mī // B: a:a to pa:mī // *Kiban*: amo:ro ra:pa paŋgoŋ // C: a:a pa:mī / iruɔpa ro:rīpo // *Kiban*: amo:ro tamu:sí // D: a:a to pa:rī yuɔpa su ro:rīpo // *Kiban*: kī / no:kī k(o) aye:tī tamu:sí // D: au / au aka:rīpo:to au pa:rī // *Kiban*: kī / enexk(o) ayaiya:r(i) sapo:i // D: apīixko // *Kiban*: kaɔ na:i i:wa xko¹⁹⁷ po:re mo:se tamu:sí e-rupá:rī ra // D: hehe / (n)a(:i) e:rome po:re ko:nei se pa:rī // *Kiban*: ha mondo su ro:rīpo wa // D: itaɔro // *Kiban*: a:a au ko wera:mapo:sa undiɔma ro:teŋ // D: kī iruɔpa maŋ // *Kiban*: amo:ro ra:pa paŋgoŋ // E: iruɔpa ro mo:pīi to / pa:mī // *Kiban*: a:a / aye:neine xkuru wo:pīi // E: itaɔro // *Kiban*: a:a // E: kī aye:ne se ro wa / pa:mī // *Kiban*: kī // E: n n aye:ne se ro wa e... aye:ne se tampokó:rī wa ma aye:karī te seta:e // *Kiban*: kī // E: ma aye:ne se ro aye:ne se tampokó:rī wa // *Kiban*: ene:ko (e)ne:ko yembatá:rī yuɔpī(ŋ) me ene:kó // koro:po yu:taxkarī po:na oɔwa // E: n n *Kiban*: ye:waɔmar(i) se aya:ta wī:to(rī) ya(:ko) kowaɔmata:ke // F: kuku:tīi tera:a // *Kiban*: a:a / mo:ro wa:ra :kuru maŋ // F: ya:poku:pe ime:ro mo:ro awo:pī:po ma(ŋ) ime:ro / apo:si... apo:sima:rī se ime:ro we:i ime:ro // *Kiban*: ce na:i se paŋgoŋ tuwa:ró to / pī:tī ko omī:ne maŋ heŋ // F: na:i (laughter) // a:a // *Kiban*: amo:ro ra:pa paŋgoŋ // G: a:a na(:i) // *Kiban*: na:i // G: yuɔpa ro:rīpo he pa:mī // *Kiban*: a:a paŋgoŋ // G: nnn nnn na(:i) / o:t(i) ya:(ko) mo:pīi // *Kiban*: koiya:ro :kuru tundai kuma:ka :wa // G: kī // *Kiban*: iromb(o) e:ro ko:koro tundai ya:rowa // G: nnn // *Kiban*: na:i taure :ne paŋgoŋ aye:rupá:rī ra // G: yuɔpa yuɔpa pa:na i:ta¹⁹⁸ tawaxpore wa apo:ko se pa:mī (laughter) / are:ku me wa:tī wa // *Kiban*: uwa (laughter) // G: iruɔpa era:a // kīpīxtota:ke to pa:mī (laughter) apī:tī ró:rīp(o) apī:natáŋ / daŋ apī:tī / aiye wixtake pī:tī me tera:a // (laughter) // *Kiban*: uwa se paŋgoŋ / omī:ne ko wa heŋ // G: na:i am tera(:a) wo:rīi sī:tak(e) o:wa ra / marauni po:no wo:rīi // *Kiban*: kī // G: a:ha / yaɔwa:me naŋ heŋ pa:mī // *Kiban*: a:a kīse:tapoi te ko:r(o) i:waine paŋgoŋ // G: uwa /

¹⁹⁴ *Time:rem* 'the engraved one' or Bigiston 'the big rock'. Both the Carib and the Sranan name of this village have reference to a large rock with petroglyphs nearby (see 4.15.).

¹⁹⁵ Sandhi ŋ p.

¹⁹⁶ *Pa:mī* 'brother-in-law', in mr. Kiban's western dialect the common term for addressing men of one's own age. His partners respond with *pa:mī*, though in their dialect *iɔwo* is normally used in this sense.

¹⁹⁷ Sandhi i:wa ko.

¹⁹⁸ *Pa:na i:ta*, not clear, left untranslated.

Bigiston. Are you fairly well, brother-in-law? *A*: Yes, brother-in-law. *B*: Yes, brother-in-law. *Kiban*: And you, dear brother-in-law? *C*: Yes, brother-in-law, fairly well. *Kiban*: And you, grandfather? *D*: Yes, my grandchild, fairly well indeed. *Kiban*: I see. What is your name, grandfather? *D*: I . . . I . . . I am Aka:ripo:to, my grandchild. *Kiban*: I see; give your hand, may I hold it! *D*: Hold it! *Kiban*: Really, the conversation with this grandfather is very pleasant to me. *D*: Ha ha. Well, at last I am seeing you now, my grandchild. *Kiban*: Sure, I am present now, I suppose. *D*: Really? *Kiban*: Yes. I, poor one, just turn and turn again without steerage! *D*: I see. Good. *Kiban*: And you, dear brother-in-law? *E*: Did you have a pleasant journey, brother-in-law? *Kiban*: Yes. I have come specially to visit you all. *E*: Really? *Kiban*: Yes. *E*: I see. I indeed wanted to see you, brother-in-law. *Kiban*: I see. *E*: n n, Indeed I wished to see you, I wished very much to see you; I did hear about you though. *Kiban*: I see. *E*: But indeed I wished to see you, to see you I wished very much. *Kiban*: Look, look, look well at my face, so that you shall not forget me tomorrow! *E*: n n. *Kiban*: And if you want to embrace me when I go away, you shall embrace me! *F*: You have made my acquaintance already. *Kiban*: Yes, so it happened. *F*: I have really been longing for you to come, really. I really wanted to k . . . kiss you, really! *Kiban*: Oh, please, dear brother-in-law, be careful. My wife, alas, is jealous. *F*: Well, hahaha. Yes. *Kiban*: And you, dear brother-in-law? *G*: Yes, wel . . . *Kiban*: Well . . . *G*: Are you fairly well, brother-in-law? *Kiban*: Yes, dear brother-in-law. *G*: Well, when have you come? *Kiban*: Yesterday I arrived at Albina . . . *G*: I see. *Kiban*: and then I arrived here this morning. *G*: nn. *Kiban*: Well, really you are talking with a smile, dear brother-in-law. *G*: Good, good . . . I am friendly disposed towards you, brother-in-law! I am not pugnacious. *Kiban*: No. *G*: Another good thing, I shall give you a wife, brother-in-law, and if your wife should love you, I shall go and bring your wife here, and then as my wife. *Kiban*: No, dear brother in law, I am so jealous, you see. *G*: Well. I shall give you another woman, a woman of the Maroni. *Kiban*: I see. *G*: Certainly; is it wrong, brother-in-law? *Kiban*: Yes, please let it not be heard by them, dear brother-in-law. *G*: No, what? Even if it will be

uwa / o:tī etaxpoto ro:rīpo na ta . . . tawaxpore kīnaixta:toŋ // *Kiban:* kaʔ (laughter) / na:i tīya:miké :ne paŋgoŋ ra (laughter) // *G:* hī:hī yuʔpa maŋ se pa:mī // *Kiban:* amo:ro ra:pa paŋgoŋ // *H:* nn // *Kiban:* na:re su ya:no kīto:ru:paŋ // *H:* a:ha na(:i) // *Kiban:* e:ro mo:ro tīme:reŋ / o:tī totī:neŋ // *H:* a:a e:ro mo:(ro) tīme:reŋ totī:neŋ // *Kiban:* kī // *H:* e:ro ka:pīte:ni weixtop(o) e:ro maŋ // *Kiban:* o i:ro / *H:* e:ro ka:pīte:ni weixtop(o) e:ro maŋ e:ro / ane:ne:pa maŋ mo:e / mo:ro / ga:ribi po am tera:a o:ruwa pre:si / o:ruwa ka:pīte:nī maŋ ¹⁹⁹ // *Kiban:* kī // *H:* e:ro p(o) e:ro / kondre ku:po / moxk(o) uwa:potombo / ka:pīte:ni wa:tī moxko maŋ uwa:potombo iweirī ke te mo:ro po moxk(o) yopo:to :wa tī:ye ma(ŋ) i:ya / o:tī moxka:roŋ tīpūixtorī:k(oŋ) ene:ne(ŋ) me ²⁰⁰ ka:e mo:ro po ka(:e) irombo // muku:saŋ // *Kiban:* mo:ro wa:ra xkuru e:ro suku:sa // *H:* a:a // *Kiban:* kī // *H:* n ba:siya wa:tī moxko maŋ mo:ro po // *Kiban:* a:ha // *H:* i:hī mox(ko) uwa:potombo iweirī ke te mo:ro po / tī:ye maŋ mo:ro po // *Kiban:* kī // *H:* a:a // ir . . . *Kiban:* indo wa:ra naŋ he(ŋ) paŋgoŋ // *H:* a:a i:ro wa:ra mo:ro o:tī / m(aŋ) ka:e / oʔwa // *Kiban:* na:i i:wa xko ²⁰¹ po:re e:ro aweito:ko(ŋ) se paŋgoŋ / pepeixto mé yu:mī e:ro po na to // *H:* a:a ane:nexpá maŋ / e:ro po ene:ko mo:ro marauni mene:ya iromb(o) e:ro // *J:* a:a // *H:* mene:ya iromb(o) e:ro // *Kiban:* kī // *H:* a:a // *Kiban:* mo:ro moxko kopo:-semé / no:kī weixtopo ko mo:ro naŋ // *J:* mo:se / *L:* yu:ka // *M:* mo:r(o) e:ro tá maŋ waitop(o) e:ro / e:ro pa:to (laughter) ²⁰² // *Kiban:* kaʔ na:i se paŋgoŋ // e:r(o) apeʔyarī:koŋ me:ró ʔne sa:káu pe / sa:kau tu:p(o) e:ro po wera:mapó:noŋ yuʔpa na // *N:* na(:i) yuxpa ime:ro tampoko:rī mo:r(o) ito:po:ko moʔya / (laughs) e:ro

¹⁹⁹ At Galibi, near the mouth of the Maroni, the villages *Ka:rawa:si undi* (Langaman Kondre), its chief *Ma:riwa:yu* (Harry), and *Iku:pa:rimin* (Christiaan Kondre), its chief *Ya:nume:si* (Ernest); the third village is the speaker's own: *Time:reŋ*, its chief Alfons Stjoera.

²⁰⁰ Alexander MacIntosh, the eldest man in a quarter of Bigiston inhabited by Caribs who belong to the western dialect group (mura:to). I do not know at what time they have settled at Maroni R. Though Alexander formally has no position as a chief or even as a basia, Alfons Stjoera treated him as such and if possible refrained from interfering directly in Alexander's quarter.

²⁰¹ Sandhi *i:wa ko*.

²⁰² The house on the French bank of the river meant by Kiban was that of a merchant from Martinique. Djuka is the name of one of the Bush Negro tribes; a village of this tribe is situated near Bigiston on the same bank of the river, to reach it one has to cross a small creek. L. wrongly understood Kiban's question to refer to the other side of this creek, instead of to the other side of the river.

heard, they will be pleased! *Kiban*: Well, dear brother-in-law is very funny! *G*: Yes, yes, all right brother-in-law. *Kiban*: And you, dear brother-in-law? *H*: n n. *Kiban*: Come on then, let us talk. *H*: It is good. *Kiban*: Is this the thing that is called 'the engraved one'? *H*: Yes, this is the one called 'the engraved one'. *Kiban*: I see. *H*: This is the village of the chief. *Kiban*: Oh, is that what it is? *H*: This is the village of the chief, this; don't you see it. Yonder, at Galibi, there are some more: three villages there are and three chiefs. *Kiban*: I see. *H*: Here, in this village the prominent elder is not a chief, but because he is a prominent elder he has been appointed there by the chief, there, how shall I put it, as a person who keeps an eye on his young men there, so I say. Do you understand? *Kiban*: Yes, in that way (as you explained it) I understand it already. *H*: Yes. *Kiban*: I see. *H*: n. He is not an underchief, there. *Kiban*: Good. *H*: Yes, but because he is a prominent elder he has been appointed there. *Kiban*: I see. *H*: Yes. So . . . *Kiban*: So it is, dear brother-in-law? *H*: Yes, so it is, as I am telling you. *Kiban*: Well, very pleasant to me is this living place of yours, brother-in-law. There is much wind here! *H*: Yes, don't you see, look here, you see the Maroni; that is (the reason of) it. *J*: Yes. *H*: You see it, that is (the reason of) it. *Kiban*: I see. *H*: Yes. *Kiban*: That (living place) of his on the other side, whose living place is it? *J*: This man? *L*: The Djuka's. *M*: That village is here, on this, this side. *Kiban*: Oh dear brother-in-law, this waterside of yours is really sandy! On the sand here, it is good walking about! *N*: Oh, it is very good really; go around in that direction, in this direction . . . go there,

ʔwa // i:ya i:ya ixtang(o) e:ro ʔwa daʔ wo:to mene:take dera(:a)
 mo:ro po // *Kiban:* kī me:ro ko:wero mo:ro tu:na xta ²⁰³ awoxpoti:rī
 moxko am wo:to wī:tori // kī:yīī “yuxpa ro:rīpo wo:to” // *N:* a:a e
 irombo / o:di anī:rī:pa tīpīixke mandoʒ to pa:mī // *Kiban:* kī
 (laughter) // amo:ro tamu:sī // *D:* hīhī // *Kiban:* o:ti wa:rā ko maʒ
 // *D:* ī... yuʔpa su ro:rīpo se pa:rī // *K:* pī:yei me maʒ // *D:*
 uwa // *Kiban:* kī // *D:* ipī:yeipa wa // *Kiban:* aye:remī:r(ī) am se
 rī:po we:i // *D:* uwa / mo:r(o) anu:ku:tī:pa paio // *Kiban:* kī *D:*
 n n / so:sombo me e:ro wa:ra wa // *Kiban:* no:kī k(o) ayu:mī e:tī se
 pa... ta... tamu:si // *D:* au ne / pa:rī // *Kiban:* a:a // *D:* pa:pa
 e:tī katu:wera // *Kiban:* kat... *D:* pena:ró tīro:mó:se maʒ ko:waro
 xko yaxta mo:se wa:ra yaxta // *Kiban:* kī // *D:* pa:pa tīro:mo:se
 maʒ // *Kiban:* moxkó / a:mu oʔme moxko naʒ // *D:* iine / *Kiban:*
 mo:se // *D:* uwa // í:me:ma moxko iʔme po:tome tera:a m(aʒ) //
Kiban: kī // *D:* uwa uwa maʒ // o:ko wo:rīya(ʒ) m(aʒ) iʔmakoʒ //
Kiban: a:ha // *D:* ina:rombo iʔmakoʒ m(aʒ) // *Kiban:* kī // *D:*
 a:ha // moxká:roʒ wo:rīyaʒ mandoʒ / ira:kú po:nokoʒ wo:kka:bīrī ²⁰⁴
 t(era:)a moxka:roʒ mandoʒ // *Kiban:* kī // *D:* i:ye // *Kiban:* kopo:-
 seme // *D:* mo:é // *P:* undī wīino // *D:* undī wīino / *Kiban:* undī
 wīino // *D:* a:ha / *Kiban:* kī // *D:* ina:ro ma:ro we:meká:topo moxko
 maʒ // *Kiban:* mo:ro pó wa:né kariʔná era:pa // *D:* a:a káriʔna
 mondo maʒ / ira:kú po / mo:ro bo tuwaiye wa // *Kiban:* apīime
 mo:ro po nandoʒ tamu:si / ira:ku po // *D:* apīime mandoʒ a:sitó //
 pita:nikoʒ moʔyabangoʒ wetu:wa:roma:p(o) (a)pīime mandoʒ e:rome
 // *Kiban:* kī // *D:* pena:ró woʔnen do ²⁰⁵ // *Kiban:* pena:ro moʔneʒ
 // *D:* pena:ro wo(ʔneʒ) ire:(k)e ko e:rome iwe:tuwa:roma:saʒ anu:-
 kú:t(i:)pa wa // *Kiban:* kī // *D:* tī:topo:se ro:rīpo wa i:ye // *Kiban:*
 aaa // *D:* a:a // *Q:* au seka:ri:s(a) o:wa paŋgoʒ // *Kiban:* ī:wa
 xko ²⁰⁶ po:re ra // *D:* (laughs) / *Q:* pa:mī / *D:* wī:topo:tīrī se wa
 pa:rī // *Q:* pa:pa e:tī seka:ri:sa o:wa // pa:pa e:tī wa:tī pó:rīrī //
Kiban: po:rīrī // *Q:* n n // moxko ro moxko / a:sito tona:bi:(m)e
 maʒ // “tampokó:rī” kīʒga:(no) (laughs) // *Kiban:* mo:ro wa:ra /
 mo:ro wa:ra te aurá(ʒ) naʒ // *Q:* n n / pa:pa / n n moxko / au /

²⁰³ Sandhi *tu:na ta*.

²⁰⁴ On the coast of French Guiana. Years ago *Aka:rīpo:to* settled there, married to a woman of that village. After she died he returned to Bigiston, together with their three children. He and his children continue to pay visits to their relations at Iracoubou.

²⁰⁵ Sandhi ʒ t.

²⁰⁶ Sandhi ī:wa ko.

there, in this direction, and you shall see the fishes, there. *Kiban*: I see; really deep your look (penetrates) through the water. There goes a fish! Hey! Are things fairly well, fish? *N*: Yes, and then it gives no greeting (in return), they are shy, brother-in-law. *Kiban*: I see, hahaha. *Kiban*: And you, grandfather? *D*: Yes. *Kiban*: How are you? *D*: Fairly well indeed, my grandson. *Kiban*: Are you a shaman? *D*: No. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: I have no shamanistic power. *Kiban*: I should have liked some shamanistic song of you. *D*: No, I do not know that either. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: n n (a modest laugh). So I am a very ordinary man. *Kiban*: What is the name of your father, fa . . . grandfather? *D*: n n. Mine eh . . . grandson? *Kiban*: Yes. *D*: Father's name was Katu:wera. *Kiban*: I see, Kat . . . *D*: Long ago he died, when I was a little child, when I was like him, here. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: Father is dead. *Kiban*: Is he a child of yours? *D*: Which one? *Kiban*: This one. *D*: No. I have no (young) children, my child is big already. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: There are none, none. There are two (grown-up) women, my children. *Kiban*: Yes. *D*: Those are my children. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: Yes. They are women. They are descendants from the inhabitants of Iracoubo. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: There. *Kiban*: On the other side? *D*: Yónder (far away)! *P*: In the east. *D*: In the east. *Kiban*: In the east? *D*: Right. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: She who bore my children belonged to them. *Kiban*: So at that place there are also Caribs? *D*: Yes, there are Caribs at Iracoubo. I lived there. *Kiban*: Are they numerous there, grandfather, at Iracoubo? *D*: They are a bit numerous. The children of yonder place (in the time I lived there) having grown up, at present there are many (adults). *Kiban*: I see. *D*: Actually, I have come (here) long ago. *Kiban*: You have come long ago? *D*: I have come long ago, and therefore at present I do not know its grown-up people. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: Now and then, I am travelling about there, though. *Kiban*: I see. *D*: Yes. *Q*: I'll tell you (something), dear brother-in-law. *Kiban*: I do like that very much. *D*: Yes. (a little laugh). I like to travel about, my grandchild. *Q*: I'll tell you the name of my father. Wasn't father's name Po:riri? *Kiban*: Po:riri? *Q*: n n. Now he, he was a bit mendacious, "enormous" he used to say. *Kiban*: Such, such was his way of speaking? *Q*: n n. Father . . . n n. He . . . I . . . am I not a descendant

au wa:tī aya:saká:rīkoŋ woxkabī:rī au waŋ ²⁰⁷ // ire:(k)e ko moxko
 pa ... // tampokó:rī / pa:pa mi sre:fi / i... / i... / i:to... / i:-
 tobix.. / i:tobixpa mo:ro ara:kabú:sa emo:kīr(i) i:wa maŋ / pa:pa
 iine pīiŋgo o:ruwatoim(a) íme:ro // *Kiban:* kaʔ / tuwo:mú:ka yu:mī /
 ayu:mī mí tuweixtome maŋ // *T:* aine // *Q:* tampokó:rī / taka:n(e)
 da(m)p(ok)ó:rī ²⁰⁸ pa:pa mi weirī (laughter) // *Kiban:* na:i / típo:-
 siné :ne pa:mī auraŋ na // (laughter)

²⁰⁷ *Q.* belongs to the small enclave of speakers of the western dialect, and has relations in Bigi Poika, Kiban's village.

²⁰⁸ Sandhi *taka:ne tampoko:rī*.

from your people? Therefore my fa . . . my late father was “enormous” himself: wi . . . with . . . without a butt was the gun he used to shoot with. My father, how? suddenly eight boar! *Kiban*: I say, your late father always was very able! *T*: Wasn’t he? *Q*: Enormous! enormously swift-footed my late father was! *Kiban*: Well, the story of brother-in-law is really nice, hahaha!

5. WORD INDEX

The purpose of this index is to provide easy access to all linguistic materials contained in the preceding chapters, and to correlate the texts with the grammar and vice versa.

All Carib words, except those mentioned in sections 2.4. and 2.5., will be found in the index.

The alphabetical arrangement is as follows: *i* comes after *i*, *ɲ* comes after *n*, *ɲ̃* comes after *ɲ*, *ɔ* comes after *y*. The few enclitics and similar elements written with an initial colon have been placed at the end of the list. No order has been observed between long and short vowels; for instance *e:marimbo*, *ema:toko*, *e:maxpa*.

The meaning of the words has been briefly indicated in the index, often a more detailed description will be found in the grammar. As a rule, third person has only been indicated either by 'he', 'she', or 'it'; so for instance *kina:royaɲ̃* has been translated 'he takes him', though in certain texts the word may require translations with 'she' or 'it'. In the second place, plurals have not been translated completely: for instance *kinu:piya:toɲ̃* 'they look for it' also admits of the other interpretations: 'he looks for them', 'they look for them'.

The entries of polymorphemic words contain a reference to their monomorphemic correlate. However, when there is a sequence of entries of polymorphemic words which all have the same monomorphemic correlate, this correlate is only given under the first entry.

Several types of words, discussed in chapter 2, were found to occur in two alternating forms, containing different phoneme sequences: one with a long vowel (e.g. *e:ka:po*), the other with a short vowel followed by *x* or *ɔ* (*e:kaxpo*). When both alternants occur in the book,

both are listed in the index, combined in one entry if they succeed one another immediately, as separate entries if the alphabet interposes other words.

Words without any morphological valence (see page 110, note 10) have been marked with a P (particle).

The origin of loan-words has been indicated with Sp for Spanish, Sr for Sranan, D for Dutch and E for English. Some word forms which exclusively belong to the eastern dialect of Carib, occurring in the texts 14, 15 and 16, have been marked as such by means of the word 'east', and explained by a reference to their western equivalents.

WORD INDEX

A

- a*, interjection, 302, 306, 314, 316, 320, 324, 338-344, 356, 360, 364, 368, 372, 380.
- a* (Sr), the, it, 354.
- a:a* (P), yes, it is true, 62, 290, 296, 300, 302, 306-314, 338, 340, 344, 354, 356, 360-368, 376-380.
- aembo*, ready, 63, 71, 139, 294, 340-346, 350.
- a:ha* (P), yes, it is well, 62, 298, 302-306, 310, 318, 326, 336, 340, 350, 362-380.
- aiko*, you must be, *we:i*, 191 n, 300, 318.
- aiku:ma*, to add a liquid, *aiku:ru*, 240.
- aiku:ru*, liquid, 237.
- aikuxto*, to make liquid, *aiku:ru*, 237, 240.
- aima*, to smoke, 39, 84.
- aima:ko*, you must smoke it, *aima*, 84.
- aima:ra*, species of fish, 41.
- aine* (P), isn't it true?, 360, 382.
- aipa:yawa*, shark, 84.
- aipi:nako*, you must be one (with your people), *waipi:na*, 191.
- aipi:naxpa*, not one with his people, 140.
- aire* (P), presently, 40, 302, 304.
- aita*, go and fetch her, *aiye*, 320.
- aitandoko*, go and fetch him (pl), 318, 320.
- aitango*, go and fetch her, 322.
- aii*, whining, 65.
- aixko*, you must be, *we:i*, 290.
- aixku:ru*, liquid, 40.
- aixtango*, go and get, *aiye*, 292, 294.
- aixti*, whining, 344.
- aiyana:no*, hands in general, *aiya:ri*, 230.
- aiyana:nokoŋ*, hands, of all kinds of people, 247.
- aiyapato:ro*, ten, 279, 280, 282, 285.
- aiya:po*, dexterity, *aiya:ri*, 248.
- aiya:ri*, hand, 40, 280, 356.
- aiyato:ne*, five, 279, 280, 324.
- aiyato:nekari)na*, one hundred, 281.
- aiye*, to get, 292, 294, 300, 320, 322, 354, 360, 376.
- aka:mi*, trumpeter bird, 14.
- aka:rani*, Bigi Poika, 352.
- aka:re*, cayman, 14, 364, 368, 370.
- aka:ripo:to* (P), proper name, 376.
- aka:wana:i*, storage tin, 62.
- akaxto:koŋ*, your uncles, *kaxto:po*, 312.
- akaxtopo*, your uncle, *kaxto:po*, 306, 308.
- ake:re-i*, species of bird, 62, 71, 85, 85 n.
- aki:ma*, to tease, 125.
- aki:make:pi*, to stop teasing, *aki:ma*, 125.
- aki:nu*, laziness, 239.
- aki:nuro*, to make lazy, languid, *aki:nu*, 239.
- aki:nuru*, his laziness, 290.
- aki:ri*, plague, danger, 89, 231.
- aki:ta*, to be visited with a plague, *aki:ri*, 233.
- aki:wa:no*, plagues in general, 89, 231.
- ako:kowa*, dove, 330.
- ako:no*, friend, 218, 302.
- ako:re:pe*, *ako:re:pe*, long (time), 352, 354.
- ako:tori*, to cut it down, *ako:to*, 298.
- ako:to*, to cut down.
- akoxtake*, you'll call out, *koxti*, 318.
- aku:mi:ya*, you are hungry, *ku:miri*, 167.
- aku:pi*, your being bathed, *ku:pi*, 134, 135, 204.
- aku:pi:ti*, your being bathed repeatedly, 204.
- aku:piri*, your being bathed, 135.
- aku:piyaŋ*, he bathes you, 161.
- aku:ra:mai*, may he look after you, etc., *kura:ma*, 193.
- aku:ri*, agouti, 13, 294.
- aku:riya:rari*, your canoe, 75 n.
- aku:ru*, soft substance, 233.
- aku:sa*, needle, 16, 45 n.
- aku:ta*, to become soft, *aku:ru*, 233.
- aku:tuma*, to cause to become turbid, *aku:tunu*, 239.
- aku:tumo*, to cause to become turbid, *aku:tunu*, 239.
- am*, some, somebody, something, 14, 36, 45, 69, 294-302, 308, 314-318, 324,

- 330-336, 340, 344-350, 356, 358, 362, 366-370, 374-380.
- ama:naku:wa*, geogr. name, 63, 338, 340.
- ama:ri:yasaŋ*, your (pl) old knife, etc., *mari:ya*, 246.
- ambo:se*, to break, *ambo:tī*, 308.
- ambo:tandoko*, go and break, 308.
- ambo:tī*, to break, pick, 44, 58, 80, 92.
- ambo:tī:pombo*, broken off, past, *ambo:-tī*, 332.
- amboxko*, break it, 80.
- ame:kuŋ*, wrist, 47.
- ame:tari*, Calabash Creek, 304.
- a:mī*, to build a house, 59 n.
- amūika*, to believe.
- amūikaxpoto*, when he had believed, *amūika*, 144.
- amūiki*, to pick up.
- amūisa:toŋ*, they pick them up, *amūiki*, 330, 338.
- amūixka:rī*, to believe, *amūika*, 338.
- amūixpombo*, recovered, past, *amūiki?*, 370.
- amūiyaro*, you, (pl), 84, 277.
- amūiyaroŋ*, (east) = *amūiyaro*, 372.
- amī:rī*, to build, *a:mī*, 336, 338.
- amī:yaŋ*, he builds it, 176, 338.
- amūma:po*, fully having been built, 58, 326.
- a:mo*, to weep over, 65.
- amombo:saŋ*, he brought in repeatedly, *amo:mī*, 124.
- amombotī*, to bring in repeatedly, 124.
- amo:mī*, to bring in, 124.
- amo:nī*, avarice, 226.
- amonga*, to raise spirits.
- amo:re*, magic.
- amo:ro*, you, 163-165, 169, 270, 274, 275, 292, 304, 306, 318, 360, 362, 376-380.
- amo:robaŋ*, somebody like you, *amo:ro*, 276.
- amo:tī*, strap, 237.
- amoxto*, to provide with a strap, *amo:tī*, 237.
- amūma*, not avaricious, *amo:nī*, 226.
- a:mu*, some, somebody, something, 14, 36, 45, 69, 119, 121, 306, 314, 324, 336, 350, 354, 356, 374, 380.
- a:mukoŋ*, some (pl), *a:mu*, 306, 314, 336-340, 344, 352.
- amu:na*, to become white, *amu:nu*, 232.
- amu:no*, to cause to become white, 235.
- amu:nu*, whiteness, 61, 64, 232.
- ana:ki:ma:pa*, not teasing him, *aki:ma*, 324.
- ana:mī:pa*, not building it, *a:mī*, 324.
- ana:poipa*, not taking, seizing him, *apo:i*, 86, 354.
- ana:po:pa*, not feeling it, tasting it, *a:po*, 296.
- ana:ro:po*, having been taken by you, *a:ro*, 324.
- ana:rorī*, being taken by you, 149, 163.
- ana:rorī:konimbo*, not really being taken by you (pl), 152.
- ana:rorī:kōŋ*, being taken by you (pl), 151.
- ana:rorimbo*, not really being taken by you, 150.
- ana:roxpa*, not taking him, 149.
- ana:roxpo*, having been taken by you, 149.
- ana:roxpombo*, not really having been taken by you, 150.
- ana:roxpomboto*, when — has not really been taken by you, 153.
- ana:roxpoto*, when — has been taken by you, 153.
- ana:roxando*, when — has been taken by you (pl), 153.
- ana:roxanimbo*, not really having been taken by you (pl), 152.
- ana:roxanimboto*, when — has not really been taken by you (pl), 153.
- ana:roxsaŋ*, having been taken by you (pl), 151.
- ana:roxtorī*, whom you do not want to take, 149.
- ana:roxtorikonimbo*, what you (pl) do not really want to take, 152.
- ana:roxtorikoŋ*, whom you (pl) do not want to take, 151.
- ana:roxtorimbo*, whom you do not really want to take, 150.
- anaŋwana:ri*, species of fish, 81.
- andiki:po*, tail-piece, *andiki:rī*, 222.
- andiki:pombo*, tail-piece, 222.
- andiki:rī*, tail, 50, 227.
- andikixpa*, without a tail, *andiki:rī*, 227.
- andi:ta*, to grow a tail, 233.
- andiŋmo*, to seat, 122.
- ane:ka:ritī:pa*, not telling it, *eka:ritī*, 298.
- ane:na:pibīn*, one who does not eat it, *ena:pī*, 360.
- ane:naxpa*, not treating him, *e:na*, 356.

