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Inflectional Morphology in the Zamucoan Languages

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This study is dedicated to my beloved grandparents, who left this world while I was writing the present dissertation.

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INTERJ	interjection
ACC	accusative	IRLS	irrealis
ADP	adposition	(M/F), [M/F]	epicene
BF	base-form	LOC	locative
COMP	complementizer	M	masculine
CONJ	conjunctive coordinator	MOD	modal
COP	copula	MP	masculine plural
DAT	dative	MS	masculine singular
DET	determiner	NEG	negative
DIM	diminutive	NFUT	near future
DISJ	disjunctive coordinator	NOM	nominative
DM	discourse marker	NP	noun phrase
DUR	durative	NPS	non-possessable
ELAT	elative	P	plural
EMPH	emphatic	PCL	possessive classifier
EPENT	epenthesis	PE	plural exclusive
EPST	epistemicity	PI	plural inclusive
EVID	evidential	POL	polarity
EXIST	existential	PREP	preposition
F	feminine	PRES	present
FF	full-form	PST	past
FFP	full-form present	QUOT	quotative
FFI	full-form imperfect	RFL	reflexive
FP	feminine plural	RFUT	remote future
FS	feminine singular	RLS	realis
FUT	future	S	singular
GEN	genitive	SN	syntactically non-possessable
GF	generic form	SP	syntactically possessable
GP	greater plural	SUB	subordinator
GPI	greater plural inclusive	TRANS	transitive
IF	indeterminate-form	INTRANS	intransitive
IGNOR	ignorative	VA	valency
IMP	imperative	VOC	vocative
IND	indicative	VOL	volitional
INT	interrogative		
AY, Ay.	Ayoreo	CH, Ch.	Chamacoco
A.Z	Ancient Zamuco		

Examples:

1S-person = first person singular
 2S-prefix = first person singular prefix
 MS-FF = masculine singular full-form

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FIRST PART: INTRODUCTION

§1. The Zamucoan family

According to the traditional classification, the Zamucoan family consists of two living languages, Ayoreo and Chamacoco, spoken in the Chaco-Boreal area, in South-East Bolivia and Northern Paraguay. The family also includes an extinct language, Ancient Zamuco, spoken during the 18th century in the Jesuit reduction of San Ignacio de Samucos. Ancient Zamuco is closer to Ayoreo than to Chamacoco, but Ayoreo does not seem to stem directly from Ancient Zamuco. The previous tradition, based solely on lexical comparison and ethnographic criteria, has always supported the theory that Ayoreo and Chamacoco belong to the same linguistic family.



Figure 1.1

This work aims at describing the inflectional morphology of the Zamucoan languages in order to demonstrate their genetic relationship. The Zamucoan languages are poorly described, although a series of scientifically oriented studies have appeared very recently as part of a project at Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, which began in 2007 and aims at providing an accurate

synchronic and diachronic description of the Zamucoan languages and investigating the language contact with the surrounding languages (see, among others, Bertinetto 2009; Bertinetto & Ciucci 2012; Bertinetto, Ciucci & Pia 2010; Ciucci 2007/08; Ciucci 2009; Ciucci 2010a; Ciucci 2010b). The need for a scientific description of Ayoreo and Chamacoco is motivated by the fact that both languages are considered endangered by UNESCO (see Crevels & Adelaar 2000/06). For this reason, I hope that the present investigation could contribute to preserve the languages and the cultural memory of Chamacoco and Ayoreo speakers and to raise awareness about the history of their respective languages.

§1.1 The structure of this study

The present study aims at describing the inflectional morphology of Ancient Zamuco, Ayoreo and Chamacoco. The inflectional morphology of the Zamucoan languages can be divided into:

- (i) Verb morphology (§4, §5, §6, §7, §8)
- (ii) Possessive inflection (§9, §10, §11)
- (iii) Nominal suffixation (§12, §13, §14).

The present chapter (§1) introduces the Zamucoan family (§1.2-1.7), the previous studies (§1.8) and the sources of data used in this investigation (§1.9). Chapter §2 illustrates the phonology of each language and the orthographic conventions used in this work. Chapter §3 gives an overview of free pronouns in the Zamucoan languages. The verb inflection of the Zamucoan languages is discussed in the second part (§4-§8), while the possessive inflection and the nominal inflection of the Zamucoan languages are described in the third part (§9-§11) and the fourth part (§12-§14), respectively. Further data are provided in the appendices. In each part, after the description, the inflectional mechanisms are compared in order to demonstrate the genetic relationship between the Zamucoan languages.

§1.2 Ayoreo

Ayoreo is spoken by about 4500 people according to Fabre (2007a) and Combès (2009).¹ The Ayoreo traditionally lived a nomadic life moving in the Northern Chaco area, in today's Santa Cruz Department (Bolivia), in the Alto Paraguay Department (Paraguay) and the Boquerón Department (Paraguay).² Although some uncontacted Ayoreo groups still live their traditional nomadic life in the Paraguayan Chaco, the vast majority of the Ayoreo have abandoned their nomadic life and live in rural communities built around missions established in their traditional territory. The city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia) hosts a big Ayoreo community.³

Their endonym *Ayorei* /ajorej/ (MS.FF) means 'real person'. This term is often used in opposition to *cojñoi* /koɲoj/ (MS.FF),⁴ used as a derogatory term to indicate the outsiders. *Ayoreo* /ajoreo/ is morphologically a MP base-form.⁵ There are many other names traditionally used to refer to these people and their language: *Moro*, *Morotoco*, *Samococio*, *Takrat*, *Coroïno*, *Potureros*, *Guarañoca*, *Yanaigua*, *Tsirákua*, *Pyeta Yovai*, etc.⁶

§1.3 Chamacoco

Chamacoco is spoken by about 1600 people according to Fabre (2007a) and 1800 people according to ETHNOLOGUE. Chamacoco is an exonym whose etymology is uncertain. It is also used by the Chamacoco themselves when they speak Spanish.⁷ Their endonym is *Ishiro* /içiro/ (often reduced to *Ishir* /içir/), MP of *Ishirc* /içirtç/ (MS.FF) 'person', and the name of their language is *Ishir(o) ahwoso* /içiro aɰoso/ (lit. 'the words of the *Ishiro* people'). The Chamacoco

¹ The Ayoreo speakers are only 3070 according to ETHNOLOGUE.

² For more details, see Fabre (2007a). I am grateful to Alain Fabre and Harald Hammarström, for providing me with some rare publications on the Zamucoan languages.

³ About the Ayoreo settlement in Santa Cruz, see Roca Ortiz (2008).

⁴ Its A.Z cognate, *coyoc* /kojok/ (MS.BF), means 'enemy', cf. AY *cojñoc* /koɲok/ (MS.BF).

⁵ The MP-FF is *cojñone* /koɲone/.

⁶ See Combès (2009), ETHNOLOGUE and Fabre (2007a).

⁷ About the first attestations of the term Chamacoco and the other names referring to these people, see Fabre (2007a). According to Boggiani, *Chamacoco* derives from *Zamuco* (Boggiani 1894: 17).

mainly live in the Alto Paraguay Department (Paraguay) on the west bank of the River Paraguay, but there are Chamacoco living in the suburbs of Asunción and in Brazil.⁸ The Chamacoco are divided into two groups, each with its own dialect: Ebitoso (or Ibitoso) and Tomarãho. The same division was reported by Boggiani (1894: 21-22) at the turn of the 19th century. According to Boggiani, there were two groups, living in a state of continuous warfare against each other: *Chamacoco Mansos* and *Chamacoco Bravos* (1894: 21-22), probably corresponding to the nowadays Ibitoso and Tomarãho respectively. The vast majority of the Chamacoco are Ibitoso, while the Tomarãho only consist of 103 people according to Fabre (2007a). The data reported in this work refer to the *Ibitoso* dialect, spoken by the vast majority of the Chamacoco. The term *Ebitoso* is used in literature, but it is just the Spanish adaptation of the Chamacoco word *Ibitoso*,⁹ the proper endonym of this people. It is a compound formed by *ibita* ‘at corner of; at the bottom of’ (FS.FF) and *oso* (MP) ‘people’, thus meaning ‘the people who live at the corner’. According to the informants, it refers to the geographical location of their communities.¹⁰ The Ibitoso refer to their language as *Ibitoso òr ahwoso* or *Ibitos(o) ahwoso* (lit. ‘the words of the *Ibitoso*’) in order to distinguish it from the Tomarãho dialect. Note that, according to some speakers, the Chamacoco term *Ishiro* (MP), theoretically may also refer to other indigenous people, although it is generally used as an endonym by the Chamacoco, especially in opposition to *Maro* ‘Paraguayan people’ (MP).

§1.4 History and first contacts

Although the first ethnonyms which could refer to Zamucoan populations date back to the 16th century,¹¹ the first stable contact with Zamucoan people was established by Jesuit missionaries from the Missions of the Chiquitos. In 1724 they founded the reduction of *San Ignacio de Samucos* in order to evangelize the Zamucoan tribes. Due to intertribal conflicts, the reduction was

⁸ For more information about the Chamacoco communities, see Fabre (2007a).

⁹ Another correct transcription of this word is *Ybytosso*, using the Guaraní grapheme <y> to indicate /i/.

¹⁰ The name *Ibitéssa*, referring to a group of Chamacoco people, is reported in Boggiani (1894:20).

¹¹ About the ethnonyms which were probably used for Zamucoan people, see the accurate investigation by Combès (2010).

abandoned in 1745 and today nothing remains, so that its exact location is unknown. When *San Ignacio de Samucos* was abandoned, some groups returned to their previous way of life in the Northern Chaco, while other groups went to live in other Jesuit missions, gradually losing their language and their cultural identity.¹² Traces of the cultural influence exerted by the Jesuits are still to be found in the Ayoreo (Fischermann 1996), but not in the Chamacoco culture. This suggests that the Chamacoco have probably never been contacted by the Jesuits (Combès 2009). During this period, the presumed dominant language among Zamucoan people at that time, Ancient Zamuco, was studied and described by Jesuit missionaries, especially by the Jesuit father Ignace Chomé, who wrote a remarkable *Arte de la lengua zamuca* (Chomé 1958 [ante 1745]), only published in 1958 by Lussagnet. The data in Chomé's grammar represent almost all nowadays available documentation on Ancient Zamuco.¹³

The ethnonym *Xamicocos* is reported for the first time in 1795 (Baldus 1927: 18). The Chamacoco had already been contacted when the Italian explorer, photographer and painter Guido Boggiani described the Chamacoco culture for the first time and began to analyse the language (Boggiani 1894) with the intention to continue his linguistic studies (Boggiani 1894: 80). His death during an expedition in 1902 made all of this impossible.

Almost two hundred years after the short period in the San Ignacio de Samuco, the Ayoreo were contacted by Evangelical missionaries from the USA at the end of the Forties and began to abandon their traditional way of live. However, the Ayoreo's level of integration in the Bolivian and Paraguayan society is still low.

§1.5 Genetic classification

As one can see in the Swadesh list in Appendix A, Ayoreo and Chamacoco have a low lexical similarity. According to a calculation by Pier Marco Bertinetto and the present author, Ayoreo and Chamacoco share about 30% of

¹² For a detailed account on the history of Zamucoan people, see Combès (2009).

¹³ Two short texts and some words are reported in Hervás y Panduro's linguistic works (see Hervás y Panduro 1784: 31-32; 1786: 91; 1787a: 163-223; 1787b: 101-102, 229-230) and in his correspondence (see Clark 1937). Unless otherwise indicated, all data used for Ancient Zamuco in the course of this investigation come from Chomé's grammar.

their lexicon and this is confirmed by an independent calculation by Matthew and Rosemary Ulrich (personal communication). As will be shown in the course of this study, despite a low lexical similarity, Ayoreo and Chamacoco have noteworthy morphological similarities which will be discussed in the present work.

Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo, insofar there are data available, are very close to each other and share most of their lexicon. Although Ancient Zamuco is very similar in some respects to Ayoreo, Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco share some characteristics not to be observed in Ayoreo, such as the distinction between realis vs. irrealis in the 3-person (see §7.1) and the preservation of the original singular full-form suffixes (see §14.1). The morphological comparison confirms that Ayoreo, Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco derive from a common ancestor, Zamuco or Proto-Zamuco.¹⁴ It is difficult to establish whether Ayoreo derives from Ancient Zamuco, as suggested by Kelm (1964), or from a cognate language spoken by other Zamucoan people who were contacted by the Jesuits. This second hypothesis should be preferred. Hervás y Panduro (1784: 31-32) names several dialects spoken by Zamucoan population, such as *caipotorade*, *morotoco* and *ugaroño*. Note, however, that even among Hervás y Panduro's informants there is no consensus about the number of dialects spoken by Zamucoan tribes (Hervás y Panduro 1784: 31-31). There is no documentation for these dialects, with the exceptions of some words collected by d'Orbigny (see Lussagnet 1961, 1962) in 1831.¹⁵

The term *Zamuco* is reported for the first time in a document referring to the year 1717-1718 (Combès 2009: 13) and could be connected with the term *Samacocis*, attested in the 16th century (Fabre 2007a), but it is not sure that the people referred to as *Samacocis* spoke a Zamucoan language.¹⁶ *Zamuco* probably derives from the Chiquitano word for dog; cf. the Chiquitano *tamokos* 'dog', attested in the 18th century (Adams & Henry 1880: 120) and the modern

¹⁴ This investigation provides the morphological basis for a possible reconstruction of Proto-Zamuco, but it will not be reconstructed in the present study. For the first attempt to reconstruct some aspects of Proto-Zamuco, see (Bertinetto 2011).

¹⁵ It is also possible that Ayoreo derives from the fusion of some dialects spoken in the reduction, but it is impossible to verify this hypothesis due to the scarcity of data on the dialects spoken by Zamucoan people.

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion of this word, see Combès (2010: 271-278).

Chiquitano term *tamacorr* /tamakof/ ‘dog’ (Galeote Tormo 1993: 355).¹⁷

Although the Zamucoan languages present loans and areal features shared with the surrounding languages (such as the para-hypotaxis, see Bertinetto & Ciucci 2012), no linguistic family or single language which could have genetic relationships with the Zamucoan family has been identified. According to a glottochronological investigation on lexical similarity among more than 4000 of the world’s languages (Müller *et al.* 2010), the Zamucoan languages separated from the other South-American families in a very remote period, so that they are completely isolated from the other South-American languages. The investigation by Müller *et al.* (2010) is based on a list of 40 words referring to the core vocabulary items. The data for Ayoreo were provided by Pier Marco Bertinetto, while the data for Chamacoco were provided by the present author. According to Holman *et al.* (2011: 35), based on the database of Müller *et al.* (2010), Ayoreo and Chamacoco split 2765 years BP.

The long isolation of the Zamucoan populations seems to be confirmed by biologists who analysed the DNA of South-American populations. According to Demarchi & García Ministro (2008), the Gran Chaco population investigated can be considered genetically homogeneous, but the Ayoreo constitute “a population with unique genetic and morphological patterns, being an outlier not only in relation to the rest of the Gran Chaco populations, but also to any other native group of South America” (Demarchi & García Ministro 2008: 131).¹⁸ However, this last study does not consider the Chamacoco. A study by Rickards *et al.* (1994) on red cell antigens of Native-American populations confirms the genetic proximity between Ayoreo and Chamacoco, but shows that these populations are genetically rather distant from the other Native-American populations analysed.

§1.6 Common characteristics of the Zamucoan languages

This section briefly introduces some common linguistic features of the Zamucoan family. The Zamucoan languages are characterized by vowel harmony, to be found in particular in suffixation. Vowel nasality is

¹⁷ About the etymology of *Zamuco*, see Combès (2009: 13-15).

¹⁸ For other genetic studies on Ayoreo, see Salzano *et al.* (1978) and Dornelles *et al.* (2004).

phonologically distinctive. The basic word-order is SVO, but SVO languages have genitive-noun order, which in the Zamucoan languages is associated with the presence of nominal elements working as locative postpositions. This suggests that the prototypical constituent order has probably changed. In the Zamucoan languages there are also prepositions. Prepositions and postpositions may form adpositional locutions.

The Zamucoan languages are fusional languages surrounded by highly agglutinating languages. Traces of agglutination in the Zamucoan languages seem to suggest that the Zamucoan family has been characterized by agglutinating morphology in the past (Bertinetto 2009: 6). Inflectional morphology can be divided into three areas, which will be discussed in the following chapters: (i) Verb morphology, expressing person, number and mood (see chapters §4, §5, §6, §7 and §8); (ii) Noun prefixation, which expresses the possessor of the noun (see chapters §9, §10, §11); (iii) Nominal prefixation, expressing the gender, the number and the form of nouns and adjectives (see chapters §12, §13 and §14). The morphological comparison (see chapters §7, §11 and §14) confirms the genetic relationship between the Zamucoan languages.

The verb systems of the Zamucoan languages lack temporal and aspectual inflection but may present a realis vs. irrealis distinction. In the terminology used by Bhat (1999) all Zamucoan languages are mood-prominent languages.¹⁹ Temporal reference is expressed by adverbial elements. An areal characteristic shared by the Zamucoan family is the existence of an inflection for possessable nouns (see Fabre 2007b).

In the Zamucoan languages there is no morphological difference between the suffixation of adjectives and nouns (both will be referred to as ‘nominals’). In all Zamucoan languages nominals inflect for number (singular and plural), gender (masculine and feminine) and form. The “form” is a peculiar feature of the Zamucoan languages, which distinguish between “base-form”, “full-form” and “indeterminate-form”.²⁰ The base-form is so-called because it very often coincides with the root and, in Ayoreo “is the starting point for any inflectional

¹⁹ About mood-prominence in Ayoreo, see Bertinetto (2009: 50). About Chamacoco, see Ciucci (2010c) and Ciucci (2012).

²⁰ This terminology has been introduced by Bertinetto (2009) for Ayoreo and will be used for the whole linguistic family in this work. Moraire (1980) and Higham *et al.* (2000) use a different terminology.

or derivational operation” (Bertinetto 2009: 17). It is often used as the predicative form of nominals in opposition to the full-form. The indeterminate-form is generally used for a non-specific referent. The exact use of each form depends on the single language and will be discussed in chapters (§12, §13 and §14).

Both Ayoreo and Chamacoco are characterized by the presence of para-hypotactical structures (Bertinetto & Ciucci 2012). Para-hypotaxis “seems to be an areal feature fairly wide-spread in the Chaco region” (Bertinetto & Ciucci 2012: 107).

§1.7 Sociolinguistic situation

Both Ayoreo and Chamacoco are endangered languages. Theoretically all Ayoreo are fluent in their language. Bilingualism is increasing, especially among men, but the language shows so far little Spanish influence, although some aspects of their cultural identity are gradually disappearing. There is a valuable translation of the New Testament in Ayoreo, NTM (1982). Some textbooks for the Ayoreo schools are available: Barrios *et al.* (1992), Briggs & Moraire (1973), Bogado (2001), Bogado & Barrios (1999), GUIA (2003), Zanardini (1994). There are also bilingual collections of texts: Amarilla-Stanley (2001), QQCB (1972), Riester & Zolezzi (1985), Zanardini & Amarilla (2007). In particular, QQCB (1972) has been a useful source of examples for this work. Other Ayoreo texts are: Chiqueno *et al.* (2000), Etacore *et al.* (2000), Picanerai *et al.* (2001), Szabó & Stierlin (2005), Wilke (1995).

According to Fabre (2007a), most Chamacoco speak their language at home. Many elements of their traditional culture have disappeared and are poorly understood by middle-aged people. The Chamacoco were contacted long before than the Ayoreo and are somewhat more integrated in the Paraguayan society. This also has an impact on currently spoken Chamacoco, in which a process of Hispanization has already begun:²¹ many words of the traditional lexicon can alternate with Spanish loans (which are more frequently used) and some syntactic structures have severely been contaminated by Spanish, so that,

²¹ At least in the in the Ibitoso dialect, which is referred to in this investigation. The Tomarãho have been contacted far more recently and for this reason their dialect is probably more conservative.

although the language will probably not disappear with the next generation of speakers, its degree of Hispanization will increase and many traditional grammatical and lexical elements will disappear. Moreover, the Chamacoco are exposed to Guaraní, the second national language of Paraguay, and to Portuguese, because they live at the boundary with Brazil, so that not infrequently they have an active competence of Guaraní and/or of Portuguese.

Chamacoco has a transcription system established by Matthew and Rosemary Ulrich and the indigenous community. It is based on Spanish and is known by most Chamacoco speakers and used in Chamacoco schools.²² The American missionaries Matthew and Rosemary Ulrich spent more than twelve years working with Chamacoco, mainly in order to translate the Bible. A valuable translation of the New Testament is now available in Chamacoco (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a), along with some parts of the Old Testament (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a, 1994b). During this period, they translated or edited most Chamacoco texts available, such as stories by indigenous authors (Roy 1990, 1991; Balbuena 1991a, 1991b, 1993; Balbuena & Perez 1993; Barbosa 1993; Gonzales *et al.* 1999), school texts (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990a, 1990b, 1994a, 1995, 1998a, 1999), texts on hygiene (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992b, 1992c, 1992d, 1996) and religious texts (Ulrich & Ulrich 1997, 1998b; Ulrich, Ulrich & Pierce 1994; Ulrich & Ulrich 1998b).²³ From a merely linguistic point of view, all these texts are generally correct and are the most accurate texts available for Chamacoco. To these texts one has to add some unpublished materials by Romero de Martínez *et al.* (n.d.), which proved to be of some utility, and by Sequera (n.d.).²⁴ Some internet resources on

²² There is another transcription system established by the Paraguayan anthropologist Guillermo Sequera and used in his works.

²³ I am grateful to Matthew and Rosemary Ulrich for providing me with a copy of many publications by various authors on the Chamacoco language and culture.

²⁴ All previous texts are written in Hbitoso dialect, which will be referred to in the course of this work. Some Tomarãho texts have been published in Sequera (2006) and in Sequera & Ñuhwýt Fretes (2011a; 2011b). As already mentioned, Guillermo Sequera has also collected many Hbitoso narratives. I am grateful to him for giving me part of these materials and I hope that these Hbitoso texts (*Relatos ybytosos*) may be published soon. To these texts one should add Ozuna Ortiz (2009). In this work there are interesting materials which absolutely deserve to be published. Unfortunately, from a linguistic point of view this work would need radical revision, because there are many grammatical mistakes and orthographic incoherences, so that in many places the Chamacoco text is hardly (or not) understandable even by the native speakers themselves. In many places it seems to be a bad transcription of spontaneous speech texts. By contrast, the other Hbitoso texts mentioned above

Zamucoan languages are available. There are interesting videos of Chamacoco and Ayoreo speakers available on Youtube <www.youtube.com> and on the Endangered Language Project <<http://www.endangeredlanguages.com>>.

Recordings of religious content are available in Ayoreo <<http://globalrecordings.net/en/langcode/ayo>> and in Chamacoco <<http://globalrecordings.net/en/langcode/ceg>>.

§1.8 Previous studies

This section mentions the most significant linguistic studies on the Zamucoan languages. Among the many anthropological studies available on Zamucoan populations, one has to mention: Fischermann (1988), Pia (2006), and Zanardini (2003) for Ayoreo and Cordeu (1989a,b; 1991a,b,c; 1992a,b; 2008), Escobar (2007), and Sušnik (1957b,c; 1969) for Chamacoco.²⁵ For a complete linguistic and anthropological bibliography on the Zamucoan populations see Fabre (2007a).

Ancient Zamuco has been described by the Jesuit Ignace Chomé (1958 [ante 1745]). Chomé's grammar has been published by Lussagnet, who also published a vocabulary with data from Chomé and from the unpublished notes by the French naturalist d'Orbingy (Lussagnet 1961; 1962). Data on Ancient Zamuco can also be found in the works of Hervás y Panduro (1784: 31-32; 1786: 91; 1787a: 163-223; 1787b: 101-102, 229-230).

Kelm (1964) is a very detailed grammatical and lexical comparison between Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo. It is a valuable work which can be used as initial reference. On the Zamucoan family see also Loukotka (1931).

For Ayoreo some grammars are available: Johnson (1955), COLEGIO (1971), Morarie (1980).²⁶ As Morarie (1980) says, her work is based on Johnson (1955), which she has simplified and updated. These grammars are useful and respond to the practical need of someone who has to learn the

are always understood by the native speakers.

²⁵ I am grateful to Edgardo Cordeu for providing me with many of his works. For a complete list of Cordeu's publications on the Chamacoco, see Fabre (2007b).

²⁶ It was not possible to obtain a copy of Johnson (1955) and SIM (1958, 1967).

language, but are not scientifically oriented grammars. There are also Ayoreo dictionaries available: Barrios *et al.* (1995), Higham *et al.* (2001), SIM (1958; 1967). Both Barrios *et al.* (1995) and Higham *et al.* (2001) are useful instruments. Barrios *et al.* (1995) is a valuable Spanish-Ayoreo and Ayoreo-Spanish. Higham *et al.* (2001) is an Ayoreo-English dictionary in three volumes. The third volume contains a shorter English-Ayoreo section and some appendices with morphological data. The Ayoreo-English section and the appendices are very rich in examples and in morphological information. For this reason, it is an indispensable reference and its data have been used for the present work. Other studies on Ayoreo are Briggs (1973) and Adelaar (2004) (probably inspired by Briggs 1973).

The first linguistic studies on Chamacoco are due to Boggiani, who wrote the *Dizionario dell'idioma Ciamacoco* (1894: 98-123).²⁷ The last studies by Boggiani were published posthumous by Loukotka (Boggiani 1929, Loukotka 1941). Other contributions on Chamacoco are: Baldus (1927, 1932), Belaieff (1936, 1937). These studies are marginally useful.

Branislava Sušnik is an important anthropologist who also published linguistic investigations on Chamacoco (Sušnik 1957a) and on Ayoreo (Sušnik 1963). She also published a Chamacoco lexicon (Sušnik 1970), a comparison between the Zamucoan languages (Sušnik 1972) and a general study on Chaco languages (Sušnik 1986/87), which includes the Zamucoan family. Sušnik's linguistic works are of very limited utility, because the terminology and the linguistic categories used are obscure and the phonetic transcription is idiosyncratic and possibly incoherent, so that the reader first has to understand the language independently²⁸ and then can try to reinterpret Sušnik's data, which are sometimes very interesting and especially in the case of Chamacoco show some archaic characteristics which are impossible or very hard to observe in the currently spoken language.

The American missionaries Matthew Ulrich and Rosemary Ulrich made interesting studies parallel to their Bible translation: Ulrich & Ulrich (1989a; 1989b; 1990c; 2000b). Ulrich & Ulrich (1989b) is a valuable description of Chamacoco phonology. They also began to write a Chamacoco grammar, but the project was abandoned, so that Ulrich & Ulrich (1990c) is little more than a

²⁷ On Boggiani and Boggiani's studies, see Contreras Roqué (2009) and Leigheb (1997).

²⁸ In this sense, see the short review to Sušnik (1963) by Bright (1964: 402).

collection of useful examples for a grammatical study. Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b) is a valuable dictionary of Chamacoco. It offers data which are usually reliable. Unfortunately nominal paradigms are not always complete and nominal lemmatization is not always coherent.

Sequera (2009) is a mere collection of Chamacoco verb paradigms. These data have been collected independently from Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b). The data are generally correct,²⁹ but I have only used this work for some sporadic comparisons, because most of these data were already available in Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b). A Chamacoco online dictionary has recently appeared (Harrison *et al.* 2012).³⁰

Some studies on the Zamucoan languages have recently appeared as part of a documentation project which started at Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa in 2007: Bertinetto (2009; 2010; 2011), Bertinetto & Ciucci (2012), Bertinetto, Ciucci & Pia (2010), Bertinetto, Ricci & Na (2010), Ciucci (2007/08a; 2007/08b; 2009; 2010a; 2010b). This documentation project aims at producing a fully-fledged grammar of Ayoreo and Chamacoco. In this sense, an anticipation is represented by Bertinetto (2009), which is a grammatical sketch of Ayoreo. Ciucci (2007/08a) and Ciucci (2009) are a description of Ayoreo and Chamacoco verb inflection, respectively. Ayoreo and Chamacoco possessive inflection was first described in Ciucci (2010a) and Ciucci (2010b). In the present work, the chapters on verb inflection and possessive inflection

²⁹ The data are generally correct, although the author presents eight tenses for each verb paradigm of a tenseless language, that is, he repeats the same verb paradigm eight times adding a different adverbial particle expressing temporal reference.

³⁰ The talking dictionary by Harrison *et al.* (2012) is a mere collection of recorded Chamacoco words (or short parts of sentences often regarded as single lexical items) which one can hear on the site. Surprisingly, the Chamacoco dictionary by Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b), easily available in ETHNOLOGUE (<<http://www.ethnologue.com>>), is not cited. As one can see in some examples from the presentation of the dictionary (<<http://www.livingtongues.org/hotspots/hotspot.SSA.chamacocoYshyr.html>>, last consulted on 13/8/2012), there are frequent mistakes in the phonetic transcriptions, which “are to be regarded as tentative” (Harrison, personal communication). Besides, the translations are often not very exact and there are no lemmatization criteria. These problems could be solved in many cases with Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b) or with Ciucci (2009; 2011b, a.o.), free downloadable online, but also not mentioned (see <<http://chamacoco.swarthmore.edu/about>>, last consulted 13/8/2012). In the weeks before the last consultation (13/8/2012) the data of the dictionary (<<http://chamacoco.swarthmore.edu>>) does not seem to be available online, possibly due to some changes in the site, or to technical problems.

will be largely based on these contributions.³¹

§1.9 Data used in this study

The source of the sentences cited in this work will be indicated after every single example, while the sources of the morphological data used in this work will only be mentioned in this section and will not be cited any more in the course of this work, unless the data used come from a different source.

The data used for Ancient Zamuco come from Chomé's grammar *Arte de la lengua zamuca* (Chomé 1958 [ante 1745]).

The data used for Ayoreo mostly come from Higham *et al.* (2000), integrated with data from Pier Marco Bertinetto's fieldwork (especially in the chapters on verb inflection and possessive inflection) and with some data collected during my fieldwork. Also most lexical translations of Ayoreo verbs and nominals, as well as notes on the constructions of Ayoreo verbs, come from Higham *et al.* (2000).

Most data used in the chapter on Chamacoco verb inflection come from Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b). This work provides many complete verb paradigms and the data are generally correct. During my fieldwork I checked the data on verb inflection collected by Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b) and added new data. The data used for Chamacoco possessive and nominal suffixation come from my fieldwork. Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b) has represented a useful starting-point for the fieldwork, but the nominal paradigms are very often incomplete, so that it was necessary to collect new data. New paradigms have so been added to my corpus of data and used for my investigation. A part of these data have been reported in the Chamacoco examples used in the present work.

I have carried out two fieldworks. In mid-July 2009 I worked with Ayoreo in Bolivia, under the direction of Pier Marco Bertinetto. In that occasion we worked at the Ayoreo organization CANOB (Central Ayoreo Nativa del Oriente Boliviano) in Santa Cruz de la Sierra. In mid-August 2009 I moved to Paraguay, where I worked with Chamacoco until the second half of October 2009. I came

³¹ Pier Marco Bertinetto and the present author have also made a web page with basic information on the Zamucoan languages for the site Sorosoro <<http://www.sorosoro.org/en/Zamucoan-languages>> (Last updated in 2010).

back to Paraguay at the beginning of July 2011 and I worked with Chamacoco until the end of August 2011. During my two fieldworks with Chamacoco I had the occasion to live in a Chamacoco family in Mariano Roque Alonso. This allowed me to observe the language in the everyday context after the daily fieldwork.³² My main informants were Francisco García, Laura Báez, Domingo Calonga and Roberto García.³³

§1.10 Conclusions

This first part has introduced the Zamucoan family. Ayoreo, Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco are traditionally considered part of the same linguistic family. The genetic relationship between Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco was demonstrated by Kelm (1964), but despite the attempt by Sušnik (1972), there is no scientific demonstration of the genetic relationship between Ayoreo, Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco.

³² About my fieldwork, see Ciucci (2012).

³³ Francisco García and Domingo Calonga are respected Chamacoco leaders. Apart from my main informant, I would like to express my gratitude to the other Chamacoco people who helped me during my fieldwork, such as Gerson García. I am grateful to María Romero de Martínez, director of the Escuela Básica Lorenzo Ferreira Frič (Puerto Esperanza), for providing me with a collection of school texts used in Chamacoco schools. I am also grateful to the indigenous leader Bruno Barras for encouraging me to continue my investigation on Chamacoco.

§2 Phonology and orthography in the Zamucoan languages

The next sections briefly introduce the phonology of the Zamucoan languages and the most commonly used orthographic conventions. The transcription systems established by missionaries are the most popular among the speakers. The following sections discuss the phonology of Ayoreo (§2.1), Ancient Zamuco (§2.2) and Chamacoco (§2.3). Section (§2.4) presents the transcription principles used in this work.

§2.1 Ayoreo phonology and orthography

Ayoreo has five vowels /a e i o u/, to which the corresponding nasal vowels have to be added. Vowel nasality is a suprasegmental feature.³⁴ The consonantal phonemes of Ayoreo are provided in Table 2.1.³⁵ The orthographic transcription of each phoneme is indicated between angled brackets.

An interesting characteristic of the AY consonantal system is represented by the series of voiceless nasals.³⁶

The phonematic status of the glottal stop is not completely clear. According to Kelm (1964: 467-468), Morarie (1980: 42, 58) and Higham *et al.* (2000: 2), the glottal stop is phonemic word-finally. The glottal stop is only pronounced when it occurs in absolute final position.³⁷ According to data from Pier Marco Bertinetto's fieldwork, no such consonant is audible in any possible context. Therefore, I shall not indicate it in the transcriptions.

³⁴ In both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco the oral vowels are rendered, of course, with <a e i o u>.

³⁵ The present section only aims at introducing the phonology and the orthographic conventions of Ayoreo in order to make the description of AY morphology understandable. For a detailed discussion of AY phonology, see Bertinetto (2009: 7-12), on which this section is based. On the orthography of Ayoreo, see Bertinetto (2009: 14).

³⁶ For a study on the acoustic properties of AY voiceless nasals, see Bertinetto, Ricci & Na (2010).

³⁷ "Glottals are heard under certain conditions, but when another word follows immediately, though inherently here, the glottal is not pronounced" (Higham *et al.* 2000: 2).

	labial	dental	alveolo-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p <p>	t <t>			k <c> <qu>	(ʔ)
voiced stop	^(m) b 	⁽ⁿ⁾ d <d>			^(ŋ) g <gu> <g>	
affricate			tʃ <ch>			
fricative		s <s>				h <j>
nasal	m <m>	n <n>		ɲ <ñ>	ŋ <ng>	
voiceless nasal	ɱ <jm>	ɳ <jn>		ɲ̥ <jñ>		
approximant	w <u>	ɹ <r>		j <y> <i>		

Table 2.1. Ayoreo consonant chart (adapted from Bertinetto 2009: 10)

One wonders whether the stress is contrastive in Ayoreo. According to Moraire (1980: 1) “the accent falls on the last syllable, except when the word ends in *e*. In this case the accent falls on the next to the last syllable”. In the orthographic system used by Moraire (1980) and Higham *et al.* (2000), the accent is indicated when there are exceptions to this rule. In the course of the present work, when possible, the accents will be indicated as they are in Higham *et al.* (2000). According to Bertinetto (2009: 11), one finds possible minimal pairs distinguished by the accent, which generally appears on the last syllable, but the exact location of the accent “seems to vary from speaker to speaker and possibly among the different productions of one and the same speaker”³⁸ (Bertinetto 2009: 11).

In all Zamucoan languages the preferred syllable structure is CV. The syllable structure CVC is to be observed word-finally when the last consonant is /j/, /k/, /p/, /s/ or /t/. In this case, the default vocoid [e] can be added to recreate the preferred syllable structure. This vowel is obligatorily added when the word ends in /ɹ/, which cannot occur word-finally (Bertinetto 2009: 11). /j/

³⁸ I also had occasion to note it during my fieldwork with Ayoreo in July-August 2009 (see Ciucci 2010a, note 3).

can correspond to [j] or to [dʒ]. It is the only phoneme which can occur in coda position both word-internally and word-finally (Bertinetto 2009: 11). In this case it is rendered with <i>.

As one can see in Table 2.1, the AY orthography is based on the Spanish conventions. In particular /g/ and /k/ are rendered with <gu> and <qu> before /e/ and /i/. Consequently, /u/ is rendered with <ú> or <ü> when it occurs in /gui/ or /kui/. Vowel nasality is only indicated when the vowel is stressed in a syllable which has no nasal consonant. Vowel nasality is rendered with < ~ > or with < ^ >, which is easier to type.

§2.2 Ancient Zamuco phonology and orthography

Ancient Zamuco is an extinct language and there are no recordings available. Most data come from the grammatical description by Chomé (1958 [*ante* 1745]), in which little attention is paid to phonetics and phonology. Consequently, only little or no information on some aspects of A.Z phonology is available.³⁹ This section tries to reconstruct the phonological system, only concentrating on those features which can be described with some degree of certainty.⁴⁰

The phonology of Ancient Zamuco is very similar to the phonology of Ayoreo. Ancient Zamuco has the same vowels of Ayoreo (/a e i o u/) and, as in Ayoreo, vowel nasality is a distinctive feature. The consonantal phonemes of Ancient Zamuco are provided in Table 2.2.

The preferred syllabic structure is CV and, as in Ayoreo, the default vowel [e] can be added to re-create the preferred syllable structure when the word ends in a consonant.

As one can see in Table 2.2, the orthography of Ancient Zamuco is based on Spanish. /k/ and /g/ are rendered with the digraphs <qu> and <gu>, respectively, when they are followed by /e/ or /i/. /u/ can be represented as

³⁹ For instance, nothing is known about the accent and only conjectures about the presence of devoiced consonants are possible.

⁴⁰ The observations on A.Z phonetics by Kelm (1964: 460-465) have proved useful to write this section.

<ü> in order to distinguish the vowel /u/ (or the semivowel /w/) from the diacritic in the sequences of velar stop and /e/ or /i/. /j/ is often rendered with <i> in coda position. Vowel nasality is indicated by < ^ >.

	labial	dental	alveolo-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p <p>	t <t>			k <c> <qu>	
voiced stop	b 	d <d>			g <gu> <g>	
affricate			tʃ <ch>			
fricative		s <c> <s> <z>				h <h>
nasal	m <m>	n <n>		ɲ <ñ>		
approximant	w <u> <ü>	ɹ <r>		j <y> <i>		

Table 2.2. Ancient Zamuco consonant chart

§2.3 Chamacoco phonology and orthography⁴¹

Chamacoco has six short vowels /a e i o u i/ and six long vowels /a: e: o: i: u: i:/ as reported in the Table 2.3. /i/ can be the result of vowel reduction. The corresponding transcription is indicated between angled brackets. Vowel nasality is phonemic, but in this case, due to the process of nasal harmony documented in all Zamucoan languages, vowel nasality has to be regarded as a suprasegmental phoneme.

	front	centre	back
high	/i/ <i> /i:/ <ii>		/u/ <u> /u:/ <uu>
mid	/e/ <e> /e:/ <ee>		/o/ <o> /o:/ <oo>
low		/a/ <a> /a:/ <aa>	

Table 2.3. Chamacoco vowel chart

The consonantal phonemes of Chamacoco are reported in the following Table.

⁴¹ The present section on the phonology and orthography of Chamacoco is largely based on the studies by Ulrich & Ulrich (1989a,b), who carefully described the phonetics and phonology of Chamacoco, in order to establish – in agreement with the indigenous community – a transcription system for the language. Their conclusive study on this issue, Ulrich & Ulrich (1989b), could be considered the only scientifically oriented study existing on Chamacoco before Ciucci (2009, 2010b) even though some symbols used in their work are not clear, probably due to the understandable keyboard limitations in 1989. In this short phonological description of the language, I will accept most results of Ulrich & Ulrich (1989b), although my conclusions differ in some points, in particular with regard to the phonological role of the glottal stop, the postalveolar consonants and the voiceless dental approximant. I greatly acknowledge the help of Emanuele Saiu for his many useful hints during the analysis of my recordings.

	labial	dental	retroflex	alveolo-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p <p>	t <t>				k <k>	ʔ
voiced stop	b 	d <d>					
affricate		ts <ts> <s>		tʃ <ch> <c>			
fricative		s <s>	ʒ <z>	ʃ <sh>			h <h>
nasal	m <m>	n <n>					
voiceless nasal	m̥ <hm>	n̥ <hn>					
approximant	w <w>	ɹ <r>	ɻ <r> ⁴² <rz>		j <y>	x <j>	
voiceless approximant	w̥ <hw>	ɹ̥ <rh>			j̥ <hy>		
lateral approximant		l <l> l̥ <hl>					

Table 2.4. Chamacoco consonant chart

Chamacoco presents no phonological distinction between long and short consonants. There are, however, phonetically long consonants which are not contrastive, because they are the sequence of two identical abutting consonants.

/p/ usually corresponds to [p]. It can also be realized as [p^h] in word-initial or word-internal position, or as [p̚] in word-final position.

/t/ usually corresponds to [t]. It can also be realized as [t^h] in word-initial or word-internal position, or as [t̚] in word-final position.

⁴² This sound should not be considered a phoneme, but will be indicated in the transcription used in this work.

/k/ usually corresponds to [k], but is often realized as [g] or [ɣ] in word-internal position. Its allophone [ḳ] can occur in word-final position.⁴³

/b/ and /d/ correspond to [b] and [d], respectively, and cannot occur in word-final position. The phonological opposition between /d/ and /l/ is neutralized in word-initial position, where [d] and [l] alternate.

/ʔ/ only has a phonematic status in word-final position, where it corresponds to a very short glottal stop [ʔ], usually associated with a rising tone.⁴⁴ In the course of this work, the glottal stop, not represented in the orthography, will only be indicated when it serves to distinguish a minimal pair.

/ts/ usually corresponds to [ts], but is sometimes realized as [z] in word-internal position. It cannot occur word-finally. In the orthography, it is represented with <s> word-initially and with <ts> word-internally. In this case, the orthography may result ambiguous, because the grapheme <s> can represent both /ts/ and /s/ word-initially.⁴⁵

/tʃ/ usually corresponds to [tʃ]. /tʃ/ is transcribed with the digraph <ch>, but is transcribed with <c> when it follows /ɪ/ in word-final position. When /tʃ/ follows /ɪ/ in intervocalic position, /tʃ/ is realized as [ɟ] and is transcribed with <rz> or <z> (see §13.2.10).

/h/ and /x/ have the allophones [h̥] and [x̥], respectively. They do not occur word-finally. The modal marker *tyenij* /'tjenix/ is an exception.

As in Ayoreo, in Chamacoco there are voiceless nasals (/m̥/ and n̥),

⁴³ One may wonder whether [k] followed by [w] should be considered a phoneme (Ulrich & Ulrich 1989b: 5, 21). In fact, according to Ulrich & Ulrich (*ibid.*), [k] and [w] form a phonological unit [k^w] in many cases. In this work, both [kw] and [k^w] will be regarded as sequences of [k] and [w].

⁴⁴ Tones do not seem to have phonematic status in Chamacoco. As Ulrich and Ulrich (1989b: 23) note, the glottal stop also occurs before a vowel in word-initial position, but in this context is not a phoneme and will not be indicated in the present work.

⁴⁵ According to Rosemary Ulrich (personal communication), the speakers decided to transcribe both /s/ and /ts/ with <s> word-initially and the missionaries accepted this ambiguity to respect the decisions of the indigenous community. Note that /s/ is rare word-initially in Chamacoco. In the present work, word-initial <s> represents the phoneme /ts/, unless otherwise indicated. This is one of the few incoherences of the orthographic system. Also the word for 'God' has a transcription, *Porrosht*, which does not correspond to its pronunciation [po:ɽ.ɽɔt] and would be better transcribed as *Poorzosht*, but it has been transcribed as *Porrosht* according to the will of the indigenous community (Rosemary Ulrich, personal communication). It is possible that the CH people were already accustomed to write this word with a transcription used by the first missionaries and that it has been preserved.

corresponding to the nasals /m/ and /n/.

In Chamacoco there are four voiced (/l/, /j/, /ɹ/, /w/) and four voiceless approximants (/l̥/, /j̥/, /ɹ̥/, /w̥/).⁴⁶

/ɹ/ cannot occur word-initially, while /l/ can only occur word-finally when the last vowel drops.

/l̥/, /j̥/ and /w̥/ can only occur word-internally, while /ɹ̥/ occurs both word-internally and word-finally.⁴⁷

/ɹ/ has two allophones: [ɹ], which occurs before /tɕ/, and [ɹ̥], which occurs elsewhere (see ex. (1)).

/j/ can be realized as [j] or [ɕ]. It also has an allophone [ɲ] which occurs in nasal-harmony contexts.

One may wonder whether [z] can be considered a phoneme, because, at least in some cases, it is an allophone of /tɕ/. When /tɕ/ follows /ɹ/ some interactions take place. When /tɕ/ follows /ɹ/ word-finally, /ɹ/ is usually realized as [ɹ̥] and /tɕ/ is usually realized as [s] (1). In this case /tɕ/ is transcribed with <c>.⁴⁸

(1) *ishirc* /ʔʰciɹtɕ/ [ʔʰciɹs] ‘Chamacoco’ (MS.FF)

When /tɕ/ follows /ɹ/ in intervocalic context,⁴⁹ there is reciprocal assimilation, so that the two consonants turn into [ɹɹ̥] (2-3). In this context the sequence /ɹtɕ/, phonetically [ɹɹ̥], is transcribed with <rz> or <rrz>, which sometimes alternate in the same word. However, one can identify the criterion used in CH texts. <rrza> is used word-finally in feminine nominals with the feminine full-form morpheme -/tɕa/ (realized as -[ɹa]) after a root ending in /ɹ/, probably in

⁴⁶ As in Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009: 9), from a merely phonetic point of view one can regard CH voiceless sounds as pre-devoiced sounds. The voiceless approximants have probably been originated by the merger of the voiced approximants (/l/, /j/, /ɹ/, /w/) with the glottal approximant [h], although these consonants are now to regard as a phonological unit. This process is still to be found in the paradigm of some verbs (§5.4.16). /j̥/ and /j/ can alternate in some verbal paradigms (§5.4.14).

⁴⁷ The voiceless approximant /ɹ̥/ is considered a phoneme in Ulrich & Ulrich (1989a: 4), in contrast with Ulrich & Ulrich (1989b). /ɹ̥/ is generally realized as [ɹ̥], but sometimes is realized as [ɹ^h]. However, it should be considered a phonological unit.

⁴⁸ As will be shown (§13.1.12), this occurs very frequently in the morphology of masculine nominals, because there is a group of nominals, such as *ishirc* /ishirtɕ/, which end in -/ɹtɕ/ <rc>.

⁴⁹ Excluding the case in which the sequence of /ɹtɕ/ is followed by /i/, often inserted in order to avoid the sequence of two consonants.

order to better identify such morpheme in words ending in $[-\text{ɹ}]\text{a}$. $\langle \text{rz} \rangle$ is used elsewhere.

(2) $\text{t}im\text{c}harrza$ / $\text{t}im't\text{c}a:rt\text{c}a/$ [$\text{t}im't\text{c}a:\text{ɹ}a$] ‘woman’ (FS.FF)

(3) $berzo$ / $\text{b}e:rt\text{c}o/$ [$\text{b}e:\text{ɹ}o$] ‘high, long’ (MP)

When the sequence $/rt\text{c}/$ is followed by a consonant, $/r/$ is realized as $[\text{ɹ}]$ and $/t\text{c}/$ as $[\text{z}]$, as one can see in (4), which has the same root as in (3). In this context $/t\text{c}/$ is rendered with $\langle \text{z} \rangle$. In (5) and (6) $/t\text{c}/$ is realized as $[\text{ɹ}]$, which turns into $[\text{z}]$ if followed by another consonant, as in (6-7) and (9), where some adverbial clitics indicating temporal reference are added. Note that in (9), even though $/rt\text{c}/$ is in intervocalic position, the phonetic realization of $/t\text{c}/$ is $[\text{z}]$ (rather than $[\text{ɹ}]$), probably because it is followed by $/i/$, which is often an epenthetic vowel, as in this case, and can drop.

(4) $berzta$ / $\text{b}e:rt\text{c}ta/$ [$\text{b}e:\text{ɹ}zta$] ‘high, long’ (FS.FF)

(5) $puurc$ / $\text{p}u:rt\text{c}/$ [$\text{p}u:\text{ɹ}\text{c}$] ‘shadow’ (MS.FF)

(6) $wirc$ / $\text{w}i:rt\text{c}/$ [$\text{w}i:\text{ɹ}\text{c}$] ‘coast, perimeter’ (MS.FF)

(7) $puurz = kite$ / $\text{p}u:rt\text{c}kite/$ [$\text{p}u:\text{ɹ}z\text{k}ite$] ‘shadow’ (shadow.MS.FF = PST)

(8) $puurz = hna$ / $\text{p}u:rt\text{c}na/$ [$\text{p}u:\text{ɹ}zn\text{a}$] ‘shadow’ (shadow.MS.FF = PST)

(9) $wirz-i = ke$ / $\text{w}i:rt\text{c}ike/$ [$\text{w}i:\text{ɹ}zike$] ‘coast, perimeter’ (coast.MS.FF-EPENT = PST)

These rules are to be observed in most words, but they are not rigid. In particular, in some words the phonetic realization of $/t\text{c}/$ may vary between $[\text{ɹ}]$ and $[\text{z}]$, even among the different productions of the same speaker (10-11).

(10) $berzak$ / $\text{b}e:rt\text{c}ak/$ [$\text{b}e:\text{ɹ}:\text{ak}$] ~ [$\text{b}e:\text{ɹ}z\text{ak}$] ‘high, long’ (FS.FF)

(11) $berze$ / $\text{b}e:rt\text{c}e/$ [$\text{b}e:\text{ɹ}e$] ~ [$\text{b}e:\text{ɹ}ze$] ‘high, long’ (FP)

In (12) the sequence $/rt\text{c}/$ is in a word-internal position followed by $/i/$, which can drop. The phonetic realization of $/t\text{c}/$ is $[\text{z}]$. In the previous examples, it has been seen that $/t\text{c}/$ has the allophones $[\text{z}]$ or $[\text{ɹ}]$ in word-internal position, but in (12) final $/t/$ can drop and $[\text{z}]$ can occur word-finally. In (12) the origin of $[\text{z}]$ is clear and, of course, it is not a phoneme. However, there are other words, such as $serz$ [$\text{t}\text{s}e:\text{ɹ}z$] (13), for which there is no evidence to say that the presence of $[\text{z}]$ is due to the dropping of a final consonant. Therefore, in (13)

final [z] is not considered a phonetic realization of /tʂ/.

(12) *chii larzɪt* [tʂi:'la:rɪzɪt] / *chii larzt* [tʂi:'la:rɪzɪt] ---> *chii larz* [tʂi:'la:rɪz] (3)

‘to lie by/on the side of’

(13) *serz* /tʂe:rɪz/ [tʂe:rɪz] (3) ‘to win’

The preferred syllable structure is CV, but also CVC and CVCC are frequent. The epenthetic vowel /i/ often shows up in order to avoid a sequence of two or more consonants.

The stress seems to be phonologically relevant and there are possible minimal pairs, such as *kasit* /'kasit/ ‘old Chamacoco game’ vs. *kasit* /ka'sit/ ‘fearful’. According to Ulrich & Ulrich (1989b: 15), the accent tends to fall on the last syllable in disyllabic words and on the penultimate syllable in words of more than three syllables. However, this is just a tendency, because, as in Ayoreo, the location of the accent varies not only from speaker to speaker, but also in the different productions by one and the same speaker. The accent is not indicated in the orthography. Vowel nasality is only indicated on the stressed syllable, but, when it occurs in a stressed syllable having a nasal consonant, it can be omitted.⁵⁰ Vowel nasality is rendered with < ~ >, which sometimes is indicated with < ^ > for reasons of simplicity.

In Chamacoco there are some phenomena of syllable reduction, particularly in word-final position, which interfere with nominal morphology and which are discussed in the chapter on nominal suffixation (§13).

§2.4 Conclusions and transcription principles

The previous sections has sketched the phonology of the Zamucoan languages and summarized the orthographic conventions used in this work. Ayoreo and Chamacoco show a series of voiceless nasals and Chamacoco also has a series of voiceless approximants. Among the phonemes found in Chamacoco but not in Ayoreo, the phoneme /l/ is of particular interest, because /l/ is missing in many Amazonian languages. By contrast, the central

⁵⁰ In a few cases vowel nasality is indicated on non-stressed syllables, in which the vowel is the only nasal element.

high vowel /i/ is present in many languages of the area, but not in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. For the purposes of the present work, one has to note that Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco lack /ts/, which corresponds to /t͡s/ in these languages, while Chamacoco lacks /g/, so that A.Z and AY /g/ often corresponds to a CH semivowel.

AY and CH data will be reported in phonological transcription with some adaptations. For instance, the AY epenthetic vocoid [e] (henceforth /e/), often added word-finally to obtain the preferred syllable structure CV, will be indicated in the transcriptions as if it were a real phoneme. AY postvocalic /i/ generally turns into /j/. However, in a number of cases it has been transcribed as a vowel rather than a glide, because there are reasons to surmise that this sequence is pronounced as a hiatus rather than as a diphthong. The same applies to syllable-initial /u/.

The accent and the final glottal stop will not be indicated unless they help to distinguish two forms cited in the present work. Vowel nasality will only be indicated when no other nasal element is present in the word (excluding affixes). In this case, since vowel nasality tends to spread, it will only be indicated on the vowel where nasality is most clearly perceptible. Nasal spread can be blocked by some consonants (usually by plosive and affricate consonants, sometimes also by fricatives). For this reason, in order to avoid ambiguities, vowel nasality will occasionally be indicated even when another nasal element is present in the word. In any case, semivowels, /r/ and /h/ do not block nasal spread.

CH [z] will be indicated in the transcriptions as if it were a phoneme, even though its phonemic status is doubtful. [ɟ] is not a phoneme, but, for reasons of clarity, it will be treated as if it were a phoneme in the sequence /ɟɟ/. For reasons of simplicity, the phoneme /ɹ/ will be indicated with /r/ in the rest of this work. Consequently, its CH voiceless counterpart /ɹ̥/ will be indicated with /r̥/.

The AY and CH orthographic transcriptions discussed in the previous section will only be used when a word is cited in the text or when one or more sentences are reported. In both cases the phonological transcription will also be provided. However, if the orthographic transcription of an AY or CH word cited in the text coincides with the phonological transcription, the latter will not be

indicated.⁵¹ The same conventions will be applied to A.Z data, reported in the orthography adopted by Chomé. The only difference is that, if necessary, the probable phonological transcription will be reported among parenthesis. In A.Z examples, by contrast, only Chomé's transcription will be reported.

⁵¹ For reasons of simplicity, the same may also apply to words repeated within the same paragraph.

§3 Word structure and free pronouns

Before describing the verbs and possessable nouns of each language, one has to consider the general structure of verb and possessive inflection (§3.1), and the system of independent personal pronouns in all Zamucoan languages (§3.2).

§3.1 General characteristics of verb and possessive inflection.

The general structure of verb and possessive inflection is represented as in (1).

- (1)
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{THEME} \\ \text{-----} \\ \text{PREFIX + THEMATIC VOWEL + ROOT + (SUFFIX)} \end{array}$$

The root may be preceded by a thematic vowel. Root plus thematic vowel form the theme. The slot of the thematic vowel may also be filled by a vowel originally belonging to the prefix which has overwritten the original thematic vowel. In the verb and possessive morphology of the Zamucoan languages, the morphological behaviour of both the thematic vowel and the other vowels which fill the slot of the thematic vowel will be referred to as ‘vocalic pattern’. From now onwards, the vowel which fills the slot of the thematic vowel (but which is not necessarily the thematic vowel) will be indicated as ‘1-vowel’, ‘2-vowel’, ‘3-vowel’ and so on. This notwithstanding, for ease of description it will be written between hyphens as though it were the thematic vowel.⁵² Persons are marked by a prefix added to the theme. Verbs may add a suffix to form the

⁵² From now onwards, when a verb or a possessable noun is reported, the prefix, the thematic vowel (or the vowel which fills its slot) and the root will be indicated. The so-called ‘mobile syllable’ of AY verbs (see §4.8) will not be indicated, because it is part of the root. In verb morphology, verb suffixes will also be indicated, while nominal suffixation will not be indicated in the part on possessive inflection (as in the paradigms of chapters §12-§14). When a text or parts of text are reported, only the prefix and the theme will be indicated, except for the 2-person and the forms derived from it, where the 2-vowel will be included in the prefix if it was an original prefix vowel.

plural persons. Suffixation is also present in nouns, but there is no interaction between possessive inflection and nominal suffixation, which expresses gender, number and form (§12, §13, §14). With the exception of the root, not all elements in (1) occur in each form of each paradigm. Depending on the language, other components can be added to the above represented structure.

From a taxonomic point of view, the 3-person is the base of the paradigm and will be discussed in detail below.⁵³ Unlike the other persons, the 3-person is characterized by different morphological shapes which determine the inflectional class of verbs and possessable nouns. The 3-person may present some subregularities or irregularities with respect to the rest of the paradigm, so that it is easier to predict the morphological behaviour in the rest of the paradigm given the 3-person, than vice-versa. For this reason the 3-person form will be used as the citation form of verbs and possessable nouns.

Verbs or possessable nouns will be divided into three groups, depending on the shape of the 3-person. In order of increasing complexity, the 3-person can be formed by:

(a) The pure root (e.g. CH \emptyset - \emptyset -*nerpta* ‘shirt, dress’). Nouns and verbs belonging to this group will be called ‘radical nouns’ or ‘radical verbs’. The thematic vowel and the prefix are added to the root in order to form the rest of the paradigm.

(b) The theme (e.g. CH \emptyset -*e-chit* /etçit/ ‘domestic animal’). Nouns and verbs belonging to this group will be called ‘thematic nouns’ or ‘thematic verbs’.

(c) The theme and a consonantal prefix (e.g. CH *l-a-tahacha* /l-a-tahatça/ ‘stepmother’). Nouns and verbs belonging to this group will be called ‘prefixal nouns’ or ‘prefixal verbs’.

In all Zamucoan languages these groups correspond to the three inflectional classes of possessable nouns.

In this work, I will follow the merely descriptive approach proposed in (1). From a functional perspective, the structure of AY verb inflection could also be

⁵³ I refer to the non-reflexive 3-person of possessable nouns and to the 3-person realis of verbs presenting the realis vs. irrealis distinction.

represented in a different way, because in prefixal verbs or nouns it is not strictly necessary to distinguish between theme and root, because the root vowel can be considered part of the root. However, this distinction is useful at the descriptive level. The structure of radical verbs or nouns is the same from both a descriptive and a functional point of view.

§3.2 Free personal pronouns in the Zamucoan languages

This section only aims at presenting the system of free personal pronouns, so that it can serve as future reference in order to understand verb and possessive inflection. For a detailed comparison of independent pronouns in the Zamucoan languages, as well as for a possible reconstruction of their diachronic evolution, see Bertinetto (2010) and Bertinetto (2011). The free personal pronouns of Ayoreo, Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco are shown in the following tables.

Table 3.1. Ayoreo free pronouns

PERSON	NUMBER	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	(u)ju	(u)jok
2	uwa / wa	uwak / wak
3 (first series)	-	ore
3 (second series)	ude ('this' masculine) udak ('this' feminine) ute ('that' masculine) wate ('that' feminine)	udoho ('these' masculine) udahi ('these' feminine) udore ('those' masculine) udire ('those' feminine)

(Data from Kelm 1964: 502-508; Morarie 1980: 96-97)

Table 3.2. Ancient Zamuco free pronouns

PERSON	NUMBER	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	(u)yu	(u)yoc
2	(u)gua	(u)guac
3 (first series)	-	ore
3 (second series)	güite / udde (masculine) guate / udda (feminine)	uddao / uddoe (masculine) uddai / uyie (feminine)

(Data from Chomé 1958: 138-140)

Table 3.3. Chamacoco free pronouns

PERSON	NUMBER		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GREATER PLURAL
1	jok	ejok (inclusive)	ejoklo (inclusive)
		õrjok (exclusive)	-
2	owa	olak	olaklo
3 (first series)	ĩr(e)	õr	-
3 (second series)	wit̩i (masculine) wate (feminine)	wĩr	-

(Data from Ulrich & Ulrich 2000b: 10; Ciucci, field-notes)

Comparing the personal pronouns, a certain degree of similarity among the Zamucoan languages emerges. In all Zamucoan languages the use of free pronouns is usually not obligatory in verb or possessive morphology. There is no phonological overlapping between personal pronouns, verb and nominal prefixes, although some similarities can be noted. Indeed, personal prefixation and personal pronouns are independent (Bertinetto 2011: 8). The pronouns of the 1- and the 2-person in Ayoreo show both a neuter form, which is phonologically lighter, and an emphatic form. The same difference was also to be found

in Ancient Zamuco (Bertinetto 2011: 7). In the 1-person and the 2-person is also possible to observe that the plural is marked by /k/.⁵⁴ This mark of plural is never found in the nominal system (Bertinetto 2011: 8). The 2-person is characterized by the presence of /a/ (Bertinetto 2011: 8). The clusivity split in the 1P-person is present in Chamacoco, in contrast with Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco.

In all Zamucoan languages two series of free pronouns can be identified in the 3-person. The first series consists of the “proper” personal pronouns: AY *ore* (3P), A.Z *ore* (3P), CH *ir(e)* (3S) / *ōr* (3P).⁵⁵ Note that the pronoun for the 3S-person is only found in Chamacoco. One can say that both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco lack the 3S-pronoun, because the elements of the so-called ‘second series’ are demonstrative pronouns in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco.⁵⁶ In Chamacoco the elements of the ‘second series’ are not completely identifiable as demonstratives, although they were originally demonstrative, as the comparison with the other Zamucoan languages indicates. *Wichi* /witɕi/, *wate* and *wir* do not indicate either proximity or distance, like other Chamacoco elements which are undoubtedly demonstratives. They are not only used as personal pronouns: when they precede a noun, they function as articles⁵⁷. In the following paragraphs, some peculiarities of Chamacoco will be discussed in detail.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ One can compare this element with the Chiquitano plural suffix -/ka/ (see Galeote Tormo 1993: 57). I am grateful to Swintha Danielsen and Lena Terhart for this suggestion.

⁵⁵ In the 3S-person, *ir* is far more frequent than *ire*.

⁵⁶ In Table 3.1, only the most frequently used demonstratives are reported, for a more detailed inventory, see Morarie (1980: 96-97) and Higham *et al.* (2000).

⁵⁷ In Chamacoco there is also a series of elements only used as articles: *uu* /u:/ (MS), *waa* /wa:/ (FS), *uu* /u:/ ([M/F]P).

⁵⁸ AY reflexive pronouns coincide with the independent pronouns. The only exception is the 3-person singular and plural, for which the reflexive pronoun is *re*. *Rac* /rak/ can be used for the 3P-person (Bertinetto 2009: 44). In Chamacoco too, the reflexive pronouns are identical to the independent pronouns, the only exception is the 3-person singular and plural, for which *ir(e)* is used.

§3.2.1 Clusivity

By clusivity one refers to the inclusive (henceforth: 1PI) vs. exclusive (henceforth: 1PE) distinction in the 1P-person (Filimonova 2005). This distinction is common in South American languages and was first introduced by the missionaries who wrote the grammar of Aymara and South Peruvian Quechua in the 16th century (Crevels & Muysken 2005: 314). It has been argued that the inclusive person would be “a person on its own, separate from what is traditionally called ‘we’ exclusive in the same way as ‘you.pl’” (Daniel 2005: 3). This is confirmed by the fact that, in most languages, inclusives are morphologically independent.⁵⁹ As one can see, clusivity is not very prototypical in Chamacoco. First, there is a clear morphological connection between the 1S-pronoun (*yok* /*jok*/), the 1PI-pronoun (*eyok* /*ejok*/) and the 1PE-pronoun (*ōryok* /*ōrjok*/) (Table 3). Second, in verb morphology the 1S-person (*t-aak* /*t-ak*/ ‘1S-eat’) and the inclusive person (*y-aak* /*j-a:k*/ ‘1PI-eat’) are independent, but the 1PE-person (*oy-aak* /*oj-a:k*/ ‘1PE-eat’) depends on the 1PI-person, although the 1PE-person would be expected to be dependent on the 1S-person (being its plural form).⁶⁰

Bickel & Nichols propose “a three way typology of inclusive systems, classifying them by the way in which the inclusive-exclusive opposition is worked into person-number categories” (2005: 50). Following this classification, Chamacoco would be among the languages which distinguish between minimal vs. augmented number. This system, although well attested, is less common and more complex than the others (2005: 51-52). The fact that the inclusive can be considered a person on its own determines a distinction between inclusive vs. exclusive person, which could be reclassified as in Table 3.4. Both the inclusive and the exclusive person have a minimal and an augmented form.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Daniel (2005: 5) analyses a “subset of the 200+200-language sample of the World Atlas of Linguistic Structure” which “includes not quite one hundred inclusive languages”. His conclusion is that “there is no typologically consistent connection between inclusive and the 1-person. Inclusives are morphologically independent in more than 80 languages” Daniel (2005: 5).

⁶⁰ For more details, see the chapter on CH verb morphology (§5.1).

⁶¹ About the minimal-augmented systems, see also Cysouw (2003: 85-90).

Table 3.4

	Minimal	Augmented
Exclusive	jok (singular)	ōrjok (plural)
Inclusive	ejok (plural)	ejoklo (greater plural)

The 1PE-person lacks the greater plural, but, in spite of this, the 2-person has the singular (*owa*), the plural (*olak*) and the greater plural (*olaklo*). Generally, the minimal element inclusive is referentially a dual, while the augmented is a plural, as in the examples shown by Bickel & Nichols (2005: 51). In Chamacoco the situation is different, because the minimal is referentially a plural and the augmented a greater plural.

§3.2.2 The greater plural

The inclusive and the 2-person present a distinction between a normal and a ‘greater’ plural. According to Corbett (2000: 30): “the ‘greater plural’ typically implies an excessive number, sometimes called ‘plural of abundance’, or else all possible instances of the referent, sometimes called the ‘global plural’.” Cases of a split in the plural are relatively rare according to Corbett.

In Chamacoco the meaning of greater plural ranges from abundance to globality. The greater plural could be considered a composed number, since a morpheme (-/lo/) is added to a plural form: *eyok* /ejok/ (1PI) ---> *eyoklo* /ejoklo/ (1PI.GP); *olak* (2P) ---> *olaklo* (2.GP). The suffix -/lo/ is mainly used in verb morphology to distinguish the 2P-person from the 2S-person (§5.8) and can be the plural suffix of some nominals (§13.1.1, ex. (7)). This combination of greater plural and clusivity is probably quite rare among the world’s languages and would probably deserve further typological studies. Moreover, the fact that clusivity is only present in Chamacoco, where it is not prototypical, suggests that the clusivity split was not an original characteristic of the Zamucoan family.

§3.2.3 Gender in the Chamacoco third person plural: a lost distinction?

In currently spoken Chamacoco, there is no gender distinction in 3P-person.⁶² However, Sušnik (1957a: 107) reports the form *wiira* /wi:ra/ for the feminine of the 3P-person. Such a form was only used in myths to refer to the ancient women who lived during a mythological age.⁶³ In all other cases *wir* (more exactly, *wiiri* /wi:ri/ in Sušnik 1957a) was used. Final *-/a/* could be interpreted as an original feminine morpheme (cf. §13.3) added to masculine form *wir*. Following Sušnik, one could formulate the hypothesis that a gender distinction had also previously existed for the 3P-person and that the feminine form *wiira* /wi:ra/ was gradually replaced by the masculine form. In this respect, the dropping of final vowels, a phenomenon still to be found in Chamacoco, may have had an influence.

⁶² Also the CH article presents no gender distinction in the plural: *uu* /u:/ (MS), *waa* /wa:/ (FS), *uu* /u:/ ([M/F]P).

⁶³ According to CH mythology, all women had been killed at the beginning of CH civilization and new women had grown from pieces of one of them. Thus, CH used to distinguish the ‘old’ women from the ‘new’ women. This also had repercussions on religious practices, because the ‘new’ women didn’t know the mythical events which had taken place before and were segregated from religious knowledge to maintain them in a state of ignorance (Blazer 1997: 28-31). Although not all speakers are probably aware of this, the term currently in use for woman, *timcharrza* /timtʃaɹʒa/, refers to a ‘new’ woman.

§3.2.4 Conclusions

In Table 3.5 some features of the system of personal pronouns are reported. One can see that Ayoreo and A.Z personal pronouns share the same characteristics, which differ from those of Chamacoco. This confirms that Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco are closer to each other than to Chamacoco.

Table 3.5

FEATURE	AYOREO	ANCIENT ZAMUCO	CHAMACOCO
EMPHATIC FORMS	YES	YES	NO
THIRD PERSON SINGULAR	NO	NO	YES
CLUSIVITY	NO	NO	YES
GREATER PLURAL	NO	NO	YES

SECOND PART: VERB INFLECTION

This second part describes the verb morphology of Ayoreo (§4), Chamacoco (§5) and Ancient Zamuco (§6). The Zamucoan languages have a similar verb structure, consisting of: prefix, thematic vowel, root and plural suffix. The verb expresses person and mood. The Zamucoan languages are tenseless languages. Temporal reference is expressed by adverbial particles. The Zamucoan languages are thus mood-prominent languages. Chapter §7 compares the verb morphology of the Zamucoan languages and shows that they have similar morphological devices which confirm the genetic relationship of these languages. Mood-prominence in Chamacoco is related to the presence of a quotative which expresses the same morphological categories of the verb (§8). Although its inflection is similar to verb inflection, it should not be considered a verb.

§4 Ayoreo verb inflection⁶⁴

This chapter describes AY verb morphology. Section §4.1 presents the verb structure and the inflectional classes. Like the other Zamucoan languages, Ayoreo is a tenseless language. Temporal reference may be expressed by temporal adverbs or by context redundancy. Mood has limited expression in AY verb morphology. The verb expresses the person and a disappearing mood distinction (§4.2). The 1- and 2S-prefix can undergo nasalization (§4.3). In the 2-person the slot of the thematic vowel can be filled by an original prefix vowel (§4.4). The vocalic pattern is usually regular. /t/-verbs are discussed in §4.5. Radical verbs may exhibit some consonantal changes in the 3-person (§4.6). Although verb inflection is mostly regular, section §4.7 deals with some irregular verbs, including the few thematic verbs observed in Ayoreo. Two series of suffixes are used for the 1P-person and the 2P-person (§4.8). Some verbs end with a suffix which modifies the lexical meaning of the verb (lexical suffix).

⁶⁴ This chapter is based on Ciucci (2007/08a), which will no longer be mentioned.

§4.1 Verb structure and verb classes

The structure of AY verbs is represented as in (1).

- (1) THEME
-
- PREFIX + THEMATIC + ROOT + PLURAL + (LEXICAL
VOWEL SUFFIX SUFFIX)

In some cases an independent morpheme is incorporated into the verb, modifying the meaning. This element will be called ‘lexical suffix’ (see Ciucci 2007/08a; Bertinetto 2009: 33). Ayoreo prefixal verbs can be divided into two classes: the vast majority of AY verbs present the 3-prefix /tɕ/- (/tɕ/-verbs), while a small class of verbs forms the 3-person by adding the prefix /t/- (/t/-verbs). There are also two small classes of thematic and radical verbs, so that one can distinguish four inflectional classes: ‘/tɕ/-verbs’, ‘/t/-verbs’, ‘thematic verbs’ and ‘radical verbs’. It is not possible to predict the inflectional class of a verb. For this reason, the 3-person will be used as citation form. By contrast, in Higham *et al.* (2000) the lemmatized form is the verb theme. From a lexicographical perspective, such a criterion proves useful when one has to look up a word in a dictionary and does not know the inflectional class. However, I did not use the theme as citation form, because the theme alone does not provide morphological information on the inflectional class,⁶⁵ which is of fundamental importance in the present description. Examples of /tɕ/-verbs will be shown in the whole chapter, while examples of /t/-, thematic and radical verbs will be shown in sections (§4.5), (§4.7) and (§4.6), respectively.

⁶⁵ For this reason, the 3-person of many verbs (mainly /t/-verbs, radical verbs and irregular verbs) also has a separate entry in Higham *et al.* (2000).

§4.2 Personal inflection

The formation of the persons in Ayoreo is shown in (2). The 1S-person takes the prefix /j/- (cf. the free pronouns *yu* /ju/ (1S) and *yoc* /jok/ (1P)). The 2S-person takes the prefix /b/- and high thematic vowels are overwritten by /a/, originally belonging to the prefix (cf. the free pronoun *owa* (2S)). The 3-person is used for both the singular and the plural. When the 3P-person subject is not phonologically expressed, the 3-person is preceded by the pronoun *ore* (3P). The 1P-person has the same prefix as the 1S-person and takes a plural suffix to distinguish it from the singular. The 2P-person is obtained by adding the prefix /wak/- to the theme. This prefix coincides with the free personal pronoun *uac* /wak/ (2P). The thematic vowel can be overwritten, as in the 2S-person. The 2P-person also takes a plural suffix. There is a functional difference between the suffixes of the 1P- and 2P-person, because the 1P-suffix is necessary to distinguish the 1P-person from the 1S-person, while the 2P-suffix has no functional load in the realis (2). The suffixes used to form the plural persons will be discussed in §4.8.

(2) Prefixation and expression of the irrealis in Ayoreo

- 1S j-i-go, ---> Ø-i-go in realis contexts
- 2S b-a-go, ---> Ø-a-go in irrealis contexts
- 3S tɕ-i-go
- 1P j-i-go-go, ---> Ø-i-go-go in realis contexts
- 2P wak-a-go-jo ---> Ø-a-go-jo in irrealis contexts
- 3P ore tɕ-i-go

As one can see in (2), Ayoreo presents a realis vs. irrealis distinction. In the 1-person the prefix /j/- is properly the prefix of the 1-irrealis, while the 1-realis has no prefix. In the 2-person the prefixes /b/- and /wak/- are properly the realis prefixes, which drop in irrealis contexts. In the plural persons, suffixation is the same for both realis and irrealis. There is no opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person. The irrealis is always used for the 2-person in imperative contexts, but in all other cases the opposition between realis and irrealis is not always to be found in currently spoken Ayoreo and is disappearing, while the prefixed forms seem to be preferred by younger

speakers (excepted in imperative contexts).⁶⁶

It should be observed that the older speakers – especially on the Bolivian side – often drop the first person prefix (both singular and plural) in present- and past-referring contexts. Younger speakers do not seem to follow this behaviour. By contrast, the second person prefix (both singular and plural) is often dropped in future-referring contexts. In all such cases only the thematic vowel is left behind. (Bertinetto 2009: 34)

Since realis and irrealis tend to merge,⁶⁷ in the course of this chapter the verb paradigm will be analysed with full prefixation.⁶⁸

§4.3 Nasality in prefixation

The mechanism of nasal harmony to be found in Ayoreo leads to the nasalization of verb prefixes. In (3) two variants of the same verb are shown. In (3a) nasality does not spread to the left, and the prefixes do not nasalize, while in (3b) one can see the nasalization of the 1-person prefix /j/- > /ɲ/- and the 2S-person prefix /b/- > /m/-. The spread of nasality can also be seen in the first consonant of the root, which does not nasalize into (3a), while it undergoes nasalization in (3b).

(3) a. j-a-jona (1S), b-a-jona (2S), tɕ-a-jona (3), j-a-jona-ŋo (1P), wak-a-jona-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to run after, to chase’

b. ɲ-a-ɲona (1S), m-a-ɲona (2S), tɕ-a-ɲona (3), ɲ-a-ɲona-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ɲona-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to run after, to chase’

In (4) one finds a list of AY verbs with a nasal element in the root. The presence of nasalization in the prefix of these verbs is unpredictable, because

⁶⁶ As will be shown, the realis vs. irrealis opposition is also present in the other Zamucoan languages and the disappearing contrast in the 1- and 2-person of Ayoreo is what remains of two distinct moods.

⁶⁷ This seems to be a long-term trend in the evolution of AY morphology, because, comparing AY verb morphology with the other Zamucoan languages, it will be demonstrated that the merger between the realis and irrealis has already occurred in the Ayoreo 3-person, which does not have any more the realis vs. irrealis contrast.

⁶⁸ From now onwards, the original realis vs. irrealis distinction will not be indicated in AY verbs with full prefixation. For reasons of simplicity, the realis of CH and A.Z verbs will not be indicated in the glosses.

both the nasalized and non-nasalized prefixes are generally observed (4). From now onwards, when alternative versions of one and the same verb (or nominal) exist (e.g. with or without nasalization in the root), the alternative citation form is reported between parenthesis at the end of the examples (e.g. *chingo* /*ɕiŋo*/ (4d)).

- (4) a. j-/ɲ-i-sõre (1S), m-/b-a-sõre (2S), ɕ-i-sõre (3), j-/ɲ-i-sõ-ko (1P), wak-a-sõ-ɕo (2P)
 ‘to take a walk’
- b. j-/ɲ-i-ŋo (1S), m-a-ŋo (2S), ɕ-i-ŋo (3), j-/ɲ-i-ŋo-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋo-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to chop with an ax’
- c. j-/ɲ-i-kõra (1S), m-a-kõra (2S), Ø-Ø-kõra (3), j-/ɲ-i-kõra-ŋo (1P), wak-a-kõra-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to fall down’
- d. j-i-ŋo (1S), ba-ŋo (2S), ɕ-i-ŋo (3), j-i-ŋo-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋo-ŋo (2P) ‘to tell, to show’
 (also: *ɕigo*)
- e. j-i-ŋo-me (1S), m-a-ŋo-me (2S), ɕ-i-ŋo-me (3), j-i-ŋo-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋo-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to tell to, to show to’
- f. j-/ɲ-i-ɕaŋa-j (1S), b-/m-a-ɕaŋa-j (2S), Ø-Ø-ɕaŋa-j (3), j-/ɲ-i-ɕaŋa-ŋo-j (1P),
 wak-a-ɕaŋa-ŋo-j (2P) ‘to answer, to reply’
- g. j-/ɲ-i-si-ome (1S), b-/m-a-si-ome (2S), ɕ-i-si-ome (3), j/ɲ-i-si-go-me /
 j/ɲ-i-si-ŋo-me (1P), wak-a-si-jo-me / wak-a-si-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to give to’

According to Sušnik (1963: 52), the presence or lack of nasalization would depend on diatopical variation. However, the free nasalization of the prefixes does not mean that the spread of nasality is free in general. In nominal and verb suffixation the rules are more rigid: nasality always spreads, but nasal spread is blocked by some consonants. The directionality of nasality plays a role, because nasal harmony always spreads to the right and can be blocked. By contrast, left-spreading nasality is optional and is not usually blocked. In example (5) one finds three verbs with /k/ or /t/ as root-initial consonants. These consonants generally block right-spreading nasality, but this does not occur with left-spreading nasality: in (5) nasalized prefixes are observed.

- (5) a. j-i-katekã-ri (1S), m-/b-a-katekã-ri (2S), Ø-Ø-katekã-ri (3), j-i-katekã-ko-rĩ (1P),
 wak-a-katekã-ɕo-rĩ (2P) ‘to speak, to talk’
- b. j-/ɲ-i-kõra (1S), m-a-kõra (2S), Ø-Ø-kõra (3), j-/ɲ-i-kõra-ŋo (1P), wak-a-kõra-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to fall down’
- c. j-/ɲ-i-terêta (1S), m-a-terêta (2S), Ø-Ø-terêta (3), j-/ɲ-i-terêta-go (1P),

wak-a-terēta-jo (2P) ‘to lie down’⁶⁹

§4.4 The thematic vowel

There are five thematic vowels, corresponding to the vowels of the phonemic inventory of Ayoreo: /a e i o u/. If one considers the behaviour of the thematic vowel in the paradigm, one has to distinguish between high and non-high vowels. If the thematic vowel is a non-high vowel, such as /a/, /e/ and /o/, it is preserved in the whole paradigm (6).

- (6) a. j-a-ka (1S), b-a-ka (2S), tɕ-a-ka (3), j-a-ka-go (1P), wak-a-ka-jo (2P) ‘to plant’
 b. j-e-do (1S), b-e-do (2S), tɕ-e-do (3), j-e-do-go (1P), wak-e-do-jo (2P)
 ‘to talk about someone (good or bad)’
 c. j-o-hare (1S), b-o-hare (2S), tɕ-o-hare (3), j-o-ha-ko (1P), wak-o-ha-tɕo (2P) ‘to smell’

If the thematic vowel is a high-vowel, such as /i/ or /u/, it is overwritten by /a/ in the 2-person (5). /a/ is synchronically analysable as a vowel which fills the slot of the thematic vowel, but diachronically it should rather be considered a prefix vowel.

- (5) a. j-u-ga (1S), b-a-ga (2S), tɕ-u-ga (3), j-u-ga-go (1P), wak-a-ga-jo (2P) ‘to sew, to mend’
 b. j-i-go (1S), b-a-go (2S), tɕ-i-go (3), j-i-go-go (1P), wak-a-go-jo (2P) ‘to tell,
 to show’ (also: tɕiŋo)

Although the behaviour of the thematic vowel is very regular, there are some exceptions. The verbs *chise* /tɕise/ (6a), *chícāra* /tɕikāra/ (6b) and *chícāre* /tɕikāre/ (6c) have /e/ rather than /a/ as 2-vowel. The thematic vowel can be crucial in distinguishing a verb from another, as *ch-i-se* /tɕ-i-se/ ‘to meet’ (6a) and *ch-a-se* /tɕ-a-se/ ‘to plunder’ (6d). Note that the 2-persons of these verbs would coincide if *chise* /tɕise/ had the regular vowel /a/ in the 2-person. Sometimes two thematic vowels can alternate in the paradigm, as in *chimáta*

⁶⁹ As to prefix nasalization in the examples of this chapter, I will follow scrupulously the data from the respective sources. Given the amplitude of the phenomenon, in the case of verbs with a nasal element in the root, the lack of the nasalized or non-nasalized variant of a prefix in the paradigm does not mean that the verb does not have that prefix variant, but only that it is not reported in the sources used for this study.

/tɕimata/ (6e) or *chamáta* /tɕamata/ (6f). Such alternations can be due to diatopical variations, as in (6e-f) (Bertinetto: personal communication). In (6g) the alternation between /i/ and /u/ is to be found.⁷⁰ The verb *chiro* /tɕiro/ (6h) can have both /a/ and its irregular counterpart /e/ in the 2-person.

- (6) a. j-i-se (1S), b-e-se (2S), tɕ-i-se (3), j-i-ko (1P), wak-e-so (2P) ‘to find, to meet, to reach’⁷¹
 b. ɲ-i-kāra (1S), m-e-kāra (2S), tɕ-i-kāra (3), ɲ-i-kā-ko (1P), wak-e-kā-tɕo (2P) ‘to dream’
 c. ɲ-i-kāre (1S), m-e-kāre (2S), tɕ-i-kāre (3), ɲ-i-kā-ko (1P), wake-kā-tɕo (2P)
 ‘to mention’
 d. j-a-se (1S), b-a-se (2S), tɕ-a-se (3), j-a-ko (1P), wak-a-so (2P) ‘to plunder’
 e. ɲ-a-mata (1S), b-/m-a-mata (2S), tɕ-a-mata (3), ɲ-a-mata-go (1P), wak-a-mata-jo (2P)
 ‘to collect’
 f. ɲ-i-mata (1S), b-/m-a-mata (2S), tɕ-i-mata (3), ɲ-i-mata-go (1P), wak-a-mata-jo (2P)
 ‘to collect’
 g. j-u-huse / j-i-huse (1S), b-a-huse (2S), tɕ-use / suse / tɕ-uhuse (3), j-u-hu-ko /
 j-i-hu-ko (1P), wak-ahuàso (2P) ‘to care for’ (used with *gio*)
 h. j-i-ro (1S), b-e-ro / b-a-ro (2S), tɕ-i-ro (3), j-i-ro-go (1P), wak-e-ro-jo /
 wak-a-ro-jo (2P) ‘to weave’

§4.5 /t/-verbs

Although most prefixal verbs in Ayoreo take the prefix /tɕ/- in the 3-person, there is a little class of verbs characterized by the 3-prefix /t/-. /t/- is not an allomorph of /tɕ/- and the alternation between /tɕ/- and /t/- in the same verb is not usually possible. The data in examples (7) and (8) do not imply that every verb with 3-person beginning with /t/ is a /t/-verbs. As shown below, also radical verbs may have the 3-person beginning with /t/ (see (36-37)).

- (7) a. j-a-gu (1S), b-a-gu (2S), t-a-gu (3), j-a-ho (1P), wak-a-tɕo (2P) ‘to eat, to bite’
 b. ɲ-/j-a-ɲari (1S), m-/b-a-ɲari (2S), t-a-ɲari (3), ɲ-/j-a-ɲa-ko-j (1P), wak-a-ɲa-tɕo-j (2P)
 ‘to listen to, to pay attention to, to obey to’

⁷⁰ This kind of alternation between high thematic vowels is relatively frequent in the personal prefixation of Chamacoco.

⁷¹ Also other verbs derived from *chise* /tɕise/ show an irregular vowel in the 2-person: beságui /besagi/ (2S) ---> chiságui /tɕisagi/ (3) ‘to be unable to reach, to fall short of reaching’, besína /besina/ (2S) ---> chisína /tɕisina/ (3) ‘to find / reach after pursuing’.

- c. *n-e-rã* (1S), *m-e-rã* (2S), *t-e-rã* (3), *n-ẽ-ko* (1P), *wakẽ-tçõ* (2P) ‘to sell’
- d. *n-ẽ-ratçu* (1S), *m-ẽ-ratçu* (2S), *t-ẽ-ratçu* / *tç-ẽ-ratçu* (3), *n-ẽ-ratçu-go* (1P),
wak-ẽ-ratçu-jo (2P) ‘to sing with gourd rattle’
- e. *j-e-re* (1S), *b-e-re* (2S), *t-e-re* (3), *j-e-ko* (1P), *wak-e-tço* / *wak-a-re-tço* (2P)
‘to urinate’
- f. *j-i-bidi* (1S), *b-a-bidi* (2S), *t-i-bidi* (3), *j-i-bi-ko-j* (1P), *wak-a-bi-tço-j* (2S) ‘to call,
to summon’
- g. *j-i-bi-te* (1S), *b-a-bi-te* (2S), *t-i-bi-te* (3), *j-i-bi-ko* (1P), *wak-a-bi-tço* (2S) ‘to yell,
to shout’
- h. *j-i-bagi* (1S), *b-a-bagi* (2S), *t-i-bagi* (3), *j-i-ba-ho-j* (1P), *wak-a-ba-tço-j* (2P)
‘to come/go to a person’
- i. *n-õ-ra* (1S), *m-õ-ra* (2S), *t-õ-ra* (3), *n-õ-ra-ño* (1P), *wak-õ-ra-ño* (2P) ‘to throw out’
- l. *j-õ-ra-(h)i* (1S), *b-õ-ra-(h)i* (2S), *t-õ-ra-(h)i* (3), *j-õ-ra-ño-(h)i* (1P),
wak-õ-ra-ño-(h)i (2P) ‘to come from, to leave from’
- m. *n-u-rãñi* (1S), *m-a-rãñi* (2S), *t-u-rãñi* (3), *n-u-ra-ño-ñi* (1P), *wak-a-rã-ño-ñi* (2P) ‘to be
sure (of what one sees or does)’

In (8) other /t/-verbs are reported.

- (8) *t-a-k* / *t-a-ke* (3), *j-a-k* / *j-a-ke* (1S) ‘to eat, to be eating’
t-a-kãre (3), *j-a-kãre* (1S) ‘to plant’, / *t-a-kãrihi* (3), *j-a-kãrihi* (1S) ‘to plant in’
t-a-guha (3), *j-a-guha* (1S) ‘to rebel against’
t-a-guome (3), *j-a-guome* (1S) ‘to use, to make use of’
t-a-hirome (3), *j-a-hirome* (1S) ‘try to get a better look’
t-a-munahi (3), *j-a-munahi* (1S) ‘tear off bites of food, eat food without cutting it first’
t-a-kiri (3), *j-a-kiri* (1S) ‘to visit, go to see someone’ / *t-a-kirihi* (3), *j-a-kirihi* (1S)
‘to visit at’
t-ã-reha (3), *j-ã-reha* (1S) ‘to use special secret words to produce desired effects’
t-a-ja (ihi) (3), *j-a-ja* (ihi) (1S) ‘to be strong, to be firm’
t-ẽ-raha (3), *j-ẽ-raha* (1S) ‘to give a gift to, to sacrifice to’
t-ẽ-rame (3), *j-ẽ-rame* (1S) ‘to sell to, to exchange for, hand over to’
t-ẽ-rihi (3), *j-ẽ-rihi* (1S) ‘to give a gift to, to give an offering to’
t-i-bidaha (3), *j-i-bidaha* (1S) ‘to cry out to’
t-i-miniña (3), *j-i-miniña* (1S) ‘to pay attention to, to take note to’
t-i-miñara (3), *j-i-miñara* (1S) ‘to abandon, to forsake, to throw out’
t-o-kãra (3), *j-o-kãra* (1S) ‘to be jealous over, to accuse’
t-õ-raha (3), *j-õ-raha* (1S) ‘to throw into, to cast into’
t-o-ri (3), *j-o-ri* ‘to steal, to rob’
t-o-ria (3), *j-o-ria* (1S) ‘to steal, to rob’ ‘to do something without warning’
t-u-hua (3), *j-u-hua* (1S) ‘to tell about, to spread the news’
t-u-huna (3), *j-u-huna* (1S) ‘to wear around the neck, to carry from the neck’

t-u-ŋaraha (3), j-u-ŋaraha (1S) ‘to have sexual intercourse with’

§4.6 Radical verbs

Although the vast majority of AY verbs take a personal prefix in the 3-person, there is a class of verbs whose 3-person consists of the mere root. These verbs will be called ‘radical verbs’.

Radical verbs have no thematic vowel in the 3-person. However, the vocalic pattern is easily predictable and extremely regular. Most radical verbs take /i/ in the 1-persons and /a/ in the 2-persons (9a-g). This occurs in most verbs, with the exceptions of those having /u/ as first root-vowel (9h-i). In this case, the verb takes /u/ in the 1-persons and /a/ in the 2-persons. Thus, these verbs stem from verbs with either /i/ or /u/ as thematic vowel. *Quejna* /keŋa/ (9l) shows an exception in the 1-thematic-vowel, because both /i/ and /a/ are observed.

The 3-person of a radical verb is the most dynamic element of the system and is sometimes different from the rest of the paradigm, because the fortition of the root-initial consonant or another change may occur in the 3-person. These consonantal changes will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs. However, most radical verbs are regular and the root remains unchanged in the 3-person, as in (9a-i). As one can see in (9), there is a rich inventory of consonants occurring in root-initial position in the 3-person.⁷² In most radical verbs where the root-initial consonant undergoes no change, given the 3-person one can construct the whole paradigm but not vice-versa, because, given the rest of the paradigm, it is impossible to predict whether the 3-person is radical or takes a prefix. In the following sections, radical verbs will be ordered according to the root-initial consonant.

- (9) a. j-/ŋ-i-kōra (1S), m-a-kōra (2S), Ø-Ø-kōra (3), j-/ŋ-i-kōra-ŋo (1P), wak-a-kōra-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to fall down’
 b. j-i-katekãri (1S), m-/b-a-katekãri (2S), Ø-Ø-katekãri (3), j-i-katekã-ko-rĩ (1P),
 wak-a-katekã-ŋo-rĩ (2P) ‘to speak, to talk’
 c. ŋ-i-mo (1S), m-a-mo (2S), Ø-Ø-mo (3), ŋ-i-mo-ŋo (1P), wak-a-mo-ŋo (2P) ‘to sleep’

⁷² The only consonants of Ayoreo which are not to be found word-initially in the 3-person of radical verbs are /g/, /ŋ/, /ɬ/ and /w/.

- d. j-/ɲ-i-terēta (1S), m-a-terēta (2S), Ø-Ø-terēta (3), j-/ɲ-i-terēta-go (1P),
 wak-a-terēta-jo (2P) ‘to lie down’
- e. j-i-todo (1S), b-a-todo (2S), Ø-Ø-todo (3), j-i-todo-go (1P), wak-a-todo-jo (2P)
 ‘to be afraid of’
- f. j-i-to-j (1S), b-a-to-j (2S), Ø-Ø-to-j (3), j-i-to-go-j (1P), wak-a-to-jo-j (2P) ‘to die’
- g. j-i-tota-ha (1S), b-a-tota-ha (2S), Ø-Ø-tota-ha (3), j-i-tota-go-ha (1P),
 wak-a-tota-jo-ha (2P) ‘to make efforts’
- h. ɲ-u-ɲusi (1S), m-a-ɲusi (2S), Ø-Ø-ɲusi (3), ɲ-u-ɲusi-ŋo/ j-u-ɲu-ko-j (1P),
 wak-a-ɲusi-ɲo / wak-a-ɲu-so-j (2P) ‘to be sad, to miss someone/something’
- i. ɲ-u-ɲusina (1S), m-a-ɲusina (2P), Ø-Ø-ɲusina (3), ɲ-u-ɲusina-go/-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-ɲusina-jo/-ɲo (2P) ‘to remember’
- l. j-a-keɲa / j-i-keɲa (1S), b-a-keɲa (2S), Ø-Ø-keɲa (3), j-a-keɲa-ŋo /
 j-i-keɲa-ŋo (1P), wak-a-keɲa-ɲo (2P) ‘to move, to run’

There are a few verbs which will be reported in the following examples, for which also a 3-prefixal-form is reported (see §4.6.4).

§4.6.1 Radical verbs in a bilabial consonant

In few verbs with with /b/ as root-initial consonant, /b/ may devoice in the 3-person (10).

- (10) a. j-i-bo (1S), b-a-bo (2S), Ø-Ø-po (3), j-i-bo-go (1P), wak-a-bo-jo (2P) ‘to cry, to sing
 (when referring to birds)’
- b. j-i-bo-ha (1S), b-a-bo-ha (2S), Ø-Ø-po-ha (3), j-i-bo-go-ha (1P), wak-a-bo-jo-ha (2P)
 ‘to murmur against, to complain about’

However, in the majority of verbs with /p/ as 3-person initial consonant, /p/ is the regular root-initial consonant. In example (11) root-initial /p/ is preserved in the whole paradigm. Example (12) lists other radical verbs with root-initial /p/ which present no change in the 3-person.

- (11) a. j-i-pati-ha (1S), b-a-pati-ha (2S), Ø-Ø-pati-ha (3), j-i-pati-go-ha (1P),
 wak-a-pati-jo-ha (2S) ‘to endure, to remain firm’
- b. ɲ-i-poɲa (1S), m-a-poɲa (2S), Ø-Ø-poɲa (3), ɲ-i-poɲa-ŋo (1P), wak-a-poɲa-ɲo (2P)
 ‘to bawl out, to scold’
- c. j-i-poga-j (1S), b-a-poga-j (2S), Ø-Ø-poga-j (3) j-i-poga-go-j (1P),

- wak-a-poga-jo-j (2P) ‘to throw up, to vomit’
- d. j-i-pogu (1S), b-a-pogu (2S), Ø-Ø-pogu (3), j-i-po-ho (1P), wak-a-po-t̥ɔ (2P)
 ‘to hide, to conceal’
- e. j-i-pota (1S), b-a-pota (2S), Ø-Ø-pota (3), j-i-pota-go (1S), wak-a-pota-jo (2P)
 ‘to want to, to desire’
- (12) Ø-Ø-paṇahi (3), j-i-paṇahi (1S) ‘to understand, to observe first-hand’
 Ø-Ø-paṇota ome/aha (3), j-i-paṇota ome/aha (1S) ‘to be gentle toward,
 to be humble toward’
 Ø-Ø-patiha (3), j-i-patiha (1S) ‘to endure, to remain firm’
 Ø-Ø-paṭīora (3), j-i-paṭīora (1S) ‘to die with another’
 Ø-Ø-perohi (3), j-i-perohi (1S) ‘to be like’
 Ø-Ø-pesōra (3), j-i-pesōra (1S) ‘to be capable of handling’
 Ø-Ø-pesu (3), j-i-pesu (1S) ‘to make, to do, to build’ (see ex. (52a))
 Ø-Ø-pihoke (3), j-i-pihoke (1S) ‘to be clear, to known’
 Ø-Ø-pirake (3), j-i-pirake (1S) ‘to be difficult to understand’
 Ø-Ø-puha (3), j-u-puha (1S) ‘to be determined in’
 Ø-Ø-puruhi (3), j-u-puruhi (1S) ‘to wash a newborn baby’
 Ø-Ø-pusi (3), j-u-pusi (1S) ‘to reside in’ (also: t̥ɔpusi)

Root-initial /p/ is preserved in the whole paradigm, with the only exception of the verb in (13), which according to Higham *et al.* (2000: 360) is only used in the plural.

- (13) j-i-pesome (1P), wak-a-pesome (2P), ore Ø-Ø-besome (3P) ‘to do together’

In (10) root-initial /b/ turns into /p/ in the 3-person, but this is not always the case, because verbs with 3-person in /b/- are also to be observed, although they are only a few (14).

- (14) a. j-i-base (1S), b-a-base (2S), Ø-Ø-base (3), j-i-ba-ko (1P), wak-a-ba-so (2P)
 ‘to fall down, to be born, to stop when travelling’ (also: bas)
- b. j-i-bake (1S), b-a-bake (2S), Ø-Ø-bake (3), j-i-ba-ho (1P), wak-a-ba-t̥ɔ (2P)
 ‘to hunt for honey’
- c. j-i-beta (1S), b-a-beta (2S), Ø-Ø-beta (3), j-i-beta-go (1P), wak-a-beta-jo (2P)
 ‘to be half dead, to wither’
- d. j-i-biṇa (1S), m-a-biṇa (2S), Ø-Ø-biṇa (3), j-i-biṇa-ŋo (1P), wak-a-biṇa-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to vanish, to disappear, to be lost’
- e. j-i-botare (1S), b-a-botare (2S), Ø-Ø-botare (3), j-i-bota-ko (1P), wak-a-bota-t̥ɔ (2P)
 ‘to debate, to argue, to dispute’

§4.6.2 Radical verbs in a velar consonant

In radical verbs with root-initial /ŋ/, this consonant undergoes fortition word-initially, that is in the 3-person, where /ŋ/ turns into /k/. The presence of /ŋ/ in word-initial position is not allowed by the phonotactic rules of Ayoreo.

- (15) a. j-/ŋ-i-ŋana (1S), b-/m-a-ŋana (2S), Ø-Ø-kana (3), j-/ŋ-i-ŋana-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-ŋana-ŋo (2P) ‘to laugh’
 b. ŋ-i-ŋāra (1S), m-a-ŋāra (2S), Ø-Ø-kāra (3), ŋ-i-ŋarā-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋarā-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to have something different’
 c. ŋ-i-ŋaṅare (1S), m-a-ŋaṅare (2S), Ø-Ø-kaṅare (3), ŋ-a-ŋaṅa-ko (1P),
 wak-a-ŋaṅa-tɕo (2P) ‘to play, to gamble on’ (also: kanare)
 d. j-i-gatɕo-ha (1S), b-a-gatɕo-ha (2S), Ø-Ø-katɕo-ha (3), j-i-gatɕo-go-ha (1P),
 wak-a-gatɕo-jo-ha (2P) ‘to jump on, to die in’
 e. j-i-gatɕo-hi (1S), b-a-gatɕo-hi (2S), Ø-Ø-katɕo-hi (3), j-i-gatɕo-go-hi (1P),
 wak-a-gatɕo-jo-hi (2P) ‘to jump from’

The 3-person of the verbs in (15) has the same initial consonant of radical verbs with root-initial /k/, which are far more frequent and preserve /k/ in the whole paradigm (16). A list of further radical verbs with root-initial /k/ is provided in (17).

- (16) a. j-i-kasi (1S), b-a-kasi (2S), Ø-Ø-kasi (3), j-i-ka-ko-j (1P), wak-a-ka-so-j (2P)
 ‘to have courage, to be fearless’
 b. j-i-kanirake (1S), b-a-kanirake (2S), Ø-Ø-kanirake (3), j-i-kanira-ho (1P),
 wak-a-kanira-tɕo (2P) ‘to have the desire to do’
 c. j-i-kosa (1S), b-a-kosa (2S), Ø-Ø-kosa (3), j-i-kosa-go (1P), wak-a-kosa-jo (2P)
 ‘to brag about, to boast about’
 d. j-u-kuta (1S), b-a-kuta (2S), Ø-Ø-kuta (3), j-u-kuta-go (1P), wak-a-kuta-jo (2P)
 ‘to be fed up, to be lazy’
 e. ŋ-i-keṅa-me (1S), m-a-keṅa-me (2S), Ø-Ø-keṅa-me (3), ŋ-i-keṅa-ŋo-me (1P),
 wak-a-keṅa-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to hurry’
 f. ŋ-i-kēra (1S), m-a-kēra (2S), Ø-Ø-kēra (3), ŋ-i-kēra-ŋo (1P), wak-a-kēra-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to grow, to increase, to get bigger’

- (17) Ø-Ø-kako (3), j-i-kako (1S) ‘to have a cramp’

- Ø-Ø-kaṇorihi (3), j-i-kaṇorihi (1S) ‘to be thirsty’
 Ø-Ø-kaputahi (3), j-i-kaputahi (1S) ‘to go straight to, to go directly to’
 Ø-Ø-kataha (3), j-i-kataha (1S) ‘to stick, to grab on and hold tightly’
 Ø-Ø-katekāri (3), j-i-katekāri (1S) ‘to speak, to talk’ (see (9b))
 Ø-Ø-kōra (3), j-/ɲ-i-kōra (1S) ‘to fall down’ (see (9a))
 Ø-Ø-kuguṇahi (3), j-u-kuguṇahi (1S) ‘to rush toward, to run quickly toward’
 Ø-Ø-kuṇesōri (3), j-u-kuṇesōri (1S) ‘to get near, to be near’
 Ø-Ø-keṇa (3), j-a-keṇa / j-i-keṇa (1S) ‘to move, to run’

§4.6.3 Radical verbs with third person in /d/- and /n/-

There are a few radical verbs with 3-person beginning with /d/ or /n/ (the nasalized counterpart of /d/). In some cases this consonant does not correspond to the root-initial consonant of the verb, but is the result of a consonantal change word-initially.

In some verbs, root-initial /r/ may turn into /d/ or /n/ in the 3-person: /r/ > /d/ (18), /r/ > /n/ (19). Such consonantal changes can also be seen as the fortition of /r/ in word-initial position. The fortition of /r/ is necessary, because AY phonological words cannot begin with /r/. Note that intervocalic /r/ tends to fall, and this explains, for instance, the dropping of the root-initial syllable *-/ri/-* in *nire* (19g). In (19h) the second /n/ of *nunaji* /*nunahi*/ drops. In (19d-e) one finds two variants of the same verb. In both cases /n/ alternates with /ɲ/ word-initially in the 3-person.

- (18) a. ɲ-i-rĩ (1S), m-a-rĩ (2S), Ø-Ø-di (3), ɲ-i-rĩ-ŋo (1P), wak-a-rĩ-ŋo (2P) ‘to arrive’
 b. j-i-rike (1S), b-a-rike (2S), Ø-Ø-dike (3), j-i-ri-ho (1P), wak-a-ri-ṭo (2P) ‘to walk’
 c. j-i-rosopi-me (1S), b-a-rosopi-me (2S), Ø-Ø-dosopi-me (3), j-i-rosopi-ŋo-me (1P), wak-a-rosopi-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to fear, to be afraid of’
- (19) a. ɲ-i-rã (1S), m-a-rã (2S), Ø-Ø-nã (3), ɲ-i-rã-ŋo (1P), wak-a-rã-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to reap, to harvest’
 b. ɲ-i-rĩhi (1S), m-a-rĩhi (2S), Ø-Ø-nihi (3), ɲ-i-rĩhi-ŋo (1P), wak-a-rĩhi-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to wake up’ (also: niɲi)
 c. j-i-rã (1S), m-a-rã (2S), Ø-Ø-naha (3), j-i-rã-ŋo-ha (1P), wak-a-rã-ŋo-ha (2P)
 ‘to put into’
 d. ɲ-i-rãre (1S), m-a-rãre (2S), Ø-Ø-nare / Ø-Ø-ɲare (3), ɲ-i-rã-ko (1P), wak-a-rã-ṭo (2P) ‘to speak’

- e. *ɲ-i-rarãre* (1S), *m-a-rarãre* (2S), *Ø-Ø-narãre* / *Ø-Ø-ɲarãre* (3), *ɲ-i-rarã-ko* (1P),
waka-a-rarã-tɕo (2P) ‘to speak’
- f. *ɲ-i-rihina* (1S), *m-a-rihina* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nihina* (3), *ɲ-i-rihina-ŋo* (1P),
wak-a-rihina-ɲo (2P) ‘to alert with intention, purpose’
- g. *ɲ-i-(rĩ)re* (1S), *m-a-(rĩ)re* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nire* (3), *ɲ-i-rẽ-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-rẽ-ɲo* (2P)
 ‘to massage’
- h. *j-ũ-rua-hi* (1P), *b-ã-rua-hi* (2P), *Ø-Ø-nuna-hi* (3), *j-ũ-rua-ŋo-hi* (1P),
wak-ã-rua-ɲo-hi (2P) ‘to see clearly, to understand’

When /d/ or /n/ is the root-initial consonant, it is preserved in the whole paradigm. In (20a) and (21a) the same verb is reported, the only difference is the nasalization of the word-initial consonant.

- (20) a. *j-i-dehena* (1S), *b-a-dehena* (2S), *Ø-Ø-dehena* (3), *j-i-dehena-ŋo* (1P),
wak-a-dehena-ɲo (2P) ‘to invite, to welcome’ (also: *nehena* (3))
- b. *j-i-derogo-me* (1S), *b-a-derogo-me* (2S), *Ø-Ø-derogo-me* (3), *j-i-dero-ho-me* (1P),
wak-a-dero-tɕo-me (2P) ‘to be bored with, to be tired of’
- c. *j-i-diape* (1S), *b-a-diape* (2S), *Ø-Ø-diape* (3) ‘to be fatigued, to be tired’⁷³
- d. *j-i-doso-ha* (1S), *b-a-doso-ha* (2S), *Ø-Ø-doso-ha* (3), *j-i-doso-go-ha* (1P),
wak-a-doso-jo-ha (2P) ‘to scold, to rebuke’
- e. *j-i-doŋoŋa-ha* (1S), *b-a-doŋoŋa-ha* (2S), *Ø-Ø-doŋoŋa-ha* (3), *j-i-doŋo-ho-ha* (1P),
wak-a-doŋo-tɕo-ha (2P) ‘to protest again, to show contempt for’
- (21) a. *j-i-nehena* (1S), *b-a-nehena* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nehena* (3), *j-i-nehena-ŋo* (1P),
wak-a-nehena-ɲo (2P) ‘to invite, to welcome’ (also: *dehena* (3))
- b. *j-i-neheru* (1S), *b-a-neheru* (2S), *Ø-Ø-neheru* (3), *j-i-nehe-ko* (1P), *wak-a-nehe-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to encourage, to exhort’
- c. *ɲ-i-nina* (1S), *m-a-nina* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nina* (3), *ɲ-i-nina-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-nina-ɲo* (2P)
 ‘to rejoice, to welcome’ (followed by the reflexive pronoun: ‘to be happy’)

In (22-23) one finds radical verbs where rare changes occur in the 3-person beginning with /n/-. Root-initial /ɲ/ can turn into /n/ in the 3-person (22). Note that /ɲ/ is observed word-initially in the 3-person (34), so that the presence of the word-initial /n/ in the 3-person is not due to phonotactic constraints. In (23a-b) root-initial /hi/ or /ŋi/ turns into /no/ word-initially in the 3-person. /n/ depends on the fortition of /h/ or /ŋ/ word-initially, while /o/ is a sheer irregularity. For the verb in (23a) a ‘regular’ prefixal form is also

⁷³ This verb is not used in the 1P-person and the 2P-person according to Higham *et al.* (2000: 390).

found in the 3-person. In (23c) root-initial /ŋ/ turns into /n/ word-initially in the 3-person, where the following consonant /h/ turns into /ŋ/.

- (22) a. j-i-ŋoŋa (1S), b-a-ŋoŋa (2S), Ø-Ø-ŋoŋa (3), j-i-ŋoŋa-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋoŋa-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to change, to become’ (used with *ga*)
 b. j-i-ŋoŋa-hi (1S), b-a-ŋoŋa-hi (2S), Ø-Ø-ŋoŋa-hi (3), j-i-ŋoŋa-ŋo-hi (1P),
 wak-a-ŋoŋa-ŋo-hi (2P) ‘to continue on to, to continue in’
- (23) a. j-i-ŋina (1S), b-a-ŋina (2S), Ø-Ø-nona / tɕ-i-ŋina (3), j-i-ŋina-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-ŋina-ŋo (2P) ‘to accompany, to go with’ (also: tɕihina)
 b. j-i-hipo-me (1P), b-a-hipo-me (2P), Ø-Ø-nopo-me (3), j-i-hipo-ŋo-me (1P),
 wak-a-hipo-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to leave’
 c. j-/j-i-ŋehe (1S), b-/m-a-ŋehe (2S), Ø-Ø-nene (3), j-/j-i-ŋehe-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-ŋehẽ-tɕo (2P) ‘to persuade’

§4.6.4 Radical verbs with third person in /s/- and /tɕ/-

Radical verbs with root-initial /s/ preserve it in the whole paradigm (24). In (25a) both a prefixal and a radical 3-person beginning with /s/- are reported for the same verbs. As one can see in (25b), where a variant of *chusuruŋu* /tɕusuruŋu/ is reported, the word-internal syllable /su/ can drop (25b).⁷⁴

- (24) a. j-i-serẽra-ha (1S), b-a-serẽra-ha (2S), Ø-Ø-serẽra-ha (3), j-i-serẽra-ŋo-ha (1P),
 wak-a-serẽra-ŋo-ha (2P) ‘to be soft, to be weak’
 b. j-u-sũruŋa (1S), b-a-sũruŋa (2S), Ø-Ø-sũruŋa (3), j-u-sũruŋa-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-sũruŋa-ŋo (2P) ‘to be listless, to be depressed’
 c. j-i-so-go (1P), wak-a-so-jo (2P), ore Ø-Ø-so (3P) ‘to lack a part, to miss a portion’
 (only used in the plural)
- (25) a. j-u-suruŋu (1S), m-a-suruŋu (2S), tɕ-u-suruŋu / Ø-Ø-suruŋu (3), j-u-suruŋu-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-suruŋu-ŋo (2P) ‘to pout at, to act disgusted’
 b. j-u-ruŋu (1S), m-a-ruŋu (2S), tɕ-u-ruŋu / tɕ-u-gu (3), j-u-ruŋu-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-ruŋu-ŋo (2P) ‘to pout at, to act disgusted’

In other radical verbs having the 3-person beginning with /s/, this

⁷⁴ The syllable dropping of /ru/- is observed in the 3-person *chugu* /tɕugu/.

consonant is the result of fortition of the root-initial consonant. Root-initial /h/ (26a-b) and /ŋ/ (26c) turn into /s/ in the 3-person.⁷⁵ In (26b-c) a 3-person form where /h/ and /ŋ/ are preserved is also found. Note that there is no morphophonological need for /h/ or /ŋ/ to turn into /s/ word-initially: radical verbs beginning with /h/ and /ŋ/ are observed in Ayoreo (see examples (30) and (33), respectively).

- (26) a. j-i-hōkaro-me (1S), b-a-hōkaro-me (1S), Ø-Ø-sokaro-me (3), j-i-hōka-ko-me (1P),
 wak-a-jōka-ṭo-me (2P) ‘to mistreat’
 b. j-i-hu(r)ega (1P), b-a-hu(r)ega (2P), Ø-Ø-su(r)ega / Ø-Ø-hu(r)ega (3), j-u-hu(r)e-ho /
 j-u-hurega-go (1P), wak-a-hu(r)e-ṭo / wak-a-hurega-jo (2P) ‘to permit,
 to allow’
 c. j-u-ŋue (1S), m-a-ŋue (2S), Ø-Ø-sue / Ø-Ø-ŋue (3), j-u-ŋue-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-ŋue-jo (2P) ‘to be bigger/greater than’ (used with *gaj*) (also: sure / *nure*)

In (27) root-initial /h/ can correspond to /s/ in the 3-person, so that /h/ turns into /s/. There is also a regular 3-person variant beginning by /ṭ/. This should not be interpreted as the result of a consonantal change, but as a 3-prefixal-form which alternates with the radical form and in which syllable dropping occurred, as one can see in (27b), where *chujuse* /ṭuhuse/ turns into *chuse* /ṭuse/.⁷⁶

- (27) a. j-i-hose (1S), b-a-hose (2S), Ø-Ø-ose / ṭ-ose (3), j-i-ho-ko (1P), wak-a-ho-so (2P)
 ‘to push (the enemy) back; to squeeze’ (see also (30b))
 b. j-u-huse (1S), b-a-huse (2S), Ø-Ø-suse / ṭ-use / ṭ-u-huse (3), j-u-hu-ko (1P),
 wak-a-hu-so (2P) ‘to care for’ (used with *gio*)
 c. j-u-hu(ru) (1S), b-a-hu(ru) (2S), Ø-Ø-su(ru) / ṭ-u-hu(ru) (3), j-u-hu-ko (1P),
 wak-a-hu-ṭo / wak-a-hu-jo (2P) ‘to close (in), to shut in’ (used with *gaj*)

There are also some radical verbs in /ṭ/. In a few verbs root-initial /ṭ/ is preserved in the whole paradigm (28a-b), while in other verbs /ṭ/ in the 3-person derives from the fortition of /j/ in word-initial position (29). The verb in (28c) is not a radical verb, but its prefixal 3-person coincides with the radical 3-person of the verb in (28b). One may also surmise that the verbs in

⁷⁵ /ŋ/ is the nasal counterpart of /h/.

⁷⁶ The syllable dropping of -hV/- is a frequent phonetic phenomenon in Chamacoco when /h/ appears in intervocalic context and both vowels have the same quality.

(29) are prefixal verbs where the root-initial syllable *-/jV/-* has dropped, and */tɕ/* is the 3-prefix, but the comparison with possessive inflection suggests that */tɕ/* is the result of fortition (see §9.7).

(28) a. *j-i-tɕietaji-me* (1S), *b-a-tɕietaji-me* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕietaji-me* (3), *j-i-tɕietaji-ŋo-me* (1P),
wak-a-tɕietaji-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to protest against, to show contempt for’

b. *ŋ-i-tɕaŋa-j* (1S), *m-a-tɕaŋa-j* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕaŋa-j* (3), *ŋ-i-tɕaŋa-ŋo-j* (1P),
wak-a-tɕaŋa-ŋo-j (2P) ‘to answer, to reply, to respond’

c. *ŋ-a-ŋa-j* (1S), *m-a-ŋa-j* (2S), *tɕ-a-ŋa-j* (3), *ŋ-a-ŋa-ŋo-j* (1P), *wak-a-ŋa-ŋo-j* (2P)
 ‘to go to, to come to’

(29) a. *j-i-ja* (1S), *b-a-ja* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕa* (3), *j-i-ja-go* (1P), *wak-a-ja-jo* (2P) ‘to stop, to quit’

b. *j-i-jage* (1S), *b-a-jage* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕage* (3), *j-i-jage-go* (1P), *wak-a-jage-jo* (2P)
 ‘to stand up’

c. *j-i-jagena* (1S), *b-a-jagena* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕagena* (3), *j-i-jagena-ŋo* (1P),
wak-a-jagena-ŋo (2P) ‘to stand up with intention’

d. *j-i-ja-hi* (1S), *b-a-ja-hi* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕa-hi* (3), *j-i-ja-go-hi* (1P), *wak-a-ja-jo-hi* (2P)
 ‘to stay with, to stay by’

e. *j-i-ja-me* (1S), *b-a-ja-me* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕa-me* (3), *j-i-ja-go-me* (1P), *wak-a-ja-ŋo-me* (2P)
 ‘to stand firm against, to retreat from danger’

f. *j-i-jo* (1S), *b-a-jo* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕo* (3), *j-i-jo-go* (1P), *wak-a-jo-jo* (2P) ‘to jump’

h. *j-i-jo-gaj* (1S), *b-a-jo-gaj* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕo-gaj* (3), *j-i-jo-go-gaj* (1P), *wak-a-jo-jo-gaj* (2P)
 ‘to pass over’

g. *j-i-jo-ha* (1S), *b-a-jo-ha* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tɕo-ha* (3), *j-i-jo-go-ha* (1P), *wak-a-jo-jo-ha* (2P)
 ‘to jump to another side’

§4.6.5 Radical verbs without any consonantal change

This paragraph discusses the radical verbs in which no consonantal change occurs. There is an inventory of root-initial consonants which are always present in the whole paradigm when they are to be found word-initially in the 3-person, so that, given the 3-person, one can construct the other verb forms. The following examples list radical verbs beginning with */h/* (30), */m/* (31), */m̥/* (32), */ŋ/* (33), */ŋ̥/* (34) and */j/* (35). Note that few radical verbs are to be found for each of the above-mentioned consonants. In (30b) one finds three variants in the 3-person: *jose* */hose/*, *sose* and *chose* */tɕose/*. Root-initial */h/* undergoes fortition in *sose*, but is preserved in *jose* */hose/*. The 3-

person *chose* /t̥ose/ should probably be considered the 3-prefixal-form in which thematic /u/ and root-initial /h/ have dropped.

- (30) a. j-i-hõre (1S), b-a-hõre (2S), Ø-Ø-hõre (3), j-i-hõ-ko (1P), wak-a-hõ-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to fear that something will happen again’
 b. j-i-hose, b-a-hose (2S), Ø-Ø-hose / Ø-Ø-ose / t̥-ose (3), j-i-ho-ko (1P),
 wak-a-ho-so (2P) ‘to push (the enemy) back; to squeeze’
- (31) a. j-i-mo-jgate (1S), m-a-mo-jgate (2S), Ø-Ø-mo-jgate (3), j-i-mo-ŋo-jgate (1P),
 wak-a-mo-ŋo-jgate (2P) ‘to be sleepy’
 b. j-i-miña (1S), m-a-miña (2S), Ø-Ø-miña (3), j-i-miña-ŋo (1P), wak-a-miña-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to get lost’
 c. j-i-mo-jgaj (1S), m-a-mo-jgaj (2S), Ø-Ø-mo-jgaj (3), j-i-mo-ŋo-jgaj (1P),
 wak-a-mo-ŋo-jgaj (2P) ‘to sleep with’; also ‘to have a relationship with’
 (also: mohigaj) (see also Ø-Ø-mo (9c))
- (32) a. j-i-m̄ata (1S), b-a-m̄ata (2S), Ø-Ø-m̄ata (3), j-i-m̄ata-go (1P), wak-a-m̄ata-jo (2P)
 ‘to be in want, to be poor, to be lacking’
 b. j-i-m̄oŋara-ha (1S), b-a-m̄oŋara-ha (2S), Ø-Ø-m̄oŋara-ha (3), j-i-m̄oŋa-ko-ha (1P),
 wak-a-m̄oŋa-t̥o-ha (2P) ‘to threaten with evil, to harm’
- (33) a. j-i-ŋatu (1S), m-a-ŋatu (2S), Ø-Ø-ŋatu (3), j-i-ŋatu-go (1P), wak-a-ŋatu-jo (2P)
 ‘to wait impatiently for, to await’
 b. j-i-ŋare (1S), m-a-ŋare (2S), Ø-Ø-ŋare (3), j-i-ŋa-ko (1P), wak-a-ŋa-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to moan, to groan’
 c. j-i-ŋari (1S), b-a-ŋari (2S), Ø-Ø-ŋari (3), j-i-ŋa-ko-j (1P), wak-a-ŋa-t̥o-j (2P)
 ‘to want very much, to have great desire’
 (see also: Ø-Ø-ŋusi (9h) and Ø-Ø-ŋusina (9i))
- (34) a. j-i-ŋoŋa (1S), m-a-ŋoŋa (2S), Ø-Ø-ŋoŋa (3), j-i-ŋoŋa-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋoŋa-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to have cramps, to be unable to move’
- (35) a. j-i-jaŋu (1S), b-a-jaŋu (2S), Ø-Ø-jaŋu (3), j-i-jaŋu-ŋo (1P), wak-a-yaŋu-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to be constipated’
 b. j-u-juare (1S), b-a-juare (2S), Ø-Ø-juare (3), j-u-jua-ko (1P), wak-a-jua-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to wail, to grieve with mournful crises, to lament’

Also radical verbs beginning with /t/ do not show any change in the root-initial consonant. In (36) some paradigms are reported. A list of radical verbs in /t/ is provided in (37). Note that, given a 3-person beginning with a

consonant, one can establish that it is a radical verb, but given a 3-person beginning with /t/ or /tɕ/ (28-29), one cannot establish *a priori* whether the verb is prefixal or radical, unless the rest of the paradigm is provided. For the verb *toji* /tohi/ (36c) a prefixal 3-person form *chitoji* /tɕitohi/ is also to be found.

(36) a. j-i-tiboha (1S), b-a-tiboha (2S), Ø-Ø-tiboha (3), j-i-tiboha-go (1P), wak-a-tiboha-jo (2P)
 ‘to yawn’

b. j-i-teŋu (1S), m-a-teŋu (2S), Ø-Ø-teŋu (3), j-i-teŋu-ŋo (1P), wak-a-teŋu-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to be numb’

c. j-i-to-hi (1S), b-a-to-hi (2S), tɕ-i-to-hi / Ø-Ø-to-hi (3), j-i-to-go-hi (1P),
 wak-a-to-jo-hi (2P) ‘to stare at’ (used with *gaj*)

(37) Ø-Ø-tāraŋime (3), j-i-tāraŋime (1S) ‘envy (to); covet (to); greedy for (to be)’

Ø-Ø-tārara (3), j-i-tārara (1S) ‘to tremble; shake involuntarily’

Ø-Ø-tarata (3), j-i-tarata (1S) ‘to rot, to decompose, to decay’

Ø-Ø-teku (3), j-i-teku (1S) ‘to go on all fours, to crawl on all fours’

Ø-Ø-tiha (3), j-i-tiha (1S) ‘to be amazed at, to marvel at’

Ø-Ø-tihina (3), j-i-tihina (1S) ‘to be glad, to rejoice, to be happy’

Ø-Ø-tiogara (3), j-i-tiogara (1S) ‘to deserve, to merit’

Ø-Ø-tojna / Ø-Ø-tojna (3), j-i-tojna / j-i-tojna (1S) ‘to die together with’

Ø-Ø-tōroraha (3), j-i-tōroraha (1S) ‘to fit too loosely’

Ø-Ø-tuāgoa / Ø-Ø-tuaŋoa (3), j-u-tuāgoa / j-u-tuaŋoa (1S) ‘to encounter, to come upon to, to meet on the road’

See also: *terēta* (ex. (9d)), *todo* (ex. (9e)), *toj* (ex. (9f)) and *totaha* (ex. (9d)).

§4.7 Radical verbs, thematic verbs and exceptions

In (38) one finds some verbs with 3-person form beginning with a vowel. In Chamacoco there is a class of ‘thematic’ verbs, that is of verbs with 3-person consisting of the root and the thematic vowel. (38a-b) are the only thematic verbs of Ayoreo. In (38a) the prefixal 3-person *chapáji* /tɕapahi/ alternates with the thematic 3-person *apáji* /apahi/. In (38b) only the thematic 3-person *ujñapegome* /uŋapegome/ is reported. (38c) and (38d) should not be regarded as thematic, because they are radical verbs whose root-initial consonant has dropped due to phonetic erosion in the 3-person. In (38c) the radical 3-person *quíjnoque* /kiŋoke/ alternates with its reduced variant *íjnoque* /iŋoke/. The

latter form also functions as negative existential verb.

- (38) a. j-a-pa-hi (1S), b-a-pa-hi (2S), a-pa-hi / t̥-a-pa-hi (3), j-a-pa-go-hi (1P),
 wak-a-pa-jo-hi (2P) ‘to stay temporarily in a place’
 b. j-u-ɲapego-me (1S), b-a-ɲapego-me (2S), u-ɲapego-me (3), j-u-ɲape-ho-me (1P),
 wak-a-ɲape-t̥o-me (2P) ‘to be able to do, to be apt to’
 c. j-i-kiñoke (1S), m-a-kiñoke (2S), Ø-Ø-iñoke / Ø-Ø-kiñoke (3), j-i-kiño-ho (1P),
 wak-a-kiño-t̥o (2P) ‘to be exhausted, to faint’; Ø-Ø-iñoke (3) ‘there is no’
 d. j-i-keka (1S), b-a-keka (2S), Ø-Ø-eka (3), j-i-keka-go (1P), wak-a-keka-jo (2P)
 ‘to live, to exist’

A case of suppletion is shown in (39). *Déji* /dehi/ is the form generally used for the 3-person, while a ‘regular’ form *chugúsi* /t̥ugusi/ is also to be observed.

- (39) j-u-gusi (1S), b-a-gusi (2S), dehi / t̥-u-gusi (3), j-u-gu-ko-j (j-u-gu-ko-hi) (1P),
 wak-a-gu-so-j (wak-a-gu-so-hi) (2P) ‘to be (location)’

The verb *cho* /t̥o/ (40a) only consists of thematic /o/. Its 3-person form seems to coincide with the 3-person of the verb ‘to jump’ (40b), whose 2-persons in turn coincide with those of the verb *chayo* /t̥ajo/ (40c).

- (40) a. j-o (1S), b-o (2S), t̥-o (3), j-o-ko (1P), wak-o-jo (2P) ‘to be like, to sound like’
 b. j-i-jo (1S), b-a-jo (2S), Ø-Ø-t̥o (3), j-i-jo-go (1P), wak-a-jo-jo (2P)
 ‘to jump, to leap, to fly’
 c. j-a-jo (1S), b-a-jo (2S), t̥-a-jo (3), j-a-jo-go (1P), wak-a-jo-jo (2P) ‘to run’

The verbs *jno* /ño/ (41a) and *doi* /doj/ (41b) are completely irregular. The 2-persons of the irrealis lose the thematic vowel and the 1S-persons of *jno* /ño/ and *doi* /doj/ coincide.⁷⁷

- (41) a. j-i-hi / ji (1S), b-a-bo (2S) / bo (2S.IRLS), ño (3), j-i-ko (1P), wak-a-bo-jo (2P) /
 bo-jo (2P.IRLS) ‘to go, to leave’⁷⁸
 b. j-i-hi / ji (1S), b-a-be (2S) / be (2S.IRLS), do-j (3), j-iko-j (1P), wak-a-be-jo-j (2P) /
 be-jo-j (2P.IRLS) ‘to bring, to do, to get’

The verb in (42) represents a very interesting exception. The vocalic

⁷⁷ On these verbs, see also §7.9.

⁷⁸ The 1P-person *yico* /jiko/ is homophonous with the 1P-person of *chise* /t̥ise/ (see ex. (6a)).

pattern is irregular, because it is /i/-/a/-/a/, only found by this verb, and /i/ in the 1-person is never related to /a/ in the 3-person. The 3-prefix is /n/-, not to be found in other AY verbs, but observed in the other Zamucoan languages (see §7.1). A diachronic explanation can thus be found.

- (42) j-i-raṇi-me (1P), b-a-raṇi-me (2P), n-a-raṇi-me (3), j-i-raṇi-ṇo-me (1P),
 wak-a-raṇi-ṇo-me (2P) ‘to be tired, to be fed up’ (also: narajime)

Finally, there are some verbs which have no inflection and are only used in the 3-person or as impersonal verbs. Some of these elements are reported in (43).

- (43) a. beke ‘to rain’
 b. t̥iririta (3) ‘wilt as trees/grass, dry as tree/grass’
 c. dahate ‘to boil’
 d. gome / gonome (3) ‘that is enough’
 e. tokade (3) ‘to come out, to happen’

§4.8 Suffixation in Ayoreo verb morphology

AY verbs take a suffix in the 1P- and the 2P-person. AY verb suffixation is usually regular. There are two series of suffixes: -/go/ (1P), -/jo/ (2P) and -/ko/ (1P), -/t̥o/ (2P). The first series is used when there is no change in the verb root, while the second series is used when the final consonant or syllable is substituted (§4.8.1). The 1P-suffix -/ko/ can have the allomorphs -/ho/ (§4.8.2) or -/so/ (§4.8.3). The suffixes -/go/, -/jo/ can undergo nasalization, but nasal spread can be blocked (§4.8.4). Some exceptions to the use of the two series of suffixes are discussed in (§4.8.5). The lexical suffix changes the lexical meaning of the verb (§4.8.6). The final syllable can undergo reduction (§4.8.7), which is often to be found in the lexical suffixes -/ihi/ (§4.8.8) or -/aha/ (§4.8.9).

§4.8.1 The suffixes *-/go/*, *-/jo/* and *-/ko/*, *-/tɕo/*

This section describes the general use of the two series of suffixes expressing the plural persons: *-/go/* (1P), *-/jo/* (2P) and *-/ko/* (1P), *-/tɕo/* (2P). *-/go/* and *-/jo/* are generally correlated. They are used when no changes occur in the verb root (44-45).

- (44) a. j-i-pota (1S), b-a-pota (2S), Ø-Ø-pota (3), j-i-pota-go (1P), wak-a-pota-jo (2P) ‘to want’
 b. j-u-he (1S), b-a-he (2S), tɕ-u-he (3), j-u-he-go (1P), wak-a-he-jo (2P) ‘to kill, to hit’

The suffixes *-/go/* and *-/jo/* can nasalize into the allomorphs *-/ŋo/* and *-/ɲo/* respectively. The nasalization of verb prefixes is optional, while in verb suffixes nasalization is more regular and predictable, as in nominal suffixation. The suffix nasalizes if a nasal element is present in the verb root. In some phonetic contexts the spread of nasalization to the suffix is blocked. About the block of nasalization, see §4.8.4.

- (45) a. j-i-ŋo (1S), b-a-ŋo (2S), tɕ-i-ŋo (3), j-i-ŋo-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋo-ɲo (2P) ‘to tell, to show’
 (also: tɕigo)
 b. ɲ-o-ŋe (1S), m-o-ŋe (2S), tɕ-o-ŋe (3), ɲ-o-ŋe-ŋo (1P), wak-o-ŋe-ɲo (2P)
 ‘to pour out, to spill’

The second series of suffixes consists of the prefix *-/ko/* in the 1P-person and *-/tɕo/* in the 2P-person. As in the first series, there is a general correlation between these prefixes. *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/* are usually used when the final syllable or the final consonant of the root is replaced by the suffix. The syllables replaced by *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/* will be called ‘mobile syllables’. In example (46) the syllables *-/ra/* (46a-b), *-/re/* (46c-d), *-/ru/* (46f), *-/ke/* (46g) and *-/te/* (46h) are substituted by *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/*.

- (46) a. ɲ-ẽ-ra (1S), m-ẽ-ra (2S), t-ẽ-ra (3), ɲ-ẽ-ko (1P), wak-ẽ-tɕo (2P) ‘to sell’
 b. ɲ-õ-ra (1S), m-õ-ra (2S), t-õ-ra (3), ɲ-õ-ra-ŋo (1P), wak-õ-ra-ɲo (2P)
 ‘to throw out, to cast out’
 c. j-a-hire (1S), b-a-hire (2S), tɕ-a-hire (3), j-a-hi-ko (1P), wak-a-hi-tɕo (2P)
 ‘to observe, to look at’
 d. ɲ-e-kāre (1S), m-e-kāre (2S), tɕ-e-kāre (3), ɲ-e-kā-ko (1P), wak-a-kā-tɕo (2P)

‘to change, to replace’

e. j-o-hare (1S), b-o-hare (2S), tɕ-o-hare (3), j-o-ha-ko (1P), wak-o-ha-tɕo (2P) ‘to smell’

f. j-i-ga-ru (1S), b-a-ga-ru (2), tɕ-i-ga-ru (3), j-i-ga-ko (1P), wak-a-ga-tɕo (2P)

‘to tie, to fasten’

g. j-i-roke (1S), b-a-roke (2S), tɕ-i-roke (3), j-i-ro-ho/-ko (1P), wak-a-ro-tɕo (2P)

‘to send out, to command’

h. j-ĩ-rate (1S), m-ã-rate (2S), tɕ-ĩ-rate (3), j-ĩ-ra-ko (1P), wak-ã-ra-tɕo (2P) ‘to fill up’

The two verbs in (47) end in a different mobile syllable which is substituted in the plural. As a consequence, their 1P- and 2P-person coincide. The presence of a nasal element in the verb root has no influence on the suffixes *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/* which cannot nasalize, because voiceless stops block the spread of nasality.

(47) a. j-i-kāra (1S), m-e-kāra (2S), tɕ-i-kāra (3), j-i-kā-ko (1P), wak-e-kā-tɕo (2P)

‘to dream’

b. j-i-kāre (1S), m-e-kāre (2S), tɕ-i-kāre (3), j-i-kā-ko (1P), wak-e-kā-tɕo (2P)

‘to mention’

There is an inventory of final syllables which are always replaced by *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/*: *-/k/* or *-/ke/*, *-/da/*, *-/go/*, *-/gu/*, *-/ni/*, *-/s/* or *-/se/*, *-/t/* or *-/te/*.⁷⁹ In word-final position the syllables *-/ke/*, *-/se/* and *-/te/* alternate with final *-/k/*, *-/s/* and *-/t/*, which are also replaced by *-/tɕo/* and *-/ko/* and are the only consonants found word-finally in Ayoreo. The syllables *-/ke/*, *-/se/* and *-/te/* are produced by adding the euphonic vocoid */e/* to the last consonant, so recreating the preferred syllabic structure CV (see Bertinetto 2009: 11). For this reason, the term ‘mobile syllable’ will also be used to refer to final *-/k/*, *-/s/* and *-/t/*.

When the final syllable of the root is not substituted, the suffixes *-/go/* and *-/jo/* are used. (48) lists the inventory of syllables for which no substitution is reported.

⁷⁹ The syllable *-/me/* is usually a lexical suffix which does not belong to the root (see §4.8.6). It is only to be observed in one verb as final syllable of the root and in this case it is substituted:

(i) j-i-ṅi-me (1S), m-a-ṅi-me (2S), tɕ-i-ṅi-me (3), j-i-ṅi-ko (1P), wak-a-ṅi-tɕo (2P)

‘to take out, to take off’.

(48)

-/bo/,
 -/ka/, -/ko/, -/ku/
 -/tɕa/, -/tɕi/, -/tɕo/, -/tɕu/
 -/do/, -/du/
 -/ge/
 -/ha/, -/he/, -/hi/, -/ho/, -/hu/
 -/mo/
 -/m̥o/, -/m̥u/
 -/nu/,
 -/ŋa/, -/ŋi/, -/ŋe/, -/ŋo/, -/ŋu/
 -/ɲa/, -/ɲu/
 -/ja/, -/ji/, -/jo/
 -/pa/, -/pu/
 -/ta/, -/to/, -/ti/, -/tu/
 -/ja/, -/ji/, -/jo/

There is also a group of final syllables which, depending on the verb can or cannot be substituted (49). Verbs have the series -/ko/, -/tɕo/ in the first case and -/go/, -/jo/ in the second case.

(49)

-/di/
 -/ga/, -/gi/
 -/ŋa/, -/ŋo/, -/ŋu/
 -/na/,⁸⁰ -/no/
 -/ra/, -/re/, -/ri/, -/ro/, -/ru/
 -/sa/, -/si/, -/su/, -/so/

§4.8.2 The allomorph -/ho/

The suffix -/ko/ has an allomorph -/ho/ which occurs when the mobile syllable begins with a velar consonant. The mobile syllables in (50) are replaced by -/ho/ and -/tɕo/. This occurs when the mobile syllable is -/k/ (or -/ke/), -/ga/, -/ŋa/, -/go/, -/ŋo/, -/gu/, -/ŋu/, -/gi/ or -/ŋi/. Note that in this

⁸⁰ -/na/ occurs very frequently as final syllable. In most cases, it is not substituted. By contrast, -/re/ is mostly substituted.

syllabic inventory, only *-/k/* or *-/ke/*, *-/go/* and *-/gu/* are always substituted. With the other syllables of the previous inventory, the substitution does not always occur, but, when it occurs, *-/ho/* is generally used. The syllable *-/ge/* is not included in the list, because it is not substituted. It is only found in *iyague /ijage/* (51).

- (50) a. j-a-gu (1S), b-a-gu (2S), t-a-gu (3), j-a-ho (1P), wak-a-ṭo (2P) ‘to eat, to bite’
 b. j-a-ke (1S), b-a-ke (2S), t-a-ke (3), j-a-ho (1P), wak-a-ṭo (2P) ‘to eat’
 c. j-i-bagi (1S), b-a-bagi (2S), t-i-bagi (3), j-i-ba-ho-j (1P), wak-a-ba-ṭo-j (2P)
 ‘to come to a person’
 d. j-i-ri-ke (1S), b-a-ri-ke (2S), Ø-Ø-dike (3), j-i-ri-ho (1P), wak-a-ri-ṭo (2P) ‘to walk’
 e. ɲ-i-ɲoke (1S), m-a-ɲoke (2S), ṭ-i-ɲoke (3), ɲ-i-ɲo-ho (1P), wak-a-ɲo-ṭo (2P)
 ‘to carry a load’
 f. j-i-pedugu (1S), b-a-pedugu (2S), ṭ-i-pedugu (3), j-i-pedu-ho (1P),
 wak-a-pedu-ṭo (2P) ‘to crowd, to press against’
 g. j-i-jaroga (1S), b-a-jaroga (2S), ṭ-i-jaroga (3), j-i-jaro-ho (1P), wak-a-jaro-ṭo (2P)
 ‘to be unacceptable’

- (51) j-i-jage (1S), b-a-jage (2S), Ø-Ø-ṭage (3), j-i-jage-go (1P), wak-a-jage-jo (2P)
 ‘to stand up’

In some verbs both the suffix *-/ko/* and *-/ho/* are observed in the 1P-person (52). In (52a), the suffix *-/ko/* and *-/ho/* alternate in *pesu*, which is clearly an exception, since the final syllable is *-/su/* (about the 2P-person, see §4.8.3). In the 1P-person of *chojninga /ṭoɲiɲa/*, the last syllable may be preserved and *-/ko/*, rather than *-/ho/*, is used. In the plural persons of *tiogara* (53) the sequence *-gara* deletes and the suffixes *-/ho/* and *-/ṭo/* are used.

- (52) a. j-i-pesu (1S), b-a-pesu (2S), Ø-Ø-pesu (3), j-i-pe-ko / j-i-pe-ho (1P), wak-a-pe-so (2P)
 ‘to make, to do’
 b. ɲ-o-ɲiɲa (1S), m-o-ɲiɲa (2S), ṭ-o-ɲiɲa (3), ɲ-o-ɲiɲa-ko / ɲ-o-ɲi-ho / ɲ-o-ɲi-ko (1P),
 wak-o-ɲiɲa-ṭo / wak-o-ɲi-ṭo (2P) ‘to say’
- (53) j-i-tiogara (1S), b-a-tiogara (2S), Ø-Ø-tiogara (3), j-i-tio-ho (1P), wak-a-tio-ṭo (2P)
 ‘to deserve, to merit’

§4.8.3 The allomorph *-/so/*

The mobile syllables beginning with */s/* (*-/sa/*, *-/s/* or *-/se/*, *-/si/*, *-/so/* and *-/su/*) have an influence on the 2P-suffix, which is not *-/tɕo/*, but *-/so/* (54). The verb in (54e) derives from *chapuse* */tɕapuse/* (54d). The latter is usually followed by the lexeme *aja* */aha/*, which in (54e) has been incorporated into the verb as lexical suffix (see §4.8.6). In this case too, the syllable is substituted and *-/so/* is the 2P-prefix. In (55) one finds two verbs with the mobile syllable *-/se/*. Here one can see that the mobile syllable is actually part of the root, because otherwise the verb would consist of the mere thematic vowel.

(54) a. *j-i-gase* (1S), *b-a-gase* (2S), *tɕ-i-gase* (3), *j-i-ga-ko* (1P), *wak-a-ga-so* (2P)
 ‘to bite, to sting’

b. *j-i-pese* (1S), *b-a-pese* (2S), *tɕ-i-pese* (3), *j-i-pe-ko* (1P), *wak-a-pe-so* (2P)
 ‘to suck, to lick’

c. *j-u-mutɕasu* (1S), *b-a-mutɕasu* (2S), *tɕ-u-mutɕasu* (3), *j-u-mutɕa-ko* (1P),
wak-a-mutɕa-so (2P) ‘to overturn, to turn something’

d. *j-a-puse* (1S), *b-a-puse* (2S), *tɕ-a-puse* (3), *j-a-pu-ko* (1P), *wak-a-pu-so* (2P)
 ‘to choose at random’ (used with *aha*)

e. *j-a-pusa-ha* (1S), *b-a-pusa-ha* (2S), *tɕ-a-pusa-ha* (2S), *j-a-pu-ko-ha* (2S),
wak-a-pu-so-ha (2S) ‘to choose at random’

(55) a. *j-i-se* (1S), *b-e-se* (2S), *tɕ-i-se* (3), *j-i-ko* (1P), *wak-e-so* (2P) ‘to find, to meet,
 to reach’

b. *j-a-se* (1S), *b-a-se* (2S), *tɕ-a-se* (3), *j-a-ko* (1P), *wak-a-so* (2P) ‘to plunder’

The final syllables *-/sa/*, *-/si/*, *-/so/* and *-/su/* are not always substituted. In this case, *-/go/* and *-/jo/* are to be observed.

(56) a. *j-i-kosa* (1S), *b-a-kosa* (2S), *Ø-Ø-kosa* (3), *j-i-kosa-go* (1P), *wak-a-kosa-jo* (2P)
 ‘to brag about, to boast about’

b. *j-i-si* (1S), *b-a-si* (2S), *tɕ-i-si* (3), *j-i-si-go* / *j-i-si-ŋo* (1P),
wak-a-si-jo / *wak-a-si-ŋo* (2P) ‘to give’

c. *j-i-doso* (1S), *b-a-doso* (2S), *doso* (3), *j-i-doso-go* (1P), *wak-a-doso-jo* (2P)
 ‘to scold, to rebuke’ (used with *aha*)

d. *j-a-kesu* (1S), *b-a-kesu* (2S), *tɕ-a-kesu* (3), *j-a-kesu-go* (1P), *wak-a-kesu-jo* (2P)
 ‘to cut, to go across’

§4.8.4 The block of nasalization

As in the plural of nominals, the spread of nasalization is blocked when a plosive consonant is interposed between the nasal element and the suffix. This occurs in most cases in the verb, where the consonant which blocks nasalization is usually /t/ (57). The vast majority of verbs presenting the block of nasalization end in -/ta/, because many other syllables (such as -/ke/, -/te/ etc.) which could block nasalization are substituted and a different series of suffixes is used. For this reason, in the following examples there are no examples of /k/ blocking the spread of nasalization. Also /tɕ/ can block the spread of nasalization (58). By contrast, /r/ does not interfere with the spread of nasalization (59).

- (57) a. n-ĩ-reta (1S), m-ã-reta (2S), tɕ-ĩ-reta (3), n-ĩ-reta-go (1P), wak-ã-reta-jo (2P)
 ‘to fill up’
- b. n-i-mata (1S), m-a-mata (2S), tɕ-i-mata (3), n-i-mata-go (1P),
 wak-a-mata-jo (2P) ‘to gather, to collect’
- c. n-i-terêta (1S), m-a-terêta (2S), Ø-Ø-terêta (3), n-i-terêta-go (1P),
 wak-a-terêta-jo (2P) ‘to lie down’
- d. j-a-ṃita (1S), b-a-ṃita (2S), tɕ-a-ṃita (3), j-a-ṃita-go (1P), wak-a-ṃita-jo (2P)
 ‘to be concerned about, to get ready for’
- e. j-i-ṃata (1S), b-a-ṃata (2S), Ø-Ø-ṃata (3), j-i-ṃata-go (1P), wak-a-ṃata-jo (2P)
 ‘to be in want, to be poor, to be lacking’
- f. j-a-ṃureta (1S), b-a-ṃureta (2S), tɕ-a-ṃureta (3), j-a-ṃureta-go (1P),
 wak-a-ṃureta-jo (2P) ‘to believe’
- g. n-i-ṃatu (1S), m-a-ṃatu (2S), Ø-Ø-ṃatu (3), n-i-ṃatu-go (1P), wak-a-ṃatu-jo (2P)
 ‘to wait impatiently for, to await’
- h. j-i-paṃota (1S), b-a-paṃota (2S), Ø-Ø-paṃota (3), j-i-paṃota-go (1P),
 wak-a-paṃota-jo (2P) ‘to be gentle/humble toward’ (used with *ome/aha*)
- i. j-u-ṃieta (1S), b-a-ṃieta (2S), tɕ-u-ṃieta (3), j-u-ṃieta-go (1P), wak-a-ṃieta-jo (2P)
 ‘to make fun of, to joke about’
- (58) n-ẽ-ratɕu (1S), m-ẽ-ratɕu (2S), t-ẽ-ratɕu / tɕ-ẽ-ratɕu (3), n-ẽ-ratɕu-go (1P),
 wak-ẽ-ratɕu-jo (2P) ‘to sing with gourd rattle’
- (59) j-a-ṃara (1S), b-a-ṃara (2S), tɕ-a-ṃara (3), j-a-ṃara-ṃo (1P), wak-a-ṃara-ṃo (2P)
 ‘to savour’

Also /s/ blocks the spread of nasalization in some cases, as in (60a). However, the verb in (60b) has the nasalized suffixes *-/ŋo/* and *-/no/* which alternate with the suffixes *-/ko/* and *-/so/* (about final /i/ or /j/, see §4.8.8).

- (60) a. *n-i-nasu* (1S), *m-a-nasu* (2S), *tɕ-i-nasu* (3), *n-i-nasu-go* (1P), *wak-a-nasu-jo* (2P)
 ‘to thresh’ (also: *tɕidasu*)
 b. *n-u-ŋusi* (1S), *m-a-ŋusi* (2S), *∅-∅-ŋusi* (3), *n-u-ŋusi-ŋo* / *yũu-ko-j* (1P),
wak-a-ŋusi-no / *wak-a-ŋu-so-j* (2P) ‘to be sad’

The spread of nasalization to the suffix and its block are generally regular processes, which are more systematic than the nasalization of the prefix, as noted by Sušnik (1963). There are, however, some exceptions, although they are not very frequent. In (61a) one finds a partial exception to the block of nasalization. In (61b-d) the suffix is sometimes non-nasalized, while in (61e) the suffix can nasalize.

