Verbs with conservative first person forms in Cariban languages

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Table 1: Some Tiriyó verbs (Meira 1999: 292, 294; Carlin 2004: 274)

	'to sleep'	'to see self'	'to bathe (INTR)'	'to yawn'	'to go'
1	t-əənɨkɨ-	t-əene-	s-epi-	s-entapo-	wɨ-tən-
2	m-əənɨkɨ-	т-әепе-	m-epɨ-	m-entapo-	mɨ-tən-
1+2	kɨt-əənɨkɨ-	k-əene-	ke-epi-	k-entapo-	kɨ-tən-
3	n-əənɨkɨ-	п-әепе-	n-ep i -	n-entapo-	nɨ-tən-

Table 2: Regular Pekodian S_A verbs (Meira 2003a: 4; Alves 2017: 150; Pachêco 2001: 52)

	Bakairi 'to go up'	Arara 'to dance'	Ikpeng 'to run'
1	k-əku-	k-origu-	k-aranme-
2	m-əku-	m-origu-	m-aranme-
1+2	kɨd-əku-	kud-origu-	kw-aranme-
3	n-əku-	Ø-origu	\varnothing -aranme-

Table 3: Verbs preserving ${}_{1}S_{A}$ *w- in Proto-Pekodian (Alves 2017: 153, 200; von den Steinen 1892: 76, 130, 131, 137, 374, 397; Pachêco 2001: 42, 80, 139, 209, 1997: 68; Meira 2003a: 4; p.c., Angela Fabíola Alves Chagas)

	Proto-Pekodian	Arara	Ikpeng	Bakairi
'be-1'	*w-ар-	w-ap-	_	<i>w-a-</i>
'be-2'	*w-effi-	w-itJi-	Ø-etJi-	w-i-
'say'	*w i - ge -	wɨ-ge-	i-ge−	u-ge-
ʻgoʻ	*w-ɨtən-	w-ɨdo-	k-aran-	u-tə-
'come'	*w-ер і -	w-ebi-	k-arep-	k-əewi-
ʻgo down'	*w-ɨptə-	w-iptoŋ-	?-iptoŋ-	k-ɨtəgɨ-
'bathe'	*w-ipɨ-	w-ibi-	Ø-ip-	w-i-

Table 4: Regular 'to fall' (S_A) and 'to sleep' (S_P) in Proto-Waiwaian (Derbyshire 1985: 189, 190, 196; W. N. Hawkins & R. E. Hawkins 1953: 209, 211; Howard 2001: 150; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 30)

	Proto-Waiwa	ian	Hixkaryána	ļ	Waiwai	
	'to fall'	'to sleep'	'to fall'	'to sleep'	'to fall'	'to sleep'
1	*k-eфurka-	*kɨ-wɨnɨkɨ-	k-ehurka-	kɨ-nɨkɨ-	k-eфirka-	kɨ-wɨnɨkɨ-
2	*m-ефиrka-	*o-wɨnɨkɨ-	m-ehurka-	o-wnŧkŧ-	m-eфɨrka-	mɨ-wɨnɨkɨ-
1+2	*t-eфurka-	*tɨt-wɨnɨkɨ-	t-ehurka-	tɨ-nɨkɨ-	tʃ-ефɨrka-	tɨt-wɨnɨkɨ-
3	*n-eфurka-	*nɨ-wɨnɨkɨ-	n-ehurka-	nɨ-nɨkɨ-	n-eфɨrka-	nɨ-wɨnɨkɨ-

Table 5: Verbs preserving ${}_{1}S_{A}$ *w- in Proto-Waiwaian (Derbyshire 1985: 70, 197, 198, 1979: 4; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 71, 85; p.c., Spike Gildea)

	Proto-Waiwaian	Hixkaryána	Waiwai
'be-1'	*w-ah-	w-ah-	w-a-
'be-2'	*w-eſi-	w-ese-	w-eesi-
'say'	*wɨ-ka-	ŧ-ka-	wɨ-ka-
ʻgoʻ	*wi-tom-	i-to-	kɨw-tom-

Table 6: Regular Proto-Tiriyoan S_A verbs (Gildea 1994: 87; Meira 1999: 292, 294)

	'to bathe (INTR)	,		'to sleep'		
	Proto-Tiriyoan	Tiriyó	Akuriyó	Proto-Tiriyoan	Tiriyó	Akuriyó
1	*tʃ-epɨ-	s-epɨ-	tJ-epɨ-	*t-əənɨkɨ-	t-əənɨkɨ-	k-əənɨkɨ-
2	*m-ep i -	m-epɨ-	m-epɨ-	*m-əənɨkɨ-	m-əənɨkɨ-	m-əənɨkɨ-
1+2	*ke-epi-	ke-epi-	ke-ep i -	*kɨt-əənɨkɨ-	kɨt-əənɨkɨ-	kə?-əənɨkɨ-
3	* n-ep i -	n-epɨ-	n-epɨ-	*n-əənɨkɨ-	n-əənɨkɨ-	n-əənɨkɨ-

