

# **Irregular first person inflections in Cariban: converging factors for morphological (dis-)similarity**

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# Proto-Cariban Set I (main clause) person markers

A/P	1	2	1+2	3
1		* <i>k</i> -		* <i>t(i)</i> -
2	* <i>k</i> -			* <i>m(i)</i> -
1+2				* <i>kit(i)</i> -
3	* <i>u(j)</i> -	* <i>ə(j)</i> -	* <i>k</i> -	* <i>n(i)</i> -

	S <sub>A</sub>	S <sub>P</sub>
1	* <i>w</i> -	* <i>u(j)</i> -
2	* <i>m</i> -	* <i>ə(j)</i> -
1+2	* <i>kit</i> -	* <i>k</i> -
3	* <i>n</i> -	* <i>n(i)</i> -

## The split-S system

- conserved in many modern languages
- P-markers identical to  $S_P$
- A-markers =  $S_A + *i-$  (except first person)
- **no semantic basis** (illustration)

## What conditions the split? (Meira 2000)

- not explicable by (non)activities, (non-)agency, (in-)animacy, Aktionsart
- purely lexical, semantically arbitrary
- but: vast majority of  $S_A$  verbs have reflex of detransitivizer  $*\text{ət}(e)\text{-}/e\text{-}$
- derivational prefix attaching mostly to transitive verbs, with various semantics (illustration)

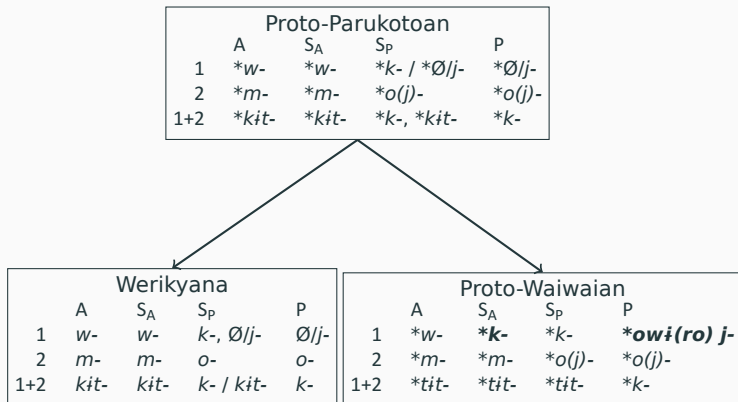
## Example for person marker extensions: Parukotoan (Gildea 1998: 94)

Proto-Cariban				
	A	S <sub>A</sub>	S <sub>P</sub>	P
1	*t(i)-	*w-	*u(j)-	*u(j)-
2	*m(i)-	*m-	*ə(j)-	*ə(j)-
1+2	*kit(i)-	*kit-	*k-	*k-



Proto-Parukotoan				
	A	S <sub>A</sub>	S <sub>P</sub>	P
1	*w-	*w-	*k- / *Ølj-	*Ølj-
2	*m-	*m-	*o(j)-	*o(j)-
1+2	*kit-	*kit-	*k-, *kit-	*k-

## Example for person marker extensions: Parukotoan



## Example for person marker extensions: Parukotoan

### Proto-Waiwaian

	A	S <sub>A</sub>	S <sub>P</sub>	P
1	*w-	*k-	*k-	*owɪ(ro) j-
2	*m-	*m-	*o(j)-	*o(j)-
1+2	*tɪt-	*tɪt-	*tɪt-	*k-

### Hixkaryána

	A	S <sub>A</sub>	S <sub>P</sub>	P
1	w-/i-	k-	k-	r(o)-
2	m-	m-	o(j)-	o(j)-
1+2	t-	t-	t-	k-

### Waiwai

	A	S <sub>A</sub>	S <sub>P</sub>	P
1	w-	k-	k-	o(j)-
2	m-	m-	<b>m-</b>	a(w)-
1+2	t(it)-	t(it)-	t(it)-	k-

## Person marker extensions: lexical diffusion

- gradual spread through the verbal lexicon, not all at once:
  1. visible in ongoing changes in Werikyana
  2. place switch of Proto-Cariban \*t- (1>3) and \*w- (1S<sub>A</sub>) in Tiriyoan likely by lexical diffusion (Meira 1998: 112)
  3. incomplete extensions – diffusion stops short of some verbs