- (61) a. *j-a-ta* (1S), *b-a-ta* (2S), *tɕ-a-ta* (3), *j-a-ta-go* (1P), *wak-a-ta-ŋo* (2P) ‘to sharpen’
 b. *n/j-a-ŋa* (1S), *m-a-ŋa* (2S), *tɕ-a-ŋa* (3), *j-a-ŋa-go* / *n-a-ŋa-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-ŋa-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to follow, to pursue’
 c. *j-a-jona* / *n-a-ŋona* (1S), *b-a-jona* / *m-a-ŋona* (2S), *tɕ-a-jona* / *tɕ-a-ŋona* (3),
j-a-jona-ŋo/-go / *n-a-ŋona-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-jona-ŋo/-jo* / *wak-a-ŋona-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to run after, to chase’
 d. *n-u-ŋusina* (1S), *m-a-ŋusina* (2P), *∅-∅-ŋusina* (3), *n-u-ŋusina-go/-ŋo* (1P),
wak-a-ŋusina-jo/-ŋo (2P) ‘to remember’
 e. *j-i-si* (1S), *b-a-si* (2S), *tɕ-i-si* (3), *j-i-si-go* / *j-i-si-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-si-jo* /
wak-a-si-ŋo (2P) ‘to give’

§4.8.5 Exceptions

Although AY verb suffixation is usually regular, there are, however, some exceptions which are discussed in this section. In (62) the suffixes *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/* do not operate any substitution. The verbs in (62a-e) end in a syllable which can be substituted (depending on the verb), while no substitution is observed for verbs ending in *-/ka/*. The fact that some final syllables do not always have the same morphological behaviour (see the list in (49)) may have an influence on the verbs in (62). In (63) the final syllables *-/re/* and *-/ŋa/* are

not always mobile syllables, because these verbs present both forms with and without substitution, but in both cases the suffixes *-/ko/* (or *-/ho/*) and *-/tɕo/* are used. In (63a) the final syllable *-/re/* turns into *-/ra/* in the plural when it is not substituted (this is probably due to assimilation to the previous syllable */ga/*).

- (62) a. *ɲ-i-rãra* (1S), *m-a-rãra* (2S), *Ø-Ø-ɲara* (3), *ɲ-i-rãra-ko* (1P), *wak-a-rã-tɕo* (2P) ‘to speak’
 (also: *ɲare*)
 b. *j-i-garu* (1S), *b-a-garu* (2), *tɕ-i-garu* (3), *j-i-garu-ko* (1P), *wak-a-garu-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to tie, to fasten’
 c. *j-i-donɔɲa* (1S), *b-a-donɔɲa* (2S), *tɕ-i-donɔɲa* (3), *j-i-donɔɲa-ko* (1P),
wak-a-donɔɲa-tɕo (2P) (also: *tɕinonɔɲa / tɕidonɔɲa*) ‘to examine, to look carefully at’
 d. *j-i-miniɲa* (1P), *b-a-miniɲa* (2P), *t-i-miniɲa* (3), *j-i-miniɲa-ko* (1P),
wak-a-miniɲa-tɕo (2P) ‘to pay attention to, to take note to’
 e. *j-i-ɲare* (1P), *b-a-ɲare* (2P), *tɕ-i-ɲare* (3), *j-i-ɲare-ko* (1P), *wak-a-ɲare-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to go quickly to’ (used with the reflexive pronoun and *aha*)
 f. *j-u-ka* (1S), *b-a-ka* (2S), *tɕ-u-ka* (3), *j-u-ka-ko* (1P), *wak-a-ka-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to curse verbally’
- (63) a. *j-a-tɲare* (1S), *b-a-tɲare* (2S), *tɕ-a-tɲare* (3), *j-a-tɲara-ko / j-a-tɲa-ko* (1P),
wak-a-tɲara-tɕo / wak-a-tɲa-tɕo (2P) ‘to throw at, to cast at’
 b. *ɲ-o-ɲɔɲa* (1S), *m-o-ɲɔɲa* (2S), *tɕ-o-ɲɔɲa* (3), *ɲ-o-ɲɔɲa-ko / ɲ-o-ɲi-ho / ɲ-o-ɲi-ko* (1P),
wak-o-ɲɔɲa-tɕo / wak-o-ɲi-tɕo (2P) ‘to say’

In other cases the lack of substitution by *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/* is an apparent exception, as in *nejé /nehe/* (64a): in (64b) its variant *nejéru /neheru/* is regular and *-/ru/* is replaced by *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/*. In this verb the apocope of the final syllable *-/ru/* may occur (64a) and the same suffixes are preserved. The same occurs in (65a) and (65b).

- (64) a. *j-i-nehe* (1S), *b-a-nehe* (2S), *nehe* (3), *j-i-nehe-ko* (1P), *wak-a-nehe-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to be gentle with’ (used with *udode* ‘body’)
 b. *j-i-nehe-ru* (1S), *b-a-nehe-ru* (2S), *nehe-ru* (3), *j-i-nehe-ko* (1P), *wak-a-nehe-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to be gentle with’ (when used with *udode* ‘body’)
- (65) a. *ɲ-aɲu(ru)* (1S), *m-aɲu(ru)* (2S), *tɕ-aɲu(ru)* (3), *ɲ-aɲu-ko* (1P), *wak-aɲu-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to take care of’ (used with *gio*)
 b. *j-u-hu(ru)* (1S), *b-a-hu(ru)* (2S), *Ø-Ø-su(ru) / tɕ-u-hu(ru)* (3), *j-u-hu-ko* (1P),
wak-a-hu-tɕo / wak-a-hu-jo (2P) ‘to close (in), to shut in’ (used with *gaj*)

In (66a-b) the plural suffixes are *-/ko/* and *-/jo/*. In (66a-b) one finds a substitution. In this case, the 2P-suffix *-/jo/* is unexpected. As already seen, *jno* */no/* is an irregular verb (see §4.7). In (66c) *-/go/* and *-/ko/* can alternate in the 1P-person.

- (66) a. *j-i-gisare* (1S), *b-a-gisare* (2S), *ɬ-i-gisare* (3), *j-i-gisa-ko* (1P), *wak-a-gisa-jo* (2P)
 ‘to drop fruits (with a stick)’
 b. *j-i-hi* / *ji* (1S), *b-a-bo* (2S) / *bo* (2S.IRLS), *no* (3), *j-i-ko* (1P), *wak-a-bo-jo* (2P) /
bo-jo (2P.IRLS) ‘to go, to leave’
 c. *j-i-teku* (1S), *b-a-teku* (2S), *Ø-Ø-teku* (3), *j-i-teku-go* / *j-i-teku-ko* (1P),
wak-a-teku-jo (2P) ‘to crawl on all fours’

In (67) the nasalized version of *-/go/* is used with *-/tɕo/* in the 2P-person, although no substitution occurs.

- (67) *j-/ɲ-i-ɲehe* (1S), *b-/m-a-ɲehe* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nɛɲe* (3), *j-/ɲ-i-ɲehe-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-ɲehe-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to persuade’

The suffixes *-/go/* and *-/jo/* do not generally substitute the final syllable, while in (68) both suffixes are used with this function.

- (68) a. *j-a-tɕia* (1S), *b-a-tɕia* (2S), *ɬ-a-tɕia* (3), *j-a-tɕi-go* (1P), *wak-a-tɕi-jo* (2P)
 ‘to play with; to suffer loss of something’⁸¹
 b. *j-a-kare* (1S), *b-a-kare* (2S), *ɬ-a-kare* (3), *j-a-ka-go* (1P), *wak-a-ka-jo* (2P)
 ‘to stay, to sit’

The verb *toria* (69) presents an interesting alternation in suffixation. The verb ends in *-/a/*, probably coming from final-syllable reduction. This final vowel can be substituted in the plural, where the suffixes *-/ko/* and *-/tɕo/* are used. If no substitution occurs, the suffixes *-/go/* and *-/jo/* are used. In both cases, the plural persons of *toria* (69a) differ from the plural persons of *tori* (69b).

⁸¹ In this verb, */a/* is the result of final-syllable reduction.

- (69) a. j-o-ria (1S), b-o-ria (2S), t-o-ria (3), j-o-ria-go / j-o-ri-ko (1P), wak-o-ria-jo / wak-o-ri-t̥ɕo (2P) ‘to steal’
 b. j-o-ri (1S), b-o-ri (2S), t-o-ri (3), j-o-ri-go (1P), wak-o-ri-jo (2P) ‘to steal, to rob’ (intransitive)⁸²

§4.8.6 Lexical suffixes

The final element of the verbs in (70) is called lexical suffix. The lexical suffix is an independent lexeme which has been incorporated into the verb and modifies the meaning of the verb in a way that is not always predictable. The lexical suffix does not properly belong to the verb root: this is evident in the plural persons, because the plural suffix is interposed between the verb root and the lexical suffix. The lexical suffix has no influence on the plural prefix and can be used with both the series *-/ko/*, *-/t̥ɕo/* and the series *-/go/*, *-/jo/*. The most frequent lexical suffixes are *-(o)me* (70a-c), *-(i)hi* (70f), *-(a)ha* (70d) and *-ga(r)i* (70e). These lexical suffixes derive from adpositions, such as *ome*, *iji* /*ihi*/, *aja* /*aha*/ and *ga(r)i*.⁸³

- (70) a. j-/j-i-si-ome (1S), b-/m-a-si-ome (2S), t̥ɕ-i-si-ome (3), j-isi-go-me / j-i-si-ŋo-me (1P), wak-a-si-jo-me / wak-a-si-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to give to’
 (from: t̥ɕisi ‘to give to’, see ex. (61e))
 b. j-i-ra-me (1S), m-a-ra-me (2S), t̥ɕ-i-ra-me (3), j-i-ra-ŋo-me (1P), wak-a-ra-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to turn loose, to set free’
 c. j-u-kaŋiŋaro-me (1S), m-a-kaŋiŋaro-me (2S), t̥ɕ-u-kaŋiŋaro-me (3), j-u-kaŋiŋa-ko-me (1P), wak-a-kaŋiŋa-t̥ɕo-me (2P) ‘to pursue, to chase’
 d. j-i-go-ha (1S), b-a-go-ha (2S), t̥ɕ-i-go-ha (3), j-i-go-go-ha (1P), wak-a-go-jo-ha (2P) ‘gathering the embers of the fire’
 e. j-u-ku ga(r)i (1S), b-a-ku ga(r)i (2S), t̥ɕ-u-ku ga(r)i (3), j-u-ku-go ga(r)i (1P), wak-a-ku-jo ga(r)i (2P) ‘to leave a job unfinished’
 f. j-i-ka-hi (1S), b-a-ka-hi (2S), t̥ɕ-i-ka-hi (3), j-i-ka-go-hi (1P), wak-a-jo-hi (2P) ‘to go to’
 g. j-u-ta-j (1S), b-a-ta-j (2S), t̥ɕ-u-ta-j (3), j-u-ta-go-j (1P), wak-a-ta-jo-j (2P) ‘to ask’

⁸² Data on the transitivity or intransitivity of AY verbs come from Higham *et al.* (2000).

⁸³ As in Bertinetto (2009), here too, *aja* /*aha*/, *iji* /*ihi*/ and *ome* will be referred to as adpositions, although they are mostly used as prepositions.

The final syllables *-/ha/*, *-/hi/*, *-/me/*, *etc.* are usually lexical suffixes, but in some verbs *-/ha/*, *-/hi/*, *-/me/*, *etc.* are normal syllables belonging to the verb root. When they are not lexical suffixes, *-/ha/* and *-/hi/* are not substituted (71a-b) and *-/me/* (71c). Note that, owing to the substitution by the suffixes *-/ko/* and *-/tʃo/*, the plural persons of *chijnime* /tʃinime/ (71c) and *chijnire* /tʃinire/ (71d) coincide.

- (71) a. j-i-raha (3), b-a-raha (3), tʃ-i-raha (3), j-i-raha-go (3), wak-a-raha-jo (2P)
 ‘to know, to understand’
 b. j-o-hi (1S), b-o-hi (2S), tʃ-o-hi (3), j-o-hi-go (1P), wak-o-hi-jo (2P) ‘to drink’
 c. j-i-ŋi-me (1S), m-a-ŋi-me (2S), tʃ-i-ŋi-me (3), j-i-ŋi-ko (1P), wak-a-ŋi-tʃo (2P)
 ‘to take out, to take off’⁸⁴
 d. j-i-ŋire (1S), m-a-ŋire (2S), tʃ-i-ŋire (3), j-i-ŋi-ko (1P), wak-a-ŋi-tʃo (2P)
 ‘to drill a hole’

As noted above, the predictability of nasalization depends on the directionality of nasal spread. Nasal spread to the left is unpredictable. The lexical suffix *-/me/* possibly yields the nasalization of the verb in (72a). Nasalization is, however, not obligatory. *Chij(n)ócha-me* /tʃinotʃa-me/ (72a) derives from *chijócha* /tʃ-i-hotʃa/ (72b), in which no nasalization is observed.

- (72) a. j-/j-i-ŋotʃa-me (1S), b-/m-a-ŋotʃa-me (2S), tʃ-i-ŋotʃa-me (3), j-/j-i-ŋotʃa-ŋo-me /
 j-/j-i-ŋotʃa-go-me (1P), wak-a-ŋotʃa-ŋo-me / wak-a-ŋotʃa-jo-me (2P) ‘to bury’
 (also: tʃihotʃame)
 b. j-i-hotʃa (1S), b-a-hotʃa (2S), tʃ-i-hotʃa (3), j-i-hotʃa-go (1P),
 wak-a-hotʃa-jo (2P) ‘to dig, to carve’

The verbs in (73) present an irregularity in the plural. The semivowel *-/j/*, which emerges after the plural suffix but is not observed in the singular, derives from a reduced lexical suffix. Note that both verbs end in a vocalic cluster, probably originated by the syncope of an intervocalic consonant. Both the reduction of the lexical suffix and the origin of a vocalic cluster at the end of the verb will be discussed in the following section.

⁸⁴ For the time being, this is the only example in which *-/me/* at the end of the verb is not a lexical suffix.

- (73) a. j-u-kue (1S), b-a-kue (2S), tɕ-u-kue (3), j-u-kue-go-j (1P), wak-a-kue-jo-j (2P)
 ‘to look for, to search for’
 b. j-u-tɕie (1S), b-a-tɕie (2S), tɕ-u-tɕie (3), j-u-tɕi-go-j (1P), wak-a-tɕi-jo-j (2P)
 ‘to step upon’

The diminutive suffix *-/ap/* (74a) and the elative suffix *-/pis/* or *-/pus/* (74b-c) can be attached to a verb and in this case are invariable (74a). The diminutive conveys an attenuative nuance (Bertinetto 2009: 22). The elative suffix can be followed by a vowel which depends on vowel harmony (Bertinetto 2009: 21). In (74b) the verb root ends in *-/a/* and *-/pis/* is used, followed by */a/* which depends on root-final */a/*. In (74c) the verb root ends in */u/*. *-/pis/* and the following vowel assimilates to root-final */u/*, so that the verb takes the elative *-/pusu/*.⁸⁵

- (74) a. ba-ru (2S.RLS-to_wash) ---> a-ru-ap (2S.IRLS-to_wash-DIM) ‘Please wash’
 (Bertinetto 2009: 21-22)
 b. j-ipota (1S-to_want) ---> j-ipota-pisa (1S-to_want-ELAT) ‘I strongly desire’ (*ibidem*)
 c. tɕ-itɕagu (3S-to_pierce) ---> tɕ-itɕagu-pusu (3S-to_pierce-ELAT)
 ‘It pierces strongly’ (QCCB: II, 50)

§4.8.7 Root-final-syllable reductions

The vocalic clusters in root-final position are the result of syllable reduction characterized by syncope of an intervocalic consonant. The alternation between *-/ie/* (75a) and *-/ue/* (75c) depends on */r/* syncope, as in (75b) and (75d). The drop of intervocalic */r/* is very frequent in Ayoreo (see also (75e)), but not all final vocalic clusters derive from */r/* syncope. The vocalic cluster *-/io/* in (76a) derives from the syncope of intervocalic */ɲ/*, as one can see in (76b). Intervocalic */ɲ/* is still present in the 3-person. In (76c) intervocalic */n/*, to be found in the 3-person, has dropped in the rest of the paradigm.

⁸⁵ The diminutive and the elative suffixes will not be discussed in detail. On the use of these elements in verb morphology, see Bertinetto (2009: 21-22). On AY elatives, see also Morarie (1980: 88). Note that in Ayoreo there is also a diminutive verb suffix *-/si/* “referring to the physical dimension of the referent” (Bertinetto 2009: 22). This element is invariable.

- (75) a. *n-i-rĩe* (1S), *m-a-rĩe* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nie* (3), *n-i-rĩe-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-rĩe-ŋo* (2P) ‘to massage’
 b. *n-i-rĩre* (1S), *m-a-rĩre* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nire* (3), *n-i-rĩre-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-rĩre-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to massage’
 c. *n-u-ŋue* (1S), *m-a-ŋue* (2S), *Ø-Ø-sue / Ø-Ø-ŋue* (3), *n-u-ŋue-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-ŋue-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to be bigger/greater than’ (used with *gaj*)
 d. *n-u-ŋure* (1S), *m-a-ŋure* (2S), *Ø-Ø-sure / Ø-Ø-ŋure* (3), *n-u-ŋure-ŋo* (1P),
wak-a-ŋure-ŋo (2P) ‘to be bigger/greater than’ (used with *gaj*)
 e. *n-i-ŋire / n-i-ŋie* (1S), *m-a-ŋire / m-a-ŋie* (2S), *ɬ-i-ŋire / ɬ-i-ŋie* (3), *n-i-ŋi-ko* (1P),
wak-a-ŋi-ɬo (2P) ‘to drill a hole’
- (76) a. *j-i-hio-me* (1S), *b-a-hio-me* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nopo-me* (3), *j-i-hio-ŋo-me* (1P),
wak-a-hio-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to leave’
 b. *j-i-hipo-me* (1P), *b-a-hipo-me* (2P), *Ø-Ø-nopo-me* (3), *j-i-hipo-ŋo-me* (1P),
wak-a-hipo-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to leave’
 c. *j-ũ-rua-hi* (1P), *b-ã-rua-hi* (2P), *Ø-Ø-nuna-hi* (3), *j-ũ-rua-ŋo-hi* (1P),
wak-ã-rua-ŋo-hi (2P) ‘to see clearly, to understand’

§4.8.8 The reduction of the lexical suffix *-(i)hi/*

The presence of *-/j/* at the end of the verb may be due to the reduction of the lexical suffix *-/hi/*. When intervocalic */h/* drops, final */i/* turns into a glide after a vowel, while it is preserved after a consonant. Consequently, */j/* is what remains of the lexical suffix *-(i)hi/* and preserves the same morphological behaviour, as in the verbs in (77a) and (78a), which can be compared with the respective variants preserving intervocalic */h/* ((77b) and (78b)). In some cases the original intervocalic consonant can no longer be observed (79).

- (77) a. *j-u-kuguña-j* (1S), *b-a-kuguña-j* (2S), *Ø-Ø-kuguña-j* (3), *j-u-kuguña-ŋo-j* (1P),
wakakuguña-ŋo-j (2P) ‘to rush toward, to run quickly toward’
 b. *j-u-kuguña-hi* (1S), *b-a-kuguña-hi* (2S), *Ø-Ø-kuguña-hi* (3), *j-u-kuguña-ŋo-hi* (1P),
wak-a-kuguña-ŋo-hi (2P) ‘to rush toward, to run quickly toward’
- (78) a. *j-u-gusi* (1S), *b-a-gusi* (2S), *dehi / ɬ-u-gusi* (3), *j-u-gu-ko-j* (1P),
wak-a-gu-so-j (2P) ‘to be (location)’
 b. *j-u-gusi-hi* (1S), *b-a-gusi-hi* (2S), *dehi / ɬ-u-gusi-hi* (3), *j-u-gu-ko-hi* (1P),
wak-a-gu-so-hi (2P) ‘to be (location)’
- (79) *j-i-to-j* (1S), *b-a-to-j* (2S), *Ø-Ø-to-j* (3), *j-i-to-go-j* (1P), *wak-a-to-jo-j* (2P) ‘to die’

Given a singular form or the 3-person form, it is not possible to predict with absolute certainty whether final *-/i/* (or */j/*) is part of the root or is a lexical suffix. One can, however, draw a general trend depending on the morphological behaviour of the last syllable. If the final syllable in *-/i/* is never substituted, such as *-/t̪ɛi/*, *-/hi/*, *-/ɲi/*, *-/ɲi/*, *-/ti/* and *-/ji/*, final *-/i/* is not a reduced lexical suffix (80).

- (80) a. *j-u-t̪ɛi* (1S), *b-a-t̪ɛi* (2S), *t̪ɛ-u-t̪ɛi* (3), *j-u-t̪ɛi-go* (1P), *wak-a-t̪ɛi-jo* (2P)
 ‘to have bowel movement’
 b. *j-o-hi* (1S), *b-o-hi* (2S), *t̪ɛ-o-hi* (3), *j-o-hi-go* (1P), *wak-o-hi-jo* (2P) ‘to drink’

This is just a general tendency rather than a rigid rule: even if the final syllable in *-/i/* is not substituted, it can belong to a lexical suffix, as in (81a). In (81a) the reduced lexical suffix */j/* merges with the syllable *-/ɲi/*, so that the reduced lexical suffix can only be identified in the plural persons. Note that (81a) and (81b) have the same final syllable in the singular persons and the 3-person, but the verb in (81b) has no lexical suffix, as it is evident in the plural persons.⁸⁶

- (81) a. *j-a-ɲi* (1P), *b-a-ɲi* (2P), *t̪ɛ-a-ɲi* (3), *j-a-ɲi-ɲo-j* (1P), *wak-a-ɲi-ɲo-j* (2P)
 ‘to touch the inside of something with the hand’
 b. *j-a-ɲi* (1S), *b-a-ɲi* (2S), *t̪ɛ-a-ɲi* (3), *j-a-ɲi-ɲo* (1P), *wak-a-ɲi-ɲo* (2P)
 ‘to return, to go back, to come back’

If the last syllable of the verb ends in *-/i/* and can be substituted, such as *-/di/* (82a), *-/ri/* (82b), *-/si/* (82c,d) and *-/gi/* (82e), it is in most cases related to the presence of the reduced lexical suffix *-/j/*. This suggests that, when the syllables *-/di/*, *-/ri/*, *-/si/* and *-/gi/* are substituted and the lexical suffix *-/j/* emerges in the plural, the original final syllables of the root were *-/t/* or *-/te/*, *-/re/*, *-/s/* or *-/se/* and *-/k/* or *-/ke/*, respectively. When the lexical suffix *-/ihi/* (or its reduced form *-/j/*) is added, */t/* and */k/* voice, while final */e/*, generally a euphonic vocoid, plays no role in the morphological adjustment when */ihi/* or */i/* is added, so that *-/t/* or *-/te/*, *-/re/*, *-/s/* or *-/se/* and *-/k/* or *-/ke/* turn

⁸⁶ According to the data of Higham *et al.* (2000) the verbs *chájni /t̪ɛɲi/* ‘to touch’ and *chajni /t̪ɛɲi/* ‘to return’ would differ in the position of the accent.

into *-/di/*, *-/ri/*, *-/si/* and *-/gi/*, respectively. When the mobile syllable is replaced, */i/* turns into a glide which follows the plural suffix. This is evident in *tibidi* (83b), which derives from *tibite* (83a), and in *chapídi* */tɕapidihi/* (84b), which derives from *chapite* */tɕapite/* (84a).

(82) a. *j-i-bidi* (1S), *b-a-bidi* (2S), *t-i-bidi* (3), *j-i-bi-ko-j* (1P), *wak-a-bi-tɕo-j* (2P)
 ‘to call, to summon’

b. *j-a-ɲari* (1S), *m-a-ɲari* (2S), *t-a-ɲari* (3), *j-a-ɲa-ko-j* (1P), *wak-a-ɲa-tɕo-j* (2P)
 ‘to listen to, to pay attention to, to obey to’

c. *j-i-kasi* (1S), *b-a-kasi* (2S), *∅-∅-kasi* (3), *j-i-ka-ko-j* (1P), *wak-a-ka-so-j* (2P)
 ‘to have courage, to be fearless’

d. *j-u-pusi* (1S), *b-a-pusi* (2S), *∅-∅-pusi* / *tɕ-u-pusi* (3), *j-u-pu-ko-j* (1P),
wak-a-pu-so-j (1P) ‘to reside in’

e. *j-i-kadi-gi* (1S), *b-a-kadi-gi* (2S), *tɕ-i-kadi-gi* (3), *j-i-kadi-jo-j* (1P),
wak-a-kadi-tɕo-j (2P) ‘to forget’

(83) a. *j-i-bite* (1S), *b-a-bite* (2S), *t-i-bite* (3), *j-i-bi-ko* (1P), *wak-a-bi-tɕo* (2S)
 ‘to yell, to shout’

b. *j-i-bidi* (1S), *b-a-bidi* (2S), *t-i-bidi* (3), *j-i-bi-ko-j* (1P), *wak-a-bi-tɕo-j* (2P)
 ‘to call, to summon’

(84) a. *j-a-pite* (1S), *b-a-pite* (2S), *tɕ-a-pite* (3), *j-a-pi-ko* (1P), *wak-a-pi-tɕo* (2P) ‘to survive’

b. *j-a-pid-ihi* (1S), *b-a-pid-ihi* (2S), *tɕ-a-pid-ihi* (3), *j-a-pi-ko-hi* (1P),
wak-a-pi-tɕo-hi (2P) ‘to be left alive, to survive’ (used with *dinike*)

Final */t/* voices if a vowel (in this case */i/*) is added in a morphological process. By contrast, in (85), the presence of */t/* in the root-final syllable *-/ti/* is due to the fact that it does not derive from a morphological process. In (85), there is a lexical suffix which is not *-/(i)hi/*, but *-/(a)ha/*.

(85) *j-i-pati-ha* (1S), *b-a-pati-ha* (2S), *∅-∅-pati-ha* (3), *j-i-pati-go-ha* (1P),
wak-a-pati-jo-ha (2S) ‘to endure, to remain firm’

Example (86) shows that not all verbs with a root-final syllable which can be substituted and ends in *-/i/* have the reduced lexical suffix.

- (86) a. j-o-ri (1S), b-o-ri (2S), t-o-ri (3), j-o-ri-go (1P), wak-o-ri-jo (2P) ‘to steal, to rob’
 b. ɲ-i-rĩ (1S), m-a-rĩ (2S), Ø-Ø-di (3), ɲ-i-rĩ-ŋo (1P), wak-a-rĩ-ɲo (2P) ‘to arrive’
 c. j-i-gi (1S), b-a-gi (2S), ɬ-i-gi (3), j-i-gi-go (1P), wak-a-gi-jo (2P)
 ‘to get dressed, to dress’

§4.8.9 The reduction of the lexical suffix *-(a)ha/*

The lexical suffix *-(a)ha/* can reduce to *-/a/* word-finally. The verb *chugúja /ɬɛguha/* (87b) derives from *chugu /ɬɛgu/* (87a). Intervocalic */h/* can drop and the result is a vocalic cluster in word-final position (87c). The same occurs in (88).

- (87) a. ɲ-u-ruɲu (1S), m-a-ruɲu (2S), ɬ-u-gu (3), ɲ-u-ruɲu-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ruɲu-ɲo (2P)
 ‘to pout, to act disgusted’ (intransitive) (see also ex. (25))
 b. ɲ-u-ruɲu-ha (1S), m-a-ruɲu-ha (2S), ɬ-u-gu-ha (3), ɲ-u-ruɲu-ŋo-ha (1P),
 wak-a-ruɲu-ɲo-ha (2P) ‘to pout, to act disgusted’ (transitive)
 c. ɲ-u-ruɲu-a (1S), m-a-ruɲu-a (2S), ɬ-u-gu-a (3), ɲ-u-ruɲu-ŋo-a (1P),
 wak-a-ruɲu-ɲo-a (2P) ‘to pout, to act disgusted’ (transitive)
- (88) a. j-a-di-ha (1S), b-a-di-ha (2S), ɬ-a-di-ha (3), j-a-di-go-ha (1P), wak-a-di-jo-ha (2P)
 ‘to put on, to place upon’
 b. j-a-di-a (1S), b-a-di-a (2S), ɬ-a-di-a (3), j-a-di-go-a (1P), wak-a-di-jo-a (2P)
 ‘to put on, to place upon’

The verb *pogai /pogaj/* (89a) has the lexical suffix *-/j/* (the reduced form of *-/ihi/*). In (89b) the (reduced) lexical suffix *-/a/* is added. As a result, the final syllable *-/ja/* derives from two reduced lexical suffixes, but only *-/a/* is preserved in the plural person, while */j/* is deleted. In (87b-c) and (89) the reduced lexical suffix *-/a/* has the function of a transitivity suffix. In this case, no variants showing the full lexical suffix *-(a)ha/* are reported for this verb, and this means that *-/a/* does not necessarily derive from *-(a)ha/* (although it is a plausible hypothesis). In the transitive verb *toria* ‘to steal’ (ex. (69)), which derives from the intransitive verb *tori* ‘to steal’, final *-/a/* has the same function, but it does not behave as a lexical suffix in the plural persons.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ This could be due to a reinterpretation of final */a/*: *tori-a* (3), *tori-a-go* /jori-a-go/ (1P), *tori-co* /jori-

- (89) a. j-i-poga-j (1S), b-a-poga-j (2S), Ø-Ø-poga-j (3), j-i-poga-go-j (1P), wak-a-poga-jo-j (2P)
 ‘to throw up, to vomit’ (intransitive)
 b. j-i-pogaj-a (1S), b-a-pogaj-a (2S), Ø-Ø-pogaj-a (3), j-i-poga-go-a (1P),
 wak-a-poga-jo-a (2P) ‘to throw up, to vomit’ (transitive)

The root-final syllable *-/da/* can be substituted and has the same origin of the syllable *-/di/* in (81-82). Verbs with the mobile syllable *-/da/* ((90a), (91a) and (92a)) derive from verbs with the mobile syllable *-/te/* ((90b), (91b) and (92b)) followed by the adposition *aja /aha/*. The first */a/* of *aja /aha/* forms a new syllable with */t/*. The euphonic vocoid */e/* plays no role in the morphological adjustment and */t/* voices when */a/* is added. When the final syllable of the verb root is *-/ta/* (for which no substitution is reported), it does not derive from any morphological process (93).

- (90) a. j-i-bida-ha (1S), b-a-bida-ha (2S), t-i-bida-ha (3), j-i-bi-ko-ha (1P),
 wak-a-bi-ṭo-ha (2P) ‘to cry out’
 b. j-i-bi-te (1S), b-a-bi-te (2S), t-i-bi-te (3), j-i-bi-ko (1P), wak-a-bi-ṭo (2P)
 ‘to yell, to shout’
- (91) a. j-i-rada-ha (1S), b-a-rada-ha (2S), ṭ-i-rada-ha (3), j-i-ra-ko-ha (1P),
 wak-a-ra-ṭo-ha (2P) ‘to imitate’
 b. j-i-ra-te (1S), b-a-rate (2S), ṭ-i-rate (3), j-i-ra-ko (1P), wak-a-ra-ṭo (2P)
 ‘to imitate; to sing’ ṭ-i-rate aha (3) is a synonym for ṭ-i-radaha (3)
- (92) a. j-i-sida-ha (1S), b-a-sida-ha (2S), ṭ-i-sida-ha (3), j-i-sida-ha (1P), wak-a-sida-ha (2P)
 ‘to scatter powdery substance’ (used with *kedeṇane*)
 b. j-i-site (1S), b-a-site (3), ṭ-i-site (3), j-i-si-ko (1P), wak-a-si-ṭo (2P)
 ‘to sift (as flour)’ cf. ṭisite aha (3) ‘to scatter, to spread about’
- (93) j-i-beta (1S), b-a-beta (2S), Ø-Ø-beta (3), j-i-beta-go (1P), wak-a-beta-jo (2P)
 ‘to be half dead, to wither’

A similar morphological process also occurs in (94). The verb *chapúsaja /ṭapusaha/* is originally *chapúse aja /ṭapuse aha/*. The adposition *aja /aha/* has been incorporated into the verb and the final syllable *-/se/* turns into *-/sa/*.

ko/ (1P), uacori-a-yo /wakori-a-jo / (2P), uacori-cho /wakori-ṭo/ (2P) ‘to steal’.

- (94) j-a-pusa-ha (1S), b-a-pusa-ha (2S), tɕ-a-pusa-ha (3), j-a-pu-ko-ha (1P),
 wak-a-pu-so-ha (2P) (also: tɕapuse aha) ‘to choose at random, to include’

In other cases the suffix *-aja /aha/* reduces to *-/a/* and the presence of the lexical suffix can only be noted in the plural persons. The presence of a reduced lexical suffix *-/a/* is frequent when the verb has a mobile syllable in *-/a/*, such as *-/sa/* (95a-b) and *-/ra/* (95c-d). The verb *chajnésara /tɕaɲesara/* (3) comes from *chajnésaru aja /tɕaɲesaru aha/*. *Aja /aha/* has been incorporated into the verb and final */u/* is overwritten by */a/*. The final syllable *-/ru/* turns into *-/ra/*, which continues to be a mobile syllable (*-/ha/* re-emerges, however, in the plural persons).

- (95) a. j-i-mes-a (1S), b-a-mes-a (2S), tɕ-i-mes-a (3), j-i-me-ko-a (1P), wak-a-me-so-a (2P)
 ‘to mix, to blend’
 b. j-a-ros-a (1S), b-a-ros-a (2S), tɕ-a-ros-a (3), jaro-ko-a (1P), wakaro-so-a (2P)
 ‘to slash, to make a gash’
 c. j-i-ramisa-ra (1S), b-a-ramisa-ra (2S), tɕ-i-ramisa-ra (3), j-i-ramisa-ko-(a) (1P),
 wak-a-ramisa-tɕo-(a) (2P) ‘to join one thing to another’
 d. j-a-ɲesar-a (1S), b-a-ɲesar-a (2S), tɕ-a-ɲesar-a (3), j-a-ɲesa-ko-ha (1P),
 wak-a-ɲesa-tɕo-ha (2P) ‘to turn back’ (also: tɕ-a-ɲesaru aha)

Not in all verbs with root-final syllable in *-/a/* this vowel is the reduced form of the lexical suffix *-(a)ha/*. When the verb-final syllable in *-/a/* cannot be substituted, such as *-/ta/* (93), *-/ha/* (96a) and *-/ɲa/* (96b), *-/a/* is never a reduced lexical suffix.

- (96) a. j-i-raha (1S), b-a-raha (2S), tɕ-i-raha (3), j-i-raha-go (3), wak-a-raha-jo (2P)
 ‘to know, to understand’
 b. j-u-tɕieɲa (1S), b-a-tɕieɲa (2S), tɕ-u-tɕieɲa (3), j-u-tɕieɲa-ɲo (1P),
 wak-a-chieɲa-ɲo (2P) ‘to kick, to step upon’

§4.9 Conclusions

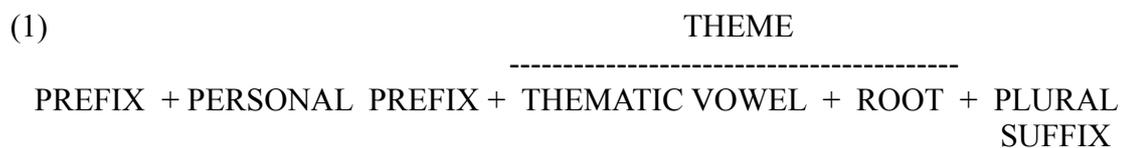
This chapter on AY verb morphology has analysed in detail the morphological behaviour of each element of the verb structure (prefix, thematic vowel, root, plural suffix and lexical suffix). Ayoreo shows a disappearing realis vs. irrealis opposition. The verb morphology of Ayoreo (and in particular the vocalic pattern) is mostly regular. From a taxonomic point of view, one can distinguish prefixal verbs (/tʃ/-verbs and /t/-verbs) and radical verbs. While thematic verbs are relatively numerous in Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco, only a few thematic verbs are to be found in Ayoreo. The plural suffix used depends on the root-final syllable, which can be replaced by the suffixes *-/ko/* and *-/tʃo/*. A lexical suffix may change the lexical meaning of the verb. In the next chapter, the verb morphology of Chamacoco is discussed.

§5 Chamacoco verb inflection⁸⁸

This chapter describes the verb inflection of Chamacoco. In §5.1 the verb structure of Chamacoco is analysed. CH verbs consist of: personal prefix, thematic vowel, root and plural suffix. A further prefix can be added to obtain the 3P-person and the 1PE-person. Like Ayoreo, Chamacoco is a tenseless language. The verb expresses the person and can show a realis vs. irrealis distinction in the 3-person. The irrealis is discussed in §5.2. Depending on the morphology of the 3-person (§5.3), verbs can be divided into: prefixal verbs (§5.4), thematic verbs (§5.5) and radical verbs (§5.6). Irregular verbs which cannot be included in any of these groups are described in §5.7. The 2P-suffix *-/lo/* (§5.8) coincides with the suffix used for the greater plural of the 1PI-person (§5.9). Chamacoco also presents defective verbs, which usually only take the suffix *-/lo/* and the 1PE- and 3P-prefix */o/-* (§5.10). Some defective verbs also exhibit the realis vs. irrealis distinction (§5.11, §5.12). Finally, some elements generally used with the verb, such as derivational suffixes (§5.13) and the enclitic preposition *=/ihi/* (§5.14) are discussed.

§5.1 Verb structure and personal inflection

The verb inflection of Chamacoco only has one tense and two moods, realis and irrealis, although the traces of this opposition only emerge in the 3-person. Chamacoco is a tenseless language. Time is marked by temporal particles. The verb structure of Chamacoco is represented as in (1).⁸⁹



In all Zamucoan languages, the verb theme is preceded by a personal suffix, but

⁸⁸ The present chapter is partly based on Ciucci (2009), which will no longer be mentioned.

⁸⁹ The 2P-suffix can be preceded by an epenthetic vowel, which will not be indicated in the morphological segmentation (unless told otherwise).

in Chamacoco a further prefix can be added to form other persons (see below).

The 1S-person is formed by the theme and the personal prefix (/t/-, /tak/-, /tok/-, /tuk/- or /tik/-).

- (2) a. t-i-bitehe (1S) ‘to sell cheap’
 b. tak-a-tskir (1S) ‘to fight’
 c. tok-o-rmihi (1S) ‘to grease, to smear’
 d. tuk-u-rka (1S) ‘to rock, to swing’
 e. tik-i-tiraha (1S) ‘to spit’

One has to distinguish between the prefix /t/- and the other prefixes, which consist of /t/, a vowel and /k/. This group of allomorphs which only differ in the vowel will be referred as /tVk/-. The vowel, which can be /a/, /o/, /u/ or /i/, is a copy of the 1-vowel of the verb and is always a short vowel. The use of /t/- or /tVk/- does not depend on the phonetic environment. There is only a phonetic restriction on the use of /tVk/-, i.e. it never occurs in verbs with /k/ as root-initial consonant (3). The use of /t/- or /tVk/- usually depends on the inflectional class, but there are many exceptions, so that it is not possible to predict which prefix a given verb takes in the 1S-person.

- (3) a. t-e-kçehe (1s ‘to cut, to cut something into pieces’) cf. ṭ-e-kçehe (3S)
 b. t-u-kweṛ (1s ‘to twist, to grind, to rub’) cf. ṭ-u-kweṛ (3S)

The 2S-person generally takes no prefix.⁹⁰ It consists of the theme and is often characterized by a change in the inflectional vowel, because the thematic vowel can be overwritten by a vowel originally belonging to the prefix (4).

- (4) a. Ø-e-bitehe (2s ‘to sell cheap’)
 b. Ø-a-tskir (2s ‘to fight’)
 c. Ø-o-rmihi (2s ‘to grease, to smear’)
 d. Ø-e-rka (2s ‘to rock, to swing’)
 e. Ø-e-tiraha (2s ‘to spit’)

The 3-person shows some morphological variability. The inflectional classes of CH verbs will be discussed in detail below. The 3-person is formed by a number of alternative prefixes, depending on the verb. Example (5) features

⁹⁰ There are only a few exceptions (see §5.5.4 and §5.7).

verbs with radical 3-person (5a), thematic 3-person (5b) and prefixal 3-person (5c).

- (5) a. tik-i-ṅir (1S), Ø-a-kaṅir (2S), Ø-Ø-kaṅir (3S), o-kaṅir (3P) ‘to appreciate’
 b. tuk-u-mo (1S), Ø-a-mo (2S), Ø-Ø-u-mo (3S), o-mo (3P) ‘to sleep / to see’
 c. t-e-çer (1S), Ø-e-çer (2S), tç-e-çer (3S) ‘to fish’, o-tç-e-çer (3P) ‘to fish’

The 3-person is used in both singular and plural when the subject is non-human. There is also a specific form for the 3P-person, obtained by adding the prefix /o/- to the 3-person. The 3P-person is obligatorily used when the plural subject is human (6). It can also be used when the subjects are big animals (7-9), but in the latter case the 3S-person is often preferred.⁹¹ When the subjects are little animals, such as fish (10) or insects (11), or are inanimate, such as the plants in (12), the 3P-person cannot be used.

- (6) Boshesh-o d-ebuhu / * o-d-ebuhu Baya.
 /boçeç-o d-ebuhu o-d-ebuhu baja/
 child-MP 3-live P-3-live Bahía_Negra
 ‘The children live in Bahía Negra.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (7) Loship-o de / o-de ormi-t ehe-t.
 /loçip-o de o-de ormi-t ehe-t/
 animal-MP 3.EXIST / 3P-EXIST wood-MS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF
 ‘The animals are in the wood.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (8) Oyayuwa de / o-de onoo-ta ehe-t.
 /ojajuwa de o-de ono:-ta ehe-t/
 giant_anaconda.MP 3.EXIST / 3P-EXIST river-FS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF
 ‘The giant anacondas are in the river.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (9) Hutkeykēr-o de / o-de onoo-ta ehe-t.
 /hutkejkēr-o de o-de ono:-ta ehe-t/
 manguruju_fish-MP 3.EXIST / 3P-EXIST river-FS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF
 ‘The manguruju fish are in the river.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁹¹ In the realis, the existential-locative verb *de* used in the following examples only has the 3-person *de*, also used for the other persons, and the 3P-person *ode*. For reasons of simplicity, the label ‘realis’ is not indicated in the examples above.

- (10) Loshi-yo de / *o-de onoo-ta ehe-t.
 /loçi-jo de o-de ono:-ta ehe-t/
 fish-MP 3.EXIST / 3P-EXIST river-FS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF
 ‘The fish are in the river.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (11) Kasaa hnoy / *o-hnoy d-abis-o.
 /kasa: ñoj o-ñoj d-abis-o/
 ant.MP 3.bring P-3.bring RFL-food-MP
 ‘The ants take their food.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (12) Hnikaa de / *o-de ormit ehe-t.
 /ñika: de o-de ormit ehe-t
 black_carob.MP 3.EXIST / 3P-EXIST river-FS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF
 ‘The black carob trees are in the wood.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

In the 1P-person there is a difference between 1PI-person and 1PE-person. The clusivity split is a feature present in many languages of the area, such as Guaraní, but not in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. The 1PI-person is formed by the theme and the personal prefix /j/- (13).⁹² The 1PE-person is morphologically dependent on the inclusive person, because it is obtained by adding the prefix /o/- to the 1PI-person (13). The 1PI-prefix /j/- is very similar to the 1-person free pronouns *yok* /jok/ (1S), *eyok* /ejok/ (1PI) and *ōryok* /ōrjok/ (1PE). The prefix /o/- of the 1PE-person corresponds to /ōr/- in the free pronoun of the 1PE-person. Note that the morphology of the 1PE-person is typologically unexpected, because, assuming that it is the plural of the 1S-person, it should be dependent on the 1S-person (like the corresponding free pronoun, see §3.2), rather than on the 1PI-person.

- (13) a. tɕ-i-behe (3S), j-i-behe (1PI), o-j-i-behe (1PE) ‘to change’
 b. t-e:-jtɕi (3S), j-e:-jtɕi (1PI), o-j-e:-jtɕi (1PE) ‘to sing’

The 1PI-person has a greater plural expressed by adding the suffix -/lo/ to the 1PI-person (14).⁹³ The greater plural is not documented in either Ayoreo or Ancient Zamuco.

⁹² This prefix can undergo nasal harmony when nasality is present in the verb root. In this case it nasalizes into [ɲ]. There is no phonemic difference between [ɲ] and [j] in Chamacoco. For this reason, this change is not indicated in the orthographic system.

⁹³ On the greater plural, see §3.2.2.

- (14) a. j-i-tɕew (1PI) ‘we (few) write’
 b. j-i-tɕew-lo (1PI.GP) ‘we (many) write’
 c. o-j-i-tɕew (1PE) ‘we write’
 d. *o-j-i-tɕew-lo [1PE.GP]

The 2P-person is formed by the 2S-person and the plural suffix *-/lo/*. The 2P-person is thus morphologically dependent on the 2S-person. Both persons share the same morphological irregularities (15c) present in the 2S-person and the same 2-vowel, as one can see when a vowel change occurs (15a,c).

- (15) a. tɕ-i-naha (3S) ‘to act strongly’, e-naha (2S), e-naha-lo (2P)
 b. t-a-tskir (3S) ‘to fight’, a-tskir (2S), a-tskir-lo (2P)
 c. tɕ-i-tɕew (3S) ‘to write’, a-tsew (2S), a-tsew-lo (2P)

The suffix *-/lo/* is used in free pronouns (see §3.2) and in verbs for the greater plural of the 1PI-person and for the 2P-person (§5.1). The suffix *-/lo/* is also used to form the MP in noun morphology. The suffix *-/lo/* always conveys a plural meaning, because the 1PI.GP-person can be considered the ‘plural’ of the 1PI-person, as the 1PE-person can be considered the proper plural of the 1S-person (see §3.2.1-§3.2.2). In a few cases the suffix *-/lo/* can be separated from the verb, as in (16), where *-/lo/* follows the determiner *wichi /witɕi /*.⁹⁴

- (16) Eyok-lo y-osim wich-lo ese boshesh-t erze hut-e
 /ejok-lo j-osim witɕ-lo ese boɕeɕ-t eɾɕe⁹⁵ hut-e/
 1PI-GP 1PI-give DET.MS-GP that.MS child-MS.FF these.FP book-FP
 ‘We (all) give those books to that child’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The 3P-person is obtained by adding the prefix */o/-* to the 3S-person. The 3P-person is used when the 3P-person subject is not expressed, otherwise the 3S-person is used. The prefix */o/-* probably derives from the 3P-person free pronoun *õr*. The 3P-prefix */o/-* phonologically coincides with the 1PE-prefix */o/-* which corresponds to */õr/-* in free pronouns: cf. *yok /jok/* (1S), *õr-yok /õr-jok/* (1PE). This suggests that the prefix */o/-* has the same origin in both the 1PE-person and the 3P-person. The 3-pronoun *õr* has been reinterpreted as a

⁹⁴ This occurs rarely.

⁹⁵ The demonstrative *erze /eɾɕe/* [*e.ɾɕe*] can also be pronounced [*e.ɿɕe*].

prefix for the 3P-person and the 1-person exclusive. In the case of the 1PE-person, this could be due to the influence of the 1PE-pronoun *ore* in Guaraní. If this hypothesis is correct, the clusivity split is not an original characteristic of the Zamucoan family. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the form of the 1PE-person is not prototypical, because it depends on the 1PE-person, rather than on the 1S-person.

The 3P-person and the 1PE-person are the only examples of double prefixation. The 2P-person, the 3P-person and the 1PE-person are different from the other persons, because they are morphologically dependent on another inflected form. The affixes /o/- and -/lo/ are only used in verb morphology for persons morphologically derived from other inflected forms. They are complementary, because /o/- and -/lo/ cannot be used in the same form: given *yichew* /jitɕew/ (1PI) ‘to write’, one can form *o-yichew* /o-jitɕew/ (1PE) or *yichew-lo* /jitɕew-lo/ (1PI.GP), but not **o-yichew-lo* /o-jitɕew-lo/ (14).

§5.2 The irrealis

Chamacoco presents an opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person. The 3-irrealis is obtained by adding the prefix /d/- or /l/- to the theme. Here /d/- and /l/- are free allomorphs. In the course of this study only the form(s) actually observed in the field will be reported. The prefix /d/- or /l/- can nasalize into /n/ if the root shows nasality (§5.2.1). The 3-irrealis, like the 3-realis, is also used for non-human plural subjects. The 3P-irrealis is obligatory when the plural subject is human and can also be used for big animals (although in this case the 3-person is preferred). The 3P-irrealis is obtained by adding the prefix /o/- to the 3-irrealis. The 3-irrealis will be referred to as ‘irrealis form’ or ‘irrealis’.

The realis vs. irrealis contrast is not to be found for the other persons and is not to be observed for all verbs, for the morphological expression of the realis vs. irrealis opposition depends on the inflectional class (see §5.3). As will be shown comparing Chamacoco with the other Zamucoan languages, the realis vs. irrealis opposition in the 3-person is what remains of an original distinction realis vs. irrealis mood. The realis indicates certainty that the action expressed by the verb actually takes place. By contrast, the irrealis is used when the

action expressed by the verb does not take place (that is in negative (17) or counterfactual clauses) or when the speaker is not sure whether the action will take place (typically in future clauses, or in expressions of wish or desire (18-19), possibility (20), etc.).⁹⁶

- (17) Ishim òr regalo òr hñim-o, par òr hñim-o. Ye o-loshi = pe.
 /içim òr regalo òr ñim-o par òr ñim-o je o-loçi = pe/
 3.give 3P gift 3P land-MP in_order_to 3P land-MP NEG P-3.IRLS.pay = neg
 ‘He gives them their land as a gift, so that it [can actually] be their land. They don’t pay.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

o-çi ‘to pay’ (3P) ---> realis

o-l-o-çi ‘to pay’ (3P.IRLS) ---> irrealis (prefix /l/- or /d/-)

- (18) Sēhe d-iraha eyok ahwos-o pish-o.
 /tsēhe d-iraha ejok aḡos-o piç-o/
 VOL 3.IRLS-know 1PI word-MP ELAT-MP
 ‘He wants to know our real language.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

ṭç-i-raha ‘know’ (3)---> realis

d-i-raha ‘know’ (3.IRLS) ---> irrealis (prefix /l/- or /d/-)

- (19) Mahn, je t-uu_leeych ir, ich ye wichi l-erz yoo = pe.
 /maṅ xe t-u:lejṭç ir itç je wiṭçi l-erz jo: = pe/
 but COMP 1S-fight 3S CONJ NEG DET.MS 3.IRLS-win 1S = NEG
 ‘But, when I fight against him, he doesn’t defeat me.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

ts-e-rz ‘to win’ (3) ---> realis

l-e-rz ‘to win’ (3.IRLS) ---> irrealis (prefix /l/- or /d/-)

- (20) Ir sēhe l-uhu ahakōr ahwos-o.
 /ir tsēhe l-uhu ahakōr aḡos-o/
 3S VOL 3.IRLS-do 2S.teach 2S.word-MP
 ‘He wants you to teach him your language.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

ç-u: ‘to do’ (3) ---> realis

d-u-hu/l-u-hu ‘to do’ (3.IRLS) ---> irrealis (prefix /l/- or /d/-)

⁹⁶ According to Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b: 13): “Si no está definitiva o si hay duda de la acción del verbo”.

§5.2.1 The nasalization of irrealis prefixes

The 3-irrealis prefix /d/- or /l/- can nasalize into /n/- when nasality is present in the root. In the nasalization of the prefix there are general tendencies, but no rigid rules. In the following examples, when two forms are possible but one is preferred, the preferred form is followed by the gloss “pr.”. As one can see in (21) the alternation between the prefix /n/- and /d/- or /l/- is usually possible. Sometimes the root-initial consonant tends to block the spread of nasalization. This depends on the consonant. The root-initial consonants in (21) do not block nasalization, but this tendency emerges when there is a plosive element at the beginning of the root. The block of nasalization occurs very frequently when the root-initial consonant is a velar plosive (22), although there are exceptions (23). If the root-initial consonant is /t/ or an affricate consonant, the block of nasalization is to be observed (24), but this does not always occur (25). In (26-27) one finds examples with other root-initial consonants. Note that two variants are to be observed when /p/ or /rz/ occurs in root-initial position (however, the non-nasalized prefix is preferred). The block of nasalization is also to be found in Ayoreo, e.g. in nominal suffixation. The MP full-form suffix -(o)de/ turns into -(o)ne/ when there is a nasal element in the noun root, as in AY *jnum-i* /*ṅum-i*/ ‘land’, which has the plural full-form *jnum-one* /*ṅum-one*/. By contrast, the AY noun *tamoco-i* /*tamoko-j*/ ‘dog’ has the plural *tamoc-ode* /*tamok-ode*/, rather than **tamoc-one* /*tamok-one*/, because the velar plosive /k/, interposed between the centre of nasality and the suffix, blocks the spread of nasalization to the suffix (see §4.8.4).

- (21) *ɬ-i-hīt* (3) ‘to light up’ ---> *n-i-hītpe* (pr.) / *d-i-hītpe* (3.IRLS)
ɬ-i-hītsim (3) ‘to bury’ ---> *n-i-hītsim* (pr.) / *d-i-hītsim* (3.IRLS)
ɬ-ĩ-ra (3) ‘to use’ ---> *n-ĩ-ra* (pr.) / *d-ĩ-ra* (3.IRLS)
ɬ-ũ-çür (3) ‘to paint’ ---> *n-ũ-çür* (pr.) / *d-ũ-çür* (3.IRLS)
ɬ-i-rāha (3) ‘to upload’ ---> *d-i-rāha* (pr.) / *n-i-rāha* (3.IRLS)
ts-a-ratāk / *ts-ã-ratak* (3) ‘to make a mistake, to confuse’ ---> *n-a-ratāk* (3.IRLS)
ç-i-jokör / *ç-i-jör* (3) ‘to build, to make’ ---> *n-i-jokör* / *n-i-jökör* (3.IRLS)

- (22) ɬ-u-kçãha (3) ‘to fill’ ---> d-u-kçãha (3.IRLS)
 ɬ-u-kutirêhe (3) ‘to take possession of’ (also: ɬukutirãha) ---> d-u-kutirêhe (3.IRLS)⁹⁷
 ɬ-u-kutim (3) ‘to catch fire; to refuse to work’ ---> d-u-kutim (3.IRLS)
 ts-e-kwër (3) ‘to feed (a baby), to breastfeed’ ---> d-e-kwër (3.IRLS)
 ɬ-i-kãha (3) ‘pass through’ ---> d-i-kãha (3.IRLS)
- (23) ts-ěj-kêhe (3) ‘to press, to push down’ ---> n-ěj-kêhe (3.IRLS)
- (24) ts-a-tim (3) ‘to charge, to entrust’ ---> l-a-tim (3.IRLS)
 ts-a-tsır (3) ‘to scold, to tell off, to quarrel’ ---> l-a-tsır (3.IRLS)
 ts-a-tsırãha (3) ‘to knock down, to ride roughshod, to rush’ ---> d-a-tsırãha (3.IRLS)
 ts-i-tır (3) ‘to approach’ ---> d-i-tır (3.IRLS)
 ts-i-tsër (3) ‘to open’ ---> d-i-tsër (3.IRLS)
 ɬ-i-ɬjër (3) ‘to graft, to plug’ ---> d-i-ɬjër (3.IRLS)
- (25) ts-i-teëta (3) ‘to measure’ ---> d-i-teëta / n-i-teëta (3.IRLS)
 ts-i-tijër / ɬ-i-tijër (3) ‘to gather, to collect, to pile’ ---> d-i-tijër (pr.) /
 n-i-tijër (3.IRLS)
 ɬ-i-tijër / ɬ-ĩ-tjër (3) ‘to rummage’ ---> d-i-tijër / n-i-tijër (3.IRLS)
- (26) ɬ-i-pã:çɔ (3) ‘to fold’ ---> d-i-pã:çɔ (pr.) / n-i-pã:çɔ (3.IRLS)
 ɬ-i-pêtçır (3) ‘to knead’ ---> d-i-pêtçır (pr.) / n-i-pêtçır (3.IRLS)
 ɬ-i-pê:sa (3) ‘to surround’ ---> d-i-pê:sa (pr.) / n-i-pê:sa (3.IRLS)
 ts-e-pjër / ts-e-pijër (3) ‘to punish’ ---> l-e-pjër / n-e-pjër (3.IRLS)
- (27) ts-a-rzım (3) ‘to add’ ---> l-a-rzım (pr.) / n-a-rzım (3.IRLS)
 ts-e-rzım (3) ‘to shoot’ ---> d-e-rzım (pr.) / n-e-rzım (3.IRLS)
 ts-o-sır (3) ‘to favour’ ---> d-o-sır / n-o-sır (3.IRLS)

Note that no nasalization has been noted in the suffix *-/lo/*, and no alternation between */d/* and */l/* is observed. In the case of the suffix *-/lo/*, */l/* and */d/* are not allophones.

⁹⁷ This verb is used with the reflexive pronoun.

§5.3 Inflectional classes in Chamacoco

The base of the paradigm is the 3-person, which is best considered the citation form. This lemmatization criterion has been used in Ulrich & Ulrich (2000: 12), who proposed a verb classification depending on the 3-person form.⁹⁸ In the course of the present analysis, a different verb classification will be proposed. One has to distinguish between two macro-classes. The verbs with a consonantal prefix in the 3-person (prefixal verbs) form the first macro-class, while the verbs without any 3-prefix belong to the second macro-class.

First macro-class: verbs with a consonantal prefix in third person singular (prefixal verbs)				Second macro-class: verbs without any consonantal prefix in the third person singular	
First class		Second class		Third class: thematic verbs (20)	Fourth class: radical verbs (21)
First subclass: /tʃ/-verbs (19a)	Second subclass: /ts/- and /ç/-verbs (19b)	Third subclass: /t/-verbs (19c)	Fourth subclass: /d/-, /l/-, /n/- and /j/-verbs (19d-g)		

Table 5.1. Classification of Chamacoco verbs

In the first macro-class the 3-person can take the prefix /tʃ/-, /ts/- or /ç/-, /t/-, /d/- or /l/-, /n/- and /j/-. In the first macro-class one can distinguish two classes of verbs: a first class composed of verbs with the 3-prefix /tʃ/- (/tʃ/-verbs) or /ts/-⁹⁹ (/ts/-verbs) and a second class composed of verbs with the 3-prefix /t/- (/t/-verbs), /d/- or /l/-, /n/- and /j/- (/d/-verbs). There are thus four groups of verbs: /tʃ/-verbs, /ts/-verbs, /t/-verbs and /d/-verbs. This partition into two classes is due to the fact that the respective groups of verbs share common morphological properties, except for the prefix of the 3-person. /tʃ/- and /ts/-verbs generally present the prefix /t/- in the 1S-person and always show the realis vs. irrealis contrast in the 3-person (28). Both the prefixes /tʃ/- and /ts/- are sometimes observed in the same verb as in *ch-*

⁹⁸ However, this is not the only criterion used by Ulrich & Ulrich (2000: 12) and their verb classification shows some incoherencies.

⁹⁹ In the orthographic transcription /ts/ corresponds to <s> word-initially and to <ts> word-internally. For this reason, a change in the transcription of /ts/ is observable in the 3-person *satir* /tsatir/ and in the 3P-person *otsatir*, but no phonetic change occurs.

owa /tɕ-owa/ or *s-owa* /ts-owa/ ‘to show’ (see ex. (76c)). The prefix /ts/- turns into /ɕ/- when it precedes thematic /i/ or /u/: *shuu* /ɕu:/ ‘to kill, to make’, *shiyokōr* /ɕijokōr/ ‘to do, to make’.

- (28) a. t-i-raha (1S), e-raha (2S), tɕ-i-raha (3), j-i-raha (1PI), o-j-i-raha (1PE), e-raha-lo (2P)
 d-i-raha (3.IRLS) ‘to know, to understand’
 b. t-a-tir (1S), a-tir (2S), ts-a-tir (3), j-a-tir (1PI), o-j-a-tir (1PE), a-tir-lo (2P),
 o-ts-atir (3P), l-a-tir (3.IRLS) ‘to return, to give back’

The verbs of the second class, that is /t/-verbs and /d/-verbs, share features which are opposite to the first class: they usually have the prefix /tVk/- in the 1S-person.¹⁰⁰ The 3-realis and irrealis coincide.

- (29) a. tak-a-k (1S), a-k (2S), t-a-k (3), j-a-k (1PI), o-j-a-k (1PE), a-ki-lo (2P),
 o-t-a-k (3P), t-a-k (3.IRLS) ‘to eat’
 b. tak-a-buhu (1S), e-buhu (2S), d-e-buhu, j-e-buhu (1PI), o-j-e-buhu (1PE),
 e-buhu-lo (2P), o-d-ebuhu (3P), d-e-buhu (3.IRLS) ‘to live’ (also: lebuhu)
 c. tok-o-ta (1S), o-ta (2S), l-ota (3), j-o-ta (1PI), o-j-o-ta (1PE), o-ti-lo (2P),
 o-l-ota (3P), l-o-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to play’ (also: dota)
 d. tik-i-na (1S), e-na (2S), n-i-na (3), j-i-na (1PI), o-j-i-na (1PE), e-ni-lo (2P),
 o-n-i-na (3P), n-i-na (3.IRLS) ‘to thank’
 e. tik-i-na (1S), a-na (2S), j-a-na (3), j-i-na (1PI), o-j-i-na (1PE), a-ni-lo (2P),
 o-j-ana (3P), j-a-na (3.IRLS) ‘to laugh’

The vast majority of CH verbs belong to /tɕ/-, /ts/- and /t/-verbs. /tɕ/- and /ts/-verbs are the most prototypical ones. The first macro-class includes most CH verbs. The verbs of the first macro-class are more regular than the verbs belonging to the second macro-class. The first macro-class represents the centre of the verb system of Chamacoco, while the second macro-class represents its periphery.

The second macro-class includes two verb classes: thematic verbs, which have the 3-person coinciding with the theme (30a), and radical verbs, whose 3-person consists of the mere root (30b). Both thematic and radical verbs generally take the prefix /tVk/- in the 1-person. Thematic verbs show the opposition between realis and irrealis, which is not morphologically expressed in radical verbs. Both verb classes show many irregularities or subregularities

¹⁰⁰ /d/-verbs, which form a group composed of few verbs, always show the 1S-person prefix /tVk/-.

which will be analysed in detail in §5.5 and §5.6.

- (30) a. *tik-i-jem* / *t-i-jem* (1S), *a-nem* (2S), *i-jem*, *j-i-jem* (1PI), *o-j-i-jem* (1PE),
a-nem-lo (2P), *o-jem* (3P), *ts-e:m* (3.IRLS) ‘to wait for’
 b. *t-i-kĩtkēr* / *t-i-kĩtkēr* (1S), *e-kĩtkēr* (2S), *Ø-Ø-kějtkēr* (3), *j-i-kĩtkēr* (1PI),
o-j-i-kĩtkēr (1PE), *e-kĩtkēr-lo* / *e-kĩtkēri-lo* (2P), *o-kějtkēr* (3P),
Ø-Ø-kějtkēr (3.IRLS) ‘to speak, to talk’ (also: *kějtkēr*)

There are three conspicuous variables in verb inflection: (1) the morphology of the 3-person; (2) the 1S-prefix; (3) the morphological expression of the opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person. The classification based on the morphology of the 3-person allows: (1) to predict with good approximation whether the 1S-prefix is /t/- or /tVk/-; (2) to predict whether the realis vs. irrealis contrast is morphologically expressed in the 3-person. Moreover, between the macro-classes there are conspicuous differences concerning: (1) The number of elements belonging to each class; (2) The frequency of exceptions.

§5.4 Prefixal verbs

Most CH verbs take a prefix in the 3-person. As already seen, prefixal verbs can be divided into /tɕ/-verbs, /ts/-verbs, /t/-verbs and /d/-verbs. /tɕ/-verbs and /ts/-verbs exhibit the realis vs. irrealis distinction, not expressed in /d/- and /t/-verbs (§5.4.1). The vocalic patterns of prefixal verbs are analysed in §5.4.2, where they are organized according to the 3-vowel, which can be /a/ (§5.4.3), /e/ (§5.4.4), /o/ (§5.4.5), /i/ (§5.4.6), /u/ (§5.4.7) or /ɨ/ (§5.4.8). Prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ and the 2-vowel /a/ present some irregularities in the 2-person (§5.4.9). All vocalic patterns of prefixal verbs are summarized in (§5.4.10). /tɕ/- and /ts/-verbs usually take the prefix /t/- in the 1S-person, although there are some exceptions taking /tVk/- (§5.4.11). By contrast, /tVk/- is the 1S-prefix of /t/- and /d/-verbs, although some verbs take (§5.4.12). In the 3-person of some prefixal verbs, the prefixes /tɕ/- and /ts/- can alternate (§5.4.13). /ts/-verbs with thematic /i/ or /u/ take the allomorph /ɕ/- in the 3-person (§5.4.14). Although prefixal verbs are mostly regular, some irregularities are shown in §5.4.15 and §5.4.16. /d/-verbs form a

small subclass which is discussed in §5.4.17.

§5.4.1 Prefixal verbs and the morphological expression of the irrealis

The morphological expression of the opposition between realis and irrealis depends on the verb class. Such opposition is morphologically expressed in the 3-person of prefixal verbs belonging to the first class, that is in /tʃ/-verbs and /ts/-verbs. /t/-verbs and /d/-verbs do not present any morphological expression for the realis vs. irrealis opposition.

- (31) a. ts-i-titëra (3) ‘to measure, to test’ ---> d-i-titëra / l-i-titëra (3.IRLS),
 o-ts-i-titëra (3P) ---> o-d-i-titëra / o-l-i-titëra (3P.IRLS)
 b. tʃ-e-kçehe (3) ‘to cut’ ---> l-e-kçehe / d-e-kçehe (3.IRLS) -
 o-tʃ-e-kçehe (3P) ---> o-l-ekçehe / o-d-ekçehe (3P.IRLS)
 c. ts-aṃur (3) ‘to love’ ---> n-a-ṃur (3.IRLS)
 o-ts-aṃur (3P) ---> o-n-aṃur (3P.IRLS)

The 3-prefix /tʃ/- or /ts/- is replaced by the irrealis prefix /d/- or /l/- (31a-b). /l/ and /d/ are free allophones in word-initial position (e.g. *data* or *lata* ‘mother’, *deych* /dejʃ/ or *leych* /lejʃ/ ‘father’).¹⁰¹ The prefix may nasalize into /n/- (31c) in nasal-harmony contexts (see §5.2.1). This way to obtain the irrealis is not the same for all prefixal verbs. The 3P-irrealis is obtained by adding the prefix /o/- to the 3-irrealis.

§5.4.2 The thematic vowel

This section discusses the morphological behaviour of the thematic vowel in prefixal verbs. The general rules for the thematic vowel are in principle also valid for radical and thematic verbs (unless otherwise indicated). The morphological behaviour is characterized by the thematic vowel, generally to be found in the 3-person. However, the 3-vowel does not always coincide with the original thematic vowel, because it has been sometimes overwritten by a

¹⁰¹ As Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b: 13) say: “Este intercambio libre de **d** y **l** es preferencialmente individual de estilo y no tiene significación gramatical”.

prefix vowel or the 3-person has assimilated to another form, losing its original thematic vowel.

When the 3-vowel is the original thematic vowel, it is usually preserved in the whole paradigm if it is a non-high vowel (32), while it turns into /a/ or /e/ in the 2-person if it is a high vowel (33).¹⁰² In the following sections, I will indicate the vowel which fills the slot of the thematic vowel in the first three persons, because the vowel of the 1P-person is generally the same as the 1S-person, the inflectional vowel of the irrealis is the same as that of the 3-realis and the plural of the other persons is derived from its singular counterparts.

- (32) a. t-a-pur (1S), a-pur (2S), ts-a-pur (3), j-a-pur (1PI), o-j-a-pur (1PE), a-pur-lo (2P),
 o-ts-a-pur (3P), l-a-pur (3.IRLS) ‘to ask for’ (also: tsapuru)
- b. t-e-nçehe (1S), e-nçehe (2S), tɕ-e-nçehe (3), j-e-nçehe (1PI), o-j-e-nçehe (1PE),
 e-nçehe-lo (2P), o-tɕ-e-nçehe (3P), n-e-nçehe (3.IRLS) ‘to remove, to take away’
- c. t-o-ntew (1S), o-ntew (2S), ts-o-ntew (3), j-o-ntew (1PI), o-j-o-ntew (1PE),
 o-ntew-lo (2P), o-ts-o-ntew (3P), n-o-ntew (3.IRLS) ‘to hold’
- (33) a. t-i-ta (1S), a-ta (2S), tɕ-i-ta (3), j-i-ta (1PI), o-j-i-ta (1PE), a-ti-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-i-ta (3P), d-i-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to serve something to drink’
- b. tuk-u-na (1S), e-na (2S), tɕ-u-na (3), j-u-na (1PI), o-j-u-na (1PE), e-ni-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-u-na (3P), n-u-na (3.IRLS) ‘to perceive, to feel’
- c. tik-i-bitɕ (1S), e-bitɕ (2S), t-i-bitɕ (3), j-i-bitɕ (1PI), o-j-i-bitɕ (1PE), e-bitɕ-lo (2P),
 o-t-i-bitɕ (3P), t-i-bitɕ (3.IRLS) ‘to shout, to yell’

§5.4.3 The third-person vowel /a/

The 3-vowel /a/ is preserved in the whole paradigm (32a, 34) when it is the thematic vowel. If the verb takes /tVk/- in the 1S-person, V usually is /a/ (34), but one also finds irregularities, which will be analysed in §5.4.11. In (35) one finds two exceptions in which the 3-vowel /a/ is irregular. This is probably related to the fact that *tata* and *tatim* are two /t/-verbs with the prefix /t/- in the 1S-person. A change in the 3-vowel is functional to distinguish the

¹⁰² Nasality and vowel length have phonological value in Chamacoco, but these features are not relevant in this case, because they do not affect the morphological behaviour of the thematic vowel. If a vowel is nasal and/or is long, these features are preserved in the whole paradigm (unless otherwise specified), including when the vowel undergoes a change.

1S-person from the 3-person. Note that here the 1-vowel is the original thematic vowel of the verb and is to be found in both the 1-person singular and plural.

(34) tak-a-*la* (1S), a-*la* (2S), ts-a-*la* (3), j-a-*la* (1PI), o-j-a-*la* (1PE), a-*i*-lo (2P), o-ts-a-*la* (3P),
d-a-*la* (3.IRLS) ‘to lend, to rent’

(35) a. t-i-*ta* (1S), a-*ta* (2S), t-a-*ta* (3), j-i-*ta* (1PI), o-j-i-*ta* (1PE), a-*ta*-lo / a-*ti*-lo (2P),
o-ta-*ta* (3P), t-a-*ta* (3.IRLS) ‘to say, to report’

b. t-i-*tim* (1S), a-*tim* (2S), t-a-*tim* (3), j-i-*tim* (1PI), o-j-i-*tim* (1PE), a-*tim*-lo (2P),
o-t-a-*tim* (3P), t-a-*tim* (3.IRLS) ‘to tell, to report’

§5.4.4 The third-person vowel /e/

The 3-vowel /e/ is preserved in the whole paradigm when it is the thematic vowel (32b), but, like /a/, the 3-vowel /e/ is not always the thematic vowel. The verb *tew* (36) shows the 1-vowel /a/. /a/ is the original thematic vowel (see also §7.4) and the presence of /e/ in the 3-person is probably related to the need to distinguish the 3-person from the 1S-person. The vocalic pattern of *chees* /tʰe:s/ (37) is completely irregular: the 3-vowel is /e:/, but the 1- and the 2-vowel are /i:/ and /a:/ respectively. The thematic vowel of the irrealis always corresponds to the 3-vowel in prefixal verbs, but in this case it is /i:/. This suggests that the original thematic vowel in the 3-person was /i:/ and that a change in the 3-person has probably occurred.

(36) t-a-w (1S), e-w (2S), t-e-w (3), j-a-hu (1PI), o-j-ahu (1PE), e-w-lo / e-*li*-lo (2P),
o-t-e-w (3P), t-e-w (3.IRLS) ‘to eat’

(37) t-i-s (1S), a-s (2S), tʰ-e-s / ts-e-s (3), j-i-s (1PI), o-j-i-s (1PE), a-s-lo (2P),
o-tʰ-e-s / o-ts-e-s (3P), d-i-s / l-i-s (3.IRLS) ‘to bite; to sting; to criticize’
(also: tʰes)

If the verb takes the prefix /tV_k/- in the 1S-person, V is never /e/ and the prefix */tek/- is not observed. If a verb has the 3-vowel /e/ and the prefix /tV_k/- in the 1-person, /tV_k/- may correspond to /tak/- or /tik/-. The prefix /tak/- comes together with the 1-vowel /a/, even if the thematic vowel

is /e/ (38a). If the prefix is /tik/-, thematic /e/ can be preserved (38b). The 1-vowel can also reduce to /i/ in the 1-person with both /tik/- (38a) and /tak/- (38c). As one can see in (38a), the prefixes /tak/- and /tik/- can also alternate in the same verb. /tak/- is probably an innovation of the 1S-person. If /j/ belongs to the same syllable of the thematic vowel, it is overwritten by /a/ (38d). Other verbs with the 3-vowel /e/ and the prefix /tVk/- are reported in (39).

- (38) a. tak-a-jāha / tik-i-jāha (1S), e-jāha (2S), t-e-jāha (3), j-e-jāha (1PI), o-j-e-jāha (1PE), e-j-āha-lo (2P), o-t-e-jāha (3P), t-e-jāha (3.IRLS) ‘to hunt, to chase’
 b. tik-ěj-hi (1S), ěj-hi (2S), t-ěj-hi (3), j-ěj-hi (1PI), o-j-ěj-hi (1PE), ej-hĩ-lo (2P), o-t-ěj-hi (3P), t-ěj-hi (3.IRLS) ‘to scratch’
 c. tak-i-rihi (1S), e-rihi (2S), t-e-rihi (3), j-e-rihi (1PI), o-j-erihĩ (1PE), e-rihi-lo (2P), o-t-e-rihi (3P), t-e-rihi (3.IRLS) ‘to reach’
 d. tik-e:-jtĉāha / tak-a:-tĉāha (1S), e:-jtĉāha (2S), t-e:-jtĉāha (3), j-e:-jtĉāha (1PI), o-j-e:-jtĉāha (1PE), e:-jtĉāha-lo (2P), o-t-e:-jtĉāha (3P), t-e:-jtĉāha (3.IRLS) ‘to praise’
- (39) a. tāk-ĩ-r (1S), ě-r (2S), t-ěj-r (3), j-ěj-r (1PI), o-j-ěj-r (1PE), ě-r-lo (2P), o-t-ěj-r (3P), t-ěj-r (3.IRLS) ‘to listen to’
 b. tik-e:-rtĉim / tak-a:-rtĉim (1S), e:-rtĉim (2S), t-e:-rtĉim (3), j-e:-rtĉim (1PI), o-j-e:-rtĉim (1PE), e:-rtĉim-lo / e:-rtĉimi-lo (2P), o-t-e:-rtĉim (3P), t-e:-rtĉim (3.IRLS) ‘to jump (due to joy or grief)’ (also: tertĉim)
 c. tik-ěj-j-tĉa / tak-ã:-tĉa / tik-ěj-j-tĉi (1S), ěj-j-tĉa (2S), t-ěj-j-tĉa (3), j-ěj-j-tĉa (1PI), o-j-ěj-j-tĉa (1PE), ěj-j-tĉi-lo (2P), o-t-ěj-j-tĉa (3P), t-ěj-j-tĉa (3.IRLS) ‘to shake, to swing’ (also: těj-tĉa / tejtĉa)
 d. tik-e:-jtĉi (1S), e:-jtĉi (2S), t-e:-jtĉi (3), j-e:-jtĉi (1PI), o-j-e:-jtĉi (1PE), e:-jtĉi-lo (2P), o-t-e:-jtĉi (3P), t-e:-jtĉi (3.IRLS) ‘to sing’ (also: tejtĉi)
 e. tik-ej-tĉim / tak-a-tĉim (1S), ej-tĉim (2S), t-ej-tĉim (3), j-ej-tĉim (1PI), o-j-ej-tĉim (1PE), ej-tĉim-lo (2P), o-t-ej-tĉim (3P), t-ej-tĉim (3.IRLS) ‘to look at’ (also: tejtĉim)

§5.4.5 The third-person vowel /o/

The 3-vowel /o/ is generally preserved in the whole paradigm and is the thematic vowel (32c, 40). The prefix /tVk/- in the 1S-person of verbs with thematic /o/ is realized as /tok/-. If the root-initial consonant is /b/ or /m/, the 2-vowel is /a/ rather than /o/ (41). In (42) one finds an exception, because the 2-vowel is /e/.

- (40) tok-ō-ṽa (1S), ō-ṽa (2S), t-ō-ṽa (3), j-ō-ṽa (1PI), o-j-ō-ṽa (1PE), o-ṽũ-lo (2P),
o-t-ō-ṽa (3P), t-ō-ṽa (3.IRLS) ‘to bring, to carry’
- (41) a. t-o-biroho (1S), a-biroho (2S), ṭ-o-biroho / ts-o-biroho (3), j-o-biroho (1PI),
o-j-obiroho (1PE), a-biroho-lo / a-bihir-lo (2P), o-ṭ-o-biroho /
o-ts-o-biroho (3P), d-o-biroho (3.IRLS) ‘to break; to drive, to pilot;
to have stomach pains’ (also: tsobiṛo/ ṭobiṛo)
- b. t-o-bita (1S), a-bita (2S), ṭ-o-bita / ts-o-bita (3), j-o-bita (1PI), o-j-obita (1PE),
a-biti-lo (2P), o-ṭ-o-bita / o-ts-obita (3P), d-o-bita (3.IRLS) ‘to cure; to blow’
- c. t-o-bit (1S), a-bit (2S), ts-o-bit / ṭ-o-bit (3), j-o-bit (1PI), o-j-o-bit (1PE),
a-biti-lo (2P), o-ts-o-bit / o-ṭ-o-bit (3P), l-o-bit (3.IRLS) ‘to scare away insects’
- d. t-o-mtis (1S), a-mtis (2S), ts-o-mtis (3), j-o-mtis (1PI), o-j-o-mtis (1PE),
a-mtis-lo (2P), o-ts-omṭis (3P), n-o-mtis (3.IRLS) ‘to turn’
- (42) tok-o-liç (1S), e-liç (2S), ṭ-o-liç (3), j-o-liç (1PI), o-j-oliç (1PE), e-liç-lo (2P),
o-ṭ-o-liç (3P), d-o-liç (3.IRLS) ‘to suck’

§5.4.6 The third-person vowel /i/

The 3-vowel /i/ is usually the thematic vowel and turns into /a/, /e/ or /ej/ in the 2-person. /i/ turns into /a/ in the 2-person if associated with a phonetic alternation in the verb root (52-59, 61-63). These cases will be discussed in detail later on (see §5.4.9). By contrast, /e/ and /ej/ in the 2-person do not correlate with any alternation in the root. It is not possible to predict when a given verb has /e/ and when it has /ej/ in the 2-person. The 2-vowels /a/ and /e/ are diachronically prefixes which have overwritten the high-thematic vowels. Original thematic /i/ has been preserved in verbs with /ej/, where one can observe the early stage of the process that originated the current 2-vowel /e/ and /a/ in the other verbs with a high thematic vowel. For this reason /ej/ will be considered a subcase of /e/ in the 2-person.

- (43) t-i-ṭew (1S), a-tsew (2S), ṭ-i-ṭew (3), j-i-ṭew (1PI), o-j-i-ṭew (1PE), a-tsew-lo (2P),
o-ṭ-i-ṭew (3P), d-i-ṭew (3.IRLS) ‘to pierce; to dig; to write’
- (44) a. t-i-nkija (1S), e-nkija (2S), ṭ-i-nkija (3), j-i-nkija (1PI), o-j-i-nkija (1PE),
e-nkija-lo (2P), o-ṭ-i-nkija (3P), n-i-nkija (3.IRLS) ‘to look at; to look properly’
- b. t-i:-ç̣i (1S), e:-ç̣i (2S), ṭ-i:-ç̣i (3), j-i:-ç̣i (1PI); o-j-i:-ç̣i (1PE), e:-ç̣i-lo (2P),

o-tɕ-i:-ɕi (3P), d-i:-ɕi ‘to open’

- (45) a. t-i-behe (1S), ej-behe (2S), tɕ-i-behe (3), j-i-behe (1PI), o-j-i-behe (1PE),
ej-behe-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-behe (3P), d-i-behe (3.IRLS) ‘to change’
b. t-i-hu (1S), ej-hu (2S), tɕ-i-hu (3), j-i-hu (1PI), o-j-i-hu (1PE), ej-hu-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-ihu (3P), d-i-hu (3.IRLS) ‘to untie, to release’

There are few prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ and /tVɕk/- in the 1S-person (46). In this case, V is generally /i/. /i/ rarely emerges in the prefix /tVɕk/- (46b). In the 1S-person /i/ can reduce to /i/ after the prefix /tVɕk/-. In conclusion, the CH front vowels /e/ and /i/ are not present in the prefix /tVɕk/-, with few exceptions, such as (46b).

- (46) a. tik-i-tɕi (1S), e-tɕi (2S), t-i-tɕi (3), j-i-tɕi (1PI), o-j-i-tɕi (1PE), e-tɕi-lo (2P),
o-t-i-tɕi (3P), t-i-tɕi (3.IRLS) ‘to defecate’
b. tik-i-ja / tik-i-ja / tik-i-ja (1S), e-ja (2S), t-i-ja (3), j-i-ja (1PI), o-j-i-ja (1PE),
e-j-lo (2P), o-t-i-ja (3P), t-i-ja (3.IRLS) ‘to bark; to be gossipy’
c. tik-i-ja (1S), e-ja (2S), t-i-ja (3), j-i-ja (1PI), o-j-i-ja (1PE), e-j-lo (2P), o-t-i-ja (3P),
t-i-ja (3.IRLS) ‘to buy’

§5.4.7 The third-person vowel /u/

Prefixal verbs with thematic /u/ in the 3-person always take the 2-vowel /e/.¹⁰³ /a/ is not reported in the 2-person for prefixal verbs with thematic /u/, but is to be observed in thematic verbs in /u/- (see §5.5.5).

- (47) a. t-u:-s (1S), e:-s (2S), tɕ-u:-s (3), j-u:-s (1PI), o-j-u:-s (1PE), e:-si-lo (2P), o-tɕ-u:-s (3P),
d-u:-s (3.IRLS) ‘to rear (cattle); to wring’
b. t-u: (1S), tuk (2S), ɕ-u: (3), j-u-hu (1PI), o-j-u-hu (1PE), tuk-lo (2P), o-ɕ-u: (3P),
d-u-hu (3.IRLS) ‘to kill, to hit, to beat; to make, to do’
- (48) a. tuk-u:-na (1S), e:-na (2S), tɕ-u:-na (3), j-u:-na (1PI), o-j-u:-na (1PE), e:-ni-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-u:-na (3P), n-u:-na (3.IRLS) ‘to perceive, to feel’
b. tuk-u-rka (1S), e-rka (2S), t-u-rka (3), j-u-rka (1PI), o-j-urka (1PE), e-rki-lo (2P),
o-t-u-rka (3P), t-u-rka (3.IRLS) ‘to swing’

¹⁰³ The only exception is the verb *shuu* /ɕu:/, which will be discussed in §5.4.14.

§5.4.8 The third-person vowel /i/.

Prefixal verbs with thematic /i/ in the 3-person usually have the 2-vowel /e/ (49). If the verb takes the prefix /tVk/- in the 1S-person, V is /i/. In the 2-person, /a/ is also observed, but it is very rare among prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ (51).

(49) t-i-mer (1S), e-mer (2S), tɕ-i-mer (3), j-i-mer (1PI), o-j-i-mer (1PE), e-mer-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-i-mer (3P), n-i-mer (3.IRLS) ‘to keep’

(50) tik-i-bitɕ (1S), e-bitɕ (2S), t-i-bitɕ (3), j-i-bitɕ (1PI), o-j-i-bitɕ (1PE), e-bitɕ-lo (2P),
o-t-i-bitɕ (3P), t-i-bitɕ (3.IRLS) ‘to shout, to yell’

(51) a. tik-i-be (1S), a-be (2S), t-i-be (3), j-i-be (1PI), o-j-i-be (1PE), a-be-lo (2P),
o-t-i-be (3P), t-i-be (3.IRLS) ‘to look, to watch, to go to look’
b. tik-i-bej (1S), a-bej (2S), t-i-bej (3), j-i-bej (1PI), o-j-i-bej (1PE), a-bej-lo (2P),
o-t-i-bej (3P), t-i-bej (3.IRLS) ‘to look after, to take care of’

§5.4.9 Prefixal verbs with the third-person vowel /i/ and the second-person vowel /a/

In the 2-person of prefixal verbs some consonantal or vocalic alternations in the root may occur. These morphophonological processes are systematic and related to the vocalic pattern. In prefixal verbs a consonantal or vocalic alternation in the 2-person root only occurs if the 3-vowel is /i/ and the 2-vowel is /a/.¹⁰⁴ This section focuses on /tɕ/-verbs with thematic /i/ and the 2-vowel /a/. There are few /ts/-verbs which have these characteristics and will be discussed in detail in §5.4.14. These morphological processes are not observed in /d/- and /t/-verbs, because in the second class there are only a few verbs with thematic /i/, mainly having the 2-vowel /e/. Similar morphophonological processes occur in thematic verbs and will be discussed in §5.5. 3-person root-initial /tɕ/ corresponds to /ts/ in the 2-person (52-54).

¹⁰⁴ This does not necessarily mean that the change started in the 2-person (see also §5.5.4). The research of a diachronic explanation for such root alternation should be the object for further investigation.

(52) t-i-tɕew (1S), a-tsew (2S), tɕ-i-tɕew (3), j-i-tɕew (1PI), o-j-i-tɕew (1PE), a-tsew-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-i-tɕew (3P), d-i-tɕew (3.IRLS) ‘to pierce; to dig; to write’

(53) t-i-tɕuwe (1S), a-tsuwe (2S), tɕ-i-tɕuwe (3), j-i-tɕuwe (1PI), o-j-i-tɕuwe (1PE), a-tsuw-lo /
a-tsuwe-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-tɕuwe (3P), d-i-tɕuwe (3.IRLS) ‘to surround’

(54) t-i-tɕjēr (1S), a-tsjēr (2S), tɕ-i-tɕjēr (3), j-i-tɕjēr (1PE), o-j-i-tɕjēr (1PI), a-tsjēr-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-i-tɕjēr (3P), d-i-tɕjēr (3.IRLS) ‘to graft’

So far, no /tɕ/-verb with thematic /i/, root-initial /tɕ/- and the 2-vowel /e/ has been found.

Root-initial /j/ corresponds to /l/ in the 2-person (55-59). Root-initial /j/ does not alternate with /l/ if the 2-vowel is /e/ (60).

(55) t-i-jehi (1S), a-lehi (2S), tɕ-i-jehi (3), j-i-jehi (1PI), o-j-i-jehi (1PE), a-lehi-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-i-jehi (3P), d-i-jehi (3.IRLS) ‘to go often’

(56) t-i-jew (1S), a-lew (2S), tɕ-i-jew (3), j-i-jew (1PI), o-j-i-jew (1PE), a-lewlo (2P),
o-tɕ-i-jew (3P), d-i-jew (3.IRLS) ‘to go across the river’

(57) t-i-jej (1S), a-lej (2S), tɕ-i-jej (3), j-i-jej (1PI), o-j-i-jej (1PE), a-lej-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-jej (3P),
d-i-jej (3.IRLS) ‘to know the answer’

(58) t-i-jo (1S), a-lo (2S), tɕ-i-jo (3), j-i-jo (1PI), o-j-i-jo (1PE), a-li-lo / a-lo-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-i-jo (3P), l-i-jo (3.IRLS) ‘to weave’ (also: tɕijo)

(59) t-i-juwa (1S), a-luwa (2S), tɕ-i-juwa (3), j-i-juwa (1PI), o-j-i-juwa (1PE), a-luwa-lo /
a-luwa-lo / a-lu-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-juwa (3P), d-i-juwa (3.IRLS) (also: tɕiwa) ‘to put’

(60) t-i-juhu (1S), e-juhu (2S), tɕ-i-juhu (3), j-i-juhu (1PI), o-j-i-juhu (1PE), e-juhu-lo (2P),
o-tɕ-i-juhu (3P), d-i-juhu (3.IRLS) ‘to remove, to extract’

If the root-initial consonant is /ɕ/, it corresponds to /s/ in the 2-person (61-63). If the verb has root-initial /s/, but /e/ in the 2-person, no root allomorphy is observed (64-66). In some verbs, the alternation between /a/ and /e/ in the 2-person vowel is to be found (67-68). These examples confirm that /a/ is actually associated with root allomorphy, because /ɕ/ occurs in the whole paradigm if the 2-vowel is /e/ and alternates with /s/ if the 2-vowel is /a/.

- (61) t-i-ç sak (1S), a-s sak (2S), tç-i-ç sak (3), j-i-ç sak (1PI), o-j-i-ç sak (1PE), a-si-lo sak / a-s-lo sak (2P), o-tç-i-ç sak (3P), d-i-ç sak (3P) ‘to take hold of something firmly, to grab firmly’
- (62) t-i-çehe (1S), a-sehe (2S), tç-i-çehe (3), j-i-çehe (1PI), o-j-i-çehe (1PE), a-sehe-lo (2P), o-tç-i-çehe (3P), d-i-çehe (3.IRLS) ‘to catch (an animal); to rape’
- (63) t-i-çew (1S), a-sew (2S), tç-i-çew (3), j-i-çew (1PI), o-j-i-çew (1PE), a-sew-lo / a-si-lo (2P), o-tç-i-çew (3P), d-i-çew (3.IRLS) ‘to hold, to take, to grab’
- (64) t-i-ç (1S), e-ç (2S), tç-i-ç (3), j-i-ç (1PI), o-j-i-ç (1PE), e-ç-lo / e-çi-lo (2P), o-tç-i-ç (3P), d-i-ç (3.IRLS) ‘to meet’
- (65) t-i-çi (1S), e-çi (2S), tç-i-çi (3), j-i-çi (1PI), o-j-i-çi (1PE), e-çi-lo / e-ç-lo (2P), o-tç-i-çi (3P), d-i-çi (3.IRLS) ‘to open’
- (66) t-i-çit (1S), e-çit (2S), tç-i-çit (3), j-i-çit (1PI), o-j-i-çit (1PE), e-çiti-lo (2P), o-tç-i-çit (3P), d-i-çit (3.IRLS) ‘to shake’
- (67) t-i-çır (1S), a-sır/ e-çır (2), tç-i-çır (3), j-i-çır (1PI), o-j-i-çır (1PE), a-sır-lo / e-çır-lo (2P), o-tç-i-çır (3P), d-i-çır (3.IRLS) ‘to point to, to indicate; to go to grab’
- (68) tük-i-çak / t-i-çak (1S), a-sak (2S), tç-i-çak (3), j-i-çak (1PI), o-j-i-çak (1PE), e-çak-lo / e-çaki-lo (2P), o-tç-i-çak (3P), d-i-çak (3.IRLS) ‘to break’

In /t/-verbs, thematic /i/ is rare and no root allomorphy is observed. Note that *chish* /tçiç/ has /e/ in the 2-person (64), but it takes /a/ in the compound verb *chish sak* /tçiç sak/ (61), where one can observe root allomorphy.

When the first root-vowel follows /h/, the former can assimilate to the 2-vowel /a/ (69-71). In the verbs below, the alternation between /a/ and /e/ is to be observed in the 2-vowel. The first root-vowel is /i/, which is preserved if the 2-vowel is /e/, but it turns into /a/ when it assimilates to the 2-vowel /a/.

- (69) t-i-hīt (1S), a-hāt / e-hīt (2S), tç-i-hīt (3), j-i-hīt (1PI), o-j-i-hīt (1PE), a-hāti-lo / a-hāt-lo / e-hīt-lo (2P), o-tç-ī-hit (3P), n-i-hīt / d-i-hīt (3.IRLS) ‘to light, to illuminate’
- (70) t-i-hītsa (1S), a-hātsa / e-hītsa (2S), tç-i-hītsa (3), j-i-hītsa (1PI), o-j-i-hītsa (1PE),

a-hatsã-lo / a-hãts-lo / a-hatsĩ-lo / e-hĩtsi-lo (2P), o-tɛ-i-hĩtsa (3P),
n-i-hitsã (3.IRLS) ‘to dig, to excavate’

(71) t-i-hitsim (1S), a-hatsim / e-hitsim (2S), tɛ-i-hitsim (3), j-i-hitsim (1PI),
o-j-i-hitsim (1PE), a-hatsim-lo / e-hitsim-lo (2P), o-tɛ-i-hitsim (3P),
d-i-hitsim (3.IRLS) ‘to bury’

In (72) root-initial /j/ corresponds to /h/ in the 2-person if the 2-vowel is /a/. No root allomorphy is to be observed if the 2-vowel is /e/.

(72) t-i-jok (1S), e-jok / a-hok (2S), tɛ-i-jok (3), j-i-jok (1PI), o-j-i-jok (1PE), e-jok-lo /
a-hok-lo (2P), o-tɛ-i-jok (3P), d-i-jok (3.IRLS) ‘to frighten’

There are only a few prefixal verbs in which there is no correlation between the 2-vowel /a/ and root allomorphy in the 2-person, as in (73-74). In these verbs the alternation between /a/ and /e/ in the 2-person is also to be found.

(73) t-i:-sêhe (1S), a:-sêhe / e:j-sêhe (2S), tɛ-i:-sêhe (3), j-i:-sêhe (1PI), o-j-i:-sêhe (1PE),
a:-sêhe-lo / e:j-sêhe-lo (2P), o-tɛ-i:-sêhe (3P), n-i:-sêhe (3.IRLS)
‘to change, to turn into’ (used with reflexive pronoun)

(74) t-i:-sãha (1S), a:-sãha/ e:j-sãha (2S), tɛ-i:-sãha (3), j-i:-sãha (1PI), o-j-i:-sãha (1PE),
a:-sãhi-lo / e:j-sãha-lo (2P), o-tɛ-i:-sãha (3P), n-i:-sãha (3.IRLS) ‘to incite;
to quarrel’

§5.4.10 The vocalic patterns of prefixal verbs

To conclude, Table 5.2 lists all possible vocalic patterns found in prefixal verbs. The table does not include all examples shown in the previous pages. Vocalic patterns marked with * are very rare and are observed in few exceptions. The cases in which the 3-vowel /i/ is preserved in the 2-person, where it consonantizes, are included in /i/-/e/-/i/. When the 3-vowel is a high vowel, the high thematic vowel generally turns into /e/ in the 2-person. The 2-vowel /a/ usually correlates with root allomorphy in the 2-person and thematic /i/, otherwise it is very rare.

Table 5.2. Vocalic patterns of Chamacoco prefixal verbs

1	2	3	Examples
a	a	a	(34)
i	a	a	(35)*
a	e	e	(36)
i	a	e	(37)*
e	e	e	(32b)
i	e	e	(38c)
o	o	o	(40)
o	a	o	(41)
o	e	o	(42)*
i	a	i	(43)
i	e	i	(44-45)
u	e	u	(47-48)
i	a	i	(51)*
i	e	i	(49-50)

§5.4.11 /tɕ/- and /ts/-verbs with the first-person prefix /tVk/-

/tɕ/- and /ts/-verbs generally take the prefix /t/- in the 1-person, while /tVk/- is typical of /t/- and /d/-verbs. The following examples show /tɕ/- and /ts/-verbs which do not follow the general tendency and take the 1-prefix /tVk/-. The thematic vowel can be /a/ (75), /o/ (76), /u/ (77) and /i/ (78).

- (75) a. tak-a-ɭa (1S), a-ɭa (2S), ts-a-ɭa (3), j-a-ɭa (1PI), o-j-a-ɭa (1PI), a-ɭi-lo (2P),
o-ts-a-ɭa (3P), d-a-ɭa (3.IRLS) ‘to lend, to rent’
b. tak-a-ɭok (1S), a-ɭok (2S), ts-a-ɭok (3), j-a-ɭok (1PI), o-j-a-ɭok (1PE), a-ɭok-lo (2P),
o-ts-a-ɭok (3P), l-a-ɭok (3.IRLS) ‘to make a mistake, to be wrong’
c. tak-a-tim (1S), a-tim (2S), ts-a-tim (3), j-a-tim (1PI), o-j-a-tim (1PE), a-tim-lo (2P),
o-ts-a-tim (3P), l-a-tim (3.IRLS) ‘to order, to charge’

- (76) a. tok-o-liç (1S), e-liç (2S), tç-o-liç (3), j-o-liç (1PI), o-j-o-liç (1PE), e-liç-lo (2P),
o-tç-o-liç (3P), d-o-liç (3.IRLS) ‘to suck’
b. tok-o-sir (1S), o-sir (2S), ts-o-sir (3), j-o-sir (1PI), o-j-o-sir (1PE), o-sir-lo (2P),
o-ts-o-sir (3P), d-o-sir (3.IRLS) ‘to favour’ (also: tsosĩr)
c. tok-o-wa (1S), o-wa (2S), tç-o-wa / ts-o-wa (3), j-o-wa (1PI), o-j-o-wa (1PE),
o-wi-lo (2P), o-tç-o-wa (3P), l-owa (3.IRLS) ‘to show’
- (77) a. tuk-u:-na (1S), e:-na (2S), tç-u:-na (3), j-u:-na (1PI), o-j-u:-na (1PE), e:-ni-lo /
e:-na-lo / e:-n-lo (2P), o-tç-u:-na (3P), n-u:-na (3.IRLS) ‘to perceive, to feel’
b. tuk-u-nt (1S), e-nt (2S), tç-u-nt (3), j-u-nt (1PI), o-j-u-nt (1PE), e-nt-lo (2P),
o-tç-u-nt (3P), n-u-nt (3.IRLS) ‘to hear’
- (78) a. tik-i-raha (1S), e-raha (2S), tç-i-raha (3), j-i-raha (1PI), o-j-i-raha (1PE), e-raha-lo /
e-ra:-lo (2P), o-tç-i-raha (3P), d-i-raha (3.IRLS) ‘to know’ (also: tçirehe)
b. tik-i-rahak (1S), e-rahak (2S), tç-i-rahak (3), j-i-rahak (1PI), o-j-i-rahak (1PE),
e-rahak-lo (2P), o-tç-i-rahak (3P), d-i-rahak (3.IRLS) ‘to ignore’
c. tik-i-tak (1S), e-tak (2S), ts-i-tak (3), j-i-tak (1PI), o-j-i-tak (1PE), e-taki-lo (2P),
o-ts-i-tak (3P), d-i-tak (3.IRLS) ‘not to want, to hate’

In (79-81) the thematic vowels are /e/ and /i/, which are not copied in the prefix /tVk/-. The 1S-person taking the prefix /tVk/- follows the same rules stated above (see §5.4.4 and §5.4.6). (81) shows an exception, because the two prefixes /tVk/- and /t/- alternate.

- (79) tak-a:-ç-po / tik-e:-ç-po (1S), e:-ç-po (2S), tç-e:-ç-po (3), j-e:-ç-po (1PI),
o-j-e:-ç-po (1PE), e:-ç-lo-po (2P), o-tç-e:-ç-po (3P), d-e:-ç-po (3.IRLS)
‘to come back’ (also tçe:ç / tçe:çi)
- (80) tak-a-hi / tik-e-jhi (1S), e-jhi (2S), ts-e-jhi (3), j-e-jhi (1PI), o-j-e-jhi (1PE), e-jhi-lo (2P),
o-ts-e-jhi (3P), d-e-jhi (3.IRLS) ‘to go home’
- (81) tik-i-çak / t-i-çak (1S), a-sak (2S), tç-i-çak (3), j-i-çak (1PI), o-j-i-çak (1PE), e-çak-lo /
e-çaki-lo (2P), o-tç-i-çak (3P), d-i-çak (3.IRLS) ‘to break’

In (82-83) the 1S-thematic-vowel can optionally change into /i/ when the prefix is /a/ (which preserves the typical thematic /a/).

- (82) tak-i-tso / tak-a-tso (1S), a-tso (2S), ts-a-tso (3), j-a-tso (1PI), o-j-atso (1PE),
a-tsi-lo (2P), o-ts-atso (3P), l-a-tso (3.IRLS) ‘to be satisfied’

- (83) tak-i-tsok / tak-a-tsok (1S), a-tsok (2S), ts-a-tsok (3), j-a-tsok (1PI), o-j-a-tsok (1PE),
a-tsok-lo (2P), o-ts-atsok (3P), l-a-tsok (3.IRLS) ‘not to be satisfied’

§5.4.12 The first person singular in /t/-verbs

/t/-verbs usually have the prefix /tVk/- in the 1S-person. In (84-86) the vowel of the prefix /tVk/- is unexpected, because it is /tok/-, while the expected form is /tak/-, which is also observed and can alternate with /tok/- (84-85). In (84-85) /tok/- and /tak/- can alternate, while the 1S-thematic-vowel is preserved. By contrast, *tāra* (86) takes /tok/- and has /o/ as 1S-vowel, although the 1P-vowel is /a/. In (87-88) thematic /i/ can drop in the 1S-person.

- (84) tok-ã:-tça / tak-ã:-tça (1S), ã:-tça (2S), t-ã:-tça (3), j-ã:-tça (1PI), o-j-ã:-tça (1PE),
a:-tçĩ-lo (2P), o-t-ã:-tça (3P), t-ã:-tça (3.IRLS) ‘to reach, to arrive’

- (85) tak-ã:-tç-po / tok-ã:-tç-po (1S), ã:-tç-po (2S), t-ã:-tç-po (3), j-ã:-tç-po (1PI),
o-j-ã:-tç-po (1PE), a:-tçĩ-l-po (2P), o-t-ã:-tç-po (3P), t-ã:-tç-po ‘to return’

- (86) tok-õ-ra (1S), ã-ra (2S), t-ã-ra (3), j-ã-ra (1PI), o-j-ã-ra (1PE), ã-r-lo (2P), o-t-ã-ra (3P),
t-ã-ra (3.IRLS) ‘to come from; to throw’

- (87) tik-soho / tik-i-soho (1S), e-soho (2S), t-i-soho (3), j-i-soho (1PI), o-j-i-soho (1PE),
e-soho-lo (2P), o-t-i-soho (3P), t-i-soho (3.IRLS) ‘to have/take a bath, to bathe’
(also: tusoho)

- (88) tik-i-sirĩhi / tik-sirĩhi (1S), e-sirĩhi (2S), t-i-sirĩhi (3), j-i-sirĩhi (1PI), o-j-i-sirĩhi (1PE),
e-sirĩhi-lo (2P), o-t-i-sirĩhi (3P), t-i-sirĩhi (3.IRLS) ‘to have/take a bath, to bathe’

It is evident that in the 1S-person the speakers have functional reasons to prefer /tVk/- to /t/-: the 1S-person taking the prefix /t/- coincides otherwise with 3-person taking the prefix /t/-. There are, however, some /t/-verbs which take the prefix /t/- in the 1S-person. In this case, the 1S-person coincides with the 3-person (89). As already seen (§5.4.3, §5.4.4), few /t/-verbs with the 1S-prefix /t/- have an irregular vocalic pattern (90).

- (89) a. t-a-xa (1S), a-xa (2S), t-a-xa (3), j-a-xa (1PI), o-j-a-xa (1PE), a-xi-lo (2P),
o-t-a-xa (3P), t-a-xa (3.IRLS) ‘to fart’
- b. t-a-kaçim (1S), a-kaçim (2S), t-a-kaçim (3), j-a-kaçim (1PI), o-j-a-kaçim (1PE),
a-kaçim-lo (2P), o-t-a-kaçim (3P), t-a-kaçim (3.IRLS) ‘to help’
- c. t-a-kiç (1S), a-kiç (2S), t-a-kiç (3), j-a-kiç (1PI), o-j-a-kiç (1PE), a-kiç-lo (2P),
o-t-a-kiç (3P) ‘to be together’ (also: takiço)¹⁰⁵
- d. t-e-kirihî (1S), e-kirihî (2S), t-e-kirihî (3), j-e-kirihî (1PI), o-j-ekirihî (1PE),
e-kirihî-lo (2P), o-t-e-kirihî (3P), t-e-kirihî (3.IRLS) ‘to visit’
- e. t-e-kir (1S), e-kir (2S), t-e-kir (3), j-e-kir (1PI), o-j-ekir (1PE), e-kir-lo (2P),
o-t-e-kir (3P) ‘to go for a walk’
- f. t-u-kunû (1S), e-kunû (2S), t-u-kunû (3), j-u-kunû (1PI), o-j-u-kunû (1PE),
e-kunû-lo (2P), o-t-u-kunû (3P), t-u-kunû (3.IRLS) ‘to spy’ (also: tukunû/tukunû)
- (90) a. t-i-ta (1S), a-ta (2S), t-a-ta (3), j-i-ta (1PI), o-j-i-ta (1PE), a-ta-lo / a-ti-lo (2P),
o-tata (3P), t-a-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to say, to report’
- b. t-i-tim (1S), a-tim (2S), t-a-tim (3), j-i-tim (1PI), o-j-i-tim (1PE), a-tim-lo (2P),
o-t-atim (3P), t-a-tim (3.IRLS) ‘to tell, to report’
- c. t-a-w (1S), e-w (2S), t-e-w (3), j-a-hu (1PI), o-j-ahu (1PE), e-w-lo / e-li-lo (2P),
o-t-e-w (3P), t-e-w (3.IRLS) ‘to eat’

Note that, apart from *taja* /taxa/ and the verbs in (90), the other /t/-verbs with the prefix /t/- in the 1S-person could not use the prefix /tVk/- because it cannot be added to verbs with root-initial /k/.

One can suppose that /t/-verbs have added epenthetic -/Vk/- between the 1S-prefix /t/- and the root, originating the prefix /tVk/- in order to differentiate the 1-person from the 3-person. This innovation has presumably spread to other groups of verbs in which there is no need to distinguish the 1S-person from the 3-person, including /d/-verbs, which also have a dental consonant as 3-prefix and no specific form for the irrealis. Bertinetto (2011: 14) has hypothesized that /tVk/- might have been created under the influence of the 1S-person independent pronoun *yok* /jok/.

¹⁰⁵ This verb is used with the noun *owich* /owitç/ ‘place’ (see §10.4.3, ex. (13)), which is also inflected:

(i) takiç powitç (1S), akiç owitç (2S), takiç lawitç / dowitç (3), jakiç õryok owitç (1PI),
ojakiç ejok owitç (1PE), akiçlo olak owitç (2P), wir otakiç lawitç / dowitç (3P).

§5.4.13 Alternation between /tɕ/- and /ts/- in the third person

/tɕ/- and /ts/-verbs exhibit the same morphological properties and in some cases the prefixes /tɕ/- and /ts/- may alternate. There is no alternation between /tɕ/- and the allomorph of /ts/-, /ç/-.¹⁰⁶

- (91) a. t-o-biroho (1S), a-biroho (2S), tɕ-o-biroho / ts-o-biroho (3), j-o-biroho (1PI),
 o-j-o-biroho (1PE), a-biroho-lo / a-bihir-lo (2P), o-tɕ-obiroho /
 o-ts-obiroho (3P), d-o-biroho (3.IRLS) (also: tsobiɾo/ tɕobiɾo) ‘to break; to drive,
 to pilot; to have stomach pains’
- b. t-o-bitā (1S), a-bitā (2S), tɕ-o-bitā / ts-o-bitā (3), j-o-bitā (1PI), o-j-obitā (1PE),
 a-bitā-lo (2P), o-tɕ-o-bitā / o-ts-o-bitā (3P), d-o-bitā (3.IRLS) ‘to cure; to blow’
- c. t-o-bit (1S), a-bit (2S), ts-o-bit / tɕ-o-bit (3), j-o-bit (1PI), o-j-o-bit (1PE),
 a-bit-lo (2P), o-ts-o-bit / o-tɕ-o-bit (3P), l-o-bit (3.IRLS) ‘to scare away insects’
- d. tok-o-wa (1S), o-wa (2S), tɕ-o-wa / ts-o-wa (3), j-o-wa (1PI), o-j-o-wa (1PE),
 o-tɕ-o-wa / o-ts-o-wa (3P), l-o-wa (3.IRLS) ‘to show’
- e. t-i-lota (1S), e-lota (2S), tɕ-i-lota / ts-i-lota (3), j-i-lota (1PI), o-j-i-lota (1PE),
 e-loti-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-lota / o-ts-i-lota (3P), d-i-lota (3.IRLS) ‘to depend on’
- f. t-i-lis (1S), e-lis (2S), tɕ-i-lis / ts-i-lis (3), j-i-lis (1PI), o-j-i-lis (1PE), e-lis-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-i-lis / o-ts-i-lis (3P), d-i-lis (3.IRLS) ‘to blow up, to inflate’
- g. t-i-ŋa (1S), e-ŋa (2S), ts-i-ŋa / tɕ-i-ŋa (3), j-i-ŋa (1PI), o-j-i-ŋa (1PE), e-ŋi-lo (2P),
 o-ts-i-ŋa / o-tɕ-i-ŋa (3P), n-i-ŋa (3.IRLS) ‘to finish, to end; to destroy, to kill’
- h. t-i-t̃r (1S), e-t̃r (2S), tɕ-i-t̃r / ts-i-t̃r (3), j-i-t̃r (1PI), o-j-i-t̃r (1PE), e-t̃r-lo (2P),
 o-ts-i-t̃r (3P), d-i-t̃r (3.IRLS) ‘to get nearer’ (used with reflexive pronouns)
 (also: tsit̃r / tɕit̃r)
- i. t-i-nis (1S), e-nis (2S), tɕ-i-nis / ts-i-nis (3), j-i-nis (1PI), o-j-i-nis (1PE), e-nis-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-i-nis (3P), n-i-nis (3.IRLS) ‘to fry’
- j. t-i-tij̃r (1S), e-tij̃r (2S), tɕ-i-tij̃r / ts-i-tij̃r (3), j-i-tij̃r (1PI), o-j-i-tij̃r (1PE),
 e-tij̃r-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-tij̃r (3P), d-i-tij̃r (3.IRLS) ‘to gather, to collect, to pile’
- k. t-i-naha (1S), e-naha (2S), tɕ-i-naha / ts-i-naha (3), j-i-naha (1PI), o-j-i-naha (1PE),
 e-naha-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-naha (3P), n-i-naha (3.IRLS) ‘to act strongly’¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ In some cases (as in *chees* /tɕe:s/ and *chinaha* /tɕinaha/) the use of the prefix /ts/- in the 3-person is considered a tendency of the younger generations.

¹⁰⁷ To these verbs one should also add *chees* /tɕe:s/ (see §5.4.4, ex. (37)). According to the speakers, in the case of *chees* and *chinaha* /tɕinaha/ (§5.4.13, ex. (91k)), the form in /tɕ/- would be the older form, while the younger generation would prefer the form in /ts/-.

§5.4.14 /ç/-verbs

Some /ts/-verbs take the prefix /ç/- in the 3S-person. /ç/- and /ts/- are in complementary distribution, because /ç/- occurs before thematic /i/ or /u/, where /ts/- is not observed. For this reason also verbs with the prefix /ç/- have been referred to as /ts/-verbs. In prefixal verbs with thematic /i/ and the 2-vowel /a/, /a/ comes together with root allomorphy. In section §5.4.9 the situation in /tʃ/-verbs has been discussed but root allomorphy also occurs in /ts/-verbs, although they are less frequent. The morphophonological processes involved are not exactly the same. /ts/-verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ also take the 2-vowel /a/. Root-initial /j/ corresponds to /h/ in the 2-person (92). As already seen, under the same conditions root-initial /j/ in /tʃ/-verbs corresponds to /l/ in the 2-person (see §5.4.9).

In some cases the first root-vowel can assimilate to the 2-vowel /a/, as in (92e,f,g). The first root-vowel /a/ is replaced by -/ĩr/- in the 2-person of *shĩyas* /çĩjas/ (92a). Other changes have nothing to do with the vocalic pattern. In some cases root-initial /j/ can devoice in the 1-person and in the irrealis (92b,c,d,g). In *shiyero* /çijero/ (92b) the thematic vowel can delete and a syllable haplology is possible in the 1P-person. In *shiyokõr* /çijokõr/ (92e) intervocalic /k/ can delete and -/ko/- syncope occurs.

- (92) a. t-i-jās (1S), a-hĩrs (2S), ç-ĩ-jas (3), j-ĩ-jas (1PI), o-j-ĩ-jas (1PE), a-hirsĩ-lo (2P),
 o-ç-ĩ-jas (3P), n-i-jas (3.IRLS) ‘to break’
- b. t-(i)-jero (1S), a-hero (2S), ç-(i)-jero (3), (j-i)-jero (1PI), o-(j-i)-jero (1PE),
 a-her-lo (2P), o-ç-(i)-jero (2P), d-i-jero (3.IRLS) ‘to drum, to tap’
- c. t-i-jeru (1S), a-heru (2S), ç-i-jeru (3), j-i-jeru (1PI), o-j-i-jeru (1PE), a-heru-lo (2P),
 o-ç-i-jeru (3P), d-i-jeru (3.IRLS) ‘to close, to tie’
- d. t-i-jok (1S), a-hok (2S), ç-i-jok (3), j-i-jok (1PI), o-j-i-jok (1PE), a-hoki-lo (2P),
 o-ç-i-jok (3P), d-i-jok (3.IRLS) ‘to frighten’¹⁰⁸
- e. t-i-jokõr (1S), a-hakõr (2S), ç-i-jokõr / ç-i-jõr (3), j-i-jokõr (1PI), o-j-i-jokõr (1PE),
 a-hakõrlo (2P), o-ç-i-jokõr (3P), n-i-jokõr / n-i-jõkõr (3.IRLS) / o-ñ-ijor (3P.IRLS)
 ‘to build, to make’¹⁰⁹
- f. t-i-jokorāha (1S), a-hakorāha (2S), ç-i-jokorāha (3), j-i-jokorāha / j-i-jorāha (1PI),
 o-j-i-jorāha / o-j-i-jokorāha (1PE), a-hakorāha-lo (2S), o-ç-i-jokorāha (3P),

¹⁰⁸ *Shiyok* /çijok/ is a variant of *chihyok* /tʃijok/ (see §5.4.9, ex (26)).

¹⁰⁹ *Nihyokõr* /nijokõr/ is also used as a variant of *nihyok* /nijok/ ‘there is not’ and both forms can coincide phonologically.

n-i-jokorãha (3.IRLS) ‘to teach’

- g. t-i-jokos (1S), a-hakos (2S), ɸ-i-jokos (3), j-i-jokos (1PI), o-j-i-jokos (1PE),
a-hakos-lo (2P), o-ɸ-i-jokos (3P), d-i-jokos (3.IRLS) ‘to bother’

There is only one verb with the prefix /ɸ/- and thematic /u/: *shuu* /ɸu:/ (93). This shows the alternation between -/uhu/- and -/u:/- in the paradigm. This process, in which the long vowel turns into two syllables with /h/ insertion, is common in Chamacoco, and here takes place in some persons of the paradigm (generally in the 1P-person and in the irrealis). The verb *shuu* /ɸu:/ conveys two meanings: ‘to do, to make’ and ‘to kill’. Each meaning has a different form for the 2S-person. Both 2-person forms are irregular.

When *shuu* /ɸu:/ means ‘to do, to make’, it is used as a causative verb (see §7.3) and can also occur in many verbal periphrases, such as (94), where the meaning of the nominal element *ibe* is opaque (see also §10.8). The 2-person form associated with this meaning is *uhu*, which is the verb theme -/u:/, -/uhu/. This 2-person form is clearly irregular, because thematic /u/ is preserved. It is the only case in the whole CH verb system where /u/ is preserved in the 2-person.¹¹⁰

The verb *shuu* /ɸ-u:/ can also mean ‘to kill, to hit, to beat’. When the verb conveys this meaning, its 2S-person is *tuk*, which is completely irregular and should be considered a suppletion. The verb *shuu* /ɸ-u:/ can also be used in verbal periphrases when it means ‘to kill, to hit’, as in (95), but it does not occur very frequently. The nominal element of the verbal periphrasis in (95), *leeych* /le:jɰ/, means ‘sun’ and the meaning of the verbal periphrasis is not transparent.

- (93) a. t-u: (1S), tuk (2S), ɸ-u: (3), j-u-hu (1PI), o-j-u-hu (1PE), tuk-lo (2P), o-ɸ-u: (3P),
d-u-hu (3.IRLS) ‘to kill, to hit, to beat’

- b. t-u: (1S), u-hu (2S), ɸ-u: (3), j-u-hu (1PI), o-j-u-hu (1PE), u-hu-lo (2P), o-ɸ-u: (3P),
d-u-hu (3.IRLS) ‘to make, to do’ (used in causative constructions)

- (94) a. t-u: *ibe* (1S), u-hu *ibe* (2S), ɸ-u: *ibe* (3), j-u-hu *ibe* (1PI), o-j-u-hu *ibe* (1PE),
u-hu-lo *ibe* (2P), o-ɸ-u: *ibe* (3P), d-u-hu *ibe* (3.IRLS) ‘to praise (him/her)’

- (95) t-u: *le:jɰ* (1S), tuk *le:jɰ* (2S), ɸ-u: *le:jɰ* (3), j-u-hu *le:jɰ* (1PI), o-j-u-hu *le:jɰ* (1PE),
tuk-lo *le:jɰ* (2P), o-ɸ-u: *le:jɰ* (3P), d-u-hu *le:jɰ* (3.IRLS)

¹¹⁰ A similar case is to be observed in the possessive inflection of Chamacoco, see (§10.9).

‘to fight (against an evil spirit)’

After *shuu* /ç-u:/, *chii* /tɕ-i:/ (96) is the most frequently used verb in verbal periphrases (97).

(96) t-i: (1S), ej (2S), tɕ-i: (3), j-i: (1PI), o-j-i: (1PE), ej-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i: (3P), d-i: (3.IRLS)
 ‘to do, to make’

(97) t-i: p-abej (1S), ej a-bej (2S), tɕi: l-a-bey (3), j-i: ejok a-bey (1PI),
 o-j-i: òrjok a-bej (1PE), ej-lo olak abej (2P), o-tɕ-i: l-abe-j (3P), d-i: labej (3.IRLS)
 ‘to get married’ (with a man) (lit. ‘to let someone be someone else’s husband’)

§5.4.15 Other irregularities

The verbs in (98) and (99) have a peculiarity in the 1-person singular and plural, because the prefix is followed by the sequence *-/ij/-*, not to be found in the rest of the paradigm. It could be an insertion, because it looks like the epenthetic *-/Vk/-* which characterizes the 1S-prefix */tVk/-*, but *-/ij/-* is also inserted in the 1P-person. One can also surmise that *-/ij/-* was part of the original root and is only preserved in the 1-persons. Note that in (98-99) intervocalic */k/* can drop and the syllables *-/ka/-* (98) and *-/ki/-* (99) are also deleted. In (99), when */k/* drops, */i/* assimilates to */a/*, so that a long vowel */a:/* is originated.

(98) t-i-jakaha / t-i-jaha (1S), a-kaha (2S), ts-a-kaha (3), o-j-i-jakaha / o-j-i-jakaha /
 o-j-i-jaha / o-j-a-kaha (1PE), j-i-jakaha / j-a-kaha / j-i-jaha (1PI),
 a-kaha-lo (2P), o-ts-akaha (3P), l-a-kaha (3.IRLS) ‘to sit’

(99) t-i-jakir (1S), a-kir (2S), ts-a-kir (3), o-j-i-jakir / o-j-i-jar (1PE), j-i-jakir / j-i-jar (1PI),
 a-kir-lo / a-kirih-lo / a-kir̃-lo (2P), o-ts-a-kir (3P), l-a-kihir (3.IRLS)
 ‘to sit down, to rest’

The verb *chiwāha* /tɕiwāha/ has an irregular 2-person. The 2-vowel is */a/*, usually associated with a change in the root, as in this case: in the 2-person *-/nu/-* is added to the root after the inflectional vowel */a/*.

- (100) t-i-wāha (1S), a-nuwāha (2S), t̥-i-wāha (3), j-i-wāha (1PI), o-j-i-wāha (1PE),
a-nuwāha-lo (2P), o-t̥-i-wāha (3P), n-i-wāha (3.IRLS) ‘to sell’

The verb *seta* /tseta/ (101) has regular inflection, but alternating forms are reported in the 1- and the 2-persons. The second series has thematic /a/ rather than /e/ and its forms are probably archaic, because they preserve /k/, which tends to drop in an intervocalic context in currently spoken Chamacoco.^{111 112}

- (101) t-e-ta (1S), e-ta (2S), ts-e-ta (3), j-e-ta (1PI), o-j-e-ta (1PE), e-ti-lo (2P), o-ts-eta (3P),
d-e-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to greet, to hug’, t-a-kata (1S), a-kita / a-kata (2sg), j-a-kata (1PI),
o-j-a-kata (1PE), a-kati-lo / a-kata-lo (2P)¹¹³

The verb *teychim* /tejt̥çim/ (102) has regular inflection. In the 2-person the verb also has the form *hmeychim* /m̥ejt̥çim/, only used in imperative contexts (in affirmative clauses). *Hmey* /m̥ej/, a reduced form of *hmeychim* /m̥ejt̥çim/ is also to be observed: *hmeychim wahacha!* /m̥ejt̥çim wahat̥ça/ or *hmej wahacha!* /m̥ej wahat̥ça/ ‘look there!’. The initial /m̥-/ should be considered a prefix, corresponding to the rare Chamacoco 2-prefix /m-/ or /b/-, which will be discussed below. About this form, see also (§7.9).

- (102) tik-e-jt̥çim / tak-a-t̥çim (1S), e-jt̥çim (2S), t-e-jt̥çim (3), j-e-jt̥çim (1PI), o-j-e-jt̥çim (1PE),
e-jet̥çim-lo (2P), o-t-e-jt̥çim (3P), t-e-jt̥çim (3P) ‘to look at’ (also tejt̥çim)
m̥-e-jt̥çim / m̥ej (2S.IMP) / m̥-e-jt̥çim-lo (2P.IMP)

In (103) the 2-persons *ekushāha* /ekuçāha/ and *ekushāhalo* /ekuçāhalo/ exhibit /u/ in the root, not present in the other forms of the paradigm. It is probably copied from thematic /u/.

- (103) t-u-kçāha (1S), e-kuçāha (2S), t̥-u-kçāha (3), j-u-kçāha (1PI), o-j-u-kçāha (1PE),
e-kuçāha-lo (2P), o-t̥-u-kçāha (3P), d-u-kçāha (3.IRLS) ‘to fill’

The verb *chipaāsho* /t̥ipã:ço/ (104a) or *chapaāsho* /t̥apã:ço/ (104b) is

¹¹¹ The difference in the thematic vowel between the different forms of *seta* is not surprising, because, as will be shown comparing Chamacoco with Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco (§7.2.8, §14.3.9), CH /e/ and /a/ often have the same origin and generally correspond to AY and A.Z /a/.

¹¹² About the apocope of /k/, cf. §13.7.3.

¹¹³ On this verb, see also Sequera (2009: 1016).

characterized by two alternative thematic vowels, /i/ (104a) and /a/ (104b).

- (104) a. t-i-pã:çɔ (1S), e-pã:çɔ (2S), tɕ-i-pã:çɔ (3), j-i-pã:çɔ (1PI), o-j-i-pã:çɔ (1PE),
 e-pã:çɔ-lo / e-pã:ç-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-pã:çɔ (3P), d-i-pã:çɔ (3.IRLS)
 ‘to fold; to make someone sleep’
- b. t-a-pã:çɔ (1S), a-pã:çɔ (2S), tɕ-a-pã:çɔ (3), j-a-pã:çɔ (1PI), o-j-a-pã:çɔ (1PE),
 a-pã:çɔ-lo (2P), o-tɕ-a-pã:çɔ (3P), d-a-pã:çɔ (3.IRLS)
 ‘to fold; to make someone sleep’

§5.4.16 Metathesis in prefixal verbs

Metathesis occurs in the 2-person of some verbs. /r/ is moved before /h/ in the 2-person and the result of /r/ + /h/ is /r̥/.¹¹⁴ The devoicing of /r/ if followed by /h/ is to be found when an intermediate sound, such as /o/ in (105), is deleted. In (105a) and (106) all persons also show a variant with /r̥/.

- (105) a. t-a-hirm (1S), a-r̥im (2S), ts-a-hirm (3), j-a-hirm (1PI), o-j-a-hirm (1PE),
 a-r̥imi-lo / a-r̥im-lo (2P), o-ts-a-hirm (3P), n-a-hirm (3.IRLS) ‘to deny, to prohibit’
 Also the following forms are reported: t-ã-r̥im (1S), ts-ã-r̥im (3), j-ã-r̥im (1PI),
 o-j-ã-r̥im (1PE), o-ts-ã-r̥im (3P)
- b. tok-o-hirm (1S), o-r̥im (2S), t-o-hirm (3), j-o-hirm (1PI), o-j-o-hirm (1PE),
 o-r̥im-lo (2P), o-t-o-hirm (3P), t-o-hirm (3.IRLS) ‘to submerge; to tame’
- (106) t-o-biroho / t-o-bi̯ro (1S), a-biroho / a-bi̯ro (2S), tɕ-o-biroho / tɕ-o-bi̯ro (3),
 j-o-biroho / j-o-bi̯ro (1PI), o-j-o-biroho (1PE), a-biroho-lo / a-bihir-lo /
 a-bi̯ro-lo (2P), tɕ-o-biroho / tɕ-o-bi̯ro (3P), d-o-biroho / d-o-bi̯ro (3.IRLS)
 ‘to break; to drive, to pilot; to have stomach pains’ (also: tsobi̯ro/ tsobiroho)

§5.4.17 /d/-verbs

The following subclass includes verbs whose 3-prefix is /d/-, /l/-, /n/- or /j/-. These prefixal verbs will be called /d/-verbs. /d/- and /l/- are free allomorphs in word-initial position (107-114), while /n/- is the nasalized counterpart of /d/- or /l/- and its presence depends on nasal harmony (this

¹¹⁴ In the orthography <rh> indicates /r̥/, the outcome of /r/ + /h/, but not /rh/, which is not to be found in Chamacoco.

prefix only occurs in (115)). The verb *yana* /jana/ (116) is the only one to take the prefix /j/- in the 3-person. This verb has been placed in the group of /d/-verbs because it has the same morphological properties of the latter verbs. /d/-verbs present no morphological opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person. The 3-prefix /d/- is used to form the irrealis of /tɕ/- and /ts/-verbs. It is thus plausible to suppose that in these verbs the original form for the 3-realis was replaced by the irrealis. The 1S-person takes the prefix /tVk/-. The thematic vowel follows the same rules as in prefixal verbs. *Yana* /jana/ shows an irregularity in the vocalic pattern, because the 3-vowel is /a/, while the 1-vowel is /i/. The latter is the original thematic vowel (on this verb, see also §7.6 and §10.5). The verb *debuhu* exhibits the 1S-vowel /a/.

(107) tak-a-le (1S), a-le (2S), d-a-le (3), j-a-le (1PI), o-j-ale (1PE), a-li-lo / a-le-lo (2P),
o-d-ale (3P), d-a-le (3.IRLS) ‘to go quickly to’

(108) tak-a-li: (1S), a-li: (2S), d-a-li: (3), j-a-li: (1PI), o-j-ali: (1PE), a-li:lo (2P), o-d-ali: (3P),
d-a-li: (3.IRLS) ‘to stretch’

(109) tak-a-buhu (1S), e-buhu (2S), d-e-buhu (3), j-e-buhu (1PI), o-j-e-buhu (1PE),
e-buhu-lo (2P), o-d-ebuhu (3P) d-e-buhu (3.IRLS) ‘to live’¹¹⁵

(110) tok-o-hir (1S), o-hir (2S), d-o-hir (3), j-o-hir (1PI), o-j-o-hir (1PE), o-hir-lo (2P),
o-d-ohir (3P), d-o-hir (3.IRLS) ‘to go up’

(111) tuk-u-ra (1S), e-ra (2S), d-u-ra (3), j-u-ra (1PI), o-j-u-ra (1PE), e-r-lo (2P), o-d-u-ra (3P),
d-u-ra (3.IRLS) ‘to feel like (something)/(doing something)’

(112) tik-i-rk (1S), e-rk (2S), d-i-rk (3), j-i-rk (1PI), o-j-i-rk (1PE), e-rki-lo (2P), o-d-i-rk (3P),
d-i-rk (3.IRLS) ‘to walk’

(113) tok-o-ta (1S), o-ta (2S), l-o-ta (3), j-o-ta (1PI), o-j-o-ta (1PE), o-ti-lo / o-ta-lo (2P),
o-l-o-ta (3P), l-o-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to play’

(114) tok-o-ter (1S), o-ter (2S), l-o-ter (3), j-o-ter (1PI), o-j-o-ter (1PE), o-ter-lo (2P),
o-l-oter (3P), l-o-ter (3.IRLS) ‘to make fun of somebody, something’

(115) tik-i-na (1S), e-na (2S), n-i-na (3), j-ina (1PI), o-j-i-na (1PE), e-ni-lo (2P),

¹¹⁵ Note that the 1-person *takabuhu* cannot reduce to *tikibuhu* according to the informants, because otherwise it coincides with the 1-person of *tibuhu* ‘to yawn; to lick’.

o-n-i-na (3P), n-i-na (3.IRLS) ‘to thank’ (also: n-i-ne (3))

(116) tik-i-na (1S), a-na (2S), j-a-na (3), j-i-na (1P), o-j-i-na (1PE), a-ni-lo (2P), o-j-ana (3P),
j-a-na (3.IRLS) ‘to laugh’¹¹⁶

Note that in /d/-verbs the 3-person initial-consonant gives no indication about the inflectional class, because the 3-person begins with /n/-, /j/- or /d/- and the 3-person of radical verbs can begin with one of these consonants too.

§5.5 Thematic verbs

In §5.5 and §5.6 verbs belonging to the second macro-class, that is the thematic and radical verbs, are discussed. These verb classes only include a few elements, but show many irregularities. Section §5.5.1 briefly introduces thematic verbs. According to the 3-vowel, thematic verbs are divided into: thematic verbs in /i/- (§5.5.2), thematic verbs in /u/- (§5.5.5) and thematic verbs in /i/- (§5.5.6). Thematic verbs in /i/- are divided into two subgroups (§5.5.3, §5.5.4). The vocalic patterns of thematic verbs are summarized in (§5.5.7). Thematic verbs have four ways to form the irrealis (§5.5.8).

§5.5.1 General characteristics of thematic verbs

Thematic verbs present the 3-person without any personal prefix. Only high vowels are observed in the 3-person: /i/ - /u/ - /i/. Although these verbs are called thematic verbs, the vowel which fills the slot of the thematic vowel is not always the original thematic vowel, which is often overwritten by a prefix vowel or has undergone a change. This is also true of the inflectional class of thematic verbs in Ancient Zamuco and of thematic nouns in the Zamucoan languages.

Thematic verbs generally take the prefix /tVk/- in the 1S-person and show the opposition realis vs. irrealis in the 3-person. They have, however, different ways to form the irrealis. Thematic verbs show a peculiarity in the 3P-person,

¹¹⁶ According to the informants, among these two verbs there is also a difference concerning the accent [tik'i'na[?]] ‘to thank’ (1S) [ti'kina[?]] ‘to laugh’ (1S), [ji'na[?]] ‘to thank’ (1P) [ji'na[?]] ‘to laugh’ (1P).

where the prefix /o/- usually overwrites the high 3-vowel (with some exceptions in which the vowel is preserved after the prefix). This group exhibits many irregularities which will be discussed below in detail. The following examples list all thematic verbs found in Chamacoco.

§5.5.2 Thematic verbs in /i/-

The largest group of thematic verbs is represented by verbs with /i/ as 3-vowel. These can be divided into two subgroups, differing in: (1) The 1-vowel; (2) The morphology of the irrealis; (3) The 2-vowel and the alternation of the root-initial consonant; (4) The frequency of other irregularities.

§5.5.3 The first subgroup of thematic verbs in /i/-

The first subgroup consists of verbs beginning with /ije/-, /ijo/- or /iju/- in the 3-person. These verbs are more regular than those of the second subgroup. In the 3P-person, thematic /i/ is always overwritten by the prefix /o/-. The 1-vowel is always /i/. The 1S-prefix can be /t/- or /tVk/-, where V is /i/ (as in prefixal verbs with thematic /i/) but can also be /i/. These prefixes can alternate in the same verb. The 2-vowel is always /a/, so that the vocalic pattern of these verbs is /i/-/a/-/i/, which is very regular. As in prefixal verbs with thematic /i/, the presence of /a/ in the 2-person is associated with root allomorphy. Root-initial /j/ corresponds to /l/ in the 2-person, which can nasalize into /n/ (122). In the irrealis, the thematic vowel drops and this form begins with /ts/, which looks like a prefix, but in fact stems from root-initial /j/. The irrealis coincides with the root and /j/ turns into /ts/ word-initially. The comparison with the other Zamucoan languages will confirm it (see §7.7). The following vowel is the first root-vowel and can undergo some adaptations: /e/ of *iyem* /ijem/ (122) lengthens in *seem* /tse:m/ (122) and /u/ in *iyuwe* /ijuwe/ turns into /o/ in *sowe* /tsowe/ (123).

- (117) t-i-je:be / tik-i-je:be (1S), a-le:be (2S), i-je:be (3), j-i-je:be (1PI), o-j-i-je:be (1PE),
a-le:bi-lo / a-le:be-lo (2P), o-je:be (3P), tse:be (3.irsl) 'to guide'

- (118) t-i-jehe / tik-i-jehe (1S), a-lehe (2S), i-jehe (3), j-i-jehe (1PI), o-j-i-jehe (1PE), a-lehe-lo (2P), o-j-ehe (3P), tsehe (3.IRLS) ‘to stop’
- (119) t-i-jehet / tik-i-jehet / tik-i-jehet (1S), a-lehet (2S), i-jehet (3), j-i-jehet (1PI), o-j-i-jehet (1PE), a-leheti-lo / a-lehet-lo (2P), o-jehet (3P), tsehet (3.IRLS) ‘to stand, to stand up’
- (120) t-i-jehĩ (1S), a-lehĩ (2S), i-jehĩ (3), j-i-jehĩ (1PI), o-j-i-jehĩ (1PE), a-lehĩ-lo (2P), o-jehĩ (3P) ‘not to reach’¹¹⁷
- (121) tik-i-jo (1S), a-lo (2S), i-jo (3), j-i-jo (1P), o-j-i-jo (1PE), a-li-lo / a-lo-lo (2P), o-jo (3P), tso (3.IRLS) ‘to jump; to fly’
- (122) t-i-jem / tik-i-jem / tik-i-jem (1S), a-nem (2S), i-jem (3), j-i-jem (1PI), o-j-i-jem (1PE), a-nem-lo / a-nemi-lo (2P), o-jem (3P), tse:m (3.IRLS) ‘to wait’
- (123) tik-i-juwe (1S), a-luwe (2S), i-juwe (3), j-i-juwe (1PI), o-j-i-juwe (1PE), a-luwe-lo / a-luwi-lo (2P), o-juwe (3P), tsowe (3.IRLS) ‘to exceed, to overtake’
 Reduced forms: tik-i-ju (1S), a-lu (2S), i-ju (3), j-i-ju (1PI), o-j-i-ju (1PE), a-lu-lo (2P),¹¹⁸ o-ju (3P), tso (3.IRLS) ‘to exceed, to overtake’

There is also an irregular verb which should be added to this group, *ihnimich* /*ɲimitch̥*/ (124) ‘to go down, to come down’. It is a compound formed by a verb belonging to this group, probably *iyó* /*ijo*/ ‘to jump’, and *hnimich* /*ɲimitch̥*/ ‘earth, ground’. If so, the verbs would literally mean ‘to jump to the ground’. The second syllable of *iyó* /*ijo*/, /*jo*/ or /*lo*/, has been lost in the whole paradigm, with the exception of the 3P-person, where only final /*o*/ has been lost, and the irrealis, where *so* /*tso*/ is preserved in *sohnimich* /*tsoɲimitch̥*/. Note, however, that the 3-realis of this verb also tends to be used in irrealis contexts.

¹¹⁷ I have not been able to observe the irrealis form of this verb, because in irrealis contexts (in particular after negation) the positive form of its antonym, *terihĩ* ‘not to reach’, is used.

¹¹⁸ According to the speakers, the form *alilo* cannot be used for the 2P-person, because it would coincide with the 2P-person of *iyó* /*ijo*/ ‘to jump; to fly’ (121).

- (124) *tik-i-ṅimitɕ* / *tik-i-ṅimitɕ* (1S), *a-ṅimitɕ* (2S), *i-ṅimitɕ* (3), *j-i-ṅimitɕ* (1PI),
o-j-i-ṅimitɕ (1PE), *a-ṅimitɕ-lo* (2P), *o-j-ṅimitɕ* (3P), *i-ṅimitɕ* / *tsonṅimitɕ* (3.IRLS)
 ‘to go down, to come down’

§5.5.4 The second subgroup of thematic verbs in /i/-

Most of these verbs have /o/ as 1-vowel. In *üim* /i:m/ (133) and *ĩya* /ĩja/ (135), however, the 1P-vowel is /u/. In *ĩya* /ĩja/ (135) the forms *yũya* /jũja/ and *oyũya* /ojũja/ in the 1P-person alternate with the irregular 1P-persons *yukwĩya* /jukwĩja/ and *oyukwĩya* /ojukwĩja/. In *üim* /i:m/ (133), the 1P-person is irregular: *yukwim* /jukwim/ (1PI), *oyukwim* /ojukwim/ (1PE).

In (127) /e/ is also observed as 1-vowel. In the 3P-person thematic /i/ can be overwritten by the prefix /o/. Nevertheless, in some verbs the 3-vowel /i/ is preserved in the 3P-person form (127, 131-134).

Verbs belonging to this subgroup generally have a 3-person root which is different from the rest of the paradigm (including the irrealis). For reasons which will become clear comparing thematic verbs with prefixal verbs, such root allomorphy is somehow correlated with the presence of the 2-vowel /a/.

Verbs with 3-person root-initial /tɕ/ have /ts/ in the rest of the paradigm (125), (126), (128), including the 2-person which shows the inflectional vowel /a/. The same alternation between /tɕ/ and /ts/ is also found in prefixal verbs with /i/ as 3-vowel and /a/ in the 2-person (§5.4.9), but in such case root-initial /ts/ only occurs in the 2-person. In (129-131), 3-person root-initial /j/ corresponds to /ṅ/ in the rest of the paradigm. In (132) and (136) there is nasalization, so that /j/ and /j/ in the 3-person correspond to /ṅ/ and /n/ in the rest of the paradigm. Note that in (129), (131-132) and (136) the 2-vowel is /a/. A very similar alternation is observed in prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ and the 2-vowel /a/, which present root-initial /l/ in the 2-person and /j/ in the rest of the paradigm (§5.4.9). Note that there are no prefixal verbs with root-initial /j/ and for this reason there are no prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ and the 2-vowel /a/ where root-initial /j/ corresponds to /l/ or /ṅ/ in the 2-person.

In conclusion, the presence of /a/ in the 2-person correlates with root-

allomorphy in both prefixal and thematic verbs. Both groups have different root in the 3-person and the 2-person, but in prefixal verbs the rest of the paradigm presents the 3-person root, while in thematic verbs it presents the 2-person root.¹¹⁹ Verbs with the 2-vowel /e/ do not present consonantal alternation in the root (134, 135). The only exception is represented by *īhi* (127), where root-initial /h/ in the 3-person corresponds to /j/ in the rest of the paradigm. *iim* /i:m/ (133) shows the 2-vowel /o/, also to be found in the 1S-person and the irrealis, which is the original thematic vowel. In *iin* /i:n/ and *iim* /i:m/ the 3-vowel /i/ turns into /j/ and occurs after the thematic vowel in the whole paradigm (except in the irregular 1P-persons *yukwim* /jukwim/ and *oyukwim* /ojukwim/ (133)). The verbs *iim* /i:m/ (133) and *īya* /īja/ (135) have irregular forms for the 2-persons: *moym* /mojm/ (2S), *moymlo* /mojmlo/ (2P) and *mēya* (2S) /meja/, *mēylo* /mejlo/ (2P). The initial /m/- should be considered a 2-prefix. The verbs *iim* /i:m/ (133) and *īya* /īja/ (135) share thus two irregularities: both verbs have epenthetic /kw/- in the 1P-person, which is the relic of the Proto-Zamuco plural suffix (see §7.9), and the prefix /m/- in the 2-person. These features are very interesting if compared with the verb morphology of the other Zamucoan languages, as will be shown in §7.9. In particular, the 2-prefix /m/- finds its devoiced counterpart in the prefix /m̥/ of *hmeychim* /m̥ejt̥çim/. The difference between /m/- and /m̥/- is that the latter prefix is only used in irrealis contexts.

The irrealis is obtained by means of the prefix /d/- or /l/-, which can nasalize into /n/-, as in prefixal verbs. The thematic vowel is /o/. In the irrealis of *iim* /i:m/ (133) and *iin* /i:n/ (134) the 3-vowel is preserved, as in the other forms of the paradigm, so that the irrealis is not unexpected, while in *īhi* (127) the irrealis is *noyhi* /nojhi/. This could be related to the fact that in *īhi* (127) the 3-vowel /i/ is not overwritten by the prefix /o/- in the 3P-person. Note, however, that not all verbs preserving the 3-vowel /i/ in the 3P-person also preserve this vowel in the irrealis: *ihyo* /ijo/ (131) and *ihyōk* /ijōk/ (132), for instance, have the irrealis forms *dohlo* /doḷo/ (131) and *nohnok* /noḷnok/ (132).

¹¹⁹ Excluding thematic verbs in /ije/-, /ijo/- or /iju/- (§5.5.3), which in this respect behave like prefixal verbs.

- (125) tok-o-tsa (1S), a-tsa (2S), i-t̥ca (3), j-o-tsa (1PI), o-j-o-tsa (1PE), a-tsa-lo / a-tsi-lo (2P), o-t̥ca (3P), l-o-tsa (3.IRLS) ‘to lay’
- (126) tok-o-tsehe (1S), a-tsehe (2S), i-t̥ehe (3), j-o-tsehe (1PI), o-j-o-tsehe (1PE), a-tsehe-lo (2P), o-t̥ehe (3P), l-o-tsehe (3.IRLS) ‘not to do something well’
- (127) tok-õ-ji / tok-ẽ-ji (1S), ẽ-ji (2S), ã-hi (3), j-õ-ji / j-ẽ-ji (1PI), o-j-õ-ji / o-j-ẽ-ji (1PE), e-hĩ-lo (2P), õ-j-ji (3P), n-õj-hi (3.IRLS) ‘to get married’ (used with *ahĩr*)
- (128) tok-o-tso (1S), a-tso (2S), i-t̥co (3), j-o-tso (1PI), o-j-otso (1PE), a-tsi-lo (2P), o-t̥co (3P), l-o-tso (3.IRLS) ‘to throw, to shoot’
- (129) tok-o-ļa (1S), a-ļa (2S), i-ja (3), j-o-ļa (1PI), o-j-o-ļa (1PE), a-ļa-lo / a-ļa-lo (2P), o-ja (3P), d-o-ļa (3.IRLS) ‘to kill, to hit the centre of (with a gun)’
- (130) tok-o-ļe (1S), a-ļe (2S), i-je (3), j-o-ļe (1PI), o-j-o-ļe (1PE), a-ļa-lo / a-ļe-lo (2P), o-je (3P), d-o-ļe (3.IRLS) ‘to be in mourning’
- (131) tok-o-ļo (1S), a-ļo (2S), i-jo (3), j-o-ļo (1PI), o-j-o-ļo (1PE), a-ļa-lo / a-ļo-lo (2P), o-j-jo (3P), d-o-ļo (3.IRLS) ‘to cut’
- (132) tok-o-ņok (1S), a-ņok (2S), i-jõk (3), j-o-ņok (1PI), o-j-o-ņok (1PE), a-ņõki-lo / a-ņõk-lo (2P), õ-j-jok (3P), n-o-ņok (3.IRLS) ‘to carry something on the shoulder’
- (133) tok-oj-m (1S), m-oj-m (2S), i-m (3), j-u-kwim (1PI), o-j-u-kwim (1PE), m-oj-m-lo (2P), oj-m (3P), n-oj-m (3.IRLS) ‘to leave’
- (134) tok-oj-n (1S), ej-n (2S), i-n (3), j-oj-n (1PI), o-j-oj-n (1PE), ej-ni-lo (2P), oj-n (3P), n-oj-n (3.IRLS) ‘to swallow’
- (135) tok-õ-ja (1S), m-ẽ-ja (2S), ã-ja (3), j-u-kwĩja / j-ũ-ja (1PI), o-j-u-kwĩja / o-j-ũ-ja (1PE), j-õ-j-lo [nojlo] (1PL.GP), m-ẽ-j-lo (2P), õ-ja (3P), n-o-ja (3.IRLS) ‘to accompany’
- (136) tok-o-naha (1S), a-naha (2S), i-jãha (3), j-o-naha (1PI), o-j-o-naha (1PE), a-naha-lo (2P), o-jãha (3P), n-o-naha (3.IRLS) ‘to wear; to travel by; to ride’

§5.5.5 Thematic verbs in /u/-

The thematic verbs in (137) and (138) have the 3-vowel /u/. The vocalic pattern is here /u/-/a/-/u/. The 2-vowel is /a/, while it is /e/ in prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /u/. The 1S-prefix is /tVk/-, as expected. *Umo* also shows the alternation between *tukumo* and *tokomo* in the 1S-person, where /u/ can turn into /o/. The verb *umo* conveys two meanings, ‘to sleep’ and ‘to see’, each one with a different form for the irrealis. The irrealis form of ‘to sleep’ is *umo*, coinciding with the 3-realis, while the irrealis form of ‘to see’ takes the prefix /n/- and the 3.IRLS-vowel /o/: *nomo*. Also the verb *uushi* /u:çi/ takes the 3.IRLS-vowel /o/ (a short vowel instead of the 3-vowel /u:/) but presents the prefix /tʂ/- in the irrealis form *choshi* /tʂoçi/.¹²⁰

(137) tok-o-mo / tuk-u-mo (1S), a-mo (2S), u-mo (3), j-u-mo (1PI), o-j-u-mo (1PE),
a-m-lo (2P), o-mo (3P) ‘to sleep; to see’

‘to sleep’ ---> u-mo (3.IRLS), o-mo (3P.IRLS)

‘to see’ ---> n-o-mo (3.IRLS), o-n-o-mo (3.IRLS)

(138) tuk-u:çi (1S), a:çi (2S), u:çi (3), j-u:çi (1PI), o-j-u:çi (1PE), a:çi-lo (2P), o:çi (3P),
tʂ-o-çi (3.IRLS) ‘to run’

§5.5.6 Thematic verbs in /i/-

There are a few verbs (139-143) with /i/ as 3-vowel. These verbs have /a/ (140, 142, 143) or /e/ (139, 141) as 2-vowel. Here root-initial /ç/ in the 3-person corresponds to /s/ in the rest of the paradigm, including the 2-person. The consonantal alternation between /ç/ and /s/ in root-initial position is also to be found in prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ and the 2-vowel /a/. Such verbs present root-initial /s/ in the 2-person and /ç/ in the rest of the paradigm (§5.4.9). For this reason, also in (142, 143) one may surmise that the presence of the 2-vowel /a/ is associated with root-allomorphy. By contrast, if the 2-

¹²⁰ Probably owing to the fact that the irrealis *choshi* /tʂoçi/ cannot be automatically traced back to *uushi* /u:çi/, sometimes the 3-realis *uushi* also tends to be used in irrealis contexts, although *choshi* is still preferred.

vowel is /e/, rather than /a/, root-initial /ç/ is observed in the whole paradigm. The verb *ishi* /içi/ (141), from which *ishim* /içim/ (142) and *ishimihi* /içimihi/ (143) derive, exhibits the 2-vowel /e/. No consonantal alternation occurs in *ishi* /içi/, while it occurs in *ishim* /içim/ (142) and *ishimihi* /içimihi/ (143), which present /a/ in the 2-person. Note, however, that in prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/, the 2-vowel /a/ is rare and is not related to root allomorphy in the root (see §5.4.8). The presence of /a/ in *imehe* is functional to distinguish this verb from *timehe* ‘to depend, to follow’, which has the 2-person *emehe*.¹²¹

The 1S-prefix is /tVk/- in all verbs and the 1-thematic-vowel is /o/, excluding (140), in which the thematic vowel is /i/. These characteristics are also shared by the second subgroup of thematic verbs in /i/- (see §5.5.4). The second vowel of the verb *ihi* (139) always assimilates the first root-vowel.¹²² In the 3P-person, the 3-vowel is usually overwritten by the prefix /o/-. As in thematic verbs in /i/-, the irrealis has thematic /o/ in all verbs, with the only exception of *imehe* (where /i/ is preserved). The prefix is generally /d/- or /n/-, depending on nasalization. In *ishim* /içim/ (142) and *ishimihi* /içimihi/ (143) the prefix is /d/-, because /ç/ tends to block nasalization. Although the verb *imehe* (140) has an irrealis form, its 3-realis can also be used in irrealis contexts (see also (137) and (138)). Note that the 1-person of *imehe* (140) cannot be *timehe*, which is the 3-person of the verb *timehe* ‘to depend, to follow’.

