

# Archaic first person markers in Cariban

Florian Matter  
University of Bern

September 25, 2021

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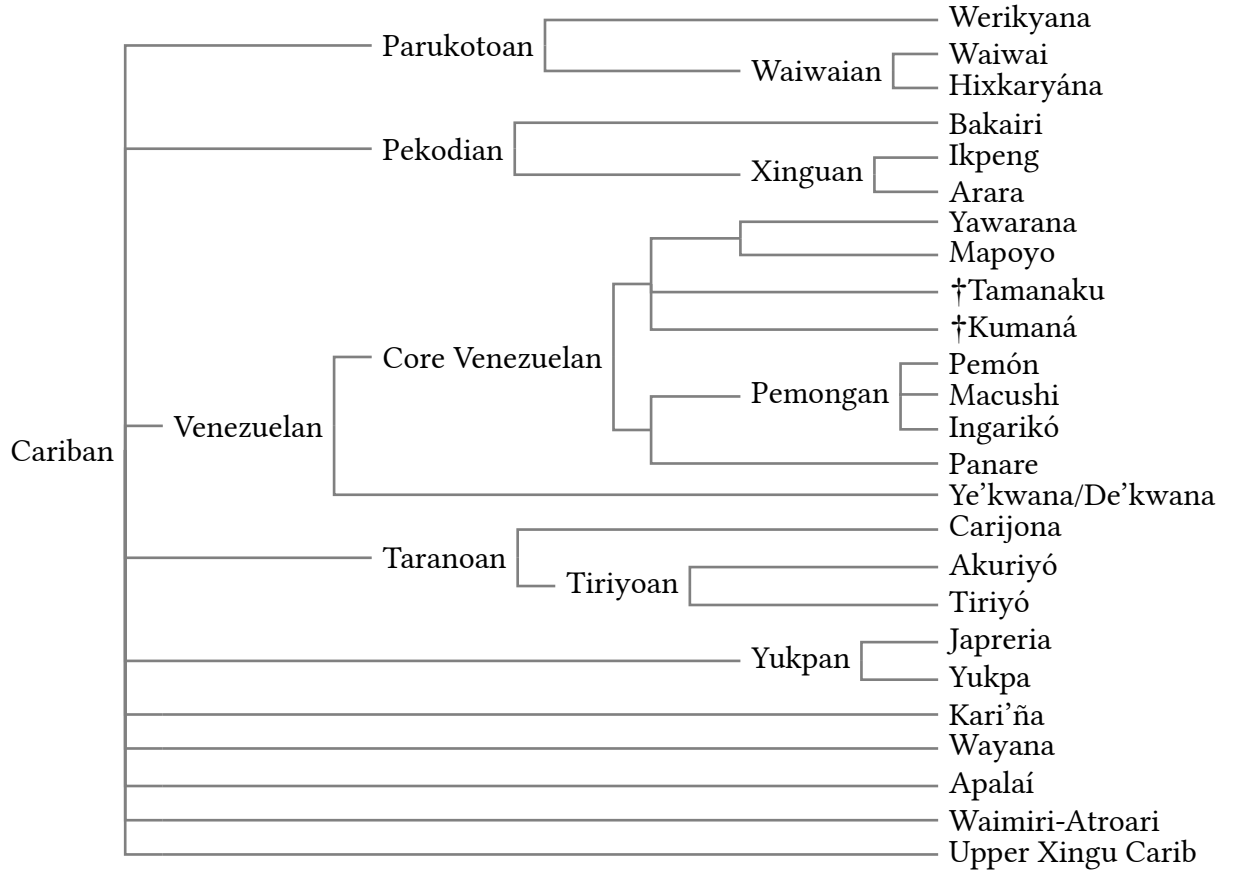


Figure 1: The Cariban language family

## 1 Introduction

## 2 Cariban verbal person marking and marker extensions

The archaic person markers discussed in this paper are the result of incomplete person marker extensions, i.e., modifications to the ancestral prefix system. This section provides the necessary background for said ancestral system (Section 2.1), the split-S system which will be relevant later (Section 2.2), and the concept of person marker extensions (Section 2.3).

Table 1: Proto-Cariban Set I (main clause) person markers (Meira et al. 2010: 495; Gildea & Zúñiga 2016: 497)

| (a) Transitive |                 |                 |              |                   | (b) Intransitive |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| A/P            | 1               | 2               | 1+2          | 3                 |                  | S <sub>A</sub> | S <sub>P</sub>  |
| 1              |                 | * <i>k</i> -    |              | * <i>t(i)</i> -   | 1                | * <i>w</i> -   | * <i>u(j)</i> - |
| 2              | * <i>k</i> -    |                 |              | * <i>m(i)</i> -   | 2                | * <i>m</i> -   | * <i>a(j)</i> - |
| 1+2            |                 |                 |              | * <i>kit(i)</i> - | 1+2              | * <i>kit</i> - | * <i>k</i> -    |
| 3              | * <i>u(j)</i> - | * <i>a(j)</i> - | * <i>k</i> - | * <i>n(i)</i> -   | 3                | * <i>n</i> -   | * <i>n(i)</i> - |

## 2.1 Verbal person marking in Proto-Cariban

Proto-Cariban is reconstructed by Gildea (1998) as using a person paradigm called Set I in its independent verb forms, shown in Table 1.<sup>1</sup> The choice of person marker in transitive verbs can be characterized as being conditioned by a basic person hierarchy  $1/2 > 3$ . The locuphoric markers, those referring to SAP participants, had two forms, an A-oriented one for direct ( $SAP > 3$ ) scenarios and a P-oriented one for inverse ( $3 > SAP$ ) scenarios. This was not the case for third person referents, which only had one marker, since third person only surfaced in nonlocal ( $3 > 3$ ) scenarios, and third-person prefixes did not distinguish different different third persons. Local scenarios were expressed in a non-transparent manner, by using the 1+2 prefix \**k*- in both cases.<sup>2</sup>

Formally identical or etymologically related markers occurred in intransitive verbs, which showed a split-S system (Table 1b). That is, S<sub>A</sub> verbs took similar markers as the A-oriented ones in transitive verbs, with the exception of first person ( $1 > 3$  \**t(i)*- vs 1S<sub>A</sub> \**w*-), as well as the absence of \**i* after all S<sub>A</sub> prefixes. On the other hand, S<sub>P</sub> verbs took markers fully identical to the P-oriented ones. The third person marker in S<sub>P</sub> verbs was identical to the one in  $3 > 3$  scenarios (\**n(i)*-), while the 3S<sub>A</sub> marker did not have an \**i*, like the other S<sub>A</sub> prefixes.

As in many other split-S systems found in languages of the world, the intransitive verbal lexicon was divided into the two classes, with verbs inherently being S<sub>A</sub> or S<sub>P</sub> verbs. That is, while in transitive verbs, the choice of the person marker had a crucial semantic contribution, it is predictable in intransitive verbs. This is illustrated with

<sup>1</sup>I use standard IPA symbols in my transcription of Cariban languages, with the exception of coronal rhotics, which I simply represent with ⟨r⟩, rather than ⟨ɽ⟩ for Wayana or ⟨ɽ̥⟩ for Ye'kwana etc. In languages with strong morphophonological processes and/or subphonemic orthography I show the original transcription in an additional surface line when presented in an interlinearized glossed example. I follow Gildea (2018) in using ⟨ə⟩ for the proto-vowel reconstructed by Meira & Franchetto (2005), although it was likely more back (Gildea et al. 2010).

<sup>2</sup>The presence of a 1+2 person value implies that of a 1+3 value. This is expressed with a free pronoun combined with third person morphology in Cariban languages, so it is not represented in this table.

modern Kari'ña data in (1–2).

(1) Kari'ña

- a. *mi-kupi-ja*  
2>3-bathe-PRS  
'You bathe him/her.' (Hoff 1968: 160)
- b. *a-kupi-ja*  
3>2-bathe-PRS  
'S/he bathes you.' (Yamada 2011: 63)

In (1), the choice between the second person A- and P-oriented markers *mi-* and *a-* depends on the scenario: The transitive verb *kupi* 'to bathe' takes *mi-* in 2>3 scenarios (1a), but *a-* in 3>2 scenarios (1b). While intransitive verbs show the same (or very similar) person markers, they contribute no semantic difference here (2).

(2) Kari'ña

- a. *sipi tinka-ri m-ekema-non hen*  
net pull-NMLZ 2-be.afraid-PRS.UNCERT eh?  
'You're afraid to pull up the net, aren't you?' (Courtz 2008: 253)
- b. *aj-awoi-ja*  
2-get.up-PRS  
'You are getting up.' (Hoff 1968: 167)

Rather, *ekema* 'to be afraid' takes an A-oriented marker, since it is an  $S_A$  verb (2a), while the  $S_P$  verb *awomi* 'to get up' takes a P-oriented marker (2b).<sup>3</sup>

In fact, the split-S system is not only fully lexically conditioned, but there are clear semantic mismatches between class membership and semantics: 'to be afraid' with an "agentive" marker can hardly be considered a volitional act, in fact 'you're afraid of pulling up the net' clearly has a second person patient (experiencer). Similarly, 'to get up' with a "patientive" marker is a clear semantic mismatch as well. These mismatches are not isolated cases, as will be discussed in Section 2.2.

## 2.2 Defining features and origins of the split-S system

As seen in the previous section, the split-S defined two inflectional classes for intransitive verbs within the Set I system. However, there were some other morphological criteria distinguishing  $S_A$  from  $S_P$  verbs in Proto-Cariban: a) presence vs absence of the

<sup>3</sup>The root *awomi* 'to get up' is subject to syllable reduction and assimilation to the prefix-initial *j*.

Table 2: Participles of S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>P</sub> verbs (Alves 2017: 118, 207; Camargo 2002: 30, 42; Hoff 1968: 430, 433; Meira 1999: 333, 334; Tavares 2005: 400; Schuring n.d.: 39; T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 232, 244)

| Language  | S <sub>A</sub>                 | S <sub>P</sub>               |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Werikyana | <i>t-ehurka-tʃe</i> ‘fallen’   | <i>ti-jaʔ-so</i> ‘burnt’     |
| Arara     | <i>t-o-ep-te</i> ‘come’        | <i>t-oregrum-te</i> ‘sad’    |
| Tiriyó    | <i>ti-w-aturu-e</i> ‘talked’   | <i>t-əpəə-se</i> ‘tired’     |
| Wayana    | <i>tə-w-epi-he</i> ‘bathed’    | <i>t-onopi-he</i> ‘painted’  |
| Apalaí    | <i>t-o-erama-se</i> ‘returned’ | <i>t-anori-se</i> ‘dried’    |
| Kari’ña   | <i>tu-w-oʔka-se</i> ‘come out’ | <i>t-okari-se</i> ‘told’     |
| Panare    | <i>t-o-tatihpə-se</i> ‘wailed’ | <i>ti-sirike-tʃe</i> ‘tired’ |

Table 3: Nominalizations of S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>P</sub> verbs (Schuring n.d.: 49, 74; Alves 2017: 97; Meira 1999: 246; Tavares 2005: 130, 409; E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 90, 1994: ner2-003; Hoff 1968: 135, 392; T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 390; M.-C. Mattéi-Müller 1994: 23)

| Language  | S <sub>A</sub>                           | S <sub>P</sub>                                     |
|-----------|--|--|
| Werikyana | <i>o-w-ehurka-tpiri</i> ‘your fall’      | <i>o-onenmehi-tpiri</i> ‘your waking up’           |
| Arara     | <i>w-orik-tubo</i> ‘dancing place’       | <i>ereŋmi-tpo</i> ‘killing instrument’             |
| Tiriyó    | <i>ji-w-aturu-to</i> ‘(for) my talking’  | <i>j-emamina-to</i> ‘(for) my playing’             |
| Wayana    | <i>i-w-aturu-topo</i> ‘my story’         | <i>j-iniki-topo</i> ‘my object for sleeping’       |
| Apalaí    | <i>j-epi-topo</i> ‘my bathing place’     | <i>j-enuru-topō-piri</i> ‘the place of my birth’   |
| Kari’ña   | <i>a-w-ekupi-ri</i> ‘your taking a bath’ | <i>aj-ereʔna-Ø</i> ‘your fainting’                 |
| Panare    | <i>j-u-tʃireema-n</i> ‘their eating’     | <i>tj-arunkampəti-n</i> ‘his hair standing on end’ |

S<sub>A</sub> marker \*w-; b) absence vs presence of the second person prefix \*ə(j)- in imperatives; and c) presence vs absence of a derivational detransitivizing prefix.

Many languages show an S<sub>A</sub> class marker in deverbalized forms, which can be reconstructed to Proto-Cariban as \*w-.<sup>4</sup> With S<sub>A</sub> verbs, \*w- occurred immediately between the possessive prefixes and the verb stem, while S<sub>P</sub> verbs took the bare prefixes. Reflexes of \*w- in languages from different branches are illustrated in Table 2 for participles, and in Table 3 for nominalizations.

The distinction between S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>P</sub> is also borne out in imperatives, the suffix for which can be reconstructed as Proto-Cariban \*-kə. Here, S<sub>P</sub> verbs took the P-oriented second person prefix \*ə(j)-, while S<sub>A</sub> verbs were unprefixes. This is illustrated with reflexes in various modern languages in Table 5. As in the case of the S<sub>A</sub> marker \*w-

<sup>4</sup>See Meira (2000: 227), who identifies reflexes of this morpheme as having “no purpose other than being ‘class markers’, without any obvious semantic or functional load”.