- ane:ne:pa*, *ane:nɛpa*, not seeing him, *e:ne*, 302, 314, 378.
ane:pa:nopi:po, a person helped by you, *epa:nopi*, 89.
ane:po:ri:pa, not finding him, *epo:ri*, 314, 338, 352, 354, 358.
ane:tabiŋ, one who doesn't listen to him, *e:ta*, 147, 334.
ane:ta:pa, not listening to him, 326.
ane:yuku:pa, not answering him, *eyu:ku*, 350.
ani:kupixpa, not bathing him, *ku:pi*, 149.
ani:pisu:ka:pa, not causing it to rustle, *pisu:ka*, 338.
ani:robi:ma, not loving him, *ro:bima* (Sr), 358.
ani:to:ripaxpaine, not telling them a story, *to:ri*, 334.
ani:wo:pa, *ani:wɔpa*, not killing him, *wɔ*, 356.
ani:kī, illness, 233.
ani:ko, to cause to fall ill, *ani:kī*, 239.
ani:ri:pa, not giving, placing it, *i:ri*, 380.
ani:ta, to fall ill, *ani:kī*, 233.
aniɔma, to spoil.
aniɔma:po, spoiled, *aniɔma*, 332.
ano:ka, to barbecue.
ano:ka:no, he barbecues it, *ano:ka*, 298.
ano:no:pa, not eating him, *o:no*, 316, 344, 346, 348.
ano:no:po, eaten by you, 346.
ano:nɔpa, not eating him, 346, 370.
ano:ti:pa, not doing anything, *o:ti*, 356.
a:nɔkka:no, he filled it, *aɔno:pī*, 294.
anuiyaŋ, she picks it up, *anu:mī*, 316.
anuiye, to pick up, 197, 362.
anu:ku:ti:pa, *anu:ku:tiɔpa*, not knowing him, *uku:ti*, 70, 308, 322, 334, 348, 374, 380.
anumboro, drawing water, as expected, *anu:mī*, 158, 316.
anu:mī, to pick up, draw (water).
anu:ru, tongue, vibrating lath on drum-skin, 237.
anuxto, to provide with a lath, *anu:ru*, 237.
aŋgi:sa (E), shawl, scarf, 91, 218.
aŋgi:sakoŋ, shawls, *aŋgi:sa*, 91.
aŋgre:si, English, 354.
a:pa, to flow back (low tide).
a:paka:ni, bird of prey, 14.
apa:rare, savanna, 312.
apa:ti, your place, hammock, *pa:to*, 306.
apa:to, on your side, *pa:to*, 251.
apaxpo, low tide, *a:pa*, 358.
apeina, to flow, *apeini*, 232.
apeini, tidal current in the river, 232.
apeɔyari:koŋ, your (pl) waterside, *peɔya*, 378.
a:pi, redness, ripeness, 61, 238.
a:pi, broadness, 243.
api:ka, to broaden, *a:pi*, 243.
api:pi, a shallow one, *api:pime*, 261, 262.
api:pime, shallow, 261.
api:pimiy, a shallow one, *api:pime*, 262.
api:poki:ri, to slash its underwood, *api:poki*, 298.
api:ripo, cassava siftings, 326.
api:ro, to cause to become red, to ripen, *a:pi*, 238.
apiimami, to become numerous, *apiime*, 268.
apiimay, a manifold one, 260, 262, 268.
apiime, many, much, 260, 262, 268, 300, 338, 342, 380.
apiixko (east) = *apoiko*, 376.
apiiyaŋ (east) = *apiiyaŋ*, 374.
api:nataŋ, she'll love you, *pi:na*, 376.
api:ti, your wife, *pi:ti*, 342, 376.
apo:i, to seize, take, 71, 86, 88, 118, 123, 137, 139.
apoiko, seize him, *apo:i*, 71, 318.
apo:i:noŋ, those that are not taken, 86.
apo:i:po, taken, 88, 318.
apoxto, one who does not want to seize, 139.
apiiyaŋ, he seizes him, 296, 316, 342, 354, 358.
apiiya:toŋ, they seize him, 296, 356.
apiye, to seize, take, 118, 352, 356.
apo:ka, to dry.
apo:kapo:tiri, to dry one by one, *apo:ka*, 348.
apo:ko, about you, towards you, *po:ko*, 356, 376.
apo:koro, following you, 257.
apo:koro:no, what is following you, 257.
apo:kupɛ, pleased, friendly.
apo:nī, bench, mat, 216, 298, 370.
apo:nimbo, his bench, in a manner of speaking, *apo:nī*, 223, 366, 370, 372.
apo:remiŋ, owner, 47.
apo:reyaŋ, owners, *apo:remiŋ*, 228.
apo:rito, beside, 248, 256-258, 318.
apo:ritombo, away from beside, *apo:rito*, 258.

- apo:ri*, arm, 226, 322.
apo:ro:p̄i, you must not stop, *poro:p̄i*, 190, 192.
apo:ro:p̄i:se, so that you may stop, 193.
apo:roxko, you must stop, 190.
apo:roxto, you (pl) must stop, 194.
apo:roxtoŋ, you (pl) must not stop, 194.
apo:roɔneŋ, may you stop, etc. 193.
apo:ru:ko, you must wait, *poru:ku*, 308.
apo:se, to cut off, *apo:ti*, 294.
apo:sima:ri, to kiss you, *po:si*, 376.
apo:ti, to cut off (knife).
apo:to, a large one, *apo:tome*, 312, 340.
apo:tome, large, 262 n.
apo:tonoŋ, large ones, *apo:tome*, 328.
apo:we, left hand, 281.
apoxpa, armless, *apo:ri*, 226.
apoxta, you must go cut it, *apo:ti*.
apoxtuŋ, right hand, 47, 219, 281.
apo:yo, help, helper.
apu:kapo:tiri, to stab you repeatedly, *pu:ka*, 328.
apu:kuita, paddle, tree providing wood for —, 14.
apu:ru, to close.
apu:ru:po, house with walls, *apu:ru*, 314, 324, 356.
apu:ti, cover, 237.
apuxto, to provide with a cover, *apu:ti*, 237.
apu:yaŋ, it burns you, *pu:ru*, 332.
ara:ari, species of bird, 62.
ara:bo, eel-like fish, 44, 218.
ara:kabu:sa (east) = *ara:kapu:sa*, 382.
ara:kani:ru, worm, 348.
ara:kapu:sa (Sp), rifle, 17, 45 n.
ara:mari, mythical snake, 346.
ara:suka, a soft one, *ara:suka:me*, 261.
ara:suka:me, soft, 261.
ara:tono:mari, to pass you, *ra:tono:ma*, *ra:to?*, 318.
a:rawa:ta, howling monkey, 14, 116, 344, 346.
ara:we, cockroach, 51.
areisi (Sr), rice.
areisita, to get rice, *areisi*, 234.
areisixto, to supply with rice, 236.
are:ku (east) = *ore:ku*, 376.
are:pa, cassava bread, other comparable food, 119, 120, 217, 226, 314, 316, 334 n, 344, 354.
are:tiri, west, 348.
a:ripa:p̄i, to distribute, 141.
a:ripa:toxko:me, for distributing them, *a:ripa:p̄i*, 330.
a:ripaxtopo, place for distributing, 140.
a:ripaxtoɔme, for distributing it, 144.
a:ri, foliage, 227.
ari:moxpo, what has been put into it, *ari:mo*, 139.
a:rina, to get leaves, *a:ri*, 232.
a:riŋgepi, to be stripped of leaves, 248.
a:rixpa, bare, of tree, 227.
a:rixto, to provide with a wick, 237.
a:ro, to take along, 51, 77, 138, 148.
aroine, their being taken.
aro:ko, you must take him, 189, 306, 318, 320.
aro:mo:take, you shall die, *rombi*, 324.
aro:na:moŋ, a person who takes them along, 324, 328.
aro:nenimbo, abductor, 320, 322.
aro:to, he used to take him continually, 161.
aro:to:me, for taking him along, 356.
aroxpo, having been taken, 138, 148, 374.
aroxpoto, when — has been taken, 143.
aroxto, who does not want to take, 148.
aro:yaŋ, he takes him, 161, 316, 330, 340, 342, 360.
a:ru, dryness, 78, 79.
aru:ka, to cause to dry, *a:ru*, 65, 238.
aru:kapo:ro, drying it, according to expectation, 158.
aru:ta, to become dry, 234.
aru:tari:koŋ, their getting dry, 78.
a:ruwa:si (Sr), even if, 318.
aruxka, to put in, 65, 81, 87, 91, 92.
aruxkai, he has really put it in, *aruxka*, 294.
aruxkako, you must put it in, 294.
aruxka:no, he puts it in, 296.
aruxka:po, what has been put in, 92.
aruxkapo:sa:toŋ, they put and put it in, 326.
aruxkari, putting him in, 322.
a:saka:ri, fellow.
a:saka:rikoŋ, his fellows, *a:saka:ri*, 290, 298, 300, 324, 326, 344, 354-358.
asa:no, your mother, *sa:no*, 298, 312, 318.
asa:nokoŋ, your (pl) mother, 314.
asa:para:pi, species of fish, 72, 73.
asa:pato:ri, your shoe, *sapa:to*, 90.
asa:pori:to, side by side, *apo:rito*, 252, 328.
asa:ri, mouldering wood, 50.

- ase:ke*, himself, by himself; *ke*, 252, 292, 294, 324, 332.
ase:me, as, by itself, *me*, 370.
ase:na, in each other, the same hammock, *ta*, 252, 306.
ase:naunaŋ, sisters of each other, *enauxtĩ*, 248.
asenda:ka, facing each other, *inda:rĩ* (?), 316.
ase:neke, alike, *e:ne*, 157.
aseŋga:na, behind each other, *ĩnga:na*, 252.
ase:pase, together, 318.
asc:poko, on, with each other, *po:ko*, 372.
ase:po:koro, succeeding each other, 257.
ase:po:na, against each other, *po:na*, 252.
ase:rĩ, a new one, *asc:rĩme*, 261.
ase:rĩme, new, 261.
ase:ta, in each other, *ta*, 252.
ase:wa, to one another, *ŋwa*, 356.
ase:waraine, like one another, *wa:ra*, 253.
a:sika:ru, sugar-cane, 17.
a:simbami, to become hot, *a:sĩŋ*, 233.
a:si:na, to become hot, 233.
asi:na:rĩ, your flute, *sina:rĩ*, 340, 342.
a:si:nĩ, heat, *a:sĩŋ*, 215.
a:si:nĩ, his heat, 221.
a:sĩŋ, heat, 35, 40, 46, 215, 219, 221.
a:sito (P), somewhat, a little, 73, 318, 322, 342, 346, 364, 380.
asi:woina, to become clear, *asi:woinĩ*, 232.
asi:woinĩ, clarity (water), 232.
asi:woino, to cause to become clear, *asi:woinĩ*, 235.
asi:woki, satiety, 233, 239.
asi:wo:kĩ:pa, without satiey, *asi:woki*, 296.
asi:woko, to satiate, 239.
asi:wota, to become satiated, 233.
a:sĩŋma, not hot, *a:sĩŋ*, 226.
asu:wa:po, before each other, *uwa:po*, before, 108.
a:ta, if, when, as, that, 67, 292, 316, 318, 362, 364.
ata:kono, friends of one another, *ako:no*, 300.
ata:muuru, your grandfather, *tamu:si*, 324, 360.
a:tĩ, to clean (kitchen-ware, boat), 59 n.
atĩ:pĩtĩ, Tibiti R., 348.
atĩ:rama:rikoŋ, your incredulity, *tira:ma*, 326.
atĩ:ta, to grow up, 134.
atĩ:ta, his growing up, *atĩ:ta*, 134.
atĩ:ta:po, having grown up, 368.
atĩ:tari, to grow up, 372.
atĩ:yaŋ, he cleans it, *a:tĩ*, 302, 304, 316.
a:to, hole, 243.
ato:ka, to make a hole in, *a:to*, 243.
ato:puru, your stone, *to:pu*, 221.
ato:rĩ, hole, *a:to*, 372.
atoxke, vexatious, occupying one's mind, 248.
atunda, your arriving, *tunda*, 134.
atundai, indeed you have arrived, 302, 310.
a:tuŋ, fever, 35, 46, 219.
atu:riya, thorn-bush, 63, 360.
atu:ru:po, your heart, *turu:po*, 221.
atu:waroŋgeŋko, you must forget, *tuwa:-ro*, 268, 324.
au, I, 84, 85, 163-165, 169, 270, 274, 275, 277, 292, 300-308, 312, 316, 320, 324, 334, 344-348, 360, 368, 372, 376, 380, 382.
aurana:no, speaking, voice, voices, story, *auraŋ*, 308, 310, 334, 338, 350, 352.
auraniŋbo, old story, chatting, message, 69, 222, 330.
aurangepĩ, to stop speaking, 248.
aurangoŋ, languages, stories, 59, 228, 356.
auraŋ, speech, language, 45, 46, 50, 59, 69, 219, 334, 354, 380, 382.
auru, laughter, 232.
auwa, to laugh, *auru*, 232.
auwa:no, laughter, 52.
auwano:pono, causing laughter, 202, 290.
auwa:pa, not laughing, 290.
auxtĩ, house, *auxto*, 216.
auxtima, to build a house for someone, 237, 238.
auxtiŋma, without a house, 227.
auxto, house, 65, 216, 296, 298, 302, 308, 314, 322, 328, 330, 338, 350, 352.
auxtombo, dilapidated house, fish sp., *auxto*, 222, 223, 224.
awa:ra, species of palm, 33, 372.
awa:ra, like you, *wa:ra*, 33, 250, 251, 255.
awa:raine, like you (pl), 253, 255, 256.
awa:rano, one who is like you, 255.
awa:rano:konimbo, those who are not really like you, 255.
awa:rano:koŋ, those who are like you,

- 255, 256.
awa:ranambo, one who is not really like you, 255.
awa:re, opossum, 52.
awa:si, friend, girl-friend, 14.
awa:si, maize, 14.
awa:tai, small red ant, 63.
aweiri, your being, *we:i*, 310.
aweito:koʃ, your (pl) village, way of being, 378.
aweitopo, your way of being, 156.
aweitoxkoʃ, your (pl) way of being, 156.
aweitoxkoʃme, so that you (pl) may be, 156.
aweitoʃme, *aweixto:me*, so that you may be, 156, 324.
aweke:ri:nama:po, your having become a human, *kariʃna*, 312.
awe:ku:pi, your taking a bath, *ku:pi*, 204.
awe:ku:piri, your taking a bath, 207.
awe:ku:pirimbo, your not really taking a bath, 207.
awe:ku:pi:sanimbo, your (pl) not really having taken a bath, 208.
awe:ku:pi:saʃ, your (pl) having taken a bath, 208.
awe:ku:pitopo, means for you to take a bath, 207.
awe:ku:pitoʃmanʃ, thing for you to take a bath, 208.
awe:ku:pitoʃme, so that you may take a bath, 208.
awe:ku:pixpo, your having taken a bath, 207.
awe:ku:pixpombo, your not really having taken a bath, 207.
awe:ku:pixpoto, when you have taken a bath, 208.
awe:ku:pixto, one who does not want you to take a bath, 207.
awe:mī, your basket, *we:mī*, 221, 362.
awinoine, from you (pl), *wīno*, 318.
awī:to, your going, *wī:to*, 310, 362.
awī:topo:tirikoʃ, your (pl) wandering, 73, 348.
awī:to:poto, when, after you have gone, 298, 362.
awī:tori, your going, 328, 362.
awī:toxpoto, when, after you have gone, 362.
a:wo = *ya:wo*, uncle, 310.
awoiye, to stand up, *awo:mī*, 304.
awo:kurumbo, your remnant of beer, *wo:ku*, 224.
awo:ma, your being combatted, *wo:ma*, 135.
awo:mima:rikoʃ, your moving away, *emi:ma*, 338.
awo:mī, to get up, rise, 126.
awondī, uncles, *a:wo*, 310.
awongga, to beg to get up, *awo:mī*, 126.
awongga:toʃ, he made them get up, 320.
awo:pa, one that is on the edge, *awo:-pame*, 261.
awo:pame, on the edge, 261, 358.
awo:pi, your coming, *wo:pi*, 135.
awo:pi:po, your having come, 308, 376.
awo:ri, to strike, kill you, *wo*, 346.
awo:rikoʃ, to beat, kill you (pl), 140, 358.
awo:sene, your looking at yourself, *e:ne*, 79.
awo:siʃ, heaviness, 46, 219.
awo:tori:koʃ, your (pl) meat, *wo:to*, 312.
awo:wa:tori:koʃ, your (pl) tying your hammocks, *o:wa*, 326.
awoxpoti:ri = *awo:poti:ri*, your (pl) looking, *wopo:tī*, 380.
awoxto:me, that you came, *wo:pi*, 308.
awo:yaʃ, he kills you, *wo*, 328.
arkana:no, shade in general, *arkari*, 230.
arka:ri, shadow, 50, 92.
arka:rika, to make afraid, *arka:ri*.
arku:bīʃ, one that has not been used, *arku*, 318.
arsa:ri, groove, neck, 45, 50, 58, 64, 66, 302.
arsaxto, to dig a gutter, *arsa:ri*, 237.
arta, if, when, as, that, 67, 196, 248, 304, 307, 322, 324, 338, 340, 342, 346, 360, 362, 364, 368.
artaine, as they, *arta*, 326.
arto, stick with fork, 239.
artondo, to give support with fork, *arto*, 239.
ayairke:ko, you must stop being, *we:i*, 324.
ayaiya:ri, your hand, *aiya:ri*, 376.
ayaiye, to fetch, get you, *aiye*, 312.
aya:mūkaxpoto, when he had believed you, *amūka*, 338.
aya:ro, to take you, *a:ro*, 77, 149, 298.
aya:robīʃ, one who does not take you, 155.

- aya:roine*, to take you (pl), 142, 151.
aya:ronambo, one who does not really take you (pl), 153.
aya:rona:moŋ, one who takes you (pl), 151.
aya:rone:nimbo, one who does not really take you, 150.
aya:ronen, one who takes you, 149.
aya:ropo:ro, taking you, according to expectation, 158.
aya:ropo:yaŋ, he causes to take you 322.
aya:rori, to take you, 163.
aya:rori:konimbo, not really to take you (pl), 152.
aya:rorimbo, not really to take you, 150.
aya:roto:po, means, way of taking you, 149, 154.
aya:roto:pombo, former, or unsuitable means of taking you, 150.
aya:rotoɔkonimbo, former, or unsuitable, means of taking you (pl), 152.
aya:rotoɔkoŋ, means, way of taking you (pl), 151, 154.
aya:rotoɔkoŋmaŋ, something to take you (pl) with, 155.
aya:rotoɔkoŋmeine, in order to take you (pl), by more than one 154.
aya:rotoŋmaŋ, something to take you with, 155.
aya:rotoŋme, in order to take you, 154.
aya:rotoŋmeine, in order to take you, by more than one, 154.
aya:roxpa, not taking you, 149.
aya:roxpaine, not taking you (pl), 151.
aya:roxpambo, not really taking you, 150.
aya:roxpo, your having been taken, 149, 163.
aya:roxpombo, your not really having been taken, 150.
aya:roxpomboto, when you have not really been taken, 153.
aya:roxpoto, when you have been taken, 153.
aya:roxando, when you (pl) have been taken, 153.
aya:roxanimbo, your (pl) not really having been taken, 152.
aya:roxanimboto, when you (pl) have not really been taken, 153.
aya:roxsaŋ, your (pl) having been taken, 151.
aya:roxto, who does not want to take you, 149.
aya:roxtombo, who does not really want to take you, 150.
aya:roxtorikoŋ, who does not want to take you (pl), 151.
aya:royaŋ, he takes you, 161, 164.
aya:roŋnoŋ, those who do not take you, 155.
aya:saka:ri, your fellow, *a:saka:ri*, 320, 358.
aya:saka:rikoŋ, your fellows, 382.
aya:si:ni, your heat, *a:siŋ*, 221.
aya:siwo:tai, have you really become satiated?, *asi:woki*, 296.
aya:ta, if you, *a:ta*, 362, 367.
aya:ti:ta, your growing up, *ati:ta*, 134.
ayauranai, don't speak, *auraŋ*, 340.
ayauraŋ, your words, 121.
aya:wa, resin, torch, 352.
aya:woiya, you are getting up, *awo:mī*, 167, 169.
aya:wo:mīi, you must not get up, 190.
aya:wonggo, you must get up, 190.
ayaxka:ri, your shadow, *axka:ri*, 92.
ayaxta, if you, *axta*, 324, 368.
aye:ka:maŋgo, you must run, *eka:numi*, 60.
aye:ka:pa, not biting you, *e:ka*, 292, 294.
aye:kari, message about you, *eka:ri*, 376.
aye:ko:sa, at, with you, *eko:sa*, 89, 251.
aye:ko:saine, at, with you (pl), 314.
aye:ma:minata, you may go and work, *ema:miŋ*, 346.
aye:ma:mī:se, so that you may dwell, *ema:mī*, 181.
aye:mando:se, so that you (pl) may dwell, 181.
aye:maŋgo, you must dwell, 312.
aye:marī, your path, *o:ma*, 221.
aye:marī:konimbo, your (pl) former path, 245.
aye:marī:koŋ, your (pl) path, 245.
aye:marimbo, your former path, 245.
aye:mīirikoŋ, your (pl) daughter, *emīiri*, 316.
aye:mīri, your lice, *o:mī*, 308.
aye:napi:ri, your lie, *ona:pi*, 308, 336.
aye:ne, to see you, *e:ne*, 108, 135, 376.
aye:neine, to see you (pl), 376.
aye:neke, like you in appearance, 157.
aye:ne:po, your having been seen, 88.
aye:ne:sando, after you (pl) have been seen, 318.
aye:ne:sanŋ, he brings you, *enc:pī*, 88, 89.

aye:ncya:toŋ, they see you, etc., *e:ne*, 183.
aye:nuru, your eye, *o:nu*, 324, 332.
aye:pana:marī, your listening, *pa:na*, 368.
aye:pa:nopī, your being helped, *epa:nopī*, 135.
aye:pa:nopīrī, your being helped, 135, 358.
aye:pa:nopīxpa, not helping you, 358.
aye:pa:no:se, your being helped, 135.
aye:pano:toŋme, for your being helped, 318.
aye:pī:ti, your medicine, *cpī:ti*, 108.
aye:remi:rī, your shaman's song, *orc:mi*, 380.
aye:re:pari, your food, *arc:pa*, 358.
aye:reŋna, your fainting, *ercŋna*, 135.
aye:reŋnae, you faint, 170.
aye:rupa:ri, your talking, *eru:pa*, 376.
aye:ta:toŋ, he hears you, he has really heard you, etc., *e:ta*, 181.
aye:tī, your name, *e:tī*, 221, 360, 376.
ayo:no:pa, not eating you, *o:no*, 292.
ayo:nota:toŋ, he'll eat you (pl), 326.
ayo:noyaŋ, he eats you, 362.
ayu:ku:saŋ, *ayu:kuxsaŋ*, he knows you, *uku:tī*, 88, 89.
ayu:mī, your father, *yu:mī*, 119, 318, 338, 342, 380, 382.
ayu:pa:kai, have you indeed woken up, *upaxka*, 302.
ayu:pī, your being looked for, *u:pī*, 134.
ayu:pīne, your (pl) being looked for, 142.
ayu:po:sa:toŋ, they roast them one by one, *ayu:ru*, 348.
ayu:reŋ, man's name, 46.
ayu:ru, to roast, 118.
ayu:ta:sa, you are lost, *uta:pī*, 362.
ayu:ta:saŋ, do you lose your way?, 184.
ayu:taxtaŋ, will you lose your way?, 184.
ayu:wa:po, before you, *uwa:po*, 108, 251, 340.
ayu:wata, you must go dancing, *u:wa*, 194.
ayu:wataŋgo, you must go dancing, 194.
ayu:wembo, your belly, *uwembo*, 296.
ayu:wī, species of tree, 63.
ayuxta, your emerging, *uxta*, 156.
ayuxtato:po, means, place for you to emerge, 156.
ayuxtaxpo, your having emerged, 156.
ayuxtarto, who does not want you to

emerge, 156.
aŋmo, to begin something, 58, 65, 82, 87.
aŋmo:noŋ, things that are not begun, *aŋmo*, 87.
aŋmo:po, *aŋmoxpo*, something that has been begun, 87.
aŋmo:yaŋ, he begins it, 82, 324, 326.
aŋmo:ya:toŋ, they begin it, 82, 308.
aŋmoŋnoŋ, things that are not begun, 87.
aŋna, we, excl., 50, 58, 142, 164 n, 254, 277, 290, 310-314, 334, 348, 360.
aŋno:ka:toŋ, they fill it, *aŋno:pī*, 308.
aŋno:pī, to become full, 119.
aŋno:pī:maxpo, having become completely full, *aŋno:pī*, 338.
aŋnopī:rī, to become full, 120.
aŋno:pīxpo, having become full, 330.
aŋno:se, to become full, 119.

B

ba:ku, proper name, 44
baŋ, one who is afflicted with, *pe*, 44, 46, 130.
baŋga, proper name, 44.
baŋ (P), interj.: sadness, anxiety, 44, 46, 302, 310, 350, 352.
ba:siya (Sr), deputy-chief, 44, 304, 306, 378.
ba:siya:koŋ, deputy-chiefs, *ba:siya*, 306.
beda:ki (Sr), Christmas, 44, 45.
be:gīma (Sr), to pray, 23.
bi:fo, *bi:fosi*, *bi:fo:si* (Sr), before, 302, 318, 322.
bika, *bika:si* (Sr), because, 344, 368.
biri:biri, flooded savanna, 44, 366.
biyo:ro, term of abuse, 44, 63.
bo, onomat., 44, 338, 342.
bo (east) = *po*, at, 380.
bo:a, splash!, 296.
bobobobobo, onomat., 324.
boiti (Sr), except, only, 372.
boŋboŋ, bang bang, 236 n.

C

ce (P), interjection, 312, 314, 316, 376.

D

daŋ (Sr), then, after this, 292-312, 320, 322, 328, 330, 334-348, 354-376, 380.

da:ti (Sr), that, 322, 362, 368, 372, 374.
datra (Sr), doctor, 23.
de (Sr), day, 298, 348, 354.
dera:a (east) = *tera:pa*, 364, 380.
dis te, dis teḥ (Sr), at that time, 292, 298.
diye:mo (P), proper name, 44.
do:rindo:riḥ, wobbling, 46.
do:ro (Sr), through, on, 326.
do:rodo:ro (Sr), right through, 358.

E

e, interjection, 302, 324, 326, 330, 336, 340, 342, 358, 370, 380.
e:biḥ, one who is not, *we:i*, 147, 326.
ef, e:fi (Sr), if, 320, 334, 354, 360, 362, 372.
eiko, you must be, *we:i*, 65, 191 n.
e:i:pa, not become, not ripe, 86, 362.
eixko, you must be, 65, 310.
e:ixpa, not become, 140.
e:ixpaine, not become, pl. 142.
e:ka, in front of him (?), 322.
e:ka, to bite, 52, 72, 76, 78, 91.
e:ka:no, he bites him, *e:ka*, 52.
e:ka:nopi, to believe.
e:ka:no:saḥ, he believed it, *e:ka:nopi*, 290, 304.
e:ka:no:sa:toḥ, he believed something about them, 296.
e:ka:nuiye, to run, *e:ka:numi*, 83 n, 118.
e:ka:numboti, to run repeatedly, 60.
e:ka:numi, to run, 60, 118, 125.
e:ka:numi:ri, to run, *e:ka:numi*, 356.
e:ka:nunḡepi, to stop running, 125.
e:ka:nuḡno, running, 60.
e:ka:pa, not bitten, *e:ka*, 229.
e:ka:po, bitten, 91.
e:ka:ramaxpoto, when he has sold, *e:ka:-rama*, 144.
e:ka:ri:ko, you must tell it, *e:ka:riti*, 137.
e:ka:ri:potixpo, told again and again, 334.
e:ka:ri:saḥ, he tells it, 356, 364.
e:ka:riti, to tell, 137.
e:ka:riti:ri, to tell, *e:ka:riti*, 308.
e:ka:ritixpoto, when it has been told, 334.
e:ka:ri:to, he always told it then, 342, 344.
e:ka:ri:to:me, for him to tell it, 298.
e:ka:ri, message, 226, 330, 334 n.
e:kari, to bite, *e:ka*, 76.
e:kato:ko, bite them, 78.

ekaxpa, without a message, *e:ka:ri*, 226.
e:kaxpa, not bitten, *e:ka*, 229.
e:kaxpo, bitten, 91.
eke:pixpo, body, 370.
e:kési:u, species of insect, 47, 62.
e:ki, pet animal, 218, 364.
e:ki:ka, to remove the thorns from, *e:ki:-ri*, 241.
e:ki:ri, thorn, 218, 226, 360.
ekixpa, without thorns, *e:ki:ri*, 226.
e:ko:sa, at, with, 89, 248, 249, 251, 257, 304, 354, 368.
e:ko:sa, at, with him, *e:ko:sa*, 251.
e:ko:sano, one who is at, with, 284, 253.
ekundi, hoop, 374.
eku:nu, waist, 218.
eku:pibiḥ, one who does not take a bath, *ku:pi*, 208.
eku:piko, you must take a bath, 205, 209, 211, 340.
eku:pisc:ne, having just taken a bath, 205, 211.
eku:pita, you must go and take a bath, 210.
eku:pitanḡo, you must go and take a bath, 210.
eku:pito:ko, you (pl) must take a bath, 210.
eku:pixpa, not taking a bath, 204, 207, 211.
eku:sari, knee, *oku:sa*, 216.
e:ma, to throw, 51, 77, 78, 122, 123, 132.
e:mabiḥ, one who is without a path, *o:ma*, 246.
e:maka, to comb a parting, 240.
ema:miḥ, work, 46.
ema:mi, to come (moment, time), to dawn, to witness dawn, to stay overnight, to dwell, 121, 125.
ema:mi:pa, not dwelling, *ema:mi*, 346.
ema:mi:po, having dawned, having witnessed dawn, 338, 358.
ema:mi:poto, when it will have dawned, 310.
ema:miri, to arrive (moment in time) esp. dawn, to witness dawn, to dwell, 326, 346, 348.
ema:miri:koḥ, their dwelling, 354, 356.
ema:mixpo, having dwelled, 121.
ema:miḡma, to witness dawn, until it is fully day, 125.
emando:koḥ, their dwelling place, 306, 340.