(139) tok-o-ho (1S), e-he (2S), i-hi (3), j-o-ho (1PI), o-j-o-ho (1PE), e-he-lo (2P), o-ho (3P),
d-o-ho (3.IRLS) ‘to drink’

(140) tik-i-mehe (1S), a-mehe (2S), i-mehe (3), j-i-mehe (1PI), o-j-i-mehe (1PE),
a-mehe-lo (2P), o-mehe (3P), i-mehe / n-i-mehe (3.IRLS) ‘to squash, to crush’

(141) tok-o-çi (1S), e-çi (2S), i-çi (3), j-o-çi (1PI), o-j-o-çi (1PE), e-çi-lo (2P), o-çi (3),
d-o-çi (3.IRLS) ‘pay, to give’

(142) tok-o-sim (1S), a-sim (2S), i-çim (3), j-o-sim (1PI), o-j-osim (1PE), a-sim-lo (2P),
o-çim (3P), d-o-sim (3.IRLS) ‘to give to’

(143) tok-o-simihi (1S), a-simihi (2S), i-çimihi (3), j-o-simihi (1PI), o-j-o-simihi (1PE),

¹²¹ However, the 1-persons of *imehe* and *timehe* coincide.

¹²² Vocalic assimilation in Chamacoco occurs very frequently when two vowels are separated by /h/.

a-simihĩ-lo (2P), o-çimihĩ (3P), d-o-simihĩ (3.IRLS) ‘to give (as a present)’

§5.5.7 The vocalic patterns of thematic verbs

The vocalic patterns of the thematic verbs are summarized in the following table. The vocalic patterns reported below with the 1-vowel /o/ are not to be observed in prefixal verbs. When the thematic vowel is /u/, thematic verbs show the 2-vowel /a/, while prefixal verbs have /e/. /i/-/a/-/i/ is rare among both prefixal and thematic verbs.

Table 5.3. Vocalic patterns of Chamacoco thematic verbs

1	2	3	Examples
i	a	i	(117-123)
o	a	i	(125-126, 128-132, 136)
o	e	i	(127, 134, 135)
o	o	i	(133)
o	a	u	(137)
u	a	u	(137, 138)
o	a	ĩ	(142, 143)
o	e	ĩ	(139, 141)
ĩ	a	ĩ	(140)

§5.5.8 The irrealis form

Thematic verbs are characterized by five ways to form the 3-irrealis, which can:

- (1) coincide with the 3-realis;
- (2) coincide with the verb root, whose root-initial /j/ turns into /ts/;
- (3) take the prefix /d/- and the 3.IRLS-vowel /o/;
- (4) take the prefix /tɕ/- and the 3.IRLS-vowel /o/.

Such variability cannot be found in any other inflectional class of Chamacoco verbs. The most frequently used ways to form the irrealis are (2) and (3). Also prefixal verbs use the prefix /d/- for the irrealis, but show the same vowel as the 3-realis. (2) and (4) are only to be observed in thematic verbs, and (4) is only found in one verb.

§5.6 Radical verbs

In radical verbs, the 3-person consists of the mere root. This class includes few verbs, showing many irregularities which will be discussed in detail. Radical verbs will be organized and discussed according to the root-initial consonant in the 3-person. One can distinguish radical verbs beginning with: bilabial consonant (§5.6.1), /k/- (§5.6.2), /n/- (§5.6.3), /ŋ/ and /m/- (§5.6.4), /t/- (§5.6.5) and /j/ (§5.6.6). The vocalic patterns of radical verbs are irregular and will be summarized in (§5.6.7).

In radical verbs the inflectional vowel is usually a high vowel in the 1-person (the most frequent is /i/) and /a/ or /e/ in the 2-person. The 1-vowel and the 2-vowel can harmonize to the original first root-vowel and are often unpredictable. The difference between /a/ and /e/ in the 2-person does not correlate with the presence of consonantal alternation in the root.

The 1-prefix is in most cases /tVk/- but /t/- can also be used. It is not possible to predict whether /t/- or /tVk/- is used. Radical verbs present no morphological distinction between realis and irrealis in the 3-person.

Root-initial consonants can undergo fortition in the 3-person. There are historical-comparative reasons (not discussed here) to surmise that in this class of verbs the original first root-vowel is preserved in the 3-person, but it often reduces to /i/ or deletes in the rest of the paradigm (see also §10.6). These morphophonological processes are unpredictable and will be discussed in detail. The 3P-person shares the same features as the 3-person.

§5.6.1 Radical verbs beginning with bilabial consonants (/b/- or /p/-)

In *beshi* /beçi/ (144) the first root-vowel /e/ in the 3-person reduces to /i/ in the rest of the paradigm. The 1-vowel and the 2-vowel (/e/) harmonize to the 3-person first root-vowel. The verb *beshi* /beçi/ is generally observed with the preposition =/ihi/ (*beshihi* /beçih/). Nowadays this verb is rarely used, because the Spanish loan *kay* /kaj/ (cf. Spanish *caer* ‘to fall’) is preferred.

(144) t-e-biçi (1S), e-biçi (2S), Ø-Ø-beçi (3), j-e-biçi (1PI), o-j-e-biçi (1PE), e-biçi-lo (2P), o-beçi (3P), Ø-Ø-beçi (3.IRLS) ‘to fall’

Root-initial /b/ turns into /p/ in the 3-person of the verbs *pota* (145) and *poter* (146). The 3-person first root-vowel /o/ reduces to /i/ in the rest of the paradigm (as in (144)). The 1-thematic-vowel /o/ harmonizes to the original first root-vowel /o/. The 2-vowel is /a/.

(145) t-o-bita (1S), a-bita (2S), Ø-Ø-pota (3), j-o-bita (1PI), o-j-o-bita (1PE), a-bita-lo / a-biti-lo / a-bit-lo (2P), o-pota (3P), Ø-Ø-pota (3.IRLS) ‘to envy, to lust after’

(146) t-o-biter (1S), a-biter (2S), Ø-Ø-poter (3), j-o-biter (1PI), o-j-o-biter (1PE), a-biter-lo (2P), o-poter (3P), Ø-Ø-poter (3.IRLS) ‘to scold’

Needless to say, word-initial /p/ in the 3-person is not due to fortition in (147-149). These verbs show the 2-vowel /a/. In (150) the 3-person first root-vowel /o/ deletes in the rest of the paradigm, where /j/ vocalizes into /i/. The 1-thematic-vowel is /u/ in (147) and /i/ in (148-150). In (150) /i/ and /u/ alternate in the 1P-person.

(147) tuk-u-po (1S), a-po (2S), Ø-Ø-po (3), j-u-po (1PI), o-j-u-po (1PE), a-po-lo / a-pi-lo (2P), o-po (3P), Ø-Ø-po (3.IRLS) ‘to make someone shut up’¹²³

(148) tik-i-po:k (1S), a-po:k (2S), Ø-Ø-po:k (3), j-i-po:k (1PI), o-j-i-po:k (1PE), a-po:k-lo (2P), o-po:k (3P), Ø-Ø-po:k (3.IRLS) ‘to be ashamed’

(149) tik-i-pwej (1S), a-pwej (2S), Ø-Ø-pwej (3), j-u-pwej (1PI), o-j-u-pwej (1PE), a-pwej-lo (2P), o-pwej (3P), Ø-Ø-pwej (3.IRLS) ‘to vomit’

¹²³ According to the informants, this verb is rarely used and *sapik* /tsapik/ is preferred.

- (150) tik-i-pim (1S), a-pim (2S), Ø-Ø-pojm (3), j-u-pim / j-i-pim (1PI), o-j-upim /
o-j-i-pim (1PE), a-pim-lo (2P), o-pojm (3P), Ø-Ø-pojm (3.IRLS) ‘to be ashamed’¹²⁴

§5.6.2 Radical verbs beginning with /k/-

Root-initial /k/ is preserved in the whole paradigm. The first root-vowel is preserved in the 3-person, but reduces to /i/ or deletes in the rest of the paradigm. The first root-vowel /a/ in *kahnir* /kaɲir/ reduces to /i/ in the 1-persons (151). In *keytkēr* /kējtkēr/ the 3-person first root-vowel /e/ deletes in the rest of the paradigm, where /j/ vocalizes into /i/.

The thematic vowel of the 1-person is a high vowel: /i/ (151), /i/ (152) and /u/ in (153). The 1-vowel /u/ in *kwita* (153) is probably due to the influence of the labiovelar /w/ in the root. The 2-vowel can be /e/ (152-153) or /a/ (151). In (151) the 2-vowel probably harmonizes to /a/ in the verb root.

- (151) t-i-kiɲir (1S), a-kaɲir (2S), Ø-Ø-kaɲir (3), j-i-kiɲir (1PI), o-j-i-kiɲir (1PE), a-kaɲir-lo /
a-kaɲiri-lo (2P), o-kaɲir (3P), Ø-Ø-kaɲir (3.IRLS) ‘to appreciate’

- (152) t-i-kītkēr / t-i-kītḱēr (1S), e-kītkēr (2S), Ø-Ø-kējtkēr (3), j-i-kītkēr (1PI),
o-j-i-kītḱēr (1PE), e-kītḱēr-lo / e-kītḱēri-lo (2P), o-kējtkēr (3P),
Ø-Ø-kējtkēr (3.IRLS) ‘to speak, to talk’ (also: kējtkēr)

- (153) t-u-kwita (1S), e-kwita (2S), Ø-Ø-kwita (3), j-u-kwita (1PI), o-j-u-kwita (1PE),
e-kwita-lo / e-kwit-lo / e-kwiti-lo (2P), o-kwita (3P), Ø-Ø-kwita (3.IRLS)
‘to wake up; to stand up suddenly’¹²⁵

In the verb *chukwitim* /tḱukwitim/ (or *kwitim*) there is alternation between the 3-person with the prefix /tḱ-/ and the radical 3-person *kwitim* (154). In this case, there are two forms for the irrealis, *lukwitim* (the regular irrealis form of *chukwitim* /tḱukwitim/) and *kwitim*, coinciding with the third (radical) person, as in all radical verbs. In (155) the 3-person is *chukutim* /tḱukwitim/, but there is a radical form *kwitim* used for all persons. It was probably a radical 3-person

¹²⁴ According to the informants, *pook* /po:k/ (148) and *pojym* /pojɲm/ (150) are synonyms, but *pook* /po:k/ is more frequently used.

¹²⁵ Note that the form *kwita* is also used with all persons as an uninflectable form.

form. One can suppose that in *kutim* and *kwitim* the 3-person forms *chukutim* /*tɕukutim*/ and *chukwitim* /*tɕukwitim*/ are due to assimilation to the class of /*tɕ*/- and /*ts*/-verbs, the most conspicuous verb class of Chamacoco.

(154) *t-i-kwitim* / *t-u-kwitim* (1S), *e-kwitim* (2S), *tɕ-u-kwitim* / *∅-∅-kwitim* (3),
j-u-kwitim (1PI), *o-j-u-kwitim* (1PE), *e-kwitimi-lo* / *e-kwitim-lo* (2P),
o-kwitim / *o-tɕ-u-kwitim* (3P), *∅-∅-kwitim* / *l-u-kwitim* (3.IRLS)
 ‘to take advantage of, to hasten’¹²⁶

(155) *t-u-kutim* (1S), *e-kutim* (2S), *tɕ-u-kutim* (3), *j-u-kutim* (1PE), *o-j-u-kutim* (1PI),
e-kutim-lo (2P), *o-tɕ-u-kutim* (3P), *d-u-kutim* (3.IRLS) ‘to increase fire;
 to refuse to work’¹²⁷

§5.6.3 Radical verbs beginning with /*n*/-

The verbs *nina* and *naha* preserve the 3-person root in the whole paradigm. The first and the 2-vowel are /*i*/ and /*e*/ respectively.

(156) *tik-i-nina* (1S), *e-nina* (2S), *∅-∅-nina* (3), *j-i-nina* (1PI), *o-j-i-nina* (1PE), *e-nini-lo* (2P),
o-nina (3P), *∅-∅-nina* (3.IRLS) ‘to hug’

(157) *tik-i-naha* (1S), *e-naha* (2S), *∅-∅-naha* (3), *j-i-naha* (1PI), *o-j-i-naha* (1PE),
e-naha-lo (2P), *o-naha* (3P), *∅-∅-naha* (3.IRLS) ‘to mistake; not to grab well’

In (158-159) the fortition of /*r*/ in word-initial position occurs. In *naha* (158) and *nihī* (159), root-initial /*r*/ turns into /*n*/ in the radical 3-person. Both verbs also show alternating prefixal 3-persons, *chirāha* /*tɕirāha*/ (158) and *chirīhi* /*tɕirīhi*/ (159), in which no fortition occurs. This type of alternation in the 3-person is observed in (154-155) and is also to be found in *nishii* /*niçi:/* (159). One can suppose that the third radical person was the original 3-person of the verb and the presence of a prefixal 3-person is due to the fact that the verb has been regularized following the main verb class of Chamacoco. In all cases there are two forms for the irrealis, one corresponding to the prefixal 3-

¹²⁶ In the 1S-person two forms, *tikwitim* and *tukwitim*, are reported. The presence of thematic /*i*/ in this paradigm is probably due to the reduction of /*u*/.

¹²⁷ When the form *kutim* means ‘to refuse to work’, it can be used for all persons.

person in /tɕ/-, the other coinciding with the root.

The 3-person of *naha* ‘to mistake’ coincides with the radical 3S-person of *naha* ‘to load up’ (158).

The verb *nihī* – *tɕirīhi* /*tɕirīhi*/ also has two forms for the 1S-person. The 1S-person *tikirīhi* takes the prefix /tVk/-, the form usually expected in a radical verb, while the prefix /t/- in the 1S-person characterizes /tɕ/-verbs. This last form is possibly more recent and is the result of assimilation to /tɕ/-verbs.

The first root-vowel /i/ of the 3-person *nishii* /*niɕi:*/ (159) deletes in the rest of the paradigm, including the prefixal 3-person.

(158) t-i-rāha (1S), e-rāha (2S), tɕ-i-rāha / Ø-Ø-naha (3), j-i-rāha (1PI), o-j-i-rāha (1PE), e-rāha-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-rāha (3P), d-i-rāha / n-i-rāha / Ø-Ø-naha (3.IRLS)¹²⁸
 ‘to load up’ (also: *tɕirēhe*).¹²⁹

(159) a. tik-i-rīhi (1S), e-rīhi (2S), Ø-Ø-nihī (3), j-i-rīhi (1PI), o-j-i-rīhi (1PE), e-rīhi-lo (2P), o-nīhi (3P), Ø-Ø-nihī (3.IRLS) ‘to get up’
 b. t-i-rīhi (1S), e-rīhi (2S), tɕ-i-rīhi (3), j-i-rīhi (1PI), o-j-i-rīhi (1PE), e-rīhi-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-rīhi (3P), n-i-rīhi (3.IRLS) ‘to get up’¹³⁰

(160) t-i-nɕi: (1S), e-nɕi: (2S), tɕ-i-nɕi: / Ø-Ø-niɕi: (3), j-i-nɕi: (1PI), o-j-i-nɕi: (1PE), e-nɕi:-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-nɕi: / o-niɕi: (3P), n-i-nɕi: / Ø-Ø-niɕi: (3.IRLS) ‘to arrange, to sort out’

§5.6.4 Radical verbs beginning with /ŋ/- and /m/-

The verbs in (161-163) have the 3-person beginning with /ŋ/. The 1-prefix is /tVk/- and the 1-thematic-vowel is /i/. The 2-vowel is /e/ (162-163) or /a/ (161). In *hnaas* /*ŋa:s*/ the 2-vowel (/a/) probably harmonizes to /a:/ in the verb root. The first root-vowel /e/ in the 3-person of *hmeta* /*ŋeta*/ deletes in the rest of the paradigm, but the 2-vowel /e/ and epenthetic /e/ between the root

¹²⁸ The most frequently used form for the irrealis is *niraha*.

¹²⁹ The 1S-person is *tirāha*, not to be confused with *tikirāha* (1S) ‘to urinate all over’. However, the 3-person of *tiraha* (1S) ‘to urinate all over’ coincides with the 1S-person of *tirāha* ‘to load up’. Note that *naha* (3) ‘to load up’ seems to coincide with *naha* ‘to mistake’.

¹³⁰ In this paradigm the 1S-person *tikirīhi* is associated with the 3-person *nihī* by the speakers, while the 1-person *tirīhi* is usually associated with the 3-person *chirīhi* /*tɕirīhi*/.

and the suffix *-/lo/* harmonize to the 3-person first root-vowel.

(161) *tik-i-ŋa:s* (1S), *a-ŋa:s* (2S), *∅-∅-ŋa:s* (3), *j-i-ŋa:s* (1PI), *o-j-i-ŋa:s* (1PE), *a-ŋa:s-lo* (2P),
o-ŋa:s (3P), *∅-∅-ŋa:s* (3.IRLS) ‘to move’

(162) *tik-i-ŋta* (1S), *e-ŋta* (2S), *∅-∅-ŋeta* (3), *j-i-ŋta* (1PI), *o-j-i-ŋta* (1PE), *e-ŋti-lo* /
e-ŋte-lo (2P), *oŋeta* (3), *∅-∅-ŋeta* (3.IRLS) ‘to be patient with someone’ (also: *ŋete*)

(163) *tik-i-ŋina* (1S), *e-ŋina* (2S), *∅-∅-ŋina* (3), *j-i-ŋina* (1PI), *o-j-i-ŋina* (1PE), *e-ŋini-lo* (2P),
o-ŋina (3P), *∅-∅-ŋina* (3.IRLS) ‘to cough’ (also: *ŋine*)

There is only one verb with root-initial */m/*. The first vowel of the 3-person *masaha* (*/a/*) deletes in the rest of the paradigm. The 1-thematic-vowel is */o/* and the 1S-prefix is */t/*. The 2-vowel is */a/*, rather than */e/*. This vowel probably harmonizes to the vowels of the root.

(164) *t-o-msaha* (1S), *a-msaha* (2S), *∅-∅-masaha* (3), *j-o-msaha* (1PI), *o-j-o-msaha* (1PE),
a-msaha-lo (2P), *o-masaha* (3P), *∅-∅-masaha* (3.IRLS) ‘to enter’ (also: *masehe*)

§5.6.5 Radical verbs beginning with */t/-*

In (165-173) one finds verbs whose root begins with */t/-*. Root-initial */t/* is generally preserved in the whole paradigm. The 1S-prefix is usually */tVk/-*, the 1S-prefix */t/-* is only found in *t̃r* (169). The 1-thematic-vowel is a high vowel, mostly */i/* (165, 166, 169-173), but */i/* (166, 167) and */u/* (168) are also to be found. In *tur* (168), the presence of thematic */u/* in the 1-person *tukutur* is influenced by */u/* in the root. The 2-vowel is mostly */a/*, but */e/* is to be observed in (168-169). In (171-173) the first vowel of the 3-person (the diphthong *-/oj/-* in (173)) reduces to */i/* in the rest of the paradigm. In (166) two alternating forms are reported for some persons. The syncope of *-/ko/-* is a sheer irregularity and does not depend on verb inflection. In the verb *tabitehe* (170), root-initial */t/* can be cancelled in the 2-persons and the 1P-person. Here the verb can thus behave as a prefixal verb. In these alternative forms, the first root-vowel */a/* is preserved (170).

(165) tik-i-tarāha (1S), a-tarāha (2S), Ø-Ø-tarāha (3), j-i-tarāha (1PI), o-j-i-tarāha (1PE),
a-tarāha-lo (2P), o-tarāha (3P), Ø-Ø-tarāha (3.IRLS) ‘to be eager to’

(166) tik-i-tokole / tik-i-tokole (1S), a-tokole (2S), Ø-Ø-tokole (3), j-i-tokole / j-i-tokole (1PI),
o-j-i-tokole / o-j-i-tokole (1PE), a-tokoli-lo / a-tokol-lo (2P), o-tokole (3P),
Ø-Ø-tokole (3.IRLS) ‘to exit, to come out, to happen’

Reduced forms: tik-i-tole (1S), a-tole (2S), Ø-Ø-tokole (3), j-i-tole, (1PI), o-j-i-tole (1PE),
a-toli-lo / atol-lo (2P), o-tokole (3P), Ø-Ø-tokole (3.IRLS) ‘to exit, to come out,
to happen’

(167) tik-i-tolihi (1S), a-tokolihi (2S), Ø-Ø-tokolihi (3), j-i-tokolihi (1PI), o-j-i-tokolihi (1PE),
a-tokolihi-lo (2P), o-tokolihi (3P), Ø-Ø-tokolihi (3.IRLS) ‘to appear; to exit from,
to come out from’

(168) tuk-u-tur (1S), e-tur (2S), Ø-Ø-tur (3), j-u-tur (1PI), o-j-u-tur (1PE), e-tur-lo (2P),
o-tur (3P), Ø-Ø-tur (3.IRLS) ‘to make up’

(169) t-i-tūr (1S), e-tūr (2S), Ø-Ø-tūr (3), j-i-tūr (1PI), o-j-i-tūr (1PE), e-tūr-lo (2P), o-tūr (3P),
Ø-Ø-tūr (3.IRLS) ‘to go to’

(170) tik-i-bitehe (1S), a-tibitehe / a-bitehe (2S), Ø-Ø-tabitehe (3), j-i-tibitehe / j-a-bitehe (1PI),
o-j-i-tibitehe / o-j-a-bitehe (1PE), a-bitehe-lo / a-tibitehe-lo (2P), o-tabitehe (3P),
Ø-Ø-tabitehe (3.IRLS) ‘to soak’

(171) tik-i-tina (1S), a-tina (2S), Ø-Ø-tana (3), j-i-tina (1PI), o-j-i-tina (1PE), a-tini-lo (2P),
o-tana (3), Ø-Ø-tana (3.IRLS) ‘to dive’

(172) tik-i-tila (1S), a-tila (2S), Ø-Ø-tola (3), j-i-tila (1PI), o-j-i-tila (1PE), a-tili-lo (2P),
o-tola (3P), Ø-Ø-tola (3.IRLS) ‘to fear, to be afraid of’

(173) tik-i-ti / tuk-wi-ti (1S), a-ti (2S), Ø-Ø-toj (3), j-i-ti (1PI), o-j-i-ti (1PE), a-ti-lo (2P),
o-toj (3P), Ø-Ø-toj (3.IRLS) ‘to die’

§5.6.6 Radical verbs beginning with /j/-

There are two verbs whose root begins with /j/. The 3-person root is preserved in the whole paradigm. The 1-thematic-vowel is /i/ (possibly influenced by root-initial /j/), and the 2-vowel is /e/ (possibly attracted by /e/

in the root). The 1S-prefix is /tVk/-.

(174) tik-i-jeṛāha (1S), e-jeṛāha (2S), Ø-Ø-jeṛāha (3), j-i-jeṛāha (1PI), o-j-i-jeṛāha (1PE),
e-jeṛāha-lo (2P), o-jeṛāha (3P), Ø-Ø-jeṛāha (3.IRLS) ‘to complain’

(175) tik-i-jeṛ (1S), e-jeṛ (2S), Ø-Ø-jeṛ (3), j-i-jeṛ (1PI), o-j-i-jeṛ (1PE), e-jeṛ-lo (2P), o-jeṛ (3P),
Ø-Ø-jeṛ (3.IRLS) ‘to cry’

§5.6.7 The vocalic patterns of radical verbs

In the following table all vocalic patterns found in radical verbs are reported.

Table 5.4. Vocalic patterns of Chamacoco radical verbs

1	2	3	Examples
e	e	Ø	(144)
i	a	Ø	(166) (167)
i	e	Ø	(152) (174) (175)
o	a	Ø	(145) (146) (164)
u	a	Ø	(147)
u	e	Ø	(153) (154) (155) (168)
ĩ	a	Ø	(148-151) (161) (165) (166) (170-173)
ĩ	e	Ø	(156-160) (162) (163) (169)

Eight possible combinations are to be found. Generally the thematic vowel behaves as if a high vowel were present in the 3-person. The only exceptions are thematic /e/ and /o/ in the 1-person, which occur in few verbs. The 1-vowel /u/ and the 2-vowel /a/ do not co-occur in prefixal verbs, which only have /u/-/e/-/u/. The vocalic pattern /u/-/a/-/u/ is only found in thematic verbs. All the other combinations reported in Table 5.4 are observed in prefixal verbs, including /o/-/a/-Ø, corresponding to /o/-/a/-/o/ in prefixal verbs. The

vocalic pattern /o/-/a/-/o/ in prefixal verbs is a subregularity which occurs when the root-initial consonant is /b/ or /m/. Also the radical verbs with /o/-/a/-∅ present root-initial /b/ or /m/.

§5.7 Irregular verbs

The verbs *ño* (176), *noj* (177) and *i:* (178) are irregular, because they cannot be included in any of the above described inflectional classes. These verbs take the 1S-prefix /tVk/- and present the opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person. In the 2-person they show forms beginning with /b/-.¹³¹ It is an archaic 2-prefix, whose nasalized counterparts, /m/- and /ṁ/-, are found in *iim* /i:-m/ (179), *ĩya* /ĩja/ (180) and *hmeychim* /ṁejtɕim/ (181).

Moreover, as in *iim* /i:-m/ (179) and *ĩya* /ĩja/ (180), the presence of /-k/- or /-kw/- in the 1P-person (e.g. *yukwii* /jukwi:/, *yukii* /juki:/ (177) and *yukwi*² /*yuki*² (178)) is a relic of the Proto-Zamuco 1P-suffix (see §7.9). The verbs *ii* /i:/ and *hnoy* /noj/ have similar inflection. *Hnoy* /noj/ and *ii* /i:/ have the same irrealis form.

(176) tak-a-ha (1S), bo / bu (2S), ño (3), j-u-ko (1PI), o-j-u-ko (1PE), b-u-li-lo / b-o-li-lo (2P), o-ño (3P), do (3.IRLS) ‘to go’¹³²

(177) tok-a-hi: / tak-a-hi: (1S), boj (2S), noj (3), j-u-kwi: / j-u-ki: (1PI), o-j-u-kwi: / o-j-u-ki: (1PE), boj-lo / boli-lo (2P), o-noj (3P), d-oj (3.IRLS) ‘to take’

(178) tak-a-hi² (1S), b-ej (2S), i: (3), j-u-kwi² / j-u-ki² (1PI), o-j-u-kwi² / o-j-u-ki² (1PE), b-e-j-lo / b-e-li-lo (2P), oj (3P), d-oj (3.IRLS) ‘to go to bring, to get’¹³³

(179) tok-oj-m (1S), m-oj-m (2S), i:-m (3), j-u-kwim (1PI), o-j-u-kwim (1PE), m-oj-m-lo (2P), oj-m (3P), n-oj-m (3.IRLS) ‘to leave’

¹³¹ In some of these forms, which will be analysed in detail in §7.9, the prefix /b/ has been reinterpreted as part of the root.

¹³² Other 2P-forms of this verb are listed in §5.8, ex. (185e). Cf. §5.9, ex. (187).

¹³³ Note that the 1P-person of *ii* /i:/, *yukwi*² /*jukwi*²/, seems to coincide with the 1P-person of *chukwi*² /*tɕukwi*²/ ‘to look for’. *Hno* /ño/ and *ii* /i:/ will be discussed in detail in §7.9. For reasons of simplicity, in (178) the reduced lexical suffix *-i*²/ is not indicated (see §7.9).

(180) tok-õ-ja (1S), m-e-ja (2S), ã-ja (3), j-u-kwĩja / j-ũ-ja (1PI), o-j-u-kwĩja / o-j-ũ-ja (1PE),
j-õ-j-lo [nojlo] (1PL.GP), m-e-j-lo (2P), õ-ja (3P), n-o-ja (3.IRLS) ‘to accompany’

(181) tik-e-jtɕim / tak-a-tɕim (1S), e-jtɕim (2S), t-e-jtɕim (3), j-e-jtɕim (1PI), o-j-e-jtɕim (1PE),
e-jetɕim-lo (2P), o-t-e-jtɕim (3P), t-e-jtɕim (3P) ‘to look at’ (also tejtɕim)
m̩-e-jtɕim / m̩ej (2S.IMP) / m̩-e-jtɕim-lo (2P.IMP)

§5.8 The structure of the second person plural

The 2P-person is morphologically dependent on the 2S-person. It is formed by adding the suffix *-/lo/* to the 2S-person. The 2P-person takes no prefix and its formation does not depend on the verb class. The suffix *-/lo/* is also used to form the plural or the greater plural in free pronouns and the MP in nominal morphology (although it is not the predominant MP suffix). The 2-person singular and plural share the same irregularities, especially when the root in the 2S-person is different from the rest of the paradigm, as in the following examples.

(182) tɕ-i-jo (3) ‘to weave’ a-lo (2S) ---> a-lo-lo / a-li-lo / a-l-lo (2P)
tɕ-i-ɕew (3) ‘to hold, to take, to grab’, a-sew (2S) ---> a-sew-lo / a-si-lo (2P)
tɕ-i-tɕuwe (3) ‘to surround’, a-tsuwe (2S) ---> a-tsuw-lo / a-tsuwe-lo (2P)
tɕ-i-juwa (3) ‘to put’ a-luwa (2S) ---> a-luwa-lo / a-luwa-lo / a-lu-lo (2P)

In the 2P-person, some morphophonological processes can occur between root and suffix. If the verb root ends in a vowel (183), there are three possibilities: (1) The final vowel is preserved; (2) The final vowel reduces to */i/*; (3) The final vowel is deleted. According to the CH speakers, the older speakers tend to preserve the final vowel, while the middle-aged speakers prefer the possibility (2) or (3). If the verb root ends in a consonant (184), this is preserved and one can add epenthetic */i/* between root and suffix, but this is not obligatory.¹³⁴ It is not possible to predict which process will occur in a given verb. The following examples (183-184) only list forms that I have personally elicited. Other forms might exist, although not reported here.

¹³⁴ Epenthetic */i/* was not indicated in the previous examples. It will only be indicated in the morphological segmentation of examples (184), (186) and (190).

- (183) *ɬe-e-kuɕu* (3) ‘to pick, to harvest’, *e-kuɕu* (2S) ---> *e-kuɕu-lo* / *e-kuɕi-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-hĩtsa (3) ‘to dig, to excavate’, *a-hĩtsa* / *e-hĩtsa* (2S) ---> *a-hatsã-lo* /
a-hãts-lo / *a-hãtsi-lo* / *e-hĩtsi-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-hu (3) ‘to untie, to release’, *ej-hu* (2S) ---> *ej-hu-lo* / *ej-hi-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-nkija (3) ‘to look at; to look properly’, *e-nkija* (2S) ---> *e-nkija-lo* / *e-nki-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-ta (3) ‘to serve something to drink’ *a-ta* (2S) ---> *a-ti-lo* / *a-t-lo* / *a-ta-lo* (2P)
ɬe-u-kwěra (3) ‘to name, to call’, *e-kwěra* (2S) ---> *e-kwěr-lo* / *e-kwěra-lo* /
e-kwěri-lo (2P)
ɬe-u-na (3) ‘to feel, to perceive’, *e-na* (2S) ---> *e-ni-lo* / *e-na-lo* / *e-n-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-mija (3) ‘to take someone in one’s own arms’, *e-mija* (2S) ---> *e-mija-lo* /
e-mi-lo (2P)
ɬe-i-pa (3) ‘to make someone work’, *e-pa* (2S) ---> *e-pi-lo* / *e-pa-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-pã:ɕo (3) ‘to fold; to make someone sleep’, *e-pã:ɕo* (2S) ---> *e-pã:ɕi-lo* /
e-pã:ɕ-lo (2P)
ɬe-a-pã:ɕo (3) ‘to fold; to make someone sleep’, *a-pã:ɕo* (2S) ---> *a-pã:ɕi-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-pě:sa (3) ‘to surround’, *e-pě:sa* (2S) ---> *e-pě:si-lo* / *e-pě:sa-lo* (2P)
d-a-le (3) ‘to go quickly to’, *a-le* (2S) ---> *a-li-lo* / *a-le-lo* (2P)
Ø-Ø-ɲeta / *Ø-Ø-ɲete* (3) ‘to be patient with someone’, *e-ɲta* (2S) ---> *e-ɲti-lo* /
e-ɲte-lo (2P)
i-ja (3) ‘to kill, to hit the centre of (with a gun)’ *a-ja* (2S) ---> *a-ji-lo* / *a-ja-lo* (2P)
i-je:be (3) ‘to guide’, *a-le:be* (2S) ---> *a-le:bi-lo* / *a-le:be-lo* (2P)
i-jo (3) ‘to jump’, *a-lo* (2S) ---> *a-li-lo* / *a-lo-lo* (2P)
i-juwe (3) ‘to exceed, to overtake’, *a-luwe* (2S) ---> *a-luwe-lo* / *a-luwi-lo* (2P)
Ø-Ø-kwita (3) ‘to wake up; to stand up suddenly’, *e-kwita* (2S) ---> *e-kwita-lo* /
e-kwit-lo / *e-kwiti-lo* (2P)
l-o-ta (3) ‘to play’, *o-ta* (2S) ---> *o-ti-lo* / *o-ta-lo* (2P)
ts-ẽ-ru (3) ‘to burn’, *e-rũ* (2S) ---> *e-rũ-lo* / *ẽ-r-lo* (2P)
t-a-ta (3) ‘to tell, to report’, *a-ta* (2S) ---> *a-ta-lo* / *a-ti-lo* (2P)
- (184) *ɬe-i-hĩt* (3) ‘to light, to illuminate’, *a-hãt* / *e-hĩt* (2S) ---> *a-hãt-i-lo* / *a-hãt-lo* /
e-hĩt-lo (2P)
ɬe-i-ɕ (3) ‘to meet’ *e-ɕ* (2S) ---> *e-ɕ-lo* / *e-ɕ-i-lo* (2P)
ɬe-i-ɕ sak (3) ‘to take hold of something firmly, to grab firmly’ *a-s sak* (2S)
---> *a-s-i-lo sak* / *a-s-lo sak* (2P)
ɬe-i-ɕit (3) ‘to strain, to winnow, to sift’, *e-ɕit* (2S) ---> *e-ɕit-i-lo* / *e-ɕit-lo* (2P)
i-jõk (3) ‘to carry something on the shoulder’, *a-ɲõk* (2S) ---> *a-ɲõk-i-lo* /
a-ɲõk-lo (2P)
i-j-ehet (3) ‘to stand, to stand up’, *a-lehet* (2S) ---> *a-lehet-i-lo* / *a-lehet-lo* (2P)
i-jem (3) ‘to wait’, *a-nem* (2S) ---> *a-nem-lo* / *a-nem-i-lo* (2P)
Ø-Ø-kwitim (3) ‘to take advantage of, to hasten’, *e-kwitim* (2S) ---> *ekwitim-i-lo* /

e-kwitim-lo (2P)

ts-a-hat (3) ‘to make love, to copulate’, a-hat (2S) ---> a-hat-i-lo/ a-hat-lo (2P)

ts-a-ṅim (3) ‘to unload’, a-ṅim (2S) ---> a-ṅim-i-lo / a-ṅim-lo (2P)

ts-e-ṅimitɕ (3) ‘to cut, to drop, to strike (to make drop)’ e-ṅimitɕ (2S) ---> e-ṅimitɕ-lo / eṅimi-lo (2P)

ts-i-ṅew (3) ‘to do something with force, enthusiasm’, e-ṅew (2S) ---> e-ṅew-lo / e-ṅew-i-lo (2P)

In (185a) labiovelar /w/ can turn into /l/ in the 2P-person of *tew*. In the 2P-person of *tōhwa* /tōwə/ the last vowel assimilates to /w/ and turns into /u/ (185b). The preferred syllabic structure is CV and there are usually no geminated consonants. An exception is documented in the 2P-person. If the verb ends in -/IV/, the last vowel can delete before the prefix -/lo/ and vowel syncope yields consonant gemination (185c-d). The verbs *hno* /ṅo/ (185e) and *ii* /i:/ (185f) are irregular. The former has two 2S-persons, *bo* and *bu*. The 2P-person *bolilo*, *bululo* and *bulilo* do not exactly correspond to the 2S-persons and for this reason they are rare exceptions. Consonant gemination due to the dropping of /i/ or /u/ is to be found in the 2P-person forms *bollo* and *bullo*. *Ii* /i:/ (185f) presents the irregular 2S-person *bey* /bej/ and the 2P-persons *beylo* /bejlo/ and *belilo*. The 2P-persons of *hno* /ṅo/ and *ii* /i:/ will be analysed in more detail in chapter (§7.9).

(185) a. t-e-w (3) ‘to eat’, e-w (2S) ---> e-w-lo / e-li-lo (2P)

b. t-ō-wa (3) ‘to bring, to carry’, ō-wa (2S) ---> o-wū-lo (2S)

c. Ø-Ø-tokole (3) ‘to exit, to come out, to happen’, atokole (2S) ---> a-tokoli-lo / a-tokol-lo

d. Ø-Ø-tokole (3) ‘to exit, to come out, to happen’, a-tole (2S) ---> a-toli-lo / a-tol-lo

e. ṅo (3) ‘to go’, bo (2S) ---> b-o-li-lo (2P) > b-o-l-lo (2P)

bu (2S) ---> b-u-lu-lo (2P), b-u-li-lo (2P) > b-u-l-lo (2P)

f. i: (3) ‘to go to bring, to get’ (3), b-ej (2S) ---> b-ej-lo / b-eli-lo (2P)

§5.9 The greater plural

As in free pronouns (see §3.2), in verb inflection the 1PI-person also has a greater plural form, obtained by adding the suffix -/lo/ to the 1PI-person. This is the same suffix used for the 2P-person. When -/lo/ is added to the 1PI-

person, the same morphophonological processes pointed out in the formation of the 2P-person occur in the greater plural of the 1PI-person.¹³⁵ A list of forms reported for the 1PI-person is provided in (186). In (187) the 1PI-person is *yuko* /juko/. Root-final /u/ in *yukulo* /jukulo/ shows assimilation to the 1P-vowel /u/ (cf. ex. (176)).

- (186) t̥-i: (3) ‘to do, to make’, j-i: (1PI) ---> j-i:-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-t̥uwe (3) ‘to surround’, j-i-t̥uwe (1PI) ---> j-i-t̥uwe-lo / j-i-t̥u:-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-nkija (3) ‘to look at; to look properly’, j-i-nkija (1PI) ---> jinki-lo /
 jinkija-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-ɕ (3) ‘to meet’, j-i-ɕ (1PI) ---> jiɕ-i-lo / jiɕ-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-ɕak (3) ‘to break’, j-i-ɕak (1PI) ---> j-i-ɕak-lo / j-i-ɕak-i-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-jo (3) ‘to weave’, j-i-jo (1PI) ---> j-i-jo-lo / j-i:-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-u-kwēra (3) ‘to call, to name’, j-u-kwēra (1PI) ---> j-u-kwēr-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-pa (3) ‘to make someone work’, j-i-pa (1PI) ---> j-i-pa-lo / j-i-pi-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-pē:sa (3) ‘to surround’, j-i-pē:sa (1PI) ---> j-i-pē:s-lo (1PI.GP)
 t̥-i-rāha (3) ‘to load up’, j-i-rāha (1PI) ---> j-i-rāha-lo / j-i-rēhe-lo (1PI.GP)
 Ø-Ø-ṅeta (ṅete) (3) ‘to be patient with someone’, j-i-ṅta (1PI) ---> j-i-ṅte-lo (1PI.GP)
 i-t̥a (3) ‘to lay’, j-o-tsa (1PI) ---> j-o-tsi-lo / j-o-tsa-lo (1PI.GP)
 i-ṅimit̥ (3) ‘to go down, to come down’, j-i-ṅimit̥ (1PI) ---> j-i-ṅimit̥-lo (1PI.GP)
 i-je (3) ‘to be in mourning’, j-o-ḷe (1PI) ---> j-o-ḷi-lo (1PI.GP)
 i-jo (3) ‘to cut’ j-o-ḷo (1PI) ---> j-o-ḷi-lo / j-o-ḷo-lo (1PI.GP)
 i-jem (3) ‘to wait’, j-i-jem (1PI) ---> j-i-jem-lo / j-i-jem-i-lo (1PI.GP)
 i-ju (3) ‘pasar’, j-i-ju (1PI) ---> j-i-ju-lo / j-i-ji-lo (1PI.GP)
 i-juwe (3) ‘to exceed, to overtake’, j-i-juwe (1PI) ---> j-i-juwe-lo (1PI.GP)
 Ø-Ø-kwitim (3) ‘to take advantage of, to hasten’, j-u-kwitim (1PI) ---> j-u-kwitim-lo /
 j-u-kwitim-i-lo (1PI.GP)
 l-o-ta (3) ‘to play’, j-o-ta (1PI) ---> j-o-ti-lo / j-o-ta-lo (1PI.GP)
 l-o-ter (3) ‘to make fun of something/somebody’, j-o-ter (1PI) ---> j-oter-lo (1PI.GP)
 Ø-Ø-po (3) ‘to make someone shut up’, j-u-po (1PI) ---> j-u-pi-lo / j-u-po-lo (1PI.GP)
 t-a-ta (3) ‘to tell, to report’, j-i-ta (1PI) ---> j-i-ta-lo / j-i-ti-lo (1PI.GP)
 t-e-w (3) ‘to eat’, j-a-hu (1PI) ---> j-a-hu-lo (1PI.GP)
 t-i-mehe (3) ‘to depend, to follow’, j-i-mehe (1PI) ---> j-i-mehe-lo (1PI.GP)
- (187) ṅo (3) ‘to go’, j-u-ko (1PI) ----> j-u-ku-lo / j-u-ki-lo (1PI.GP) (cf. ex. (185e))

¹³⁵ Since these morphophonological processes have been discussed in the previous section, they will not be discussed in detail here.

§5.10 Defective verbs

Some CH verbs have reduced inflection, for (in addition to the 3-person) they can only take the verb affixes *-/lo/* and */o/-*. In (188) one can find a list of these verbs. The 3-person is used for all persons, with the exception of the 3P-person, the 2P-person and the 1PI.GP-person. Onomatopoeic verbs, such as *hworōk* /wɔrōk/ ‘to swallow (quickly)’, *kwisht* /kwiçt/ ‘to break; to happen rapidly’ are to be observed.¹³⁶ Other verbs are only used for the 3-person, such as *dahat* ‘to boil’. Some verbs are used impersonally, such as *ibik* ‘to rain’, which has no inflection.

- (188) *dahat* (3) ‘to boil’ (only used in the 3-person)
kem (3) ‘to realize, to discover’
kwiçt (3) ‘to break; to happen rapidly’
ṃarta (3) ‘to drown’
narim (3) ‘to be proud’
neruhu (3) ‘to choke’
noji (3) ‘to leave’
noçi (3) ‘to pour, to spill’
poṃa (3) ‘to get angry; to explode; to flourish’
çũra (3) ‘to be born’
tabita (3) ‘to move’
tĩra (3) ‘to open’
tĩrije (3) ‘to crumple, to crease’
ũru (3) ‘to stain’
jahalot (3) ‘to come’¹³⁷
jaka (3) ‘to go to the bottom, to sink’
jakaha (3) ‘to happen’
jatsa (3) ‘to settle, to perch’ (for animals); ‘to rest’ (for persons).
juwo (3) ‘to escape’
juwi (3) ‘to escape (with someone)’
juwir (3) ‘to end’
warnak (3) ‘to disobey, to be naughty’ (archaic word)
worōk (3) ‘to swallow (quickly)’

¹³⁶ There are also some ideophones showing reduplication, which are used as independent verbs, for instance: *(e)tek tek* ‘to fall to the ground’, *parak parak parak* ‘to blink’. These elements will not be discussed, because they present no inflection. About ideophones in Ayoreo, see Bertinetto (2009: 16).

¹³⁷ This is an archaic word, nowadays *taātça* /tã:tça/ is preferred, cf. §5.13, ex (205).

ibik ‘to rain’ (impersonal verb)

§5.10.1 Loans

Chamacoco has had intense linguistic contact with Spanish. Some verbs used in currently spoken Chamacoco are Spanish loanwords. These elements have reduced inflection, because most inflectional mechanisms of the verb were no longer productive when the Spanish loans entered the language. Like the verbs in (188), the 3-person is used for all persons, with the exception of the 3P-person, which takes the prefix /o/-, the 2P-person and the 1PI.GP-person, which take the suffix -/lo/. The Spanish form which entered the language is not the infinitive form, but the present indicative 3S-person, as one can see when a diphthongization is present in Spanish verbs (*pwele*, *tijente* /*tijente*/).

- (189) *entreka* (3) ‘to give’ (used instead of *iči*, although the Chamacoco verb is predominant in this case) (Spanish: *entregar*)
ewenta (3) ‘to bear, to endure, to put up with’ (Spanish: *aguantar*)
palta (3) ‘to be missing’ (Spanish: *faltar*)¹³⁸
kaj (3) ‘to fall’ (Spanish: *caer*) (it tends to replace *beshi* /*beçi*/ (144), which is now rarely used)
kre (3) ‘to believe’ (Spanish: *creer*)
prowa (3) ‘to try’ (Spanish: *probar*)
pjens / *pjensa* (3) ‘to think’ (Spanish: *pensar*; cf. *piensa* (3S.IND.PRES))
pwele (3) ‘to can’ (Spanish: *poder*; cf. *puede* (3S.IND.PRES))
 (no indigenous word with this meaning is observed)
tijente (3) ‘to understand’ (Spanish: *entender*; cf. *entiende* (3S.IND.PRES))
tonkija (3) ‘to rest, to have a rest’ (cf. the Guaraní root *-tongea* ‘to rest, to have a rest’)¹³⁹

¹³⁸ The form [falta] has also been observed, although [f] does not belong to the phonological inventory of Chamacoco.

¹³⁹ On Guaraní, see Krivoshein de Canese & Acosta Alcaraz (1997).

§5.10.2 The third person plural prefix /o/- and the suffix -/lo/

In defective verbs, /o/- is added to the 3-person in order to obtain the 3P-person; -/lo/ is used to obtain the 2P-person and the greater plural of the 1PI-person. Since in these verbs there is no prefixation when -/lo/ is added, the greater plural of the 1PI-person cannot be identified as such. Since some verbs belonging to this group are Spanish loans and entered the language recently, this means that such mechanisms of formation are still productive, while the rest of verb inflection is no longer productive. In these verbs, the use of the affixes /o/- (for the 3P-person) and -/lo/ seems to be optional. When defective verbs take the suffix -/lo/, the same morphophonological processes pointed out in (§5.8) and (§5.9) may occur. The use of /o/- is not observed when the verb begins with a vowel, such as *ewenta* and *ūrhu* /*ūr̥u*/.

- (190) *ewenta* (3) ‘to bear, to endure, to put up with’ *ewenti-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
palt(a) (3) ‘to be missing’ ---> *palt-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
kaj (3) ‘to fall’ ---> *kaj-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
kre (3) ‘to believe’ ---> *kre-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
prowa (3) ‘to try’ ---> *prowi-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
pjens / *pjensa* (3) ‘to think’ ---> *pjensi-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
pwele (3) ‘to can’ ---> *pweli-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
tijente (3) ‘to understand’ ---> *tijenti-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
tonkĩja (3) ‘to rest, to have a rest’ ---> *tonkĩja-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
ṃarta (3) ‘to drown’ ---> *ṃarti-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
kem (3) ‘to realise, to discover’ ---> *kem-lo* / *kem-i-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
nerũhu (3) ‘to choke’ ---> *nerũhu-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
nõji (3) ‘to leave’ ---> *nõji-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
poṇa (3) ‘to get angry; to explode; to flourish’ ---> *poṇa-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
ũṛu (3) ‘to stain’ ---> *urũ-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
jahalot (3) ‘to come’ ---> *jahalot-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
jatsa (3) ‘to settle, to perch’ (for animals); ‘to rest’ (for persons) --->
 jatsi-lo (2P/1PI.GP)
juṵo (3) ‘to escape’ ---> *juṵo-lo* (2P/1PI.GP)
- (191) *palt(a)* (3) ‘to be missing’ ---> *o-palt* (3P)
kaj (3) ‘to fall’ ---> *o-kaj* (3P)
kre (3) ‘to believe’ ---> *o-kre* (3P)
prowa (3) ‘to try’ ---> *o-prowa* (3P)
pjens / *pjensa* (3) ‘to think’ ---> *o-pjensa* (3P)

- pwele (3) ‘to can’ ---> o-pwele (3P)
 tijente (3) ‘to understand’ ---> o-tijente (3P)
 tonkija (3) ‘to rest, to have a rest’ ---> o-tonkija (3P)
 marta (3) ‘to drown’ ---> o-marta (3P)
 kem (3) ‘to realise, to discover’ ---> o-kem (3P)
 neruhu (3) ‘to choke’ ---> o-neruhu (3P)
 noji (3) ‘to leave’ ---> o-noji (3P)
 poña (3) ‘to get angry; to explode; to flourish’ ---> o-poña (3P)
 çũra (3) ‘to be born’ ---> o-çũra (3P)
 tabita (3) ‘to move’ ---> o-tabita (3P)
 jahalot (3) ‘to come’ ---> o-jahalot (3P)
 jakaha (3) ‘to happen’ ---> o-jakaha (3P)
 jatsa (3) ‘to settle, to perch’ (for animals); ‘to rest’ (for persons) ---> o-jatsa (3P)
 juwo (3) ‘to escape’ ---> o-juwo (3P)

§5.11 Existential or locative verbs

The verb *de* is an existential or locative verb. The verb either indicates that the subject simply exists or that is located in the place expressed by the noun phrase or adpositional phrase following *de* (192). *De* is generally used in realis contexts. Its irrealis counterpart is *chihî* /*tçihî*/ (193).¹⁴⁰ *De* has reduced personal inflection, but presents the realis vs. irrealis opposition *de* vs. *chihî*. Both these forms can take the 3P-prefix /o/- : *ode*, *ochihî* /*otçihî*/.

- (192) T-iita uu dihip kinehe-t lishi uje de Ishir-o
 /T-i:ta u: dihip kinehe-t liçi uxe de içir-o/
 1S DET.MS foreign strange-MS.FF dead.MS SUB 3.EXIST Chamacoco-MP

õr ahir=ni wahacha, uje tik-irãha, wahacha ese, uu Pwerto Katorse.
 /õr ahir=ni wahatça uxe tik-irãha wahatça ese u: Pwerto Katorse
 3P with=PST there SUB 1S-know there that.MS DET.MS Puerto 14_de_Mayo

‘I tell about a dead foreigner who, according to what I know, stayed with Chamacoco there, there in Puerto 14 de May.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

¹⁴⁰ *Chihî* can also be observed in realis contexts, although it is generally used in irrealis contexts.

- (193) ǀJe pohnuu eyhi-rāk chíhi ire?
 /xe poŋu: ejhi-rāk t̥ɛhi ire/
 INT gun seed-IF.FS 3.EXIST.IRLS 3S
 ‘Does it have a bullet (lit. ‘seed of gun’) in its body?’ (referring to an animal)
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

There is also a negative existential verb *nihyōk* /nijok/. *Nihyōk* /nijok/ ‘there is no’ has reduced inflection, but can take the prefix /o/- in the 3P-person.¹⁴¹

§5.12 The verb *itso*

The verb *itso* (3) ‘to look like, to be like’ has reduced personal inflection, but has the irrealis form *ilo* which is also used for all persons. Verbs such as *de* and *itso* show that modality in Chamacoco can be expressed even if there is reduced inflection. The realis is expressed by the infix -/ts/- which corresponds to the 3-realis prefix /ts/- of /ts/-verbs, while the irrealis is expressed by the infix -/l/-¹⁴² which corresponds to the prefix /d/- or /l/- used for the irrealis. The verb *itso* can take the plural suffix -/lo/ for the 1PI.GP-person and the 2P-person, but cannot take the 3P-suffix /o/-, which, as already mentioned, is not to be observed for defective verbs beginning with a vowel.

- (194) T-uu yok mans-aap, t-uu yok itso waa obej-ta.
 /t-u: jok mans-a:p t-u: jok itso wa: obex-ta/
 1S-do 1S docile-DIM.BF 1S-do 1S 3.look_like DET.FS sheep-FS.FF
 ‘I make myself docile, I make myself look like a sheep’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (195) Ye yok il̩i timchar-rza = pe.
 /je jok il̩i timt̥ɛɹ-ɹa = pe/
 NEG 1S 3.IRLS.look_like woman-FS.FF = NEG
 ‘I don’t look like a woman.’¹⁴³ (Ciucci, field-notes)

¹⁴¹ The form *onihyōk* /onijok/ is rare, although it is to be observed. Note that, according to some speakers, *nihyōk* also has a variant *nihyokōr* /nijokōr/, coinciding with the irrealis form of *shiyokōr* /ɛijokōr/ ‘to make’.

¹⁴² In this case, the alternation with /d/ is not observed.

¹⁴³ In this example *ilo* is realized as *il̩i* due to the reduction of the final vowel, a frequent phenomenon

The realis vs. irrealis contrast is also visible in the adverbial pair *itsorz* /itsorz/ and *ilorz* /ilorz/ ‘so, this way’, clearly derived from *itso*. *itsorz* is the form used in irrealis contexts (65), while *ilorz* is its irrealis counterpart (66).

- (196) Esee = kite hn ese hnakirb-ich hōr n-erāh-ta ich
 /ese: = kite ŋ ese ŋakirb-itç hōr n-erāh-ta itç/
 DM = PST CONJ DET man-MS.FF with RFL-wife-FS.FF CONJ
- o-mehe-ship eeych per ye o-pook = pe uje òr itsorz.
 /o-mehe-çip e:jç per je o-po:k = pe uxe òr itsorz/
 3P-be naked-ELAT on but NEG 3P-be_ashamed = NEG SUB 3P so.RLS

‘And then, the man and his wife were naked, but they didn’t feel ashamed to be so.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 2001: 5)

- (197) Esee = kite uje Rubén ch-unt uje sehe o-d-uhu ìlorz,
 /ese: = kite uxe ruben ç-unt uxe tsehe o-d-uhu ìlorz/
 DM = PST COMP Rubén 3-hear COMP VOL P-3.IRLS-kill this_way.IRLS
- heke sehe tak-ashim José.
 /heke tsehe tak-açim xose/
 therefore VOL 1S-help José

‘And then, when Rubén hears that they want to kill (José) in this way, therefore he wants to help José.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2001: 136)

§5.13 Verbs ending in *-im*/, *-ihî*/ and *-ap*/

In some verbs ending in *-im*/, this element is a suffix which introduces an indirect object. The verb *tata* (198) is a transitive verb followed by the object, while *tatim*, derived from *tata* conveys the same meaning but can be followed by an indirect object (199). The verb *ishî* /içi/ has several meanings: ‘to pay’, ‘to deliver’, ‘to contaminate’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000b: 49). It is followed by the object (200). By contrast, its derived verb *ishim* /içim/ ‘to give’ takes an indirect object and the direct object (201).

(198) T-iita uu k-ushjār-o uje tuk-umo wahacha.
 /t-irita u: k-uçxār-o uxe tuk-umo wahatça/
 1S-say DET.MP GF-thing-MP SUB 1S-see there
 ‘I say the things that I have seen there.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(199) T-itim owa je oy-uku = pe.
 /t-itim owa xe oj-uku = pe/
 1S-tell 2S COMP 1PE-come = NEG
 ‘I tell you that we are not going to come.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(200) Esee ich ishi oryōk ich oy-uko oy-eyhi.
 /ese: itç içi orjōk itç oj-uko oj-ejhi/
 DM and 3.pay 1PE and 1PE-go 1PE-go_home
 ‘And then he pays us and we go home.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(201) İshim yok poho-chi = ke.
 /içim jok poho-tçi = ke/
 3.give 1S dog-MS.FF = PST
 ‘He has given me a dog.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

CH *-/im/* corresponds to the AY adposition *ome*, which introduces an indirect object and can be incorporated into the verb, working as a lexical suffix. *Ome* also introduces the indirect object in Ancient Zamuco (see Chomé 1958: 123-124). Such adposition no longer exists in Chamacoco, but one can suppose that it has existed and has only been preserved when it has been incorporated into the verb. In a few cases also the preposition *=/ihi/* (see §5.14) has been incorporated into the verb, losing its function of preposition and changing the meaning of the verb, as in *ihimihi* ‘to give (as a present)’, which is derived from *ishim* */içim/* ‘to give’. *-/ihi/* clearly corresponds to AY *-/ihi/*, but the AY lexical suffixes *-/ome/* and *-/ihi/* follow the plural suffix, while *-/im/* and *-/ihi/* precede it (see §4.8.6).

-/ap/ is a reduced form of the diminutive suffix *-/a:p/* (see §13.6). It can be added to the verb to convey attenuative nuances (202). This also occurs in Ayoreo (§4.8.6). Few verbs show a suffix which modifies the lexical meaning of the verb. Like AY lexical suffixes, this element has been incorporated into the verb, but does not belong to the root, because it is separated from the root by the plural suffix. In (204) *-/ap/* is added to all persons of the verb in (203), with the exception of the 3-persons.

- (202) tak-a-tɕim (1S) ‘to look’ ---> tak-a-tɕim-a:p (1S) ‘to look a little’
 j-e-jtɕim (1PI) ‘to look’ ---> j-e-jtɕim-a:p (1PI) ‘to look a little’
- (203) t-i-i-s (1S), a:-s (2S), tɕ-e:-s / ts-e:-s (3), j-i-i-s (1PI), o-j-i-i-s (1PE), a:-s-lo (2P), o-tɕ-e:-s /
 o-ts-e:-s (3P), d-i-i-s / l-i-i-s (3.IRLS) ‘to bite, to sting, to criticize’ (also: tɕes)
- (204) t-i-i-s-ap (1S), a:-s-ap (2S), tɕ-e:-s / ts-e:-s (3), j-i-i-s-ap (1PI), o-j-i-i-s-ap (1PE),
 a:-si-l-ap (2P), o-tɕ-e:-s (3P), d-i-i-s/ l-i-i-s (3.IRLS) ‘to taste’

Also the clitic =/po/ ‘again’ has been incorporated into the verb *taãcha* /tã:tɕa/ ‘to arrive’ to form the verb *taãchpo* /tã:tɕpo/ ‘to come back’.

- (205) tok-ã:-tɕa / tak-ã:-tɕa (1S), ã:-tɕa (2S), t-ã:-tɕa (3), j-ã:-tɕa (1PI), o-j-ã:-tɕa (1PE),
 a:-tɕi-lo (2P), o-t-ã:-tɕa (3P), t-ã:-tɕa (3.IRLS) ‘to come, to arrive’
- (206) tak-ã:-tɕ-po / tok-ã:-tɕ-po (1S), ã:-tɕ-po (2S), t-ã:-tɕ-po (3), j-ã:-tɕ-po (1PI),
 o-j-ã:-tɕ-po (1PE), a:-tɕi-l-po (2P), o-t-ã:-tɕ-po (3P), t-ã:-tɕ-po (3.IRLS)
 ‘to come back’

§5.14 The polyfunctional preposition =/ihĩ/

In CH syntax there is a basic distinction between arguments and adjuncts. All adjuncts are usually introduced by =/ihĩ/.¹⁴⁴ This element is a polyfunctional preposition added to the last word preceding the adjunct. In (207a) the verb *tibich* /tɪbitɕ/ ‘to shout’ has valency 1. The enclitic =/ihĩ/ is added to the verb in order to introduce the indirect object (207b). The verb in (208a) is transitive and the enclitic =/ihĩ/ is attached to *oyayuwat* /ojajuwat/ in order to add the temporal adjunct ‘in the river’. =/ihĩ/ corresponds to the AY adposition *iji*. =/ihĩ/ has no specific meaning. For this reason in the phrase =*ihĩ onoota ehet* /ihĩ ono:ta ehet/ ‘in the river’, the positional relation is conveyed by a locative postposition, such as *ehet* ‘inside’. As most locative postpositions, *ehet* is morphologically a nominal. As already noted (§5.13),

¹⁴⁴ In most cases =/ihĩ/ actually works as an applicative, but not all adjuncts are introduced by it. For instance, comitative adjuncts are introduced by the preposition *hōr* ‘with’. The use of =/ihĩ/ is only optional for temporal adjuncts. The /i/ of =/ihĩ/ can assimilate to the vowel of its host.

= /*ih*/ can be incorporated into the verb, changing its lexical meaning.

(207) a. *Timchar-rza t-ibich-i = ke.*

/timtʃaɪ-ɪa t-ibitʃ-i = ke/

woman-FS.FF 3-shout-EPENT = PST

‘The woman screamed / shouted.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. *Timchar-rza t-ibich = ih* *boshesh-t.*

/timtʃaɪ-ɪa t-ibitʃ = ih boʃeʃ-t/

woman-FS.FF 3-shout = PREP child-MS.FF

‘The woman shouts at the children.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(208) a. *Hnakirb-ich umo oyayuwa-t.*

/ɲakirb-itʃ umo ojajuwa-t/

man-MS.FF 3.see giant_anaconda-MS.FF

‘The man sees the giant anaconda.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. *Hnakirb-ich umo oyayuwa-t = ih* *onoo-ta ehe-t.*

/ɲakirb-itʃ umo ojajuwa-t = ih ono:ta ehe-t/

man-MS.FF 3.see giant_anaconda-MS.FF = PREP river-FS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF

‘The man sees the giant anaconda in the river.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§5.15 Conclusions

This chapter has described CH verb morphology. Chamacoco shows clusivity, a feature not found in the other Zamucoan languages and the 1PI-person exhibits a distinction between plural and greater plural. Depending on the 3-person, some groups of verbs have been distinguished: prefixal verbs (/tʃ/-verbs, /ts/-verbs, /t/-verbs and /d/-verbs), thematic verbs and radical verbs. Prefixal verbs mostly have regular morphology, while radical and thematic verbs present many irregularities, in particular the vocalic pattern is often unpredictable. Root allomorphy and consonantal changes can occur in the root depending on the vocalic pattern and on the verb class. The language presents a realis vs. irrealis opposition in the 3-person, which is not expressed in /t/-verbs, /d/-verbs, radical verbs, and in most verbs with reduced personal inflection.

§6 Ancient Zamuco verb inflection

The present chapter describes the verb inflection of Ancient Zamuco. The verb structure consists of: personal prefix, thematic vowel, root and plural suffix (§6.1). The personal inflection is discussed in §6.2. Ancient Zamuco shows a realis vs. irrealis opposition which is expressed in the whole paradigm. Depending on the 3-person, four classes of verbs are distinguished: /tʰ/-verbs (§6.3), /t/-verbs (§6.4), thematic verbs (§6.5) and radical verbs (§6.6). One may wonder whether a group of /s/-verbs also existed (§6.7). Section §6.8 deals with irregular verbs which cannot be included in any of the above mentioned verb classes. A.Z prefixation shares some similarities with the so-called ‘conjunct/disjunct systems’ (§6.9). Section §6.10 lists the A.Z verbs reported in Chomé’s grammar and their AY and CH cognates. In §6.10 the verb suffixation of Ancient Zamuco is compared with AY and CH verb suffixation. The verb prefixation of the Zamucoan languages is compared in the next chapter.

§6.1 Generalities

In this section the verb morphology of Ancient Zamuco is discussed. The data come from the grammatical description by Chomé (1958 [ante 1745]). Despite the remarkable quality of Chomé’s grammar, it is based on the Latin grammars of his time and therefore it needs reinterpretation. The verb paradigms provided by Chomé are generally incomplete, but offer very important information to better understand verb morphology in the whole Zamucoan family. The structure of A.Z verbs is reported in (1).

- (1) THEME

 PREFIX + (THEMATIC VOWEL) + ROOT + SUFFIX

Ancient Zamuco is a tenseless language in which time is expressed by temporal markers. The language is characterized by a realis vs. irrealis distinction. The realis is used when the speaker is sure that the event takes place (or has taken place), while the irrealis is used when the event does not

take place, has not yet taken place or the speaker is not sure whether it will take place. Thus, the realis is typically used in affirmative sentences referring to a present (2a) or a past event (2b), while the irrealis is used in negative sentences (2c), to express the imperative (2d) or in affirmative sentences referring to the future (2e-f).

- (2) a. ch-imecêre ‘he loves’
 3.RLS-love
 b. a-imecêre ica ‘I loved’
 1.RLS-love PST
 c. ca d-imêcêre ‘he does not love’
 NEG 3.IRLS-love
 d. ch-imecêre ‘let me love’ (imperative)
 1.RLS-love
 e. ch-imecêre = ri ‘he will love’ (near future)
 3.IRLS-love = NFUT
 f. ch-imecêre = nei ‘I will love’ (remote future)
 1.RLS-love = RFUT

The presence of two moods in Ancient Zamuco has been described by Chomé as a future vs. non-future distinction. According to Chomé, the forms for the imperative (2d) and the negation (2c), among others, should derive from the future forms (Chomé 1958: 151-152), while the opposite turns out to be true. Also Kelm (1964), comparing Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, seems to accept the future vs. non-future distinction proposed by Chomé for the verb. As Bhat points out, the use of the future vs. non-future distinction to convey realis-irrealis is very common in old grammars:

“Basic modal distinctions are frequently described as tense distinctions. [...] The existence of a more basic realis-irrealis distinction has been recognised only recently. There is therefore a need to make an unbiased examination of many of these languages in order to obtain a better understanding of the exact nature of the modal category occurring in them.” (Bhat 1999: 131)

“Most of the earlier grammars (and some recent ones too) wrongly describe these modal forms as showing a past-present-future (or future/non-future) tense distinction.” (Bhat 1999: 67)

§6.2 Personal inflection and verb classes

A paradigm of an A.Z verb is provided in Table 6.1.¹⁴⁵

<u>chimêcêre</u> ‘to love’	
<u>Realis</u>	<u>Irrealis</u>
a-i-mecêre (1S)	ch-i-mecêre (1S.IRLS)
d-a-mecêre (2S)	Ø-a-mecêre (2S.IRLS)
ch-i-mêcêre (3)	d-i-mêcêre (3.IRLS)
a-i-mecê-co (1P)	ch-i-mecê-co (1S.IRLS)
d-a-mecê-ño (2P)	Ø-a-mecê-ño (2P.IRLS)
ore ch-i-mêcêre (3P)	ore d-i-mêcêre (3P.IRLS)

Table 6.1

The first component is the prefix, the second the thematic vowel. The verb prefixes are different from the free personal pronouns. The prefixes of the realis are /a-/ for the 1-person, /d-/ for the 2-person and /tʃ-/ for the 3-person. In the irrealis the prefixes are /tʃ-/ for the 1-person and /d-/ for the 3-person, while the 2-person has no prefix. The 1P- and the 2P-person differ from the corresponding singular persons, only because they take the suffix *-co* (-/ko/) and *-ño* (-/ɲo/), respectively. This occurs in both realis and irrealis. For this reason, I will focus on the prefixation of the first three persons. Suffixation will be discussed in detail later on (see §6.11).

The prefix for the 3-realis (*ch-*) and the 1-irrealis (*ch-*) seem to coincide. In Table 6.1 the 3-realis and the 1S-irrealis would phonologically coincide, but this does not occur in all verbs. The digraph <ch> used by Chomé corresponds to /tʃ/ in the 3-person, but according to Bertinetto (2011: 5), it could correspond to [tʃ] in the 1-person. Indeed, it was not possible to indicate the sound [tʃ] with the Spanish orthography used by Chomé. [tʃ] (<ch>) would be an allophone of /j/, frequently found in the Ayoreo 1-prefix. This is a plausible hypothesis, but, owing to lack of data, in this work <ch> will

¹⁴⁵ This verb is the most frequently used by Chomé in his examples (1958: 143-145).

always be considered the digraph for /tɕ/.

The prefix for the 3-irrealis coincides with the prefix for the 2-realis, but the 2S-realis and the 3-irrealis are phonologically different because they have a different vowel. In the 2-person (both realis and irrealis) the thematic vowel may be overwritten by a vowel originally belonging to the prefix, as in Table 6.1, where /i/ is overwritten by /a/. In this case, it is functional to distinguish the 2S-realis from the 3-irrealis. In other cases these two persons phonologically coincide. The vocalic pattern is very regular and will be analysed in detail below. The vocalic pattern of the verb can be easily predicted given the vowel of the 3-person (realis), but, for reasons which will be explained below, it cannot always be predicted if only the 2-vowel is known. The morphological behaviour of the thematic vowel is the same in both realis and irrealis.

The 3-realis (henceforth: 3-person) will be considered the reference form and the base of the inflection. In this case, the 3-person takes the prefix *ch-* (/tɕ/-). Depending on the morphology of the 3-person, three verb groups can be distinguished: prefixal verbs (e.g. *ch-i-mêcêre* /tɕ-i-mesêre/ (3) ‘to love’), thematic verbs (e.g. *i-yague* /ijage/ (3) ‘to stand up’) and radical verbs (e.g. \emptyset -*tota* (3) ‘to be blackened’). In Chomé, as in Latin grammars, the reference form used to cite a verb is the 1S-person.

There is no specific form for the 3P-person. The 3-person forms *chimêcêre* (/tɕimesêre/) and *dimêcêre* (/dimesêre/) in Table 6.1 are used for both singular and plural. In Ancient Zamuco the subject is obligatorily expressed only when it is a 3P-person, because it cannot otherwise be distinguished from the 3S-person (3). For this reason, in Table 6.1 the 3P-person is indicated by the 3-person preceded by the 3P-pronoun *ore*. This does not mean that *ore* obligatorily occurs. If the 3P-person subject is phonologically expressed, as in (4), *ore* is not used.

(3) Ancient Zamuco (Chomé 1958: 142)

Ore	ch-echâre	da-igueda-tie.
3P	3S-demolish	3.RFL-house-MS.FF
	‘They demolish their own house.’	

(4) Ancient Zamuco (Chomé 1958: 140)

U desi-oddoe ch-ani yu.
 DET boy-MP.FF 3-bother 1S
 ‘Those boys bother me.’

§6.3 Prefixal verbs in /tɕ/-

The vast majority of verbs in Ancient Zamuco are prefixal verbs characterized by the prefix /tɕ/- in the 3-person. The 3-irrealis takes the prefix /d/- (as in Table 6.1). These verbs are generally very regular. If the verb has /a/ or /e/ as thematic vowel, the vowel is usually preserved in the whole paradigm (5a-b, 6a-b). In (5a) the 1-prefix /a/- and thematic /a/ merge in the 1-person. *Chaecâre* (/tɕaekâre/) (6c), whose 1-person coincides with the 1-person of *checâre* (/tɕekâre/) (6b), is a verb with thematic /a/, which merges with the prefix /a/ in the 1-person.

- (5) a. a-mata (1S), d-a-mata (2S), ch-a-mata (3) ‘to choose’¹⁴⁶
 b. a-ôrâ (1S), d-a-ôrâ (2S), ch-a-ôrâ (3) ‘to praise’

- (6) a. a-e-yac (1S), d-e-yac (2S), ch-e-yac (3) ‘to guide’
 b. a-e-câre (1S), d-e-câre (2S) ch-e-câre (3), e-câre (2S.IRLS) ‘to follow’¹⁴⁷
 c. a-ecâre (1S), d-a-ecâre (1S), ch-a-ecâre (1S) ‘to change’

If the 3-person is a high vowel, that is /i/ or /u/, the vowel is preserved in the 1-person, but turns into /a/ in the 2-person. The 2-vowel /a/ is diachronically a prefix vowel which has overwritten the high thematic vowel (and is by contrast overwritten by non-high vowels). Thus, verbs with /i/ as 3-thematic-vowel generally show the following vocalic pattern: /i/-/a/-/i/ (7).

- (7) a. a-i-micêre (1S), d-a-micêre (2S), ch-i-micêre (3) ‘to fish (with bait)’
 b. a-i-zau (1S), d-a-zau (2S), ch-i-zau (3) ‘to take’

¹⁴⁶ From now on, in the glosses where the mood is not indicated, it is understood that the form is a realis one.

¹⁴⁷ In Chomé (1958: 149) the 2-persons of *checâre* (/tɕekâre/) are reported without the symbol for nasalization, here it has been added following Lussagnet (1962: 58).

In (8) one finds some exceptions. In (8a) the possible origin of the 2-vowel /a/ as 2-prefix is still to be found, because /i/ has not been overwritten by /a/. The verb *chihi* (/tʃihi/) (8b) has the 2-thematic-vowel /i/ and there is no trace of the prefix vowel /a/. This is a very rare exception, not only in Ancient Zamuco, but in the whole linguistic family (see §7.3). In the 1-person of *chiazore* (/tʃiasore/) (8c) there is insertion of -y- (/j/), probably in order to prevent the formation of a triphthong. In the 1-person of *chihi* (/tʃihi/) too, there is consonantal insertion between the prefix and the thematic vowel. One may surmise that the epenthetic consonant was originally /j/, which has turned into /h/, because it has assimilated to root-initial /h/. In (8b) also the (regular) 3-irrealis-form is provided by Chomé. In (8d) the syllable /ru/ drops in the 3-person.

- (8) a. a-i-ze (1S), da-i-ze (2S), ch-i-ze (3), a-i-co (1P), da-i-zo (2P) ‘to reach’
 b. a-h-i-hi (1S), d-i-hi (2S), ch-i-hi (3), d-i-hi (3.IRLS) ‘to make’ (causative verb)
 c. a-i-yazore (1S), d-a-zore (2S), ch-i-azore (3) ‘to help, to favour’
 d. a-i-rugu (1S), ch-i-gu (3) ‘to get angry’

Verbs with /u/ as 3-thematic-vowel show the vocalic pattern /u/-/a/-/u/ (9a). In *chuagoz* (/tʃuagos/) (9b) thematic /u/ is overwritten by /a/ in the 2-person *dagoz* (/dagos/), where the latter vowel merges with the first root-vowel /a/. In the 1S-person epenthetic /g/ shows up between the prefix and the thematic vowel. As in (8c), the consonantal insertion prevents the formation of a triphthong.

- (9) a. a-u-gau (1S), d-a-gau (2S), ch-u-gau (3) ‘to thread’
 b. a-g-u-agoz (1S), d-a-goz (2S), ch-u-agoz (3) ‘to hide’¹⁴⁸

The consonantal insertion in the 1-person (realis) is -y- (/j/) if the thematic vowel is /i/ or /g/ if the thematic vowel is /u/. They avoid the formation of a triphthong when the prefix is a vowel and the root begins with a vowel. According to Chomé’s words, this phenomenon was relatively frequent in Ancient Zamuco, because Chomé refers to two groups of verbs:

¹⁴⁸ In Chomé’s grammar another prefixal verb is reported, but its 2-person (which is supposed to be regular) is not provided: *aumate* (1S), *chumate* (3) ‘to finish’.

“si a la característica del verbo siguiere una *y* consonante, esta se dexa. *Aiyazore...* patrocinar. 2a *dazore*. 3a *chiazore*.” (Chomé 1958: 148)

“Los actiuos cuya característica, es *A*, quien sigue una *gu*, la 2a haze *da*, y la 3a *chu*. *Aguagoz...* Esconder. 2a *dagoz*. 3a *chuagoz*.” (Chomé 1958: 148)

Owing to the scarcity of A.Z verbs for which both the 1- and the 3-person are reported, only one further verb presenting consonantal insertion in the 1-person can be found.

(10) a-i-yozochere (1S), ch-i-ozochere (3) ‘to win, to exceed’

These phenomena of consonantal insertion in the 1-person (realis), which are due to morphophonological constraints, do not occur in the other Zamucoan languages, because the 1-prefix is a consonant in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco.

In Chomé’s grammar there are few examples of verbs with thematic /o/, which is preserved in the whole paradigm and overwrites the 1-realis prefix /a/ (see also 12e-f). The verb in (11) should be considered an exception, because it consists of the mere thematic vowel.

(11) o (1S), d-o (2S), ch-o (3), o-co (1P), do-yo (2P) ‘to look like, to be like’
 ch-o (2S.IRLS), o (2S.IRLS), d-o (3.IRLS), ch-o-co (1P.IRLS) o-yo (2P.IRLS)

§6.4 Prefixal verbs in /t/-

There is a small group of prefixal verbs which take the prefix /t/- in the 3-person. The 3-irrealis of /t/-verbs coincides with the 3-realis. The behaviour of the thematic vowel follows the same rules as in /tɕ/-verbs. In (12b-c) the 1-thematic-vowel /a/ merges with the 1-prefix /a/. In (12e-f) the thematic vowel is /o/: in this case too, the 1-prefix /a/- is overwritten by the thematic vowel, consequently the 1S-realis and the 2S-irrealis coincide in (12f). These examples show that vowel-overwriting by /o/ in the 1-person is a phenomenon related to thematic /o/, rather than a particularity of the verb *cho* (/tɕo/) (11). /t/-verbs take the prefix *y-* (/j/-) rather than /tɕ/- for the 1-persons of the irrealis (12). /j/- is the original 1-irrealis prefix used in Proto-Zamuco, while /tɕ/- is

probably an A.Z innovation.

- (12) a. y-a-que (1S.IRLS), t-a-c (3.RLS/IRLS) ‘to eat’¹⁴⁹
 b. a-gari (1S), t-a-gari (3.RLS/IRLS) ‘to believe’
 c. a-gu (1S), t-agu (3.RLS/IRLS) ‘to eat’
 d. a-i-bidi (1S), t-i-bidi (3.RLS/IRLS) ‘to call’
 e. o-râ (1S), t-o-râ (3.RLS/IRLS) ‘to bring, to take’
 f. o-ria (1S), d-o-ria (2S), t-o-ria (3.RLS/IRLS), o-ria (2S.IRLS) ‘to steal’¹⁵⁰

§6.5 Thematic verbs

Few verbs have the 3-person only consisting of the theme. In this small group of thematic verbs, only thematic /i/ is observed. The inflection of the realis is very regular, but the irrealis yields some surprises. The 3-irrealis or *iyague* (/ijage/) corresponds to the verb root *-yague-* (/jage/), but the fortition of /j/ in word-initial position occurs, so that *-y-* (/j/) turns into *-ch-* (/tʃ/). In the 1-irrealis, the prefix is not *ch-* (/tʃ/), but *y-* (/j/) (on this prefix, see §7.1).

- (13) a. a-i-yague (1S), d-a-yague (2S), i-yague (3), a-i-yague-go (1P), d-a-yague-o (2P)
 ‘to stand up’
 y-i-yague (1S.IRLS), ..., Ø-Ø-chague (3.IRLS), y-i-yaguego (1P.IRLS),
 a-y-agueo (2P.IRLS) ‘to stand up’
 b. a-i-yau (1S), i-yau (3) ‘to stop, to quit’

§6.6 Radical verbs

The last inflectional class is represented by the so-called ‘radical verbs’, whose 3-person consists of the mere root (14-16). The inflectional vowel is /i/ in the 1-person and /a/ in the 2-person. There are radical verbs whose 3-person begins with /t/ (14), y (/j/) (15) or /d/ (15). Root-initial /t/ or y (/j/) remain unchanged in the whole paradigm (14-15), while root-initial /r/ turns into /d/ in the 3-person (16). This change should be considered the fortition of /r/ in

¹⁴⁹ As in Ayoreo, the last vowel of *yirique* (/jirike/) is a default vocoid /e/.

¹⁵⁰ Note that some forms of this verb in Chomé are reported with the symbol of nasality on the last vowel, not to be found here, because nasality is not present in all forms reported by Chomé.

word-initial position. The vocalic pattern is the same in both realis and irrealis. The 3-irrealis coincides with the 3-realis. The prefix for the 1-irrealis is not *ch-* (/tʃ/-), but *y-* (/j/-) (14d-16a). In *toi* (/toj/), final *-i* (-/j/) is separated from the root by the plural suffix.

- (14) a. a-i-taña (1S), d-a-taña (2S), Ø-Ø-taña (3) ‘to be strong’
 b. a-i-tanârâ (1S), d-a-tanârâ (2S), Ø-Ø-tanârâ (3) ‘to tremble’
 c. a-i-tota (1S),..., Ø-Ø-tota (3), a-i-tota-go (1P), d-a-tota-o (2P) ‘to be blackened’
 y-i-tota (1S.IRL),..., Ø-Ø-tota (3.IRLS) ‘to be blackened’
 d. a-i-toi (1S),..., Ø-Ø-toi (3) ‘to die, to be dead’
 y-i-toi (1S.IRLS), a-toi (2S.IRLS), Ø-Ø-toi (3), y-i-to-go-i (1P.IRLS) ‘to die, to be dead’
- (15) a. a-i-yozo (1S), d-a-yozo (2S), Ø-Ø-yozo (3) ‘to need’
 b. a-i-yuare (1S),..., Ø-Ø-yuare (3) ‘to cry’
- (16) a. y-i-raque (1S.IRLS), Ø-Ø-dac (3.RLS/IRLS) ‘to come’
 b. a-i-rugut (1S), Ø-Ø-dugut (3.RLS/IRLS) ‘to be fed up’

In conclusion, /tʃ/-verbs differ from the other verbs in the expression of the irrealis. These verbs represent the vast majority of A.Z verbs and take the prefix *ch-* (/tʃ/-) and /d/- for the 1- and 3-irrealis, respectively. By contrast, /t/-verbs, thematic verbs and radical verbs have the 3-realis which coincides with the 3-irrealis and show the prefix *y-* (/j/-) in the 1-irrealis. This was the original prefix used in Proto-Zamuco. Only /tʃ/-verbs take the prefix *ch-* (/tʃ/-) in the 1-irrealis. This prefix is very similar to the free pronouns for the 1-person *yu* /ju/ (1S) and *yoc* /jok/ (1P). The 2-person is the same for both /tʃ/-verbs and the others.

§6.7 Prefixal verbs in *z-* (/s/-) ?

According to Chomé’s (1958: 150), there is a group of verbs with the following characteristics:

- (1) The 3-realis begins with *z-* (/s/-)
- (2) 3-person-initial *z-* (/s/-) is replaced by /n/ in the 3-irrealis
- (3) The 1-irrealis begins with *z-* (/s/-)

Since 3-person-initial *z-* (/s/-) is replaced by /n/ in the 3-irrealis, one may surmise that *z-* (/s/-) is a 3-prefix and these verbs are prefixal verbs in *z-* /s/-. The prefix /n/- in the 3-irrealis reminds of /d/-, the prefix for the 3-irrealis of A.Z /tɕ/-verbs. In Ayoreo and Chamacoco, /d/ and /n/ can be allomorphs. Another similarity with Ancient Zamuco /tɕ/-verbs is that the 3-prefix is also the 1-irrealis prefix. This group of verbs could correspond to CH /ts/-verbs, which are morphologically very similar to /tɕ/-verbs.

Nevertheless, there are no data to confirm this hypothesis, because only one example of this type of verb, *zoru* (/soru/) (17), is provided by Chomé, but it is an irregular verb and it is not possible to decide whether the other verbs of this group shared the same irregularities. For this reason, this verb will be considered a sheer irregularity and should not be considered a prefixal verb. The root of this verb is probably *horu*. Root-initial /h/ undergoes fortition word-initially, where it turns into *-z-* (/s/) (see also §7.8, ex. (109)).¹⁵¹ The 1-person *ahoru* is irregular, because the 1-vowel is not to be found, probably overwritten by the prefix /a/. In the irrealis, if *-z-* (/s/) is not a prefix, the 1-person *zoru* (/soru/) is irregular. The 3-irrealis *noru* is irregular too, if *zoru* (/soru/) is not a prefixal verb, because radical verbs take the prefix *y-* (/j/-) in the 1-irrealis and do not express the distinction realis vs. irrealis in the 3-person.

- (17) a-horu (1S), zo-ru (3S), a-hoco (1P), d-a-hoyo (2P) ‘to close’
 zoru (1S.IRLS), *no-ru* (3.IRLS) ‘to close’

In conclusion, *zoru* (/soru/) is too irregular to be considered a prefixal or a radical verb, but the fortition occurring in the 3-person *zoru* (/soru/) suggests that it was originally a radical verb which had acquired some features of the prefixal verbs. Owing to lack of data, it is not possible to establish whether the verbs beginning in /s/- mentioned by Chomé formed a group of prefixal verbs in *z-* (/s/-) or a group of verbs sharing the same irregularities of *zoru* (/soru/).

¹⁵¹ If *zoru* were a prefixal verb, /h/ would be an insertion. In this case, /o/ would be the thematic vowel. Nevertheless, /h/ insertion was never to be found in the 2-person.

§6.8 Irregular verbs

In this section irregular verbs are discussed. The following verbs are also considered irregular by Chomé (1958: 153-154). The verbs *ina* (18) and *i* (19) are similar to thematic verbs in the 3-person, and, like thematic verbs, also take the prefix *y-* (/j/-) in the 1S-irrealis, but like prefixal verbs they take the prefix /n/- (18) or /d/- (19) in the 3-irrealis. In particular the prefix /n/- is only found in *zoru* /*soru*/ (§6.7). Note that the 1P-irrealis of *ina* (18) and *i* (19) do not take any prefix.¹⁵² These verbs end in the syllable *-/na/* (18) or in *-i* (*-/j/*) (19), which occur after the plural suffix and behave like a lexical suffix. These elements are rarely observed in Ancient Zamuco. The vocalic pattern is irregular (18-19). In (18) thematic /o/ is pervasive, but is not preserved in the whole paradigm.

The verb *no* (20) cannot be compared with any other A.Z verb. The forms *bo* and *boyo* (/bojo/) are probably irrealis forms, since, according to Chomé, they are only used for the imperative. The 1P-irrealis of *no* (20) takes the prefix *y-* (/j/-) and the suffix *-/go/* is followed by *-i* (*-/j/*). The verbs in (18-20) show traces of the prefixes /m/- and /b/- for the 2-irrealis, which are not otherwise found in Ancient Zamuco. These are the regular 2S-prefixes in Ayoreo.¹⁵³

(18) o-na (1S), d-o-na (2S), i-na (3), o-co-na (1P), d-o-yo-na (2P) ‘to roll’
 y-a-hi-na (1S.IRLS), mo-na (2S.IRLS), no-na (3.IRLS), i-co-na (1P.IRLS), mo-ño-na (2P.IRLS)

(19) oi (1S), doi (2S), i (3), ocoi (1P), doyo (2P) ‘to go’
 y-a-hi (1S.IRLS), be (2S.IRLS), doi (3.IRLS), icoi (1P.IRLS), beyoi (2.IRLS)

(20) a-i-no (1S), no (3) ‘to go’ (translated as *irse* by Chomé)
 bo (2S.IMP) / boyo (2P.IMP), y-i-no-go-i (1P.IRLS)

¹⁵² The Ayoreo 1-prefix /j/- may drop when the 1-person is used in irrealis contexts.

¹⁵³ In Ayoreo these prefixes may drop when the 2S-person is used in irrealis contexts.

§6.9 Ancient Zamuco prefixation and conjunct/disjunct systems¹⁵⁴

This section shows that A.Z verb prefixation shares some similarities with so-called conjunct/disjunct systems, although Ancient Zamuco has no conjunct/disjunct system itself. A conjunct/disjunct system “is a binary system, with ‘conjunct’ used for first person in statements and second person in questions, while ‘disjunct’ is used for second and third person in statements and first and third person in questions” (Curnow 2002: 611).¹⁵⁵ Table 6.2 illustrates the distribution of conjunct and disjunct.

Table 6.2

	Statements	Questions
1-person	conjunct	disjunct
2-person	disjunct	conjunct
3-person	disjunct	disjunct

(Curnow 2002: 614)

As one can see in Table 6.3, the 1S-realis of *cho* ‘to look like’ (/tʰo/) coincides with the 2S-irrealis. If one considers that the 1S-realis is used for positive statements, while the 2S-irrealis is used for question, they correspond to the ‘conjunct’, which is the “speaker in statements and the addressee in questions” (Bickel & Nichols 2007: 223), i.e. the “person who the speaker supposes or claims to be the immediate supplier of the information” (*ibidem*). It is called ‘informant’ by Bickel & Nichols (2007: 223), but can also be called ‘locutor’ or ‘assertor’ (see Creissels 2008).

¹⁵⁴ I would like to express my gratitude to Balthasar Bickel, for suggesting me many of the ideas on which the present section is based.

¹⁵⁵ On conjunct/disjunct systems, see, among others, Hale (1980), Hargreaves (1991), Curnow (2002), Bickel & Nichols (2007: 223-224), Bickel (2008), Creissels (2008) and Loughnane (2011).

Table 6.3

cho ‘to look like, to be like’	
Realis	Irrealis
o (1S)	cho (1S)
do (2S)	o (2S)
cho (3)	do (3)
oco (1P)	choco (1P)
doyo (2P)	oyo (2P)

The 1S-realism and the 2S-irrealism of *cho* (/tʃo/) coincide, but this does not occur in most A.Z verbs, such as *chimecêre* /tʃimesêre/ (3) ‘to love’. However, 1S-realism and 2S-irrealism share the same morphological device, that is the prefix /a/. In the 2-person, /a/ fills the slot of the thematic vowel, but was originally the 2-prefix (in the irrealism) or part of it (in the realism). In the 2-person, /a/ has overwritten the high thematic vowel, but has been overwritten by non-high thematic vowels. In the 1-person, both the prefix /a/- and the thematic vowel are usually preserved (the 1-person of *cho* is an exception).

Table 6.4

chimecêre ‘to love’	
Realis	Irrealis
a-i-mecêre (1S)	ch-i-mecêre (1S)
d-a-mecêre (2S)	a-mecêre (2S)
ch-i-mêcêre (3)	d-i-mêcêre (3)
a-i-mecê-co (1P)	ch-i-mecê-co (1P)
d-a-mecê-ño (2P)	a-mecê-ño (2P)

The original 2-prefix /a/ is present in all Zamucoan languages, while the 1-prefix /a/ is only found in Ancient Zamuco and could be an innovation. Ancient Zamuco also presents some exceptions, as in *chize* (/tʃise/) (Table 6.5), where thematic /i/ in the 2-person is not overwritten by the prefix-vowel /a/.

Unfortunately, the irrealis forms of *chize* are not reported by Chomé, but can be reconstructed by means of his grammatical description (Table 6.5).¹⁵⁶ In this case, the 1S-realis and the 2S-irrealis coincide.

Table 6.5

chize ‘to love’	
Realis	Irrealis
a-i-ze (1S)	*ch-i-ze (1S)
da-i-ze (2S)	*a-i-ze (2S)
ch-i-ze (3)	*d-i-ze (3)
a-i-co (1P)	*ch-i-co (1P)
d-a-izo (2P)	*a-i-zo (2P)

In Ayoreo too, which shows a disappearing realis vs. irrealis distinction, the 1S-realis and the 2S-irrealis used to coincide in verbs with non-high thematic vowels. However, in both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, despite the above reported similarities, there is no conjunct/disjunct system. First, the uses of the 1S-realis and the 2S-irrealis do not correspond to the conjunct in negative or future-referring statements. For instance, the 1S-irrealis and the 2S-irrealis can be used in negative statements or in an imperative context where they do not refer to the informant. Second, the correspondence between the 1P-realis and the 2P-irrealis is only to be found in prefixation, because they have different suffixes in both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. Third, in a conjunct/disjunct system (see Table 6.3) the disjunct person includes the 1-person and the 3-person in questions, the 2-person and the 3-person in statements, which share the same morphological devices. This is not the case in either Ayoreo or Ancient Zamuco.

To conclude, Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco do not present a full-fledged conjunct/disjunct system, although the verb forms referring to the informant can coincide to some extent. This can explain the use of the original 2-irrealis prefix /a/- in the 1-realis of Ancient Zamuco, a feature which is not to be found

¹⁵⁶ According to Chomé (1958: 149), the 2S-irrealis “se haze de la 2a persona del mismo singular [2S-realis], quitando la *d*.” In other word, the 2-irrealis is identical to the 2-realis, but it lacks initial /d/. The same is true of the 2P-realis and irrealis.

in the other Zamucoan languages. One logical hypothesis that one is invited to put forth is that, possibly, Proto-Zamuco (or maybe a later stage of the ancestral language out of which all the Zamucoan languages have emerged) presented a conjunct/disjunct system, which has survived in somehow reduced form until the modern era.

§6.10 On the correspondence of Ancient Zamuco verbs in Ayoreo and Chamacoco

The present section lists the verbs from Chomé’s grammar *Arte de la lengua zamuca* and the corresponding AY and CH verbs (Table 6.6). The 1S-person and the 3-person of each verb are indicated (provided these forms are found in Chomé’s grammar). Verbs are ordered according to the Ancient Zamuco 3-person. If the latter is not reported, verbs are ordered according to the 1S-person. If a verb is uninflectable, the person is not indicated in the gloss. When the symbol Ø appears alone in a cell, no cognate has been found in Ayoreo or Chamacoco. The data reported in this section are discussed in more detail in §6.10 and in chapter §7, where the verb morphology of the Zamucoan languages is compared.

Table 6.6

Ancient Zamuco	Ayoreo	Chamacoco
a-i-mo (1S) ‘to see; to sleep’	tɕ-i-mo (3) ‘to see’, Ø-Ø-mo (3) ‘to sleep’, ɲ-i-mo (1S) ‘to see; to sleep’	tok-o-mo / tuk-u-mo (1S), u-mo (3) ‘to sleep; to see’
a-i-nuzi (1S) ‘to remember’	Ø-Ø-ɲusina (3), ɲ-u-ɲusina (1S) ‘to remember’ cf. also Ø-Ø-ɲusi (3) ‘to be sad, to miss someone/something’	Ø
a-i-piazu (1S) ‘to do’	j-i-pesu (1S), Ø-Ø-pesu (3) ‘to make, to do’	Ø
a-i-poc (1S) ‘to be ashamed’	tɕ-i-pogu (3), j-i-po-gu (1S) ‘to hide, to conceal’	tɪk-i-po:k (1S), Ø-Ø-po:k (3) ‘to be ashamed’

a-i-yo (1S) ‘to fly’	Ø-Ø-t̥o (3), j-i-jo (1S) ‘to jump, to leap, to fly’	t̥ik-i-jo (1S), i-jo (3) ‘to jump, to fly’
a-i-yotare (1S) ‘to be warm’ ¹⁵⁷	Ø	Ø
a-nnire (1S) ‘to scuttle, to bore’	ɲ-a-nire (1S), t̥-a-nire (3) ‘to bawl out, to scold’	Ø
a-o-z (1S) ‘to cast out’	Ø-Ø-ose / t̥-ose (3), j-i-hose (1S) ‘to push (the enemy) back; to squeeze’	Ø
arocore (1S) ‘to do something slowly’	Ø	Ø
a-u-cêrê (1S) ‘to point’	t̥-u-sêre (3), ɲusêre (1S) ‘to point’	Ø
bec ‘to rain’	beke ‘to rain’	ib̥ik ‘to rain’
ch-a-mata (3), a-mata (1S) ‘to choose’	t̥-a-mata / t̥-i-mata (3) ɲ-a-mata / ɲ-i-mata (1S), ‘to collect’	ts-a-mita (3), t-a-mita (1S) ‘to put together, to collect’
ch-a-ecâre (3), a-ecâre (1S) ‘to change’	t̥-e-kâre (3), j-e-kâre (1S) ‘to change, to replace’	Ø
ch-a-ôrâ (3), a-ô-râ (1S) ‘to praise’	Ø	Ø
ch-e-câre (3), a-e-câre (1S), ‘to follow’	Ø	Ø
ch-e-yac (3), a-e-yac (1S) ‘to guide’	t̥-i-ɲak (3), ɲ-i-ɲak (1S) ‘to lead, to guide’	Ø
ch-i-azore (3), a-i-yazore (1S) ‘to help, to favour’	t̥-o-sôre (3), ɲ-o-sôre (1S) ‘to provide comfort by helping, to pity by helping’	ts-o-sir (3), tok-o-sir (1S), ‘to help, to favour’ (also: tsoš̥r)
Ø-Ø-chigu (3), a-i-rugu (1S) ‘to get angry’	t̥-u-ruɲu / t̥-u-gu / t̥-u- suruɲu / Ø-Ø-suruɲu (3), ɲ-u- ruɲu / ɲ-u-suruɲu (1S), ‘to pout at, to act disgusted’	Ø
ch-i-hi (3), a-hihi (1S) ‘to make’ (causative verb)	Ø	ɕ-u: (3), t-u: (1S) ‘to make’ (causative verb)
ch-i-mêcêre (3),	t̥-i-mesêre (3), ɲ-i-mesêre	ts-a-ɲur (3), t-a-ɲur (1S)

¹⁵⁷ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 776, note 186).

a-i-mecêre (1P) ‘to love’	(1S) ‘to want, to prefer’	‘to love’
ch-i-micêre (3), a-i-micêre (1S) ‘to fish (with bait)’	tɕ-i-mesêre gaj (3), j-i-mesêre gaj (1) ‘to sprinkle’ ¹⁵⁸	tɕ-e-ɕer (3S), t-e-ɕer (1S) ‘to fish’
ch-i-zau (3), a-i-zau (1S) ‘to take’	tɕ-i-sa (3), j-i-sa (1S) ‘to pick up, to grab, to accept’	tɕ-i-ɕew (3), t-i-ɕew (1S) ‘to hold, to take, to grab’
ch-i-ze (3), a-i-ze (1S) ‘to reach’	tɕ-i-se (3), j-i-se (1S) ‘to find, to meet, to reach’	tɕ-i-ɕ (3), t-i-ɕ (1S) ‘to meet, to reach’
ch-o (3), o (1S) ‘to look like, to be like’	tɕ-o (3), j-o (1S) ‘to be like, to sound like’	itso (3), Ø (1S) ‘to be like, to look like’
ch-u-agoz (3), a-g-uagoz (1S) ‘to hide, to conceal’	tɕ-a-kose (3), j-a-kose (1S) ‘to hide, to conceal’	ts-a-kis (3), t-a-kis (1S) ‘to hide, to conceal’
ch-u-gau (3), a-u-gau (1S) ‘to thread’	tɕ-u-ga (3), j-u-ga (1S) ‘to sew, to mend’	Ø
ch-u-mate (3), a-u-mate (1S) ‘to finish’	tɕ-i-mate (3), ɲ-i-mate (1S) ‘to finish, to complete’	tɕ-i-mit (3), t-i-mit (1S) ‘to finish, to complete’
Ø-Ø-dac (3), y-i-raque (1S.IRLS) ‘to come’	Ø-Ø-dike (3), j-i-rike (1S) ‘to walk’	d-i-rk (3), tik-i-rk (1S) ‘to walk’
dahat ‘to boil’	dahate ‘to boil’	dahat ‘to boil’
Ø-Ø-dugut (3), a-i-rugut (1S) ‘to be fed’ (‘ser hartó’)	Ø-Ø-kuta (3), j-u-kuta (1S) ‘to be fed up, to be lazy’	Ø
i (3), o-i (1S) ‘to go’	d-o-j (3), j-i-hi / ji (1S) ‘to bring, to do, to get (to go to bring)’	i: (3), tak-a-hi? (1S) ‘to go to bring, to get’
i-na (3), o-na (1S) ‘to roll/to go round’	Ø-Ø-nona / tɕ-i-ɲina (3), j-i- ɲina (1S) ‘to accompany, to go with’ (also: tɕihina)	ĩ-ja (3), tok-õ-ja (1S) ‘to accompany’
i-yague (3), a-i-yague (1S) ‘to stand up’	Ø-Ø-tɕage (3), j-i-jage (1S) ‘to stand up’	i-jehet (3), t-i-jehet / tik-i- jehet / tik-i-jehet (1S) ‘to stand, to stand up’
i-yau (3), a-i-yau (1S) ‘to stop, to quit’	Ø-Ø-tɕa (3), j-i-ja (1S) ‘to stop, to quit’	i-jehe (3), t-i-jehe / tik-i-jehe (1S) ‘to stop’
no (3), a-i-no (1S) ‘to go’	ɲo (3), j-i-hi / ji (1S)	ɲo (3), tak-a-ha (1S) ‘to go’

¹⁵⁸ According to Kelm, A.Z. *chimicêre* (/tɕimesêre/) corresponds to AY *chimesêre gaj* /tɕimesêre gaj/ ‘to sprinkle’, see Kelm (1964: 774; 448, note 76).

	‘to go, to leave’	
t-a-c (3), y-a-que (1S.irl) ‘to eat’	t-a-ke (3), j-a-ke (1S) ‘to eat’ (also: tak)	t-a:k (3), tak-a:k (1S) ‘to eat’
t-a-gari (3), a-gari (1S), ‘to believe’	t-a-ŋari (3), ɲ-/j-a-ŋari (1S) ‘to listen to, to pay attention to, to obey to’	t-ẽ-r (3), tāk-ĩ-r (1S) ‘to listen to’
t-a-gu (3), a-gu (1S) ‘to eat’	t-a-gu (3), j-a-gu (1S) ‘to eat, to bite’	t-e-w (3), t-a-w (1S) ‘to eat’
Ø-Ø-taña (3), a-i-taña (1S) ‘to be strong’	Ø-Ø-taja (3), j-i-taja (1S) ‘to be strong, to be firm’	Ø
Ø-Ø-tanârâ (3), a-i-tanârâ (1S) ‘to tremble’	Ø-Ø-târara (3), ɲ-i-târara (1S) ‘to tremble; shake involuntarily’	Ø
Ø-Ø-tata (3), y-i-tata (1S.IRLS) ‘to say, to tell’	tɛ-a-tata (3), j-a-tata (1S), ‘to advise; to tell’	t-a-ta (3), t-i-ta (1S) ‘to say, to report’
t-i-bidi (3), a-i-bidi (1S) ‘to call’	t-i-bidi (3), j-i-bidi (1S) ‘to call, to summon’	t-i-bi: (3), tik-i-bi: (1S) ‘to call, to summon’
Ø-Ø-tocade (3), a-i-tocade (1S) ‘to come out, to happen’	tokade ‘to come out, to happen’	Ø-Ø-tokole (3), tik-i-tokole / tik-i-tokole (1S) ‘to exit, to come out, to happen’
Ø-Ø-toi (3), a-i-toi (1S) ‘to die, to be dead’	Ø-Ø-to-j (3), j-i-to-j (1S) ‘to die’	Ø-Ø-toj (3), tik-i-ti / tuk-wi-ti (1S) ‘to die’
t-o-râ (3), o-râ (1S) ‘to bring, to take’	t-õ-ra (3), ɲ-õ-ra (1S) ‘to throw out’	t-ã-ra (3), tok-õ-ra (1S) ‘to come from; to throw’
t-o-ria (3), o-ria (1S) ‘to steal’	t-o-ria (3), j-o-ria (1S) ‘to steal, to rob’	t-o-ɾa (3), tok-o-ɾa (1S) ‘to steal, to rob’
Ø-Ø-tota (3), a-i-tota (1S) ‘to be blackened’ ¹⁵⁹	Ø	Ø
Ø-Ø-yozo (3), a-i-yozo (1S), ‘to need’	Ø-Ø-ɲusi (3), ɲ-u-ɲusi (1S) ‘to be sad, to miss someone/something’	Ø
Ø-Ø-yuare (3), a-i-yuare (1S) ‘to cry’	Ø-Ø-juare (3), j-u-juare (1S) ‘to wail, to grieve with mournful crises, to lament’	Ø-Ø-jeɾ (3), tik-i-jeɾ (1S) ‘to cry’

¹⁵⁹ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 774, note 179).

zoru (3S), a-horu (1S), 'to close'	Ø-Ø-su(ru) / t̥-u-hu(ru) (3), j-u-hu(ru) (1S) 'to close (in), to shut in'	Ø
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§6.11 Verb suffixation in Ancient Zamuco and in the other Zamucoan languages

This section deals with verb suffixation in the Zamucoan languages. When no substitution occurs, the series of suffixes is *-/go/* and *-/o/* in Ancient Zamuco and *-/go/* and *-/jo/* in Ayoreo. When there is substitution of the final syllable or consonant by the plural suffix, in Ayoreo the standard series is *-/ko/*, *-/t̥o/* but also *-/ho/* (1P) or *-/so/* (2P) can be used. In Ancient Zamuco the suffix is *-co* (*-/ko/*) or *-ho* for the 1P-person, while in the 2P-person *-cho* (*-/t̥o/*), *-yo* (*-/jo/*), *-ño* (*-/ɲo/*) or *-zo* (*-/so/*) can be used (depending on the context). The mobile syllables in Ancient Zamuco generally correspond to the AY ones. The inventory of the mobile syllables in Ancient Zamuco seems to be less numerous than in Ayoreo, but this could depend on scarcity of data.

I will first discuss the functional need for a suffix in the verb structure of the Zamucoan languages. In Ancient Zamuco only the first two persons are distinguished by prefixation. In (21) The suffixes *-co* (*-/ko/*) and *-ño* (*-/ɲo/*) are added to obtain the plural of the 1- and the 2-person, respectively. The same suffix is used for both realis and irrealis. As in Ayoreo, there is no 3-person suffix, so that there is no morphological difference between the 3-person singular and plural. In both Ancient Zamuco (21) and Ayoreo (22) 1-person, the prefix is the same for the singular and the plural, so that the 1P-suffix is necessary to distinguish the 1P-person from the 1S-person. The same is true of the 2-person in Ancient Zamuco. By contrast, the Ayoreo 2P-suffix is often unnecessary, because the 2-person singular and plural have two different prefixes, but one has to consider that the 2-prefixes fall in the AY irrealis. For this reason, in the irrealis the 2P-suffix helps to distinguish the 2P-person from the 2S-person.¹⁶⁰ The Chamacoco 2P-person is obtained by adding the suffix *-/lo/* to the 2S-person: e.g. *chish* /t̥iç/ (3) 'to meet', *esh* /eç/ (2S) ---> *eshlo* /eçlo/ (2P). *-/lo/* is also used to obtain the greater plural of the 1PI-person:

¹⁶⁰ See Kelm (1964: 775-776).

yish /jiç/ (1PI) ---> *yishlo* /jiçlo/ (1PI.GP). The latter form has no counterpart in the other Zamucoan languages, because they do not present the clusivity split. The possible origins of CH *-/lo/* are discussed in §14.3.6. As will be shown in (§7.9), Chamacoco shows some traces of the Proto-Zamuco 1P-suffix *-/ko/*, which has disappeared in this language, but is to be found in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco.

(21) Ancient Zamuco: *ch-i-mecêre* (3.RLS) ‘to love’

Realis: *a-i-mecêre* (1S.RLS) ---> *a-i-mecê-co* (1P.RLS)
d-a-mecêre (2S.RLS) ---> *d-a-mecê-ño* (2S.RLS)
ch-i-mêcêre (3.RLS)

Irrealis: *ch-i-mecêre* (1S.IRLS) ---> *ch-i-mecê-co* (1S.IRLS)
a-mecêre (2S.IRLS) ---> *a-mecê-ño* (2S.IRLS)
d-i-mêcêre (3.IRLS)

(22) Ayoreo: *ɬ-i-mesêre* (3) ‘to want, to prefer’

(ɲ)-*i-mesêre* (1S) ---> (ɲ)-*i-mesê-ko* (1P)
(m)-*a-mesêre* (2S) ---> (wak)-*a-mesê-ɬo* (2P)

As in Ayoreo, A.Z verb suffixation depends on the interaction between the final element (the last syllable or consonant of the root) and the suffix. One has to distinguish the suffixes which are added to the verb without any substitution from the suffixes which substitute one or more final elements (see the “mobile syllables” described in §4.8). In the following paragraphs the suffixation of Ancient Zamuco will be discussed and compared with AY suffixation.

In Ancient Zamuco, when no final element is replaced by the plural suffix, the suffixes *-/go/* and *-/o/* are added in the 1P-person and the 2P-person respectively. The suffix *-/go/* is the same as in Ayoreo, while *-/o/* corresponds to the AY suffix *-/jo/* (23).

- (23) a. A.Z. *a-i-tota* (1S) ---> *a-i-tota-go* (1P), *d-a-tota-o* (2P) ‘to be blackened’
b. A.Z. *a-i-yague* (1S) ---> *a-i-yague-go* (1P), *d-a-yague-o* (2P) ‘to stand’
c. Ay. *j-i-jage* (1S) ---> *j-i-jage-go* (1P), *j-i-jage-jo* (2P) ‘to stand up’

Verbs ending in a mobile syllable take the suffixes *-/ko/* (1P) and *-/ɬo/* (2P) in Ayoreo, which correspond to *-co* (*-/ko/*) (1P), *-yo* (*-/jo/*) (2P), *-ño*

(-/ɲo/) (2P) or *-cho* (-/tʰo/) (2P) in Ancient Zamuco. The suffix *-cho* (-/tʰo/) has a limited use in Ancient Zamuco, while in Ayoreo it is the standard suffix used when the substitution of the final syllable or consonant occurs. A.Z *-yo* (-/jo/) or *-ño* (-/ɲo/) corresponds to the Ayoreo 2P-suffix used when no final element is substituted.

When the last syllable is *-re/* or *-ru/*, a substitution occurs in A.Z verbs. In this case, the suffixes *-co* (-/ko/) and *-yo* (-/jo/) are used for the 1P-person and 2P-person, respectively. *-yo* (-/jo/) possibly nasalizes into *-ño* (-/ɲo/).

A substitution can also occur in AY verbs ending in *-re/* or *-ru/*.¹⁶¹ In this case, the 1P-suffix and the 2P-suffix are *-co* (-/ko/) and *-cho* (-/tʰo/), respectively. The latter suffix does not correspond to the Ancient Zamuco 2P-suffix *-yo* (-/jo/) or *-ño* (-/ɲo/). In Ayoreo the verb *suru* or *chujuru* /tʰuhuru/ (24h) is an exception. Its final syllable *-ru/* is replaced by the plural suffix. The 1P-person is regular, whereas *-tʰo/* and *-jo/* alternate in the 2P-plural. Both *-tʰo/* and *-jo/* replace the last syllable *-ru/*. The comparison with Ancient Zamuco shows that the 2-person suffix *-jo/* in (24h) is a relic. In this context, the original 2P-suffix was probably *-jo/*, which has been replaced by *-tʰo/* (see also §14.3.14).

- (24) a. A.Z. *arocore* (1S) ---> *aroco-co* (1P), *daroco-ño* (2P) ‘to do something slowly’¹⁶²
 b. A.Z. *annire* (1S) ---> *anni-co* (1P), *dani-ño* (2P) ‘to scuttle, to bore’
 c. Ay. *ɲanire* (1S) ---> *ɲani-ko* (1P), *ɲani-tʰo* (2P) ‘to bawl out, to scold’
 d. A.Z. *aucêrê* (1S) ---> *aucê-co* (1P), *dacê-ño* (2P) ‘to point’
 e. Ay. *ɲusêre* (1S) ---> *ɲusê-ko* (1P), *wakasê-tʰo* (2P) ‘to point’
 f. A.Z. *aiyotare* (1S) ---> *aiyotâ-co* (1S), *dayota-ño* (2P) ‘to be warm’
 g. A.Z. *ahoru* (1S) --> *aho-co* (1P), *daho-yo* (2P) ‘to close’
 h. Ay. *juhu(ru)* (1S) ---> *juhu-ko* (1P), *wakahu-tʰo/-jo* (2P) ‘to cover, to close’

In A.Z verbs, final *-z* (-/s/), *-zi* (-/si/) or *-zu* (-/su/) are replaced by the suffix *-co* (-/ko/) in the 1P-person. In the 2P-person, *-yo* (-/jo/) is added and /j/ is absorbed by *-z* (/s/), thus yielding *-zo* (-/so/). In Ayoreo also the syllables *-sa/* and *-so/* can be substituted.

¹⁶¹ In Ayoreo the substitution is also observed for the syllables *-ra/*, *-ri/* and *-ro/*.

¹⁶² The presence of *-ño* (-/ɲo/) in *darocoño* /darokoɲo/ is not clear. Chomé probably omits nasalization on *arocore*.

- (25) A.Z. aoz (1S) ---> ao-co (1P), daoz-o (2P) ‘to cast out’¹⁶³
 Ay. jihose (1S) ---> jiho-ko (1P), wakaho-so (2P) ‘to push the enemy back; to squeeze’
 A.Z. aize (1S) ---> aico (1P), daizo (2P) ‘to reach’
 Ay. jise (1S) ---> ji-ko (1P), wake-so (2P) ‘to find, to meet, to reach’
 A.Z. ainuzi (1S) ---> ainuoi (1P), danuzoi (2P) ‘to remember’
 Ay. n-u-ṅusi (1S) ---> n-u-ṅusi-ṅo/ j-u-ṅu-ko-j (1P), wak-a-ṅusi-ṅo / wak-a-ṅu-so-j (2P)
 ‘to be sad, to miss someone/something’
 A.Z. aipiazu (1S) ---> aipiaco (1P), dapiazo (2P) ‘to do’
 Ay. j-i-pesu (1S) ---> j-i-pe-ko / j-i-pe-ho (1P), wak-a-pe-so (2P) ‘to make, to do’

In A.Z verbs ending in /k/, the final consonant is replaced by the suffixes *-ho/* (1P) and *-cho* (*-/tɕo/*) (2P), corresponding to AY *-ho/* and *-/tɕo/*. A.Z *-ho/* is an allomorph of *-co* (*-/ko/*), like its AY counterpart. The difference is that AY *-ho/* is not restricted to verbs ending in *-k/*, but may also be used when the consonant of the final syllable *-CV* is a velar stop, as in (26).

- (26) A.Z. aipo-c (1S) ---> aipo-ho (1P), dapo-cho (2P) ‘to be ashamed’
 Ay. jipo-gu (1S) ---> jipo-ho (1P), wakapo-tɕo (2P) ‘to hide, to conceal’

In conclusion, the Ancient Zamuco 1P-suffixes are *-co* (*-/ko/*) and *-go/*, which correspond to the AY suffixes *-ko/* and *-go/*. In both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, the suffixes *-ko/* has the allomorph */ho/*. The Ancient Zamuco 2P-suffixes are *-o/*, *-yo* (*-/jo/*), *-cho* (*-/tɕ/*) and *-zo* (*-/so/*), while the AY suffixes are *-jo/*, *-/tɕo/* and *-so/*. The Ancient Zamuco 2P-suffix *-o/* has no corresponding AY suffix, where *-jo/* is to be found when no substitution occurs. Note that A.Z *-yo* (*-/jo/*) is only used when the verb ends in a mobile syllable. As will be shown in (§14.3.14), the suffixes *-/tɕo/* and *-so/* derive from *-/jo/*: when *-/jo/* was added to a root in */k/* this consonant palatalized into */tɕ/*, thus originating *-/tɕo/*. When *-/jo/* was added to a root in *-/s/*, */s/* absorbed */j/*, thus originating *-so/*. This mechanism has also been extended to other roots with the same consonants in pre-final position (such as verbs ending in *-/si/* and *-/su/*) and *-/tɕo/* and *-so/* have become two independent suffixes. This suggests that Ayoreo has probably lost the suffix *-o/* and consequently it only used the suffix *-jo/* for the 2P-person. Then, the 2P-person *-jo/* has been preserved when no substitution occurred, while it has

¹⁶³ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 776).

turned into *-/t̥o/* and *-/so/* if used after a mobile syllable. On the 2P-suffixes, see also (§14.3.14).

§6.12 Conclusions

In this chapter A.Z verb morphology has been discussed. Ancient Zamuco presents the same verb groups found in Ayoreo and Chamacoco: prefixal verbs (*/t̥/-*verbs and */t/-*verbs), thematic verbs and radical verbs. The vocalic pattern is usually regular. A.Z verb inflection shows a realis vs. irrealis opposition in the whole paradigm. Ancient Zamuco is very conservative in this respect, because the realis vs. irrealis opposition has partly been lost in Ayoreo and Chamacoco. The verb prefixation of Ancient Zamuco will be compared with Ayoreo and Chamacoco in the next chapter. A.Z plural suffixes correspond to AY plural suffixes, but not to the CH suffix *-/lo/*. A.Z and AY plural suffixes will be compared in §14.3.14.

§7 Verb inflection in the Zamucoan languages

The present chapter compares the verb inflection of Ancient Zamuco, Ayoreo and Chamacoco. On the one side, a detailed comparison between A.Z and AY verb morphology can be found in Kelm (1964: 770-802; 803-804), although part of the terminology and the categories employed in his study have to be revisited. On the other side, I will mainly focus on the comparison of Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo with Chamacoco. Personal pronouns have been compared in (§3.2).

Verbal suffixation has been discussed in (§6.11). All Zamucoan languages have a prefix, a thematic vowel, a root and a plural suffix. One can note many similarities in the personal prefixes (§7.1) and in the thematic vowel (§7.2). A given verb tends to belong to the same inflectional class in all Zamucoan languages, but in some cases regular correspondences between different groups of verbs are to be found. A.Z and AY /t͡ʃ/-verbs correspond to CH /t͡ʃ/- and /ts/-verbs. Some examples are shown in §7.2, where the thematic vowel in the Zamucoan languages are compared. Section §7.3 deals with CH /ç/-verbs and AY /t͡ʃ/-verbs (§7.3). In Chamacoco there is a big class of /t/-verbs, corresponding to AY and A.Z /t/-verbs (§7.4), but also to other AY verb classes (§7.5). CH /d/-verbs correspond to AY prefixal or radical verbs (§7.6). Thematic verbs are present in Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco, but generally correspond to AY radical verbs (§7.7). Radical verbs are discussed in §7.8. One can find an explanation for many features of irregular verbs (§7.9). Some correspondences between Zamucoan languages can also be found in defective verbs (§7.10). Two possible derivational mechanisms, which are no longer productive, are compared in §7.11 and §7.12.

§7.1 Personal prefixes

This section focuses on personal prefixation: verb suffixation has been discussed in (§6.11). The verb system of the Zamucoan languages is exemplified in (Table 7.1-7.3). The personal pronouns have been compared in (§3.2).

Table 7.1. Ancient Zamuco verb inflection

Ancient Zamuco: chimêcêre ‘to love’	
<u>Realis</u>	<u>Irrealis</u>
a- + V + ROOT (1S) / a-i-mecêre (1S)	ch-/z-/y- + V + ROOT (1S) / ch-i-mecêre (1S.IRLS)
d- + V + ROOT (2S) / d-a-mecêre (2S)	∅ + V + ROOT (2S) / ∅-a-mecêre (2S.IRLS)
ch-/t-/z-/∅ + (V) + ROOT (3) / ch-i-mêcêre (3)	d-/n-/∅ + (V) + ROOT (3.IRLS) / d-i-mêcêre (3.IRLS)
a- + V + ROOT + SUFF (1P) / a-i-mecê-co (1P)	ch-/z-/y- + V + ROOT + SUFF (1P.IRLS) / ch-i-mecê-co (1P.IRLS)
d- + V + ROOT + SUFF (2P) / d-a-mecê-ño (2P)	∅ + V + ROOT + SUFF (2P.IRLS) / ∅-a-mecê-ño (2P.IRLS)
ore ch-/t-/z-/∅ + (V) + ROOT (3P) / ore ch-i-mêcêre (3P)	ore d-/n-/∅ + (V) + ROOT (3P.IRLS) / ore d-i-mêcêre (3P.IRLS)

Table 7.2. Ayoreo verb inflection

Ayoreo: chimesêre /tɕimesere/ ‘to want, to prefer, to receive, to accept’	
<u>Realis</u>	<u>Irrealis</u>
[∅-V + ROOT / i-mesêre (1S)] ¹⁶⁴	j-/ɲ- + V + ROOT / ɲ-i-mesêre (1S)
b-/m- + V + ROOT (2S) / m-a-mesêre	[∅-V + ROOT / a-mesêre (2S)]
tɕ-/t-/∅ + (V) + ROOT / tɕ-i-mesêre (3)	∅
[∅-V + ROOT + SUFFIX / i-mesê-ko (1P)]	j-/ɲ- + V + ROOT + SUFFIX / ɲ-i-mesê-ko (1P)
b-/m- + V + ROOT + SUFFIX / m-a-mesê-tɕo (2P)	[∅-V + ROOT + SUFFIX / a-mesê-tɕo (2P)]
ore tɕ-/t-/∅ + (V) + ROOT / ore tɕ-i-mesêre (3P)	∅

¹⁶⁴ In currently spoken Ayoreo, realis and irrealis usually merge (see §4.2). The forms which are generally replaced are indicated between brackets.

Table 7.3. Chamacoco verb inflection

Chamacoco: sahmur /tsamur/ ‘to want, to like, to love’	
<u>Realis</u>	<u>Irrealis</u>
t-/tVk- + V + ROOT / t-a-mur (1S)	∅
∅ + V + ROOT / a-mur (2S)	∅
tɕ-/ts-/t-/d-/n-/l-/j-/∅ + (V) + ROOT / ts-a-mur (3)	d-/t-/∅ + (V) + ROOT / n-a-mur (3)
j- + V + ROOT / j-a-mur (1PI)	∅
j- + V + ROOT + -lo / j-a-mur-lo (1PL.GP)	∅
o- + j- + ROOT / o-j-amur (1PE)	∅
∅ + V + ROOT + lo / a-mur-lo (2P)	∅
o- + tɕ-/ts-/t-/d-/n-/l-/j-/∅ + (V) + ROOT / o-ts-a-mur (3P)	o- + d-/t-/∅ + (V) + ROOT / o-n-a-mur (3P)

The 1S-prefix /tVk/- or /t/- of Chamacoco and the 1-realis prefix /a/- of Ancient Zamuco are not related to any other personal prefix. The 1-prefix /j/- of Ayoreo corresponds to the Chamacoco 1PI-person /j/- (this element, preceded by /o/-, is also present in the 1PE-person) and to the Ancient Zamuco 1-irrealis prefix *y-* (/j/-). Also AY /j/- tends to be used in irrealis contexts, but *y-* (/j/-) is not frequently used in Ancient Zamuco, where the predominant 1-irrealis prefix is *ch-* (/tɕ/). However, the 1-prefix /j/-, found in all Zamucoan languages, was the original 1-prefix, probably used in irrealis contexts.¹⁶⁵ Although /tɕ/- is the most frequent prefix for the 1-irrealis, it only occurred with /tɕ/-verbs. This suggests that /tɕ/- is probably an A.Z innovation.¹⁶⁶

However, there is also another hypothesis. As noted in §6.2, according to Bertinetto (2011: 5), *ch-* could correspond to [dʒ], allophone of /j/, in the 1-person. The fact that one only finds the 1-prefix /j/- in /t/-verbs, radical verbs and irregular verbs, which are far less frequent than /tɕ/-verbs, may suggest the following intriguing hypothesis: Chomé might have asked his informants to confirm the pronunciation of these less prototypical paradigms and this might have induced a hyperarticulation behaviour that preserved the prototypical

¹⁶⁵ See also Bertinetto (2011: 6).

¹⁶⁶ This is confirmed by data on the possessive inflection of Ancient Zamuco, see (§11.1).

form of the morpheme /j/-.¹⁶⁷

The prefix /j/- is very similar to the 1-pronouns: A.Z (*u*)*yu* (/uju/) (1S), (*u*)*yoc* /(u)jok/) (1P); AY (*u*)*yu* /(u)ju/ (1S), (*u*)*yoc* /(u)jok/ (1P); CH *yok* /jok/ (1S), *eyok* /ejok/ (1PI), *ōryok* /ōrjok/ (1PE). The 1-prefix /j/- can nasalize into [ɲ] in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco.¹⁶⁸

The Chamacoco 2-person has no prefix, like the Ancient Zamuco 2-irrealis and the Ayoreo 2-irrealis (where the prefix tends to fall), so that Chamacoco corresponds to the A.Z and AY irrealis in the 1- and 2-person. The 2-prefix /d/- of Ancient Zamuco is not observed in the other Zamucoan languages. The Ayoreo 2S-prefix /b/- or /m/- is usually not used in the other Zamucoan languages, but /b/- and /m/- are actually to be found as 2-prefixes in some exceptions, such as CH *iim* /i:-m/ ‘to leave’.¹⁶⁹ See also (§7.9) for more examples.

(1) Ay. j-i-hi(n)o-me (1P), b-a-hi(n)o-me (2P), Ø-Ø-nopo-me (3), j-i-hi(n)o-ŋo-me (1P), wak-a-hi(n)o-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to leave’

Ch. tok-*oj*-m (1S), m-*oj*-m (2S), i:-m (3), j-u-kwim (1PI), o-j-u-kwim (1PE), m-*oj*-m-lo (2P), *oj*-m (3P), n-*oj*-m (3.IRLS) ‘to leave’

In Ayoreo, prefixation presents a distinction between the 2S-person and the 2P-person, which is not to be found in the other Zamucoan languages. The 2P-prefix /wak/- (which drops in irrealis contexts) is probably an AY innovation and derives from the corresponding free pronoun *uwac* /uwak/ or *uac* /wak/ (2P): cf. A.Z (*u*)*guac* /(u)gwak/) (2P), CH *olak* (2P). Note that in this case the Ayoreo 2P-person suffix (-/tɕo/ or -/jo/) is not strictly necessary (at least in realis contexts), because the prefix alone is enough to distinguish the 2S-person from the 2P-person.

In all Zamucoan languages the 3-person is the base of the paradigm and the verb class depends on the morphology of the 3-person. In all Zamucoan languages the largest group of verbs takes the prefix /tɕ/- in the 3-person. AY

¹⁶⁷ I am grateful to Pier Marco Bertinetto for this suggestion.

¹⁶⁸ [ɲ] and [j] are allophones in Chamacoco, while they correspond to two phonemes in Ayoreo. The AY prefixes /j/- and /ɲ/- are allomorphs. One can compare the Zamucoan prefix /j/- with the 1S-person prefix *y*- (/j/-) reported in Chiquitano verb morphology (cf. Galeote Tormo 1993: 146ff.).

¹⁶⁹ According to Greenberg (1987: 49), /m/ is a very widespread 2-person marker in the American languages. See Comrie *et al.* (2010: 106) for the presence of /m/ as 2-person marker in other Chaco languages.

and A.Z /t͡s/-verbs correspond to both CH /t͡s/- and /ts/-verbs. Ancient Zamuco probably presented verbs taking the prefix *z-* (/s/-) in the 3-person, but given the lack of data it is not possible to decide whether they are related to CH /ts/-verbs. CH /t͡s/- and /ts/-verbs and A.Z /t͡s/-verbs show the realis vs. irrealis distinction in the 3-person, which has been lost in Ayoreo. In Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco, the 3-irrealis prefix is /d/-, which turns into /n/- in nasal-harmony contexts.

All Zamucoan languages present prefixal verbs beginning with /t/- and radical verbs. These groups of verbs have similar morphological properties in all Zamucoan languages. CH and A.Z /t/- verbs and radical verbs present no realis vs. irrealis distinction in the 3-person. Thematic verbs are observed in Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco, but have almost completely disappeared in Ayoreo, where they form a very tiny class. CH and A.Z thematic verbs show the realis vs. irrealis distinction in the 3-person. The verb classes will be discussed in more detail in the following examples.

In the 1- and 2-person there is a general correspondence between personal pronouns and verb prefixes, which is not to be found in the 3S-person. As noted in (§3), only Chamacoco has a 3S-pronoun, while Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco use a demonstrative for the 3S-person. One may surmise that Proto-Zamuco lacked a 3S-pronoun and all verbs had a thematic or a radical 3-person. Given the lack of a 3S-pronoun, the 3-prefix(es) originated in different ways and this explains the morphological variability of the 3-person, which is less stable than the 1- and the 2- person.

The clusivity split is present in Chamacoco, but this is not to be observed in the other Zamucoan languages.

Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco have no specific form for the 3P-person. The 3-person is used for both the singular and the plural. In Table 7.1 and 7.2 the 3-person is preceded by the 3P-person *ore*, which can be used when the 3-person subject is not otherwise phonologically expressed. The Chamacoco 3-person can be used for the plural, but there is also a specific form for the 3P-person, which consists of the 3S-person preceded by the prefix /o/-. Comparing the Chamacoco 3P-person with the other Zamucoan languages, one may surmise that /o/- corresponds to AY and A.Z *ore*, which corresponds to the Chamacoco 3P-pronoun *õr*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ When the CH prefix /o/- is added to a prefixal 3-person, /o/- precedes the personal prefix, so that the

In the following sections, verbs sharing similar morphological features will be compared.

§7.2 The thematic vowel

In the Zamucoan family one can observe general correspondences between the thematic vowels of each language. In the following sections the morphological behaviour of the thematic vowels and their correspondences between the Zamucoan languages will be discussed. Sections §7.2.1-§7.2.8 will deal with prefixal verbs, which generally show a regular vocalic pattern, with some exceptions which will be discussed in detail.

§7.2.1 Thematic /a/

As anticipated, /tɕ/-verbs are the most prototypical verbs in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. These correspond to CH verbs with the 3-person prefix /tɕ/- or /ts/-. The following examples present AY and CH verbs characterized by thematic /a/ in the 3-person (2-11). This thematic vowel is preserved in the whole paradigm in all Zamucoan languages. CH /a/ corresponds in many cases to AY /a/. In examples (2-11) the AY prefix /tɕ/- corresponds to CH /ts/-.¹⁷¹ Owing to scarcity of data for Ancient Zamuco, it is difficult to show examples from this language. However, *chacose* /tɕakose/ and *sakis* /tsakis/ (2) correspond to A.Z. *chuagoz* (/tɕuagos/). The thematic vowel of this verb is /u/-, which has ostensibly been lost in Ayoreo and Chamacoco.

(2) Ay. j-a-kose (1S), b-a-kose (2S), tɕ-a-kose (3), j-a-ko-ko (1P), wak-a-ko-so (2P)
 ‘to hide, to conceal’

Ch. t-a-kis (1S), a-kis (2S), ts-a-kis (3), j-a-kis (1PI), o-j-akis (1PE), a-kis-lo (2P),
 o-ts-a-kis (3P), l-a-kis (3.IRLS) ‘to hide, to conceal’

A.Z. a-g-uagoz (1S), d-a-goz (2S), ch-u-agoz (3) ‘to hide, to conceal’

paradigm “exhibits a striking violation of a robust generalization concerning affix order, dictating that person markers should precede number markers, irrespective of their position in relation to the root” Bertinetto (2011: 215). This is clearly due to the fact that /o/- is an innovation.

¹⁷¹ A variant form in /tɕ/- has been observed for some of these CH verbs.

- (3) Ay. j-a-kate (1S), b-a-kate (2S), tɕ-a-kate (v.3), j-a-ka-ko (1P), wak-a-ka-tɕo (2P)
 ‘to teach, to instruct’
 Ch. t-a-kit (1S), a-kit (2S), ts-a-kit (3), j-a-kit (1PI), o-j-akit (1PE), a-kit-lo (2P),
 o-ts-akit (3P), l-a-kit (3.IRLS) ‘to suggest, to counsel’
- (4) Ay. j-a-kare (1S), b-a-kare (2S), tɕ-a-kare (3), j-a-ka-go (1P), wak-a-ka-jo (2P)
 ‘to stay, to sit, to stop’
 Ch. t-i-jakir (1S), a-kir (2S), ts-a-kir (3), o-j-i-jakir / o-j-i-jar (1PE), j-i-jakir /
 j-i-jar (1PI), a-kir-lo / a-kirihilo / a-kiri-lo (2P), o-ts-a-kir (3P),
 l-a-kihir (3.IRLS) ‘to sit down, to rest’
 cf. also Ch. ts-a-kaha (3) ‘to sit’ and Ay. tɕ-a-kari-hi (3) ‘to sit down, to stay in/at’
- (5) Ay. j/a-ɲa (1S), m-a-ɲa (2S), tɕ-a-ɲa (3), j-a-ɲa-go / j-a-ɲa-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ɲa-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to follow, to pursue’
 Ch. t-a-ɲa (1S), a-ɲa (2S), ts-a-ɲa (3), j-a-ɲa (1PI), o-j-a-ɲa (1PE), a-ɲi-lo (2P),
 o-ts-a-ɲa (3P), n-a-ɲa (3.IRLS) ‘to follow (quickly), to pursue’
- (6) Ay. j-a-ɲera-me (1S), m-a-ɲera-me (2S), tɕ-a-ɲera-me (3), j-a-ɲera-ŋo-me (1P),
 wak-a-ɲera-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to add to, to enlarge’
 Ch. t-a-nimirāha (1S), a-nimirāha (2S), ts-a-nimirāha (3), j-a-nimirāha (1PI),
 o-j-a-nimirāha (1PE), a-nimirāha-lo (2P), o-ts-a-nimirāha (3P),
 n-a-nimirāha (3.IRLS) ‘to add to, to enlarge; to inherit; to translate; to preach’
- (7) Ay. j-a-rẽ-ri (1S), m-a-rẽ-ri (2S), tɕ-a-rẽ-ri (3), j-a-rẽ-ŋo-ri (1P), wak-a-rẽ-ŋo-ri (2P)
 ‘to cook’
 Ch. t-ã-r (1S), ã-r (2S), ts-ã-r (3), j-ã-r (1PI), o-j-ã-r (1PE), ã-r-lo (2P), o-ts-ã-r (3P),
 n-ã-r (3.IRLS) ‘to cook’
- (8) Ay. j-a-rake (1S), m-a-rake (2S), tɕ-ã-rake (3), j-a-ra-ko / j-a-ra-ho (1S),
 wak-ã-ra-tɕo (2P) ‘to hold back, to keep for oneself’
 Ch. t-a-rāk (1S), a-rāk (2S), ts-a-rāk (3), j-a-rāk (1PI), o-j-a-rāk (1PE), a-rāk-lo (2P),
 o-ts-a-rāk (3P), n-a-rāk (3.IRLS) ‘to skimp on; to be stingy with’
- (9) Ay. j-a-rigeta (1S), b-a-rigeta (2S), tɕ-a-rigeta (3), j-a-rigeta-go (1PI),
 wak-a-rigeta-jo (2P) ‘to sweep, to comb’
 Ch. t-a-rz (1S), a-rz (2S), ts-a-rz (3), j-a-rz (1PI), o-j-a-rz (1PE), a-rz-lo (2P),
 o-ts-a-rz (3P), d-a-rz (3.IRLS) ‘to sweep, to comb’

(10) Ay. j-a-ta (1S), b-a-ta (2S), t̥-a-ta (3), j-a-ta-go (1P), wak-a-ta-ŋo (2P)

‘to sharpen’

Ch. t-a-ta (1S), a-ta (2S), ts-a-ta (3), j-a-ta (1PI), o-j-a-ta (1PE), a-ti-lo (2P),

o-ts-a-ta (3P), d-a-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to sharpen, to make sharp’

(11) Ay. j-a-tire (1S), b-a-tire (2S), t̥-a-tire (3), j-a-tire-go (1P), wak-a-tire-jo (2P)

‘to give back, to return something’

Ch. t-a-t̄ir (1S), a-t̄ir (2S), ts-a-t̄ir (3), j-a-t̄ir (1PI), o-j-a-t̄ir (1PE), a-t̄ir-lo (2P),

o-ts-at̄ir (3P), l-a-t̄ir (3.IRLS) ‘to return, to give back’ (also: tsat̄ihir)

§7.2.2 Thematic /a/ in Ayoreo vs. /e/ in Chamacoco

AY /a/ can correspond to CH /a/ (see §7.2.1) or /e/, as shown in (12-17). This double correspondence of AY /a/ in Chamacoco is not restricted to the vocalic pattern, but it is pervasive. In the following examples, the AY prefix /t̥-/ may correspond to CH /ts/- or /t̥/-.

(12) Ay. j-a-huke (1S), b-a-huke (2S), t̥-a-huke (3), j-a-hu-ho (1P), wak-a-hu-t̥o (2P)

‘to split, to chop’

Ch. t-e-hek (1S), e-hek (2S), ts-e-hek (3), j-e-hek (1PI), o-j-e-hek (1PE),

e-hek-lo (2P), o-ts-e-hek (3P), d-e-hek (3.IRLS) ‘to divide, to split’

(13) Ay. ŋ-a-kukāre (1S), m-a-kukāre (2S), t̥-a-kukāre (3), ŋ-a-kukā-ko (1P),

wak-a-kukā-t̥o (2P) ‘to breastfeed, to nurse’

Ch. t-e-kwēr (1S), e-kwēr (2S), ts-e-kwēr (3), j-e-kwēr (1PI), o-j-e-kwēr (1PE),

e-kwēr-lo (2P), o-ts-e-kwēr (3P), d-e-kwēr (3.IRLS) ‘to breastfeed’

(14) Ay. ŋ-a-ŋi (1S), m-a-ŋi (2S), t̥-a-ŋi (3), ŋ-a-ŋi-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋi-ŋo (2P)

‘to put out as a fire to quench, to extinguish’

Ch. t-ē-hi (1S), ē-hi (2S), ts-ē-hi (3), j-ē-hi (1PI), o-j-ē-hi (1PE), e-hĩ-lo (2P),

o-ts-ēhi (3P), nehi (3.IRLS) ‘to wipe out, to put out, to extinguish’

(also: tsē:jhi)

(15) Ay. j-a-kesu (1S), b-a-kesu (2S), t̥-a-kesu (3), j-a-kesu-go (1P), wak-a-kesu-jo (2P)

‘to cut, to go across’

Ch. t-e-k̄eche (1S), e-k̄eche (2S), t̥-e-k̄eche (3), j-e-k̄eche (1PI), o-j-ek̄eche (1PE),

e-k̄eche-lo (2P), o-t̥-e-k̄eche (3P), l-e-k̄eche (3.IRLS) ‘to cut,

to cut into pieces'

(16) Ay. *ɲ-a-rã* (1S), *m-a-rã* (2S), *ɬ-a-rã* (3), *ɲ-a-rã-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-rã-ŋo* (2P) 'to deceive, to cheat'

Ch. *t-e-ŋjer* (1S), *e-ŋjer* (2S), *ts-e-ŋjer* (3), *j-e-ŋjer* (1PI), *o-j-e-ŋjer* (1PE), *e-ŋjër-lo* (2P), *o-ts-e-ŋjer* (3P), *n-e-ŋjer* (3.IRLS) 'to deceive, to cheat'

(17) Ay. *ɲ-ã-ru* (1S), *m-ã-ru* (2S), *ɬ-ã-ru* (3), *ɲ-ã-ko* (1P), *wak-ã-ɬo* (2P)
'to burn, to burn up'¹⁷²

Ch. *t-ẽ-ru* (1S), *ẽ-ru* (2S), *ts-ẽ-ru* (3), *j-ẽ-ru* (1PI), *o-j-ẽru* (1PE), *e-rũ-lo / ẽ-r-lo* (2P), *o-ts-ẽ-ru* (3P), *n-e-ru* (3P) 'to burn, to burn up'

§7.2.3 Mid thematic vowels in Ayoreo

In (18-19) two AY /ɬ/-verbs with thematic /e/ are compared with their CH (18) and A.Z (19) cognates. In the latter example the A.Z verb has thematic /a/ and the first root-vowel /e/. Apparently, the A.Z vocalic cluster has simplified in Ayoreo, so that the first root-vowel (/e/) of Ancient Zamuco has turned into the AY thematic vowel. The same applies to the A.Z verb *ch-u-agoz* (/ɬ-u-agos/) 'to hide, to conceal' (see ex. (2)), which corresponds to AY *ch-a-cose* /ɬ-a-kose/ and CH *s-a-kis* /ts-a-kis/. The lack of the 1-prefix /a/- in Chamacoco and Ayoreo can be explained in the same way: the Ayoreo 1-prefix tends to fall in realis contexts, while in Ancient Zamuco there was a prefix for both the 1-realis and irrealis. One can suppose that the vocalic cluster /aV/ has simplified in Ayoreo and the first element (in this case the realis prefix /a/-) has been lost.

(18) Ay. *ɲ-e-ŋa-me* (1S), *m-a-ŋa-me* (2S), *ɬ-e-ŋa-me* (3), *ɲ-e-ŋa-ŋo-me* (1P), *wak-e-ŋa-ŋo-me* (2P) 'to lift up, to raise up'

Ch. *t-e:-m* (1S), *e:-m* (2S), *ts-e:-m* (3), *j-e:-m* (1PI), *o-j-e:-m* (1PE), *e:-m-lo* (2P), *o-ts-e:-m* (3P), *n-e:-m* (3.IRLS) 'to lift, to pick up'

¹⁷² This verb can also be followed by *gai* /gaj/.

(19) Ay. j-e-kāre (1S), b-e-kāre (2S), tɕ-e-kāre (3), j-e-kā-ko (1P), wak-e-kā-tɕo (2P)
 ‘to change, to replace’

A.Z. a-ecāre (1S), d-a-ecāre (1S), ch-a-ecāre (1S) ‘to change’

In (20-22) both Ayoreo and Chamacoco show thematic /o/ (20-22), preserved in the whole paradigm. The A.Z verb in (21) presents the thematic vowel /i/, but its first root-vowel is /o/, as in Ayoreo.

(20) Ay. j-o-hare (1S), b-o-hare (2S), tɕ-o-hare (3), j-o-ha-ko (1P), wak-o-ha-tɕo (2P)
 ‘to smell’

Ch. t-o-wihir (1S), o-wihir (2S), tɕ-o-wihir (3), j-o-wihir (1PI), o-j-o-wihir (1PE),
 o-wihir-lo (2P), o-tɕ-o-wihir (3P), d-o-wihir (3.IRLS) ‘to sniff, to smell’
 (also: tsowihir)

(21) Ay. ɲ-o-sõre, m-o-sõre (2S), tɕ-o-sõre (3), ɲ-o-sõ-ko (1P), wak-a-sõ-tɕo (2P) ‘to provide
 comfort by helping, to pity by helping’

Ch. tok-o-sir (1S), o-sir (2S), ts-o-sir (3), j-o-sir (1PI), o-j-o-sir (1PE), o-sir-lo (2P),
 o-ts-osir (3P), d-o-sir (3.IRLS) ‘to help, to favour’ (also: tsosir)

A.Z. a-i-yazore (1S), d-a-zore (2S), ch-i-azore (3) ‘to help, to favour’¹⁷³

(22) Ay. j-o-tigase (1S), b-o-tigase (2S), tɕ-o-tigase (3), j-o-tiga-ko (1P), wak-a-tiga-so (2P)
 ‘to doubt, to deny, to distrust’

Ch. tok-o-ti:s (1S), o-ti:s (2S), ts-o-ti:s (3), j-o-ti:s (1PI), o-j-o-ti:s (1PE), o-ti:s-lo (2P),
 o-ts-o-ti:s (3P), l-o-ti:s (3.IRLS) ‘to doubt, to distrust’

§7.2.4 High thematic vowels

If the 3-thematic-vowel is a high vowel, it is preserved in the 1-person, but it changes in the 2-person in all Zamucoan languages. In most cases an Ayoreo high thematic vowel corresponds to a Chamacoco high thematic vowel. In all Zamucoan languages, high thematic vowels are overwritten by the 2-vowel, which is usually /a/ in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco and corresponds to CH /a/ or /e/.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 772, note 74).

¹⁷⁴ Note that the 2S-prefix /a/- is found in Chiquitano verbs. On Chiquitano verb morphology, see Galeote Tormo (1993: 146ff).

§7.2.5 Thematic /i/

In (23-27) CH thematic /i/ corresponds to AY /i/. Thematic /i/ turns into /a/ in the Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco 2-person,¹⁷⁵ while in the Chamacoco 2-person /i/ it turns into /a/ (23, 27) or /e/ (or /ej/)¹⁷⁶ (26). In some CH verbs both /a/ and /e/ alternate in the 2-person (24-25). When the Chamacoco 2-vowel is /a/, the verb may present root allomorphy in the 2-person (23, 25, 27). This never occurs in either Ayoreo or Ancient Zamuco. In (27) the same verb is reported in Ancient Zamuco.

(23) Ay. j-i-tɕagu (1S), b-a-tɕagu (2S), tɕ-i-tɕagu (3), j-i-tɕa-ho (1P),

wak-a-tɕa-tɕo (2P) ‘to pierce; to stab; to give an injection’

Ch. t-i-tɕew (1S), a-tsew (2S), tɕ-i-tɕew (3), j-i-tɕew (1P), o-j-i-tɕew (1PE), a-tsew-lo (2P),

o-tɕ-i-tɕew (3P), d-i-tɕew (3.IRLS) ‘to pierce; to dig; to write’

(24) Ay. j-i-hotɕa (1S), b-a-hotɕa (2S), tɕ-i-hotɕa (3), j-i-hotɕa-go (1P),

wak-a-hotɕa-jo (2P) ‘to dig, to carve’

Ch. t-i-hĩtsa (1S), a-hãtsa / e-hĩtsa (2S), tɕ-i-hĩtsa (3), j-i-hĩtsa (1PI), o-j-i-hĩtsa (1PE),

a-hatsã-lo / a-hãts-lo / a-hatsĩ-lo / e-hĩtsi-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-hĩtsa (3P),

n-i-hitsã (3.IRLS) ‘to dig, to excavate’

(25) Ay. j-/ɲ-i-ɲotɕa-me (1S), b-/m-a-ɲotɕa-me (2S), tɕ-i-ɲotɕa-me (3), j-/ɲ-i-ɲotɕa-ɲo-me /
j-/ɲ-i-ɲotɕa-go-me (1P), wak-a-ɲotɕa-ɲo-me / wak-a-ɲotɕa-jo-me (2P) ‘to bury’
(also: tɕihotɕame)

Ch. t-i-hitsim (1S), a-hatsim / e-hitsim (2S), tɕ-i-hitsim (3), j-i-hitsim (1PI),

o-j-i-hitsim (1PE), a-hatsim-lo / e-hitsim-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-hitsim (3P),

d-i-hitsim (3.IRLS) ‘to bury’¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ On the pattern /i-/, /a-/, /i-/ in the South American languages, see Greenberg (1987: 44-48).