Table 4: Imperatives of S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>P</sub> verbs (Derbyshire 1965: 44, 89; Alves 2017: 161; Meira 1999: 323; Tavares 2005: 227; E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 62, 1994: Mopo/20; Hoff 1968: 190; M.-C. Mattéi-Müller 1994: 5, 17)

| Language   | S <sub>A</sub>                 | S <sub>P</sub>               |
|------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Hixkaryána | <i>omoh-ko</i> ‘come!’         | <i>oj-okajim-ko</i> ‘go up!’ |
| Arara      | <i>odotpot-ko</i> ‘come back!’ | <i>o-alum-ko</i> ‘jump!’     |
| Tiriyó     | <i>epi-kə</i> ‘bathe!’         | <i>ə-eremina-kə</i> ‘sing!’  |
| Wayana     | <i>əməm-kə</i> ‘enter!’        | <i>əw-eremi-kə</i> ‘sing!’   |
| Apalaí     | <i>otuʔ-ko</i> ‘eat!’          | <i>o-niʔ-ko</i> ‘sleep!’     |
| Kari’ña    | <i>oʔmaʔ-ko</i> ‘stop!’        | <i>aj-awon-ko</i> ‘get up!’  |
| Panare     | <i>ape-ʔ</i> ‘flee!’           | <i>ahpən-kə</i> ‘jump!’      |

Table 5: Imperatives of S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>P</sub> verbs

| Language   | S <sub>A</sub>                 | S <sub>P</sub>               | Source(s)                                     |
|------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Hixkaryána | <i>omoh-ko</i> ‘come!’         | <i>oj-okajim-ko</i> ‘go up!’ | Derbyshire (1965: 89, 44)                     |
| Arara      | <i>odotpot-ko</i> ‘come back!’ | <i>o-alum-ko</i> ‘jump!’     | Alves (2017: 161)                             |
| Tiriyó     | <i>epi-kə</i> ‘bathe!’         | <i>ə-eremina-kə</i> ‘sing!’  | Meira (1999: 323)                             |
| Wayana     | <i>əməm-kə</i> ‘enter!’        | <i>əw-eremi-kə</i> ‘sing!’   | Tavares (2005: 227)                           |
| Kari’ña    | <i>oʔmaʔ-ko</i> ‘stop!’        | <i>aj-awon-ko</i> ‘get up!’  | Hoff (1968: 190)                              |
| Apalaí     | <i>otuʔ-ko</i> ‘eat!’          | <i>o-niʔ-ko</i> ‘sleep!’     | E. Koehn & S. Koehn (1986: 62, 1994: Mopo/20) |
| Panare     | <i>ape-ʔ</i> ‘flee!’           | <i>ahpən-kə</i> ‘jump!’      | M.-C. Mattéi-Müller (1994: 17, 5)             |

participles and nominalizations, some languages have lost the distinction between S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>P</sub> verbs in imperatives, for example Panare.

There is one further property uniting S<sub>A</sub> verbs, which is not based on inflectional morphology. As mentioned in Section 2.1, mismatches between the semantics of intransitive verbs and their A- or P-oriented inflectional morphology are common. However, the Cariban split-S system goes further than all other known such systems, in that its division of the verbal lexicon does not follow any discernible semantic criteria whatsoever. Meira (2000) takes a sizable corpus of intransitive verbs from Tiriyó, Kari’ña, Apalaí, and Wayana, and categorizes them by applying different criteria commonly encountered in split-S systems. He shows that neither (non)activities, (non-)agency, (in-)animacy, nor Aktionsart satisfactorily predict the class membership of intransitive verbs.

Rather, the reason for a verb to take the A- or P-oriented prefix is (at least diachronically) a morphological one. Meira (2000: 217–221) demonstrates that those intransitive verbs which (etymologically) have a detransitivizing prefix are treated as



S<sub>A</sub> verbs, while essentially all others are S<sub>P</sub> verbs:

Almost all verbs in the S<sub>A</sub> class are detransitivized forms of transitive verbs, either synchronically (with still existing transitive sources) or diachronically (with reconstructible but no longer existing transitive sources) (Meira 2000: 201)

Meira (2000: 221–223) also argues that the detransitivizing prefixes are indeed deriving S<sub>A</sub> verbs, rather than being inflectional in nature: a) there are a few underived S<sub>A</sub> verbs, with no detransitivizing prefix; b) S<sub>A</sub> verbs can develop irregular semantics compared to their transitive counterparts; c) it is unpredictable whether the A or P argument of the underlying transitive verb becomes the S of the derived S<sub>A</sub> verb; d) some originally derived S<sub>A</sub> verbs have lost their transitive counterparts; and e) “basic” concepts are expressed as derivations of more complex concepts, like ‘to dance (S<sub>A</sub>)’ from ‘to dance with (TR)’. He also notes that this leads to an inflectional split not based in meaning, but rather morphology:

Apparently, the morphological behavior of the S<sub>A</sub> verb class is an accidental consequence of the fact that detransitivization, as far back as we can reconstruct, entails all the morphology described [...] as typical of S<sub>A</sub> verbs. The alignment of person-marking prefixes appears not to be driven by any semantic forces in the language; it is as though they were being dragged by the evolution of the reflexive marker. (Meira 2000: 226)

As for the form of this reflexive marker, Meira et al. (2010: 505–512) reconstruct two distinct prefixes for Proto-Cariban: reciprocal \**ate*- and reflexive \**e*-, although they have since merged into a single morpheme in modern Cariban languages. Reflexes of \**ate*/*e*-show diverse meanings, which are best subsumed under “detransitive”; this range is illustrated with Tiriyo examples in (3).

(3) Tiriyo (Meira 2000: 218–219, 1999: 128, 256)

|                                 |   |  |                                      |
|---------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>nonta</i><br>‘abandon’       | → | <i>e-nonta</i> ,<br><i>ai-nonta</i>      | ‘abandon each other’<br>(reciprocal) |
| <i>suka</i><br>‘wash’           | → | <i>e-suka</i> ,<br><i>ai-suka</i>        | ‘wash self’<br>(reflexive)           |
| <i>pahka</i><br>‘break (TR)’    | → | <i>e-pahka</i>                           | ‘break (INTR)’<br>(anticausative)    |
| <i>puunapi</i><br>‘think about’ | → | <i>ah-puunapi</i> ,<br><i>ai-puunapi</i> | ‘think, meditate’<br>(antipassive)   |

Table 6: Underived Proto-Cariban S<sub>A</sub> verbs (Gildea & D. Payne 2007: 30)

| Form             | Meaning                      |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| * <i>tə(mə)</i>  | ‘to go’                      |
| * <i>ətepi</i>   | ‘to come <sub>1</sub> ’      |
| * <i>ka(ti)</i>  | ‘to say’                     |
| * <i>əmə(mi)</i> | ‘to enter’                   |
| * <i>eti</i>     | ‘to dwell, be <sub>2</sub> ’ |
| * <i>a(p)</i>    | ‘to be <sub>1</sub> , say’   |
| * <i>əməki</i>   | ‘to come <sub>2</sub> ’      |

The morphological variation featured in ‘to wash oneself’ and ‘to abandon each other’ is due to the mentioned collapse between the two Proto-Cariban prefixes: *e-* is a reflex of the reflexive prefix \**e-*, while the form *əi-* originates in reciprocal \**əte-*. However, both can occur with either meaning – at least for these two verbs.

As mentioned, there are a few S<sub>A</sub> verbs that are not derived from transitives, and do not have a reflex of \**əte/e-*, either. Meira (2000: 221) characterizes these as very old and exceptional, and counts between 5 and 7 verbs, depending on the language. Gildea & D. Payne (2007) identify 7 such underived S<sub>A</sub> verbs as reconstructible to Proto-Cariban, shown in Table 6. These verbs will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.

### 2.3 Person marker extensions in intransitive verbs

The original Proto-Cariban split-S system has been subject to change in many languages, in some even to the point of total loss. Besides such modifications as for example losing the S<sub>A</sub> class marker \**w-* (Section 2.2) or losing certain person values altogether, these changes have largely been due to person prefixes being extended to new verbs.<sup>5</sup> There have been many such person marker extensions in Cariban languages, and some are still ongoing. This is shown by Gildea (1998), using the Parukotoan languages as an example. I have reproduced his tables as a tree diagram in Figure 2, with adapted transcription – and in the case of Werikyana, the addition of *Ø/j-* as an alternative 1S<sub>P</sub> marker (Spike Gildea, p.c.). Apart from segmental changes to individual morphemes, the following restructuring innovations happened in the Set I paradigm

<sup>5</sup>One could also imagine a scenario whereby verbs of one of the classes are gradually replaced with innovative verbs from the other class, as suggested for Panare by Meira (2000: 225). However, the verbs he sampled came from the A-section of M.-C. Mattéi-Müller’s (1994) dictionary (Spike Gildea, p.c.), and *at-/atʃ-/as-* is a frequent reflex of \**əte/e-* in Panare, meaning that many S<sub>A</sub> verbs are *a*-initial and explaining the 80:40 S<sub>A</sub>:S<sub>P</sub> ratio in Meira’s sample. Thus, the hypothesis that Panare has largely replaced S<sub>P</sub> with S<sub>A</sub> verbs remains to be thoroughly tested. For the moment, the most likely scenario leading to the eventual loss of the split-S system includes markers being extended to new verbs.

in Parukotoan:

1. Proto-Parukotoan

- (a) 1S<sub>A</sub> \*w- to 1>3
- (b) 1+2 \*k- to 1S<sub>P</sub> (completed in Proto-Waiwaian, ongoing in Werikyana)
- (c) 1+2 \*kit- to 1+2S<sub>P</sub> (completed in Proto-Waiwaian, ongoing in Werikyana)

2. Proto-Waiwaian

- (a) 1S<sub>P</sub> \*k- to 1S<sub>A</sub>
- (b) innovative \*owiro j- ‘1PRO LK’ for 1P

3. Waiwai

- (a) 2S<sub>A</sub> m- to 2S<sub>P</sub>

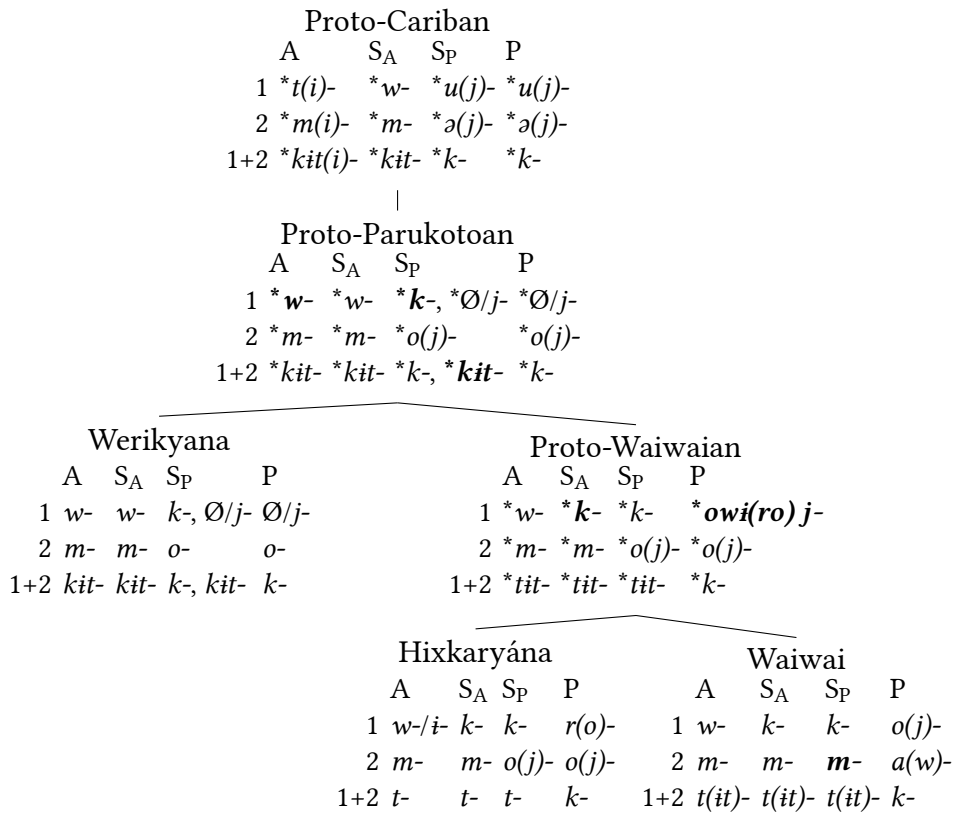


Figure 2: Person marking extensions in Parukotoan, after Gildea (1998: 94)

Hixkaryána has preserved split-S only in the second person prefixes, while Werikyana still shows variation in the first person and 1+2 prefixes. Waiwai, on the other hand, has lost the system entirely, which notably happened via distinct innovations at three different diachronic stages. In this case, the loss of the inflectional classes also entailed the loss of the other morphological traces of the system. That is, the  $S_A$  class marker \**w-* (Section 2.2) was lost in Waiwai, as evidenced by the contrast between the Waiwai and Werikyana deverbal forms in (4a) and (4b). Similarly, the  $2S_P$  prefix *a-* was extended to imperatives of (former)  $S_A$  verbs (4c–d), but only C-initial ones (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 62).

- (4) a. Waiwai (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 98)  
*k-eφirka-tʃhe*  
 1+2-fall-ADVZ.after  
 ‘after our fall’
- b. Werikyana (Schuring n.d.: 49)  
*ku-w-ehurka-tpiri*  
 1+2- $S_A$ -fall-NMLZ.PST.PERT  
 ‘our fall’
- c. Waiwai (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 177)  
*a-mo-ko*  
 2-come-IMP  
 ‘come!’
- d. Hixkaryána (Derbyshire 1985: 191)  
*m-omoki-no*  
 $2S_A$ -come-IMM  
 ‘You have come.’