- emandopo*, dwelling-place, village, 121.
emanga, to cause to last until dawn, to dwell, 312.
emanga:na, he causes it to last until dawn, 318.
ema:po, to cause to throw, *e:ma*, 132.
ema:po, to cause to fall, 132, 133.
ema:ri, to throw, 51, 77, 78, 362.
e:mari, path, *o:ma*, 75 n, 76, 78, 216, 221, 292, 322, 352.
e:mari, his path, 51, 221, 306.
e:mari:konimbo, former paths, 246.
e:mari:koŋ, paths, 246.
e:marimbo, former path, 246.
ema:toko, throw them away, *e:ma*, 78.
e:maxpa, without a path, *o:ma*, 227, 246.
e:maxpaine, without path (pl), 246.
e:maxpambo, *e:mamboxpa*, not (even) with an old path, 246.
e:maxto, to make a path, 237, 240.
e:maŋnoŋ, those who are without a path, 246.
emba:ta:po, something like a face, surface, *emba:ta*, 330.
embata:ri, face, *emba:ta*, 216.
embo, past, on the other side, 260.
embo:na, a past one, *embo*, 260.
e:me:pa, to teach, 122.
e:me:pa:nenimbo, the one you might call his teacher, *e:me:pa*, 298.
e:mere:pi, to become crazy, foolish, 120.
e:mere:piri, his becoming crazy, foolish, *e:merc:pi*, 314.
e:me:ri, custom, 374.
emexpi, forehead, 218, 310.
emi:ma, to move.
e:mi, owner, 322.
emüiri, his daughter, *emüiri*, 306, 308, 312, 350.
emüirixpa, without a daughter, 227.
emündoyaŋ, he puts it on, *emüindo*, 302, 312.
emi:ri, louse, *o:mi*, 216.
emi:yaŋma, not young, *omü:yame*, 267.
emo:ki, to send, shoot.
emo:kiri, to send, shoot, *emo:ki*, 382.
emuŋma, to deceive.
e:na, to treat, deal with.
cna:piri, lie, *ona:pi*, 216.
ena:pita, to lie, 233.
ena:pitwa, to lie, 232.
cna:pi, to eat, 60, 66.
ena:piri, to eat, *ena:pi*, 358.
e:napo:ri, snoring, 232, 302, 338.
ena:po:sa:toŋ, each of them was eating it, *ena:pi*, 344.
c:napo:wa, to snore, *e:napo:ri*, 232.
ena:ri:ma, without being nervous, *ena:-riri*, 372.
ena:riri, nervousness, 233.
cna:rita, to become nervous, *ena:riri*, 233.
ena:saŋ, he eats it, *ena:pi*, 368.
enaunaŋ, sisters, *enauxi*, 228.
enauxi, sister, 228, 248.
enaxko, eat it, *ena:pi*, 60, 358.
enaxpoti, to eat repeatedly, 60.
enaxtaŋ, he will eat it, 60.
enaxtari, nose, *onaxta*, 216.
enaxtopo, means of eating, food, *cna:pi*, 368.
cnaŋncŋ, he did eat it, 60.
cnaŋno, act of eating, 60.
c:ne, to see, 79, 88, 108, 109, 119, 121, 123-126, 132, 135, 137, 304, 310, 316, 320, 330, 340.
c:ne, his being seen, *c:ne*, 135.
encine, seeing them, 336, 338, 340.
cne:ke, looking like, 157, 231, 294.
cne:kepi, to see no longer, 125.
cne:ko, you must look at him, 190, 294, 312, 324, 360, 376, 378.
cne:ma, to abstain, 64, 78.
cne:ma, to bear a child, 87.
cne:maŋo, to cause to fast, *cne:ma*, 78.
cne:maŋo:ko, make him fast, 78.
cnembo, away from seeing, *c:ne*, 109.
cne:neŋ, one looking after something, 121, 145 n, 217, 302, 378.
cne:ne:nimbo, one looking after it, known from earlier mention, 302.
cne:pi, to bring, 66, 88, 119, 126.
cne:piri, to bring, *cne:pi*, 120.
cne:po, to show, *c:ne*, 126.
cne:po, to cause to see, 132.
cne:po, to cause to show oneself, 132.
cne:po:se, to see repeatedly, 124.
cne:poti, you must go show him, 310.
cne:poti, to see repeatedly, 124.
cne:poti:ri, to see repeatedly, 124.
cne:ri, to see, 118, 120, 137, 138, 372.
cne:rikoŋ, to see them, 332, 336.
cne:saŋ, he brings it, *cne:pi*, 294, 320, 338, 346.
cne:ta, you must go and see it, *c:ne*, 320.
cne:tandoko, you must go see them, 310.
cne:to, he saw him continually, 172.

- ene:toko*, you must see them, 336.
ene:topo, place, means to see, 217.
enexko, you must bring it, *ene:pī*, 296, 298, 308, 376.
enexpa, unseen, *e:ne*, 109, 140.
enexpo, having been seen, 217, 332, 338.
enexpo, to make bring, *ene:pī*, 126.
enexpoi, actually he has made (us) look after her, *e:ne*, 312.
enexpo:po, having been caused to be brought, *ene:pī*, 330.
enexpori, to cause him to be brought, 318, 320.
enexpoto, having been seen, *e:ne*, 338.
enexto, who does not want to see, 139, 300.
enextoko, you must bring him, *ene:pī*, 318, 322.
ene:yaŋ, he sees him, *e:ne*, 162, 165, 166, 182 n, 340, 370.
ene:ya:toŋ, they see it, 340.
enɔma, to see completely, 87 n, 125.
e:nī, this, 164 n, 270, 272-275, 334 n, 338.
enī:ko, you must drink it, *enī:rī*, 296.
enī:rī, to drink, 118, 119, 120, 125, 137, 340.
enī:rī:ma:po, drunk up completely, *enī:rī*, 340.
enī:rīɔma, to drink up completely, 125.
enīxto:ri, to cause them to come down, *wonīxto*, 330.
enī:ya:toŋ, they drink it, *enī:rī*, 310.
enu:kepi, to be dazzled, *o:nu*, 248.
enu:menɣa, to think of, 80.
enu:ru, eye, *o:nu*, 216, 324, 332.
enu:ta, to begin to understand, 162 n, 233, 234.
enuxto, to make eyelets in wicker-work, 238.
eŋ (D), and, 306, 346.
eŋgu:na, to comb, 92.
epa:nama:toko, listen (pl), *pa:na*, 73, 328.
epa:no:ko, help him, *epa:nopī*, 87-89.
epa:no:no, helping, 87.
epa:nopī, to help, 87-90, 118.
epa:nopī:rī, to help him, *epa:nopī*, 358.
epa:no:se, to help, 118.
epa:no:se, to help her, 322.
epa:noxko, help him, 87, 89.
epa:noɔno, helping, 87.
epaxkako, you must come out, *paɣka*, 292.
epe:ka:se, to buy, *epe:tī*, 147, 304.
epe:ka:sene, just bought, 202.
epe:kati, to buy, 239, 240.
epe:ma, to pay for something, 238, 240.
epe:mūn, a cheap one, 229.
epe:rī, fruit, 227, 368.
epe:riri, rice.
epe:ririmbo, a little rice, *epe:riri*, 224.
epc:tī, price.
epexpa, without fruit, *epe:rī*, 227.
epeɔma, cheap, *epe:tī*, 227.
epi:nopī, to treat with a medicine, *epi:tī*, 110, 239.
epi:no:san, he treats him with medicine, 340.
epi:samī, to give a wink.
epi:tī, medicine, 108, 109, 110.
epi:tikoŋ, medicines, *epi:tī*, 109.
epi:timbo, medicine, not effective, 109.
epi:tīɔma, without medicine, 109, 227.
e:pī, stick, 239.
epūma, to pass over, 280.
e:pimbo, former stem, *e:pī*, 223, 360, 362.
e:pindo, to provide with a stick, 239.
epixpo, pip, seed, 218.
epixsaŋ, pips, seeds, *epixpo*, 228.
e:po, above, 248, 256, 326.
epo:rī, to find, 139.
epo:rī:pombo, its formerly having been found, *epo:rī*, 360, 362.
epo:rīxpo, having been found, 139.
epo:yaŋ, he finds it, 304, 306, 326, 328.
era:a (east.dial.) = *era:pa*, 362, 368, 374, 376.
era:ma:pa, not returning, *ra:ma*, 334.
era:muka, to wipe sweat, *ora:muku*, 241.
era:muta, to sweat, 233, 234.
eramuxto, to cause to sweat, 238, 241.
e:randī, watchman, *e:raŋ*, 215, 219.
e:rando, to have guarded, 235.
e:raŋ, guard, 45, 46, 50, 59, 69, 215, 219.
e:raŋgoŋ, guards, *e:raŋ*, 228, 314.
era:pa (P), again, back, also, yet, 51, 140, 294, 300, 306, 314, 318, 332, 338-346, 350, 352, 356-360, 374, 380.
e:raɔma, unguarded, *e:raŋ*, 226.
ere:kiri, wound, *ore:kī*, 216, 218.
ere:miri, medicine-man's song, *ore:mi*, 216.
ere:pakc:pī, to run out of bread, *are:pa*, 248.
ere:parī, cassava-bread, 217, 300.
ere:parī, his food, cassava-bread, 358.

- ere:paɔma*, without bread, 226, 227.
ere:rema, to hang up.
erexkopo:pombo, his having been caused to be angry, past, *erexko*, 300.
ereɔma, motionless, *ereɔni*, 226, 290, 318, 338, 348.
ereɔna, to faint, 91, 135.
ereɔna, his fainting, *ereɔna*, 135.
ereɔni, quickness, nimbleness, 226.
e:ro, this, 51, 76, 108, 109, 164 n, 270, 273-275, 290-312, 316, 320, 324-332, 340-352, 356-380.
e:robanɔgonimbo, some of this kind, past, *e:ro*, 278.
e:robanɔgoʃ, some like these, 278.
e:robaʃ, one of this kind, 108, 276, 278.
e:roko:nimbo, these, past, 278.
e:rokoʃ, these, 76, 109, 277, 278, 332, 334, 342.
e:rombo, this, past, 109, 276, 278, 334.
e:rome, now, today, 73, 141, 308, 318, 324, 342, 348, 358, 374, 376, 380.
e:romembo, about now, *e:rome*, 356.
ero:tono:maɔ, from that time on 300, 304, 306.
eru:pa, to talk with.
e:rupa:ri, to talk with, *eru:pa*, 376.
esi:wo, on the bank, 248.
e:ta, to whistle, sing (bird), *e:ti*, 127.
e:ta, to hear, 52, 64, 88, 121.
e:tabin, one who is not heard, *e:ta*, 147.
etaiyaʃ, he laced it, *eta:mĩ*, 294.
eta:ke, sounding just like, *e:ta*, 157.
etamboka, untie.
eta:mĩ, to lace.
eta:no, he hears him, *e:ta*, 52, 308, 338.
eta:nopi, to make squeak, whistle, *e:ti*, 127.
eta:nopo, to make whistle, 127.
eta:po, to cause to hear, *e:ta*, 87 n.
eta:puru, to close, 88.
eta:sipo:ti, moustache, 64.
eta:topo, place, means of hearing, *e:ta*, 121.
eta:wa, to travel and visit, 344.
etaxpo, having been heard, *e:ta* 87 n, 121.
etaxpoto, when it has been heard, 378.
e:ti, name, call of bird, sound, 89, 298, 300, 332, 334, 340, 342, 360, 362, 374, 380.
e:ti, his name, *e:ti*, 221.
eti:ka, to give a name, 237, 238.
etimbo, original name, 223, 300.
etixpa, nameless, 227.
etixtopo, to make descend, *wotixto*, 126.
e:to, to blow.
eto:ka, to roast, *eto:ri*, 126.
eto:ko, you must blow it, *e:to*, 340, 342.
eto:ri, to burn oneself, 126.
eto:ri, to blow, *e:to*, 340, 342.
etu:wa:romako, you must take care of yourself, *tuwa:ro*, 338, 340.
ewa:nama, to turn.
ewa:nama:no, he turns it, *ewa:nama*, 320.
ewa:nopi, to incite.
ewa:ri, hammock-line, *o:wa*, 76, 77, 216.
ewa:rumambofi, to grow darker and darker, *ewa:rumi*, 124.
ewa:ruma:mĩ, to grow dark, *ewa:rumi*, 124, 233.
ewa:rumi, darkness, 233.
ewaxpori:koʃ, their gladness, *owaxpo*, 318.
ewaxporo, to calm, *owaxpo*, 239.
ewaxtoto:ko, you (pl) must tie its hammock lines, *o:wa*, 322.
ewaɔma, to embrace.
ewaɔno:saʃ, she incites his desire, *ewa:nopi*, 308.
exka (P), really, exactly, indeed, 356.
exke:i, to bake, 62, 123, 124.
exkiima, not smoky, *exkiini*, 226.
exkiini, smoke, 218.
expendoko, you must make an arrow for yourself, *ixpe*, 294.
xpo:i, to spin, 139.
xpoipo, spun material, *xpo:i*, 139.
extu:mika:senaʃ, just come out of the egg, *wextu:mika*, 328.
eya:toto:pombo, former way of calling, *eya:to*, 300.
e:yu, to call a person names.
eyu:ku, to answer.
eyuxto:me, for answering him, *eyu:ku*, 314, 358.
eɔmo:ki, to swallow, 92.
eɔwe:ti, fringe, 237.
eɔwexto, to provide with fringe, *eɔwe:ti*, 237.

F

- fadrĩ*, *fa:dir* (E), priest, 358.
fangama (Sr), to receive, 236.
fo:si (Sr), first, 294, 322.

G

ga:ribi (Sr), Galibi, 378.
giriri, onomat., rrrrr, 292.
gororo, onomat., flopflopflop, 294.
gudo:pu (Sr), De Goede Hoop, 300.

H

ha:ha = *a:ha*, 306, 308.
he (P), interjection, 294, 296, 302-306, 376.
heee, aaay, 292.
heñ (P), interj.: then, but then, mind, 46, 48, 290, 292, 298, 300, 326, 338, 344, 376, 378.

I

iba:siya:rikoñ, their deputy-chief, *ba:siya*, 306.
ibu:kuxpa, not possessing books, *bu:ku*, 226, 364.
i:ka, to get it out, *ka*, 32, 330.
ika:ko, you must speak, *wi:ka*, 191 n.
ika:nenimbo, the former maker of it, *ka:pĩ*, 372.
ika:pixpa, not made, 140.
ika:pixpaine, not made (pl), 142.
ika:pixpo, its having been made, *ka:pĩ*, 332.
ika:po, his having said, *wi:ka*, 332.
ika:raipa, not black, *ka:rai*, 225.
ika:rikana:ri, cinnamon wood, 74.
ika:ri, his saying, *wi:ka*, 336.
ika:rikoñ, their saying, 298.
ika:to:koñ, their way of calling, saying, 294.
ikaxko, you must make it, *ka:pĩ*, 294.
ikaxpoti:po, its having often been made, 334.
ikaxto:koñ, his uncles *kaxto:po*, 310, 338.
ikaxtopo, his uncle, *kaxto:po*, 310, 312, 340, 342.
i:ke, with it, *ke*, 294, 332, 346, 354.
ike:ixto:po, his having been locked up, *ke:i*, 356.
ike:ixtoto:me, for locking him up, *ke:i*, 356.
ike:ni, the mouth of it (river), downstream, *ke:ni*, 316.
iki:ri:po, its having been prepared, *ki:ri*, 332.
ikoiyeno:pamiri, its becoming dim, dusky, *koiye*, 350.
iko:ma:mi:po, its having become dark, *koñma:mi*, 316.
iko:roka:toko, you (pl) must scrub her, *ko:roka*, 322.
ikoxti, his cry, *koxti*, 328, 350.
ikoñmami:ri, its becoming dark, *koñma:mi*, 326.
ikoñmatandoko, you (pl) must go call him, *koñma*, 290.
iku:marĩ, its being high tide, *ku:ma*, 318.
iku:mato:po, the place where it is high tide, 318.
iku:mi:ko, you must wash her, *ku:miki*, 322.
ikundire:ri, his village, *kundre*, *kondre*, 334.
iku:pi, his being bathed, *ku:pi*, 134.
iku:piko, you must bath him, 205, 209, 211.
iku:pipo:sene, just bathed repeatedly, 205, 211.
iku:pipo:fixpa, not repeatedly bathed, 204, 211.
iku:pipoaxko, you must bath him repeatedly, 205, 211.
iku:pipoxtanngo, you must go and bath him repeatedly, 210.
iku:pipoxtoko, you (pl) must bath him repeatedly, etc., 210.
iku:pisc:ne, just bathed, 205, 211.
iku:pixpa, not bathed, 150, 204, 211.
iku:po, on it, *ku:po*, 77, 292.
iku:põna:ka, upon it (dir), 298.
iku:ra:mako, you must look after him, *kura:ma*, 189, 195.
iku:ra:mata, you must go and look after him, 194.
iku:ra:matandoko, you (pl) must go and look after him, etc., 195.
iku:ra:matanngo, you must go and look after him, 194, 195.
iku:ra:matoko, you must look after them, etc., 193, 195.
imainari, his garden, *maina*, 298.
imainari:koñ, their gardens, 220.
ima:ro, with her, *ma:ro*, 312.
ima:roine, with them, 320.
ima:rokoñ, with him (pl), 258.
imbo, one who is fed up with, *imbo:me*, 261.

- imboka:toko*, you (pl) must untie it, *imbo:ka*, 322.
imbo:me, fed up with, 261.
i:me, his child, *i:me*, 346.
i:me:ma, without children, *i:me*, 380.
imembo, a small one, *imembome*, 261.
imemboko, a small one, *imemboko:me*, 261, 326.
imemboko:me, small, 261.
imembome, small, 261.
imenda:masenan, one who has completed bleeding recently, *me:nu*, 314, 316.
ime:ne, difficult, 296.
ime:ro (P), suddenly, at once, 294, 374-378, 382.
imexpa, without marking, *me:ri*, 226.
imimbi, small, 40.
imimbiki:me, tiny, 261 n.
imi:no:toxpa, not pregnant, *mino:tome*, 267.
imi:po:se, to tie her up over and over, *mī*, 322.
imi:poti:pa, not tied over and over, 358.
imixpa, not tied, 140.
imo:kato:ko, you (pl) must make it boil, *mo:ti*, 318.
imo:si:nī, his length, *mo:si*, 294.
i:mu:po, who was his son, *i:muru*, 342.
i:muru, his son, 336.
ina:mu, partridge, 14.
ina:pi:rindari, to make him slightly drunk, *napi:rinda*, 304.
ina:ro, those mentioned, 277, 294, 332, 348, 380.
ina:rombo, those mentioned before, 278, 296, 338, 340, 348, 380.
ina:romombo, those mentioned before, 278, 290, 340-344, 348, 352, 354.
indapi:po, stone of fruit, 368.
inda:ri, his mouth, *inda:ri*, 366.
indo (P), here you are!, 342.
indo (Kiban) = *i:ro*, 378.
ine:ku, liana, fish-poison, 41, 64, 221.
ine:kuru, liana, fish-poison, *ine:ku*, 221.
ine:kuru, his poisonous liana, 221.
inendoto:bin, one who does not respect, *nendo*, 201.
inendotoxpa, not respecting, 201.
ine:nī:ri, her drinking it, *eni:ri*, 318.
ini:pa:toriko, their crossing it, *pa:to*, 90, 328.
i:nīwa (Sr), any, 348.
ini:wo:po, who has been killed by him, *wo*, 354.
ini:wo:sa, who have been killed by them, 338.
ino:namombo, those who in the past had left him behind, *no*, 298.
ino:ro, the one mentioned, 164 n, 270, 274, 275, 294, 308, 316, 320, 332, 340, 346, 348, 354, 358, 368, 370.
ino:rombo, next, *ino:ro*, 276, 277, 290, 292, 300-304, 332, 336, 338, 344, 346, 354-358, 362, 370.
inu:kuti:ri, known by him, *uku:ti*, 354.
inundari, to leave her, *nunda*, 348.
ingana, behind him, *ingana*, 39, 40, 251, 298.
ipairi, her elder sister, *pairi*, 322.
ipa:mī, his brother-in-law, *pa:mī*, 354.
ipaŋgi:totoko, you (pl) must put a cloth on her, *paŋgi*, 322.
ipa:ta:yariko, their shelter, *pa:ya*, 326.
ipa:ti, her place, hammock, *pa:to*, 314, 322.
ipa:tiŋma, without a place, 227.
ipa:to, on his side, *pa:to*, 251.
ipa:toŋnari, the transverse part of it, *pato:ne*, 266.
ipeiri, her elder sister, *peiri*, 314, 316, 318.
ipe:tiŋma, without a thigh, *pe:ti*, 226.
ipi:piya:nimbo, a not really thin one, *ipi:piye*, 264.
ipi:piyan, a thin one, *ipi:piye*, 260, 263.
ipi:piyango, thin ones, 263.
ipi:piye, thin, 260, 263.
ipi:ixpa, not shy, *piiri*, 226.
ipi:ta:po, his having got a wife, *pi:ti*, 344.
ipi:ti, his wife, 306, 312, 328, 342, 344, 346, 350.
ipi:yeipa, without shamanistic power, *pi:yei*, 380.
i:pobin, a hairless one, *i:poti*, 44, 229.
ipoitoŋma, not young, *poitome*, 267.
ipo:ka, to shoot it, *po:ka*, 306.
i:poka:potiriko, the fact that I keep shaving them, *i:poti*, 73.
ipo:ke:to:me, that she may smell no longer, *po:ri*, 322.
ipo:ko, with it, on it, after it, *po:ko*, 76, 296, 306, 362.
ipo:koro, following it, *po:ko*, 139, 330.
ipo:miri, to plant, *po:mi*, 298.

- ipo:naine*, against, turned towards them, *po:na*, 348.
i:po:pa, without body-hair, *i:poti*, 328.
i:po:paine, without body hair (pl), 328.
ipo:ro:ta:pa, not stopping, *poro:ta*, 346.
ipo:siŋ, its sweetness, *po:siŋ*, 318.
ipo:siŋma, not sweet 226, 290.
i:po:ta, his getting body-hair, *i:po:ta*, 135.
ipo:tiri, his lip, *po:ti*, 41.
ipo:woro, little by little, gradually, *po:-woro*, 312, 324.
i:po:pa, hairless, *i:poti*, 44, 227.
ipo:manŋako, you must light it, *po:manŋa*, 350.
ipo:ma:pa, without being set on fire, *po:ma*, 298.
ipu:kaxpo, his having been stabbed, *pu:-ka*, 354.
ipu:puru, his foot, *pu:puru*, 300, 302, 356.
ipu:puru:koŋ, their feet, 328.
ipu:wa:pa, not growing, *pu:wa*, 372.
ipu:wato:me, for him to grow, 340.
ipu:waxpa, not growing, 140.
ira:ko, large ant, 33, 40, 51.
ira:ku, Iracoubo (in 4.8. *i:raku*), 40, 330, 334 n, 380.
ira:naka, into the middle of it, *ra:na*, 300.
ira:pari, his bow, *ira:pa*, 221.
iraxpa, without a flat surface, *ra:ri*, 226.
ira:na, in the middle of it, *ra:na*, 320.
ire:ke, therefore, in that case, 296, 300, 332, 334, 342, 348, 366, 368, 372, 380, 382.
irexta, on top of it, *re:ti*, 318.
i:ro, the one mentioned, 40, 51, 77, 164 n, 270, 273, 275, 292, 298-306, 310-314, 318, 322-332, 340-348, 356, 362-374, 378.
iro:ke, therefore, in that case, 306, 308, 312, 316, 320, 322, 362, 372.
iro:konimbo, the ones already mentioned, *i:ro*.
i:roko:nimbo (east) = *iro:konimbo*, 374.
iro:koŋ, the ones mentioned, *i:ro*, 77, 277, 278, 332, 334, 348.
i:rokoŋ (east) = *iro:koŋ*, 368.
irombi:pa, not dying, having died; *rombi*, 316, 338.
irombi:poto, after he had died, 354.
irombiri, his dying, 304.
irombixpa, not dying, 41, 144, 370.
irombixpombo, her having died, past, 348.
irombo, this, past; next, *i:ro*, 276, 277, 290-334, 338, 342, 344, 350-380.
iro:mi, dry season, 40, 336.
irongoro:po, the following day, *i:ro*, *koro:po*, 310, 344.
iroxpa, not so as has just been said, *i:ro*, 278 n.
i:ruima, without elder brother, *i:rui*, 225.
iru:pa (east) = *yu:pa*, 376.
isa:no, his mother, *sa:no*, 77, 298, 308, 312-318, 322, 338, 342, 344, 350.
i:sano, his coldness, *i:sano*, 66.
isa:noma:neŋ, he who desired her, *sano:-ma*, 314.
isa:pa:to:ka, *isa:pa:to:ka*, to take off his shoes, *sapa:to*, 89.
isa:pa:to:ka:po, the place where his shoe had been taken off, 302.
isa:pa:to:ri, his shoe, 302.
isa:pima, to play with him, *sa:pi*, 308.
isa:wona:ri, the light part of it, *sawo:ne*, 266.
isa:wo:naxpa, not light, *sawo:ne*, 267.
isciri, a new one, *iseirime*, 318.
isciri, her legs, *sciri*, 322.
isc:nuru:piri, the past, 342.
isc:nuxkari, his conceit, *senuxka*, 332.
isc:pa, not liking, wishing it, *se*, 258.
ise:me (P), yet, but, then not, 125, 126, 158, 314, 332, 336, 338, 344, 358.
iske:ni, *iski:ni*, his body, *skeŋ*, 292, 360.
isu:kato:ko, you (pl) must strain it, *su:ka*, 318.
isu:wu, lath, 218.
i:ta, in it, *ta*, 32, 76, 252, 302.
i:ta, you must go, *wi:to*, 191 n, 294.
ita:ka, into it, *ta*, 257, 300, 304, 358, 374.
itandoko, you (pl) must go, *wi:to*, 308.
ita:no, its contents, *ta*, 77.
ita:nombo, its former contents, 254, 298.
itango, you must go, *wi:to*, 191 n, 304, 310, 312, 316.
ita:ribiŋ, one without contents, *ta:ri*, 306, 308, 334 n, 348.
ita:ri:pa, *ita:ruxpa*, without contents 227, 314, 348.
ita:ri:tori, filling them, 330.
ita:ro, after the (fixed) period, *ta*, 340.
itaxti, rapid, 65.
ita:ro (P), really?, 58, 298, 338, 344, 356, 376.
itii:ra:ma:pa, not incredulous, *fira:ma*, 326, 328.
itii:rama:ri, his incredulity, 336, 338.

- iiɔman*, a silent one, *iiɔme*, 261, 268.
iiɔme, silent, 261, 268, 328, 334, 340.
iiɔna, to fall silent, *iiɔme*, 268.
i:tobixpa (east.dial) = *ito:puxpa*, 382.
ito:mero:nori, the mythical age, 290.
ito:po, over it, *to:po*, 362.
ito:poine, over them, 326.
ito:po:ko, you must go repeatedly, *wi:to*, 378.
ito:poti:ri, his going repeatedly, 324, 358.
ito:potixpombo, his having gone repeatedly, past 332.
ito:puru, his stone, *to:pu*, 221.
ito:puru, his heel, *topu:ru*, 302.
ito:puxpa, without a butt, *topu:ru*.
ito:ri, his going, *wi:to*, 302, 370.
ito:riri:koniṃbo, their worthless stories, *to:ri*, 354.
ito:sene, just gone, *wi:to*, 202.
ito:to, upland Indians, 336, 338.
ito:to:ko:me, for them to go, *wi:to*, 330.
ito:toko:nimbo, former place for them to go to, 344.
ito:tokoṃ, upland Indians (pl), *ito:to*, 342.
itoxpa, not going, *wi:to*, 140, 302, 312, 322, 348, 362, 374.
itoxpo, he who had gone, 344.
i:tu, forest, 139, 219, 290, 312, 318, 354, 358.
itu:biri, old woman, 44, 45.
itu:marī, his cooking pot, *tu:ma*, 358.
itunda, his arriving, *tunda*, 134.
itundabṃ, one who does not arrive, 147, 334.
itunda:po, his arrival, 92.
itunda:poto, after he had arrived, 338.
itundari, his arriving, 300, 302, 342, 370.
itunda:samombo, their having arrived, past, 330.
itunda:sando, after they had arrived, 320.
itunda:sanimbo, their having arrived, past, 330 n.
itunda:saṃ, those who had arrived, 314.
itundase:ne, just arrived, 202.
itu:po, on it, *tu:po*, 372, 374.
itu:pona:ka, upon it, *tu:po*, 322, 326, 370, 374.
itu:rara:rikoṃ, their tuber magics, *tura:-ra*, 336.
i:turu, forest, 73, 219.
itu:ru:po, his heart, *turu:po*, 221, 354.
ituxpo, waterpool, 58.
i:wa, by, to, for him, *ɔwa*, 290-304, 314-318, 322, 324, 332, 338, 342, 346-370, 382.
i:waimanembato:me, for getting him away, *waimanemba*, 364.
i:waine, by, to, for them, *ɔwa*, 298, 300, 322, 326, 332, 338, 342-348, 354, 376.
iwa:ra, like him, this, *wa:ra*, 251, 362, 364, 368-372.
iwa:raine, like them, 253.
iwa:raro, exactly fitting it, *wa:ra*, 294.
iwe:i:po, his having become, *we:i*, 340, 360, 370, 372.
iwe:i:pombo, his having become, past, 330, 332, 334.
iweipotī:po, its having been repeatedly, 344.
iweiri, his being, becoming, 144, 304, 316, 318, 326, 330, 338, 346, 348, 358, 360, 364, 370-374, 378.
iweirikoṃ, their being, becoming, 334, 358.
iwe:i:saṃ, their having become, been, 338, 354-358.
iwe:i:sanimbo, their having been, past, 342.
iweitopo, his manner of being, 290.
iwe:ixpo, his having become, 374.
iweixto:koniṃbo, their former (way of) being, 352.
iweixto:koṃ, their way, place of being, 330, 338.
iweixto:maṃ, reason for him to become, 300.
iweixtopo, his dwelling-place, 334.
iweixtopombo, his former way, place of being, 298, 300, 342, 344, 370.
iwe:ku:pi, his taking a bath, *ku:pi*, 207.
iwe:mī, his basket, *we:mī*, 221.
iwe:na:po, behind him, *wena:po*, 312, 316.
iwe:pakaxpo, his having come out, *paṃka*, 356.
iwe:pakaxpoto, after he had come out, 354.
iwe:pato:ri (our) crossing, *pa:to*, 374.
iwe:paṃkari:koṃ, their appearing, *paṃka*, 330.
iwe:rika:ri, to clean it, *we:ri*, 298.
iwe:timbo, his droppings, *we:ti*, 368.
iwe:ti:mi:po, his having become drunk, *ti:mī*, 298.
iwe:ti:mi:poto, after he had become drunk, 342.