¹⁷⁶ /ej/ in the 2-person is not to be observed in the following examples.

¹⁷⁷ This pair of verbs derives from the verbs in (24). The derivational mechanism is the same: in Ayoreo the verb takes the lexical suffix -(o)me/ (§4.8.6), which corresponds to CH -/im/. The latter is rare in Chamacoco (§5.13). Note that AY -(o)me/ follows the plural suffix, while CH -/im/ precedes -/lo/.

- (26) Ay. *p-i-ṅokāre* (1S), *m-a-ṅokāre* (2S), *ṭ-i-ṅokāre* (3), *p-i-ṅokā-ko* (1P),
wak-a-ṅokā-ṭeo (2P) ‘to frighten’
 Ch. *t-i-jok* (1S), *a-hok* / *e-jok* (2S), *ṭ-i-jok* (3), *j-i-jok* (1PI), *o-j-i-jok* (1PE),
a-hok(i)-lo / *e-jok-lo* (2P), *o-ṭ-i-jok* (3P), *d-i-jok* (3.IRLS) ‘to frighten’
 (also: *çijok*)
- (27) Ay. *j-i-sa* (1S), *b-a-sa* (2S), *ṭ-i-sa* (3), *j-i-sa-go* (1P), *wak-a-sa-jo* (2P) ‘to touch, to pick
 up, to grab, to accept’
 Ch. *t-i-ṣew* (1S), *a-sew* (2S), *ṭ-i-ṣew* (3), *j-i-ṣew* (1PI), *o-j-i-ṣew* (1PE), *a-sew-lo* /
a-si-lo (2P), *o-ṭ-i-ṣew* (3P), *d-i-ṣew* (3.IRLS) ‘to hold, to take, to grab’
 A.Z. *a-i-zau* (1S), *d-a-zau* (2S), *ch-i-zau* (3) ‘to take’¹⁷⁸

§7.2.6 Thematic /u/

In (28-32) CH thematic /u/ corresponds to AY /u/. The 2-vowel is /a/ in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, and /a/ or /e/ in Chamacoco, although only the latter vowel is shown in the following examples. In (33) an AY and an A.Z verb are compared.

- (28) Ay. *j-u-ku* (1S), *b-a-ku* (2S), *ṭ-u-ku* (3), *j-u-ku-go* (1P), *wak-a-ku-ṭeo* (2P)
 ‘to nurse, to suck’
 Ch. *t-u-ku* (1S), *e-ku* (2S), *ṭ-u-ku* (3), *j-u-ku* (1PI), *o-j-u-ku* (1PE), *e-ku-lo* (2P),
o-ṭ-u-ku (3P), *d-u-ku* (3.IRLS) ‘to nurse, to suck’
- (29) Ay. *j-u-kurase* (1S), *b-a-kurase* (2S), *ṭ-u-kurase* (3), *j-u-kura-ko* (1P),
wak-a-kura-so (2P) ‘to push’
 Ch. *t-u-kus* (1S), *e-kus* (2S), *ṭ-u-kus* (3), *j-u-kus* (1PI), *o-j-ukus* (1PE), *e-kusi-lo* (2P),
o-ṭ-ukus (3P), *d-u-kus* (3.IRLS) ‘to push’
- (30) Ay. *j-u-kue* (1S), *b-a-kue* (2S), *ṭ-u-kue* (3), *j-u-kue-go-j* (1P), *wak-a-kue-jo-j* (2P)
 ‘to look for, to search for’
 Ch. *t-u-kwi* (1S), *e-kwi* (2S), *ṭ-u-kwi* (3), *j-u-kwi* (1PI), *o-j-u-kwi* (1PE), *e-kwi-lo* (2P),
o-ṭ-ukwi (3P), *d-u-kwi* (3.IRLS) ‘look for, to search for’ (also: *ṭuku*)¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 772).

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Wichi [t²uk^we] ‘to look for’ (Viñas Urquiza 1974: II, 92).

- (31) Ay. j-u-ru (1S), b-a-ru (2S), tɕ-u-ru (3), j-u-ru-go (1P), wak-a-ru-jo (2P) ‘to wash’
 Ch. t-u-rũ (1S), e-rũ (2S), tɕ-u-rũ (3), j-u-rũ (1PI), o-j-u-rũ (1PE), e-rũ-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-u-rũ (3P), n-u-rũ (3.IRLS) ‘to wash’
- (32) Ay. j-u-rugus (1S), b-a-rugus (2S), tɕ-u-rugus (3), j-u-rugu-ko (1P), wak-a-rugu-so (2P)
 ‘to pull, to drag, to push’
 Ch. t-u-rz̥ (1S), e-rz̥ (2S), tɕ-u-rz̥ (3), j-u-rz̥ (1PI), o-j-u-rz̥ (1PE), e-rz̥-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-u-rz̥ (3P), d-u-rz̥ (3.IRLS) ‘to drag’
- (33) Ay. j-u-ga (1S), b-a-ga (2S), tɕ-u-ga (3), j-u-ga-go (1P), wak-a-ga-jo (2P)
 ‘to sew, to mend’
 A.Z. a-u-gau (1S), d-a-gau (2S), ch-u-gau (3) ‘to thread’
- AY /i/ may correspond to CH /u/ (34-35) or vice versa (36-37), so that a generic correspondence between high vowels remains. In (37) the Chamacoco 2-vowel is /a/, associated with root allomorphy in the 2-person. This phenomenon is not observed in Ayoreo.
- (34) Ay. j-i-keta (1S), b-a-keta (2S), tɕ-i-keta (3), j-i-keta-go (1P), wak-a-keta-jo (2P)
 ‘to heal, to save; to kindle a fire’
 Ch. t-u-kuta (1S), e-kuta (2S), tɕ-u-kuta (3), j-u-kuta (1PI), o-j-u-kuta (1PE),
 e-kuti-lo (2P), o-tɕ-u-kuta (3P), d-u-kuta (3.IRLS) ‘to heal; to catch fire’
- (35) Ay. j-i-haro (1S), b-a-haro (2S), tɕ-i-haro (3), j-i-haro-go (1P), wak-a-haro-jo (2P)
 ‘to grind, to pound, to mill, to crush’
 Ch. t-u-kweɾ (1S), e-kweɾ (2S), tɕ-u-kweɾ (3), j-u-kweɾ (1PI), o-j-u-kweɾ (1PE),
 e-kweɾ-lo (2P), o-tɕ-u-kweɾ (3P), l-u-kweɾ (3.IRLS) ‘to twist, to grind, to rub’
- (36) Ay. ɲ-u-ɲuke (1S), m-a-ɲuke (2S), tɕ-u-ɲuke (3), ɲ-u-ɲu-ko / ɲ-u-ɲu-ho (1P),
 wak-a-ɲu-tɕo (2P) ‘to peel as fruits, vegetables, trees; to skin an animal’
 (generally followed by *gaj*)
 Ch. t-i-hĩk (1S), e-hĩk (2S), tɕ-i-hĩk (3), j-ĩ-hik (1PI), o-j-ĩ-hik (1PE), e-hĩki-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-i-hĩk (3P), n-i-hĩk (3.IRLS) ‘to peel’
- (37) Ay. j-u-sake (1S), b-a-sake (2S), tɕ-u-sake (3), j-u-sa-ho (1P), wak-a-sa-tɕo (2P)
 ‘to crack open, to split open’ (with this meaning it is followed by *gaj*)
 Ch. tik-i-çak / t-i-çak (1S), a-sak (2S), tɕ-i-çak (3), j-i-çak (1PI), o-j-i-çak (1PE),
 e-çak-lo / e-çaki-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-çak (3P), d-i-çak (3.IRLS) ‘to break’

The vocalic inventory of Chamacoco is richer than the AY or A.Z one, because it also includes the central high vowel. CH /i/ can correspond to different vowels in Ayoreo: /i/ (38-42) or /u/ (43-44). In these cases both CH /a/ and /e/ can occur as 2-vowel, although only /e/ is to be observed in the following examples. In (39) the thematic vowel is /i/ in Ayoreo, /i/ in Chamacoco and /u/ in Ancient Zamuco: even when the vowel is different, it is a high vowel in all three languages.

- (38) Ay. j-i-kadi-gi (1S), b-a-kadi-gi (2S), t̥-i-kadi-gi (3), j-i-kadi-jo-j (1P),
 wak-a-kadi-t̥o-j (2P) ‘to forget’
 Ch. t-i-kej (1S), e-kej (2S), t̥-i-kej (3), j-i-kej (1PI), o-j-i-kej (1PE), e-kej-lo (2P),
 o-t̥-i-kej (3P), d-i-kej (3.IRLS) ‘to forget’
- (39) Ay. ɲ-i-mate (1S), b-a-mate (2S), t̥-i-mate (3), ɲ-i-ma-ko (1P),
 wak-a-ma-t̥o (2P) ‘to finish, to complete’
 Ch. t-i-mit (1S), e-mit (2S), t̥-i-mit (3), j-i-mit (1PI), o-j-i-mit (1PE),
 e-mit-lo (2P), o-t̥-i-mit (3P), n-i-mit (3.IRLS) ‘to finish, to complete’
 A.Z. a-u-mate (1S), ch-u-mate (3) ‘to finish’
- (40) Ay. j-i-raha (1S), b-a-raha (2S), t̥-i-raha (3), j-i-raha-go (3), wak-a-raha-jo (2P)
 ‘to know, to understand’
 Ch. tik-i-raha (1S), e-raha (2S), t̥-i-raha (3), j-i-raha (1PI), o-j-i-raha (1PE), e-raha-lo /
 e-ra:lo (2P), o-t̥-i-raha (3P), d-i-raha (3.IRLS) ‘to know’ (also: t̥irehe)
- (41) Ay. ɲ-i-riɲare (1P), m-a-riɲare (2P), t̥-i-riɲare (3), ɲ-i-riɲa-ko (1P), wak-a-riɲa-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to rouse someone from sleep, to awaken another’
 Ch. t-i-nijer (1S), e-nijer (2S), t̥-i-nijer (3), j-i-nijer (1PI), o-j-i-nijer (1PE),
 e-nijer-lo (2P), o-t̥-i-nijer (3P), n-i-nijer (3.IRLS) ‘to wake someone up’
- (42) Ay. j-i-site (1S), b-a-site (3), t̥-i-site (3), j-i-si-ko (1P), wak-a-si-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to sift (as flour), to winnow grain’
 Ch. t-i-çit (1S), e-çit (2S), t̥-i-çit (3), j-i-çit (1PI), o-j-i-çit (1PE), e-çiti-lo / e-çit-lo (2P),
 o-t̥-i-çit (3P), d-i-çit (3.IRLS) ‘to strain, to winnow, to sift’
- (43) Ay. j-u-ta (1S), b-a-ta (2S), t̥-u-ta (3), j-u-ta-go (1P), wak-a-ta-jo (2P) ‘to sprinkle,
 to wet down’
 Ch. t-i-ta (1S), e-ta (2S), ts-i-ta (3), j-i-ta (1PI), o-j-i-ta (1PE), e-ti-lo (2P), o-ts-i-ta (3P),
 d-i-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to water, to irrigate’

- (44) Ay. *ɲ-ũ-ra* (1S), *m-ã-ra* (2S), *ɬ-ũ-ra* (3), *ɲ-ũ-ra-ŋo* (1P), *wak-ã-ra-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to offer food/drink, to feed, to give food to’ (also: *ɬũraha*)
 Ch. *t-i-rã* (1S), *e-rã* (2S), *ɬ-i-rã* (3), *j-i-rã* (1PI), *o-j-i-rã* (1PE), *e-rã-lo* (2P), *o-ɬ-i-rã* (3P),
n-i-ra (3.IRLS) ‘to feed, to give something to eat; to row’

This correspondence between high vowels is not always to be observed. CH /i/ is often the result of vowel reduction and can correspond to other AY vowels, such as /a/ (45) and /e/ (46-48). In (46-48) the 2-vowel is /e/ in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco.

- (45) Ay. *ɲ-a-murase* (1S), *m-a-murase* (2S), *ɬ-a-murase* (3), *ɲ-u-mura-ko* (1P),
wak-a-mura-so (2P) ‘to put down, to take down, to lower, to bring down’
 Ch. *t-i-rmas* (1S), *e-rmas* (2S), *ɬ-i-rmas* (3), *j-i-rmas* (1PI), *o-j-i-rmas* (1PE),
e-rmas-lo (2P), *o-ɬ-i-rmas* (3P), *n-i-rmas* (3.IRLS) ‘to go down, to come down;
 to topple’

- (46) Ay. *j-e-take* (1S), *b-e-take* (2S), *ɬ-e-take* (2S), *j-e-ta-ho* (1P), *wak-a-ta-ɬo* (2P)
 ‘to dislike, to hate, to reject, to be against’ (also: *ɬetak*)
 Ch. *tik-i-tak* (1S), *e-tak* (2S), *ts-i-tak* (3), *j-i-tak* (1PI), *o-j-i-tak* (1PE), *e-taki-lo* (2P),
o-ts-i-tak (3P), *d-i-tak* (3.IRLS) ‘not to want, to hate’

- (47) Ay. *ɲ-e-ŋa* (1S), *m-e-ŋa* (2S), *ɬ-e-ŋa* (3), *ɲ-e-ŋa-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-ŋa-ŋo* (2P) ‘to finish,
 to finish off to consume, to destroy, to kill’
 Ch. *t-i-ŋa* (1S), *e-ŋa* (2S), *ts-i-ŋa* / *ɬ-i-ŋa* (3), *j-i-ŋa* (1PI), *o-j-i-ŋa* (1PE), *e-ŋi-lo* (2P),
o-ts-i-ŋa / *o-ɬ-i-ŋa* (3P), *n-i-ŋa* (3.IRLS) ‘to finish, to end; to destroy, to kill’

- (48) Ay. *ɲ-e-tiŋare* (1S), *m-e-tiŋare* (2S), *ɬ-e-tiŋare* (3), *ɲ-e-tiŋa-ko* (1P), *wak-a-tiŋa-ɬo* (2P)
 ‘to try, to prove, to test, to put to the test’
 Ch. *t-i-titëra* (1S), *e-titëra* (2S), *ts-i-titëra* (3), *j-i-titëra* (1PI), *o-j-i-titëra* (1PE),
e-titër-lo (2P), *o-ts-ititëra* (3P), *d-i-titëra* (3.IRLS) ‘to measure; to try, to test’

The verbs in (49-50) are cognate, although there is no regular correspondence in the thematic vowel.

- (49) Ay. *j-i-rota* (1S), *b-a-rota* (2S), *ɬ-i-rota* (3), *j-i-rota-go* (1P), *wak-a-rota-jo* (2P)
 ‘to defend, to avenge, to shield, to guard’
 Ch. *t-o-ɬja* (1S), *o-ɬja* (2S), *ts-o-ɬja* (3), *j-o-ɬja* (1PI), *o-j-o-ɬja* (1PE), *o-ɬji-lo* (2P),
o-ts-o-ɬja (3P), *d-o-ɬja* (3.IRLS) ‘to defend, to protect’

- (50) Ay. *ɲ-i-ɲak* (1S), *m-a-ɲak* (2S), *ɬ-i-ɲak* (3), *ɲ-i-ɲa-ho* (1P), *wak-a-ɲa-ɬo* (2P)
 ‘to lead, to guide’
 A.Z. *a-e-yac* (1S), *d-e-yac* (2S), *ch-e-yac* (3) ‘to guide’

The CH verb *chees* /tʰe:s/ is characterized by an irregular vocalic pattern (49), because, as noted in (§5.4.4), the verb has undergone a change in the 3-person and its original thematic vowel was /i/, still to be found in the 1-person and in the irrealis. This is confirmed by its AY cognate *chigas* /tʰigas/ (51), which is regular and has thematic /i/.

- (51) Ay. *j-i-gas* (1S), *b-a-gas* (2S), *ɬ-i-gas* (3), *j-i-ga-ko* (1P), *wak-a-ga-so* (2P)
 ‘to bite, to sting’ (also: *ɬ-i-gase*)
 Ch. *t-i-r-s* (1S), *a-r-s* (2S), *ɬ-e-r-s* (3), *j-i-r-s* (1PI), *o-j-i-r-s* (1PE), *a-r-s-lo* (2P),
o-ɬ-e-r-s (3P), *d-i-r-s* / *l-i-r-s* (3.IRLS) ‘to bite, to sting, to criticize’
 (also: *tʰes* and *tʰe:s*)¹⁸⁰

§7.2.7 Ayoreo irregular vowels

The AY /tʰ/-verbs in the following examples present some peculiarities in the vocalic pattern. For the AY verb in (52) two alternating thematic vowels, /a/ and /i/, are observed. *Chimáta* /tʰimata/ or *chamáta* /tʰamata/ corresponds to CH *samita* /tsamita/ and A.Z *chamata* (/tʰamata/). This suggests that *chimáta* /tʰimata/ is an AY innovation. The comparison with the other Zamucoan languages shows that CH /i/ in the root of *samita* /tsamita/ is perhaps the result of reduction of /a/.

- (52) Ay. *ɲ-a-mata* / *ɲ-i-mata* (1S) , *b-/m-a-mata* (2S), *ɬ-a-mata* / *ɬ-i-mata* (3),
ɲ-a-mata-go / *ɲ-i-mata-go* (1P), *wak-a-mata-jo* (2P) ‘to collect’¹⁸¹
 Ch. *tamita* (1S), *amita* (2S), *ts-a-mita* (3), *j-a-mita* (1PI), *o-j-a-mita* (1PE),
a-miti-lo (2P), *o-ts-a-mita* (3P), *n-a-mita* (3.IRLS) ‘to put together,
 to collect’
 A.Z. *a-mata* (1S), *d-a-mata* (2S), *ch-a-mata* (3) ‘to choose’

¹⁸⁰ According to the informants, the 3-person form preferred by old speakers is *chees* /tʰe:s/, while young speakers prefer the form *tʰees* /tʰe:s/.

¹⁸¹ According to Kelm (1964: 772) this verb also means ‘to choose’.

In Ayoreo there are few exceptions with the 3-thematic-vowel /i/, and the 2-vowel /e/, rather than /a/ (53-54). Such an exception corresponds to a regularity in Chamacoco, where /e/ most often occurs as 2-vowel (53-54). The two AY verbs in (53) correspond to one verb with both meanings in Chamacoco. The A.Z verb *chize* (/tɕise/) (53), corresponding to *chise* /tɕise/ (AY) and *chish* /tɕiç/ (CH), does not have /e/ in the 2-person, but it shows nevertheless an irregularity, because the 3-thematic-vowel /i/ is preserved in the 2-person after /a/. This confirms that the 2-vowel /a/ was originally a prefix which has overwritten the high thematic vowel. In the word *chize*, this process did not take place.

(53) Ay. j-i-se (1S), b-e-se (2S), tɕ-i-se (3), j-i-ko (1P), wak-e-so (2P) ‘to find, to meet, to reach’

Ch. t-i-ç (1S), e-ç (2S), tɕ-i-ç (3), j-i-ç (1PI), o-j-i-ç (1PE), e-ç-lo / e-çi-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-ç (3P), d-i-ç (3.IRLS) ‘to meet, to reach’

A.Z. a-i-ze (1S), da-i-ze (2S), ch-i-ze (3), a-i-co (1P), da-i-zo (2P) ‘to reach’

(54) Ay. ɲ-i-kāra (1S), m-e-kāra (2S), tɕ-i-kāra (3), ɲ-i-kā-ko (1P), wak-e-kā-tɕo (2P) ‘to dream’

Ay. ɲ-i-kāre (1S), m-e-kāre (2S), tɕ-i-kāre (3), ɲ-i-kā-ko (1P), wak-e-kā-tɕo (2P) ‘to mention’ (followed by *aha* ‘to give a name’)

Ch. t-i-kēra (1S), e-kēra (2S), tɕ-i-kēra (3), j-i-kēra (1PI), o-j-i-kēra (1PE), e-kēr-lo (2P), o-tɕ-i-kēra (3P), d-i-kēra (3.IRLS) ‘to dream; to name, to call’¹⁸²

In conclusion, the vocalic pattern /i/-/e/-/i/, while common in Chamacoco, is observed in few exceptions in Ayoreo and never in Ancient Zamuco. It is remarkable that the AY verb *chise* /tɕise/, which has an irregular vocalic pattern, corresponds to an exception in Ancient Zamuco.

¹⁸² It is also possible to posit a relationship between *chicāre* /tɕikāre/ ‘to mention’ and the CH verb *chukwēra* /tɕ-u-kwēra/ ‘to name, to call’:

(i) t-u-kwēra (1S), e-kwēra (2S), tɕ-u-kwēra (3), j-u-kwēra (1PI), o-j-u-kwēra (1PE), j-u-kwēr-lo (1PI.GP), e-kwēr-lo / e-kwēra-lo / e-kwēri-lo (2P), o-tɕ-u-kwēra (3P), d-u-kwēra (3.IRLS).

The CH verbs *chikēra* /tɕikēra/ and *chukwēra* probably have same origin, but *chukwēra* only means ‘to name, to call’.

§7.2.8 On the correspondence between Chamacoco and Ayoreo thematic vowels

The following table summarizes the correspondences between CH and AY thematic vowels in prefixal verbs.¹⁸³ There is a general correspondence between AY and CH thematic vowels. AY /e/ can correspond to CH /a/ or /e/, while CH /i/, absent in Ayoreo, usually corresponds to a high vowel in Ayoreo, but it can also correspond to AY /a/ or /e/.

Table 7.4. Chamacoco and Ayoreo thematic vowels in prefixal verbs

Chamacoco thematic vowel	Ayoreo thematic vowel	Examples
/a/	/a/	(2-11)
/e/	/a/	(12-17)
/e/	/e/	(18)
/o/	/o/	(20-22)
/i/	/i/	(23-27, 53-55)
/u/	/u/	(28-33, 57)
/u/	/i/	(34-37)
/i/	/i/	(38-42)
/i/	/u/	(43-44)
/i/	/a/	(45)
/i/	/e/	(46-48)

§7.3 On the correspondence between Chamacoco /ç/- and Ayoreo /tç/-verbs

The CH prefix /ç/- is an allomorph of /ts/- and corresponds to A.Z /tç/- (55-56).

¹⁸³ However, the thematic vowels of exceptions, such as (52-54), are not reported.

- (55) Ay. j-i-garu (1S), b-a-garu (2), t̥-i-garu (3), j-i-garu-ko (1P), wak-a-garu-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to tie, to fasten’
 Ch. t-i-jeru (1S), a-heru (2S), ɕ-i-jeru (3), j-i-jeru (1PI), o-j-i-jeru (1PE), a-heru-lo (2P),
 o-ɕ-i-jeru (3P), d-i-jeru (3.IRLS) ‘to close, to tie’
- (56) Ay. j-o-ra (1S), b-o-ra (2S), t̥-o-ra (3), j-o-ra-go (1P), wak-o-ra-jo (2P) ‘to build’
 Ch. t-i-jokōr (1S), a-hakōr (2S), ɕ-i-jokōr / ɕ-i-jōr (3), j-i-jokōr (1PI), o-j-i-jokōr (1PE),
 a-hakōrlo (2P), o-ɕ-i-jokōr (3P), n-i-jokōr / n-i-jokōr (3.IRLS) / o-ŋ-ijor (3P.IRLS)
 ‘to build, to make, to do’
- (57) Ay. j-u-he (1S), b-a-he (2S), t̥-u-he (3), j-u-he-go (1P), wak-a-he-jo (2P) ‘to kill, to hit’
 Ch. t-u: (1S), tuk (2S), ɕ-u: (3), j-u-hu (1PI), o-j-u-hu (1PE), tuk-lo (2P), o-ɕ-u: (3P),
 d-u-hu (3.IRLS) ‘to kill, to hit, to beat’
- (58) Ch. t-u: (1S), u-hu (2S), ɕ-u: (3), j-u-hu (1PI), o-j-u-hu (1PE), u-hu-lo (2P), o-ɕ-u: (3P),
 d-u-hu (3.IRLS) ‘to make’ (used in causative constructions)

AY *chujé* /t̥uhe/ (57) is a regular verb, while CH *shuu* /ɕu:/ (57-58) is irregular in the 2-person. This verb is mainly used in causative constructions (60). The causative verb *shuu* /ɕ-u:/ (58) corresponds to *chihí* (/t̥ihi/) (59), a causative verb in Ancient Zamuco (61).

In Ancient Zamuco the prefix /ɕ-/ did not exist and the 3-prefix *z-* /s/ was rare, so that, as in Ayoreo, the CH prefix /ɕ-/ corresponds to the A.Z prefix *ch-* (/t̥/-). In the thematic vowel one finds two different high vowels, i.e. /i/ in Ancient Zamuco and /u/ in Chamacoco. Such a correspondence has been already noted in examples (34-44). The more remarkable similarity between the two verbs, is that both *chihí* /t̥ihi/ and *shuu* /ɕ-u:/ show the same exception in the 2-vowel. The 3-thematic-vowel (/i/ in Ancient Zamuco and /u/ in Chamacoco) is preserved in the 2-person, while in all the other cases the high thematic vowels turn into /a/ or /e/ (depending on the language). This is also a very rare kind of exception, never found in other CH and A.Z verbs. It is never found in Ayoreo too. The only similar case is found in CH nominal prefixation (see §10.9).

In conclusion, the same verb for the causative construction is used in both Ancient Zamuco (59) and Chamacoco (60). The verb *shuu* /ɕ-u:/ and *chihí* (/t̥ihi/) agree with the causer and the following verb agrees with the causee

(59-60). In Ayoreo no specific verb used for causative constructions is to be observed. Thus, the use of the same causative construction is yet another characteristic (like the realis vs. irrealis opposition in the 3-person) shared by Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco, but not found in Ayoreo, in spite of the close relationship between Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo and despite the lower lexical similarity between Chamacoco and the other Zamucoan languages.

(59) A.Z. ah-i-hi (1S), d-i-hi (2S), ch-i-hi (3), d-i-hi (3.IRLS) ‘to make’ (causative verb)
(Chomé 1958: 155)

(60) Chamacoco

a. Uje uu y-insūr-c ch-eeshipo = ni, sh-uu s-eyhi = po.
/Uxe u: j-insūr-tɕ tɕ-e:ɕipo = ni, tɕ-u: ts-ejhi = po/
SUB DET.MS 3-boss-MS.FF 3-come_back = PST 3-make 3-go_home = also
‘When the boss came back, he made him go home too.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Sh-uu hnakirb-o o-ts-arz uu ormi-t dich.
/tɕ-u: ŋakirb-o o-ts-arz u: ormi-t ditɕ/
3-make man-MP P-3-clear DET.MP wood-MS.FF big.MS.FF
‘He makes the men clear the dense wood.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(61) Ancient Zamuco

ahihi tanârâ ‘I make him tremble’
ahihi datanârâ ‘I make you tremble’
dihi aitanârâ ‘You make me tremble’

(Chomé 1958: 155)

In (62) the drop of the syllable /ru/ in the 3-person is to be found in both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco.

(62) Ay. ɲ-u-suruŋu (1S), m-a-suruŋu (2S), tɕ-u-suruŋu / Ø-Ø-suruŋu (3), ɲ-u-suruŋu-ŋo (1P),
wak-a-suruŋu-ŋo (2P) ‘to pout at, to act disgusted’
Ay. ɲ-u-ruŋu (1S), m-a-ruŋu (2S), tɕ-u-ruŋu / tɕ-u-gu (3), ɲ-u-ruŋu-ŋo (1P),
wak-a-ruŋu-ŋo (2P) ‘to pout at, to act disgusted’
A.Z. airugu (1S), chigu (3) ‘to get angry’

§7.4 /t/-verbs

In Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco there is a small group of /t/-verbs. By contrast, /t/-verbs are one of the largest verb groups in Chamacoco. In Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco the 3-realis and irrealis of /t/-verbs coincide. Examples from A.Z /t/-verbs are reported in (63), (64), (65), (71) and (75). The vocalic pattern follows the same rules as in /t_ɕ/-verbs. The following table summarizes the correspondences between the thematic vowel of AY and CH /t/-verbs.

Table 7.5. Ayoreo and Chamacoco thematic vowels in /t/-verbs

Ayoreo thematic vowel	Chamacoco thematic vowel	Examples
/a/	/a/	(63-64)
/a/	/e/	(65-66)
/e/	/e/	(68)
/e/	/i/	(67-69)
/o/	/o/	(73-75)
/i/	/i/	(70-72)

AY and A.Z /a/ may correspond to CH /a/ (63-64) or to /e/ (65-66). The thematic vowel of Ch. *tew* is /a/, while the presence of /e/ in the 3-person is an innovation to distinguish the 1S-person from the 3-person (see §5.4.4). This is confirmed by the comparison with Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, which show /a/ in the whole paradigm. The intransitive counterpart of *tew*, *taak* /ta:k/, preserves thematic /a/ in the whole paradigm, because the 1S-person and the 3-person have a different prefix. AY /e/ may correspond to CH /e/ (68) or to /i/ (67-69). AY and A.Z /i/ corresponds to CH /i/ (70-72) and AY /o/ corresponds to CH /o/ (74-75) or /a/ (73). In this last example, the CH verb *tāra* corresponds to two verbs in Ayoreo and shows the vowel /a/ in the 2- and 3-person. In the 1-person *tokōra*, the inflectional vowel is /o/. The comparison with Ayoreo suggests that /o/ in the 1-person was the original CH thematic vowel.

- (63) Ay. j-a-k (1S), b-a-k (2S), t-a-k (3), j-a-ho (1P), wak-a-ṭɔ (2P) ‘to eat’ (also: take)
 Ch. tak-a:k (1S), a:k (2S), t-a:k (3), j-a:k (1PI), o-j-a:k (1PE), a:ki-lo (2P),
 o-t:a-k (3P), t-a:k (3.IRLS) ‘to eat’
 A.Z. y-a-que (1S.irl), t-a-c (3), t-a-c (3.IRLS) ‘to eat’
- (64) Ay. j-a-gu (1S), b-a-gu (2S), t-a-gu (3), j-a-ho (1P), wak-a-ṭɔ (2P) ‘to eat, to bite’
 Ch. t-a-w (1S), e-w (2S), t-e-w (3), j-a-hu (1PI), o-j-ahu (1PE), e-w-lo / e-li-lo (2P),
 o-t-e-w (3P), t-e-w (3.IRLS) ‘to eat’
 A.Z. a-gu (1S), t-a-gu (3), t-a-gu (3.IRLS) ‘to eat’
- (65) Ay. ɲ-/j-a-ɲari (1S), m-/b-a-ɲari (2S), t-a-ɲari (3), ɲ-/j-a-ɲa-ko-j (1P), wak-a-ɲa-ṭɔ-j (2P)
 ‘to listen to, to pay attention to, to obey to’
 Ch. t̄k-ĩ-r (1S), ẽ-r (2S), t-ẽ-r (3), j-ẽ-r (1PI), o-j-ẽ-r (1PE), ẽ-r-lo (2P), o-t-ẽ-r (3P),
 t-ẽ-r (3.IRLS) ‘to listen to’
 A.Z. a-gari (1S), t-a-gari (3), t-a-gari (3.IRLS) ‘to believe’
- (66) Ay. j-a-kiri (1S), b-a-kiri (2S), t-a-kiri (3), j-a-ki-ko-j (1P), wak-a-ki-ṭɔ-j (2P) ‘to visit,
 go to see someone’
 Ch. t-e-kir (1S), e-kir (2S), t-e-kir (3), j-e-kir (1PI), o-j-ekir (1PE), e-kir-lo (2P),
 o-t-e-kir (3P) ‘to go for a walk’
 Ay. j-a-kiri-hi (1S), b-a-kiri-hi (2S), t-a-kiri-hi (3), j-a-ki-ko-hi (1P),
 wak-a-ki-ṭɔ-hi (2P) ‘to visit at’
 Ch. t-e-kirihi (1S), e-kirihi (2S), t-e-kirihi (3), j-e-kirihi (1PI), o-j-ekirihi (1PE),
 e-kirihi-lo (2P), o-t-e-kirihi (3P), t-e-kirihi (3.IRLS) ‘to visit’
- (67) Ay. j-e-re (1S), b-e-re (2S), t-e-re (3), j-e-ko (1P), wak-e-ṭɔ / wak-a-re-ṭɔ (2P)
 ‘to urinate’
 Ch. tik-i-r̄ (1S), e-r̄ (2S), t-i-r̄ (3), j-i-r̄ (1PI), o-j-i-r̄ (1PE), e-r̄-lo (2P), o-t-i-r̄ (3P),
 t-i-r̄ (3.IRLS) ‘to urinate’
- (68) Ay. ɲ-e-raṭɔ (1S), m-e-raṭɔ (2S), t-ẽ-raṭɔ / ṭɔ-ẽ-raṭɔ (3), ɲ-e-raṭɔ-go (1P),
 wak-ẽ-raṭɔ-jo (2P) ‘to sing with gourd rattle’
 Ch. tik-ẽ-j-ṭɔa / tak-ã:ṭɔa / tik-ẽ-j-ṭɔi (1S), ẽ:j-ṭɔa (2S), t-ẽ:j-ṭɔa (3), j-ẽ:j-ṭɔa (1PI),
 o-j-ẽ:j-ṭɔa (1PE), ẽ:j-ṭɔi-lo (2P), o-t-ẽ:j-ṭɔa (3P), t-ẽ:j-ṭɔa (3.IRLS)
 (also: ṭɔjṭɔa / tejṭɔa (3)) ‘to shake, to swing’ (also ‘to shake a rattle’)

- (69) Ay. j-e-raha (1), b-e-raha (2S), t-e-raha (3), j-e-ko-ha (3), wak-e-t̢o-ha (3)
 ‘to urinate upon, to wet upon’
 Ch. t̢ik-i-rāha (1S), e-rāha (2S), t-i-rāha (3), j-i-rāha (1PI), o-j-i-rāha (1PE),
 e-rāha-lo (2P), o-t-i-rāha (3P), t-i-rāha (3.IRLS) ‘to urinate all over’
- (70) Ay. j-i-bi-te (1S), b-a-bi-te (2S), t-i-bi-te (3), j-i-bi-ko (1P), wak-a-bi-t̢o (2P)
 ‘to yell, to shout’ (also: t̢ibit)
 Ch. t̢ik-i-bit̢ (1S), e-bit̢ (2S), t-i-bit̢ (3), j-i-bit̢ (1PI), o-j-i-bit̢ (1PE), e-bit̢-lo (2P),
 o-t-i-bit̢ (3P), t-i-bit̢ (3.IRLS) ‘to shout, to yell’
- (71) Ay. j-i-bidi (1S), b-a-bidi (2S), t-i-bidi (3), j-i-bi-ko-j (1P), wak-a-bi-t̢o-j (2P)
 ‘to call, to summon’
 Ch. t̢ik-i-bi: (1S), e-bi: (2S), t-i-bi: (3), j-i-bi: (1PI), o-j-i-bi: (1PE), e-bi:-lo (2P),
 o-t-i-bi: (3P), t-i-bi: (3.IRLS) ‘to call, to summon’
 A.Z. a-i-bidi (1S), t-i-bidi (3), t-i-bidi (3.IRLS) ‘to call’
- (72) Ay. j-i-miniña (1P), b-a-miniña (2P), t-i-miniña (3), j-i-miniña-ko (1P),
 wak-a-miniña-t̢o (2P) ‘to pay attention to, to take note to’
 Ch. t̢ik-i-bej (1S), a-bej (2S), t-i-bej (3), j-i-bej (1PI), o-j-i-bej (1PE), a-bej-lo (2P),
 o-t-i-bej (3P), t-i-bej (3.IRLS) ‘to look after, to take care of’
- (73) Ay. j-ō-ra (1S), m-ō-ra (2S), t-ō-ra (3), j-ō-ra-ño (1P), wak-ō-ra-ño (2P) ‘to throw out’
 Ay. j-ō-ra-(h)i (1S), b-ō-ra-(h)i (2S), t-ō-ra-(h)i (3), j-ō-ra-ño-(h)i (1P),
 wak-ō-ra-ño-(h)i (2P) ‘to come from, to leave from’
 Ch. tok-ō-ra (1S), ã-ra (2S), t-ã-ra (3), j-ã-ra (1PI), o-j-ã-ra (1PE), ã-r-lo (2P),
 o-t-ã-ra (3P), t-ã-ra (3.IRLS) ‘to come from; to throw’
 A.Z. o-râ (1S), t-o-râ (3) ‘to bring, to take’¹⁸⁴
- (74) Ay. j-o-ri (1S), b-o-ri (2S), t-o-ri (3), j-o-ri-go (1P), wak-o-ri-jo (2P) ‘to steal, to rob’
 Ch. tok-o-h̃ir (1S), o-h̃ir (2S), t-o-h̃ir (3), j-o-h̃ir (1PI), o-j-o-h̃ir (1PE), o-h̃ir-lo (2P),
 o-t-o-h̃ir (3P), t-o-h̃ir (3.IRLS) ‘to steal, to rob’
- (75) Ay. j-o-ria (1S), b-o-ria (2S), t-o-ria (3), j-o-ria-go / j-o-ri-ko (1P), wak-o-ria-jo /
 wak-o-ri-t̢o (2P) ‘to steal, to rob’
 Ch. tok-o-ṛa (1S), o-ṛa (2S), t-o-ṛa (3), j-o-ṛa (1PI), o-j-o-ṛa (1PE), o-h̃ir-lo (2P),
 o-t-o-ṛa (3P), t-o-ṛa (3) ‘to steal, to rob’
 A.Z. o-ria (1S), d-o-ria (2S), t-o-ria (3), oria (2S.IRLS) ‘to steal’

¹⁸⁴ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 480, note 52).

The above examples present a few pairs of AY and CH verbs related both semantically and phonologically, such as *tac* /tak/ (63) and *tagu* (64), *taquiri* /takiri/ and *taquirji* /takirihi/ (66), *tere* (67) and *teraja* /teraha/ (69), *tibite* (70) and *tibidi* (71), *tori* (74) and *toria* (75). These pairs are the result of a derivational process, which is often opaque. The derivation process is only transparent in *taquirji* /takirihi/ (66) and *teraja* /teraha/ (69) and involves devices still found in the currently spoken Zamucoan languages. *Taquirji* /takirihi/ (66) and *teraja* /teraha/ (69) are obtained by adding the lexical suffixes *-/ihi/* and *-/aha/* to *taquiri* /takiri/ and *tere*. These lexical suffixes correspond to the CH preposition *=/ihi/* (or *=/aha/*), where the same process is to be found: *tirh* /tiṛ/ ‘to urinate’ (67) + *=/āha/* ---> *tirāha* ‘to urinate everywhere’ (69); *tekir* ‘to walk, to travel’ (66) + *=/ihi/* ---> *tekirihi* ‘to visit’ (66). In (69), apart from the unexpected nasalization of the preposition *=/āha/* (far more frequent in its non-nasalized variant *=/aha/*), the main difference between the two forms is the meaning of the verb, rather than the valency. In the case of *tirh* /tiṛ/ (67), the regular form with the preposition is *tirihi* (which conveys the same meaning and an increased valency) rather than *tirāha*, which is semantically different (cf. (67) with (69)). Thus, in *tekirihi* and *tirāha* the preposition has been incorporated in the verb, producing a semantic change.

Leaving aside the specific meaning of each verb and the single derivational process, it is remarkable that five pairs of /t/-verbs present a derivational process common to both Ayoreo and Chamacoco. There is lack of data for Ancient Zamuco, but the few data available confirm that these phenomena can be traced back to a very old stage of the Zamucoan languages.

§7.5 Chamacoco /t/-verbs corresponding to other verb classes in Ayoreo

As already said, /t/-verbs form a large group in Chamacoco, but correspond to two small groups in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. The obvious implication is that AY /t/-verbs usually correspond to CH /t/-verbs, but not all CH /t/-verbs correspond to AY /t/-verbs. The CH /t/-verbs in (76-79) are /tṛ/-verbs in Ayoreo. However, in (76-78) the CH prefix /t/- corresponds to AY /tṛ/-, while in (79) the Chamacoco 3-person *t-ata* corresponds to the A.Z

radical 3-person *tata* and to the AY root of *ch-a-tata* /tɕ-a-tata/. Here, the prefix /tɕ/- has been added in Ayoreo and the CH root *tata* has been reinterpreted as a /t/-verb. Something similar has occurred in the CH /t/-verb *tibuhu*, whose 3-person corresponds to the root of the AY verb *tibója* /tiboħa/, a radical verb (80).

- (76) Ay. j-u-tɕi (1S), b-a-tɕi (2S), tɕ-u-tɕi (3), j-u-tɕi-go (1P), wak-a-tɕi-jo (2P) ‘to defecate’
 Ch. tɪk-i-tɕi (1S), e-tɕi (2S), t-i-tɕi (3), j-i-tɕi (1PI), o-j-i-tɕi (1PE), e-tɕi-lo (2P),
 o-t-i-tɕi (3P), t-i-tɕi (3.IRLS) ‘to defecate’
- (77) Ay. ɲ-i-sekãru, m-a-sekãru (2S), tɕ-i-sekãru (3), ɲ-i-sekã-ko (1P), wak-a-sekã-tɕo (2P)
 ‘to count, to number’
 Ch. tɪk-i-skɪr (1S), e-skɪr (2S), t-i-skɪr (3), j-i-skɪr (1PI), o-j-i-skɪr (1PE), e-skɪr-lo (2P),
 o-t-i-skɪr (3P), t-i-skɪr (3.IRLS) ‘to count, to number’ (also: tɪsɪkɪr / tɪskɪr)
- (78) Ay. j-u-tĩra-ha (1S), b-a-tĩra-ha (2S), tɕ-u-tĩra-ha (3), j-u-tĩ-ko-ha (1P),
 wak-a-tĩ-tɕo-ha (2P) ‘to spit at/in/on’
 Ch. tɪk-i-tĩrãha (1S), e-tĩrãha (2S), t-i-tĩrãha (3), j-i-tĩrãha (1PI), o-j-i-tĩrãha (1PE),
 e-tĩrãha-lo (2P), o-t-i-tĩrãha (3P), t-i-tĩrãha (3.IRLS) ‘to spit’
- (79) Ay. j-a-tata (1S), b-a-tata (2S), tɕ-a-tata (3), j-a-tata-go (1P), wak-a-tata-jo (2P)
 ‘to advise; to tell; to inform; to relate; to preach’
 Ch. t-i-ta (1S), a-ta (2S), t-a-ta (3), j-i-ta (1PI), o-j-i-ta (1PE), a-ta-lo / a-ti-lo (2P),
 o-tata (3P), t-a-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to say, to report’
 A.Z. Ø-Ø-tata (3), a-i-tata-go-a (1P), a-tata (2S.IRLS), y-i-tata (1S.IRLS), Ø-Ø-tata (3.IRLS)
 ‘to say, to tell’
- (80) Ay. j-i-tiboħa (1S), b-a-tiboħa (2S), Ø-Ø-tiboħa (3), j-i-tiboħa-go (1P),
 wak-a-tiboħa-jo (2P) ‘to yawn’
 Ch. tɪk-i-buhu / tuk-i-buhu (1S), e-buhu (2S), t-i-buhu (3), j-i-buhu (1PI),
 o-j-i-buhu (1PE), e-buhu-lo (2P), o-t-i-buhu (3P), t-i-buhu (3.IRLS)
 ‘to yawn; to lick’ (also: tubuhu)

§7.6 Chamacoco /d/-verbs

CH /d/-verbs present 3-prefixes not found in the other Zamucoan languages, such as /j/- and /l/-. (81) and (82) should be considered prefixal verbs in Chamacoco, but the comparison shows that they were originally

radical verbs whose root-initial consonant underwent fortition in the 3-person. For this reason, the 3-person initial consonant has been reinterpreted as a prefix. CH *y-a-na* /j-a-na/ corresponds to the AY radical verb *cana* /kana/. In this case, the syllable /ŋa/ has deleted word-internally in Chamacoco,¹⁸⁵ while it has been preserved word-initially in the 3-person, where AY /ŋ/ undergoes fortition. Here AY /ŋ/ corresponds to CH /j/. /j/ and the following vowel /a/ have been reinterpreted as the prefix and the 3-vowel respectively. This also explains why the 3-vowel is different from the 1-person /i/, the original thematic vowel. *Yana* /jana/ has been included in the subclass of /d/- verbs owing to its morphological behaviour, but diachronically it is a radical verb which was reinterpreted as a prefixal verb owing to the fact that /j/ is a 3-person prefix in CH nominal morphology. As will be shown in §10.5, only the 3-prefixes of /d/-verbs are to be found in the 3-person of CH possessive inflection.

In (82) the Chamacoco 3-prefix /d/- corresponds to the AY prefix /tɕ/-. In *dohir* the irrealis form has probably replaced the original 3-person. In (83) all verbs present root-initial /r/, which undergoes fortition to /d/ word-initially in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. The AY and A.Z verbs in (83) are radical while CH *dirk* is a /d/-verb. Two hypotheses are possible: (1) CH *dirk* was originally a radical verb. The prefix /d/ derives from the fortition of root-initial /r/ and is followed by the root vowel /i/, reinterpreted as a thematic vowel and deleted in the rest of the paradigm.¹⁸⁶ Root-initial /d/ has been reinterpreted as the 3-prefix. The radical 3-person has assimilated to the rest of the paradigm, so that there is /r/ insertion after the original root vowel. (2) *dirk* has turned into a prefixal verb in Chamacoco and its irrealis form has replaced the 3-person. The second hypothesis will be preferred.

(81) Ay. j-/ŋ-i-ŋana (1S), b-/m-a-ŋana (2S), Ø-Ø-kana (3), j-/ŋ-i-ŋana-ŋo (1P),
 wak-a-ŋana-ŋo (2P) ‘to laugh’

Ch. tik-i-na (1S), a-na (2S), j-a-na (3), j-i-na (1P), o-j-i-na (1PE), a-ni-lo (2P),
 o-j-a-na (3P), j-a-na (3.IRLS) ‘to laugh’

¹⁸⁵ The AY phoneme /g/ and its nasalized counterpart /ŋ/ have often deleted in Chamacoco.

¹⁸⁶ As noted above, the first root-vowel of CH radical verbs is preserved in the 3-person, but it reduces or deletes in the rest of the paradigm (see §5.6).

(82) Ay. j-o-ru (1S), b-o-ru (2S), t̥-o-ru (3), j-o-ko (1P), wak-o-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to climb, to mount, to ride’

Ch. tok-o-hir (1S), o-hir (2S), d-o-hir (3), j-o-hir (1PI), o-j-o-hir (1PE), o-hir-lo (2P),
 o-d-o-hir (3P), d-o-hir (3.IRLS) ‘to go up’

(83) Ay. j-i-ri-ke (1S), b-a-ri-ke (2S), Ø-Ø-dike (3), j-i-ri-ho (1P), wak-a-ri-t̥o (2P) ‘to walk’

Ch. tik-i-rk (1S), e-rk (2S), d-i-rk (3), j-i-rk (1PI), o-j-i-rk (1PE), e-rki-lo (2P),
 o-d-i-rk (3P), d-i-rk (3.IRLS) ‘to walk’

A.Z. y-i-raque (1S.IRLS), Ø-Ø-dac (3), Ø-Ø-dac (3.IRLS) ‘to come’¹⁸⁷

In conclusion, /d/-verbs are a CH innovation. Their 3-person was originally a radical 3-person (81) or an irrealis form (82-83).

§7.7 Thematic verbs

In Ayoreo, Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco there exists a small class of thematic verbs. However, Ayoreo has a very tiny class of thematic verbs, so that the A.Z and CH thematic verbs reported here do not correspond to AY thematic verbs. A verb to be found in all Zamucoan languages is reported in (84). AY *chague* /t̥age/ and A.Z *iyague* (/ijage/) are phonologically very similar. Thematic verbs in Ancient Zamuco present the opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person: cf. *iyague* (/ijage/) (3.realis) vs. *chague* (/t̥age/) (3.irrealis). The Ancient Zamuco 3-irrealis coincides with the Ayoreo 3-real. Since in Ayoreo only this form has been preserved, this proves that the 3-irrealis has replaced the 3-real. This has occurred systematically, so that an A.Z or CH thematic verb corresponds to a radical verb in Ayoreo, as one can see in the following examples (84-87, 89). In A.Z *iyague* (/ijage/), on the other hand, the 3-irrealis consists of the root *-yague* (-/jage/). Root-initial *y-* (/j/-) possibly turned into /t̥/ in word-initial position. If this is so, the A.Z irrealis has a ‘radical’ 3-person. This might explain why there are few thematic verbs in Ayoreo: in most cases, the original thematic 3-real has been replaced by a radical (originally irrealis) 3-person. The AY radical verbs show root-initial /j/ which turns into /t̥/ in the 3-person. One can suppose that the radical 3-person in /t̥/- has replaced the thematic one due to an analogy with /t̥/-

¹⁸⁷ AY and A.Z final /e/ in this example is a euphonic vocoid.

verbs. This confirms that these Ayoreo verbs should be considered radical verbs, rather than prefixal verbs in which an internal syllable has dropped. Another characteristic of the A.Z thematic verbs is the 1-irrealis prefix *y-* (/j/-), the standard Ayoreo 1-prefix (preferred in irrealis contexts). The 3-realis of Ancient Zamuco is still preserved in Chamacoco. By comparing the Chamacoco 3-realis *iyehet* /ijehet/ with *iyague* (/ijage/), one has to bear in mind that AY and A.Z /a/ very often corresponds to CH /e/ and that /g/ does not exist in Chamacoco, where it weakens (and in this case corresponds to /h/) or disappears. The 3-irrealis of *iyehet* /ijehet/, *sehet* /tsehet/, corresponds to A.Z and AY *chague* /tɕage/, since AY and A.Z /tɕ/- very often corresponds to CH /ts/-. *Sehet* /tsehet/ is irregular in Chamacoco, but such irregularity can be easily explained if compared with *chague* /tɕage/. *Sehet* /tsehet/ and *chague* /tɕage/ clearly have the same origin. The CH irrealis person consists of the pure root, in which a consonantal change (probably /j/ > /tɕ/ > /ts/) ¹⁸⁸ occurred. In the 2-person of *iyehet* /ijehet/ there is root allomorphy, associated with the 2-vowel /a/. Root allomorphy is not to be found in the other languages. As final point, the vocalic pattern in this verb is the same in the three languages.

(84) Ay. j-i-jage (1S), b-a-jage (2S), Ø-Ø-tɕage (3), j-i-jage-go (1P), wak-a-jage-jo (2P)

‘to stand up’

Ch. t-i-jehet / tik-i-jehet / tɪk-i-jehet (1S), a-lehet (2S), i-jehet (3), j-i-jehet (1PI),

o-j-i-jehet (1PE), a-leheti-lo / a-lehet-lo (2P), o-jehet (3P), tsehet (3.IRLS)

‘to stand, to stand up’

A.Z. a-i-yague (1S), d-a-yague (2S), i-yague (3), a-i-yague-go (1P), d-a-yague-o (2P)

y-i-yague (1S.IRLS), chague (3.IRLS), y-i-yague-go (1P.IRLS), a-yague-o (2P.IRLS)

‘to stand up’

In (85) AY *cho* /tɕo/ ‘to jump, to leap, to fly’ is compared with the CH verb *iyō* /ijo/ ‘to jump’. The AY verb *cho* /tɕo/ is another radical verb, characterized by the consonantal change /j/ > /tɕ/ in the 3-person, which is supposed to correspond to an A.Z thematic verb. ¹⁸⁹ As it emerges in the previous example (84), the Ayoreo 3-person *cho* /tɕo/ corresponds to the Chamacoco 3-irrealis *so* /tso/. The relationship between the two verbs is not immediately found if

¹⁸⁸ This is true if one considers /ts/ a CH innovation, otherwise, more simply: /j/ > /ts/.

¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately in Chomé’s grammar only the 1-person is reported.

one compares AY *cho* /tʃo/ with CH *iyó* /ijo/, but it is to be found if *iyó* /ijo/ is compared with the theme *-iyó* *-/ijo/* which appears in the rest of the AY paradigm. The 1- and the 2-vowel are the same in all three languages. The root allomorphy in the Chamacoco 2-person is not to be found in Ayoreo (85-86, 90).

(85) Ay. *j-i-jo* (1S), *b-a-jo* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tʃo* (3), *j-i-jo-go* (1P), *wak-a-jo-jo* (2P)

‘to jump, to leap, to fly’

Ch. *tik-i-jo* (1S), *a-lo* (2S), *i-jo* (3), *j-i-jo* (1P), *o-j-i-jo* (1PE), *a-li-lo* / *a-lo-lo* (2P),
o-jo (3P), *tso* (3.IRLS) ‘to jump; to fly’

A.Z. *a-i-yo* (1S.rls) ‘to fly’

If the CH verb *chague* /tʃage/ and the AY verb *iyehet* /ijehet/ are cognate, one can suppose that also the AY verb *cha* /tʃa/ ‘to stop, to quit’ and the CH verb *iyehé* /ijehe/ ‘to stop’ are cognates. Both *cha* /tʃa/ and *iyehé* /ijehe/ are phonologically and semantically related to *chague* /tʃage/ and *iyehet* /ijehet/, respectively, and in both cases they lack the final element (*-/ge/* or *-/t/*). Also in (86) the root vowel /a/ corresponds to CH /e/. The CH irrealis form *sehe* /tsehe/ has to be put in relation with the Ayoreo 3-person *cha* /tʃa/. In both languages the 1-thematic-vowel is /i/ and the 2-vowel is /a/.

(86) Ay. *j-i-ja* (1S), *b-a-ja* (2S), *Ø-Ø-tʃa* (3), *j-i-ja-go* (1P), *wak-a-ja-jo* (2P) ‘to stop, to quit’

Ch. *t-i-jehe* / *tik-i-jehe* (1S), *a-lehe* (2S), *i-jehe* (3), *j-i-jehe* (1PI), *o-j-i-jehe* (1PE),
a-lehe-lo (2P), *o-j-ehe* (3P), *tsehe* (3.IRLS) ‘to stop’

A.Z. *a-i-yau* (1S), *i-yau* (3) ‘to stop, to quit’¹⁹⁰

The verb *ina* is considered an exception in Ancient Zamuco (see §6.8). It presents some similarities with thematic verbs, especially in the 3-realis. As noted by Kelm (1964: 803-804), *ina* corresponds to the AY verb *nóna* which has two forms in the 3-person. The radical form *nóna* corresponds to Ancient Zamuco 3-irrealis *nona*: as in thematic verbs, the Ancient Zamuco 3-irrealis corresponds to the Ayoreo 3-person. Note that AY *nóna* is irregular if compared with the rest of the paradigm, whose root *-/ɲina/* corresponds to the root */hina/* of the Ancient Zamuco 1S-irrealis. The ‘regular’ 3-person *chij(n)nína* /tʃiɲina/ is probably an AY innovation, resulting from analogical levelling. The

¹⁹⁰ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 499).

final syllable *-/na/* does not behave as a lexical suffix in Ayoreo. The vocalic pattern of Ayoreo is different from that of Ancient Zamuco and it is the same used for radical verbs. The verb *ina* corresponds to the CH thematic verb *ĩya /ĩja/*. In this case, CH */j/* (realized as [ɲ] or [j]) corresponds to */n/* in the root of the verb *ina*. The correspondence between the Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco 3-realis is evident, as the correspondence between the Ancient Zamuco 3-irrealis *nona* and CH *noya /noja/*. As in the case of A.Z thematic verbs, the Chamacoco 3-irrealis *noya /noja/* corresponds to the Ayoreo 3-person *nóna*, corresponding to the Ancient Zamuco 3-irrealis, although in this case the A.Z irrealis does not coincide with the root (as in thematic verbs), but takes the 3-prefix */n/-*. The CH vocalic pattern is irregular. The Chamacoco 1S-vowel */o/* is the same as that of Ancient Zamuco. Thematic */o/* also emerges in the greater plural of the 1PI-person, while in the other 1P-persons */u/* is to be found, probably related to */o/*. The Ayoreo 2S-person takes the prefix */b/-*, which can nasalize into */m/-*. This prefix is unusual in Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco. The A.Z verb *ina* is an exception where the prefix */m/-* is observed in the 2-irrealis. The prefix */m/-* for the 2-person is also used in the CH verb *ĩya /ĩja/*. This is a very rare exception in Chamacoco. Another of the few verbs taking */m/-* or */b/-* in the 2-person is *ĩim /i:m/* ‘to leave’ (88), which has the 2-person *moym /mojm/*. As already seen (see §5.5.4), this verb shares other rare morphological characteristic with *ĩya /ĩja/*, but no cognate verb for *ĩim /i:m/* is reported in Ancient Zamuco. The Chamacoco 2-person does not usually take any personal prefix and corresponds to the irrealis person in Ancient Zamuco. *Meya /meja/*, the 2-person of *ĩya /ĩja/*, corresponds to A.Z *mona*, the 2-irrealis of *ina*. The fact that the Chamacoco 2-person corresponds to the Ancient Zamuco 2-irrealis even when it is prefixed, suggests that the Chamacoco 2-person was originally a 2-irrealis. One should observe that the A.Z verb does not exactly convey the same meaning of *ĩya /ĩja/* and *nóna*. It is not easy to interpret the sense of the gloss by Chomé (‘rodar’), because there are no examples of sentences in which this verb is used. In the last pages of Chomé’s grammar (1958: 176) the 3-person *ina* is translated with ‘together’.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Kelm (1964: 803-804) translates the verb with ‘umherreisen’, that is ‘to travel around’.

- (87) Ay. j-i-ṅina (1S), b-a-ṅina (2S), Ø-Ø-nona / tɕ-i-ṅina (3), j-i-ṅina-ṅo (1P),
 wak-a-ṅina-ṅo (2P) ‘to accompany, to go with’ (also: tɕihina)
 Ch. tok-ō-ja (1S), m-e-ja (2S), ï-ja (3), j-u-kwĩja / j-ũ-ja (1PI), o-j-u-kwĩja / o-j-ũ-ja (1PE),
 j-ō-j-lo [nojlo] (1PI.GP), m-e-j-lo (2P), ò-ja (3P), n-o-ja (3.IRLS) ‘to accompany’
 AZ. o-na (1S), d-o-na (2S), i-na (3), o-co-na (1P), d-o-yo-na (2P), y-a-hi-na (1S.IRLS),
 m-o-na (2S.IRLS), n-o-na (3.IRLS), i-co-na (1P.IRLS), m-o-ño-na (2P.IRLS)
 ‘to roll/to go round’
- (88) Ay. j-i-hi(n)o-me (1P), b-a-hi(n)o-me (2P), Ø-Ø-noṅo-me (3), j-i-hi(n)o-ṅo-me (1P),
 wak-a-hi(n)o-ṅo-me (2P) ‘to leave’
 Ch. tok-oj-m (1S), m-oj-m (2S), i-m (3), j-u-kwim (1PI), o-j-u-kwim (1PE),
 m-oj-m-lo (2P), oj-m (3P), n-oj-m (3.IRLS) ‘to leave’

In (89) and (90) one finds two CH thematic verbs for which no corresponding A.Z verb is to be found. Both CH verbs correspond to a regular AY prefixal verb. The CH thematic vowel is synchronically /o/, but the 3-vowel is /i/, which corresponds to the AY thematic vowel /i/. This suggests that the original thematic vowel in Chamacoco was /i/, only preserved in the 3-person.¹⁹²

The AY and CH verbs in (90) derive from the verbs in (89), with the addition of /-ome/ and /-im/ respectively. Both elements introduce an indirect object. AY /-ome/ is a lexical suffix separated from the rest of the verb by the plural suffixes (such as /-go/ and /-jo/), while CH /-im/ has been completely incorporated in the verb (see §5.13). The CH verb *ishi* /iɕi/ has probably undergone a little semantic change, because it also means ‘to pay’, ‘to contaminate’ and ‘to deliver’ (see §5.13).

- (89) Ay. j-i-si (1S), b-a-si (2S), tɕ-i-si (3), j-i-si-go / j-i-si-ṅo (1P), wak-a-si-jo /
 wak-a-si-ṅo (2P) ‘to give’
 Ch. tok-o-ɕi (1S), e-ɕi (2S), i-ɕi (3), j-o-ɕi (1PI), o-j-o-ɕi (1PE), e-ɕi-lo (2P), o-ɕi (3),
 d-o-ɕi (3.IRLS) ‘to pay; to give; to contaminate; to deliver’

¹⁹² As one can see in §7.2.8 and §7.4 AY, thematic /i/ always corresponds to a high thematic vowel, mostly /i/, in Chamacoco.

- (90) Ay. j-/ɲ-i-si-ome (1S), b-/m-a-si-ome (2S), tɕ-i-si-ome (3), j-isi-go-me /
 j-i-si-ŋo-me (1P), wak-a-si-jo-me / wak-a-si-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to give to’
 Ch. tok-o-sim (1S), a-sim (2S), i-ɕim (3), j-o-sim (1PI), o-j-o-sim (1PE), a-sim-lo (2P),
 o-ɕim (3P), d-o-sim (3.IRLS) ‘to give’

In (89) and (90) the original CH thematic vowel was /i/, but this does not mean that /i/ was the thematic vowel of all CH thematic verbs in /i/-. Consider, for instance the CH thematic verb *ihi* (91). It corresponds to an AY /tɕ/-verb, whose thematic vowel is /o/. This confirms that /o/ was the original CH thematic vowel too,¹⁹³ but has not been preserved in the 2- and 3-person. The AY final vowel is /i/, which corresponds to final /i/ in the Chamacoco 3-person root. /i/ was the original CH final vowel too, but has assimilated to thematic /o/ or to the 2-vowel /e/. In the 3-person *ihi*, final /i/ is preserved. The need to differentiate the 3S-person from the 3P-person *oho* has yielded the form *ihi*, in which original thematic /o/ has assimilated to final /i/.

- (91) Ay. j-o-hi (1S), b-o-hi (2S), tɕ-o-hi (3), j-o-hi-go (1P), wak-o-hi-jo (2P) ‘to drink’
 Ch. tok-o-ho (1S), e-he (2S), i-hi (3), j-o-ho (1PI), o-j-o-ho (1PE), e-he-lo (2P),
 o-ho (3P), d-o-ho (3.IRLS) ‘to drink’

In (92) there is another CH thematic verb which corresponds to an AY prefixal verb. Here, the comparison with Ayoreo shows that the original CH thematic vowel was /i/, only preserved in the 3-person. In (§5.5.4) it has been said that in *icho* /itɕo/, root-initial /tɕ/ has turned into /ts/ in the 2-person after the 2-vowel /a/. The other persons have assimilated to the 2-root, so that root-initial /tɕ/ has turned into /ts/ in the whole paradigm, with the only exception of the 3-person, where /tɕ/ has been preserved. This seems to be confirmed by the comparison with Ay. *chicho* /tɕitɕo/, which presents root-initial /tɕ/ in the whole paradigm.¹⁹⁴

- (92) Ay. j-i-tɕo (1S), b-a-tɕo (2S), tɕ-i-tɕo (3), j-i-tɕo-go (1P), wak-a-tɕo-jo (2P) ‘to shoot’
 Ch. tok-o-tso (1S), a-tso (2S), i-tɕo (3), j-o-tso (1PI), o-j-otso (1PE), a-tsi-lo (2P),
 o-tɕo (3P), l-o-tso (3.IRLS) ‘to throw, to shoot’

¹⁹³ As one can see in §7.2.8 and §7.4, AY thematic /o/ always corresponds to CH /o/.

¹⁹⁴ The preservation of the original root-initial consonant in the 3-person is also to be found in other verbs discussed in §5.5.4, for which no A.Z or AY cognate is reported.

§7.8 Radical verbs in the Zamucoan languages

In all Zamucoan languages there is a class of radical verbs. Radical verbs show neither prefix nor thematic vowel in the 3-person. Their vocalic pattern is /i/-/a/-∅ or /u/-/a/-∅ in Ayoreo, while in Ancient Zamuco only /i/-/a/-∅ is to be observed. The thematic vowel can harmonize to the first root-vowel. Chamacoco exhibits more variability with regard to the vocalic pattern, because three high thematic vowels /i u i/ are to be found and two vowels (/a/ and /e/) can occur in the 2-person (depending on the verb). Moreover, other exceptions are discussed in §5.6.

In all Zamucoan languages, radical verbs may show fortition of the root-initial consonant word-initially, that is in the 3-person. In the following paragraphs radical verbs will be sorted according to the initial consonant. In most cases the 3-person root-initial consonant is the same in Ayoreo and Chamacoco. The inventory of the CH consonants which occur in root-initial position of radical verbs is less numerous than in Ayoreo. There are few radical verbs reported in Ancient Zamuco.

In CH radical verbs, the original first root-vowel is preserved in the 3-person, while it often reduces or deletes in the rest of the paradigm. This is confirmed by the comparison with Ayoreo, because the CH first root-vowel in the 3-person always corresponds to the AY first root-vowel, which remains unchanged in the whole paradigm (see examples (93), (94), (96), (97) and (102)). Consequently, the 3-person of radical verbs can be innovative in the root-initial consonant, but conservative in the first root-vowel.

The radical verb in (93) has root-initial /b/ in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco. The consonant is preserved in the whole paradigm. The CH thematic vowel is /e/, which is very rare in radical verbs, and is probably influenced by the first root-vowel /e/ in the 3-person, which turns into /i/ in the rest of the paradigm, where thematic /e/ is to be found. The Chamacoco 3-person first root-vowel /e/ corresponds to AY /a/.

(93) Ay. j-i-base (1S), b-a-base (2S), ∅-∅-base (3), j-i-ba-ko (1P), wak-a-ba-so (2P)

‘to fall down, to be born, to stop when travelling’ (also: bas)

Ch. t-e-biči (1S), e-biči (2S), ∅-∅-beči (3), j-e-biči (1PI), o-j-ebiči (1PE), e-biči-lo (2P),

o-beči (3P), ∅-∅-beči (3.IRLS) ‘to fall’

- cf. also: Ay. Ø-Ø-basihi (3) ‘to fall from, to be born in’
 Ch. Ø-Ø-beçihi (3) ‘to fall from’

In (94) both verbs are radical. Root-initial /k/ is preserved in the whole paradigm. The AY first root-vowel /a/ corresponds to CH /e/, only preserved in the 3-person.

The AY radical verb in (95) corresponds to the CH verb *chukutim* /tɕukutim/. The latter is a regular /tɕ/-verb, but it also has a form coinciding with the root, *kutim*, which is uninflectable and can be used for all persons. This form corresponds to the Ayoreo 3-person *cutame* /kutame/. This suggests that the 3-person *chukutim* /tɕukutim/ is a CH innovation. In both languages, the vocalic pattern is characterized by /u/, which harmonizes to the first root-vowel /u/. The AY lexical suffix -/ome/ corresponds to CH -/im/, but the latter is not a separable element.

- (94) Ay. j-i-katekãri (1S), m-/b-a-katekãri (2S), Ø-Ø-katekãri (3), j-i-katekã-ko-rĩ (1P),
 wak-a-katekã-tɕo-rĩ (2P) ‘to speak, to talk’
 Ch. t-i-kĩtkēr / t-i-kĩtkēr (1S), e-kĩtkēr (2S), Ø-Ø-kějtkēr (3), j-i-kĩtkēr (1PI),
 o-j-i-kĩtkēr (1PE), e-kĩtkēr-lo / e-kĩtkēri-lo (2P), o-kějtkēr (3P),
 Ø-Ø-kějtkēr (3.IRLS) ‘to speak, to talk’ (also: kējtkēr)
- (95) Ay. j-u-kuta-me (1S), b-a-kuta-me (2S), Ø-Ø-kuta-me (3), j-u-kuta-go-me (1P),
 wak-a-kuta-jo-me (2P) ‘fed up with (to be); lazy about doing something (to be);
 tired of (to be)’
 Ch. t-u-kutim (1S), e-kutim (2S), tɕ-u-kutim (3), j-u-kutim (1PE), o-j-u-kutim (1PI),
 e-kutim-lo (2P), o-tɕ-u-kutim (3P), d-u-kutim (3.IRLS) ‘to increase fire;
 to refuse to work’¹⁹⁵

In examples (96-99) one finds radical verbs with root-initial /t/. This consonant undergoes no change in the rest of the paradigm. In (96) an AY and a CH verb are compared. The AY radical verb *toi* /toj/ (97) has cognates reported in all Zamucoan languages. A.Z and CH radical verbs present no distinction between realis and irrealis in the 3-person, cf. A.Z *toi* (/toj/), CH *toy* /toj/. In both AY and A.Z final /j/ is separated from the verb root by the plural suffix. This does not occur in Chamacoco. In (96) and (97) the AY first root-vowel /o/ corresponds to the Chamacoco 3-person first root-vowel /o/, which

¹⁹⁵ When the form *kutim* means ‘to refuse to work’, it can be used for all persons.

reduces to /i/ in the rest of the paradigm. In (98-99) AY verbs are compared with verbs from Ancient Zamuco.

(96) Ay. j-i-todo (1S), b-a-todo (2S), Ø-Ø-todo (3), j-i-todo-go (1P), wak-a-todo-jo (2P)
 ‘to be afraid of’

Ch. tik-i-tiła (1S), a-tiła (2S), Ø-Ø-tola (3), j-i-tiła (1PI), o-j-i-tiła (1PE), a-tiła-lo (2P),
 o-tola (3P), Ø-Ø-tola ‘to fear, to be afraid of’

(97) Ay. j-i-to-j (1S), b-a-to-j (2S), Ø-Ø-to-j (3), j-i-to-go-j (1P), wak-a-to-jo-j (2P) ‘to die’
 Ch. tik-i-ti / tuk-wi-ti (1S), a-ti (2S), Ø-Ø-toj (3), j-i-ti (1PI), o-j-i-ti (1PE), a-ti-lo (2P),
 o-toj (3P), Ø-Ø-toj (3.IRLS) ‘to die’

A.Z. a-i-toi (1S),..., Ø-Ø-toi (3), y-i-toi (1S.IRLS), a-toi (2S.IRLS), Ø-Ø-toi (3.IRLS),
 y-i-to-go-i (1P.IRLS) ‘to die, to be dead’

(98) Ay. j-i-taja (1S), b-a-taja (1S), Ø-Ø-taja (3), j-i-taja-go (1P), wak-a-taja-jo (2P)
 ‘to be strong, to be firm’ (used with *ihí*)

A.Z. a-i-taña (1S), d-a-taña (2S), Ø-Ø-taña (3) ‘to be strong’

(99) Ay. j-i-tārara (1S), m-a-tārara (2S), Ø-Ø-tārara (3), j-i-tārara-ño (1P),
 wak-a-tārara-ño (2P) ‘to tremble; shake involuntarily’

A.Z. a-i-tanârâ (1S), d-a-tanârâ (2S), Ø-Ø-tanârâ (3) ‘to tremble’¹⁹⁶

In (100-101) one finds AY and CH radical verbs with /p/ as root-initial consonant. No consonantal change occurs in (100-101). In (102) *pota* is probably a Guaraní loan. The Guaraní root has been reanalysed as a 3-person form and a default thematic vowel and a prefix have been added to obtain the rest of the paradigm. The AY radical verb has a regular morphological behaviour, while the CH verb shows some subregularities. From a diachronic perspective, in Chamacoco root-initial /p/ is preserved in the 3-person and turns into /b/ in the rest of the paradigm, but this is due to the fact that the Guaraní root *pota* has been reinterpreted as a 3-person form in which root-initial /b/ undergoes fortition.¹⁹⁷ The Guaraní first root-vowel /o/ is only

¹⁹⁶ In Chamacoco when ‘to tremble’ is referred to a person the verb *tāra* preceded by *ikiyo* /ikijo/ is used. In this case, *tāra* occurs in the 3-person, because its subject is *ikiyo* ‘body’, possessed by the person who trembles.

¹⁹⁷ In loans the 3-person is salient: when the loan is a Guaraní verb, its root is reinterpreted as a 3-person in Chamacoco (see the verb *pota* and *tonkīya* /tonkīja/, §5.10.1). Spanish verbs used in Chamacoco have a slightly different behaviour: in this case Chamacoco presents a defective

preserved in the Chamacoco 3-person, but influences the 1-vowel /o/.¹⁹⁸

- (100) Ay. j-i-poga-j (1S), b-a-poga-j (2S), Ø-Ø-poga-j (3) j-i-poga-go-j (1P),
 wak-a-poga-jo-j (2P) ‘to throw up, to vomit’
 Ch. tik-i-pwej (1S), a-pwej (2S), Ø-Ø-pwej (3), j-u-pwej (1PI), o-j-u-pwej (1PE),
 a-pwej-lo (2P), o-pwej (3P), Ø-Ø-pwej (3.IRLS) ‘to vomit’
- (101) Ay. j-i-pogu (1S), b-a-pogu (2S), Ø-Ø-pogu (3), j-i-po-ho (1P), wak-a-po-t̥o (2P)
 ‘to hide, to conceal’
 Ch. tik-i-po:k (1S), a-po:k (2S), Ø-Ø-po:k (3), j-i-po:k (1PI), o-j-i-po:k (1PI),
 a-po:k-lo (2P), o-po:k (3P), Ø-Ø-po:k (3.IRLS) ‘to be ashamed’
 A.Z. a-i-poc (1S) ‘to be ashamed’
- (102) Ay. j-i-pota (1S), b-a-pota (2S), Ø-Ø-pota (3), j-i-pota-go (1S), wak-a-pota-jo (2P)
 ‘to want to, to desire’
 Ch. t-o-bita (1S), a-bita (2S), Ø-Ø-pota (3), j-o-bita (1PI), o-j-o-bita (1PE), a-bita-lo /
 a-bit̥i-lo / a-bit-lo (2P), o-pota (3P), Ø-Ø-pota (3.IRLS) ‘to envy, to lust after’

In (103) one finds AY and CH radical verbs with root-initial /n/, which is preserved in the whole paradigm. In (104-105) there are radical verbs with root-initial /r/ which turns into /n/ word-initially in the 3-person. In (105) Chamacoco has two forms for the 3-person: radical *naha* and prefixal *chirāha* /t̥irāha/, corresponding to AY *nāja* /naha/. *chirāha* /t̥irāha/ is probably the result of a ‘regularization’ of the 3-person form, based on the model of one of the main verb groups of Chamacoco. In (95) the CH verb *chukutim* /t̥ukutim/ or *kutim*, which corresponds to the AY radical verb *cutame* /kutame/, also has a 3-prefixal-form, which seems the result of assimilation to /t̥/-verbs. This could explain why in Chamacoco the group of radical verbs is smaller than in Ayoreo.

- (103) Ay. n-i-nina (1S), m-a-nina (2S), Ø-Ø-nina (3), n-i-nina-ŋo (1P), wak-a-nina-ŋo (2P)
 ‘to rejoice, to welcome’ (followed by the reflexive pronoun: ‘to be happy’)
 Ch. tik-i-nina (1S), e-nina (2S), Ø-Ø-nina (3), j-i-nina (1PI), o-j-i-nina (1PE),
 e-nini-lo (2P), o-nina (3P), Ø-Ø-nina (3.IRLS) ‘to hug’

paradigm based on the Spanish present indicative 3-person (see §5.10.1).

¹⁹⁸ Although here CH *pota* is considered a Guaraní loan, one also has to consider the hypothesis that it could be a case of homonymy rather than a loan.

- (104) Ay. *n-i-rihi* (1S), *m-a-rihi* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*nihi* (3), *n-i-rihi-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-rihi-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to wake up’ (also: *nini*)
 Ch. *tik-i-rĩhi* (1S), *e-rĩhi* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*nihi* (3), *j-i-rĩhi* (1PI), *o-j-i-rĩhi* (1PE), *e-rĩhi-lo* (2P),
o-nihi (3P), \emptyset - \emptyset -*nihi* (3.IRLS) ‘to get up’

- (105) Ay. *j-i-rã* (1S), *m-a-ra* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*na-ha* (3), *j-i-ra-ŋo-ha* (1P), *wak-a-ra-ŋo-ha* (2P)
 ‘to put into’
 Ch. *t-i-rãha* (1S), *e-rãha* (2S), *tɕ-i-rãha* / \emptyset - \emptyset -*naha* (3), *j-i-rãha* (1PI), *o-j-i-rãha* (1PE),
e-rãha-lo (2P), *o-tɕ-i-rãha* (3P), *d-i-rãha* / *n-i-raha* / *naha* (3.IRLS) ‘to load up’
 (also: *tɕirẽhe*)

According to Kelm (1964: 773), the AY radical verb *jnusi* /*ɲusi*/ corresponds to the radical verb *yozo* (/joso/) in Ancient Zamuco (106).

- (106) Ay. *n-u-ɲusi* (1S), *m-a-ɲusi* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*ɲusi* (3), *n-u-ɲusi-ŋo* / *j-u-ɲu-ko-j* (1P),
wak-a-ɲusi-ŋo / *wak-a-ɲu-so-j* (2P) ‘to be sad, to miss someone/something’
 A.Z. *a-i-yozo* (1S), *d-a-yozo* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*yozo* (3) ‘to need’¹⁹⁹

In (108) the same radical verb is reported in all Zamucoan languages. Both Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco present no realis vs. irrealis opposition in the 3-person.

- (108) Ay. *j-u-juare* (1S), *b-a-juare* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*juare* (3), *j-u-jua-ko* (1P), *wak-a-jua-tɕo* (2P)
 ‘to wail, to grieve with mournful crises, to lament’
 Ch. *tik-i-jeɾ* (1S), *e-jeɾ* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*jeɾ* (3), *j-i-jeɾ* (1PI), *o-j-i-jeɾ* (1PE), *e-jeɾ-lo* (2P),
o-jeɾ (3P), \emptyset - \emptyset -*jeɾ* (3.IRLS) ‘to cry’
 A.Z. *a-i-yuare* (1S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*yuare* (3), \emptyset - \emptyset -*yuare* (3.IRLS) ‘to cry’

The AY verb *suru* or *chujuru* /*tɕuhuru*/ has both a prefixal and a radical 3-person. This verb should be compared with *zoru* (/soru/) in Ancient Zamuco, originally a radical verb which has acquired some characteristics of the prefixal verbs. In both languages root-initial /h/ turns into /s/ in the 3-person. This fortition, which only occurs in radical verbs, confirms that A.Z. *zoru* (/soru/) was originally a radical verb. The presence of a radical 3-person in both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, suggests that *chujuru* /*tɕuhuru*/, the prefixal 3-person of AY *suru*, is the result of assimilation to the prefixal verbs. A similar process can explain some of the irregularities of A.Z. *zoru* (/soru/), such as the

¹⁹⁹ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 773).

reinterpretation of /s/ as 3-prefix, the 3-irrealis *noru* and the reinterpretation of /s/ as 1-irrealis prefix in *zoru* (/soru/) (1S.IRLS) (see also §6.7).

- (109) Ay. j-u-hu(ru) (1S), b-a-hu(ru) (2S), Ø-Ø-su(ru) / tɕ-u-hu(ru) (3), j-u-hu-ko (1P),
 wak-a-hu-tɕo / wak-a-hu-jo (2P) ‘to close (in), to shut in’ (used with *gaj*)
 A.Z. a-horu (1S), zoru (3S), a-ho-co (1P), d-a-ho-yo (2P) ‘to close’
 zoru (1S.IRLS), noru (3.IRLS) ‘to close’²⁰⁰

In (110) A.Z root-initial /r/ turns into /d/ in the 3-person. This change also occurs in Ayoreo (see §4.6.3), but not in this particular verb, which presents a different consonant.²⁰¹

- (110) Ay. j-u-kuta (1S), b-a-kuta (2S), Ø-Ø-kuta (3), j-u-kuta-go (1P), wak-a-kuta-jo (2P)
 ‘to be fed up, to be lazy’
 A.Z. a-i-rugut (1S), Ø-Ø-dugut (3) ‘to be fed’ (‘ser harto’)

The CH verb *umo* conveys two meanings, ‘to sleep’ and ‘to see’. This CH thematic verb corresponds to two AY verbs: the /tɕ/-verb *chimo* /tɕimo/ ‘to see’ and the radical verb *mo* ‘to sleep’ (111). Two similar CH verbs probably merged into *umo*: these verbs still preserve a different irrealis form, that is *umo* for ‘to sleep’ (identical to the 3-realis) and *nomo* for ‘to see’. Unfortunately, there is not enough information for Ancient Zamuco; the same forms are reported for the 1-person and one does not know whether they had a different form for the 3-person. If ‘to sleep’ and ‘to see’ are regular in Ancient Zamuco, the irrealis prefix *y-* (/j/-) suggests that the verbs were radical or thematic verbs. Thematic /i/ in the 1-person is the same in both Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo and corresponds to CH /u/.

Independently of the morphology of ‘to sleep’ and ‘to see’ in Ancient Zamuco, one can try to explain why there are two irrealis forms in Chamacoco, simply comparing Ayoreo and Chamacoco and using what has been observed about the verb morphology of the Zamucoan languages. On one hand *mo* ‘to sleep’ belong to AY radical verbs, which generally correspond to A.Z and Ch. radical verbs. These verbs show no distinction between realis and irrealis in Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco, as they probably did not have in Proto-

²⁰⁰ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 773).

²⁰¹ These verbs are probably related to the AY and CH verbs in in (94).

Zamuco. It is probably not a case that the CH verb ‘to sleep’ corresponds to an AY radical verb and shows no opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person. On the other hand *chimo* /tʃimo/, is an AY /tʃ/-verb. These verbs usually correspond to A.Z /tʃ/-verbs or to CH /tʃ/- and /ts/-verbs. These verb groups present the opposition between realis and irrealis in the 3-person, the same opposition which has probably disappeared in Ayoreo, but that was probably present in Proto-Zamuco. This could explain why the verb ‘to see’ preserves the irrealis form *n-omo*, using the prefix /n/- which is reported for the 3-irrealis in Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco.

(111) Ay. *n-i-mo*, *m-a-mo* (2S), *tʃ-i-mo* (3), *n-i-mo-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-mo-ŋo* (2P) ‘to see’

Ay. *n-i-mo* (1S), *m-a-mo* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*mo* (3), *n-i-mo-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-mo-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to sleep’

Ch. *tok-o-mo* / *tuk-u-mo* (1S), *a-mo* (2S), *u-mo* (3), *j-u-mo* (1PI), *o-j-u-mo* (1PE),
a-m-lo (2P), *o-mo* (3P) ‘to sleep; to see’

‘to sleep’ ---> *u-mo* (3.IRLS), *o-mo* (3P.IRLS)

‘to see’ ---> *n-o-mo* (3.IRLS), *o-n-o-mo* (3.IRLS)

A.Z. *a-i-mo* (1S), *y-i-mo* (1S.IRLS) ‘to see’

A.Z. *a-i-mo* (1S), *y-i-mo* (1S.IRLS), *y-i-mogo* (1P.IRLS) ‘to sleep’

§7.9 Irregular verbs

In (112) and (113) one finds two verbs which are irregular in all Zamucoan languages. The 3-person *jno* /*ɲo*/ (AY), *hno* /*ɲo*/ (CH), *no* (A.Z) is the same in (112).

(112)	A.Z ‘to go’	Ch ‘to go’	Ay ‘to go, to leave’
1S	a-i-no	tak-a-ha	j-i-hi / ji
2S		bo / bu	b-a-bo
3S	no	ɲo	ɲo
1P		j-u-ko	j-i-ko
1PE		o-j-u-ko	
2P		buli-lo / boli-lo	wak-a-bo-jo
		bulu-lo	
		bul-lo / bollo	
3P		o-ɲo	
1S.IRLS			
2S.IRLS	bo		bo
3S.IRLS		do	
1P.IRLS	y-i-no-go-i		
2P.IRLS	bo-yo		bo-jo

The Ancient Zamuco 2-persons *bo* (2S) and *boyo* /*bojo*/ (2P) are used for the imperative (that is in irrealis contexts) according to Chomé. These forms correspond to the Chamacoco 2S-person *bo* / *bu* and to the AY irrealis forms. In all Zamucoan languages the 3-person (*no* or /*ɲo*/) coincides with the original root which has been reinterpreted as /*bo*/ in the Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco 2-irrealis and in the Chamacoco 2S-person (where it alternates with *bu*). Such reinterpretation was probably influenced by the 2-prefix /*b*/- (see below).

The Chamacoco 2P-persons *bulilo*, *bolilo* and *bululo* do not derive from the 2S-persons *bu* / *bo*.²⁰² This is a very rare exception in Chamacoco, where the 2P-person is obtained by adding *-lo*/ to the 2S-person. There are two hypotheses: (1) *-li*/- (or *-lu*/-) is an insertion; (2) In *bulilo*, *bolilo* and *bululo* the root has been reinterpreted as /*li*/ or /*lu*/. In the second case, /*b*/ is a

²⁰² The CH reduced forms *bullo* and *bollo* have been discussed in (§5.8). The Chamacoco 2S-person form *bu* does not correspond to any verb form in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, but it corresponds to AY *bu*, an adverb or exclamative particle, according to Higham *et al.* (2000: 128), which means ‘rapidly, quickly, at once’.

prefix and /o/, or /u/ is the thematic vowel (which harmonizes to the original root-vowel). In Ayoreo the 2S-realis *babo* is obtained by adding the prefix /b/- and the thematic vowel to the 2-irrealis *bo*. The Ayoreo 2P-realis is *uacaboyo* /wakaboj/, but the 2P-prefix /wak/- is an AY innovation. The 2-person prefix /b/ in Ayoreo alternates with /m/ (depending on vowel harmony). The 2-person prefix /m/- is rare in Chamacoco, but is observed in *iim* /i:m/ (114) and *ĩya* /ĩja/ (115). This suggests that the 2S-person *bu/bo* was originally a 2S-irrealis and *bulilo*, *bolilo* or *bululo* a 2P-realis.

Chamacoco generally has no 1P-person suffix (with the exception of the greater plural inclusive). In (112) the plural suffix -/ko/ of Ayoreo (and Ancient Zamuco) has been preserved in the Chamacoco 1P-person, although it is has been reinterpreted as a part of the root.

(113)	AZ ‘to go’	Ch ‘to bring, to do, to get’	Ay ‘to bring, to do, to get’
1S	o-i (/o-j)	tak-a-hi [?]	j-i-hi / ji
2S	do-i (/do-j/)	b-e-j	b-a-be
3S	i	i:	d-o-j
1P	o-co-i (/o-ko-j/)	j-u-kw-i [?] / j-u-k-i [?]	j-i-ko-j
1PE		o-j-u-kw-i [?] / o-j-u-k-i [?]	
2P	do-yo-i (/do-jo-j/)	b-e-j-lo / b-e-li-lo	wak-a-be-jo-j
3P		o-j	
1S.IRLS	y-a-hi (/j-a-hi/)		
2S.IRLS	b-e		be
3S.IRLS	do-i (/do-j/)	do-j	
1P.IRLS	i-co-i (/i-ko-j/)		
2P.IRLS	be-yo-i (/be-jo-j/)		be-jo-j

In (113) one can observe the same correspondence between the 3-persons of the Zamucoan languages which has been noted for thematic verbs: the Ancient Zamuco 3-realis corresponds to the Chamacoco 3-realis. The Ancient Zamuco 3-irrealis corresponds to the Ayoreo 3-person and to the Chamacoco 3-irrealis. The Chamacoco 1S-person *tak-ahi* has the same theme of A.Z *y-ahi* (/j-ahi/). The Ancient Zamuco 2-irrealis corresponds to the AY form used in irrealis contexts and to the Chamacoco 2-person. Nevertheless, the Chamacoco 2S-person *bey* /bej/ ends in /j/, not to be observed in the Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco 2S-irrealis *be*. In the Chamacoco 2-person and Ancient Zamuco 2-irrealis, /b/- is a prefix. The Ayoreo 2-irrealis *be* has been reinterpreted as a 2-

person root. An alternative hypothesis could to consider /b/ as part of the original root, which underwent unrecoverable phonetic changes.

In both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, the plural suffixes are followed by *-/j/*, which behaves as a lexical suffix. In Chamacoco, *-/j/* is to be found in the 2S-person, in the 2P-person and the 3-irrealis. As already seen (§4.8.8) *-/j/* is the reduced form of the lexical suffix *-(i)hi/* in Ayoreo, corresponding to the AY preposition */ihi/* and to the CH preposition *=/ihi/*. The lexical suffix form *-/hi/* is to be found in the Ayoreo 1S-person *yihi /jihi/*, in the Chamacoco 1S-person and the Ancient Zamuco 1S-irrealis. In both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, only the 2S-person does not show any trace of the lexical suffix. The AY verbs *hno /ɲo/* and *doy /doj/* share the 1S-persons *yihi /jihi/* and *yi /ji/*, but *yihi /jihi/* presents the lexical suffix *-/hi/* and this suggests that *yihi /jihi/* was the original 1S-person of *doy /doj/* and *yi /ji/* the 1S-person of *hno /ɲo/*. In the Chamacoco 2P-person, *-/j/* precedes the plural suffix and this means that it has been incorporated in the verb root in the 2P-person, as already seen in example (97). Final */i/* in the Chamacoco 1PI- and 1PE-person is what remains of the lexical suffix. Here, the last syllable *-/ki/* or *-/kwi/* corresponds to AY and A.Z *-/koj/*, that is to the plural suffix *-/ko/* followed by *-/j/*. The fact that the trace of a plural suffix is to be found in the 1P-person of *hno /ɲo/* (112) and *ü /i:/* (113) suggests that Chamacoco has probably lost the 1P-person suffix.

One further trace of the Chamacoco 1P-person suffix can be found in the verbs *üim /i:m/* (114) and *ĩya /ĩja/* (115) (see also §7.7), which have irregular forms for the 1P-person, such as *yukwĩya /jukwĩja/* (1PI) and *yukwim /jukwim/* (1PI), respectively. There is neither AY nor A.Z verb which corresponds to *üim /i:m/*, but *ĩya /ĩja/* corresponds to A.Z *ina* and AY \emptyset - \emptyset -*nóna* or *ch-i-j(n)ína /tɕ-i-ɲina/* (or */tɕ-i-hina/*) (115). The 1P-person is *y-i-j(n)ínango (/j-i-ɲinaŋo/* (or */j-i-hinaŋo/*) in Ayoreo and *ocona (/okona/* in Ancient Zamuco. The latter form shares some characteristics with *yukwĩya /jukwĩja/*. Apart from the already discussed similarity in the thematic vowel (see §7.7), */kw/* corresponds to the Ancient Zamuco 1P-suffix *-co (-/ko/)*. The A.Z plural suffix separates thematic */o/* from the syllable *-/na/*. The same occurs in Chamacoco, where this element corresponds to the last syllable of *ĩya /ĩja/*, which is also separated from the thematic vowel by *-/kw/-*. While Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco need a suffix to differentiate the 1P-person from the 1S-person, because both persons

have the same personal prefix, the Chamacoco 1S- and 1P-person take different prefixes, so that Chamacoco does not need any plural suffix to differentiate them. One can suppose that the differentiation of the Chamacoco 1S- and 1P-person prefix was the reason for the disappearance of the plural suffix.

The Chamacoco 2S-person of *ii* /i:/, *bey* /bej/ can remain unchanged in the 2P-person *beylo* /bejlo/. In its irregular variant *belilo* (2P), the original lexical suffix **-/ihi/* or **-/ihi/*,²⁰³ corresponding to the preposition =/ihi/, has turned into **-/hi/* and then into *-/li/*, so that in both *beylo* /bejlo/ and *belilo* a trace of the original lexical suffix is to be found before the plural suffix.

In the previous examples, one can see the 2-person prefix /b/ in Chamacoco (112-113) and the 2-irrealis prefix /b/ in Ancient Zamuco (113). It is also possible that the 2-prefix /b/ has exerted an influence in the formation of the 2-person roots beginning with /b/ (112). The 2-prefix /b/ is usually not used in Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco, but corresponds to the AY 2-prefix /b/- or /m/-. The latter is also rare in Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco, but emerges in the Ancient Zamuco 2-irrealis *m-ona* (115), in the Chamacoco 2-persons *m-oym* /m-ojm/ (114) and *m-eya* /meja/ (115). In Chamacoco, where there is generally no realis vs. irrealis opposition in the 2-person, the verb *teychim* /tejtɕim/ ‘to look’ has the 2-person forms *hmeychim* /m̥ejtɕim/ or *hmeychimlo* /m̥ejtɕimlo/, only used as imperative forms. If these forms are compared with the regular 2-person forms *eychim* /ejtɕim/ or *eychimlo* /ejtɕimlo/, it is evident that the imperative forms *hmeychim* /m̥ejtɕim/ and *hmeychimlo* /m̥ejtɕimlo/ are obtained by means of the prefix /m̥/-, the devoiced counterpart of the CH and A.Z prefix /m/-. Note that A.Z /b/- or /m/- and CH /m̥/- are 2-irrealis prefixes, while AY /b/- or /m/- are 2-realistic prefixes, so that in the whole Zamucoan family they are not strictly associated with a mood, but with the 2-person. It would be far-fetched to claim that this sort of prefix shows the original 2-irrealis form. In the case of *teychim* /tejtɕim/ one should observe that this is the only 2-irrealis form in the whole Chamacoco verb system. It is thus possible that A.Z /b/- or /m/- and CH /m̥/- prefix have been re-used in a highly idiosyncratic way, possibly to underline the difference with respect to the normal prefixless 2-forms. As for the 2-irrealis of A.Z. *no* and *i*, one might think of a confounder between the /b/-prefix and the specific root shape (112).

²⁰³ Cf. Ayoreo *-/ihi/* and the Chamacoco 1S-person *tak-a-hi*?

- (114) Ay. j-i-hi(n)o-me (1S), b-a-hi(n)o-me (2S), Ø-Ø-noŋo-me (3), j-i-hi(n)o-ŋo-me (1P), wak-a-hi(n)o-ŋo-me (2P) ‘to leave’
 Ch. tok-oj-m (1S), m-oj-m (2S), i-m (3), j-u-kwim (1PI), o-j-u-kwim (1PE), m-oj-m-lo (2P), oj-m (3P), n-oj-m (3.IRLS) ‘to leave’
- (115) Ay. j-i-ŋina (1S), b-a-ŋina (2S), Ø-Ø-nona / tɛ-i-ŋina (3), j-i-ŋina-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋina-ŋo (2P) ‘to accompany, to go with’ (also: tɛihina)
 Ch. tok-õ-ja (1S), m-e-ja (2S), ã-ja (3), j-u-kwĩja / j-ũ-ja (1PI), o-j-u-kwĩja / o-j-ũ-ja (1PE), j-õ-j-lo [ŋojlo] (1PI.GP), m-e-j-lo (2P), õ-ja (3P), n-o-ja (3.IRLS) ‘to accompany’
 A.Z. o-na (1S), d-o-na (2S), i-na (3), o-co-na (1P), d-o-yo-na (2P), y-a-hi-na (1S.IRLS), m-o-na (2S.IRLS), n-o-na (3.IRLS), i-co-na (1P.IRLS), m-o-ño-na (2P.IRLS) ‘to roll/to go round’
- (116) tik-e-jtɕim / tak-a-tɕim (1S), e-jtɕim (2S), t-e-jtɕim (3), j-e-jtɕim (1PI), o-j-e-jtɕim (1PE), e-jetɕim-lo (2P), o-t-e-jtɕim (3P), t-e-jtɕim (3P) ‘to look at’ (also tejtɕim)
 m̩-e-jtɕim / m̩ej (2S.IMP) / m̩-e-jtɕim-lo (2P.IMP)

In conclusion, in these exceptions Chamacoco still shows traces of a 1P-suffix *-/ko/* used in Proto-Zamuco and of a 2-prefix */b/-* or */m/-*, which is no longer to be found in regular verbs.

§7.10 Uninflectable and defective verbs

In the Zamucoan languages there are some uninflectable and defective verbs. (117a) and (117b) are uninflectable verbs. CH *nihyok* /nijok/ is a defective verb. Its corresponding AY form */iŋoke/* is properly the 3-person of the verb *quĩjnoque* /kiŋoke/ or *quĩjnoque* /iŋoke/ (§4.7), which has been reinterpreted as a negative existential verb. For a more complete list of AY and A.Z defective verbs, see Kelm (1964: 800).

- (117) a. Ay. beke ‘to rain’, Ch. ìbik ‘to rain’, A.Z. bec ‘to rain’
 b. Ay. dahate ‘to boil’, Ch. dahat ‘to boil’, A.Z. dahat ‘to boil’
 c. Ay. iŋoke (3) ‘there is not’, Ch. nijok (3) ‘there is not’ (see §4.7)

The following examples list verbs which are defective or uninflectable in one Zamucoan language, but have personal inflection in another. *Pohna* /poŋa/

(118) is a CH defective verb. Its AY counterpart is only used in the 3-person with the meaning ‘to burst, to explode’, but it has complete personal inflection when it means ‘to bawl out, to scold’. The verb *tocade* /tokade/ is uninflectable in Ayoreo, but has complete personal inflection in Zamuco. The AY form *tocade* /tokade/ corresponds to the Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco 3-person. Note that in both cases the forms *pohna* /poŋa/ (Ch.) and *tocade* /tokade/ (Ay.) correspond to the root of a radical verb in the other Zamucoan languages.

- (118) Ay. *n-i-poŋa* (1S), *m-a-poŋa* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*poŋa* (3), *n-i-poŋa-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-poŋa-ŋo* (2P)
 ‘to bawl out, to scold’.
 Also: *poŋa* (3) ‘to burst, to explode’
 Ch. *poŋa* (3), *poŋa-lo* (2P/1Pl.GP), *o-poŋa* (3P)
 ‘to sprout, to flourish; to burst, to explode’

- (119) Ay. *tokade* ‘to come out, to happen’
 Ch. *tik-i-tokole* / *tik-i-tokole* (1S), *a-tokole* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*tokole* (3), *j-i-tokole* /
j-i-tokole (1Pl), *o-j-i-tokole* / *o-j-i-tokole* (1PE), *a-tokoli-lo* / *a-tokol-lo* (2P),
o-tokole (3P), \emptyset - \emptyset -*tokole* (3.IRLS) ‘to exit, to come out, to happen’²⁰⁴
 A.Z. *a-i-tocade* (1S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*tocade* (3), *d-a-tocadeo* (2P), \emptyset - \emptyset -*tocade* (3.IRLS)
 ‘to come out, to happen’

De is a CH existential or locative verb (120). It only has the 3-person form and there is an opposition between the realis *de* and the irrealis *chihi* / $\text{t}\text{c}\text{i}\text{h}\text{i}$ /.²⁰⁵ This verb corresponds to AY *déji* /dehi/ or *chugúsi* / $\text{t}\text{c}\text{u}\text{g}\text{u}\text{s}\text{i}$ /, which has complete personal inflection and shows alternation between the two forms in the 3-person, although apparently there is no realis/irrealis difference in the use of these AY forms. *Déji* /dehi/ is by far more frequent than *chugúsi* / $\text{t}\text{c}\text{u}\text{g}\text{u}\text{s}\text{i}$ / in Ayoreo. It is a suppletive form in the paradigm of *chugúsi* and corresponds to CH *de*. The 3-person form *chugúsi* corresponds to CH *chihi* / $\text{t}\text{c}\text{i}\text{h}\text{i}$ /, the irrealis form. In thematic verbs too, (see §7.7) the Ayoreo 3-person corresponds to the Chamacoco 3-irrealis. In Ayoreo, *déji* or *chugúsi* are a unique case where two forms corresponding to a CH realis vs. irrealis form are still found in the 3-person.

²⁰⁴ For the reduced forms of this verb, see §5.6.5, ex. (166).

²⁰⁵ In this case, the opposition is not very rigid. *De* is occasionally observed in irrealis contexts, while *chihi* is only used in irrealis contexts.

- (120) Ay. j-u-gusi (1S), b-a-gusi (2S), dehi / tɕ-u-gusi (3), j-u-gu-ko-j / jugu-ko-hi (1P),
 wak-a-gu-so-j / wak-a-guso-hi (2P) ‘to be (location)’
 Ch. de (3.EXIST) / tɕ-i-hi (3.IRLS.EXIST) ‘to be’ (locative-existential copula)
 Cf. Wichi (Mataguayo): [‘ihi] (3.EXIST) (Viñas Urquiza 1974: II, 74)

The CH verb *itso* only has the 3-person form, in which an opposition between realis and irrealis is reported. The realis *itso* corresponds to AY and A.Z *cho*, while the irrealis *ilo* corresponds to A.Z *do*. In Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco the verb has full inflection. Some data by Chomé are reported in (122). The comparison between Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco shows that *-/ts/-* and *-/l/-*, which synchronically should be considered infixes, were originally prefixes.

- (121) Ay. j-o (1S), b-o (2S), tɕ-o (3), j-o-ko (1P), wak-o-jo (2P) ‘to be like, to sound like’
 Ch. *itso* (3), *ilo* (3.IRLS) ‘to be like, to look like’
 A.Z. o (1S), d-o (2S), ch-o (3), o-co (1P), d-o-yo (2P) ‘to look like, to be like’
 ch-o (1S.IRLS), o (2S.IRLS), d-o (3.IRLS), ch-o-co (1P.IRLS) o-yo (2P.IRLS)²⁰⁶
- (122) cf. Ancient Zamuco; Chomé (1958 [1745]: 158)
- a. *cho* (3) ‘to look like’
 - b. *cho gueddoa* ‘it looks like a star’
 - d. *cho yoddi* ‘it looks like water’

§7.11 A derivational mechanism in verb morphology

One can identify a pair of CH verbs, whose antonym could be obtained by adding the suffix *-/k/*. Apparently no change in verb valency occurs (123).

- (123) a. tɕ-i-raha (3; VA = 2) ‘to know’ vs. tɕ-i-raha-k (3; VA = 2) ‘not to know’
 b. ts-a-tso (3; VA = 1) ‘to be satisfied’ vs. ts-a-tso-k (3; VA = 1) ‘not to be satisfied’

The suffix *-/k/* is not separable from the verb root: as a consequence, the 2P-person forms of *chirahak* /tɕirahak/ and *satsok* are *erahaklo* and

²⁰⁶ On this verb, see Kelm (1964: 800-803).

atsoklo, respectively. This mechanism is no longer productive and is probably very old;²⁰⁷ the suffix *-/k/*, which conveys a negative meaning, has to be related to the AY negative particles *que /ke/* and *ca /ka/*. In Ayoreo there is only one example of such a negative verb suffix, and moreover for a pair of antonymous verbs undoubtedly related to *chiraha /tɕiraha/* and *chirahak /tɕirahak/*.²⁰⁸

(124) Ay. tɕ-i-raha (3) ‘to know’ vs. tɕ-i-raha-k (3) ‘not to know’

§7.12 Verb valency and transitivity in the verbs *taak /ta:k/* and *tew*

The verb ‘to eat’ can be translated by the verb ‘taak’ or ‘tew’; these verbs differ in the verb valency. *Taak /ta:k/* has valency 1 and only refers to the act of eating (125-126). By contrast, *tew* has valency 2 and is followed by what is eaten (127), although the direct object can also be understood, as in (128).

(125) Esee ye t-aak = pe. Im: “Deeychole tak-aak-e,
 /ese: je t-a:k = pe im de:jɕole tak-a:k-e/
 DM NEG 3-eat = NEG 3S.QUOT tomorrow 1S-eat-EPENT

 oy ye tak-aa = pe.”
 /oj je tak-a: = pe/
 today NEG 1S-eat = NEG

‘Then he doesn’t eat. He says: “Tomorrow I eat, today I don’t eat”.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

²⁰⁷ In Chamacoco this could partly be due to the dropping of the last consonant.

²⁰⁸ One could wonder whether the negative suffix *-/k/* can also be identified in the negative existentials *nihyok /nijok/* and *ijnoque /iɲoke/*, but it is not possible to answer this question, because no positive counterpart with the same root is to be found.

- (126) Yîlkashîp uje ich sol masaha, ich entreka, t-isohoke
 /jîlkashîp uxe itç sol masaha itç entreka, t-isohoke/
 evening SUB CONJ sun 3.set CONJ give 3-bathe

 ich t-aak.
 /itç t-a:k/
 CONJ 3-eat

‘In the evening, when the sun has set, (she) gives (the food), (he) bathes and eats.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (127) Hm-eychîm-lo uje t-ew wojĩ-ta ijaab-ta.
 /m̩-eytçîm-lo uxe t-ew woxĩ-ta ija:b-ta/
 2.IMP-look-P SUB 3-eat cow-FS.FF little-FS.FF
 ‘Note that (the anaconda) has eaten a little cow.’ (Barboza 1993: 6)

- (128) ¡Uje ew hn õhwa par uje tak-aachîm!
 /uxe ew ñ õwa par uxe tak-a:tçîm/
 SUB 2S.eat CONJ 2S.bring SUB SUB 1S-look
 ‘When you eat (the monkey), bring me so that I can see (it).’
 (adapted from: Balbuena 1993: 27)

In (129), the locative phrase (*dehet pehet* lit. ‘half path’) after the verb *taak* /ta:k/ is an adjunct introduced by =/ihî/ (see §5.14). This demonstrates that the valency of *taak* /ta:k/ is 1. The use of the preposition in (130) shows that the semantic configuration of *tew* only allows the subject and the direct object. *Tew* also conveys other secondary meanings: it can mean ‘to burn’ or can be used with a metaphorical sense in expressions indicating that something is wrong; the following expression, for instance, is frequently used among CH speakers: *latîk tew owa?* ‘What’s wrong with you?’ (lit. ‘What does eat/burn you?’).

- (129) Ishim õr o-pos-o toy par o-t-aak-ihî deh-et peh-et.
 /içîm õr o-pos-o toj par o-t-a:k-ihî deh-et peh-et/
 3.give 3P GF-food-MP 3.die SUB P-3-eat-PREP way-MS.FF middle-MS.FF
 ‘He also gives them food so that they eat along the way.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a: 174)

- (130) Shi akaha = chi hn ilpiyo-t t-ĩ ret t-ew owa = ha = chi p̃orc.
 /çi akaha = tçi n ilpijo-t t-ĩ ret t-ew owa = ha = tçi p̃ortç/
 DUR 2S.sit = there CONJ jaguar-MS.FF 3-come 3-eat 2S = PREP = there above
 ‘Continue sitting there and the jaguar comes and eats you there above.’
 (Ciucci field-notes)

This pair of verbs has cognates in other languages. In Ayoreo there are *tac* /tak/ or *taque* /take/ (3) ‘to eat’ and *tagu* (3) ‘to eat’. *Tac* /tak/ or *taque* /take/ is intransitive and *tagu* is transitive (Higham *et al.* 2000: 24, 81). Ancient Zamuco also has the pair of verbs *tac* (/tak/) (3) and *tagu* (3) ‘to eat’. The latter is transitive²⁰⁹, while Chomé’s data offer no evidence to state that A.Z *tac* is intransitive, like AY *tac* and CH *taak*.

Surprisingly, the same contrast in verb transitivity is also present in Wichi (Mataguayo), a language which has no genetic relationship with the Zamucoan family. In Wichi, ‘to eat’ is expressed by the intransitive verb [tʰek] and by the transitive verb [tuh^w] (Viñas Urquiza 1974: II, 95). Remarkably, in all these languages, the intransitive verbs for ‘to eat’ end in /k/, while the transitive verbs end with a labial element.

§7.13 Conclusions

The verb inflection of all Zamucoan languages has approximately the same structure. The root is preceded by a thematic vowel. The thematic vowel and the root form the theme. A prefix is added to the theme in order to express personal inflection. The Zamucoan languages show remarkable similarities in prefixation. A suffix is used for the 1P- and the 2P-person (see §6.11). Many irregularities in one language can be explained through the comparison. For instance, one can say that Chamacoco still preserves traces of a 1P-suffix -/ko/ (§7.9) and had a 2P-prefix /b/- or /m/-, because these elements are still to be found in some exceptions.

The behaviour of the thematic vowel is very similar: if the 3-thematic-vowel is a high vowel, it is preserved in the 1-person, but is overwritten by a prefix vowel in the 2-person. Non-high vowels in the 3-person tend to be

²⁰⁹ See the examples in Chomé (1958: 132).

preserved in the whole paradigm. In radical verbs, a default vocalic pattern is added in the rest of the paradigm, which corresponds to a vocalic pattern characterized by a high vowel in the 1-person. The vocalic patterns of Chamacoco show more variability than in the other Zamucoan languages. This suggests that Chamacoco is more innovative in the vocalic pattern.

In all Zamucoan languages there is a distinction between realis and irrealis. In Ancient Zamuco this contrast is to be found in all persons. The AY prefixes for the 1S/P-person and 2S/P-person tend to drop in realis and irrealis contexts, respectively. This tendency is not present in the 3-person of AY verbs. In Chamacoco the opposition between realis and irrealis is only found in the 3-person, so that the expression of the irrealis exhibits a sort of complementarity between Ayoreo and Chamacoco and the two languages are not comparable in this respect. The 3-irrealis prefix /d/- or /l/- of Chamacoco, which possibly nasalizes into /n/-, corresponds to the A.Z prefix /d/- (also /n/- is reported). This shows that sometimes Ancient Zamuco, although closer to Ayoreo than to Chamacoco, shares characteristics with Chamacoco which have been lost in Ayoreo. The data provide useful diachronic evidence to say that, like Ancient Zamuco, Proto-Zamuco presented the realis vs. irrealis distinction in the whole paradigm (with the exception of some verb groups). Such a contrast has partially been lost in Ayoreo and Chamacoco. Since the /t/- and radical verbs of Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco do not present the realis vs. irrealis distinction in the 3-person, one may surmise that these verb groups also lacked such distinction in the Proto-Zamuco 3-person.

In the following table, verb classification in the Zamucoan languages is reported. In Ayoreo, Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco, four classes of verbs can be distinguished. All Zamucoan languages have /tʰ/-verbs, /t/-verbs, thematic verbs and radical verbs. In Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco each of these groups corresponds to a verb class, but this is not the case in Chamacoco, the language which shows the most complex situation: a class of verbs in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco can correspond to a subclass of verbs in Chamacoco. A.Z and AY /tʰ/-verbs correspond to a CH class of prefixal verbs consisting of two subclasses: /tʰ/-verbs and /ts/-verbs. The second class of Chamacoco consists of /t/-verbs and /d/-verbs. These verbs have similar morphological properties, but the CH

subclass of /t/-verbs corresponds to the AY and A.Z class of /t/-verbs, while CH /d/-verbs derive from radical verbs or from a reinterpretation of the 3-irrealis of prefixal verbs. Note that /t/-verbs are a small class in Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo, while include many elements in Chamacoco. As noted above (§7.7), most AY verbs which were originally thematic have turned into radical verbs. For this reason, Ayoreo has a very tiny class of thematic verbs.

	PREFIXAL VERBS				THEMATIC VERBS	RADICAL VERBS
AYOREO	FIRST CLASS		SECOND CLASS		THIRD CLASS	FOURTH CLASS
	/tɕ/-verbs		/t/-verbs		thematic verbs	radical verbs
CHAMACOCO	FIRST MACRO-CLASS				SECOND MACRO-CLASS	
	FIRST CLASS		SECOND CLASS		THIRD CLASS	FOURTH CLASS
	/tɕ/-verbs	/ç/-verbs	/t/-verbs	/d/-verbs	thematic verbs	radical verbs
ANCIENT ZAMUCO	FIRST CLASS		SECOND CLASS		THIRD CLASS	FOURTH CLASS
	/tɕ/-verbs		/t/-verbs		thematic verbs	radical verbs

Table 7.6. Verb classification in the Zamucoan languages

§8 Chamacoco quotatives

In Chamacoco, mood-prominence is related to the presence of a complex system of quotatives. The personal inflection and the uses of quotatives are discussed in §8.1. Section §8.2 is concerned with some morphosyntactic observations on quotatives, on the negative existential verb and on the modal markers *tyenij* /tjenix/ and *sēhe* /tsēhe/. Section 8.3 deals with the quotative *sole* /tsole/. The irrealis form is described in §8.4. In §8.5 the quotative *otsii* /otsi:/ is compared with the AY evidential marker *chi* /tçi/.

§8.1 Quotative inflection

The quotative introduces the direct speech and agrees with the person who speaks. The quotative should probably not be considered a verb. The inflection of the quotative is very irregular, although it presents some similarities with verb inflection, such as:

- (i) The presence of /t/- in the 1S-person;
- (ii) The presence of /j/- and /oj/- in the 1PI-person and the 1PE-person, respectively;
- (iii) The presence of -/o/ in the 3P-person.

There are morphological features by which the quotative differs from a verb. The root of the quotative is different in every form (excepted the 1PI-person and the 1PE-person), even in the 3P-person, which is different from the 3S-person. In all CH verbs, the 3P-person depends on the 3-person, but this is not the case here. The 3-person *im* is only used for the singular, while *otsii* /otsi:/ is used for the 3P-person. The 2P-person of the verb is obtained by adding the suffix -/lo/. This also occurs in defective verbs, but not in the quotative: the 2P-person **onlo* is not observed, so that *on* is used for both the 2-person singular and plural.

(1) a. to: (1S), on (2), im (3S), jōr (1PI), ojōr (1PE), otsi: (3P) (quotative)

cf.

b. t-ak-is (1S), a-kis (2S), ts-a-kis (3), j-a-kis (1PI), o-j-a-kis (1PE), a-kis-lo (2P),
o-ts-a-kis (3P) ‘to hide’

§8.2 Morphosyntactic observations on quotatives, modals and existential verbs

At the syntactic level, the quotative is at the end of the clause and precedes the direct speech. It usually depends on a *verbum dicendi*. The quotative and the *verbum dicendi* agree in person. The most frequently used *verbum dicendi* is *umo* (2), which also means ‘to see’ (3). Sometimes *umo* may be implicitly reconstructed (5, 8). In (4) the *verbum dicendi* is *tatim* ‘to tell’ (4-5). Here there are examples of 1S-person quotative. In (6-7) the speaker is expressed by the 2P-pronoun *olak*, and the 2-person quotative *on* is used, because the quotative has no specific form for the 2P-person quotative. In (8) the 3P-person quotative is used.

(2) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Pablita umo yoo im : -ǰ Laura, je ye y-uko y-ukwi pi-yo? –
/pablita umo jo: im lawra xe je j-uko j-ukwi pi-jo/
Pablita 3.tell 1S 3S.QUOT Laura INT NEG 1PI-go 1PI-go_to_take wood-MP
‘Pablita told me: –Why don’t we go to take wood?–’

(3) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Luka umo da-hu-ch.
/luka umo da-hu-tʰ/
Luca 3S.see RFL.home-MS
‘Luca sees his home.’

(4) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

T-itim mama too: – Mama, sēhe tak-ahi porosu-wo – .
/t-itim mama to: mama tsēhe tak-ahi porosu-wo/
1S-tell 1S.mother 1S.QUOT 1S.mother VOL 1S.go_to_take poro_fruits-MP
‘I tell my mother: – Mother, I want to go to pick up poro fruits – .’

(5) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Esee=ke hn too: – Atim yoo, leke –.
 /Ese:=ke ṅ to: a-tim yo: leke/
 DM=PST CONJ 1S.QUOT 2S-tell 1S 1S.grandfather
 ‘And then I say: – Tell me, grandfather –.’

(6) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Olak a-m-lo yok on: – Chao! –.
 /olak a-m-lo jok on tɕao/
 2P 2-tell-P 1S 2.QUOT hallo
 ‘You tell me: – Hallo! –.’

(7) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

A-mi-lo olak l-eku-ta on: – Felis Nabida, kole –.
 /a-mi-lo olak l-eku-ta on: – felis nabida kole/
 2-tell-P 2P 3-grandmother-FS.FF 2.QUOT merry Christmas 1S.grandmother
 ‘Tell your grandmother: – Merry Christmas, grandmother –.’

(8) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Esee=ke hn otsii: – Ĕhe! –
 /Ese:=ke ṅ otsi: ĕhe/
 DM= PST CONJ 3P.QUOT yes
 ‘And then they said: -Yes!-’

The 3P-person quotative can also be used to express the name of someone or something. In this case, the word *ich* /i:ɕ/ ‘name’, whose possessive inflection agrees with the entity it refers to, is followed by the 3P-quotative *otsii* /otsi:/ which introduces the name (9). This corresponds to the AY structure in (10): the word *i* ‘name’ is followed by the copula *tu* and the name. Comparing (9) and (10), the CH quotative *otsii* /otsi:/ fills the slot of the copula in Ayoreo. The 3P-person quotative *otsii* /otsi:/ conveys an impersonal meaning, indicating how people call a certain entity (11).

(9) Chamacoco (Ulrich & Ulrich 1991: 5)

Ese hnim-ich uje ii-ch otsii Eden.
 /Ese ṅim-itɕ uxe ii-ɕ otsii eden/
 that.MS land-MS.FF SUB 3.name-MS 3P.QUOT Eden
 ‘This land whose name is Eden.’

(10) Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009)

I tu Ugobedai.
 /i tu ugobedaj/
 3.name COP Ugobedai
 ‘His name was Ugobedai.’

(11) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Oy-iyaa-chi ese Baya je awr otsii Baya,
 /oj-ija:-chi ese baja xe awr otsi: baja/
 1PE-remain-there that.MS Baya Negra SUB now 3P.QUOT Baya,

 ant = kite otsii Pachico.
 /ant = kite otsi: patɕiko/
 formerly = PST 3P.QUOT Pachico

‘We remain there in this Baya Negra, which now is called Baya Negra, but it was called Pachico formerly.’

The negative existential *nihyōk* /nijok/ has two alternative constructions: it can be preceded by the subject, as in (12-13),²¹⁰ or can be followed by it (14). In the latter case, *nihyōk* /nijok/ has to be followed by a negative construction, like the one introduced by the negation *ye* /je/ in (14). This syntactic construction is not observed for other verbs. Unlikely *de*, when *nihyōk* /nijok/ is preceded by the subject, it has to be followed by the preposition =/ihi/, which introduces the phrase expressing the place where the referred entity is missing (= /tɕi/ and = /tɕis/ in (12-13)). =/ihi/ can assimilate to the root vowel /o/, so that it turns into =/oho/ (12-13).

(12) Esee = ke o-chuku ich nihyōk = oho = chi, hno yuhwo.
 /Ese: = ke o-tɕuku itɕ nijōk = oho = tɕi, ɲo juwo/
 DM = PST 3P-look_for CONJ 3.NEG.EXIST = PREP = there 3.go escape
 ‘And then they look for (him) and he is not there, he goes, he escapes.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

(13) P-ishpaab-o o-nihyok = oho = chis.
 /p-iɕpa:b-o o-nijōk = oho = tɕis/
 1S-brother-MP 3P-NEG.EXIST = PREP = there
 ‘My brothers are not there.’ (Ulrich 1990d: 31)

²¹⁰ In (12) the subject is understood.

- (14) T-eychim poōr-c hn ich nihyōk = ship ye ukuh = ʔr = sh.
 /t-eytɕim pō:r-tɕ hn itɕ nijōk = ɕip je ukuh = ʔr = ɕ/
 3-look_to sky-MS.FF and EMPH NEG.EXIST=ELAT NEG cloud=FP.IF=EXIST
 ‘She looks to the sky and there are really no clouds.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 22)

Sēhe /tsēhe/ and *tyenij* /tjenix/ are modal elements which precede the verb, but should not be considered verbs. Both *sēhe* /tsēhe/ and *tyenij* /tjenix/ cannot occur alone in a sentence, but have to be followed by a verb. The prefixes /o/- and -/lo/ cannot be added and this proves that *sēhe* /tsēhe/ and *tyenij* /tjenix/ are not verbs: the forms **otsehe*, **otyenij* /tjenix/, **tsehelo* and **tyenijlo* /tjenixlo/ are impossible.

Sēhe /tsēhe/ (also *sehe* /tsehe/) indicates that the subject of the following verb has the intention to do something. If the verb is inflected in the 3-person, it takes the irrealis (15-16), because the speaker is not certain whether the action expressed by the verb will actually take place.

Tyenij /tjenix/ (30) indicates that the action expressed by the verb is necessary. It comes from the Spanish modal construction *tener que* ‘to have to’. As in other loans from Spanish verbs, the form which entered Chamacoco is the 3S-person present indicative *tiene que*. The expression of necessity generally requires the realis when the verb occurs in the 3-person (17).

- (15) ʔr sēhe l-uhu a-hakōr ahwos-o.
 /ʔr tsēhe l-uhu a-hakōr aʔos-o/
 3S VOL 3.IRLS-do 2S-teach 2S.word-MP
 ‘He wants you to teach him your language.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (16) Sēhe d-iraha eyok ahwos-o pisho.
 /tsēhe d-iraha ejok aʔos-o piɕo/
 VOL 3.IRLS-know 1PI word-MP ELAT.MP
 ‘He wants to know our real language.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(17) Otsii	ekhneer-o	wishi	o-ch-uku	uu	õr	toriĩ-t	uje
/otsi:	ekne:r-o	wiçi	o-tç-uku	u:	õr	toriĩ:t	uxe
3P.QUOT	ancient_people-MP	dead.MP	P-3-look_for	DET.MP	3P	weakness-MS.FF	SUB
tyenij	o-sh-uu	õr.					
/tyenij	o-ç-u:	õr/					
MOD	P-3-kill	3P					

‘They say that the ancient people looked for their weak points when they had [wanted] to kill them.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§8.3 The quotative *sole* /*tsole*/

There is also a quotative used when a direct speech is embedded in another direct speech, as in (18). (19) and (20) are expressions occurring very frequently in the translation of the New Testament. The quotative *sole* /*tsole*/ can also be used when the direct speech is embedded in an indirect speech (20). (21) is an example of indirect speech and in this case the quotative is not used. In (18) the first quotative is *otsii* /*otsi:/*, which indicates that the speaker is talking about something which he has heard from someone else, although no doubt about the truth of what the speaker says is expressed. *Otsii* /*otsi:/* is used in particular while telling a story.

(18) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Otsii	deey-ch	yet = ni	ŋ	umo	dhip_kinehe-t	lishi	sol:
/otsi:	de:j-tç	jet = ni	ŋ	umo	dhip_kinehe-t	liçi	tsol/
3P.QUOT	day.MS.FF	another.MS = PST	CONJ	3.tell	foreigner.MS.FF	poor.MS	3.QUOT
–jKataa	y-uko	y-itĩr	wahacha	hmont	ehet?–		
/kata:	j-uko	j-itĩr	wahatça	mont	ehet/		
why_not	1PI-go	1PI-go_to	there	wood	3.inside.MS.FF		

‘They say that one day he told the poor foreigner: – Why don’t we go as far as there in the wood?’

(19) Chamacoco (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a)

T-ata	im: –	Porrosh-t	sole: “....
/t-ata	im	po:ɥoç-t	tsole/
3.say	3S.QUOT	God-MS.FF	3S.QUOT

‘He says: – God says: “...’

(20) Chamacoco (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a)

T-ata uje Porrosht sole: –
 /t-ata uxe po:ɬoç-t tsole/
 3.say COMP God.M.SG 3S.QUOT
 ‘He says that God says: “...’

(21) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

T-itim owa je ye oy-uku = pe
 /t-itim owa xe je oj-uku = pe/
 1S.say you COMP NEG 1PE.come = NEG
 ‘I tell you we are not able to come’

§8.4 The irrealis quotative

The 3-person quotative *im* (22) has an irrealis counterpart *ilo* (23), used when the speaker denies that something has been said, or expresses a doubt about it. *Ilo* is properly the irrealis form of the verb *itso* (see §5.12), which can be used as a quotative.

(22) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

Mama im: – Ye e-třr-l wahacha ehe-t –
 /mama im je e-třr-l wahatça ehe-t/
 1S.mother 3S.QUOT NEG 2-go_to-P there 3.inside-MS.FF
 ‘My mother says: – Don’t go as far as there, within (the wood)’

(23) Chamacoco (adapted from: Ulrich & Ulrich 1991: 7)

Ese echeẽ-t umo wate asa timchar-rza im: –ɿJe
 /ese etçẽ:t umo wate asa timtçaj-ɿa im xe
 that.MS snake-MS.FF 3.tell DET.FS that.FS woman-FS.FF 3S.QUOT INT

 urũ pishi uje Porrosht n-omo olak il:²¹¹ "ɿYe ew-lo
 /urũ piçi uxe po:ɬoç-t n-omo olak il je ew-lo
 true ELAT COMP God.M.SG 3.IRLS-tell 2P 3S.IRL.QUOT NEG 2.eat-P

²¹¹ In this example, *ilo* has been transcribed as *il* due to the reduction of the final vowel, which is occasionally deleted.

nos wir pohir uje de shakir-rza eheth?"--
 /nos wir pohir uxe de çaki-ı-ıa eheth/
 all DET.P tree.FP SUB 3.EXIST garden-FS.FF 3.inside.MS.FF

‘The snake told the woman: – Is it true that God has told you: “Don’t eat from any tree in the garden?”–’

§8.5 Ayoreo *chi* /tçi/ and Chamacoco *otsii* /otsi:/

Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco do not have quotatives, as in Chamacoco. However, in Ayoreo there is an evidential marker, *chi* /tçi/, «which indicates that the speaker did not directly witness the event (second-hand knowledge), although it does not imply lack of credibility of the reported event» (Bertinetto 2009: 49). This is used for instance, when the speaker tells a story (24).

(24) Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009: 49-50)

Ugobedai u chi ayoré nanique i tu Ugobedai nga
 /ugobedaj u tçi ayoré nanike i tu ugobedaj ıa/
 Ugobedai COP EVID person.FS.FF long_ago 3.name.FS.FF COP Ugobedai CONJ

chi chi Ugobedai uté ore ch-icare gujé chi
 /tçi tçi ugobedaj ute ore tç-ikare guxe tçi/
 EVID EVID Ugobedai this.MS 3P 3-call COMP EVID

nga chi chi ugobe qué da-i.
 /ıa tçi tçi ugobe ke da-j/
 CONJ EVID EVID grizzler EMPH 3.father-MS.FF

‘Once upon a time Ugobedai was, so they say, a person; his name was Ugobedai; and, so they say, they called him Ugobedai precisely because he was, so they say, the father of a grizzler.’

The Chamacoco 3P-person quotative *otsii* /otsi:/ can have the same function in Chamacoco. In (25) the speaker is telling the story of Boggiani (see §1.8).

(25) Chamacoco (Ciucci, field-notes)

O-mo otsii s-ahmuru ishir-rza apıbiti-t = ni hn asa
 /o-mo otsi: ts-amuru ishi-ı-ıa apıbiti-t = ni ı asa/
 3P-see EVID 3-love Chamacoco-FS.FF girl-FS.FF = PST CONJ that.FS

ishir-rza	apibiti-ta	s-ahmur = po.
/ishiɽ-ɽa	apibiti-ta	ts-amur = po/
Chamacoco-FS.FF	girl-FS.FF	3-love = also

‘They say that he loved a Chamacoco girl, and the Chamacoco girl also loved him.’

It is possible that AY *chi* /tɕi/ and CH *otsii* /otsi:/ not only have the same use (although *otsii* is also used in other contexts), but also have the same origin. In (26) one finds some arguments to demonstrate it: (1) *Otsii* has the 3P-prefix /o/-, which does not exist in Ayoreo, so that the Chamacoco 3P-person with the prefix /o/- corresponds to the Ayoreo 3-person (26a); (2) As already seen in this chapter, the Chamacoco 3-prefix /ts/- can correspond to the AY prefix /tɕ/- (26b); (3) The length of the vowel is different, because in Chamacoco *otsii* shows the long vowel /i:/, while vowel length has no phonological value in Ayoreo (26c); (4) AY /i/ can correspond to CH /i/, absent in the phonological inventory of Ayoreo (26d).

(26) a. 3P-prefix /o/-

Ay. katekãri ‘to talk’ (3S) ----> ore katekãri (3P)

Ch. kējtkēr ‘to talk’ (3S) ----> okējtkēr (3P)

Ay. tɕuru ‘to wash’ (3S) ----> ore tɕuru (3P)

Ch. tɕurũ ‘to wash’ (3S) ----> otɕurũ (3P)

b. Ay. /tɕ/ vs. Ch. /ts/

Ay. tɕakare ‘to sit’ (3S)

Ch. tsakir ‘to sit’ (3S)

Ay. tɕakose ‘to hide’ (3S)

Ch. tsakis ‘to hide’ (3S)

c. Ay. /i/ vs. Ch. /i/

Ay. dike ‘to walk’ (3S)

Ch. dirk ‘to walk’ (3S)

Ay. tɕiraha ‘to know’ (3S)

Ch. tɕiraha ‘to know’ (3S)

§8.6 Conclusions

In Chamacoco, mood-prominence is related to the presence of a quotative. Although this element expresses the same categories of the verb (person and mood), it should not be considered a verb. The AY evidential marker *chi* /tɕi/ shares some uses of the CH 3P-quotative. Both elements probably have the same origin.

THIRD PART: POSSESSIVE INFLECTION

The third part describes the possessive inflection of the Zamucoan languages. In the Zamucoan languages, one has to distinguish between possessable and non-possessable nouns. Possessable nouns have morphological devices, i.e. prefixation, which express the personal agreement between noun and possessor (or its genitival modifier), while non-possessable nouns do not express the agreement with their possessor. Non-possessable nouns have no prefixation. Such possibility or impossibility to be possessed refers to the morphological level: at the syntactic level, both possessable and non-possessable nouns can have a possessor. The distinction between two categories of nouns, possessable and non-possessable, and the use of prefixation for possessable nouns follows the areal pattern identified by Fabre (2007a: 70) for Chaco languages.²¹² In the Zamucoan languages, possessable nouns may add to the possessive inflection another form which morphologically indicates no possessor. The generic or non-possessed form (henceforth: GF) is used when there is no possessor, the possessor is unknown or simply not specified.²¹³ Chapter §9 deals with the possessive inflection of Ayoreo. The possessive inflection of Chamacoco is addressed in §10. Finally, the possessive inflection of Ayoreo, Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco are compared and some similarities with verb morphology are illustrated (§11).

²¹² Only Vilela (Lule-Vilela) represents an exception, because it does not use prefixes in order to express the possessor (see Fabre 2007b: 70).

²¹³ See Bertinetto (2009: 26).

§9 Ayoreo possessive inflection²¹⁴

The present chapter describes the possessive inflection of Ayoreo. Ayoreo nouns can be divided into possessable and non-possessable. The latter can only be possessed if preceded by a possessive classifier (§9.1). Then, the morphological structure of possessable nouns and their prefixation are discussed (§9.2). One can distinguish three classes of possessable nouns depending on the 3-person: thematic, prefixal and radical nouns. Section §9.3 deals with thematic nouns. Prefixal nouns with the prefix /g/-, /p/- or /k/- are described in §9.4, prefixal nouns with the prefix /n/- or /d/- in §9.5. There are also irregular nouns which look like prefixal nouns, although they cannot be included in this class §9.6. Radical nouns are addressed in §9.7. Finally, possessable nouns can have a form which does not express the possessor: the generic form. Its uses and its morphology are shown in §9.8 and §9.9, respectively.

§9.1 The possessive classifier

In Ayoreo there is no morphological rule to establish whether a given noun is possessable or non-possessable. Only a semantic restriction can be found: nouns denoting animals and plants are generally non-possessable, but non-possessable nouns are not limited to these categories. Non-possessable nouns have no possessive inflection, but can be possessed at the syntactic level. In this case a possessive (or genitive) classifier is used. All Chaco languages present possessive (or genitive) classifiers for non-possessable nouns. According to Fabre (2007b: 79-80), Ayoreo is the Chaco language with the largest inventory of possessive classifiers. AY possessive classifiers will not be discussed in this work. For more details on AY possessive classifiers, see Fabre (2007b), Bertinetto (2009) and §11.10.

Agreement between a non-possessable noun and its possessor is conveyed by the prefixation of the possessive classifier, which follows the same rules as possessable nouns. There is no morphological difference between possessable nouns and possessive classifiers. For this reason, the morphology of possessive

²¹⁴ The present chapter is based on Ciucci (2010a), which will no longer be mentioned.

classifiers will be analysed together with possessable nouns. The difference is a syntactic one: the possessive classifier usually appears in full-form and precedes the noun it refers to, inflected in base-form.²¹⁵ In (1) *tamocoi* /tamokoj/ ‘dog’ agrees with its possessor. *Tamocoi* /tamokoj/ (*tamoco* /tamoko/ in the text) is a name of an animal, which is consequently non-possessable. The agreement with its 3P-person possessor (which is understood) is expressed by the possessive classifier *gachidi* /gatçidi/ (*gachidode* /gatçidode/ in the text). *Tamocoi* /tamokoj/ is a keyword in the Zamucoan culture, because it has been assumed that the term *Zamuco* derives from it.²¹⁶

- (1) – A uñeque jirãque ch-ise yoque jne.– ore ch-ojninga. Ore
 /a uñeke hirãke tç-ise joke ñe ore tç-oñiña ore/
 MOD someone soon 3-find 1P FUT 3P 3-say 3P
- ch-irote ujetiga g-achid-ode tamoco agoye-die
 /tç-irote uhetiga g-atçid-ode tamoko agoje-die/
 3-wait COMP 3-PCL_animal-MP.FF dog.MS.BF barking-FP.FF
- t-orã-ji mu que ore ch-udute cucha-rique.
 /t-orã-hi mu ke ore tç-udute kutçea-rike/
 3-come-LOC but NEG.RLS 3P 3-hear thing-MS.IF

‘They say: “Someone will find us soon”. They wait for the barking of their dog, but they do not hear anything.’ (QCCB II: 29)

The classifier has to be semantically compatible with the noun it refers to. *Gachidi* /gatçidi/, for instance is only used with domestic animals and means of transport.

- (2) a. Yoc-achid-i cuco
 /jok-atçid-i kuko/
 1P-PCL_animal-MS.FF boat.MS.BF
 ‘Our boat’
- b. Uac-achid-i burica
 /wak-atçid-i burika/
 2P-PCL_animal-MS.FF horse.MS.BF
 ‘Your boat’

²¹⁵ The difference between base- and full-form in Ayoreo will be discussed in §12.

²¹⁶ On this issue, see Combès (2009: 13-15).

§9.2 The personal inflection of possessable nouns

The structure of possessive inflection is reported in (3)



Like verb inflection, possessable inflection only has the first five persons: the 3-person form is also used for the 3P-person, which will no longer be mentioned.

In the 3-person one has to distinguish between reflexive and non-reflexive 3-person. The former is used when the 3-person possessor is co-referent with the subject of the sentence, as in (4). The *words* (*d-aruode*) in example (4) are the *words* of the subject, who shouts and in so doing ‘consumes his words’: for this reason the reflexive 3-person is used. The non-reflexive 3-person is used when there is no co-reference between the subject and the possessor, as in (5), where the subject has refused to help a missionary to translate the ‘words of God’: for this reason the 3-person form *uruode* is used here. The same form is also used immediately after, in order to refer to the missionary’s translation of the Bible (lit. the ‘words of God’, *Dupade uruode*). From now onwards, the reflexive 3-person will be called ‘reflexive person’ (RFL-person) and the non-reflexive person will be called ‘3-person’.

- (4) Enga ch-ejna-pusu d-aru-ode enga t-ibite.
 /ɛŋa tɕ-ɛŋa-pusu d-aru-ode ɛŋa t-ibite/
 CONJ 3-consume-ELAT RFL-words-MP.FF CONJ 3-shout
 ‘He raises his voice (lit. consumes his words) and shouts.’ (QCCB I: 24)

- (5) Enga ch-iraja dirica uje Dupade pota jeta ch-ataja misionero
 /ɛŋa tɕ-iraha dirika uhe dupade pota heta tɕ-ataha misjonero/
 CONJ 3-know yesterday COMP God 3.want COMP 3-help missionary
 ujetiga ch-ajnerame Dupade uru-ode iji ayore-ode uru-ode
 /uhetiga tɕ-aŋerame dupade uru-ode ihi ajore-ode uru-ode/
 COMP 3-translate God 3.word-MP.FF LOC Ayoreo-MP.FF 3.word-MP.FF

‘He knows that the they before God wanted him to help a missionary to translate the Bible (lit. ‘the words of God’) in Ayoreo (lit. in the words of the Ayoreo).’ (QCCB II: 40)

The 1-person is marked by the prefix /j/-, which can nasalize into /ɲ/- if a nasal element is present in the noun root.

- (6) a. j-i-kasitigaj (1S) ‘courage’
 b. ɲ-i-ɲoraj (1S) ‘companion’

As for verb inflection, it has been pointed out that in verb suffixation it is generally possible to predict the nasalization of the suffix (§4.8.1, §4.8.4), which occurs automatically under appropriate conditions. Conversely in verb prefixation, under the same conditions, the speaker is free to nasalize the prefix. For this reason, no systematic rule has been provided for the nasalization of verb prefixes. The same considerations also apply to nominal morphology. Therefore, while the nasalization of nominal suffixes is always predictable, the nasalization of possessive prefixes, although governed by the same rules (Ciucci 2007/08), is not obligatory and the prefix can nasalize.²¹⁷

The 2-person is marked by the prefix /b/-, which can nasalize into /m/- in nasal-harmony contexts.

- (7) a. b-a-kasitigaj (2S) ‘courage’
 b. m-a-ɲoraj (2S) ‘companion’

The 3- and the RFL-person will be discussed later. The 1P-person is marked by the prefix /jok/-, which never nasalizes, because /k/ blocks the expansion of nasalization on the left.²¹⁸

- (8) a. jok-i-ɲoraj (1P) ‘companion’
 b. jok-a-kasitigaj (1P) ‘courage’
 c. jok-u-niri (1P) ‘land’

The 2P-person takes the prefix /wak/-.

²¹⁷ As for the nasalization of the possessive prefix, the data in the examples will closely follow the respective sources. This means that in many cases the nasalization of a given prefix will not be shown even when it is possible.

²¹⁸ The block of nasalization in Ayoreo has been noted in verb morphology by Ciucci (2007/08a) and in noun morphology by Ciucci (2007/08b). On this phenomenon, see also Bertinetto, Ciucci & Pia (2010).

- (9) a. wak-a-kasitigaj (2P) ‘courage’
 b. wak-a-ṅoraj (2P) ‘companion’

The behaviour of the thematic vowel in possessive inflection usually follows the same rules as in verb inflection (§4.4). The vocalic pattern of possessive inflection will be discussed in detail later on.

From the above discussion, one can detect some similarity between possessive and verb inflection in Ayoreo, since the 1S-person and 2S/P-person prefixes are common. In the 2P-person, verbs are distinguished from possessable nouns by the verb suffix (e.g. *-/ko/* in (10a)).

- (10) a. j-i-katekãri (1S), b-a-katekãri (2S), Ø-Ø-katekãri (3), j-i-katekã-ko-ri (1P),
 wak-a-katekãri (2P) ‘to talk’
 b. j-i-kasitigaj (1S), b-a-kasitigaj (2S), Ø-Ø-kasitigaj (3), d-a-kasitigaj (RFL),
 jok-i-kasitigaj (1P), wak-a-kasitigaj (2P) ‘courage’

The RFL-person is formed with the prefix */d/-* which may nasalize into */n/* in nasal-harmony contexts. Its thematic vowel follows the 2S-person’s pattern: this is also confirmed when there is an exception in the 2S-vowel (see ex. (18-19)). Since the RFL-person behaves as the 2S-person, whatever will be said of the latter will also extend to the former.

- (11) a. d-a-kasitigaj (2P) ‘courage’
 b. n-a-ṅoraj (2P) ‘companion’

The 3-person determines the inflectional class. Ayoreo possessable nouns can be ‘radical’ (12), ‘thematic’ (13) or prefixal (14) (see §3.1).

- (12) a. j-i-boti (1S), b-a-boti (2S), Ø-Ø-poti (3), d-a-boti (RFL), jok-i-poti (1P),
 wak-a-poti (2S) ‘food’
 b. j-i-miṅani (1S), m-a-miṅani (2S), Ø-Ø-piṅani (3), n-a-miṅani (RFL), jok-a-miṅani (1P),
 wak-a-miṅani (2P) ‘mouth’

- (13) a. j-i-bioj (1S), b-a-bioj (2S), i-bioj (3), d-a-bioj (RFL), jok-i-bioj (1P), wak-a-bioj (2P)
 ‘light, lamp’
 b. j-u-gutade (1S), b-a-gutade (2S), u-gutade (3), d-a-gutade (RFL), jok-u-gutade (1P),
 wak-a-gutade (2P) ‘walking stick’

- (14) a. *ɲ-a-ṃini* (1S), *m-a-ṃini* (2S), *g-a-ṃini* (3), *n-a-ṃini* (RFL), *jok-a-ṃini* (1P),
wak-a-ṃini (2P) ‘sign’
 b. *j-e-rani* (1S), *b-e-rani* (2S), *g-e-rani* (3), *d-e-rani* (RFL), *jok-e-rani* (1P),
wak-e-rani (2P) ‘gift’

As already noted, neither the reflexive nor the non-reflexive 3-person shows any difference between singular and plural possessor. If the plural possessor is not specified, the 3P-pronoun *ore* is generally used.

- (15) Mu *cuchabasu-i* *i-guijna-i* *idaja* *iji* *ore* *i-guijn-ane*.
 /mu *kutɕabasu-j* *i-giɲa-j* *idaha* *ihi* *ore* *i-giɲ-ane/*
 but airplane-MS.FF 3-house-MS.FF far.MS.BF LOC 3P 3-house-MP.FF
 ‘But the hangar (lit. the house of the airplane) is far away from their houses.’
 (QCCB II: 15)

In most AY verbs, the 3-person is marked by the prefix /tɕ/- (less frequently by prefix /t/-). In this respect one can note a sort of complementarity between noun and verb, because there is a very tiny class of thematic verbs in Ayoreo, while thematic nouns constitute the inflectional class with the largest number of elements.

The noun’s possessive inflection is very regular and presents a few exceptions which will be discussed in detail. The possessive inflection has, morphologically speaking, six distinct forms (plus the GF, see §9.8). No correspondence has been found between inflectional classes and possible semantic classes, the only exception being represented by a subclass of prefixal nouns (§9.5). I will begin the analysis of the inflectional classes with thematic nouns, which constitute the most prototypical inflectional class.

§9.3 Thematic nouns

The morphological behaviour of the thematic vowel in the noun follows the same rules as in verb inflection (see §4.4). Only the 1S-, the 2S- and the 3-person will be discussed, because the thematic vowel of the 3P-person and the RFL-person is dependent on these three persons. The 1P-person usually has the thematic vowel of the 1S-person, while the 2P-person and the RFL-person always exhibit the same vowel as the 2S-person.

Given the 3-vowel, one can predict the vocalic pattern of the whole paradigm. In this regard, as in verb morphology (§4.4), in noun morphology it is necessary to distinguish between high vowels and non-high vowels. If the 3-vowel is a non-high vowel (/a e o/), it is a thematic vowel preserved in the rest of the paradigm (16).

- (16) a. j-a-honiņaj (1S), b-a-honiņaj (2S), a-honiņaj (3), d-a-honiņaj (RFL), jok-a-honiņaj (1P), wak-a-honiņaj (2P) ‘money’
 b. j-e-rubi (1S), b-e-rubi (2S), e-rubi (3), d-e-rubierubi (RFL), jok-e-rubi (1P), wak-e-rubi (2P) ‘urine’
 c. j-o-hi (1S), b-o-hi (2S), o-hi (3), d-o-hi (RFL), jok-o-hi (1P), wak-o-hi (2P) ‘bow’

If the thematic vowel is a high vowel, such as /i/ or /u/, it turns into /a/ in the 2-person (17), as in verb morphology. This vowel was originally a part of the prefix which has overwritten the high vowel, while it has been overwritten by the non-high vowels. There are only a few exceptions which will be discussed below.

- (17) a. j-i-rodipidi (1S), b-a-rodipidi (2S), i-rodipidi (3), d-a-rodipidi (RFL), jok-i-rodipidi (1P), wak-a-rodipidi (2P) ‘hiding place’
 b. j-u-rēhaj (1S), b-a-rēhaj (2S), u-rēhaj (3), jok-u-rēhaj (1P), wak-a-rēhaj (2P) ‘older brother’

A subregularity may be observed in nominals characterized by thematic /i/: a small group of nouns show the 2-vowel /e/ rather than /a/. In this case /e/ is also to be found in the 2P-person and in the RFL-person.

- (18) a. j-ĩ-karaj (1S), b-ẽ-karaj (2S), ĩ-karaj (3), d-ẽ-karaj (RFL), jok-ĩ-caraj (1P), wak-ẽ-karaj (2P) ‘what/who is mentioned or named’
 b. j-i-daj (1S), b-e-daj (2S), i-daj (3), d-e-daj (RFL), jok-i-daj (1P), wak-e-edaj (2P) ‘village, town’
 c. j-i-hoj (1S), b-e-hoj (2S), i-hoj (3), d-e-hoj (RFL), jok-i-hoj (1P), wak-e-hoj (2P) ‘place or person which is visited often’
 d. j-i (1S), b-ej (2S), i (3), d-ej (RFL) ‘name’

This subregularity is not restricted to thematic nouns, but is also reported in some prefixal nouns (see §9.4). This phenomenon, however, is relatively

infrequent in AY possessive inflection.

It is difficult to include *i* ‘name’ in one of the three inflectional classes that have been proposed, owing to the fact that its 3-person only consists of /i/, which in the 2-person is not overwritten by /e/. As noted above, the change in the 2-vowel has been caused by a vowel originally belonging to the prefix, which has overwritten the original thematic vowel when it was a high vowel. However, this did not take place in *i* (18d), where the original prefix vowel /e/ precedes thematic /i/.²¹⁹

In the possessive inflection of *ujoi* /uhoj/ ‘fellow’, the 2-vowel is /o/, rather than /a/, as one would expect.

(19) j-u-hoj (1S), b-o-hoj (2S), u-hoj (3), d-o-hoj (RFL), jok-u-hoj (1P), wak-o-hoj (2P)
 ‘fellow’²²⁰

One can observe a similar irregularity in the vocalic pattern of *uéchai* /uetɕaj/ ‘beyond, opposite side of’ (20) and its derived nouns, such as *uéchaminóri* /uetɕaminori/ ‘who/what is on the other side’. Here the thematic vowel is /u/ and the 2-vowel is /e/, which merges with the first root-vowel /e/.²²¹

(20) j-u-etɕaj (1S), b-e-ɕaj (2S), u-etɕaj (3), d-e-ɕaj (RFL), jok-u-etɕaj (1P), wak-e-ɕaj (2P)
 ‘beyond, opposite side of’

In *ujoi* /uhoj/ (19) and *uéchai* /uetɕaj/ (20), the same phenomenon observed in (18) is shown: the 3-vowel is a high vowel, but a mid vowel is present in the 2-person, while /a/ would be expected.