While different cases of loss of split-S are discussed by Gildea (1998: 91–96), this paper focuses on a so far neglected aspect of these person marking extensions. I argue that they are executed via lexical diffusion, characterized as a type of extension by Harris & Campbell (1995: 106–115); this hypothesis is supported by three facts.

First of all, the variation in first person and 1+2 prefixes described above for Werikyana is not completely free. Rather, some verbs only allow for example first person *k-*, but not *j-*, while others can occur with both, which is the expected pattern in a lexical diffusion scenario. In addition, this is speaker-dependent (Spike Gildea, p.c.), which is what one would expect from a change in progress. Second, while there is no detailed diachronic scenario for the switch of 1>3 \**t-* and  $1S_A$  in the Tiriyoan languages (Section 3.3), Meira (1998: 111–112) argues that it must have happened gradually rather than instantaneously, and entailed both markers spreading at the same time. Whether this gradual switch was along ordered lines or not, lexical diffusion must have played

a role. Finally, the process of lexical diffusion is seen most clearly where it was incomplete. Not all person marker extensions spread through the entire lexicon, but rather stopped short of some verbs. This is illustrated for Tiriyó first person forms of  $S_A$  verbs in (5); regular  $S_A$  verbs take phonologically determined allomorphs  $s-$  ( /  $\_e$  ) and  $t-$  ( /  $\_ə$  ), but *tən* ‘to go’ takes an “irregular” or “archaic” prefix *wi-*; it was not affected by the spread of innovative  $t-/s-$  and therefore preserves the old prefix.

(5) Tiriyó 1 $S_A$  verbs (Meira 1999: 292, 294)

|                 |            |
|-----------------|------------|
| <i>s-epi</i>    | ‘I bathed’ |
| <i>s-entapo</i> | ‘I yawned’ |
| <i>t-əturu</i>  | ‘I talked’ |
| <i>t-əəniki</i> | ‘I slept’  |
| <i>wi-tən</i>   | ‘I went’   |

This paper is primarily about these incomplete extensions, and the verbs that were not affected by them.

That is, apparently ongoing changes like the situation discussed above for Werikyana will not be investigated in detail. The same is true for extensions that affected the entire verbal lexicon, although we will briefly comment on them. We have investigated the 19 person marker extensions we are aware of, but only 6 of them left a group of irregularly or archaically inflected verbs. Interestingly, these verbs are always  $S_A$  verbs, and the irregular marker is always a first person one. While there have been extensions for other person values as well, they never affect  $S_A$  verbs, only  $S_P$  ones, and they always affect the entire lexicon, at least based on the attested data. Besides the completed extension of  $*k-$  to 1 $S_P$  and of  $*tit-$  to 1+2 $S_P$  in Proto-Waiwaian (Figure 2), examples include the extension of 1+2 $S_A$   $s(i)-$  (<  $*kit-$ ) in Apalaí (Table 7a), of 2 $S_A$   $m(i)-$  in Panare (Table 7b),<sup>6</sup> or the extension of the entire  $S_A$  set in Waimiri-Atroari (Table 7c).

Table 7: Some examples for completed extensions (Gildea 1998: 90–92)

| (a) Apalaí |                           |         | (b) Panare |                           |                | (c) Waimiri-Atroari |                              |  |
|------------|---------------------------|---------|------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------------------|--|
|            | $S_A$                     | $S_P$   |            | $S_A$                     | $S_P$          |                     | $S$                          |  |
| 1          | $\emptyset/i-$            | $i-/j-$ | 1          | $w(i)-$                   | $\emptyset/j-$ | 1                   | <b><math>w(i)-/i-</math></b> |  |
| 2          | $m(i)-$                   | $o-$    | 2          | <b><math>m(i)-</math></b> |                | 2                   | <b><math>m(i)-</math></b>    |  |
| 1+2        | <b><math>s(i)-</math></b> |         | 1+2        | $n(i)-$                   |                | 1+2                 | <b><math>h(i)-</math></b>    |  |
| 3          | $n(i)-$                   |         | 3          | $n(i)-$                   |                | 3                   | $n-/ \emptyset$              |  |

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: Section 3 investigates each of

<sup>6</sup>The presence of the third person marker  $n-$  for 1+2 is due to the wholesale loss of that inflectional value.

these six incomplete extensions individually, listing unaffected verbs and reconstructing proto-paradigms, where necessary. Section 4 takes a comparative look at the verbs that were not affected by these extensions and searches for possible motivations. Finally, Section 5 discusses the findings and puts them in a general context of language change and morphology.

### 3 The innovative 1S<sub>A</sub> markers

As discussed in Section 2.3, the person marker extensions which did not spread through the whole lexicon all have in common that they are innovative 1S<sub>A</sub> markers. There are six attested such innovations, three of which can be reconstructed to intermediate proto-languages. The new 1S<sub>A</sub> prefix is formally identical to the 1+2 marker (Proto-Cariban *\*k-*) in three cases, to the 1S<sub>P</sub> marker (Proto-Cariban *\*u(j)-*) in two cases, and to the 1>3 marker (Proto-Cariban *\*t-*) in one case. Section 3.1 investigates the innovation of *\*k-* in Proto-Pekodian, reflected in the three daughter languages Arara, Ikpeng, and Bakairi. Section 3.2 takes a closer look at the extension of *\*k-* in Proto-Waiwaian, which was already shown in Section 2.3. Section 3.3 concerns the extension of *\*t-* in Proto-Tiriyoan or Proto-Taranoan, reflected in modern Tiriyo and Akuriyo. Sections 3.4 to 3.6 look at innovative first person markers which are only attested in single modern languages: *k-* in Akuriyo, *j(i)-* in Carijona, and *j(i)-* Yukpa.

#### 3.1 Proto-Pekodian *\*k-*

The Pekodian branch was suggested by Meira & Franchetto (2005), as the result of fieldwork on Bakairi by Meira and the availability of more material on Ikpeng. It consists of closely related Arara and Ikpeng, with Bakairi as a more distant member. Meira & Franchetto (2005) focused on phonological and lexical properties, so no reconstructive work has been done on Proto-Pekodian morphosyntax. All three Pekodian languages have a regular 1S<sub>A</sub> marker *k-*, as evidenced by the paradigms in (6). Its presence can thus be reconstructed to Proto-Pekodian.

|                   |  |                                       |                                       |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (6)               | Bakairi ‘to go up’<br>(Meira 2003a: 4) | Arara ‘to dance’<br>(Alves 2017: 150) | Ikpeng ‘to run’<br>(Pachêco 2001: 52) |
| 1S <sub>A</sub>   | <i>k-aku-</i>                          | <i>k-origu-</i>                       | <i>k-aranme-</i>                      |
| 2S <sub>A</sub>   | <i>m-aku-</i>                          | <i>m-origu-</i>                       | <i>m-aranme-</i>                      |
| 1+2S <sub>A</sub> | <i>kid-aku-</i>                        | <i>kud-origu-</i>                     | <i>kw-aranme-</i>                     |
| 3S <sub>A</sub>   | <i>n-aku-</i>                          | <i>Ø-origu-</i>                       | <i>Ø-aranme-</i>                      |

For Arara, Alves (2017) reports six<sup>7</sup> S<sub>A</sub> verbs which have a first person marker

<sup>7</sup>Seven under her analysis, which treats the two meanings of *ĩĩĩ* ‘to be, to lie down’ as different verbs.

*w(i)-* rather than *k-*, listed in (7). We took these Arara verbs as a starting point for the other Pekodian languages, as Alves (2017) gives the most detailed description of person markers for any language of the branch.

(7) Arara (Alves 2017: 153)

|                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>wi-<i>geni</i></i> | ‘I said’           |
| <i>w-iŋfini</i>       | ‘I was, lied down’ |
| <i>w-ebini</i>        | ‘I came’           |
| <i>w-ibini</i>        | ‘I bathed’         |
| <i>w-iptoŋri</i>      | ‘I went down’      |
| <i>w-idoli</i>        | ‘I went’           |

In his brief discussion of Bakairi verbal person marking, Meira (2003a) reports the existence of two subclasses of  $S_A$  verbs, one taking first person *w-*, and one *k-*. The verb used to illustrate the first group is *i* ‘to bathe’ (8), contrasting with regular *aku* ‘to go up’ in (6) above. ‘to bathe’ is also found in the *w*-list for Arara.

(8) Bakairi (Meira 2003a: 4)

|                    |
|--------------------|
| <i>w-i-də</i>      |
| 1 $S_A$ -bathe-IMM |
| ‘I bathed’         |

While Meira (2003a: 4) does list *ge* ‘to say’, *tə* ‘to go’, and *æ(wi)* ‘to come’ as examples of  $S_A$  verbs, he does not indicate whether they belong to the class of  $S_A$ -1 verbs, with first person *k-*, or the  $S_A$ -2 verbs, with *w-*.<sup>8</sup> Luckily, while von den Steinen (1892) did not accurately record all phonemic distinctions in Bakairi (Meira 2005), he does provide inflected forms of cognates to the Arara verbs in (7). I present them according to the phonemic analysis of Bakairi by Meira (2003a, 2005) in (9).

(9) Bakairi (von den Steinen 1892: 131, 397, 76, 137, 374)

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| a. $\langle u-yépa \rangle$ | b. $\langle wi-táki \rangle / \langle wi-tági \rangle$ |
| <i>u-ge-pa</i>              | <i>w-i-taki</i>  |
| 1 $S_A$ -say-NEG            | 1 $S_A$ -be-INT  |
| ‘I don’t say.’              | ‘I was.’   |

<sup>8</sup>It should be noted at this point that Meira (2003a) indicates that the same verbs which take first person *w-* in Bakairi also take a 1+2 marker *k-*. However, this marker is only illustrated for ‘to bathe’, both by Meira (2003a) and von den Steinen (1892). Given the lack of data for other verbs, I will not further discuss this potential additional pattern. If the characterization by Meira is accurate, then the pattern is fully parallel to the distribution of the first person prefixes.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>c. &lt;kɣaewi-le&gt;<br/> <i>k-æwi-li</i><br/> 1S<sub>A</sub>-come-IMM<br/> ‘I came.’</p> <p>d. &lt;kɣ-itaké-he&gt;<br/> <i>k-itagi-se</i><br/> 1S<sub>A</sub>-go.down-NPST?<br/> ‘I go down.’</p> | <p>e. &lt;úta&gt; / &lt;uúta&gt;<br/> <i>u-tə</i><br/> 1S<sub>A</sub>-go<br/> ‘I go.’</p> |
|---|---|

Turning to the third Pekodian language, all available descriptions of Ikpeng list *k-* as the only 1S<sub>A</sub> marker (Pachêco 1997: 55; Campetela 1997: 105; Pachêco 2001: 64; Alves Chagas 2013: 205). However, most Ikpeng cognates of the Arara verbs in (7) actually do not take *k-*, but rather *i-* or Ø, as shown in (10). The exception is ‘to go’, which has *k-* (11). There is a formally identical Ikpeng cognate of Arara *ipton* ‘to go down’ (12), but no first person forms are attested (Angela Chagas, p.c.).

(10) Ikpeng

- a. *i-ge-li*  
1-say-REC  
‘I said.’ (Pachêco 2001: 209)
- b. Ø-*eŋfi-li*  
1-be-REC  
‘I was.’ (Pachêco 2001: 139)
- c. *aŋŋagotpop* Ø-*ip-ŋfi*      *ik-gwa-kŋfi*  
always      1-bathe-NPST      river-LOC.aquatic-ALL  
‘I always bathe in this river.’ (Pachêco 1997: 68)

(11) Ikpeng (Pachêco 2001: 80)

- k-aran-ŋfi*  
1-go-NPST  
‘I’m going.’

(12) Ikpeng (Chagas et al. 2019: 320)

- Ø-*ipton-lan*  
3S<sub>A</sub>-sit.down-PST  
‘She sat down.’



Table 8: Verbs preserving 1S<sub>A</sub> in Proto-Pekodian

|           | Proto-Pekodian                      | Arara           | Ikpeng           | Bakairi         |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| ‘say’     | * <i>wi-ge-</i>                     | <i>wi-ge-</i>   | <i>i-ge-</i>     | <i>u-ge-</i>    |
| ‘bathe’   | * <i>w-ipi-</i>                     | <i>w-ibi-</i>   | <i>Ø-ip-</i>     | <i>w-i-</i>     |
| ‘be’      | * <i>w-eŋi-</i>                     | <i>w-iŋi-</i>   | <i>Ø-eŋi-</i>    | <i>w-i-</i>     |
| ‘come’    | * <i>w-epi</i> , * <i>k-əd-epi-</i> | <i>w-ebi-</i>   | <i>k-arep-</i>   | <i>k-æwi-</i>   |
| ‘go down’ | * <i>w-[i/i]pta-</i>                | <i>w-ipton-</i> | ?- <i>ipton-</i> | <i>k-itagi-</i> |
| ‘go’      | * <i>w-itən-</i>                    | <i>w-ido-</i>   | <i>k-aran-</i>   | <i>u-tə-</i>    |

While clearly not a regular sound change, Proto-Xinguan \*w is attested as sometimes being lost in Ikpeng, as evidenced by the correspondences in (13). Thus, we suggest that the Ikpeng 1S<sub>A</sub> marker *i*-Ø is cognate with Arara 1S<sub>A</sub> *w*(*i*)-, and was subject to phonological erosion of \*w, a phenomenon which will also be encountered in languages discussed in following sections.

|      |                                 |                            |                                  |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (13) | Proto-Xinguan                   | Arara                      | Ikpeng                           |
|      | * <i>wina</i> ‘DAT’             | <i>wina</i>                | <i>ina</i>                       |
|      | * <i>wokori</i> ‘dog, jaguar’   | <i>wokori</i>              | <i>akari</i>                     |
|      | * <i>tawe</i> ‘capuchin monkey’ | <i>tawe</i>                | <i>tae</i>                       |
|      | * <i>watke</i> ‘to defecate’    | <i>watke</i>               | <i>atke</i>                      |
|      | * <i>winki</i> ‘to sleep’       | <i>winki</i>               | <i>inki</i>                      |
|      |                                 | ( <i>o-winki</i> ‘sleep!’) | ( <i>j-inki-li</i> ‘s/he slept’) |

(Alves 2017: 80; Pachêco 2001: 164, 67, 150; de Souza 2010: 9, 1993: 68; Alves Chagas 2013: 91; Campetela 1997: 40)

Table 8 gives an overview of the first person forms of the six verbs under discussion, along with our Proto-Pekodian reconstruction. The form for \**ge* ‘to say’ is straightforward to reconstruct; the Bakairi change of \**wi-* to *u-* is not implausible given correspondences like Bakairi *udo* (Meira & Franchetto 2005) from Proto-Cariban \**witoto* ‘person’ (Gildea & D. Payne 2007: 4). ‘to bathe’ is straightforwardly reconstructible as \**ipi*. For ‘to be’, Ikpeng *e* is very likely the original vowel, given the Proto-Cariban form \**eti* (Section 4.1).