- iwe:timi:rikoŋ*, their becoming drunk, 354.
iwe:ti:mī:saŋ, their having become drunk, 342.
iwe:ti:ka:po, he, having become afraid, *ti:ka*, 348.
iwe:tuwa:roma:saŋ, its grown-up people, *tuwa:roma*, 380.
iwiino, from it, *wiino*, 130, 356.
i:wo, his being killed, *wo*, 134, 344, 354, 358.
iwo:kuru, his beer, *wo:ku*, 304.
iwo:kuru:koŋ, their beer, 354.
iwo:ma, his being combatted, *wo:ma*, 135.
iwo:mari, his being combatted, 356.
iwo:mi, his clothes, *wo:mi*, 360.
iwo:mī:ma, undressed, 322, 360.
iwo:mimbo, her former dress, 316.
iwo:nenimbo, his murderer, past, *wo*, 342, 354, 356.
iwo:nen, his murderer, 354.
iwo:numengari, his pondering, *enu:-menga*, 372.
iwo:pa:pīri, their swarming down, *pa:pī*, 324.
iwo:pī, his coming, *wo:pī*, 135.
iwo:pī:poto, after he will have come, 356.
iwo:pīri:koŋ, their coming, 290.
iwo:poro, killing him, as expected, 358.
iwo:poti, to beat him repeatedly, *wo*, 79.
iwo:ri, to kill him, 302, 342.
iwo:ti:to:rikoŋ, their coming down, *wo-ti:to*, 332.
iwo:ti:totoxkoŋ, their way of, occasion for coming down, 330.
iwo:to:maŋ, something for killing him, *wo*, 125, 147, 304, 342.
iwo:to:me, for killing him, 356.
iwo:to:pa, without fish, meat, *wo:to*, 350.
iwo:topo, means for killing him, *wo*, 304.
iwo:toxpa, without fish, meat, *wo:to*, 226.
iwo:xa, not struck, *wo*, 140.
iwo:xe:matopombo, his former place for going to the river bank, *pe:ma*, 300.
iwo:xa, his having been killed, *wo*, 344, 354,
iwo:ŋniki:rīmbo, in his sleep, *wonī:kī*, 338.
ixkaiti:xa, not suffering from dysentery, *ixkaiti*, 227.
ixkandopo, tool for scooping it, *ixka:mī*, 296.
ixkaŋgo, you must scoop it, 296.
ixka:ri:xa, without living inhabitants, *ixka:ri*, 226.
ixki:ri:xa, not yellow, *ixki:ri*, 40.
ixko:ma, not dirty, *ixko:nī*, 226.
ixpori:ri, creek, 40, 81, 296, 328, 358.
ixtango (east) = *itango*, 380.
ixtu:po (east) = *itu:po*, 374.
ixtu:pona:ka (east) = *itu:pona:ka*, 374.
i:ya, thither (not far); without more ado, 40, 270, 272, 275, 294, 298, 318, 322, 332, 338, 366, 378, 380.
iya:ko, at that time, in that case, *ya:ko*, 33, 41, 292, 300, 318, 324, 326, 342, 354.
iyangisa:ri, her scarf, *aŋgi:sa*, 222.
iyasiki:ri, its depth, *yaŋsiki:ri*, 257, 328.
iyasiki:xa, *iyasiki:ma*, not deep, 227, 366.
iyaxti:ma, without firewood, *ya:ti*, 227.
i:ye, there 40, 270, 272, 275, 292, 312, 380.
iyexpa, toothless, blunt, *ye:ri*, 226.
i:yo, her husband, *iiyo*, 350, 352.
iyogriyatiri (Sr), his wickedness of heart, *ogriyati*, 354.
iyongu (D), boy, 372.
iyopoto:ri, his chief, *yopo:to*, 320, 322.
iyopoto:ri, the size of it, *opo:tome*, 266.
iyopoto:rikoŋ, their chief, *yopo:to*, 320, 324-332.
iyoruwa:nori, the third one of it, *o:-ruwa*, 283.
iyoruwa:norikoŋ, the third of them, 284, 306.
iyowinduwo:pūmanorikoŋ, the sixth of them, 280.
iyowingari:ŋnanorikoŋ, the twentieth of them, 281.
iyoma, unmarried(woman), *iiyo*, 226.
iyu:mi, his father, *yu:mī*, 306, 312-318, 336-340, 344, 352.
iɔmako:nimbo, his former children, *iɔme*, 342.
iɔma:ti:pa, not finished, *iɔma:ti*, 324, 346.
iɔma:ti:po, its being finished, 346.
iɔma:ti:ri, its coming to an end, 334.
iɔma:ti:xa, not finished, 140, 346.
iɔma:ti:xa:nimbo, they who had come to an end long ago, 330.
iɔma:ti:xa:saŋ, those having come to an end, 330.
iɔme, her child, *iɔme*, 298, 328, 344.

iḍmo, her egg, *iḍmo*, 328, 330.
iḍmo:ko, you must break it, *iḍmo*, 190.
iḍna:wa, his being made sick, *iḍna:wa*, 135.
iḍna:wako, you must disgust him, 190.
iḍno:ri, her smell, *iḍno:ri*, 322.
iḍnoxpa, without raw smell, 227.
iḍwa, by, to, for him, *ḍwa*, 137, 252, 292, 302, 318, 354, 358.
iḍwaine, by, to, for them, 348.

I

iinei, *iine* (P), how, which 300, 308, 312, 320, 340, 380, 382.
iineku:ru, my poisonous liana, *ine:ku*, 221.
iḍyo, husband, 40, 218, 226, 310.
iḍyo, my husband, *iḍyo*, 344.
iḍyopa, to give a husband, 239.
iḍyota, to get married, 232, 234.
iḍyoxto, to give a husband, 239.
i:ka = *ka*, 350.
i:ko, you must place it, *i:ri*, 318.
i:makoḥ, children, *i:me*, 83.
iḿba, shoulder-blade, 218.
iḿbaki:tī, lath, 237.
iḿbakixka, to strengthen with laths, *iḿbaki:tī*, 237.
iḿbana:nokoḥ, shoulders, *iḿba*, 247.
iḿbo:i, to flatten, crush, 63.
iḿboito, he used to crush it continually, *iḿbo:i*, 161.
iḿboiyaḥ, he crushes me, 161.
iḿboiyaḥ, he crushes it, 161.
iḿbo:ka, to untie.
iḿboka:toḥ, they untied, *iḿbo:ka*, 322.
i:me, child, 67, 83.
iḿda:ri, mouth, 237.
iḿdaxto, to provide with an opening, *iḿda:ri*, 237.
iḿga:na, behind, 44, 58, 249, 251, 257, 338.
iḿga:na, behind me, *iḿga:na*, 251.
iḿgana:ka, behind, direction, 338.
i:poka:toḥ, they pluck, *i:potī*, 330.
i:popo, plucked hair, feathers, 222.
i:popombo, plucked hair, feathers, 222.
i:pota, to get body-hair, 77, 135.
i:potī, hair, feathers on body, 44, 73, 77, 79, 80, 82.
i:poxto, to provide with hair, *i:potī*, 237.
ira:pa, bow, 51, 221, 294.

ira:parī, bow, *ira:pa*, 221.
ira:parī, my bow, 221.
ira:to, beside, while facing, near at hand, 249, 256.
ira:to, beside me, *ira:to*, 322.
i:ri, to give, to place, 51, 59.
i:riḍma:toḥ, completely they placed, *i:ri*, 326.
i:ruī, older brother, *se:wo*, 216.
iḿuinaḥ, older brothers, *i:ruī*, 228.
i:sano, coldness, 66.
i:ta, in me, *ta*, 252, 256.
i:toko, you (pl) must place her, *i:ri*, 322.
i:wa, by, to, towards me, *ḍwa*, 318-322, 334, 342, 368, 376-380.
i:wo, my being killed, *wo*, 134.
ixkaita, to get dysentery, *ixkaiti*, 233.
ixkaitī, dysentery, 227.
ixkaiyaḥ, he scooped it, *ixka:mī*, 296.
ixkaiye, to scoop, 296.
ixka:mī, to scoop.
ixka:ri, fishes in water-pool, 45, 226.
ixkere:ri, cassava, *kiye:re*, 215.
ixkerexto, to give someone cassava, 237, 238.
ixki:ta, to become yellow, *ixki:ri*, 233.
ixkiri:ma, to parcel out.
ixkirindoma, to lay down.
ixkonda, to get dirty, *ixko:nī*, 232.
ixkondo, to make dirty, 235, 241.
ixko:nī, dirt, 226.
ixkoxga, to clean, *ixko:nī*, 241.
ixko:to, to chop, cut, cut up, 64, 82, 136, 137, 241.
ixko:tombo, former chopping, *ixko:to*, 136.
ixkoto:ri, to chop, cut, 137.
ixkoto:yaḥ, he cuts, crosses, 306.
ixpe, arrow, *pīri:wa*, 216.
ixpendo, to make an arrow for someone, *ixpe*, 239.
ixpendoyaḥ, he gives him an arrow, 294.
ixponu:mī, to swim, 82.
ixpopo:ta, to meet with an evil omen.
ixpopo:tai, I have met with an evil omen, *ixpopo:ta*, 292.
ixposaikī, nails on foot.
ixsano, coldness, 66, 82.
ixsano:ro, to cool, *ixsano*, 239.
ixtupo:i, to sit down upon, 71.
i:yaḥ, he placed, fixed, *i:ri*, 340, 342.
i:ya:toḥ, they placed, 330, 338.
iḍma:ka:no, he finishes it, *iḍma:tī*, 296.

iḍmako:nimbo, children of dead parent, *iḍme*, 342.
iḍmakoḥ, children, 67 n, 83, 310, 334, 350, 380.
iḍma:sa, I have finished, *iḍma:tī*, 168.
iḍma:tī, to stop, run out, be finished, 52, 125.
iḍmatī:rī, to be finished, 304.
iḍmatīḍma, to run out completely, *iḍma:-tī*, 125.
iḍma:tīksaḥ, those who had come to an end, 330.
iḍmaxka:no, he causes it to be finished, 314.
iḍmc, child, my child, 52, 67, 83, 218, 219, 312, 342, 380.
iḍmeka, to give a child, *iḍmc*, 243.
iḍmo, to break, 122.
iḍmo, egg, 218, 328, 330.
iḍmo:ka, to take eggs away from, *iḍmo, ka*, 324, 330.
iḍmoka:toḥ, they take eggs away from, 330.
iḍmona:no, eggs in general, *iḍmo*, 230.
iḍmoya:toḥ, they break, *iḍmo*, 328.
iḍmu:po, son of dead father, *iḍmuru*, 222, 338.
iḍmuru, son, 82, 218.
iḍmurumbo, son whose father is dead, *iḍmuru*, 222 n.
iḍna:wa, to make sick, 135.
iḍna:wa, my being made sick, *iḍna:wa*, 135.
iḍno:rī, raw smell, 322.
iḍno:ta, to smell raw, *iḍno:rī*, 233.
iḍwa, by, to, towards me, *ḍwa*, 121, 140, 252, 292, 308, 320, 356, 358.

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ka, to take out, away, 59, 122, 241, 318, 328, 378.
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ka:biri:ta, goat, 17, 44, 45.
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ka:bīḥ (east) = *ka:pīḥ*, 372.
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kaiku:si, jaguar, 39, 41, 65, 139, 318, 320.
kaixko, you must say, *wi:ka*, 356.
ka:koḥ, I said then, 304, 348.
ka:mi, pale-red colour, 238.
ka:miro, to cause to become pale-red, *ka:mi*, 238.
kami:sa, cloth, 17, 322.
ka:mu, flame, 239.
ka:muka, to cause to flare up, *ka:mu*, 239.
ka:muro, to cause to flare up, 239.
kande (Sr), perhaps, 338, 346, 372.
kandra (Sr), candle, 61.
ka:nenimbo, former maker, *ka:pī*, 374.
ka:no, he removes it, *ka*, 241.
kanḥkasa:pa, large lizard, 44, 57, 60, 81, 82.
kaḥe:seu, large wasp, 63.
ka:piteḥ, *ka:pite:ni* (Sr), chief, 304, 368, 378.
kaḥi:wa, capybara, 14.
ka:pī, to make, 82, 122, 137, 330-334, 342, 344.
ka:pī (P), is not, 47, 304, 334, 342.
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ka:pī:po, having been made, *ka:pī*, 364.
ka:pīri, to make, 137.
ka:pīrimbo, the former making, 137, 198, 370.
ka:pīxpo, having been made, 139.
ka:po, said, *wi:ka*, 350.
ka:pu, heaven, 330, 332.
kaḥu:ya, rope 17.
ka:rai, blackness, 225.
karaima, to blacken, *ka:rai*, 240.
ka:rairo, to cause to become black, 238, 240.
ka:raḥa:na, mosquito, 14.
kara:rima (Sr), to get finished, 236.
ka:rawa:si, rattle, sp. of tree, 51, 72, 73, 79, 332.
ka:rawa:sirī (my) rattle, 79.
karaxsawa, species of fish, 81.
kare:ta (Sp), paper, 17, 374.
kare:tana:no, paper in general, *kare:ta*, 230.
kariḍna, man, human being, Carib, 1, 281, 290-304, 320, 328, 332, 336-346, 350, 358-370, 374, 380.
kariḍnama, to cause to become human, *kariḍna*, 238.
ka:roi, you must not take me, *a:ro*, 189.
ka:roine, our being taken, 142.
karo:ko, you must take me, 189.
karo:take, I'll take you, 340.

- karoya*, I take you, you take me, 160, 165.
karu:kuri, gold, splendour, 332.
ka:saŋ, he made it, *ka:pi*, 294, 296.
kasa:piro:ma:toŋ, we make it completely red, *a:pi*, 362.
ka:se, to make, *ka:pi*, 370.
ka:si:ni, both our heat, *a:siŋ*, 221.
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ka:ta, to become fat, *ka:ti*, 233.
kataipi:na:toŋ, we are at one, *wai:pi:na*, 362.
ka:take, I'll say, *wi:ka*, 344.
ka:ti, fat, 233.
katita, both our growing up, *ati:ta*, 134.
katu:wera, proper name, 380.
kawa:i, fight, 310, 320.
kawa:ri, horse, 17.
kawe:ri, small species of fish, 296.
ka:wo, high, 108, 109, 260, 262, 263, 265, 266, 314.
kawoiya, both of us get up, *awo:mi*, 167, 169.
ka:wombo, from above, *ka:wo*, 266.
ka:wona:ka, up, 266, 338.
ka:wono, a high one, 108, 109, 163, 260, 262, 263, 265, 266, 284.
ka:wono:konimbo, those who are not really high, 265.
ka:wono:koŋ, high ones, 263, 264, 265.
ka:wonombo, a not really high one, 264, 265.
kawongako, you must make me get up, *awo:mi*, 320, 322.
kaxpa, not saying, *wi:ka*, 342.
kaxsako:toko, cut the hair in my neck, 64.
kaxtaine, if we, *axta*, 374.
kaxto:koŋ, uncles, *kaxto:po*, 228.
kaxto:po, uncle, *ya:wo*, 216.
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kaɔma, let the two of us go, 296, 308, 340, 350.
kaɔmakoŋ, let us go, *kaɔma*, 326, 328, 338, 344.
ke, with, because, 121, 145, 249, 294-304, 308, 310, 314, 320, 326-330, 336-348, 354, 356, 362, 364, 368, 374, 378,
ke:i (Sr? E?), key, 238.
ke:ixto, to lock up in jail, *ke:i*, 238.
ke:ni, river mouth, 352.
ke:ni:baŋ, like a certain river mouth, *ke:ni*, 358.
ke:pu, wet, 238.
ke:puro, to cause to become wet, *ke:pu*, 238.
keren, soundsymb., jerk.
kerenŋa, to pull loose, *keren*, 122.
kerenŋa:toŋ, they pulled them loose, 328.
kerki (Sr), church, 145 n.
kibainare, proper name, 39, 44.
kiye:re, cassava, 63, 215, 318, 350.
kiye:repuŋ, pressed cassava, 47.
kiye:reu, species of tree, 63.
ki, to rasp, 76, 122.
ki (P), interj.: I see, 360-380.
kibombonga:toŋ, banged down upon us, *bombom*, 236.
küneku:ru, both our poisonous liana, *ine:ku*, 221.
kika:e, both of us say, *wi:ka*, 168 n.
ki:kai, do not say, 191 n, 340.
kiku:mi:ya, both of us are hungry, *ku:-miri*, 167.
kiku:pi, both our being bathed, *ku:pi*, 134.
kiku:piko, you must bath me, 209.
kiku:pipoxko, you must bath me repeatedly, 210.
kiku:piya, I bath you, you bath me, 160, 161, 176.
kiku:pitaŋ, shall I bath you, will you bath me? 184.
kiku:piyaŋ, do I bath you? do you bath me?, 184.
kiku:ra:mai, you must not look after me, *kura:ma*, 189, 191, 192.
kiku:ra:mako, you must after me, 189.
kiku:ra:matoko, you (pl) must look after me, 193.
kiku:ra:ma:toŋ, you (pl) must not look after me, 194.
kimboiya, I crush you, you crush me, *imbo:i*, 161.
kinaike:saŋ, he stops being, doing, *we:i*, 308, 310, 318.
kinaipa:sa:toŋ, they distribute it, *aipa:pi*, 344.
kinaipi:na:no, he is one with his people, *wai:pi:na*, 168.
kinaixta:toŋ (east) = *kincixta:toŋ*, 378.
kina:ki:ma:no, he teases, importunes her, *aki:ma*, 308.
kina:koŋ, he was then, 212, 213.
kinambo:saŋ, *kinambo:saŋ*, he breaks it,

- ambo:ti*, 92.
kina:müikiḡma:toḡ, they gather it completely, *amüiki*, 296.
kina:müisa:toḡ, they gather it, take it up, 296, 330.
kinandi:moyaḡ, he makes him sit down, *andiḡmo*, 322.
kina:nüḡmakoḡ, he spoiled it, *anüḡma*, 176.
kina:nüḡmaḡoyakoḡ, he caused it to be spoilt, 332.
kina:noka:no, he barbecues it, *ano:ka*, 298.
kina:noka:toḡ, they barbecue them, 330.
kina:nüiyaḡ, he lifts him, *anu:mü*, 302, 316.
kina:püimeiyaḡ, they become numerous, *apüime*, 324.
kina:püimeiya:toḡ, they become numerous, 324.
kina:poimataḡ, it will hold it completely, *apo:i*, 86, 294.
kina:puru:ma:toḡ, they closed it completely, *apu:ru*, 324.
kina:rimo:yaḡ, she pours it in, *ari:mo*, 350.
kina:rimo:ya:toḡ, they pour it in, 318.
kina:royaḡ, he takes him, *a:ro*, 161, 164, 292.
kina:roya:toḡ, they take him, 318, 322, 324, 356.
kina:ruta:no, it becomes dry, *a:ru*, 296.
kina:ruta:taḡ, he will get dry, 79, 296.
kina:ruxka:no, he puts it in, *aruxka*, 294, 296.
kina:tokoḡ, they were then, 212, 213, 338.
kinauwano:potaḡ, he will cause her to laugh, *auru*, 290.
kinauwano:ḡoyaḡ, he causes her to laugh, 290.
kina:woiyaḡ, he is getting up, *awo:mü*, 167, 169.
kina:wono:ḡoyaḡ, he made her rise, *awo:mü?*, 322.
kina:wongga:no, he made him get up, *awo:mü*, 320, 322.
kina:wongga:toḡ, he made them get up, 320.
kinaxkari:ka:no, it made her afraid, *arka:ri*, 350.
kina:yoma:no, he refuses, is recalcitrant, *ayo:ma*, 318.
kinaḡno:ka:no, it filled it, *aḡno:pü*, 294.
kindoḡ, he really went then, *wi:to*, 58, 168 n, 312.
kindoḡo:saḡ, he goes and goes, 302, 314.
kindoḡo:sa:toḡ, they go and go, 336.
kineixtaḡ, he will be, *we:i*, 29, 292, 312, 322, 358.
kineixta:toḡ, they'll be.
kinciyaḡ, it becomes, 52, 294, 314, 336.
kinciya:toḡ, they were, did, 318.
kine:ka:no, he bites him, *e:ka*, 72.
kine:ka:no:saḡ, he believed it, *eka:nopi*, 292, 364.
kine:ka:nüiyaḡ, he runs, *eka:numü*, 170, 316, 354.
kine:ka:nundaḡ, he will run, 60, 318.
kine:kari:nama:no, she becomes a human being, *kariḡna*, 312.
kine:ka:ri:saḡ, he tells it, *eka:riti*, 316, 338.
kine:ka:toḡ, they bite them, *e:ka*, 324.
kine:kirindoma:no, he lies down, *ixkirindoma*, 344.
kine:ku:ḡiyaḡ, he takes a bath, *ku:pi*, 209.
kine:maiyaḡ, it comes (moment, time), it becomes day, it dawns, *ema:mü*, 326-330, 338, 344.
kine:maiya:toḡ, they witness dawn, they stay for the night, 326, 358.
kine:ma:nüḡma:toḡ, they all witnessed dawn, 326.
kine:maḡo:sa:toḡ, they threw him down repeatedly, *c:ma*, 356.
kinemboka:toḡ, he awakes them, *embo:ka*, 328.
kine:me:ḡa:no, he teaches him, *eme:ḡa*, 294.
kine:me:rc:saḡ, he goes mad, *e:mere:pü*, 170.
kine:me:rextaḡ, he'll go mad, 171.
kine:meta:no, he gets markings, *me:ri*, 79.
kine:napi:rinda:toḡ, they become slightly drunk, *napi:rinda*, 310.
kine:napo:wa:no, he snores, *e:napo:ri*, 302.
kine:ne:ma:no, she can entirely see him, *e:ne*, 312.
kine:neḡo:yaḡ, he showed it to him, 292.
kine:netaḡ, he'll see him, 171.
kine:neta:toḡ, he'll see them, etc., 180.
kine:neyaḡ, he sees him, 165, 176, 182 n, 292, 298, 340, 344, 370.

- kine:neya:toʃ*, he sees them, etc., 180, 183.
- kine:nī:topo:ya:toʃ*, he causes them to come down, *wonixto*, 330.
- kine:nī:yaʃ*, he drinks it, *enī:rī*, 296.
- kine:pa:ka:no*, he comes out, *paʃka*, 292, 326.
- kine:pa:ka:toʃ*, they come out, 328.
- kine:pa:nama:no*, he listens to it, *pa:na*, 310.
- kine:pano:saʃ*, *kine:pa:no:saʃ*, he helps him, *epa:nopī*, 89, 90, 170.
- kine:pa:no:satokoʃ*, he helped them then, etc., 181.
- kine:pa:no:sa:toʃ*, he helps them, etc., 180.
- kine:pata:yaxtoyaʃ*, he builds himself a shelter, *pata:ya*, 324.
- kine:pata:yaxtoya:toʃ*, they build themselves shelters, 336.
- kine:pa:toyaʃ*, he crosses (the river), *pa:to*, 90.
- kine:paʃka:no*, he comes out, *paʃka*, 130, 306.
- kine:paʃkanopoyaʃ*, he caused himself to be brought out, 130.
- kine:paʃka:toʃ*, they come out, 312.
- kine:pisaiyaʃ*, he gives him a wink, *epi:samī*, 342.
- kine:pindoya:toʃ*, they put the sticks on it, *e:pī*, 338.
- kine:pori:toma:no*, he exerts himself, *pori:toma* (?), 362.
- kine:po:yaʃ*, he finds, *epo:rī*, 306.
- kine:po:ya:toʃ*, they find, 356.
- kine:rama:taʃ*, he will return, *ra:ma*, 91.
- kine:rama:toʃ*, they come back, 338.
- kine:rexkoyaʃ*, it makes him angry, *erexko*, 354.
- kine:rexkoya:toʃ*, they make him angry, 354.
- kine:reʔna:no*, he faints, *creʔna*, 170.
- kine:sa:pima:no*, he plays, *sa:pī*, 314.
- kine:sa:pimataʃ*, he will play, 90.
- kine:sa:pima:toʃ*, they play together, 308.
- kine:sa:pimaʔma:toʃ*, they play it to the end, 310.
- kine:tamboka:no*, she unties it, *etamboka*, 298.
- kine:ta:no*, he hears him, *e:ta*, 170, 328, 340.
- kine:ta:pu:yaʃ*, he locks him up, *eta:-puru*, 170.
- kine:ta:toʃ*, he hears them, etc., *e:ta*, 88, 180, 181, 328.
- kine:tīiyaʃ*, he becomes drunk, *tī:mī*, 302, 304.
- kine:tīiya:toʃ*, they become drunk, 354.
- kine:tī:ka:no*, he was afraid, *tīʃka*, 338.
- kine:toyaʃ*, he blows it, *e:to*, 340, 342.
- kine:tuma:moxkopo:sa:toʃ*, everywhere they caused cooking pots to cook, for themselves, *tu:ma, mo:tī*, 344.
- kine:wa:pota:no*, she becomes glad, *owaxpo*, 312.
- kine:woto:ka:toʃ*, they fish, *wo:to*, 336.
- kine:xkīri:rika:no*, he treats him (shaman), *exkīri:rika*, 322.
- kine:yaku:waxtoyaʃ*, he gets spirits, *yaku:wa*, 320.
- kine:ya:toya:toʃ*, they call him, *eya:to*, 290, 348.
- kine:yu:saʃ*, she answers him, *eyu:ku*, 328, 356.
- kineʔmo:taʃ*, *kineʔmoxtaʃ*, he'll swallow it, *eʔmo:ki*, 92.
- kineʔne:sakoʃ*, he brought it then, *ene:pī*, 172.
- kineʔne:saʃ*, he brings it, 170, 292, 294, 320.
- kīni:ka:muta:no*, it flares up, *ka:mu*, 300.
- kīni:ka:no*, he removes it, *ka*, 241.
- kīni:kapī:rikoʃ*, being made by us (incl), *ka:pī*, 360.
- kīni:ka:toʃ*, they took him out, *ka*, 356.
- kīni:kawaima:toʃ*, he fights them, *ka:wa:i*, 320.
- kīni:kīri:taʃ*, he'll make, prepare it, *kī:rī*, 340.
- kīni:kīri:yaʃ*, he makes it, 294.
- kīni:kīri:ya:toʃ*, they make it, 318.
- kīni:kīyaʃ*, she rasps it, *kī*, 350.
- kīni:koiyaʃ*, she springs, jumps up; *ko:-mī*, 314.
- kīni:ko:maiyaʃ*, *kīni:koʔmaiyaʃ*, it is getting dark (for him), *koʔma:mī*, 176, 290, 306, 308, 324, 326.
- kīni:ko:ma:no*, she called her, *koʔma*, 308.
- kīni:ko:manga:toʃ*, they make it last until dark, *koʔma:mī*, 316.
- kīni:ko:mapoya:toʃ*, they had him called, *koʔma*, 290.
- kīni:ko:ma:toʃ*, he called them, 320.
- kīni:koro:tīʔma:no*, it becomes fully bur-

- ned off, *koro:tī*, 300.
kīni:ko:ta:no, he cries, *kortī*, 328.
kīni:ko:tataŋ, he'll cry out, 318, 328.
kīni:korta:no, he cries, 292, 328.
kīni:koḍmaiyāŋ, it becomes dark, *koḍ-
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kīni:koḍma:toŋ, they called them, *koḍma,
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kīni:ku:mī:yaŋ, he is hungry, *ku:mīrī*,
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kīni:kupī:poyaŋ, he has him bathed, *ku:-
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kīni:kupī:yaŋ, he bathes him, 161, 164.
kīni:ku:piḍma:no, he bathes him com-
pletely, 209.
kīnimboiyāŋ, he crushes it, *imbo:i*, 63,
161.
kīni:mero:yaŋ, he draws it, *me:rī*, 79.
kīni:mīyaŋ, he ties it, *mī*, 294.
kīni:mīya:toŋ, they tie it, 356.
kīni:mo:ka:toŋ, they boil it, *mo:kī*, 318.
kīni:momo:saŋ, she waits for her, *momo:-
kī*, 350.
kīni:momo:sa:toŋ, he waited for them,
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kīni:mo:rikataŋ, he will make noise,
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kīni:mo:roma:no (Sr), it overpowers
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kīni:mo:saŋ, he sends him, *mo:kī*, 322.
kīni:mo:sa:toŋ, he sends them, 318.
kīni:moxkapoyaŋ, he had it cooked, *mo:-
tī*, 358.
kīni:noyaŋ, he leaves him behind, *no*,
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kīni:noya:toŋ, they left her behind, 314.
kīni:pako:toya:toŋ, they slash her, *pa-
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kīni:pa:samaḍma:toŋ, he passed all of
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kīni:pasa:moya:toŋ, they slap his cheeks,
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kīni:paxka:toŋ, they bring him out, *pax-
ka*, 356.
kīni:pika:no, she peels it, *pi:ka*, 350.
kīni:pīta:no, he finds a wife, *pī:tī*, 344.
kīni:poiyaŋ, he plants it, *po:mī*, 170.
kīni:poka:toŋ, they shoot him, *po:ka*,
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kīni:poro:saŋ, he stops, *poro:pī*, 176.
kīni:poro:sa:toŋ, they stop, 336, 356.
kīni:poru:sa:toŋ, they wait, *poru:ku*,
320.
kīni:putuxtoḍma:no, he had already given
him a club, *pu:tu*, 125, 342.
kīni:romo:saŋ, he dies, *rombī*, 354, 360.
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kīsa:poine, let's catch them, *apo:i*, 296.
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kīse:ma:toŋ, we throw it, *e:ma*, 362.
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kīsi:kura:ma:toŋ, you (pl) must not look after him, etc., 194.
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kīsi:wotoŋ, don't kill him, *wo*, 354.
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kīsiŋmoseŋ, let's break it, 328.
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kīsiŋma:wai, you must not disgust him, *īna:wa*, 190.
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kī:ta, in both of us, *ta*, 252.
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ki:to:puru, both our stone, *to:pu*, 221.
ki:to:rikoŋ, our going *wi:to*, 328.
ki:to:ru:paŋ, let the two of us talk, *eru:-pa*, 378.
ki:to:se, let the two of us go, *wi:to*, 338.
ki:to:sene:poi, you must not show yourself, *e:ne*, 318.
ki:to:sene:potii, all the time you must not show yourself, 124, 318.
ki:to:tamo:toŋ, you (pl) must not wail, *a:mo*, 316.
ki:to:tupu:kaŋmasen, let's completely shave our heads, *upu:po*, 326.
kitunda, both our arriving, *tunda*, 134.
ki:tu:ru:po, both our hearts, *uru:po*, 221.
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ki:we:ku:pi, both our taking a bath, *ku:-pi*, 207.
ki:we:mi, both our basket, *we:mi*, 221.
ki:wo, both our being killed, *wo*, 134.
ki:wo:ma, both our being combatted, *wo:-ma*, 135.
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ki:rsa, both of us go, *wi:to*, 168 n.
ki:xta:toŋ, we'll go, 330.
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koine (east) = *koiye*, 370.
koiya:ro, yesterday, 376.
koiye, late afternoon, evening, 233, 308, 316, 318, 324, 326, 350, 356.
koiyembo, when it was hardly *koiye*, 338.
koiyeno:pami, to become late afternoon, *koiye*, 233.
koka:nuiya, both of us run, *eka:numi*, 167.
ko:kapo:take, you will have me bitten, *e:ka*, 73, 294.
koka:ritii, you must not tell about me, *eka:riti*, 298.
ko:ko, night, 316, 328, 356.
ko:koro, early in the morning, 73, 306, 308, 310, 316, 326, 328, 340, 344, 350, 376.
koko:sa, at, with both of us, *eko:sa*, 251.
ko:ma:no, he called her, him, *ko:ma*, 306.
ko:mari, both our path, *o:ma*, 221.
kombebaŋ, like Combe, 356.
kome:pata:toŋ, I'll teach you (pl), *eme:-pa*, 332.
kondre (Sr), village, 300, 356, 358, 370, 378.
ko:ne, both our being seen, *e:ne*, 135.
ko:nei, may I see you, I really see you, 292, 376.
ko:nei, you must not look at me, 190.
kone:ko, you must look at me, 190.
kone:ya, I see you, you see me, 161.
kone:ya:toŋ, I see you (pl), 183.
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kopo:se, opposite side 261 n, 266.
kopo:seme, on the opposite side, 261, 266, 370, 378, 380.
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- ko:po:seno*, one on the opposite side, *ko:po:seme*, 261, 266.
ko:re (P), considering that, it is because, obviously, 302, 314, 318, 344, 346.
koreḡna, both our fainting, *ereḡna*, 135.
ko:ri, decay, 233.
ko:ro, to cause to decay, *ko:ri*, 239.
ko:ro (P), please, you may, 110 n, 290, 294-298, 302, 304, 310, 312, 318, 322-326, 340, 376.
koroika, to cause to graze (against), 122.
ko:roka, to scrub, 236.
ko:roka:no, he scrubbed, *ko:roka*, 292.
koro:mo, recent, 260.
koro:mono, a recent thing, *koro:mo*, 260.
koro:na, deep, 320.
koro:naka, into the depths, *koro:na*, 266.
ko:ronersi, Cornelis, 304.
koro:po, tomorrow, 296, 298, 310, 328, 330, 334, 344, 350, 370, 376.
ko:roro:ka, to peel.
koro:toko, chicken, 324, 328, 330.
koroḡna = *koro:na*, 372.
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ko:tiri:koḡ, our thing, *o:ti*, 362.
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kowa:rono, a very small one, *kowa:ro*, 260.
kowaḡmata:ke, you'll embrace me, *ewaḡma*, 376.
ko:wei, hook, 61, 338.
kowe:ro (P) = *ko:re?*, 314.
ko:wero = *kowe:ro*, 380.
ko:ko, coconut, 14.
ko:po (P), surpassing, 249.
ko:xi, cry, 218.
ko:yu:yaḡ, you are calling me names, *e:yu*, 354.
koḡma, to call.
koḡma:mi, to become dark.
koḡma:mii, it has really become dark for me, *koḡma:mi*, 290.
koḡma:no, he called him, *koḡma*, 316-322.
koḡmaḡga:toḡ, they make it last until dark, *koḡma:mi*, 316.
koḡno (P) = *ko:u*, 322.
kre, onomat., 324.
kuita, spindle, 39.
kuku:ti, I really know you, *uku:ti*, 376.
ku:ma, to be high tide.
kuma:ka, cotton-silk tree, Albina, 344, 346, 376.
kuma:wari, heron, blue crane, 14, 336.
kume:ti, tree, providing dye, 14.
ku:miki, to wash.
ku:mikaḡ, trough, 46, 73.
ku:mi:kepi, to be no longer hungry, *ku:miri*, 125.
ku:mi:no, condition of starving, 202, 344.
ku:miri, to starve, 73, 88, 118, 125.
ku:mi:ya, I am hungry, *ku:miri*, 88, 167.
ku:mi:yakoḡ, I was hungry then, 171.
ku:mi:ye, to starve, 118.
kuna:mi, kind of fish-poison, 14.
kuna:waru, tree frog, 14.
kupa:nama, Coppename R., 336, 350.
ku:pesi:ni po:ripo, bushmaster-snake, 222.
ku:pi, to bath, 91, 122, 134.
ku:pi, my being bathed, *ku:pi*, 134.
ku:pi, both our being looked for, *u:pi*, 134.
kupi:i, species of tree, 62.
ku:pi:ma, to bath thoroughly, *ku:pi*, 91.
ku:pineaḡ, one who bathes, 204, 207.
ku:pino, bathing, 205.
ku:pipo:ti, to bath repeatedly, 204.
ku:pipo:tiri, to bath repeatedly, 204, 206.
ku:pipo:tirimbo, not really to bath repeatedly, 204.
ku:pipo:tixpo, having repeatedly been bathed, 204.
ku:pipo:tixto, one who does not want to bath repeatedly, 204.
ku:pipo:xto, one who bathes repeatedly, 205.
ku:pipo:xtopo, place, means to bath repeatedly, 204.
ku:pipo:xtonoḡ, persons who bath repeatedly, 210.
ku:pipoḡneaḡ, one who bathes repeatedly, 204.
ku:pipoḡno, being bathing repeatedly, 205, 210.
ku:piri, to bath, 204, 206.
ku:pirimbo, not really to bath, 204.
ku:pito, he used to bath him continually, 161.
ku:pito, one who bathes regularly, 205.
ku:pito:po, place, means to bath, 204.

ku:pixpo, the having been bathed of, 204.
ku:pixto, one who does not want to bath, 204.

ku:piyaŋ, he bathes me, 161.

ku:piyaŋ, he bathes it, 161, 164.

ku:piŋma, to bath thoroughly, 91.

ku:po, on, 77, 249, 256, 257, 368-372, 378.

ku:pona:ka, down upon, *ku:po*, 279, 281, 282, 302, 330, 370.

kura:ma, to look after, to cure, 89, 220.

kurando, outside, 260, 266, 314, 324.

kurandona:ka, outside (direction), *kurando*, 266.

kurandono, one who is outside, 260, 266.

kura:sivai, species of bird, 83 n.

kura:wa, bromelia, provides rope, 14.

kure:wako, green parrot, 73.

ku:ri, red clay, 14.

kuri:ta, day, 74, 326.

kuri:ta:nene, noon, mid-night, 74, 310, 314, 316, 324, 326.

ku:rita:nori, day, 302.