§9.4 Prefixal nouns: the prefixes /g/-, /p/- and /k/-

Prefixal nouns form the 3-person through a consonantal prefix. The most common 3-prefixes are /g/- (21a-b) and /d/- (21c). /d/ can nasalize into /n/

²¹⁹ On this phenomenon, see also §11.5.

²²⁰ About this word, used as a possessive classifier, see §11.10.

²²¹ Note that *uéchai* /uetɕaj/ comes from *uréchai* /uretɕaj/ due to the fall of intervocalic /r/. On this phenomenon, see Bertinetto (2009).

(21d).

Theoretically every vowel could have the role of thematic vowel depending, of course, on the noun. Nevertheless, for the time being no prefixal noun with /o/ as thematic vowel is to be found. In the behaviour of the thematic vowel there are limitations and subregularities which will be discussed hereafter.

- (21) a. j-ẽ-rapaidi (1S), b-ẽ-rapaidi (2S), g-ẽ-rapaidi (3), d-ẽ-rapaidi (RFL), jok-ẽ-rapaidi (1P), wak-ẽ-rapaidi (2P) ‘sacrifice, gift’
 b. j-a-t̥ɛidi (1S), b-a-t̥ɛidi (2S), g-a-t̥ɛidi (3), d-a-t̥ɛidi (RFL) ‘domesticated animal, vehicle’,²²²
 c. j-a-kide (1S), b-a-kide (2S), d-a-kide (3), d-a-kide (RFL), jok-a-kide (1P), wak-a-kide (2P) ‘grandfather’
 d. j-a-terã (1S), m-a-terã (2S), n-a-terã (3), n-a-terã (RFL) jok-a-terã (1P), wak-a-terã (2P) ‘aunt’

All nouns with the prefix /g/- and thematic /i/ in the 3-person also have /e/ as 2-vowel. The same subregularity in the pattern of the thematic vowel is also to be found in (18).

- (22) a. j-i-doboj (1S), b-e-doboj (2S), g-i-doboj (3), d-e-doboj (RFL), jok-i-doboj (1P), wak-e-doboj (2P) ‘back (of human or animals)’
 b. j-i-pej (1S), b-e-pej (2S), g-i-pej (3), d-e-pej (RFL) ‘man’s rectangular bag’
 c. j-i-jaj (1S), b-e-jaj (2S), g-i-jaj / i-jaj (3), d-e-jaj (RFL), jok-i-jaj (1P), wak-e-jaj (2P) ‘who/what is found’
 d. j-i-jasõri (1S), b-e-jasõri (2S), g-i-jasõri / i-jasõri (3), d-e-jasõri (RFL), jok-i-jasõri (1P), wak-e-jasõri (2S) ‘one who finds something’

The noun *guiyasõri* /gijasõri/ ‘one who finds something’ (22d) is derived from *guiyai* (22c) ‘who/what is found’. Usually derived nouns take the same possessive inflection of the name they derive from. In both *guiyai* /gijaj/ and *guiyasõri* /gijasõri/, two forms alternate in the 3-person: *guiyasõri* /gijasõri/, *iyasõri* /ijasõri/ and *guiyai* /gijaj/, *iyai* /ijaj/. This shows that some nouns can belong to two inflectional classes. However, this possibility is lexically idiosyncratic and only applies to a limited number of nouns, such as *gu-e-tesõri* (3) /getesõri/, *e-tesõri* /etesõri/ (3) ‘enemy’ (another /g/-noun). This can be

²²² As already noted in §9.1, *gachidi* /gat̥ɛidi/ is used as a possessive classifier.

explained by the fact that, besides the prefix /g/- in the 3-person, /g/-nouns do not exhibit any other morphological property which can distinguish them from thematic nouns²²³ and tend to converge towards thematic nouns, which represent the largest inflectional class and the only one which is still productive. The tendency towards regularization and the possible presence of /e/ as 2-vowel (shared with thematic nouns) indicates that /g/-nouns are a recessive class.

The so-called /d/-nouns, which will be discussed in the next section, exhibit some properties which distinguish them from thematic nouns. In this case no noun belonging to two inflectional classes is to be observed. There are a few nouns in which other consonants may function as 3-prefix: /k/- (23a) and /p/- (23b).²²⁴

- (23) a. j-a-kadi (1S), b-a-kadi (2S), k-a-kadi (3), d-a-kadi (RFL), jok-a-kadi (1P),
 wak-a-kadi (2P) ‘entrance’
 b. j-i-biñaj (1S), b-a-biñaj (2S), p-i-biñaj (3), d-a-biñaj (RFL), jok-i-biñaj (1P),
 wak-a-biñaj (2P) ‘call, shout’

§9.5 Prefixal nouns: the prefixes /d/- and /n/-

The group of nouns with the prefixes /d/- and /n/- will be referred to as /d/-nouns, because the distinction between /d/- and /n/- only depends on the nasalization of the prefix, which is only possible in nasal-harmony contexts and is not obligatory. /d/-nouns are of some interest, primarily for a semantic reason: They are all kinship terms.²²⁵ Another property of this group of nouns consists in the fact that they all²²⁶ show the 3-vowel /a/ or /e/. Since the prefix /d/- is used in both 3- and RFL-person, and /a/ and /e/ are the same in both 3- and RFL-person, the obvious consequence is the indistinction of 3- and RFL-person, which coincide.

²²³ The above mentioned subregularity in the 2-vowel (18) is shared with some thematic nouns.

²²⁴ These nouns probably were GFs which have been reanalysed (see §9.9).

²²⁵ There is only one exception (see below).

²²⁶ There is only one exception (see below).

- (24) a. j-a-haj (1S), b-a-haj (2S), d-a-haj (3), d-a-haj (RFL) ‘brother’ (also: *dahatê*)
 b. n-a-kêra (1S), m-a-kêra (2S), n-a-kêra (3), n-a-kêra (RFL) ‘uncle, father’s brother’
 c. j-e-saj (1S), b-e-saj (2S), d-e-saj (3), d-e-saj (RFL) ‘younger brother’

Among /d/-nouns, the only exception to what has been said above is represented by *ducari* /dukari/ ‘thread’. This is the only noun of this group which is not a kinship term and whose 3-vowel is not /a/ or /e/, but /u/. Therefore *ducari* is the only /d/-noun which shows a distinction between the 3- and the RFL-person. The fact that, excepted *ducari*, all /d/-nouns are kinship terms, doesn’t imply that all kinship terms are /d/-nouns: for instance, *ejo* /eho/ ‘mother-in-law’ is a thematic noun which expresses a kinship relationship.

- (25) a. j-u-kari (1S), b-a-kari (2S), d-u-kari (3), d-a-kari (RFL) ‘thread’
 b. j-e-ho (1S), b-e-ho (2S), e-ho (3), d-e-ho (RFL) ‘mother-in-law’

A characteristic of some /d/-nouns is the presence of subregularities or exceptions in the 1S-person. Some nouns present a thematic-vowel alternation between 1- and 3-person, because the 1-thematic-vowel is /i/, while /a/ or /e/ would be expected (26). This is due to the fact that the RFL-person form has replaced the 3-person, while the 1-person has preserved the (original) thematic vowel. Consequently, when the 1-person and the 3-vowel are different, the 1-vowel is the original thematic vowel.

- (26) a. j-ĩ-saraj (1S), b-ã-saraj (2S), n-a-saraj (3), n-a-saraj (RFL), jok-ĩ-saraj (1P),
 wak-ã-saraj (2P) ‘son-in-law’
 b. j-i-karia (1S), b-a-karia (2S), d-a-karia (3), d-a-karia (RFL), jok-i-karia (1P),
 wak-a-karia (2P) ‘daughter-in-law’
 c. j-i-ñoḡamia (1S), b-a-ñoḡamia (2S), d-a-ñoḡamia (3), d-a-ñoḡamia (RFL),
 jok-i-ñoḡamia (1P), wak-a-ñoḡamia (2P) ‘aunt, father’s sister’
 d. j-i-ñoḡate (1S), b-a-ñoḡate (2S), d-a-ñoḡate (3), d-a-ñoḡate (RFL), jok-i-ñoḡaté (1P),
 wak-a-ñoḡate (2P) ‘aunt, father’s sister’

Some irregularities can be noted in the 1-person of other nouns. *Date* ‘mother’ (27a) has the regular 1S-person form *yaté* /jate/, whose thematic vowel is preserved in the 1P-person, as expected. *Yaté* /jate/ alternates with the irregular form *ité* which lacks the prefix and whose vowel is /i/. There are

reasons to say that *ité* is an archaic form.²²⁷ It is not possible to add the prefix /j/-, because, as pointed out by Higham *et al.* (2001), otherwise the 1-person of mother would coincide with *yité* /jíte/, the 1S-person of *guité* /gíte/ ('scrotum') (27b). In *dacode* /dakode/ 'grandmother' (27c) and *nená* 'sister' (27f), the 1-thematic-vowel is /i/ (rather than /a/ or /e/). In *dacode* /dakode/ 'grandmother', *yicode* /jíkóde/ alternates with the radical form *codé* /kóde/. Its masculine counterpart, *daquide* /dakíde/ or *daqui* /dákí/ 'grandfather' has completely regular inflection (27d). The 1S-person of *nená* 'sister' presents the original thematic vowel, but lacks the prefix /j/- (27f). The forms for 'father' are shown in (27g). The 1S-form *yapade* /japade/, from Spanish *padre*, has clearly been adapted in the paradigm.

- (27) a. j-a-te / i-te (1S), b-a-te (2S), d-a-te (3), d-a-te (RFL), jok-a-te (1P), wak-a-te (2S)
 'mother'
- b. j-i-te (1S), b-e-te (2S), g-i-te (3), jok-i-te (1P), wak-e-te (2P) 'scrotum'
- c. j-i-kode / Ø-Ø-kode (1S), b-a-kode (2S), d-a-kode (3), d-a-kode (RFL),
 jok-i-kode (1P), wak-a-kode (2P) 'grandmother'
- d. j-a-kide (1S), b-a-kide (2S), d-a-kide (3), d-a-kide (RFL), jok-a-kide (1P),
 wak-a-kide (2P) 'grandfather' (also: *daki*)
- e. i-tigate / j-i-tigate (1S), b-a-tigate (2S), d-a-tigate (3), d-a-tigate (RFL),
 jok-i-tigate (1P), wak-a-tigate (2P) 'older brother'
- f. i-na (1S), b-e-na (2S), n-e-na (3), n-e-na (RFL), jok-ẽ-ro (1S), wak-ẽ-ro (2S) 'sister'²²⁸
- g. j-a-pade / j-a-j (1S), b-a-j / b-a-je (2S) d-a-j / d-a-je (3/RFL), jok-a-j (1P), wak-a-j (2P)
 'father'

Although most consonantal prefixes used for the 3-person only appear in a few nouns, */tɕ/- and */t/- are not included in the inventory of 3-prefixes. /tɕ/- and /t/- are used for the 3-person of the verb. This means that in the 3-person, that is in the base of possessive and verb inflection, there is a sort of complementarity between prefixes, which is functional to distinguish the grammatical category.

²²⁷ The form *ité* corresponds to other irregular 1-person forms for 'mother' which are to be found in Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco (Chomé 1958: 142). For more details, see §11.7.

²²⁸ According to Higham *et al.* (2000) this word is only used in the singular; in the plural the forms of *nero* 'sister' are used: *yoquero* /jókero/ (1p), *uaquero* /wakero/ (2p).

§9.6 Other irregularities

In this section, some irregular cases are discussed, i.e. seemingly prefixal nouns. Examples (28b-c) show some nouns derived from *yui* /juj/ (28a). This noun conveys three meanings: (1) It can be a nominal element used as a locative postposition ('in the direction of, toward'); (2) It can refer to the presence of someone; (3) It can mean that someone or something has been killed, trapped or simply won. *Yui* /juj/ (28a) is an irregular word which cannot be included in any of the above mentioned inflectional classes, like *i* 'name' (18d). The 2-person of *yui* /juj/ (28a) and *i* (18d) are phonologically identical. The nouns derived from *yui* /juj/ (28b-e) are like prefixal nouns with /j/- as 3-prefix and an irregular vocalic pattern: -/i/ (1), - /e/ (2), -/u/ (3).

- (28) a. *ji* (1S), *bej* (2S), *juj* (3), *dej* (RFL), *joki* (1P), *wakej* (2P) 'in the direction of; one's presence; victim'
- b. *j-i-minori* (1S), *b-e-minori* (2S), *j-u-minori* (3), *d-e-minori* (RFL), *jok-i-minori* (1P), *wak-e-minori* (2P) 'who/what is in the direction of'
- c. *j-i-pidi* (1S), *b-e-pidi* (2S), *j-u-pidi* (3), *d-e-pidi* (RFL), *jok-i-pidi* (1P), *wak-e-pidi* (2P) 'blow, bruise'
- d. *j-i-sōri* (1S), *b-e-sōri* (2S), *j-u-sōri* (3), *d-e-sōri* (RFL), *jok-i-sōri* (1P), *wak-e-sōri* (2P) 'killer'
- e. *j-i-ηori* (1S), *b-e-ηori* (2S), *j-u-ηori* (3), *d-e-ηori* (RFL), *jok-i-ηori* (1P), *wak-e-ηori* (2P) 'killer'

§9.7 Radical nouns

The 3-person of radical nouns consists of the pure noun root. Since the 3-person lacks the thematic vowel, the thematic vowel to be found in the rest of the paradigm is either a default vowel or the original thematic vowel. Excepted the 3-person, the vocalic pattern is generally the same as that of nouns with /i/ as thematic vowel.

- (29) *j-i-betigaj* (1S), *b-a-betigaj* (2S), *Ø-Ø-betigaj* (3), *d-a-betigaj* (RFL), *jok-i-betigaj* (1P), *wak-a-betigaj* (2P) 'multitude'

Should the thematic vowel /u/ (30) be a default vowel, this would probably show harmonic assimilation to the first root-vowel /u/. This phenomenon should be considered one of the frequent, but not systematic traces indicating the presence of vocalic harmony in Ayoreo.

(30) j-u-hurugaipidi (1S), b-a-hurugaipidi (2S), Ø-Ø-hurugaipidi (3), d-a-hurugaipidi (RFL),
jok-u-hurugaipidi (1P), wak-a-hurugaipidi (2P) ‘prison’

There is no limitation to the inventory of consonants which can be found at the beginning of the root. Despite their small number, radical nouns may begin with any consonant: /b/ (31a), /k/ (31b), /tɕ/(31c), /g/ (31d), /d/ (31e), /h/ (31f), /m/ (31g) /m̥/ (31h), /n/ (31i), /ŋ/(31j), /p/ (31k), /t/ (31l), /w/ (31m).

- (31) a. j-i-baj (1S), b-a-baj (2S), Ø-Ø-baj (3) ‘offense; violation of a rule; cause for suffering’
 b. j-i-kasitigaj (1S), b-a-kasitigaj (2S), Ø-Ø-kasitigaj (3) ‘courage’
 c. j-i-tɕimeno (1S), b-a-tɕimeno (2S), Ø-Ø-tɕimeno (3) ‘fish trap’
 d. j-i-gaidi (1S), b-a-gaidi (2S), Ø-Ø-gaidi (3) ‘purpose; intention’
 e. j-i-rosadi (1S), b-a-rosadi (2S), Ø-Ø-dosadi (3) ‘side; wall’
 f. j-i-hogasuj (1S), b-a-hogasuj (2S), Ø-Ø-hogasuj (3) ‘family’
 g. j-i-motɕadi (1S), b-amotɕadi (2S), Ø-Ø-motɕadi (3) ‘bed’
 h. j-i-m̥anaj (1S), m-a-m̥anaj (2S), Ø-Ø-m̥anaj (3) ‘hand’
 i. j-i-rarane (1S), b-a-rarane (2S), Ø-Ø-narane (3) ‘shoulder blade’
 j. j-i-ŋoraj (1S), m-a-ŋoraj (2S), Ø-Ø-ŋoraj (3) ‘companion’
 k. j-i-petike (1S), b-a-petike (2S), Ø-Ø-petike (3) ‘body part’
 l. j-i-taroj (1S), b-a-taroj (2S), Ø-Ø-taroj (3) ‘brain; top of head’
 m. j-u-weratigaj (1S), b-a-weratigaj (2S), Ø-Ø-weratigaj (3) ‘beauty’

In this inflectional class the first consonant of the root can undergo fortition or another change in word-initial position, that is in the 3-person, which is the most dynamic element of the system. Although these phenomena can be systematized, they are unpredictable, involving a limited number of nouns. One can note some similarities with the morphology of radical verbs. With the exception of root-initial /r/ and /ŋ/, which always undergo fortition in the 3-person (32e, 34-35), in all other cases there are always nouns where no change occurs (31). Nouns in which the consonantal change does not occur, will not be discussed.

If the root-initial consonant is /b/ or /g/, it can devoice, so that /b/ turns into /p/ (32a) and /g/ turns into /k/ (32b-c). Root-initial /m/ can lose the nasality and devoice word-initially, as in *pātarai* /pātaraj/ (32d), while /ŋ/ always undergoes fortition into /k/, as in and *cārai* /kāraj/ (32e), because it cannot occur word-initially.

- (32) a. j-i-boti (1S), b-a-boti (2S), Ø-Ø-poti (3) ‘food’
 b. j-i-gatçodi (1S), b-a-gatçodi (2S), Ø-Ø-katçodi (3) ‘death place’
 c. j-u-gutçabuñaj (1S), b-a-gutçabuñaj (2S), Ø-Ø-kutçabuñaj (3) ‘great amount of things’
 d. j-i-mataraj (1S), m-a-mataraj (2S), Ø-Ø-pātaraj (3) ‘tooth’
 e. j-i-ŋaraj (1S), b-a-ŋaraj (2S), Ø-Ø-kāraj (3) ‘who/what is kept apart’

Similar changes also occur with radical verbs, in which /b/ may turn into /p/ (33a). In the same way, there are verbs where /ŋ/ turns into /g/ and then into /k/ in word-initial position (33b). However, initial /k/ (33c) or /p/ (33d) in the 3-person is not always the result of fortition.

- (33) a. j-i-bo (1S), b-a-bo (2S), Ø-Ø-po (3), j-i-bo-go (1P), wak-a-bo-jo (2P) ‘to cry, to sob’
 b. j-i-ŋana (1S), b-a-ŋana (2S), Ø-Ø-kana (3), j-i-ŋana-ŋo (1P), wak-a-ŋana-jo (2P)
 ‘to laugh’
 c. j-i-kōra (1S), m-a-kōra (2S), Ø-Ø-kōra (3), j-i-kōra-ŋo (1P), wak-a-kōra-jo (2S)
 ‘to fall down’
 d. j-i-poña (1S), m-a-poña (2S), Ø-Ø-poña (3), j-i-poña-ŋo (1P), wak-a-poña-jo (2P)
 ‘to get angry, to scold’

When the 3-person begins with /d/- or /n/-, a change in the root-initial consonant has occurred (34, 35). As with root-initial /ŋ/, in this case too, the occurrence of fortition is predictable. When the root-initial consonant is /r/, a derhotacization due to fortition of the initial consonant always occurs in the 3-person. There are a few nouns in which root-initial /r/ turns into /d/ (34a-b) or /n/ (34c). These changes are also found in verb morphology (35). It is also possible that /r/ turns into /g/ in the 3-person (34d), but this is very rare.

- (34) a. j-i-rosadi (1S), b-a-rosadi (2S), Ø-Ø-dosadi (3) ‘side; wall’
 b. j-i-ririñaj (1S), b-a-ririñaj (2S), Ø-Ø-diririñaj (3) ‘arrival’
 c. j-i-rarane (1S), b-a-rarane (2S), Ø-Ø-narane (3) ‘shoulder blade’
 d. j-i-ridaj (1S), b-a-ridaj (2S), Ø-Ø-gidaj (3) ‘foot’

- (35) a. *ɲ-i-ri* (1S), *m-a-ri* (2S), *Ø-Ø-di* (3), *ɲ-i-ri-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-ri-ɲo* (2P) ‘to arrive’
 b. *ɲ-i-rīhi* (1S), *m-a-rīhi* (2S), *Ø-Ø-nīhi* (3), *ɲ-i-rīhi-ŋo* (1P), *wak-a-rīhi-ɲo* (2P)
 ‘to wake up’

Alongside radical nouns such as *dosadi* and *diringai* /*diriŋaj*/ (34a-b), also *doringai* /*doriŋaj*/ (36) has /d/ as root-initial consonant. However, *doringai* /*doriŋaj*/ alternates with *coringai* /*koriŋaj*/ in the 3-person and the latter form is the root used in the rest of the paradigm (36).

- (36) *j-i-koriŋaj* (1S), *b-a-koriŋaj* (2S), *Ø-Ø-koriŋaj* / *Ø-Ø-doriŋaj* (3) ‘departure’²²⁹

Initial /g/ in the 3-person can derive from /r/, as in (34d), but it is usually the root-initial consonant which is preserved (31d). Nevertheless, in (37a) root-initial /b/ turns into /g/ in the 3-person *gai* /*gaj*/. *Gai* /*gaj*/ means ‘body’ and can also be used as a locative postposition meaning ‘on top of, over’. Another consonantal change in the 3-person, /m/ > /b/ > /g/, is reported in *gaminóri* /*gaminori*/ (3) ‘who/what is over’.²³⁰

- (37) a. *j-i-baj* (1S), *b-a-baj* (2S), *Ø-Ø-gaj* (3) ‘on top of; body’
 b. *j-i-maminori* (1S), *b-a-maminori* (2S), *Ø-Ø-gaminori* (3) ‘who/what is over’

In some nouns, /j/ turns into /tɕ/ in the 3-person (38a-b). The presence of /tɕ/ in the 3-person is not always the result of fortition, because when /tɕ/ is in root-initial position, it can be preserved in the 3-person, as in *chímeno* /*tɕimeno*/ ‘fish trap’ (31c). In verb morphology, radical verbs where /j/ turns into /tɕ/ in the 3-person (39) are observed. In radical verbs in /tɕ/, this consonant is the result of fortition. The verbs with 3-person beginning with /tɕ/ (see §4.6.4, ex. (29)) were considered problematic. Indeed /tɕ/- is the predominant 3-prefix in verb morphology, so that these verbs could be considered /tɕ/-verbs, via phonetically motivated elision in the 3-person. However, /tɕ/- is never found as 3-prefix in noun morphology. For this reason,

²²⁹ For this noun the variant *doringui* /*doriŋi*/ or *coringui* /*koriŋi*/ (3) is also reported. Its inflection follows that of *coringai* /*koriŋaj*/ or *doringai* /*doriŋaj*/. Note that the antonym of *coringai* or *doringai* (3) ‘departure’ is *diringai* /*diriŋaj*/ ‘arrival’. Both nouns are very similar phonologically and both are radical nouns with the 3-person in /d/-, but the possessive inflection is different.

²³⁰ No other case is observed in which /g/ turns into /b/.

the comparison between verb morphology and noun morphology suggests that the verbs in (39) should be regarded as radical verbs.

- (38) a. j-i-jaguej (1S), b-a-jaguej (2S), Ø-Ø-tɕaguej (3) ‘famine’
 b. j-i-jaridi (1S), b-a-jaridi (2S), Ø-Ø-tɕaridi (3) ‘stopping place’
 c. j-i-jaripi (1S), b-a-jaripi (2S), Ø-Ø-tɕaripi (3) ‘chair; saddle’
- (39) a. j-i-jage (1S), b-a-jage (2S), Ø-Ø-tɕage (3), j-i-jage-go (1P), wak-a-jage-jo (2P)
 ‘to stand up’
 b. j-i-jo (1S), b-a-jo (2S), Ø-Ø-tɕo (3), j-i-jo-go (1P), wak-a-jo-jo (2P) ‘to fly, to leap’

§9.8 The generic form: meaning and uses

AY possessable nouns usually present a GF. Its morphology will be discussed in the following section. In the following examples, the difference between possessive inflection and the GF is shown: in (40) the possessor of the weapon, which in this case is coreferent with the subject, is known and is expressed by the possessive inflection (*yiboca* /*jiboka*/ ‘my weapon’). By contrast, the weapon in (41) could be bought in the future, but for the time being, does not have a possessor yet, so that the GF *poca* /*poka*/ is used.

- (40) ꞑIjínome y-iboca querua iji y-iguíjna-i te que!
 /ihinome j-iboka kerua ihi j-igiɲa-j te ke!/
 1.to_leave 1-weapon.FS big.FS LOC 1-house-MS.FF this PST
 ‘I have left my gun at home!’ (QCCB I: 47)

- (41) Ueradí-pise aro-i. Ujétiga a-siome enga y-iji ore
 /weradí-pise aro-j uhétiga a-siome eɲa j-ihí ore
 beautiful.MS.FF-ELAT 3.skin-MS.FF if 2S-to_give CONJ 1S-go image.FS
 tome poca queru-a ome ua iji Riberalta jne.
 /tome poka keru-a ome wa ihí riberalta ɲe.
 PREP.in_exchange_for GF.weapon.FS big.FS.FF PREP 2S LOC Riberalta FUT
 ‘What a beautiful skin. If you give it to me, I will buy a gun for you in Riberalta.’
 (QCCB I: 37)

In (42) the GF for ‘house’, *guiguíjna* /*gigiɲa*/, is used, because the possessor of the house, probably unknown, is not mentioned. Conversely, in (43) the

possessor of the house (*Don Felipe*) is known and must be expressed morphologically, so that the possessive inflection is used (*iguíjnai /igiñaj/* ‘his house’).

- (42) Eduguéjna-i ch-igaru aja gu-iguíjna cutade enga e ore mo.
 /edugeña-j t̥-igaru aha g-igiña kutade eña e ore mo/
 3.guard.MS.FF 3-tie LOC GF-house.MS.BF pole.FS.FF CONJ already 3P 3.sleep
 ‘The guard ties him to the pole of the house and goes to sleep.’ (QCCB I: 9)

- (43) Don Felipe todo ujétiga piro-i t-agu i-guíjna-i.
 /don felipe todo uhetiga piro-j t-agu i-giña-j/
 Don Felipe 3.be_afraid COMP fire.MS.FF 3-to_eat 3-house-MS.FF
 ‘Don Felipe is afraid that the fire burns his house.’ (QCCB I: 55)

In the same way, the word *guidai /gidaj/* ‘village’ is a GF which in (44) does not express any relationship with a potential possessor (in this case an inhabitant). By contrast, the corresponding 3-person possessive form *idai /idaj/* ‘his village’ in (45) expresses a genitival relationship between the missionary and the village where the missionary lives.

- (44) Jesús basí-ji gu-ida-i Belen.
 /hesus basi-hi g-ida-j Belen/
 Jesus 3.to_be_born-LOC GF-village-MS.FF Bethlehem
 ‘Jesus is born in the village of Bethlehem.’ (NTM: 3)

- (45) Mu e idaja iji misionero i-da-i.
 /mu e idaha ihi misjonero i-da-j/
 but already far.MS.FF LOC missionary 3-village-MS.FF
 ‘But he is already far from the village of the missionary.’ (QCCB II: 41)

In (46) the word ‘death’ has no relationship with any referent. For this reason, the GF *pitoringai /pitoringaj/* is used. In (47) the talk is about the death of someone (that is *Herod’s death*) and the noun for ‘death’ is inflected in the 3-person form (*itoringai /itoringaj/* in (46)). Two alternative forms for ‘death’ are possible in the 3-person: *toringai /toringaj/*, a radical 3-person form, and *itoringai /itoringaj/* a thematic 3-person form (the latter is far more frequent). This alternation is possible, because there is no overlap with the GF *pitoringai /pitoringaj/*. In the following section, one can see that the relationship between

the 3-person and the GF is of fundamental importance in order to express the morphological contrast between GF and 3-person (for instance: *plata* (GF) ‘money’ vs. *iplata* (3S) ‘money’).

(46) A-todo p-itoringa-i te a?
 /a-todo p-itorija-j te a/
 2-be_afraid GF-death-MS.FF this MOD
 ‘Are you afraid of the death?’ (Bertinetto, field-notes from IP)

(47) Enga chi ore ch-áji te, jé_aja Heródes i-toringa-i.
 /eŋa tçi ore tç-ahi te he_aha erodes i-torija-j/
 CONJ EVID 3P 3-stop there, until Herod 3-death-MS.FF
 ‘And they stopped there until Herod’s death.’ (NTM: 5-6)

§9.9 The morphology of the generic form

The meaning and the use of the GF have been discussed in the previous section. In the present section, the morphological expression of the GF will be analysed. The GF will be considered apart from the domain of possessive inflection, whose base is the 3-person. The morphological relationship between GF and possessive forms is not always predictable, but it can be systematized. The GF and the possessive forms will be compared: in most cases the GF is derived from the theme of the possessive forms, but in some cases it coincides with the root.

I will first analyse the most frequent cases in which the GF is derived from the theme of the possessive forms. The GF is mostly obtained by means of a prefix added to the noun theme (as it occurs with all verb and nominal prefixes). The prefix expressing the GF behaves like a possessive prefix. The thematic vowel of the GF is the same which characterizes possessive inflection, always expressed in the 1-person. The prefix /p/- is used for the GFs in example (48). This is the most frequently used prefix for the GF and can be added to thematic nouns (48a-b), prefixal nouns (48c-d) and radical nouns (48e-k). This way to obtain the GF could be considered prototypical.

(48) a. a-kadisōri (3); p-a-kadisōri (GF) ‘teacher’
 b. i-kaniratigej (3); p-i-kaniratigej (GF) ‘kindness, generosity’

- c. g-a-tode (3); p-a-tode (GF) ‘head’
- d. g-e-rani (3); p-e-rani (GF) ‘gift’
- e. Ø-Ø-kasitigaj (3); p-i-kasitigaj (GF) ‘courage’
- f. Ø-Ø-gabi (3); p-i-gabi (GF) ‘path’
- g. Ø-Ø-gidaj (3); p-i-ridaj (GF) ‘foot’
- h. Ø-Ø-gaj (3); p-i-baj (GF) ‘body’
- i. Ø-Ø-poti (3); p-i-boti (GF) ‘food’
- j. Ø-Ø-t̄aripi (3); p-i-jaripi (GF) ‘chair; saddle’

As one can see in the radical nouns in (48g-j), the root-initial consonant, which undergoes a change in the 3-person, is preserved in the GF. This confirms the previous statement that the GF prefixes behave like possessive prefixes. The thematic vowel of the possessive inflection is also used for the GF. If the 1- and the 3-vowel are different (as in the prefixal nouns in (25) and (26)), the GF preserves the 1-thematic-vowel. For instance, the GF of *dacaria* /dakaria/ (49) is *picaria* /pikaria/. This is because in these prefixal nouns the 3-person has assimilated to the RFL-person and, consequently, the 1-vowel corresponds to the original thematic vowel of the 3-person (see §9.5).

- (49) a. p-i-karia (GF); j-i-karia (1S), b-a-karia (2S), d-a-karia (3) ‘daughter-in-law’

As already noted, in few cases the mechanism of 3-person formation is not rigid and two alternatives are sometimes possible. These considerations also apply to the GF, as one can see in (50), where the GF can alternate with another GF whose morphology will be discussed later.

- (50) a. p-okaniṅaj (GF), hokaniṅaj (GF), i-hokaniṅaj (3) ‘war’
 b. p-okonṅaj (GF), g-o-ṅaj (GF), o-ṅaj (3) ‘story, tale speech’
 c. p-ĩ-rihiniṅaj (GF), Ø-Ø-nihiniṅaj (GF), ĩ-rihiniṅaj (3) ‘act of waking up’

Another possibility to obtain the GF consists in adding the prefix /dVk/-, where V is the thematic vowel.

- (51) a. dak-a-ṅej (GF) ‘possession; gift’, g-a-ṅej (3)
 b. dak-a-ṅiṅaj (GF) ‘anger, indignation’, a-ṅiṅaj (3)
 c. dek-e-ṅarej (GF) ‘sickness, illness’, e-ṅarej (3)
 d. dik-i-roj (GF) ‘servant, worker’, i-roj (3)

- e. dok-o-ge (GF) ‘cane’, o-ge (3)
- f. duk-u-niri (GF) ‘territory’, u-niri (3)

This is a very interesting example of vocalic harmony, which in the domain of prefixation finds a parallel in Chamacoco. In CH verb morphology the prefix /tV_k/- can be used for the 1S-person. In this case too, V is generally a copy of the thematic vowel (see §5.1).

- (52) a. tak-a-tskir (1S), t-a-tskir (3) ‘to fight’
- b. tok-o-rmīhi (1S), t-o-rmīhi (3) ‘to grease’
- c. tuk-u-rka (1S), t-u-rka (3) ‘to swing’
- d. tīk-i-tīrāha (1S), t-i-tīrāha (3) ‘to spit’

There are a few exceptions in which the vowel of the prefix /dV_k/- is different from the thematic vowel.

- (53) a. duk-a-rane (GF); g-a-rane (3) ‘what is discarded’
- b. duk-o-de (GF); o-de (3) ‘grave’
- c. duk-a-joj (GF); a-joj (3) ‘headband worn by the Ayoreo men’

The prefix /dV_k/- is less frequent than /p/-, the prototypical prefix. However, some nouns with both prefix /p/- and /dV_k/- are to be observed.

- (54) a. a-rej (3), dak-a-rej (GF), p-a-rej (GF) ‘tongue’
- b. g-e-rani (3), dek-e-rani (GF), p-e-rani (GF) ‘gift’
- c. u-ṭeraŋaj (3), duk-u-ṭeraŋaj (GF), p-u-ṭeraŋaj (GF) ‘what is opened’

Some thematic nouns use the prefix /g/ in order to obtain the GF (55). In (55f) the GF presents the vowel /a/ rather than /u/, as expected. This is due to the fact that intervocalic /r/ has dropped and /u/ has probably been overwritten by the first root-vowel /a/.

- (55) a. a-serani (3), g-a-serani (GF) ‘table’
- b. a-tohe (3), g-a-tohe (GF) ‘hat’
- c. i-daj (3), g-i-daj (GF) ‘village, town’
- d. i-giŋaj (3), g-i-giŋaj (GF) ‘house’
- e. o-ŋaj (3), g-o-ŋaj (GF) ‘story, tale speech’
- f. j-u-rage (1S), b-a-rage (2S), u-rage (3), g-a-ge (GF) ‘group of people’

The GF of *ōráchai* /*ōratçaj*/ takes the prefix /k/- : *cōráchai* /*kōratçaj*/.

(56) *ō-ratçaj* (3), *k-ō-ratçaj* (GF) ‘weapon’

In conclusion, the following prefixes are used to express the GF: /p/-, /dVk/-, /g/- and /k/-.

In the nouns discussed until now, the GF is obtained from the theme of the possessive forms. By contrast, some GFs coincide with the root. In this case, the noun is thematic. One can hypothesize that the 3-person is obtained by adding an inflectional vowel to the root. This vowel is usually /i/, which is either a default vowel or the original thematic vowel (57). If the first root-vowel is /u/ (and the above hypothesis is correct), /u/ is added to the root in order to form the 3-person (58). The so obtained thematic nouns have regular inflection.

(57) a. *Ø-Ø-pamoj* (GF) ‘woven belt’, *i-pamoj* (3)

b. *Ø-Ø-kesej* (GF) ‘knife’, *i-kesej* (3)

(58) a. *Ø-Ø-hubej* (GF) ‘woman’s large bag’, *u-hubej* (3)

b. *Ø-Ø-pupuria* (GF) ‘cow horn’, *u-pupuria* (3)

There are no phonetic limits to the inventory of the consonants which can occur root-initially in GFs. One can observe GFs beginning with the following consonants: /b/(59a), /k/(59b), /d/(59c), /g/(59d), /h/(59e), /m/(59f), /ṃ/(59g), /n/(59h), /p/(59i), /s/(59j), /t/(59k).

(59) a. *Ø-Ø-bora(i)die* (GF), *j-i-bora(i)die* (1S), *b-a-bora(i)die* (2S), *i-bora(i)die* (3) ‘clothes’

b. *Ø-Ø-kaiguej* (GF), *j-i-kaiguej* (1S), *b-a-kaiguej* (2S), *i-kaiguej* (3) ‘sputum’

c. *Ø-Ø-doṇoṇabatigaj* (GF), *j-i-doṇoṇabatigaj* (1S), *b-a-doṇoṇabatigaj* (2S),
i-doṇoṇabatigaj (3) ‘insults, criticism’

d. *Ø-Ø-gebe* (GF), *j-i-gebe* (1S), *b-a-gebe* (2S), *i-gebe* (3) ‘weapon made of iron,
machete’

e. *Ø-Ø-hokaniṇaj* (GF), *j-i-hokaniṇaj* (1S), *b-a-hokaniṇaj* (2S), *i-hokaniṇaj* (3) ‘war’

f. *Ø-Ø-moriṇaj* (GF), *j-i-moriṇaj* (1S), *b-a-moriṇaj* (2S), *i-moriṇaj* (3) ‘pipe’

g. *Ø-Ø-ṃoṇarahasōri* (GF), *j-i-ṃoṇarahasōri* (1S), *b-a-ṃoṇarahasōri* (2S),
i-ṃoṇarahasōri (3) ‘one who threatens’

h. *Ø-Ø-nehenamani* (GF), *j-i-nehenamani* (1S), *b-a-nehenamani* (2S), *i-nehenamani* (3)
‘one who is invited’

- i. Ø-Ø-popej (GF), j-i-popej (1S), b-a-popej (2S), i-popej (3) ‘comb’
- j. Ø-Ø-sirobi (GF), j-i-sirobi (1S), b-a-sirobi (2S), i-sirobi (3) ‘craving for meat’
- k. Ø-Ø-tihabadi (GF), j-i-tihabadi (1S), b-a-tihabadi (2S), i-tihabadi (3) ‘impressive thing’

The root-initial consonant of the GF is generally the same as that of the possessed forms. Nevertheless, in some cases fortition can occur word-initially. These are the same phonetic changes as in the 3-person of radical nouns. The root-initial consonant can devoice (and possibly nasalize) in the GF: /g/ > /k/ (60a); /b/ > /p/ (60b). Root-initial /r/ always undergoes fortition and derhotacizes into /d/ (60c) or /n/ (60d). The possessive inflection of *iyokuǵnai* /ijokinaǵ/ ‘father-in-law’ corresponds to the GF *choquǵnai* /tʰokinaǵ/ ‘older man’ (60e). In this word, the GF comes together with the fortition of root-initial /j/ into /tʰ/. This change has been pointed out in radical nouns (38-39). The meaning ‘older man’ in the GF is not completely lost in the possessive inflection, because, according to Higham *et al.* (2001: 537), *iyokuǵnai* /ijokinaǵ/ is also used by women as “affectionate name for one’s husband” (lit. ‘wife’s older man’). Some exceptions show changes not found in radical nouns: in *coráŋgarāi* /koraŋarāj/ ‘shovel’ (60f) root-initial /h/ turns into /k/ word-initially, while *pepei* /pepej/ ‘blanket’ is the GF of *itarāpei* /itarāpej/ (60g).

- (60) a. Ø-Ø-katibej (GF); i-gatibej (3) ‘spoon’
- b. Ø-Ø-purudi (GF); u-burudi (3) ‘shade’
- c. Ø-Ø-deguj (GF); i-renguj (3) ‘camp, village’
- d. Ø-Ø-nihiniǵaj (GF); ĩ-rihiniǵaj (3) ‘act of waking up’²³¹
- e. Ø-Ø-tʰokinaǵ (GF) ‘old man’; i-jokinaǵ (3) ‘father-in-law’
- f. Ø-Ø-koraŋarāj (GF); i-horaŋarāj (3) ‘shovel’
- g. pepej (GF); i-tarāpej (3) ‘blanket’

The presence of loanwords such as *cárpai* /karpaj/ ‘tent’ (cf. Spanish *carpa* ‘tent’), *pláta* ‘money’ (cf. Spanish *plata* ‘silver; money’), *Dupade* ‘God’,²³² and so on, shows that the mechanism of possessive inflection is still productive, in

²³¹ This noun derives from the radical verb *nĭji* /nĭhi/ ‘to wake up’. The derhotacization of /ɬ/ into /n/ in the 3-person can also be observed in the paradigm of the verb *nĭji*: *nĭ-i-rĭji* /p-i-rĭhi/ (1s), *m-a-rĭji* /m-a-rĭhi/ (2s), Ø-Ø-*nĭji* /nĭhi/ (3) ‘to wake up’ (see §4.6.3, ex. (18b)). There is a clear morphological correspondence between the 3-person of the verb *nĭji* and *nĭjĭningai* /nihiniǵaj/, the GF of the derived noun.

²³² This last word was probably introduced during the Jesuit period, while *cárpai* and *plata* are very recent loans. Although the etymology of *Dupade* is still debated (see §11.7), it is definitely a loan.

spite of the increasingly pervasive contact with Spanish. *Dupade* ‘God, divinity’ has two alternative 3-person forms: *udupade* and *idupade*. In example (62) the GF of *pláta* ‘money’ is used, while in (63) its 3-person form is shown.

- (61) a. Ø-Ø-karpaj (GF), i-karpaj (3) ‘tent’
 b. Ø-Ø-dupade (GF), i-dupade (3), u-dupade (3) ‘God, divinity’
 c. Ø-Ø-plata (GF), i-plata (3) ‘money’

(62) Jecute ore ch-isiome plata-die ome Napoleon.
 /hekute ore t̪-isiome plata-die ome napoleon/
 therefore 3P 3-to_give money-FP.FF PREP Napoleon
 ‘For that reason they pay a salary to Napoleon.’ (QCCB II: 15)

(63) Mu que ore i-plata-rigui cuse.
 /mu ke ore i-plata-rigi kuse/
 but NEG 3P 3-money-MS.IF EXIST
 ‘But they have no money.’ (QCCB II: 40)

§9.10 Conclusions

This chapter discussed the possessive inflection of Ayoreo. Like most Chaco languages, Ayoreo shows a distinction between possessable and non-possessable nouns, with possessive prefixation expressing the possessor, and classifiers for non-possessable nouns. Three inflectional classes have been distinguished: thematic, prefixal and radical nouns. The inflectional classes are usually not related to semantic criteria, but most kinship terms are /d/-nouns. AY possessive inflection is fairly regular with few exceptions. AY possessable nouns usually have a GF characterized by remarkable morphological variability.

§10 Chamacoco possessive inflection²³³

This chapter describes the possessive inflection of Chamacoco. CH nouns can be divided into possessable and non-possessable (§10.1). Section §10.2 and §10.3 deal with the morphological structure of possessable nouns and their personal prefixes. As in Ayoreo, in Chamacoco there are three classes of nouns: thematic nouns (§10.4), prefixal nouns (§10.5) and radical nouns (§10.6). Few possessable nouns also have a GF (§10.7). Some possessable nouns are only used in verbal periphrases (§10.8). Chamacoco only presents the possessive classifier *uhut* §10.9. Section §10.10 deals with elements which syntactically should be considered verbs, but morphologically are possessable nouns. In §10.11 the possessive construction with =/ç/ is addressed.

§10.1 Possessable and non-possessable nouns

CH nouns can be possessable or non-possessable. The possessor always precedes the noun. In the case of the non-possessable noun *hñimich* /ɲimitch̥/ ‘land’, the possessor simply precedes the noun without any agreement: *yok hñimich* /jok ɲimitch̥/ ‘my land’, *owa hñimich* /owa ɲimitch̥/ ‘your land’, *ire hñimich* /ire ɲimitch̥/ ‘his land’, *eyok hñimich* /ejok ɲimitch̥/ ‘our land (1PI)’, *õryok hñimich* /õrjok ɲimitch̥/ ‘our land (1PE)’, *olak hñimich* /olak ɲimitch̥/ ‘your land’, *wir hñimich* /wir ɲimitch̥/ or *õr hñimich* /õr ɲimitch̥/ ‘their land’.

There is no rule which permits to exactly determine whether the noun has possessive inflection, but there are semantic and diachronic restrictions on possessive inflection. At a semantic level, plant nouns, such as *osdiita* /osdi:ta/ ‘caraguatà plant’, and animal nouns, such as *pohoch* /pohot̥ç/ ‘dog’ are non-possessable nouns.²³⁴ The few exceptions with possessive inflection are some nouns used to refer to plants or animals in general, such as: *ijõrta* /ixõrta/ (3) ‘plant’, mainly used in the plural *ijõro* /ixõro/ (3), and *echit* /et̥çit/ (3)

²³³ The present chapter is based on Ciucci (2010b), which will no longer be mentioned.

²³⁴ As already seen, Ayoreo nouns for plants and animals are non-possessable too. “En las culturas chaqueñas los animales son entidades autónomas que no guardan una relación de “pertenencia” respecto de un individuo” (Comrie *et al.* 2010: 113).

‘domestic animal’. The latter word corresponds to AY *gachidi* /gatɕidi/ (3), used as a possessive classifier. It is not by chance that a CH noun corresponds to an AY possessive classifier. This is because, while an AY non-possessable noun is generally preceded by a possessive classifier, possessive classifiers are not used in Chamacoco. In the course of my fieldwork, only one element which could be considered a possessive classifier emerged, but its use is limited to a semantically specific category of nouns (§10.9).

The second limit to the use of possessive inflection is diachronic: the mechanism of possessive inflections seems no longer productive. As a consequence, the numerous Spanish loanwords (and, to a lesser extent, Guaraní) usually have no possessive inflection. *Ijit* /ixit/ (3) ‘son’ (from Spanish *hijo*) is an exception, because it is possessable. This word has almost completely replaced the original indigenous word for ‘son’ (*aap* /a:p/) in the singular. In the plural, the original CH form *aabo* /a:bo/ ‘sons’ (3) survives and alternates with the loanword *ijo* (3) ‘sons’ (the plural of *ijit* /ixit/): both words are possessable. *Ijit* /ixit/, which has partially replaced a word of the fundamental lexicon, has probably entered the CH lexicon at a very early stage of linguistic contact with Spanish, when possessive inflection was still productive.²³⁵ No other cases of Spanish loanwords with possessive inflection are to be observed. In Chamacoco there are two words for ‘house’: *ihyuch* /ijutɕ/ (3) and *pwertit*. *Ihyuch* /ijutɕ/ is the original CH word²³⁶ and is possessable. *Pwertit* is a loanword from Spanish *puerto* ‘port’. *Puerto* occurs in some toponyms in the coastal area of Rio Paraguay inhabited by the Chamacoco (*Puerto Diana*, *Puerto 14 de Mayo*²³⁷ and so on). Spanish *puerto*, adjusted to *pwertit* in Chamacoco, has undergone a semantic change, so that it does no longer indicate a settlement, but the single house. Since it is a loan, *pwertit* has no possessive inflection.

²³⁵ The linguistic contact between Ayoreo and Spanish is more recent than the contact between Chamacoco and Spanish. As a consequence, the possessive inflection is still productive in Ayoreo: Spanish loans in Ayoreo take possessive inflection (§9.9).

²³⁶ Forms of this word are already reported in Baldus (1932: 405).

²³⁷ *Puerto 14 de Mayo* was founded by Guido Boggiani, the first scholar who investigated the culture and the language of CH people (Boggiani 1894: 28).

§10.2 The general structure of possessive inflection and its inflectional classes

The structure of the possessive inflection is reported in (1).

(1) *Possessable nouns structure*

THEME

PREFIX + THEMATIC VOWEL + ROOT

(2) *Verb structure*

THEME

[PREFIX] + PREFIX + THEMATIC VOWEL + ROOT + [SUFFIX]

The CH verb structure looks more complex (2), but the first prefix and the last suffix are only added to other inflected forms in order to obtain the 1PI-person, the 2P-person and the 3P-person. By contrast, possessable nouns only express the 1S-person, the 2S-person and the 3-person. In the 3-person one has to distinguish between non-reflexive and reflexive 3-person. The latter one is coreferent with the subject and is also used for the reflexive 3P-person. In the non-reflexive 3P-person, the possessor is expressed in the same way it is expressed in non-possessable nouns: the possessed noun is directly preceded by the possessor or by the corresponding personal pronoun (unless it is understood). For obvious reasons, this is not the case in the reflexive 3-person. The non-reflexive 3-person will henceforth be called ‘3-person’, while the 3-person with reflexive value will be called ‘reflexive 3-person’ or simply ‘reflexive person’ (RFL-person). The 3-person is also preceded by the possessor (or by the corresponding personal pronoun) in order to express the 1PI-person, the 1PE-person and the 2P-person (3).

(3) p-i-jutɕ (1S), a-hutɕ (2S), i-jutɕ (3), l-a-hutɕ (RFL), ejok i-jutɕ (1PI), ðrjok i-jutɕ (1PE),
olak i-jutɕ (2P), ðr i-jutɕ (3P) ‘house’²³⁸

Depending on the 3-person, one can distinguish radical nouns, thematic nouns and prefixal nouns. Thematic nouns are the inflectional class with the

²³⁸ The use of the 3P-pronoun *ðr* (3P) is not obligatory, although in some cases it is necessary to disambiguate the possessor.

highest number of elements. These groups have been pointed out in verb morphology (§5.3), where a class of thematic verbs (Table 10.1) and a class of radical verbs (Table 10.1) have been identified. Prefixal verbs form a macro-class (Table 10.1). This last group of verbs is the largest in Chamacoco and the prototypical CH verb takes a prefix in the 3-person. By contrast, in possessive inflection, thematic nouns are the most prototypical, although the corresponding class of thematic verbs has few elements and plays a marginal role in the CH verb system. Both the class of radical nouns and the class of radical verbs are marginal too. The fact that most verbs take a prefix in the 3-person, while most nouns are thematic, ensures a degree of complementarity which facilitates the recognition between noun and verb. The prefixes /tɕ/-, /ts/-, /ç/- and /t/-, which are the most frequent in the 3-person of the verb, are never used in noun morphology: this is also functional to preserve a clear distinction between verb and noun in the 3-person, the base of both verb and possessive inflection.

First macro-class: verbs with a consonantal prefix in the third person singular				Second macro-class: verbs without any consonantal prefix in the third person singular	
First class		Second class			
First subclass: /tɕ/-verbs	Second subclass: /ts/-, /ç/-verbs	Third subclass: /t/-verbs	Fourth subclass: /d/-, /l/-, /n/- and /j/-verbs	Third class: thematic verbs	Fourth class: radical verbs

Table 10.1. Classification of Chamacoco verbs (see §5.3)

Comparing the inflectional classes of nouns with the verb classes in Table 10.1, one can note that the inflectional noun classes correspond to the three verb groups in the right part of the table, which are the smaller groups in verb morphology. On one hand, noun inflection has the same structure as the verb’s personal inflection, on the other hand it uses devices which have a limited use in verb morphology.

§10.3 Person formation

The 1S-person is marked by the prefix /p/-, added to the thematic vowel and the noun root.

- (4) a. p-a:-bo (1S) ‘children’; cf. a:-bo (3)
 b. p-a-rmista (1S) ‘blood’; cf. a-rmista (3)
 c. p-e-tɕit (1S) ‘domestic animal’; cf. e-tɕit (3)
 d. p-i-jutɕ (1S) ‘house’; cf. i-jutɕ (3)
 e. p-i-xit (1S) ‘son’; cf. i-xit (3)

The 2S-person has no prefix. It only consists of the thematic vowel and the root. As one can see in examples (5d,e), the 2S-vowel can be different from the rest of the paradigm, that is from the 1S- and the 3-person. This change in the 2S-vowel is due to a prefix vowel which has overwritten the original thematic vowel and is sometimes associated with a consonantal alternation root-initially which opposes the 2-person to the rest of the paradigm, as in (5d).

- (5) a. a:-bo (2S) ‘children’; cf. a:-bo (3)
 b. a-rmista (2S) ‘blood’; cf. a-rmista (3)
 c. e-tɕit (2S) ‘domestic animal’; cf. e-tɕit (3)
 d. a-hutɕ (2S) ‘house’; cf. i-jutɕ (3)
 e. ej-xit (2S) ‘son’; cf. i-xit (3)

The 2S-person of possessive inflection has the same shape of the 2S-person in verb morphology, which has no prefix and may show changes in the 2S-vowel and in the root-initial consonant too.

The RFL-person is obtained by adding the prefix /d/- or /l/- to the 2S-person: as one can see in (6), the RFL-person has the same vowel of the 2S-person, when the latter is different from the 3-thematic-vowel (6d-e). When there is root allomorphy, the RFL-person presents the same the root as the 2S-person (6b). From now on, whatever will be said of the 2S-person, it will also refer to the RFL-person, since the latter is morphologically dependent on the 2S-person. The prefix /d/- can nasalize into /n/ in nasal-harmony contexts (6b).

- (6) a. l-/d-a:-bo (RFL) ‘sons’; cf. a:-bo (2S), a:-bo (3)
 b. n-a-rmista (RFL) ‘blood’; cf. a-rmista (2S), a-rmista (3)
 c. l-/d-e-t̥çit (RFL) ‘domestic animal’; cf. e-t̥çit (2S), e-t̥çit (3)
 d. l-/d-a-hut̥ç (RFL) ‘house’; cf. a-hut̥ç (2S), i-jut̥ç (3)
 e. l-/d-ej-xit (RFL) ‘son’; cf. ej-xit (2S), i-xit (3)

As noted in verb morphology, in Chamacoco there is the tendency²³⁹ to block nasalization if a plosive consonant is interposed between the nasal element and the prefix. In (7a), /t/ blocks the expansion of nasalization, so that the use of the allomorph /n-/ has been considered wrong by the informants. The same can occur with the sibilant /s/ (7b-c).

- (7) a. a-te:mt̥ça (2S) ‘aunt’ ---> l-a-te:mt̥ça (RFL), *n-a-te:mt̥ça (RFL)
 b. a-sips̥ĩrt̥ç (2S) ‘opponent in combat’ ---> l-a-sips̥ĩrt̥ç (RFL), *n-a-sips̥ĩrt̥ç (RFL)
 c. os̥ēt (2S) ‘gift’ ---> l-o-s̥ēt (RFL), *n-o-s̥ēt (RFL)

The RFL-person is used when the 3-person possessor is the subject of the clause, as in *Juan shiyokōr dahuch* /xwan çijokōr dahut̥ç/ ‘Juan builds his own house’: the subject (*Juan* /xwan/) builds (*shiyokōr* /çijokōr/) a house (*dahuch* /dahut̥ç/) which belongs to him. For this reason the RFL-person of ‘house’ (6d) is used. If the house does not belong to the subject of the clause, the 3-person form *ihyuch* /ijut̥ç/ (6d) is used, as in *Juan shiyokōr Pedro ihyuch* /xwan çijokōr pedro ijut̥ç/ ‘Juan builds the house of Pedro’, where Pedro is the owner of the house and there is no coreference with the subject. The morphology of the 3-person will be discussed in detail while discussing each inflectional class.

§10.4 Thematic nouns

Thematic nouns represent the most prototypical class of possessable nouns, both because it is the class with the highest number of elements, and because its nouns are morphologically more regular than those of the other classes. The thematic vowel may correspond to one of the six vowels of Chamacoco /a e i o

²³⁹ The same tendency has been noted in verb inflection (§5.4.1).

u i/ (without any restriction).²⁴⁰ The 3-vowel is generally the thematic vowel. The vocalic pattern is usually the same in both verb and noun morphology. The behaviour of the thematic vowel in the other inflectional classes generally follows the same rules as that of thematic nouns. However, there are a few exceptions which will be discussed in detail.

CH thematic nouns correspond to the inflectional class of thematic verbs, which is composed of few elements. Thematic verbs can only have the thematic vowels /i u i/. By contrast, thematic nouns form a very large group and there is no limitation concerning the thematic vowel. The thematic vowel undergoes a change in the 2S-person if it is a high vowel (/i u i/), because it is overwritten by a vowel originally belonging to the prefix. By contrast, non-high thematic vowels (/a e o/) usually overwrite the prefix vowel and are preserved in the whole paradigm. The following sections discuss thematic nouns in: /a/- (§10.4.1), /e/- (§10.4.2), /o/- (§10.4.3), /i/- (§10.4.4), /u/- (§10.4.5) and /i/- (§10.4.6).

§10.4.1 Thematic nouns in /a/-

Thematic /a/ is preserved in the whole paradigm. As a consequence, it is not possible to distinguish the 3-person from the 2S-person.

- (8) a. p-a-rmista (1S), a-rmista (2S), a-rmista (3), n-a-rmista (RFL) ‘blood’
 b. p-a-lokot (1S), a-lokot (2S), a-lokot (3), d-a-lokot (RFL) ‘nickname’
 c. p-o-matɕ (1S), a-matɕ (2S), a-matɕ (3), d-a-matɕ (RFL) ‘anus; bottom of a boat’
 d. p-i-ɕipsĩrtɕ (1S), a-sipsĩrtɕ (2S), a-sipsĩrtɕ (3), l-a-sipsĩrtɕ (RFL) ‘opponent in combat’

In (8c-d) two (rare) exceptions are shown. In these nouns the 3-person has probably assimilated to the 2S- and the RFL-person. Consequently, the original thematic vowel is only preserved in the 1S-person. *Amach* /amatɕ/ ‘anus; bottom of a boat’ has the 1S-person *pomach* /pomatɕ/, in which the 1S-vowel is /o/. No such cases are to be found among thematic nouns in /a/-. /o/ can be a thematic vowel (10) and is sometimes a 1S-vowel in some radical nouns (39a-

²⁴⁰ As in verb morphology, in noun morphology vowel length and presence or absence of nasalization are not to be considered relevant in the vocalic pattern. These features are usually preserved in the whole paradigm.

c), where it can alternate with /i/ (38a-c).²⁴¹ *Asipsĩrc* /asipsĩrtɕ/ (8d), has /i/ as 1S-vowel. This is unusual, but occurs in some prefixal nouns with the 3-vowel /a/ (34c-d). Another interesting characteristic is the presence of /ɕ/ as root-initial consonant in the 1S-person *pishĩpsĩrc* /piɕĩpsĩrtɕ/. In both verb (29d-e) and noun morphology (29b-c), /s/ and /ɕ/ can alternate in the paradigm as root-initial consonant: /ɕ/ in the 3-person corresponds to /s/ in the 2S-person. This only occurs when the thematic vowel is a high-vowel (29b-c), such as /i/ in *pishĩpsĩrc* /piɕĩpsĩrtɕ/. With regard to the alternation between /ɕ/ and /s/, a similar case is found in *laseēt* /lasē:t/ ‘son-in-law’ (34a).

§10.4.2 Thematic nouns in /e/-

The 3-thematic-vowel /e/ is preserved in the whole paradigm. These nouns have very regular inflection.

- (9) a. p-e-rtɕ (1S), e-rtɕ (2S), e-rtɕ (3), d-e-rtɕ (RFL) ‘nape’
 b. p-e-tɕit (1S), e-tɕit (2S), e-tɕit (3), d-e-tɕit (RFL) ‘domestic animal’

§10.4.3 Thematic nouns in /o/-

Thematic /o/- is generally preserved in the whole paradigm.

- (10) a. p-o-bitɕ (1S), o-bitɕ (2S), o-bitɕ (3), d-o-bitɕ (RFL) ‘wound, injury’
 b. p-ō-rt (1S), ō-rt (2S), ō-rt (3), n-ō-rt (RFL) ‘tissue’

There are, however, some exceptions. *Omtsĩt* ‘bed’ (11a) has /a/ in the 2S-person. Here thematic /o/ is overwritten by /a/, originally belonging to the prefix. Such a vowel is mostly overwritten by /o/ in both verb and possessive inflection (10). In verb inflection, thematic /o/ is overwritten by /a/ in the 2S-person if the root-initial consonant is /m/ (11b) or /b/ (12). In possessive inflection, this change is to be found if the root-initial consonant is /m/ (11a), but not if it is /b/ (cf. *obich* /obitɕ/ (10a)).

²⁴¹ In nouns with thematic /o/, it is overwritten by /a/ in the 2-person if the root-initial consonant is /m/ (11a-b).

- (11) a. p-o-*mtsit* (1S), a-*mtsit* (2S), o-*mtsit* (3), n-a-*mtsit* (RFL) ‘bed’
 b. t-o-*mtis* (1S), a-*mtis* (2S), ts-o-*mtis* (3), j-o-*mtis* (1PI), o-j-*omtis* (1PI), a-*mtis-lo* (2P),
 o-ts-*omtis* (3P) ‘to turn’
- (12) t-o-*bit* (1S), a-*bit* (2S), ts-o-*bit* (3), j-o-*bit* (1PI), o-j-*obit* (1PE), a-*bit-ilo* (2P), o-ts-*obit* (3P)
 ‘to scare away insects’

In *ojorrza* /oxoɽa/ ‘chest’ (13a), the 2S-vowel is /a/, rather than /o/, as expected (see (11a)), but this is probably due to the fact that *ojorrza* /oxoɽa/ is the reduced form of *ir(o)jorrza* /ir(o)xoɽa/ (13b): the original thematic vowel of *ojorrza* /oxoɽa/ was not /o/, but rather /i/. In (13c) two forms alternate in the 2S-person: *owich* /owitɕ/ shows the thematic vowel /o/, while *awich* /awitɕ/ takes the 2S-vowel /a/.

- (13) a. p-o-xoɽa (1S), a-xoɽa (2S), o-xoɽa (3), d-a-xoɽa (RFL) ‘chest’
 b. p-i-rxoɽa / p-i-roxoɽa (1S), e-rxoɽa / e-roxoɽa (2S), i-roxoɽa / i-rxoɽa (3),
 d-e-roxoɽa / d-e-rxoɽa (RFL) ‘chest’
 c. p-o-witɕ (1S), o-witɕ / a-witɕ (2S), o-witɕ (3), d-o-witɕ / d-a-witɕ (RFL) ‘place’

§10.4.4 Thematic nouns in /i/-

Like thematic verbs in /i/-, thematic nouns with thematic /i/ in the 3-person should be divided into two groups: a first group of nouns show /e/ or /ej/ in the 2S-person, while the nouns of the second group have /a/.

In the first group, the slot of the thematic vowel is mostly filled by the diphthong /ej/, far more frequent than /e/. /e/ was originally a prefix vowel which in some cases has overwritten the original thematic vowel /i/. When the 2S-person presents /ej/, thematic /i/ has been preserved and consonantizes into /j/. /ej/ in the slot of the thematic vowel is only found in thematic nouns in /i/- rather than in thematic nouns in /u/- or /i/. Such preservation of the high thematic vowel in the 2S-person is not very frequent in the Zamucoan family. As noted above (see examples 11-12), the overwriting of the thematic vowel is not limited to the high vowels, but there are also a few occurrences with non-high thematic vowels. From a diachronic perspective, this phenomenon can be regarded as a change in the thematic vowel, because /a/

and /e/ fill the slot of the thematic vowel, although its prefixal origin is evident in nouns with /ej/ in the 2S-person.

- (14) a. p-i-xit (1S), ej-xit (2S), i-xit (3), d-ej-xit (RFL) ‘son’
 b. p-i-tita (1S), ej-tita (2S), i-tita (3), ej-tita (RFL) ‘testicle’

The length of the thematic vowel is preserved in all persons, so that /i:/ corresponds to /ej/ (15a). Quantitative reduction is, however, also found, so that /i:/ can correspond to /ej/ in the 2S-person, as in (15b): this is a purely phonetic process and does not affect morphology.

- (15) a. p-i-bit (1S), ej-bit (2S), i-bit (3), d-ej-bit (RFL) ‘water container’
 b. p-ĩ-pita (1S), ěj-pita (2S), ĩ-pita (3), n-ěj-pita (RFL) ‘robe’

The slot of the thematic vowel can also be filled by /e/ in the 2S-person, although this is less frequent than /ej/ (16a-b). In *iyakat* /ijakat/ (16b), the 2S-person begins with /ej/-, but /j/ does not derive from the thematic vowel, because it is part of the root.

- (16) a. p-i-tilta (1S), e-tilta (2S), i-tilta (3), d-e-tilta (RFL) ‘stick’
 b. p-i-jakat (1S), e-jakat (2S), i-jakat (3), d-e-jakat (RFL) ‘crying’

The second group has /a/ as 2S-vowel. These nouns differ from the first group because they can also present root allomorphy in the 2S-person. Some of these alternations have already been pointed out in verb morphology. The nouns with /e/ (or /ej/) and those with /a/ in the 2S-person are present in equal proportion in Chamacoco. Root-initial /tɕ/ in the 1S- and 3-person corresponds to /ts/ in the 2S-person (17a-b). As one can see in (17c), this also occurs in verb morphology.

- (17) a. p-i-tɕaklaɰa (1S), a-tsaklaɰa (2S), i-tɕaklaɰa (3), d-a-tsaklaɰa (RFL) ‘nappy’
 b. p-i-tɕukut (1S), a-tsukut (2S), i-tɕukut (3), d-a-tsukut (RFL) ‘navel’
 c. t-i-tɕew (1S), a-tsew (2S), tɕ-i-tɕew (3), j-i-tɕew (1PI), o-j-i-tɕew (1PE), a-tsew-lo (2P),
 o-tɕ-i-tɕew (3P) ‘to pierce; to dig; to write’

Root-initial /j/ in the 1S- and 3-person corresponds to /l/ in the 2S-person.

- (18) a. p-i-jertɕ (1S), a-lertɕ (2S), i-jertɕ (3), d-a-lertɕ (RFL) ‘place’
 b. p-i-juwo (1S), a-luwo (2S), i-juwo (3), d-a-luwo (RFL) ‘hunger’

No nouns with thematic /i/, root-initial /ɕ/ and the 2S-vowel /e/ have been found. If such nouns were found, /ɕ/ would probably remain unchanged. Nevertheless, given the lack of occurrences, such a comparison cannot be made.

One can compare nouns with thematic /i/ and root-initial /j/ (18) but different 2S-vowel: if the 2S-vowel is /a/, the 2S-person root-initial consonant is /l/. If the 2S-vowel is /e/, no consonantal alternation occurs (19). The 2S-vowel /a/ is thus clearly connected with root-initial /l/ (on the other consonantal alternations, see below).

- (19) a. p-i-jakat (1S), e-jakat (2S), i-jakat (3), d-e-jakat (RFL) ‘crying’ (see (53))
 b. p-i-jap (1S), e-jap (2S), i-jap (3), d-e-jap (RFL) ‘smoke’

In verb morphology too, root-initial /j/ alternates with /l/ if the 2S-vowel is /a/ (20a). No consonantal alternation occurs if the 2S-vowel is /e/ (20b).

- (20) a. t-i-jew (1S), a-lew (2S), ɕ-i-jew (3), j-i-jew (1PI), o-j-i-jew (1PE), a-lew-lo (2P),
 o-ɕ-i-jew (3P) ‘to cross (a stream, a river)’
 b. t-i-juhu (1S), e-juhu (2S), ɕ-i-juhu (3), j-i-juhu (1PI), o-j-i-juhu (1PE), e-juhu-lo (2P),
 o-ɕ-i-juhu (3P) ‘to remove, to extract’

Thematic nouns showing root beginning with /j/ usually present thematic /i/ in the 3-person and /a/ in the 2S-person, where the root-initial consonant is /h/ (21a-b), but such root allomorphy does not occur in all nouns (21c-d). Note that two forms are reported for *ihyuch* /ijutɕ/ (21b) in the 2S-person. *Ahuch* /ajutɕ/ (2S) and *ehyuch* /ejutɕ/ (2S) differ in the 2S-vowel. One can observe the correlation with root allomorphy in the 2S-person, which occurs when the inflectional vowel is /a/, but does not when it is /e/.

- (21) a. p-i-jeɽa (1S), a-heɽa (2S), i-jeɽa (3), d-a-heɽa (RFL) ‘wrist’
 b. p-i-jutɕ (1S), a-hutɕ / e-jutɕ (2S), i-jutɕ (3), d-ahutɕ (RFL) ‘house’
 c. p-i-jertɕ (1S), a-jertɕ (2S), i-jertɕ (3), d-a-jertɕ (RFL) ‘breathing’
 d. p-i-josĩrtɕ (1S), a-josĩrtɕ (2S), i-josĩrtɕ (3), n-a-josĩrtɕ (RFL) ‘creator’

In some nouns with consonantal alternation between /j/ and /h/, the first root-vowel can reduce to /i/ in the 2S-person after root-initial /h/. This phenomenon is shown in (22). The reduced vowel /i/ can alternate with the original vowel (22d,g). The noun for ‘plant’ has two variants: *ihyōrta* /ijōrta/ (22a) and *ijōrta* /ixōrta/ (see (23a)). For reasons of clarity, both the base- and the full-form of ‘friend, companion’ are provided. Although the base- and the full-form may show changes in the noun root, these differences do not concern possessive inflection.

- (22) a. p-i-jōrta (1S), a-hīrta (2S), i-jōrta (3), n-a-hīrta (RFL) ‘plant’
 b. p-i-jēt (1S), a-hīrt (2S), i-jēt (3), da-hīrt / (d-ajēt) (RFL) ‘friend, companion’
 (MS.FF) (also: ijeēt (3))²⁴²
 c. p-i-jērak (1S), a-hīrak / a-hērak (2S), i-jērak (3), n-a-hīrak / n-a-hērak (RFL)
 ‘friend, companion’ (MS.BF)
 d. p-i-jā:ta (1S), a-hīrta (2S), i-jā:ta (3), n-a-hīrta (RFL) ‘friend, companion’ (FS.FF)
 e. p-i-jēra (1S), a-hīra (2S), i-jēra (3), n-a-hīra (RFL) ‘friend, companion’ (FS.BF)
 f. p-i-hōro (1S), a-hōro / ahīro (2S), ijōro (3), n-a-hōro / ahīro (RFL) ‘provisions, food
 supplies’ (also: ijokōro)²⁴³

Most thematic nouns in /i/- with the 2S-vowel /a/ also have /tʰ/, /j/ or /j/ as 1S- and 3-person root-initial consonant, but other root-initial consonants are also observed. In *ijōrta* /ixōrta/ (23a), variant of *ihyōrta* /ijōrta/ (22a), the first root-vowel can reduce to /i/ in the 2S-person (23a). In *ūta* /i:ta/ (23) the 2S-person, with inflectional vowel /a/, is irregular.

²⁴² For *ihyēt* /ijēt/, the ‘regularized’ 2S-person form *ahyēt* /ajēt/ and the reflexive form *nahyēt* /najēt/ are also reported. In this form the 2S-vowel is /a/ and no phonetic change occurs in the noun root. However, the forms *ahīrt* and *nahīrt* provided in the example are far more frequent.

²⁴³ In the example the reduced form is mentioned: the ‘full’ variant *ihyokōro* /ijokōro/ (MP) ‘provisions, food supplies’ coincides in the 3-person with *ihyokōro* (MP) ‘noise, work’. Apart from the 3-person, the rest of the paradigm (reported below in singular full-form) is different, cf.:

- i. pihokōrt (1S), ahokōrt (2S), ijokōrt (3), nahokōrt (RFL) ‘provisions, food supplies’
 ii. pijokōrt (1S), ahakōrt (2S), ijokōrt (3), nahakōrt (RFL) ‘noise, work’

Note, however, that complementarity emerges, because ‘provisions, food supplies’ is mostly to be observed in the plural *ihyokōro*, while ‘noise, work’ is mostly to be found in the singular base-form *ihyokōrak* /ijokōrak/.

- (23) a. p-i-xōrta (1S), a-x-ñrta / a-x-ōrta (2S), i-x-ōrta (3), n-a-xñrta / n-a-xōrta (RFL) ‘plant’
 b. p-ĩr-ta (1S), ã-ñta (2S), ãr-ta (3), n-ã-ñta (RFL) ‘udder’

§10.4.5 Thematic nouns in /u/-

Most nouns with thematic /u/ in the 3-person, like most verbs in /u/-, take /e/ as 2S-vowel. If two identical vowels are separated by /h/, as in *uhurc* /uhurtɕ/ (24b), and one vowel undergoes a change, the other vowel assimilates to it. In *uhurc* /uhurtɕ/ (24b), thematic /u/ turns into /e/ in the 2S-person and the following vowel also assimilates to /e/: **e-hurc* /e-hurtɕ/ (2S) > *e-herc* /e-hertɕ/ (2S). This is a purely phonetic process which only indirectly involves morphology.

- (24) a. p-u-rtɕ (1S), e-rtɕ (2S), u-rtɕ (3), d-e-rtɕ (RFL) ‘piece of wood’
 b. p-u-hurtɕ (1S), e-hertɕ (2S), u-hurtɕ (3), l-e-hertɕ (RFL) ‘age’

There is also a smaller group of nouns with /a/ as 2S-vowel. In this case /a/ is not associated with consonantal alternation (25a). The only case of root allomorphy found in thematic nouns in /u/- is the reduction to /i/ of the first root-vowel in the 2S-person. This may occur with nouns with both the 2S-vowel /a/ (25b-c) and the 2S-vowel /e/ (25d).

- (25) a. p-u-xut (1S), a-xut (2S), u-xut (3), d-a-xut (RFL) ‘side’
 b. p-u-kurbo (1S), a-kirbo (2S), u-kurbo (3), d-a-kirbo (RFL) ‘strength, power, authority’
 c. p-u-kuta (1S), a-kita (2S), u-kuta (3), d-a-kita (RFL) ‘branch’
 d. p-u-tuɕt (1S), e-tiɕt (2S), u-tuɕt (3), d-e-tiɕt (RFL) ‘vein, root’

Some nouns with thematic /i/ or /u/ may also have a variant in which the thematic vowel reduces to /i/: *ujut* /uxut/ (25a) can alternate with *ijit* /ixit/ (26a), and *ichit* /itɕit/ with *ichit* /itɕit/ (26b).

- (26) a. p-i-xit (1S), a-xit (2S), i-xit (3), d-a-xit (RFL) ‘side’
 b. p-i-tɕit / p-i-tɕit (1a), a-tsit (2S), i-tɕit / i-tɕit (3), d-a-tsit (RFL) ‘belly, intestine, dung’

§10.4.6 Thematic nouns in /i/-

The largest group of thematic nouns consists of nouns with the 3-vowel /i/. In some cases /i/ is the result of the reduction of the original vowel (see ex. (26)). Most nouns with /i/ in the 3-person also show /e/ as 2S-vowel (27). /e/ predominates in the 2S-person.

- (27) a. p-i-rātç (1S), e-rātç (2S), i-rātç (3), n-e-rātç (RFL) ‘food’
 b. p-i-rāhata (1S), e-rāhata (2S), i-rāhata (3), n-e-rāhata (RFL) ‘wife’

When /e/ is the 2S-vowel, no change occurs in the root (27). In (28) the first root-vowel can assimilate to the 2S-vowel /e/, as one can see in the alternation between *ehirbich* /ehirbitç/, *eherbich* /eherbitç/ (28) and *ehirosht* /ehiroçt/, *eherosht* /eheroçt/ (28). Thematic nouns in /i/ do not show /ej/ in the 2S-person, the only exception being represented by *ibituhurc* /ibituhurtç/ (28c) and its feminine counterpart *ibituhurra* /ibituhurra/ (28d). These archaic words are rarely used.

- (28) a. p-i-hirbitç (1S), e-hirbitç / e-herbitç (2S), i-hirbitç (3), d-e-hirbitç (RFL) ‘urine’
 b. p-i-hiroçt (1S), e-hiroçt / e-herçt (2S), i-hiroçt (3), d-e-hiroçt (RFL) ‘belt’
 c. p-i-bituhurtç (1S), ej-bituhurtç (2S), i-bituhurtç (3), l-i-bituhurtç (RFL)
 ‘son-in-law/brother-in-law whose wife is dead’
 d. p-i-bituhurra (1S), ej-bituhurra (2S), i-bituhurra (3), l-i-bituhurra (RFL)
 ‘daughter-in-law/ sister-in-law whose husband is dead’

Some nouns have /a/ as 2S-vowel. /a/ generally comes together with root allomorphy, which is not limited to the reduction of the root vowel, as in (29a). Root-initial /ç/ in the 1S- and 3-person corresponds to /s/ in the 2S-person (29b-c). Such alternation also occurs in prefixal verbs with the 3-vowel /i/ (29d) or /i/ (29e). Note, however, that the verb in (29e) shows the 1S-vowel /o/ (see §5.5.6). Consonantal alternation between /ç/ and /s/ is not to be observed in thematic nouns in /i/-, because no thematic noun in /i/- with root-initial /ç/ and the 2S-vowel /a/ is found. The only thematic noun in /i/- with /ç/ as root-initial consonant is *isho* /iço/ (29f), which presents no root allomorphy.

- (29) a. p-i-ṅet (1S), a-ṅet / a-ṅit (2S), i-ṅet (3), n-a-ṅet / n-a-ṅit (RFL) ‘song’ (full-form)
 p-i-ṅerak (1S), a-ṅirak (2S), i-ṅerak (3), n-a-ṅirak (RFL) ‘song’ (base-form)
 b. p-i-ṅuwo (1S), a-suwo (2S), i-ṅuwo (3), d-a-suwo (RFL) ‘possessed thing, clothing’
 c. p-i-ṅuxāro (1S), a-suxāro (2S), i-ṅuxāro (3), d-a-suxāro (RFL) ‘possessed things,
 possessed object’²⁴⁴
 d. t-i-ṅehe (1S), a-sehe (2S), tṅ-i-ṅehe (3), j-i-ṅehe (1PI), o-j-i-ṅehe (1PE), a-sehe-lo (2P),
 o-tṅ-i-ṅehe (3P) ‘to take strongly; to rape’
 e. tok-o-sim (1S), a-sim (2S), i-ṅim (3), j-o-sim (1PI), o-j-osim (1PE), a-sim-lo (2P),
 o-ṅim (3P) ‘to give’
 f. p-i-ṅo (1S), e-ṅo (2S), i-ṅo (3), d-e-ṅo (RFL) ‘power’

In thematic nouns in /i/- with the 2S-vowel /a/, root-initial /tṅ/ in the 1S- and 3-person corresponds to /ts/ in the 2S-person (30a). One can observe the same alternation in thematic nouns in /i/- with the 2S-vowel /a/ (17a-b). If the 2S-thematic-vowel is /e/, no consonantal alternation occurs (30b).

- (30) a. p-i-tṅita (1S), a-tsita (2S), i-tṅita (3), d-a-tsita (RFL) ‘mosquito net’
 b. p-i-tṅibitṅ (1S), e-tṅibitṅ (2S), i-tṅibitṅ (3), d-e-tṅibitṅ (RFL) ‘spirit, imagine, photo’

In some cases /e/ and /a/ alternate in the 2S-person (31). In the following examples the 2S-vowel is not related to root allomorphy.

- (31) a. p-i-xita (1S), e-xita / a-xita (2S), i-xita (3), d-e-xita / d-a-xita (RFL) ‘belly’
 b. p-i-kirmista (1S), a-kirmista / e-kirmista (2S), i-kirmista (3), d-e-kirmista / d-a-kirmista
 (RFL) ‘blood’²⁴⁵
 c. p-i-nahata (1S), a-nahata / e-nahata (2S), i-nahata (3), n-a-nahata / n-e-nahata (RFL)
 ‘widowed mother’
 d. p-i-rā:tṅ (1S), a-rā:tṅ / e-rā:tṅ (2S), i-rā:tṅ (3), n-a-rā:tṅ / n-e-rā:tṅ (RFL) ‘food’
 e. p-i-rāhata (1S), e-rāhata / a-rāhata (2S), i-rāhata (3), n-e-rāhata / n-a-rāhata (RFL) ‘wife’

In conclusion, if the 3-vowel is a high vowel, it is preserved in the 1S-person, but is replaced by /a/ or /e/ in the 2S-person (/ej/ is here considered a subcase of /e/). The 2S-vowel /e/ is slightly more frequent, while the 2S-vowel /a/ is often associated with root allomorphy.

²⁴⁴ The words in (29b-c) are mainly used in the plural. *Ishujāro* /iṅuxāro/ refers to things which are not eatable.

²⁴⁵ This word is a variant of *armista* (8a).

§10.5 Prefixal nouns

Prefixal nouns form the 3S-person by adding a consonantal prefix to the noun theme. The inventory of the prefix consonants is limited: /d/-, /l/-, /n/-, /w/-, /j/- and /k/- are observed. The most common 3-prefix is /d/- or /l/- (32a), which can nasalize into /n/- if there is a nasal element in the noun root (32b), unless a plosive consonant blocks the spread of nasalization (32c).

- (32) a. p-a-tahatça (1S), a-tahatça (2S), d-a-tahatça (3), d-a-tahatça (RFL) ‘stepmother’
 b. p-e-rmitç (1S), e-rmitç (2S), n-e-rmitç (3), n-e-rmitç (RFL) ‘uncle’²⁴⁶
 c. p-a-temtça (1S), a-temtça (2S), d-a-temtça (3), d-a-temtça (RFL) ‘aunt’

As one can guess from the above examples, most nouns with the 3-prefix /d/- or /l/- (from now on, /d/-nouns) are kinship terms. The 3-vowel of /d/-nouns is usually /a/ (32a,c) or /e/ (32b; 33a). All kinship terms have /a/ or /e/ as 3-vowel. However, there is a small number of /d/-nouns belonging to different semantic domains (33b-c), which are characterized by thematic /o/ (33b), /u/ (33c) and /i/ (33d). In /d/-nouns the RFL-person has replaced the 3-person, with the exception of (33c) and (33d), which show assimilation of the 3-person to the RFL-person rather than full replacement.

- (33) a. p-e-hebitç (1S), e-hebitç (2S), d-e-hebitç (3), d-e-hebitç (RFL) ‘brother’
 b. p-o-sêt (1S), o-sêt (2S), d-o-sêt (3), d-o-sêt (RFL) ‘gift’
 c. p-u-çurtç (1S), e-çurtç (2S), d-u-çurtç (3), d-e-çurtç (RFL) ‘nail’
 d. p-i-rpita (1S), e-rpita (2S), d-i-rpita (3), d-e-rpita (RFL) ‘footprint’

Although the behaviour of the thematic vowel generally follows the same rules as in thematic nouns, the 1S-vowel of some kinship terms is different from the 3-vowel. The 3-vowel /a/ corresponds to the 1S-vowel /i/ (34a-b). Thematic /a/ or /e/ can turn into /i/ in the 1S-person (34b-i). The 1S-vowel /i/ or /i/ (34b,g) alternates with the ‘expected’ 1S-vowel /a/. In (34h-i) the 1S-thematic-vowel /i/ can alternate with /o/ (for similar cases, see (§5.5.6)).

²⁴⁶ The form *nermich* /nermitç/ (3/RFL) and *ermich* /ermitç/ (2S) ‘uncle’ coincide with the reflexive and the 2S-person of *irmich* /irmitç/ ‘jaw’. These forms do not coincide in the plural, because the words have different plurals: *irmiyo* /irmijo/ ‘jaw’ (MP), *nermo* (MP) ‘uncle’.

Some of these phenomena were pointed out in Ayoreo (§9.5). The original thematic vowel of these nouns was probably /i/ or /i/, which is preserved in the 1S-person. The 3-person has probably assimilated to the RFL-person and the RFL-vowel has replaced the original thematic vowel in the 3-person.

- (34) a. p-i-çē:t (1S), a-sē:t (2S), l-a-sē:t (3), l-a-sē:t (RFL) ‘son-in-law’
 b. p-i-te:mtça / p-a-te:mtça / p-i-te:mtça (1S), a-te:mtça (2S), l-a-te:mtça (3),
 l-a-te:mtça (RFL) ‘aunt’
 c. p-i-nimitça (1S), a-nimitça (2S), n-a-nimitça (3), n-a-nimitça (RFL) ‘sister’
 (also: n-a-ñimicha)
 d. p-i-keheḷḷa (1S), a-kahaḷḷa (2S), l-a-kahaḷḷa (3), l-a-kahaḷḷa (RFL) ‘daughter-in-law’,²⁴⁷
 e. p-i-çibitç (1S), e-çibitç (2S), l-e-çibitç (3), l-e-çibitç (RFL) ‘brother (of a man)’
 f. p-i-tibitça (1S), a-tibitça (2S), d-a-tibitça (3), d-a-tibitça (RFL)
 ‘older sister (of a woman) / niece (of a woman)’
 g. p-i-tibitç / p-a-tibitç (1S), a-tibitç (2S), d-a-tibitç (3), d-a-tibitç (RFL)
 ‘nephew (of a woman)’
 h. p-i-sibitç / p-o-sibitç (1S), a-sibitç (2S), d-a-sibitç (3), d-a-sibitç (RFL)
 ‘nephew (of a men)’
 i. p-i-sibitça / p-o-sibitça (1S), a-sibitça (2S), l-a-sibitça (3), l-a-sibitça (RFL)
 ‘niece (of a woman)’

Note that in the 1S-person of *laseēt* /lasē:t/ (34a), the root-initial consonant is /ç/, which corresponds to /s/ in the rest of the paradigm. The same is shown in *asipsīrc* /asipsīrtç/ (8d), whose 1S-person is *pishipsīrc* /piçipsīrtç/ (8d). Note also that the 1S-vowel of *laseēt* /lasē:t/ is /i/. Here the 3-person has assimilated to the RFL-person, so that both the original thematic vowel and the original root-initial consonant have not been preserved, but are still to be found in the 1S-person. In both *laseēt* /lasē:t/ and *asipsīrc* /asipsīrtç/ the original root-initial consonant is /ç/. As already noted, /s/ in the 1S- and 3-person corresponds to /ç/ in the 2S-person of thematic nouns in /i/- if the 2S-vowel is /a/. This occurs in both noun (29b-c) and verb morphology (29d-e). There are no thematic nouns with the 3-vowel /i/ and root-initial /ç/, but this change has occurred in the 2S-person of *laseēt* /lasē:t/ and consequently in the RFL-person. In *laseēt* /lasē:t/ and *asipsīrc* /asipsīrtç/, /ç/ comes together with the high thematic vowel, while /s/ comes together with the original 2S-vowel /a/,

²⁴⁷ The alternation between -/aha/- and -/ehe/- is due to assimilation to the vowel which fills the slot of the thematic vowel. In Chamacoco there are also other phenomena of the same kind, where assimilation is not due to the thematic vowel, but to the suffix.

which in the 3-person is the result of assimilation to the RFL-person (dependent on the 2S-person).²⁴⁸

Dilt ‘leg’ (35a) is an exception, because root-initial /r/ turns into /l/ in the 3-person. The noun *data* ‘mother’ is very interesting. In first place, a possible 1S-person form is *mama* (from Spanish *mamá* ‘mummy, mother’) and this shows how deep the Spanish influence on currently spoken Chamacoco is. In second place, during the fieldwork some speakers have also indicated, as variant for the 1S-person, another form which is very rarely used because it sounds archaic: *ote*. Both Baldus (1932: 408) and Boggiani (1929: 173) report this form. *Ote* is an irregular, non-prefixed form for the 1S-person. Also other kinship nouns have an irregular 1S-person (35d-g). This form always alternates with the regular form.

- (35) a. p-i-rt (1S), e-rt (2S), d-i-lt (3), d-e-rt (RFL) ‘leg’
 b. ote / mama / p-a-ti (1S), a-ta (2S), d-a-ta (3), d-a-ta (RFL) ‘mother’²⁴⁹
 c. di: / p-e-jtɕ (1S), e-jtɕ (2S), d-e-jtɕ (3), d-e-jtɕ (RFL) ‘father’²⁵⁰
 d. leki / p-e-kitɕ (1S), e-kitɕ (2S), d-e-kitɕ (3), d-e-kitɕ (RFL) ‘grandfather’ (also: dekitɕ)
 e. kole / koli / p-e-kita(1S), e-kita (2S), d-e-kita (3), d-e-kita (RFL) ‘grandmother’
 (also: dekuta)
 f. jama / p-e-rmitɕ (1S), e-rmitɕ (2S), n-e-rmitɕ (3), n-e-rmitɕ (RFL) ‘uncle’
 g. tama / itama / p-i-te:mtɕa / p-a-te:mtɕa / p-i-te:mtɕa (1S), a-te:mtɕa (2S), l-a-te:mtɕa (3),
 l-a-te:mtɕa (RFL) ‘aunt’

There is a smaller group of nouns with a different prefix in the 3-person (36). In (36e-f) one finds two exceptions concerning the 1S-vowel, which is /i/ rather than /e/ in *ketita* (36e), and /i:/ rather than /a:/ in *kaalak* /ka:lak/ (36f). In both cases the 3-person has probably assimilated to the RFL-person (as seen in kinship terms), so that the 1S-vowel is the original thematic vowel.

- (36) a. p-o-lt (1S), o-lt (2S), w-o-lt (3), d-olt (RFL) ‘cap’
 b. p-ã:-tɕta (1S), ã:-tɕta (2S), w-ã:-tɕta (3), n-ã:-tɕta (RFL) ‘right’
 c. p-o-nĩt (1S), o-nĩt (2S), j-o-nĩt (3), n-o-nĩt (RFL) ‘ghost, evil spirit’

²⁴⁸ The main difference is that *asipsĩrc* does not take the prefix /d/- in the 3-person.

²⁴⁹ In *patĩ*, the ‘regular’ 1S-person of *data*, final /i/ is due to the weakening of /a/.

²⁵⁰ In ‘father’, the form *dii* /di:/ used for the 1-person also has a variant *dija* /dija/, only used as a vocative form.

- d. p-i-nsĩrtɕ (1S), e-nsĩrtɕ (2S), j-i-nsĩrtɕ (3), n-e-nsĩrtɕ (RFL) ‘employer, owner’²⁵¹
 e. p-i-tita (1S), e-tita (2S), k-e-tita (3), d-e-tita (3) ‘knee’
 f. p-i-lak (1S), a-lak (2S), k-a-lak (3), d-a-la:k (RFL) ‘food, meal’

The morphological behaviour of the thematic vowel in prefixal nouns follows the same rules as in thematic nouns. If the 3-thematic-vowel is a high vowel, two options (/e/ or /a/) are theoretically possible in the 2S-person. The few prefixal nouns with a high vowel in the 3-person (33c-d, 35a, 36d) have the 2S-thematic-vowel /e/, which is also the most frequent option in thematic nouns.²⁵²

The 3-prefixes /w/- and /k/- are only found in noun morphology, while /d/- and /j/- are also found in verb morphology. This confirms the classification which has been proposed in §5.3 and §10.2. The subclass of /d/-verbs also includes *yana* /jana/ ‘to laugh’, the only verb with the prefix /j/- in the 3-person. The paradigm of the verb *yana* /jana/ exhibits morphological properties similar to those of /d/- and /t/-verbs. For this reason it has been included in the group of /d/-verbs, although there was no phonetic evidence for this.²⁵³ Since they are rare suffixes in the realis, the prefixes /d/- and /j/- also exhibit the property to be used in noun morphology and this is further evidence which justifies the inclusion of /d/-verbs and *yana* /jana/ in the same verb subclass.

§10.6 Radical nouns

The inflectional class of radical nouns represents the group with the smallest number of elements. Radical nouns correspond to the inflectional class of radical verbs. Radical nouns and verbs share two characteristics:

²⁵¹ *Yĩnsĩrc* /jĩnsĩrtɕ/ also has the variant form *unsĩrc* /unsĩrtɕ/ which behaves as a thematic noun: *punsĩrc* /punsĩrtɕ/ (1S), *ensĩrc* /ensĩrtɕ/ (2S), *unsĩrc* /unsĩrtɕ/ (3), *nensĩrc* /nensĩrtɕ/ (RFL) ‘employer, owner’.

²⁵² Note that no prefixal noun with the 3-vowel /i/ is observed. Moreover, there are only a few prefixal nouns with the 3-vowel /u/ or /i/.

²⁵³ In word-initial position, /d/ and /l/ are free variant allophones, while /n/ is the result of nasalization. There is no relationship between /t/ and /j/. By contrast, there is some connection between /l/ and /j/, because in some nouns and verbs /j/ corresponds to /l/ in the 2-person when thematic /i/ is overwritten by /a/ (see (18) and (20a)).

(1) This class of nouns shows many idiosyncrasies which will be discussed in detail, but which make systematization difficult.

(2) Since the 3-person has no thematic vowel, the inflectional vowel in the rest of the paradigm is either a default vowel or the original thematic vowel. It is a high vowel, overwritten by an original prefix vowel in the 2S-person. In radical nouns, the 1S-vowel is mostly /i/, while the 2S-vowel is mostly /a/. Nevertheless, this scheme shows many variants which will be discussed hereafter.

Apparently, the only limits which can be found in the inventory of root-initial consonant depend exclusively on the limited number of radical nouns. At least one example for each different root-initial consonant will be shown in the following examples. The root can begin with /b/ (37a), with /k/ (37b) or with /t/ (37c). In (37a-b) the vocalic pattern is /i/-/a/-/Ø/, as mentioned above. In (37c-e) the vocalic pattern is different: /i/-/e/-/Ø/. In (37c) and (37f-g) the root-initial consonants are /h/ and /w/, respectively. /u/ in *huta* (37c) and labiovelar /w/ in *weetita* /we:titá/ and *weheta* (37f-g) have an influence on the 1S-thematic-vowel, which is /u/ rather than /i/: the vocalic pattern is so /u/-/e/-/Ø/ (37c,f) or /u/-/a/-/Ø/ (37g).

As in verb morphology, the first root-vowel is often preserved in the 3-person, but can reduce to /i/ (37d) or delete (37b) in the rest of the paradigm. In *kotsirbit* (37b) /o/ cannot drop in the 3-person, because the result would be a consonant cluster, disallowed word-initially. The first root-vowel assimilates to the 2S-vowel /e/ in the 2S-person of *huta* (37c).

- (37) a. p-i-bahat (1S), a-bahat (2S), Ø-Ø-bahat (3), d-a-bahat (RFL) ‘price’
 b. p-i-ktsirbit (1S), a-ktsirbit (2S), Ø-Ø-kotsirbit (3), l-a-ktsirbit (RFL) ‘bag’
 c. p-u-huta / p-u:-ta (1S), e-heta / e:-ta (2S), Ø-Ø-huta (3), d-e-heta / d-e:-ta (RFL) ‘head’²⁵⁴
 d. p-i-tir̃it (1S), e-tir̃it (2S), Ø-Ø-tor̃it (3), d-e-tir̃it (RFL) ‘faint’
 e. p-i-tirpita (1S), e-tirpita (2S), Ø-Ø-tirpita (3), d-e-tirpita (RFL) ‘brain’²⁵⁵
 f. p-u-we:titá (1S), e-we:titá (2S), Ø-Ø-we:titá (3), d-e-we:titá (RFL) ‘ankle’

²⁵⁴ CH /VhV/ often reduces to /VV/ if the vowels are identical. In this case, the thematic vowel is not indicated in morphological segmentation.

²⁵⁵ For this noun a thematic variant is also reported: *p-i-terpita* (1S), *e-terpita* (2S), *i-terpita* (3), *d-e-terpita* (RFL) ‘brain’. These forms coincide with those of *i-terpita* (3) ‘trousers; women’s panties’.

g. p-u-weheta (1S), a-weheta (2S), Ø-Ø-weheta (3), d-a-weheta (RFL) ‘throat’

All radical nouns with root-initial /ṃ/ derive from *hmata* /ṃata/ ‘hand’ (38). Note the alternation between /i/ and /o/ in the 1S-person. Thus, the vocalic pattern shows two variants: /i/-/a/-/Ø/ and /o/-/a/-/Ø/. It is not clear why /o/ and /i/ can alternate. One can simply suppose that /o/ was originally the thematic vowel of the paradigm and that underwent reduction, but there is insufficient evidence to support it. As already seen in (37b,d), the first root-vowel is always preserved in the 3-person, but can undergo articulatory weakening in the rest of the paradigm: it turns into /i/ in the paradigm of *hmata* /ṃata/ (38a). Such vowel reduction to /i/ is also to be observed in nouns belonging to other inflectional classes, e.g. (25b-d), where it usually only occurs in the 2S-person. By contrast, in radical nouns this change also involves the 1S-person (see also (39a-c)). Note that the first root-vowel /a/ is preserved in the whole paradigm of the nominals derived from *hmata* /ṃata/ (38b,c).

A radical verb such as *masaha* ‘to enter’ (38d) exhibits similar characteristics to these radical nouns: the 1-vowel is /o/ and the original first root-vowel is preserved in the 3-person, but it drops in the rest of the paradigm.

- (38) a. p-i-ṃita / p-o-ṃita (1S), a-ṃita (2S), Ø-Ø-ṃita (3), n-a-ṃita (RFL) ‘hand’
 b. p-i-ṃantita / p-o-ṃantita (1S), a-ṃantita (2S), Ø-Ø-ṃantita (3), n-a-ṃantita (RFL) ‘fist’
 c. p-i-ṃartita / p-o-ṃartita (1S), a-ṃartita (2S), Ø-Ø-ṃartita (3), n-a-ṃartita (3) ‘ring’
 d. t-o-msaha (1S), a-msaha (2S), Ø-Ø-masaha (3), j-o-msaha (1PI), o-j-o-msaha (1PE),
 a-msaha-lo (2P), o-masaha (3P) ‘to enter’

As in verb morphology (see §5.6), the root-initial consonant can undergo fortition word-initially, that is in the 3-person. For instance, /b/ turns into /p/ in (39a-c). These radical nouns are derived from *posht* /poçt/ or are semantically related. In this case too, the first root-vowel, to be found in the 3-person, reduces to /i/ in the rest of the paradigm. The same is to be observed in radical verbs, such as *tola* (39c). Although the first root-vowel undergoes weakening, it probably has an influence on the 1S-thematic-vowel /o/. The vocalic pattern is then: /o/-/a/-/Ø/ (39a-c). Compare the paradigm of *posht* /poçt/ (39a) with that of *bahat* (39e). Both exhibit the same root-initial consonant, but in the latter /b/ is preserved in the 3-person. This confirms that

the fortition of root-initial /b/ is lexically idiosyncratic (cf. §5.6.1).

- (39) a. p-o-biçt (1S), a-biçt (2S), Ø-Ø-poçt (3), d-a-biçt (RFL) ‘food’
 b. p-o-bitēt (1S), a-bitēt (2S), Ø-Ø-potēt (3), l-a-bitēt (RFL) ‘tooth’
 c. p-o-bitīta (1S), a-bitīta (2S), Ø-Ø-potīta (3), l-a-bitīta (RFL) ‘edible fruit’
 d. tik-i-tīla (1S), a-tīla (2S), Ø-Ø-tōla (3), j-i-tīla (1PI), o-j-i-tīla (1PE), a-tīli-lo (2P),
 o-tōla (3P) ‘to be afraid of’
 e. p-i-bahat (1S), a-bahat (2S), Ø-Ø-bahat (3), d-a-bahat (RFL) ‘price’

In (40a-b) one can find radical nouns with root-initial /j/. In *yūhurrza* /jūhuɽa/ (40a) /j/ is present in the whole paradigm, including the 2S-person, where the inflectional vowel is /e/. By contrast, root-initial /j/ corresponds to /n/ in the 2-person of *yermich* /jermitç/ (40b), where the 2S-vowel is /a/. In radical nouns too, the correlation between consonantal alternation and the 2S-vowel /a/ is thus confirmed, while there is no root allomorphy when the 2S-vowel is /e/. A case similar to (40b) is observed in the thematic verb *iyem* /ijem/ (40e).

In (40c-d) the 3-person root-initial consonant is /n/, while the 1S-person root-initial-consonant is /j/.²⁵⁶ The vocalic pattern is /i/-/a/-/Ø/. In verb morphology too, root-initial /j/ alternates with /l/ or /n/ (depending on nasalization), with the latter option to be found in the 2-person, together with inflectional /a/ (40d). In some thematic nouns without nasality, /j/ turns into /l/ in the same context (see ex. (19)). In (40c-d) one may suppose that the 3-person has assimilated to the 2S- and to the RFL-person. The original root-initial consonant is thus preserved only in the 1S-person.

- (40) a. p-i-jūhuɽa (1S), e-jūhuɽa (2S), Ø-Ø-jūhuɽa (3), n-e-jūhuɽa (RFL) ‘skin’
 b. p-i-jermitç (1S), a-nermitç (2S), Ø-Ø-jermitç / Ø-Ø-jirmitç (3), n-a-nermitç (RFL)
 ‘shoulder’
 c. p-i-jēr (1S), a-ner (2S), Ø-Ø-ner (3), n-a-ner (RFL) ‘behind’
 d. p-i-jērpta (1S), a-nerpta (2S), Ø-Ø-nerpta (3), n-a-nerpta (RFL) ‘shirt, dress’
 e. t-i-jem (1S), a-nem (2S), i-jem (3), j-i-jem (1PI), o-j-i-jem (1PE), a-nem-lo (2P),
 o-jem (3P) ‘to wait’

The variability of the different vocalic patterns found in radical nouns is summarized in (Table 10.2). The number of different vocalic patterns is even

²⁵⁶ This phoneme can be realized as [ɲ] word-internally in nasal-harmony contexts.

more remarkable if one considers that relatively few radical nouns are to be found. In most cases the 1S-thematic-vowel is a high vowel, as if a high vowel would be present in the 3-person, the only exception being the vocalic pattern /o/-/a/-/Ø/. The presence of /o/ in the 1S-person and /a/ in the 2S-person is rare and is also found in the few examples with the vocalic pattern /o/-/a/-/a/ (8c) or /o/-/a/-/o/ (11a, 13a, 13c).

1S	2S	3	Examples
i	a	Ø	(40a,b,d)
i	e	Ø	(40c)
o	a	Ø	(39a-c)
o/i	a	Ø	(38a-c)
u	a	Ø	(37g)
u	e	Ø	(37c,f)
i	a	Ø	(37a,b) (40e)
i	e	Ø	(37d,e)

Table 10.2

The noun *hnitita* /ɲitita/ ‘foot’ does not belong to any of the above mentioned classes, because it has a suppletive form in the 3-person.

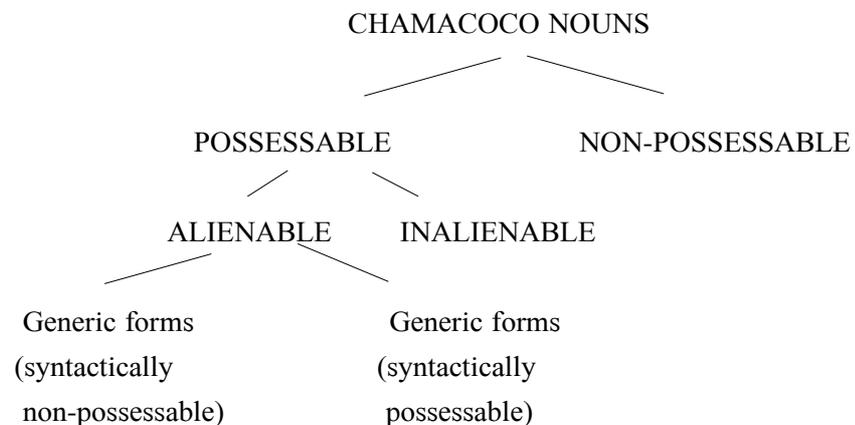
(41) p-i-ɲa (1S), e-ɲa (2S), ɲitita (3), d-e-ɲa (RFL) ‘foot’

§10.7 The generic form

Only a few GFs are to be observed. Although all GFs express no possessor at the morphological level, in Chamacoco they differ in the possibility of having a possessor at the syntactic level. Thus, two kinds of GFs have to be distinguished. The first group of GFs cannot have any syntactic possessor, while the second group of GFs can be preceded by a possessor, although the possessor should not be expressed in conjunction with a GF. This difference between syntactically non-possessable and syntactically possessable forms shows that the CH use of the GF has entered a critical phase.

In Figure 10.1 the system of CH possessive inflection is summarized. Chaco languages generally present a difference between possessable and non-possessable nouns. If one looks at this issue in terms of alienability, most possessable nouns are inalienable, because always take a morphological form expressing the agreement with a possessor, and in case no possessor is at stake, they have to appear in the 3-person. The few nouns with a GF are alienable. Alienable nouns can be divided into syntactically possessable and non-possessable. Section §10.7.1 describes the morphology of the GF, while §10.7.2 deals with its uses.

Figure 10.1



§10.7.1 The morphology of the generic form

In (42-43) all GFs recorded during my fieldwork are reported. The GFs are divided into syntactically non-possessable and syntactically possessable, and are ordered according to the respective prefixes. One can observe a certain degree of variation in spite of the few GFs. There are six ways to obtain the GF. Five prefixes are used, depending on the noun: /o/-, /d/-, /dVk/-, /e/- and /k/-. The prefix /dVk/- for the GF is also found in Ayoreo. *Ijõrta* /ixõrta/ (3) ‘plant’ has the only radical GF. Although it is difficult to make generalizations based on few examples, the same prefix can be used for both syntactically possessable and non-possessable GFs, such as /d/-, /dVk/-, and /o/-, although the latter is more frequent in syntactically non-possessable GFs. /k/- is only used for syntactically possessable GFs. The prefixes /k/- and /d/- do not only occur in the GF, but, as already mentioned, they are also used as 3-pronouns.

The difference between syntactically possessable and non-possessable GFs and the occurrence of the same morphological devices in both types of GF indicates that the system is falling apart.

(42) Syntactically non-possessable (SN)²⁵⁷

Prefix /o/-

i-jutɕ (3) 'house' ---> o-jutɕ (GF.SN)²⁵⁸ (ojutɕ also means 'village')

i-bitɕ (3) 'work, job' ---> o-bitɕ (GF.SN) (ibich)²⁵⁹

i-miɕt (3) 'medicine' ---> o-miɕt (GF.SN)

i-terpita (3) 'pants' ---> o-terpita (GF.SN)

j-o-ni:t (3) 'ghost, spirit' (masculine) ---> o-j-o-ni:t (GF.SN)

j-o-ni:ta (3) 'ghost, spirit' (feminine) ---> o-j-o-ni:ta (GF.SN)

Ø-Ø-poɕt (3) 'food' ---> o-poɕt (GF.SN)

Ø-Ø-martita (3) 'ring' ---> o-martita (GF.SN)

Ø-Ø-nerpita / Ø-Ø-nerpta (3) 'shirt, dress' ---> o-nerpita / o-nerpta (GF.SN)

Prefix /d/-

i-tɕit (3) 'dung' ---> d-i-tɕit (GF.SN)

Prefix /dVɕ/-

i-tɕibitɕ (3) 'spirit, image' ---> dik-i-tɕibitɕ (GF.SN)

i-hirmitɕ (3) 'crying' ---> dik-i-hirmitɕ (GF.SN)

²⁵⁷ There are other dubious or only apparent GFs which have to be discussed. The term *kotêrc* /kotêrtɕ/ is a vulgar word, which is the GF (syntactically non-possessable) of *otêrc* /otêrtɕ/ 'ass'. This word has a particular semantic nuance, because it refers to a big bottom and is considered very vulgar. For this reason, it is not used by all speakers and has not been included in the previous examples. The word *kamit* 'bed' is a loanword from Spanish *cama*. As most loanwords, *kamit* is non-possessable. The form *okamit* is also found. This looks like a GF, but is just a variant and /o/- here does not have to be interpreted as a generic prefix.

²⁵⁸ The GF of *ihyuch* /ijutɕ/, *ohyuch* /ojutɕ/, can also mean 'village, town'.

²⁵⁹ The GF of *ibich* /ibitɕ/ is mainly used in the plural *obiyo* /obijo/.

Prefix /e/-

j-i-nsĩrtç (3) ‘boss, owner’ ---> ej-nsĩrtç (GF.SN)

(43) Syntactically possessable (SP)

Prefix /k/-

i:-bitç (3) ‘smoke’ ---> k-i:-bitç (GF.SP)

u-rkit / u-rkitç (3) ‘hammock’ ---> k-u-rkit / k-u-rkitç (GF.SP)

i-çuxãro / i-çuxãro (3) ‘thing’ ---> k-u-çuxãro (GF.SP)

Prefix /d/-

i-kirmista (3) ‘blood’ ---> d-i-kirmista (GF.SP)

Prefix dVk/-

i-ñet (3) ‘song’ ---> luk-u-ñet (GF.SP)

Prefix /o/-

i-tçita (3) ‘mosquito net’ ---> o-tçita (GF.SP)

Root

i-xõrta (3) ‘plant’ ---> Ø-Ø-xõrta (GF.SP)

All personal prefixes are added to the 3-person form. This is particularly evident when a prefix is added to a prefixal noun: *y-oniit* /j-oni:t/ (3) ‘ghost, spirit’ ---> *o-y-oniit* /o-j-oni:t/ (GF.SN). In *o-posht* /o-poçt/ (GF.SN) ‘food’ the GF preserves the word-initial fortition of the 3-person *posht* /poçt/ (3) ‘food’ (see (40a)). This suggests that the GF is derived from the 3-person. When the prefix /o/- is added to a thematic noun, it overwrites the thematic vowel: *iterpita* (3) ‘pants’ ---> *oterpita*. The same process occurs in verb morphology with the 3P-prefix /o/-, which can overwrite the 3-vowel of thematic verbs (§5.5): e.g. *uushi* /u:çi/ (3) ---> *ooshi* /o:çi/ (3P) ‘to run’; *ishim* /içim/ (3) --->

oshim /oçim/ (3P) ‘to give’ (about the generic prefix /o/- and the plural prefix /o/-, see also §10.7.2). Due to scarcity of data, it is not possible to establish whether some prefixes can only be added to nouns belonging to a certain inflectional class. The prefix /o/- can be applied to all noun classes.

The vowel of the prefix /dVk/- harmonizes to the thematic vowel. Since [d] and [l] are free allophones in word-initial position, the prefix can also be realized as /lVk/-. The alternation between /i/ and /u/ in the thematic vowel is frequent in possessive inflection. /dVk/- is very similar to the prefix /tVk/- in the 1S-person of verb inflection.

Vocalic syncope in the root occurs in the GFs of *eynsĩrc* /ejnsĩrtç/ and *ishujãro* /içuxãro/, namely: *yĩnsĩrc* /jĩnsĩrtç/ and *kushjãro* /kuçxãro/, respectively. In the latter form the root vowel /u/ drops (cf. *ishujãro* /içuxãro/), leaving a harmonized thematic vowel.

§10.7.2 The use of the generic form

In this section, examples of the use of the GF are shown. Examples (44-45) are taken from a text in which the speaker talks about the herbal remedies of CH people. The modern remedies of the Western medicine are literally the ‘medicines of the Paraguayan people’ (*Mar imshiyo* /mar imçijo/). Since these are the medicines (*imshiyo* /imçijo/) of the Paraguayan people (*Mar(o)* /mar(o)/), the 3-person form of ‘medicines’ is used.²⁶⁰ In (45) the speaker suggests to cure some people with traditional herbal remedies. Here ‘medicines’ is expressed by the GF *omshiyo* /omçijo/, because the plants of the forest do not belong to anyone. In (45) the apposition of *omshiyo* /omçijo/ is *pohir* ‘plants’, a non-possessable noun. The GF is also reported for *posht* /poçt/ ‘food’. In (46) the possessor of food (i.e. the one who is going to eat the food) is known and the 3-person form *posht* /poçt/ (plural: *poso*) is used. In (47) there is no food and consequently no possessor. For this reason the GF *oposo* is used (*oposht* /opoçt/ in the singular).

²⁶⁰ *imshiyo* /imçijo/ is a plural form, the singular is *imisht* /imiçt/.

- (44) Tok-osim òr Mar imshi-yo.
 /tok-osim òr Mar imçi-jo
 1S-give 3P Paraguayan.MP 3.medicine-MP
 ‘I give them modern medicine.’ (literally, ‘Paraguayan medicine’) (Ciucci 2011a)
- (45) A-sim òr o-mshi-yo uu erze pohir.
 /a-sim òr o-mçi-jo u: eꞤze pohir/
 2S-give 3P GF-medicine-MP DET.P that.P plant.FP
 ‘Give them those plants as medicine.’ (Ciucci 2011a)
- (46) Luk posh-t listo.
 /luk poç-t listo.
 Luca 3.food-MS.FF ready
 ‘Luca’s dinner is ready.’ (Ciucci 2011a)²⁶¹
- (47) Nihyök naa o-poso.
 /nijök na: o-poso/
 NEG.EXIST NEG GF-cibo.MP
 ‘There is no food.’ (Ciucci 2011a)²⁶²

In (48) the addressee is looking for a job and he is asked when he is going to talk to a potential employer. The speaker uses the GF of ‘employer’, rather than the 2S-person, because he does not know whether the employer will recruit the addressee. When a working relationship is established, the possessive prefix is used, as in (49). In (50) the talk is about a cloud of smoke in the wood (the origin of the fire is not mentioned). In (51) one speaks of the habit of smoking. In Chamacoco there is no specific verb for ‘to smoke’ and when someone smokes, he/she literally ‘eats his/her smokes’, so that the plural of ‘smoke’ (*iibo* /i:bo/) agrees with the subject. In (52) the possessor of the mosquito net is unknown or not specified.

²⁶¹ This is what the CH people told me when they called me for dinner.

²⁶² This sentence is taken from a spontaneous speech recording. The influence of Spanish is very strong in this clause. The traditional negation *ye* /je/ is replaced by *naa* /na:/ (from Spanish *no*) and the standard plural of *oposo* is used, rather than the plural of the indeterminate-form. However, there is no linguistic interference with the prefixation of the GF.

- (48) Fransisk, latik nehe eřr wahacha e-ynsřr-c?
 /Fransisk latik nehe eřr wahatça e-jnsřr-tç/
 Francisco what FUT 2S.go_to there GF-employer-MS.FF
 ‘Francisco, when are you going to go to the employer?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (49) Wichi yok p-insřr-k.
 /witçi jok p-insřr-k/
 3.MS 1S 1S-employer-MS.BF
 ‘He is my boss.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (50) K-iib-o de wahacha ich e-raha uje jweki-ta de wahacha.
 /K-i:b-o de wahatça itç e-raha uxe xweki-ta de wahatça/
 GF-smoke-MP there_is there and 2S-know SUB fire.FS.FF there_is there
 ‘There is smoke there, so you know that the fire is there.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990d: 146)
- (51) Ye o-t-ew iib-o = pe.
 /je o-t-ew i:b-o = pe/
 NEG P-3-eat 3.smoke-MP = NEG
 ‘They do not smoke.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (52) Ōhwa wate o-chi-ta řrti-ta!
 /õwa wate o-tçi-ta řrti-ta/
 2S.bring DET.FS GF-mosquito_net-FS.FF 3-stick-FS.FF
 ‘Bring the stick of the mosquito net.’ (Chamacoco; Balbuena 1991: 6)

In (53) the GF *kushjãro* /kuçxãro/ is syntactically possessable and in this case it is preceded by its possessor, indicated by the 1S-pronoun *yok* /jok/. In the last part of the example, the corresponding possessed form *pishujãro* /piçuxãro/ is used. The word *kushjãro* /kuçxãro/, GF of *ishujãro* /içuxãro/, may refer to both edible things and objects. *Kushjãro* /kuçxãro/ is syntactically possessable. When the first speaker says *yok kushjãro* /jok kuçxãro/ ‘my things’, the second asks him whether he refers to edible things. Then the first speaker replies that he refers to objects belonging to him (*yok pishujãro* /jok piçuxãro/ ‘my things’). The term *ishujãro* /içuxãro/ is so used in order to disambiguate the meaning of *kushjãro* /kuçxãro/, indicating that the first speaker is talking about objects rather than about food. Although from a semantic point of view *kushjãro* /kuçxãro/ does not exactly coincide with *ishujãro* /içuxãro/, it is morphologically its GF.

- (53) – Yok kushjāro. – – Je o-t-ew? – – No, yok p-ishujār-o. –
 /jok kuçxāro xe o-t-ew no jok p-içuxār-o/
 1S thing.MP INT P-3-eat no 1S 1S-thing.MP
 – My things – – Do you eat it? – –No, my objects. – (Ciucci, field-notes)

The 3P-prefix /o/- in verb inflection and the generic prefix /o/- are phonologically identical and it is legitimate to wonder whether diachronically they are the same element. Although there cannot be any certainty, two features might suggest the hypothesis that the prefix /o/- spread from verb morphology to possessive inflection.

(1) The 3P-person of the verb can convey an impersonal meaning, especially when giving instructions, as in (54), where the speaker teaches how to weave the caraguata fibre. In (53) too, the 3-person form is used as an impersonal form.

(2) In both verb and noun morphology, the prefix /o/- only exists in Chamacoco, in contrast with the other Zamucoan languages. Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, which use other GF prefixes, do not even have any morphological form for the 3P-person of the verb.

- (54) Hmeychim: o-ch-ukwer o-sh-uu itsorz.
 /mɛjtɛim o-tɕ-ukwer o-ç-u: itsorz/
 2S.look P-3-weave P-3-do this_way.RLS (giving instructions)
 ‘Look: one should weave this way.’ (Ciucci field-notes)

Another possibility is that /o/- derives directly from *os* ‘people’ or *ōr* (3P). The former is the reduced form of the plural *oso* ‘people’, due to final syllable reduction (see §13.7.3), while *ōr* is a possible etymology for the 3P-prefix /o/- (cf. §7.1). Both *os* and *ōr* can precede the 3-person of a noun when the possessor is unspecified. Note that this is a syntactic strategy and *os* and *ōr* should not be considered affixes.²⁶³ In (55) *os(o)* simply means ‘people’, while in (56) it precedes *deych* /dejtɕ/ ‘father’ to refer to the father’s role (lit. ‘the people’s father’) rather than to the father of someone in particular. In this

²⁶³ *Os* is regarded as an affix by Campbell (2012b: 297-298), based on Sušnik (1986/87: 75).

context, *õr* and *os(o)* can alternate.

- (55) Uu õryoo os poor-c ii-ch otsii Basibiki.
 /u: õrjo: os po:r-tɕ i:-tɕ otsi: basibiki/
 DET.MS 1PE person.MP ancestor-MS.FF 3.name-MS.FF 3P.QUOT Basibiki
 ‘The ancestor of our people was called Basibiki.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (56) Ye os d-ey-ch d-akit pukuhnin kinaho = pe.
 /je os d-ej-tɕ d-akit pukunin kinaho = pe/
 NEG person.MP 3-father-MS.FF 3.IRLS-suggest child.MP someone_else’s = NEG
 ‘A father (lit. ‘the father of the people’) doesn’t give suggestions to other people’s children.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§10.8 Other possessable nouns

Some possessable nouns are not autonomous syntactically, because they are only used after a verb in verbal periphrases.²⁶⁴ Their possessive inflection is regular and in most cases the noun agrees in person with the subject. Note that in the following examples the RFL-person agrees with the 3-person subject, while the 3-person form of the noun (that is the base of possessive inflection) is used for the plural persons, because they have no proper possessive form. Since these words are only used in verbal periphrases, it is difficult to establish the exact meaning of each noun, but the meaning of the verbs is, in most cases, clear.

- (57) ti: puhut (1S), ej: ehēt (2S), tɕi: lehet (3), ji: ejok uhut (1PI), oji: õrjok uhut (1PE),
 ejlo olak uhut (2P), otɕi: lehet (3P), di: lehet (3.IRLS) ‘to take the floor’
 (tɕi: ‘to do, to make’)

- (58) ti:s pulo (1S), a:s elo (2S), tɕe:s / tse:s delo (3), ji:s ejok ulo (1PI), oji: õrjok ulo (1PE),
 a:slo olak ulo (2P), otɕe:s delo (3P), li:s delo (3P)²⁶⁵ ‘to get angry’
 (tɕe:s ‘to bite, to sting, to criticize’)

²⁶⁴ Analogous verbal periphrases also exist in Ayoreo.

²⁶⁵ The first and the 3-person form of *ulo* are also found with /u:/: *puulo* /pu:lo/, *uulo* /u:lo/.

- (59) ti: parz̥it̥ (1S), e:ǰ arz̥it̥ (2S), t̥ɕi: larz̥it̥ (3), ji: ejok arz̥it̥ (1PI), oji: ɔrjok arz̥it̥ (1PE),
e:ǰlo olak arz̥it̥ (2P), ot̥ɕi: larz̥it̥ (3P), di: larz̥it̥ (3.IRLS) ‘lie beside’
(t̥ɕi: ‘to do, to make’)
- (60) tehek pota (1S), ehek ota (2S), tsehek lota (3), jehek ejok ota (1PI), ojehek ɔrjok ota (1PE),
ehek olak ota (2P), otsehek lota (3P), dehek lota (3.IRLS)
‘to spring up, to jump up’ (tsehek ‘to divide’)
- (61) tiç p̥ibe (1S), as abe (2S), t̥ɕiç labe (3), jiç ejok ibe (1PI), ojiç ɔrjok ibe (1PE),
aslo olak ibe (2P), ot̥ɕiç labe (3P), diç labe (3.IRLS) ‘to marvel, to be amazed’
(t̥ɕiç ‘to meet, to reach’)
- (62) tukweṛ p̥ibe (1S), ekweṛ abe (2S), t̥ɕukweṛ labe (3), jukweṛ ejok ibe (1PI),
ojukweṛ ɔrjok ibe (1PE), ekweṛ olak ibe (2P), ot̥ɕukweṛ labe (3P),
dukweṛ labe (3.IRLS) ‘to spin’ (t̥ɕukweṛ ‘to twist, to grind’)
- (63) tej peṇimit̥ç / paṇimit̥ç (1S), e:ǰ eṇimit̥ç / aṇimit̥ç (2S), sej neṇimit̥ç / naṇimit̥ç (3),
ji: ejok eṇimo / aṇimo (1PI), oji: ɔrjok eṇimo / aṇimo (1PE), olak e:ǰlo olak eṇimo /
aṇimo (2P), otsej neṇimo / naṇimo (3P), dej eṇimo / aṇimo (3.IRLS)
‘to get facedown, to fall on the ground, to fall facedown’ (tseja ‘to lead to’)

Although it is usually difficult to establish the exact meaning of each element, the noun used in the last example (63) is a possessable form for ‘land’ *hnimich* /ṇimit̥ç/ (and in this case *hnimich* /ṇimit̥ç/ could be considered a radical GF). If the subject is plural, the speakers prefer to use *ehnimich* /eṇimit̥ç/ in the plural *ehnimimo* /eṇimo/. Other possessable nouns only found in verbal periphrases do not agree with the subject, but with the object, as in (64), where the noun is *ibe*, also used in (61) and (62).

- (64) a. tu: ibe (1S), uhu ibe (2S), çu: ibe (3), juhu ibe (1PI), ojuhu ibe (1PE), uhulo ibe (2P),
oçu: ibe (3P), duhu ibe (3.IRLS) ‘to praise (him/her)’ çu: ‘to make, to do’
b. tu: p̥ibe ‘I praise myself’
c. tu: abe ‘I praise you’
d. tu: ibe ‘I praise her/him’ / tu: Laura ibe ‘I praise Laura’
e. çu: labe ‘he praises himself’

§10.9 The possessive classifier *uhut*

In Ayoreo, non-possessable nouns must be preceded by a possessive classifier in order to express the possessor. Possessive classifiers are not used in Chamacoco (with one exception, discussed below). As already said (§10.1), Chamacoco overcomes the absence of a possessive classifier by having a non-possessable noun preceded by the possessor without carrying itself the possessive inflection. Nevertheless, in Chamacoco there exists an element, *uhut*, which performs the function of a possessive classifier and is only used in a semantically very limited context. *Uhut* is used with non-possessable nouns referring to human beings to indicate relationship, fellowship, companionship or even friendship among the possessor and the possessee.

(65) p-u-hut (1S.PCL_fellow), u-hut (2S.PCL_fellow), u-hut (3.PCL_fellow), l-/d-u-hut (RFL.PCL_fellow)

The possessive inflection of *uhut* is irregular, because thematic /u/ is preserved in the 2S-person. This is a very rare exception which in the Zamucoan family only occurs in another element: the CH verb *shuu* /çu:/, when it means ‘to do, to make’ and is used as a causative verb (see §7.3).²⁶⁶ The possessive classifier *uhut* has no lexical meaning and cannot stand alone, but has to precede the possessee. *Uhut* agrees in person with the possessor and in gender, number and form with the possessee, as one can see in the following examples. Gender, number and form are expressed by the suffixation of *uhut*. About these characteristics, see the chapter on CH nominal suffixation (§13.8).

In (66) and (67) the possessive classifier is used. Both *hnakirbito* /nakirbito/ ‘young men’ and *apibite* ‘girls, young women’ (here used in the plural) are non-possessable.

(66) Alojo uu iji-t otsii Moyto òr l-uhu
 /aloxo u: ixi-t otsi: mojto òr l-uhu
 Alojo DET.MS 3.child-MS.FF 3P.QUOT Moyto with RFL-PCL_fellow.MP

²⁶⁶ The irrealis form of *shuu* /çu:/, *luhu* / duhu phonologically coincides with the plural of the RFL-person of *uhut*. This form is to be observed in examples (66-67).

hnakirbit-o o-hno o-t̃r onoo-ta.
 /nakirbit-o o-ŋo o-t̃r ono:-ta/
 young_man-MP P-3.go P-3.go_to river-FS.FF

‘The son of Alojo, Moyto and other boys (his companions) go to the river.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (67) Maria o-hno o-t̃r kwela h̃or l-uhu apibit-e par o-ch-ichew hut-e.
 /maria o-ŋo o-t̃r kwela h̃or l-uhu apibit-e par o-t̃-it̃ew hut-e/
 Maria P-3.go P-3.go_to school with 3-PCL_fellow.FP girl-FP SUB P-3-write book-FP
 ‘Maria and the (lit. her) girls go to the school in order to write in the notebooks
 (lit. to write notebooks).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

In the following examples the *boys* and the *girls* are the companions of *Maria* and *Moyto*. Note that in this case one could use the word for ‘friend’, which has possessive inflection, but it cannot occur along with *uhut* (68-69).

- (68) *Alojo uu iji-t otsĩ Moyto ãr l-uhu
 /aloxo u: ixi-t otsĩ: mojto ãr l-uhu/
 Alojo DET.MS 3.child-MS.FF 3P.QUOT Moyto with RFL-PCL_fellow.MP

 n-ahĩr-e o-hno o-t̃r onoo-ta.
 /n-ahĩr-e o-ŋo o-t̃r ono:-ta/
 RFL-friend-MP P-3.go P-go_to river-FS.FF

[The son of Alojo, Moyto and other friends (his companions) go to the river.]
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (69) *Maria o-hno o-t̃r kwela h̃or l-uhu n-ahĩr par
 /maria o-ŋo o-t̃r kwela h̃or l-uhu n-ahĩr par/
 Maria P-3.go P-3.go_to school with 3-PCL_fellow.FP RFL-friend-FP SUB

 o-ch-ichew hut-e.
 /o-t̃-it̃ew hut-e/
 P-3-write book-FP

[Maria and the her friends go to the school in order to write in the notebooks
 (lit. to write notebooks).] (Ciucci, field-notes)

Note that in (70) *luhu hnakirbo* /luhu ŋakirbo/ (lit. ‘his men, his companion the men’) and *nahĩre* (‘his friends, his companions’) are considered to convey about the same meaning.

(70) a. Luka ãya l-uhu hnakĩrb-o.
 /luka ãja l-uhu ñakĩrb-o/
 Luka 3.accompany RFL-PCL_fellow.MP young_man-MP
 ‘Luca accompanies his friends.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Luka ãya ir n-ahĩr-e.
 /luka ãja ir n-ahĩr-e/
 Luca 3.accompany 3S RFL-friend-MP
 ‘Luca accompanies his friends.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

In (71) one can see the semantic difference between two sentences with the object *ihĩrmit* (‘the weeper’) used with and without *uhut*.

(71) a. Yesh yok t-ish ihĩrmi-t.
 /jeç jok t-iç ihĩrmi-t/
 now 1S 1S-meet 3.weeper-MS.FF
 ‘Now I find a weeper.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Yok t-ish p-uhu-t ihĩrmi-t.
 /jok t-iç p-uhu-t ihĩrmi-t/
 1S 1S-meet 1S-PCL_fellow-MS.FF 3.weeper-MS.FF
 ‘I find my (companion the) weeper.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

Uhut is not used with proper names (72).

(72) Yok tak-aha t-ĩĩr kwela hõr Juan.
 /jok tak-aha t-ĩĩr kwela hõr xwan/
 1S 1S-go 1S-go_to school with Juan
 ‘I go to the school with Juan.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

In (73) *uhut* occurs with two synonyms: *irhĩch* /iĩĩç/ and *yĩnsĩrc* /jĩnsĩrç/. ‘employer’. *Irhĩch* /iĩĩç/ is non-possessable and has to be preceded by *uhut* if the speaker wants to specify who is the employee (73a), while a form of *yĩnsĩrc* /jĩnsĩrç/ taking possessive inflection cannot be preceded by *uhut* (73b). In (73c) too, *uhut* is used to express a fellowship between the speaker and another Chamacoco (*Ishĩrc* /içĩrç/), because *Ishĩrc* /içĩrç/ is non-possessable.

- (73) a. Yok tuk-umo p-uhu-t irhĩ ch.
 /jok tuk-umo p-uhu-t iṛĩ tɕ/
 1S 1S-see 1S-PCL_fellow-MS.FF employer
 ‘I see my employer.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. *Yok tuk-umo p-uhut p-ĩnsĩr-c.
 /jok tuk-umo p-uhut p-ĩnsĩr-tɕ/
 1S 1S-see 1S-PCL_fellow-MS.FF 1S-employer-MS.FF
 [I see my employer.] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. Yok tuk-umo p-uhu-t Ishir-c.
 /jok tuk-umo p-uhu-t iɕĩr-tɕ/
 1S 1S-see 1S-PCL_fellow-MS.FF Chamacoco-MS.FF
 ‘I see my (companion the) Chamacoco.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The presence of *uhut* in Chamacoco is typologically relevant, because it confirms that the presence of the possessive classifier is an areal feature of Chaco languages. Fabre (2007b) analyses the possessive classifier structures in Chaco languages and shows a «remarkable convergence» (Fabre 2007b: 67) between Chaco languages. However, Fabre does not provide any data for Chamacoco, which differs from the other Chaco languages with regard to possessive classifiers. First, in the Zamucoan languages analysed by Fabre, a minimum of two classifiers is to be observed (Fabre 2007b: 79), while *uhut* is for the time being the only CH possessive classifier. Second, Chamacoco does not follow the typological hierarchy of possessive classifiers proposed in Fabre (2007b: 78), because the CH possessive classifier is semantically very specific and Chamacoco lacks the neutral classifier which occurs in most Chaco languages and in most languages having possessive classifiers (Fabre 2007b: 79). By contrast, Ayoreo has more than 20 possessive classifiers according to Fabre and is a prototypical language with respect to the typology of its classifiers. These elements suggest that *uhut* is probably a relic of a more complex system of possessive classifiers which has disappeared owing to linguistic contact with Spanish.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ About possessive classifiers in Chaco languages, see also Aikhenvald (2011: 174-175).

§10.10 *Ekwerta* and *eyucha* /*ejutça*/

Ekwerta and *eyucha* /*ejutça*/ ‘to remember’ are two hybrid elements. Both convey the same meaning and have the syntactic behaviour of a verb, as one can see in the following examples, but the morphology of a noun. *Ekwerta* is a loanword from the Spanish verb *acordarse* /*akordarse*/ ‘to remember’ (*se acuerda* /*se akwerda*/ ‘he remembers’) or from the Spanish noun *recuerdo* /*rekwerdo*/ (‘memory, remembrance’), although it could even result from a combination of both forms. By contrast, *eyucha* /*ejutça*/ is the original Chamacoco term. This is a further example of how indigenous and Spanish-derived words with the same meaning co-exist in currently spoken Chamacoco.

- (74) Yok tuk-ucha uje aãchi like tenihni.
 /jok tuk-utça uxe ã:tçi like teniņi/
 1S 1S-remember COMP 2S.arrive here recently
 ‘I remember that you have arrived recently.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (75) Yok p-ewkerta uje aãch = ni.
 /jok p-ewkerta uxe ã:tç = ni/
 1S 1S-remember COMP 2S.arrive = PST
 ‘I remember that you have arrived.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (76) Ikon eyucha uje Kapo sh-iyokõr = ni.
 /ikon ejutça uxe Kapo ç-ijokõr = ni/
 Ikon 3.remember COMP Kapo 3-do = PST
 ‘Ikon remembers what Kapo has done.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

Although at the syntactic level both *ekwerta* and *eyucha* /*ejutça*/ are verbs, at the morphological level they should be included in the class of possessable nouns. *Ekwerta* (77) has the inflectional morphology of thematic nouns with thematic /*e*/, which indicates that it is a possessable noun, since thematic verbs in /*e*/- do not exist. The prefix /*p*/- in the 1S-person characterizes possessive inflection. Also *eyucha* /*ejutça*/ should be considered a thematic noun in /*e*/ (78), although in the 1S-person there are both a ‘nominal’ 1S-person with the prefix /*p*/- and a ‘verbal’ person with the prefix /*tuk*/-. The presence of /*u*/ in the prefix is probably due to the presence of the same vowel in the root. The alternation between a ‘nominal’ and a ‘verbal’ form in the 1S-person and its

syntactic behaviour shows that this element probably has verbal origin.

(77) p-e-kwerta (1S), e-kwerta (2S), e-kwerta (3) ‘to remember’²⁶⁸

(78) tuk-uṭɕa / p-e-juṭɕa (1S), e-juṭɕa (2S), e-juṭɕa (3), d-e-juṭɕa (RFL) ‘to remember’

In the case of *eyucha* /*ejuṭɕa*/, a reflexive form with the prefix /d-/ is observed, which is used when the main and the subordinate clause have the same subject (79), while the 3-person is used when the subject of the subordinate clause is different (76).

(79) Ir d-eyucha uje sh-iyokõr = ni.
 /ir d-ejuṭɕa uxe ɕ-ijokõr = ni/
 3S RFL-remember COMP 3-do = PST
 ‘He remembers what he has done.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The fact that *eyucha* /*ejuṭɕa*/ has the RFL-person, not to be found in *ekwerta*, indicates that the latter loan entered the language when possessive inflection was no longer productive and the RFL-person has been the first element to disappear. Although the ending of both words is invariable, the last syllables *-/ta/* and *-/ṭɕa/* remind of a FS-FF.

§10.11 The possessive construction with =/ɕ/

In Chamacoco there is no verb meaning ‘to have, to own’. In order to say that someone has/owns something, the enclitic =/ɕ/ is added to the possessee, which agrees in person with the possessor. If the possessee is a non-possessable noun, it does not agree with the possessor.

(80) Owa, je aab-o = sh? Yok p-aab-o = sh.
 /owa xe a:b-o = ɕ jok p-a:b-o = ɕ/
 2S INT 2.child-MP = EXIST 1S 1S-child-MP = EXIST
 ‘Do you have children? I have children.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

²⁶⁸ The reflexive form of *ekwerta* is not observed: the form **dekwerta* is ungrammatical according to the informants. Note that *ekwerta* can take the suffix *-/lo/* (for both the greater plural of the 1-person inclusive and the 2P-person). This is typical of verb morphology.

- (81) Ye eyuwĩr = sh heke a-pook.
 /je ejuwĩr = ɸ heke a-po:k/
 NEG 2S.judgment = EXIST for_this_reason 2-feel_ashamed
 ‘You do not understand anything, for this reason you feel ashamed.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§10.12 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the possessive inflection of Chamacoco. Three inflectional classes have been distinguished: thematic, prefixal and radical nouns. The classes do not generally correspond to the semantic features of the noun, but most kinship terms are /d/-nouns. As in CH verb inflection, in possessive inflection there are consonantal alternations which come together with the 2-vowel /a/. Chamacoco presents few GFs, characterized by remarkable morphological variability. Some GFs can be preceded by a possessor: this is the result of a syntactic change, probably related to language endangerment. For the same reason, possessive classifiers have almost completely disappeared. Chamacoco only has one possessive classifier, *uhut*, which is semantically very specific and is what remains of a system of possessive classifiers. The mechanism of possessive inflection is no longer productive in Chamacoco. Finally, there are hybrid elements, such as *ekwerta* and *eyucha* /ejutɕa/, which are syntactically verbs, but show possessive inflection.

§11 Possessive inflection in the Zamucoan languages: a comparison

This chapter compares the possessive inflection of Ayoreo, Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco. In (§9) and (§10) the AY and CH possessive inflection have been analysed. Section §11.1 describes the possessive inflection of Ancient Zamuco. Then, the possessive prefixes used in the Zamucoan languages are discussed (§11.2). In §11.3 the possessive morphology of the Zamucoan languages is compared with verb morphology. Possessable nouns presents the same inflectional classes in all Zamucoan languages §11.4. Section §11.5 deals with thematic nouns and with the behaviour of thematic vowels. Prefixal nouns are addressed in §11.6. In all Zamucoan languages, most kinship terms are /d/-nouns (§11.7). Section §11.8 deals with radical nouns. GFs and non-possessable nouns are compared in §11.9. Possessive classifiers are addressed in §11.10.

§11.1 Ancient Zamuco possessive inflection

In Ancient Zamuco, nouns have possessive inflection, described by Chomé (1758: 140-142). Examples from Ancient Zamuco will only be discussed when the possessive paradigm is provided in Chomé's grammar. A complete list of the possessive paradigms reported in Chomé's grammar is provided in Appendix B.

The morphological structure of possessive inflection is the same as in Ayoreo and Chamacoco. As for the inflectional classes, three classes can be distinguished, according to the structure of the 3-person: radical nouns, thematic nouns and prefixal nouns (§3.1). The paradigm has six persons (1S-person, 2S-person, 3-person, RFL-person, 1P-person, 2P-person). Usually, there is also a GF. I will mainly focus on the first three persons, because Chomé provides few examples for the RFL-person, the 1P- and the 2P-person, which depend on the first three persons. The GF is generally reported by Chomé when an inflectional paradigm is shown.

- (1) y-i-noriga (1S), a-noriga (2S), n-o-riga (3), p-i-noriga (GF) ‘way’, from the verb
no (3.to_go)
- (2) ch-a-cac (1S), a-cac (2S), a-cac (3), p-a-cac (GF) ‘what is planted’
- (3) y-u-ague (1S), a-gue (2S), g-ü-ague (3/GF) ‘family’

If the 3-thematic-vowel is /a e o/, it is preserved in the whole paradigm (4-8). If the thematic vowel is high (/i u/), it turns into /a/ in the 2S-person (and in the RFL-person) (9-12). In (13) /a/ still has the function of a prefix, because thematic /i/ is preserved. In the 1S-person two prefixes are possible: *ch-* (/tʃ/) or *y-* (/j/). The first prefix is only used with deverbal nouns (as in (2)). Nevertheless, some A.Z deverbal nouns take the prefix *y-* (/j/)- (14-15). Only deverbal nouns derived from /tʃ/-verbs take the 1S-prefix *ch-* (/tʃ/).²⁶⁹ There is no prefix in the 2S-person (apart from /a/). For this reason, the 2S- and the 3-person of thematic nouns coincide if the thematic vowel is /a/, /e/ or /o/. Few radical nouns are to be observed. In (14) the fortition of root-initial /b/ in the 3-person *pidit* is to be found.

- (4) ch-a-cac (1S), a-cac (2S), a-cac (3), p-a-cac (GF) ‘what is planted’
- (5) y-a-ho (1S), a-ho (2S), a-ho (3), p-a-ho (GF) ‘leather’
- (6) ch-e-câric (1S), e-caric (2S), e-caric (3), p-e-caric (GF) ‘what is followed’
- (7) y-e-ddo (1S), e-ddo (2S), e-ddo (3), p-e-ddo (GF) ‘eye’
- (8) ch-o-irac (1S), o-irac (2S), o-irac (3), p-o-irac (GF) ‘what is added’
- (9) ch-i-mecêrac (1S), a-mecêrac (2S), i-mecêrac (3), p-i-mecêrac (GF) ‘what is loved’
- (10) y-i-baya (1S), a-baya (2S), i-baya (3), p-i-baya (GF) ‘excuse’
- (11) ch-u-manic (1S), a-manic (2S), u-manic (3), p-u-manic (GF) ‘what is finished’
- (12) y-u-cau (1S), a-cau (2S), u-cau (3), p-u-cau (GF) ‘elbow’

- (13) y-i-gueda (1S), ai-gueda (2S), i-gueda (3), gu-i-gueda (GF) ‘house’

- (14) y-i-bidit (1S), a-bidit (2S), Ø-Ø-pidit (3), p-i-bidit (GF) ‘who/what is called’

from: t-i-bidi (3) ‘to call’

- (15) y-i-yauc (1S), a-yauc (2S), i-yauc (3), p-i-yauc (GF) ‘what is quit’

from: i-yau (3) ‘to stop, to quit’

²⁶⁹ Deverbal nouns derived from verbs belonging to other classes take the 1-prefix *y-* (/j/). According to Chomé only some deverbal nouns derived from /t/-verbs can take the prefix *ch-* (/tʃ/). However, the few examples provided by Chomé are not reported above, because they are not complete or the derivational process is not clear (1958: 141), see Appendix B.

The RFL-person follows the same rules as the Ayoreo and Chamacoco RFL-person, and shares all morphological peculiarities of the 2S-person: “La 3a possessiva en si mismo relativa, se haze en todos los nombres con preponer la *d*, a la 2a possessiua. *Aigueda*.. tu casa, *daigueda*.. su propria casa. esta regla no tiene excepcion alguna” (Chomé 1958: 47). There is no difference between singular and plural in both the 3- and the RFL-person (16). The plural of the 3-person can be specified by the 3P-pronoun: *ore igueda* /*ore igeda*/ “their house”.

- (16) Ore ch-echâre da-igueda-tie.
 3P 3- demolish RFL-house-MS.FF
 ‘They demolish their own house.’ (Chomé 1958: 48)

A peculiarity of Ancient Zamuco is the frequent identity of 1P- and 2P-person, both expressed by the prefix *ay-* (/aj/-) (17a-c). In *date* ‘mother’ (17d) one finds two distinct forms for 1P-person and 2P-person. However, all these forms have no successors in the currently spoken Zamucoan languages; moreover, the fact that *date* has two distinct forms while the other nouns only have one, could indicate that a process of gradual disappearance had already begun in Ancient Zamuco and probably in the linguistic family: in Chamacoco there are no morphological forms for the 1P- and the 2P-person. The Ayoreo 1P- and 2P-person prefixes directly stem from personal pronouns.

- (17) a. ch-a-cac (1S), ay-a-cac (1P), ay-a-cac (2P) ‘what has been planted’
 b. ch-o-rotat (1S), ay-o-rotat (1P), ay-o-rotat (2P) ‘shoulder’
 c. y-i-gueda (1S), ay-i-gueda (1P), ay-i-gueda (2P) ‘house’
 d. o-te (1S), d-a-te (3), az-o-te (1P), ay-a-te (2P) ‘mother’

§11.2 Personal prefixes in the Zamucoan languages

This section aims at comparing the prefixation of possessive inflection in the Zamucoan family.²⁷⁰ At the descriptive level, the inflectional structure of the possessive inflection is as follows in all Zamucoan languages:

²⁷⁰ For a comparison between AY and A.Z possessive inflection, see also Kelm (1964: 493-499).

$$(18) \quad \text{PREFIX} + \frac{\text{THEME}}{\text{THEMATIC} + \text{ROOT}} \\ \text{VOWEL}$$

(19) Ay. j-a-rej (1S), b-a-rej (2S), a-rej (3), d-a-rej (RFL), jok-a-rej (1P), wak-a-rej (2P) ‘tongue’

(20) Ch. p-a-hãrtɕ (1S), a-hãrtɕ (2S), a-hãrtɕ (3), n-a-hãrtɕ (RFL) ‘tongue’

(21) A.Z. y-i-gueda (1S), a-i-gueda (2S), i-gueda (3), da-i-gueda (RFL), ay-i-gueda (1P),
ay-i-gueda (2P) ‘house’ ‘house’

Not all elements shown in (18) obligatorily occur in all forms. In all Zamucoan languages, the base of possessive inflection is the 3S-person. The inflectional paradigm of possessable nouns has six inflected forms in Ancient Zamuco (19) and Ayoreo (20), while it consists of four inflected forms in Chamacoco (21) (excluding the GF, which here is not considered part of possessive inflection). The comparison will be limited to these four forms.

In the 1S-person, the prefix /j/- is the same for both Ayoreo (20) and Ancient Zamuco (19). In Ancient Zamuco the prefix /tɕ/- is also used. /tɕ/- is not to be found in the other Zamucoan languages and is probably an A.Z innovation. /tɕ/- is also the 1-irrealis prefix in A.Z verb morphology and only occurred in /tɕ/-verbs.

The Chamacoco 1S-prefix /p/- (21) is identical to the AY and A.Z prefix for the GF, although it probably has a different origin.

In the 2S-person, Chamacoco (21) and Ancient Zamuco (19) have no consonantal prefix, while the 2S-vowel /a/ was originally a prefix (see §3.1), and this can be seen in (19).

In all Zamucoan languages there is a correspondence in the 3-person (non-reflexive), which will be analysed in detail below. In all Zamucoan languages there is a distinction between non-reflexive and reflexive 3-person. In all Zamucoan languages the prefix /d/- is used for the RFL-person. It may nasalize into /n/- in nasal-harmony contexts (21) (however, there are not enough data about the nasalization of the A.Z prefix /d/-). Moreover, in all Zamucoan languages (see Chomé 1958: 47, above) the 2S-person and the RFL-person share the same morphological peculiarities when the 2S-theme is different from the rest of the paradigm, as in (19). Note that in the course of this chapter the suffixation of Ancient Zamuco, AY and CH examples does not match, because the paradigms presenting possessive inflection are usually provided in base-

form in Chomé's grammar, while they are provided in full-form in Ayoreo and Chamacoco.

§11.3 Verb morphology vs. possessable noun morphology

As noted in §3.1, the general structure of verb and possessive inflection is the same. The Ayoreo 1S-prefix /j/- is shared by nouns and verbs. It is also the 1S-prefix used in A.Z nouns and in some A.Z verbs, that is /tɕ/-verbs and deverbal nouns derived from /tɕ/-verbs. In both AY and A.Z verb morphology, /j/ is the 1-irrealis prefix. A.Z verbs take the prefix *a-* for the 1-realis. /j/- is also the 1PE-prefix in CH verbs. There is no correspondence between the 1S-prefix used in CH verb and possessive morphology.

In all Zamucoan languages, the morphology of the noun's 2S-person and the verb's 2S-irrealis (the 2S-person in CH verbs) match. Note that *chize* and *igueda* share the same kind of irregularity in the 2-person: the original prefix has not overwritten the high thematic vowel (24).

The 3-person of possessive inflection does not generally correspond to the 3-person of the verb. The only exception is the prefix /d/-, which in Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco is used for the 3-person (usually irrealis) of the verb and the 3-person of some nouns.

Possessive inflection has no plural forms in Chamacoco. The Ayoreo 2P-prefix is the same in verbs and in possessive inflection. The Ancient Zamuco 1P- and 2P-prefix *ay-* (/aj/-) does not correspond to any element of verb inflection. The AY possessable noun morphology is more similar to the corresponding verb morphology than to CH possessable noun morphology.²⁷¹

(22) Ay. j-a-kadisōri (1S), b-a-kadisōri (2S), a-kadisōri (3), d-a-kadisōri (RFL),

jok-a-kadisōri (1P), wak-a-kadisōri (2P), ore a-kadisōri (3P) 'teacher'

Ay. j-a-kate (1S), b-a-kate (2S), tɕ-a-kate (3), j-a-ka-ko (1P), wak-a-ka-tɕo (2P),

ore tɕ-a-kate (3P) 'to teach, to instruct'

²⁷¹ For a comparison between verb and possessive inflection in other Chaco languages, see Comrie *et al.* (2010: 104-107).