The forms for ‘to come’ are not fully cognate; Ikpeng and Bakairi both show a reflex of the detransitivizer in combination with a root reconstructible as *\*epi*. In contrast, the Arara first person form is directly based on this root *\*epi*. However, other person values show a reflex of *\*əte/e*-in Arara, too (14).

- (14) Arara (Alves 2017: 150)  
*m-odebi-ni*  
 2S<sub>A</sub>-come-REC  
 ‘You came.’

Thus, it seems that there was some variation in Proto-Parukotoan as to whether or not the first person form of ‘to go’ was based on *\*atepi* or *\*epi*. Given that Bakairi and Ikpeng agree about both the first person prefix and the reflex of *\*at-*, I reconstruct two distinct first person forms, *\*w-epi-* and *\*k-at-epi-*.<sup>9</sup>

The forms for ‘to go down’ are again not fully cognate; Meira & Franchetto (2005) make no mention of a regular correspondence between Bakairi *gi* and Ikpeng *ŋ*. Rather, it seems that some roots gained a final *ŋ* in Proto-Xinguan, for so far unclear reasons: a) Proto-Cariban *\*ane* ‘to see’, Arara and Ikpeng *enen* (Gildea & D. Payne 2007: 8; Alves 2017: 56; Pachêco 2001: 25); b) Proto-Cariban *\*ata* ‘to hear’, Arara *tan*, Ikpeng *iran* (Gildea & D. Payne 2007: 8; Alves 2017: 144; Pachêco 2001: 270); and c) Proto-Cariban *\*ana* ‘to eat meat’, Arara *onon* ‘to bite’ (Gildea & D. Payne 2007: 8; Alves 2017: 57). Also, based on the fact Bakairi has generally lost much segmental material, I suggest that Bakairi *gi* is yet another addition to a root *\*ipta* or *\*ipta*, rather than a conservative form.

The forms for ‘to go’ are all cognate, but while Arara and Bakairi point to *\*ita*, the Ikpeng form is rather divergent. However, it is in fact compatible with a reconstruction *\*itan*, when one considers that Ikpeng *a* is an attested outcome of *\*a* (Proto-Xinguan *\*o/e*), for example *akari* ‘dog’ in (13) above, *anma* ‘path’ (Pachêco 2001: 24) from Proto-Cariban *\*atema* (Gildea & D. Payne 2007: 12), or *jaj* ‘tree’ from Proto-Cariban *\*jaje*. This attested change of *\*a* to *a* need only be preceded by a assimilatory lowering of initial *\*i* to *\*a*, to yield the form *aran* from *\*itan*. Other Ikpeng reflexes of ‘to go’ offer evidence for the suggested intermediate stage *\*atan*: *ero-li* ‘s/he went’ (Pachêco 2001: 25).

Summing up, an innovative 1S<sub>A</sub> marker *\*k-* is reconstructible to Proto-Pekodian. Six verbs can be reconstructed as having resisted this innovation, and preserving 1S<sub>A</sub> *\*w(i)-* in Proto-Pekodian. For ‘to come’, two distinct forms *\*w-epi-* and *\*k-ad-epi-* must be reconstructed. In later, individual developments, Bakairi introduced *k-* to ‘to go down’, and Ikpeng to ‘to go’.

### 3.2 Proto-Waiwaian *\*k-*

This extension was briefly discussed in Section 2.3; the new 1S<sub>P</sub> prefix *\*k-*, already innovated at the Proto-Parukotoan stage, was later extended to 1S<sub>A</sub> in Proto-Waiwaian. This created a unified 1S category, reflected in both Hixkaryána and Waiwai (15).

<sup>9</sup>It may also be the case that Bakairi and Ikpeng both independently regularized the paradigm to show *\*adepi* with all persons. If that were the case, the connection between *\*k-* and *\*adepi* would still exist.

- (15) Waiwaian \*
- eφurka*
- ‘to fall’ (S
- <sub>A</sub>
- ) and \*
- winiki*
- ‘to sleep’ (S
- <sub>P</sub>
- )

| Proto-Waiwaian         |                      | Hixkaryána       |                 | Waiwai            |                  |
|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| S <sub>A</sub>         | S <sub>P</sub>       | S <sub>A</sub>   | S <sub>P</sub>  | S                 |                  |
| 1 * <i>k-eφurka-</i>   | * <i>ki-winiki-</i>  | <i>k-ehurka-</i> | <i>ki-niki-</i> | <i>k-eφirka-</i>  | <i>ki-wink-</i>  |
| 2 * <i>m-eφurka-</i>   | * <i>o-winiki-</i>   | <i>m-ehurka-</i> | <i>o-wniki-</i> | <i>m-eφirka-</i>  | <i>mi-wink-</i>  |
| 1+2 * <i>t-eφurka-</i> | * <i>tit-winiki-</i> | <i>t-ehurka-</i> | <i>ti-niki-</i> | <i>tʃ-eφirka-</i> | <i>tit-wink-</i> |
| 3 * <i>ɲ-eφurka-</i>   | * <i>ni-winiki-</i>  | <i>ɲ-ehurka-</i> | <i>ni-niki-</i> | <i>ɲ-eφirka-</i>  | <i>ni-wink-</i>  |

(Howard 2001: 510; Derbyshire 1985: 189–191; W. N. Hawkins & R. E. Hawkins 1953: 209–211; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 50)

The Waiwai verb *ka* ‘to say’ was already shown have resisted this extension in Section 2.3, showing *wi-*, a reflex of the Proto-Cariban 1S<sub>A</sub> marker \**w-*. Its Hixkaryána counterpart also takes a reflex of 1S<sub>A</sub> \**w-*, which has the form *i-* (16a). A formally identical prefix is found on transitive verbs in 1>3 scenarios (16b), where it also corresponds to Waiwai *w(i)-* (16c).

- (16) a. Hixkaryána (Derbyshire 1985: 124)  
*roxehra nay hami Kaywerye ikekoni*  
*ro-fe-hira n-a-je hami kajwer<sup>le</sup> i-ka-jakoni*  
 1-DES-NEG 3-be-NPST.UNCERT EVID K. 1S<sub>A</sub>-say-REM.CONT  
 ‘I said (to myself), “Kaywerye evidently doesn’t like me”.’
- b. Hixkaryána (Derbyshire 1985: 191)  
*i-koroka-no*  
 1>3-wash-IMM  
 ‘I washed him.’
- c. Waiwai (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 192)  
*wîyesî*  
*wi-jo-jasî*  
 1>3-boil-NPST  
 ‘I will boil it.’

Thus, similar to the the case of Ikpeng, Hixkaryána has lost the \**w* of the / \_\_C allomorph \**wi-*. Notably, Derbyshire (1985) does not see this *i-* as an irregular 1S<sub>A</sub>, but as the regular 1>3 marker, because he considers Hixkaryána *ka* ‘to say’ to be transitive, an issue which will be discussed in Section 4.2.

There are two more verbs which did not take innovative \**k-* in Proto-Waiwaian. One of them is the copula \**efi/a(h)*, reconstructed in (17a). The other is ‘to go’ (17b), somewhat of a special case.

## (17) a. Parukotoan ‘to be’

|                   | Proto-Parukotoan      | Hixkaryána          | Waiwai              |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1S <sub>A</sub>   | * <i>w-efi-/w-ah-</i> | <i>w-efe-/w-ah-</i> | <i>w-eefi-/w-a-</i> |
| 2S <sub>A</sub>   | * <i>m-efi-/m-ah-</i> | <i>m-efe-/m-ah-</i> | <i>m-eefi-/m-a-</i> |
| 1+2S <sub>A</sub> | * <i>t-efi-/t-ah-</i> | <i>t-efe-/t-ah-</i> | <i>t̥-efi-/t-a-</i> |
| 3S <sub>A</sub>   | * <i>n-efi-/n-ah-</i> | <i>n-efe-/n-ah-</i> | <i>n-eefi-/n-a-</i> |

(Derbyshire 1985: 197–198 and Spike Gildea, p.c.)

## b. Parukotoan ‘to go’

|                   | Proto-Parukotoan | Hixkaryána    | Waiwai                 |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1S <sub>A</sub>   | * <i>wi-to-</i>  | <i>i-to-</i>  | <i>kiw-to-</i>         |
| 2S <sub>A</sub>   | * <i>mi-to-</i>  | <i>mi-to-</i> | <i>mii-to-</i>         |
| 1+2S <sub>A</sub> | * <i>tit-to-</i> | <i>ti-to-</i> | <i>ti-to-/tih-t̥e-</i> |
| 3S <sub>A</sub>   | * <i>ni-to-</i>  | <i>n-to-</i>  | <i>nii-to-</i>         |

(Derbyshire 1985: 69–70, 211; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 179 and Spike Gildea, p.c.)

While Hixkaryána has the expected *i-*, Waiwai seems to have combined innovative 1S<sub>A</sub> *k-* with the old \**w-*, an analysis also considered by Gildea (1998: 90). Alternatively, this form was influenced by deverbalized forms of ‘to go’, where a reflex of the S<sub>A</sub> class marker \**w-* has become fossilized (18).

(18) Waiwai reflexes of the S<sub>A</sub> class marker \**w-*

- a. *o-wto-topo-nho* ‘my trip’ (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 92)
- b. *o-wto-t̥he* ‘after I went’ (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 165)
- c. *ki-wto-me* ‘for us to go’ (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 204)

In any case, Hixkaryána ‘to go’ was clearly not affected by the extension of \**k-*, allowing us to reconstruct a Proto-Waiwaian first person form \**wi-to-*.

Summing up, I reconstruct the three verbs \**eṭi/a(h)* ‘to be’, \**ka(s)* ‘to say’, and \**to* ‘to go’ as preserving the old 1S<sub>A</sub> marker \**w-* in Proto-Waiwaian, while the rest took on innovative \**k-*.

### 3.3 Proto-Tiriyoan \**t-*

The Taranoan languages were already grouped together by Girard (1971), consisting of closely related Tiriyo and Akuriyo (subsumed here under the moniker Tiriyoan), and the more distant member Carijona. Meira (1998) provides an extensive phonological, morphological, and lexical reconstruction of Proto-Taranoan. The Set I paradigms of Tiriyo and Akuriyo contain an interesting puzzle: Proto-Cariban 1>3 \**t-* and 1S<sub>A</sub> \**w-*

seem to have switched places. This is illustrated by comparing reconstructible Proto-Tiriyoan forms with more conservative Wayana (19) and Kari'ña (20), which can be taken as representative for Proto-Cariban.

|      |                 |                       |                   |                                 |                  |                               |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (19) | 1S <sub>A</sub> | Proto-Cariban         | Wayana            | Proto-Tiriyoan                  | Tiriyó           | Akuriyó                       |
|      | 'yawn'          | * <i>w-e-mita-po-</i> | <i>w-emptapi-</i> | * <i>tʃ-entapo-</i>             | <i>s-entapo-</i> | <i>tʃ-entapo-</i>             |
|      | 'bathe'         | * <i>w-e-pi-</i>      | <i>w-epi-</i>     | * <i>tʃ-epi-</i>                | <i>s-epi-</i>    | <i>tʃ-epi-</i>                |
|      | 'talk'          | * <i>w-at-uru</i>     | <i>w-aturu-</i>   | * <i>t-aturu-</i>               | <i>t-aturu-</i>  | <i>k-aturu-</i> <sup>10</sup> |
|      | 'learn'         | * <i>w-at-eme-pa</i>  | <i>w-əhepa-</i>   | * <i>t-əempa-</i> <sup>11</sup> | <i>t-əempa-</i>  | <i>k-əempa-</i>               |

(Camargo & Tapinkili 2010: 28; Meira 1999: 292, 664; Gildea 1994: 77, 86, 82; Tavares 2005: 50, 208, 213)

|      |         |                   |                 |                   |                 |                           |
|------|---------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| (20) | 1>3     | Proto-Cariban     | Kari'ña         | Proto-Tiriyoan    | Tiriyó          | Akuriyó                   |
|      | 'see'   | * <i>t-ene-</i>   | <i>s-ene-</i>   | * <i>w-ene-</i>   | <i>w-ene-</i>   | ( <i>w-</i> ) <i>ene-</i> |
|      | 'bring' | * <i>t-enepi-</i> | <i>s-enepi-</i> | * <i>w-enepi-</i> | <i>w-enepi-</i> | Ø- <i>enepi-</i>          |

(Hoff 1968: 425–426; Meira 1999: 28, 304; Gildea 1994: 86–87)

Thus, Wayana preserves the Proto-Cariban 1S<sub>A</sub> marker \**w-*, while it was replaced by \**t-* (→ \**tʃ-* / *\_\_e*) in Proto-Tiriyoan (19). On the other hand, 1>3 scenarios show a reflex of \**t-* in Kari'ña, while they took on \**w-* in Proto-Tiriyoan (20).