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kuri:yara:koŋ, canoes, *kuri:yara*, 51, 78.

ku:riya:rari, canoe, 75 n, 79, 215.

ku:riya:rari, my canoe, 51, 75 n, 79.

kuru (P), beforehand, ahead, 308, 320.

kuru:kuru, basket, 362.

kuru:mu, vulture, 324.

kuru:pi, proper name, ogre, 292-300.

kuru:wese, palm sheath.

kuru:wesembo, old palm sheath, *kuru:wese*, 296.

kuru:wini, Cuyuni?, 292, 332.

ku:sa, species of crab, 14.

kusa:ri, deer, 120.

kuse:we, anatto, 362, 364.

kuta:a, arrow transferring spirits, 62.

kuta:saŋ, do the two of us lose our way?, *uta:pi*, 184.

kutaxkaŋ, shall the two of us lose our way?, 184.

kuwa:i, calabash, 88.

kuwa:imbo, scraper made from calabash, *kuwa:i*, 88, 225.

kuwa:ma, bamboo, flute, 63, 332.

kuwa:po, before both of us, *uwa:po*, 251.

kuwa:ta, species of monkey, 14.

kuwa:tiri, sp. of tree, 328.

ku:yuma, to make brownish-red, *ku:yu*, 240.

ku:yuro, to cause to become yellowish-brown, 240.

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ma (Sr), but, 296, 300, 306, 318, 332, 334, 346, 348, 356, 358, 364, 368, 372, 376.

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ma:e, kinship term, 62.

maina, garden, 39, 41, 298, 300, 308, 314, 350, 352.

mainana:no, complex of gardens, *maina*, 230, 231.

mainana:nokoŋ, gardens in general, in all their diversity, 247.

mainapo, old, bad garden, *maina*, 222, 223 n.

maina:po, deserted garden, capoeira, 308.

mainaxto, without garden, *maina*, 247, 248.

mai:pi:nae, you are one with your people, *wai:pi:na*, 168.

mai:pu:ri, tapir, 65, 84, 294, 318 n.

maka:nowa:ka, proper name, 332.

ma:kido:na, proper name, 44.

ma:koŋ, you were then, 212, 213.

ma:ma = *ta:ta*, mother, 350.

ma:na, you are, 212, 213, 292, 304, 310, 362.

mandoŋ, you (pl) are, 212, 213, 314.

mandoŋ, they are, 212, 213, 294-298, 302, 306, 320-330, 336, 342, 348, 352-358, 374, 380.

maniŋwi, little fish sp., 58, 328.

ma:nimbo, something that cannot really serve as, *me*, 254.

manombo (P), if, 144, 334, 338.

ma:noŋ (P), obliquely, 306.

manuiya, you pick up, *anu:mi*, 362.

maŋ, who, what serves as, *me*, 46, 253, 354, 358.

maŋgoŋ, those that serve as, 254.

maŋ, are you?, 212, 213, 292, 300, 306, 308, 344, 350, 374, 378, 380.

maŋ, he, she, it is, 46, 120, 196, 198, 202, 212, 213, 290-332, 336-382.

ma:pi:roya, you make it red, *a:pi*, 364.

ma:pi:wara, small tree, 368.

- ma:po*, ashore, 260, 266, 362, 374.
ma:po:naka = *ma:pona:ka*, 362.
ma:pona:ka, ashore (direction), *ma:po*, 266.
ma:pono, one who is ashore, 260, 266.
ma:puru, staff, 73.
mara:i, wood-hen, 62, 71.
mara:ka, rattle, 14.
marauni, Maroni R., 84, 85, 292, 364, 366, 370, 374-378.
ma:ri, Marius, 368.
mari:ya, knife, 354.
mari:yapo, old knife, *mari:ya*, 222.
mari:yapombo, old knife, 222.
ma:ro, together with, with, and, 67 n, 249, 258, 300, 302, 306-318, 322, 326, 328, 336, 348, 350, 374, 380.
ma:ro, together with me, *ma:ro*, 312.
maro:ya, you take him, *a:ro*, 160, 164, 362.
maro:topo, means of taking all of us, 146.
maro:toʔme, in order to take all of us, 155.
masi:iri:ri, species of fly, 62, 71.
mata:pi, cassava press, 137, 370, 374.
ma:ti (Sr), friend, 64.
ma:tokoʔ, you (pl) were then, 212, 213.
maumau, sp. of plant, 374.
mauru, cotton, 139, 244, 335.
mawa:sa, razor, 17.
maʔma:taka:ra, species of fish, 81, 82.
me, as, serving as, when, 46, 139, 144-147, 177, 249, 290-332, 336-350, 354-366, 370, 372, 376-380.
me:i, you became, *we:i*, 358.
me:i:se, so that you may become, 86, 178, 340.
meixtake, you'll become, 324, 346.
meixtoʔ, you really have been, 314, 326.
meiyaʔ, are you?, 187.
meka:ri:sa, you tell it, *eka:riti*, 308.
mcku:piya, you take a bath, *ku:pi*, 207.
meku:piyaʔ, do you take a bath?, 209.
mcku:piya:toʔ, you (pl) take a bath, 209.
mema:e, you throw him, 362, 364.
mema:take, you'll throw her down, 318.
membo (P), quite, 296.
memo:sa, you send him, *emo:ki*, 364.
me:nan, a difficult one, *me:ne*, 261.
mena:pii, actually you have eaten it, *ena:pi*, 368.
menda, to bleed, *me:nu*, 232.
me:ne, difficult, 261.
me:nei, have you actually seen him, *e:ne*, 308, 338.
mene:pii, did you really bring her, *ene:-pi*, 312.
mene:take, you'll see him, *e:ne*, 380.
menextaʔ, shall you bring her?, *enc:pi*, 320.
menextoʔ, did you (pl) really bring her?, 318, 320.
mene:ya, you see it, *e:ne*, 294, 332, 378.
mene:yaʔ, do you see it?, 324.
mene:ya:toʔ, you (pl) see him, etc. 182, 318.
me:nu, blood, 232.
mengga, to cause to bleed, *me:nu*, 235, 238.
mengga, to watch, inspect, sort.
mepo:rii, you have found it, *epo:ri*, 178, 298, 312.
mepo:take, you'll find it, 340.
me:ri, drawing, 79.
merki (Sr), milk, 144.
me:ro, to cause to get drawing, *me:ri*, 239.
me:ro (P), just like that, at once, suddenly, 294-298, 302, 316, 326, 344, 348, 358, 378, 380.
mese:ku, baby, youngest child in family, 366.
me:ta, to get marking, *me:ri*, 233.
meta:e, you hear it, *e:ta*, 298, 368.
meta:no, do you hear him?, 185.
meta:toʔ, you hear them, etc., 180.
mi (P), the late, 219, 304, 382.
miko:roro:kae, your pour them out, *ko:-roro:ka*, 362.
miku:piyaʔ, will you bath him?, *ku:pi*, 184.
miku:piya, you bath him, 160.
miku:piyaʔ, do you bath him?, 184.
mimboiya, you crush it, *imbo:i*, 161.
mi:menggae, you sort them, *mengga*, 362.
mime:roya, you paint him, *me:ri*, 362.
miso:romi:kae, you peel it, *so:romi:ka*, 362.
mi:su, fray.
mi:ta, to be rooted, *mi:ti*, 233.
mi:taxpo, what got roots, place of getting roots, 292.
mi:ti, root, 233, 292, 300, 302.
mitu:wa:romatake, you'll be careful, *tuwa:ro*, 340.
niwo:yakoʔ, you killed him then, *wo*, 176, 340.

- mixta:ri*, Nickerie, 352.
mi:ya, to the opposite side, 271, 328.
miya:ro, over there, far away, 271.
miye:ro, over there, far away, 40, 271.
miye:rono, *mi:yero:non*, belonging over there, 346, 348.
miḍmaḅ, a sleepy one, *miḍme*, 261, 268.
miḍme, sleepy, 261, 268.
miḍme:mi, to become sleepy, *miḍme*, 268.
mūika, to gnaw.
mūiri, snare, 242.
mūika:c, you say, *wi:ka*, 168 n.
mū:kai, I'm sure you have said, 296.
mūine:pu, stair, 330.
mūino:to, a pregnant one, *mūino:tome*, 261, 267.
mūino:tome, pregnant, 261, 267.
mūyka:ri, gill-slit, 44, 45, 57, 60.
mūi:powa:no, the hair of all of us, *i:poti*, 248.
mūi:re (P), interj.: dismay, 358.
mūrexkoko, young man, 306-312, 318-322.
mūri:u, porcupine, 62.
mūi:ri (P), interj.: dismay, 310.
mūro:kou, species of fish, 63, 71.
mūi:saḅ, are you going?, *wi:to*, 306, 372, 374.
mūi:toḅ, you indeed have gone, 310.
mūwe:itopo, the dwelling-place of all of us, *we:i*, 146.
mūwe:ku:pitopo, means for all of us to take a bath, *ku:pi*, 208.
mūwo:kuna:no, the beer of all of us, *wo:ku*, 248.
mūxkondoto, feeling better, 346.
mūxsa, you go, *wi:to*, 168 n, 362.
mūxsa:toḅ, you (pl) go, 372.
mūi:ya:toḅ, they tie, *mī*, 356.
mo:e, over there, 62, 270, 272, 275, 296, 320, 330, 340, 356, 358, 378, 380.
mo:ebaḅ, like yonder, *mo:e*, 276.
mo:embo, from over there, 276, 332.
mo:kī, to send.
mo:kī, that, animate, 164 n, 270, 274, 275, 290, 312, 316, 356.
mo:kimbo, he, you know whom I mean, *mo:kī*, 298, 356.
mokī:ne (P), in large number, 326-330, 356.
mo:mac, you throw yourself, *e:ma*, 362.
momo:kī, to wait for.
momo:saḅ, she waits for, *momo:kī*, 350.
mo:na, theft, 14, 232.
mo:nata, to steal, *mo:na*, 233.
mo:nawa, to steal, 232.
mondo, present, 50, 260, 316, 334, 338, 342, 362, 376, 380.
mondo:no, one who is present, *mondo*, 260.
mone:topo, means of seeing all of us, *e:ne*, 146.
mo:nī, that, 164 n, 270, 272-275, 292, 294, 298, 302, 306, 312, 318, 320, 328, 338, 352.
mo:nibaḅ, like over there, *mo:nī*, 276, 302.
mo:ninḅoro:po, the day after tomorrow, 272 n.
mo:ninḅoro:po, two days after tomorrow, 272 n.
mo:pūi, you have come?, *wo:pī*, 136, 178, 300, 302, 312, 376.
mo:ri, noise, 90, 232, 342.
mo:rika, to cause to make a noise, *mo:ri*, 237, 238.
mo:rīwa, to rumble, 232, 233.
mo:ro, that, the, 164 n, 270, 273-275, 290-382.
mo:rokoḅ, those, *mo:ro*, 298, 374.
mo:roma (Sr), to overcome.
mo:rombo, that, you know what I mean, *mo:ro*, 304, 306, 346, 354, 358.
mo:saḅ, he sends him, *mo:kī*, 316, 320.
mo:se, this, animate, 50, 66, 164 n, 270, 274, 292, 302, 310-314, 320, 324, 340-350, 354, 368, 376-380.
mo:sebaḅ, somebody like him here, *mo:-se*, 276.
mo:si:biḅ, a long one, *mo:siḅ*, 269.
mo:si:nī, length, 219, 294.
mo:si:nonḅ, long ones, 269.
mo:siḅ, length, 46, 219, 244.
mo:si:pe, long, *mo:siḅ*, 244, 268, 269.
mo:tī, to cook, 127.
moxka, to cook the meal, *mo:tī*, 127.
moxka:neḅ, a cook, 358.
moxkaḅ, those, 277.
moxka:po, to let someone cook the meal, *mo:tī*, 127.
moxka:ro, they, 52, 70, 81, 277, 296-300, 314, 318, 322, 324, 328, 336, 338, 342-358.
moxka:rokoḅ, he, honorif., 277.
moxka:roḅ (east) = *moxka:ro*, 378, 380.
moxkī = *mo:kī*, 370.
moxko, he, she, the (anim.), 50, 58, 65,

67, 164 n, 270, 274, 275, 290-328, 332, 336-352, 356-374, 378-382.
moxkombo, he, you know who I mean, *moxko*, 276, 290, 344.
moxse, this, animate, 66.
moxtaŋ, you'll come, *wo:pi*, 340.
moxtu:mu:sa, you dived, *umu:ku*, 372.
mo:yanimbo, these poor ones, *mo:yaŋ*, 342.
mo:yaŋ, these, 183, 277, 294, 320, 336, 342.
moɔneŋ, you really have come, *wo:pi*, 380.
moɔninengoro:po = *mo:niɔneŋgoro:po*, 298.
moɔnningoro:po = *mo:nningoro:po*, 176.
moɔya, to yonder, 58, 270, 272, 274, 275, 314, 316, 324, 326, 344, 358, 362, 378.
moɔyabaŋgoŋ, those over there, *moɔya*, 380.
mu:kumu:ku, sp. of plant, 364.
muku:saŋ, do you know it, *uku:ti*, 360, 378.
mupi:yaŋ, do you find it?, *u:pi*, 368.
mura:to, speaker of the western dialect of Carib, 26.
mu:re, bench, 216.
mu:rembo, poor bench, *mu:re*, 224, 334 n, 342.
muro:koto, water spirit, 360, 362.
mu:rumu:ru, species of palm, 14.
musi:ro, collective labour, 14.

N

na, he, she, it is, 212, 213, 292, 302, 312-316, 336, 340, 342, 346, 348, 352, 378, 382.
na (Sr), it is so that, 294, 346, 360, 362, 368-374, 378.
na e:ri (Sr), the whole, 316.
na:c (P), interj.: why, well, 62, 294, 302, 332, 340.
naipi:nari, he would be one, *wai:pi:na*, 168.
nairi (east) = *neiri*, 374.
na:i = *na:e*, 344, 374-378, 382.
na:na, pine-apple, 14, 308.
na:nako:nimbo, you know, pine-apples, *na:na*, 308.
na:nambo, you know, a pine-apple, 223.
nandoŋ, are they?, 212, 213, 352, 354, 358, 380.

nangga, nanga (Sr), with, 306, 318, 322, 356, 364, 372, 374.
naŋ, is he, she, it?, 212, 213, 292, 300, 310, 314-320, 334 n, 336, 338, 344, 350, 352, 356, 364, 366, 372-380.
na:pa, sandhi-alternant of *ra:pa*, 139, 292, 296, 300-304, 308, 310, 314-322, 326-330, 338-348, 352, 358.
napi:rinda, to make slightly drunk.
na:re (P), interj.: come, 378.
na:re (P), unknown to speaker, 271, 346, 348.
naro:ri, he would take him, *a:ro*, 161.
na:rori, being taken by —, 138, 148.
na:rori:koŋ, being taken by — (pl), 143.
na:roxpo, having been taken by —, 148.
na:roxtori, what — does not want to take, 148.
naru:tataŋ, will it become dry?, *a:ru*, 296.
naruxkai, he has really put it in, *aruxka*, 296.
naruxka:no, does he put into it?, 92.
na:u = *na:e*, 302.
nauwano:potaŋ, will he cause her to laugh?, *auru*, 290.
nawo:miri, he would get up, *awo:mi*, 167.
naxka (P), how could it be possible, 294, 296, 302, 342, 344.
naɔna (east) = *aɔna*, 372, 374.
naɔneŋ (P), first, 46, 110 n, 117, 220, 241, 322, 330.
ndo (P), interj.: there you are, 292, 294.
ne, really, 93 n, 310, 320, 322, 358, 380.
ne:i, it became, happened, *we:i*, 294, 314, 352.
neine, may they be, 320.
neiri, he would be, 140, 175, 178, 358.
neixta:toŋ, will they be?, 356.
neixtoŋ, have actually they been?, 352.
neiyaine, isn't it always?, 342.
neka:ri:tiri, told by me, *eka:riti*, 350.
neku:piyaŋ, does he take a bath?, *ku:pi*, 209.
nendo, to respect, dread.
nendoto, one who respects others, *nendo*, 200.
nendotoxta, a person who cannot respect, 201.
nendotoxtori, a person who cannot respect, 201.
ne:nei, he has really seen it, etc., *e:ne*, 173.

- nene:piü*, he did bring him, *ene:pi*, 342.
nene:pixpo, brought by —, 342.
nene:ri, he would see it, *e:ne*, 175.
ne:neri, being seen by —, 137, 138.
nene:se, so that he may see it, 174.
nene:sen, did they really see him then?, etc., 187.
nene:ta:toñ, will he see them?, etc., 187.
ne:nextori, what — cannot see, 145 n, 314.
nene:ya:toñ, do they see him?, etc., 187.
neni:ri, being drunk by —, *eni:ri*, 137.
neni:rii, she did drink it, 320.
nepaxkai, he has really come out, *paxka*, 298, 356.
nepo:rii, he really has found it, *epo:ri*, 298.
nera:mapo:sañ, does he walk about?, *ra:ma*, 336.
nerexkoyañ, does it make him angry?, *erexko*, 354.
neta:no, does he hear him?, *e:ta*, 185.
ne:tari, its being heard by —, *e:ta*, 334.
neta:toñ, he has really heard them, etc., 181.
neti:müi, he has actually become drunk, *ti:müi*, 302.
nekirindoma:toñ, they actually lay down, *ixkirindoma*, 306.
neya:toyañ, does he call it?, *eya:to*, 360.
nika:piri, being made by —, *ka:pi*, 137.
niku:müri, he would be hungry, *ku:müri*, 167.
niku:piñ, did he really bath him then?, *ku:pi*, 185.
niku:pipo:tiri, being repeatedly bathed by —, 204.
niku:piri, he would bath him, 161.
niku:piri, being bathed by —, 204, 207.
niku:pitañ, will he bath him?, 185.
niku:piyaine, does he bath him continually?, 185.
niku:piya:koñ, did he bath him then?, 185.
niku:piyañ, does he bath him?, 185.
nimboiri, he would crush it, *imbo:i*, 161.
nimo:küi, he really has sent her, *mo:küi*, 312.
nimo:ku, hammock, 216, 322, 356.
ni:pasa:mori, cheeks being slapped by —, *pa:sa*, 356.
nipo:ro:piü, actually he has stopped, etc., *poro:ri*, 173, 314.
nipo:ro:pi:se, so that he may stop, 174.
nipu:ru, being roasted by —, *pu:ru*, 137.
nirombü, he did die, *rombü*, 356.
nixextono:ri, what I do not like, *se*, 258.
nitundai, indeed he has arrived, *tunda*, 312.
ni:wai, he did kill him, *wo*, 338.
nixkoto:ri, being cut by —, *ixko:to*, 137.
niñma:ti:mai, really, they all came to an end, *ñma:ti*, 350.
niñma:tiri, he would have finished, 168.
niñmo:po, broken by me, *ñmo*, 324.
ni:po, sandhi-alt. of *ri:po*, 354.
ni:rixpombo, placed by —, in the past, *i:ri*, 332.
ni:sañ, we may be going, *wi:to*, 290.
ni:toñ, he has gone, 120, 302, 314.
ni:to:toñ, indeed they have gone, 314, 348.
nixsatoine, did they go continually then?, 187.
no, to leave, 126, 320, 370.
no wañ (Sr), no one, 370.
no:ki, who, somebody, 164 n, 270-272, 275, 290, 292, 298, 304, 308, 310, 326, 364, 376-380.
no:kibañ, what kind, *no:ki*, 276, 340.
no:mo, menstruating, 260.
no:mono, one who menstruates, *no:mo*, 260.
nona:pa = na:pa, 340.
no:no, earth, ground, 330, 372.
noñ (P), for a moment, for the moment, 46, 298, 308, 310, 334, 340, 356.
noñ (P), one who is, belongs to, 342, 346 n, 374 n.
no:ro (P), still, more, 294, 296, 302, 304, 312, 316, 318, 322-326, 330, 342, 346, 356, 358, 370, 374.
no:roñ = no:ro, 318, 370.
no:sañ, does he come?, *wo:pi*, 186, 328.
no:teñ = ro:teñ, 350.
no:ti, grandmother, *pi:pi*, 216, 312, 360.
notu:wese:kei, indeed it has become torn, *uwe:seka*, 296.
noxka:banñoñ, what sort of people, *no:-küi*, 278.
noxkanñoñ, snakes, *noxkañ*, 277, 346.
noxkañ, who (pl), 277, 336.
noxkañ, snake, 277.
noxpo:ko, old woman, 312, 348.
noxpombo, having been left, past, *no*, 348.
noxsañ, having been left (pl), 143.
no:yañ, grandmothers, *no:ti*, 228, 364.

no:yanogoŋ, honoured grandmothers, 229.
noŋma, to leave altogether, *no*, 126.
noŋma:po, been left altogether, 348.
noŋmato:koŋ, all left me then, 177, 334 n.
noŋma:toŋ, all have left me, 348.
noŋneŋ, may he come?, *wo:pi*, 186, 328.
nunda, to leave behind.
nunda:no, he left her, *nunda*, 346.
nu:no, moon, month, 304, 324, 340, 342, 346.
nupa:toŋ, do they serve him?, *u:pa*, 354.
nu:pima:no, he made love to, *nu:pima*, 332.
nupi:toŋ, he has really looked for them, etc., *u:pi*, 180.
nu:ro, living, 260, 370.
nu:rono, a living one, *nu:ro*, 260.
nu:ru, tongue.
nuta:pii, she got lost, *uta:pi*, 316.
nuta:saŋ, does he lose his way?, 185.
nutaxtaŋ, will he lose his way?, 185.
nu:wa:no, tongues in general, *nu:ru*, 231.

O

o:di (Sr), greeting, 380.
oinci (P), how, 338, 340, 352, 360.
oineku:ru, your poisonous liana, *ine:ku*, 64, 221.
oiyono, your husband, honorif., *iiyo*, 344.
oiyota:topo, whom you have got for a husband, 310.
o:kato, one who bites, *e:ka*, 76, 200.
o:kina:no, pet animals in general, *e:ki*, 230.
o:ko, two, 109, 279, 281, 312, 314, 322, 324, 342, 348-352, 366, 368, 380.
okoipo, species of tree, 39, 41.
o:kokariŋna, forty, 281.
o:komboto, twice, *o:ko*, 283, 330, 362.
oko:mo, wasp, 217.
oko:mori, wasp, *oko:mo*, 217.
o:kono, the second, *o:ko*, 109.
o:kopai, by twos, 281, 282.
o:kopaima, four, 279-281.
o:kopaimekariŋna, eighty, 281.
o:koro:ro, both, *o:ko*, 284, 326, 356.
o:kotuwo:pima, seven, 279, 316.
oko:wende, red worm, 348.
oko:yu, snake, 292, 294, 344, 346.
oko:yumbo, water spirit, 80, 314-324, 362, 364.

oko:yumo (east) = *oko:yumbo*, 360-364, 370.
oku:sa, knee, 216.
o:ma, path, 51, 59, 76, 78, 91, 216, 221, 294, 302-308, 312, 318, 320, 340.
o:mako:nimbo, former paths, *o:ma*, 246.
o:makoŋ, paths, 59, 76, 246.
o:mambo, former path, 91, 246.
oma:mina, to work, *ema:miŋ*, 346.
oma:mina:no, a piece of work, 300.
oma:mina:nombo, away from work, 314.
oma:mixpo, having dwelled, *ema:mi*, 121.
omandononŋ, persons who dwell, 201, 344.
omandopo, dwelling-place, village, 121, 314.
omandoto, one who dwells, 200, 300.
oma:no, customs, 342.
omba:ta, face, 216.
omboiyaŋ, he crushes you, *imbo:i*, 161.
ome:pano, teaching, *eme:pa*, 202.
ome:pato, teacher, 200.
o:mi, louse, 216.
omi:ne, jealous, 376.
omi:ya, a young one, *omi:yame*, 262, 266, 267, 348.
o:miya:ko, young woman, 262, 266, 267, 308-312, 316-324, 352.
omi:yambo, a not really young one, *omi:yame*, 264, 265.
omi:yambome, not really beautiful, 266.
omi:yame, young, beautiful (woman), 262, 266, 267.
omo:ri, family, 243.
omo:ri, her family, *omo:ri*, 316.
o:mu, louse, 326.
omuxkaxpa, clumsy, *tuwo:muxka*, 267.
ona:pi, lie, 216.
ona:pi:pa, not eating, *ena:pi*, 358, 360.
onaxta, nose, 216, 322.
one:neŋ, supervisor, *e:ne*, 121, 217.
o:nepoxpa, not to be looked at, 332.
one:to, one who takes notice, 200.
one:tononŋ, persons who take notice, 201.
one:topo, place, means to see, 217.
onexpo, having been seen, 217.
ono:ri, to eat it, *o:no*, 344, 346, 368.
ono:to, one who devours, 200.
onoxpo, having been eaten, 346.
ono:yaŋ, he eats it, 346.
ono:ya:toŋ, they eat them, 348.
onoŋma:po, competely having been eaten, 346.
o:nu, eye, 126 n, 216.