Table 7: Verbs preserving 1 S_A *w- in Proto-Tiriyoan (Meira 1998: 112, 113, 114, 115, 165, 1999: 292, 294, 339)

	Proto-Tiriyoan	Tiriyó	Akuriyó
'be-1'	*w-a-	w-a-	Ø-a-
'be-2'	*w-e?i-	w-ei-	?-e?i-
'say'	*wɨ-ka-	wɨ-ka-	wɨ-ka-
ʻgoʻ	*wɨ-təmɨ-	wɨ-tən-	ə-təm i -
'come'	*w-ә?ер і -	w-əep i -	Ø-eepi-

Table 8: Regular Akuriyó 1S_A markers (Gildea 1994: 77, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87)

first person k-	first person <i>ff</i> -
aempa- 'to learn' aaffena- 'to cry' aiwa- 'to tremble' amami- 'to enter'	epi- 'to bathe (INTR)' ekirika- 'to stay back' entapo- 'to yawn' etonema- 'to lie down'
atajiŋka- 'to run' aturu- 'to talk' aəniki- 'to sleep'	ewai- 'to sit down' ehpa- 'to bathe (INTR)'

Table 9: Regular Carijona verbs (Meira 1998: 106; Robayo Moreno 2000: 173)

	'to arrive'	'to dance'
1	ji-tuda-	j-eharaga-
2	mɨ-tuda-	m-eharaga-
1+2	kɨsi-tuda-	kɨs-eharaga-
3	ni-tuda-	n-eharaga-

Table 10: Regular Yukpa verbs (Largo 2011: 72, 76; Meira 2006: 139)

_	'to wash self'	'to fall'	'to sleep'
1	j-otum-	j-ata-	jɨ-nɨ-
2	m-otum-	m-ata-	mɨ-nɨ-
3	n-otum-	n-ata-	$n\dot{\imath}$ - $n\dot{\imath}$ -

Table 11: Loss of *w in Ikpeng (de Souza 1993: 44, 70; Alves Chagas 2013: 118; Alves 2017: 143; Pachêco 2001: 21, 164; de Souza 2010: 9; Campetela 1997: 40)

Meaning	Arara	Ikpeng
'to defecate'	watke	atke
'DAT'	wɨna	ŧпа
'dog'	wokori	akari
'capuchin monkey'	tawe	tae
'to sleep'	wɨnkɨ	ŧnkŧ

Table 12: Reflexes of *ipita 'to go down' (Meira 2003b; Derbyshire 1979: 196; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 55; Guerrero Beltrán 2019: 118; Camargo & Tapinkili 2010: 44; Camargo 2002: 99; Courtz 2008: 263; Cáceres 2011: 450; Stegeman & Hunter 2014: 139; Álvarez 2008: 139; Abbott 1991: 34; M.-C. Mattéi-Müller 1994: 88; Méndez-Arocha 1959: 68; Bruno 1996: 58; Gildea 1994: 84; Alves 2017: 153; von den Steinen 1892: 137; Meira 1998: 116; p.c., Angela Fabíola Alves Chagas, Spike Gildea)

Language	Form	Class												
Proto-Parukotoan	*ɨφɨto	S _P					i	ф	i	t	0			
Werikyana	ŧhŧto	S_{P}					i	h	i	t	o			
Hixkaryána	hto	?						h		t	o			
Waiwai	hto	_						h		t	o			
Proto-Pekodian	*ɨptə	S_A					i	p		t	Э			
Arara	iptoŋ	S_A					i	p		t	o	-	ŋ	
Ikpeng	iptoŋ	?					i	p		t	o	-	ŋ	
Bakairi	i təg i	S_A					i			t	Э	-	g	i
Proto-Taranoan	*ɨhtə	S_A					i	h		t	Э			
Tiriyó	ŧhtə	S_A					i	h		t	Э			
Akuriyó	ŧhtə	S_A					i	h		t	Э			
Carijona	ehɨtə	_					e	h	i	t	Э			
Wayana	ŧрtә	S_A / S_P					i	p		t	Э			
Apalaí	ihto	S_{P}					i	h		t	o			
Kari'ña	on i ?to	(S_A)	o	-	n	-	i	?		t	o			
Ye'kwana	ə?tə	S_{P}					ә	?		t	Э			
Kapón	(uʔtə)	_												
Pemón	(uʔtə)	_												
Macushi	(auti)	_												
Panare	əhtə	S_A					Э	h		t	Э			
Yawarana	əhtə	_					ә	h		t	Э			
Yukpa	(ewuhtu)	_												
Waimiri-Atroari	iti	_					i			t	i			