- (23) Ch. p-a-lokot (1S), a-lokot (2S), a-lokot (3), d-a-lokot (RFL), ejok alokot (1PI),
 òrjok alokot (1PE), olak alokot (2P), òr alokot (3P) ‘nickname’
 Ch. t-a-kiit (1S), a-kiit (2S), ts-a-kiit (3), j-a-kiit (1PI), o-j-a-kiit (1PE), a-kiit-lo (2P),
 ò-ts-a-kiit (3P) ‘to advise’

- (24) A.Z. y-i-gueda (1S), a-i-gueda (2S), i-gueda (3), da-i-gueda (RFL), ay-i-gueda (1P),
 ay-i-gueda (2P) ‘house’ ‘house’
 A.Z. a-i-ze (1S), da-i-ze (2S), ch-i-ze (3), a-i-co (1P), da-i-zo (2P) ‘to reach’

§11.4 The inflectional classes of possessable nouns in the Zamucoan languages

As noted in §3.1, in all Zamucoan languages the inflection of possessable nouns can be divided into three classes: radical nouns (1), thematic nouns (2), and prefixal nouns (3).

- (25) Radical nouns. Third person: ROOT

- a. Ay. j-i-gaidi (1S), b-a-gaidi (2S), Ø-Ø-gaidi (3), d-a-gaidi (RFL) ‘purpose, intention’
 b. Ch. p-i-bahat (1S), a-bahat (2S), Ø-Ø-bahat (3), d-a-bahat (RFL) ‘price’
 c. A.Z. y-i-noriga (1S), a-noriga (2S), Ø-Ø-noriga (3) ‘way’

- (26) Thematic nouns. Third person: _____THEME_____
 (THEMATIC VOWEL) + ROOT

- a. Ay. j-a-hej (1S), b-a-hej (2S), a-hej (3), d-a-hej (RFL) ‘stomach, intestine’
 b. Ch. p-u:-ɰɰa (1S), e:-ɰɰa (2S), u:-ɰɰa (3), d-e:-ɰɰa (RFL) ‘cheek’
 c. A.Z. y-i-baya (1S), a-baya (2S), i-baya (3) ‘excuse’

- (27) Prefixal nouns

Third person: CONSONANTAL _____THEME_____
 PREFIX + (THEMATIC VOWEL) + ROOT

- a. Ay. j-u-kari (1S), b-a-kari (2S), d-u-kari (3), d-a-kari (RFL) ‘thread, string’
 b. Ch. p-i-rt (1S), e-rt (2S), d-i-rt (3), d-e-rt (RFL) ‘leg’
 c. A.Z. y-u-ague (1S), a-gue (2S), g-ü-ague (3/GF) ‘family’

see also: A.Z. d-a-te (3), ay-a-te (2P) ‘mother’

Although the inflectional classes are not the same, these groups are also to be found in verb inflection: in all Zamucoan languages radical, prefixal and thematic verbs can be distinguished. In Table 11.1 CH verb classes are represented and an example of each type of 3-person is provided (28). Chamacoco is the most complex language with regard to verb classification. In (29) and (30) one finds examples of verb classes in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. In all Zamucoan languages there is a separation of labour between verb inflection and possessive inflection: most verbs are prefixal, while most possessable nouns are thematic.

First macro-class: verbs with a consonantal prefix in third person singular				Second macro-class: verbs without any consonantal prefix in third person singular	
First class		Second class		Third class: vocalic verbs (20)	Fourth class: radical verbs (21)
First subclass: /tʃ/-verbs (19a)	Second subclass: /ts/-, /ɕ/-verbs (19b)	Third subclass: /t/-verbs (19c)	Fourth subclass: /d/-, /l/-, /n/- and /j/-verbs (19d-g)		

Table 11.1. Chamacoco verb classes (see §5.3)

(28) Chamacoco:

- a. tik-i-raha (1S), e-raha (2S), tʃ-i-raha (3), j-i-raha (1PI), o-j-i-raha (1PE), e-raha-lo (2P), d-i-raha (3.IRLS) ‘to know, to understand’
- b. t-a-tir (1S), a-tir (2S), ts-a-tir (3), j-a-tir (1PI), o-j-a-tir (1PE), a-tir-lo (2P), o-ts-a-tir (3P), l-a-tir (3.IRLS) ‘to give back’
- c. t-a-ak ‘to eat’ taka:k (1S), a:k (2S), ta:k, oya:k, ya:k, a:kIlo, ota:k; neg. ye ta:kpe
- d. tak-a-buhu (1S), e-buhu (2S), d-e-buhu (3), j-e-buhu (1PI), o-j-e-buhu (1PE), e-buhu-lo (2P), o-d-e-buhu (3), d-e-buhu (3.IRLS) ‘to live’
- e. tok-o-ta (1S), o-ta (2S), l-o-ta (3), j-o-ta (1PI), o-j-o-ta (1PE), o-ti-lo (2P), o-l-o-ta (3P), l-o-ta (3.IRLS) ‘to play’
- f. tik-i-na (1S), e-na (2S), n-i-na (3), j-i-na (1PI), o-j-i-na (1PE), e-ni-lo (2P), o-n-i-na (3P), n-i-na (3.IRLS) ‘to give thanks’
- g. tik-i-na (1S), a-na (2S), j-a-na (3), j-i-na (1PI), o-j-i-na (1PE), a-ni-lo (2P), o-j-a-na (3P), j-a-na (3.IRLS) ‘to laugh’

h. t-i-jem (1S), a-nem (2S), i-jem (3), j-i-jem (1PI), o-j-i-jem (1PE),
a-nem-lo (2P), o-jem (3P), tsem (3.IRLS) ‘to wait’

i. t-i-kĩtkēr / t-i-kĩtkēr (1S), e-kĩtkēr (2S), Ø-Ø-kějtkēr (3), j-i-kĩtkēr (1PI),
o-j-i-kĩtkēr (1PE), e-kĩtkēr-lo / e-kĩtkēri-lo (2P), o-kějtkēr (3P),
Ø-Ø-kějtkēr (3.IRLS) ‘to speak, to talk’ (also: kějtkēr)

(29) Ayoreo

a. j-i-raha (1S), b-a-raha (2S), t̥-i-raha (3), j-i-raha-go (1P), wak-a-raja-jo (2P)
‘to know, to understand’

cf. Ch. t̥-i-raha ‘to know, to understand’

b. j-a-tire (1S), b-a-tire (2S), t̥-a-tire (3), j-a-tire-go, wak-a-tire-jo (2P)
‘to give back’ cf. Ch. ts-a-tir ‘to give back’

c. j-a-ke (1S), b-a-ke (2S), t-a-ke (3), j-a-ho (1P), wak-a-t̥o (2P) ‘to eat’
cf. Ch. t-a:k ‘to eat’

d. j-u-ᵑapego-me (1S), b-a-ᵑapego-me (2S), u-ᵑapego-me (3), j-u-ᵑape-ho-me (1P),
wak-a-ᵑape-t̥o-me (2P) ‘to be able to do, to be apt to’²⁷²

e. j-i-katekāri (1S), b-a-katekāri (2S), Ø-Ø-katekāri (3), j-i-katekā-ko-ri (1P),
wak-a-katekāri (2P) ‘to talk’

cf. Ch. Ø-Ø-kěj(i)kēr (3.IRLS) ‘to speak, to talk’

(30) Ancient Zamuco

a. a-i-mecêre (1S), d-a-mecêre (2S), ch-i-mecêre (3) ch-i-mecêre(3)
‘to fish (with bait)’

b. a-i-yague (1S), d-a-yague (2S), i-yague (3) ‘to stand’

c. a-i-taña (1S), d-a-taña (2S), Ø-Ø-taña (3) ‘to be strong’

§11.5 The thematic vowel

The behaviour of the thematic vowel is similar in all Zamucoan languages. There is a basic distinction between high and non-high vowels. If the thematic vowel is a non-high one, it is preserved in the whole paradigm. By contrast, high vowels are overwritten by a vowel originally belonging to the prefix in the 2S- and the RFL-person: /a/ in Ayoreo (31c,e) and Ancient Zamuco (33c,e), /a/ or /e/ in Chamacoco (32b,d,f,g). Since Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco present no 2S-prefix, the 3-person of thematic nouns generally coincide if they

²⁷² On AY thematic verbs, see §4.7.

have a non-high thematic vowel. In Chamacoco, given a high thematic vowel in the 3-person, it is impossible to predict whether the 2S-vowel will be /a/ or /e/. Chamacoco also has one vowel (/i/) more than the other Zamucoan languages and is characterized by greater variability in the vocalic pattern, which presents some irregularities, as one can see, for instance in (32b).

(31) Ayoreo

- a. j-a-hej (1S), b-a-hej (2S), a-hej (3), d-a-hej (RFL) ‘stomach, intestine’
- b. j-e-bie (1S), e-bie (2S), e-bie (3), d-e-bie (RFL) ‘foam, froth’
- c. j-i-jobie (1S), b-a-jobie (2S), i-jobie (3), d-a-jobie (RFL) ‘hearth’
- d. j-o-hoj (1S), b-o-hoj (2S), o-hoj (3), d-o-hoj (RFL) ‘feathers’
- e. j-u-duj (1S), b-a-duj (2S), u-duj (3), d-a-duj (RFL) ‘water (brought for drinking)’

(32) Chamacoco

- a. p-a-rmista (1S), a-rmista (2S), a-rmista (3), n-a-rmista (RFL) ‘blood’
- b. p-o-matɕ (1S), a-matɕ (2S), a-matɕ (3), n-a-matɕ (RFL) ‘bottom’ (of a boat)
- c. p-e-tɕit (1S), e-tɕit (2S), e-tɕit (3), d-e-tɕit (RFL) ‘pet’
- d. p-i-jutɕ (1S), a-hutɕ (2S), i-jutɕ (3), d-a-hutɕ (RFL) ‘house’
- e. p-o-nta (1S), o-nta (2S), o-nta (3), n-o-nta (RFL) ‘eye’
- f. p-u:-ɬɬa (1S), e:-ɬɬa (2S), u:-ɬɬa (3), d-e:-ɬɬa (RFL) ‘cheek’
- g. p-i-tilta (1S), e-tilta (2S), i-tilta (3), d-e-tilta (RFL) ‘stick’

(33) Ancient Zamuco

- a. y-a-ho (1S), a-ho (2S), a-ho (3), p-a-ho (GF) ‘leather’
- b. y-e-ddo (1S), e-ddo (2S), e-ddo (3), p-e-ddo (GF) ‘eye’
- c. y-i-baya (1S), a-baya (2S), i-baya (3), p-i-baya (GF) ‘excuse’
- d. ch-o-irac (1S), o-irac (2S), o-irac (2S), p-o-irac (GF) ‘what is added’
- e. y-u-cau (1S), a-cau (2S), u-cau (3), p-u-cau (GF) ‘elbow’

The same vocalic patterns are to be observed in verb morphology. In both verb and possessive morphology, /a/ or /e/ in the 2-person was probably the original prefix or part of it, which has overwritten the high vowels (see §3.1). A trace of this is to be found in A.Z *igueda* (/igeda/) (34), where thematic /i/ is not overwritten by /a/. In this case /a/ is clearly analysable as prefix. This is a rare and probably conservative paradigm in Ancient Zamuco. In AY *iguñnai* /igiñaj/ (34) the overwriting of the thematic vowel has been accomplished and /a/ is no longer distinguished from the thematic vowel (34).

(34) Ay. j-i-giṇaj (1S), d-a-giṇaj (2S), i-giṇaj (3), d-a-giṇaj (RFL) ‘house’

A.Z. y-i-gueda (1S), a-i-gueda (2S), i-gueda (3), da-i-gueda (RFL) ‘house’

In the verb morphology of the Zamucoan languages, one can find the same difference concerning the behaviour of high and non-high thematic vowels in the 2-person. High thematic vowels are overwritten by /a/ or /e/ in the 2- and the RFL-person, while non-high thematic vowels overwrite the original prefix vowels /a/ or /e/. In (35-36) one finds examples from Ayoreo and Chamacoco.

(35) Ayoreo

a. j-a-ka, b-a-ka, tɕ-a-ka, j-a-ka-go, wak-a-ka-jo ‘to plant’

b. j-e-do, b-e-do, tɕ-e-do, j-e-do-go, wak-e-do-jo ‘to criticize’

c. j-o-ha-re, b-o-ha-re, tɕ-o-ha-re, j-o-ha-ko, wak-o-ha-tɕo ‘to smell’

d. j-i-go, b-a-go, tɕ-i-go, j-i-go-go, wak-a-go-jo ‘to say’

e. j-u-ga, b-a-ga, tɕ-u-ga, j-u-ga-go, wak-a-ga-jo ‘to sew’

(36) Chamacoco

a. t-a-pur (1S), a-pur (2S), ts-a-pur (3), j-a-pur (1PI), o-j-a-pur (1PE), a-pur-lo (2P), o-ts-apur (3P), l-a-pur (3.IRLS) ‘to ask’

b. t-e-nɕehe (1S), e-nɕehe (2S), tɕ-e-nɕehe (3), j-e-nɕehe (1PI), o-j-e-nɕehe (1PE), e-nɕehelo (2P), o-tɕ-e-nɕehe (3P), n-e-nɕehe (3.IRLS) ‘to remove, to take away’

c. t-o-ntew (1S), o-ntew (2S), ts-o-ntew (3), j-o-ntew (1PI), o-j-o-ntew (1PE), o-ntew-lo (2P), o-ts-ontew (3P), n-o-ntew (3.IRLS) ‘to hold’

d. t-i-jeru (1S), a-heru (2S), ɕ-i-jeru (3), j-i-jeru (1PI), o-j-i-jeru (1PE), a-heru-lo (2P), o-ɕ-i-jeru (3P), d-i-jeru (3.IRLS) ‘to close, to tie’

e. tuk-u:-na (1S), e:-na (2S), tɕ-u:-na (3), j-u:-na (1PI), o-j-u:-na (1PE), e:-n-i-lo (2P), o-tɕ-u:-na (3P), n-u:-na (3.IRLS) ‘to perceive, to feel’

f. tik-i-bitɕ (1S), e-bitɕ (2S), t-i-bitɕ (3), j-i-bitɕ (1PI), o-j-i-bitɕ (1PE), e-bitɕ-lo (2P), o-t-i-bitɕ (3P), t-i-bitɕ (3.IRLS) tɕibitɕ ‘to scream’

In (37-40) AY and CH nominals with thematic /a/ are compared. In this case, the correspondence is very regular. In (41-42) AY /a/ corresponds to CH /e/. In these examples, one can note that AY /a/ can correspond to CH /a/ or /e/, as already seen in the thematic vowel of the verb (§7.2.8) and as will be shown with other possessable nouns (see §11.7, in particular ex. (62-63), (75) and 80)). The correspondence between the two thematic vowels in (43) is irregular.

- (37) Ay. j-a-bi (1S), b-a-bi (2S), a-bi (3), d-a-bi (RFL) ‘child, baby’
 Ch. p-a:p (1S), a:p (2S), a:p (3), d-a:p (RFL) ‘child, baby’
- (38) Ay. j-a-rej (1S), b-a-rej (2S), a-rej (3), d-a-rej (RFL) ‘tongue’
 Ch. p-a-hãrtç (1S), a-hãrtç (2S), a-hãrtç (3), n-a-hãrtç (RFL) ‘tongue’
- (39) Ay. j-a-di (1S), b-a-di (2S), a-di (3), d-a-di (RFL)
 ‘body part; part of things, member of body’
 Ch. p-a:t (1S), a:t (2S), a:t (3), d-a:t (RFL) ‘body, smell’
- (40) Ay. j-a-hugoro (1S), b-a-hugoro (2S), a-hugoro (3), d-a-hugoro (RFL)
 ‘chin, under the chin’
 Ch. p-a-woɰa (1S), a-woɰa (2S), a-woɰa (3), d-a-woɰa (RFL) ‘chin’
- (41) Ay. j-a-hej (1S), b-a-hej (2S), a-hej (3), d-a-hej (RFL) ‘inside of, in the midst of’
 Ch. p-e-het (1S), e-het (2S), ehet (3), d-e-het (RFL) ‘inside of, in the midst of’
- (42) Ay. j-a-kote (1S), b-a-kote (2S), a-kote (3), d-a-kote (RFL) ‘wife’
 Ch. p-e-kuta (1S), e-kuta (2S), e-kuta (3), l-e-kuta (RFL) ‘wife’
- (43) Ay. j-o-rotabidi (1S), b-o-rotabidi (2S), o-rotabidi (3), d-o-rotabidi (RFL) ‘rib’
 Ch. p-a-ɰibitç (1S), a-ɰibitç (2S), a-ɰibitç (3), d-a-ɰibitç (RFL) ‘rib’

In (44-46) one finds examples of nominals with thematic /i/ in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco. Here too, the Chamacoco 2S-vowel /e/ or /a/²⁷³ usually corresponds to AY /a/. In the Ayoreo 2-person form *bei* /bej/ (46), the thematic vowel is preserved before the 2-vowel /e/. Such an irregularity in Ayoreo corresponds to a regularity in Chamacoco, as shown in the inflection of *iich* /i:-tç/.

- (44) Ay. j-u-ɲari (1S), b-a-ɲari (2S), u-ɲari (3), d-a-ɲari (RFL) ‘breath, respiration’
 Ch. p-i-jertç (1S), a-jertç (2S), i-jertç (3), d-a-jertç (RFL) ‘breath, breathing’
- (45) Ay. j-i-giosi (1S), b-a-giosi (2S), i-giosi (3), d-a-giosi (RFL) ‘relatives’
 Ch. p-i-sit (1S), ej-sit (2S), i-sit (3), d-ej-sit (RFL) ‘relatives’
 A.Z. y-i-guioz (1S), a-guioz (2S), i-guioz (3), guioz (GF) ‘relative’

²⁷³ In (45), the presence of /ej/ in the slot of the thematic vowel is considered a subcase of /e/ (§10.4.4).

- (46) Ay. j-i (1S), b-e-j (2S), i (3), d-e-j (RFL) ‘name’
 Ch. p-i-tɕ (1S), e:j-tɕ (2S), i-tɕ (3), d-e:j-tɕ (RFL) ‘name’

In (47-49) one finds CH and AY cognate nominals with thematic /u/. The Ayoreo 2-vowel /a/ corresponds to CH /e/. *Utusht* /utuɕt/ probably results from the merger of two words, as one can see in its Ayoreo counterparts (50).

- (47) Ay. j-u-ri (1S), b-a-ri (2S), u-ri (3), d-a-ri (RFL) ‘dream’
 Ch. p-u-rtɕ (1S), e:-rtɕ (2S), u:-rtɕ (3), d-e:-rtɕ (RFL) ‘dream’

- (48) Ay. j-u-di (1S), b-a-di (2S), u-di (3), d-a-di (RFL) ‘under, below, underneath’
 Ch. p-u:-t (1S), e:-t (2S), u:-t (3), d-e:-t (RFL) ‘under, below, underneath’

- (49) Ay. j-u-kuge (1S), b-a-kuge (2S), u-kuge (3), d-a-kuge (RFL)
 ‘fire stick, stick which has fire on one end’
 Ch. p-u-kutit (1S), e-kutit (2S), u-kutit (3), d-e-kutit (RFL) ‘cooking fire’

- (50) Ay. j-u-tasi (1S), b-a-tasi (2S), u-tasi (3), d-a-tasi (RFL) ‘vein, artery’
 Ay. j-ẽ-tasi (1S), b-ẽ-tasi (2S), ẽ-tasi (3), d-ẽ-tasi (RFL) ‘root of plant’
 Ch. p-u-tuɕt (1S), e-tiɕt (2S), u-tuɕt (3), d-e-tiɕt (RFL) ‘vein, root’

CH /i/ is not present in either Ayoreo or Ancient Zamuco. When it is a thematic vowel, /i/ generally corresponds to /u/ (51-53) or /i/ (54) in Ayoreo. In this case too, AY /a/ in the 2-person may correspond to CH /a/ (51-52) or /e/ (53-54). In (55) the Chamacoco 2S-vowel /e/ was probably the original thematic vowel in the whole paradigm, as it emerges from the comparison with Ayoreo, where the thematic vowel is /e/. The same could also be true of the pair of nouns in (56).

- (51) Ay. j-u-mahosõri (1S), b-a-mahosõri (2S), u-mahosõri (3), d-a-mahosõri (RFL) ‘enemy’
 Ch. p-i-mehet (1S), a-mehet (2S), i-mehet (3), n-a-mehet (RFL) ‘enemy’

- (52) Ay. j-u-tɕaj (1S), b-a-tɕaj (2S), u-tɕaj (3), d-a-tɕaj (RFL) ‘excrement, feces, dung’
 Ch. p-i-tɕit (1S), a-tsit (2S), i-tɕit (3), d-a-tsit (RFL) ‘excrement, feces, dung’

- (53) Ay. j-u-gutadi (1S), b-a-gutadi (2S), u-gutadi (3), d-a-gutadi (RFL)
 ‘pillow, cushion’
 Ch. p-i-titɕ (1S), e-titɕ (2S), i-titɕ (3), d-e-titɕ (RFL) ‘pillow’

(54) Ay. j-i-garubi (1S), b-a-garubi (2S), i-garubi (3), d-a-garubi (RFL) ‘woven or worn belt’
 Ch. p-i-hiroçt (1S), e-hiroçt / e-heroçt (2S), i-hiroçt (3), d-e-hiroçt (RFL) ‘belt’

(55) Ay. j-e-rubi (1S), e-rubi (2S), e-rubi (3), d-e-rubi (RFL) ‘urine’
 Ch. p-i-hirbitç (1S), e-hirbitç / e-herbitç (2S), i-hirbitç (3), d-e-hirbitç (RFL)
 ‘urine’

(56) Ay. j-e-roj (1S), b-e-roj (2S), e-roj (3), d-e-roj (RFL) ‘firewood’
 Ch. p-u-rtç (1S), e-rtç (2S), u-rtç (3), d-e-rtç (RFL) ‘piece of wood’

§11.6 Prefixal nouns

AY and CH prefixal nouns may share the same morphological devices. The most frequently used prefix is /d/- (57), with its nasal counterpart /n/- (58). The prefix /k/- is also found in both languages (59).

(57) Ay. j-u-kari (1S), b-a-kari (2S), d-u-kari (3), d-a-kari (RFL) ‘thread, string’
 Ch. p-u-çurtç (1S), e-çurtç (2S), d-u-çurtç (3), d-e-çurtç (RFL) ‘nail’

(58) Ay. j-ẽ-ri (1S), b-ẽ-ri (2S), n-e-ri (3), n-e-ri (RFL) ‘uncle, mother's brother’
 Ch. p-e-rmitç (1S), e-rmitç (2S), n-e-rmitç (3), nermitç (RFL) ‘uncle’

(59) Ay. j-a-kadi (1S), b-a-kadi (2S), k-a-kadi (3), d-a-kadi (RFL) ‘entrance’
 Ch. p-i-tita (1S), e-tita (2S), k-e-tita (3), d-e-tita (RFL) ‘knee’

§11.7 Kinship terms

In both Ayoreo and Chamacoco, most kinship terms are prefixal nouns with the 3-prefix /d/- or /n/-. Usually they share the same thematic vowel (60). AY /a/ (not always the thematic vowel in the following examples) corresponds to CH /e/ (61-64), as already seen in verb morphology and thematic nouns (§11.5).

- (60) Ay. j-ẽ-ri (1S), b-ẽ-ri (2S), n-e-ri (3/RFL) ‘uncle, mother's brother’
Ch. p-e-rmit̩ (1S), e-rmit̩ (2S), n-e-rmit̩ (3/RFL) ‘uncle’
- (61) Ay. kode / j-i-kode (1S), b-a-kode (2S), d-a-kode (3/RFL) ‘grandmother’
Ch. p-e-kita (1S), e-kita (2S), l-/d-e-kita (3/RFL) ‘grandmother’
- (62) Ay. j-a-kide (1S), b-a-kide (2S), d-a-kide (3/RFL) ‘grandfather’
Ch. p-e-kit̩ / p-e-kit̩ (1S), e-kit̩ / e-kit̩ (2S), d-e-kit̩ / d-e-kit̩ (3/RFL) ‘grandfather’
- (63) Ay. j-a-haj (1S), b-a-haj (2S), d-a-haj (3/RFL) ‘brother, of a woman’ (also: dajaté)
Ch. p-e-hebit̩ (1S), e-hebit̩ (2S), d-e-hebit̩ (3/RFL) ‘brother of a woman’
- (64) Ay. i-tigate / j-i-tigate (1S), b-atigate (2S), d-a-tigate (3/RFL) ‘older brother of a man’
Ch. p-e-ti:bit̩ (1S), e-ti:bit̩ (2S), d-e-ti:bit̩ (3/RFL) ‘older brother of a man’

The 1S-person of ‘mother’ (65) is irregular in all Zamucoan languages. The fact that *ote* is reported in both Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco suggests that this form is very old and that AY *ite* is probably a more innovative form. In Chamacoco a Spanish form is used for the 1S-person, while in Ayoreo a regularized form is also used. In (66) both Ayoreo and Chamacoco have an independent innovation, because a loan is observed in the 1S-person: Spanish *papa* in Chamacoco and *yapade* /*japade*/ in Ayoreo. This last word reminds of *Dupade* ‘God’, a loanword dating back to the Jesuit period (from Chiquitano *Tupas* ‘God’ or Spanish *tu padre* ‘your father’).

- (65) Ay. ite / j-a-te (1S), b-a-te (2S), d-a-te (3/RFL) ‘mother’
Ch. ote / mama (2S), a-ta (2S), d-a-ta (3/RFL) ‘mother’
A.Z. ote (1S), date (3), az-ote (1P), ay-ate (2P) ‘mother’
- (66) Ay. j-a-pade / j-a-j (1S), b-a-j / b-a-je (2S), d-a-j / d-a-je (3/RFL) ‘father’
Ch. papa / p-e-jt̩ (1S), e-jt̩ (2S), l-/d-e-jt̩ (3/RFL) ‘father’

The presence of the prefix /d/ or /n/- in the 3-person is probably due to the fact that the 3-person has assimilated to the RFL-person. As a consequence, the 1-vowel can be different from the 3-vowel. The 1-vowel might look irregular, but is the original thematic vowel which has undergone a change in the 3-person. In the following examples (67-72), the Ayoreo 1-vowel /i/ and CH /i/ or /i/ should be considered the thematic vowel. The Ayoreo and

Chamacoco 1-vowels match in (67-70). In (71-72) only the CH nouns show the 1S-vowels /i/ and /i/, corresponding to AY /a/ and /e/ respectively. This suggests that the original thematic vowel was preserved in Chamacoco, while ‘regularization’ has probably occurred in Ayoreo, where the thematic vowels are now /a/ and /e/.

(67) Ay. j-i-ŋoŋamia (1S), b-a-ŋoŋamia (2S), d-a-ŋoŋamia (3/RFL) ‘aunt, father’s sister’

Ch. p-i-ŋemtɕa / p-e-ŋemtɕa (1S), a-ŋemtɕa (2S), n-a-ŋemtɕa (3/RFL) ‘aunt’

(also: nane:mtɕa)

(68) Ay. j-ĩ-sarai (1S), b-ã-sarai (2S), n-a-sarai (3/RFL) ‘son-in-law’

Ch. p-i-çẽ:t (1S), a-sẽ:t (2S), d-/l-a-sẽ:t (3/RFL) ‘son-in-law’

(69) Ay. j-i-karia (1S), b-a-karia (2S), d-a-karia (3/RFL) ‘daughter-in-law’

Ch. p-i-kehe:ɬa (1S), a-kaha:ɬa (2S), l-akaha:ɬa (3/RFL) ‘daughter-in-law’

(70) Ay. i-na (1S), b-e-na (2S), n-e-na (3/RFL) ‘sister’

Ch. p-i-nimitɕa (1S), a-nimitɕa (2S), n-a-nimitɕa (3/RFL) ‘sister’ (also: nanimitɕa)

(71) Ay. j-a-terama (1S), b-a-terama (2S), d-a-terama (3/RFL) ‘aunt, mother’s sister’

(also: daterã, dateramia)

Ch. p-i-te:mtɕa / p-i-te:mtɕa / p-a-te:mtɕa (1S), a-te:mtɕa (2S), l-/d-a-te:mtɕa (3/RFL)

‘aunt, mother’s sister’ (also: late:mtɕa; plural: latermi)

(72) Ay. j-e-saj (1S), b-e-saj (2S), d-e-saj (3/RFL) ‘brother, younger’

Ch. p-i-çibitɕ (1S), e-çibitɕ (2S), l-/d-e-çibitɕ (3/RFL) ‘brother’

However, not all kinship terms take the prefix /d/- or /n/- in the 3-person: ‘husband’ (73) and ‘grandson’ (74) are thematic nouns in both languages, as ‘wife’, AY. *acoté* /akote/ (3), CH. *ekuta* (3) (see ex. (42)). In (75-77) the CH noun is prefixal, while its Ayoreo counterpart is thematic. In (78) the opposite situation is shown. Note that in (77) the CH term for ‘mother-in-law’, *dohota*, is derived from the masculine *dohot* ‘father-in-law’. The latter word does not correspond to ‘father-in-law’ in Ayoreo, because it has a different root.

(73) Ay. j-a-baj (1S), b-a-baj (2S), a-baj (3), d-a-baj (RFL) ‘husband’

Ch. p-a-bitɕ (1S), a-bitɕ (2S), a-bitɕ (3), d-a-bitɕ (RFL) ‘husband’ (also: abey)

- (74) Ay. *n-a-ṅami* (1S), *m-a-ṅami* (2S), *a-ṅami* (3), *n-a-ṅami* (RFL) ‘grandson’
 Ch. *p-a-ṅimitɕ* (1S), *a-ṅimitɕ* (2S), *a-ṅimitɕ* (3), *n-a-ṅimitɕ* (RFL) ‘grandson’
- (75) Ay. *j-a-buhi* (1S), *b-a-buhi* (2S), *a-buhi* (3), *d-a-buhi* (RFL) ‘nephew, woman’s brother’
 Ch. *p-e-bihit* (1S), *e-bihit* (2S), *d-e-bihit* (3), *d-e-bihit* (RFL) ‘nephew, woman’s brother’
 (also: *debihitɕ*)
- (76) Ay. *j-a-buhia* (1S), *b-a-buhia* (2S), *a-buhia* (3), *d-a-buhia* (RFL)
 ‘niece, woman’s brother’s daughter’
 Ch. *p-e-bihita* (1S), *e-bihita* (2S), *d-e-bihita* (3), *d-e-bihita* (RFL)
 ‘niece, woman’s brother’s daughter’ (also: *debihitɕa* / *debuhutɕa*)
- (77) Ay. *j-e-ho* (1S), *b-e-ho* (2S), *e-ho* (3), *d-e-ho* (RFL) ‘mother-in-law’
 Ch. *p-o-hota* (1S), *o-hota* (2S), *d-o-hota* (3/RFL) ‘mother-in-law’
 cf. *ijokiṅaj* (3) ‘father-in-law’ (Ay.) vs. *lohot* (3) ‘father-in-law’ (Ch.)
- (78) Ay. *j-a-kerã* (1S), *b-a-kerã* (2S), *d-a-kerã* (3), *d-a-kerã* (RFL)
 ‘uncle, father’s brother’ (3/RFL also: *daqueramai*)
 Ch. *p-i-kĩmitɕ* (1S), *e-kĩmitɕ* (2S), *i-kĩmitɕ* (3), *d-e-kĩmitɕ* (RFL) ‘uncle’

In examples (79-82) one finds cognate nouns which do not belong to the same inflectional class: AY *jogadi* /*hogadi*/ (79) is a radical noun which corresponds to CH *owich* /*owitɕ*/, a thematic noun. *Gachidi* /*gatɕidi*/ (80) and *gajnesóri* /*gaṅesóri*/ (81) show the 3-prefix /*g*/. The phoneme /*g*/ does not exist in Chamacoco. Therefore, AY /*g*/ sometimes corresponds to \emptyset in Chamacoco, as in the thematic noun *echit* /*etɕit*/ (80). AY /*g*/ can also correspond to CH /*j*/, as in *y-i-nsĩrc* /*j-i-nsĩrtɕ*/ (81). In the latter case, both nouns belong yet to the same inflectional class.

Cognate words can have different functions: AY *gachidi* /*gatɕidi*/ is a possessive classifier, while *echit* /*etɕit*/ does not have such a function, because only one possessive classifier has so far been observed in Chamacoco. In (82), as in examples (75-78), a CH prefixal noun corresponds to an AY thematic noun.

- (79) Ay. *j-i-hogadi* (1S), *b-a-hogadi* (2S), \emptyset - \emptyset -*hogadi* (3), *d-a-hogadi* (RFL) ‘place’
 (base-form: *hogat*)
 Ch. *p-o-witɕ* (1S), *o-witɕ* (2S), *o-witɕ* (3), *d-o-witɕ* / *d-a-witɕ* (RFL) ‘place’²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Cf. Wichi [wet] ‘place’ (Viñas Urquiza 1974: II, 109).

- (80) Ay. j-a-t̥idi (1S), b-a-t̥idi (2S), g-a-t̥idi (3), d-a-t̥idi (RFL)
 ‘pet, domesticated animal, vehicle’ (base-form: gat̥it)
 Ch. p-e-t̥it (1S), e-t̥it (2S), e-t̥it (3), d-e-t̥it (RFL) ‘pet, domesticated animal’
- (81) Ay. j-a-ɲesōri (1S), b-a-ɲesōri (2S), g-a-ɲesōri (3), d-a-ɲesōri (RFL)
 ‘owner, master, possessor’
 Ch. p-i-ns̥irt̥ (1S), e-ns̥irt̥ (2S), j-i-ns̥irt̥ (3), n-e-ns̥irt̥ (RFL) ‘master, owner, employer’
- (82) Ay. j-u-suguruj (1S), b-a-suguruj (2S), u-suguruj (3), d-a-suguruj (RFL)
 ‘fingernail, claw, hoof’
 Ch. p-u-çurt̥ (1S), e-çurt̥ (2S), d-u-çurt̥ (3), d-e-çurt̥ (RFL) ‘fingernail, toenail’

§11.8 Radical nouns

In examples (83-84) two radical nouns, ‘hand’ and ‘forearm’, are compared. In both languages ‘forearm’ derives from ‘hand’. The AY vocalic pattern is /i/-/a/-Ø, which corresponds to /i/-/a/-Ø in Chamacoco. This correspondence has already been pointed out in the verb (85). The vocalic pattern of CH radical nouns, however, presents more variability than that of AY radical nouns (see §9.7), as one can see in the possible alternation between /i/ and /o/ in the 1S-person (83-84), which has no corresponding example in Ayoreo. In both languages the root-initial consonant undergoes fortition in the 3-person (86-87): /m/ and /b/ turn into /p/ word-initially. This change is also found in Ancient Zamuco (89) and in AY and CH verb morphology (90).

In (83) and (86) the AY first root-vowel is only to be found in the Chamacoco 3-person, but not in the rest of the paradigm, where it turns into /i/. This suggests that in this respect the Chamacoco 3-person is more conservative than the rest of the paradigm. In conclusion, in both verb and noun morphology, the comparison shows that in the Zamucoan languages the 3-person can be innovative in the root-initial consonant, but the Chamacoco 3-person may occasionally preserve the original first root-vowel.

- (83) Ay. j-i-ɲanaj (1S), b-a-ɲanaj (2S), Ø-Ø-ɲanaj (3), d-a-ɲanaj (RFL) ‘hand’
 Ch. p-i-ɲita / p-o-ɲita (1S), a-ɲita (2S), Ø-Ø-ɲita (3), n-a-ɲita (RFL) ‘hand’

- (84) Ay. j-i-ṃanekaj (1S), b-a-ṃanekaj (2S), Ø-Ø-ṃanekaj (3), d-a-ṃanekaj (RFL) ‘forearm’
Ch. p-i-ṃikit / p-o-ṃikit (1S), a-ṃikit (2S), Ø-Ø-ṃejkit (3), n-a-ṃikit (RFL) ‘forearm’
- (85) Ay. j-i-pati-ha (1S), b-a-pati-ha (2S), Ø-Ø-p-a-ti-ha (3), j-i-pati-go-ha (1P),
wak-a-pati-jo-ha (2P) ‘endure, remain firm’
Ch. tik-i-pim (1S), a-pim (2S), Ø-Ø-pojm (3), j-u-pim (1PI), o-j-u-pim (1PE), a-pim-lo (2P),
o-pojm (3P) ‘to be ashamed’
- (86) Ay. j-i-boti (1S), b-a-boti (2S), Ø-Ø-poti (3), d-a-poti (RFL) ‘food’
Ch. p-o-bičt (1S), a-bičt (2S), Ø-Ø-poçt (3), d-a-bičt (RFL) ‘food’
- (87) Ay. j-i-mataraj (1S), b-a-mataraj (2S), Ø-Ø-pātaraj (3), d-a-mataraj (RFL) ‘tooth’
Ch. p-o-bitēt (1S), a-bitēt (2S), Ø-Ø-potēt (3), l-/d-a-bitēt (RFL) ‘tooth’ (plural: potēre)
- (88) Ay. j-i-taroj (1S), b-a-taroj (2S), Ø-Ø-taroj (3), d-a-taroj (RFL) ‘brain; top of head’
Ch. p-i-tirpita (1S), e-tirpita (2S), Ø-Ø-tirpita (3), d-e-tirpita (RFL) ‘brain’
- (89) A.Z. y-i-bidit (1S), a-bidit (2S), Ø-Ø-pidit (3), p-i-bidit (GF) ‘who/what is called’
from: t-i-bidi (3) ‘to call’
- (90) Ay. j-i-bo (1S), b-a-bo (2S), Ø-Ø-po (3), j-i-bo-go (1P), wak-a-bo-jo (2P) ‘to cry’
Ch. t-o-bita (1S), a-bita (2S), Ø-Ø-pota (3), j-o-bita (1PI), o-j-o-bita (1PE),
a-bitī-lo (2P), o-pota (3P) ‘to envy, to lust after’

§11.9 Generic forms and non-possessable nouns: a comparison

In this section, GFs and non-possessable nouns are compared. Section §11.9.1 deals with the GF. Some non-possessable nouns in a Zamucoan language may correspond to a GF, to the root of a possessable noun or to the 3-person in another language (§11.9.2). Section §11.9.3 lists nouns which are non-possessable in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco.

§11.9.1 The generic form

In Ancient Zamuco, the GF is generally obtained by means of the prefix /p/- (91-93). The thematic vowel is the same as that of possessed forms. This is

also the most frequent device to obtain the GF in Ayoreo (94). In Chamacoco, the prefix /p/- is used for the 1S-person, but there is no relation with the GF prefix. The GFs of A.Z and AY radical nouns (92-93, 95-96) present the inflectional vowel /i/ and the prefix /p/-. According to Chomé's data, most, but not all, nominals have a GF: in *güague* /gwage/ (97), the 3-person form, that is the base of possessive inflection, is also used when the possessor is not expressed (as in most CH nouns).

- (91) A.Z. a-cac (3), p-a-cac (GF) 'what is planted'
- (92) A.Z. y-i-noriga (1S), a-noriga (2S), Ø-Ø-noriga (3), p-i-noriga (GF) 'way',
from: no (3) 'to go'
- (93) A.Z. y-i-bidit (1S), a-bidit (2S), Ø-Ø-pidit (3), p-i-bidit (GF)
'who/what is called' from: t-i-bidi (3) 'to call'
- (94) Ay. a-kadisōri (3), p-a-kadisōri (GF) 'teacher'
- (95) Ay. Ø-Ø-kasitigaj (3); p-i-kasitigaj (GF) 'courage'
- (96) Ay. j-i-boti (1S), b-a-boti (2S), Ø-Ø-poti (3); p-i-boti (GF) 'food'
- (97) A.Z. y-u-ague (1S), a-gue (2S), g-ü-ague (3/GF) 'family'

Although the Ancient Zamuco GF is usually obtained from the noun theme, the GF occasionally coincides with the root, as in (98-101). One possibility is that the noun theme is obtained in such cases by adding the default thematic vowel /i/ (or /u/) to the GF. In (100-101) root-initial /r/ undergoes fortition and turns into /d/ word-initially, that is in the GF.

- (98) A.Z. y-i-guioz (1S), a-guioz (2S), i-guioz (3), Ø-Ø-guioz (GF) 'relative'
- (99) A.Z. y-i-podduo (1S), a-podduo (2S), i-podduo (3), Ø-Ø-podduo (GF) 'lungs'
- (100) A.Z. y-i-raogenna (1S), a-raogenna (2S), i-raogenna (3), Ø-Ø-daoguenna (GF) 'mortar'
- (101) A.Z. y-u-rahec (1S), a-rahec (2S), u-rahec (3), Ø-Ø-dahec (GF) 'path'

If the above hypothesis is correct, the theme of the possessive forms can derive from the GF in Ayoreo too, when it corresponds to the root (102-103), cf. §9.9. The AY cognate of (101) exhibits the same fortition of root-initial /r/ in the GF (103).

- (102) Ay. Ø-Ø-popej (GF), j-i-popej (1S), b-a-popej (2S), i-popej (3) 'comb'
- (103) Ay. Ø-Ø-dahej (GF), j-ũ-rahej (1S), b-ã-rahej (2S), ã-rahej (3) 'path'

The Ancient Zamuco GF of *iterepec* /iterepek/, *pepec* /pepek/ (104), is irregular. Ayoreo shares the same exception in the GF of *itarâpei* /itarãpej/.

(104) Ay. *pepej* (GF), *i-tarãpej* (3) ‘what is used to cover’

A.Z. *y-i-terepec* (1S), *a-terepec* (2S), *i-terepec* (3), *pepec* (GF) ‘tissue’

Also other GF prefixes are used, such as /d/- (105), /dVk/- (106), /g/ or /k/- (107). The prefix /d/- is to be found in Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco for the GF (105). The AY counterpart of the Ancient Zamuco GF *ducoz* /dukos/ is *ducosi* /dukosi/ ‘fever sickness’ (105), a non-possessable noun. The prefix /dVk/- is observed in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco (106). The prefix /g/-, used in Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo for the GF, corresponds to the CH prefix /k/-.²⁷⁵

(105) Ch. *i-tçit* (3), *d-i-tçit* (GF) ‘intestine, dung’

A.Z. *y-u-hoz* (1S), *a-hoz* (2S), *u-hoz* (3), *d-u-coz* (GF) ‘disease’

cf. Ay. *dukosi* (GF.MS.FF) ‘fever sickness’

(106) Ay. *i-joj* (3), *dik-i-joj* (GF) ‘blood’

Ch. *i-tçibitç* (3), *dik-i-tçibitç* (GF) ‘spirit, ghost; image, photo’

(107) Ay. *i-giñaj* (3), *g-i-giñaj* (GF) ‘house’

Ch. *i:-bitç* (3), *k-i:-bitç* (GF) ‘smoke’

A.Z. *y-i-gueda* (1S), *a-i-gueda* (2S), *i-gueda* (3), *d-a-i-gueda* (RFL),
gu-i-gueda (GF) ‘house’

§11.9.2 Generic forms vs. non-possessable nouns

Only a few GFs are to be observed in Chamacoco, where the possessive inflection is no longer productive. This is probably due to intense linguistic contact with Spanish. In spite of a limited number of occurrences, the morphology of the Chamacoco GF shows some variability of forms. In (108-119) AY possessable nouns are compared with CH non-possessable nouns. In (108-112) the CH non-possessable noun corresponds to the Ayoreo GF. The

²⁷⁵ Note that also /k/- is found in Ayoreo, although it is very rare (see §9.9, ex. (56)). In examples (106-107) the CH words are not cognate of the other Zamucoan words. However, the morphological devices used are the same.

latter consists of the pure noun root in (108-111). In (112) the Ayoreo GF obtained via the prefix /dVk/- corresponds to the CH non-possessable noun.

- (108) Ay. Ø-Ø-kutɕaj (GF) ‘thing’; u-gutɕaj (3) ‘thing’
 Ch. Ø-Ø-kutɕit (NPS) ‘thing’
- (109) Ay. Ø-Ø-bora (GF), i-bora (3) ‘article of clothing, general term’
 Ch. bortɕit (NPS) ‘clothing’
- (110) Ay. Ø-Ø-dahej (GF), ũ-rahej (3) ‘path’;
 Ch. dehet (NPS) ‘path’
 A.Z. Ø-Ø-dahec (GF), u-rahec (3) ‘path’
- (111) Ay. Ø-Ø-purudi (GF), u-burudi (3) ‘shade’ (base-form: purut)
 Ch. purɕtɕ (NPS) ‘shade, shadow’
- (112) Ay. duk-o-de (GF), o-de (3) ‘tomb, grave’
 Ch. dukuta / lukuta (NPS) ‘cemetery’

In (113-114) the CH non-possessable noun reminds of the forms reported in Ayoreo. In (115) CH *dīt/dut* corresponds to the root of *idai* /*idaj*/. In (116-117) two AY forms ending in *-/sōri/* and *-/ɲori/* convey the same meaning and correspond to two CH nouns: the first is possessable (116), while the second is non-possessable (117). In (117-119) the CH non-possessable noun corresponds to the Ayoreo 3-person.

- (113) Ay. j-u-tɕakepie (1S), b-a-tɕakepie (2S), u-tɕakepie (3), d-a-tɕakepie (RFL)
 ‘outhouse, toilet’
 Ch. dɕɕipita (NPS) ‘outhouse, bathroom, toilet’
- (114) Ay. j-o-sōrasōri (1S), o-sōrasōri (2S), o-sōrasōri (3), d-o-sōrasōri (RFL)
 ‘one who is merciful, compassionate’
 Ch. josɕrsɕrtɕ (NPS) ‘liberator, merciful person’
- (115) Ay. g-i-daj (GF), i-daj (3) ‘village; town’
 Ch. dīt / dut (NPS) ‘village’

- (116) Ay. j-i-sōri (1S), b-e-sōri (2S), j-u-sōri (3), d-e-sōri (RFL)
 ‘killer; winner in a game’
 Ch. p-i-rsĩrt̩ç (1S), e-rsĩrt̩ç (2S), i-rsĩrt̩ç (3), d-e-rsĩrt̩ç (RFL) ‘winner’²⁷⁶
- (117) Ay. j-i-ŋori (1S), b-e-ŋori (2S), j-u-ŋori (3), d-e-ŋori (RFL)
 ‘killer; winner in a game’
 Ch. juwĩrt̩ç (NPS) ‘killer’
- (118) Ay. j-a-sōre (1S), b-a-sōre (2S), a-sōre (3), d-a-sōre (RFL) ‘lance’
 Ch. asõɫja (NPS) ‘lance’
- (119) Ay. j-ũ-riaroj (1S), b-ã-riaroj (2), ã-riaroj (3), d-ẽ-riaroj (3)
 ‘molar; hinge of jawbone’
 Ch. irũrt̩ç / irũrt / urũrt̩ç (GF) ‘tooth’

The opposite situation is shown in (120), an isolated case. The AY noun *bisidi* is non-possessable, but its CH counterpart has possessive inflection. No other similar examples are to be observed. In conclusion, the possessive inflection of Chamacoco is no longer productive and the data in the above examples show that the tendency to lose possessive inflection has also occurred with indigenous words.

- (120) Ay. bisidi (NPS) ‘medicine’
 Ch. p-imiçt̩ (1S), e-miçt̩ (2S), i-miçt̩ (3), n-e-miçt̩ (RFL) ‘medicine’

§11.9.3 Ayoreo vs. Chamacoco non-possessable nouns

Example (121) provides some nouns with no possessive inflection in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco. Some of these are animal nouns, which are non-possessable in both languages.

- (121) a. Ay. kukarani (NPS.MS) ‘mountain, hill’; kukarane (NPS.FS) ‘rock, stone, gem’
 Ch. koxãt̩ç (NPS) ‘stone; mountain, hill’
 b. Ay. diri (NPS) ‘day’
 Ch. de:jt̩ç (NPS) ‘day’

²⁷⁶ *ĩrsĩrc* /*ĩrsĩrt̩ç*/ also means ‘rope’.

- c. Ay. edorobe (NPS) ‘rabbit; hare’
Ch. eribit (NPS.MS), eribita (NPS.FS) ‘rabbit’
- d. Ay. hoŋoŋo (NPS) ‘large toad’
Ch. jōkokota (NPS) ‘toad’
- e. Ay. ŋakari (NPS) ‘young man’
Ch. ŋakirbitɕ (NPS) ‘man’
- f. Ay. ŋakaripitaj (NPS) ‘young teenaged man’
Ch. ŋakirbitit (NPS) ‘young man’
- g. Ay. ŋumi (NPS) ‘earth; ground; floor; dust’
Ch. ŋimitɕ (NPS) ‘land, ground’
- h. Ay. hutikaj (NPS) ‘horsefly’
Ch. hutukita (NPS) ‘horsefly (tabano mbutú)’
- i. Ay. otadi (NPS) ‘juice, broth, liquid’
Ch. otitɕ (NPS) ‘liquid, juice’
- j. Ay. kikiabia (NPS) ‘bird, parakeet’
Ch. kirkirbitɕa (NPS) ‘type of bird’

§11.10 Possessive classifiers

As already noted, (§9.1), Ayoreo is very rich in possessive classifiers (Fabre 2007b), while only one element emerges in Chamacoco. An AY possessive classifier, such as *gachidi* /gatɕidi/, can correspond to a CH possessable noun, such as *echit* /etɕit/ (see §11.7, ex. (80)). CH *uhut* corresponds to AY *ujoi* /uhoj/. Like *uhut*, *ujoi* indicates relationship or fellowship between the possessee and the possessor. *Ujoi* does not appear in the list of possessive classifiers provided by Fabre (2007b: 80), but, as one can see in example (122), it clearly has the function of a possessive classifier.²⁷⁷ The possessee in (122) is *ayorei* /ajorej/, which is non-possessable and appears in base-form, while the possessive classifier appears in full-form, as expected (see §9.1).

²⁷⁷ There are morphosyntactic reasons to surmise that *uhut* and *ujoi* are classifiers, but the anomaly here is that, at least in some cases, such classifiers could be regarded not only as the morphosyntactic head, but also as the semantic head (cf., for instance, §10, ex. (66-68)). *Uhut* and *ujoi* are relational classifiers according to the definition of Lichtenberk (1983), but this type of classifier is regarded as a subtype of possessive classifier by Fabre (2007b).

- (122) Uyu ga y-igaid-i tu ujetiga y-uj-ode ayore-o ore
 /uju ga j-igaid-i tu uhetiga j-uh-ode ajore-o ore
 1S then 1S-intention-MS.FF is COMP 1S-PCL_fellow-MP.FF person-MP.BF 3P
 nina raque jnese ome y-a-tigo jnese.
 /nina rake ŋese ome j-a-tigo ŋese/
 3.welcome themselves all with 1S-manner-MP.IF all
 ‘It is my intention that all my people are happy with all my ways to behave.’
 (NTM, Corithians 10,33)

At the morphological level, both *ujoi* and *uhut* have irregular possessive inflection showing the same kind of irregularity. As one can see in (123), *ujoi* also has a lexical meaning (unlike *uhut*). The 2-vowel is irregular. The Chamacoco 2-person vowel is thematic /u/, rather than /e/ or /a/, as expected, and in Ayoreo it is /o/, while /a/ would be expected.

- (123) Ay. j-u-hoj (1S), b-o-hoj (2S), u-hoj (3), d-o-hoj (RFL), jok-u-hoj (1P), wak-o-hoj (2P)
 ‘fellow’
 Ch. p-u-hut (1S.PCL_fellow), u-hut (2S.PCL_fellow), u-hut (3.PCL_fellow),
 d-u-hut (RFL.PCL_fellow)

A morphosyntactic difference between the use of general classifiers in Ayoreo and Chamacoco should be highlighted. In Ayoreo (§9.1) the possessive classifier may appear in full-form (according to the syntactic shape of the sentence), while the following possessee must appear in base-form. By contrast, CH *uhut* agrees in gender, number and form with the possessee which follows (see §10.9 and §13.8).

§11.11 Conclusions

This chapter has compared the possessive inflection of Ancient Zamuco, Ayoreo and Chamacoco. Some morphological similarities have emerged: in all Zamucoan languages possessable nouns have the same morphological structure; there are the same inflectional classes; the behaviour of the thematic vowel is similar; the RFL-person is the same. Some similarities between verb inflection and possessive inflection also emerge. GFs have similar morphology and a non-

possessable noun in a Zamucoan language often corresponds to the root or an inflected form in another language. Finally, the only possessive classifier to be found in Chamacoco, *uhut*, corresponds to the AY possessive classifier *ujoi* /*uhoj*/. Both classifiers present a similar irregularity in the 2-vowel. In conclusion, the comparison between the possessive inflection of the Zamucoan languages confirms that these languages have a common ancestor.

FOURTH PART: NOMINAL SUFFIXATION

This part describes in detail the nominal suffixation of the Zamucoan languages. In all Zamucoan languages the difference between adjective and nouns is a semantic one. At the morphological level, the adjective does not take possessive inflection, but there is no difference between nouns and adjectives in suffixation, so that they will jointly be referred to as ‘nominals’. Nominals can be inflected for:

- (1) Gender (masculine and feminine);
- (2) Number (singular and plural);
- (3) Form (base-form, full-form and indeterminate-form).

Since these features are encoded in the same morpheme, the Zamucoan languages are fusional. Therefore the present analysis of inflectional morphology in the Zamucoan nominals will be based on the “form”, so that number and gender will be discussed in relation to it. Although the uses of each form depend on the single language, the BF is generally used for nominal predication, while the IF refers to non-specific referents. The BF is so-called, because it is often the starting point of any morphological operation. In Ayoreo and in Ancient Zamuco the singular BF coincides with the root.²⁷⁸ In Chamacoco, where some nominals have lost the singular BF vs. FF opposition, the former also coincided with the original root. The FF is used as dictionary entry by Higham *et al.* (2000) for Ayoreo and will be the citation form used in this work. In the Zamucoan languages there is no correlation between prefixation (which expresses the possessor) and suffixation. Sections §12 and §13 describe the morphology of nominal suffixation and the use of the forms in Ayoreo and Chamacoco, respectively. In §14, after a short description of A.Z nominal suffixation, the nominal suffixation of the Zamucoan languages is compared.

²⁷⁸ The only exception are the feminine nominals derived from a MS-BF by means of the suffix *-e/*, see §12.4.

§12 Ayoreo nominal suffixation

The present chapter deals with the nominal suffixation of Ayoreo. I start with the expression of the BF and FF in masculine (§12.1) and feminine nominals (§12.2). The diminutive is addressed in §12.3. Section §12.4 discusses gender derivation. Section §12.5 describes the morphology of the IF. Section §12.9 gives an overview of the morphosyntax of BF, FF and IF. Then, some derivational mechanisms are analysed, with a focus on the interaction between BF and derivational suffixes: the formation of abstract nouns (§12.7), verbal nouns (§12.8) and *nomina agentis* (§12.9) are described. Finally, anticipating the comparison in chapter §14, A.Z verbal nouns (§12.10) and *nomina agentis* (§12.11) are discussed.

In this chapter, I will mainly use data from Higham *et al.* (2000) with some differences:

(1) The glottal stop has a phonematic status according to Morarie (1980: 42) and Higham *et al.* (2000).²⁷⁹ It can only occur in absolute final position²⁸⁰ and disappears in all other contexts due to morphophonological restrictions. According to Kelm (1964: 467, 472, 481), Morarie (1980: 42; 58) and Higham *et al.* (2000: 2, 5), all singular BFs (excepted those in *-/k/*, *-/p/*, *-/r/*, *-/s/* and *-/t/*) end in a vowel (or semivowel) plus glottal stop. The presence vs. lack of glottal stop distinguishes the singular BF from the plural BF or the singular FF when they end with the same (semi)vowel. There is no evidence that this is so (Bertinetto, personal communication). The phonematic status of the glottal stop is not confirmed by Bertinetto (2009: 9). According to Bertinetto (2009: 10) the glottal stop “is likely to be a generalized allophonic behaviour, unrelated to any morphological conditioning”. For

²⁷⁹ These authors use a different terminology to refer to the base-, full- and indeterminate-form. Morarie (1980) and Higham *et al.* (2000) use the terms “definite form” and “indefinite form” for BF and IF respectively, while they do not use a specific term for the FF.

²⁸⁰ “Glottals are heard under certain conditions, but when another word follows immediately, though inherently there, the glottal is not pronounced” (Higham *et al.* 2000: 2).

these reasons the alleged glottal stop will not be reported in the following examples (see also §2.1).

(2) Final /e/ will not be reported when there are reasons to surmise that it is a euphonic vocoid.

(3) For reasons of simplicity, in chapters §12-§14 the morphological segmentation referring to the possessive inflection will not be provided (with the exception of sections §12.8-§12.11).

§12.1 Base-form and full-form in masculine nominals

The MS-FF is marked by the suffix *-/i/*, the MP-FF by the suffix *-/ode/*. The MP-BF is marked by the suffixes *-/o/* (after vowels) and *-/jo/* or */io/* (after consonants).²⁸¹ These suffixes are attached to the singular BF.

The MP-FF suffix *-/ode/* nasalizes into *-/one/* in nasal-harmony contexts. Thus, although in (1) *tamocoi* */tamokoj/* ‘dog’ presents a nasal consonant, */k/* blocks nasalization, so that the plural FF is *tamocode* */tamokode/* rather than **tamocone* */tamokone/*.

(1) *tamokoj* (MS.FF) ‘dog’ ---> *tamoko* (MS.BF) + *ode* (MP.FF)
 ---> *tamocode* (MP.FF), **tamokone* [MP.FF]

The interaction between masculine BF and masculine FF will be the object of this chapter. Depending on the BF ending, the nominals will be divided into two groups: (1) Nominals ending in a vowel; (2) Nominals ending in a consonant (*/k/*, */p/*, */t/*, */r/* or */s/*).

Section §12.1.1 deals with nominals in vowels (or in semivowels). Some nominals of this group present an irregular FF in *-/de/* (§12.1.2). Then, masculine nominals in other consonants are discussed: nominals in *-/p/* (§12.1.3), nominals in *-/t/* (§12.1.4), nominals in *-/k/* (§12.1.5),

²⁸¹ */jo/* and */io/* can alternate in the MP-BF. The segment preceding */o/* in the MP-BF and */e/* in the FP-FF suffix *-(i)die/* is ambiguous between glide and full vowel.

nominals in *-/s/* (§12.1.6) and nominals in *-/r/* (§12.1.7).

§12.1.1 Masculine nominals in *-/V/* and in *-/j/*

The MS-FF suffix *-/i/* turns into a glide when added to a vowel-ending singular BF (3-6), but when the singular BF ends in */i/*, it merges with the MS-FF suffix, so that the singular BF and FF coincide (2).

In the plural BF and FF, the suffixes *-/o/* (MP.BF) and *-/ode/* (MP.FF) (or its nasal counterpart *-/one/*) are added to the singular BF. When the nominal ends in *-/a/*, the MP-BF suffix *-/o/* deletes and the */o/* of *-/ode/* is overwritten by */a/* (3). As a consequence, the singular and plural BF coincide and the plural FF ends in *-/ade/*. When *-/o/* and *-/ode/* are attached to a singular BF in *-/o/* (4), this vowel merges with the suffix vowel */o/*, so that the singular and plural BF coincide. In nominals with BF in *-/e/* (5) or *-/u/* (6), the suffixes are simply added to the singular BF.

- (2) a. ‘chair’ *ɬaripi* (3.MS.BF) ---> *ɬaripi* (3.MS.FF), *ɬaripio* (3.MP.BF),
ɬaripio (3.MP.FF)
 b. ‘container for seeds’ *honakepi* (GF.MS.BF) ---> *honakepi* (GF.MS.FF),
honakepiode (GF.MP.FF), *honakepio* (GF.MP.BF)
- (3) a. *agaha* (3.MS.BF) ‘meal’ ---> *agahaj* (3.MS.FF), *agahade* (3.MP.FF),
agaha (3.MP.BF)
 b. *joka* (MS.BF) ‘turtle’ ---> *jokaj* (MS.FF), *jokade* (MP.FF), *joka* (MP.BF)
- (4) a. *gidobo* (MS.BF) ‘white pigeon’ ---> *gidoboj* (MS.FF), *gidobode* (MP.FF),
gidobo (MP.BF)
 b. *homio* (MS.BF) ‘lake, water hole’ ---> *homioj* (MS.FF), *homione* (MP.FF),
homio (MP.BF)
- (5) a. *igoige* (3.MS.BF) ‘victory song’ ---> *igoigej* (3.MS.FF), *igoigeode* (3.MP.FF),
igoigeo (3.MP.BF)
 b. *sore* (MS.BF) ‘type of bird’ ---> *sorej* (MS.FF), *soreode* (MP.FF), *soreo* (MP.BF)

- (6) a. gaṇetu (MS.BF) ‘sweat, perspiration’ ---> gaṇetuj (MS.FF), gaṇetuode (MP.FF),
gaṇetuo (MP.BF)
b. uru (3.MS.BF) ‘word’ ---> uruj (3.MS.FF), uruode (3.MP.FF), uruo (3.MP.BF)

There are a few nominals with singular BF ending in a vowel followed by /j/: in this case the singular FF suffix *-/i/* merges with /j/ and the plural BF suffix is *-/o/*. /j/ may drop in the plural FF (7).

- (7) a. edogaj (MS.BF) ‘edge of body water’ ---> edogaj (MS.FF), edogade (MP.FF),
edogajo (MP.BF)
b. opoj (MS.BF) ‘dark, dirty’ ---> opoj (MS.FF), opode (MP.FF), opoio (MP.BF)

§12.1.2 Nominals with full-form in *-/de/* and other exceptions

Few irregular nominals add *-/de/* to the singular BF in order to obtain the singular FF (8). In (8a) the FF in *-/de/* alternates with the standard singular FF.

- (8) a. daki (3.MS.BF) ‘grandfather’ ---> dakide / daki (3.MS.FF), dakiode (3.MP.FF),
dakio (3.MP.BF)
b. Dupa (GF.MS.BF) ‘God’ ---> Dupade (GF.MS.BF)
c. gedosi (MS.BF) ‘moon’ ---> gedoside (MS.FF), gedosiode (MP.FF),
gedosio (MP.BF)

Generally masculine and feminine entities correspond to masculine and feminine nominals, respectively. There are, however, some exceptions concerning gender. *Asuté* (3.FS.FF) ‘chief, leader’ is feminine, although it applies to men; *guedé* /*gede*/ (MS.FF) ‘sun’ and *gaté* /*gate*/ (MS.FF) ‘sky’ do not end in *-/i/* in the singular FF, although they are masculine; *quicujadia* /*kikuhadia*/ ‘ancestor’ (3.FS.FF) is feminine, but refers to both men and women. One may surmise that final *-/de/* in the FF is related to the teknonymic suffix *-/de/* (*-/ne/* in nasal-harmony contexts), which is attached to the name of the first son to indicate the father: e.g. *Dihai-de* /*dihaj-de*/ (‘the father of *Dihai* /*dihaj*/’), *Ejei-ne*

(‘the father of Ejei /ehej/’), *Sama-ne* (‘the father of *Sama*’).²⁸²

§12.1.3 Masculine nominals with singular base-form in *-/p/*

Nominals with singular BF in *-/p/* add *-/i/* to obtain the singular FF, while */p/* voices into */b/*. In nasal-harmony contexts, */b/* nasalizes into */m/*. Thus, all these nominals end in *-/bi/* (9) or *-/mi/* (10) in the singular FF. The plural BF and FF are obtained by adding *-/io/* and *-/ode/*, respectively, to the singular BF. In the plural too, the voicing (and possibly nasalization) of */p/* occurs.

- (9) a. *gap* (3.MS.BF) ‘path’ ---> *gabi* (3.MS.FF), *gabode* (3.MP.FF), *gabio* (3.MP.BF)
 b. *igarup* (3.MS.BF) ‘woven belt’ ---> *igarubi* (3.MS.FF), *igarubode* (3.MP.FF),
igarubio (3.MP.BF)
 c. *hup* (MS.BF) ‘fly’ ---> *hubi* (MS.FF), *hubode* (MP.FF), *hubio* (MP.BF)
 d. *turigap* (MS.BF) ‘type of bird’ ---> *turigabi* (MS.FF), *turigabode* (MP.FF),
turigabio (MP.BF)

- (10) a. *atiãp* (MS.BF) ‘small, little’ ---> *atiami* (MS.FF), *atiamone* (MP.FF),
atiamio (MP.BF)
 b. *ẽp* (MS.BF) ‘wind’ ---> *emi* (MS.FF), *emone* (MP.FF), *emio* (MP.BF)
 c. *erãp* (MS.BF) ‘earth, world’ ---> *erami* (MS.FF), *eramone* (MP.FF),
eramio (MP.BF)
 d. *ɲup* (MS.BF) ‘earth, ground’ ---> *ɲumi* (MS.FF), *ɲumone* (MP.FF),
ɲumio (MP.BF)
 e. *gaɲap* (MS.BF) ‘outside surface’ ---> *gaɲami* (MS.FF), *gaɲamone* (MP.FF),
gaɲamio (MP.BF)

There are no ambiguities in the formation of the singular FF. Nominals with singular FF in *-/pi/* have singular BF in *-/pi/* (11).

- (11) a. *agapi* (3.MS.FF) ‘plate, glass’, *agapiode* (3.MP.FF), *agapi* (3.MS.BF),
agapio (3.MP.BF)
 b. *hupi* (MS.FF) ‘type of bush’, *hupiode* (MP.FF), *hupi* (MS.BF), *hupio* (MP.BF)

²⁸² On AY teknonyms, see Bertinetto, Ciucci & Pia (2010: 110).

However, given the FF it is not possible to predict the ending of the singular BF (12).

- (12) a. $\text{t}\check{\text{c}}\text{okibi}$ (MS.FF) ‘naked’, $\text{t}\check{\text{c}}\text{okibiode}$ (MP.FF), $\text{t}\check{\text{c}}\text{okibi}$ (MS.BF), $\text{t}\check{\text{c}}\text{okibio}$ (MP.BF)
 b. etabi (3.MS.FF) ‘neck’, etabidode (3.MP.FF), etabit (3.MS.BF),
 $\text{etabit}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.BF)
 c. $\text{i}\check{\text{n}}\text{imi}$ (3.MS.FF) ‘taken out’, $\text{i}\check{\text{n}}\text{imi}\check{\text{n}}\text{one}$ (3.MP.FF), $\text{i}\check{\text{n}}\text{imik}$ (3.MS.BF),
 $\text{i}\check{\text{n}}\text{imit}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.FF)
 d. timi (MS.FF) ‘strong, hard’, $\text{tim}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{n}}\text{one}$ (MP.FF), timik (MS.BF), $\text{timit}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (MP.BF)

§12.1.4 Masculine nominals with singular base-form in $-\text{/t/}$

Nominals with singular BF in $-\text{/t/}$ add $-\text{/i/}$ to the BF to obtain the singular FF. As in nominals in $-\text{/p/}$ (§12.1.3), $-\text{/t/}$ voices into $-\text{/d/}$ (13) and nasalizes into $-\text{/n/}$ (14) in nasal-harmony contexts. Thus, nominals in $-\text{/t/}$ present singular FF in $-\text{/di/}$ or $-\text{/ni/}$. The change of $-\text{/t/}$ into $-\text{/d/}$ or $-\text{/n/}$ also occurs in the plural FF, when $-\text{/ode/}$ is added (13-14). The MP-BF suffix $-\text{/jo/}$ causes palatalization of BF-final $-\text{/t/}$, thus yielding $-\text{/t}\check{\text{c}}\text{o/}$ (13-14). The same applies to nominals in $-\text{/k/}$ (see §12.1.5). *Neri* ‘uncle’ is a rare exception to the above discussed rules (15).

- (13) a. at (3.MS.BF) ‘body part’ ---> adi (3.MS.FF), adode (3.MP.FF), $\text{at}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.BF)
 b. ahejot (MS.BF) ‘kind, gentle’ ---> ahejodi (MS.FF), ahejodode (MP.FF),
 $\text{ahejot}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (MP.BF)
 c. ipogait (3.MS.BF) ‘vomit’ ---> ipogaidi (3.MS.FF), ipogaidode (3.MP.FF),
 $\text{ipogait}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.BF)
 d. tihabat (GF.MS.BF) ‘cause of amazement’ ---> tihabadi (GF.MS.FF),
 tihabadode (GF.MP.FF), $\text{tihabat}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (GF.MP.BF)

- (14) a. $\text{at}\check{\text{c}}\text{amit}$ (3.MS.BF) ‘country, region’ ---> $\text{at}\check{\text{c}}\text{amini}$ (3.MS.FF),
 $\text{at}\check{\text{c}}\text{aminone}$ (3.MP.FF), $\text{at}\check{\text{c}}\text{amit}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.BF)
 b. $\text{g}\check{\text{e}}\text{rat}$ (3.MS.BF) ‘gift’ ---> gerani (3.MS.FF), geranone (3.MP.FF),
 $\text{g}\check{\text{e}}\text{rat}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.BF)
 c. $\text{pi}\check{\text{n}}\text{at}$ (3.MS.BF) ‘voice, mouth’ ---> $\text{pi}\check{\text{n}}\text{ani}$ (3.MS.FF), $\text{pi}\check{\text{n}}\text{anone}$ (3.MP.FF),
 $\text{pi}\check{\text{n}}\text{at}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.BF)
 d. $\text{uh}\check{\text{u}}\text{t}$ (3.MS.BF) ‘necktie’ ---> uhuni (3.MS.FF), uhunone (3.MP.FF),
 $\text{uh}\check{\text{u}}\text{t}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}$ (3.MP.BF)

- (15) *nerat* (3.MS.BF) ‘uncle, mother’s brother’ ---> *neri* (3.MS.FF), *nerione* (3.MP.FF)
neririk (3.MS.IF), *neririŋo* (3.MP.IF)

As noted above, nominals with singular BF in *-/t/* show singular FF in *-/di/*. However, it is not possible to identify the BF given the FF (16).

- (16) a. *akadi* (3.MS.FF) ‘student’ ---> *akadigode* (3.MP.FF), *akadik* (3.MS.BF),
akadiŋo (3.MP.BF)
 b. *ududi* (3.MS.FF) ‘what is heard’ ---> *ududigode* (3.MP.FF), *ududik* (3.MS.BF),
ududiŋo (3.MP.BF)
 c. *iŋani* (3.MS.FF) ‘torch’ ---> *iŋaniŋone* (3.MP.FF), *iŋanik* (3.MS.BF),
iŋaniŋo (3.MP.BF)
 d. *irani* (3.MS.FF) ‘water jug’ ---> *iraniŋone* (3.MP.FF), *iranik* (3.MS.BF),
iraniŋo (3.MP.BF)
 e. *ŋani* (MS.FF) ‘man’, *ŋaniome* (MP.FF), *ŋani* (MS.BF), *ŋanio* (MP.BF)

In Ayoreo, nominals with FF in *-/ti/* do not have BF in *-/t/* (17a-c). In Higham *et al.* (2000) one only finds one exception, namely the irregular singular FF *oruti* / *eruti* (d).

- (17) a. *gati* (MS.FF) ‘red, scarlet’ ---> *gatiode* (MP.FF), *gati* (MS.BF), *gatio* (MP.BF)
 b. *pati* (MS.FF) ‘hard, stubborn’ ---> *patigode* (MP.FF), *patik* (MS.BF),
patiŋo (MP.BF)
 c. *ŋati* (3.MS.FF) ‘expected, awaited’ ---> *ŋatiode* (3.MP.FF), *ŋati* (3.MS.BF),
ŋatio (3.MP.BF)
 d. *oruti* (3.MS.FF) ‘ridden, climbed’ ---> *orutode* (3.MP.FF), *orut* (3.MS.BF),
orutŋo (3.MP.BF) (also: *eruti*)

§12.1.5 Masculine nominals with singular base-form in *-/k/*

Nominals with singular BF in *-/k/* lose this consonant when the MS-FF suffix *-/i/* is added, so that *-/i/* is preceded by a vowel and turns into a glide. If the vowel is */i/* (18g-h), it merges with the singular FF suffix.

In the plural FF, */k/* tends to drop when the suffix *-/ode/* is added. Sometimes */k/* is preserved, voices into */g/* and, where needed, nasalizes into */ŋ/*. There is no rule to establish whether a given nominal

shows plural in *-/gode/* or in *-/ode/*. A correlation emerges however between the vowel preceding */k/* and the preservation of */k/* in the plural FF. Most nominals in *-/ak/* (18a-b) lose */k/* in the plural FF. Note that nominals in *-/ak/* are the majority of nominals in *-/k/*. When */k/* drops, the root vowel */a/* overwrites the first vowel of *-/ode/*, so that the plural FF ends in *-/ade/* (18a). In nominals in *-/ek/*, the dropping of */k/* is pervasive (18c-d). On the other side, the plural in *-/gode/* is more frequent in nominals in *-/ok/* (18e-f), while all nominals in *-/ik/* (18g-h) and *-/uk/* (18i-j) have plural FF in *-/gode/*.

Root-final */k/* is always preserved in the plural BF. */k/* palatalizes before the suffix *-/jo/*, yielding the plural BF in *-/t̥o/*, also to be found in nominals in *-/t/* (§12.1.4).

- (18) a. *dehak* (MS.BF) ‘night’ ---> *dehaj* (MS.FF), *dehade* (MP.FF), *dehat̥o* (MP.BF)
 b. *gesak* (MS.BF) ‘open, clear’ ---> *gesaj* (MS.FF), *gesagode* (MP.FF),
gesat̥o (MP.BF)
 c. *gipek* (3.MS.BF) ‘bag’ ---> *gipej* (3.MS.FF), *gipeode* (3.MP.FF),
gipet̥o (3.MP.BF)
 d. *arurek* (MS.BF) ‘bread’ ---> *arurej* (MS.FF), *aruregode* (MP.FF),
aruret̥o (MP.BF)
 e. *kaṅok* (MS.BF) ‘butterfly’ ---> *kaṅoj* (MS.FF), *kaṅone* (MP.FF),
kaṅot̥o (MP.BF)
 f. *dipok* (MS.BF) ‘shame’ ---> *dipoj* (MS.FF), *dipogode* (MP.FF), *dipot̥o* (MP.BF)
 g. *kik* (3.MS.BF) ‘direction, destiny’ ---> *ki* (3.MS.FF), *kigode* (3.MP.FF),
kit̥o (3.MP.BF)
 h. *timik* (MS.BF) ‘strong, hard’ ---> *timi* (MS.FF), *timione* (MP.FF),
timit̥o (MP.BF)
 i. *serērat̥uk* (MS.BF) ‘soft, weak’ ---> *serērat̥uj* (MS.FF), *serērat̥ugode* (MP.FF),
serērat̥ut̥o (MP.BF)
 j. *teṅuk* (MS.BF) ‘cold’ ---> *teṅuj* (MS.FF), *teṅujone* (MP.FF), *teṅut̥o* (MP.BF)

§12.1.6 Masculine nominals with singular base-form in *-/s/*

Nominals with singular BF in *-/s/* add the suffix *-/i/* in the singular FF. When *-/jo/* is added to the root in *-/s/*, */j/* does not palatalize, because it is absorbed by */s/* (see Bertinetto 2009: 25), so that the plural

BF ends in *-/so/*. The plural FF is obtained by adding the suffixes *-/o/* and *-/ode/* respectively. In (20), *poti* ‘food’ is an exception, because it presents root allomorphy: root-final */s/* corresponds to */t/* in the singular FF.²⁸³

- (19) a. *ahepis* (3.MS.BF) ‘soul, spirit’ ---> *ahepisi* (3.MS.FF), *ahepisode* (3.MP.FF),
ahepiso (3.MP.BF)
 b. *apos* (3.MS.BF) ‘lamp’ ---> *aposi* (3.MS.FF), *aposode* (3.MP.FF),
aposo (3.MP.BF)
 c. *ɬakas* (MS.BF) ‘type of wasp’ ---> *ɬakasi* (MS.FF), *ɬakasode* (MP.FF),
ɬakaso (MP.BF)
 d. *dukos* (MS.BF) ‘fever sickness’ ---> *dukosi* (MS.FF), *dukosode* (MP.FF),
dukoso (MP.BF)
- (20) *pos* (3.MS.BF) ‘food’ ---> *poti* (3.MS.FF), *posode* (3.MP.FF), *poso* (3.MP.BF)

The FF of all nominals in *-/s/* ends in *-/si/* (19). As one can see in (21), not all nominals with FF in *-/si/* have BF in *-/s/*. This is further evidence of the morphological priority of the BF over the FF.

- (21) a. *ɬagesi* (MS.FF) ‘courageous, valiant’ ---> *ɬagesi* (MS.BF), *ɬagesiode* (MP.FF),
ɬagesio (MP.BF)
 b. *disi* (MS.FF) ‘boy, child’ ---> *disi* (MS.BF), *disiode* (MP.FF), *disio* (MP.BF)
 c. *pasi* (MS.FF) ‘rubbish’ ---> *pasik* (MS.BF), *pasigode* (MP.FF), *pasitɕo* (MP.BF)

§12.1.7 Masculine nominals with singular base-form in *-/r/*

Nominals with singular BF in *-/r/* add *-/i/* in the singular FF. In the plural FF the suffix *-/ode/* (or its nasal counterpart) is added. In the BF, final *-/r/* palatalizes and merges with the suffix *-/jo/*, which undergoes nasalization into *-/ɲo/*.²⁸⁴ This is not related to nasal harmony and is to be found in both nasalized and non-nasalized nominals. Most nominals

²⁸³ On *poti*, see §14.3.11.

²⁸⁴ By saying that */r/* palatalizes into */j/*, I do not imply that it is the actual phonetic process which has occurred. Evidence from A.Z. (see below) suggests that at a first stage there was */r/* deletion and subsequently */j/* has turned into */ɲ/*.

belonging to this group present nasal harmony. However, also non-nasal nominals, such as *diri* ‘day’ (22b) and *iguiriri* /*igiri*/ ‘birthmark’ (22e), may belong to this class. In the past, the plural BF in *-/jo/* and *-/ɲo/* were probably related to lack vs. presence of nasal harmony: in A.Z nominals in *-/r/*, the plural BF suffix used is *-/jo/* which turns into *-/ɲo/* in vowel-harmony contexts: “Los acabados en R, hazen yo. *nacar*. mozo. *nacayo*. mozos. y con narigal, ño. *unnâr*. pulga. *unnaño*. Pulgas.” (Chomé 1958: 124)

- (22) a. *kutêr* (MS.BF) ‘honey’ ---> *kutêri* (MS.FF), *kutêrone* (MP.FF), *kutêɲo* (MP.BF)
 b. *dir* (MS.BF) ‘day’ ---> *diri* (MS.FF), *dirode* (MS.FF), *dɨɲo* (MP.BF)
 c. *uhûr* (MS.FF) ‘worm’ ---> *uhûri* (MS.FF), *uhûrone* (MP.FF), *ujɲo* (MP.BF)
 d. *ɲakar* (MS.BF) ‘young man’ ---> *ɲakari* (MS.FF), *ɲakarode* (MP.FF),
ɲakaɲo (MP.BF)²⁸⁵
 e. *igiri* (3.MS.BF) ‘birthmark, mole’ ---> *igiri* (3.MS.FF), *igirode* (3.MP.FF),
igɨɲo (3.MP.BF)

All nominals derived by means of the suffixes *-/sõri/*, *-/minori/* and *-/ɲori/* belong to this class (see §12.9).

- (23) a. *katekãraisõr* (GF.MS.BF) ‘speaker’ ---> *katekãraisõri* (GF.MS.FF),
katekãraisõrone (GF.MP.FF), *katekãraisoɲo* (GF.MP.BF)
 b. *ehominor* (3.MS.BF) ‘neighbour’ ---> *ehominori* (3.MS.FF),
ehominorone (3.MP.FF), *ehominɲo* (3.MP.BF)
 c. *gatçijor* (MS.BF) ‘pet owner’ ---> *gatçijori* (MP.FF), *gatçijorone* (MP.FF),
gatçijɲo (MP.BF)

§12.2 Base-form and full-form in feminine nominals

The following sections describe the morphology of the BF and the FF in feminine nominals. The singular FF suffixes are *-/a/*, added to singular BFs in *-/i/* or *-/u/*, *-/ia/*, added to singular BFs in consonants, and *-∅*, used for the other singular BFs ending in a vowel. In the plural, the suffixes *-/die/* and *-/i/* are added for FF and BF, respectively.

²⁸⁵ In *ɲacari* /*ɲakari*/ ‘young man’, owing to /k/ which blocks nasal spread, the plural FF ends in *-/ode/*.

Feminine nominals are very regular. Most of them present singular BF ending in a vowel (§12.2.1). There are also a few feminine nominals with singular BF in *-/p/* (§12.2.2), in *-/t/* (§12.2.3) and in *-/r/* (§12.2.4). Some phenomena of root allomorphy in the FP-FF are discussed in §12.2.5.

§12.2.1 Feminine nominals with vowel-ending base-form

In some feminine nominals, the singular FF is marked by null affixation. If the singular BF ends in *-/a/* (24a-b), *-/e/* (24c-e) or *-/o/* (24f-g), \emptyset is added to the BF, so that the singular BF and FF coincide.²⁸⁶

- (24) a. *tirĩta* (FS.BF) ‘hummingbird’ ---> *tirĩta* (FS.FF), *tirĩtadie* (FP.FF), *tirĩtaj* (FP.BF)
 b. *hotɕa* (FS.BF) ‘water hole’ ---> *hotɕa* (FS.FF), *hotɕadie* (FP.FF), *hotɕaj* (FP.BF)
 c. *abue* (FS.BF) ‘cactus’ ---> *abue* (FS.FF), *abuedie* (FP.FF), *abuej* (FP.BF)
 d. *ᵐane* (3.FS.BF) ‘finger’ ---> *ᵐane* (3.FS.FF), *ᵐanenie* (3.FP.FF),
 ᵐanej (3.FP.BF)
 e. *ɕeke* (FS.BF) ‘woman’ ---> *ɕeke* (FS.FF), *ɕekedie* (FP.FF), *ɕekej* (FP.BF)
 f. *baho* (FS.BF) ‘basin, bowl’ ---> *baho* (FS.FF), *bahodie* (FP.FF), *bahoj* (FP.BF)
 g. *atapieto* (3.FS.BF) ‘helper’ (woman) ---> *atapieto* (3.FS.FF),
 atapietodie (3.FP.FF), *atapietoj* (3.FP.BF)

If the BF ends in *-/i/* or *-/u/*, *-/a/* is added in the singular FF. There are no feminine nominals with singular FF in *-/i/* or *-/u/*. The plural follows the same rule described above. If a nominal has singular BF in *-/i/*, the suffix *-/i/* merges with it. As a consequence, the singular and plural BF coincide. In (25e) *gatodé* ‘head’ is an exception; it also presents the variant *gatoi* /*gatoj*/ with FS-FF in *-/i/*.

- (25) a. *hiriri* (FS.BF) ‘quail’ ---> *hiriria* (FS.FF), *hiriridie* (FP.FF), *hiriri* (FP.BF)
 b. *tāj* (FS.BF) ‘truck, car’ ---> *tāja* (FS.FF), *tājnie* (FP.FF), *tāj* (FP.BF)
 c. *dahu* (FS.BF) ‘wild pineapple’ ---> *dahua* (FS.FF), *dahudie* (FP.FF),
 dahuj (FP.BF)
 d. *gapu* (FS.BF) ‘girl’ ---> *gapua* (FS.FF), *gapudie* (FP.FF), *gapuj* (FP.BF)
 e. *gatode* (3.FS.BF) ‘head’ ---> *gatoj* / *gatode* (3.FS.FF),

²⁸⁶ For reasons of simplicity, \emptyset will not be indicated in the examples.

gatoidie / gatodedie (3.FP.FF), gatodej (3.FP.BF)

Although most feminine nominals end in a vowel, some of them present singular BFs in consonants such as /p/ (§12.2.2), /t/ (§12.2.3) or /r/ (§12.1.7).

§12.2.2 Feminine nominals with singular base-form in -/p/

Feminine nominals in -/p/ mostly include feminine diminutive forms, to be analysed in detail later on (26b). In most cases such singular BFs in -/p/ are epicene, while the rest of the paradigm takes feminine or masculine suffixation. The singular BF of (26a), however, is not epicene. Like masculine nominals in -/p/, when a suffix is added, the final consonant voices and – when required – nasalizes. The suffix -/ia/ is added to obtain the FS-FF. In the plural BF, the suffix -/i/ is added, while -/idie/ is the plural FF suffix, also used with all other feminine nominals in consonants. Comparing these data with feminine nominals ending in vowels, in -/idie/ the real morphemes is -/die/ while preceding /i/ was probably an insertion to break a consonantal cluster.

- (26) a. karatep (FS.BF) ‘newborn’ ---> karatebia (FS.FF), karatebidie (FP.FF),
karatebi (FP.FF)
b. disap (DIM.[M/F]S.BF) ‘girl’ ---> disabia (DIM.FS.FF), disabidie (DIM.FP.BF),
disabi (DIM.FP.BF)

§12.2.3 Feminine nominals with base-form in -/t/

Feminine nominals with BF in -/t/ (27) can be considered the feminine counterpart of masculine nominals with BF in -/t/ (§12.1.4), with which they share some morphological similarities. When -/ia/ is added to obtain the singular FF, /t/ voices into /d/. In the plural FF, by contrast, -/idie/ is added and /t/ deletes. In the plural BF, the root-final consonant palatalizes into -/tɕ/ before -/i/. In (27d) one can insert /i/ before the root-final consonant in the plural BF. This phenomenon is not

isolated. /i/ insertion is found for instance in the plural FF of *co* /ko/ ‘pitcher’ (27e).

- (27) a. *okarat* (FS.BF) ‘flame of fire’ ---> *okaradia* (FS.FF), *okaraidie* (FP.FF),
okaratçi (FP.BF)
 b. *arekuhat* (3.FS.BF) ‘statement’ ---> *arekuhadia* (3.FS.FF),
arekuhaidie (3.FP.FF), *arekuhatçi* (3.FP.BF)
 c. *kikuhat* (3.FS.BF) ‘ancestor’ ---> *kikuhadia* (3.FS.FF), *kikuhatçi* (3.FP.FF),
kikuhaidie (3.FP.BF)
 d. *piṅakarat* (3.FS.BF) ‘loud yell’ ---> *piṅakaradia* (3.FS.FF),
piṅakaraidie (3.FP.FF), *piṅakaraitçi* / *piṅakaratçi* (FP.BF)
 e. *ko* (GF.FS.BF) ‘pitcher’ ---> *ko* (GF.FS.FF), *koidie* (GF.FS.FF), *koj* (GF.FP.FF)

§12.2.4 Feminine nominals in -/r/

Some feminine nominals present singular BF in -/r/. The suffixes -/ia/ and -/idie/ are added to obtain the singular and plural FF, respectively. The suffix -/i/ is used to form the plural BF.

- (28) a. *dor* (FS.BF) ‘wild pineapple’ ---> *doria* (FS.FF), *doridie* (FP.FF), *dori* (FP.BF)
 b. *por* (FS.BF) ‘tree’ ---> *poria* (FS.FF), *poridie* (FP.FF), *pori* (FP.BF)
 c. *suar* (FS.BF) ‘parrot’ ---> *suaria* (FS.FF), *suaridie* (FP.FF), *suari* (FP.BF)

To conclude, about the same groups of nominals with root-final consonant exist for both the masculine and the feminine. Only masculine nominals in -/k/ and -/s/ lack their feminine counterpart. All feminine nominals with consonant-ending singular BF add -/ia/ and -/idie/ to the singular BF. These suffixes correspond to the FF morphemes -/a/ and -/die/. In -/ia/ and -/idie/, -/i/- was originally an insertion.

§12.2.5 Exceptions in the feminine plural full-form

As noted above, in feminine nominals in -/t/ (29) this consonant is replaced by -/idie/ in the plural FF. This morphological behaviour is anomalous, since in masculine nominals in -/t/ this consonant is

preserved and voices in the plural FF (§12.1.4). Consider the following feminine nominals:

- (29) a. *orotade* (3.FS.BF) ‘shoulder’ ---> *orotade* (3.FS.FF), *orotadedie* /
orotaidie (3.FP.FF), *orotadej* (3.FP.BF)
 b. *ṃane* (3.FS.BF) ‘finger’ ---> *ṃane* (3.FS.FF), *ṃanenie* / *ṃainie* (3.FP.FF),
ṃanej (3.FP.BF)

Orotadé and *jmané* /ṃane/ have two alternatives in the plural FF. In the first variant, the plural FF ends in *-/dedie/* and *-/nenie/*, as expected. In the second variant, the syllable *-/de/-* or *-/ne/-* deletes before the suffix *-/die/* or *-/nie/*, giving rise to the suffix *-/idie/*. As seen in *co* /ko/ ‘pitcher’ (27e), /i/ might be regarded as an insertion. The same plural FF (characterized by *-/de/* or *-/ne/* deletion and /i/ insertion) is found in other cases, such as: *catadé* /katade/ (GF.FS.FF), *cataidie* /kataidie/ (GF.FP.FF) ‘knee’; *cosocorodé* /kosokorode/ (3.FS.FF), *cosocoroidie* /kosokoroidie/ (3.FP.FF) ‘joint, socket’; *angoroné* /aorone/ (3.FS.FF), *angoronenie* /aṃoronenie/ or *angoroinie* /aṃoroinie/ (3.FP.FF) ‘ear’. This might suggest that in feminine nominals ending with singular BF in *-/t/*, this consonant originally voiced not only in the singular but also in the plural FF. Supposedly, the original plural ended in **-/didie/*. However, this form is not to be found, because *-/d/-* or *-/n/-* has probably deleted due to haplology before the suffix *-/die/* or *-/nie/* and only /i/ as vocalic insertion is preserved.

§12.3 Diminutive forms

The diminutive form is used to indicate smallness and endearment (Morarie 1980: 64). The diminutive form inflects as feminine and masculine nominals with singular BF in *-/p/*. The diminutive singular BF consists in the suffix *-/ap/* for both masculine and feminine nominals. This does not mean that all diminutive forms are epicene. Masculine nominals (30a-b) present the suffix *-/i/* in the singular FF and *-/ode/* or *-/one/* in the plural FF, as added to the BF in *-/ap/*. In the plural BF,

-/io/ is added. When a suffix is added, in both masculine and feminine diminutives, -/p/ voices into /b/ (30a) and nasalizes into /n/ when required by nasal harmony.

- (30) a. tamokap (DIM.MS.BF) ‘dog’ ---> tamokabi (DIM.MS.FF),
 tamokabode (DIM.MP.FF), tamokabio (DIM.MP.BF)²⁸⁷
 b. giginap (GF.DIM.MS.BF) ‘house’ ---> giginami (GF.DIM.MS.FF),
 giginamone (GF.DIM.MP.FF), giginamio (GF.DIM.MP.BF)

The feminine diminutives add -/ia/ for the singular FF and -/idie/ for the plural FF. The plural BF is obtained by means of the suffix -/i/.

- (31) a. tɛkap (DIM.FS.BF) ‘lady’ ---> tɛkabia (DIM.FS.FF), tɛkabidie (DIM.FS.FF),
 tɛkabi (DIM.FP.BF)
 b. eramorap (DIM.[M/F]S.BF) ‘deer’ ---> eramoramia (DIM.FS.FF),
 eramoraminie (DIM.FP.FF), eramorami (DIM.FP.BF)

§12.3.1 Diminutive formation

For both masculine and feminine nominals, the suffix -/ap/ is added to the singular BF. When the BF ends in a vowel, some morphophonological processes can occur. If the BF ends in -/a/, it merges with the vowel of -/ap/ (32a). If the BF ends in -/e/ or -/o/, vowel deletion occurs: the deleted vowel can be the root-final one (32b,d) or the diminutive vowel (32c,e). If the BF ends in a high vowel (-/i/ or -/u/), it is either replaced by the suffix vowel (32f,h) or preserved (32g,i).

- (32) a. kutɕa (GF.MS.BF) ‘thing’ ---> kutɕap (GF.DIM.MS.BF), kutɕabi (GF.DIM.MS.FF)
 b. tɛke (FS.BF) ‘female’ ---> tɛkap (DIM.FS.BF), tɛkabia (DIM.FS.FF)
 c. kese (GF.MS.BF) ‘knife’ ---> kesep (GF.DIM.MS.BF), kesebi (GF.DIM.MS.FF)
 d. pororo (MS.BF) ‘white’ ---> pororap (DIM.[M/F]S.BF), pororabi (DIM.MS.FF)
 e. ɲosoko (GF.MS.BF) ‘machete’ ---> ɲosokop (GF.DIM.MS.BF),
 ɲosokobi (GF.DIM.MS.FF)

²⁸⁷ In *tamocap* /tamokap/ (30a) a nasal element is present in the root, but it cannot yield the nasalization of the suffix, because /k/ in the root blocks the spread of nasalization.

- f. *disi* (MS.BF) ‘boy’ ---> *disap* (DIM.[M/F]S.BF), *disabi* (DIM.MS.FF)
- g. *perupi* (MS.BF) ‘yellow; green’ ---> *perupiap* (DIM.MS.BF),
perupiabi (DIM.MS.BF)
- h. *gapu* (FS.BF) ‘girl, grown girl’ ---> *gapap* (DIM.FS.BF), *gapabia* (DIM.FS.FF)
- i. *keru* (MS.BF) ‘big, large’ ---> *keruap* (DIM.[M/F]S.BF), *keruabi* (DIM.MS.FF)

With nominals in *-/t/* and *-/p/*, these consonants voice (33) and (if necessary) nasalize (34) when *-/ap/* is added to the BF. Nominals in *-/r/* (35) and *-/s/* (36) simply add *-/ap/* to the singular BF.

- (33) a. *bisit* (MS.BF) ‘medicine’ ---> *bisidap* (DIM.MS.BF), *bisidabi* (DIM.MS.FF)
- b. *okarat* (FS.BF) ‘flame of fire’ ---> *okaradap* (DIM.FS.BF),
okaradabia (DIM.FS.FF)
- c. *ɬijap* (MS.BF) ‘type of bee’ ---> *ɬijabap* (DIM.MS.BF), *ɬijababi* (DIM.MS.BF)
- d. *gap* (3.MS.BF) ‘path’ ---> *gabap* (3.DIM.MS.BF), *gababi* (3.DIM.MS.FF)

- (34) a. *ɲurumit* (MS.BF) ‘Ayoreo clan’ ---> *ɲuruninap* (DIM.[M/F]S.BF),
ɲuruminami (DIM.MS.FF)
- b. *ɲup* (MS.BF) ‘earth’ ---> *ɲumap* (DIM.MS.BF), *ɲumabi* (DIM.MS.FF)

- (35) a. *aror* (MS.BF) ‘hawk’ ---> *arorap* (DIM.MS.BF), *arorabi* (DIM.MS.BF)
- b. *por* (FS.BF) ‘tree’ ---> *porap* (DIM.FS.BF), *porabi* (DIM.FS.FF)

- (36) a. *etas* (MS.BF) ‘tiny root of plant’ ---> *etasap* (DIM.MS.BF),
etasabi (DIM.MS.FF)
- b. *hes* (MS.BF) ‘mist from fog’ ---> *hesap* (DIM.MS.BF), *hesabi* (DIM.MS.BF)

If the singular BF ends in *-/k/*, this consonant can drop in the diminutive. Although this behaviour is unpredictable, there is a correlation with the plural FF of the non-diminutive nominal. When the plural FF ends in *-/gode/* or *-/ɲone/*, the diminutive is *-/gap/* (37). Final */k/* is often preserved in derived FS-BFs (see §12.4.3), but in diminutive formation this is even more frequent. For instance *acadi* */akadi/* (37) has plural FF in *-/gode/* and preserves */k/* in the diminutive. By contrast, */k/* drops in the FS-BF *acade* */akade/*.

- (37) *akadi* (3.MS.FF) ‘student’, *akadi* (3.MS.BF) ---> *akadigap* (3.DIM.MS.BF),
akadigode (3.MP.FF), *akade* (3.FS.BF)

The vowel preceding the BF-final consonant can provide morphological indications about diminutive formation. Different cases can be distinguished. Nominals in *-/ak/* may have diminutive in *-/gap/* if the plural FF is in *-/gode/* (38a-b). Otherwise *-/k/* drops and *-/ap/* is added (38c).

- (38) a. bak (MS.BF) ‘honey hunter’ ---> bagap (DIM.MS.BF), bagabi (DIM.MS.FF),
bagode (MP.FF)
b. dahūjarāk (MS.BF) ‘skunk’ ---> dahūjarāp (DIM.MS.BF),
dahūjarami (DIM.MS.FF), dahūjarane (MP.FF)
c. oṅak (MS.BF) ‘thorn’ ---> oṅap (DIM.MS.BF), oṅami (DIM.MS.FF),
oṅane (MP.FF)

For nominals in *-/ek/*, the following possibilities are observed: (1) The diminutive can end in *-/gap/* if the plural FF is in *-/gode/* (39a); (2) *-/k/* drops and *-/ap/* is added, and either */e/* or */a/* deletes (the variant in *-/ep/* is more frequent).

- (39) a. tarek (MS.BF) ‘lazy’ ---> taregap (DIM.MS.BF), taregabi (DIM.[M/F]S.FF),
taregode (MP.FF)
b. tatçek (MS.BF) ‘agouti’ ---> tatçap (DIM.MS.BF), tatçabi (DIM.MS.FF),
tatçeode (MP.FF)
c. hubek (GF.MS.BF) ‘woman’s large bag’ ---> hubep (GF.DIM.MS.BF),
hubebi (GF.DIM.MS.FF), hubeode (MP.FF)

Nominals in *-/ok/* present diminutive in *-/gap/* if the plural FF is in *-/gode/* (40). Otherwise *-/k/* drops and */a/* in the suffix is replaced by */o/* (41).

- (40) a. piok (MS.BF) ‘fire’ ---> piogap (DIM.MS.BF), piogabi (DIM.MS.FF),
piogode (MP.FF)
b. tatok (MS.BF) ‘lame’ ---> tatogap (DIM.[M/F]S.BF), tatogabi (DIM.MS.FF),
tatogode (MP.FF)

- (41) a. *coɲok* (MS.BF) ‘someone who is not an Ayoreo’ ---> *coɲop* (DIM.[M/F]S.BF),
coɲomi (DIM.MS.FF), *coɲone* (MP.FF)
 b. *tarok* (3.MS.BF) ‘brain, top of head’ ---> *tarop* (3.DIM.MS.BF),
tarobi (3.DIM.MS.FF), *tarode* (3.MP.FF)

As noted above, all nominals in *-/ik/* (42b) and *-/uk/* (43) have plural FF in *-/gode/*, so that the diminutive singular BF ends in *-/gap/*. The nominal in (44) is a rare exception.

- (42) a. *ikadik* (3.MS.BF) ‘forgotten’ ---> *ikadigap* (3.DIM.[M/F]S.BF),
ikadigabi (3.DIM.MS.FF), *ikadigode* (3.MP.FF)
 b. *kik* (3.MS.BF) ‘destiny’ ---> *kigap* (3.DIM.MS.BF), *kigabi* (3.DIM.MS.FF),
kigode (3.MP.FF)
- (43) a. *abetɕuk* (MS.BF) ‘male parent with children’ ---> *abetɕugap* (DIM.[M/F]S.BF),
abetɕugabi (DIM.MS.FF), *abetɕugode* (MP.FF)
 b. *huduk* (MS.BF) ‘dark, black’ ---> *hudugap* (DIM.[M/F]S.BF),
hudugabi (DIM.MS.FF), *hudugode* (MP.FF)
- (44) *ɕakik* (3.MS.BF) ‘bottom’ ---> *ɕakiap* (3.DIM.MS.BF), *ɕakiabi* (3.DIM.MS.BF),
ɕakigode (3.DIM.MS.BF)

§12.4 Gender derivation

The MS-BF will be considered the base for gender derivation. In some cases the singular BF is epicene. Two FS morphemes are available: *-/a/* and *-/e/*. These morphemes are usually used in different contexts, but there is a fundamental difference among them: *-/a/* is added to epicene BFs and only marks the FS-FF. By contrast, *-/e/*, applied to masculine BFs, is used for both FS-BF and FS-FF, so that they coincide.

§12.4.1 Gender derivation from masculine base-forms in *-/k/*

For nominals with masculine BF in *-/k/*, the morphology of gender

derivation depends on the vowel preceding *-/k/*. Five cases will be distinguished: *-/ak/*, *-/ek/*, *-/ok/*, *-/ik/* and *-/uk/*.

Nominals with BF in *-/ak/* optionally form the feminine by means of the morpheme *-/e/*. If final */k/* is preserved, it voices and nasalizes in nasal-harmony contexts. One can observe a correlation between the MP-FF and the FS-FF: if the MP-FF is in *-/gode/* or *-/ŋone/*, *-/k/* is preserved in the FS-FF (45), otherwise it drops (46).

(45) a. *aberaj* (MS.FF) ‘sterile’, *abera* (MS.BF), *abere* (FS.BF), *abere* (FS.FF),
aberade (MP.FF)

b. *kaniraj* (MS.FF) ‘kind, generous’, *kanirak* (MS.BF), *kanire* (FS.BF),
kanire (FS.FF), *kanirane* (FP.FF)

(46) a. *ahegesaj* (MS.FF) ‘empty, vacant’, *ahegesak* (MS.BF), *ahegesage* (FS.BF),
ajege (FS.FF)

b. *baj* (MS.FF) ‘honey hunter’, *bak* (MS.BF), *bage* (FS.BF), *bage* (FS.FF)
bagode (FP.FF)

As one can see in (47), if *-/e/* is not used, final */k/* of the MS-BF drops to form the FS-BF. Most nominals which form the feminine in this way are derived from verbs (47) and will be called ‘verbal nouns’ (see §12.8).

(47) a. *igajaj* (3.MS.FF) ‘stung’, *igajak* (3.MS.BF), *igaja* (3.FS.BF), *igaja* (3.FS.FF);
igajade (3.MP.FF); from the verb: *ɬigas* (3) ‘to bite, to sting’

b. *etiñarāj* (3.MS.FF) ‘tested, tempted’, *etiñarāk* (3.MS.BF), *etiñarā* (3.FS.BF),
etiñarā (3.FS.FF); *etiñarane* (3.MP.FF); from the verb: *ɬetiņare* (3)
‘to try, to prove’

Nominals with BF in *-/ek/* and *-/ok/* exhibit identical morphological properties in feminine derivation. Three possibilities are reported: (1) The morpheme *-/e/* is added to the MS-BF (48a-b); (2) */k/* voices and (if required) nasalizes (48c-d); (3) */k/* drops (49). There is a strict correlation between the presence vs. absence of */k/* in the MP-FF and the process to obtain the feminine. If the MP-FF is in *-/gode/* or *-/ŋone/*, *-/k/* is preserved in the feminine and *-/e/* is used (48). If *-/k/* drops in the MP-FF, it also drops in the feminine (49).

- (48) a. arej (MS.FF) ‘good, well’, arek (MS.BF), arege (FS.BF), arege (FS.FF),
aregode (MP.FF)
b. getej (3.MS.FF) ‘hated’, getek (3.MS.BF), getege (3.FS.BF), getege (3.FS.FF);
getegode (3.MP.FF)
c. aṅaṅoj (3.MS.FF) ‘injured, wounded’, aṅaṅok (3.MS.BF), aṅaṅoṅe (3.FS.BF),
aṅaṅoṅe (3.FS.FF); aṅaṅoṅone (3.MP.FF)
d. dosoj (MS.FF) ‘painful’, dosok (MS.BF), dosoge (FS.BF), dosoge (FS.FF),
dosogode (MP.FF)
- (49) a. hururubej (MS.FF) ‘angry, furious’, hururubek (MS.BF), hururube (FS.BF),
hururube (FS.FF), hururubeode (MP.FF)
b. oṅej (3.MS.FF) ‘poured out’, oṅek (3.MS.BF), oṅe (3.FS.BF), oṅe (3.FS.FF),
oṅeone (3.MS.FF)
c. aroj (MS.FF) ‘previous’, arok (MS.BF), aro (FS.BF), aro (FS.FF), arode (MP.FF)
d. coṅoj (MS.FF) ‘civilized person’, coṅok (MS.BF), coṅo (FS.BF), coṅo (FS.FF)
coṅone (MP.FF)

If the masculine BF ends in *-/ik/*, the feminine morpheme *-/e/* is used and */k/* drops (50) or is preserved in the feminine (51).

- (50) a. akadi (3.MS.FF) ‘student’, akadi*k* (3.MS.BF), akade (3.FS.BF), akade (3.FS.FF),
akadigode (3.MP.FF)
b. ibididi (3.MS.FF) ‘called, summoned’, ibididi*k* (3.MS.BF), ibidide (3.FS.BF),
ibidide (3.FS.FF), ibididigode (3.MP.FF)
- (51) a. ikadi (3.MS.FF) ‘forgotten’, ikadi*k* (3.MS.BF), ikadige (3.FS.BF),
ikadige (3.FS.FF), ikadigode (3.MP.FF)
b. timi (MS.FF) ‘strong, hard’, timi*k* (MS.BF), timiṅe (FS.BF), timiṅe (FS.FF);
timigode (MP.FF)

Nominals with singular BF in *-/uk/* can use the morphemes *-/a/* or *-/e/* to derive the feminine. The former morpheme is not used in the other subgroups of nominals in *-/k/*. There is however no correlation with the plural FF in *-/gode/*, since all nominals with BF in *-/uk/* preserve */k/* in the plural FF, while *-/k/* can drop in the feminine BF (52a). Alternatively, *-/e/* is added to the masculine BF, and */k/* voices (52b) and nasalizes in nasal-harmony contexts. In *jurui* */huruj/* (52c),

-/e/ is used, but the first /u/ in the root turns into /o/: this might be interpreted as assimilation to -/e/.

- (52) a. akesuj (3.MS.FF) ‘cut’, akesuk (3.MS.BF), akesu (3.FS.BF), akesua (3.FS.FF),
 akesugode (3.MP.FF)
 b. abetɕuj (MS.FF) ‘parent’, abetɕuk (MS.BF), abetɕuge (FS.BF), abetɕuge (FS.FF),
 abegugode (MP.FF)
 c. huruj (3.MS.FF) ‘closed’, huruk (3.MS.BF), hore (3.FS.BF), hore (3.FS.FF),
 hurugode (3.MP.FF)

§12.4.2 Gender derivation from masculine or epicene base-forms in -/p/

Nominals with singular BF in -/p/ mostly include diminutives; gender derivation is the same as that of diminutive forms (see §12.3). The singular BF in -/p/ can be masculine or epicene. When a suffix is added, /p/ voices and, when necessary, nasalizes. The morpheme -/a/ is characteristic of the feminine. Its allomorph -/ia/ is used for the FS-FF of nominals with epicene BF (*abi* vs. *abia*). A few nominals, like the one in (53b), use the morpheme -/e/ to derive both the FS-BF and the FS-FF. Unlike -/a/, -/e/ is not restricted to the FF, but is also used to form the BF, which is thus different from the masculine. When a feminine nominal derives from a masculine BF in -/p/ by means of -/e/, -/p/ always voices (and possibly nasalizes).

- (53) a. *abi* (3.MS.FF) ‘baby, child’, *ap* (3.[M/F]S.BF), *abia* (3.FS.FF)
 b. *kutɕabi* (MS.FF) ‘great’, *kutɕap* (MS.BF), *kutɕabe* (FS.BF), *kutɕabe* (FS.FF)

§12.4.3 Gender derivation from masculine base-forms in -/r/

If the MS-BF ends in -/r/, -/e/ is added to obtain the feminine. Nominals derived by means of the suffixes -/sōri/, -/ŋori/ and -/minori/ form the FS-BF by replacing such suffixes with -/to/.

- (54) a. caṇori (MS.FF) ‘dry’, caṇore (MS.BF), caṇoṇo (MP.BF), caṇore (FS.BF), caṇore (FS.FF)
 b. umari (MS.FF) ‘tall, high’, umare (MS.BF), umaṇo (MP.BF), umare (FS.BF),
 umare (FS.FF)
 c. akadisōri (3.MS.FF) ‘teacher’, akadisōre (3.MS.BF), akadito (3.FS.BF),
 akadito (3.FS.FF)
 d. ipesuṇori (3.MS.FF) ‘creator’, ipesuṇore (3.MS.BF), ipesuto (3.FS.BF), ipesuto (3.FS.FF)
 e. ikeminori (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is in front of’, ikeminore (3.MS.BF),
 ikemito (3.FS.BF), ikemito (3.FS.FF)

§12.4.4 Gender derivation from masculine base-forms in *-/s/* and *-/t/*

Nominals with BF in *-/s/* form the feminine by adding *-/e/* to the masculine (55a-b). In (55b) the vowel change in the root depends on the fact that the word is a compound consisting of *iroi /iroj/* (55c) plus the vowel-harmony elative suffix *-/pisi/* (MS.FF). With the noun *gosi* ‘someone’ (*gos* in BF) (55e), gender derivation is irregular, because the feminine is *goto*. This extends to nominals derived from *gosi* (55e-f), in particular those referring to members of a particular Ayoreo tribe, such as the ‘Totobíegosode’ (55f).

- (55) a. aposi (3.MS.FF) ‘burned up’, apos (3.MS.BF), apose (3.FS.BF), apose (3.FS.FF)
 b. irogipisi (3.MS.FF) ‘commissioned servant’, irogipis (3.MS.BF), irogepise (3.FS.BF),
 irogepise (3.FS.FF)
 c. iroj (3.MS.FF) ‘servant’, irok (3.MS.BF), iroge (3.FS.BF), iroge (3.FS.FF)
 d. gosi (MS.FF) ‘someone’, gos (MS.BF), goto (FS.BF), goto (FS.FF)
 e. igiosi (3.MS.FF) ‘relative’, igios (3.MS.BF), igioto (3.FS.BF), igioto (3.FS.FF)
 f. totobiegosi (MS.FF) ‘member of the group of Totobíegosode’,
 totobiegos (MS.BF), totobiegoto (FS.BF), totobiegoto (FS.FF)

Masculine nominals with singular BF in *-/t/* add *-/e/* to the BF, while *-/t/* voices and, when necessary, nasalizes.

- (56) a. todi (GF.MS.FF) ‘feared’, tot (GF.MS.BF), tode (GF.FS.BF), tode (GF.FS.FF)
 b. weradi (MS.FF) ‘nice, good’, werat (MS.BF), werade (FS.BF), werade (FS.FF)
 c. agutijamani (3.MS.FF) ‘benefactor’, agutijamat (3.MS.BF),
 agutijamane (3.FS.BF), agutijamane (FS.FF)

§12.4.5 Gender derivation from epicene base-forms in *-/V/*

Most masculine and feminine nominals present epicene singular BF ending in a vowel. In (57) one finds masculine and feminine nominals with epicene singular BF in *-/a/*, which coincides with the FS-FF. As noted above, *-/i/* is added to obtain the MS-FF.

- (57) a. ebedaj (MS.FF) ‘orphan’, ebeda ([M/F]S.BF), ebeda (FS.FF)
 b. irabaj (3.MS.FF) ‘born at the same time’, iraba (3.[M/F]S.BF), iraba (3.FS.FF)

Some exceptions are reported below. In (58a-c) final *-/a/* is replaced by the feminine morpheme *-/e/*. In (58d) and (58e) other changes occur. In (58f) and (58g) one finds nominals used to refer to people belonging to a certain clan.

- (58) a. daiṇaj (MS.FF) ‘shaman’, daiṇa (MS.BF), daiṇe (FS.BF), daiṇe (FS.FF)
 b. isagokaj (3.MS.FF) ‘hard worker’, isagoka (3.MS.BF), isagoke (3.FS.BF),
 isagoke (3.FS.FF)
 c. dusaj (MS.FF) ‘one who has a bowel movement’, dusa (MS.BF), duse (FS.BF),
 duse (FS.FF)
 d. edugeṇaj (3.MS.FF) ‘leader, chef’, edugeṇa (3.MS.BF), edugehẽ (3.FS.BF),
 edugehẽ (3.FS.FF)
 e. idahaj (MS.FF) ‘distant, far off’, idaha (MS.BF), idahage (FS.BF),
 idahage (FS.FF)
 f. kutamurahāj (MS.FF) ‘Ayoreo clan name’, kutamurahā (MS.BF),
 kutamiṇoro (FS.BF), kutamiṇoro (FS.FF)
 g. posorahāj (MS.FF) ‘Ayoreo clan name’, posorahā (MS.BF), posiṇõro (FS.BF),
 posiṇõro (FS.FF)

Singular BFs in *-/e/* and *-/o/* are epicene (59). The MS-FF is derived by adding *-/i/* to the BF. The FS-FF coincides with the singular BF. *Chiquenoi /tɕikenoj/*, the name of an AY clan, is an exception (59e).

- (59) a. arupātɕej (MS.FF) ‘wet, damp’, arupātɕe ([M/F]S.BF), arupātɕe (FS.FF)
 b. subudej (MS.FF) ‘having the stomach full’, subude ([M/F]S.BF),
 subude (FS.FF)
 c. asikoj (MS.FF) ‘sharp, keen-edged’, asiko ([M/F]S.BF), asiko (FS.FF)
 d. pororoj (MS.FF) ‘white’, pororo ([M/F]S.BF), pororo (FS.FF)
 e. ɕikenoj (MS.FF) ‘Ayoreo clan name’, ɕikeno (MS.BF), ɕikeɲoro (FS.BF),
 ɕikeɲoro (FS.FF)

Epicene singular BFs in *-/i/* are divided into two groups as to gender derivation. Some nominals (60a-b) use the morpheme *-/a/* for the FS-FF. In this case, the BF is epicene. Other nominals (60c-d) use *-/e/* as applied to both singular BF and singular FF.²⁸⁸ In (60e) and (60f), one finds two exceptions showing root allomorphy: in the feminine, the morpheme *-/e/* overwrites BF-final */i/* and the previous root vowel */o/* assimilates to */e/*.

- (60) a. ɕagesi (MS.FF) ‘valiant’, ɕagesi ([M/F]S.BF), ɕagesia (FS.FF)
 b. disi (MS.FF) ‘boy, child’, disi ([M/F]S.BF), ‘girl’ disia (FS.FF)
 c. uti (3.MS.FF) ‘firstborn child’, uti (3.MS.FF), utie (3.FS.BF), utie (3.FS.FF)
 d. perupi (MS.FF) ‘yellow, green’, perupi (MS.BF), perupie (FS.BF),
 perupie (FS.FF)
 e. ɕoki (MS.FF) ‘animal male’, ɕoki (MS.BF), ‘animal or human female’
 ɕeke (FS.BF), ɕeke (FS.FF)
 f. dijoki (MS.FF) ‘human male’, dijoki (MS.BF), ‘human female’ dijeke (FS.BF),
 dijeke (FS.FF)

Singular BFs in *-/u/* are usually epicene. To obtain the MS-FF, the morpheme *-/i/* is added, while the FS-FF suffix is *-/a/*.

- (61) a. kabajuj (MS.FF) ‘bull’, kabaju ([M/F]S.BF) ‘bull/cow’, kabajua (FS.FF) ‘cow’
 b. keruj (MS.FF) ‘big’, keru ([M/F]S.BF), kerua (FS.FF)

In conclusion, the FS-FF morpheme *-/a/* can only be used after the high vowels */i/* and */u/*. It can be applied to epicene BFs in *-/i/*, *-/u/* or

²⁸⁸ In my corpus, all epicene singular BFs in *-/hi/* and *-/si/* use the morpheme *-/a/* for the FS-FF. By contrast, all MS-BFs in *-/bi/*, *-/gi/*, *-/pi/*, *-/ki/* form the FS-FF with the morpheme *-/e/*.

to some masculine BFs in *-/uk/*. Its allomorph *-/ia/*, to be found after consonant, is added to epicene BFs in *-/p/* (§12.4.2), but not to masculine BFs in *-/k/* (§12.4.1), *-/r/* (§12.4.3), *-/s/* (§12.4.4) and *-/t/* (§12.4.4), which add the morpheme */e/* for feminine derivation (with the exception of some nominals with MS-BF in *-/uk/*).

§12.5 The indeterminate-form

In the next sections, the IF will be discussed. The singular BF will be considered the morphological source of the IF. The MS-IF is obtained by means of one of the following suffixes: *-/tik/* (§12.5.1), *-/rik/* (§12.5.2), *-/nik/* (§12.5.3). Although exceptions exist, some general tendencies can be identified. The morphology of feminine IFs will be discussed in §12.5.4.

§12.5.1 The suffix *-/tik/*

Nominals with singular BF in *-/k/*, *-/p/*, *-/s/* and *-/t/* usually take the suffix *-/tik/*, replacing these BF-final consonants. The corresponding plurals take the suffix *-/tigo/*, where no nasalization is possible, for */t/* blocks nasal spread.

- (62) a. akadi (3.MS.FF) ‘pupil’, akadik (3.MS.BF), akaditik (3.MS.IF),
 akaditigo (3.MP.IF)
 b. pioj (MS.FF) ‘fire’, piok (MS.BF), piotik (MS.IF), piotigo (MP.IF)
 c. ahepisi (3.MS.FF) ‘soul’, ahepis (3.MS.BF), ahepitik (3.MS.IF), ahepitigo (3.MP.IF)
 d. dukosi (MS.FF) ‘fever’, dukos (MS.BF), dukotik (MS.IF), dukotigo MP.IF)
 e. abi (3.MS.FF) ‘child’, ap (3.MS.BF), atik (3.MS.IF), atigo (3.MP.IF.)
 f. ahami (MS.FF) ‘small, narrow’, ahãp ([M/F]S.BF), ahãtik (MS.IF),
 ahãtigo (MP.IF)
 g. etabi (3.MS.FF) ‘neck’, etabit (3.MS.BF), etabitik (3.MS.IF), etabitigo (3.MS.IF)
 h. pidi (MS.FF) ‘stick’, pit (MS.BF), pitik (MS.IF), pitigo (MP.IF)
 i. ugutadi (3.MS.FF) ‘pillow’, ugutat (3.MS.BF), ugutatik (3.MS.IF),
 ugutatigo (3.MP.IF)

§12.5.2 The suffix *-/nik/*

The plural counterpart of *-/nik/* is *-/niño/*. As one can see in the examples below, the use of these suffixes does not depend on the nasalization of the root. There are three groups of nominals which show *-/nik/* and *-/niño/* in the IF:

(1) Nominals with singular BF in *-/aj/*, where final *-/j/* is replaced by the suffix. In *abai /abaj/* ‘husband’ the suffix yields nasalization in and by itself, showing that nasality is intrinsic to it.²⁸⁹

- (63) a. *abaj* (3.MS.FF) ‘husband’, *abaj* (3.MS.BF), *amanik* (3.MS.IF), *amaniño* (3.MP.IF)
 b. *edogaj* (MS.FF) ‘bank near water’, *edogaj* (MS.BF), *edoganik* (MS.IF),
edoganiño (MP.IF)
 c. *daj / daje* (3.MS.FF) ‘father’, *daj* (3.MS.BF), *danik* (3.MS.IF), *daniño* (3.MP.IF)
 d. *garaj* (MS.FF) ‘pampa’, *garaj* (MS.BF), *garanik* (MS.IF), *garaniño* (MP.IF)

(2) Nominals whose singular BF ends in *-/r/*, which are replaced by the IF suffix. This group includes the nouns derived by means of the suffixes *-/sõri/*, *-/ñori/* and *-/minori/*.²⁹⁰

- (64) a. *diri* (MS.FF) ‘day’, *dir* (MS.BF), *dinik* (MS.IF), *diniño* (MP.IF)
 b. *kuterĩ* (MS.FF) ‘honey’, *kutër* (MS.BF), *kutënik* (MS.IF), *kutëniño* (MP.IF)
 c. *akadisõri* (3.MS.FF) ‘teacher’, *akadisõr* (3.MS.BF), *akadisonik* (3.MS.IF),
akadisoniño (3.MP.IF)
 d. *akañori* (3.MS.FF) ‘sower’, *akañor* (3.MS.BF), *akañonik* (3.MS.IF),
akañoniño (3.MP.IF)
 e. *aheminori* (3.MS.FF) ‘what is inside’, *aheminor* (3.MS.BF),
aheminonik (3.MS.IF), *aheminoniño* (3.MP.IF)

(3) Nominals with BF in *-/he/*. This is a very small group. The suffix is simply added to the singular BF.

²⁸⁹ However, no other examples of this kind are observed for the time being.

²⁹⁰ AY nouns in *-/sõri/* and *-/ñori/* will be discussed in §12.9. By contrast, AY nouns in *-/minori/* will not be discussed in the present study, because no corresponding A.Z or CH nouns have been found.

- (65) a. ahej (3.MS.FF) ‘stomach’, ahe (3.MS.BF), ahenik (3.MS.IF), aheniño (3.MP.IF)
 b. pahej (3.MS.FF) ‘waist’, pahe (3.MS.BF), pahenik (3.MS.IF), paheniño (3.MP.IF)

§12.5.3 The suffix *-/rik/*

This suffix presents two forms in the plural: *-/rigo/* and *-/riño/*, whose choice depends on nasal harmony. The suffix *-/rik/* is generally used with nominals with singular BF in *-/V/*, which also take the suffix *-/nik/* (see §12.5.2). The use of *-/rik/* or *-/nik/* is idiosyncratic. *-V* may correspond to any vowel, including */e/* (66e). *-/rik/* and its plural allomorphs are the only masculine IF suffixes which never involve deletion of the final elements of the BF. The suffix *-/rik/* is also used with a few nominals whose singular BF ends in a vocalic sequence, such as *-/ao/* (66h), *-/io/* (66i), *-/oj/* (66j) etc. (except *-/aj/*). The last vowel of the sequence is generally preserved.

- (66) a. kutçaj (GF.MS.FF) ‘thing’, kutça (GF.MS.BF), kutçarik (GF.MS.IF),
 kutçarigo (GF.MP.IF)
 b. tçoki (MS.FF) ‘male of animal’, tçoki (MS.BF), tçokirik (MS.IF) tçokirigo (MP.IF)
 c. giginaj (GF.MS.FF) ‘house’, gigiña (GF.MS.BF), giginarik (GF.MS.IF),
 giginariño (GF.MP.IF)
 d. oraņuj (3.MS.FF) ‘kind of bag’, oraņu (3.MS.BF), oraņurik (3.MS.IF),
 oraņuriño (3.MP.IF)
 e. parariņej (MS.FF) ‘valley’, parariņe (MS.BF), parariņerik (MS.IF),
 parariņeriño (MP.IF)
 f. piogenaaj (MS.FF) ‘bonfire’, piogena (MS.BF), piogenaarik (MS.IF),
 piogenaariño (MP.IF)
 g. pihoj (MS.FF) ‘animal trail’, piho (MS.BF), pihorik (MS.IF), pihorigo (MP.IF)
 h. gebekaoj (MS.FF) ‘can, tin’, gebekao (MS.BF), gebekaorik (MS.IF),
 gebekaorigo (MP.IF)
 i. homioj (MS.FF) ‘water hole’, homio (MS.BF), homiorik (MS.IF),
 homioriño (MP.IF)
 j. opoj (MS.FF) ‘dark, black’, opoi (MS.BF), oporik (MS.IF), oporigo (MP.IF)

Example (67) lists some exceptions. For some nominals, such as *iringoi /iriņoj/* (67d), two alternatives may be used. *Neri* (67f) is an

exception, not only in the IF but also in the FF formation, given the singular BF *nerat*.

- (67) a. aniri (3.MS.FF) ‘problem’, aniri (3.MS.BF), anitik (3.MS.IF), anitigo (3.MP.IF)
 b. dakerã (3.MS.FF) ‘uncle, father’s brother’, dakerã (3.MS.BF),
 dakerãtik (3.MS.IF), dakerãtigo (3.MP.IF)
 c. derokoj (MS.FF) ‘dull’, derokok (MS.BF) derokorik (MS.IF), derokorigo (MP.IF)
 d. iriņoj (MS.FF) ‘bitter’, iriņok (MS.BF), iriņoric/iriņotik (MS.IF),
 iriņoriņo/iriņotigo (MP.IF)
 e. maņaj (3.MS.FF) ‘hand’, maņai (3.MS.FF), maņarik (3.MS.IF),
 maņariņo (3.MP.IF)
 f. neri (3.MS.FF) ‘uncle, mother’s brother’, nerat (3.MS.BF), neririk (3.MS.IF),
 neririņo (3.MP.IF)

§12.5.4 The feminine indeterminate-form

In the feminine IF, the inflectional mechanism is usually fairly simple. In most nominals the singular IF is *-/rak/* (68), with the plural counterpart *-/riņi/* which can nasalize as *-/riņi/*. In *caratébia* /karatebia/ (68), /p/ in the BF is replaced by the suffix *-/rak/*.

- (68) a. tæeke (FS.FF) ‘female’, tæeke (FS.BF), tæekerak (FS.IF), tæekerigi (FP.IF)
 b. disia (FS.FF) ‘girl’, disi (FS.BF), disirak (FS.IF), disirigi (FP.IF)
 c. edo (3.FS.FF) ‘eye’, edo (3.FS.BF), edorak (3.FS.IF), edorigi (3.FP.IF)
 d. gapua (FS.FF) ‘teenage girl’, gapu (FS.BF), gapurak (FS.IF),
 gapurigi (FP.IF)
 e. koņa (GF.FS.FF) ‘jar’, koņa (GF.FS.BF), koņarak (GF.FS.IF), koņariņi (GF.FS.IF)
 f. aņorone (3.FS.FF) ‘ear’, aņorone (3.FS.BF), aņoronerak (3.FS.IF),
 aņoroneriņi (3.FP.IF)
 g. karatebia (FS.FF) ‘newborn’, karatep (FS.BF), karaterak (FS.IF),
 karaterigi (FP.IF)

There are two small groups which take different suffixes. Some feminine nominals whose singular BF ends in *-/t/* take *-/tak/* (69), with *-/t/* replaced by the suffix, as in masculine nouns with MS.IF suffix *-/tik/*. The corresponding plural is *-/tigi/*.

- (69) a. arekuhadia (3.FS.FF) ‘statement’, arekuhat (3.FS.BF), arekuhatak (3.FS.IF),
arekuhatigi (3.FS.IF)
b. okaradia (FS.FF) ‘flame’, okarat (FS.BF), okaratake (FS.IF), okaratigi (FP.IF)
c. piṅakaradia (3.FS.FF) ‘yell’, piṅakarat (3.FS.BF), piṅakaratak (3.FS.IF),
piṅacaratigi (3.FP.IF)
d. kikuhadia (3.FS.FF) ‘ancestor’, kikuhat (3.FS.BF), kikuhatak (3.FS.IF),
kikuhatigi (3.FP.IF)²⁹¹

The second group takes the suffix *-/nak/* with */n/* possibly devoicing into */ŋ/*. The plural suffix is *-/niṅi/* or *-/ŋiṅi/*. Apart from *agúpurayá* */agupuraja/*, the singular BF of the following nominals ends in *-/r/*. This feature is also shared by the masculine nominals which take the suffix *-/nik/* as singular IF.

- (70) a. agupuraja (3.FS.FF) ‘one who is ignorant, untaught’, agupuraj (3.FS.BF),
agupuranak (3.FS.IF), agupuraniṅi (3.FP.IF)
b. doria (FS.IF) ‘wild pineapple’, dor (FS.BF), doṅak (FS.IF), doṅiṅi (FP.IF)
c. poria (FS.FF) ‘tree’, por (FS.BF), poṅak (FS.IF), poṅiṅi (FP.IF)
d. suaria (FS.FF) ‘parrot’, suar (FS.BF), suanak (FS.IF), suaniṅi (FP.IF)

To sum up, in the feminine IFs the suffix *-/rak/* is dominant. A set of three suffixes is used: *-/rak/*, *-/tak/*, *-/nak/* (or *-/ŋak/*), corresponding to the masculine suffixes *-/rik/*, *-/tik/* and *-/nik/*. The feminine suffixes undergo rules very similar to their masculine counterparts. The difference between masculine and feminine IF suffixes is marked by */i/* (M) vs. */a/* (F); a similar vocalic contrast is found, for instance, in CH *-/tik/* (MS.IF) vs. *-/tāk/* (FS.IF), see §14.4.2.

There is also direct correspondence between FP- and MP-IF suffixes: *-/tigo/* (MP.IF) vs. *-/tigi/* (FP.IF); *-/rigo/* or *-/riṅo/* (MP.IF) vs. *-/rigi/* or *-/riṅi/* (FP.IF); *-/niṅo/* (MP.IF) vs. *-/niṅui/* (FP.IF). In the IF plural suffixes, the gender distinction is marked on the last vowel, which is exactly the same vowel as that used to form the plural of the BF (*/o/* for masculine and */i/* for feminine). This looks like a trace of agglutination.

²⁹¹ As Higham *et al.* (2000) note, this word is feminine but is also used to refer to male ancestors. This is not surprising, because the AY society was traditionally matriarchal.

§12.5.5 The indeterminate-form of the diminutive

The IF suffix also attaches to diminutives, following the rules provided above. Since the starting point is the epicene singular BF in *-/ap/*, the last consonant is replaced by the prefixes *-/tik/* (MS.IF) or *-/tigo/* (MP.IF) for the masculine (71a) and *-/tak/* (FS.IF) or *-/tigi/* (FP.IF) for the feminine (71b). These suffixes are generally used with BFs ending in a consonant. *-/tak/* is rare among feminine nominals, because few of them have singular BF ending in a consonant. Since *-/p/* is replaced by the IF suffix, */a/* is the only remaining element of the diminutive suffix.

- (71) a. *tamokoj* (MS.FF) ‘dog’, *tamoko* (MS.BF), *tamokorik* (MS.IF),
tamokorigo (MP.IF); *tamokabi* (DIM.MS.BF), *tamokap* (DIM.MS.BF),
tamokatik (DIM.MS.BF), *tamokatigo* (DIM.MP.BF)
- b. *igide* (3.FS.FF) ‘shirt’, *igide* (3.FS.BF), *igiderak* (3.FS.IF), *igiderigi* (3.FP.IF);
igidabia (3.DIM.FS.FF), *igidap* (3.DIM.[M/F]S.BF.), *igidatak* (3.DIM.FS.IF),
igidatigi (3.DIM.FS.IF)²⁹²
- c. *akadi* (3.MS.FF) ‘student’, *akadik* (3.MS.BF), *akaditik* (3.MS.IF),
akaditigo (3.MP.IF), *akadigabi* (3.DIM.MS.FF), *akadigap* (3.DIM.MS.BF),
akadigatik (3.DIM.MS.IF), *akadigatigo* (3.DIM.MS.FF)

§12.6 Morphosyntax of the Ayoreo base-form, full-form and indeterminate-form

The morphosyntax of AY forms has been described by Bertinetto (2009). In this section the main points will be summarized. The BF is used for nominal predication (Bertinetto 2009: 40), while argumental noun phrases show up in FF or IF.²⁹³ Thus, the subjects *cucoi* /*kokoj/* and *cojñoi* /*koŋoj/* in (72a) and *caratai* /*karataj/* in (73) are in FF.

²⁹² *Iguidap* /*igidap/* is also the diminutive BF of *iguidi* /*igidi/* (3.MS.FF) ‘blanket, sheet’.

²⁹³ From now onwards, ‘argumental NP’ will also be used to refer to adjuncts.

- (72) a. Cuco-i ajamap. Cojño-i querú-pis.
 /kuko-j ahamap koño-j keru-pis/
 boat-MS.FF small.MS.BF stranger-MS.FF big-ELAT.FS.BF
 ‘The boat was small and the stranger very big.’ (QCCB, I, 4; cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 40)

- b. ¡Carata-que que, don Pedro a!
 /karata-ke ke, don pedro a/
 Jaguar-MS.BF PST don Pedro MOD
 ‘It was a jaguar, don Pedro!’ (QCCB, II, 35 cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 40)

- (73) Ch-uninga mu carata-i t-ōraja guesi.
 /tɕ-uniŋa mu karata-j t-ōraha gesi/
 3-be_surprised but jaguar-MS.FF 3-throw_into outside
 ‘He was surprised when the jaguar came out.’ (QCCB, II, 36)

The difference between FF and IF is semantic rather than syntactic, for they have the same morphosyntactic use. The IF is used when the argumental noun phrase has non-specific reference (Bertinetto 2009: 46-47). In (74c) one finds a non-specific referent in an affirmative clause. In (74b) there is uncertainty about the referent; one wonders whether the subjects are chasing an armadillo or a brocket, while in (74c) the IF after the negation expresses the absence of referent in that specific context.

- (74) a. Jıraque ch-ise ojojo-bu-rique.
 /hĩrake tɕ-ise ohoho-bu-rike/
 Suddenly 3-meet monkey-group-MS.IF
 ‘Suddenly he met a group of monkeys.’ (QCCB, II, 45)
- b. A ore ch-ajna ajarame-tique. Aramoro-raque a deji.
 /a ore tɕ-aŋa aharamé-tike aramoro-rake a dehi/
 MOD 3P 3-follow armadillo-MS.IF brown_brocket-FS.IF MOD there_is
 ‘They are following an armadillo, or perhaps a brocket.’ (QCCB, II, 28)
- c. Que i-boca-raque cuse enga ch-ijna d-ojo-die.
 /ke i-boka-rake kuse eja tɕ-iŋa d-oho-die/
 NEG 3-gun-FS.IF EXIST and 3-bring RFL-arrow-FP.FF
 ‘He does not have his gun, but he brings his arrows.’ (QCCB, II, 45)

The BF's predicative function can be seen in the use of the word for 'alligator', which appears without copula in the first occurrence in (75) and with a locative copula in the second occurrence. In the first case, the noun phrase itself expresses the predication and appears in BF, while in the second case it is the argument of the verb *deji* /*dehi*/ and shows up in FF (Bertinetto 2009: 40-41). In (76) the BF is used after a negation, which does not imply the use of the IF, because there is no copula. As a consequence, the noun phrase has predicative role and is inflected in BF.

- (75) ¡Cajire to! ¡Arócojna-quedejna! ¡Arócojna-quedejna-i deji ne!
 /kahire to arokoña-kedeña arokoña-kedeña-j dehi ne/
 look too alligator-different.MS.BF alligator-different-MS.FF 3.there_is there
 'Look there! It is an alligator! There is an alligator right there!'
 (QCCB, I, 24, cit in Bertinetto 2009: 41)

- (76) Que yame go. Que cuchiso go. Que uñec u = po go.
 /ke jame go ke kutçiso go ke uñek u = po go/
 NEG monkey.FS.BF POL NEG animal.MS.BF POL NEG other COP = also POL
 'It was no monkey, no animal, nothing of the sort.'
 (QCCB, I, 44, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 48)

Number and form are only marked once at the right periphery of the noun phrase. Adjectives usually follow the noun they refer to and thus the (last) adjective takes number and form as required by the syntactic and semantic context, while all preceding elements appear in singular BF (77). In addition, the adjective agrees in gender with the noun it refers to, as in (77) and (78). To exemplify: in (77c-d) the referent is plural, but the plural FF only appears on the final element of the phrase, while the other elements are in singular BF. In (78) the noun phrase appears in singular IF, marked on the adjective, while the preceding noun shows up in singular BF.

- (77) a. Enga oriechoquí ch-ayója tié enga basá-ja pararingué cucháb-i.
 /eña orietçoki tç-ajoha tie eña basa-ha parariñe kutçab-i/
 CONJ thief.MS.FF 3-run_to river.FS CONJ 3.fall_into ravine.MS.BF big-MS.FF
 'The thief run to the river and fell into a deep ravine.' (QCCB, I, 11)

b. I-guijna queru-i deji Tumichucua ome d-achid-ode
 /i-gi_ɲa keru-j dehi tumitɕukua ome d-atɕid-ode/
 3-house.MS.BF big-MS.BF there_is Tumichucua PREP RFL-instrument-MP.FF
 cuchabasu-cho.²⁹⁴
 /kutɕabasu-tɕo/
 airplane-MP.BF

‘In Tumichucua there is a hangar for the airplanes.’ (QCCB, II, 15)

c. Ore ch-udute dara quedéjn-ane.
 /ore tɕ-udute dara kedeŋ-ane/
 3P 3-hear voice.MS.BF different-MP.FF

‘They heard strange voices.’ (QCCB, I, 44, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 41)

d. Ch-imo carata-que gare querújn-ane iji ta.
 /tɕ-imo karata-ke gare keruŋ-ane ihi ta/
 3-see jaguar-MS.BF two.BF very_big-MP.FF LOC there

‘He saw two big jaguars right there.’ (QCCB, I, 31, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 41)

(78) Ijos eti tache-que queru-rique deji.
 /ihos eti tatɕe-ke keru-rike dehi/
 1S.think COMP agouti-MS.BF big-MS.IF there_is
 ‘I thought that there was a big agouti.’ (QCCB, II, 1)

As Bertinetto notes, this is a “compound-like construction” (2009: 41). Indeed, when the first element of a compound is a noun, it appears in singular BF, “the starting point of any inflectional and derivational operation” (Bertinetto 2009: 17).

(79) a. ajorepuŋori ‘killer’ (< FF ajorej, BF ajore ‘person’ + puŋori ‘killer’)
 b. kukarãtedo ‘cave, crevice in a rock’
 (< FF kukarani, BF kukarãt ‘mountain, hill’ + edo ‘eye’)
 c. utɕakepie ‘toilet’ (< FF utɕaj, BF utɕak ‘excrement’ + pie ‘container’)²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ In this example *cuchabasu* /kutɕabasu/ ‘airplane’ appears in plural BF, because it follows the possessive classifier *gachidi* /gatɕidi/ (see §9.1).

²⁹⁵ AY *pie* (FS.FF) ‘container’ corresponds to *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’ in Chamacoco. Both *pie* and *pita* are non-possessable nouns. One can observe a compositional mechanism similar to that of *uchaquepie* /utɕakepie/ ‘toilet’ in the corresponding CH word *dichipita* /ditɕipita/: *dichipita* (FS.FF) ‘toilet, latrine’ ---> *dichi-t* /ditɕit/ (GF.MS.FF) ‘dung’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’. Note that in Chamacoco the GF of *ichit* /itɕit/ (3.MS.FF) ‘dung’ is used, while AY

In the genitival construction in (80a), by contrast, both the possessor and the possessee (always in this order) appear in FF (see Bertinetto 2009: 44-45). The form of the possessee depends on the context, but the possessor always shows up in FF. In (80b) the same construction with determinant in FF expresses partitivity (*caratade chojmárai* /karatade t̥om̥araj/ ‘one of the jaguars’). This is functional to distinguish a genitival or partitive construction from a noun followed by an adjective. In (80b) the FF on ‘jaguar’ indicates that the talk is about ‘one of the jaguars’, while in (80c) ‘jaguar’ appears in BF followed by the inflected numeral adjective ‘two’ (i.e., ‘two jaguars’).

(80) a. Sérgio ch-ingo carata-i aro-i tome Ramón.
 /serxjo t̥-ɪŋo karata-j aro-j tome ramon/
 Sérgio 3-show jaguar-MS.FF skin-MS.FF PREP Ramón
 ‘Sérgio shew the jaguar’s skin to Ramón.’ (QCCB, I, 37, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 45)

b. Sérgio ch-ujé carata-de chojmára-i, enga uña-i jno.
 /serxjo t̥-uhe karata-de t̥om̥ara-j eŋa uña-j ɲo/
 Sérgio 3-hit jaguar-MP.FF one-MS.FF CONJ another-MS.FF 3.go
 ‘Sérgio hits one of the jaguars and another goes away.’ (QCCB, I, 33)

c. Carata-que gáre-ode ore ch-ajna, mu Sérgio que ch-unínga ore go.
 /karata-ke gare-ode ore t̥-aŋa mu serxjo ke t̥-uniŋa ore go/
 Tiger-MS.BF two-MP.FF 3P 3-follow but Sergio NEG 3-notice 3P POL
 ‘Two jaguars followed, but Sergio didn’t notice them.’ (QCCB, I, 31)

uchai /ut̥aj/ ‘excrement’ is a 3-person. The BF of *uchai*, *uchac* /ut̥ak/ corresponds to the BF of *ichit*, *ichak* /it̥ak/. A difference between *uchaquepie* and *dichipita* is that in Ayoreo the first element of the compound is the BF (coinciding with the root), while in Chamacoco the first element is the root, which in this case does not coincide with the BF. On *uchaquepie* /ut̥akepie/ ‘toilet’, see (Bertinetto 2009: 18).

Figure 12.1 summarizes the uses of BF, FF and IF.

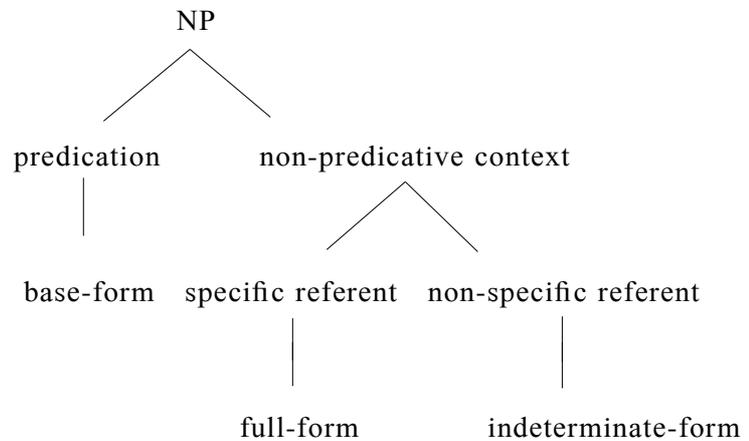


Figure 12.1

§12.7 Ayoreo abstract nouns

In this section the morphological structure of some groups of abstract nouns will be discussed. This is not part of AY inflectional morphology, but it is interesting to observe the interaction between the derivational suffixes used for abstract noun formation and inflectional morphology.

AY abstract nouns can be formed by means of derivational suffixes: *-/niŋaj/*, *-/riŋaj/*, *-/tigaj/* and *-/tijej/*. The similarity with the IF suffixes *-/nik/*, *-/rik/* and *-/tik/* is straightforward. The suffixes *-/tigaj/* and *-/tijej/* correspond to *-/tik/*, just as many nouns in *-/niŋaj/*, *-/riŋaj/*, *-/tigaj/* and *-/tijej/* derive from nominals with singular IF *-/nik/*, *-/rik/* and *-/tik/*, respectively. This might lead one to conclude that there is no need to talk about suffixes for abstract nouns, as though these were derived by adding *-/aj/* or *-/ej/* to the singular IF. Anticipating data to be shown below, there are three counter-arguments to this hypothesis. First, there is no strict correspondence between the IF suffixes and the suffixes used for abstract nouns. Second, the correspondence could follow from the interaction between the BF and the abstract suffixes. Third, there are abstract nouns which directly derive from verbs: in this case there is no IF to add *-/aj/* or *-/ej/* to. For

these reasons it is preferable to argue that *-/niɲaj/*, *-/riɲaj/*, *-/tigaj/* and *-/tijej/* should be considered derivational suffixes on their own.

In the following examples, abstract nouns will always be cited in the singular FF. The abstract nouns in the following examples will be provided in 3-person or in GF. No attention will be paid to prefixation, which expresses the possessor and follows its own rules (see §9).

The inflection of abstract nouns is very regular and predictable. The BF, FF and IF follow the above described rules, as one can see in the following examples. Abstract nouns have identical inflection, depending on the suffix.

- (81) a. *tajipietigaj* (GF.MS.FF) ‘foolishness’, *tajipietigade* (GF.MP.FF),
tajipietiga (GF.MS.BF), *tajipietiga* (MP.FF), *tajipietigarik* (MS.IF),
tajipietigarigo (GF.MP.IF)
 b. *ejutigej* (3.MS.FF) ‘tiredness’, *ejutigeode* (3.MP.FF), *ejutige* (3.MS.BF),
ejutigeo (3.MP.IF), *ejutigerik* (3.MS.IF), *ejutigerigo* (3.MP.IF)
 c. *ikeraniɲaj* (3.MS.FF) ‘growth’, *ikeraniɲane* (3.MP.FF), *ikeraniɲa* (3.MS.BF),
ikeraniɲa (3.MP.BF), *ikeraniɲarik* (3.MS.IF), *ikeraniɲariɲo* (3.MP.IF)
 d. *teɲuriɲaj* (MS.FF) ‘cold, coldness’, *teɲuriɲane* (MP.FF), *teɲuriɲa* (MS.BF),
teɲuriɲa (MP.BF), *teɲuriɲarik* (MS.IF), *teɲuriɲariɲo* (MP.IF)

The nouns obtained by means of these derivational mechanisms are also used to refer to places related to the nominal they derive from (82). These are not, properly speaking, abstract referents, although they may be used to suggest a meaning of this sort.

- (82) a. *apariɲaj* (3.MS.FF), *apariɲa* (3.MS.BF) ‘place where one resides for a short
 time’ ---> *apari* (3.MS.FF), *aparik* (3.MS.BF), *apartik* (3.MS.IF)
 ‘what is temporarily used’
 b. *gesariɲaj* (MS.FF), *gesariɲa* (MS.BF) ‘open place’
 ---> *gesaj* (MS.FF), *gesak* (MS.BF), *gesatik* (MS.IF) ‘open, clear’

The derivational mechanism of abstract nouns will be analysed suffix by suffix. The following section deals with the derivational suffix *-/tigaj/* (§12.7.1). The suffix *-/tijej/* and *-/niɲaj/* are discussed in (§12.7.2) and (§12.7.3), respectively. Finally, *-/riɲaj/* is addressed in (§12.7.4).

§12.7.1 The suffix *-/tigaj/*

The suffix *-/tigaj/* is applied to BFs ending in a consonant (*/k/* (83a-b), */p/* (83c) or */t/* (83d-e)). The derivational process is the same as that of the IF suffix *-/tik/*.²⁹⁶ However, nominals with BF ending in a consonant do not necessarily form an abstract noun by means of *-/tigaj/* (or *-/tijej/*, see below).