- o:nuka:pa*, not keeping her eyes off him, *o:nu*, 312.
o:nga:na, behind you, *ĩnga:na*, 251.
o:pato:ro, on both sides, *pa:to*, 257, 280, 324.
o:pĩrĩ, aunt, *wo:pĩ*, 216 n.
opi:wa:no, medicines in general, *epi:ti*, 108, 231.
opi:sena:nimbo, one who has not really just come, 203.
opi:sena:n, one who has just come, 203, 268.
opi:senangonimbo, persons who have not really just come, 203.
opi:senango, persons who have just come, 203.
opi:sene, just come, 202, 203, 268.
opĩxpa, not coming, 318, 334, 374.
o:poka:ta, he'll dehair you, *i:poti*, 80.
o:pota, your getting body-hair, 135.
opo:tĩxpa, not looking, *wopo:ti*, 324.
opo:to, a large one, *opo:tome*, 262, 267, 268, 344.
opo:tome, large, 262, 267, 268.
ora:muku, sweat, 51.
ora:parĩ, your bow, *ira:pa*, 221.
ore:kĩ, wound, 216, 218.
ore:ku, war, fighting.
ore:mi, medicine-man's song, 216.
ori:no, clay, 144.
o:ro (P), may (in wish), 51, 73, 320, 328, 348.
o:roi, cashew, 66, 318.
o:romenda, storm spirit, 80.
oru:ko, worm, 218.
o:ruwa, three, 73, 279, 318, 378.
o:ruwa:kari, sixty, 306.
o:ruwa:no, one who is third, *o:ruwa*, 283.
o:ruwa:noko, triple ones, 284.
o:ruwatoima (east) = *o:ruwatuwo:pĩma*, 382.
o:ruwatuwo:pĩma, eight, 279.
o:se, wishing, liking you, *se*, 300.
o:se?no, people not liking you, 258.
osi:mako, you must hurry, *wosi:ma*, 310.
o:ta, in you, *ta*, 252.
otandi:moko, you must sit down, *andi?mo*, 292.
ota:topo, means of hearing, *e:ta*, 121.
otaxpo, having been heard, 121.
o:ti, thing, what, 44, 139, 140, 164 n, 217, 218, 270, 271, 274, 275, 298, 308, 320, 322, 326, 332, 340, 342, 346, 348, 352-380.
o:tĩba, what kind, *o:ti*, 44, 276.
o:tĩko, things, 139, 346, 364, 374.
o:ti:ma:po, completely done, 322.
o:tĩmbo, anything whatever, 276, 372.
oti:po, beautiful sound, *e:ti*, 248.
o:tĩrĩ, thing, *o:ti*, 217, 218, 334, 368.
oti:wa:no, names in general, *e:ti*, 89, 230, 231, 374.
oti:wa:no (east) = *oti:wa:no*, 374.
o:tĩxpa, without substance, *o:ti*, 227, 364.
otixto:pa, *otixto:pa*, not descending, *wotixto*, 140, 141, 338.
otu:ku:tĩxpa, not knowing itself, *uku:ti*, 368.
otu:rupo:pa, not asking, *wotu:rupo*, 314.
otu:rupo:toko, you (pl) must ask, 314.
o:wa, by, to you, *wa*, 316, 340, 356, 358, 372, 376, 380.
o:wa, hammock-line, 76, 77, 216.
owa:ko, hammock-lines, *o:wa*, 76.
o:wa:ra, symmetrically alike, *wa:ra*, 257, 300, 320.
owaxpo, calmness, gladness, 239.
owaxtoto:ko, tie your hammocks, *o:wa*, 326.
o:we, where, 270-272, 274, 275, 292, 298, 312-316, 338, 350, 352, 374.
o:weba, in what kind of place, *o:we*, 276.
o:wembo, where from, 276, 300.
o:wi, one, 46, 279, 312, 318, 350, 352.
o:wĩmbai, one at a time, one alone, *o:wĩ*, 283, 334.
o:wĩmboto, once, 109.
o:wĩnapo:siki:ri, nine, 279-282.
o:wĩnduwo:pĩma, six, 279, 282, 304, 346.
o:wĩnduwo:pĩmakari, one hundred and twenty, 281.
o:wĩnduwo:pĩmano, sixth, 280.
o:wĩ:ne, alone, 284, 320, 348.
o:wĩ:no, a single one, 283, 292.
o:wĩngari, twenty, 281, 282, 285.
o:wĩngari, twentieth, 281.
o:wĩngari, twenty at a time, 283.
o:wĩ, one, 46, 67, 109, 279, 282, 352.
o:wo, your being killed, *wo*, 134.
oxka:no (east) = *woxka:no*, 368 n.
oxkatombo, spirit of the dead, 80.
oxko, you must come, *wo:pĩ*, 302, 304, 308, 350.

oxkoto:po:saŋ, he cuts you up, *ixko:to*, 362.
oxkoto:poti, to cut you up, 81, 82.
oxpe:maxpa, not going to the bank, *pe:-ma*, 336.
oxsano:roi, it has cooled you, *ixsano*, 50.
oxta, cave, hole, 217.
oxta:ri, cave, hole, *oxta*, 217.
oxteŋ (Sr), when, at what time, 296, 348.
oxto, whatever, 271 n, 274 n, 294, 310, 316, 340-344, 352, 356, 358.
oxtoko, you (pl) must come, *wo:pi*, 83, 328.
oxto:ne, on one side, 280.
oxto:no, cold, 217.
oxtono:man, the reason why, *oxtono:me*, 271 n, 274 n.
oxtono:me, why, 271 n, 308, 350.
oxtono:ri, cold, *oxto:no*, 217.
oxtoro, a certain number, how many, 271 n, 274 n, 346.
o:ya, whither, 270-272, 274, 275, 302, 306, 314.
o:yabaŋ, in what kind of direction, *o:ya*, 276, 348.
oyuxpo:pa, feeling unhappy, *oyuxpo(?)*, 348.
oŋma:ka:toŋ, it puts an end to you (pl), *iŋma:ti*, 326.
oŋma:ko, you must cease, 52, 324.
oŋmakoŋ, your children, *iŋme*, 52.
oŋma:sa, you have finished, *iŋma:ti*, 168.
oŋmaxko, you must cease, 190.
oŋme, your child, *iŋme*, 50, 312, 380.
oŋna:wa, your being made sick, *iŋna:wa*, 135.
oŋni:kī:pa, not sleeping, *woŋni:kī*, 304, 338.
oŋni:ko, you must sleep, 306.
oŋni:toko, you (pl) must sleep, 306
oŋwa, by, to you, *ŋwa*, 252, 304, 308, 312, 358, 376, 378.
oŋwi, one, 279, 302-306, 318, 324.
oŋwi:nc, alone, 284, 296.
oŋwiŋ, one, 67, 279, 298.

P

pa (P), interj.: unpleasant surprise, 292, 298, 302, 304, 314, 332, 338, 344, 346.
pai (P), also, 348, 362, 372.
painaka, *painarc* (P), perhaps, 84, 187,

249, 290, 312, 316.
paipa:yana, mythical tiger, 84.
paira, sp. of tree, 364 n.
pairi, *peiri*, elder sister.
paipo (P), also, too, 117, 318, 320, 328, 344, 360, 380.
paisa:wa, cluster of small fruits, 40, 65.
pa:ka (Sp), cow, 17, 45 n.
paka:mu, species of fish, 14.
paka:ra, basket, 14.
pake:ru (Sp), donkey, 17.
paki:ra, peccary, 40, 130, 294, 308, 312.
paki:raki:raimo, fantastic peccary-like being, 83 n.
pako:toi, they did slash it, *pako:to*, 310.
pako:tono, doing wood-cutting, 201.
pam (P), interj.: there!, 310.
pa:mī, brother-in-law, 138, 376-382.
pa:na, ear, 222, 376.
pa:nama:no, he listens to it, *pa:na*, 328.
pa:naŋo, loose sting, *pa:na*, 222.
panaxpe, strong, *panaxtori*, 244, 268, 269, 320.
panaxtori, strength, 244.
panda, branch, 240.
pandi:ra (Sp), flag, 17, 45 n, 139, 330.
paŋgi (Sr), cloth.
paŋgoŋ, dear brother-in-law, *pa:mī*, 376, 378, 380.
pa:pa, father, God, 121, 164, 216, 306, 310, 316, 330-338, 342, 344, 358, 380, 382.
pa:pari, father, 216 n.
pa:pi, to strew, 122.
pa:poro (P), all, 67, 82, 316, 318, 324-328, 360, 374.
pa:pota (P), having happened, past, 296, 304, 326.
pa:raku:wa, species of tree, 14.
parambaraŋ, butterfly, 46.
para:muru, Paramaribo, 51, 125, 126, 147, 300-304.
para:na, waves, sea, 14, 296, 358.
para:naki:ri, European, Dutchman, 300-304, 334, 374.
paranduwini:ni (D), rum, brandy, 302, 304, 354.
pa:raŋ (Sp, F?), long fish-line with many hooks, 46.
para:pi, bowl, 292, 294.
pa:rapi:ri, bowl, *para:pi*, 292.
pa:rapi:ri, my bowl, 292.
pa:ri, fish weir, 14.

- parixpe*, violent, *parixtori*, 244, 268, 269.
parixtori, violence, 244.
pa:ri, grandchild, 294-298, 306, 348, 376, 380.
pa:rikoŋ, grandchildren, *pa:ri*, 228.
paru:ru, banana, 360, 362.
pa:sa, cheek.
pa:sama (Sr), to pass, 236.
pa:se, fem. cousin, 50, 66.
pasi:si, a large species of fish, 296.
pataipatai (P), sounsymb., reeling, 304.
pata:ya, shelter, 324, 326, 330, 336, 338.
pa:vi, place, *pa:to*, 216, 364.
pa:timī, nephew, 73, 338.
pa:to, on the side of, at, 249, 251, 256, 257, 308, 310, 314-318, 322, 340, 342, 378.
pa:to, on my side, *pa:to*, 251.
pa:to, place, 216.
pa:to, to cross something, 90.
pa:toya:toŋ, they cross it, *pa:to*, 328.
patoŋnaŋ, a transverse one, *patoŋne*, 261, 267.
patoŋne, transverse, 261, 267.
pau, bang, 84, 85.
pa:u, island, land of the white people, 14, 85.
pawa:na, friend, 340, 342.
paxka, to bring out, 128-131, 141.
paxkake:piŋma, to completely stop bringing out, *paxka*, 128.
paxkakexpo, to cause to stop bringing out, 128.
paxkakexpoti, to repeatedly stop bringing out, 128.
paxka:no, he brings out, 130.
paxkano:po, to cause to appear, 130-132.
paxkano:poyaŋ, he causes to appear, 130.
paxka:po, to cause to bring out, 330-332.
paxkapo:kepi, to stop causing to bring out, 128.
paxkapo:poti, repeatedly to cause to bring out, 128.
paxkapo:tiŋma, to completely bring out repeatedly, 128.
paxkapo:oxkepi, to stop bringing out repeatedly, 128.
paxkapo:oxpo, to cause to bring out repeatedly, 128.
paxkapo:yaŋ, he makes him bring out, 130.
paxkapoŋma, to completely cause to bring out, 128.
paxka:toŋ, they bring him out, 356.
paxkato:po, ceremony of bringing out, 141.
paxkatoŋme, in order to bring out, 144-145.
paxkaŋmakepi, to stop bringing out completely, 128.
paxkaŋmapo, to cause to bring out completely, 128.
paxkaŋmapoti, to repeatedly bring out completely, 128.
paxke, resembling the strewing of, *pa:pi*, 157, 326.
paxpoto, passed away, 334, 342.
paxporo (P), all, 67, 82, 139, 290-298, 302, 316, 324, 326, 330-334, 348, 350, 356, 358, 364-368, 374.
paxpota (P), having happened, past, 82, 302-306, 310, 352.
paxtre, bottle, 354.
pa:ya, cassava-beer, 340, 342.
pa:yaŋ, grandchildren, *pa:ri*, 228, 334, 348.
pa:yawa:ru, cassava-beer, 14.
pe, subject to, afflicted with, 46, 249, 258, 292, 322, 332, 338, 344, 346, 364, 378.
pe:ka:no, he removes hair from my forehead, *pe:ri*, 241.
pe:ki, to cause to sink, 83, 122.
pe:ko:to, he cuts the hair on my forehead, 241.
pe:ma, to take to the water's edge, *peŋya?*, 122.
pena:ro (P), long ago, 290, 292, 300, 304, 310, 330, 336, 338, 342, 344, 348, 352, 360, 364, 368, 372, 374, 380.
pena:to, a former one, *pena:tomc*, 262, 342, 374.
pena:tome, of former days, 262.
pepeito, *pepeixto*, wind, 65, 378.
pe:ri, line, limit, (hair on) forehead, 241, 318, 326, 358, 366.
pe:ro (east) = *pe:ru*, 360-364.
pe:ru (Sp), dog, 17, 348.
peta:ka, compensation, 342.
pe:ti, thigh, 226.
pe:poti, to inundate again and again, *pe:ki*, 83.
pextoko, species of bird, 82.
peŋya, landing place, 316-324, 350, 352.
pi:ka, to peel, 122.
pi:kiri, small fish, 40.
pi:ko, little chap, 32, 33, 39.

- pi:na*, to catch, get, 39, 76.
pi:nato:po, way, means of getting, 146, 348.
pi:nato?me, in order to get, 146, 348.
pi:pa, the frog pipa, 234.
pi:pata, to become flat, *pi:pa*, 234.
pi:pi, grandmother, 216, 368.
pi:po, skin, 39, 218, 318.
pi:ra, sail, 17, 76.
pi:rakoŋ, sails, *pi:ra*, 76.
pi:ri, flash!, 236.
pi:rika, to make glitter, *pi:ri*, 236.
pi:ri, younger brother, 228.
pi:riyaŋ, younger brothers, *pi:ri*, 228.
pisa:wa, calabash, bottle, 316.
pisc:re, a non-horizontal one, *pise:remc*, 262.
pise:remc, not horizontal, 262.
pisu:ru, species of fish, 40.
pita:ni, child, 138, 141, 314, 336, 338, 352, 372, 374.
pita:nikoŋ, children, *pita:ni*, 314, 380.
pi:to, flatus, 32, 33, 39.
pixkiri, species of small fish, 82, 83.
pixpisi, species of bird, 40, 82.
pi (P), interj.: disapproval, 292, 304, 326.
püman, a manyfold one, *püme*, 260.
püme, many, much, 260, 368.
pümekaŋ, a slow one, *pümeke*, 261.
pümeke, slow, 84, 261, 322.
püngo (east) = *poŋgo*, 382.
püri, shyness, 41.
püru:ku (Sp), pig, 17, 40, 41.
püta, to become shy, *püri*, 233.
püwa:no, general shame, *püri*, 230.
püxto, to cause to become shy, 238.
püxtome (east) = *poitome*, 372.
pi:mü, neck, 61, 218.
pi:müri, neck, 218.
püngoweiri, the crookedness of his neck, 61.
pi:rai, species of fish, 14.
pira:ta, money, 17.
pira:tana:no, money in general, *pira:ta*, 230.
pireima (Sr), to pretend, 236.
pireima:no, he pretends, *pireima*, 346.
piri:wa, arrow, 67 n, 216, 294, 344.
piro:to, bullet, 17.
pi:ti, to find a wife, *pi:ti*, 233.
pi:ti, wife, 89.
pi:ti, my wife, *pi:ti*, 312, 342, 376.
pi:wa:no, wives in general, 89, 230.
pi:yaŋ, wives, 228.
pi:yanŋoŋ, my wife, honorif., 277 n.
piya:usi, osprey, 62, 71, 85.
pi:yei, shaman, 316-324, 380.
po (P), interj.: surprise, 292, 370.
po, at, 76, 139, 249, 256, 257, 259, 290-310, 314, 316, 320, 324-334, 338, 340, 344-360, 364-380.
poine, perhaps: (*i*)*poine*, their dimensions, *po*, 324.
poŋgo, boar, 39, 40, 294, 312.
poito, young man, 41, 262 n.
poito, a young, beautiful one, *poitome*, 262, 266, 267.
poitombome, not really beautiful, 266.
poitome, young, beautiful, 65, 84, 262, 266, 267, 326, 342.
poitori, my labourer, *poito*, 304.
po:ka, to shoot, 79.
po:ko, (occupied) with, by means of, for, on, 65, 67, 76, 249, 256, 290-294, 298-304, 308, 310, 320, 324, 328-332, 340-348, 352, 354, 364, 368, 372, 374.
po:kono, one who is on, *po:ko*, 346.
po:koro, following it, 257.
po:mü, to plant, 59 n, 122.
po:müri, to plant, *po:mü*, 298.
po:na, against, lest, 120, 138, 249, 256, 338, 344, 346, 356, 376.
po:no, one who is at, *po*, 76, 253, 294, 304, 306, 330, 346, 362, 370, 374, 376.
po:nokoŋ, who are at, 76, 254, 306, 344, 368, 372, 380.
po:nombo, one who was at, 334.
po:noŋ?, 356.
poŋ, call of bird, 290.
po:pa, towards, 249.
po:re (P), very, at last, 290, 294-300, 306-310, 318, 324-328, 332, 338-344, 348, 374-380.
po:rina:no, shins in general, *po:riri*, 230, 231, 328.
po:ripo, non-genuine branch, 222.
po:riri, branch, shin, 222, 230, 231, 346, 380.
po:ri, scent, 364.
po:roŋ (P), since then, in his turn, 46, 50, 290, 294, 296, 372, 374.
poro:pü, I have really stopped etc., *poro:pi*, 173.
poro:ro, yard, 61.
poroxto, he stopped then continually, *poro:pi*, 172.

poru:ku, to wait.
po:saŋ, he cuts off, *po:ti*, 292.
po:si, calabash cup for drinking, 318.
po:si (Sr), kiss, 236.
po:sima, to kiss, *po:si*, 236.
po:si:na, to become sweet, *po:siŋ*, 232.
po:si:no, to sweeten, 235.
po:siŋ, sweetness, 46, 219.
po:ti, to cut off.
po:ti, shine.
po:ti, upper lip, 218.
po:tiri, upper lip, *po:ti*, 218.
poti:sa, *poti:sa*, large jug, 66, 318.
po:to, a large one, *po:tome*, 178, 262, 263, 266, 269 n, 328, 332, 340, 342, 354, 358, 360, 370.
po:tombo, a not really, or abnormally, large one, 264, 265, 326.
po:tombome, abnormally large, 266.
po:tome, large, 262, 263, 266, 269 n, 294, 380.
po:tomiŋ, a large one, *po:tome*, 262, 264.
po:tono:koŋ, large ones, 263.
po:tonoŋ, large ones, 263, 296.
po:woro, during, 338.
po:po, low, 260, 266, 298, 314, 326.
po:pona:ka, downwards, *po:po*, 266, 294, 304, 372.
po:po:no, a low one, 260, 266.
po:to:ri, wickedness, 354.
po:ma, to set on fire.
po:maŋga, to light.
po:maŋga:toŋ, they light it, *po:maŋga*, 352.
pre:si (Sr), place, 378.
pu:i, to enlarge, 47, 62, 71.
pu:ri, enlarge, *pu:i*, 40.
pu:ka, to pierce, 14.
pu:na, to become sturdy, *pu:nu*, 232.
pu:nu, flesh, 218, 232.
pu:ŋ, thud, 342.
pura:ke, electric eel, 14.
pu:ru, to roast, 137.
puru:ku (Sr), trousers, 23.
puru:re, small hand-adze, 238, 302.
puru:rexta, to adze, *puru:re*, 238.
puru:sai, long adze, 239.
puru:saika, to adze with the long adze, *puru:sai*, 239.
puru:sairto, to adze with the long adze, 239.
pu:tu, club, 147, 338, 342.
pu:tuxto, to provide with a club, *pu:tu*,

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putuxto:ma, to provide with a club be-
 hand, 125.

putorotoŋ, crash!, 46, 82, 83, 290.

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ra (P), interj., only used by men, 290-
 296, 300, 302, 344, 346, 370, 374-380.
ra:a (east) = *ra:pa*, 362, 366-374.
ra:ka, to cause to get flat surfaces, *ra:ri*,
 237, 240.
ra:ma, to turn something, 91.
ra:mano:pi, to cause to return, *ra:ma*,
 133.
ra:naka, into the middle of, *ra:na*, 290,
 312, 358.
rando, to provide with boards, *ra:ri*, 239,
 240.
ra:ŋ, resembling, in names of plants, 14,
 46.
ra:pa (P), again, 290, 296-314, 320, 324-
 332, 338-356, 362, 370, 374-378.
ra:pika, to peel surface, *ra:ri*, *pi:ka*,
 296 n.
ra:ri, flat surface, 226, 354.
ra:to = *ira:to*.
ra:na, in the middle of, 249, 257, 306,
 312.
re:re, bat, 324, 326.
re:ti, top, ridge, 218, 259.
re:tiri, top, *re:ti*, 218.
re:kere (P), always, perhaps to be cor-
 rected: *ekere*, 338.
rexta:ka, on the ridge, *re:ti*, *ta*, 259, 330.
ri (P), interj., used by women, 290, 314,
 316.
ri:po (P), already, it is true that, though,
 292, 298, 300, 326, 332, 338, 348, 354,
 370, 380.
ro (P), indeed, quite, straightway, 110 n,
 139, 145 n, 292-334, 338-348, 354-376,
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ro:koŋ (P), just, only, 67, 292, 342.
ro:muŋ (P), otherwise, consequently,
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rontuma:toŋ (Sr), they surrounded,
rontuma, 356.
ro:ri:po (P), rather, possibly, it is true
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 376-380.
ro:teŋ (P), just, only, 46, 50, 304, 308,

314, 318, 322, 328, 330, 338, 346, 348, 356, 358, 362, 364, 370, 374, 376.
roxkoŋ, just, only, 46, 294, 316, 334, 348.
roŋm (P), otherwise, consequently, therefore, 36, 45, 46, 69, 308, 310, 320, 324, 326, 330, 342.
roŋmero (P), very, once more, 330, 344.
roŋmun (P), otherwise, consequently, the situation is such that, therefore, 36, 45, 46, 69, 308-312, 318, 324-328, 340, 350, 356.
ru:po, tiredness.
ru:ruma (Sr), to spy, 236.
ruŋmaŋ, a weak one, *ruŋme*, 261.
ruŋme, weak, 261.

S

sabaxto, to cause to become slippery, *sabaxti*, 239.
sa:ka, onomat., rustling sound, 290.
sa:kau, sand, 84, 139, 336, 378.
sako:toya, I am cutting it, *ako:to*, 163.
sama:ku, large cooking vessel, 332.
sama:nando, to overturn, *sama:ne*, 268.
sama:naŋ, one that has been overturned, 261, 268.
sama:ne, overturned, 261, 268.
sa:maŋ, one that is extinguished quickly, *sa:me*, 261.
sambre:ru, hat, 17, 61.
sambu:ra, drum, 17, 330, 342, 374.
sambu:rari, my drum, *sambu:ra*, 292.
sa:me, extinguished quickly, 261.
sa:ni:me, short, *sa:niŋ*, 244, 268, 269.
sa:ni:mīn, a short one, 269.
sa:ni:nī, shortness, 219.
sa:ni:noŋ, short ones, 269.
sa:niŋ, shortness, 46, 219, 244.
saniŋmata:ke, I'll spoil it, *aniŋma*, 348.
sa:no, mother, *ta:ta*, 77, 216, 332.
sano:ma, to love, 141.
sano:mancŋ, lover, *sano:ma*, 141.
sax, one who wishes, *se*, 314.
sapa:to, shoe, 17, 89, 90.
sape:ra, bowl, 332.
sa:pi, play, 90, 232, 310, 374.
sa:piwa, to be playful, *sa:pi*, 232.
sapo:i, I have really seized it, etc., *apo:i*, 137, 173, 296, 308, 376.
sapoine, I really seized it then, etc., 174.
sapoiscŋ, I really seized them then, etc., 182.

sapo:i:toŋ, I've really seized them, 86, 88.
sapoiya, I seize it, 163.
sara:sara, bush-papaya, 61.
saro:ya, I take him, *a:ro*, 160, 163, 164, 342, 348.
saruxkaŋ, I really put it in then, etc., *aruxka*, 173.
saw:i:wi, proper name, girl, 40.
sawo:na, *sawo:napa:mi*, to become light, *sawo:ne*, 268.
sawo:naŋ, a light one, 261, 266-268.
sawo:ne, light (of weight), 261, 266-268.
sawo:nembo, abnormally light, *sawo:ne*, 266.
saŋrombo, leaves, 80, 292, 338.
se (P), interj., 292-306, 316, 324, 334 n-342, 354, 358, 376-380.
se, liking, wishing, 67, 116, 118-120, 135, 136, 138, 143, 249, 285, 306-314, 332, 346, 348, 354, 358, 362, 372, 376, 380.
se:ka, to tear, 125.
seka:nopi, I actually believed it, *eka:nopi*, 290.
se:kapo:ti, to tear to shreds, *se:ka*, 125.
se:kapo:ti:ma:po, having been torn to shreds completely, *se:ka*, 360.
se:kapo:tirikoŋ, my tearing them to shreds, 73.
se:kapo:tiŋma, to tear completely to shreds, 125.
seka:ri:sa, I tell it, *eka:riti*, 338, 368, 370, 372, 380.
seka:rixto, I told it then continually, 172.
sema:e, I throw him over, *e:ma*, 77.
se:maŋ, I really threw it then, etc. 173.
se:mastoya, I lay out a path there, *o:ma*, 59.
sena:piri, I would eat it, *ena:pi*, 224.
sena:sa, I eat it, 66.
se:nei, I have really seen it, etc., *e:ne*, 173, 175, 187, 308.
sene:kepü, I indeed have stopped to see him, 310.
sene:mae, I abstain from, *ene:ma*, 64.
se:neŋ, I really saw it then, etc., *e:ne*, 50, 173, 175.
sene:pi:se, so that I may bring it, *ene:pi*, 174.
sene:ri, I would see it, *e:ne*, 175.
sene:sa, I bring it, *ene:pi*, 66.
sene:satoine, I bring them continually, 181.

- sene:se*, so that I may see it, *e:ne*, 174, 175.
sene:senj, I really saw them then, etc., 182.
sene:take, I'll see him, 171, 175, 176.
sene:tamii, may I go see it, 187.
sene:ta:toŋ, I'll see them, 180.
sene:to, I saw him continually then, 172, 175, 177, 200.
sene:toŋ, I have really seen them, etc., 180.
sene:take, I'll bring her, *ene:pi*, 320.
sene:ya, I see him, *e:ne*, 108, 163, 170, 175, 200, 360, 372.
sene:yaine, I see it continually, 172, 175, 176.
sene:yakoŋ, I saw him then, 120, 171, 200.
sene:yatoine, I see them continually, 181.
sene:yato:koŋ, I saw them then, 181.
sene:ya:toŋ, I see them, 180, 182, 183.
sene:ŋneŋ, I really brought it then, etc., *ene:pi*, 174.
sene:ŋsenj, I really brought them then, etc., 182.
senu:menygae, I am thinking about, *enu:-menyga*, 121.
senyge, near, 261, 266, 328, 374.
senygena:ka, nearer, *senyge*, 266, 292, 312.
senyge:no, a near one, 261, 266.
se:pa, not liking, wishing, *se*, 67, 308, 310, 322, 344.
sepa:no:sa, I help him, *epa:nopi*, 170.
sepa:no:sakoŋ, I helped him then, 171.
sepo:ri, I would find it, *epo:ri*, 175, 178, 298.
sepo:rrii, indeed I have found him, 312, 344.
se:pu, leg band.
se:puka, remove leg bands, *se:pu*, 241.
se:randoya, I put a guard there, *e:ranj*, 59.
se:ri, Sylvie, 141.
seseuru, fringe, *sese:wu*, 215.
sese:wu, fringe, 215.
sese:wuro, to provide with fringe, 239.
seta:e, I hear him, *e:ta*, 64, 170, 342, 368, 376.
seta:koŋ, I heard him then, 171.
seta:no, do I hear him?, 185.
seta:potii, really I've often heard, 326.
seta:pu:ya, I close, lock him up, *cta:-puru*, 88, 170.
seta:to, I always heard it then, *e:ta*, 348, 360, 368.
seta:tokoŋ, I heard them then, 181.
seta:toŋ, I hear them, etc. 181.
sewi:riwi:rikaŋ, may I pluck, *wi:riwi:-rika*, 178.
se:wo, older brother, 216.
sexpa, not liking, wanting, *se*, 67, 120, 258, 318, 320, 336, 338, 348.
sexpambo, not even wishing, 358.
sexto, who does not want, 258.
seŋnoŋ, people not wanting to, 258.
sika:sa, I make it, *ka:pi*, 290, 334.
sikaxtake, I'll make it, 334.
siki:i, little finger, 62, 71, 281.
siku:pika:sa, I stop bathing, *ku:pi*, 209.
siku:pipo:sa, I bath him repeatedly, 205, 209.
siku:pitaŋ, shall I bath him?, 184.
siku:piya, I bath him, 160, 205, 208.
siku:piyaŋ, do I bath him?, 184.
siku:piŋmae, I bath him completely, 209.
siku:ra:mae, I cure him, *kura:ma*, 89.
sima:ri, sieve, 144.
simboiya, I crush it, *imbo:i*, 161.
si:mo, liana, 14, 39, 294, 322.
si:mori, liana, *si:mo*, 294.
sina:ri, flute.
sino:ya, I leave her, *no*, 346.
sipa:nama:to, I always listened then, *pa:-na*, 334.
si:po, sp. of tree, 372, 374.
sipoiya, I plant it, *po:mi*, 170.
sipoiyakoŋ, I planted it then, 171.
sipo:kae, I shoot at it, *po:ka*, 79.
si:pu, Essequibo, 292, 324, 332, 334 n, 344, 360.
sipuiya, I enlarge it, *pu:i*.
sira:mare, Sinnamarie, 334.
sira:pi, a narrow one, *sira:pime*, 262.
sira:pime, narrow, 262.
sirc:u, species of bird, 40, 62.
siri:ko, year, 304, 306, 352.
situndano:sa, I make him arrive, *tunda*, 209.
situ:ra, proper name, 360.
si:wa, species of fish, 40.
si:woi, let me strike, kill it, *wo*, 292, 358.
siwo:ri, I would deal him a blow, 178.
siwo:take, I'll kill him, 324.
siwo:ya, I beat him, 77.
siwo:yakoŋ, I killed him then, 340.
siŋmota:ke, I'll break it, *iŋmo*, 324.

- sī:take*, I'll give it, *ī:rī*, 376.
ske:nī, body, *skeṅ*, 216, 219.
skeṅ, body, 46, 216, 219.
so (P, Sr), so, 290, 294, 308, 310, 314, 316, 320-324, 340, 342, 346, 354, 362, 364, 368, 370.
sondro (Sr), without, 298.
so:noi, may I eat, *o:no*, 178.
soro:pa, side.
sororo, onomat., 362.
so:so (Sr), nothing but, 320, 322, 326, 328, 332, 336, 344, 346, 356-360, 364, 368, 374.
so:sombo, ordinary, *so:so*, 380.
sowei, swish, 84, 362.
soxka:no, he pulls it off, *soxka*, 302.
soxso (Sr), only, 354.
sre:fi (Sr), even, 354, 358, 368, 382.
su (P), very, really, 298, 302, 306, 310-314, 340, 342, 354, 360, 370, 376-380.
su:ka, to strain.
su:ka:toṅ, they strain it, *su:ka*, 318.
suku:sa, *sukuṣa*, I know it, *uku:ti*, 66, 121, 304, 310, 334, 340, 360, 368, 372, 378.
sukuxtake, I'll know it, 340.
su:ma (Sr), people, 334.
sumba:ra, machete, 17.
sumaiya, I hide it, *una:mī*, 138.
sumga, hut, shelter, 292.
su:pi, I've really looked for it, etc., *u:pi*, 173.
supi:ya, I am looking for it, I cannot, 40, 163, 316, 358.
su:raba:nī, beam of roof, *su:rabaṅ*, 219.
su:rabaṅ, beam of roof, 44, 46, 73, 219.
sura:ma, Saramacca R., 358.
suri:nama, Surinam R., 350, 352.
su:ropo:ti:se, let me blow on her, repeatedly, *u:ro*, 178, 322.
su:wi (P), little girl, 47, 310.
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- ta*, in, 67 n, 75-77, 139, 249-252, 256, 257, 259, 290-296, 302-316, 322, 324, 330, 334 n-340, 344, 348-358, 362 n, 370, 378, 380.
taṭwo, sign, 40.
taiyapo:re, handy, *aiya:rī*, 248.
ta:ka, into, *ta*, 249, 290, 296, 298, 306, 308, 312, 318, 322, 324, 330, 352 n, 354-358, 362, 364 n, 370.
taka:ne (east) = *toka:ne*, 382.
taka:nuiye (east) = *toka:nuiye*, 362.
ta:ki (Sr), that, 334, 354.
taki:nī, species of tree, 40.
taki:re, haunted, dangerous, *aki:rī*, 342, 344.
tako:no, his friend, *ako:no*, 302, 304.
tako:nombo, her so-called friend, 223.
ta:kuwa, polishing stone, 73, 82, 360, 362.
tambi:re, broad, *a:pi*, 243.
tambo:se, broken, *ambo:ti*, 196.
ta:mī, tobacco, 218.
ta:mimbo, poor cigar, *ta:mī*, 224, 334 n.
ta:mīrī, tobacco, 218.
tamo:repa:topo, his way of handling a magic, *amo:rc*, 296.
ta:more:rī, his magic, 294.
tampo:ko, old man, 44, 45, 57, 60, 306, 316, 322.
tampoko:rī, my old man, enormous, 102, 332, 340, 346, 376-382.
ta:mukoṅ, grandfathers, *tamu:si*, 228, 277 n.
tamu:ne, white, *amu:nu*, 330.
ta:muru, grandfather, 216 n, 318, 320, 324, 344, 346.
ta:muru, my grandfather, 360, 364.
tamu:si, grandfather, God, 139, 292-296, 306, 360, 364, 368, 376, 380.
tanīḍma, spoilt, *anīḍma*, 332.
tanīḍmapo, caused to be spoiled, 298, 300.
ta:no, what is in, *ta*, 75, 251, 296, 314, 330.
ta:noko:nimbo, which were in, 251.
ta:nokoṅ, which are in, 251.
tano:seṅ, kind of arrow, 46.
tamūye, picked up, *anu:mī*, 362.
taṅgoṅ (P), enormous, 302.
taṅgutāṅgure, grooved, *aṅgu?*, 372.
tapi:ra:moṅ, red ones, *a:pi*, 362.
tapi:re, red, 40, 243.
tapi:reṅ, a red one, 163, 362.
tapi:roi, blunt arrow, 85.
tapo:i = *tapoiye*, 322, 342.
tapoiye, seized, taken, *apo:i*, 196, 348, 350.
ta:puma (Sr), to close.
tapu:ti, her closet *apu:ti*, 314, 316.
ta:ro, till, as far as, *ta*, 257, 300-304, 312, 328, 334, 338, 362.
ta:ro, taken, carried, *a:ro*, 196, 314-318, 342, 368, 370.
ta:roine, their own being taken, 142.