## Incomplete extension: Proto-Pekodian \*k-

(1)	Arara 'to dance' (Alves 2017: 150)	lkipeng 'to run' (Pachêco 2001: 52)	Bakairi 'to go up' (Meira 2003: 4)
1S <sub>A</sub>	<i><b>k</b>-origu-</i>	<i><b>k</b>-aranme-</i>	<i><b>k</b>-əku-</i>
2S <sub>A</sub>	<i>m</i> -origu-	<i>m</i> -aranme-	<i>m</i> -əku-
1+2S <sub>A</sub>	<i>kud</i> -origu-	<i>kw</i> -aranme-	<i>kɪd</i> -əku-
3S <sub>A</sub>	<i>Ø</i> -origu-	<i>Ø</i> -aranme-	<i>n</i> -əku-

## Proto-Pekodian \*k-: unaffected verbs

- those verbs not affected by specific extension retain old markers – “irregular” or “archaic”

	Proto-Pekodian	Arara	lkipeng	Bakairi
‘say’	*w <i>i</i> -ge-	w <i>i</i> -ge-	i-ge-	u-ge-
‘bathe’	*w- <i>i</i> p <i>i</i> -	w- <i>i</i> b <i>i</i> -	Ø- <i>i</i> p-	w- <i>i</i> -
‘be’	*w-et <i>ʃ</i> <i>i</i> -	w-it <i>ʃ</i> <i>i</i> -	Ø-et <i>ʃ</i> <i>i</i> -	w- <i>i</i> -
	*w-ap-	w-ap-	-	w-a-
‘come’	*w-ep <i>i</i> / *k-əd-ep <i>i</i> -	w-eb <i>i</i> -	k-arep-	k-æew <i>i</i> -
‘go down’	*w-[i/i]ptə-	w-ipton <i>ɔ</i> -	?-ipton <i>ɔ</i> -	k-itəg <i>i</i> -
‘go’	*w-itən-	w-ido-	k-aran-	u-tə-

(Alves 2017: 153, 200; von den Steinen 1892: 130; Meira 2003: 4; Pachêco 2001: 80, 139, 209, 1997: 68; p.c., Angela Fabíola Alves Chagas)

## ‘to come’ in Pekodian

- Ikpeng *k-arep-* and Bakairi *k-əewi-* point to *\*k-əd-ebi* (root *\*ebi* with detransitivizing prefix)
- Arara *w-ebi-* points to *\*w-ebi-* (bare root)
- Arara also has reflexes of complex *\*əd-ebi* elsewhere in the paradigm (2)
- extension of *\*k-* to morphologically complex form either in Proto-Pekodian (coexisting variants), or subsequently in daughters (paradigm leveling)

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

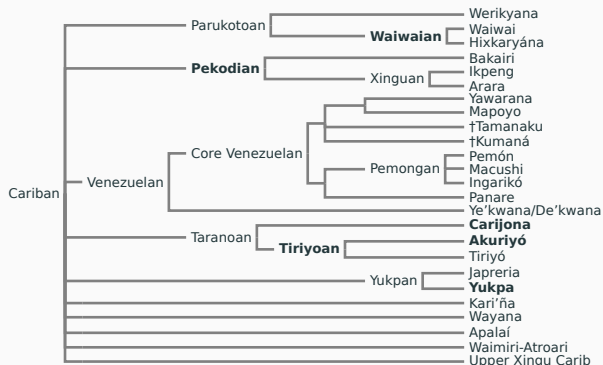
# Incomplete person marker extensions in Cariban

- six incomplete extensions (of 19 investigated extensions)
- **all innovative 1S<sub>A</sub> markers**
- i.e., what remains is a small class of verbs with reflexes of Proto-Cariban 1S<sub>A</sub> \*w-
- other extensions:
  - non-first persons only innovate S<sub>P</sub> markers, never S<sub>A</sub>
  - always affect all verbs (unless still ongoing)