Table 13: Reflexes of *(at-)japi 'to come' (Abbott 1991: 32; Álvarez 2000: 102; Caesar-Fox 2003: 125; Cruz 2005: 299, 415; Cáceres 2011: 438; Robayo Moreno 2000: 178; Meira 1998: 168; M. C. Mattéi-Müller 1975: 74; Meira 1999: 294; Alves 2017: 150; E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 37; Pachêco 2001: 265; Stegeman & Hunter 2014: 160; Meira 2003a: 4; T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 65; Méndez-Arocha 1959: 68; Courtz 2008: 429; Meira & Franchetto 2005: 182; p.c., Spike Gildea)

Language	Form							
Werikyana	oohi					00	h	i
Werikyana	joh i				j	O	h	į
Werikyana	eh i					e	h	i
Arara	odeb i	o	d	-		e	b	i
Arara	ebi					e	b	į
Ikpeng	arep	a	r	-		e	p	
Bakairi	әеші	ə		-		e	w	i
Tiriyó	әері	ə		-		e	p	i
Tiriyó	epi					e	p	i
Akuriyó	eepi					ee	p	i
Carijona	ehi					e	h	į
Apalaí	oep i	o		-		e	p	i
Kari'ña	opi					O	p	i
Ye'kwana	ehə					e	h	Э
Akawaio	əsip i	ə	s	-		i	p	i
Akawaio	jepɨ				j	e	p	i
Ingarikó	jə				j	Э		
Ingarikó	јерә				j	e	p	Э
Patamona	jepɨ				j	e	p	i
Patamona	jəpɨ				j j	Э	p	į
Pemón	jepɨ				j	e	p	į
Panare	әр і					Э	p	į
Yawarana	әр і					Э	p	i
Mapoyo	epi					e	p	i
Upper Xingu Carib	ee					ee		

Table 14: Reflexes of **ita*[*ma*] 'to go' (Cruz 2005: 291; Meira 1999: 292; Tavares 2005: 195; Gildea 1994: 87; Alves 2017: 153; Derbyshire 1985: 27, 248; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 45, 62; Pachêco 2001: 54, 80; von den Steinen 1892: 112, 374; Cáceres 2011: 181, 216; Meira 1998: 112; Hoff 1968: 168; Meira 2006: 139; Cáceres & Gildea 2018: 4; M. C. Mattéi-Müller 1975: 74; M.-C. Mattéi-Müller 1994: 198; Abbott 1991: 48, 50; García Ferrer 2006: 172; Franchetto 2002: 6; Camargo 2002: 99; p.c., Spike Gildea)

Language	Form					
Werikyana	to[mo]		t	0	m	0
Hixkaryána	[i]to	i	t	o		
Waiwai	[e]to[m]	e	t	o	m	
Arara	ŧdo	i	d	o		
Ikpeng	aran	a	r	a	n	
Ikpeng	ero	e	r	o		
Bakairi	[i]tə	i	t	ə		
Tiriyó	$t \partial [n]$		t	ə	n	
Akuriyó	$[\partial]t\partial[mi]$	Э	t	Э	m	i
Carijona	təmə		t	Э	m	Э
Wayana	$[i]t\partial[m]$	i	t	Э	m	
Apalaí	ito	i	t	O		
Kari'ña	to		t	O		
Kari'ña	[i]?	i	?			
Ye'kwana	ita[ma]	i	t	Э	m	Э
Ingarikó	ətə	Э	t	Э		
Pemón	[e]tə	e	t	Э		
Macushi	[a]ti	a	t	i		
Panare	$t \partial [n]$		t	Э	n	
Yawarana	tə		t	ə		
Mapoyo	tə		t	ə		
Upper Xingu Carib	[e]te	e	t	e		
Yukpa	to		t	0		

Table 15: Reflexes of *ka[ti] 'to say' (Meira 2003a: 4; Franchetto 2008: 48; Pachêco 2001: 209; Alves 2017: 153; Derbyshire 1985: 182; Meira 1998: 113; E. Koehn & S. Koehn 1986: 107; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 26; Camargo & Tapinkili 2010: 66; Abbott 1991: 59; Swiggers 2010: 123; Courtz 2008: 430; Caesar-Fox 2003: 125; M.-C. Mattéi-Müller 1994: 102; Largo 2011: 63; p.c., Spike Gildea)