The question of how this happened in detail (Meira 1998: 107–112) still has no answer, although it seems necessary to assume a scenario whereby both \**t-* and \**w-* for a time occurred on both transitive and intransitive verbs (Meira 1998: 112)<sup>12</sup> The relevant aspect of this extension is of course that not all verbs were affected by it. Meira (1998) lists the four verbs in (21) as being reconstructible to Proto-Taranoan with \**w-*.

<sup>10</sup>Proto-Tiriyoan \**t-* was subsequently replaced by *k-* in Akuriyó (Section 3.4).

<sup>11</sup>The Tiriyó form is not due to dissimilation from \**mp* to *np*, but rather a phonemic transcription rendering the syllable-final archiphoneme /N/ as *n* (Meira 1999: 31). Further, Proto-Taranoan intervocalic \**tʃ* was lost entirely in Tiriyó (except after \**i*) and is reflected as *ʔ* in Akuriyó (Meira 1998: 31–32). Given the original shape of the detransitivizers \**ət(e)-* and \**e-*, Tiriyó *ə-empa* 'to learn' contains a reflex of the former with loss of \**t*, so Akuriyó *əempa* would be expected to have a glottal stop: *ʔəempa*. Its absence could either be due to Tiriyó influence or not being transcribed by Gildea (1994). Since there is no evidence for a glottal stop in Proto-Tiriyoan (\**əempa*), I do not reconstruct it.

<sup>12</sup>In fact, the issue of *when* this happened is also open. It could have happened at the Proto-Taranoan stage, but the subsequent introduction of *j-* in Carijona (Section 3.5) would have erased any traces of such an innovation. Accordingly, Meira (1998) hesitates to assign this extension to a specific proto-language.

- (21) Proto-Tiriyoan 1S<sub>A</sub> \*w-
- |        | Proto-Tiriyoan    | Tiriyó     | Akuriyó          |
|--------|-------------------|------------|------------------|
| ‘go’   | *wi-tə(mi)-       | wi-tə(mi)- | ə-təmi-/wi-təmi- |
| ‘say’  | *wi-ka-           | wi-ka-     | wi-ka-           |
| ‘come’ | *w-əʔepi-/w-eeɸi- | w-əepi-    | Ø-eeɸi-          |
| ‘be’   | *w-ae-            | w-ae-      | Ø-aʔe-           |
- (Meira 1998: 112–115; Gildea 1994: 85)

For Akuriyó ‘to go’, Gildea (1994) gives a different prefix *wi-*, rather than Meira’s (1998) *ə-*.<sup>13</sup> The two forms can be reconciled by a specific idiosyncratic combination of sound changes: I suggest that *ə* is the outcome of the lowering of the *\*i* in the prefix *\*wi-*; the same has happened to the vowel in the 1+2 prefix *\*kit-* (22a). Also, *w-* appears to have been subject to ongoing erosion in Akuriyó, also evidenced by its absence in ‘to come’ and ‘to be’, but its presence in ‘to say’ (21). This erosion is also found in the etymologically related 1>3 prefix (20, 22b), as well as in other Cariban languages, like Ikpeng (Section 3.1) or Hixkaryana (Section 3.2).

- (22) a. Akuriyó (Meira 1998: 114)  
*kəʔ-eeɸi*  
 1+2-come  
 ‘We came.’
- b. Akuriyó (Gildea 1994: 86)  
*(w)i-toka*  
 1>3-hit  
 ‘I hit him/her.’

For ‘to come’, a similar situation as in Pekodian is encountered, in that Tiriyó shows a reflex of *\*ət-epi*, while the Akuriyó form points to bare *\*epi*. Given that Tiriyó, like Arara, also has forms without a reflex of *\*ət-* (23), I reconstruct both *\*w-epi-* and *\*w-əʔepi-* for Proto-Tiriyoan.

- (23) Tiriyó (Meira 1999: 114)  
*n-epi*  
 3-come  
 ‘S/he came.’

Gildea (1994) also recorded four more Akuriyó verbs seemingly not affected by innovative *\*t-*. They are listed in (24a). I have only found a Tiriyó cognate for *erama*

<sup>13</sup>The Akuriyó recorded by Gildea potentially has strong Tiriyó and/or Wayana influence (Gildea 1998: 253).

‘to return’, which behaves like a regular  $S_A$  verb in that it takes  $s$ - (24b). Thus, it is uncertain whether these verbs can be reconstructed as taking  $*w$ - in Proto-Tiriyóan, although its presence in Akuriyó does suggest so.

- (24) a. Akuriyó  $1S_A$   $*w$ - (Gildea 1994: 84–86)

‘return’  $\emptyset$ -*erama*-  
‘get up’  $\emptyset$ -*eokahtə*-  
‘jump’  $w$ -*ejahka*-  
‘go out’  $w$ -*ekirika*-

- b. Tiriyó  $s$ -*erama*- (Meira 1999: 301)

Finally, there are two irregularly inflected  $S_A$  verbs in Tiriyó, *ih̥tə* ‘to go down’ and *weka/oeka* ‘to defecate’ (25). They have  $1S_A$  markers  $p$ - and  $k$ -, which are otherwise entirely unattested in Tiriyó.<sup>14</sup> At least for ‘to go down’, the Akuriyó cognate suggests that the irregular first person form  $*p$ -*ih̥tə*- can be reconstructed to Proto-Tiriyóan. Whatever their origins, they were not affected by the extension of  $*t$ -.

- (25) Idiosyncratic  $1S_A$  prefixes

|            |                      |                    |
|------------|----------------------|--------------------|
|            | Tiriyó               | Akuriyó            |
| ‘go down’  | $p$ - <i>ih̥tə</i> - | $p$ - <i>itə</i> - |
| ‘defecate’ | $k$ - <i>oeka</i> -  | ?                  |

(Meira 1999: 294; Gildea 1994: 84)

In summary, in Proto-Tiriyóan – at the latest – the Proto-Cariban  $1>3$  marker  $*t$ - was extended to 1 verbs. Four verbs are solidly reconstructible as preserving  $*w$ - in Proto-Tiriyóan, and  $*ih̥tə$  ‘to go down’ with irregular  $*p$ - was also not affected. There are four movement verbs in Akuriyó which appear to not have been affected by the extension of  $*t$ -, as well as another irregular verb *weka* ‘to defecate’ in Tiriyó, with first person  $k$ -*oeka*-.

### 3.4 Akuriyó $k$ -

After the split-up of Proto-Tiriyóan, when  $*t$ - had largely replaced  $*w$ -, Akuriyó innovated yet another  $1S_A$  marker:  $k$ -. It seems to have replaced  $*t$ - only in specific places, with the two markers showing a clear phonologically conditioned distribution in the Akuriyó data available to me (Gildea 1994), with all relevant verbs shown in Table 9. Meira (1998: 107) largely confirms the distribution shown here, but mentions “several cases of first person  $t$ - in Akuriyó” (on  $\partial$ -initial verbs), albeit without any examples.

<sup>14</sup>Although both elements also occur in other irregular forms of these verbs (Meira 1999: 180, 325, 331).

Table 9: Akuriyó 1S<sub>A</sub> markers in Gildea’s fieldnotes

| first person <i>k</i> -  | first person <i>ɪʃ</i> -       |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>əniki</i> ‘to sleep’  | <i>eepi</i> ‘to bathe’         |
| <i>əmami</i> ‘to enter’  | <i>ewai</i> ‘to sit down’      |
| <i>aturu</i> ‘to talk’   | <i>etonema</i> ‘to lie down’   |
| <i>əɬʃena</i> ‘to cry’   | <i>ekiirika</i> ‘to stay back’ |
| <i>ətajinka</i> ‘to run’ | <i>entapo</i> ‘to yawn’        |
| <i>aiwa</i> ‘to tremble’ |                                |
| <i>əempa</i> ‘to learn’  |                                |

He also suggests that *k*- could be more recent, with which I agree – since phonologically distributed *\*t*-/*\*ɪʃ*- is reconstructible to Proto-Tiriyóan, a scenario whereby *k*- replaces *\*t*-, but not *\*ɪʃ*-, is the most straightforward. The few *t*- recorded by Meira (1998) were then either reintroduced under Tiriyó influence, or are the last remnants of the replacement of *\*t*-.

It has been speculated that the Tiriyó S<sub>A</sub> verb with a first person *k*- marker, *weka/oeka* ‘to defecate’ might have something to do with Akuriyó *k*-, which would potentially make the innovation of *\*k*- a Proto-Tiriyóan matter (Meira 1998: 116). However, this hypothesis faces a problem in that the first person form for Akuriyó ‘to defecate’ is *j-ereina*- (Gildea 1994: 88). Another hypothesis is that it originated in the corresponding Werikyana form *ku-weka*- (form provided by Spike Gildea, p.c.), although the occurrence of *o* in Tiriyó would still need explanation.

### 3.5 Carijona *j(i)*-

As discussed by Meira (1998: 105–107), Carijona has extended the 1S<sub>P</sub> marker *j(i)*- to S<sub>A</sub> verbs. This, in combination with the extension of 2S<sub>A</sub> *m*- and 1+2S<sub>A</sub> *kit*-/*kis*- to S<sub>P</sub> verbs, results in a single unified S category (26).

(26) Carijona (Meira 1998: 106; Robayo Moreno 2000: 173)

|     |                         |                           |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
|     | <i>tuda</i> ‘to arrive’ | <i>eharaga</i> ‘to dance’ |
| 1   | <i>ji-tuda</i> -        | <i>j-eharaga</i> -        |
| 2   | <i>mi-tuda</i> -        | <i>m-egaraga</i> -        |
| 1+2 | <i>kisi-tuda</i> -      | <i>kis-eharaga</i> -      |
| 3   | <i>ni-tuda</i> -        | <i>n-eharaga</i> -        |

Thus, also detransitivized verbs like *ehinahi* ‘to fight’, which are S<sub>A</sub> verbs in other languages, take *j(i)*- (27). The same marker is also found in 3>1 scenarios (28a) and possessed nouns (28b).



- (27) Carijona (Koch-Grünberg 1908: 79)  
*hɛɛ(x)tónoko-mǎɽɛ y-ɛ-hɛɛ́(x)yaj*  
*hinəh-tono-ko=marə j-e-hinəh-jai*  
 enemy-PL=with 1-DETRZ-kill-NPST.CERT  
 ‘I fight with the enemies.’

- (28) Carijona (Guerrero-Beltrán 2016a: 59, 53)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. <i>ji-hinəh-i</i><br>3>1-kill-PFV<br>‘S/he killed me.’ | b. <i>j-owo-ri</i><br>1POSS-uncle-PERT<br>‘my uncle’ |
|---|--|

As noted in Section 3.3, this extension also erased any traces of a putative Proto-Taranoan 1S<sub>A</sub> marker \**t-*. However, it did not fully eclipse the old 1S<sub>A</sub> marker \**w-*, which is attested as being preserved in the verbs *tə* ‘to go’ (29a) and *a* ‘to be’ (29b).

- (29) Carijona (Guerrero-Beltrán 2016b: 5, 42)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. <i>wi-tə-e=rehe</i><br>1-go-NPST=FRUST<br>‘I almost go (but I a, not going to go).’ | b. <i>əji-marə-ne w-a-e</i><br>2-with-PL 1-be-NPST<br>‘I am with you all.’ |
|--|--|

### 3.6 Yukpa *j-*

Yukpa has lost most of its Set I constructions, mostly employing innovative ones (Meira 2006). It preserves the Set I prefixes in the immediate past, where the 1S<sub>P</sub> marker appears to have been extended to S<sub>A</sub> verbs, as evidenced by the paradigms in (30). The loss of split-S in favor of the 1S<sub>P</sub> marker is accompanied by the 2S<sub>A</sub> marker *m(i)-* displacing 2S<sub>P</sub> \**ə(j)-*, and 1+2 being lost as an inflectional value.

- (30) Yukpa (Largo 2011: 72, 76; Meira 2006: 139)
- |   |                            |                      |                      |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|   | <i>otum</i> ‘to wash self’ | <i>ni</i> ‘to sleep’ | <i>ata</i> ‘to fall’ |
| 1 | <i>j-otum-</i>             | <i>ji-ni-</i>        | <i>j-ata-</i>        |
| 2 | <i>m-otum-</i>             | <i>mi-ni-</i>        | <i>m-ata-</i>        |
| 3 | <i>n-otum-</i>             | <i>ni-ni-</i>        | <i>n-ata-</i>        |

The normal intransitive first person marker is *j(i)-*, including those with clear reflexes of *\*ate/e-*, like *otum* ‘to wash self’ in (30). The analysis that this is a reflex of the 1S<sub>p</sub> marker *\*u(j)-* is supported by the same form occurring in 3>1 scenarios (31a).

(31) Yukpa (Meira 2006: 139)

- a. *aw j-esare*  
1PRO 3>1-see  
‘S/he saw me.’
- b. *aw Ø-esare*  
1PRO 1>3-see  
‘I saw it.’

On the other hand, 1>3 scenarios are zero-marked (31b). Since Proto-Cariban 1S<sub>A</sub> *\*w(i)-* was extended to 1>3 scenarios in most languages (Gildea 1998: 81–82), and since it is prone to phonological erosion across the family (Sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.4), I argue that this zero in 1>3 scenarios is in fact the Yukpa reflex of *\*w-*. The same zero marking is attested for a single intransitive verb: *to* ‘to go’ (32). Since regular C-initial verbs take *ji-*, like ‘to sleep’ in (30), I argue that *to* ‘to go’ preserved the old 1S<sub>A</sub> marker *\*w(i)-*, which was lost due to phonological erosion.