# Incomplete extensions of new 1S<sub>A</sub> markers

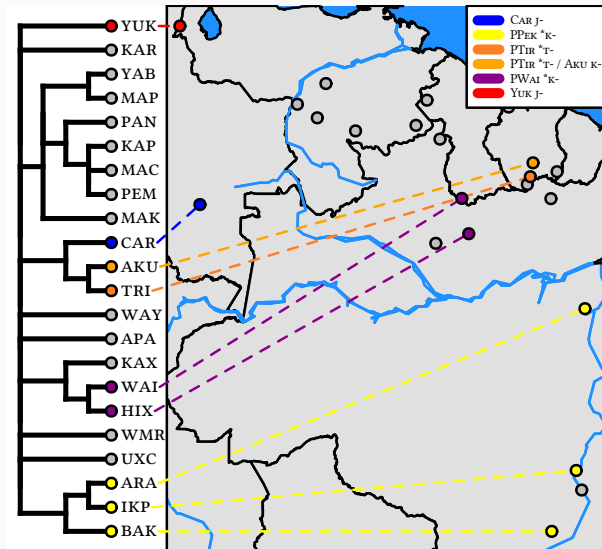
1. Proto-Pekodian \**k*- ([details](#))
2. Proto-Waiwaian \**k*- ([details](#))
3. Proto-Tiriyoan \**t*- ([details](#))
4. Akuriyó *k*- ([details](#))
5. Carijona *j*- ([details](#))
6. Yukpa *j*- ([details](#))

# Distribution in the family



**Figure 1:** The Cariban language family

## Geographical distribution



## What verbs are unaffected by extensions?

PC	PPEK *k-	PWAI *k-	PTIR *t-	AKU k-	CAR j-	YUK j-
*itə(mi) 'go'	×	×	×	×	×	×
*ka(ti) 'say'	×	×	×	×	?	?
*(ət-)jəpi 'come'	✓/×	–	×	×	✓	–
*ipitə 'go down'	×	–	×	×	✓	–
*eti 'be'	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
*a(p) 'be'	×	×	×	×	×	✓
*e-pi 'bathe'	×	✓	✓	×	?	–
✓ innovative marker    × archaic marker    – unattested    ? unknown						

- strong overlap among languages in the verbs retaining 1S<sub>A</sub> \*w-
- not shown: 1) many e-initial Akuriyó verbs, 2) 4 Akuriyó movement verbs, 3) Tiriyo 'to defecate'



## What causes verbs to adapt or resist innovative markers?

- possible explanations based on the network model of morphology by Bybee (1985, 1995):
  1. morphology-based lexical connections → same inflection class
  2. phonology-based lexical connections → same inflection class
  3. frequency: high-frequency lexemes are resistant to innovation
  4. (semantics play no role in this case)
- strong overlap of all three factors in the Cariban case:
  1. vast majority of  $S_A$  verbs have reflex of detransitivizer  $*\text{ət}(e)\text{-}/e\text{-}$
  2. therefore, they are  $e\text{-}$  or  $\text{ə}/o\text{-}$  initial
  3. other, underived  $S_A$  verbs often high-frequency

# Morphology: Proto-Pekodian

- none of the unaffected verbs have detransitivizer
- normally detransitivized *\*e-pi* 'to bathe' has become *\*ibi* in Proto-Pekodian ([details](#))
  - loss of transparent morphology, not affected by innovative marker
- Bakairi and Ikpeng show *\*k-* with *\*əd-ebi* 'to come', but Arara has *\*w-* with root *\*ebi* ([details](#))
  - presence of detransitivizer clearly triggers innovative prefix

## Phonology: Akuriyó, Carijona, Yukpa

- Akuriyó *k-* only on ə-initial verbs, not *e*-initial ([details](#))
- Carijona: all *e-* and *ə*-initial verbs affected, even those without detransitivizer (3)
- Yukpa: all *V*-initial verbs, only *to* ‘to go’ unaffected ([details](#)) – but very patchy data!