- ta:rombome*, taken then, 198, 290.
taro:na:moŋ, those who carry him, 358.
taru:re, dry, *a:ru*, 243.
taru:ta, having become dry, *a:ru*, 296.
ta:saka:ri, his fellow, *a:saka:ri*, 364.
ta:saka:rikoŋ, his fellows, 344, 354, 358.
ta:si:ni, his heat, *a:siŋ*, 221.
tasi:woinē, clear, *asi:woini*, 242.
ta:swo:tari, his becoming satiated, *asi:-woki*, 296.
ta:ta, mother, 216, 298, 308-316, 338, 342, 348.
ta:tari, mother, 216 n.
tati:ta, his growing up, *ati:ta*, 134.
tati:ta, having grown, 196.
tato:re, full of holes, *a:to*, 243, 372.
tau (P), slap!, 84, 85, 324.
taure, smiling, *auru*, 376.
taurone, allegedly, 346.
tauxi, his house, *auxto*, 292, 302, 354.
tauxine, having a house, 243.
ta:wa, pipe-clay, 14.
tawaini, dim light, 328.
tawaxpore (east) = *towaxpore*, 376, 378.
taxpuma:toŋ, they close it, *ta:puma*, 352.
ta:ya, arum, tuberous plant, 14.
taya:taya, species of fish, 14.
taŋno:se, full, *aŋno:pi*, 330.
te (P), but, however, 290-306, 310-318, 324-328, 332-348, 354-358, 362-380.
te (P, Sr), until, when, at last, 290-298, 302-316, 320, 322, 326, 328, 336-346, 352, 358, 362-374.
te:ni, time, *teŋ*, 216, 219.
teŋ (Sr), time, 46, 216, 219, 298, 312.
tera:a (east) = *tera:pa*, 376-380.
tera:pa (P), again, also, next, already, 296, 318, 326, 332, 344, 346, 358, 360, 368.
timo:na (Sp, F?), rudder, 17, 64.
ti:ro (P), it is said that, 64, 328, 334 n.
ti:ru (Sp), cannon, 17, 64.
ti (P), interj., uneasiness, 302, 310, 374.
tiba:siya:ri, his deputy, *ba:siya*, 304.
tiŋa:rasiri (Sr), his glass, *gara:si*, 302, 304.
tiineku:ru, his poisonous liana, *ine:ku*, 221.
tiye, to poison, *ti:mi*, 324.
tiyo, her husband, *tiyo*, 310, 322, 350.
ti:ka, having spoken, *wi:ka*, 196, 316.
tika:se, made, *ka:pi*, 195, 197, 364, 370.
ti:kato, always having said then, *wi:ka*, 199, 344, 348.
tikaxto, always having been made then, *ka:pi*, 199.
tikaxto:koŋ, their uncles, *kaxto:po*, 310.
tiki:ri, made, *ki:ri*, 300, 340.
tiki:rikoŋ, their goods, *ki:ri*, 352.
tiko:ye, having jumped, *ko:mi*, 322.
tiko:ki = *toko:ki*, 300.
tiko:maiye, overtaken by darkness, *koŋ-na:mi*, 356.
tikondre:ri, his village, *kondre*, 374.
tikoxta, having cried, *koxti*, 292.
tikoŋma, called, *koŋma*, 322.
tikoŋmaiye, becoming dark, *koŋma:mi*, 336.
tikoŋma:po, made to be called, *koŋma*, 332.
tiku:pi, bathed, *ku:pi*, 196, 205.
tiku:pi, his being bathed, 134.
tiku:pimbo, bathed then, 198.
tiku:pipo:se, bathed repeatedly, 205, 210.
tiku:pipo:sembo, formerly bathed repeatedly, 210.
tiku:pipoxto, formerly bathed repeatedly and continually, 210.
tiku:riya:rari, his canoe, *kuri:yara*, 90, 316.
tiku:riya:rarikonimbo, formerly their canoe, 338.
tima:raka:ri, his rattle, *mara:ka*, 316, 320, 322.
tima:riki:ri, his mark (Sr), *ma:riki*, 340.
tima:tapi:ri, his cassava-press, *mata:pi*, 370.
timauruke, provided with cotton, *mauru*, 244, 330.
timbakirka, provided with laths, *imbaki:-ti*, 324.
ti:me, his child, *i:me*, 346.
time:nurc, bloody, *me:nu*, 242, 243.
timeŋga:ma, fully watched, *mŋga*, 302.
time:re, provided with drawing, *me:ri*, 243.
time:reŋ, one with drawing, 364, 368, 372, 376, 378.
time:ro, written upon, 366.
timi:riken, river-boat, 119, 120.
timi:sure, shaggy, *mi:su*, 328.
ti:mi, to make drunk, stupify.
timiikaŋma, completely gnawed off, *miika*, 326.
timike, with a snare, *miiri*, 242.
timixpo, her having been tied, *mi*, 322.

- timo:re*, sounding loudly, *mo:ri*, 243, 245.
timo:roma, overcome, *mo:roma*, 304.
tī:muru, his son, *i:muru*, 336.
tina:noka:rikoŋ, what is barbecued by themselves, *ano:ka*, 330.
tina:rori, what is taken by himself, *a:ro*, 145 n, 298.
tine:ka:ritirikoŋ, mentioned by them, *eka:riti*, 116, 344.
tinendombome, dreaded, past, *nendo*, 304.
tineŋnapi:rikoŋ, what is eaten by them, *ena:pi*, 348.
tini:wo:saŋ, having been killed by them, *wo*, 330.
tī:no, having been left behind, *no*, 302, 370.
tino:tine, having a grandmother, *no:tī*, 243, 368.
tinoŋma:po, her completely having been left, *no*, 348.
tīnu:beren, plane (tool), 44, 46.
tīnu:kuti:rikoŋ, what is known by them, *uku:tī*, 340.
tīngga, to pull tight, *tīŋ*, 122.
tīngga:na, behind himself, *īngga:na*, 251.
tīngana:ka, behind herself, dir., 350.
tīngga:no, he pulled it, *tīŋ*, 296.
tīŋ, soundsymb., pull!, 296.
tīpairi, her elder sister, *pairi*, 322.
tīpa:nayaŋnare, obstinate, *pa:na*, *yaŋna*, 324.
tīpa:ri, his grandchild, 332.
tīpa:sa:marī, her passing, *pa:sama*, 322.
tīpa:ta:yarikoŋ, *tīpa:taya:rikoŋ*, their shelter, *pa:ta:ya*, 326, 330.
tīpa:tī, his own place, hammock, *pa:to*, 302, 314, 344.
tīpa:timī, his nephew, *pa:timī*, 340.
tīpa:to, on his own side, *pa:to*, 251.
tīpa:to, crossed, *pa:to*, 197, 358.
tīpe:poti:ra:moŋ, those with shining forehead, *pe:ri*, *po:tī*, 356.
tīpi:na, taken, *pi:na*, 76.
tīpi:pake, as flat as a pipa, *pi:pa*, 245.
tīpi:paxtaŋma = *tīpi:pataŋma*, become completely flat, 358.
tīpūke, shy, *pūri*, 245.
tīpūman, a thick one, *tīpūme*, 261.
tīpūme, thick, 261.
tīpūxke, shy, *pūri*, 380.
tīpūxtori (east) = *tīpoitori*, 366.
tīpūxtori:koŋ (east) = *tīpoitori:koŋ*, 378.
tīpi:ra:take, having money, *pīra:ta*, 144, 245.
tīpi:tī, his wife, *pī:tī*, 316, 328, 344, 350.
tī:po, at itself, *po*, 328.
tīpoitori, his young man, *poito*, 302.
tīpoitori:koŋ, his young men, 300.
tīpoixtori, his young man, 330.
tīpoiye, planted, *po:mī*, 195.
tī:poke, hairy, *i:poti*, 244.
tīpo:none, with inhabitants, *po*, 259.
tīpo:sine, sweet, *po:siŋ*, 242, 382.
tī:potā, his own getting hair, *i:poti*, 135.
tīpuŋ, splash!, 362.
tīpu:puru:koŋ, their feet, *pu:pu*, 328.
tīra:ma, incredulity, conceitedness, 338.
tīra:pari, his bow, *ira:pa*, 221.
tīra:pu (Sr), ladder, 330.
tīre:wuyū, speaker of the eastern dialect of Carib, 26.
tīro:mo:ka, caused to die, *rombi*, 332, 334.
tīro:mo:ka:po, his having been caused to die, 334.
tīro:mo:se, dead, 332, 334, 380.
tīru:pota, tired, *ru:po*, 320.
tīsa:bake, muddy, *sabaxti*, 44.
tīsa:no, his mother, *sa:no*, 298, 322, 338, 342.
tīsa:pīre, playfull, *sa:pi*, 243.
tī:se, far, 308.
tīse:puru, her leg bands, *se:pu*, 312.
tīse:seuren, one with fringe, *sese:wu*, 312.
tīsi:na:ri, his flute, *sina:ri*, 342.
tīso:ropa:ne, sideways, *soro:pa*, 332.
tī:ta, in himself, *ta*, 252.
tīta:mune, white, *amu:nu*, 368.
tīta:rike, with contents, *ta:ri*, 244.
tītixka, to make tremble, 122.
tī:to, gone, *wī:to*, 196, 322, 326, 330, 338, 342, 360, 368, 372.
tīto:kairi, her hut, *to:kai*, 314.
tī:to:po, her having gone, *wī:to*, 322.
tī:topo:se, gone repeatedly, 364, 366, 380.
tīto:puru, his own stone, *to:pu*, 221.
tī:tori, his going, *wī:to*, 294, 310, 332, 360.
tī:tori:koŋ, their going, 296.
tī:toto:koŋme, for themselves to go, 310.
tītu:nari, his water, *tu:na*, 316.
tītunda, arrived, *tunda*, 196, 298, 316, 318, 322, 330, 332, 358.
tītunda, his own arriving, 134.

- titunda:po*, his own having arrived, 304, 308.
titundari:koŋ, their arriving, 340.
titunda:sando, when they had arrived, 354.
titunda:saŋ, their having arrived, 296, 310, 340.
titu:ru:po, his own heart, *туру:po*, 221.
titu:waroŋgeŋka, caused to pay no attention, *тува:ro*, 358.
tī:wa, to himself, *ɔwa*, 290, 330, 354.
tī:wo, struck, killed, 76, 196, 344, 358.
tī:wo, his being killed, *wo*, 134.
tīxfa:siri, his own way, *fa:si* (Sr), 294, 296.
tīxka, to frighten.
tīxkaike, suffering from dysentery, *ix-kaiti*, 244.
tīxko:ne, dirty, *ixko:nī*, 242.
tīxko:to, cut, *ixko:to*, 338.
tīxpone, being able to swim, *ixponu:mī*, 82, 203 n.
tīxposaike, with nails, *ixposaikī*, 302.
tīxse, far, 261, 266, 342, 370, 374.
tīxsembo, from afar, *tīxse*, 266.
tīxsena:ka, farther away, 266.
tīxse:no, a far one, 261, 266.
tīxte:nī, his time, *teŋ*, 340.
tīya:kuwa:ri, his spirit, *yaku:wa*, 316-320.
tīya:kuwa:rikoŋ, his spirits, 316, 320.
tīya:mike, funny, *ya:mi*, 378.
tīya:po, marsh, swamp, 44, 238.
tīya:poxtō, to cause to become swampy, *tīya:po*, 238.
tīya:pure, mouldered, *ya:puru*, 243, 244.
tī:ye, placed, given, *i:ri*, 292, 304, 358, 360, 378.
tīye:ke, with teeth, sharp, *ye:ri*, 244.
tīye:rikoŋ, their teeth, 310.
tīye:ru:naŋ, their cousin, *yeru:tī*, 310.
tīyo:potō:ri, his chief, *yopo:to*, 316.
tīyoŋne, provided with a covering, *yondī*, 243, 244.
tīyu:mī, his father, *yu:mī*, 322, 336, 340.
tīɔma:se, finished, *iɔma:tī*, 290.
tīɔmatīɔma, completely finished, 326.
tīɔmaxka, brought to an end, used completely, 346, 364.
tīɔmene, having a child, *iɔme*, 243.
tīɔna:wa, made sick, *iɔna:wa*, 322.
tīɔna:wa, his being made sick, 135.
tīɔno:re, with fishy smell, *iɔno:ri*, 322.
tīɔwa, by himself, *ɔwa*, 252.
tīɔwo, brother-in-law, 228, 316, 376 n.
tīɔwokoŋ, brothers-in-law, *tīɔwo*, 228.
to (P), interj., 292-302, 320, 336-346, 376-380.
tofe, onomat., swish!, 290.
to:kai, small, closed hut, 14, 314.
toka:ne, able to run fast, *eka:numī* (? , see 203, nt 78).
toka:nuiye, running, *eka:numī*, 197, 354, 358.
toka:nu:mī:po, his own having run, 354.
toka:ri:se, told, *eka:riri*, 298.
to:kī, his own pet animal, *e:kī*, 368.
to:kine, having a pet animal, 242, 243.
toko:kī, name of ogre, 300-304.
toko:na:moŋ, fierce ones, *eko:nī*(?), 330.
toko:ne, fierce, 330, 360.
toko:nenimbo, those that were fierce, 330.
to:koro, species of bird, 82.
toko:sa, at, with himself, *eko:sa*, 251.
tomaiye, dwelling, *ema:mī*, 350.
toma:miri:koŋ, their dwelling, 356.
to:marī, his path, *o:ma*, 221.
tombata:ri, his face, *omba:ta*, 120.
tome:pa, taught, *eme:pa*, 298.
tome:pambome, taught, past, 300.
to:mere:ka, made crazy, *e:mere:pī*, 322.
to:merexen, foolish person, 314.
tomūri, his own daughter, *emūri*, 306, 314, 350, 352.
tomūrikoŋ, their daughter, 352.
tomūrine, having a daughter, 243, 245.
tomo:ne, having a family, *omo:ri*, 243.
tomo:rikoŋ, his family, 338.
tomuɔma:ma, having been fooled at last, *emuɔma*, 298.
tona:bi:me (east) = *tona:pime*, 380.
tona:pime, given to lying, *ona:pī*, 244.
tona:rikc, nervous, jumpy, *ema:riri*, 342.
tona:riri, her jumpiness, 322.
tona:rixke = *tona:rike*, 322.
tona:se, eaten, *ena:pī*, 368.
to:ne, seen, *e:ne*, 196, 197, 200, 360.
to:ne, his own being seen, 135.
tonembo, seen then, 200.
tone:ri, his own being seen, 338.
tone:to, seen then continually, 199, 200.
to:no, eaten, *o:no*, 302, 304, 348.
tono:mī, game animal, 294, 298, 306.
tono:ro, large bird, 73, 336.
tonu:ru, his own eye, *o:nu*, 338.
tope:ke, fruit-bearing, *epe:ri*, 242, 244.

- topi:ne*, with curative power, *epi:tĩ*, 110.
to:po, over.
topo:rĩ, his own being found, *epo:rĩ*, 338.
topo:ye, found, 366.
to:pu, stone, 215, 366, 370-374.
to:puru, stone, *to:pu*, 215, 221.
to:puru, my stone, 221.
topu:ru, heel, butt of gun.
tore:parĩ, his own bread, food, *arc:pa*, 302.
toreḡna, his fainting, *ereḡna*, 135.
toreḡna, fainted, 196.
to:rĩ (Sr), story, 290, 300, 302, 340, 342, 360, 364, 368, 372, 374.
to:rĩpa, to tell someone a story, *to:rĩ*, 236, 239.
to:ripo, strange story, 222, 342.
to:rĩrĩ, story, 334, 348, 360, 364, 368.
to:rĩrĩ, my story, 304, 348.
to:rĩwa, to tell a story, 232.
toro:roka, to cause to roll over, 122.
toru:ke, fond of being abusive, *e:yu*, 203 n.
tosi:pi, dish, 40, 50.
to:ta, heard, *e:ta*, 368.
tota:puru:po, her having been confined, *eta:puru*, 314.
tota:sipo:munc, with a white moustache, 64, 368.
to:tĩ, done, *o:tĩ*, 354 n.
to:tĩ, his name, *e:tĩ*, 221.
toi:ne, named, 360.
toi:neḡ, named, 300, 304, 306, 360, 378.
toi:pore, sounding beautiful, 248, 340.
to:tĩri:koḡ, their things, *o:tĩ*, 326.
towa:ka, with hammock-line taken away, *o:wa*, 77.
towa:rume, dark, *ewa:rumĩ*, 244.
towaxpore, calm, kind, *owaxpo*, 243, 344.
tox (D), don't they, 358.
toxkoro, species of bird, 82.
toḡna, just like, 324.
troḡ (Sr), turn, 358.
tube:dĩri (Sr?, D?), his bed, *be:dĩ*, 302.
tuku:mau, species of palm tree, 14.
tuku:nare, species of fish, 14.
tuku:se, known, *uku:tĩ*, 296.
tuku:senbo, known then, 198.
tuku:si, colibri, 51.
tu:kusi, type of arrow, 51, 52 n.
tu:ma, cooking pot.
tu:muna:no, mounds in general, *tu:muḡ*, 230.
tu:muḡ, mound, 46, 219.
tu:na, water, river, 292, 296, 316, 320, 324, 326, 330, 342, 344, 352, 354, 358-372, 380.
tunaiye, buried, *una:mĩ*, 354.
tu:nambo, a small water, *tu:na*, 296.
tunda, to arrive, 92, 117, 119, 126, 129, 131, 134.
tunda, my arriving, *tunda*, 134.
tundai, I have arrived, 310, 342, 374, 376.
tundano:pi, to cause to arrive, 127, 211.
tundano:po, to cause to arrive, 126, 129, 131.
tundano:sasḡ, he caused to arrive, 127, 316.
tunda:po, the having arrived of —, 302, 304, 318.
tunda:po, my having arrived, 302, 304.
tunda:pombo, my having arrived, past, 304.
tunda:rĩ, to arrive, 318, 320.
tundaxpo, having arrived, 340.
tundipo:re, skilful at steering, *undi*, 248.
tuḡ, bang!, 46, 292.
tupa:rĩ, his being served with, *u:pa*, 344.
tu:pi, his being looked for, *u:pi*, 134, 354.
tupi:ke:sc, to stop seeking, 354.
tu:po = *ku:po*, 336, 368, 378.
tu:pona:ka = *ku:pona:ka*, 370, 372.
tupu:po, *tupuxpo*, his head, *upuxpo*, 364, 374.
tura:rakoḡ, tuber magics, *tura:ra*, 340.
tura:re, wont to cry, *u:ra*, 242, 298.
tura:rĩ, his weeping, 127, 316.
tura:rĩkoḡ, their weeping, 316.
tu:rĩ, torch, 14.
turu:po, heart, 218, 221.
turu:po, my heart, *turu:po*, 221.
tuta:se, lost, *uta:pi*, 196, 197, 352.
tuwaiḡna, having stood together, *waiḡna*, 196.
tuwaiye (east) = *tuweiye*, 360, 364-374, 380.
tuwa:ke, fond of dancing, *u:wa*, 268, 203 n.
tuwa:po, before himself, *uwa:po*, 251.
tuwa:ponondo, made in advance, 296.
tuwa:ra, like himself, *wa:ra*, 251.
tuwa:raine, like themselves, 253.
tuwa:raroine, sufficient for them, 344.
tuwa:reka:moḡ, persons knowing many songs, *wa:re*, 269.

- tuwa:reke*, knowing many songs, 242.
tuwa:reke:nimbo, one who does not really know many songs, 269.
tuwa:reken, one who knows many songs, 269.
tuwa:ro, careful, on one's guard, conscious, 63, 260, 267, 268, 314, 376.
tuwa:roma, to care for, cause to grow up, *tuwa:ro*, 268.
tuwa:rono, a thoughtful one, 260, 267, 268.
tuwa:rongepi, to forget, 268.
tuwa:ro:pa, *tuwa:roxpa*, unaware, imprudent, 267, 298, 314.
tuweike, fussy, *we:i*, 203 n.
tuwe:i:ma, fully having become, *we:i*, 296.
tuwe:i:po, his having become, 145 n.
tuwe:i:poto, after his having become, 350.
tuweiri, his becoming, being, 320, 334.
tuwe:i:sañ, their having become, 294, 328, 338-344.
tuweito, always having been then, 199.
tuweitome, always having been then, 199.
tuweitopo, his dwelling place, 302.
tuweixto, always having been then, 334, 338, 344.
tuweixtomc, always having been then, 382.
tuweixtopo, his dwelling place, 334.
tuweiyē, having been, become, 196, 292, 298-302, 306, 310, 316, 322, 332, 334, 338, 354, 358-364.
tuweiyembo, been, become then, 198.
tuweiyembome, been, become then, 198, 290, 300, 350, 352, 366.
tuwe:kara:rima:sañ, their having become ready, *kara:rima* (Sr), 342.
tuwe:ku:pi, his taking a bath himself, *ku:pi*, 207.
tuwe:ku:pi, having taken a bath, 205, 210.
tuwe:ku:pimbo, formerly having taken a bath, 210.
tuwe:ku:pito, formerly having taken baths continually, 210.
tuwe:mī, his basket, *we:mī*, 221.
tuwe:mikoñ, their baskets, 308, 330.
tuwe:pana:ma, having listened, *pa:na*, 368.
tuwe:pa:to, having crossed, *pa:to*, 370.
tuwe:pa:to:sañ, their having crossed, 328.
tuwe:pa:kka, coming out, *pa:kka*, 354.
tuwe:pa:kka:ri, his coming out, 356.
tuwe:pokañma, completely having shaved one's own body, *i:poti*, 326.
tuwe:rama, returning, *ra:ma*, 338.
tuwe:sa:pima:ma:sañ, their having played it to the end, *sa:pi*, 310.
tuwe:sa:pimarikoñ, their playing, 306.
tuwe:tiiye, having become drunk, *tī:mī*, 302, 304.
tuwexfo:ma, being folded, *fo:ma* (Sr), 358.
tuwexpoine, skilful at spinning, *expo:i*, 203 n.
tuwexsa:pimari = *tuwe:sa:pimari*, 374.
tuwexse:re = *tuwe:serc*, diarrhoea, *we:-se*, 356.
tuwi:towitore, streaky all over, *wi:to?*, 360.
tuwo:kuke, having beer, *wo:ku*, 300.
tuwo:ma, his being combatted, *wo:ma*, 135.
tuwo:ma, combatted, 196.
tuwo:ma, having thrown oneself, fallen down, *e:ma*, 304, 358.
tuwo:mepa, learned, *eme:pa*, 298.
tuwo:mi:ma, moved, *emi:ma*, 352.
tuwo:mima:po:se, having moved on and on, 342.
tuwo:mī, gone inside, *wo:mī*, 358.
tuwo:mīne, dressed, *wo:mī*, 243.
tuwo:mu:ka, *tuwo:muxka*, able, skilful, 260, 267, 298, 382.
tuwo:muxkano, a skilful one, *tuwo:-muxka*, 260, 267.
tuwo:numennga, having been thinking, *enu:mennga*, 302.
tuwo:nu:se, having come up, *wonu:ku*, 314, 358.
tuwo:pa:pīri, their pouring down, *pa:pī*, 326.
tuwo:pēka:tirikoñ, their buying, 352, 354.
tuwo:pēka:tīñma, ready with buying, *epe:kati*, 354.
tuwo:pēma:toñman, something for revenging himself, *epe:ma*, 354.
tuwo:pī, his coming, *wo:pī*, 135.
tuwo:pūma, having passed over, *epūma*, 279, 280.
tuwo:pī:poto, after she had, will have, come, *wo:pī*, 318, 350.
tuwo:pīri, their coming, 322, 324, 354.
tuwo:rī, his being killed, *wo*, 338.

tuwo:ro, different, 260, 334, 342, 348.
tuwo:rono, one who is different, *tuwo:ro*, 260.
tuwo:se, having come, *wo:pi*, 310.
tuwo:tamongari, his raising of spirits, *amonga*, 318.
tuwo:tandi:mo, sitting down, *andiɔmo*, 366.
tuwo:tandi:mombome, sitting down then, 366.
tuwo:tandiɔmori, his sitting down, 318.
tuwo:tapi:ka:ma, completely having become wide, *a:pi*, 366.
tuwo:tapiiye (east) = *tuwo:tapoiye*, 372.
tuwo:tapoitopo, means for holding oneself, *apo:i*, 326.
tuwo:tapoiye, taking, holding each other, 197.
tuwo:ta:roke, skilful at hunting, *wota:-ro*, 203 n.
tuwo:tauxtima, having made a house for oneself, *auxto*, 292.
tuwo:ti:to, having come down, *wofixto*, 332, 338.
tuwo:tori, his meat, *wo:to*, 124.
tuwo:tori:koɕ, their meat, 330, 348.
tuwo:tuku = *tuwo:tu:ku*, having drawn, *uxku*, 366.
tuwo:tuku:ri, his drawing, 372.
tuwo:tumeiye, being coiled up, *ume:m̄i*, 292.
tuwo:tunaiye, hiding himself, *una:m̄i*, 354.
tuwo:tune:m̄i:po, his having hidden himself, *ume:m̄i*, 338.
tuwo:turu, admonishing each other, *u:ru*, 354.
tuwoxka:se, coming into being, *ka:pi*, 368.
tuwoxpe:mari, his coming to the bank, *peɔya* (?), 336.
tuwoxse, having come, *wo:pi*, 354, 358.
tuwoxtapiiye (east) = *tuwo:tapoiye*, 372.
tuwoxtunaiye = *tuwo:tunaiye*, 354.
tuwoɔniki:ri, his sleeping, *woɔni:k̄i*, 318.
tuxkusi, type of arrow, 52, 81-83.
tuxpi:re, red-haired, 61.
tuxpo, spoon, 218 n.
tuxpori, spoon, *tuxpo*, 218.
tuxta, having emerged, *uxta*, 358.
tuɔma:ma, completely changed, *uɔma*, 300.
tuɔmu:ne, white-haired, 61.

U

u:ku (Sr), hook, 350.
uku:ti, to know, 66, 70, 88.
uku:ti:ma, to know completely, *uku:ti*, 87.
uku:ti:po, known, 87.
uku:tiri, to know, 334.
uku:tixpo, known, 86, 87.
uku:tiɔma, to know completely, 86, 87.
ukuxpo:po, having been made known, 334.
ukuxtaɕ, he will know it, 316.
ukuxto:me, for it to be known, 316, 334.
u:kuya:toɕ, they hooked, *u:ku*, 350.
ukuɔneɕ, expert, *uku:ti*, 141, 324, 328, 334.
uma:ri, crown of feathers, 90.
umi:k̄i, to immerse.
umi:riki:ri, curl, 233.
umi:riko, to set curls, *umi:riki:ri*, 239.
umi:r̄ita, to become curly, 233.
umu:ku (east) = *umi:k̄i*.
u:na, to sieve, 144.
unaiyaɕ, he hides, protects him, *una:m̄i*, 176, 364.
una:m̄i, to hide, protect, bury.
u:nato:po, a sieve, *u:na*, 141, 144.
u:natoxkoɕ, sieves, 143.
u:natoɔme, in order to sieve, 144.
unda, right beside, 249, 257, 258, 328.
undi, trunk, steering of a boat, steersman, the east, 58, 80, 81, 218, 248, 292, 336, 346, 364 n, 368, 372, 380.
undimbo, rotten tree-stump, *undi*, 80.
undi:po, former trunk, 334 n.
undi:po, skill in steering, 248.
undiɔma, without steerage, 376.
upa:na:moɕ, those handing out, *u:pa*, 332.
upa:no, she served him, 308.
upa:toko, you (pl) must serve him, 296, 354.
upa:topo, means for serving, 354.
upa:topombo, means for serving, past, 304.
upaxka, to awake, 14.
u:pi, to seek, look for, 63, 134, 294, 314, 338, 346, 352.
u:pi, his being looked for, *u:pi*, 134.
upi:kepi, to stop looking for, 125.
upi:ke:se, to stop looking for, 125.
upi:taɕ, he'll be unable, 358.