(32) Yukpa (Meira 2006: 139)

- aw Ø-to*  
1PRO 1S<sub>A</sub>-go  
‘I went.’

## 4 Resistant verbs in a comparative perspective

In Section 3, six distinct extensions of personal prefixes into 1S<sub>A</sub> territory were introduced, with certain verbs resisting the innovation. The set of unaffected verbs was rather small in most cases, and there is a considerable etymological overlap between the (proto-)language-specific verb groups. In this section, I present these verbs from a comparative perspective and discuss their reconstructibility. Attentive readers will have noticed that certain verbs reoccurred in these lists, not only matching in meaning but also largely in form. In this section, I will discuss these verbs from a comparative perspective. Section 4.1 treats the copular verb *\*eti/a(p)* ‘to be’, Section 4.2 *\*ka(ti)* ‘to say’, Section 4.3 *itə(mə)* ‘to go’, and Section 4.4 *\*(ət)jəpi* ‘to come’; these are all verbs that Gildea & D. Payne (2007) reconstructed as S<sub>A</sub> verbs that were not derived from

transitive verbs. Section 4.5 takes a look at \**ipitə* ‘to go down’, which is resistant in Proto-Tiriyóan and Proto-Pekodian; Section 4.6 investigates Proto-Pekodian \**ipi* ‘to bathe’, Section 4.7 Tiriyó ‘to defecate’, and Section 4.8 the Akuriyó movement verbs. The *e*-initial verbs not affected by the extension of \**k*- in Akuriyó (Section 3.4) will not be discussed here, as they are a large and phonologically coherent group.

#### 4.1 \**eti/a(p)* ‘to be’

For a comprehensive comparative overview for this verb, I refer the reader to Gildea (2018: 375–382), who reconstructs two distinct roots serving as verbs ‘to be’ in modern Cariban languages. One is the older copula \**a(p)*, which can be reconstructed as already having various irregularities in Proto-Cariban. The other is a root \**eti* reconstructed by Meira & Gildea (2009) and Gildea (2018) as originally meaning ‘to dwell, live’, but serving as a copula in Proto-Cariban.<sup>15</sup> Various modern languages use reflexes of these two roots in a suppletive manner, conditioned by person and/or TAM value. Both roots preserved 1S<sub>A</sub> \**w*- in Proto-Pekodian, Proto-Waiwaian, and Proto-Tiriyóan (Sections 3.1 to 3.3). Akuriyó *eʔi* was not a potential target of innovative *k*-, due to the verb being *e*-initial. Carijona innovated *j*-, but only in the *eʔfi* root allomorph (33a); the *a* root preserves *w*- (33b). Yukpa innovated *j*- for reflexes of both \**a(p)* and \**eti*, which are preserved as auxiliaries in certain constructions (34).

##### (33) Carijona

- a. *iretibə eʔfinəme gərə j-eʔfi*  
*ireti-bə eʔfi-nə=me gərə j-eʔfi-i*  
 then-from be-INF=ATTRZ still 1-be-PFV  
 ‘Then I was already grown up.’ (Robayo Moreno 1989: 177)
- b. *əji-marə-ne w-a-e*  
 2-COM-PL 1-be-NPST  
 ‘I am with you all.’ (Guerrero-Beltrán 2016b: 42)

##### (34) cliticized copula forms in Yukpa (Meira 2006: 143–144)

|   | NPST             | PST          |
|---|------------------|--------------|
| 1 | = <i>j-a(-s)</i> | = <i>j-e</i> |
| 2 | = <i>mak(o)</i>  | = <i>m-e</i> |
| 3 | = <i>mak(o)</i>  | = <i>n-e</i> |

<sup>15</sup>Such a stative, locative source is also suggested by the existence of *iʔfi* ‘to lie down’ in Arara (Alves 2017: 196).

## 4.2 \**ka(ti)* ‘to say’

Most reflexes of this verb are simply *ka*, but a fleeting syllable \**ti* is reconstructed based on some imperative forms (35).

(35) Proto-Cariban \**kati-kə* ‘say!’

- a. Apalaí *kafi-ko* (E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 35)
- b. Wayana *kai-kə* (Tavares 2005: 181)
- c. Hixkaryána *kas-ko* (Derbyshire 1985: 128)
- d. Panare *kah-kə* (M.-C. Mattéi-Müller 1994: 102)

This verb was not affected by the extensions found in Proto-Pekodian, Proto-Waiwaian, and Proto-Tiriyóan. It was not a potential target of Akuriyó *k-*; I do not have data for its Carijona and Yukpa reflexes.

As briefly mentioned in Section 3.2, Derbyshire (1985) analyzes this verb as transitive in Hixkaryána. This analytical choice is not only motivated by avoiding an idiosyncratic intransitive first person prefix *i-*, with the usual prefix being *k-*. Hixkaryána *ka* also behaves like a transitive verb in other ways, for instance by showing the complementary distribution of the third person marker *n-* and preceding objects – in this case direct speech or ideophones (36).

(36) Hixkaryána

- a. *oní wyaro nkekoni biryekomo, tiyoni wya*  
*oní wjaro n-ka-jakoni bir<sup>h</sup>ekomo ti-joni wja*  
 this like 3-say-REM.CONT boy COR-mother OBL  
 ‘This is what the boy said to his mother.’ (Derbyshire 1985: 36)
- b. *moro ha, ketxkoná hatá.*  
*moro ha ka-jaĩʃkoni hati*  
 MED.DEM.INAN INTS say-REM.CONT.PL HSY  
 ‘“That one there” they said.’ (Derbyshire 1965: 14)

In (36a), the prefix *n-* occurs because there is no preceding object (‘he said it like this’). In (36b), it does not occur, because ‘they said’ is preceded by direct speech. This complementary distribution is otherwise only found with transitive verbs. The verb shows the same pattern, albeit inconsistently, in Tiriyó (Carlin 2004: 267).

Further comparative evidence also points to \**ka(ti)* ‘to say’ showing transitive traits: Tiriyó *ka* is characterized as the only intransitive verb being able to take the causative suffix *-po* and the agentive nominalizer *-ne* (Meira 1999: 263, 169). The exceptionality of *ka* ‘to say’ taking *-po* ‘CAUS.TR’ has also been noted for Kari’ña (Courtz

2008: 82) and Wayana (Tavares 2005: 258). Reflexes of another transitive causativizer \*-*metipo* (Gildea 2015) are found with *ka* in Apalaí (E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 51) and Waiwai (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 52). Panare has innovated a gnomic or nonspecific verbal suffix *-je* from the agent nominalizer \*-*ne* (Gildea 1998: 184). Its occurrence on *ka* leads (T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 214) to analyze the verb as transitive, in contrast to M.-C. Mattéi-Müller (1994: 102), who categorizes it as intransitive.

The view of ‘to say’ as intransitive is supported primarily by prefix patterns: Kari’ña offers a minimal pair between transitive *ka* ‘to remove’ and intransitive *ka* ‘to say’, *sikai* ‘I took it away’ vs *wikai* ‘I said’ (Courtz 2008: 288, 45).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, ‘to say’ in Pekodian languages has a reflex of 1S \**w-* (Section 3.1), and not 1>3 *s-* (Bakairi) or \**ini-* (Proto-Xinguan). Additionally, the S<sub>A</sub> class marker *w-* occurs on nominalizations in Kari’ña (37), and it is probably reflected in vowel length in the Tiriyo (Meira 1999: 333) and Wayana (Tavares 2005: 196) participles.

- (37) Kari’ña (Courtz 2008: 202)  
*Ōmakon wà oti ywykàpo kaiko.*  
*o-ʔma-kon ʔwa oti i-wi-ka-ʔpo kai-ko*  
 2-child-PL OBL greeting 1-S<sub>A</sub>-say-PST.NMLZ say-IMP  
 ‘Pass my greetings to your children.’

Summing up, this verb could be reconstructed as being intransitive based on its prefixes, but transitive based on some suffixes. Hixkaryána has lost the main intransitive criteria, making its reflex look more like a transitive verb.

### 4.3 \**itə(mə)* ‘to go’

This verb is reconstructed by Gildea & D. Payne (2007) as \**tə(mə)*, with the second syllable only occurring in some reflexes, in certain contexts. It is true that many reflexes are clearly *t*-initial, for example Hixkaryána *ntoje* ‘he went’ (Derbyshire 1985: 27), Tiriyo *təkə* ‘go!’ (Meira 1999: 246), or Wayana *kuptəm* ‘we went’ (Tavares 2005: 195). However, a comparison of selected forms with unambiguously C-initial \**ka(ti)* ‘to say’ suggests that an initial vowel \**i* should be reconstructed (38).<sup>17</sup>

- (38)
- |            | go-IMP        | go-NEG          | say-IMP        | say-NEG       |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Wayana     | <i>itə-kə</i> | <i>itə-ra</i>   | <i>kai-kə</i>  | <i>ka-ra</i>  |
| Hixkaryána | <i>ito-ko</i> | <i>ito-hra</i>  | <i>kas-ko</i>  | <i>ka-hra</i> |
| Apalaí     | <i>ito-ko</i> | <i>ito-pira</i> | <i>kafi-ko</i> | <i>ka-ra</i>  |
- (Camargo & Tapinkili 2010: 66, 98; Tavares 2005: 235, 258; Derbyshire 1985: 47,

<sup>16</sup>Interestingly, the Kari’ña causativized form *kapo* ‘to make say’ does not have the regular 1>3 prefix *s(i)-*, but irregular *w(i)-* (Courtz 2008: 430).

<sup>17</sup>Many inflected forms, like e.g. Tiriyo *witəanne* or Arara *widoli* ‘I went’ (Meira 1999: 43; Alves 2017: 153) are ambiguous, since an epenthetic *i* breaks up CC clusters on the prefix-verb boundary.

54 194, 1965: 65; E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1994: kuruaz 033, 055; Camargo 2002: 100; E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 107)

This verb was not affected by the extensions found in Proto-Pekodian, Proto-Waiwaian, Proto-Tiriyoan, Carijona, and Yukpa. It was not a potential target of Akuriyó *k-*.

#### 4.4 *\*(ət-)jəpi* ‘to come’

This verb is reconstructed as monomorphemic *\*ətepi* by Gildea & D. Payne (2007: 30), but an inspection of all the attested reflexes (Table 10) suggests a more complex story. In particular, the Pemongan languages and one of its allomorphs in Werikyana suggest a root *\*jəpi*. However, the one form in Werikyana only occurs in the Progressive (39a), and *j(-)* may be a reflex of the Set II third person marker *\*i-* and the S<sub>A</sub> class marker *\*w-*, as suggested by the occurrence of the latter with other person values (39b). On the other hand, while C-initial verbs do show a clear reflex of third person *\*i-* (39c), regular V-initial verbs do not show *j-*, but Ø (39d). Thus, it seems more likely that the *j* is indeed part of the verb, rather than an outcome of *\*i-w-*.

(39) Werikyana Spike Gildea (p.c.)

- a. *johi-ri*  
3.come-PROG  
‘S/he is coming.’
- b. *o-w-ohi-ri*  
2-S<sub>A</sub>-come-PROG  
‘You are coming.’
- c. *i-nki-ri*  
3-sleep-PROG  
‘S/he is sleeping.’
- d. *Ø-osone-ri*  
3-dream-PROG  
‘S/he is dreaming.’

There is further evidence supporting the reconstruction of both *\*j* and *\*ə*. First, there are many forms reflecting *\*əpi*, occurring in different branches of the family.<sup>18</sup> Second, there are also forms reflecting *\*epi*, and umlaut of *\*ə* to *\*e* is conditioned by preceding *\*j* (Meira et al. 2010). That is, a unifying account of these forms starts from a root *\*jəpi*, which is the subject to two major sound changes: a) *\*j*-loss; and b) *\*ə*-umlaut.

<sup>18</sup> *e* is the regular outcome of *\*ə* in Upper Xingu Carib; *\*e* became *i* (Meira & Franchetto 2005: 176).

Table 10: Reflexes of ‘to come’

| Language          | Form         | Source                               |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| Werikyana         | <i>ehi</i>   | Spike Gildea (p.c.)                  |
| Werikyana         | <i>johi</i>  | Spike Gildea (p.c.)                  |
| Werikyana         | <i>oohi</i>  | Spike Gildea (p.c.)                  |
| Arara             | <i>ebi</i>   | Alves (2017: 150)                    |
| Arara             | <i>odebi</i> | Alves (2017: 150)                    |
| Ikpeng            | <i>arep</i>  | Pachêco (2001: 265)                  |
| Bakairi           | <i>æwi</i>   | Meira (2003a: 4)                     |
| Tiriyó            | <i>æpi</i>   | Meira (1999: 294)                    |
| Tiriyó            | <i>epi</i>   | Meira (1999: 294)                    |
| Akuriyó           | <i>epi</i>   | Meira (1998: 168)                    |
| Carijona          | <i>ehi</i>   | Robayo Moreno (2000: 178)            |
| Apalaí            | <i>oepi</i>  | E. Koehn & S. Koehn (1986: 37)       |
| Kari’ña           | <i>opi</i>   | Courtz (2008: 429)                   |
| Ye’kwana          | <i>ehə</i>   | Cáceres (2011: 438)                  |
| Akawaio           | <i>asipi</i> | Stegeman & Hunter (2014: 160)        |
| Akawaio           | <i>jepi</i>  | Caesar-Fox (2003: 125)               |
| Ingarikó          | <i>jepə</i>  | Cruz (2005: 415)                     |
| Ingarikó          | <i>jə</i>    | Cruz (2005: 299)                     |
| Patamona          | <i>jepi</i>  | Spike Gildea (p.c.)                  |
| Patamona          | <i>jəpi</i>  | Spike Gildea (p.c.)                  |
| Pemón             | <i>jepi</i>  | Álvarez (2000: 102)                  |
| Macushi           | <i>ipi</i>   | Abbott (1991: 32)                    |
| Panare            | <i>əpi</i>   | T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne (2013: 65) |
| Yawarana          | <i>əpi</i>   | Méndez-Arocha (1959: 68)             |
| Mapoyo            | <i>epi</i>   | M. C. Mattéi-Müller (1975: 74)       |
| Upper Xingu Carib | <i>ee</i>    | Meira & Franchetto (2005: 182)       |

However, these sound changes appear to have applied irregularly, and not always in the same order. For example, the Kari'ña form *opi* can only be explained if *\*j* was lost before the umlaut of *\*ə* to *\*e*, which happened elsewhere after *\*j*. On the other hand, forms like Ye'kwana *ehə* must be the result of *\*ə* → *\*e* / *\*j*\_, with subsequent loss of *\*j*.