- (83) a. *akaditigaj* (3.MS.FF), *akaditiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘teaching’
 ---> *acadi* (3.MS.FF), *acadik* (3.MS.BF), *acaditik* (3.MS.IF) ‘student’
- b. *aretigaj* (MS.FF), *aretiga* (MS.BF) ‘that which is good’
 ---> *arej* (MS.FF), *arek* (MS.BF), *aretigo* (MS.IF) ‘good, well’
- c. *ahātigaj* (MS.FF), *ahātiga* (MS.BF) ‘narrowness’
 ---> *ahami* (MS.FF), *ahāp* ([M/F]S.BF), *ahātik* (MS.IF) ‘small, narrow’
- d. *aṅuretigaj* (3.MS.FF), *aṅuretiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘faith, belief’
 ---> *aṅureni* (3.MS.FF), *aṅuret* (3.MS.BF), *aṅuretik* (3.MS.IF.)
 ‘believed-in-thing, trusted one’
- e. *weratigaj* (3.MS.FF), *weratiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘beauty, prettiness’
 ---> *weradi* (MS.FF), *werat* (MS.BF), *weratik* (MS.IF) ‘beautiful, pretty’

In some derived nouns, haplology occurs, as in (84a), where *-/ta/-* deletes. *Omitigai* /*omitigaj*/ (85b) is an exception, but this is no surprise since a morphological irregularity is also to be found in the inflection of the nominal it derives from.

- (84) a. *ajuguebatigaj* (3.MS.FF), *ajuguebatiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘preoccupation’
 ---> *ajuguebataj* (MS.FF), *ajuguebatak* (MS.BF), *ajuguebatatik* (MS.IF)
 ‘worried, concerned’
- b. *omitigaj* (3.MS.FF), *omitiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is good’
 ---> *omi* (MS.FF), *wom* (MS.BF), *onik* (MS.IF) ‘good’

Although the abstract suffixes are mainly applied to nominals, they can also be applied to verbs. Examples with *-/tigaj/* are shown in (85). Given the few examples available, it is difficult to establish a general

²⁹⁶ The only difference is that no abstract noun derived from a BF in *-/s/* is reported, but there are nouns derived from a verb root in *-/s/* (see ex. (85c)).

rule. Both *atigai* /atigaj/ and *iriguitigai* /irigitigaj/ derive from verb roots ending in /k/ replaced by *-/tigaj/*. This is consistent with the morphological behaviour of the suffix *-/tigaj/* with nominals. *Batigai* /batigaj/ (85c) derives from the verb root *-/ibas/* which ends in /s/.²⁹⁷ In this case, unlike *atigai* /atigaj/ and *iriguitigai* /irigitigaj/, the possessive inflection of the abstract noun follows the verb inflection. In *casitigai* /kasitigaj/ (85d) the verb does not end in a consonant, but *casitigai* /kasitigaj/ could derive from *casidi* /kasidi/, although it seems semantically closer to *casi* /kasi/.

- (85) a. *atigaj* (3.MS.FF), *atiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘act of eating’ --- > t-a-k (3S) ‘to eat’
 b. *irigitigaj* (3.MS.FF), *irigitiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘act of travelling’
 --- > Ø-Ø-dik (3S), j-i-rik (1S), b-a-rik (2S) ‘to walk’
 c. *batigaj* (3.MS.FF), *batiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘birth; stopping place’²⁹⁸
 cf. j-a-batigaj (1S.MS.FF), b-a-batigaj (2S.MS.FF)
 --- > Ø-Ø-bas (3), j-i-bas (1S), b-a-bas (2S) ‘to be born; to fall down;
 to stop when traveling’ (also: base)
 d. *kasitigaj* (3.MS.FF), *kasitiga* (3.MS.BF) ‘courage, fearlessness’
 --- > Ø-Ø-kasi (3S) ‘to have the courage to do something’; *ikasidi* (3.MS.FF),
ikasit (3.MS.BF), *ikasitik* (3.MS.IF) ‘one who is not feared’

§12.7.2 The suffix *-/tigej/*

The suffix *-/tigej/* is less used than *-/tigaj/*, although no regularity has been found to determine which one has to be used. Both suffixes follow the same morphological rules. As with *-/tigaj/*, the singular BF of the nominal must end in a consonant, replaced by the derivational suffix (86).

²⁹⁷ Strikingly, for the time being no abstract noun in *-/tigaj/* derived from a BF in /s/ is reported.

²⁹⁸ *Batigai* /batigaj/ has many other meanings such as ‘number’, ‘sum of what is counted’. It could be doubtful whether the meaning ‘stopping place’ could be considered abstract, but in this case one has to consider its first meaning (‘birth’) and the derivational mechanism. Furthermore, after the encounter with the ‘Western world’, this word also indicates the landing place of an airplane.

- (86) a. etotigej (3.MS.FF), etotige (3.MS.BF) ‘strenght’
 ---> etoj (MS.FF) ‘strong’, etok (MS.BF), etotik (MS.IF)
- b. ejutigej (3.MS.FF), ejutige (3.MS.BF) ‘tiredness, emptiness’
 ---> ejuj (MS.FF) ‘tired, empty’, ejuk (MS.BF), ejutik (MS.IF)
- c. ikaniratigej (3.MS.FF), ikaniratige (3.MS.BF) ‘kindness, generosity’
 ---> kaniraj (MS.FF) ‘kind, generous’, kanirak (MS.BF), kaniratik (MS.IF)
- d. wahatigej (3.MS.FF), wahatige (3.MS.BF) ‘strength’
 ---> wahadi (MS.FF) ‘strong’, wahat (MS.BF), wahatik (MS.IF)

§12.7.3 The suffix *-/niñaj/*

The suffix *-/niñaj/* is applied to nominals whose singular BF ends in *-/r/* substituted by the suffix itself (87a-b). The same mechanism is found with the IF suffix *-/nik/*. All nominals taking *-/nik/* in the singular IF take *-/niñaj/* to form the abstract noun. Although less frequently, also nominals with BF not ending in *-/r/* may take this suffix, as in (87c), where the BF ends in *-/t/*. In (87d-f) one finds deverbal abstract nouns. *Putáningai /putaniñaj/* (87d) comes from a verb which ends in *-/re/*, replaced by the suffix. By contrast, *quéraningai /keraniñaj/* (87e) *-/niñaj/* is simply added to the verb root. *Nijíningai /nihiniñaj/* (87f) also has the variant *nijíringai /nihiriñaj/*.

- (87) a. kañoniñaj (MS.FF) kañoniña (MS.BF) ‘dryness, dry place’
 ---> kañori (MS.FF), kañor (MS.BF), kañonik (MS.IF) ‘dry’
- b. umaniñaj (MS.FF), umaniña (MS.BF) ‘length’
 ---> umari (MS.FF), umar (MS.BF), umanik (MS.IF) ‘tall, high, large’
- c. hokaniñaj (3.MS.FF), hokaniña (3.MS.BF) ‘war, fighting, persecution’
 ---> hokāraj (3.MS.FF), hokārat (3.MS.BF), hokāratik (3.MS.IF)
 ‘one who is driven out, expelled, kicked out’
- d. putaniñaj (MS.FF), putaniña (MS.BF) ‘time of planting, planting season’
 ---> ṭ-u-tāre (3) ‘to prepare ground for planting’
- e. ikeraniñaj (3.MS.FF), ikeraniña (3.MS.BF) ‘growth’
 ---> j-i-kerā (1S), b-a-kerā (2S), Ø-Ø-kerā (3) ‘to grow, to get bigger’
- f. nihiniñaj / nihiriñaj (GF.MS.FF), nihiniña / nihiriña (GF.MS.BF)
 ‘rising act, act of waking up’;
 ---> j-ĩ-rihi (1S), b-ã-rihi (2S), Ø-Ø-nihi (3) ‘to wake up’

§12.7.4 The suffix *-/riŋaj/*

The suffix *-/riŋaj/* may follow the same morphological rules of the IF suffix *-/rik/* and in this case it applies to nominals with singular BF in *-/V/*. *-/riŋaj/* is simply added to the singular BF.

- (88) a. *ahesereriŋaj* (3.MS.FF), *ahesereriŋa* (3.MS.BF) ‘peace, absence of fear’
 ---> *ahekesej* (MS.FF), *ahekese* (MS.BF), *ahekeseo* (MP.BF), *ahekeserik* (MS.IF)
 ‘peaceable, peaceful’
- b. *isadoderiŋaj* (3.MS.FF), *isadoderiŋa* (3.MS.BF) ‘fear, cowardice’
 ---> *sadodej* (MS.FF), *sadode* (MS.BF), *sadoderik* (MS.IF) ‘afraid, fearful’
- c. *perupiriŋaj* (MS.FF), *perupiriŋa* (MS.BF) ‘yellowness, greenness’
 ---> *perupi* (MS.FF), *perupi* (MS.BF), *perupirik* (MS.IF) ‘yellow, green’
- d. *uturutureriŋaj* (3.MS.FF), *uturutureriŋa* (3.MS.BF) ‘foolishness’
 ---> *turuturej* (MS.FF), *turuture* (MS.BF), *turuturerik* (MS.IF) ‘fool’

Although nominals with singular BF in *-V* generally form their abstract noun with *-/riŋaj/*, most nouns in *-/riŋaj/* derive from BFs ending in consonant, mostly */k/*, sometimes */t/* (89).

- (89) a. *iserēratçuriŋaj* (3.MS.FF), *iserēratçuriŋa* (3.MS.BF) ‘weakness’,
 ---> *serēratçuj* (MS.FF), *serēratçuk* (MS.BF), *serēratçutik* (MS.IF)
 ‘weak, without strenght’
- b. *hūruatçuriŋaj* (MS.FF), *hūruatçuriŋa* (MS.BF) ‘heat, hotness’
 ---> *hūruatçuj* (MS.FF), *hūruatçuk* (MS.BF), *hūruatçutik* (MS.IF) ‘hot’
- c. *subuderiŋaj* (GF.MS.FF), *subuderiŋa* (GF.MS.BF)
 ‘state of being replete with food’
 ---> *subudej* (MS.FF), *subude* (MS.BF), *subudetik* (MS.IF) ‘satisfied (appetite)’
- d. *tetariŋaj* (3.MS.FF), *tetariŋa* (3.MS.BF) ‘wetness’
 ---> *tetaj* (MS.FF), *tetak* (MS.BF), *tetatik* (MS.IF) ‘wet’

Among abstract nouns in *-/riŋaj/*, there are two nouns derived from nominals with singular BF in *-/t/*. *Itrabajandoringai* */itrabahadoriŋaj/* ‘work’ (90a) is a very interesting example, because, being a Spanish loan, it proves that this derivational mechanism is still productive, although the meaning of *trabajádi* */trabahadi/* and *trabajándoringai* */trabahandoriŋaj/* is the same and the latter might look redundant.

Jopidiringai /hopidiriŋaj/ derives from *jopidi* /hopidi/ ‘glass, water trough’, but could also derive from its feminine form *jopidé* /hopide/ ‘well, cistern’ which is semantically closer, but this would be the only abstract noun derived from a feminine form and for this reason one should exclude the latter hypothesis.

- (90) a. itrabahandoriŋaj (3.MS.FF), itrabahandoriŋa (3.MS.BF) ‘work, labor’
 ---> trabahadi (3.MS.FF), trabahat (3.MS.BF), trabahatik (3.MS.IF) ‘work, labor’
 b. hopidiriŋaj (3.MS.FF), hopidiriŋa (3.MS.BF)
 ‘place where there is water for drinking’ ---> hopidi (3.MS.FF),
 hopit (3.MS.BF), hopitik (3.MS.IF) ‘glass, water trough’;
 cf. hopide (GF.FS.FF) ‘well, cistern’

The suffix *-/riŋaj/* can also be added to verb roots, as in *urungúringai* /uruŋuriŋaj/ (91a). *Ūringai* /uriŋaj/ (91b) is derived from the copula *u*. The derivational process is not always obvious. For example, in *itoringai* /itoriŋaj/ (91c) ‘death’, one wonders whether the noun comes from the verb *toi* /toj/ ‘die’ or from the BF of the corresponding nominal *toi* /toj/ ‘dead’. *Guedéjnoríngái* /gedeŋoriŋaj/ ‘sunset’ (91d) derives from a phrasal compound.

- (91) a. uruŋuriŋaj (3.MS.FF), uruŋuriŋaj (3.MS.BF) ‘demonstration of fury, rage’
 ---> j-u-ruŋu (1S), b-a-ruŋu (2S), ṭ-u-gu (3) ‘to become angry’
 b. uriŋaj (3.MS.FF), uriŋa (3.MS.BF) ‘state of being’ ---> u ‘to be’ (copula)
 c. itoriŋaj (3.MS.FF), itoriŋa (3.MS.BF) ‘death’
 ---> j-i-toj (1S), b-a-toj (2S), Ø-Ø-toj (3) ‘to die’;
 toj (MS.FF), tok (MS.BF), totik (MS.IF) ‘dead’
 d. gedeŋoriŋaj (MS.FF), gedeŋoriŋa (MS.BF) ‘sunset’
 ---> gede (MS.FF) ‘sun’ + ŋo (3) ‘to go, to leave’ (lit. ‘the sun leaves’)
 e. koriŋaj / doriŋaj ((3.MS.FF), koriŋa / doriŋa ((3.MS.BF) ‘departure’
 ---> ŋo (3) ‘to go, to leave’

In (93e) the derivational mechanism is opaque, but it was transparent in Ancient Zamuco (92), where the suffix *-rigatie* (MS.FF) / *-riga* (MS.BF) was used to derive abstract nouns. Compare also (93) with (91c).

(92) A.Z. yinoriga (1S.MS.BF), anoriga (2S.MS.BF), noriga (3S.MS.BF),
 pinoriga (GF.MS.BF) ‘departure, outward journey’
 ----> no (3) ‘to go’

(93) A.Z. yitorigatie (1S.MS.FF) ‘death’ ---> ØØ-toi (3) ‘to die, to be dead’

§12.8 Ayoreo verbal nouns

‘Verbal nouns’, as they are called in Bertinetto (2009: 38-39), are nouns with passive meaning derived from verbs. They refer to the recipient of the action and could be thus considered the opposite of the *nomina agentis* in *-/sõri/* or *-/ŋori/* (see §12.9). Verbal nouns can be used instead of inflected verbs, as in interrogative clauses (Bertinetto 2009: 38), where they are the preferred but not obligatory option (Bertinetto 2009: 39).

(94) a. ζOre imó-rique gotique e?
 /ore imo-rike gotike e/
 3P see-MS.IF IGNOR MOD
 ‘What did they see?’ (QCCB, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 38)

b. ζJe isa-tique a?
 /he isa-tike a/
 INT grasp-MS.IF MOD
 ‘What did he/she/they take/find?’ (QCCB, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 38)

c. ζAjiri-tique e?
 /ahiri-tike e/
 observe-MS.IF MOD
 ‘What did he observe?’ (QCCB, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 38)

d. ζGosode dayé ichode?
 /gosode daje itcode/
 who.P father.MS shoot.MP.FF
 ‘Which animals did the father hit?’ (QCCB, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 38)

The derivational mechanism of verbal nouns does not seem to be entirely productive in Ayoreo according to Bertinetto (2009: 38). Verbal nouns are

usually obtained by adding a suffix to the verb root. The most frequently used suffixes are *-/k/*, *-/t/* and *-/mat/* or *-/mait/*, as added to the verb root in order to obtain the MS-BF of verbal nouns. Possessive inflection, gender, number and form are the same as with the other nominals. In (95) one finds verbal nouns derived by means of the suffix *-/t/*. In the MS-FF the suffix *-/i/* is added to the BF and */t/* voices into */d/*. The singular FF of *orut*, *oruti* (95g), is an exception, because */t/* does not voice. In (95a) and (95e) there is insertion of */e/* and */i/* before *-/t/*.

- (95) a. *t-i-bagi* (3) ‘to go/come to a person’
 ---> *i-bagiet* (3.MS.BF), *i-bagiedi* (3.MS.FF) ‘person one comes to; person one goes to’
 b. *Ø-Ø-tɕaŋaj* (3) ‘to answer, to reply’
 ---> *i-tɕaŋajt* (3.MS.BF), *i-tɕaŋajni* (3.MS.FF) ‘whom/what is answered/replied’
 c. *tɕ-i-gi* (3) ‘to get dressed, to put on clothes’
 ---> *i-git* (3.MS.BF), *i-gidi* (3.MS.FF) ‘blanket, sheet, what is used for a cover’
 d. *Ø-Ø-pesu* (3) ‘to make, to do’
 ---> *i-pesut* (3.MS.BF), *i-pesudi* (3.MS.FF) ‘what is made/done’
 e. *Ø-Ø-poŋa* (3) ‘to bawl out, to scold’
 ---> *i-poŋait* (3.MS.BF), *i-poŋaini* (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is bawled out/scolded’
 f. *t-o-ri / t-o-ria* (3) ‘to rob, to steal’
 ---> *o-rit* (3.MS.BF), *o-ridi* (3.MS.FF) ‘stolen item’
 g. *tɕ-o-ru* (3) ‘to climb, to mount, to ride’
 ---> *o-rut* (3.MS.BF), *o-ruti* (3.MS.FF) ‘what is climbed, mounted, ridden’

As shown in the above examples, verbal nouns can be derived from verbs belonging to all inflectional classes. They are generally thematic nouns: the thematic vowel of the verb is preserved in the corresponding verbal noun. If the noun derives from a radical verb, in the 3-person it adds a vowel corresponding to the one used in the 1-person of the verb. Such vowel is usually */i/*, sometimes */u/*.²⁹⁹ In (96) the suffix *-/mat/* or *-/mait/* is used to derive the verbal noun. This suffix is rare. Note that in (96b) and (96e) the lexical suffixes *-/ha/* and *-/me/* are not preserved in the verbal noun.

- (96) a. *Ø-Ø-dehena* (3) ‘to invite, to welcome’
 ---> *i-dehenamat* (3.MS.BF), *i-dehenamani* (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is invited, welcomed’
 i-neheramait (3.MS.BF), *i-neheramaini* (3.MS.FF)

²⁹⁹ In (95d) the thematic vowel is not present in the 3-person, but */u/* is to be found in the 1-person.

- b. Ø-Ø-doŋoŋaha (3) ‘to protest again, to show contempt’ j-i-doŋo-ho-ha (1P),
 wak-a-doŋō-t̥o-ha (2P)
 ---> i-doŋoŋamait (3.MS.BF), i-doŋoŋamaini (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is shown
 contempt for’
- c. Ø-Ø-nina (3) ‘to rejoice over, to welcome’;
 ---> i-ninamat (3.MS.BF), i-ninamani (3.MS.FF) ‘reason for rejoicing’
- d. Ø-Ø-ŋusina (3) ‘to remember’
 ---> Ø-Ø-ŋusinamat (3.MS.BF), Ø-Ø-ŋusinamani (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is remembered’
 also: Ø-Ø-ŋusinamait (3.MS.BF), Ø-Ø-ŋusinamaini (3.MS.FF)
- e. t̥-a-gutiŋame (3) ‘to receive help from’, j-a-gutiŋa-ŋo-me (1P),
 wak-a-gutiŋa-ŋo-me (2P)
 ---> a-gutiŋamait (3.MS.BF), a-gutiŋamani (3.MS.FF) ‘one who grants a benefit’
 also: a-gutiŋamait (3.MS.BF) / a-gutiŋamaini (3.MS.FF)
- f. Ø-Ø-dejena (3) ‘to invite, to welcome’
 ---> i-dejenamat (3.MS.BF), i-dejenamani (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is invited, welcomed’
 also: i-nejeramait (3.MS.BF), i-nejeramaini (3.MS.FF)

The most frequently used suffix to obtain the MS-BF of a verbal noun is *-/k/*, as added to the verb (97). The inflection follows the rules described in §12.5.1. In the FF, *-/k/* drops when the singular FF suffix *-/j/* is added.

- (97) a. t̥-i-bero (3) ‘to break; to crush’
 ---> i-berok (3.MS.BF), i-beroj (3.MS.FF) ‘what is broken’
- b. t̥-i-bika (3) ‘to scratch’
 ---> i-bikak (3.MS.BF), i-bikaj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is scratched’
- c. t̥-i-ka (3) ‘to carve, as with a knife; to cut superficially’
 ---> i-kak (3.MS.BF), i-kaj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is cut’
- d. t̥-i-kota (3) ‘to praise, to compliment’
 ---> i-kotak (3.MS.BF), i-kotaj (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is praised, complimented’
- e. t̥-i-t̥aha (3) ‘to roast’
 ---> i-t̥ahak (3.MS.BF), i-t̥ahaj (3.MS.FF) ‘what is roasted’
- f. t̥-i-t̥o (3) ‘to shoot (at with)’
 ---> i-t̥ok (3.MS.BF), i-t̥oj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is shot at’
- g. t̥-i-dasu (3) ‘to thresh; to shell’
 ---> i-dasuk (3.MS.BF), i-dasuj (3.MS.FF) ‘what is shelled / threshed’
- h. t̥-i-haro (3) ‘to grind; to pound’
 ---> i-harok (3.MS.BF), i-haraj (3.MS.FF) ‘what is ground, pounded’
- i. t̥-o-ŋe (3) ‘to pour out, to spill’
 ---> o-ŋek (3.MS.BF), o-ŋej (3.MS.FF) ‘what is poured out, spilled’

- j. tɕ-u-butɕu (3) ‘to blow’
 ---> u-butɕuk (3.MS.BF), u-butɕuj (3.MS.FF) ‘trumpet; horn; what is blown’
- k. tɕ-u-kue ‘to look for; to search for’
 ---> u-kuek (3.MS.BF), u-kuej (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is looked for, searched for’

While in (97) the suffix *-/k/* is simply added to the verb root, in (98) the verb ends in *-/re/*, where */e/* is in most cases a euphonic vocoid. For this reason, *-/ak/* (98a-c) or *-/ik/* (98d) are added in the BF with */a/* and */i/* as epenthetic vowels.³⁰⁰ In (99) too, there is */i/* insertion and in (99a) it substitutes the last vowel of the verb.³⁰¹ In (99c), according to the process described in §12.1.4, root-final */t/* voices into */d/* when *-/ik/* is added. As already seen, masculine nominals with singular BF in *-/ik/* lose */k/* in the FF, so that the FF suffix *-/i/* merges with the last root-vowel. In such cases, the FF is phonologically lighter than the BF.

- (98) a. tɕ-e-kare (3) ‘to change; to replace’
 ---> e-karak (3.MS.BF), e-karaj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is changed; who/what is replaced’
- b. tɕ-i-kare (3) ‘to mention’
 ---> i-karak (3.MS.BF), i-karaj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is sworn’
- c. tɕ-o-sore (3) ‘to feel sorry for by helping’
 ---> o-sorak (3.MS.BF), o-soraj (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is shown compassion’
- d. tɕ-i-bore (3) ‘to cook meat on fire, in flames’
 ---> i-borik (3.MS.BF), i-bori (3.MS.FF) ‘what is burned directly in the fire’
- (99) a. tɕ-i-garu (3) ‘to tie, to bind’ j-i-ga-ko (1P), wak-a-ga-tɕo (2P)
 ---> i-garik (3.MS.BF), i-gari (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is tied, bound’
- b. tɕ-i-rase (3) ‘to be pleased with, to be happy about’ j-i-ra-ko (1P), wak-a-ra-so (2P)
 ---> i-rasik (3.MS.BF), i-rasi (3.MS.FF) ‘liking, what one likes’
- c. tɕ-a-kate (3) ‘to teach; to instruct’
 ---> a-kadik (3.MS.BF), a-kadi (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is taught; pupil; student; disciple’

In (100) one finds some irregularities. The verbal noun of *tibidi* (100a) has a regular BF, but two FFs are reported, the regular *ibidi* and *ibididi*, which derive from a different BF obtained by adding *-/t/* to the verb. Equally, the verb in (100b) has two verbal nouns: in *icadiguiet* */ikadigiet/* the MS-BF suffix *-/t/* is added and there is */e/* insertion before the suffix, as in (100b). In the

³⁰⁰ Note that AY *-/ak/* corresponds to CH *-/ak/*, a MS-BF suffix.

³⁰¹ In (99b-c) */e/* is probably a vocoid inserted to re-create the preferred syllable structure CV.

alternative form *icadic* /ikadik/, *-/k/* is added to the verb root with deletion of the last syllable *-/gi/*. This is probably due to deletion of the reduced lexical suffix (*-/i/* instead of *-/hi/*), which causes merging of the root-final consonant with the derivational suffix. In (100c), root-final */g/* reduces to */h/* in the verbal noun.³⁰² Finally, in (100d) the last syllable *-/se/* deletes in the verbal noun, but in this case there is */j/* insertion.

- (100) a. t-i-bidi (3) ‘to call; to summon’
 ---> i-bidik (3.MS.BF), i-bidi / i-bididi (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is called,
 who is summoned’
- b. ṭ-i-kadigi (3) ‘to forget’ j-i-kadi-ho-i (1P), wak-a-kadi-ṭo-j (2P)
 ---> i-kadigiet (3.MS.BF), i-kadigiedi (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is forgotten’
 i-kadik (3.MS.BF), i-kadi (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is forgotten’
- c. ṭ-i-ṭagu (3) ‘to pierce; to stab’, j-i-ṭa-ho (1P), wak-a-ṭa-ṭo (2P)
 ---> i-ṭahuk (3.MS.BF), i-ṭahuj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is pierced, stabbed’
- d. ṭ-o-tigase (3) ‘to doubt’ j-o-tiga-ko (1P), wak-o-tiga-so (2P)
 ---> o-tigajak (3.MS.BF), o-tigajaj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is doubted’

In (101a-c), the BF of the verbal noun corresponds to the verb root, while in (101d) *-/pi/* is added.

- (101) a. ṭ-i-ṭagaha (-juj) (3) to promise (to)
 ---> i-ṭagaha (3.MS.BF), i-ṭagahaj (3.MS.FF) ‘recipient of a promise,
 one who is promised something’
- b. ṭ-i-mo (3) ‘to see, to realize’
 ---> i-mo (3.MS.BF), i-moj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is seen’
- c. ṭ-o-ṅiṅa (3) ‘to say’
 ---> o-ṅiṅa (3.MS.BF), o-ṅiṅaj (3.MS.FF) ‘telling, who/what is told’
- d. Ø-Ø-ṁoṅaraha (3) ‘to threaten with evil/harm’ j-i-ṁoṅa-ko-ha (1P),
 wak-a-ṁoṅa-ṭo-ha (2P)
 ---> i-ṁoṅarapi (3.MS.BF), i-ṁoṅarapi (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is threatened’

³⁰² There could be a correlation with the presence of the suffix *-/ho/* in the 1P-person, because this suffix results from the fricativization of *-/ko/*.

§12.9 Nouns in *-/sōri/* or *-/ŋori/*³⁰³

Verbal nouns generally convey passive meaning. An alternative derivational mechanism refers to the entity which performs the action expressed by a verb. These *nomina agentis* are derived by means of the suffixes *-/sōri/* (MS.FF) or *-/ŋori/* (MS.FF). Not all such nouns derive from verbs and are *nomina agentis*, although this is true in most of them. The inflection of these nouns is very regular and was discussed in (§12.1.7), while the shape of their feminine counterparts is irregular (see §12.4.3),³⁰⁴ although it is the same in all cases. The suffixes *-/sōri/* and *-/ŋori/* convey the same meaning, indeed *-/ŋori/* is only observed when *-/sōri/* is found. For this reason, these nominals will be referred to as ‘nouns in *-/sōri/*’. There is no general rule to exactly predict the formation of such nouns. Not all of them have possessive inflection. Possessable nouns in *-/sōri/* follow the same rules as in verbal nouns. In (102) and (103) one finds nouns in *-/sōri/* derived from verbs. They can be derived from verbs belonging to any inflectional class. In (102) the formation is regular, because the suffix *-/sōri/* (or *-/ŋori/*) is added to the unchanged verb root. This occurs in the majority of these nouns, although in many verbs various subregularities or irregularities are to be observed (103).

- (102) a. *ɬ-i-bero* (3) ‘to break; to crush’
 ---> *i-berosōri* (3.MS.FF) ‘one who breaks something’
 b. *t-i-bidi* (3) ‘to call; to summon’
 ---> *i-bidisōri* (3.MS.FF) ‘one who calls / summons’
 c. *ɬ-i-gi* (3) ‘to get dressed, to put on clothes’
 ---> *i-gisōri* (MS.FF) ‘one who is clothed with something’
 d. *ɬ-i-mo* (3) ‘to see, to realize’
 ---> *i-mosōri* (3.MS.FF) ‘one who sees, who knows’
 e. *Ø-Ø-ṃoŋaraha* (3) ‘to threaten with evil/harm’, *j-i-ṃoŋa-ko-ha* (1P),
wak-a-ṃoŋa-ɬo-ha (2P)
 ---> *i-ṃoŋarahasōri* (3.MS.FF) ‘one who threatens with evil/harm’
 f. *Ø-Ø-pesu* (3) ‘to make, to do’
 ---> *i-pesuŋori* (3.MS.FF) ‘doer; maker; creator’
 ---> *i-pesusōri* (3.MS.FF) ‘doer; maker; creator’

³⁰³ About the derivational suffix *-/sōri/*, see also Bertinetto (2009: 17-18).

³⁰⁴ Since the inflection is easily predictable, in the following examples only the MS.FF will be provided.

- g. t̥-o-ru (3) ‘to climb, to mount, to ride’
 ---> o-rusōri (MS.FF) ‘climber; vines that climb’
- h. t̥-u-but̥u (3) ‘to blow’
 ---> u-but̥uṅori (MS.FF) ‘blower; player of a wind instrument’
 ---> u-but̥usōri (MS.FF) ‘blower; player of a wind instrument’
- i. t̥-u-kue (3) ‘to look for; to search for’
 ---> u-kuesōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who looks for, one who searches’

The irregularities or subregularities of the nouns in *-/sōri/* in (103) will not be discussed in detail, because they are the same as those reported in the verbal noun derived from the same verb (when the verbal noun exists). In (103h) the verb-root ends in a mobile syllable and is followed by a lexical suffix, but these elements are not preserved in the *nomen agentis*.

- (103) a. t-i-bagi (3) ‘to go/come to a person’
 ---> i-bagiet (3.MS.BF), i-bagiedi (3.MS.FF) ‘person one comes to; person one goes to’
 ---> i-bagiesōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who comes to a person’
- b. t̥-i-garu (3) ‘to tie, to bind’, j-i-ga-ko (1P), wak-a-ga-t̥o (2P)
 ---> i-garisōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who ties / binds’
 ---> i-garik (3.MS.BF), i-gari (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is tied, bound’
- c. t̥-i-rase (3) ‘to be pleased with, to be happy about’, j-i-ra-ko (1P), wak-a-ra-so (2P)
 ---> i-rasiṅori (3.MS.FF) ‘one who likes someone/something’
 ---> i-rasisōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who likes someone/something’
 ---> i-rasik (3.MS.BF), i-rasi (3.MS.FF) ‘liking, what one likes’
- d. t̥-a-kate (3) ‘to teach; to instruct’
 ---> a-kadik (3.MS.BF), a-kadi (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is taught; pupil; student; disciple’
 ---> a-kadisōri (3.MS.FF) ‘teacher; instructor’
- e. t̥-i-t̥agu (3) ‘to pierce; to stab’, j-i-t̥a-ho (1P), wak-a-t̥a-t̥o (2P)
 ---> i-t̥ahuk (3.MS.BF), i-t̥ahuj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is pierced, stabbed’
 ---> i-t̥ahusōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who pierces, stabs’
- f. t̥-o-sore (3) ‘to feel sorry for by helping’, j-o-so-ko (1P), wak-o-se-t̥o (2P)
 ---> o-sorak (3.MS.BF), o-soraj (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is shown compassion’
 ---> o-sōrasōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is merciful’
 ---> o-sōraṅori (3.MS.FF) ‘one who is merciful’
- g. t̥-o-tigase (3) ‘to doubt’, j-o-tiga-ko (1P), wak-o-tiga-so (2P)
 ---> o-tigajasōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who doubts’
 ---> o-tigajak (3.MS.BF), o-tigajaj (3.MS.FF) ‘who/what is doubted’
- h. t̥-u-kaṅarome (3) ‘to pursue, to chase’, j-u-kaṅa-ko-me (1P),
 wak-a-kaṅa-t̥o-me (2P)
 ---> u-kaṅasōri (3.MS.FF) ‘one who pursues, chases’

Nouns in *-/sōri/* do not only derive from verbs, but also from nominals, as in (104), needless to say, from the singular BF. In (104a) the root-final consonant drops in *gachingōri /gatçinori/*, *gachisōri /gatçisōri/*. In many cases, the suffix *-/sōri/* refers to the owner of a certain entity.

- (104) a. *g-a-tçidi* (3.MS.FF), *g-a-tçit* (3.MS.BF) ‘pet; domesticated animal; vehicle’
 (possessive classifier)
 ---> *g-a-tçinori* (MS.FF) ‘owner of a pet / domesticated animal / vehicle’
 ---> *g-a-tçisōri* (MS.FF) ‘owner of a pet / domesticated animal / vehicle’
- b. *i-daj* (3.MS.FF), *i-daj* (3.MS.BF) ‘village, town’
 ---> *i-dajsōri* (MS.FF) ‘resident of a town, citizen’
- c. *i-garube* (3.FS.FF), *i-garube* (3.FS.BF) ‘belt; sash’
 ---> *i-garubesōri* (MS.FF) ‘owner of a belt; wearer of a belt’
- d. *i-giñaj* (3.MS.FF), *i-giña* (3.MS.BF) ‘house; dwelling’
 ---> *i-giñasōri* (MS.FF) ‘occupant of a house’
- e. *o-raj* (3.MS.FF), *o-rak* (3.MS.BF) ‘woven article’
 ---> *o-rasōri* (MS.FF) ‘one who weaves, one who’
 ---> *o-rañori* (MS.FF) ‘one who weaves, one who’

§12.10 Verbal nouns in Ancient Zamuco

Verbal nouns were also present in Ancient Zamuco, where the derivational process was very similar. The derivational mechanism of these elements, referred to as *participios passivos* in Chomé, is not specifically described in his grammar, but one can infer it from the data provided by Chomé while describing their possessive inflection (Chomé 1958: 140-141). Verbal nouns in Ancient Zamuco had a specific 1S-prefix,³⁰⁵ while the AY possessive inflection is the same for both deverbal and non-deverbal nouns. In Ancient Zamuco there were two ways to obtain the MS-BF of verbal nouns from the verb root:

³⁰⁵ The prefix used for the 1S-person is usually *y-* (/j/-) in Ancient Zamuco. However, verbal nouns derived from /tç/-verbs take the prefix /tç/- in the 1S-person, while verbal nouns derived from thematic and radical verbs take the prefix /j/-. Verbal nouns derived from /t/-verbs can take /tç/- or /j/-, depending on the verb (Chomé 1958: 140-141). About the comparison between A.Z and AY verbal nouns, see also Kelm (1964: 496-497).

(i) by adding the suffix *-/k/* (105a-f);

(ii) by adding the suffix *-/t/* (105g-h).

Both suffixes were added to the verb theme. The suffixes *-/k/* and *-/t/* correspond to the most frequently used devices in Ayoreo; *-/k/* is the most frequent one in both Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco.

(105) a. Ay. *i-meserāk* (3.MS.BF) ‘who/what is wanted, preferred’

---> *tɕ-i-mesēre* (3) ‘to want, to prefer’

A.Z. *i-mecêrac* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is loved’ ---> *ch-i-mecêre* (3) ‘to love’

b. Ay. *e-kārak* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is changed / replaced’;

---> *tɕ-e-kāre* (3) ‘to change, to replace’

A.Z. *e-caric* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is followed’ ---> *ch-e-câre* (3) ‘to follow’

c. A.Z. *o-irac* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is added’ ---> *ch-o-ire* (3) ‘to add’

d. Ay. *i-manik* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is finished’ ---> *tɕ-i-mate* (3) ‘to finish’

A.Z. *u-manic* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is finished’ ---> *ch-u-mate* (3) ‘to finish’

e. Ay. *a-kak* (3.MS.BF) ‘plant’ ---> *tɕ-a-ka* (3) ‘to plant’

A.Z. *a-cac* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is planted’ ---> *ch-a-ca* (3) ‘to plant’

f. Ay. *i-jak* (3) ‘what is given up/ quit’ ---> *Ø-Ø-tɕa* (3) ‘to stop, to quit’

A.Z. *i-yauc* (3) ‘what is quit’ ---> *i-yau* (3) ‘to stop, to quit’

g. Ay. *o-it* (3.MS.BF) ‘what is carried/brought’ ---> *doj* (3) ‘to bring’

A.Z. *o-it* (3.MS.BF) ‘who/what is brought’ ---> *t-o-râ* (3) ‘to bring’³⁰⁶

h. Ay. *i-bidik* (3.MS.BF) ‘one who is called/summoned’

---> *t-i-bidi* (3) ‘to call, to summon’

A.Z. *y-i-bidit* (1S), *a-bidit* (2S), *Ø-Ø-pidit* (3), *p-i-bidit* (GF) ‘who/what is called’

---> *t-i-bidi* (3) ‘to call’

In (105a) there is */a/* insertion in both Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo, while in (105b) the AY noun takes epenthetic */a/* and the A.Z noun */i/*.³⁰⁷ In (105f) the 3-person of the verb *cha* */tɕa/* is irregular, but the verbal noun preserves */j/* as in the rest of the verb paradigm. Although the suffixes usually correspond to each other in both languages, the verbal nouns from *tibidi* (105h) take the suffix *-/t/* in Ancient Zamuco and *-/k/* in Ayoreo. Nevertheless, in Ayoreo the FF *tibididi*, derived from a BF in *-/t/*, is also found (100a). In this case, the A.Z verbal noun is radical (and thus irregular), while the AY one is thematic. Regularization from Ancient Zamuco to Ayoreo is also observable in AY *ibidic*

³⁰⁶ According to Chomé (1958: 141) *oit* would derive from *t-orâ*, which has been reported in the example but this is probably a mistake.

³⁰⁷ In (105a-e), final */e/* is probably an epenthetic vocoid.

/ibidik/, both because it takes *-/k/* (the most frequently used suffix) and because it is thematic.

§12.11 Ancient Zamuco nouns in *-zore (-/sore/)*

The AY derivational suffixes *-/sōri/* (MS.FF), *-/sōre/* (MS.BF) and *-/ŋori/* (MS.FF), *-/ŋore/* (MS.BF) correspond to A.Z *-zore (-/sore/)* (MS.BF) and *-gore* (MS.BF). The last vowel of *-gore* and *-zore* was probably a euphonic vocoid. In the FF, it is replaced by epenthetic */i/*, giving rise to *-zoritie (-/soritie/)* (MS.FF) and *-goritie* (MS.BF) (Chomé 1958: 133). Chomé cites this suffix in the BF *-zore*, reporting no more than a few examples, where *-zore* seems to be more frequent than *-gore*. The feminine BF is *-/to/* (106). When *-zore* is added to the verb root, it forms a *nomen agentis* (106).³⁰⁸

- (106) a. Ay. *i-meserasōri / i-meseraŋori* (3.MS.FF) ‘one who prefers’
 ---> *ɬ-i-mesēre* (3) ‘to prefer, to want’;
 A.Z. *p-i-mecêrazore* (GF.MS.BF), *ch-i-mecêrazori-tie* (1.MS.FF) ‘one who loves’;
 ---> *ch-i-mecêre* (3) ‘to love’
- b. Ay. *a-kadisōri* (3.MS.FF) ‘teacher; instructor’;
 ---> *ɬ-a-kate* (3) ‘to teach; to instruct’
 A.Z. *p-a-cadizore* (GF.MS.BF) ‘teacher’; *p-a-cadito* (GF.FS.BF) ‘teacher’
- c. Ay. *j-u-sōri / j-u-ŋori* (3.MS.FF) ‘killer’ ---> *ɬ-u-he* (3) ‘to kill’
 A.Z. *chugore* (MS.BF), *chugoritie* (MS.FF) ‘killer’; *chuto* (FS.BF) ‘killer’
 ---> *ch-u-he* (3) ‘to pound, to hurt’³⁰⁹

When *-zore (-/sore/)* is applied to a noun, it refers to the owner of the entity indicated by the noun: “*Zore*. Con substantivo, y relativo de 3a persona, dueño, *iquizezore*, dueño del cuchillo. *iohizore*, dueño del arco. se dexan la *c*, la *p*, la *t*, la *r* toma una *i* antes, f. *to*.” (Chomé 1958: 167). This is shown in (107).

- (107) a. Ay. *i-giña* (3.MS.BF) ‘house’ + *-sōri* ---> *iginasōri* (MS.FF) ‘occupant of a house’
 A.Z. *i-gueda* (3.MS.BF) ‘house’ + *-zore* ---> *iguedazore* (MS.BF) ‘owner of the house’
 (Chomé 1958: 142)

³⁰⁸ The verbs from which the nouns in *-zore (-/sore/)* derive are not always found. The data about the possessive inflection of the A.Z nominals in (106) and (107) are thus incomplete.

³⁰⁹ In both Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo the derivation of this word is irregular.

- b. Ay. g-a-ṅek (3.MS.BF), g-a-ṅe (3.FS.FF)³¹⁰ ‘belonging, possession’ + -ṅori / -sōri
 ---> g-a-ṅeṅori / g-a-ṅesōri (3.MS.FF) ‘owner’
- A.Z. g-a-nec (3.MS.BF) ‘its, his, hers’ + -zore ‘owner’
 ---> ganezore (Chomé 1958: 142)

In Chamacoco, no mechanism to derive verbal nouns is to be observed, but there are nouns in *-/sĩrtɕ/*, which correspond to AY nouns in *-/sōri/* and A.Z nouns in *-zore* (*-/sore/*). CH nouns in *-/sĩrtɕ/* are discussed in (§13.1.12). In Chamacoco, the suffix is no longer productive and the derivational mechanism is not always transparent. However, the existence of nouns in *-/sĩrtɕ/* suggests that verbal nouns probably existed in Chamacoco too.

§12.12 Conclusions

This chapter has described the nominal suffixation of Ayoreo. The singular BF is the starting point of any morphological operation in Ayoreo. The morphology of the FF and the BF is fairly regular, but there are some facts which are unpredictable, such as the preservation of final *-/k/* in the MP-FF or the morpheme used to form the feminine, which can be *-/a/* or *-/e/*. The feminine exhibits less variability than the masculine in the BF plural. The diminutive is obtained via the suffix *-/ap/* and has regular nominal inflection. Three series of suffixes can be used to form the masculine IF. There are selection rules, but exceptions occur very frequently. The feminine also has three series of IF suffixes, but one series predominates. Ayoreo abstract nouns present derivational suffixes corresponding to the MS-IF suffixes. The derivational rules are the same for both types of suffix. Finally, the derivational mechanisms of verbal nouns and *nomina agentis*, also to be found in Ancient Zamuco, have been analysed. The following chapter will describe the nominal suffixation of Chamacoco.

³¹⁰ *Gajnei* /gaṅej/ (3.MS.FF), *gajnec* /gaṅek/ (3.MS.BF) is a semantically non-specific possessive classifier (Fabre 2007b; Bertinetto 2009: 16), cf. A.Z. *ganec* /gaṅek/ (3) ‘her/his/their’ (Chomé 1958: 142).

§13 Chamacoco nominal suffixation

This chapter discusses CH nominal suffixation. Section §13.1 is concerned with the BF and FF of masculine nominals. Feminine nominals are addressed in section §13.2. Gender derivation exhibits traces of agglutination (§13.3). Some defective nominals are discussed in (§13.4). Section §13.5 and §13.6 deal with the diminutive and the IF, respectively. Section §13.7 describes the uses of BF, FF and IF. Finally, the suffixation of the possessive classifier *uhut* (§13.8) and the numerals are discussed, with special regard to the number ‘one’, which has a very rich inflection (§13.9).

The grammatical gender of human beings coincides with their natural gender. The same applies to animals when their gender is clearly distinguishable. In the case of animals whose gender is indistinguishable, the masculine or feminine gender may be assigned according to the speaker’s assumption. All plant names are feminine (§13.2). There are no semantic rules to determine the grammatical gender of the remaining nouns.

The contrast between BF and FF in Chamacoco is limited to the singular, because no such distinction is to be found in the plural. For this reason, the common plural of BF and FF will be referred to as ‘plural’ (P), in contrast with the plural IF.³¹¹ In addition, the singular BF is not observed for all nominals (see below, in particular §13.1.11, ex. (28)). In these cases the BF coincides with the FF. At least in some cases, this is probably due to the fact that BF vs. FF opposition tends to disappear in Chamacoco, so that the FF tends to be used in typical BF contexts. In particular, the MS-BF appears to be no longer productive. For this reason the FF will be the citation form of nominals. This is also the predominant tendency in the CH dictionary by Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b), although there is no coherent lemmatization criterion with respect to nominal morphology.³¹²

³¹¹ There are only a few exceptions in which the plural suffix cannot be used as plural FF suffix, see §13.7.1, ex. (118-119).

³¹² In the case of the few nominals which have no FF, the citation form will be the BF.

As already seen, the BF could often be considered the starting point of any morphological operation. The BF originally coincided with the root, but in many nominals this is no longer the case, because some root-final segments have been reinterpreted, thus yielding the masculine BF suffix *-/k/* (or *-/ak/*) and other epicene or feminine BF suffixes (§13.2.4). The MP suffix *-/e/* also derives from the reinterpretation of the root. The comparison with the other Zamucoan languages confirms that such suffixes were originally part of the root (§14). However, in most feminine nominals and in some masculine nominals, the BF and the root coincide.

§13.1 Masculine nominals

This section briefly introduces the most common morphological devices to be found in the BF and the FF of masculine nominals. Masculine nominals can be divided into two classes according to the suffixes used to form the FF, i.e. *-/t/* or *-/t̥/*. The former is the most frequently used. This section discusses nominals with FF ending in *-/it/*, while the following sections will deal with nominals ending in: *-/it/* (§13.1.1), *-/ut/* (§13.1.2), *-/ot/* (§13.1.3), *-/at/* (§13.1.4), *-/ēt/* (§13.1.5), *-/ehet/* (§13.1.6), *-/ut/* (§13.1.7), *-/rt/* (§13.1.8), *-/Ct/* (§13.1.9 and §13.1.10), *-/t̥/* (§13.1.11) and *-/rt̥/* (§13.1.12). The following sections will discuss in detail each group of nominals

The most common suffix for MP is *-/o/*, used for both classes.³¹³ The nominals in (1) have FF in *-/it/* and are the most prototypical masculine nominals with regard to the FF and the plural. Their BF is obtained by adding *-/k/* to the root. Pre-final */i/* is present in the BF and in the FF, but not in the plural. One can suppose that */i/* belongs to the root and is deleted by the plural suffix *-/o/*.³¹⁴

³¹³ In nominals where *-/o/* drops, it merges with the last root-vowel or is overwritten, the BF and the plural may only differ in the presence vs. absence of the final glottal stop. See, for instance, ex. (2e).

³¹⁴ Alternatively, one might surmise that */i/* is an epenthetic vowel.

- (1) a. aṃurmit (MS.FF) ‘armadillo’, aṃurmo (MP), aṃurmik (MS.BF)
 b. t̤epit (MS.FF) ‘a little, half’, t̤epo (MP), t̤epik (MS.BF)
 c. dihipit (MS.FF) ‘foreigner’, dihipo (MP), dihipik (MS.BF),
 d. dohobit (MS.FF) ‘ceramic object’, dohobo (MP), dohobik (MS.BF)
 e. kasit (MS.FF) ‘fearful’, kaso (MP), kasik (MS.BF)
 f. kobit (MS.FF) ‘jar’, kobo (MP), kobik (MS.BF)
 g. kotsirbit (3.MS.FF) ‘bag’, kotsirbo (3.MP), kotsirbik (3.MS.BF)
 h. nermit (3.MS.FF) ‘cheat / someone who cheats’, nermo (MP), nermik (3.MS.BF)
 i. olibit (sm.FF) ‘blind’, olibo (MP), olibik (sm.BF)
 l. pemit (MS.FF) ‘type of ostrich’, pemo (MP), pemik (MS.BF)
 m. pih̄ipit (MS.FF) ‘person who doesn’t speak’, pih̄ipo (MP), pih̄ipik (MS.BF)
 n. pohirpit (MS.FF) ‘bow’, pohirpo (MP), pohirpik (MS.BF)
 o. porsilibit (MS.FF) ‘net’, porsilibo (MP), porsilibik (MS.BF)
 p. pit (MS.FF) ‘piece’, po (MP), pik (MS.BF)
 q. topit (sm.FF) ‘dead’, topo (MP), topik (sm.BF)
 r. ilxa:bit (MS.FF) ‘evil’, ilxa:bo (MP), ilxa:bik (MS.BF),

In (2) one finds masculine nominals with FF in *-/it/*, but with partly different characteristics. In (2a) pre-final */i/* is present in the FF, but not in the BF. One can either suppose that */i/* has deleted in the BF or that it is inserted in the FF. The noun *dihirbit* (2b) has two BFs: in *dihirbik* the suffix *-/k/* is added, while in *dihirbak* the suffix *-/ak/* is added. Since *-/ak/* is a variant of *-/k/*, the suffix seems to overwrite */i/*. Labiovelar */w/* corresponds to */k/* in the BF of *towit* (2c), where */i/* is probably an epenthetic vowel to avoid the sequence **/wt/*, never to be found in Chamacoco.³¹⁵ The suffix *-/k/* or *-/ak/* is the most widely used for the masculine BF. The BF can be expressed by the root followed by a very short glottal stop, as in (2d) and (2e).³¹⁶ One wonders whether it should be considered part of the root or a suffix. The glottal stop only occurs in word-final position, after a vowel or an approximant.³¹⁷ It will be regarded as a part of the root. *Shepikit /çepikit/* (2f) and *ihnaapsit*

³¹⁵ On this nominal, see below (ex. (9k-1)) and §14.3.1, ex. (62).

³¹⁶ *-/Vʔ/* can sometimes be realized as a creaky vowel.

³¹⁷ From now on, glottal stop deletion in word-internal position will no longer be mentioned. This consonant is not represented in the orthography of Chamacoco. It is generally present in all BFs where the pre-final vowel or approximant is not followed by another consonant. In this work it will only be indicated when it helps to distinguish two forms of the same paradigm or two words: e.g. *kechine* /ketçine/ (FP) vs. *kechine*^ʔ /ketçineʔ/ (FS.BF) ‘Paraguayan woman’.

/iṅa:psit/ (2h) have BF ending in a glottal stop, but there is root allomorphy in BF vs. FF, because /o/ and /a/ reduce to /i/ in the FF. As in the nominals in (1) and (2), in (2f-h), the plural suffix *-/o/* overwrites the last root-vowel. Since in *shepikit* /çepikit/ (2f) the last root-vowel and the plural suffix *-/o/* coincide, the BF *shekipo*² /çekipo²/ and its plural *shekipo* /çekipo/ only differ in the presence vs. absence of the glottal stop. The metathesis to be found in *shepikit* /çepikit/ does not involve nominal suffixation. Some BFs are common to both masculine and feminine, such as *ihnaapsa*² /iṅa:psa²/.³¹⁸

- (2) a. dukuterit (MS.FF) ‘greedy’, dukutero (MP), dukuterk (MS.BF)
 b. dihirbit (MS.FF) ‘morning’, dihirbo (MP), dihirbik / dihirbak (MS.BF)
 c. towit (MS.FF) ‘idle’, towo (MP), tok (MS.BF)
 d. etçikit (MS.FF) ‘thief’, etçiko (MP), etçiki² ([M/F]S.BF)
 e. ṁejkit (3.MS.FF) ‘arm’, ṁejko (3.MP), ṁejki² (3.MS.BF)
 f. çepikit / çekipit (MS.FF) ‘cloth’, çepiko / çekipo (MP), çekipo² (MS.BF)
 h. iṅa:psit (3.MS) ‘countryman, someone of the same country’, iṅa:psa (3.MP),
 iṅa:psa² ([M/F]S.BF)

The nominals in (3) have BF in *-/p/*, coinciding with the root. In (3a-b) the BF is common to both masculine and feminine. Epenthetic /i/ is added in the singular FF before the suffix *-/t/*. In intervocalic position, that is in the FF and in the plural, root-final /p/ voices into /b/ (and nasalizes into /m/ when required). In such cases, there is no doubt that the BF coincides with the root. The fact that masculine nominals with BF in *-/p/* have FF in *-/bit/* does not imply that the contrary is true: very often, nominals with FF in *-/bit/* do not have BF in *-/p/*, such as *dohobit* (1d) and *iljaabit* /ilxa:bit/ (1r).

- (3) a. ixa:bit (MS.FF) ‘little’, ixa:bo (MP.FF), ixa:p ([M/F]S.BF)³¹⁹
 b. kosa:bit (MS.FF) ‘type of bird’ (garcita azulada), kosa:bo (MP),
 kosa:p ([M/F]S.BF)
 c. paha:bit (MS.FF), paha:bo (3.MP), paha:p (MS.BF) ‘a little bit, little’

³¹⁸ These forms will be glossed as ([M/F]S) and will be discussed in detail in the section on gender (§13.3).

³¹⁹ This adjective derives from the diminutive of *ijit* /ixit/ ‘boy’, which is a Spanish loan (4b).

The FF suffix *-/t/* and the plural suffix *-/o/* belong to a still productive morphological mechanism, as one can see in the Spanish loans in (4). In this case, the CH adaptation of the Spanish term ends in *-/it/* in the masculine FF. The fact that with these loanwords the BF is not always found indicates that it is no longer productive. As in (2h), in *kabiyuhwit* /*kabijuwit*/ the last root-vowel is */i/* in the FF and */a/* in the BF. The gender of the loanwords generally corresponds to the gender in Spanish. *Karpit* (4d) is an exception, because it is masculine, while its Spanish counterpart is feminine. The non-adapted version of *karpit*, *karpa*, is also found and used as an uninflected form in all contexts (including plural ones). The use of non-adapted forms is also to be observed in other loanwords.

- (4) a. *kabijuwit* (MS.FF) ‘horse’, *kabijuwo* (MP), *kabiyuwa* ([M/F]S.BF)
 (Spanish: caballo)
 b. *ixit* (3.MS) ‘son’, *ixo* (3.MP) (Spanish: hijo)
 c. *pwertit* / *pwert* (MS) ‘house’, *pwerto* (MP)
 (from Spanish: puerto ‘port’)
 d. *karpit* (MS.FF) ‘tent’, *karpo* (MP) *karpa* (MS/MP), *karpik* (MS.BF)
 (Spanish: carpa)

More than one plural suffix is possible. In (5) *-/o/* alternates with *-/e/*. As shown below, *-/e/* is the prototypical FP suffix, but is also used for the MP, as in (5c) and (5e), while *-/o/* is always masculine.³²⁰ All nominals in (5) take the suffix *-/ak/* in the singular BF, so that a tendential correlation between MP in *-/e/* and BF in *-/ak/* emerges. In this case, one wonders whether */i/* in the singular FF is part of the root or is an epenthetic vowel preceding the suffix *-/t/*. The noun *wechekit* /*wetçekit*/ (5e) has both a masculine BF *wecheka(k)* /*wetçeka(k)*/ and an epicene form *wecheke*[?] /*wetçeke*[?]/.³²¹

³²⁰ The masculine and feminine forms will be compared in §13.3.

³²¹ In the case of *wechekit* */i/* is part of the root, as shown in the BF *wecheke*[?]. This form was reported, because it is the one recorded in the field, but in this context */i/* and */e/* are free variants as last vowel of the root (see §13.2.2).

- (5) a. xotsit (MS.FF) ‘well, hole’, xotso / xotse (MP), xotsak (MS.BF)
 b. ɲakirbitit (MS.FF) ‘young man’, ɲakirbito / ɲakirbite (MP), ɲakirbitak (MS.BF)
 c. ɲinanɪt (MS.FF) ‘male of goose’, ɲinanɔ (MP) ɲinanɛ ([M/F]P), ɲinanɔk (MS.BF)
 d. obitit (MS.FF) ‘flute, whistle’, obito / obite (MP), obitak (MS.BF)
 e. wetɕekit (MS.FF) ‘he-goat; ram’, wetɕeko (MP), wetɕeke ([M/F]P),
 wetɕeke² ([M/F]S.BF), wetɕeka(k) (MS.BF)
 f. itɕit (3.MS.FF) ‘dung’, itɕo / itɕe (3.MP), itɕak (3.MS.BF)
 g. itē:tit (MS.FF) ‘male’, itē:to / itē:te (MP), itē:tak (MS.BF)

The plural suffix *-/e/*, as used in the MP, is preferred to *-/o/* in some nominals. In (6), *-/e/* is the only plural suffix to be observed.

- (6) kutɕit (MS) ‘thing’, kutɕe (MP)

Alternative MP suffixes will be discussed in more detail later on. In (7a) the most used plural suffix is *-/o/*, but the plural *loship-tso /loɕip-tso/* is also found. *-/tso/* is a rare MP suffix, also to be found, for instance, in *hnentitso /ɲentitso/* (7b). Another MP suffix is *-/lo/* (7c-e). This is the same element to be found in the greater plural of free pronouns (§3.2) and in verb morphology (§5.1), where it is a 2P-person or a greater plural suffix.³²²³²³ *-/lo/* occurs in a few nominals and no semantic difference with respect to *-/o/* emerges in (7c-d). The noun *irmit* can take the suffix *-/no/*, the nasalized counterpart of *-/lo/*, although the nasalization mechanism is no longer productive: it never occurs with the suffix *-/lo/* in verb morphology and is not observed in all nominals. The noun *ormit* (7d), for instance, has a nasal element in

³²² The greater plural suffix attaches to the 1PI-person. This can be interpreted typologically. In most cases the 1PE-person can be regarded as the plural of the 1S-person, whereas the 1PI-person tends to be regarded as a person on its own and sometimes presents further distinctions, such as plural vs. dual. In Chamacoco, the greater plural seems to play the role of a sort of plural of the 1PI-person (see §3.2).

³²³ According to Comrie *et al.* (2010: 99), an areal feature of Chaco languages is the presence of a plural suffix consisting in a lateral consonant optionally followed by a vowel, C_{lat}(V). Compare the CH plural suffix *-lo* with *-l* in Pilagá, *-l(V)(m)* in Vilela, *-lh ~ -l* and *-lis* in Wichí (Comrie *et al.*, *ibidem*). As one can see from the data provided in Campbell & Grondona (2012b: 645), this type of plural suffix is also present in other Chaco languages, such as Chorote (*-Vl /-l*) and Lule (*-l, -el, -le, -il, -yl*). Nivaclé has the suffix *-k (<kl <l)* and a plural suffix *-et* used for pronouns and verbs, while Toba and Mocoví have a paucal in *-l (ibidem)*.

the root, but its plural suffix *-/lo/* does not nasalize. In *irmit* there is also a plural in *-/o/* which conveys a different meaning ('world'). The nominals in (7) present roots ending in *-/i/*, which deletes when *-/o/* is added, but is preserved in (7b-e) when the suffixes *-/tso/*, *-/lo/* and *-/no/* are added.

- (7) a. loçipit (MS.FF) 'animal', loçipo / loçiptso (MP), loçipik (MS.BF)
 b. ñentit (MS.FF) 'type of bird', ñento / ñentitso (MP), ñentak (MS.BF)
 c. omtsit (3.MS.FF) 'bed', omtso / omtsilo (3.MP).
 d. ormit (MS.FF) 'wood, woods', ormo / ormilo (MP), ormik (MS.BF)³²⁴
 e. irmit (MS.FF) 'edge', irmino (MP) 'edge', irmo (MP) 'world', irmik (MS.BF)

The use of *-/e/*, *-/tso/* and *-/lo/* is lexically idiosyncratic. In nominals with FF in *-/it/*, the plural suffix *-/o/* generally overwrites the last root-vowel. This does not occur in the nominals in (8), where such vowel is preserved and there is */j/* insertion before *-/o/*.³²⁵ Root-final */i/* has assimilated to */j/* and turns into */i/*, however, *-/jo/* should not be considered a suffix, because the insertion of a semiconsonant before the plural suffix is frequent in masculine forms, as shown below. This is the same kind of plural to be found in masculine nominals in *-/it/* (see §13.1.1). These should be considered exceptions, for this could be due to the fact that the original root-vowel was */i/*, which turned into */i/* in the FF. The lack of the BF is not very frequent among autochthonous nominals in *-/t/*.³²⁶

- (8) a. loçit (MS.FF) 'fish', loçiyo (MP)
 b. etçit (3.MS) 'pet', etço (3.MP), etçiyo (3.MP).

In (9a-j), one finds nominals in *-/it/* characterized by */w/* insertion in the plural. The nominals in (9a-j) present alternation between */i/* and */u/* as last root-vowel. The former vowel is present in the FF and in

³²⁴ *Ormit* is the original CH word for 'wood, woods'. Nowadays this word tends to be replaced by the loanword *hmont /m̃ont/*, stemming from Spanish *monte* 'mount; wood, woods'.

³²⁵ For reasons of simplicity, epenthetic vowels and semivowels in the plural will not be indicated when a text or parts of text are reported.

³²⁶ It is more frequent among masculine nominals in *-/tç/*.

most BFs. The plural is the same as that of nominals with /u/ as last root-vowel. This vowel (like /i/) is usually not deleted by the plural suffix. Labiovelar /w/ is added before the plural suffix -/o/. The insertion of /w/, rather than /j/ (as in (8) and (10)), depends of course on /u/. In *kasit* (9c) the suffixes -/t̥o/ or -/tso/ (two variants of the same suffix) are also used. In this case, the last root-vowel is /i/. In *porotit* (9h) two plurals are observed, one in -/o/ (which has replaced /i/) and another in -/wo/ (after /u/). In *ukutit* (9i) the plural in -/lo/ is also found, while in *ijit* /ixit/ (9e) the plural suffixes -/o/ and -/e/ alternate. This vocalic alternation is probably due to the fact that in some nominals /u/ has reduced to /i/ in the singular FF. In *dit* (9a) and *ijit* /ixit/ (9j) /u/ is still to be found in a variant of the FF. The loanword *kanshit* /kançit/ is masculine in Chamacoco, but derives from a feminine Spanish word. In (9k-l) final /k/ in the BF is part of the root which has been reinterpreted as /w/ in the rest of the paradigm. In (9k) the second /o/ turns into /u/ in the plural and in the FF *poruwit*, probably due to assimilation to /w/.³²⁷

- (9) a. *dit* / *dut* (MS.FF) ‘village’, *duwo* (MP)
 b. *kançit* (MS.FF) ‘court, field’, *kançuwo* (MP), *kançik* (MS.BF)
 (Spanish: *cancha* ‘field, ground’)
 c. *kasit* (MS.FF) ‘old Chamacoco game’, *kasuwo* / *kasit̥o* / *kasitso* (MP),
kasik (MS.BF)³²⁸
 d. *kotit* (MS.FF) ‘type of snake, *yararé*’, *kotuwo* (MP), *kotik* (MS.BF)
 (*Bothrops jararaca*)
 e. *net̥it* (MS.FF) ‘thanks’, *net̥uwo* (MP), *net̥ik* (MS.BF)
 f. *miñit* (MS.FF) ‘bad, evil’, *miñuwo* (MP), *miñik* (MP.BF)
 g. *polit* (MS.FF) ‘widower’, *poluwo* (MP), *polik* (MP.BF)
 h. *porotit* (MS.FF) ‘bean’, *poroto* / *porotuwo* (MP), *porotik* (MP.BF)
 (Spanish: *poroto*)
 i. *ukutit* (3.MS.FF) ‘fire’, *ukutuwo* / *ukutulo* (3.MS), *ukutak* (3.MS.BF)
 j. *ixit* / *uxut* (3.MS.FF) ‘side’, *ixuwo* / *ixuwe* / *uxuwo* / *uxuwe* (3.MP)

³²⁷ The alternative FF *poorc* /po:rt̥/ is probably the result of the reinterpretation of the root.

³²⁸ *Kasit* is an archaic word. It is similar to *kasit* (MS.FF) / *kasik* (MS.BF) ‘fearful’, but *kasit* ‘old Chamacoco game’ seems to have the accent on the first syllable, while *kasit* ‘fearful’ on the second syllable (see also: Ulrich & Ulrich 1994a: 42). There is also a difference in the plural suffix, because *kasit* ‘old Chamacoco game’ has the plurals *kasuwo*, *kasicho* /*kasit̥o*/ and *kasitso*, while *kasit* ‘fearful’ has the MP *kasu*.

- k. poruwit / po:rtɕ (MS.FF) ‘ancestor’, poruwo (MP), porok (MS.BF)
 l. towit (MS.FF) ‘lazy, idle’, towo (MP), tok (MS.BF)

§13.1.1 Masculine nominals in *-/it/*

The masculine nominals in (10) have root in *-/i(?)*/, as one can see in the BF, where */i/* is usually preserved. In the singular FF *-/t/* is added. The BF is generally obtained by means of the suffix *-/k/* or *-/ak/*. In (10c) and (10g) the BF in *-/ak/* alternates with a BF coinciding with the root. This BF is often common to both masculine and feminine (10g), but the suffixes *-/k/* and *-/ak/* are only used to form the masculine BF. When the suffix *-/ak/* is added, */j/* is inserted between root and suffix (10c,g,i,j,k,l,m). There is no rule to predict the shape of the masculine BF. */j/* is also added before the plural suffix *-/o/*, which in some cases alternates with *-/e/* (10c,h,i,l). Apocope of the last vowel may sometimes occur in the plural, as in *kochiit* /kotɕi:t/ (10g), which besides the MP *kochiyo* /kotɕi:jo/ also presents the form *kochii* /kotɕi:/, common to both masculine and feminine. The sequence */ij/* can reduce in the BF (10f,h,p) and the plural (10a,d,f,h,n,p). In most cases */i/* drops and occasionally */j/* devoices (10h). In (10p) */j/* drops and */ĩ:/* assimilates to */a/*. The FF suffix *-/t/* alternates with *-/tɕ/* in (10a,n,o).

- (10) a. debihit / debihitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘nephew’, debijo (3.MP), debihik (3.MS.BF) /
 (also: debuhutɕ)
 b. demonit (MS.FF) ‘demon’, demonjo (MP) (Spanish: demonio)
 c. ditɕi:t (MS.FF) ‘ant’, ditɕi:jo / ditɕi:je (MP), ditɕi:² / ditɕi:jak (MS.BF)
 d. dosĩrĩ:t (MS.FF) ‘suffering’, dosĩri:jõ / dosĩrjõ (MP)
 e. ditɕikĩri:t (MS.FF) ‘type of bird’, ditɕikĩri:jak (MS.BF), ditɕikĩri:jo (MP)
 (*Caracara plancus*)
 f. ihĩt (3.MS) ‘wing; leaf’, ijõ (3.MP), ijãk (3.MS.BF), also: ijĩt
 g. kotɕi:t (MS) ‘black howler’, kotɕi:jo (MP) / kotɕi: ([M/F]P), kotɕi:² ([M/F]S.BF),
 kotɕi:jak (MS.BF) (*Alouatta caraya*)
 h. mojhĩt (MS.FF) ‘pipe’, mojjõ / mojjẽ (MP), mojhãk (MS.BF)
 i. perĩt (MS.FF) ‘flour of manioc’, perĩjo / perĩje (MP), perĩjak (MS.BF)
 j. torĩ:t (3.MS.FF) ‘faint’, torĩ:jo (3.MP), torĩ:jak (3.MS.BF)
 k. wĩri:t (MS.FF) ‘other side, Brazil’, wĩri:jo (MP), wĩri:jak (MS.BF)

- l. wĩrĩ:t (MS.FF) ‘hill’, wĩrĩ:jo / wĩrĩ:je (MP), wĩrĩ:jak (MS.BF)
- m. joni:t (3.MS.FF) ‘ghost, spirit’, joni:jo (3.MP), joni:jak (3.MS.BF)
- n. ibihitɛ / ibihit (3.MS.FF) ‘cry, shout’, ibijo (3.MP)
- o. ikĩrĩt / ikĩrĩtɛ (3.MS.FF) ‘life’, ikĩrĩjo (3.MP), ikĩrĩk (3.MS.BF)
- p. iɕĩrĩ:t (MS.FF) ‘season, date’, iɕĩrĩ:jo / iɕĩrjo (MP), iɕĩrã:k (MS.BF)

§13.1.2 Masculine nominals in -/ut/

In (11) one finds nominals with /u/ as last root-vowel. Some of these nominals present the vocalic alternation between /i/ and /u/ in the root and have thus already been analysed as nominals in -/it/ (9). The BF is not observed for all nominals in (11). In *bahlut* /baɭut/ (11a) and *wuput* (11h) the BFs *bahlu*² /baɭu²/ and *wupu*² coincide with the root. In (11c,f) the suffix -/k/ is used for the BF. In the plural, /w/ is inserted before -/o/, which can alternate with -/e/ (10d,g). In the plural of *iikut* /i:kut/ (11c), one finds syncope of the plural suffix, while the sequence /uw/ simplifies in the plural of (11e). *Kenuut* /kenu:t/ (10d) is a Spanish loan and also presents a non-adapted form *kenuwa* /kenu:wa/, only used in the singular. The FF *uut* /u:t/ ‘under, below; nest, house of animals’ conveys two meanings with different BF and plural (11f). In the meaning ‘under, below’, the plural is *uulo* /u:lo/ and no BF is reported. When *uut* /u:t/ means ‘nest, house of animals’, the plural is *uuwo* /u:wo/ and the BF is *uuk* /u:k/.

- (11) a. baɭut (MS.FF) ‘chief; big’, baɭuwo (MP), baɭu² (MS.BF)
- b. dut / dɪt (MS) ‘village’, duwo (MP)
- c. i:kut / ihikut / ihikit (3.MS) ‘top of head, skullcap’, i:ku (3.MP),
ihikik (3.MS.BF)
- d. kenu:t (MS.FF) ‘boat, canoe’, kenuwo / kenuwe (MP),
(also *kenuwa*, used in the singular) (Spanish: canoa ‘canoe’)
- e. oruhut (MS) ‘precious’, oruwo (MP)
- f. ut (3.MS.FF), u:lo (3.MP) ‘under, below’
ut (3.MS.FF), u:wo (3.MP), u:k (3.MS.BF) ‘nest, house of animals’
- g. uxut / ixit (3.MS.FF) ‘side’, uxuwo / uxuwe (3.MP)
- h. wuput (MS) ‘black vulture’, wupuwo (MP), wupu² ([M/F]S.BF)
(*Coragyps atratus*)

§13.1.3 Masculine nominals in *-/ot/*

The nominals in (12) present */o/* as last root-vowel, sometimes reducing to */i/* in the FF (12c,f). The singular BF can end in *-/o/*, thus coinciding with the root (12c,f,g), or can take the suffix *-/k/* (12a,d). In the plural, *-/o/* is added and merges with the root vowel *-/o/*. In this process, the glottal stop drops. This is confirmed in the nominals where the plural suffix *-/e/* is also reported (12d,f). As a result, when the BF ends in *-/oʔ/* and the plural takes the suffix *-/o/*, these forms only differ in the presence vs. absence of glottal stop. This is a case of subtractive morphology. In (12b) and (12f), variants of the lemmatized form are observed. *Keshit* */keçit/* and *keshuwut* */keçuwut/* are variants of *keshiwot* */keçiwot/* (12b). The plural of *keshiwot* */keçiwot/* and *keshit* */keçit/* is the same, but *keshuwut* */keçuwut/* has the plural *keshuwo* */keçuwo/*, in which the suffix *-/o/* replaces */u/*.³²⁹ In (12f) intervocalic */k/* deletes in *tarot*.³³⁰ In this case, the suffix *-/o/* or *-/e/* is added and there is */w/* insertion. An alternative hypothesis is that here */k/* has been reinterpreted as */w/*. These examples show that, although the plural in *-/o/* seems to derive from deletion of the final glottal stop, this suffix is actually added to the root.

- (12) a. *alokot* (3.MS.FF) ‘nickname’, *aloko* (3.MP), *alokok* (3.MS.BF)
 b. *keçiwot* / *keçit* / *keçuwut* (MS) ‘log canoe’, *keçiwo* / *keçuwo* (MP)³³¹
 c. *kokot* / *kokit* (MS.FF) ‘rooster’, *koko* (MP), *kokoʔ* (3.MS.BF)³³²
 d. *o:çijot* (MS.FF) ‘hole in the ground’ (archaic), *o:çijo* / *o:çije* (MP),
 o:çijok (MS.BF)
 e. *oit* (3.MS.FF) ‘weapon’, *o:lo* (3.MP), *o:k* (3.MS.BF)
 f. *tarokot* / *tarot* / *tarikit* (MS.FF) ‘year’, *taroko* (MP) / *tarowo* / *tarowe* (MP),
 tarokoʔ (MS.BF)
 g. *ilpijot* (MS.FF) ‘jaguar’, *ilpijo* (MP), *ilpijoʔ* (MS.BF)

³²⁹ */w/* insertion is not possible here, because */w/* is already present in the last syllable of the root.

³³⁰ */k/* deletion occurs fairly frequently between two identical vowels in Chamacoco.

³³¹ The word *keshiwot* */keçiwot/* is archaic: it is the original word for ‘canoe’. Nowadays this word is replaced by the Spanish loan *kenuut* */kenu:t/* or *kenuwa* (11d).

³³² This word is probably of onomatopoeic origin.

§13.1.4 Masculine nominals in *-/at/*

Masculine nominals with FF in *-/at/* usually have BF in *-/aʔ/*, coinciding with the root. An alternating BF in *-/k/* is occasionally possible. In the plural, *-/o/* is generally added, which overwrites the root vowel */a/*, unless deleted by */a/* itself. In both cases, the root-final glottal stop drops. As a result, in most nominals of (13) the difference between BF and plural is the presence vs. absence of the final glottal stop. Alternation between plurals in *-/a/* and *-/o/* is to be observed in (13b), (13d) and (13h). *Kabahat* (13e) is an exception in the plural. *Aat* */a:t/* (13a) takes the plural suffix *-/lo/*.

- (13) a. *a:t* (3.MS.FF) ‘smell; body’, *a:lo* (3.MP), *a:ʔ* (3.MS.BF)
 b. *bahat* (3.MS.FF) ‘price’, *baho* / *baha* (3.MP), *bahaʔ* / *bahak* (3.MS.BF)
 c. *ɰa:t* (MS.FF) ‘jaguar’, *ɰa:* (MP), *ɰa:ʔ* (MS.BF)
 d. *ijakat* (3.MS) ‘crying’, *ijako* / *ijaka* (3.MP), *ijakaʔ* (MS.BF)
 e. *kabahat* / *kabehet* (MS) ‘horse’, *kabijuho* (MP), *kabahaʔ* ([M/F]S.BF)
 (Spanish: caballo)
 f. *kasa:t* (MS.FF) ‘ant’, *kasa:* (MP), *kasa:ʔ* / *kasa:k* (MS.BF)
 g. *ojajuwat* / *ojujuwat* (MS.FF) ‘giant anaconda’, *ojajuwa* (MP), *ojajuwaʔ* (MS.BF)
 h. *irahat* (MS.FF) ‘climber plant, branch’, *iraho* / *iraha* (MP), *irahaʔ* /
irahak (MS.BF)

§13.1.5 Masculine nominals in *-/ēt/*

The BF suffix and the plural suffix of nominals in *-/ēt/* are preceded by */r/*, not present in the FF. One wonders whether this consonant should be considered a part of the root or an insertion. In this section the first option will be adopted. Nominals in *-/ēt/* take the suffix *-/ak/* in the BF. In the plural, both *-/o/* and *-/e/* are usually used. In (14c) only the plural in *-/e/* is reported. The plural in *-/e/* is often common to both masculine and feminine (14a,b,f,g,h). The data in (14) confirm the correlation between the plural suffix *-/e/* in the MP and the BF suffix *-/ak/*. *Losēt* (10d) shows the rare suffixes *-/lo/* and *-/no/* in the plural.

- (14) a. *et̥čēt* (MS.FF) ‘snake’, *et̥čire* ([M/F]P) / *et̥čiro* (MP), *et̥čirāk* (MS.BF)
 b. *ijēt* (3.MS.FF) ‘friend, companion’, *ijēre* (3.[M/F]P) / *ijēro* (3.MP), *ijērak* (3.MS.BF)
 c. *lasēt* / *dasēt* (3.MS.FF) ‘son-in-law’, *lasire* / *dasere* (3.MP),
 lasērak / *lasīrak* (3.MS.BF), also: *lasēt*
 d. *losēt* / *dosēt* (3.MS.FF) ‘charity, gift’, *losēlo* / *losēno* (3.MP), *losērak* (MS.BF)
 (also: *losēt:t*)³³³
 e. *luḱuḱe:t* (GF.MS.FF) ‘song’, *luḱuḱe:ro* / *luḱuḱe:re* (GF.MP),
 luḱuḱe:rak (GF.MS.BF)
 f. *oḱēt:t* (MS.FF) ‘dog’, *oḱē:ro* (MP) / *oḱē:re* ([M/F]P), *oyē:rak* (MS.BF)
 (archaic word for ‘dog’)
 g. *pohikēt* (MS.FF) ‘fallen leaves’, *pohikēre* / *pohikēro* (MP), *pohikērak* (MS.BF)
 h. *potēt* / *potēt:t* (3.MS.FF) ‘tooth’, *potēro* / *potēre* (3.MP), *potērak* (MS.BF)
 i. *wetēt:t* (MS.FF) ‘young initiate’, *wetē:ro* / *wetē:re* (MP), *wetē:rak* (MS.BF)

§13.1.6 Masculine nominals in -/ehet/

Masculine nominals in -/ehet/ are characterized by vowel changes in the root. They present the plural ending -/aho/, where only final -/o/ should be regarded as the actual suffix. In *kinaho*, the plural of *kinehet* (15e), final /o/ optionally turns into /u/. Most BFs end in -/aha[?]/ and coincide with the root, to which the plural suffix -/o/ is added. This is evident in *imehet* (15k), which also has plural in -/tso/; in this case, the suffix is added to the root in -/aha[?]/. When the BF in -/aha[?]/ is reported, /a/ turns into /e/ in the FF. *Dehet* has the BF *dehek* with the suffix -/k/ and with the sequence -/ehe/- in the root, rather than -/aha/-, to be found in the other nominals in -/ehet/.

- (15) a. *dehet* (MS.FF) ‘path’, *daho* (MP), *dehek* (MS.BF)
 b. *ehet* (3.MS.FF) ‘inside’, *aho* (3.MP)
 c. *konsehet* (MS.BF) ‘shaman’, *konsaho* (MP), *konsaha[?]* (MS.BF)
 d. *kinehet* (MS.FF) ‘different’, *kinaho* / *kinahu* (MP), *kinaha[?]* ([M/F]S.BF)
 e. *kiskirehet* (MS.FF) ‘knife, machete’, *kiskiraho* (MP), *kiskiraha[?]* ([M/F]S.BF)³³⁴
 f. *kutimrehet* (MS.FF) ‘Chamacoco clan’, *kutimraho* (MP),
 kutiraha[?] ([M/F]S.BF), also: *kutumrehet*

³³³ The plural form *losēno* is preferred.

³³⁴ This form coincides with the BF of *kiskirahata*.

- g. pehet (MS.FF) ‘piece, part, (half-part)’, paho (MP)
- h. porpehet (MS.FF) ‘wasp’, porpaho (MP), porpaha² (MS.BF)
- i. poçirêhet (MS.FF) ‘dragonfly’, poçirâho (MP), poçirâha² (MS.BF)
- j. pojarêhet (MS) ‘iguana’, pojarâho (MP), pojarâha² / pojarâhak (MS.BF)
- k. imehet (3.MS.FF) ‘enemy’, imaho / imahatso (3.MP), imaha² (3.[M/F]S.BF)
- l. îlehet (3.MS) ‘face’, îlaho (3.MP)

§13.1.7 Masculine nominals in -/çt/

The following examples list nominals with FF in -/çt/ (16-18). When the BF is reported, it ends in -/s/ (16-17) and coincides with the root. The suffix -/o/ is added to obtain the plural. Root-final /s/ turns into /ç/ when the FF suffix -/t/ is added. The nominals in (17) derive from *osht* /oçt/ ‘person’ (17a). The nominals in (18a-c) have no BF, and their root does not end in -/s/, because pre-final /ç/ is also preserved in the plural, obtained by means of the suffix -/o/. In *imishiyo* /imiçijo/ (18a) /j/ is inserted after the root vowel /i/. Alternatively, /i/ drops in the FF. *Boshesht* /boçeçt/ is a very frequent loanword. *Iisit* /i:sit/ ‘relative’ (18d) has root in -/s/, thus coinciding with the BF (like the nominals in (16-17)), but /s/ is also preserved in the FF, with /i/ insertion before the suffix -/t/.

- (16) a. awoçt (3.MS.FF) ‘word’, awooso (3.MP), awoos (3.MS.BF)
 - b. bortičt (MS.FF) ‘clothing’, bortiso (MP), bortis (MS.BF)
 - c. kuskuçt (MS.BF) ‘type of bird’, kuskuço (MP), kuskus (MS.BF)
 - d. poçt (3.MS.FF) ‘food’, poso (3.MP) / posiło (3.MP), pos (3.MS.BF)³³⁵
 - e. utuçt (3.MS.FF) ‘root, vein’, utuso (3.MP), utus (3.MS.BF) (also: itiçt)
 - f. îhi:ıoçt (MS.FF) ‘belt’, îhi:ıoso (MP), îhi:ıos (MS.BF)
- (17) a. oçt (MS.FF) ‘person’, oso (MP), os (MS.BF)
 - b. ojerptoçt (MS.FF) ‘soldier’, ojerptos (MP), ojerptos (MS.BF)
 - c. po:ıoçt (MS.FF) ‘God’, po:ıoso (MP) ‘gods’, po:ıos (MS.BF)
 - d. uhuıoçt (MS) ‘last’, uhuıoso (MP), uhuıos (MS.BF)
 - e. ibıtoçt (MS.FF) ‘Ebitoso’, ibıtos (MP), ibıtos (MS.BF)

³³⁵ The plural form *posilo* is rare.

- (18) a. *imiçt* (3.MS.FF) ‘medicine’, *imiçijo* (3.MP)
 b. *boçeçt* (MS.FF) ‘boy’, *boçeço* (MP) (Spanish: *muchacho*)
 c. *polaçt* (MS.FF) ‘rattle used by shamans’, *polaço* (MP)
 d. *i:sit* (3.MS.FF) ‘relative’, *i:so* (3.MP), *i:s* (3.MS.BF)

§13.1.8 Masculine nominals in *-/rt/*

The nominals in (19) and (20a-c) have FF in *-/rt/*. The BF idiosyncratically takes the suffix *-/k/* or *-/ak/*. Some BFs in *-/r²/* are observed (19c,e,i; 20c). These coincide with the root and occasionally alternate with the BF in *-/ak/*. As already mentioned, the BF ending in a glottal stop is often epicene, while the BF in *-/ak/* is only masculine. Also the loan *tambort* ‘drum’ has BF ending in a glottal stop. In the plural *-/o/* is added. The plural suffix *-/e/* in some cases alternates with *-/o/* (19a,f,g). In (19a) the plural in *-/e/* is epicene. The plural of *irürt* (19m) is an exception, because */r/* drops and there is */w/* insertion. *Dosdart* is very rare as compared with its BF *dosdarak*. In (20a-b) the plural suffix is *-/tso/*, while in (20c) *-/o/* alternates with the rare masculine variants *-/tço/* and *-/tso/*, to be observed for instance in *loshipit* /*loçipit*/ (7a) and *hnentit* /*ñentit*/ (7b).

- (19) a. *ahĩrt* (2S.MS) ‘companion, friend’, *ahĩre* (2S.[M/F]P) / *ahĩro* (2S.MP), *ahĩrak* (2S.MS.BF)
 b. *dosdart* (MS.FF) ‘sad’, *dosdaro* (MP), *dosdarak* (MS.BF)
 c. *diçãçirt* / *diçãçirtç* (MS.FF) ‘fly’, *diçãçiro* (MP), *diçãçirak* (MS.BF) /
diçãçir² ([M/F]S.BF)
 d. *ebirt* (MS.FF) ‘sterile’, *ebiro* (MP), *ebirak* (MS. BF)
 e. *hutkejkẽrt* (MS.FF) ‘manguruju fish’, *hutkejkẽro* (MP), *hutkejkẽrak* (MS.BF) /
hutkejkẽr² (MS/FS.BF),
 f. *ijokõrt* (3.MS.FF) ‘noise’, *ijokõro* / *ijokõre* (3.MP), *ijokorãk* (3.MS.BF)
 g. *mart* (MS.FF) ‘egg’, *maro* / *mare* (MP), *marak* (MS.BF)
 h. *mort* (MS.FF) ‘Ayoreo’, *moro* (MP), *mor²* / *mork* (MS.BF)
 i. *tambort* (MS.FF) ‘drum’, *tamboro* (MP), *tambor²* (MS.BF) (Spanish: *tambor*)
 j. *tĩpert* (MS.FF) ‘virgin soil’, *tĩpero* (MP), *tĩperk* (MS.BF)
 k. *jokĩrt* (MS) ‘light’, *jokĩro* (MP), *jokĩrak* (MS.BF)
 l. *juwĩrt* / *juwĩrtç* (MS.FF) ‘killer’, *juwĩro* (MP), *juwĩrk* (MS.BF)
 m. *irürt* / *irürtç* (MS) ‘tooth’, *irũwo* (MP), *irũrk* (MS.BF),³³⁶ also: *urürtç*

³³⁶ According to the informants, this word is archaic and *potẽt* (14h) is nowadays more frequent. The

- (20) a. *wihĩrt* (MS.FF) ‘red’, *wihĩrtso* (MP), *wihĩrk* (MS.BF)
 b. *ihĩrt* (MS.FF) ‘beautiful’, *ihĩrtso* (MP)
 c. *leçĩrt* (MS.FF) ‘fisherman’, *leçĩro* / *leçĩrtso* / *leçĩrtçø* (MP),
leçĩr² ([M/F]S.BF), *leçĩrak* (MS.BF)

§13.1.9 Masculine nominals in -/Ct/

The masculine nominals in (21), (22) and (23) have FF ending in a consonant followed by /l/ or /l̥/ (21), /n/ (22) or /t̥/ (23).³³⁷ The BF generally shows the suffix -/ak/. The plural usually takes the suffix -/o/. In some cases (21a,b,d; 22a,b) also the plural in -/e/ is found. This is epicene and generally correlates with the suffix -/ak/ in the BF (with the exception of (21a)). The nominals in (21a,d,g) and (22c) have BFs ending in -V²: *ahle²* /a_{l̥}e²/ (21a), *poohla²* /po:_{l̥}a²/ (21d), *wolo²* (21g), *nohmihna²* /no_{m̥}i_{n̥}a²/ (22c). This vowel is not present in the FF: one wonders whether -/V²/ is a part of the root which dropped in the FF or is a BF suffix. All these forms are epicene and will be analysed in more detail in the section on feminine nominals (see §13.2.4).

- (21) a. *ahĩlt* / a_{l̥}t (MS.FF) ‘new’, *a_{l̥}o* / a:_{l̥}o (MP), *a_{l̥}e* / a:_{l̥}e ([M/F]P), *a_{l̥}e²* ([M/F]S.BF)
 b. *akĩlt* (3.MS.FF) ‘companion, friend’, *akile* (3.[M/F]P) / *akilo* (3.MP), *akilak* (3.MS.BF)³³⁸
 c. *dĩlt* (3.MS.FF) ‘leg’, *dile* / *dilo* (3.MP), *dilak* (3.MS.BF) / *pirt* (1.MS.FF), *pirak* (1.MS.BF)
 d. *po:_{l̥}t* (MS.FF) ‘pig’, *po:_{l̥}e* ([M/F]P) / *po:_{l̥}o* (MP), *po:_{l̥}a²* ([M/F]S.BF) / *po:_{l̥}ak* (MS.BF)
 (also: *po_{l̥}t*)
 e. *pu_{l̥}t* (MS.FF) ‘nasal bridge’, *pu_{l̥}o* (MP)
 f. *jĩlt* (3.MS.FF) ‘slave, servant’, *jilo* (3.MP), *jilak* (3.MS.BF)
 g. *wolt* (3.MS.FF) ‘cap’, *wolo* (3.MP), *wolo²* (3.MS.BF)³³⁹

plural *irũro* is also found, but is not accepted by all speakers.

³³⁷ The digraph <rz> represents the sounds [ɹ̥] or [ɹ̥z]. When the phonemes /ɹ/ is followed by /t̥/ they are usually pronounced [ɹ̥]. When the sequence of /ɹ/ and /t̥/ is followed by /t/, /ɹt̥/ is generally pronounced [ɹ̥z].

³³⁸ The plural form *akile* is preferred.

³³⁹ This form coincides with the BF of *wolta* ‘hat’.

- (22) a. ketɕint (MS.FF) ‘Paraguayan person’, ketɕine ([M/F]P) / ketɕino (MP), ketɕinak (MS.BF)
 b. komant (MS.FF) ‘piranha’, komano (MP) / komane ([M/F]P), komanak (MS.BF)
 c. nomɨnt (MS.FF) ‘horse’, nomɨno (MP), nomɨna² ([M/F]S.BF)

- (23) berzt (MS.FF) ‘high, tall’, berzo (MP), berzak (MS.BF)

In (24) one finds loans with root ending in *-l/* (24a, d), *-n/* (24c, e) and *-s/* (24b). As most loanwords, these nominals do not have the masculine BF, which is no longer productive. The MP suffix is *-o/*. Masculine loanwords usually take the suffix *-t/* in the FF: this shows that the FF in *-t/* is still productive, while the masculine FF suffix *-tɕ/* is unusual for Spanish loans (and is probably no longer productive). In *nemest* and *silt* the CH gender does not correspond to the Spanish one. A form ending in *-a/*, corresponding to the non-adapted ending of the Spanish source (*mesa*, *silla*), is to be observed and can be used in all contexts.³⁴⁰ This also occurs in *latrilt*, which has the alternative *latrila*, although this does not directly correspond to the Spanish form *latrillo*.

- (24) a. latrilt (MS.FF) ‘brick’, latrilo (MP), latrila (MS/MP) (Spanish: *ladrillo*)
 b. nemest (MS.FF) ‘table’, nemeso (MP), nemesa (MS/MP) (Spanish: *mesa*)
 c. pikiɨnt (MS.FF) ‘boy, child’, pikiɨno (MP) (Spanish: *pequeño*)
 d. silt (MS.FF) ‘chair’, silo (MP), sila (MS/MP) (Spanish: *silla*)
 e. wint (MS.FF) ‘wine’, wino (MP) (Spanish: *vino*)

§13.1.10 Other masculine nominals in *-t/*

In (25) one finds loanwords with the FF suffix *-t/* which do not fall into the groups discussed above. In (25a-b) the suffix *-t/* is preceded by */j/*. In (25b) a BF in *-j²/* is reported. The plural in *-o/*, *weyo* /wejo/, alternates with *wey* /wej/, which differs from the BF due to the lack of glottal stop. In (25c) the singular in *-it/* alternates with the reduced form *keyet* /kejet/. In the plural, both *-e/* and *-o/* are to be found. The masculine noun *keyet* /kejet/ comes from the Spanish feminine *galleta* /ga'leta/, also found by the uninflected form *keyeta* /kejeta/.

³⁴⁰ For this reason, it has been glossed as MS/MP.

- (25) a. *ãjt* (MS.FF) ‘year’, *ãjo* (MP) (Spanish: año)
 b. *wejt* (MS.FF) ‘ox’, *wej* / *wejo*, *wej*² (MS.BF) (Spanish: buey)
 c. *kejet* / *kejetit* (MS.FF) ‘cookie, biscuit’, *kejeto* / *kejete* (MP), *kejeta* (MS/MP),
 (Spanish: galleta)

§13.1.11 Masculine nominals in *-/tɕ/*³⁴¹

This group includes all masculine nominals with FF ending in *-/tɕ/*. The orthography might look ambiguous, because */tɕ/* is generally represented as <ch>, but is transcribed as <c> after /r/ in word-final position (see 13.1.12).

The nominals in (26) have FF in *-/itɕ/*. The BF ends in *-/p/* and coincides with the root. When a suffix is added, final /p/ voices into /b/ and possibly nasalizes into /m/ (26a,f,h). As one can see comparing BF and FF, /i/ in the FF is not part of the root but rather an epenthetic vowel. Epenthetic /i/ is also added in masculine nominals in *-/t/* with root ending in *-/p/* (3). As one can see in examples (27-28), this does not imply that all nominals ending in *-/bitɕ/* or *-/mitɕ/* have BF in *-/p/*. In the MP, *-/o/* is added. In the BF, final *-/p/* is preceded by /a/, which usually deletes or reduces to /i/ (26a,e) in the FF and in the plural.³⁴²

- (26) a. *aŋimɪtɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘grandson’, *aŋimo* (3.MP), *aŋap* (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 b. *dehebitɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘brother, of a woman’, *dahabo* (3.MP), *dahap* (3.MS.BF)
 c. *ŋakɪrbɪtɕ* (MS.FF) ‘man’, *ŋakɪrbo* (MP), *ŋakɪrap* (MS.BF)
 d. *ki:bitɕ* (MS.FF) ‘smoke’, *ki:bo* (MP), *ki:jap* (MS.BF)
 e. *leçibɪtɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘brother’, *leçibo* (3.MP), *leçap* (MS.BF)
 f. *nermitɕ* (3.MS) ‘uncle’, *nermo* (3.MP), *nerap* (MS.BF)
 g. *ihɪrbɪtɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘urine’, *ihɪrbo* (3.MP), *ihɪrap* (3.MS.BF)
 h. *ikĩrmitɕ* (3.MS) ‘uncle’, *ikĩrmo* (3.MP), *ikĩrãp* (3.MS.BF)

In (27) one finds nominals with BF in *-/ik/* or *-/ik/*. The BF takes the suffix *-/k/*, while /i/ or /i/ is the last root vowel. In the plural there

³⁴¹ This section does not discuss nominals in *-/tɕ/*, which are the subject of the next section.

³⁴² The only exception is *dehebiçh/dehebitɕ/*, which will be discussed in (33c).

is /j/ insertion before the MP-suffix *-/o/*, and /i/, when present, turns into /i/ (27a,d,g,h). In (27a,f) one finds the alternation between *-/t̥/* and *-/t/* in the FF. Nominals in *-/it̥/* generally have their plural in *-/ijo/*, like nominals in *-/it/* (10), which present root in *-/i(?)/*. This suggests that the last root-vowel is probably /i/ in all nominals in (27), possibly reducing to /i/ in the BF before the suffix *-/k/*. This process does not occur with masculine nominals in *-/it/*, because they usually take the suffix *-/ak/* in the BF (10). This suffix is not used in (27) and is extremely rare among nominals in *-/t̥/*. The same is true of the plural suffix *-/e/*, often correlated with *-/ak/*.

- (27) a. *ahamit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘feast’, *ahamijo* (3.MP), *ahamik* (3.MS.BF)
 b. *dehit̥* / *dehit* (3.MS.FF) ‘nephew’, *debijo* (3.MP), *dehik* (3.MS.BF)³⁴³
 c. *i:t̥* (3.MS) ‘name’, *ijo* (3.MP), *ik* (3.MS.BF)³⁴⁴
 d. *ibit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘work / servant, employee’, *ibijo* (3.MP), *ibik* (3.MS.BF)³⁴⁵
 e. *ihirit̥* (MS.FF) ‘crying’, *ihirmijo* (MP), *ihirik* (MS.BF)
 f. *ikir̥it̥* / *ikir̥it* (3.MS.FF) ‘life’, *ikir̥ijo* (3.MP), *ikir̥ik* (MS.BF)
 g. *ixit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘path’, *ixijo* (3.MP), *ixik* (MS.BF)
 h. *irmit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘jaw’, *irmijo* (3.MP), *irik* (3.MS.BF)

The BF is less frequent among nominals in *-/t̥/* than among those in *-/t/*. In (28) one finds nominals ending in *-/it̥/*, for which no BF is reported. In this case one can assume that the last root-vowel is /i/, preserved in the plural. The plural is the same as that of the nominals in (27), with /j/ insertion before *-/o/*.

- (28) a. *aɰbit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘rib’, *aɰbijo* (3.MP)
 b. *aɰmit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘shoulder’, *aɰmijo* (3.MP)
 c. *debit̥* (MS.FF) ‘bone’, *debijo* (MP)
 d. *dit̥* / *dit̥* (MS.FF) ‘big, large, great’, *dejo* (MP)
 e. *di:t̥* (MS.FF) ‘root’, *di:jo* (MP)
 f. *dikit̥ibit̥* / *dikit̥ibi:t̥* (MS.FF) ‘ghost’, *dikit̥ibijo* (MP)

³⁴³ In this nominal the last root-vowel /i/ drops in the plural.

³⁴⁴ The singular FF *iich* /i:t̥/ is the same for ‘name’ and for ‘thirst’, which has different plural: *iich* /i:t̥/ (3.MS) ‘name, thirst’, *iiyo* /i:jo/ (3.MP) ‘name’, *iilo* /i:lo/ (3.MP) ‘thirst’, *iik* /i:k/ (3.MS.BF) ‘name’.

³⁴⁵ Note that this form coincides with *ibik* ‘it rains’.

- g. e:jtɕ (3.MS) ‘on, over, surface, roof’, e:jo (3.MP)
- h. pitɕ (MS.FF) ‘stick, firewood, wood’, pijo (MP)
- i. tobitɕ (MS.FF) ‘camp’, tobijo (MP)
- j. jirmitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘back’ (anatomy), jirmijo (3.MP)
- k. ibihitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘shout’, ibijo (3.MP)³⁴⁶
- l. itɕibitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘spirit, image’, itɕibijo (3.MP)
- m. inɛmitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘grass’, inɛmijo (3.MP)
- n. inimitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘gesture’, inimijo (3.MS)
- o. ikitɕ (MS.FF) ‘front, in front of’, ikijo (MP) ‘body’³⁴⁷

In (29a-b) the singular FF ends in *-/itɕ/* and the BF in *-/ik/*. In the plural, the final vowel of the root is overwritten by the suffix *-/o/*. One can suppose that the last root-vowel is */i/* which turns into */i/* before *-/tɕ/*, since */i/* is very rare before this suffix. In (29a) the suffix *-/t/* is also found and in this case it is preceded by */i/*. In masculine nominals in *-/it/*, the vowel is overwritten by the plural suffix. *Yikich* */jikitɕ/* (29c) has BF in *-/iʔ/* overwritten by the plural suffix. In this case *-/o/* alternates with *-/e/*, which is very rare with nominals in *-/tɕ/*. In some cases */i/* is preserved before *-/tɕ/*. The nominals in (29d-f) have no BF, but */i/* preceding *-/tɕ/* in the FF is not preserved in the plural, as in (28). This suggests that */i/* is not part of the root.

- (29) a. kihimitɕ / kihimit (MS.FF) ‘news; trap’, kihimo (MP), kihimik (MS.BF)
- b. kutuhirmitɕ (MS.FF) ‘honey wax’, kutuhirmo (MP), kutuhirmik (MS.BF)
- c. jikitɕ / jikitɕ (MS.FF) ‘alcoholic beverage’, jiko / jike (MP), jikiʔ (MS.BF)
- d. nɛimitɕ (MS.FF) ‘land, ground’, nɛimo (MP)
- e. ospibitɕ (MS.FF) ‘hive; honey’, ospibo (MP)
- f. iɾitɕ (MS.FF) ‘master, employer’, iɾo (MP)

Some inflected forms of the nominals in (30) coincide. *Pich* */pitɕ/* ‘box, container’ (30a) and *pit* (30c) ‘piece’ have *piʔ* and *pik* respectively as BFs. In both cases the last root-vowel is */i/*, overwritten by the suffix *-/o/*, so that both nouns have the same plural *po*. Since */i/* in the BF *piʔ* (30a) tends to become */i/* before the suffix *-/tɕ/*, the FF *pich* */pitɕ/* coincides with the FF of ‘wood’ (30b). Occasionally */i/* is preserved in

³⁴⁶ As in (27b), in this nominal the last root-vowel */i/* also drops in the plural.

³⁴⁷ This word is used as a locative postposition in the singular and means ‘body’ in the plural.

the FF of ‘box, container’ (30a). For *pich* /pitɕ/ ‘wood’ (30b) no BF is reported, but /i/ is part of the root, as one can see from the MP in *-/ijo/*, as the nominals in (28).

- (30) a. pitɕ/pitɕ (MS.FF) ‘box, container’, po (MP), pi² (MS.BF)
 b. pitɕ (MS.FF) ‘wood’, pijo (MP)
 c. pit (MS.FF) ‘piece’, po (MP), pik (MS.BF)

In (31a), */ej/* in the BF corresponds to */i/* in the FF and in the plural, while in (31) the suffixes *-/tɕ/* and *-/o/* directly follow */j/*, which belongs to the root.

- (31) a. abitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘husband’, abijo (3.MP), abej (3.MS.BF)
 b. dejtɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘father’, dejo (3.MP), dej (3.MS.BF)

Example (32) lists nominals in *-/itɕ/* which take *-/lo/* in the plural. This suffix can alternate with *-/o/*. These nominals show alternation between */i/* and */i/* root-finally. The nominals in (32a-b, f) present FF in *-/it/* and BF in *-/ik/*. In (32b, e-g) the variant FF in *-/it/* is to be observed. The suffix *-/lo/* is generally preceded by root-final */i/*, but in the plurals *kurkulo* (32b) and *kutulo* (32c) the last root-vowel harmonizes to the previous vowel.

- (32) a. arpitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘bed’, arpo / arpi^{lo} (3.MP), arpik (3.MS.BF)
 b. kurkitɕ / kurkit (GF.MS) ‘hammock’, kurko / kurkulo (GF.MP), kurkik (GF.BF)
 c. kutitɕ (MS.FF) ‘beam’, kutulo (MP)³⁴⁸
 d. i:tɕ (3.MS) ‘thirst’, i:lo (3.MP) ‘thirst’
 e. obitɕ / obit (MS.FF) ‘injury, wound’, obi^{lo} (MP)³⁴⁹
 f. otitɕ / otit (MS.FF) ‘liquid, juice’, ot^{lo} (MP), otik³⁵⁰ (MS.BF)
 g. owitɕ / owit (3.MS) ‘place’, owi^{lo} (3.MP)³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ The alternation between /u/ and /i/ is relatively frequent in Chamacoco (for instance, in the thematic vowel of possessable nouns).

³⁴⁹ The FF *obich* /obitɕ/ ‘injury, wound’ coincides with the GF of *ibich* /ibitɕ/ ‘work / servant, employee’. The words have different plural, because *obich* ‘injury, wound’ takes the suffix *-/lo/*, while the plural of the GF of *ibich* (27d) is *obiyo* /obijo/.

³⁵⁰ This BF is very rare and coincides with the indeterminate pronoun *otik*.

³⁵¹ In *otich* /otitɕ/ and *owich* /owitɕ/, according to the speakers, the FF in *-/itɕ/* is far more frequent.

h. *itit̪* (3.MS) ‘pillow’, *itilo* (3.MP)

In (33) one finds some irregular forms. *Disich* /*disit̪*/ (33a) has a plural in *-/ijo/* and a plural obtained by means of *-/t̪o/*.³⁵² In (33b) */e:/* in the FF turns into */a:/* in the plural while */j/*, preceding the suffix in the FF, is not found in the plural. In (33b) too, a vowel change in the root is observed: the FF sequence */ehe/* turns into */aha/* in the BF. In *dihlich* /*dilit̪*/ (33d) the plural takes the suffix *-/e/*, and the BF the suffix *-/ak/*. This confirms the frequent correlation between these two elements and it is particularly significant, because the suffixes *-/ak/* and *-/e/* are usually not used in masculine nominals in *-/t̪/*.

- (33) a. *disit̪* / *disit* (MS.FF) ‘canyon’, *disit̪o* / *disijo* (MP)
 b. *de:j̪* (MS) ‘day’, *da:lo* (MP)
 c. *dehebit̪* (3.MS.FF) ‘brother, of a woman’, *dahabo* (3.MP), *dahap* (3.MS.BF)
 d. *dilit̪* (MS.FF) ‘night’, *dile* (MP), *dilak* (MS.BF)

The nominals in (34) are characterized by nasality and by the plural suffix *-/no/*. They are among those having the last root-vowel different from */i/* and */i:/*: */a/* in (34a-b) and (36b), */e/* in (34d) and */u/* in (35e).³⁵³ In (34a) and (34d) *-/no/* alternates with *-/lo/* in the plural. In (36c) *-/e/* and *-/o/* alternate with *-/no/*. */i/* in the FF *imir̪ich* /*imir̪it̪*/ is probably an insertion: if it belonged to the root, */j/* would show up before the plural suffixes *-/e/* or *-/o/*. In (34d) the BF takes the suffix *-/k/*. In (35a) the FF root does not coincide with the plural root. In *aach* /*a:t̪*/ (35b) the approximant */r/* is present in the plural, but not in the singular and the presence of */j/* before *-/o/* is unexpected. The approximant */r/* is also present in the BF and the plural of *baach* /*ba:t̪*/ (35c), as opposed to the FF, but this is not the only irregularity: */b/* in the FF corresponds to */m/* in the BF and in the plural. */a/* in the BF and in the plural lengthens in the FF. In the BF there is */ij/* insertion before *-/ak/* (where */k/* can drop), but this is not the case in the plural. In

³⁵² In this case an alternative FF *disit* is observed, although less frequent. It ends in *-/it/*, which is unexpected, but this could depend on vowel reduction, a frequent phenomenon in Chamacoco.

³⁵³ In this case I do not consider the glottal stop, which usually follows the vowel at the end of the root.

(35c) the BF and the plural do not have the same root, but share some characteristics not present in the FF. When the BF is reported and a change in the root occurs, the BF and the plural always share the same characteristics as opposed to the FF. This can be noted in examples (14), (15), (16), (17) and (33b-c) and suggests that the FF has undergone phonetic change. In (35d) *irãch* /irãtɕ/ takes the plural *-/o/*, but the root vowel /a/ is also preserved, so that the result is the sequence /ao/, not to be found in other nominals with /a/ as last root-vowel (cf. example (13)). Nominals with root in *-/u/* are less frequent among nominals in *-/tɕ/* than among nominals in *-/t/*: in *ihyuch* /ijutɕ/ epenthetic /w/ is added before the suffix */o/*, which alternates with *-/lo/*. In (34d) and (35d-e) the BF suffix is *-/k/*.

- (34) a. *amatɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘anus, ass’, *amalo* / *amano* (3.MP)
 b. *koxãtɕ* / *koxãt* (MS.FF) ‘mountain, stone’, *koxãno* (MP)³⁵⁴
 c. *imirĩtɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘order’, *imire* / *imiro* / *imirno* (3.MP)
 d. *itê:tɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘bed, mattress’, *itê:lo* / *itê:no* (3.MP), *itê:k* (3.MS.BF)

- (35) a. *pohotɕ* / *pohitɕ* (MS) ‘dog’, *pojto* (MP)
 b. *a:tɕ* (MS.FF) ‘field’, *a:rjo* (MP)
 c. *ba:tɕ* (MS.FF) ‘Paraguayan’, *maro* (MP), *marija(k)* (MS.BF)
 d. *irãtɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘cooked food’, *irão* (3.MP), *irãk* (3.MS.BF)
 e. *ijutɕ* / *ijut* (3.MS.FF) ‘house’, *ijuwō* / *ijulo* (3.MP), *ijuk* (3.MS.BF)

§13.1.12 Masculine nominals in *-/rtɕ/*

The nominals in (36) and (37) have root in *-/r²/*. No epenthetic vowel shows up between the root and the suffix *-/tɕ/* (orthographically <c>). It is possible to predict the FF given the BF, but not the contrary. The BF may consist in the root or may be formed by adding *-/k/*. The suffix *-/ak/* is unusual, except for a few exceptions (36c,f; 37d). The plural is easily predictable, because *-/o/* is usually added. When the BF consists of the mere root, it can be epicene.

³⁵⁴ The form *kojãt* /*koxãt*/ is reported, but is very rare. The plural of this word is also used for ‘hail’.

- (36) a. ahãrtç (3.MS.FF) ‘tongue’, ahãro (3.MP), ahãrk (3.MS.BF)
 b. duçurtç (3.MS.FF) ‘nail, claw, hoof’, duçuro (3.MP), duçurk / duçur² (MS.BF)
 c. ditiãçirtç / ditiãçirtç (MS.FF), ditiãçiro (MP), ditiãçirak (MS.BF) /
 ditiãçir ([M/F]S.BF) ‘fly’ (insect),
 d. kurmutç (MS.FF) ‘Ayoreo’, kurmuro (MP), kurmur² / kurmurk (MS.BF)
 f. muxurtç (MS.FF) ‘Chacoan peccary, tagua’, muxuro (MP), muxurak (MS.BF),
 muxur² ([M/F]S.BF) (*Catagonus wagneri*)
 g. ijertç (3.MS) ‘breath, breathing’, ijero (3.MP)
 h. kabatertç (MS.FF) ‘pacú fish’, kabatero (MP) kabaterk / kabater² (MS.BF)
 (*Piaractus mesopotamicus*)
 i. pukũçirtç (MS.FF) ‘black vulture’, pukũçiro (MS), pukũçir² (MS.BF)
 (*Coragyps atratus*)
 j. urtç (3.MS.FF) ‘piece of wood’, uro (3.MP), urk (3.MS.BF)
 k. wirtç (MS.FF) ‘side, perimeter, shore’, wiro (MP), wirk (MS.BF)
 l. irmturtç (MS.FF) ‘maned wolf’, irmturo (MP), irmtur² (MS.BF)
 m. içirtç (MS.FF) ‘indigenous man’, içiro (MP), içir² ([M/F]S.BF)
 n. itertç (3.MS.FF) ‘thigh’, itero (3.MS), iterk (3.MS.BF)
- (37) a. aņapsĩrtç (MS.FF) ‘demon-man’, aņapsĩro (MP), aņapsĩr² (MS.BF)³⁵⁵
 b. asipsĩrtç (3.MS.FF) ‘opponent in combat’, asipsĩro (3.MP),
 asipsĩr² (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 c. ñahakãsirtç (MS.FF) ‘voyager’, ñahakãsiro (MP), ñahakãsir² (MS.BF)
 d. ijõsĩrtç (3.MS.FF) ‘creator’, ijõsĩro (3.MP), ijõsĩr(a)k / ijõsĩr² (3.MS.BF)
 e. po(r)sĩrtç (MS.FF) ‘predator’,³⁵⁶ posĩro (MP), po(r)sĩr² ([M/F]S.BF),
 po(r)sĩrk (MS.BF)
 f. wonsĩrtç (MS.FF) ‘driver’, wonsĩro (MP), wonsĩrk (MS.BF), wonsĩr² ([M/F]S.BF)
 g. josĩrsĩrtç (sm.FF) ‘liberator, merciful person’, josĩrsĩro (MP),
 josĩrsĩrk / josĩrsĩr² (MS.BF)
 h. juwĩrtç / juwĩrt (MS.FF) ‘killer’, juwĩro (MP), juwĩr² ([M/F]S.BF) /
 juwĩrk (MS.BF)
 i. jĩnsĩrtç (3.MS.FF) ‘master/ owner / employer’, jĩnsĩro (3.MP),
 jĩnsĩrk / jĩnsĩr² (3.MS.BF)
 j. imisĩrtç (3.MS.FF) ‘godfather’, imisĩro (3.MP), imisĩr² / imisĩrk (3.MS.BF)
 k. iņesirtç (3.MS.FF) ‘widower father’, iņesiro (3.MP), iņesir² / iņesirk (3.MS.BF)
 l. irsĩrtç (3.MS.FF) ‘winner’, irsĩro (3.MP), irsĩr² / irsĩrk (3.MS.BF)

³⁵⁵ The *ahnapsĩrc* / *aņapsĩrtç* / is a supernatural being who is key figure in CH mythology. For more details, see Sušnik (1957b: 9-12).

³⁵⁶ The term refers to someone who is hungry, ravenous or gluttonous. In a figurative sense, it also refers to someone who is hungry for sex.

The nominals in (37) are *nomina agentis* ending in *-/sĩrtɕ/*, which corresponds to AY *-/sōri/* (see §12.9). This is one of the few derivational processes still to be found in Chamacoco, although it is no longer productive and often semantically opaque. The derivational operation is only detectable in a few cases. Nominals in *-/sĩrtɕ/* can derive from nominal or verbal elements. *Posĩrc /posĩrtɕ/* (37e) derives from nominal *posht /poçt/* (3.MS.FF) ‘food’, more precisely from the BF *pos* (3.MS.BF).³⁵⁷ *Ihyosĩrc /ijosĩrtɕ/* (37d) ‘creator’ is related to the verb *shiyokōr /çijokōr/* or *shiyōr /çijōr/*, whose root is *iyokōr /ijokōr/* or *iyōr /ijōr/*. /j/ can devoice in the verb (cf. irrealis *n-ihyo-kōr /n-ijokōr/*), as in *ihyo-sĩrc /ijo-sĩrtɕ/*. The verb *shiyokōr /çijokōr/* means ‘to make’, also in the sense of ‘to create’ (see §5.4.14, ex. (92e)). *Yosĩrsĩrc /josĩrsĩrtɕ/* ‘liberator, merciful person’ (37g) probably also has verbal origin. It could be related to *s-osĩr /ts-osĩr/* (3-SG) ‘to help’, whose root *-/osĩr/* is incorporated in the noun, thus segmentable as *y-osĩr-sĩrc /j-osĩr-sĩrtɕ/*. Deverbal nominals such as *ihyosĩrc /ijosĩrtɕ/* and *yosĩrsĩrc /josĩrsĩrtɕ/* are the remnants of the ancient nominalization process still to be observed in Ayoreo (cf. §12.9). *Yĩnsĩrc /jĩnsĩrtɕ/* (37i) is morphologically related to its antonym *yilt /jilt/* ‘slave’ (3.MS.FF) (see ex. (21f)). Here one can detect the derivational process: *-/t/* is the MS-FF morpheme and the root is */jil/-*. The suffix *-/sĩrtɕ/* yields nasalization of /l/ into /n/. Indeed, /l/ is present in *yilahata* (FS) ‘mistress’, the feminine of *yĩnsĩrc /jĩnsĩrtɕ/* (see ex. (56d)): *yil-t /jil-t/* ‘slave’ (3.MS.FF) --> */jil/-* (root) --> */jil/-* + */sĩrtɕ/* --> *yĩnsĩrc /jĩnsĩrtɕ/* ‘master’ (3.MS.FF).³⁵⁸ Further support to the morphological relatedness between *yilt /jilt/* and *yĩnsĩrc /jĩnsĩrtɕ/* is provided by possessive inflection, which depends on the properties of the root. Both *yilt /jilt/* and *yĩnsĩrc /jĩnsĩrtɕ/* belong to prefixal nouns with the 3-prefix */j/-*. A few nouns share this feature (see §10.5).

The following examples list nominals in *-/rtɕ/* presenting some

³⁵⁷ No possessive inflection is reported for *posĩrc /posĩrtɕ/*.

³⁵⁸ Apparently, here *-/sĩrtɕ/* originally indicated someone who owned slaves. As pointed out in §12.9 and §12.11, the corresponding Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco suffixes may also refer to the owner of a certain entity.

exceptions. *Anamirt̩c* /anamirt̩c/ (38a) is a Spanish loanword. As already said, masculine Spanish loanwords generally have FF in *-/t/*. In (38b-c) the plural in *-/o/* alternates with the plural in *-(i)jo/*. In (38d-f) the plural in *-(u)wo/* alternates with the regular plural in *-/o/*.³⁵⁹ These irregular plural forms might depend on the fact that */i/* or */u/*, which originally preceded the suffix *-/t̩c/*, has dropped. In (38b,d) the suffix *-/ak/* is alternatively used and in (38d) it comes together with the suffix *-/e/* in the plural. In (38g,h) the sequence */VhV/* simplifies into *V* in the plural, where the following */r/* devoices into */r̥/*. Also *uhũrc* /uhũrt̩c/ has a plural in *-/uwo/*; its ‘regular’ plural in *-/o/* conveys another meaning according to the informants (38h). This is probably the result of */h/* metathesis, which has merged with the devoiced approximant */r̥/*. The nominal *ĩlarc* /ĩlart̩c/ (38i) has epicene BF in *-/oʔ/* rather than in *-/rʔ/* (about this nominal, see also §13.3.2, ex. (88) and §14.3.1, ex. (82)).

- (38) a. *anamirt̩c* (3.MS.FF) ‘wire’, *anamiro* (3.MP), *anamir* (MS.BF) (Spanish: alambre)
 b. *ijert̩c* (3.MS.BF) ‘place’, *ijerjo* / *ijero* (MP), *ijerak* / *ijerk* (3.MS.BF)
 c. *otert̩c* (3.MS.FF) ‘buttock, anus’, *otero* / *oterijo* (3.MP), *oterk* (3.MS.BF)
 d. *losĩrt̩c* (3.MS.FF) ‘burial’, *losĩro* / *losĩre* / *losũrwo* (MP),
 losĩr / *losĩrak* (MS.BF)³⁶⁰
 e. *pu:rt̩c* (MS.FF) ‘shade, shadow’, *pu:ruwo* (MP), *pu:rk* (MS.BF)
 f. *u:rt̩c* (3.MS.FF) ‘dream’, *u:ruwo* (3.MP), *u:rk* (3.MS.BF)
 g. *olahart̩c* (MS.FF) ‘eel’, *olaṛo* (MP), *olahark* / *olaharʔ* (MS.BF)
 h. *uhũrt̩c* (3.MS.FF) ‘load, burden; hump’, *uṛũwo* (3.MP) ‘load, burden’,
 cf. *uṛõ* (3.MP) ‘hump’, *uhũrk* (3.MS.BF); cf. *uṛũro* ‘sexual relationship’
 i. *ĩlart̩c* (MS.FF) ‘old’, *ĩlaro* (MP), *ĩlaroʔ* ([M/F]S.BF)

§13.2 Feminine nominals

Feminine nominals usually take the suffixes *-/ta/* or *-/t̩ca/* in the FF and can be thus divided into two classes. These suffixes correspond to the masculine FF suffixes *-/t/* and *-/t̩c/*; apparently the feminine suffix

³⁵⁹ See also *ĩrũrc* /ĩrũrt̩c/ (19m).

³⁶⁰ The BF *losĩr* is more frequent than *losĩrak*.

has been obtained by adding *-/a/* to the masculine FF suffix. This suggests that Chamacoco was originally an agglutinative language. In the plural, the suffix *-/e/* is often used, but it may drop, so that the BF and the plural only differ in the presence vs. lack of the final glottal stop.

Most feminine nominals take *-/ta/*. I first discuss nominals in *-/ata/*, *-/eta/*, *-/ita/*, *-/ota/* and *-/uta/* (§13.2.1), and *-/ita/* (§13.2.2), including some compounds in (§13.2.3). Some feminine nominals have a BF suffix which has originated from a reinterpretation of the last root-vowel or from an epenthetic vowel (§13.2.4). Feminine Spanish loans show the FF suffix *-/ta/* (§13.2.5). Section §13.2.6 deals with FFs in approximants plus *-/ta/*. Some exceptions are discussed in §13.2.7. Finally, I discuss the feminine nominals with the FF morpheme *-/t̪a/* (§13.2.8), which has two allomorphs, *-/t̪a/* (§13.2.9) and *-/ɰa/* (§13.2.10).

§13.2.1 Feminine nominals in *-/Vta/*³⁶¹

Most feminine nominals take the suffix *-/ta/* in the FF.³⁶² In examples (39-43) *-/ta/* is added to the BF. The BF ends in *-/iʔ/* (39), *-/uʔ/* (40), *-/oʔ/* (41) and *-/aʔ/* (42). The glottal stop should be considered part of the root and deletes as expected when any element follows. In (39) and (40) the plural adds the vowel *-/e/* and there is insertion of */j/* or */w/* after */i/* or */u/* respectively. If the plural suffix drops, the only element opposing the BF to the plural is the presence vs. absence of the glottal stop, yielding yet other cases of subtractive morphology (not uncommon in the feminine). Dropping the last vowel is very frequent in Chamacoco, in particular when the affected vowel is the plural suffix. In *osdiita* /osdi:ta/ (39c) and *yoniiita* /joni:ta/ (39d) one finds two alternating BFs, one ending in *-/iʔ/* and coinciding with the root and one ending in *-/ja/*. In this case, *-/a/* might be a feminine BF

³⁶¹ Excluding nominals with FF in *-/ita/*, which will be discussed in §13.2.2.

³⁶² The suffix *-/ta/* is generally realized as [taʔ]. The final glottal stop is only indicated when it distinguishes two forms or words.

suffix and /j/ a glide insertion, as in the plural.

- (39) a. *ejhita* (FS.FF) ‘seed’, *ejhi* (FP), *ejhi*[?] (FS.BF)
 b. *kojti:ta* (FS.FF) ‘shy’, *kojti* / *kojtije* (FP), *kojti*[?] (FS.BF)
 c. *osdi:ta* (FS.FF) ‘type of plant’ (caraguatà), *osdi* / *osdi:je* (FP),
osdi:ja[?], *osdi*[?] (FS.BF)
 d. *joni:ta* (3.FS.FF) ‘spirit with supernatural power’, *joni* / *joni:je* (3.FP), *joni:ja*,
joni[?] (3.FS.BF)
 e. *ibi:ta* (3.FS.FF), *ibi*[?] (3FS.BF) ‘servant, employee’ *ibi* / *ibi:je* (3.FP)
- (40) a. *dukuta* (FS.FF) ‘cemetery’, *duku* / *dukuwe* (FP), *duku*[?] (FS.BF)
 b. *huta* (3.FS.FF) ‘head’, *hu* / *huwe* (3.FP), *hu*[?] (FS.BF)
 c. *polu:ta* (FS.FF), *polu*[?] (FS.BF) ‘widow’, *polu:we* / *polu*: (FP)
 d. *poṅu:ta* (FS.FF) ‘gun’, *poṅu*: / *poṅu:we* (FP), *poṅu*[?] (FS.BF)
 e. *uṛu:ta* (FS.FF) ‘fire’, *uṛu*: / *uṛu:we* (FP), *uṛu*[?] (FS.BF)
 f. *ilu:ta* (3.FS.FF) ‘way, meaning’, *ilu*: / *ilu:we* (3.FP), *ilu*[?] (FS.BF)³⁶³

In (42), the plural suffix *-/e/* can be added directly to the root (41a,d), although */w/* insertion is also reported. In the plural, the suffix can drop and, here too, the lack of glottal stop is the distinctive feature with respect to the BF. Both forms will be further discussed in the chapter on gender (§13.3).

- (41) a. *ṭuknamorōhota* (FS.FF) ‘whirlwind’, *ṭuknamorōho* / *ṭuknamorōh(o)e* (FP),
ṭuknamorōho[?] (FS.BF)
 b. *kokota* (FS.FF) ‘hen’, *koko* (FP), *koko*[?] (FS.BF)
 (cf. *koko* (MP) / *koko*[?] (MS.BF) ‘rooster’)
 c. *ono:ta* (FS.FF) ‘river’, *ono*: / *ono:we* (FP), *ono*[?] (FS.BF)
 d. *oṛō:ta* (FS.FF) ‘clearing’, *oṛō*: / *oṛō:e* (FP), *oṛō*[?] (FS.BF)
 e. *wo:ta* (FS.FF) ‘frog’, *wo*: (FP), *wo*[?] (FS.BF)
 f. *jōkokota* (FS.FF) ‘toad’, *jōkoko* / *jōkoki* (FP), *jōkoko*[?] (FS.BF)
 g. *ilpijota* (FS.FF) ‘jaguar’, *ilpijo* ([M/F]P), *ilpijo*[?] ([M/F]S.BF)

In nominals with FF in *-/ata/* and BF in *-/a²/*, the plural suffix can drop and, here too, the glottal stop marks the BF. The plural suffix overwrites pre-final */a/* even when it is a long vowel. If the root ends in *-/aha/*, the first */a/* assimilates to the suffix (42b,c,h), so that the plural

³⁶³ The FP *iluu* /*ilu*:/ is more frequent than *iluuwe* /*ilu:we*/.

ends in *-/ehe/*. In nominals with FF in *-/eta/* and BF in *-/eʔ/* there is no glide insertion and the suffix merges with the last vowel of the root. Consequently, as in other cases mentioned, the glottal stop becomes the BF marker. Note that having FF in *-/ata/* or *-/eta/* does not imply that the BF is obtained by removing the suffix *-/ta/* (see §13.2.4).

- (42) a. *kart̩ɕa:ta* (FS.FF) ‘clam’, *kart̩ɕa:* (FP), *kart̩ɕa:ʔ* (FS.BF)
 b. *kinahata* (FS.FF) ‘strange’, *kin̩ehe* / *kinaha* (FP), *kinahaʔ* ([M/F]S.BF)
 c. *kiskahata* (FS.FF) ‘radio, telephone’, *kiskehe* (FP), *kiskahaʔ* (FS.BF)³⁶⁴
 (also: *kiskirahata*)
 d. *ṃata* (3.FS.FF) / *aṃita* (2.FS.FF) ‘hand’, *ṃe* (3.FP), *ṃeʔ* / *ṃaʔ* (3.FS.BF)³⁶⁵
 e. *ṇika:ta* (FS.FF) ‘black carob tree’, *ṇika:* / *ṇikee* (FP), *ṇika:ʔ* (FS.BF)
 f. *olxa:ta* (FS) ‘type of tree’, *olxa:* / *olxe:* (FP), *olxa:ʔ* (FS.BF)
 ‘white carob tree’
 g. *pawt̩ɕata* (FS.FF) ‘tarantula’, *pawt̩ɕa* / *pawt̩ɕe* (FP), *pawt̩ɕaʔ* (FS.BF)
 h. *imahata* (FS.FF) ‘enemy’, *imehe* (FP), *imahaʔ* (MS/FS.BF)
- (43) a. *e:ta* (FS.FF) ‘fruit / flower’, *e:* (FP), *e:ʔ* (FS.BF) (plorta plor)
 b. *we:ta* (FS.FF) ‘group, flock’, *we:* (FP), *we:ʔ* (FS.BF)
 c. *weheta* (3.FS.FF) ‘throat’, *wehe* (3.FP), *weheʔ* (3.FS.BF)

§13.2.2 Feminine nominals in *-/ita/*

Most feminine nominals present FF in *-/ita/*. They do not represent a homogeneous group, because they do not have the same BF.

The nominals in (44) have root in *-/p/*, coinciding with the BF. */i/* in the FF is an epenthetic vowel. When the FF and plural suffixes are added, */p/* voices into */b/* and when necessary nasalizes into */m/* (44a). If there is no epenthesis of */i/* in the FF (44c,d,e) */b/* can devoice due to assimilation to voiceless */t/* (44e). When the plural suffix *-/e/* is added, the previous vowel */a:/* assimilates to it. In (44e) this does not always occur. In *ahn̩im̩ita* /*aṇ̩im̩ita*/ (44a) the BF is *ahn̩ap* /*aṇ̩ap*/: the last

³⁶⁴ This BF coincides with the BF of *kiskehet* ‘machete’.

³⁶⁵ In this noun, the BF *hme* /*ṃeʔ*/ depends on the reduction of the last vowel of the root, this process can also be seen in the alternation between */a/* and */i/* in the FF: *hmata* /*ṃata*/ (3.FS.FF), *ahm̩ita* /*aṃita*/ (2.FS.FF).

vowel of the root reduces to /i/ in the FF and in the plural. Masculine nominals with FF in *-/it/* and BF in *-/p/* present the same morphological behaviour.

- (44) a. *aṅimita* (3.FS.FF) ‘grandson, granddaughter’, *aṅap* (3.[M/F]S.BF), *aṅime* (3.FP)
 b. *huwa:bita* (FS.FF) ‘very short; flat, plane’, *huwe:be* (FP), *huwa:p* ([M/F]S.BF)
 c. *ixa:bta* / *ixa:bita* (3.FS.FF) ‘little, little daughter’, *ixe:be* (3.FP),
ixa:p ([M/F]S.BF)³⁶⁶
 d. *kosa:bta* (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, *kose:be* (FP), *kosa:p* ([M/F]S.BF)
 (local name: *garcita azulada*)
 e. *sarpa:pta* / *sarpa:bta* (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, *sarpe:be* / *sarpa:be* (FP),
sarpa:p ([M/F]S.BF) (also: *serpa:bta*, local name: *ave picaflor* or *colibrí*)

The examples in (45) represent the most prototypical group of feminine nominals. They have FF in *-/ita/*, where /i/ is part of the feminine root which ends in glottal stop (*-/iʔ/*) and coincides with the BF. The plural suffix *-/e/* is added to the BF and overwrites the last root-vowel /i/.³⁶⁷ Similarly, in most masculine nominals in *-/it/* (the counterpart of the feminine in *-/ita/*) the plural suffix overwrites pre-final /i/. Although the BF of the (prototypical) nominals in (45) ends in *-/iʔ/* and the plural in *-/e/*, there is neutralization of the contrast /i/ vs. /e/ in pre-final³⁶⁸ or final position. In the plural, this is due to reduction of /e/ to /i/ in final position, which is also to be observed in other parts of speech such as the temporal clitic *=/ke/*, which indicates recent past and can be realized as /ke/ or /ki/. In the BF, strengthening of /i/ into /e/ probably occurs. As a result, the lack of glottal stop in the plural is often the only marker with respect to the BF: e.g. *toweʔ* / *towiʔ* (FS.BF) vs. *towe* / *towi* (FP) (45n). Since the presence of pre-final /e/ in the BF or of final /i/ in the plural depends on phonetic realization, the examples below only report the forms actually recorded in my corpus. (45k) is a loanword from Spanish *oveja*. As will be apparent in other examples, the feminine class in *-/ta/* is still productive.

³⁶⁶ This nominal is nowadays used as an adjective meaning ‘little’. It is originally the diminutive form of *ijita* ‘daughter’ (3.FS.FF), a loan from Spanish *hija* ‘daughter’. Also its masculine counterpart *ijit* ‘son’ (MS.FF), from Spanish *hijo* ‘son’, is reported (see 13.3.1, ex. 64b).

³⁶⁷ As already said, glottal stop deletion is the result of a morphophonological process.

³⁶⁸ That is before the final glottal stop.

- (45) a. *armita* (FS.FF) ‘deaf’, *arme* (FP), *armi*[?] (FS.BF)
 b. *bobita* (FS.FF) ‘type of tree’, *bobe* / *bobi* (FP), *bobe*[?] / *bobi*[?] (FS.BF)
 (local name: *aromita*)
 c. *botikita* (FS.FF) ‘pill’, *botike* (FP), *botiki*[?] (MS.BF)
 d. *dit̥ipita* / *dit̥ipta* (FS.FF) ‘latrine’, *dit̥ipe* (FP), *dit̥ipi*[?] (MS.BF)
 e. *ṅitita* (3.FS.FF) ‘foot’, *ṅite* / *ṅiti* (3.FP), *ṅite*[?] / *ṅiti*[?] (3.MS.BF)
 f. *hutita* (FS.FF) ‘paper, book’, *hute* (FP), *huti*[?] (MS.BF)
 g. *hutubita* (FS.FF) ‘top, summit’, *hutube* (FP), *hutubi*[?] (FS.BF)
 h. *ṃantita* (FS.FF) ‘fist’, *ṃante* / *ṃanti* (FP), *ṃante*[?] / *ṃanti*[?] (FS.BF)
 i. *nerpita* / *nerpta* (FS.FF) ‘shirt’, *nerpe* / *nerpi* (FP), *nerpe*[?] / *nerpi*[?] (MS.BF)
 j. *ṅotita* (FS.FF) ‘money’, *ṅote* (FP), *ṅote*[?] (FS.BF)
 k. *obexita* (FS.FF) ‘sheep’, *obexe* / *obexi* (FP), *obexe*[?] (MS.BF) (Spanish: *oveja*)
 l. *pih̄ipita* (FS.FF) ‘person who does not speak’, *pih̄ipe* (MP),
pih̄ipe[?] / *pih̄ipi*[?] (FS.BF)
 m. *topita* (FS.FF) ‘dead’, *tope* (FP), *topi*[?] / *tope*[?] (FS.BF)
 n. *towita* / *towuta* (FS.FF) ‘lazy’, *towe* / *towu* / *towi* (FP), *towe*[?] / *towi*[?] (MS.BF)
 o. *xwekita* (FS.FF) ‘fire’, *xweke* (FP), *xweki*[?] (FS.BF) (Spanish: *fuego*)
 p. *ilxa:bita* (FS.FF) ‘evil’, *ilxa:be* (FP), *ilxa:be*[?] (FS.BF)³⁶⁹

The existence of nominals in *-/bita/* or *-/mita/* with BF in *-/i[?]/*, indicates that such FFs do not necessarily correspond to BFs in *-/p/*. The contrary is possible but equally unpredictable.

§13.2.3 Compounds ending in *-/ita/*

Chamacoco is not rich in compounds. However, (46) lists compounds with *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’ as head (*pi*[?] (FS.BF), *pi* (FP)). In CH compounds the head follows the modifier. The compounds in (46) have heads with FF in *-/ita/* and BF in *-/i[?]/*. The modifier and the head form a phonological word, with suffixation on the head and possessive inflection on the modifier. This is particularly evident when head and modifier belong to the inflectional class of radical nouns, as in (46b) and (46c).³⁷⁰ *Dichipita* /*dit̥ipita*/ (46a) is a non-possessable noun with

³⁶⁹ Feminine nominals with plural in *-/a:be/* usually have BF in *-/a:p/*, so that this nominal can be considered an exception.

³⁷⁰ For the possessive inflection of these forms, see §10.6.

modifier *dichit* /dɪtʃit/, the GF of *ichit* /itʃit/. In (46) all compounds are formed by nominal elements. Since the modifier takes no suffixation, only the root of the modifier is used in compounds. In example (46) the root of the modifier is separated from the suffix by the hyphen.

- (46) a. *dɪtʃipita* (FS.FF) ‘toilet, latrine’
 ---> *dɪtʃi-t* (GF.MS.FF) ‘dung’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’
 b. *nerpita* (3.FS.FF) ‘shirt’ ---> *nerʔ* (3.BF) ‘behind’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’
 c. *potipita* (3.FS.FF) ‘pot’
 ---> *poti-ta*³⁷¹ (3.FS.FF) ‘edible fruit, food’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’
 d. *ikipita* (3.FS.FF) ‘shirt, dress’
 ---> *iki-jo* (3.MP.FF) ‘body’³⁷² + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’
 e. *ilipita* (3.FS.FF) ‘lens’ / *ilipe* (3.FP) ‘glasses’
 ---> *il-e* (3.FP) ‘face, eyes’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’
 f. *iterpita* (3.FS.FF) ‘trousers’ ---> *iter-tʃ* (3.MS.FF) ‘thigh’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’
 g. *dirpita* (3.FS.FF) ‘footprint’, *pirpita* (1.FS.FF), *erpita* (2.FS.FF) ‘footprint’
 ---> *pi-tʃa* (1.FS.FF) / *e-tʃa* (2.FS.FF) ‘foot’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’

With the exception of (46c,g), these compounds have probably been created referring to objects absent in the traditional CH culture. *Dirpita* /dirpita/ (46g) is however an old word, because the compounding mechanism is transparent in the 1S- and the 2S-person, but not anymore in the 3-person, where the suppletive form *hnitita* /ɲitita/ is used.^{373 374}

³⁷¹ As already said, all FFs in /-ta/ have a final glottal stop [taʔ], not transcribed in the orthography. In this case, it is better to indicate the glottal stop, because, according to the informants, the final glottal stop distinguishes *potitaʔ* (3.FS.FF) ‘edible fruit, food’ from *potita* (without the final glottal stop), an uninflectable adjective meaning ‘swollen, inflated’.

³⁷² This noun is used in the plural with the meaning ‘body’, see example (28o).

³⁷³ This is the possessive inflection of the word: *p-irza* /p-ɪtʃa/ (1S), *errza* /e-tʃa/ (2S), *hnitita* /ɲitita/ (3S), *d-errza* /d-e-tʃa/ (RFL) ‘foot’. Feminine nominals in /-tʃa/ will be discussed in (§13.2.10).

³⁷⁴ Because the compound has the possessive inflection of the modifier, *dirpita* (3.FS.FF) ‘footprint’ is supposed to have taken the same possessive inflection of ‘foot’: since *d-irpita* has the prefix /d-/ in the 3S-person (cf. *p-irpita* vs. *d-irpita*), one can suppose that also the original 3-person possessive of ‘foot’ had it. For this reason it should be possible to reconstruct the original form **dirza* /dɪ-tʃa/. This form is not observed in the previous studies, but Sušnik (1970: 108-109) reports the forms *dirí* and *dít*. It is difficult to analyse them, because she just reports single words and their context of use is not provided, but this confirms that

§13.2.4 Feminine (or epicene) base-form suffixes³⁷⁵

Some feminine nominals present a BF suffix which derives from the reinterpretation of a root vowel or a paragogic vowel. The nominals in (47) have FF in *-/ita/*, but the BF does not end in *-/i[?]/*. In this case, the BF does not coincide with the root, because final *-/a/* and *-/o[?]/* are not to be found in the rest of the paradigm. This can occur in the plural, when the last root-vowel *-/a/* is overwritten by */e/* (see ex. (42)), but it should not occur when the BF ends in *-/o[?]/* (see ex. (41)).³⁷⁶

- (47) a. *otita* (FS.FF) ‘person’, *ote* (FP), *oto[?]* (FS.BF)
 b. *apibitita* / *apubitita* (FS.FF) ‘young woman’, *apibite* / *apubite* (FP),
apibita (MS.BF)

The same happens in the following examples, featuring nominals in *-/lta/* or *-/l̥ta/* (48), *-/mta/* (49), *-/nta/* (50), *-/sta/* (51a-b) and *-/çta/* (51b-c). In such cases the BF in *-/V[?]/* does not coincide with the root ending in a consonant. One has to note that there are no CH words ending in *-/l/* or *-/l̥/* and that, although a CH word can end in *-/m/*, *-/n/*, *-/s/* and *-/ç/*, there are no feminine nominals ending in these consonants, very rare even in masculine nominals (excluding the BF in *-/s/*). This suggests that the final vowel³⁷⁷ has originally been added to re-create the preferred CV syllabic structure. In this case, the expected vowel is */i/*, often used as epenthetic vowel, or */e/*, because this phonological opposition is neutralized word-finally in many feminine nominals. But this would exclude */o/* and */a/* from the word-final position. One might also surmise that these vowels, belonging to the

such a form probably existed. A word corresponding to the form *hnitita* /*ñitita*/ is already found in Baldus (1932: 403)

³⁷⁵ Thanks are due to Rik van Gijn and Fernando Zúñiga for their suggestions concerning the interpretation of some data reported in the present section.

³⁷⁶ The same interaction between nominals roots in *-/o[?]/* or *-/a[?]/* and the plural suffix, can also be noted in masculine nominals (see examples (12-13)).

³⁷⁷ This is actually a pre-final vowel if one considers the glottal stop, which, however, does not seem to be relevant in these examples.

root, have dropped in the rest of the paradigm and have been reinterpreted as BF suffixes. Thus, $-/o^?/$ and $-/a(^?)/$ ³⁷⁸ are BF suffixes originally belonging to the root, while in the case of $/i^?/$ and $/e^?/$ it is not possible to clarify whether they derive from: (i) a part of the root or (ii) a paragogic vowel. Such BF suffixes are mostly feminine, but some of them were pointed out in examples (21) and (22), where they mark the epicene BF. These suffixes will also be discussed in the section on gender (§13.3).

$-/e^?/$ or $-/i^?/$ occasionally alternates with $-/o^?/$ or $-/a^?/$ (48). In *armista*, there is root allomorphy, because the root ends in $-/s/$ in the FF, while it ends in $-/ts/$ in the BF and in the plural.

(48) a. *itilta* (3.FS.FF) ‘cane, stick’, *itile* (3.FP), *itile[?]* / *itilo[?]* (3.FS.BF)

b. *lu:lta* (FS) ‘cononut’, *lu:l̥e* (FP), *lu:l̥e[?]* / *lu:l̥a[?]* (FS.BF)

c. *wolta* (3.FS.FF) ‘hat’, *wole* (3.FP), *wolo[?]* / *wola[?]* (3.FS.BF)

d. *jilta* (3.FS.FF) ‘slave, servant’, *jile* (3.FP), *jila[?]* (3.FS.BF)

(49) a. *ki:mta* (FS.FF) ‘single’, *ki:me* / *ki:mi* (FP), *ki:mi[?]* (FS.BF)

b. *jokomta* (FS.FF) ‘type of armadillo’, *jokome* / *jokomi* (FP), *jokome[?]* (FS.BF)

(*Tolypeutes matacus*)

(50) a. *distrenta* (FS.FF) ‘flashlight’, *distrene* (FP), *distrene[?]* / *distrena[?]* (FS.BF)

b. *ket̥inta* (FS.FF) ‘Paraguayan’, *ket̥ine* (FP), *ket̥ina[?]* / *ket̥ine[?]* (FS.BF)

c. *pemuṅta* (FS.FF) ‘feathered headdress’, *pemuṅe* (FP), *pemuṅe[?]* (FS.BF)

(51) a. *armista* (3.FS.FF) ‘blood’, *armitse* / *armitsi* (3.FP), *armitse[?]* (3.FS.BF)³⁷⁹

b. *kā:sta* (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, *kā:se* / *kā:si* (FP), *kā:se[?]* / *kā:si[?]* (MS.BF)

(local name: ave carau)

c. *boçeṭta* (FS.FF) ‘girl’, *boçeṭe* (FP), *boçeṭe[?]* (MS.BF) (Spanish: muchacha)

d. *boliṭta* (FS.FF) ‘store’, *boliṭe* / *boliṭi* (FP), *boliṭe[?]* / *boliṭo[?]* (FS.BF)

§13.2.5 Loanwords

Bosheshta /*boçeṭta*/ in (51c) is a Spanish loan. The class of feminine nominals in $-/ta/$ is still productive. In (52) one finds further Spanish

³⁷⁸ In a few nominals showing this BF suffix, the final glottal stop was not observed.

³⁷⁹ The plural refers to the blood of more than one person.

loanwords. *Ishtorita* /içtorita/ (52) also presents the non-adapted form *ishtorya* /içtorja/, used in both BF and FF contexts. The same is true of *mintana*², which is morphologically a BF but can also be used in FF contexts. In (52a-b) *ishtorita* /içtorita/ and *leyta* /lejta/ can take the suffix *-/e/* in the plural, but this can drop and in such a case only the glottal stop distinguishes the BF from the plural. The nominals in (52c-d) exhibit a BF suffix. In (52a) the Spanish noun is masculine, but its CH adaptation is feminine.

- (52) a. içtorita (FS.FF) ‘history’, içtor / içtore (FP), içtor² (FS.BF)
 (non-adapted form: içtorja; Spanish: historia)
 b. lejta (FS.FF) ‘law’, lej / leje (FP), lej² (FS.BF) (Spanish: ley)
 c. mjenta / mjentita (FS.FF) ‘wind’, mjente (FP), mjente² / mjento² (FS.BF)
 (Spanish: viento)
 d. mintanta (FS.FF) ‘window’, mintane (FP), mintana² / mintane² (FS.BF)
 (mintana² is also used as a non-adapted form; Spanish: ventana)

§13.2.6 Nominals with root ending in an approximant plus */ʔ/*

Approximant consonants can occur word-finally followed by a glottal stop, as in (53) and (54). The nominals in (53) have root in *-/w²/*. In the plural *-/e/* is added, but it can fall and in such a case only the lack of glottal stop in the plural distinguishes it from the BF.

- (53) a. ñitewta (FS.FF) ‘debt’, ñitew / ñitewe (FP), ñitew² (FS.BF)
 b. titewta (FS.FF) ‘heart’, titew / titewe (FP), titew² (FS.BF)

Example (54) lists nominals in *-/ta/* with */r/* before the FF and plural suffix. In the BF, */r/* is followed by a glottal stop. In some cases the BF can present the suffix *-/a²/* (54c-d), which alternates with the BF in *-/r²/*. In the plural, *-/e/* is added, but as it often occurs when it is preceded by an approximant (see (52b) and (53)), the suffix can fall and the distinction between plural and BF is only conveyed by the lack of glottal stop in the plural.

- (54) a. *alpuh̄irta* (FS.FF) ‘type of fish’ (*pez doradillo*), *alpuh̄ir* / *alpuh̄ire* (FP),
alpuh̄ir[?] (MS.BF)
 b. *h̄irta* (FS.FF) ‘palm’, *h̄ir* / *h̄ire* (FP), *h̄ir*[?] (FS.BF)
 c. *kuṇ̄erta* (FS.FF) ‘orphan’, *kuṇ̄ere* (FP), *kuṇ̄er*[?] / *kuṇ̄era*[?] (FS.BF)
 d. *jarta* / *jaṭṭa* (FS.FF) ‘sign’, *jar* / *jare* (FP), *jar*[?] / *jara*[?] (FS.BF)³⁸⁰
 e. *wih̄irta* (FS.FF) ‘red’, *wih̄ir* / *wih̄ire* (FP), *wih̄ir*[?] (FS.BF)
 f. *wah̄irta* (FS.FF) ‘type of tree’, *wah̄ir* / *wah̄ire* (FP), *wah̄ir*[?] (FS.BF)
 h. *ih̄irta* (FS.FF) ‘red’, *ih̄ir* / *ih̄ire* (FP), *ih̄ir*[?] (FS.BF)

In (55) there is root allomorphy, because the BF and plural root is different from the root of the FF in *-/ãta/*. In some cases, two FFs alternate. In (55a,c,e) the FF in *-/rta/* or *-/ṭṭa/* has the same root as the plural and the BF. This confirms that final *-/a*[?] in the BF is a suffix (cf. §13.2.4). *-/a*[?] is not present in (55e), while (55a) has a BF in *-/r*[?] and another one in *-/ra*[?]. The plural, *-/e/* can drop and in (55a,e) the lack of glottal stop in the plural distinguishes it from the BF.

- (55) a. *apã:ta* / *ap̄irta* (FS.FF) ‘roll, skein’, *ap̄ir* / *ap̄ire* (FP), *ap̄ir*[?] / *ap̄ira*[?] (MS.BF)
 b. *ijãta* (3.FS.FF) ‘friend, companion’, *ij̄er* / *ij̄ere* (3.FP),³⁸¹ *ij̄era*[?] (3.MS.BF)
 c. *kuṇ̄ata* / *kuṇ̄erta* (FS.FF) ‘orphan’, *kuṇ̄ere* / *kuṇ̄ire* (FP),
kuṇ̄era[?] / *kuṇ̄er*[?] (MS.BF)
 d. *ojã:ta* (FS.FF) ‘dog’, *oj̄e:re* (FP), *oj̄e:ra*[?] (FP.BF)
 e. *pejk̄eta* / *pejk̄ēṭṭa* (FS.FF) ‘gourd’, *pejk̄ere* / *pejk̄er* (FP), *pejk̄er*[?] (FS.BF)

The FFs which do not correspond to the BF and plural roots are probably the result of */r/* syncope, as in (55e): */pejk̄er*[?] + *-/ta/* > */pejk̄eta/*. In (55c) both */r/* and the previous vowel have dropped: */kuṇ̄era*[?] + *-/ta/* > */kuṇ̄ata/*. In other cases, such as (55a), the vowel preceding */a/* merged with the latter: */ap̄ira*[?] + *-/ta/* > */apã:ta/*. */r/* deletion is frequent in the Zamucoan languages, especially in Ayoreo.