### (3) 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            watʃinakano    tae            **j-ehitə-e**  
       INAN.ANA    body.of.water    along.bounded    1-go.down-NPST  
       ‘...I go down through that guachinacán.’ (p.c., David Felipe Guerrero)
- c.    iretibə etʃinəme gərə jetʃi  
       ireti-bə    etʃi-nə=me    gərə **j-etʃi-i**  
       then-from    be-INF=ATTRZ    still    1-be-PFV  
       ‘Then I was already grown up.’ (Robayo Moreno [1989](#): 177)

## Converging factors

- most resistant verbs: *\*ka(ti)* 'to say' and *\*itə(mi)* 'to go'
  1. no detransitivizer
  2. C-initial (in these languages)
  3. very frequent (although no text counts)
- often no definite answer for resistance to innovation
- Proto-Cariban: underived S<sub>A</sub> verbs also most frequent, other irregularities
- ultimate origins of split-S system still mysterious

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## Irregular Arara verbs

### (4) Arara (Alves 2017: 153)

<i>wi-ge-ni</i>	‘I said’
<i>w-itʃi-ni</i>	‘I was, lied down’
<i>w-ebi-ni</i>	‘I came’
<i>w-ibi-ni</i>	‘I bathed’
<i>w-ipton-ri</i>	‘I went down’
<i>w-ido-li</i>	‘I went’

## Cognate verbs in Bakairi: *u-/w-*, two *k-*

(5) Bakairi (von den Steinen 1892: 131, 397, 76, 137, 374; Meira 2003: 4)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. <u-yépa><br><b>u-ge-pa</b><br>1S <sub>A</sub> -say-NEG<br>'I don't say.'        | d. <kχ-itaké-he><br><b>k-itəgi-se</b><br>1S <sub>A</sub> -go.down-NPST?<br>'I go down.' |
| b. <wi-táki> / <wi-tági><br><b>w-i-taki</b><br>1S <sub>A</sub> -be-INT<br>'I was.' | e. <úta> / <uúta><br><b>u-tə</b><br>1S <sub>A</sub> -go<br>'I go.'                      |
| c. <kχaewí-le><br><b>k-əewi-li</b><br>1S <sub>A</sub> -come-IMM<br>'I came.'       | f. <b>w-i-də</b><br>1S <sub>A</sub> -bathe-IMM<br>'I bathed'                            |

## Cognate verbs in Ikpeng: *ɬ*-/Ø-, two *k*-

- (6) a. **ɬ**-ge-li  
1-say-REC  
'I said.' (Pachêco 2001: 209)
- b. **Ø**-etʃi-li  
1-be-REC  
'I was.' (Pachêco 2001: 139)
- c. atʃagotpop **Ø**-ip-tʃi      ik-gwa-ktʃi  
always      1-bathe-NPST    river-LOC.aquatic-ALL  
'I always bathe in this river.' (Pachêco 1997: 68)

## Cognate verbs in Ikpeng: *i-/Ø-*, two *k-*

### (7) Subsequent innovations:

a. **k-aran-tʃi**

1-go-NPST

‘I’m going.’ (Pachêco 2001: 80)

b. **k-arep-li**

1-come-REC

‘I came.’ (Pachêco 2001: 80)

Unattested first person form: *iptonj* ‘to sit down’ (p.c., Angela Fabíola Alves Chagas)

[Irregular first person inflections](#) [References](#) [appx: Individual extensions](#) [appx: Resistant verbs](#) [appx: split-S](#)

[Proto-Pekodian \\*k-](#) [Proto-Waiwaian \\*k-](#) [Proto-Tiriyoan \\*t-](#) [Akuriyó k-](#) [Carijona j-](#) [Yukpa j-](#)

## Proto-Pekodian \*k-: unaffected verbs

[Overview table](#)

## Proto-Waiwaian \**k-*

- first extension of 1+2S<sub>P</sub> \**k-* to 1S<sub>P</sub> in Proto-Parukotoan
- then further extension from 1S<sub>P</sub> to 1S<sub>A</sub>, creating unified first person category:

### (8) Proto-Waiwaian

1	* <i>k-eφurka-</i>	* <i>ki-winiki-</i>
2	* <i>m-eφurka-</i>	* <i>o-winiki-</i>
1+2	* <i>t-eφurka-</i>	* <i>tit-winiki-</i>
3	* <i>n-eφurka-</i>	* <i>ni-winiki-</i>
	'to fall' (S <sub>A</sub> )	'to sleep' (S <sub>P</sub> )

## Proto-Waiwaiian \**k*-

### (9) Modern reflexes

- a. Hixkaryána (Howard 2001: 510; Derbyshire 1985: 189–191)