I have so far ignored the forms which form the basis for Gildea & D. Payne's (2007) *\*ətepi*; these are compatible with my reconstruction *\*jəpi*, with the addition of the detransitivizer *\*ət(e)-*: *\*ətjəpi*. In fact, the *i* in the Akawaio form *əsipi* is better explained by a sequence *\*jə*, which has the same outcome in the Macushi reflex of *\*jəpi*, *ipi*. While the semantics of combining a detransitivizer with an intransitive verb do not really make sense, some historical S<sub>P</sub> verbs are attested as adding the detransitivizer to become S<sub>A</sub> verbs. For example, S<sub>P</sub> *\*wəniki* 'to sleep' becomes Tiriyó *əəniki* (Meira 1999: 252) and Kari'ña *əniki* (Courtz 2008: 429), both S<sub>A</sub>. Waiwai 'go to sleep' can be *winik* (R. E. Hawkins 1998: 30) or *et-winik* (W. N. Hawkins & R. E. Hawkins 1953: 204). The parallels to 'to sleep' end here, since bare *\*jəpi* 'to come' apparently already was an S<sub>A</sub> verb, as evidenced by its status in Werikyana, Kari'ña, Panare (40), Arara, Tiriyó, and Akuriyó.

(40) Panare (T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 65)

*ju-w-əəpi-n ka=m kano?*  
 3-S<sub>A</sub>-come-NSPEC Q=2.AUX rain  
 'Do you think it is gonna rain?'

While these sound changes and the addition of *\*ət(e)-* do account for the majority of the forms in Table 10,<sup>19</sup> the distribution within the family is rather chaotic. Not only do very closely related languages show different forms, like Yawarana and Mapoyo, but distinct forms can even be found within the same language, usually conditioned by different prefixes. This was discussed in Section 3.1 for Arara, which has reflexes of *\*ətjəpi* and *\*jəpi* within the same paradigm. A similar situation is found in Tiriyó, where the Set I paradigm shows a reflex of *\*ətjəpi* for first, but of *\*epi* (< *\*jəpi*) for the other persons (41).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup>The only exception is the Apalaí form *oepi*, where the detransitivizer would have the reflex *os-* (Meira et al. 2010: 506). While *oepi* would be a regular outcome of *\*ə-jəpi*, the / \_C allomorph of the detransitivizer is *e-*. The form may be due to borrowing from Tiriyó, which has lost intervocalic *\*t* to create *əepi*. Alternatively, Apalaí *oepi* could be from Wayana, which has lost its reflex of *\*ətjəpi*, but where regular sound changes would also have resulted in the loss of intervocalic *\*t* (Tavares 2005: 63).

<sup>20</sup>While the 1+2 form is a regular outcome of *\*kit-epi*, the second person form is mysterious.



(41) Tiriyo (Meira 1999: 294)

- |     |      |            |
|-----|------|------------|
| 1   | w-   | <i>æpi</i> |
| 2   | mən- | <i>epi</i> |
| 1+2 | ke-  | <i>epi</i> |
| 3   | n-   | <i>epi</i> |

Summing up, this verb is highly irregular, both from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. It seems that reflexes of the detransitivizer *\*at(e)-* were optionally added to an S<sub>A</sub> verb root *\*jəpi*, which further underwent umlaut and loss of *\*j*, but in no systematic manner, resulting in the chaotic picture in Table 10.

As discussed in Section 3.1, innovative *\*k-* was introduced on the Arara reflex of *\*jəpi*, but not on the Ikpeng and Bakairi reflexes of *\*ətpi*. Both reflexes of *\*ətpi* (Tiriyo) and of *\*jəpi* (Akuriyo) resisted the introduction of *\*t-* in Proto-Tiriyoan. Carijona *ehi* shows innovative *j-*, rather than conservative *w-* (42). It is unknown whether there is a Yukpa reflex of this verb, and it was fully replaced in Proto-Waiwaian by *\*omoki* ‘to come’.

(42) Carijona (Guerrero Beltrán 2019: 102)

- |                           |               |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| <i>əji-wa-e</i>           | <i>j-eh-i</i> |
| 2-search-SUP              | 1-come-PFV    |
| ‘I came looking for you.’ |               |

#### 4.5 *\*ipitə* ‘to go down’

Reflexes of this verb were not affected by the extensions of *\*t-* in Proto-Tiriyoan (Section 3.3) and *k-* in Akuriyo (Section 3.4). Rather, an irregular first person form *\*p-iptə* can be reconstructed for Proto-Tiriyoan. While it seems to have resisted the extension of *\*k-* in Proto-Pekodian, Bakairi subsequently introduced it (Section 3.1). It was also affected by the extension of *j(i)-* in Carijona (43).

(43) Carijona (David Felipe Guerrero, p.c.)

- |  |                    |               |                  |
|--|--------------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>irə</i>                               | <i>wəʃʃinakano</i> | <i>tae</i>    | <i>j-ehitə-e</i> |
| INAN.ANA                                 | body.of.water      | along.bounded | 1-go.down-NPST   |
| ‘...I go down through that guachinacán.’ |                    |               |                  |

The situation in Yukpa is unclear, as it is an open question whether *ew(uh)tu* ‘to go down’ (Meira 2003b) is cognate.

A comparative view (Table 11) shows that while a form *\*ipitə* can be reconstructed to Proto-Cariban, the class of this verb is unclear at first sight. The reflexes are fairly evenly split between S<sub>A</sub> and S<sub>P</sub> – in those languages that preserve the split-S system.

In one language, Wayana, the verb shows traits of both classes, leading me to consider it a “mixed” verb. It takes the first and second person S<sub>P</sub> markers *j-* and *əw-* (Tavares 2005: 200), but the 1+2S<sub>A</sub> marker *kut-* (Tavares 2005: 206). It also shows the S<sub>A</sub> class marker *w-* in nominalizations (44a), but behaves like an S<sub>P</sub> verb in taking a second person prefix in imperatives (44b).

(44) Wayana (Tavares 2005: 200)

- a. *ïwïptëë*  
*i-w-iptə-ri*  
 1-S<sub>A</sub>-go.down-NMLZ  
 ‘my going down’
- b. *əw-iptə-k*  
 2-go.down-IMP  
 ‘Go down!’

Its causativized form is *iptəka* (Tavares 2005: 255), containing a reflex of the transitivizer *\*-ka*, which was restricted to S<sub>P</sub> verbs (Gildea & Cáceres in preparation).

Comparative evidence suggests that *\*ipitə* ‘to go down’ was originally an S<sub>P</sub> verb which switched its class to S<sub>A</sub> in some languages, incompletely so in Wayana. The Arara causativized form is *eniptəŋ* (Alves 2017: 66), and Kari’ña has a cognate form *eni?to* (Courtz 2008: 263); *oni?to* ‘to go down’ in Table 11 is a detransitivized form thereof, lit. ‘to get oneself down’. Both causativized forms contain a reflex of the (rare) transitivizer *\*en-*, which was usually found with S<sub>P</sub> verbs (Gildea & Cáceres in preparation). Besides the irregular first person *p-*, Tiriyó *ihətə* shows other irregularities, in particular in its causativized forms (Meira 1999: 263). Thus, it seems that this verb was originally S<sub>P</sub>, but then switched its class in four and a half languages of the family, for so far unknown reasons.

#### 4.6 Proto-Pekodian *\*ipɪ* ‘to bathe’

This verb only emerged as resisting an extension in the case of Proto-Pekodian (Section 3.1). Verbs for intransitive ‘to bathe’ are usually based on transitive verbs in Cariban languages, which are reflexes of *\*pɪ*, or *\*kupi* in Pemongan, Panare, Kari’ña, and Ye’kwana<sup>21</sup> (Table 12). As I have shown in Section 3.1, Proto-Pekodian can be reconstructed as having the pair *\*ipɪ* (INTR) / *\*ip(i)* (TR). Thus, while the transitive verbs in Pekodian have perfectly regular cognates in other languages of the family, intransitive ‘to bathe’ is divergent in this branch. The reasons for this are unknown; I have not encountered *i-* as a reflex of the detransitivizer in Pekodian, see also Meira et al.

<sup>21</sup>For Ye’kwana, note that while intransitive *e?hi* points to *\*e-kupi*, transitive *ihɪ* looks like a reflex of *\*pɪ*.

Table 11: Reflexes of \**ipitə* ‘to go down’

| Language        | Verb                            | Class                          | Source                         |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Werikyana       | <i>ihito</i>                    | S <sub>P</sub>                 | Spike Gildea (p.c.)            |
| Hixkaryána      | <i>hto</i>                      | ?                              | Derbyshire (1979: 196)         |
| Waiwai          | <i>hto</i>                      | –                              | R. E. Hawkins (1998: 55)       |
| Proto-Pekodian  | * <i>iptə</i>                   | S <sub>A</sub>                 | Section 3.1                    |
| Proto-Tiriyóan  | * <i>ihitə</i> (1 * <i>p</i> -) | S <sub>A</sub>                 | Section 3.3                    |
| Carijona        | <i>ehitə</i>                    | –                              | Guerrero Beltrán (2019: 118)   |
| Wayana          | <i>iptə</i>                     | S <sub>A</sub> /S <sub>P</sub> | Camargo & Tapinkili (2010: 44) |
| Apalaí          | <i>ihito</i>                    | S <sub>P</sub>                 | Camargo (2002: 99)             |
| Kari’ña         | ( <i>oni?to</i> )               | S <sub>A</sub>                 | Courtz (2008: 263)             |
| Ye’kwana        | <i>ə?tə</i>                     | S <sub>P</sub>                 | Cáceres (2011: 450)            |
| Kapón           | ( <i>u?tə</i> )                 | –                              | Stegeman & Hunter (2014: 139)  |
| Pemón           | ( <i>u?tə</i> )                 | –                              | Álvarez (2008: 139)            |
| Macushi         | ( <i>auti</i> )                 | –                              | Abbott (1991: 34)              |
| Panare          | <i>əhtə</i>                     | S <sub>A</sub>                 | M.-C. Mattéi-Müller (1994: 88) |
| Yawarana        | <i>əhtə</i>                     | –                              | Méndez-Arocha (1959: 68)       |
| Waimiri-Atroari | <i>iti</i>                      | –                              | Bruno (1996: 58)               |

(2010: 506). However, it should be noted that other languages also show unexpected developments in this verb, consider the apparent addition of *ew-* in Hixkaryána or the chaotic mixture of \**pi* and \**kupi* in languages spoken in Venezuela.

#### 4.7 Tiriyó *weka/oeka* ‘to defecate’

As in the case of ‘to go down’ (Section 4.5), \**weka* ‘to defecate’ was likely originally S<sub>P</sub>, with most languages showing an S<sub>P</sub> reflex (Table 13). Another parallel to ‘to go down’ is the mixed S<sub>A</sub>/S<sub>P</sub> status in Wayana. The Bakairi reflex *əeke* seems to contain a reflex of \**ət-*, which would explain its status as an S<sub>A</sub> verb. While the class memberships of Panare *ai?ka* and *i?ka* ‘to defecate’ are both unknown, the first form seems to contain a reflex of the detransitivizer, but not the second form.