Language	Form				
Werikyana	ka[s]	k	a	s	
Hixkaryána	ka[h]	k	a	h	
Waiwai	ka[s]	k	a	s	
Arara	ke	k	e		
Ikpeng	ke	k	e		
Bakairi	ke	k	e		
Tiriyó	ka	k	a		
Akuriyó	ka	k	a		
Carijona	ka	k	a		
Wayana	ka[i]	k	a		i
Apalaí	ka[fi]	k	a	ſ	i
Kari'ña	ka	k	a		
Kapón	ka	k	a		
Pemón	ka	k	a		
Macushi	ka	k	a		
Panare	ka[h]	k	a	h	
Upper Xingu Carib	ki	k	i		
Yukpa	ka	k	a		

Table 16: Comparison of intransitive and transitive 'to bathe' (Derbyshire 1979: 198; R. E. Hawkins 1998: 192, 203; Alves 2017: 150, 162; Pachêco 1997: 103; Campetela 1997: 123; Meira 2003a: 4meira2005bakairi, 1999: 697; Gildea 1994: 87; Camargo & Tapinkili 2010: 24, 52meira2000split; Courtz 2008: 304; Cáceres 2011: 439, 454; Stegeman & Hunter 2014: 37pemondearmellada1944dic; M.-C. Mattéi-Müller 1994: 8, 294; p.c., Spike Gildea)

(a) Reflexes of *e-pi 'to bathe (INTR)'

Language	Form						
Werikyana	eeh i			ee	-	h	i
Hixkaryána	eweh i	e	w	e	-	h	i
Waiwai	ејефи	e	j	e	-	ф	u
Arara	ib i			i	-	b	i
Ikpeng	iр			i	-	p	
Bakairi	i			i			
Tiriyó	ep i			e	-	p	i
Akuriyó	ep i			e	-	p	i
Wayana	ep i			e	-	p	i
Apalaí	ep i			e	-	p	i

(b) Reflexes of *e-kupi 'to bathe (INTR)'

Language	Form							
Kari'ña	ekupi	e	-	k	u		p	i
Ye'kwana	e?hi	e	-	?			h	i
Kapón	еки?рі	e	-	k	u	?	p	i
Pemón	ekup i	e	-	k	u		p	i

(c) Reflexes of *ə-kupi 'to bathe (INTR)'

Language	Form						
Panare	akup i	a	-	k	u	p	i

(d) Reflexes of *(i)pi 'to bathe (TR)'

Language	Forn	n		
Werikyana	ŧhŧ	i	h	i
Hixkaryána	ŧhŧ	i	h	i
Waiwai	pi		p	i
Arara	ŧр	i	p	
Ikpeng	ŧр	i	p	
Bakairi	į			i
Tiriyó	pi		p	i
Akuriyó	$p_{\dot{t}}$		p	i
Wayana	ирŧ	u	p	i
Apalaí	pi		p	i
Ye'kwana	ŧhŧ	i	h	i
Pemón	pi		p	i
Panare	ŧрŧ	i	p	i

(e) Reflexes of *kupi 'to bathe (TR)'

Language	Form					
Kari'ña	kupi	k	u		р	i
Kapón	ки?рі	k	u	?	p	i
Panare	kup i	k	u		p	i

Table 17: Overview of extensions and (un-)affected verbs

	*ka[ti] 'say'	*itə[mə] 'go'	*a[p] 'be-1'	* <i>eti</i> 'be-2'	*(ət-)jəpɨ 'come'	* <i>ipitə</i> 'go down'	*e-pɨ 'bathe'
Proto-Waiwaian *k-	×	×	×	×	_	N/A	\checkmark
Hixkaryána	×	×	×	×	_	N/A	\checkmark
Waiwai	×	(\checkmark)	×	×	_	N/A	\checkmark
Proto-Pekodian *k-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Arara	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Ikpeng	×	\checkmark	_	×	\checkmark	?	×
Bakairi	×	×	×	×	\checkmark	\checkmark	×
Proto-Tiriyoan * <i>t</i> -	×	×	×	×	×	N/A	\checkmark
Tiriyó	×	×	×	×	×	N/A	\checkmark
Akuriyó	×	×	×	?	×	N/A	\checkmark
Akuriyó <i>k</i> -	×	×	×	?	×	×	×
Carijona <i>j</i> -	×	×	×	\checkmark	\checkmark	N/A	?
Yukpa <i>j</i> -	?	×	\checkmark	\checkmark	_	N/A	_

 \checkmark affected; × not affected; ? unknown first person prefix; − does not occur; (\checkmark) old and new marker combined; N/A not meaningfully answerable

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