1	<i>k</i> -ehurka-	<i>ki-niki</i> -
2	<i>m</i> -ehurka-	<i>o-wniki</i> -
1+2	<i>t</i> -ehurka-	<i>tí-niki</i> -
3	<i>ɲ</i> -ehurka-	<i>ni-niki</i> -

- b. Waiwai (Howard 2001: 510; W. N. Hawkins & R. E. Hawkins 1953: 209–211; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 50)

1	<i>k</i> -eφirka-	<i>ki-wink</i> -
2	<i>m</i> -eφirka-	<i>mi-wink</i> -
1+2	<i>tʃ</i> -eφirka-	<i>tít-wink</i> -
3	<i>ɲ</i> -eφirka-	<i>ni-wink</i> -

## Proto-Waiwaian \**k*-: unaffected verbs

### (10) Archaic 1S<sub>A</sub> forms

(Derbyshire 1985: 124, 197–198, 209 and Spike Gildea, p.c.)

	Proto-Parukotoan	Hixkaryána	Waiwai
‘to say’	* <b>w<i>i</i>-ka-</b>	<b><i>i</i>-to-</b>	<b>w<i>i i</i>-ka</b>
‘to be’	* <b>w-efi-/w-ah-</b>	<b>w-efe-/w-ah-</b>	<b>w-ee<i>fi</i>-/w-a-</b>
‘to go’	* <b>w<i>i</i>-to-</b>	<b><i>i</i>-to-</b>	<b>kiw-to-</b>



## Proto-Tiriyoan \*t-

- in Tiriyó and Akuriyó, Proto-Cariban \*t- (1>3) and \*w- (1S<sub>A</sub>) switched places (Meira 1998: 107–112)
- \*t- / \_\_\*ə, \*tʃ̃- / \_\_\*e
- maybe in Proto-Taranoan, maybe in Proto-Tiriyoan – Carijona removed any evidence by the extension of j(i)-

## Proto-Tiriyoan \*t-: unaffected verbs

(11) Proto-Tiriyoan 1S<sub>A</sub> \*w-

	Proto-Tiriyoan	Tiriyó	Akuriyó
'go'	*wi-tə(mi)-	wi-tə(mi)-	ə-təmi-/wi-təemi-
'say'	*wi-ka-	wi-ka-	wi-ka-
'come'	*w-əʔepi-	w-əepi-	Ø-eepi-
'be'	*w-ae-	w-ae-	Ø-aʔe-
	*w-eʔi-	w-ei-	-

(Meira 1998: 112-115; Gildea 1994: 85; Meira 1999: 339)

## Proto-Tiriyoan \*t-: unaffected verbs

- (12) a. Akuriyó 1S<sub>A</sub> \*w- in 4 movement verbs  
(Gildea 1994: 84-86)

'return'	Ø- <i>erama-</i>
'get up'	Ø- <i>eokahtə-</i>
'jump'	<i>w-ejahka-</i>
'go out'	<i>w-ekirika-</i>

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

- (13) Idiosyncratic 1S<sub>A</sub> prefixes

	Tiriyo	Akuriyó
'go down'	<i>p-ihətə-</i>	<i>p-itə-</i>
'defecate'	<i>k-oeka-</i>	?

(Meira 1999: 294; Gildea 1994: 84)

## Akuriyó k-

- after split of Tiriyoan, Akuriyó innovated 1S<sub>A</sub> k-
- apparently only replaced \*t- ( / \_\_\*ə):

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first person k-

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first person *t̪̃*-

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*əniki* 'to sleep'

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*eepi* 'to bathe'

*əməmi* 'to enter'

*ewai* 'to sit down'

*əturu* 'to talk'

*etonema* 'to lie down'

*ət̪̃f̃ena* 'to cry'

*ekiirika* 'to stay back'

*ətajinka* 'to run'

*entapo* 'to yawn'

*əiwa* 'to tremble'

*əempa* 'to learn'

(Gildea 1994)

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- Meira (1998: 107) largely agrees, mentioning “several cases of first person t- in Akuriyó” (on ə-initial verbs)