#### 4.8 The Akuriyó movement verbs

As discussed in Section 3.4, four Akuriyó S<sub>A</sub> verbs are attested as not having the first person marker *ɪʃ-* in Gildea (1994); instead, they have *w-* or its phonologically reduced form *Ø*. These verbs share two properties: they are all *e*-initial, and they are all movement verbs. However, there are also *e*-initial movement verbs with a first person marker *ɪʃ-* (45). As for their etymology, I can only speak to *erama* ‘to return’,

Table 12: Intransitive and transitive ‘to bathe’

| Language   | INTR          | TR              | Source  |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|---|
| Werikyana  | <i>eehi</i>   | <i>ihi</i>      | Spike Gildea (p.c.)                           |
| Hixkaryána | <i>ewehi</i>  | <i>ihi</i>      | Derbyshire (1979: 198)                        |
| Waiwai     | <i>ejepu</i>  | <i>pi</i>       | R. E. Hawkins (1998: 166, 192)                |
| Arara      | <i>ibi</i>    | <i>ip</i>       | Alves (2017: 150, 162)                        |
| Ikpeng     | <i>ip</i>     | <i>ip</i>       | Pachêco (1997: 103) and Campetela (1997: 123) |
| Bakairi    | <i>i</i>      | <i>i</i>        | Meira (2003a: 4, 2005: 285)                   |
| Tiriyó     | <i>epi</i>    | <i>pi</i>       | Meira (1999: 697)                             |
| Akuriyó    | <i>epi</i>    | <i>pi</i>       | Gildea (1994: 87)                             |
| Wayana     | <i>epi</i>    | <i>upi</i>      | Camargo & Tapinkili (2010: 24, 52)            |
| Apalaí     | <i>epi</i>    | <i>pi</i>       | Meira (2000: 218)                             |
| Kari’ña    | <i>ekupi</i>  | <i>kupi</i>     | Courtz (2008: 304)                            |
| Ye’kwana   | <i>e?hi</i>   | <i>ihi</i>      | Cáceres (2011: 439, 454)                      |
| Kapón      | <i>eku?pi</i> | <i>ku?pi</i>    | Stegeman & Hunter (2014: 37)                  |
| Pemón      | <i>ekupi</i>  | <i>pi</i>       | de Armellada (1944: 34, 129)                  |
| Panare     | <i>akupi</i>  | <i>ipi/kupi</i> | M.-C. Mattéi-Müller (1994: 8, 294)            |

Table 13: \**weka* ‘to defecate’ as a class-switching S<sub>p</sub> verb

| Language  | Verb                          | Class                          | Source                          |
|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Kari’ña   | <i>uweka</i>                  | S <sub>p</sub>                 | Courtz (2008: 418)              |
| Ye’kwana  | <i>weka</i>                   | S <sub>p</sub>                 | Cáceres (2011: 455)             |
| Werikyana | <i>weka</i>                   | S <sub>p</sub>                 | Spike Gildea (p.c.)             |
| Arara     | <i>watke</i>                  | S <sub>p</sub>                 | de Souza (1993: 44)             |
| Ikpeng    | <i>atke</i>                   | S <sub>p</sub>                 | Alves Chagas (2013: 118)        |
| Wayana    | <i>uika</i>                   | S <sub>A</sub> /S <sub>p</sub> | Tavares (2005: 86, 206)         |
| Tiriyó    | <i>weka</i> (1 <i>koeka</i> ) | S <sub>A</sub>                 | Meira (1999: 294)               |
| Bakairi   | <i>æeke</i>                   | S <sub>A</sub>                 | (Meira 2005)                    |
| Apalaí    | <i>weka</i>                   | ?                              | Camargo (2002: 96)              |
| Panare    | <i>(a)i?ka</i>                | ?                              | M.-C. Mattéi-Müller (1994: 319) |

which is a detransitivized form of *rama* ‘to put back’, a pair which is also found in other Cariban languages. For the other three verbs, I have not encountered potential cognates, but given their *e*-initial nature and their semantics, it seems plausible that they, too, are derived from transitive verbs with meanings like ‘to put up’ etc. In any case, Akuriyó is only sparsely documented, and there are many open questions about it.

(45) Akuriyó (Gildea 1994: 84)

*tʃ-ewai*

1-sit.down

‘I sat down.’

## 5 Discussion

### 5.1 Possible motivations: Bybee’s (1985) network model

The fact that reflexes of several reconstructible verbs emerged as being unaffected by different extensions (Sections 4.1 to 4.5) suggests that there is some strong motivation for these verbs to do so. The most well-known contribution regarding irregularity in the lexicon is Bybee (1985), with her network model of morphology, which is well-suited for the data at hand. It aims “to account for cross-linguistic, diachronic and acquisition patterns in complex morphological systems” (Bybee 1995: 428). It does so by modeling shared morphological properties such as inflectional patterns as emerging from connections of differing strength between related words in the mental lexicon. For example, a large group of connected “strong” English verbs with *strɪŋ-strʌŋ* at its center and pairs like *riŋ-rʌŋ*, *spɪn-spʌn*, or *stɪk-stʌk* at its periphery is attracting more verbs in certain dialects: *snɪk-snʌk* or *brɪŋ-brʌŋ* (Bybee 1985: 129–130). These verbs are recruited based on the lexical connection they form with prototypical members of the group, and accordingly develop “irregular” past tense forms.

For the causes of these lexical connections, Bybee (1985: 118) suggests the criteria of semantic similarity, phonological similarity, and morphological similarity. Another important factor in her model is frequency, since more frequent words have a higher lexical strength (Bybee 1985: 119). This higher lexical strength results in less influence from other lexemes, meaning that irregular forms are more likely to be preserved in high-frequency items. Thus, from a diachronic perspective, the prediction is a) that semantically/ phonologically/morphologically similar verbs adapt the same morphological properties, and b) that frequent verbs show a certain immunity to changes.

When considering the resistant verbs in our Cariban case, reiterated in Table 14, a very salient property emerges: Most of the verbs lack a reflex of the detransitivizer

Table 14: Overview of unaffected verbs

| Verb                         | Comment                |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| * <i>eti/a(p)</i> ‘to be’    |                        |
| * <i>ka(ti)</i> ‘to say’     |                        |
| * <i>ite(mi)</i> ‘to go’     |                        |
| * <i>(ət-)jəpi</i> ‘to come’ |                        |
| * <i>ipitə</i> ‘to go down’  |                        |
| * <i>ipi</i> ‘to bathe’      | only in Proto-Pekodian |
| <i>weka</i> ⟨to defecate⟩    | only in Tiriyó         |
| some movement verbs          | only in Akuriyó        |

\**ət(e)-/e-* usually found in  $S_A$  verbs. That is, there is an apparent connection between presence of the detransitivizer and innovating new  $1S_A$  markers. This was already noted for a group of Proto-Taranoan verbs taking irregular \**w-* by Meira (1998: 112):

This category includes a small number of stems, among which ‘to go’, ‘to come’, ‘to say’, ‘to go down’, ‘to defecate’, and the copula. These are basically the verbs that are not synchronically or diachronically detransitivized, yet belong to the A conjugation.

The characterization of the absence of \**ət(e)-/e-* resulting in irregular verbs is also applicable to other languages and branches, most clearly so for Pekodian, which I will discuss in Section 5.1.1.

On the other hand, the fact that reflexes of \**ət(e)-/e-* are found on “normal”  $S_A$  verbs also means that they are all \**ə-* or \**e-* initial. That is, the morphologically caused lexical connection between regular  $S_A$  verbs is also phonological in nature. In some cases, phonological conditioning seems to have indeed been the crucial factor, discussed in detail in Section 5.1.2.

Finally, the first four verbs in Table 14 are also united by the fact that they are usually among the most frequent ones. This has e.g. been noted for Kari’ña by Courtz (2008: 75): “It is difficult [...] to imagine an intransitive or transitive origin for some of the most frequent middle verbs”. Such frequency effects are discussed in Section 5.1.3.

Semantic connections do not appear to play a role, except potentially in the case of the ill-understood movement verbs in understudied Akuriyó.

In many cases it is difficult to decide which of the three relevant factors best explains the pattern in a specific language. Rather, it seems that the three factors largely converge in the Cariban case, as discussed in Section 5.1.4.

### 5.1.1 Morphology: Proto-Pekodian

A clear-cut example where morphology is the sole deciding factor is the introduction of Proto-Pekodian *\*k-*. As I have argued in Section 3.1, there were two forms for ‘to come’, *\*epi* and *\*əd-epi*, the latter with a detransitivizing prefix. The Arara reflex shows a first person form *w-ebi-*, while its sister language Ikpeng and the cousin Bakairi have forms based on *\*k-ədəpi*: *k-arep-* and *k-əewi-*. For Proto-Pekodian, the group of verbs which resisted the extension of *\*k-* can succinctly be defined as those without a detransitivizing prefix, fully accounting for the group of unaffected verbs.

### 5.1.2 Phonology: Akuriyó, Carijona, Yukpa

There is one case where phonological connections account for the lexical distribution of the innovative marker. That is the introduction of Akuriyó *k-*, which only affected *ə*-initial verbs – but not *e*-initial ones, which kept *tʃ-* (Section 3.4). Using Bybee’s (1985) network model, these classes form a consistent lexical group, based on their phonological form. The Akuriyó case is rather different from the others under discussion here, as the unaffected group of verbs is fairly large, since it includes regular *S<sub>A</sub>* verbs with a reflex of the detransitivizer *\*e-*. There are two other cases, namely Carijona *j(i)-* (Section 3.5) and Yukpa *j-* (Section 3.6).

In the case of Carijona, the group of affected verbs can be characterized as being *e-/ə*-initial. That is, as in other languages, regular derived *S<sub>A</sub>* verbs – those with a reflex of *\*ət(e)-/e-* underwent the innovation, as shown in Section 3.5. However, underived *e*-initial *S<sub>A</sub>* verbs also took on new markers, as shown in (46).

(46) Carijona

- a. *əji-wa-e*      *j-eh-i*  
2-search-SUP 1-come-PFV  
‘I came looking for you.’ (Guerrero Beltrán 2019: 102)
- b. *irə*      *waʃʃinakano*      *tae*      *j-ehitə-e*  
INAN.ANA body.of.water along.bounded 1-go.down-NPST  
‘...I go down through that guachinacán.’ David Felipe Guerrero (p.c.)
- c. *iretibə eʃʃinəme gərə jətʃi*  
*ireti-bə*      *eʃʃi-nə=me*      *gərə j-eʃʃi-i*  
then-from be-INF=ATTRZ still 1-be-PFV  
‘Then I was already grown up.’ (Robayo Moreno 1989: 177)

(46a) shows the verb ‘to come’, which in Carijona is a reflex of *\*jəpi* (> *\*epi*), not of *\*ətepi*. (46b) shows the verb ‘to go down’, which has acquired an unexpected *e* in Carijona, compare the reconstruction in Table 11. Whether this development was distinct

from the introduction of the new prefix *j-* or whether it was a result of regularization is impossible to say. Finally, (46c) shows the verb *eŋi* ‘to be’, which also takes *j-*. Interestingly, this verb shows a suppletive alternation between *eŋi* and *a*, where the old marker *w-* is preserved with the latter root allomorph (47).

- (47) Carijona (Guerrero-Beltrán 2016b: 42)

*aji-marə-ne w-a-e*  
 2-COM-PL 1-be-NPST  
 ‘I am with you all.’

The only other place where this *w-* is attested is with C-initial *tə* ‘to go’ (48), meaning that the property of being *ə-* or *e-* initial fully accounts for the distribution of innovative *j(i)-*.

- (48) Carijona (Guerrero-Beltrán 2016b: 5)

*wi-tə-e=rehe*  
 1-go-NPST=FRUST  
 ‘I almost go (but I am not going to go).’

An apparently more extreme case is Yukpa, where *j-* is not only found on the reflex of *\*eti* (49a), but also on that of *\*a(p)* (49b).

- (49) Yukpa (Meira 2006: 142, 143)

- a. *aw utuwanpa=p=j-e*  
 1PRO study=PROG=1-be  
 ‘I was studying.’  
 b. *aw juwatpi=p=j-a-s*  
 1PRO chief=ESS=1-be-NPST  
 ‘I am the chief.’

The only place where I have identified a reflex of *\*w-* is on C-initial *to* (32). This makes it possible to characterize the extension as affecting all V-initial verbs.

- (50) Yukpa (Meira 2006: 139)

*aw Ø-to*  
 1PRO 1S<sub>A</sub>-go  
 ‘I went.’



### 5.1.3 Frequency: Bakairi?

Among the investigated cases of incomplete extensions, Bakairi is the only language where one might suggest frequency effects that are not coupled to something else, but the evidence is scarce. In Section 5.1.1, I argued that the Proto-Pekodian verbs *\*ip̃i* ‘to bathe’ and *\*[i/i]pt̃ə* ‘to go down’ resisted the introduction of *\*k-* because they did not have a reflex of *\*əte/e-*. However, while Bakairi *i* ‘to bathe’ preserved the Proto-Pekodian pattern, *itagi* ‘to go down’ subsequently innovated *k-*. While it is possible that *i*, which also means ‘to wash’ (von den Steinen 1892: 105), is more frequent in Bakairi discourse than ‘to go down’, such a claim would have to be supported by corpus data, which are not available.

### 5.1.4 Converging factors

I have shown that in one case, morphological criteria account for the distribution of conservative and innovative prefixes, and that three cases can adequately be explained by purely phonological criteria. I suggested that the development in Bakairi after the Proto-Pekodian stage may be due to frequency, but only very speculatively so. No semantic patterns have emerged as a conditioning factor for preserving old 1S<sub>A</sub> markers in any of the cases under study. As for the other three factors, the main conclusion is that they largely converge in the case of Cariban S<sub>A</sub> verbs. Take for example the “most” resistant verb, which is not attested as having taken on a new first person marker in any language, *\*ka(ti)* ‘to say’. It is at the same time: a) highly frequent; b) the only C-initial S<sub>A</sub> verb in Proto-Cariban; and c) one of the few S<sub>A</sub> verbs without a reflex of *\*at(e)-/e-*. That is, one would expect it to resist morphological innovation based on all three factors: frequency, phonological form, and morphological makeup.

The same kind of convergence is found for most other verbs consistently emerging as resistant across the family. They are more frequent than other S<sub>A</sub> verbs, and diverge phonologically and morphologically from them. This results in an overall picture where the factors leading to irregular or archaic morphological patterns strongly overlap, to a degree where one cannot simply decide which factor ultimately contributed. While this means that Bybee’s (1985) model for the most part nicely accounts for the Cariban patterns, the conditioning factors she suggests are highly interrelated.

## 5.2 Conclusion

- why are the most irregular verbs all underived S<sub>A</sub> verbs? **something** is there
- ultimately plays into the mystery of how the hell the split-S system actually came into being

- not surprising that more frequent  $S_A$  verbs have no  $^*at-$ , but definitely surprising that ‘say’, ‘go’, and ‘be’ are  $S_A$  verbs in the first place!

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