- upi:to:me*, for seeking her, 352.
upi:yañ, he seeks, can't do it, 326, 350, 352, 358.
upi:ya:toñ, they seek, can't do it, 314, 338, 352, 354.
upiño, under, 70, 249, 257, 318, 372.
upiñoñ = *upiño*, 306.
upu:po, head, 61, 83, 130, 302, 312, 356, 368.
upu:pombo, his head, past, *upu:po*, 338.
upuxpo, head, 83, 218, 366, 368.
upuxpombo, head, past, *upuxpo*, 340.
upuxsañ, heads, 228.
u:ra, weeping, 226.
ura:na, large rodent, 51.
ura:ri, her crying, *u:ra*, 298.
uraxpa, without weeping, 226.
u:ro, to blow, 51.
u:ro:po:ti:po, blown upon repeatedly, 322.
u:ru, to admonish.
uru:pe, toad-stool, 14, 292, 294.
u:ruru:u, species of tree, 62.
u:sc:ti, hair of the head, 66.
uta:pī, to get lost, 126.
uta:pī:pa, not lost, *uta:pī*, 374.
uta:pī:po, having been lost, 352.
uta:pīri, to get lost, 334, 348.
uta:pīxpa, not lost, 374.
utarka, to cause to get lost, 126.
uwa (P), no, 73, 292-296, 308, 314, 320, 336, 338, 348, 354-362, 372-380.
u:wa, to dance, 117, 119, 126.
uwambo, worthless, 290.
uwa:no, being dancing, *u:wa*, 201.
uwa:nopī, to make dance, 127.
uwa:nopo, to make dance, 126, 127.
uwa:nopotoxko:me, for making them dance, 332.
uwa:po, before, 44, 108, 109, 249, 251, 256-259, 342.
uwa:po, before her, *uwa:po*, 251, 350.
uwa:poine, before them, 354.
uwa:pombo, away from before, 258.
uwa:pono, one who is before, 108, 109, 304, 306.
uwa:ponondo, to do something before, 259.
uwa:poro, in the period before, 318.
uwa:potombo, prominent person, 300 n, 304, 316, 338, 360, 364, 368, 370.
uwa:poto:sañ, prominent persons, *uwa:poto*, 228, 334, 336, 342, 348.
uwa:ri, to dance, *u:wa*, 120.
uwa:roro, in disregard, 249.
uwaxpa, not dancing, *u:wa*, 140.
uwe:ka, to relieve oneself, *uwe:ti*, 237.
uwembo, belly, 63, 91, 218, 296, 358.
uwembombo, poor belly, *uwembo*, 224, 358.
uwe:na, to vomit, 14.
uwe:sañ, backside, 219.
uwe:ta:ri:pa, with empty belly, *uwembo*, *ta:ri*, 358.
uwe:ti, stool, 237.
uwe:tuna:no, sleep in general, *uwe:tuñ*, 230.
uwe:tuñ, sleepiness, 47, 219.
uxku, to try, take aim, draw (picture), 51 n, 124, 294.
uxkupo:ti, to try repeatedly, *uxku*, 124.
uxkuru, to try, 118.
uxse:pa, without hair, *uxse:ti*, 326.
uxse:ti, hair of the head, 66.
uxsexpa, without hair, 227.
uxta, to emerge, 70, 92.
uxtano:pīñma, to completely cause to emerge, *uxta*, 129.
uxtanoxkepi, to stop making to emerge, 129.
uxtanoxpoti, repeatedly to cause to emerge, 129.
uxtato:po, means, place to emerge, 156.
uxtaxpa, not emerging, 156.
uxtaxpo, having emerged, 139, 156.
uxtaxpoto, when — has emerged, 143.
uxtaxsañ, things that have emerged, 143.
uxtaxto, who does not want — to emerge, 156.
uxtañmakepi, to stop emerging completely, 129.
uxtañmanopi, to cause to emerge completely, 129.
uxtañmapoti, repeatedly to emerge completely, 129.
uxtañoñ, things that do not emerge, 70.
uñma, to turn, change.
uñmeiyañ, he goes around it, *uñme:mī*, 292.
uñme:mī, to go around something.
uñyepombo, his severed skull, *upu:po*, *ye:po*, 304.

W

wa, to, by, 66, 290, 298-302, 314-320, 334, 338, 340, 348, 356.

- wa*, I am, 111, 196, 212, 213, 292, 300-310, 320, 324, 344-348, 356, 368, 372-376, 380.
wa:e, species of tree, 62.
waimanembato:me, for getting away, *waimanemba*, 364.
waiṗi:nae, I am one, *waiṗi:na*, 168.
waitopo (east) = *weitopo*, 378.
waiya:po, species of fish, 41.
waka:buṣ, species of tree, 14, 44-46.
wa:koṣ, I was then, 212, 213.
wa:me, sp. of liana, 374.
wana:u, otter, 62, 71, 320, 322.
wa:ne (P), is it so that?, 362, 380.
waṣ, am I?, 212, 213, 382.
waṣ he:de, *waṣ teṣ*, *waṣ troṣ* (Sr), at once, 296, 310, 316, 358.
waṣsi:ri, little bird, 45, 58.
wa:ra, ibis, 14.
wa:ra, like, 249-251, 255-258, 292-308, 312, 318-334, 338-348, 352, 356-366, 370-380.
wa:ra, like me, 251, 256.
waramba, mat, 81, 298.
wa:rano, one who is like, *wa:ra*, 251, 255.
wa:rano:konimbo, those who are not really like, 255.
wa:rano:koṣ, those who are like, 251, 255.
wa:ranombo, one who is not really like, 255.
wara:ro (P), each, all over, everywhere, 176-178, 292, 314, 330, 340.
wa:raro, having the same proportions, sufficient, fitting, *wa:ra*, 257, 304, 344, 356.
wa:re, song, 90, 332, 334.
wa:reka, to make a song on, *wa:re*, 238.
wa:rekaxpo, made into a song, 334.
wa:reta, to sing, 232, 234.
wa:reta:no, singing, 202.
waru:ma, plant, material for baskets, 14, 296.
wa:ti (P), is not, 157, 292-298, 304, 310, 316, 322, 326-330, 340, 342, 358-362, 368-372, 376-382.
wa:toṣ (P), looking like, 46, 249.
watraka:nimbo, worthless jug, *watrakaṣ*, 224.
watrakaṣ, 46, 58, 82, 360, 362.
waxto, fire, 58, 81, 298, 300, 350.
wa:yama:ka, iguana, 290.
wayu:mo, species of crab, Wayombo river, 14, 306.
waya:mu, tortoise, 139.
waya:rimbo, improvised basket, 80, 294-298-, 344.
waḍwa, elder sister, 314.
waḍyo:baṣ, convulsion, fit, 46.
we (Sr), well, 310, 312, 318, 368.
we:i, to be, become, 65, 71, 86, 124, 196.
we:i, may I be, indeed I am, *we:i*, 348, 376, 380.
weine, indeed I was then, 304, 348.
weino, being, 202.
we:i:po, having become, 145, 324.
we:i:po, my having become, 346.
we:i:pombo, having been, past, 330, 332, 342, 348.
weipoli, to become repeatedly, 124.
we:i:poto, when I had been, 334.
weiri, being, 382.
weiri, my being, 346, 348.
weiri, I would be, become, 175.
weiru, sun, *we:yu*, 215.
we:i:se, so that I may be, *we:i*, 174.
weitake, I shall be, 292.
weitaṣ, shall I be?, 187, 306.
weito, continually I was then, 177.
weitopo, way of being, dwelling-place, 141, 143, 146.
weitoxkoṣ, ways of being, dwelling-places, 143.
weitoḍme, in order to be, 144, 146.
we:ixpo, having become, 139.
weixtake, I shall be, 298, 324, 340, 346.
weixto:mas, way for me to be, 350.
weixto:me, for me to be, 304.
weixtopo, way of being, dwelling place, 65, 320, 378.
weixtopombo, former living place, 304.
we:ixtori, not wishing the existence of —, 140.
weiya, I become, 71.
weiyaine, I am continually, 177, 306.
weiyakoṣ, I became then, 306.
we:ka, defecate, 290, 356.
weku:pi, to take a bath, *ku:pi*, 122, 204, 206.
weku:pi, my taking a bath, 207.
weku:pino, taking a bath, 205.
weku:piri, to take a bath, 204, 206, 207.
weku:pirimbo, not really to take a bath, 204.
weku:pita:ke, I'll take a bath, 209.
weku:pita:mii, let me go take a bath, 209.

- weku:pito:noj*, who regularly take a bath, 210.
weku:pito:po, means to take a bath, 204.
weku:pito:to, one who takes a bath regularly, 205, 210.
weku:pixpo, having taken a bath, 204.
weku:pixto, one who does not want — to take a bath, 204.
weku:piya, I take a bath, 205, 209.
weku:piya:koj, I took a bath then, 209.
we:meka:topo, my means of getting children, *iyme*, 380.
weme:ta, to get markings, *me:ri*, 79.
we:mi, basket, 221.
we:mi, my basket, *we:mi*, 221.
wena:po, behind, 249, 350.
wena:po, behind me, 306.
wendaka:ri, bend, 338, 340.
wepa:nama, to listen, *pa:na*, 328.
wepandaxto, to grow a branch, *panda*, 240.
wepaxka, to come out, appear, *paxka*, 120, 129-132.
wepaxkake:pi, to stop coming out, 129.
wepaxkakexpoti, to repeatedly stop coming out, 129.
wepaxkano, coming out, 330, 334 n.
wepaxkano:po, to cause oneself to be brought out, 130-132.
wepaxkapo:ti, to come out repeatedly, 129.
wepaxkaɔma, to come out completely, 129.
wepi:kota, to break wind, *pi:ko*, 298.
wera:ma, to return, *ra:ma*, 133.
wera:mapo:no, turning repeatedly.
wera:mapo:noj (Kib.) = *wera:mapo:-no*, 378.
wera:mapo:sa, I return repeatedly, 376.
wera:marī, to return, 332.
we:riki, dirt, mess, 239.
we:riki:ko, to cause to become dirty, *we:riki*, 239.
weru:si, dove, 298.
we:se, watery stool, 239.
we:sero, to cause a watery stool, *we:se*, 239.
we:ti, rust, 233.
we:timbo, faeces, *we:ti*, 368.
we:tita, to become rusty, 233.
weti:fixka, to tremble, be afraid, *tiixka*, 122.
wetundano:po, to make oneself arrive, *tunda*, 129, 131.
wetu:wa:roma:po, having grown up, *tuwa:ro*, 380.
we:we, tree, wood, 136, 292, 300, 302, 308, 330, 374.
wex (Sr), well, 358.
wexkirindoma, to lie down, *ixkirindoma*, 308.
wextu:mika, to hatch.
weyo:po:tomatoɔme, for me to be a chief, *yopo:to*, 306.
we:yu, sun, 215, 332.
weɔmo, to break, *iɔmo*, 122.
weɔmori, to break, 330.
wi:ki (Sr), week, 302, 352.
wi:nima (Sr), to win something, 236.
wi:yu, species of tree, 47.
wiino, from, 41, 136, 249, 257, 258, 308, 314, 316, 328-332, 336-348, 356, 364, 370, 372, 380.
wiinombo, from, *wiino*, 258, 314, 332, 350.
wiinona:ka, from, 258, 368.
wiinono, who is from, 346, 348.
wiinono:koj, who are from, 344, 348.
wiinonoj = *wiinono*, 346 n.
wi:ka, to speak, 58, 168 n, 191 n.
wi:kae, I say, *wi:ka*, 348.
wi:kai indeed I have said, 308.
wiingo:si, ant, 81.
wi:ri, axe, *wi:wī*, 215.
wiri:po, sweepings, 218.
wi:ripo:ri, sweepings *wiri:po*, 218.
wi:sa, I go, *wi:to*, 66, 320, 346.
wi:to, to go, 58, 59, 66, 83, 117, 168 n, 191 n, 196, 310, 346.
wi:toj, I went, *wi:to*, 292.
wi:topo:ti, to go repeatedly, 125, 348.
wi:topo:tiri, to go repeatedly, 348, 380.
wi:topo:tiɔmai, I have gone often enough, 125, 126.
wi:topo:toɔme, for going repeatedly, 342.
wi:topoɔno, going repeatedly, 344.
wi:tori, to go, 290, 354, 374, 380.
wi:tori, my going, 316, 348, 376.
wi:totoɔme, for — to go, 326.
wi:toxpombo, having gone, past, 332, 336.
wi:wī, axe, 215.
wixsa, I go, *wi:to*, 66, 121, 168 n, 170, 302, 304, 316, 346, 350, 356, 372.
wixsaine, I go continually, 172, 292.
wixtake, I'll go, 83, 298, 302, 304, 316, 376.
wixtamii, may I go, 188 n.

- wo*, to beat, strike, kill, 59, 61, 70, 73, 75-79, 116, 117, 120, 122, 126, 134, 338, 344, 352.
wo:di, little girl, 44, 45, 350, 352.
woi, he has killed, *wo*, 338.
wo:i, savanna, grassy, 62, 312, 328, 330.
wo:kəp̄i, to stop beating, *wo*, 76.
woki:ri, man, 218.
woki:riyaŋ, men, *woki:ri*, 228.
wo:ko, sp. of bird, 294.
wo:ku, beer, 296, 298, 332, 340, 342, 354.
wo:kurumbo, my bad beer, *wo:ku*, 224.
wo:kuta, to brew, 124, 234.
wo:kuta:poti, to brew everywhere, 124.
wo:kuxto, to make beer for, 238.
wo:ma, to fall, *e:ma*, 122, 123, 132.
wo:ma, to combat, 135.
wo:ma, my being combatted, *wo:ma*, 135.
wo:mapo, to cause oneself to be tripped up, *e:ma*, 133.
wo:ma:po, what has fallen down, 308.
wo:marimbo, nearly falling down, 137.
wo:ma:toŋ, they fight her, *wo:ma*, 310.
womba:taka:po, having got a flat surface, *omba:ta*, 296.
wome:pa, to learn, *eme:pa*, 122.
wo:m̄i, garment, 218.
wo:m̄i, to enter, 59 n, 126.
wo:m̄indo, to dress, *wo:m̄i*, 239.
wo:miya, I enter, *wo:mi*, 170.
wo:miya:koŋ, I entered then, 171.
wo:miŋma, to go in alltogether, 126.
wo:na:moŋ, killers, *wo*, 143, 336.
wo:ne, to be visible, *e:ne*, 123, 132.
wo:neke:p̄iri, no longer be visible, 318.
wo:nenimbo, mean murderer, *wo*, 70.
wo:neŋ, murderer, 70.
wo:nepo, to cause oneself to become visible, *e:ne*, 132.
wonixto, to come down.
wonu:ku, to climb up.
wonu:meŋga, to think.
wo:pa:p̄iri, to pour down, *pa:p̄i*, 294.
wo:p̄eka;se, to buy, *epe:kati*, 352.
wo:pe:matopombo, place for going to the bank, past, *peɔya* (?), 300, 304.
wo:p̄i, to come, 59 n, 66, 83, 117, 119, 120, 135, 136, 196.
wo:p̄i, my coming, *wo:p̄i*, 135.
wo:p̄ii, I've come, 178, 302, 308, 310, 316, 320, 376.
wo:p̄i:po, my having come, 308.
wo:p̄i:pombo, my having come, past, 306.
wo:p̄iri, to come, 330, 338.
wo:p̄iri, my coming, 312, 340.
wo:p̄ixpo, the having come of —, 138.
wo:po, to cause to strike, *wo*, 126.
wo:poiye, to plant, *po:m̄i*, 314.
wo:poiymbo, away from planting, 314.
wo:potatŋ, he'll have him killed, *wo*, 342.
wo:poti, to beat repeatedly, 78.
wopo:ti, to look.
wo:poti:ri, to beat repeatedly, *wo*, 78.
wo:r̄ii, woman, 290, 304, 312, 326, 332, 342, 346, 348, 354, 356, 376.
wo:r̄iiri, woman, *wo:r̄ii*, 41, 290.
wo:r̄iuyaŋ, women, 183, 228, 344, 380.
woro:k̄i, *woroxko* (Sr), work.
woro:k̄iri (Sr), work, *woro:k̄i*, 300.
wo:sa, I come, *wo:p̄i*, 65, 66.
wose:ne, to look at each other, etc. *e:ne*, 123, 124.
wose:nepo:ti, to look at each other repeatedly, 124, 133.
wose:nepoxkep̄i, to stop looking at each other repeatedly, 133.
woseŋgu:na, to comb each other, *eŋgu:na*, 92.
wosexkei, to be baking, *exke:i*, 124.
wosi:ma, to hurry.
wotand̄imo, to sit, *and̄imo*, 122.
wota:p̄iino = *wota:poino*, taking one another, *apo:i*, 310.
wota:poi, to take each other, *apo:i*, 123.
wota:ro, to hunt, 298, 306, 308, 336, 344, 350.
wota:roto:to, one who goes hunting, *wota:ro*, 200, 290.
wota:ru:ka, *wota:ruxka*, to go into, *aruxka*, 87.
wota:wa, to go visiting, *eta:wa*, 344.
woti:toxpombo, having come down, past, *wotixto*, 330.
wotixto, to come down, 116, 117, 126.
wotixtopo, to make come down refl., *wotixto*, 126.
wotixto:po, having come down, 330, 332.
wotixtototo, he who comes down, 332.
wotixtoxpo, having come down, 139.
wo:to, fish, meat, 44, 296, 298, 348, 350, 380.
wo:toka, to go catching fish for, *wo:to*, 238.
wo:tokoŋ, fishes, 228.
wo:toŋ, they really killed him, *wo*, 338.
wo:topo, a means of killing, 61, 302.

wo:tori, meat, *wo:to*, 362.
wo:toxkoʃ, means of killing, *wo*, 61.
wo:toxkoʃme, for killing, pl., 61, 69.
wo:toʃmaʃ, something to kill with, 147.
wo:toʃme, for killing, 61.
wotu:pino, lack, *u:pi*, 346.
wotu:ruʃo, to ask.
wotu:ruʃo:po, to cause to ask, *wotu:ruʃo*, 250.
wotu:ruʃo:poyakoʃ, he caused me to ask, 250.
wotu:ruʃo:poyaʃ, he causes me to ask, 250.
wotu:ruʃo:take, I shall ask, 251.
wotu:ruʃo:ya, I ask, 372.
woxka, to come out, *ka*, 58, 122.
woxkabi:ri (east) = *woxkabi:ri*, 380, 382.
woxka:no, creation, *ka:pi*, 368 n.
woxka:pi, to come into being, 122.
woxkabi:po, having come into being, 364.
woxkabi:ri, to come into being, 82.
woxkabi:ri, my coming into b., being born, 304, 306.
woxke:i, to be baking, *exke:i*, 123, 124.
woxkerenga, to let go, leave, *kerenga*, 122.
woxki, to be rasping, *ki*, 122.
woxkoroika, to slip, *koroika*, 122.
woxpandaka, to branch, river, *panda*, 240.
woxpa:pi, to flutter down, *pa:pi*, 122.
woxpe:ki, to sink, *pe:ki*, 122.
woxpe:ma, to go the water's edge, *peʃyaʃ*, 117, 119, 122.
woxpi:ka, to skin oneself, *pi:ka*, 122.
woxpo, having been killed, *wo*, 342.
woxpombo, having been killed, past, 342.
woxpo:mi, to be planting, *po:mi*, 122.
woxsa, I come, *wo:pi*, 65, 66.
woxsakoʃ, I came then, 304.
woxtake, I'll come, 176, 304, 340, 346.
woxtinga, to stretch oneself, *tinga*, 122.
woxtoro:roka, to roll over, *toro:roka*, 122.
woxtu:mu:sa, I dive, *umu:ku*, 372.
woxtuʃmere:maʃ, in distress, 316.
wo:yaʃ, he strikes, kills him, *wo*, 75, 292, 294, 300, 322.
wo:ya:toʃ, they strike, kill him, them, 294, 330, 338.
woʃnem, I really came then, *wo:pi*, 178, 380.
woʃni:ki, to sleep.

woʃni:se, to sleep, *woʃni:ki*, 308.
woʃwo, to bump oneself, *wo*, 59, 122.
wroxko (Sr), job, piece of work, 23, 296, 346.

X

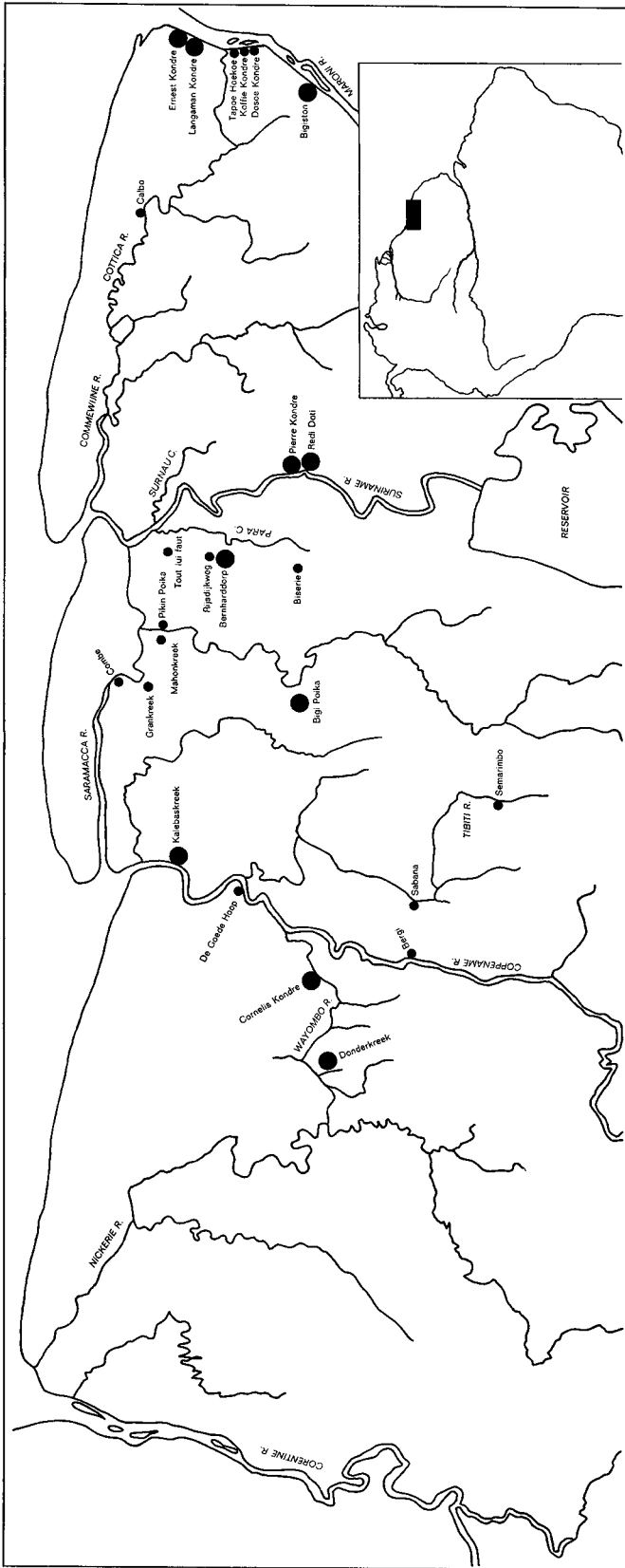
xkuru (P), beforehand, ahead, 67 n, 68, 300, 304, 308, 314, 324, 334, 336, 348-352, 356, 376, 378.

Y

yaiya:ri, my hands, *aiya:ri*, 140, 358.
ya:kara:wa, deer, 73, 294.
ya:ko, at the time of, when, 249, 298-304, 318-328, 332-342, 346, 350, 360, 362, 368-372, 376.
ya:kono, my friend, *ako:no*, 300-304.
ya:konombo, one belonging to a past period, *ya:ko*, 290.
yaku:wa, spirit helping shaman.
ya:kuwa:rikoʃ, spirits, *yaku:wa*, 318.
yama:tu, basket, 79.
ya:matu:ru, basket, *yama:tu*, 79.
yandi:moʃ, *yandiʃmoʃ*, he really made me sit down then, etc., *andiʃmo*, 173, 178, 304.
yandiʃmoi, he really made me sit down, etc., 177, 178.
yandiʃmosen, they really made me sit down then, etc., 182.
yandiʃmoyakoʃ, he appointed me then, 304.
yandiʃmoyaʃ, he makes me sit down, 177.
ya:no (P), I say, certainly, truly, 302, 310, 378.
ya:nume:si, proper name, 163.
yangisa:ri, scarf, *angisa:sa*, 218.
yaʃsiki:ri, depth, 227, 244.
yaʃsi:noʃ, deep ones, *yaʃsiki:ri*, 269.
yaʃsi:paʃ, a deep one, 269.
yaʃsi:pe, deep, 244, 268, 269, 328, 372.
ya:poku:pe, pleasing to me, *apo:kupe*, 376.
ya:po:ni, my bench, *apo:ni*, 222.
ya:po:ritonaka, beside me, *apo:rito*, 258.
ya:posi:waʃ, *ya:po:siwaʃ*, actually I fell in love, *apo:siwa*, 173, 304.
ya:po:yo, my helper, *apo:yo*, 342.
ya:puru, decayed wood, 233.
ya:puta, to moulder, *ya:puru*, 233.

- ya:rabo:rī*, eel-like fish, *ara:bo*, 218.
yara:wa, sea cow, 14.
ya:rī, upper river, 314, 316, 324, 326, 336, 342, 344, 350.
ya:rīkoḥ, upper rivers, *ya:rī*, 342.
ya:rowa, hither, 271, 346, 376.
ya:royaḥ, he takes me, *a:ro*, 161, 163, 164.
ya:roya:tokoḥ, they were taking me then, 348.
ya:ru:ka, *ya:ruxka*, to put me into something, *aruxka*, 91, 92.
ya:saka:rī, my friend, *a:saka:rī*, 137.
ya:saka:rikonimbo, these friends of mine, 334.
ya:saka:rikoḥ, my fellows, 306, 348.
ya:si:nī, my heat, *a:siḥ*, 221.
ya:siwo:tai, I have really become satiated, *asi:woki*, 296.
ya:ta, if, that, as I am, *a:ta*, 304, 348, 372.
ya:ti:pī, I did grow, become old, *ati:pī*, 348.
ya:ti:ta, my growing up, 134.
ya:toxke, occupying my mind, vexatious to me, *atoxke*, 342.
yaurāḥ, my words, *aurāḥ*, 326, 338.
yaxtī, my house, *auxto*, 222.
yaxtimbo, my dear house, 224, 348.
ya:wo, uncle, 216, 290, 304, 310, 334 n, 338, 342.
ya:wōiya, I am getting up, *awo:mī*, 167, 169.
yaxta, if, that, as I am, *axta*, 346, 372, 380.
yaxtī, firewood, 227.
yaxto, to put firewood on fire, *yaxtī*, 237.
yaḍmuḥ, body, 46, 219, 346.
yaḍna, hardness.
yaḍwa:me, bad, evil, 262, 263, 300, 376.
yaḍwa:nimbo, a not really bad one, *yaḍwa:me*, 264.
yaḍwan, a bad one, 46, 262, 263.
yaḍwanḡoḥ, bad ones, 263.
ye:kac, it bites, hurts me, *e:ka*, 344.
ye:kai, really it has bitten me, 324.
ye:ka:nuiya, I run, *eka:numī*, 170.
ye:ka:nuiyaine, I run continually, 172.
ye:kari, biting, hurting me, *e:ka*, 344.
ye:kataḥ, he'll bite me, 292, 294.
ye:ka:tuine(ḡ), I really runned then, etc., *eka:tumī*, 174 n.
ye:ko:sa, at, with me, *eko:sa*, 89, 251, 256.
ye:maine(ḡ), I really dwelled then, etc., *ema:mī*, 174, 174 n, 304.
ye:maiya, I dwell, 306.
ye:ma:mi:na:maxpo, my having completed working, *ema:miḥ*, 346.
ye:ma:mi:natake, I'll work, 346.
ye:marī, to throw me over, *e:ma*, 78.
ye:marī, my path, *o:ma*, 78, 221, 290.
ye:marī:koḥ, my paths, 245.
yembata:rī, my face, *omba:ta*, 376.
ye:me:pai, indeed he taught me, *eme:pa*, 298.
ye:mepa:neḥ, my teacher, 306.
ye:me:re:sa, I go mad, *e:merc:pī*, 170.
ye:me:re:sakoḥ, I went mad then, 171.
ye:me:rextake, I'll go mad, 171.
ye:mīiri, my daughter, *emiiri*, 120, 306-316, 344, 352.
ye:ne, my being seen, *e:ne*, 135.
ye:ne:pīxpombo, my having been brought then, *ene:pī*, 350.
ye:nepo:saḥ, he keeps looking at me, *e:ne*, 183.
ye:nepo:sa:toḥ, they keep looking at me, 183.
ye:nepo:ti:po, my always having been looked after, 342.
ye:netoḡme, for me to be looked after, 342.
ye:neya:toḥ, they see me, 183.
ye:nī, vessel, packing, store-house, 218, 302, 316.
ye:nono:pī, to quarrel with.
ye:nuru, my eye, *o:nu*, 348.
ye:pa:nopīxpa, not helping me, *epa:nopī*, 125, 126.
ye:po, bone, 218, 228.
ye:po:rī, to find me, *epo:rī*, 348.
ye:po:ta:toḥ, they'll find me, 348.
ye:po:yaḥ, he finds me, 292.
ye:re:na, my fainting, *ereḍna*, 91, 92, 135.
ye:repa:rī, my cassava-bread, *are:pa*, 222.
ye:reḍnakoḥ, I fainted then, *ereḍna*, 171.
ye:rī, tooth, sharpness, 14, 226, 233.
ye:samombo, former bones, *ye:po*, 326.
ye:saḥ, bones, 228.
ye:ta, to get teeth, become sharp, *ye:rī*, 233.
ye:ti, my name, *e:ti*, 221.
ye:tu:na:no, ache, *yextuḥ*, 344, 346.

- ye:waɔmari*, to embrace me, *ewaɔma*, 376.
yexto, without sharpness, *ye:rī*, 247.
yextori, without sharpness, 248.
yextu:ma, without pain, *yextuɔ*, 346.
yextuɔgexpa, not stopping to hurt, 346.
yextuɔ, illness, pain, 46, 219, 344, 346.
ye:yuku:pa, not answering me, *eyu:ku*, 350.
yo (P), interjection, 338.
yondo, to cover, *yondi*, 235.
yopo:to, chief, 360, 378.
yopo:toma:mi, to become large, *opo:tome*, 268.
yo:po:ri, bigness, *opo:tome*, 324.
yo:po:ri, chief, *yopo:to*, 318, 332.
yo:po:rikoɔ, chiefs, 296.
yo:po:rimbo, the big component of, *opo:tome*, 358.
yo:rokaɔ, evil spirit, 46, 73, 364-368, 372.
yo:ruko:ri, worm, *oru:ko*, 218.
yo:ruwa:nori, third member, *o:ruwa*, 283.
yo:tiri, something of mine, *o:ti*, 271.
yu:ka, Djoeke negro, 378.
yu:ku, proper name of spirit, 320.
yu:ku, species of ant, 51 n.
yu:mari:ri, my crown of feathers, *uma:ri*, 90.
yu:mi, father, 216, 326, 328.
yu:mi, my father, very, a lot, *yu:mi*, 120, 292, 298, 302, 318, 332, 340, 344, 348, 378, 382.
yu:pa, good, 58, 67, 304, 306, 310, 312, 318, 322, 340.
yu:pata:toɔ, they'll give me to eat, *u:pa*, 346.
yu:pi, my being looked for, *u:pi*, 134.
yu:pɔn, a good one, *yu:pa*, 304, 322.
yu:ru (Sr), hour, 316, 318, 324.
yu:ta:pü, I have really lost my way, *uta:pi*, 290, 306.
yu:ta:saɔ, do I lose my way?, 184.
yu:taxkari, losing me, forgetting me, 376.
yu:taxtaɔ, shall I lose my way?, 184.
yu:wa:po, before me, *uwa:po*, 251.
yu:wembo, my belly, *uwembo*, 91, 344, 346.
yuxpa, good, 58, 67, 300, 304, 310, 312, 316-320, 332, 338, 342, 346, 356, 358, 374, 378, 380.
yuxpɔn, a good one, *yuxpa*, 302.
yuɔpa, good, 58, 60, 67, 260, 263, 304-314, 318, 320, 324, 326, 354, 376-380.
yuɔpimbo, a not really good one, *yuɔpa*, 264.
yuɔpɔn, a good one, 260, 263, 322, 328, 376.
yuɔpɔngoɔ, good ones, 263.
- ɔ
- ɔmakoɔ*, small (pl), *ɔme*, 67, 296.
ɔme, small, 67, 68, 219, 296.
ɔne (P), real, really, 67, 68, 292-296, 300, 302, 308, 312, 316, 320-324, 336-342, 348, 356, 378.
ɔwa, to, by, 66-68, 121, 139, 197, 249, 250, 252, 292, 300, 304, 316, 318, 324, 328, 356, 380.
- :
- :kuru* (P), beforehand, ahead, 67 n, 68, 310, 326, 346, 348, 352, 368, 376.
:me, small, 67, 68, 294-298, 372.
:ne (P), real, really, 67, 68, 74, 290-332, 336-366, 372-378, 382.
:wa, to, by, 66-68, 292-304, 308-326, 330, 332, 336-352, 356-364, 374-378.



THE COASTAL AREA OF SURINAM