## Akuriyó *k-*

- no data provided; either leftovers not affected by extension of *k-*, or later influence by Tiriyo

## Carijona j-

- Carijona extended 1S<sub>P</sub> *j(i)*- to S<sub>A</sub> verbs
- (alongside 2S<sub>A</sub> *m*- and 1+2S<sub>A</sub> *kis*- to S<sub>P</sub>)

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

	<i>tuda</i> 'to arrive'	<i>eharaga</i> 'to dance'
1	<i>ji-tuda-</i>	<b>j</b> - <i>eharaga-</i>
2	<i>mi-tuda-</i>	<i>m</i> - <i>eharaga-</i>
1+2	<i>kisi-tuda-</i>	<i>kis</i> - <i>eharaga-</i>
3	<i>ni-tuda-</i>	<i>n</i> - <i>eharaga-</i>

## Carijona j-: unaffected verbs

- attested are only *tə* ‘to go’ and *a* ‘to be’

(15) Carijona (Guerrero-Beltrán 2016: 5, 42)

a. **wi**-*tə*-e=rehe

1-go-NPST=FRUST

‘I almost go (but I am not going to go).’

b. əji-marə-ne **w**-a-e

2-with-PL    1-be-NPST

‘I am with you all.’

## Yukpa j-

- same innovation as Carijona: 1S<sub>P</sub> j- to 1S<sub>A</sub> (16)
- not affected: only *to* 'to go' attested (17)
- Proto-Cariban \*w- is reflected as Ø (18)

(16) 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>



## Yukpa j-

(17) Yukpa (Meira 2006: 139)

aw    Ø-to

1PRO 1SA-go

‘I went.’

(18) 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.’

## *\*itə(mi)* ‘to go’

Language	First person form
Waiwai	<i>kɪw-to-</i>
Hixkaryána	<i>i-to-</i>
Arara	<i>w-ido-</i>
Ikpeng	<i>k-aran-</i>
Bakairi	<i>u-tə</i>
Akuriyó	<i>wi-təmi-/wi-təemi-</i>
Tiriyó	<i>wi-tən-</i>
Carijona	<i>wi-təmə-</i>
Yukpa	<i>Ø-to-</i>

(R. E. Hawkins 1998: 85; Derbyshire 1985: 70; Alves 2017: 153; Pachêco 2001: 80; von den Steinen 1892: 374; Meira 1998: 112, 1999: 292, 2006: 139)

- has become C-initial in many languages
- combination of innovative *\*k-* and archaic *\*w-* in Waiwai
- innovative *k-* in Ikpeng due to phonological form / reanalysis as detransitivizer?

## **\*ka(ti)** ‘to say’

Language	First person form
Waiwai	<i>wi-ka-</i>
Hixkaryána	<i>i-ka-</i>
Arara	<i>wi-ge-</i>
Ikpeng	<i>i-ge-</i>
Bakairi	<i>u-ge-</i>
Akuriyó	<i>wi-ka-</i>
Tiriyó	<i>wi-ka-</i>
Carijona	?
Yukpa	?

(R. E. Hawkins 1998: 71; Derbyshire 1979: 4; Alves 2017: 150; Pachêco 2001: 209; von den Steinen 1892: 131; Meira 1998: 113, 1999: 294)

- only C-initial S<sub>A</sub> verb in Proto-Cariban
- some properties of transitive verbs (causativizer \*-po, nominalizer \*-ne)
- has become (more) transitive in Hixkaryána (interaction with 3P n-)
- no innovative person markers attested

## \*əṭ-epi / \*jəpi ‘to come’

Language	First person form
Waiwai	–
Hixkaryana	–
Arara	<i>w-ebi-</i>
Ikpeng	<i>k-arep-</i>
Bakairi	<i>k-əewi-</i>
Akuriyó	<i>Ø-eepi-</i>
Tiriyó	<i>w-əepi-</i>
Carijona	<i>j-ehi-</i>
Yukpa	–

(Alves 2017: 153; Pachêco 2001: 42; von den Steinen 1892: 76; Meira 1998: 114, 1999: 294; Guerrero Beltrán 2019: 102)

- reflexes of \*jəpi, \*epi, \*əṭ-epi, likely with \*jəpi > \*epi
- unexpected detransitivizer, since root is already intransitive
- reflexes of detransitivizer are inconsistent even paradigm-internally (Tiriyó or Arara)
- Pekodian shows \*k- with complex \*əd-ebi, but \*w- with root \*ebi
- innovative marker in Carijona, due to initial e

## \*ipitə ‘to go down’

Language	First person form
Waiwai	–
Hixkaryána	–
Arara	<i>w-ipton-</i>
Ikpeng	?
Bakairi	<i>k-itəgi-</i>
Akuriyó	<i>p-itə-</i>
Tiriyó	<i>p-ihtə-</i>
Carijona	<i>j-ehitə-</i>
Yukpa	–

(Alves 2017: 153; von den Steinen 1892: 137; Gildea 1994: 84; Meira 1998: 116; p.c., David Felipe Guerrero)

- originally an S<sub>p</sub> verb (Werikyana, Apalaí, + morphological evidence)
- switched class (Proto-Pekodian, Proto-Tiriyóan, Panare, partially in Wayana)
- irregular Proto-Tiriyóan marker \*p-
- innovative in Carijona (phonology) and Bakairi (why?)

## \*a(p) ‘to be’

Language	First person form
Waiwai	w-a-
Hixkaryána	w-ah-
Arara	w-ap-
Ikpeng	-
Bakairi	w-a-
Akuriyó	Ø-a-
Tiriyó	w-a-
Carijona	w-a-
Yukpa	j-a-

(Derbyshire 1985: 197; Alves 2017: 200; von den Steinen 1892: 130; Meira 1998: 115, 2006: 142; p.c., Spike Gildea)

- older copula (Gildea 2018: 375–382)
- root co-occurs with \*eti
- \*p only present in some reflexes
- innovative person prefix only in Yukpa

## **\*eti** ‘to be’

Language	First person form
Waiwai	<i>w-eeʃi-</i>
Hixkaryána	<i>w-eʃe-</i>
Arara	<i>w-iṭʃi-</i>
Ikpeng	<i>Ø-etʃi-</i>
Bakairi	<i>w-i-</i>
Akuriyó	–
Tiriyó	<i>w-ei</i>
Carijona	<i>j-etʃi-</i>
Yukpa	<i>j-e-</i>

(Derbyshire 1985: 198; Alves 2017: 153; Pachêco 2001: 139; von den Steinen 1892: 397; Meira 1999: 339; Guerrero Beltrán 2019: 92; Meira 2006: 143; p.c., Spike Gildea)

- newer copula root (Gildea 2018: 375–382)
- root co-occurs with **\*a(p)**
- original meaning maybe ‘to dwell’
- innovative person prefixes in Carijona and Yukpa (both phonological)

## *\*e-pi* ‘to bathe’

- fully regular S<sub>A</sub> verb in most languages, with reflex of detransitivizer *\*e-*
- \*e-pi* has become *\*ibi* in Proto-Pekodian, for unknown reasons

Language	INTR	TR	Source
Werikyana	<i>eehi</i>	<i>ihī</i>	p.c., Spike Gildea
Hixkaryána	<i>ewehi</i>	<i>ihī</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 (2003: 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>eʔhi</i>	<i>ihī</i>	Cáceres (2011: 439, 454)
Kapón	<i>ekuʔpi</i>	<i>kuʔpi</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>	Mattéi-Müller (1994: 8, 294)



## Semantic mismatches: Kari'ña

- (19) 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)

## Semantic mismatches: Kari'ña

(20) 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)

- S<sub>A</sub> *ekema* 'to be afraid'
- S<sub>P</sub> *awomɨ* 'to get up'

## Generic meaning of the detransitivizer

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

<i>nonta</i>	→	<i>e-nonta,</i>	'abandon each other'
'abandon'		<i>əi-nonta</i>	(reciprocal)

<i>suka</i>	→	<i>e-suka,</i>	'wash self'
'wash'		<i>əi-suka</i>	(reflexive)

<i>pahka</i>	→	<i>e-pahka</i>	'break (INTR)'
'break (TR)'			(anticausative)

<i>puunəpi</i>	→	<i>əh-puunəpi,</i>	'think, meditate'
'think about'		<i>əi-puunəpi</i>	(antipassive)