³⁸⁰ About the alternating FFs *yarta* /*jarta*/ or *yarrza* /*jaṭṭa*/, see §13.2.8.

³⁸¹ Note that in this case the FP and MP are ambiguous.

§13.2.7 Exceptions

The following examples list some irregular forms. The nominals in (56a-c) and (57a,c) end in *-/ta/* in the FF, but */t/* seems to be part of the root, as one can see from the loanword sources. These loanwords from Spanish nouns ending in *-/ta/* show a BF suffix.³⁸² One can suppose that when *-/ta/* is added to a root ending in *-/t/*, the latter deletes for geminated */t/* is very rare in Chamacoco. In (56d) root-final */t/* is to be found in the plural, where it alternates with the form without */t/*. (56d) has no BF suffix, because *-/a²/* is part of the root. By contrast, (57d) presents a BF suffix: here a root ending in */t/* in the BF and in the plural is also found. In (56a,d) and (57b) */a/* in the root assimilates to the plural suffix *-/e/*. *Kabahata* also has the irregular plural form *kabiyuhe /kabijuhe/*.

- (56) a. *irāhata / irāhta* (3.FS.FF) ‘wife’, *irēhte / irēhete* (3.FP),
 irāhto² / irāhato² (3.FS.BF)
 b. *dekita* (3.FS.FF) ‘grandmother’, *dekite* (3.FP), *dekite²* (3.FS.BF)
 c. *lata* (3.FS.FF) ‘mother’, *lati / late* (3.FP), *lati² / late²* (3.FS.BF) (also: *data*)
 d. *jila:ta / jilahata* (3.FS.FF) ‘mistress’, *jile:te / jilehe* (3.FP), *jilaha²* (3.FS.BF)
- (57) a. *ɬukleta* (FS.FF) ‘bike’, *ɬuklete* (FP), *ɬuklete²* (FS.BF)
 b. *kabahata* (FS.FF) ‘horse’, *kabiyuhe / kabehe* (FP), *kabaha²* ([M/F]S.BF)
 c. *kamnota* (FS.FF) ‘hyacinth’, *kamnote* (FP), *kamnote²* (FS.BF)
 (from local Spanish: *camalote*)
 d. *kanasta* (FS.FF) ‘basket’, *kanaste / kanasti / kanase* (FP),
 kanaste² / kanase² (FS.BF) (Spanish: *canasta*)

§13.2.8 Feminine nominals in *-/ɬa/*

The class of feminine nominals in *-/ɬa/* include fewer items than the class in *-/ta/*. There are various feminine loanwords with FF in *-/ta/*, while loanwords in *-/ɬa/* are rare, showing that *-/ɬa/* is no longer productive. The FF suffix *-/ɬa/* corresponds morphologically to the

³⁸² In Chamacoco */t/* can occur word-finally, but the BF suffix is probably used because a nominal ending in *-/t/* could be interpreted as a masculine FF.

masculine FF suffix $-/t\text{ɕ}/$ ³⁸³ plus $/a/$, which in Ayoreo is a FS-FF morpheme. Synchronically $-/t\text{ɕ}/$ and $-/a/$ can no longer be analysed as two separate elements, but this seems to be a trace of agglutination suggesting that, like $-/ta/$, also $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ is diachronically derived from the masculine FF suffix. The morpheme $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ has two allomorphs: $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ and $-/ɟa/$. The latter only occurs when the root ends in $-/r^?/$. The boundary between feminine nominals in $-/ta/$ and $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ is not rigid: in some cases these suffixes alternate in the same nominal. In the plural, nominals in $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ take the suffix $-/e/$, like all feminine nominals.

§13.2.9 The allomorph $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$

A small group of feminine nominals use the allomorph $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ (58). In some cases it can alternate with $-/ta/$ (58a,d,g), although in these cases $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ is by far more frequent. Most nominals with the allomorph $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ have root in $-/p/$ which, when a suffix is added, regularly turns into $/b/$ and nasalizes into $/m/$ if required. Epenthetic $/i/$ or $/ɨ/$ is inserted before the allomorph $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$.³⁸⁴ In (58) final $-/p/$ in the BF is usually preceded by $/a/$ or $/a:/$. $/a/$ can delete (58a,d) or reduce to $/ɨ/$ (58b,f,h) in the FF and in the plural, while $/a:/$ turns into $/e:/$ (55e,g). In (58e) one finds an exception, because the sequence $/uw/$ is present in the BF of *nahneemcha* $/na\text{ɲ}e:m\text{ɕ}a/$, in contrast with the FF and the plural. Not all nominals with the allomorph $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ have root ending in $-/p/$: *Latermicha* $/laterm\text{ɕ}a/$, with the root ending in $-/e/$, is an exception. Since there are nominals in $-/ita/$ with BF in $-/p/$, it is not possible to predict from it whether the FF takes $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ or $-/ta/$.

- (58) a. $t\text{ɕ}ip\text{ɨ}rmit\text{ɕ}a$ / $t\text{ɕ}ip\text{ɨ}rmita$ (FS.FF) ‘little bird’, $t\text{ɕ}ip\text{ɨ}rme$ (FP), $t\text{ɕ}ip\text{ɨ}r\text{ɔ}p$ (FS.BF)
 b. $lasibit\text{ɕ}a$ (3.FS.FF) ‘niece’, $lasibe$ (3.FP), $lasap$ (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 c. $latermit\text{ɕ}a$ (3.FS.FF) ‘aunt’, $latirme$ (3.FP), $latirme^?$ (3.FS.BF)
 (also: $datermit\text{ɕ}a$, $d-/l-ate:m\text{ɕ}a$)

³⁸³ There is not always a direct correspondence between $-/t\text{ɕ}/$ and $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$ in the same paradigm (see the section on nominal derivation).

³⁸⁴ Epenthetic $/i/$ is more frequent before $-/t\text{ɕ}a/$. Masculine nominals in $-/t\text{ɕ}/$ usually have epenthetic $/i/$ when the root ends in $-/p/$, and nominals in $-/t/$ and $-/ta/$ generally have epenthetic $/ɨ/$.

- d. kirkirbitça / kirkirbita (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, kirkirbe (FP), kirkirap (FS.BF)
- e. naṇe:mṭça (3.FS.FF) ‘aunt’, naṇe:me (3.FP), naṇuwa:p (3.FS.BF)
- f. nanimitça (3.FS.FF) ‘sister’, nanime (3.FP), nanap (3.FS.BF)
- g. po:ɬe:btça / po:ɬe:bṭa (FS.FF) ‘star’, po:ɬe:be (FP), po:ɬa:p (FS.BF)
- h. ilibitça (3.FS.FF) ‘coin’, ilibe/ilibi (3.FP), ilap (3.FS.BF)

§13.2.10 The allomorph -/ɬa/

The allomorph -/ɬa/ is to be observed when -/ṭça/ is attached to a root in -/r²/, for word-internally /r/ + /ṭ/ yield /ɬ/.³⁸⁵ The latter (usually transcribed as <rz>) is thus the result of the merging of two segments (see §2.3). /ɬ/ is only transcribed as <rrz> in the case of the feminine FF suffix /ɬa/, probably to associate the first <r> to the radical /r/ and <rz> to the first part of the suffix /ɬa/, with morphologically-faithful orthography. A list of feminine nominals in -/ɬa/ is provided in (59-60). -/ɬa/ can occasionally alternate with -/ta/ (59b,f,h,l,n,p), but in such a case no consonant change occurs. The plural suffix is -/e/, but it tends to fall, so that, here too, the lack of glottal stop distinguishes the plural from the BF.

- (59) a. aṵoɬa (3.FS.FF) ‘chin’, aṵor / aṵore (3.FP), aṵor² (3.FS.BF)
 b. asōɬa / asōrta (FS.FF) ‘lance’, asōr / asōre (FP), asōr² (FS.BF)
 c. asipsĩɬa (3.fs) ‘opponent in combat’, asipsĩr² ([M/F]S.BF),
 asipsĩr / asipsĩre (FP)
 d. ṭekçoɬa (FS.FF) ‘rainbow’, ṭekçor / ṭekçore (FP), ṭekçor² (FS.BF)
 e. ebiɬa (FS.FF) ‘sterile’, ebire / ebir (FP), ebir² (FS.BF)
 f. ṇekuɬa / ṇekurta (FS.FF) ‘type of plant’, ṇekur / ṇekure (FP), ṇekur² (FS.BF)
 g. ṃuxuɬa (FS.FF) ‘Chacoan peccary, tagua’, ṃuxur / ṃuxure (FP),
 ṃuxur² ([M/F]S.BF) (*Catagonus wagneri*)
 h. ṃikeɬa / ṃikerta (FS.FF) ‘pregnant’, ṃikēr / ṃikēre (FP), ṃikēr² (FS.BF)
 i. oxoɬa / irxoɬa (3.FS.FF) ‘chest’, oxor / irxor (3.FP), oxore/ irxore (3.FP),
 oxor² / irxor² (3.FS.BF)
 j. paɬa (FS.FF) ‘virgin’, pare (FP), para / pare² (FS.BF), par² ([M/F]S.BF)
 k. pohoɬa (FS.FF) ‘tree, boat’, pohir (FP), pohire (FP), pohir² (FS.BF)
 l. tirmiɬa (FS.FF) ‘big caiman’, tirmir / tirmire (FP), tirmir² (FS.BF)

³⁸⁵ In this case it is considered a root-final consonant, because /r²/ deletes for morphophonological reasons when a suffix is added.

(also: *tirmirta*)

m. *uhũɽa* (FS.FF) ‘lid, door’, *uhur* / *uhure* (pl), *uhur*² (FS.BF)

n. *ukuhuɽa* (FS.FF) ‘cloud’, *ukuhur* / *uku:re* / *uku:ri* (FP), *ukuhur*² (FS.BF)

(also: *ukuhuɽa* / *uku:rta*)

o. *juhũɽa* (3.FS.FF) ‘skin; bark’, *juhũr* (3.FP) / *juhũre* (3.FP), *juhũr*² (FS.BF)

p. *juwĩɽa* (FS.FF) ‘killer’, *juwĩr* / *juwĩre* / *juwĩri* (FP), *juwĩr*² ([M/F]S.BF)

(also: *juwĩrta*)

In (60a) one finds a rare example of loanword in *-ɽa*/. In (60b) */i/* can delete in the FF when the plural suffix *-e/* is added and turns into */a/* in the FF. In (60c) the suffix *-o²/* shows up in the BF. In (60d-f) the root vowel */a/* can assimilate to the plural suffix *-e/*. This kind of assimilation is to be found even when there is no suffix in the plural and this confirms that *-e/* has been added to the root and has fallen afterwards. This kind of assimilation is not obligatory and when the suffix drops, the BF and the plural are distinguished as in previous cases by the mere presence of the glottal stop in the BF.

(60) a. *kuçeɽa* (FS.FF) ‘spoon’, *kuçer* / *kuçere* (FP), *kuçer*² (FS.BF) (also: *kuçerta*)

(Spanish: *cuchara*)

b. *lakahaɽa* (3.FS.FF) ‘daughter-in-law’, *lakahir* (3.FP), *lakahre* (3FP),

*lakahir*² (3.FS.BF)

c. *jĩtoɽa* (FS.FF) ‘prostitute’, *jĩtore* / *jĩtor* (FP), *jĩtor*² / *jĩtoro*² (FS.BF)

d. *tĩmtçaaɽa* (FS.FF) ‘woman’, *tĩmtçer* / *tĩmtçere* / *tĩmtçar* / *tĩmtçare* (FP),

*tĩmtçar*² (FS.BF)

e. *ilaɽa* (FS.FF) ‘old’, *ilar* / *ilare* / *iler* / *ilere* (FP), *ilar*² (FS.BF) /

*ilaro*² ([M/F]S.BF)

f. *ilxaɽa* (3.FS) ‘pocket’, *ilxer* / *ilxere* / *ilxar* / *ilxare* (3.FP), *ilxar*² (3.FS.BF)

§13.3 Masculine and feminine gender: a comparison

In this section the formation of masculine and feminine gender will be discussed. Pairs of nominals with the same root will be compared, to the exclusion of those like */ɲakirbitç/* (MS.FF) ‘man’ and *tĩmcharrza* / *tĩmtçaaɽa* / (FS.FF) ‘woman’ or *hnakirbitit* / *ɲakirbitit* / (MS.FF) ‘young man’ and *apibitita* (FS.FF) ‘young woman’. In nominals with both

masculine and feminine forms, the gender-indicating suffixes are usually added to the root, which coincides with the feminine BF or is common to both genders (in epicene words). Synchronically the feminine FF and the masculine FF suffixes are independent elements, but diachronically the FF suffixes *-/ta/* and *-/t̥a/* were clearly derived from the masculine suffixes *-/t/* and *-/t̥/*. Indeed, */a/* is still analysable as feminine FF suffix in Ayoreo. As will be shown, there is no perfect correspondence between the FF suffixes *-/t/* and *-/ta/*, and *-/t̥/* and *-/t̥a/*. Besides, when the plural suffix *-/e/* is used in the MP, it is shared by both genders. In the course of the comparison, the nominals will be distinguished into two groups, characterized by the masculine suffixes *-/t/* (§13.3.1) and *-/t̥/* (§13.3.2).

§13.3.1 Masculine nominals in *-/t/* and their feminine counterparts

The masculine FF suffix *-/t/* corresponds to the feminine suffix *-/ta/*. In (61a-f) the feminine BF ends in *-/i²/* and coincides with the root,³⁸⁶ while the masculine BF presents the suffix *-/k/*. In (61g) the root ends in *-/r²/*. The masculine and the feminine generally share the same root. In (62) one finds some exceptions showing a different root for feminine and masculine. In (62a) there is alternation between */u/* and */i/* in the masculine root alongside */u:/* in the feminine. The root coincides with the masculine BF *tok*, whose final consonant has been reinterpreted as */w/* in the rest of the paradigm.

- (61) a. aṃurmit (MS.FF) ‘armadillo’, aṃurmo (MP), aṃurmik (MS.BF)
 ---> aṃurmīta (FS.FF) ‘armadillo’, aṃurme (FP), aṃurme² (FS.BF)
 b. ṇentit (MS.FF) ‘type of bird’, ṇento / ṇentitso (MP), ṇentak (MS.BF)
 ---> ṇentīta (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, ṇente (FP), ṇente² (FS.BF)
 c. olibit (sm.FF) ‘blind’, olibo (MP), olibik (sm.BF)
 ---> olibīta (FS.FF) ‘blind’, olibe (FP), olibi² (FS.BF)
 d. ki:mit (MS.FF) ‘unmarried’, ki:mo (MP), ki:mik (mf.BF)
 ---> ki:mīta (FS.FF) ‘single’, ki:me / ki:mi (FP), ki:mi² (FS.BF)

³⁸⁶ In some cases *-/e²/* is also found at the end of the root, because the phonological opposition between */i/* and */e/* is neutralized when they are the last vowel of a feminine nominal.

- e. pihĩpĩt (MS.FF) ‘person who doesn’t speak’, pihĩpo (MP), pihĩpĩk (MS.BF)
 ---> pihĩpĩta (FS.FF) ‘person who doesn’t speak’, pihĩpe (FP), pihĩpe[?] /
 pihĩpĩ[?] (FS.BF)
- f. topĩt (sm.FF) ‘dead’, topo (MP), topĩk (sm.BF)
 ---> topĩta (FS.FF) ‘dead’, tope (FP), topĩ[?] / tope[?] (FS.BF)
- g. dukuterĩt (MS.FF) ‘greedy’, dukutero (MP), dukuterk (MS.BF)
 ---> dukuerta (FS.FF) ‘greedy’, dukuter / dukutere (FP), dukuter[?] (FS.BF)

- (62) a. polĩt (MS.FF) ‘widower’, poluwo (MP), polĩk (MP.BF)
 ---> polu:ta (FS.FF) ‘widow’, polu:we / polu: (FP), polu:[?] (FS.BF)
- b. towĩt (MS.FF) ‘lazy, idle’, towo (MP), tok (MS. BF)
 ---> towĩta / towuta (FS.FF) ‘lazy, idle’, towe / towu / towĩ (FP),
 towe[?] / towĩ[?] (MS.BF)

The root can coincide not only with the feminine BF, but also with an epicene BF, as in (63). In such cases a specific masculine BF, obtained by attaching *-/ak/* (63b) or *-/k/* (63c), is sometimes observed. In (63b) the plural-form *-/e/* is epicene. (64) lists some loanwords: the feminine paradigm is more complete, because the feminine BF is reported, while the masculine BF seems no longer productive and in most cases coincides with the FF.

- (63) a. etɕĩkit (MS.FF) ‘thief’, etɕĩko (MP), etɕĩki[?] ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> etɕĩkita (FS) ‘thief’, etɕĩke (FP), etɕĩki[?] ([M/F]S.BF)
- b. wetɕekĩt (MS.FF), ‘he-goat; ram’, wetɕeko (MP), wetɕeke ([M/F]P),
 wetɕeke[?] ([M/F]S.BF), wetɕeka(k) (MS.BF)
 ---> wetɕekĩta (FS.FF) ‘goat; sheep’, wetɕeke ([M/F]P), wetɕeke[?] ([M/F]S.BF)
- c. wo:kĩt (MS.FF) ‘type of lizard’, wo:kĩk (MS.BF), wo:kĩ[?] ([M/F]S.BF) wo:ko (MP)
 ---> wo:kĩta / wo:kota (FS), wo:kĩ[?] ([M/F]S.BF), wo:ke (FP)
- d. iᅇa:psĩt (3.MS.FF) ‘countryman, someone of the same country’,
 iᅇa:pso (3.MP), iᅇa:psa[?] (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 ---> iᅇa:psĩta (3.FS.FF) ‘countryman, someone of the same country’, iᅇa:pse
 (3.MP), iᅇa:psa[?] (3.[M/F]S.BF),

- (64) a. burĩtĩt (MS.FF) ‘little donkey’, burĩto (MP)
 ---> burĩtĩta (FS.FF) ‘little donkey’, burĩte (MP), burĩte[?] (FS.BF)
 (non-adapted form: burĩta; from Spanish: burrito, DIM. of burro ‘donkey’)³⁸⁷

³⁸⁷ The non-adapted form *burĩta* can be used in FF and BF contexts.

- b. *ixit* (3.MS.FF) ‘son’, *ixo* (3.MP) (from Spanish: *hijo*)
 ---> *ixita* (3.MS) ‘daughter’, *ixe*[?] (3.FS.BF), *ixe* (3.FP) (from Spanish: *hija*)
 c. *obexit* (MS.FF) ‘ram’, *obexo* (MP)
 ---> *obexita* (FS.FF) ‘sheep’, *obexe* / *obexi* (FP), *obexe*[?] (MS.BF)
 (from Spanish: *oveja*)

The nominals in (65) have epicene BF in *-/p/*, but this is not necessarily the case for nominals with masculine FF in *-/bit/* or *-/mit/* and feminine FF in *-/bita/* or *-/mita/*, as one can see in the item reported in (66), which is like those discussed in (61). In (67) one finds nominals with BF in *-/p/*, but masculine and feminine have different root, although one can observe a regular correspondence: in the masculine word-internal */k/* corresponds to feminine */j/* after */i/*, and to */w/* after */u/*.³⁸⁸

- (65) a. *ixa:bit* (MS.FF) ‘little child / little’, *ixa:bo* (MP.FF), *ixa:p* ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *ixa:bta* / *ixa:bita* / *ixa:pta* (3.FS.FF) ‘little, little daughter’, *ixe:be* (3.FP),
ixa:p ([M/F]S.BF)
 b. *kosa:bit* (MS.FF) ‘type of bird’ (*garcita azulada*), *kosa:bo* (MP),
kosa:p ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *kosa:bta* (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’ (*garcita azulada*), *kose:be* (FP),
kosa:p ([M/F]S.BF)
 c. *tirça:bit* / *tirça:bitç* (MS.FF) ‘type of bird’, *tirça:bo* (MP), *tirça:p* (MS/FS.BF),
tirça:bik (MS.BF)
 ---> *tirça:bta* (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, *tirçe:be* (FP), *tirça:p* (MS/FS.BF)

- (66) *ilxa:bit* (MS.FF) ‘evil’, *ilxa:bo* (MP), *ilxa:bik* (MS.BF)
 ---> *ilxa:bita* (FS.FF) ‘evil’, *ilxa:be*[?] (FS.BF), *ilxa:be* (FP)

- (67) a. *koçka:bit* (MS.FF) ‘thin’, *koçka:bo* (MP.FF), *koçka:p* ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *koçuwa:bta* (FS.FF) ‘thin’, *koçuwe:be* (FP), *koçuwa:p* (FS.BF)
 b. *turkã:bit* (MS.FF) ‘short’, *turkã:mo* (MP), *turkã:p* (MS.BF)
 ---> *turijã:bta* (FS.FF) ‘short’, *turijẽ:me* (MP), *turijã:p* (FS.BF)

Masculine nominals in *-/ehet/* correspond to feminine nominals in *-/ahata/*. The comparison with the feminine and the fact that these

³⁸⁸ This form probably derives from a diminutive, although it is no longer analysable as such. The diminutive suffix *-/a:p/* will be discussed in (§13.6).

nominals have epicene BF in *-/aha[?]/* suggest that a vowel change in the root occurred in the masculine FF. The feminine BF *kutumrahaya* */kutumrahaja/* takes the feminine BF suffix *-/a^(?)/* while */j/* is a glide insertion. The same element is to be found in the feminine BFs *osdiiya* */osdi:ja/* and *yoniya* */joni:ja/* (39c-d). The BF suffix *-/a[?]/* has been considered an epicene suffix in other contexts (see §13.1.9 and §13.2.4), but here it does not depend on euphonic reasons. Moreover, at least in the case of *kutumharaya* */kutumrahaja/* (68b) it helps to create the feminine BF as opposed to the epicene BF.

- (68) a. kabahat / kabehet (MS) ‘horse’, kabijuho (MP), kabaha[?] ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> kabahata (FS.FF) ‘horse’, kabijuhe / kabehe (FP), kabaha[?] ([M/F]S.BF)
- b. kutimrehet / kutumrehet (MS.FF) ‘member of a Chamacoco clan’,
 kutimraho (MP), kutimraha[?] / kutimraha[?] ([M/F]S.BF) (also: kutumrehet)
 ---> kutumrahata (FS.FF) ‘member of aChamacoco clan’,
 kutumraha[?] ([M/F]S.BF) / kutumrahaja (FS.BF), kutumrehe (FP)
- c. kinehet (MS.FF) ‘strange, different’, kinaha[?] ([M/F]S.BF), kinaho / kinahu (MP)
 ---> kinahata (FS.FF) ‘strange, different’, kinehe / kinaha (FP), kinaha[?]
 ([M/F]S.BF)
- d. imehet (3.MS.FF) ‘enemy’, imaho / imahatso (3.MP), imaha[?] (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 ---> imahata (FS.FF) ‘enemy’, imehe (FP), imaha[?] (MS/FS.BF)

Masculine nominals in *-/ēt/* correspond to feminine nominals in *-/ãta/*. In both genders, the root of plural and BF does not correspond to the FF root. The morphological boundaries are not easy to determine, because it is not clear whether the last *-/a/* of the feminine BF is part of the root or is a BF suffix. If it is part of the root, the masculine BF is obtained by adding *-/k/* to the feminine BF, otherwise *-/ak/* is added. In both cases, whatever the morphological boundaries, masculine and feminine share the same root in the BF and in the plural. This confirms that */r/* syncope occurred in the FF and that */e/* has been overwritten by the last root-vowel */a/* in the feminine.³⁸⁹ As in masculine nominals in *-/ehet/*, which have root in *-/aha[?]/* and correspond to feminine FFs in *-/ahata/*, */a/* turns into */e/* in the masculine FF.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ This might suggest that */a/* in this case is part of the root.

³⁹⁰ One may also surmise that */a/* deletes in the masculine when */r/* syncope occurs, but it is difficult to explain why two different morphophonological processes should occur in the same root.

- (69) a. kuṇet (MS.FF), kuṇero (MP) ‘orphan’, kuṇerak (MS.BF)
 ---> kuṇata (FS.FF) ‘orphan’, kuṇere (FP), kuṇera² (FS.BF)
 b. ojē:t (MS.FF) ‘dog’, ojē:ro (MP) / ojē:re ([M/F]P) ojē:rak (MS.BF)
 ---> ojā:ta (FS.FF) ‘dog’, ojē:re (FP), ojē:ra (FP.BF)³⁹¹
 c. ijēt (3.MS.FF), ‘friend, companion’, ijēro (3.MP) / ijēre (3.[M/F]P),
 ijērak (3.MS.BF)
 ---> ijāta (3.FS.FF) ‘friend, companion’, ijēr (3.FP) / ijēre (3.[M/F]P),
 ijēra (3.FS.BF)

Masculine nominals in *-/it/* correspond to feminine nominals in *-/ita/*. The root usually coincides with the feminine BF. Sometimes an epicene BF is found. A masculine BF with the suffix *-/ak/* can alternate with the epicene BF (70b). In (70c) two feminine BFs alternate, a BF coinciding with the root and another obtained by the feminine BF suffix *-/a/* (*/j/* is an insertion).

- (70) a. diṭɕikĩri:t (MS.FF) ‘type of bird’, diṭɕikĩri:jo (MP), diṭɕikĩri:jak (MS.BF)
 (*Caracara plancus*)
 ---> diṭɕikĩri:ta (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, diṭɕikĩri: / diṭɕikĩri:je (FP),
 diṭɕikĩri:² (FS.BF) (*Caracara plancus*)
 b. kotɕi:t (MS.FF) ‘black howler’, kotɕi:jo (MP) / kotɕi: ([M/F]P),
 kotɕi:² ([M/F]S.BF), kotɕi:jak (MS.BF) (*Alouatta caraya*)
 ---> kotɕi:ta (FS.FF) ‘black howler’, kotɕi: ([M/F]P), kotɕi:² ([M/F]S.BF)
 (*Alouatta caraya*)
 c. joni:t (3.MS.FF) ‘ghost, spirit’, joni:jo (3.MP), joni:jak (3.MS.BF)
 ---> joni:ta (3.FS.FF) ‘spirit with supernatural power’, joni: / joni:je (3.FP),
 joni:ja, joni:² (3.FS.BF)

In (71) one finds nominals with root in *-/o²/*. In (71b-c) the epicene BF coincides with the root, while in (71a) one finds a difference between feminine BF, coinciding with the root, and masculine BF, obtained by adding the suffix *-/k/* to the feminine BF.

³⁹¹ *Ohyeēt* /ojē:t/ is an archaic word for ‘dog’, while *pohoch* /pohotɕ/ (§13.3.2, ex. (86)) is the word currently used.

- (71) a. ohot (3.MS.FF) ‘father-in-law’, oho (3.[M/F]P), ohok (3.MS.BF)
 ---> ohota (3.FS) ‘mother-in-law’, oho (3.[M/F]P), oho[?] (FS.BF)
- b. kokot / kokit (MS.FF) ‘rooster’, koko (MP), koko[?] (MS.BF)
 ---> kokota (FS.FF) ‘hen’, koko (FP), koko[?] (FS.BF)
- c. ilpijot (MS.FF) ‘jaguar’, ilpijo (MP), ilpijo[?] (MS.BF)
 ---> ilpijota (FS.FF) ‘jaguar’, ilpijo ([M/F]P), ilpijo[?] ([M/F]S.BF)

The same situation observed in (70) and (71) is to be observed in nominals with root in $-/u^2/$ (72). In *bahlut* /bałut/ (72a), the masculine and the feminine differ in the vowel length, because the root vowel /u/ is short in the masculine and is long in the feminine. The same difference between masculine and feminine has been noted in *polit* ‘widower’ (62a). In (72c) too, /u:/ corresponds to a short vowel in the masculine. In the masculine, /u/ has probably reduced to /i/ in the BF and FF, as one can see from the fact that /u/ re-emerges in the plural.

- (72) a. bałut (MS.FF) ‘chief; big’, bałuwo (MP), bału[?] (MS.BF)
 ---> bału:ta (FS.FF) ‘big’, bału: (FP), bału:[?] (FS.BF)
- b. wuput (MS) ‘black vulture’, wupuwo (MP), wupu[?] ([M/F]S.BF)
 (*Coragyps atratus*)
 ---> wuputa (FS.FF) ‘black vulture’, wupu (FP), wupu[?] ([M/F]S.BF)
 (*Coragyps atratus*)
- c. miñit (MS.FF) ‘bad, evil’, miñuwo (MP), miñik (MP.BF)
 ---> miñu:ta (FS.FF) ‘bad, evil’, miñu:[?] (FS.BF), miñu: (FP.)

The following examples list nominals in: $-/nt/$ or $-/nt/$ (73), $-/lt/$ (74) and $-/rzt/$ (75). In these nominals, a suffix is added to the root in order to form the feminine BF or the epicene BF (73b,74a). The masculine BF is formed by adding $-/ak/$ to the root (73a,74a,73d,75a). The presence of the suffix $-/ak/$ in the masculine BF often correlates with the plural suffix $-/e/$ in the masculine: such plural suffix can be common to both masculine and feminine. In (73a) and (74a) the epicene plural in $-/e/$ alternates with the MP in $-/o/$.

- (73) a. ketçint (MS.FF) ‘Paraguayan (person)’, ketçine ([M/F]P) / ketçino (MP),
 ketçinak (MS.BF)
 ---> ketçinta (FS.FF) ‘Paraguayan’, ketçine ([M/F]P), ketçina[?] / ketçine[?] (FS.BF)

- b. *noṃiṅt* (MS.FF) ‘horse’, *noṃiṅo* (MP), *noṃiṅa*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *noṃiṅta* (FS.FF) ‘horse’, *noṃiṅe* (FP), *noṃiṅa*² ([M/F]S.BF)
- c. *pikiṅint* (MS.FF) ‘boy, child’, *pikiṅino* (MP) (Spanish: *pequeño*)
 ---> *pikiṅinta* (FS.FF) ‘girl, child’, *pikiṅine* (FP), *pikiṅine*² (FS.BF)
 (Spanish: *pequeña*)
- d. *jermoṅt* (MS.FF) ‘talkative, charlatan’, *jermoṅo* (MP), *jermoṅak* (MS.BF)
 ---> *jermoṅta* (FS.FF) ‘talkative, charlatan’, *jermoṅe* (FP), *jermoṅe*² (FS.BF)

- (74) a. *ahilt* / *aḷt* (MS.FF) ‘new’, *aḷo* (MP), *aḷe* ([M/F]P), *aḷe*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *ahilta* (FS) ‘new’, *aḷe* ([M/F]P), *aḷe*² ([M/F]S.BF)
- b. *jilt* (3.MS.FF) ‘slave, servant’, *jilo* (3.MP), *jilak* (3.MS.BF)
 ---> *jilta* (3.FS.FF) ‘slave, servant’, *jile* (3.FP), *jila*² (3.FS.BF)

- (75) a. *berzṭ* (MS.FF) ‘high, tall’, *berzo* (MP), *berzak* (MS.BF)
 ---> *berzta* (FS.FF) ‘high, tall’, *berze* (FP), *berze*² (FS.BF)

In (76) one finds nominals with root in *-r²/*. In this case too, the root coincides with the feminine BF. The masculine BF is obtained by adding the suffix *-/k/* or *-/ak/* to the root, an epicene BF in *-/r²/* is only to be found in (76c). In (76), the masculine FF suffix *-/t/* does not always correspond to the feminine suffix *-/ta/*, but may correspond to *-/ṭa/*.

- (76) a. *hutkejkērt* (MS.FF) ‘manguruju fish’, *hutkejkēro* (MP),
hutkejkērak (MS.BF), *hutkejkēr*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *hutkejkērta* / *hutkejkēṭṭa* (FS.FF) ‘manguruju fish’,
hutkejkēr / *hutkejkēre* (FP), *hutkejkēr*² ([M/F]S.BF),
- b. *ebirt* (MS.FF) ‘sterile’, *ebiro* (MP), *ebirak* (MS.BF)
 ---> *ebiṭṭa* (FS.FF) ‘sterile’, *ebire* / *ebir* (FP), *ebir*² (FS.BF),
- c. *kabirt* (MS) ‘he-goat’, *kabiro* (MP), *kabir*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *kabirta* ‘goat’, *kabir* / *kabire* (FP), *kabir*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 (non-adapted form: *kabra*; from Spanish: *cabra*)
- d. *kepirt* (MS.FF) ‘wide’, *kepiro* (MP), *kepirak* (MS.BF)
 ---> *kepiṭṭa* (FS) ‘wide’, *kepir* / *kepire* (FP), *kepir*² (FS.BF)
- e. *wihirt* (MS.FF) ‘red’, *wihirtso* (MP), *wihirk* (MS.BF)
 ---> *wihirta* (FS.FF) ‘red’, *wihir* / *wihire* (FP), *wihir*² (FS.BF)

In (77) one can note root allomorphy: */s/* in the masculine corresponds to */t/* in the feminine, as one can note in the numeral ‘two’ (77b) which shows gender distinction. The nouns in (77c-f) are all

compounds whose head is *osht* /oçt/ ‘person’ (77a) and have the same suffixation of the head. In *osht* /oçt/ the root coincides with the masculine BF *os*. In the feminine, /s/ turns into /t/ and *-/o²/* is a BF suffix. The nominals in (78) have masculine FF in *-/çt/* and feminine FF in *-/çta/*. In this case too, the root coincides with the masculine BF, which ends in *-/s/*. The paradigm is characterized by the alternation between /s/ in the masculine BF and /ç/ in the other forms.³⁹² The feminine is obtained by adding a BF suffix to the root.

- (77) a. oçt (MS.FF) ‘person’, os (MS.BF), oso (MP)
 ---> otita (FS.FF) ‘person’, ote (FP), oto² (FS.BF)
 b. osijer (M) ‘two’ ---> otijer (F)
 c. ojerptoçt (MS.FF) ‘soldier’, ojerptoso (MP), ojerptos (MS.BF)
 ---> ojerptotita (FS.FF) ‘soldier’, ojerptote (FP), ojerptoto² (FS.BF)
 d. po:ɰoçt (MS.FF) ‘God, divinity’, po:ɰoso (MP) ‘gods’, po:ɰos (MS.BF)
 ---> pō:ɰotita (FS.FF) ‘goddess’, pō:ɰotote (FP), pō:ɰototo² (FS.BF)
 e. uhuɰoçt (MS) ‘last’, uhuɰoso (MP), uhuɰos (MS.BF)
 ---> uhuɰotita (FS.FF) ‘last’, uhuɰote (FP), uhuɰoto² (FS.BF)
 f. ibitoçt (MS.FF) ‘Chamacoco Ebitoso’, ibitoso (MP), ibitos (MS.BF)
 ---> ibitotita (FS.FF) ‘Chamacoco Ebitoso’, ibitotite (FP), ibitotito² (FS.BF)
- (78) kskuçt (MS.BF) ‘type of bird’, kskuço (MP), kskus (MS.BF)
 ---> kskuçta (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’, kskuçe (FP), kskuçi² (FS.BF)

In (79) one finds some Spanish loanwords. The feminine takes a BF suffix and the masculine generally has no BF, because it is no longer productive in the masculine. The epicene BF is only to be observed in (79c).

- (79) a. boçeçt (MS.FF) ‘boy’, boçeço (MP) (Spanish: muchacho)
 ---> boçeçta (FS.FF) ‘girl’, boçeçe (FP), boçeçe² (FS.BF) (Spanish: muchacha)³⁹³
 b. kerpiçt (MS.FF) ‘capybara’, kerpiço (MP) (Spanish: carpincho)
 ---> kerpiçta (FS.FF) ‘capybara’, kerpiçe (FP), kerpiçi² (FS.BF)

³⁹² Given the presence of /ç/ in the plural, one can think that final /s/ in the masculine BF derives from /ç/. Note that there are no nominals in *-/ç/*. Probably for this reason /ç/ turns into /s/ word-finally in the masculine BF.

³⁹³ This pair of words has replaced the indigenous words *disibich* /disibitç/ and *disibicha* /disibitça/ (82c), which nowadays are considered archaic words.

- c. *miçt* (MS.FF) ‘cat’, *miço* (pl), *miçi*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *miçta* (MP.FF) ‘cat’, *miçe* (FP), *miçi*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 (Spanish: *micho* (MS), *micha* (FS) ‘kitty, pussycat’)

In the previous examples, one finds pairs of nominals where the variation of the grammatical gender reflects the natural gender. In (80) one finds two pairs of nominals where the nominal gender is not related to the natural gender and the variation of the grammatical gender expresses a variation in the referent, although the referent of the masculine form has a semantic relationship with the referent of the masculine form. In (80a), *kiskirehet* and *kiskirahata* refer to objects with metallic parts which do not belong to the traditional CH culture. In (80b) the masculine *wolt* means ‘cap’ and the feminine *wolta* ‘hat’. Both nominals have an epicene BF which conveys both meanings. *Wolta* (80b) also has a specific feminine BF *wola*².

- (80) a. *kiskirehet* (MS.FF) ‘knife, machete’, *kiskiraho* (MP), *kiskiraha*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *kiskahata* / *kiskirahata* (FS.FF) ‘radio, telephone’, *kiskehe* / *kiskirehe* (FP),
*kiskaha*² (FS.BF) / *kiskiraha*² ([M/F]S.BF)³⁹⁴
 b. *wolt* (3.MS.FF) ‘cap’, *wolo* (3.MP), *wolo*² (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *wolta* (3.FS.FF) ‘hat’, *wole* (3.FP), *wolo*² (3.[M/F]S.BF) / *wola*² (3.FS.BF)³⁹⁵

§13.3.2 Masculine nominals in *-/ṭ/* and feminine gender

Masculine nominals in *-/ṭ/* are less numerous than masculine nominals in *-/t/* and do not systematically correspond to feminine nominals in *-/ṭa/* (81b, 82a, 83, 85-86), but the corresponding feminine FF can take the suffix *-/ta/*. As already said, the masculine FF suffix *-/ṭ/* and the feminine FF suffix *-/ṭa/* are no longer productive. In the BF the correspondence between feminine and masculine follows the same rules already discussed above.

³⁹⁴ The forms *kiskahata*, *kiskaha*² and *kiskehe* are reduced forms of *kiskirahata*.

³⁹⁵ In *pich* /piṭ/ or *pich* /piṭ/ ‘box’ and *pita* ‘box’ the gender difference does not seem to reflect a change in the meaning. The use of *pich* or *pita* in compounds is idiosyncratic, but the feminine form is more frequent. The paradigms are reported here: *pich* /piṭ/ or *pich* /piṭ/ (MS.FF) ‘box, container’, *po* (MP), *pi*² (MS.BF), *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’, *pi*² (FS.BF), *pi* (FP).

In (81) one finds the alternation between *-/t̥/* or *-/t/*, and *-/t̥a/* or *-/ta/*. The root coincides with the feminine, while the masculine BF presents the suffix *-/k/*. In (81b) the last vowel of the feminine root is */i:/*, while the last vowel of the masculine root is */i/*. An alternation between */i:/* and */i/* in the root is not surprising, but the difference in the vowel length is more interesting, because the correspondence between a long vowel in the feminine and a short vowel in the masculine were also pointed out in (62a) and (72a). In (82) the nominals have epicene root in *-/ap/*. In (82b-c) the masculine suffix *-/t̥/* corresponds to the feminine suffix *-/t̥a/*.

- (81) a. *debihit̥* / *debihit* (3.MS.FF) ‘nephew’, *debijo* (3.MP), *debihik* (3.MS.BF)
 (also: *debut̥a*)
 ---> *debihita* / *debut̥a* (3.FS.FF) ‘niece’, *debihi* / *debut̥u* (3.FP),
*debihi*² / *debut̥u*² (3.FS.BF),
 b. *ibit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘work / servant, employee’, *ibijo* (3.MP), *ibik* (3.MS.BF)³⁹⁶
 ---> *ibita* (3.FS.FF) ‘servant, employee’, *ibi* / *ibi:je* (3.FP), *ibi*² (3.FS.BF)
- (82) a. *aṅimit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘grandson’, *aṅimo* (3.MP), *aṅap* (3.MS.BF)
 ---> *aṅimita* (3.FS.FF) ‘grandson, granddaughter’ *aṅime* (3.FP),
aṅap (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 b. *lasit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘nephew’, *lasibo* (3.MP), *lasap* (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *lasit̥a* (3.FS.FF) ‘niece’, *lasibe* (3.FP), *lasap* (3.[M/F]S.BF)
 c. *disit̥* (MS.FF) ‘boy’, *disibo* (MP), *disap* ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *disit̥a* (FS.FF) ‘girl’, *disibe* (MP), *disap* ([M/F]S.BF)

In (83) no masculine BF is reported, but the root coincides with the feminine BF. The difference between the last root-vowel */i/* in the masculine and */i/* in the feminine is due to the fact that */i/* tends to turn into */i:/* before the suffix *-/t̥/*.

- (83) a. *dekit̥* / *dekit̥* (3.MS.FF) ‘grandfather’, *deko* / *dekijo* (3.MP)
 ---> *dekita* (3.FS.FF) ‘grandmother’, *dekite* (3.FP), *dekite*² (3.FS.BF)
 b. *dikit̥ibit̥* / *dikit̥ibit̥* (MS.FF) ‘ghost’, *dikit̥ibijo* (MP)
 ---> *dikit̥ibita* (FS.FF) ‘ghost’, *dikit̥ibi*² (FS.BF), *dikit̥ibi* (FP)

³⁹⁶ Note that the masculine BF coincides with *ibik* ‘it rains’ and it means both ‘work’ and ‘servant, employee’, while the feminine forms only convey the latter meaning.

In (84), the masculine root is different from the feminine one, although the masculine and the feminine FF show some similarities. In (85) the adjective *dich* /ditɕ/ has no specific BF in either the masculine or the feminine. Its MP is also used for the FP, while the MS-FF tends to replace the FS form *data*. In *pohoch* /pohotɕ/ (86) the masculine FF is irregular, while the root in the feminine is the same observed in the MP.³⁹⁷

(84) dejtɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘father’, dejo (3.MP), dej (3.MS.BF)
 ---> lata (3.FS.FF) ‘mother’, lati / late (3.FP), lati² / late² (3.FS.BF) (also: data)

(85) ditɕ / ditɕ (MS.FF) ‘big, large, great’, dejo (MP)
 ---> data (FS), dejo ([M/F]P)

(86) pohotɕ / pohitɕ (MS.FF) ‘dog’, pojto (MP)
 ---> pojti:ta (FS.FF) ‘dog’, pojti: (FP), pojti:² (FS.BF)

In (87) one finds nominals with root in *-/r²/*. In this case, the masculine FF suffix *-/ɕ/* corresponds to the feminine FF suffix *-/ɕa/*, which after */r/* is realized as *-/ɕa/*. The root usually coincides with the feminine BF. In the masculine, the BF suffix *-/k/* or *-/ak/* is added. In some nominals an epicene BF coinciding with the root is also observed and sometimes can alternate with the masculine BF in *-/k/* or *-/ak/*.

(87) a. asipsĩrtɕ (3.MS) ‘opponent in combat’, asipsĩr² ([M/F]S.BF),
 asipsĩro ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> asipsĩɕa (3.FS) ‘opponent in combat’, asipsĩr² ([M/F]S.BF),
 asipsĩr / asipsĩre (FP)

b. muxurtɕ (MS.FF) ‘Chacoan peccary, tagua’, muxuro (MP), muxurak (MS.BF),
 muxur² ([M/F]S.BF) (*Catagonus wagneri*)
 ---> muxuɕa (FS.FF) ‘Chacoan peccary, tagua’, muxur / muxure (FP),
 muxur² ([M/F]S.BF) (*Catagonus wagneri*)

³⁹⁷ Apparently, a long vowel has been added to form the feminine root. One may also surmise that the masculine root ends in a short vowel which has been overwritten by the plural suffix *-/o/* (probably */i/*). This would be another example of nominal where a short vowel in the masculine corresponds to a long vowel in the feminine.

- c. osiptijert̩ (MS.FF) ‘type of bird’ (garza blanca), osiptijero (MP),
 osiptijerak (MS.BF), osiptijer² ([M/F]S.FF),
 ---> osiptijeḷḷa (FS.FF) ‘type of bird’ (garza blanca), osiptijer² ([M/F]S.FF),
 osiptijer / osiptijere (FP)
- d. posĩrt̩ (FS.FF) ‘predator; hungry’, posĩro (MP), posĩrk (MS.BF),
 posĩr² ([M/F]S.BF),
 ---> posĩḷḷa (FS.FF) ‘predator; hungry’, posĩr / posĩre (FP), posĩr² ([M/F]S.BF)
- e. tatijõrt̩ / tatijõrt (MS.FF) ‘ounce’, tatijõro (MP), tatijõrak (MS.BF),
 tatijõr² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> tatijõḷḷa (FS.FF) ‘ounce’, tatijõr / tatijõre (FP), tatijõr² ([M/F]S.BF),
- f. tirmĩrt̩ (MS.FF) ‘big caiman’, tirmĩro (MP), tirmĩrk (MS.BF),
 tirmĩr² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> tirmĩḷḷa (FS.FF) ‘big caiman’, tirmĩr / tirmĩre (FP), tirmĩr² ([M/F]S.BF)
 (also: tirmĩrta)
- g. juwĩrt̩ / juwĩrt (MS.FF) ‘killer’, juwĩro (MP), juwĩr² ([M/F]S.BF) /
 juwĩrk (MS.BF)
 ---> juwĩḷḷa (FS.FF) ‘killer’, juwĩr / juwĩre / juwĩri (FP), juwĩr² ([M/F]S.BF)
 (also: juwĩrta)
- h. wonsĩrt̩ (MS.FF) ‘driver’, wonsĩro (MP), wonsĩr² ([M/F]S.BF), wonsĩrk (MS.BF)
 ---> wonsĩḷḷa (FS.FF) ‘driver’, wonsĩr / wonsĩre (FP), wonsĩr² ([M/F]S.BF),
- i. iḷirt̩ (MS.FF) ‘indigenous man’, iḷiro (MP), iḷir² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> iḷiḷḷa (FS.FF) ‘indigenous woman’, iḷir / iḷire (FP), iḷir² ([M/F]S.BF)

In (88) the root is *ilar*², but there is an epicene BF obtained by adding *-o*²/ to the root. In (89) masculine nominals in *-sĩrt̩*/ do not show a regular correspondence with the respective feminine forms. The FF suffix is *-t̩*/ in the masculine and *-ta*/ in the feminine. In (89a) one can observe the presence of */s/* in the masculine root, which corresponds to */t/* in the feminine root.

- (88) a. *ilart̩* (MS.FF) ‘old’, *ilaro* (MP), *ilaro*² ([M/F]S.BF)
 ---> *ilaḷḷa* (FS.FF) ‘old’, *ilar* / *ilare* / *iler* / *ilere* (FP), *ilar*² (FS.BF) /
*ilaro*² ([M/F]S.BF)
- (89) a. *imisĩrt̩* (3.MS.FF) ‘godfather’, *imisĩro* (MP), *imisĩr(a)k* / *imisĩr* (3.MS.BF)
 (also: *imisũrt̩*)
 ---> *imitĩta* (3.MS.FF) ‘godfather’, *imite* (FP), *imito*² (FS.BF) (also: *imisũḷḷa*)
- b. *jĩnsĩrt̩* (3.MS.FF) ‘master/ owner / employer’, *jĩnsĩro* (3.MP),
jĩnsĩrk / *jĩnsĩr*² (3.MS.BF)

- > *jila:ta* / *jilahata* (3.FS.FF) ‘mistress’, *jile:te* / *jilehe* (3.FP), *jilaha*² (3.FS.BF)
 c. *in̄esirt̄* (3.MS.FF) ‘widower father’, *in̄esiro* (3.MP), *in̄esirk* / *in̄esir*² (3.MS.BF)
 ---> *inahata* (3.FS.FF) ‘widow mother’, *inaha*² (3.FS.BF), *inehe* (3pf)

§13.4 Other nominals.

The nominals which will be discussed in this section are characterized by peculiarities which have not been analysed in the previous chapters. Some CH nominals have no inflection, such as: *kiis* /*ki:s*/ ‘cold’, *nihyokot* /*nijokot*/ ‘water’,³⁹⁸ *potita* ‘inflated, swollen’, *shirã* /*çirã*/ ‘dry’, *icharãha* /*itçarãha*/ ‘new’, *irhew* /*iřew*/ ‘full’.

As already seen, some masculine nominals have the FF, but no BF. The contrary can also occur, although it is less frequent: there are nominals having the BF, but whose FF is not to be found. This means that the BF is also used in typical FF contexts. *Aap* /*a:p*/ (90a) ‘son/daughter’ is an epicene BF. In the FF, *ijit* /*ixit*/ (3.MS.FF) ‘son’ and *ijita* /*ixita*/ (3.MS.FF) ‘daughter’ are used. These words are loans from Spanish *hijo* and *hija* and tend to replace the indigenous term. Also *om* has an epicene BF (90). In *wis* (90f) the masculine has no FF, but in the feminine there is morphological distinction between BF and FF.

- (90) a. *a:p* (3.[M/F]S.BF) ‘child’, *a:bo* (3.MP), *e:be* (3.FP)
 b. *aʷo*² (3.MS.BF) ‘mouth’, *aʷo* (3.MP)
 c. *ner*² (3.MS.BF) ‘behind’, *ner* (3.MP)³⁹⁹
 d. *om* ([M/F]S.BF) ‘good’, *omo* / *o:mo* (MP), *ome* (FP)
 e. *wos* (MS.BF) ‘poison’, *woso* (MP)
 f. *wis* (MS.BF) ‘black’, *wiso* (MP)
 ---> *wista* (FS.FF) ‘black’, *wisi*² (FS.BF), *wisi* (FP)

The nominals in (91) could be considered *pluralia tantum*: they only have plural inflection or they are almost exclusively used in the plural.

³⁹⁸ This is the archaic word for ‘water’. Nowadays this term tends to be replaced by *awit*, loanword from Spanish *agua* ‘water’.

³⁹⁹ *Ner*² is a nominal used as a locative postposition.

- (91) a. *akilijo* / *akilije* (3.MP) ‘suggestion’⁴⁰⁰
 b. *ējuwo* (3.MP) ‘thought’
 c. *ičuwo* / *ičuwo* (3.MP) ‘belongings, clothing’⁴⁰¹
 d. *ijuwo* (3.MP) ‘hunger’
 e. *ukurbo* (3.MP) ‘power, force’⁴⁰²
 f. *ware* (3.MP) ‘dirtiness, what is dirt’⁴⁰³

In (92) one finds nominals without distinction between FF and BF and characterized by irregular inflection. *Yet* /*jet*/ (92a) means ‘other’ and can be used both as an adjective and as a noun. The MS and FS present the endings *-t/* and *-ta/* as typical of the FF. For this reason they have been glossed with (FF), but in *yet* /*jet*/ there is no BF vs. FF opposition. This would not be surprising in the masculine, but in the feminine this is exceptional. The root /*je-*/ assimilates to the suffix *-ta/* in *yata* /*jata*/ and turns into /*jěr-*/ in the plural. The plural suffixes *-o/* and *-e/* are used for masculine and feminine, respectively. In the plural there is /*w*/ insertion. *Lishi* /*liči*/ (92b) (literally ‘poor’) is an adjective used to express endearment and compassion (typically, for someone dead). In this case no suffixes expressing gender, number and form can be identified.

- (92) a. *jet* (MS.FF), *jewo* (MP), *jata* (FS.FF), *jěr* / *jěre* (FP) ‘other’
 b. *liči* (MS), *wiči* (MP), *late*[?] (FS)⁴⁰⁴, *iči* (FP) ‘poor, dear, dead’

Pisht /*piçt*/ (93) is an relative particle which follows nominals (94a-b) and verbs (94c). It can be a phonological word (94a) or an enclitic

⁴⁰⁰ The singular BF of *akiliyo* /*akilijo*/, *akili*[?] is reported, so that this nominal could be considered a nominal lacking the singular FF, but its singular BF is usually not used.

⁴⁰¹ The singular BF *ishik* /*ičik*/ meaning ‘thing, belonging’ is to be observed and morphologically is the BF of *ishuwo* /*ičuwo*/ . Probably because *ishuwo* /*ičuwo*/ or *ishuwo* /*ičuwo*/ is the specialized term for ‘clothing’, the speakers do not connect *ishik* to *ishuwo*, but consider it a singular form of *ishujāro* /*ičuxāro*/ (3.MP) ‘thing, belonging’, mainly used in the plural, but *ishujāro* has its proper singular forms *ishujārt* /*ičuxārt*/ (3.MS.FF) and *ishujārak* /*ičuxārak*/ (3.MS.BF), even though only the plural is generally used.

⁴⁰² A masculine FF *ukurbit* is reported, but this word is usually used in the plural.

⁴⁰³ In the plural, the variant *waro* is also found, but *ware* is far more frequent.

⁴⁰⁴ The form *late*[?] coincides with the BF of mother *late*[?] (3.FS.BF). The plural form *wishi* /*wiči*/ is also used with the meaning ‘many’.

particle (94b-c). *Pisht* /piçt/ has nominal inflection after a nominal (93a-b). Its inflection is regular. The feminine BF takes the suffix *-/iʔ/*. After a verb, its root, to be identified with the masculine BF, is used. *Pisht* /piçt/ corresponds to the AY elative suffix *-/pis/* (cf. §4.8.6) and to A.Z *-puz* (*-/pus/*) (Chomé 1958: 134).⁴⁰⁵

(93) a. piçt (MS.FF), piç (MS.BF), piço (MP)
 ---> piçta (FS.FF), piçiʔ (FS.BF), piçi/ piçe (FP) (also: piçt)

(94) a. Sēhe d-iraha eyok ahwos-o pish-o.
 /tsēhe d-iraha ejok aʔos-o piç-o/
 VOL 3.IRLS-know 1.PE 3.word.MP ELAT-MP
 ‘He wants to know our real words.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Tok-owa waa hnekur = pish-ta.
 /Tok-owa wa: ɲekur = piç-ta/
 1S-show DET.FS caraguata_plant = ELAT-FS.FF
 ‘He wants to know our real words.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Ishir-rza s-ahmūr = pish Bochani.
 /içiɽ-ɽa ts-amūr = piç botçani/
 Chamacoco-FS.FF 3-love = ELAT Boggiani
 ‘The Chamacoco woman loved Boggiani very much.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

There are two other elative particles: *=/çip/* and *=/pa/*: *t-aak = ship* /ta:k = çip/ (3-eat = ELAT) ‘he eats very much’, *om = pa* (good. [M/F]S.BF = ELAT) ‘very good’. Both are enclitic and have no inflection. *=/çip/* possibly derives from the root */piç/* via metathesis; it can only be used in the same contexts of *=/piç/*.⁴⁰⁶ *=/pa/* can be used in all contexts.

In (95) one finds some plant nouns with the respective fruits. There is a derivational mechanism to obtain the name of the fruit: the suffix *-/oʔ/* is added to the feminine BF. The suffix *-/oʔ/* overwrites

⁴⁰⁵ A.Z *-puz* (*-/pus/*) is the masculine BF, *-/e/* is added in the feminine BF, which is *-puze* (*-/puse/*) (Chomé 1958: 134). The form added to verbs is *-puz*, the same used to form the masculine BF. The vowel *-/e/* added in the feminine probably corresponds to the Chamacoco BF suffix.

⁴⁰⁶ The only difference is that *=/piç/* is not observed after a predicate at the end of a clause, while *=/çip/* can also occur in this context.

preceding /i/ or /e/, while /a/ is preserved (95c). The names for fruits take no inflection and when an adjective agrees with one of these names it is inflected in masculine: *hnikaao*² *osiyer* /*ṅika:o*² *osijer*/ (fruit two.M) ‘two fruits of black carob tree’.

- (95) a. *ṭoxita* (FS.FF) ‘type of plant’, *ṭoxe* (FP), *ṭoxi*² (FS.BF)
 (local name: *poro blanco*) ---> *ṭoxo*² ‘fruit of *ṭoxita*’
 b. *ṅimita* (FS.FF) ‘cactus’, *ṅime* (FP), *ṅimi*² (FS.BF) ---> *ṅimo*² ‘cactus fruit’⁴⁰⁷
 c. *ṅika:ta* (FS.FF) ‘black carob tree’, *ṅika:* (FP), *ṅika:*² (FS.BF) (*Prosopis nigra*)
 ---> *ṅika:o*² ‘fruit of black carob tree’
 d. *porosu:ta* (FS.FF) ‘type of plant’, *porosu:* / *porosu:we* (FP),
*porosu:*² (FS.BF) (also: *porosuta*) (local name: *poro*)
 ---> *porosu(:)wo*² ‘fruit of *porosu:ta*’
 e. *wopalta* (FS.FF) ‘type of plant’, *wopale* (FP), *wopale*² (FS.BF)
 ---> *wopalo*² ‘fruit of *wopalta*’⁴⁰⁸

§13.5 The indeterminate-form

In the MS-IF two suffixes are used: *-/tik/* and *-/ĩrk/*, which correspond to the MP suffixes *-/tijo/* and *-/ĩr/*, respectively. Both pairs of suffixes can usually be used in the same nominal. However, the most frequently used suffixes are *-/tik/* and *-/ĩr/*. The FS-IF suffixes are *-/tã(k)/* and *-/rã(k)/*, while the plural *-/ĩr/* is epicene. In the singular, the masculine and feminine suffixes are very similar: *-/tik/* (MS.IF) and *-/tã(k)/* (FS.IF) differ in the vowel and the nasality of the feminine suffix. The other pair of singular suffixes, *-/ĩrk/* and *-/rã(k)/*, presents the same vocalic difference (/i/ in the masculine and /a/ in the feminine) and differ with respect to /r/ metathesis.⁴⁰⁹ In feminine, final /k/ can drop, while in the masculine it is always preserved. If the root ends in *-/p/*, it voices before the IF suffix. The IF suffixes are not added exclusively to the root, as the other suffixes discussed so far: they

⁴⁰⁷ Note the difference between *hnimo* /*ṅimo*/ (MP) ‘land’ and *hnimo* /*ṅimo*²/ ‘cactus fruit’, distinguished by the final glottal stop on ‘cactus fruit’.

⁴⁰⁸ ‘Fruta negra del monte’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000b: 45).

⁴⁰⁹ The comparison with Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo suggest that /r/ metathesis occurs in the masculine.

can also be added to the FF. Plural IF suffixes can also be added to the plural form. All options are observed in the following examples. Consequently, if this is combined with the alternation between two prefixes, a certain number of possible IFs forms are to be observed. The following examples only list the IFs actually observed in the field. Other forms might exist, although not reported here. The fact that the suffix can be added to the FF shows that CH morphology has undergone a great deal of reinterpretation.

§13.5.1 The masculine indeterminate-form

In (96) and (97) one finds masculine nominals in $-/t/^{410}$ and $-/t\text{ç}/$, respectively. The suffix $-/tik/$ (IF.MS) can be added to the root or to the FF. When the root ends in $-/p/$, such as in (96d,g,p,n) and (97e,f), it voices into $/b/$. This occurs with all IF suffixes.⁴¹¹ The consonantal cluster $/bt/$ can simplify, so that $/b/$ drops, as in *leshibich* $/le\text{ç}ibit\text{ç}/$ (97e) and *hnakirbich* $/\text{ḥ}akirbit\text{ç}/$ (97f), which have both *leshibtik* $/le\text{ç}ibtik/$ and *leshtik* $/le\text{ç}tik/$ (97e), and *hnakirbitik* $/\text{ḥ}akirbitik/$ and *hnakirtik* $/\text{ḥ}akirtik/$ (97f). Epenthetic $/i/$ may show up between the root and the suffix $-/tik/$, as in *ijaabitik* $/ixa:bitik/$ (96d). When $-/tik/$ is added to the FF, a consonantal cluster $/t\text{ç}t/$ or a fake geminate $/tt/^{412}$ originates: *deeychtik* $/de:j\text{t}\text{ç}tik/$ (97c), *hnimichtik* $/ḥimit\text{ç}tik/$ (97g), *ijichtik* $/ixit\text{ç}tik/$ (97l), *dihipttik* $/dihipttik/$ (96c), *loshittik* $/lo\text{ç}ittik/$ (96j). The same occurs when the suffix $-/tijo/$ is added to the FF: *laseṽttiyo* $/lasē:ttijo/$ (96i), *ijichtiyo* $/ixit\text{ç}tijo/$ (97l). $-/tijo/$ can also be added to the root and two possible forms alternate: *hnimichtiyo* $/ḥimit\text{ç}tijo/$, *hnimitiyo* $/ḥimitijo/$ (97g). When a suffix beginning with $/t/$ is added to a word ending in $-/rt\text{ç}/$, ($/r/ + /t\text{ç}/ \rightarrow /r\text{ç}t/$), as in *uhurztik* $/uhur\text{ç}tik/$ (97j), which can alternate with *uhurchtik* $/uhurt\text{ç}tik/$

⁴¹⁰ In (96) there are no masculine nominals in $-/çt/$, because they will be discussed later (see ex. (98)).

⁴¹¹ When an IF suffix is added to a root in $-/p/$, it is understood that $/p/$ not only voices, but it also nasalizes if it nasalizes in the FF and in the plural.

⁴¹² When $/t/$ and $/t/$ are abutting consonants, they generally create a geminate consonant. In some cases, however, a very short pause between the two consonants can be perceived.

(without lenition) or *uhurtik* (97j), this confirms that one can add *-/tik/* to both the root and the FF. In *owich* */owitɕ/*, */i/* turns into */i/* before the suffixes *-/tik/* and *-/tijo/*.⁴¹³ *Pohoch* */pohotɕ/* (97i) has a different root for the FF and the plural: the suffix *-/tik/* is added to the FF (*pohochtik* */pohotɕtik/*); *-/tijo/* is added to the plural. When *-/tijo/* is added, epenthetic */i/* before *-/tik/* does not generally show up: cf. *loshipitik* */loɕipitik/* vs. *loshiptiyo* */loɕiptiyo/* (96k). In the plural IF of *imatit* ‘old’ (97q), syllable deletion can occur before *-/tijo/*: cf. *imatitiyo* */imatitijo/* vs. *imatiyo* */imatijo/*. This is probably due to the fact that the two syllables begin with */t/*.⁴¹⁴

When the suffix *-/ĩrk/* (MS.IF) is added to a root in *-/i/* or *-/i/*,⁴¹⁵ this vowel is overwritten: *ibich* */iɓitɕ/* (3.MS.FF) ---> *ibĩrk* (3.MS.IF) (97k). If the root ends in *-/a/* or *-/e/*, the suffix vowel (*/ĩ/*) deletes and the root vowel nasalizes: *bahat* (3.MS.FF) ---> *bahãrk* (3.MS.IF) (96b), *eeych* */e:jtɕ/* (2.MS.FF) ---> *eẽrk* */ẽ:rk/* (2.MS.IF) (97d). In *kinehêt* (96f), there is alternation between */aha/* and */ehe/*. The last sequence is to be observed in the IFs in (96f), so that, when *-/ĩrk/* is added, the corresponding form will be *kinehẽrk* (96). In (96l), *-/ĩrk/* is added to the BF *mihnik* */miɲik/*. This is probably due to the fact that, although a FF is reported, the BF of this word is far more frequent and is also used when the FF would be expected. When the root ends in *-/r/*, this consonant can delete before *-/ĩrk/*: */içir/-* + *-/ĩrk/* ---> *ishĩrk* */içĩrk/* (MS.IF) (97o); */ilar/-* + *-/ĩrk/* ---> *ilãrk* (MS.IF) (97n).

The suffix *-/ĩr/* (MP.IF) is the plural counterpart of *-/ĩrk/* (MS.IF). Since it can be added to the root, to the FF or to the plural, more forms can alternate,

⁴¹³ As already noted, the epenthetic vowel is usually */i/* before the FF suffix *-/tɕ/* and */i/* before *-/t/*.

⁴¹⁴ *-/tik/* is also to be found in *=/petik/*, which reinforces the negation expressed by *ye* */je/*. The first element of *=/petik/* is the negative particle *=/pe/*, the second element is the MS-IF suffix *-/tik/*.

- (i) Ye o-l-irmas petik nehet shi o-hnoy.
 /je o-l-irmas petik nehet çĩ o-ɲoy/
 NEG P-3.IRLS-make_get_off at_all until DUR P-3.bring
 ‘They didn’t make him get off the bus at all, until they bring him (by bus).’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴¹⁵ Here and in the following cases the glottal stop is not taken into account, because it drops when a suffix is added.

such as *dihĩpĩr* and *dihĩptĩr* (96c), *hĩmĩr* /*ɲĩmir*/ and *hĩmĩchĩr* /*ɲĩmitĩr*/ (97g) and *deeyĩr* /*de:ĩr*/ and *deeychĩr* /*de:jtĩr*/ (97c). When it is added to a root in *-/i/*, as in *loshipĩt* /*loçĩpit*/ (96k), */i/* is overwritten (*loshipĩr* /*loçĩpĩr*/). Some masculine nominals with root in *-V* insert */j/* or */w/* before the plural suffix *-/o/*. The same can also occur when the suffix *-/ĩrk/* is added to the root. There is */j/* insertion in: *loshĩyĩr* /*loçĩjĩr*/ (96j) (cf. *loshĩyo* /*loçĩjo*/ (MP)), *abiyĩr* /*abijĩr*/ (97a) (cf. *abiyõ* /*abijõ*/ (3.MP)), (97k) (cf. *ĩbiyõ* /*ĩbijõ*/ (MP)), (97l) (cf. *ĩjiyõ* /*ĩxijõ*/ (MP)). In *mĩhnuwĩr* /*miɲuwĩr*/ (96l) (cf. *mĩhnuwo* /*miɲuwo*/ (MP)) there is */w/* insertion. In *abich* /*abitç*/ (97a) the suffix *-/ĩr/* can also be added to the plural *abiyõ* /*abijõ*/ with */r/* insertion, yielding *abiyorĩr* /*abijorĩr*/ (MP.IF). Apparently, only a plural IF suffix can be added to a plural form, but it does not occur very frequently. There is */r/* insertion even when the suffix *-/ĩr/* is added to a nominal with root in *-V*: *bahat* (MS.FF) ---> *baharĩr* (MP.IF) (96b); *laseēt* /*lasē:t*/ (3.MS.FF) ---> *laseērĩr* /*lasē:rĩr*/ (3.MP.IF) (96i). In *kinehĩr* /*kinehĩr*/ (MP.IF) (96f) root-final */e/* is overwritten by the first vowel of the suffix. *Kuchĩt* /*kutçĩt*/ (96h) presents the irregular forms *kuchērk* /*kutçērk*/ (MS.IF) and *kuchēriyõ* /*kutçērijo*/, *kuchēryõ* /*kutçērjo*/ (MP.IF).

(96)

- a. *ahĩrt* (2.MS.FF) ‘friend, companion’ ---> *ahĩrtĩk* (2.MS.IF), *ahĩrĩrk* (2.MS.IF),
ahĩrtijo (MP.IF), *ahĩrĩr* (MP.IF)
- b. *bahat* (3.MS.FF) ‘price’ ---> *bahatĩk* (3.MS.IF), *bahārk* (3.MS.IF), *bahatijo* (3.MP.IF),
baharĩr (3.MP.IF)
- c. *dihĩpit* (MS.FF) ‘foreigner’ ---> *dihĩptĩk* (MS.IF), *dihĩpĩk* (MS.IF),
dihĩpĩrk (MS.IF), *dihĩpĩr* (MP.IF), *dihĩptĩr* (MP.IF), *dihĩpĩttijo* (MP.IF),
dihĩptijo (MP.IF)
- d. *ixa:bit* (MS.FF) ‘little’, *ixa:p* (MS.BF) ---> *ixa:btĩk* (MS.IF), *ixa:bitĩk* (MS.IF),
ixa:btijo (MP.IF)
- e. *i:sĩt* (3.MS.FF) ‘relative’ ---> *i:sĩk* (3.MS.IF), *i:sĩrk* (3.MS.IF), *i:sĩr* (3.MP.IF),
i:tijo (3.MP.IF)
- f. *kinehet* (MS.FF) ‘strange’ ---> *kinehetĩk* (MS.IF), *kinehērk* (MS.IF), *kinehĩr* (MP.IF),
kinehetijo (MP.IF)
- g. *koçka:bit* (MS.IF) ‘thin’, *koçka:p* (MS.BF) ---> *koçka:btĩk* (MS.IF),
koçka:btijo (MP.IF)
- h. *kutçĩt* ‘thing’ ---> *kutçērk* (MS.IF), *kutçĩk* (MS.IF), *kutçērijo* (MP.IF),
kutçērjo (MP.IF), *kutçĩtijo* (MP.IF)
- i. *lasē:t* (3.MS.FF) ---> *lasē:ttĩk* (3.MS.IF), *lasē:rĩr* (3.MP.IF), *lasē:ttijo* (3.MP.IF)
‘son-in-law’

- j. loçit (MS.FF) ‘fish’ --- > loçittik (MS.IF), loçitik (MS.IF), loçtik (MS.IF),
 loçij̃r (MP.IF), loçt̃rk (MS.IF), loçtijo (FP.IF)
- k. loçipit (MS.FF) ‘animal’ --- > loçipitik (MS.IF), loçip̃rk (MS.IF), loçiptijo (MP.IF),
 loçip̃r (MP.IF)
- l. m̃ñik (MS.BF), miñt (MS.FF) ‘bad, evil’ --- > m̃ñtik (MS.IF), miñik̃rk (MS.IF),
 miñtijo (MP.IF), miñuw̃r (MP.IF)
- n. p̃ka:bit (MS.FF) ‘a little’, p̃ka:p (MS.BF) --- > p̃ka:btik (MS.IF), p̃ka:b̃rk (MS.IF),
 p̃ka:btijo (MP.IF), p̃ka:b̃r (MP.IF)
- o. topit (MS.FF) ‘dead’ --- > topitik (MS.IF), top̃rk (MS.IF), tobtijo (MP.IF),
 top̃r (MP.IF)
- p. turka:bit (MS.FF) ‘short’ --- > turk̃a:btik (MS.IF), turk̃a:btijo (MP.IF)
- q. imatit (MS.FF) ‘old’, imatitik (MS.IF), imat̃rk (MS.IF), imat̃r (MP.IF),
 imatitijo (MP.IF), imatijo (MP.IF)

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- a. abitç (3.MS.FF) ‘husband’ --- > abitik (3.MS.IF), ab̃rk (MS.IF), abij̃r (3.MP.IF),
 abitijo (3.MP.IF), abijor̃r (3.MP.IF)
- b. dejtç (3.MS.FF) ‘father’ --- > lejtik (3.MS.IF), dejt̃rk (3.MS.IF), dejtçtik (3.MS.IF),
 dejtçtijo (3.MP.IF), dej̃r (MP.IF)
- c. de:jtç (MS.FF) ‘day’ --- > de:jtçtik (MS.IF), de:jtijo (MP.IF) / de:jt̃rk (MP.IF),
 de:j̃r (MP.IF)
- d. i:tç (3.MS.FF) ‘name’ --- > e:jtik (2.MS.IF), ě:rk (2.MS.IF), i:tijo (3.MP.IF),
 ĩ:r (3.MP.IF), i:tik (3.MS.IF), ĩ:rk (3.MS.IF)
- e. leçibitç (MS.FF) ‘brother’ --- > leçibtik (3.MS.IF), leçtik (3.MS.IF), leçib̃rk (MS.IF),
 leçib̃r (MP.IF), leçibtijo (MP.IF)
- f. ñakirbitç (MS.FF) ‘man’ --- > ñakirbitik (MS.IF), ñakirtik (MS.IF), ñakirb̃rk (MS.IF),
 ñakirbtijo (MP.IF), ñakirb̃r (MP.IF)
- g. ñimitç (MS.FF) ‘land, country’ --- > ñimitçtik (MS.IF), ñimitik (MS.IF),
 ñim̃rk (MS.IF), ñim̃r (MP.IF), ñimitç̃rk (MP.IF), ñimitçtijo (MP.IF),
 ñimitijo (MP.IF)
- h. owitç (3.MS.FF) ‘place’ --- > owitik (3.MS.IF), owitçtik (3.MS.IF), owitijo (3.MP.IF),
 owitç̃rk (3.MP.IF), owil̃r (3.MP.IF)
- i. pohotç (MS.FF), pojto (MP) ‘dog’ --- > pohotçtik (MS.IF) / pojtotijo (MP.IF)
- j. uhurtç (MS.FF) ‘end’ --- > uhurtik (MS.IF), uhurtçtik (MS.IF), uhurtç̃rk (MS.IF),
 uhurtçtik (MS.IF), uhurtijo (MP.IF), uhur̃r (MP.IF)
- k. ibitç (3.MS.FF) ‘work, worker’ --- > ibitik (3.MS.IF), ibitijo (3.MP.IF),
 ibij̃r (3.MP.IF), ib̃rk (3.MS.IF)
- l. ixitç (3.MS.FF) ‘path’ --- > ixitçtik (3.MS.IF), ixitçtijo (3.MP.IF), ixij̃r (MP.IF)
- n. ilartç (MS.FF) ‘old’ --- > ilartik (MS.IF), il̃rk (MS.IF), ilartijo (MP.IF), ilar̃r (FP.IF),
 ilaɽ̃r (FP.IF)
- o. içirtç (MS.FF) ‘Chamacoco’ --- > iç̃rk (MS.IF), içirtik (MS.IF), içir̃r ([M/F]P.IF),

ičirtijo (MP.IF)

In (98) one finds nominals in *-/çt/* with BF coinciding with the root in *-/s/* which turns into *-/ç/* in the FF (see §13.1.7). The suffix *-/tik/* can be added to the root of the FF: *ahwoshtik* /aʷoçtik/ (98a), *Porroshtik* /po:ɬoçtik/ (98b), *poshtik* /poçtik/ (98c), but the root-final consonant can delete before *-/tik/* and *-/tijo/*: *ahwotik* /aʷotik/ (98a), *potik* (98c), *potiyo* /potijo/ (98c).⁴¹⁶ The presence of forms such as *porrostiyo* /po:ɬostijo/ (98b) and *postiyo* /postijo/ (98c) suggests that the change of */s/* into */ç/* in the FF is not necessarily due to the presence of */t/* after */s/*. *Porrosht* /po:ɬoçt/ (98b) has an irregular form *porroshtĩryo* /po:ɬoçĩrjo/ (MP.IF); one can see the same irregularity in a plural IF of *kuchit* /kutçit/, *kuchĩr(i)yo* /kutçĩr(i)jo/ (MP.IF) (96h).⁴¹⁷

- (98) a. aʷoçt (3.MS.FF) ‘word’ ---> aʷotik (3.MS.IF), aʷoçtik (3.MS.IF),
aʷoçĩrk (3.MS.IF), aʷotijo (3.MP.IF), aʷosĩr (3.MP.IF)
b. po:ɬoçt (MS.FF) ‘God’ ---> po:ɬoçtik (MS.IF), po:ɬoçĩrk (MS.IF),
po:ɬoçĩrjo (MP.IF), po:ɬostijo (MP.IF)
c. poçt (3.MP.FF) ‘food’ ---> poso (3.MP), posĩr (3.MP.IF), potik (3.MS.IF),
poçtik (3.MS.IF), potiyo (3.MP.IF), postijo (3.MP.IF)

In (99) the FF is no longer used and the IF suffixes are only added to the root *aap* /a:p/. */p/* voices into */b/* (as in the plural *aabo* /a:bo/). The consonant cluster */bt/* can simplify into */t/*: cf. *aabtik* /a:btik/ vs. *aatik* /a:tik/.

- (99) a:p (3.MS) ‘son, children’, a:tik (3.MS.IF), a:btik (3.MS.IF), a:btijo (3.MS.IF),
a:bĩr (3.MP.IF)
- (100) a. awit (MS.FF) ‘water’ ---> awitik (MS.IF), awĩrk (MP.IF) (Spanish: agua)
b. ixit (3.MS.FF) ‘son’ ---> ixittik (3.MS.IF), ixtik (3.MS.IF), ixĩrk (3.MS.IF),
ixitijo (3.MP.IF), ixĩr (3.[M/F]P.IF) (Spanish: hijo)
c. pwert / pwertit (MS.FF) ‘house’ ---> pwerttik (MS.IF), pwertik (MS.IF),
pwertĩrk (MS.IF) / pwertĩr (MP.IF) / pwertiyo (MP.IF)
(Spanish: puerto ‘port’)

⁴¹⁶ Since the root-final consonant deletes, and */s/* and */ç/* alternate in the root, it is not possible to establish whether */s/* or */ç/* has been deleted.

⁴¹⁷ Apparently, *-/jo/* has been added to the plural IF suffix *x -/ĩr/*.

The nominals in (101) are only to be observed or mainly used in the plural. In many plural forms in *-/wo/*, */w/* can be considered an insertion before the plural suffix *-/o/*. Nominals in *-/wo/* in example (100) present */w/* before the suffix *-/ĩr/*, but not before *-/tijo/*, which begins with a consonant.⁴¹⁸

- (101) a. *ejuwo* (3.MP) ‘thoughts’ ---> *ejuwĩr* (3.MP.IF), *ejutijo* (3.MP.IF)
 b. *ıçuwo* / *ıçuwo* (3.MP) ‘dress’ ---> *ıçuwĩr* / *ıçuwĩr* / *ıçtijo* / *ıçutijo* (3.MP.IF)
 c. *kuçxãro* (GF.MP) ‘thing’ ---> *kuçxãrĩr* (GF.MP.IF) / *kuçxãrtijo* (GF.MP)
 d. *poruwo* (MP.FF) ‘ancestor’ ---> *poruwĩr* (MP.IF) / *porutijo*
 e. *ukurbo* (3.MP) ‘power, strength’ ---> *ukũrbĩr* / *ukurbĩr* / *ukurbtijo* (3.MP.IF)
 f. *uro* (MP) ‘wood’ (which has been cut) ---> *ũrĩr* (MP.IF) / *urtijo* (MP.IF)
 g. *ware* (3.P) ‘dirty, what is dirty’ ---> *warĩr* (3.P.IF)
 h. *woso* (3.MP) ‘poison’ ---> *wosĩr* (3.MP.IF), *wostijo* (3.MP.IF)

While the BF is not usually observed in masculine Spanish loans, the IF is still productive. In (102) one finds some Spanish words used by CH speakers. Not all are adapted loans;⁴¹⁹ many terms have been introduced by the missionaries. The interesting fact is that these words take the IF suffix required by the context.

- (102) a. *algún* (Spanish) ‘some’ ---> *algunĩrk* (IF)
 b. *anxel* (MS) ‘angel’ ---> *anxeltik* (MS.IF) (MP: *anxele*), *anxelĩrk* (MS.IF),
anxelĩr (MP.IF) / *anxeltijo* (MP.IF) (Spanish: *angel*)
 d. *kresjente* ‘flood’ ---> *kresjentĩrkiç* (IF) (Spanish: *creciente* ‘growing’)
 e. *perdon* ‘forgiveness’ ---> *perdontik* (MS.IF) (Spanish: *perdón*)
 f. *plata* (Spanish) ‘money, silver’ ---> *platĩr* (P.IF)
 g. *premit* (MS.FF) ‘prize’ ---> *premitik*
 (non-adapted form *premyo*, Spanish: *premio*)
 h. *sacerdote* (Spanish) ‘priest’ ---> *sacerdõtĩr* (P.IF)
 i. *sinagoga* (Spanish) ‘synagogue’ ---> *sinagogĩr* (P.IF)
 j. *vidrio* (Spanish) ‘glass’ ---> *vidrĩr* (P.IF)
 k. *oro* (Spanish) (also adapted as: *ort* (MS.FF)) ---> *orĩr* (MP.IF)
 l. *pan* (MS/P)⁴²⁰ ‘bread’ ---> *panĩr* (MP.IF) (Spanish: *pan*)

⁴¹⁸ In *ishuwo* /*ıçuwo*/ (101b), /*u*/ can delete before *-/tijo/*: cf. *ishutiyo* /*ıçutijo*/ vs. *ishtiyoy* /*ıçtijo*/.

⁴¹⁹ In (102), non-adapted loans are reported in Spanish orthography.

⁴²⁰ The plural form *panye* /*panje*/ is also observed.

- m. parte (Spanish) ‘part’ ---> partĩrk (IF)
 n. tjempit (MS.FF) ‘time’ ---> tjemptik / tjempĩrk (MS.IF),
 tyempĩr / tjemptijo (MP.IF) (Spanish: tiempo)

§13.5.2 The feminine indeterminate-form

There are two FS-IF suffixes: *-/rã(k)/* and *-/tã(k)/*. Final */k/* can drop depending on the context. The plural suffix is *-/ĩr/*, the same suffix used for the masculine. In (103) one finds feminine nominals in *-/ta/*, while in (104) one finds feminine nominals in *-/ṭa/*.

The suffix *-/rã(k)/* (FS.IF) can be added to the root or to the FF. When the suffix is added to the FF, */a/* in *-/ta/* or *-/ṭa/* normally reduces to */i/*. The forms *hnikaatarã(k)* */ɲika:tarã(k)/* (103n), *poytiitarã(k)* */pojti:tarã(k)/* (103q) and *irahatarã(k)* (103x) do not follow the general tendency.⁴²¹ If the root ends in a consonant⁴²², epenthetic */i/* can show up, as in *poõrrzeebirã(k)* */põ:ɽe:birã(k)/* (104c) and *pohorĩrã(k)* (104b). When the root ends in */r/*, it can delete before *-/rã(k)/* (104b, d-g). In *yarrza* */jaɽa/* (103t), not only */i/*, but also */a/* can show up between root and suffix: *yarirã(k)* */jarirã(k)/* (FS.IF), *yararã(k)* */jarirã(k)/* (103t).

The suffix *-/tã(k)/* (FS.IF) is generally added to the root.⁴²³ It is never added to the FF of nominals in *-/ta/*, probably to avoid a sequence of two syllables only differing with respect to nasality. Consequently, when final */k/* drops, the IF in *-/tã(k)/* can be distinguished from the FF in *-/ta/* by nasality. The suffix *-/tã(k)/* is clearly detectable in feminine nominals in *-/ṭa/*. There are feminine nominals in *-/ṭa/* ending in *-/ɽã(k)*. They exhibit the variant */ɽa/* of the suffix *-/ṭa/*, in which a FS-IF suffix (*-/rã(k)/* or *-/tã(k)/*) has been added to the FF in *-/ɽa/*, but it has lost initial */r/* or */t/*. It is not possible to determine whether *-/rã(k)/*

⁴²¹ This could be due to assimilation by */a/* or */aha/* in the root. In (103x), some forms presenting the reduction of */a/* to */i/* are also reported.

⁴²² Excluding, of course, the glottal stop.

⁴²³ Theoretically, since its masculine counterpart *-/tik/* can be added to the FF, this should also be possible for the suffix *-/tã(k)/*, but the latter is not generally found. The only occurrence of *-/tã(k)/* added to the FF is in (106b).

or *-/tã(k)/* has been added, but *-/rã(k)/* seems more plausible, because **/ɾr/* is not to be found in Chamacoco and */r/* deletes after *-/ɾɾ/*.⁴²⁴

The plural suffix *-/ĩr/* is common to both masculine and feminine, and is the only one to be observed for the feminine. The masculine, by contrast, uses two morphological devices (*-/tijo/* and *-/ĩr/*). As seen in §13.1 and §13.2, something similar occurs with the masculine plural, which has several morphological devices (*-/o/*, *-/e/*, *-/lo/* and *-/tso/*), while the only FP suffix (*-/e/*) can also be used by some masculine nominals. *-/ĩr/* can be added to the root or to the FF. When *-/ĩr/* is added to the FF, the last vowel of the suffixes *-/ta/* and *-/tɕa/* is overwritten by the suffix. */a:/* or the sequence */aha/* can turn into */e:/* or */ehe/*: *ijaabita* */ixa:bita/* ---> *ijeebĩr* */ije:bĩr/* (103j), *ilarrza* */ilaɾɾa/* ---> *ilerĩr* (104f). The same occurs in the plural BF/FF when the suffix *-/e/* is added. */a:/* or */aha/* can also turn into */e:/* and */ehe/* when the suffix *-/ĩr/* is added to the FF: e.g. *ijaabita* */ixa:bita/* ---> *ijeebtĩr* */ije:btĩr/* (103j), *irãh(a)ta* ---> *irehetĩr* / *irẽhtĩr* / *irãhtĩr* (103x). As one can see in the last form, this change is not obligatory. In some nominals characterized by the change of */aha/* or */a:/* into */ehe/* or */e:/* in the plural, the first vowel of the suffix can be overwritten by the root vowel: *hnikaata* */ɲika:ta/* ---> *hnikeẽr* */ɲikẽ:r/* (103n), *kinahata* ---> *kinehẽr* (103l). The contrary also occurs, that is the last root-vowel can be overwritten by the suffix: *kinahata* ---> *kinehĩr* (103l). This also occurs when the root ends in */i/* or */i:/*: *eyhita* */ejhita/* ---> *eyhĩr* */ejhĩr/* (103d), *hutita* ---> *hutĩr* (103e). As already seen in the masculine, when *-/ĩr/* is added to a root ending in V, */j/* or */w/* can show up between root and suffix: *iluuta* */ilu:ta/* ---> *iluuwĩr* */ilu:wĩr/* (103u), *onoota* */ono:ta/* ---> *onoowĩr* */ono:wĩr/* (103p), *poytiita* */pojti:ta/* ---> *poytiyĩr* */pojti:jĩr/* (103q). This also occurs when FP *-/e/* is added, but there are exceptions. For instance in *mihnuuĩr* */miɲu:ĩr/* (FP.IF) (103m) epenthetic */w/* is not observed, although it is to be found in the MP *mihnuuwo* */miɲu:wo/* (see §13.1, ex. (9f)). In the plural IF of *eeta* */e:ta/* (103b) there is */r/*

⁴²⁴ */ɾɾ/* is a geminate consonant, because it is the result of the merger of */r/* (the root-final consonant) and of */tɕ/* (the first consonant of the prefix). In the orthography */ɾɾ/* is only represented as <rrz> to distinguish */ɾ/* in the root from the suffix *-/tɕa/*. In the other cases, it is represented as <rz>.

insertion before the suffix *-/ĩr/*: *eẽrĩr /ẽ:rĩr/* or *eerĩr /e:rĩr/* (103b).

(103)

- a. *data* (3.FS.FF) ‘mother’ ---> *latĩrã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *latã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *latĩr* (3.FP.IF)
- b. *e:ta* (FS.FF) ‘fruit’ ---> *ẽ:rĩr* (FP.IF), *e:rĩr* (FP.IF), *e:tĩr* (FP.IF), *e:tã(k)* (FS.IF), *e:rã(k)* (FS.IF), *e:ã(k)* (FS.IF),⁴²⁵ *e:tĩrãk* (FS.IF)
- c. *epita* (FS.FF) ‘shot’ ---> *epĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *epitã(k)* (FS.IF), *epĩtirã(k)* (FS.IF), *epĩr* (FP.IF), *epitĩr* (FP.IF)
- d. *ejhita* (FS.FF) ‘seed’ ---> *ejhirã(k)* (FS.IF), *ejhĩr* (FP.IF), *ejhitã(k)* (FS.IF), *ejhitĩrã(k)* (FS.IF)
- e. *hutita* (FS.FF) ‘book’ ---> *hutĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *hutitã(k)* (FS.IF), *hutĩtirã(k)* (FS.IF), *hutĩr* (FP.IF)
- f. *hĩrta* ‘palm’ ---> *hĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *hĩrtĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *hĩrĩr* (FP.IF), *hĩrtĩr* (FP.IF), *hĩrtã(k)* (FS.IF)
- j. *ixa:bĩta* (FS.FF) ‘little’ ---> *ixa:btĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *ixa:bĩrãk* (FS.IF), *ixe:bĩr* (FP.IF), *ixe:btĩr* (FP.IF)
- k. *koçuwa:bĩta* (FS.FF) ‘thin’ ---> *koçuwa:bĩrãk* (FS.IF), *koçuwa:btĩrãk* (FS.IF), *koçuwe:bĩr* (FP.IF)
- l. *kinahata* (FS.FF) ‘strange, different’ ---> *kinaharã(k)* (FS.IF), *kinehĩr* (FP.IF), *kinahirã(k)* (FS.IF), *kinahatã(k)* (FS.IF), *kinehẽr* (FP.IF), *kinahatĩrã(k)* (FS.IF)
- m. *miņu:ta* (FS.FF) ‘bad, evil’ ---> *miņu:tĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *miņu:rã(k)* (FS.IF), *miņu:ĩr* (FP.IF)
- n. *ņika:ta* (FS.FF) ‘black carob tree’ ---> *ņika:tãk* (FS.IF), *ņika:rãk* (FS.IF), *ņika:tarãk* (FS.IF), *ņika:tĩr* (FP.IF), *ņikẽ:r* (FP.IF)
- o. *nerpĩta* (3.FS.FF), *pijẽrpta* (1.FS.FF) ‘shirt’ ---> *nerpĩra(k)* (3.FS.IF), *nerpĩr* (3.FS.IF), *pijerprã(k)* (1.FS.IF), *pijerpĩr* (1.FP.IF), *nerpĩrã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *nerpitã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *nerptĩrã(k)* (3.FS.IF)
- p. *ono:ta* ‘river’ ---> *ono:tĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *ono:rã(k)* (FS.IF), *ono:tã(k)* (FS.IF), *ono:tĩr* (FP.IF), *ono:wĩr* (FP.IF)
- q. *pojti:ta* (FS.FF) ‘dog’ ---> *pojti:rãk* (FS.IF), *pojti:tarã(k)* (FS.IF), *pojti:jĩr* (FP.IF)
- r. *turijã:bta* (FS.FF) ‘short’ ---> *turijã:btĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *turijã:mĩrãk* (FS.IF), *turijẽ:mĩr* (FP.IF)
- s. *urta* ‘root’ ---> *urã* (FS.IF), *urtãk* (FS.IF), *urĩr* (FS.IF)
- t. *jarta / ja:ɽa* (FS.FF) ‘sign’ ---> *jartã(k)* (FS.IF), *jartĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *jarĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *jararã(k)* (FS.IF), *jarĩr* (FP.IF), *jartĩr* (FP.IF), *ja:ɽã(k)* (FS.IF)
- u. *ĩlu:ta* (3.FS.FF) ‘way, meaning’ ---> *ĩlu:tã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *ĩlu:tĩrã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *ĩlu:rã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *ĩlu:wĩr* (3.FP.IF), *ĩlu:tĩr* (3.FP.IF)

⁴²⁵ This form is due to the dropping of /r/.

- v. *imatita* (3.FS.FF) ‘old’ ---> *imatirã(k)* (FS.IF), *imatitirã(k)* (FS.IF),
imatitã(k) (FS.IF), *imatîr* (FP.IF), *imatitîr* (FP.IF)
- x. *irãhta* (3.FS.FF) ‘wife’ ---> *irãhtira(k)* (3.FS.IF), *irãhira(k)* (3.FS.IF),
irãhta(k) (3.FS.IF), *irahatarã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *irehetîr* (3.FP.IF), *irêhtir* (3.FP.IF),
irãhtîr (3.FP.IF)

(104)

- a. *ɬɛpirmitɕa* (FS.FF) ‘bird’ ---> *ɬɛpirmirã(k)* (FS.IF), *ɬɛpirmitã(k)* (FS.IF),
ɬɛpirmitɕîrã(k) (FS.IF), *ɬɛpirmitɕîr* (FP.IF), *ɬɛpirmîr* (FP.IF)
- b. *pohouɟa* (FS.FF) ‘tree’ ---> *pohorîrã(k)* (FS.IF), *pohouɟîrã(k)* (FS.IF), *pohortã(k)*
(FS.IF), *pohorã(k)* (FS.IF), *pohouɟã(k)* (FS.IF), *pohorîr* (FP.IF),
pohîr (FP.IF)⁴²⁶
- c. *põ:ɟe:btɕa* (FS.FF) ‘star’ ---> *põ:ɟe:bîr* (FP.IF), *põ:ɟe:bîrã(k)* (FS.IF),
põ:ɟe:btɕîrã(k) (FS.IF), *põ:ɟe:btã(k)* (FS.IF), *põ:ɟe:btɕîr* (FP.IF)
- d. *timtɕaɟa* (FS.FF) ‘woman’ ---> *timtɕarîr* (FP.IF), *timtɕaɟîr* (FP.IF),
timtɕarã(k) (FS.IF), *timtɕaɟîrã(k)* (FS.IF), *timtɕartã(k)* (FS.IF),
timtɕaɟã(k) (FS.IF)
- e. *juhũɟa* (3.FS.FF) ‘skin’ ---> *juhurã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *juhuɟã(k)* (3.FS.IF),
juhurtã(k) (3.FS.IF), *juhurîr* (3.FS.FF), *juhuɟîr* (3.FS.FF)
- f. *ilaɟa* (FS.FF) ‘old’ ---> *ilarã(k)* (FS.IF), *ilartã(k)* (FS.IF), *ilaɟã(k)* (FS.IF),
ilerîr (FP.IF), *ilaɟîr* (FP.IF)
- g. *ɛɕiɟa* (FS.FF) ‘indigenous woman’ ---> *ɛɕîrã(k)* (FS.IF), *ɛɕirtã(k)* (FS.IF),
ɛɕîrîr ([M/F]P.IF)

When nominals have a different root for masculine and feminine, the IF suffixes are only added to the respective masculine or feminine root, as one can see comparing pairs of nominals such as *pohoch* /*pohotɕ*/ (97i) and *poyitiita* /*pojti:ta*/ (103q), *koshkaabit* /*koçka:bit*/ (96g) and *koshuwaabita* /*koçuwa:bita*/ (103k), and *turkaãbit* /*turkã:bit*/ (96p) and *turiyaãbta* /*turijã:bta*/ (103r). In (105) one finds the IFs of two feminine Spanish loanwords: *ixita* /*ixita*/ (105a) probably entered the language long ago, but *leyta* /*lejta*/ (106) is a relatively recent loan.

- (105) a. *ixita* (3.FS.FF) ‘daughter’ ---> *ixitã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *ixîrã(k)* (3.FS.IF),
ixtirã(k) (3.FS.IF)
- b. *lejta* (FS.FF) ‘law’ ---> *lejtîrã(k)* (FS.IF), *lejîrã(k)* (FS.IF), *lejtrã(k)* (FS.IF),
lejîr (FP.IF) / *lejtîr* (FP.IF) (Spanish: ley)

⁴²⁶ This form is due to the dropping of /r/. /o/ has been overwritten by the suffix.

In (106), one finds other examples of IF. *Yet* /jet/ (106) ‘other’ also has irregular IF inflection. The relative particle =/piçt/, =/piçt/ (106b) has IF inflection. *Otik* only has the IF. It can be used as an interrogative or indefinite pronoun to refer to someone or something unknown, uncertain or unspecified. As an adjective, it follows an element uninflected in IF and has the same function and meaning of an IF suffix, although it is less frequently used than the IF itself (see also §14.4.3).

- (106) a. jet (MS.FF), jewo (MP), jata (FS.FF), jěr / jěre (FP) ‘other’
 ---> jetik / jě:k (MS.IF), jer(i)ĩjo (MP.IF), jinak (FS.IF), jeni(i) / jenijěr (FP.IF)
 b. piçt / piçt (ELAT.MS.FF) ---> piçtik (ELAT.MS.IF), piçĩr (ELAT.[M/F]P.IF),
 piçtijo (ELAT.MP.IF), piçĩrã(k) (ELAT.FS.IF), piçĩtã(k) (ELAT.FS.IF)
 c. otik⁴²⁷ (IGNOR.MS), otijo (IGNOR.MP), otĩrãk (IGNOR.FS), otrĩ / ofĩr (IGNOR.FP)

§13.6 The diminutive

This section discusses the diminutive inflection. The diminutive typically expresses smallness, but it can also be used in order to express endearment or politeness. It inflects for all morphological categories described for nominals. In (107) examples are provided.⁴²⁸ The BF is obtained by adding the suffix *-/a:p/* to the nominal’s BF. This is evident in masculine nominals with BF in *-/k/*: *loshipik* /loçipik/ (MS.BF) ---> *loshipkaap* /loçipka:p/ (107k) (see also (107d,g,j,m,p)). When no BF is found, the suffix is added to the root (107b,i) or to the FF, whose suffix is preserved in (107d-e).

In the feminine, it is not possible to decide whether the suffix is added to the root or to the BF, because they usually coincide. In (107g-h), however, the FF and the BF have a different root. Apparently, the BF root has reduced in the FF. In the masculine nominal *ihyět* /ijět/ (107g), the BF *ihyėrak* /ijėrak/ simplifies in the diminutive *ihyākaraap*

⁴²⁷ In the MS, the form *otik* can alternate with *ohoch* /ohotç/, which is very rare and is morphologically a FF.

⁴²⁸ In this case, only the forms which have actually been recorded in the field have been reported, although the possible diminutive forms, especially the diminutive IFs, are more.

/ijākara:p/, but it is clearly detectable by the presence of the suffix consonant /k/. In its feminine counterpart, *ihyaãta* /ijã:ta/ (107h), the suffix -/a:p/ is added to the root with /r/ insertion (*ihyaarãp* /ija:rã:p), rather than to the BF root.

If the root ends in a vowel, this is generally overwritten by /a:/ in the suffix (107a,c,q,r). If the root ends in a long vowel (107l,o,h), epenthetic /r/ shows up between root and suffix. In (107l) also the deletion of the last root-vowel is observed. In (107s) the last root-vowel /u:/ is preserved in the diminutive, but no /r/ insertion is to be observed. The suffix -/a:p/ is common to both genders.

When a nominal can be inflected in both masculine and feminine and these share the same root, the diminutive BF is epicene, as in (107b-c), (107n) and (107q-r). In (107g-h) the diminutive BF is not the same, because the suffix -/a:p/ is added to two forms according to gender. The diminutive FF and the diminutive plural are obtained by adding the respective suffixes to the BF: -/t/ (MS.FF), -/ta/ (FS.FF), -/o/ (MP), -/e/ (FP). When the suffixes -/t/ and -/ta/ are added to the diminutive BF in -/p/, epenthetic /i/ precedes the suffix. Root-final /p/ usually voices into /b/. When the suffix -/e/ (FP) is added, /a:/ turns into /e:/ due to assimilation to the suffix.

The diminutive inflection is thus the same as that of nominals with root in -/p/. One has to consider that the vast majority of these nominals have root in -/ap/ or -/a:p/, which in most cases suggests a diminutive origin. The diminutive IF follows the same rules discussed in section (§13.5). The IF suffixes are added to the diminutive BF or FF. /a:/ generally turns into /e:/ in the FP-IF, but is preserved in the masculine, even when the same suffix -/ĩr/ is used.⁴²⁹

(107)

a. apĩbitita (FS.FF), apĩbita (MS.BF) ‘young woman’

---> apĩbita:p (FS.BF.DIM), apĩbita:bita (FS.FF.DIM), apĩbite:be (FP.FF.DIM),
 apĩbita:bitãk (FS.IF.DIM), apĩbite:bĩr (FP.IF.DIM), apĩbita:bĩrãk (FS.IF.DIM),
 apĩbita:btirãk (FS.IF.DIM)

⁴²⁹ This does not occur in some FP-IFs in (106c), coinciding with the respective masculine forms (106b). Note that in some forms reported in (106), /a:/ can reduce to a short vowel.

b. boçeçt (MS.FF) ‘boy’

---> boçeça:p (MS.BF.DIM), boçeça:bit (FS.FF.DIM), boçeça:bo (MP.DIM),
 boçeça:bitik (MS.IF.DIM), boçeça:bîr ([M/F]P.IF.DIM), boçeça:bîrk (MS.IF.DIM),
 boçeça:btijo (MP.IF.DIM), boçeça:btîr ([M/F]P.IF.DIM)

c. boçeçta (FS.FF), boçeçe[?] (FS.BF) ‘girl’

---> boçeça:p (FS.BF.DIM), boçeça:bta (MS.FF.DIM), boçeçe:be (FP.DIM),
 boçeça:btîrāk (FS.IF.DIM), boçeça:btāk (FS.IF.DIM),⁴³⁰ boçeça:bîrak (FS.IF.DIM),
 boçeçe:bîr (FP.IF.DIM), boçeça:bîr ([M/F]P.IF.DIM), boçeça:btîr ([M/F]P.IF.DIM)

d. ṭepit (MS.FF), ṭepik (MS.BF) ‘a little, half’

---> ṭepika:p (MS.BF.DIM), ṭepika:bit (MS.FF.DIM), ṭepika:bo (MP.DIM),
 ṭepika:bitik (MS.IF.DIM), ṭepika:bîrk (MS.IF.DIM), ṭepika:btijo (MP.IF.DIM),
 ṭepika:bîr (MP.IF.DIM)

e. doçit (MS.FF) ‘fish’ (also: loçit)

---> doçita:p (MS.BF.DIM), doçita:bit (MS.BF.DIM), doçita:bo (MP.BF.DIM),
 doçita:bitik (MS.IF.DIM), doçita:btijo (MP.IF.DIM), doçita:bîr(ihi) (MP.IF.DIM),
 doçita:bîrk(ihi) (MP.IF.DIM)

f. eṭit (3.MS.FF) ‘pet’

---> eṭita:p (3.MS/FS.BF.DIM), eṭita:bit (3.MS.FF.DIM), eṭija:bo (3.MP.DIM),
 eṭita:bitik (3.MS.IF.DIM), eṭita:btijo (3.MP.IF.DIM)

g. ijēt (3.MS.FF), ijērak (3.MS.BF) ‘friend, companion’

---> ijākara:p (3.MS.BF.DIM), ijākara:bit (3.MS.FF.DIM), ijākara:bo (3.MP.FF.DIM),
 ijākara:bitik (3.MS.IF.DIM), ijākara:btijo (3.MP.IF.DIM)

h. ijā:ta (3FS.FF) ijēra (3.FS.BF) ‘friend, companion’

---> ija:rā:p (FS.BF.DIM), ija:rā:bita (FS.FF.DIM), ije:rē:be (FP.DIM),
 ija:rā:btirāk (FS.IF.DIM), ije:rē:btîr (FP.IF.DIM)

i. kuṭit (MS.FF) ‘thing’

---> kuṭa:p (MS.BF.DIM), kuṭa:bit (MS.FF.DIM), kuṭa:bo (MP.DIM),
 kuṭa:bitik (MS.IF.DIM), kuṭa:btijo (MP.IF.DIM), kuṭa:bîrk (MP.IF.DIM),
 kuṭa:bîr (MP.IF.DIM)

⁴³⁰ In the form *bosheshaabtāk* /boçeça:btāk/ (FS.IF.DIM) the geminate consonant indicates that the suffix *-tāk/* (FS.IF) has been added to the FF, which occurs very rarely with *-tāk/* (FS.IF).

j. xotsit (MS.FF), xotsak (MS.BF) ‘well, hole’

---> xotsaka:p (MS.BF.DIM), xotsaka:bit (MS.FF.DIM), xotsaka:bo (MP.DIM),
xotsaka:btik (MS.IF.DIM), xotsaka:bĩrk (MS.IF.DIM), xotsaka:btijo (MP.IF.DIM)

k. loçipit (FS.FF), loçipik (MS.BF) ‘animal’

---> loçipka:p (MS.BF.DIM), loçipka:bit (MP.DIM) loçipka:bo (MP.DIM),
loçipka:bitik (MS.IF.DIM), loçipka:btijo (MP.IF.DIM)

l. ñika:ta (FS.FF), ñika:² (FS.BF) ‘black carob tree’ (*Prosopis nigra*)

---> ñika:p / ñika:ra:p (FS.BF.DIM), ñika:ra:bta (FS.FF.DIM), ñike:be (FS.BF.DIM),
ñika:ra:btĩrāk (FS.IF.DIM), ñike:re:btĩr(ĩhi) (FP.IF.DIM), ñike:re:bĩr (FP.IF.DIM),
ñika:ra:btāk (FS.IF.DIM), ñika:ra:bĩrāk (FS.IF.DIM)⁴³¹

m. obitit (MS.FF), obitak (MS.BF) ‘flute’

---> obitaka:p (MS.BF.DIM), obitaka:bit (MS.FF.DIM), obitaka:bo (MP.DIM)

n. olt (MS.FF), olta (FS.FF), olo² ([M/F]S.BF) ‘thin, underfed’

---> ola:p ([M/F]S.BF.DIM), ola:bit (MS.FF.DIM), ola:bo (MP.DIM), ola:bita (FS.FF.DIM),
ole:be (FP.DIM)

o. ono:ta (FS.FF), ono:² (FS.BF) ‘river’

---> ono:ra:p (FS.BF.DIM), ono:ra:bta (FS.FF.DIM), ono:re:be (FP.DIM),
ono:ra:btĩrāk (FS.IF.DIM), ono:re:btĩr(ĩhi) (FP.IF.DIM), ono:rabtāk (FS.IF.DIM),
ono:rabĩrak (FS.IF.DIM), ono:rebĩr(ĩhi) (FP.IF.DIM)

p. pĩramit (MS.FF), pĩramik (MS.FF) ‘pot’

---> pĩramika:p (MS.BF), pĩramika:bit (MS.FF), pĩramika:bitik (MS.IF),
pĩramika:btijo (MP.IF)

q. ilartç (MS.FF), ilaro² ([M/F]S.BF) ‘old’

---> ilara:p (MS.BF.DIM), ilara:bit (MS.FF.DIM), ilara:bo (MP.DIM), ilara:btik
(MS.IF.DIM), ilara:bĩrk (MS.IF.DIM), ilara:btijo (MP.IF.DIM)

r. ilaııa (FS.FF), ilar² (FS.BF) / ilaro² ([M/F]S.BF) ‘old’

---> ilara:p (FS.BF.DIM), ilara:bita (FS.FF.DIM), ilare:be (FP.DIM), ilara:btĩrā
(FS.IF.DIM)

⁴³¹ These forms are reported, but with plant names the diminutive is not used very frequently. When the diminutive suffix is not used, the noun can be followed by the adjectives *ijaabit* / *ija:bit* ‘little’ or *shakĩraabit* / *çakira:bit* ‘little’ to express the same meaning as the diminutive.

s. *ilu:ta* (3.FS.FF), *ilu:ʔ* (FS.BF) ‘way, meaning’
 ---> *ilu:ap* (3.FS.DIM), *ilu:a:bta* (3.FS.DIM), *ilu:e:be* (3.FP.DIM),
ilu:a:btirāk (3.FS.IF.DIM), *ilu:wĩr* (3.FS.IF.DIM), *ilu:a:btāk* (3.FS.IF.DIM),
ilu:a:birāk (3.FS.IF.DIM), *ilu:e:btĩr* (3.FP.IF.DIM), *ilu:e:bĩr* (3.FP.IF.DIM)

§13.7 The morphosyntax of base-, full- and indeterminate-form in Chamacoco

This section discusses the use of the BF, FF and IF in Chamacoco. The morphological and syntactic distinction between different forms is gradually disappearing. This has already occurred in the plural: Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco show an opposition between plural BF and plural FF. Chamacoco probably had the same opposition, as suggested by the alternation of plural suffixes to be found in some paradigms, but it has lost it (only a few examples show traces of such an opposition, see §13.7.1, ex (118-119)). This phenomenon probably has many causes which will not be discussed in detail, but one of the most conspicuous is the intense contact with Spanish. The difference between BF and FF is addressed in §13.7.1. Section 13.7.2 deals with adjectival modifiers. In Chamacoco there is a tendency to reduce or to drop the last phoneme (or even the last syllable), which is often morphologically relevant (§13.7.3). Final-syllable reduction is to be found, for instance, in the genitival modifier (§13.7.4), which usually appears in FF. Compounds are discussed in (§13.7.5). The latter is also used in constructions with the clitic =/ç/ (§13.7.6). The BF is used in secondary predication, in reduced relative clauses (§13.7.7) and after the quotative (§13.7.8). Although the head of an argumental NP generally appears in FF, the BF is preferred before the adjective /ditç/ (§13.7.9). In some nominals the BF or the FF has become predominant and thus tends to be used in contexts where a different form would be expected (§13.7.10). The uses of the IF are described in sections §13.7.11-§13.7.16.

§13.7.1 Uses of the base- and full-form

This section will illustrate the uses of BF and FF. I will start analysing NPs only consisting of one nominal,⁴³² coinciding with the head noun. In Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, the BF is used to express the predicative function, while the FF and the IF are used in non-predicative positions. This also occurs in Chamacoco, with the only difference that the opposition between BF and FF has been lost in the plural⁴³³ and the FF may also be used for predication, although the BF is the specific (and preferred) choice in such a function. In other words, the FF tends to ‘invade’ the context of use of the BF. By contrast, in all Zamucoan languages the IF cannot be used to express the predication in non-interrogative clauses.

In the following examples one can observe the contrast between the BF, in predicative function, and the FF, in its typical non-predicative use: ‘young man’ *hnakirbitak* /*ṅakirbitak*/ (MS.BF) (108) vs. *hnakirbitit* /*ṅakirbitit*/ (MS.FF) (109); ‘granddaughter’ *ahnap* /*aṅap*/ (3.[M/F]S.BF) (110) vs. *ahnimita* /*aṅimita*/ (3.MS.FF) (111); ‘Caraguatá plant’ *hnekurʔ* /*ṅekurʔ*/ (FS.BF) (111) vs. *hnekurta* /*ṅekurta*/ (FS.FF) (112); ‘name’ *iik* /*i:k*/ (3.MS.BF) (113) vs. *iich* /*i:ɕ*/ (3.MS.FF) (113).

- (108) Ye uhu kōhor-t puhro el-o, pork owa hnakirbit-ak.
 /je uhu kōhor-t puhro elo, pork owa ṅakirbit-ak/
 NEG 2.do sleep-MS.FF break 2S.body because 2S young_man-MS.BF
 ‘Do not make the sleep to break your body [i.e. do not oversleep], because you are a young man.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴³² I talk about nominals, because the distinction between nouns and adjectives is mainly a semantic one.

⁴³³ For this reason, while talking about Chamacoco, the term ‘base-form’ (BF) is used to indicate the singular BF, and ‘full-form’ (FF) to indicate the singular FF.

- (109) Hnakirbiti-t yelijj 1-obirho 1-elo hn ye dish
 /ɲakirbiti-t jelixi 1-obiro 1-elo ɲ je diç/
 Young_man-MS.FF never 3.IRLS-break RFL-body CONJ NEG 3.IRLS-meet
- kõhirt nimchaha d-elo.
 /kõhirt n-imtçaha d-elo/
 sleep-MS.FF 3.IRLS-put RFL-body

‘A young man never breaks his body and let the sleep go into his body [i.e. never oversleeps].’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (110) Chuebich ich d-ale õryoo onoo-ta, s-erzim õr, ehni ye ahnap.
 /tçuebitç itç d-ale õrjo: ono:-ta ts-erzim õr eɲi je aɲap/
 Chuebich EMPH 3-run 1PE river-FS.FF 3-shoot 3P SUB NEG 3.grandchild.MS.BF
- ‘Chuebich runs to our river, he throws rocks to them (lit. shoots up), even when one is not his grandchild.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (111) Naa ye hnekur = pe, p-ahnimi-ta, naa osdiiya,
 /Na: je ɲekur = pe p-aɲimi-ta, na: osdi:ja,
 this.FS NEG caraguatá.FS.BF = NEG 1- granddaughter-FS.FF this.FS osdiita_plant.FS.BF
- hnekurhla.
 ɲekur-ja/
 caraguatá.FS.BF-fake

‘This is not caraguatá, my granddaughter, this is *osdiita*, it is fake-caraguatá.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (112) Esee = ki ich abuel late s-owa yoo waa hnekur-ta = ka.
 /ese: = ki itç abwel late ts-owa jo: wa: ɲekur-ta = ka/
 DM = PST CONJ grandmother poor.FS 3-show 1S DET.FS caraguatá-FS.FF = PST
- ‘Then, the poor grandmother showed me the caraguatá.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (113) Je wich ir ii-ch otsii Luka? Wich ir ii-k = pa!
 /xe witç ir i:-tç otsi: luka witç ir i:-k = pa/
 INT DET.MS 3S 3.name-MS.FF 3P.QUOT Luca DET.MS 3S 3.name-MS.BF = ELAT
- ‘Is his name Luca?’ ‘This is his real name!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

In the above examples (which do not cover all possible cases) the FF appears on the subject (*hnakirbitit* /ɲakirbitit/ (109), *ich* /i:tç/ (113)) and on the direct object, *hnekurta* /ɲekurta/, (113). In (111), the FF *pahnimta* /paɲimta/ is used in a vocative expression. The BF is instead used when the

nominal predicate is negated (*ye hnekurpe /je ñekurpe/*) (111).

In (114a) and (115) the FF is used, although the BF is preferred. By contrast, the BF cannot be used in argumental position, hence in (114b) the FF cannot be replaced by the BF. Chamacoco lacks a specific copula meaning ‘to be’ corresponding to AY *u*, although the 3-pronoun/demonstrative (*wichi /witçi/* in (116)) seems to fill this slot: in this case too, the BF is used in Chamacoco.⁴³⁴

(114) a. Ey-ji-ta ich apibita / apibiti-ta.
 /ɛj-xi-ta itɕ apibita apibiti-ta/
 2S-daughter-FS.FF EMPH young_girl.FS.BF young_girl-FS.FF
 ‘Your daughter is a young woman.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Hm-eychim waa apibiti-ta / * apibita.
 /ḡ-ɛjtɕim wa: apibiti-ta * apibita/
 2S.IMP-look DET.FS young_girl-FS.FF young_girl.FS.BF
 ‘Look at the young woman.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(115) Liki uu jots-ak / jotsi-t uje Ikon ch-ichew = ni.
 /liki u: xots-ak xotsi-t uxe ikon tɕ-itɕew = ni/
 This.MS DET.MS well-MS.BF well-MS.FF SUB Ikon 3-dig = PST
 ‘This is the well which Ikon has dug.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(116) Mahn ese oyayuwat wichi kinaha.
 /maṅ ese ojajuwat witçi kinaha?
 but that.MS.FF giant_anaconda DET.MS different.[M/F]S.BF
 ‘But that giant_anaconda was different.’ (Barbosa 1993:3)

As already noted, in the plural there is no distinction between FF and BF (117). Some nominals have two alternating MP suffixes, such as *-/o/* and *-/lo/*. These suffixes were probably plural BF vs. FF suffixes which have lost their specific function (see §14.3.4 and §14.3.6). An exception only emerges in some nominals presenting the alternation between *-/o/* and *-/tɕo/* in the plural, such as *imehet* (118) and *loshipit /loçipit/* (119). In (118a) and (119a) one finds nominal predication and both suffixes can be used, while in (118b) and (119b) there is no nominal predication and the forms with *-/tɕo/* are considered ungrammatical. *-/tso/* or *-/tɕo/* is a very rare suffix in Chamacoco and

⁴³⁴ With copular verbs, such as the locative copula *de*, the FF is used in Chamacoco.

corresponds to A.Z and AY *-/t̥o/*, used for the MP-BF. Note that both *-/o/* and *-/t̥o/* were originally plural BF suffixes (see §14.3.4 and §14.3.7), but, despite its rarity, *-/t̥o/* or *-/t̥o/* is the only suffix which, at least in some cases, seems to have preserved its original syntactic function.

(117) a. Naa ee.
 /na: e:²/
 this.FS fruit.FS.BF
 ‘This is a fruit.’⁴³⁵ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Hm-eychim ee.
 /m̥-ejt̥im e:/
 2S.IMP-look fruit.FP
 ‘Look at the fruits.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Nehi ee.
 /nehɪ e:/
 these.FP fruit.FP
 ‘These are fruits.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(118) a. Wir Ishir imah-o / imaha-tso.
 /wir içir imah-o imaha-tso/
 DET.P Chamacoco.MP enemy-MP enemy-MP
 ‘They are the enemies of the Chamacoco.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Yok tik-iraha Ishir ðr imah-o / *imaha-tso.
 /jok tik-iraha içir ðr imah-o imaha-tso/
 1S 1S-know Chamacoco.MP 3P enemy-MP enemy-MP
 ‘I know the enemies of the Chamacoco.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(119) a. Wir loşip-o / loşip-tso.
 /wir loçip-o loçip-tso/
 DET.P animal-MP animal-MP
 ‘They are animals.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴³⁵ The presence of the glottal stop word-finally will only be indicated when it helps to distinguish the BF from the plural in a given example.

- b. Yok t-aw lošip-o / *lošip-tso.
 /jok t-aw loçip-o *loçip-tso/
 1S 1S-eat animal-MP animal-MP
 ‘I eat animals.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§13.7.2 Adjectival modifiers

The NP head has two kinds of modifiers: adjectival and genitival modifiers. Adjectival modifiers follow the head noun and are thus postmodifiers. Very often a nominal can syntactically function either as a noun or as an adjective, although one function is more frequent than the other. In (120) one finds NPs where two elements, semantically to be considered nouns, are used as adjectives. In (120a-b) the word *apibitita* ‘young woman’ (cf. (114)) is an adjectival modifier meaning ‘young’.⁴³⁶ In (120c) *pich* /pitç/ ‘stick’ / ‘wood’ is a noun, while in (120d) it is used as an adjective meaning ‘wooden’.⁴³⁷

- (120) a. Timchar-rza apubiti-ta.
 /tɪmtçɑɪ-ɾɑ apubiti-ta/
 woman-FS.FF young_woman-FS.FF
 ‘Young woman.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. Ishir-rza apibiti-ta.
 /içɪɪ-ɾɑ apibiti-ta/
 Chamacoco_woman-FS.FF young_woman.FS.FF
 ‘Young Chamacoco woman.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- c. Pi-ch turkaabi-t.
 /pi-tç turka:bi-t/
 wood-MS.FF short-MS.FF
 ‘Short stick.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- d. Moyēki-t pi-ch.
 /mojēki-t pi-tç/
 puppet-MS.FF wood-MS.FF
 ‘Wooden puppet.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴³⁶ *Apubitita* and *apibitita* are two variants of the same word.

⁴³⁷ The word is sometimes transcribed as *phich*, because the initial consonant is often realized as [p^h], but there is no phonological difference between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants.

As one can see in the above examples, adjectival modifiers usually agree in gender, number and form with the head.⁴³⁸ In (121) and (122) both head and modifier are inflected in BF. In this case, the BF *kinaha*² is epicene. In (123) there is no agreement between *dit* (MS.FF) and *kinaha*² ([M/F]S.BF), because they are not part of the same phrase, being *dit* the subject and *kinaha*² the head of the nominal predicate.

(121) Per ye tímchar kinaha = pe.
 /per je tímčar² kinaha = pe/
 but NEG woman.FS.BF strange.[M/F]S.BF = NEG
 ‘But she is not an unknown woman.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 34)

(122) Yok dihipi-k kinaha.
 /jok dihipi-k kinaha²/
 1S foreigner-MS.FF different.[M/F]S.BF
 ‘I am a foreigner.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992: 71)

(123) Tik-iraha je diki di-t kinaha.
 /tik-iraha xe diki di-t kinaha²/
 1S-know COMP this.MS city-MS.FF different.[M/F]S.BF
 ‘I know that this city is different.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The subject and its nominal predicate agree in gender and number, but of course not in form. In (124) the subject *tímcharrza* /tímčarɽa/ (FS.FF) agrees in gender and number with the nominal predicates *ihĩr*² (FS.BF) and *iljaabe*² /ilxa:be²/ (FS.BF). In this context the corresponding masculine forms cannot be used.

⁴³⁸ Of course, the lack of some forms in a given paradigm makes the complete agreement impossible (see ex. (127)).

(124) Asa	timchar-rza	ich	ihĩr	/	*ihĩr-t	hn
/asa	timtɕaɽ-ɽa	itɕ	ihĩr ²		*ihĩr-t	ŋ
that.FS	woman-FS.FF	EMPH	beautiful.FS.BF		beautiful-MS.FF	CONJ

iljaabe	/	*iljaabik.
ilxa:be ²		*ilxa:bik
evil.FS.BF		evil.MS.BF

‘That woman is beautiful and evil.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 29; Ciucci, field-notes)⁴³⁹

Opinta kinahata (125) and *jotsit bahlut* /*xotsit baɭut*/ (126) are two examples of gender, number and form agreement in noun phrases in FF. Compare *kinahata* (FS.FF) (125) with *kinaha*² ([M/F]S.BF) (121-123, 130) and *kinehet* (FS.FF) (128-129).

In (126) and (127) the FF *bahlut* /*baɭut*/ ‘big’ is the postmodifier of *jotsit* /*xotsit*/ (MS.FF) ‘well, hole’ (126) and *doshit* /*doɕit*/ (127, first occurrence). By contrast, its masculine BF *bahlu*² /*baɭu*²/ is reported in the second clause of example (127). Here *bahlu*² /*baɭu*²/ (MS.BF) is the postmodifier in a nominal predicate and appears in BF, although the head (*doshit* /*doɕit*/) is morphologically a FF. As already seen, some masculine nominals, including *doshit* /*doɕit*/, show no BF, so that the FF is obligatorily used for nominal predication. As one can see in (127), this has no consequences for the agreement.

(125) Per	ir	ch-iyuhu	wate	asa	opin-ta	kinaha-ta = ka.
/per	ir	tɕ-ijuhu	wate	asa	opin-ta	kinaha-ta = ka/
but	3	3-remove	DET.FS	that.FS	arrow-MS.FF	strange-FS.FF = PST
‘But he removes the arrow of the other [hunter].’ (Balbuena 1993: 3)						

(126) Esee = ni	hno	o-ch-ichew	jotsi-t	bahlu-t = ni.
/ese: = ni	ŋo	o-tɕ-itɕew	xotsi-t	baɭu-t = ni/
DM = PST	3.go	P-3-dig	hole-MS.FF	big-MS.FF = PST
‘Then, they went to dig a deep hole.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)				

(127) Nos	wir	eyok	yesh	y-itila	ese	doshi-t	bahlu-t	per	ye
/nos	wir	ejok	jeɕ	j-itila	ese	doɕi-t	baɭu-t	per	je
all	3P	1PI	again	1-be_afraid	that.MS	fish-MS.FF	big-MS.FF	but	NEG

⁴³⁹ The masculine BF of *ihĩrt* is not observed. For this reason *ihĩrt*, morphologically a FF, is the only masculine form which can be used for nominal predication.

doshi-t bahlu = pe.
 doçi-t baļu = pe/
 fish-MS.FF big.MS.BF = NEG

‘All of us (lit. ‘they all and we’) feared again that big fish, but it wasn’t a big fish.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990: 48)

§13.7.3 Final-syllable reduction

The morphological analysis of Chamacoco is complicated by the general tendency to reduce the last syllable, where relevant morphological information is expressed. Such a tendency seems to be stronger when the morphological information expressed by the last syllable can be understood due to the morphosyntactic or pragmatic context, especially in nominals which are not the final element of the NP, so that gender, number and form are expressed on the last nominal. In (128) one finds the NP *dihipi-t kinehēt*. In (129) the last syllable of *dihipi-t* can drop. The same occurs in example (130), where the BF is preferred. In both cases *dihipi-t* and *dhipik* can alternate with the root *dhip*.⁴⁴⁰

(128) Kimiji o-masaha dihipi-t kinehēt ir i-hyu-ch ich
 /kimiçi o-masaha dihipi-t kinehēt ir i-ju-ç itç/
 If 3P-enter foreigner-MS.FF different-MS.FF 3S 3-house-MS.FF CONJ

 o-sh-iyokōr mīhni-k.
 /o-ç-ijokōr mīñi-k/
 P-3-do bad.MS.BF

‘If they enter the house of a foreigner, they do something bad.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 466)

(129) A-hakōraha wichi dihipi-t / dihip kinehe-t eyok ahwos-o!
 /a-hakōraha witiçi dihipi-t dihip kinehe-t ejok aḡos-o/
 2S.teach DET.MS foreigner-MS.FF foreigner different-MS.FF 1.PI word-MP
 ‘Teach the foreigner our language!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴⁴⁰ In this case, for reasons of simplicity, one can say that *dhip* is the root of the noun, but the whole root could be better represented as *dhip(i)*. It is not possible to decide whether this last vowel belongs to the root or is an epenthetic vowel.

- (130) Owa dihip kinaha / owa dihipi-k kinaha.
 /owa dihip kinaha[?] owa dihipi-k kinaha[?]/
 2S foreigner strange.[M/F]S.BF 2S foreigner-MS.BF strange.[M/F]S.BF
 ‘You are foreigner.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a: 49; Ciucci, field-notes)

Consider the NP *onoota bahluuta* /ono:ta baɭu:ta/ ‘big river’. In (131a) the FF is required. In (131b) one finds final-syllable reduction on the first element of the NP. In (131b), final /a/ drops, while in (131c) one finds last syllable elision, so that *onoota* /ono:ta/ reduces to its root, which coincides with the BF. Not all forms are allowed to appear on the first element of the noun phrase, because the elision process has morphological limits: the plural *onoo* /ono:/ is ungrammatical in (131d), even though the plural is phonologically lighter. In (131e) both elements agree in plural form. When the NP is plural, the BF (131f) or the FF (131g) cannot appear on the first element (in this case, BF and FF cannot be the result of final-syllable reduction, because they are phonologically heavier than the plural).

- (131) a. Tuk-umo onoo-ta bahluu-ta.
 /tuk-umo ono:-ta baɭu:-ta/
 1S-see river-FS.FF big-FS.FF
 ‘I see the sea (lit. ‘the big river’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. Tuk-umo onoo-t bahluu-ta / onoo-t bahluu-t.
 /tuk-umo ono:-t baɭu:-ta ono:-t baɭu:-t/
 1S-see river-FS.FF big-FS.FF river-FS.FF big-FS.FF
 ‘I see the sea (lit. ‘the big river’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- c. Tuk-umo onoo[?] bahluu-ta.
 /tuk-umo ono:[?] baɭu:-ta/
 1-see river-FS.BF big-FS.FF
 ‘I see the sea (lit. ‘the big river’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- d. *Tuk-umo onoo bahluu-ta.
 /tuk-umo ono: baɭu:-ta/
 1S-see river-FP big-FS.FF
 [I see the sea (lit. ‘the big river’).] (Ciucci, field-notes)

- e. Tuk-umo onoo bahluu.
 /tuk-umo ono: baɔ:/
 1S-see river-FP big-FP
 ‘I see the seas (lit. ‘the big rivers’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- f. *Tuk-umo onoo[?] bahluu.
 /tuk-umo ono:[?] baɔ:/
 1S-see river-FS.BF big-FP
 [I see the seas (lit. ‘the big river’).] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- g. *Tuk-umo onoo-ta bahluu.
 /tuk-umo ono:-ta baɔ:/
 1S-see river-FS.FF big-FP
 [I see the seas (lit. ‘the big river’).] (Ciucci, field-notes)

The two elements of the predicate NP in (132) agree in BF (132a) and in FF (132b). In (132c) the first element appears in FF, while the second appears in BF. This means that *onoota* /ono:ta/ is not part of the predicate NP, but it forms a subject NP with the feminine demonstrative *naka*. Predicate NPs with a singular subject cannot appear in plural form (132d).

- (132) a. Naka onoo[?] bahluu[?].
 /naka ono:[?] baɔ:[?]/
 this.FS river-FS.BF big.FS.BF
 ‘This is the see (lit. ‘the big river’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. Naka onoo-ta bahluu-ta.
 /naka ono:-ta baɔ:-ta/
 this.FS river-FS.FF big-FS.FF
 ‘This is the see (lit. ‘the big river’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. Naka onoo-ta bahluu[?].
 /naka ono:-ta baɔ:[?]/
 this.FS river-FS.FF big-FS.BF
 ‘This river is big.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- d. *Naka onoo bahluu.
 /naka ono: baɔ:/
 this.FS river-FP big-FP
 [These are rivers.] (Ciucci, field-notes)

In (133) one finds the phrase *Ishirc pisht* /içirtç piçt/ in BF (133a) and FF (133b-c). In (133b-c) the first element consists of the root, which in this nominal coincides with the BF. The fact that in (131) and (133) the first element can consist of the root (phonologically coinciding with the BF) does not mean that the BF can be used for NPs appearing in FF. Consider for instance the NP *piramit bahlut* /piramit bałut/ (134). When the BF of the first element is different from the root, for instance when it takes the suffix *-/k/* (as in *piramik*), the first element cannot appear in BF (134b), because when final-syllable reduction occurs, the root rather than the BF is involved. In (134d-e) the first element of the NP has to agree with the plural *bahluwo* /bałuwu/.

- (133) a. Wichi Ishir[?] pish
 /witçi içir[?] piç/
 DET.MS Chamacoco.[M/F]S.BF ELAT.MS.BF
 ‘He is a real Chamacoco man.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. Wichi Ishir[?] pish-t
 /witçi içir[?] piç-t/
 DET.MS Chamacoco.[M/F]S.BF ELAT-MS.FF
 ‘He is a real Chamacoco man.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. T-ish Ishir[?] pish-t.
 /t-iç içir[?] piç-t/
 1S-meet Chamacoco.[M/F]S.BF ELAT.MS.FF
 ‘I meet a real Chamacoco man.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- d. *T-ish Ishir[?] pish.
 /tiç içir[?] piç/
 1S-meet Chamacoco.[M/F]S.BF ELAT.MS.BF
 [I meet a real Chamacoco man.] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (134) a. Ār-lo e-mchehe-lo pirami-t bahlut!
 /ār-lo e-mtçehe-lo pirami-t bałut-/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.FF big-MS.FF
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in a big pot!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. **Ãr-lo* e-mchehe-lo pĩrami-k bahlu-t!
 /*ãr-lo* e-mṭeche-lo pĩrami-k baɭu-t/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.BF big-MS.FF
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in a big pot!] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. *Ãr-lo* e-mchehe-lo pĩram-o bahlu-wo!
 /*ãr-lo* e-mṭeche-lo pĩram-o baɭu-wo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MP big-MP
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- d. **Ãr-lo* e-mchehe-lo pĩrami-t bahlu-wo!
 /*ãr-lo* e-mṭeche-lo pĩrami-t baɭu-wo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.FF big-MP
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- e. **Ãr-lo* e-mchehe-lo pĩrami-k bahlu-wo!
 /*ãr-lo* e-mṭeche-lo pĩrami-k baɭu-wo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.BF big-MP
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!] (Ciucci, field-notes)

One might wonder whether the cause of this process is phonetic or morphological. Final-syllable reduction seems to be a merely phonetic process, but the complete loss of the inflection in the first element of the NP is reminiscent of Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, where only the final element of the NP is morphologically marked. The head noun and the adjectival modifier express number, gender and form. When final-syllable reduction occurs, the NP structure is very similar to that of Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, except that in these languages the non-final elements are in singular BF, even when this differs from the root, while in Chamacoco the non-final elements of the NP may consist of the mere root, which does not necessarily coincide with the BF.

§13.7.4 The genitival modifier

The genitival modifier precedes the head noun, which does not agree with the NP head, always in FF. This is particularly evident in (135), when the head noun appears in BF (*aap* /a:p/) and the genitival modifier in FF (*Porrosht* /po:ɽoɕt/). In (136a) too, one finds nominal predication and *permich*

ir /permitç *ir*/ (with *permich* /permitç/ in FF) is the genitival modifier of *hnikaa*[?] /*nika*[?]/ (in BF). *Yok* /*jok*/ is in turn the genitival modifier of *permich ir* /permitç *ir*/. In (136b) the BF *permich* /permitç/ is used for a nominal predicate, but the use of the same form in the context of (136a) is not considered correct (136c). In (137), the NP *ana timcharrza late* /*ana timtçaj-ja late*/ ‘this poor woman’ is the genitival modifier governed by the plural noun *ijo* /*ixo*/ (3.MP) ‘children’. The head of the embedded NP, *timcharrza* /*timtçajja*/, is in FF (the adjectival modifier *late* ‘poor’ has no BF vs. FF distinction).

(135) *Wichi* *Porrosh-t* *aap*.
 /*witçi* *po:ɥoç-t* *a:p*/
 DET.MS God-MS.FF 3.son.MS.BF
 ‘He is Christian (lit. ‘son of God’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(136) a. *Wate* *yok* *p-erm-ich* *ir* *hnikaa*[?].
 /*wate* *jok* *p-erm-itç* *ir* *nika*[?]/
 DET.FS 1S 1S-uncle-MS.FF 3S black_carob_tree.FS.BF
 ‘It is the black carob tree of my uncle.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. *Wichi* *yok* *p-erãp*.
 /*witçi* *jok* *p-erãp*/
 DET.MS 1S 1S-uncle.MS.BF
 ‘He is my uncle.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. **Wate* *yok* *p-erãp* *ir* *hnikaa*[?].
 /*wate* *jok* *p-erãp* *ir* *nika*[?]/
 DET.FS 1S 1S-uncle.MS.BF 3S black_carob_tree.FS.BF
 [It is the black carob tree of my uncle.] (Ciucci, field-notes)

(137) *Ana* *timchar-rza* *late* *ij-o* *õr* *tre=ni* *iteẽt-o*.
 /*ana* *timtçaj-ja* *late* *ix-o* *õr* *tre=ni* *itẽ:t-o*/
 this.FS woman-FS.FF poor-FS 3.child-MP 3P three=PST male-MP
 ‘The children of this poor woman are three boys.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

Most CH locative postpositions are morphologically nominals preceded by a genitival modifier. In example (138) the FF *jotsit* /*xotsit*/ is the premodifier of the locative noun phrase headed by *ehet* ‘inside’, while in (139) the FF *pirãhata* ‘wife’ precedes *pit* ‘piece, side’, used as a locative postposition.

- (138) Weno, ohwa-lo ola pala, y-iĩsi-l jotsi-t bahlu-t par
 /weno owa-lo ola pala j-iĩsi-l xotsi-t baļu-t par/
 good 2.bring-P 2P blade 1PI-dig-GP hole-MS.FF big-MS.FF SUB
 y-ĩmchaha asa kemyon bahlu-ta ese jotsi-t ehe-t.
 /j-ĩmtçaha asa kemjon baļu-ta ese xotsi-t ehe-t/
 1PI-put that.FS truck big-FS.FF that.MS hole- MS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF

‘Good, bring your blades, we will dig a big hole in order to put the armored truck in the hole.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (139) Yok tiyakaha pirāha-ta pit.
 /jok tij-akaha p-irāha-ta pit/
 1S 1S-sit 1S-wife-FS.FF beside
 ‘I sit beside my wife.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

Final-syllable reduction can also occur in the genitival modifier. In (140) the predicate NP is *hnikaata ukita* /ŋika:ta ukita/ ‘branch of black carob tree’, which can occur in both FF (140a) and BF (140b-c). The genitival modifier *hnikaata* /ŋika:t/ ‘black carob tree’ (*Prosopis nigra*) is expected to appear in FF, but it undergoes final-syllable reduction and can consist of the mere root (140c). In this case, only the NP head preserves all relevant morphosyntactic information.

- (140) a. Wate hnikaa-t uki-ta.
 /wate ŋika:t uki-ta/
 DET.FS black_carob_tree-FS.FF branch-FS.FF
 ‘It is the branch of black carob tree.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. Wate hnikaa-t uki?
 /wate ŋika:t uki?/
 DET.FS black_carob_tree-FS.FF branch-FS.BF
 ‘It is the branch of black carob tree.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. Wate hnikaa? uki?
 /wate ŋika:? uki?/
 DET.FS black_carob_tree-FS.BF branch-FS.BF
 ‘It is the branch of black carob tree.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§13.7.5 Compounds

In compounds, the modifier precedes the head. When the lexemes form a single phonological unit, the root of the modifier precedes the head, which takes full inflection:⁴⁴¹ *dichipita* /ditɕipita/ (FS.FF) ‘toilet, latrine’ --- > *dichi-t* /ditɕit/ (GF.MS.FF) ‘dung’ + *pita* (FS.FF) ‘box’. When the lexemes do not form a single phonological unit, the first element of the compound behaves as a genitival modifier in FF:⁴⁴² *Porrosht ahwoso* /po:ɬoɕt aɰoso/ ‘Bible’ (lit. ‘the words of God’), *webich osht* /webitɕ oɕt/ ‘first’ (*webich* /webitɕ/ ‘before’, ‘person’). In example (141) the nominal *webich* /webitɕ/ is used as a locative postposition, while in (141) it is the first element of a compound and, as expected, there is no agreement with *otita* (FS.FF).

- (141) Yok de owa webich.
 /jok de owa webitɕ/
 1S 3.EXIST 2S before
 ‘You are before me.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (142) Waa iji-ta webich_oti-ta umo waa n-animi-cha.
 /Wa: ixi-ta webitɕ_oti-ta umo wa: n-animi-tɕa/
 DET.FS 3.daughter-FS.FF first-FS.FF 3.see DET.FS 3-sister-FS.FF
 ‘The first daughter sees her own sister.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992b: 60)

§13.7.6 Constructions with the clitic =/ɕ/

There are existential constructions in which the predicate consists of the enclitic copula =/ɕ/. This copula has a monoargumental structure and the clitic =/ɕ/ is added on the final element of the subject NP, in FF. This construction is generally used to express possession, because there is no verb meaning ‘to have’. The possessor is expressed by the genitival modifier and/or by possessive prefixation (if the head noun is possessable). In (143) and (144)

⁴⁴¹ In this respect there are no fixed rules for compounds.

⁴⁴² The only distinction between a compound and an NP preceded by a genitival modifier is a purely semantic one.

one finds examples where one can see the use of the FF in the singular (because in the plural there is no difference between BF and FF). This only occurs in affirmative clauses. About negative clauses, see (§13.7.14).

(143) a. Yok *chipirmi-chi = sh* / *chipirmi-ta = sh*.⁴⁴³

/jok tʃipirmi-tʃi = ʧ / tʃipirmi-ta = ʧ/
 1S bird-FS.FF = EXIST bird-FS.FF = EXIST
 ‘I have a bird.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Yok *chipirmi = sh*.

/jok tʃipirmi = ʧ/
 1S bird.FP = EXIST
 ‘I have some birds.’⁴⁴⁴ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Yok *pohnuu-ta eyhi-ta = sh*.

/jok poŋu:-ta ejhi-ta = ʧ/
 1S gun-FS.FF seed-FS.FF = EXIST
 ‘I have a bullet (lit. ‘seed of gun’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

d. Yok *pohnuu[?] eyhi-ta = sh*.

/jok poŋu:[?] ejhi-ta = ʧ/
 1S gun-FS.BF seed-FS.FF = EXIST
 ‘I have a bullet (lit. ‘seed of gun’).’⁴⁴⁵ (Ciucci, field-notes)

e. Yok *pohnuu eyhi = sh*.

/jok poŋu: ejhi = ʧ/
 1S gun-FP seed-FP = EXIST
 ‘I have some bullets (lit. ‘seeds of guns’).’⁴⁴⁶ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴⁴³ Both forms are correct, but in this context the speaker prefers the form *chipirmita* /tʃipirmita/, usually less used, because the final syllables of *yok chipirmichi = sh* /jok tʃipirmi-tʃi = ʧ/ could be confused with the verb *chish* /tʃiʃ/ (3) ‘to meet’ and there is the risk that the addressee could understand ‘my bird meets’ (Laura Báez, personal communication).

⁴⁴⁴ In (143a-b) the suffix *-e/* and the last vowel of the suffix *-tʃa/* reduce to */i/* before the clitic *=/ʧ/*.

⁴⁴⁵ In (143d), final-syllable reduction occurs on the first element of the NP, although the non-reduced form is preferred.

⁴⁴⁶ The internal structure of the compound *pohnuuta eyhita* /poŋu:ta ejhita/ indicates that *eyhita* ‘seed’ is the head and *pohnuuta* ‘gun’ the modifier. In this case, when the head shows up in the plural, also the modifier can appear in plural form.

- (144) a. Yok poho-ch poor-c pish-t-i = sh.
 /jok poho-tɕ po:r-tɕ piɕ-t-i = ɕ/
 1S dog-MS.FF white-MS.FF ELAT-MS.FF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘I have a very white dog.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. Yok huti-t wihĩr-ta pish-ta = sh.
 /jok huti-t wihĩr-ta piɕ-ta = ɕ/
 1S book-FS.FF red-FS.FF ELAT-FS.FF = EXIST
 ‘I have a very red book.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The copula =/ɕ/ was not discussed in chapter §7, because morphologically it is not a verb. Morphology-wise it is not a verb, for the following reasons. First, there is no clitic verb in Chamacoco, secondly, =/ɕ/ is invariable and cannot even take the affixes /o/- or /lo/ which can optionally be added to invariable verbs. The existential/locative copula *de*, for instance can take the plural prefix /o/-. *De* can also be used in this context, although it is mostly used to express location. (145a) and (145b) are equivalent according to the informants, but (145a) is far more frequent.

- (145) a. Yok huti-t wihĩr-ta = sh.
 /jok huti-t wihĩr-ta = ɕ/
 1S book-FS.FF red-FS.FF = EXIST
 ‘I have a red book.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. Yok huti-t wihĩr-ta de.
 /jok huti-t wihĩr-ta de/
 1S book-FS.FF red-FS.FF 3.EXIST
 ‘I have a red book.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The copula =/ɕ/ corresponds to the existential copulas *cuse* (/kuse/) in Ayoreo and =*uz* (= /us/) in Ancient Zamuco. Both have no inflection, are used to build possessive sentences and follow a FF-marked NP in affirmative clauses.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ See Bertinetto (2009: 39, 44) about AY *cuse* /kuse/ and Chomé (1958: 126) about A.Z = *uz* (= /us/). See Kelm (1964: 798-799) for a comparison between AY *cuse* and the A.Z = *uz*.

§13.7.7 Secondary predication and reduced relatives

The BF can be used for secondary predication, as in (146-148), where the nominal predicate does not immediately follow the nominal it refers to. The valency of the verb *shūrha* /çūr̥a/, intransitive, clearly indicates that nominals following *shūrha* /çūr̥a/ in (147) and (148) cannot be verbal arguments. One wonders whether this sequence of predicates could be interpreted as a serial construction. Indeed, serial constructions such as the one in (149) are to be found in Chamacoco.

- (146) *Pikiñnin-ta de = kite kuhnēr.*
 /pikiñnin-ta de = kite kuñēr²/
 girl-FS.FF 3.EXIST=PST orphan.FS.BF
 ‘There was a orphan girl.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995:3)

- (147) *Ele pijit shūrha iteēt-ak.*
 /ele p-ixi-t çūr̥a itē:t-ak/
 this.MS.FF 1S-son-MS.FF 3.be_born male-FS.BF
 ‘This male child was born.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (148) a. *Asa timchar-rza ir iji-t shūrha iteēt-ak.*
 /asa timt̥ɕaɪ-ɟa ir ixi-t çūr̥a itē:t-ak/
 that.FS woman-FS.FF 3S 3.son-FS.FF 3.be_born male-FS.FF
 ‘The son of this woman was born male / and he was born male.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 1104)

- b. *Hn wichi shūrha hnakirap.*
 /ŋ wit̥ɕi çūr̥a ŋakirap/
 CONJ DET.MS 3.be_born man.MS.BF
 ‘And he was born man.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 860)

- (149) *Timcharrza hno t̥r merkado.*
 /timt̥ɕaɪ-ɟa ŋo t̥r merkado/
 woman-FS.FF 3.go 3.go_to market
 ‘The woman goes to the market.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

In (150) the nominal *ilaraap* /ilara:p/, following the head noun *hnakirbich* /ŋakirbit̥ɕ/, does not agree with the noun it refers to, because it appears in BF, while the expected form would be *ilarabit*, as in (151). The

construction in (150) can be analysed as a reduced relative clause, where the relative complementizer *uje* /*uxe*/ has been omitted.

- (150) Hnakirb-ich ìlar-aap de uje ii-ch otsiì Yepeto.
 /ɲakirb-itɕ ìlar-a:p de uxe i:-tɕ otsi: jepeto/
 man-MS.FF old-MS.BF 3.EXIST SUB 3.name.FS.FF 3P.QUOT Geppetto
 ‘There was an old man, whose name was Geppetto.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 24)

- (151) Baa-ch ìlar-aab-it otsiì Cantero hn ihyẽ-t ãya.
 /ba:-tɕ ìlar-a:b-it otsi: kantero ɲ ijẽ-t ãja/
 Paraguayan.MS.FF old-DIM-MS.BF 3P.QUOT Cantero CONJ 3.friend-MS.FF 3.accompany
 ‘The old Paraguayan man was called Cantero and a friend accompanied him.’
 (adapted from: Barbosa 1993: 5)

§13.7.8 The base-form and the quotative

The BF is observed after the quotative *otsiì* /*otsi:*/ as used to express the name of someone or something.⁴⁴⁸ The BF is not very frequent in this construction, because it is generally used to introduce proper nouns, which do not contrast between BF and FF. However, the BF is used when the quotative introduces a noun which opposes BF and FF, e.g. *oyayuwa*² /*ojajuwa*²/ in (152), *yilicho* /*jilitɕo*/ in (153) and *ahwos* /*awɔs*/ in (154). Note that in (153) *yilichta* /*jilitɕta*/ is used in both FF (in an argumental NP) and BF (after the quotative). In (154) the first quotative introduces a proper noun (*Zoar* /*ɛoar*/), where, of course, there is no difference between BF and FF, and the second quotative introduces the word expressing its meaning in Chamacoco (*ijaap* /*ixa:p*/), which appears in BF.

- (152) Entons, esee =kite hn ese lošipi-t kinehe-t de = chi
 /entons ese: =kite ɲ ese loɕipi-t kinehe-t de = tɕi
 then DM = PST CONJ that.MS animal-MS.FF different-MS.FF 3.EXIST = there

⁴⁴⁸ In (153) and (154) the quotative *otsiì* /*otsi:*/ merges with the preceding relative pronoun *uje* /*uxe*/ in the word *jotsee* /*xotse:*/. About the uses of *otsiì*, see §8.

ese lugar-t, uje ch-ipēsa òr, uje otsiì oyayuwa.
 /ese lukar-t uxe tç-ipēsa òr uxe otsi: ojajuwa/
 that.MP place.MS.FF SUB 3-grab 3P SUB 3P.QUOT anaconda.MS.BF

‘Then, in that place there was that strange animal which grabs people, which is called *oyayuwat*.’ (adapted from: Barbosa 1993: 2)

(153) Tew waa j = otsee yilicho. Iin yilich-ta.
 /Tew wa: x = otse: jilitç-o in jilitç-ta/
 3-eat DET.FS SUB=3.QUOT spicy_fruit-FS.BF 3.swallow spicy_fruit-FS.FF
 ‘He ate a palm. He ate what is called *yilichta*. It swallowed the *yilichta*.’⁴⁴⁹
 (Gonzales et al. 1999: 2)

(154) Ii-ch otsiì Zoar wichi òr ahwos j = otsee ijaap.
 /i:tç otsi: eoar witçi òr aḡos x = otse: ixap/
 3.name-MS.FF 3P.QUOT Zoar DET.MS 3P 3-word.MS.BF SUB=3P.QUOT little.MS.BF
 ‘Its name Zoar is their word which means “little” (lit. which is “little”).’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a :58)

The presence of the BF after the quotative indicates that the quotative alone does not express the predicative function, which is encoded by the nominal in BF. In §8 morphological evidence was provided to demonstrate that the quotative is not a verb. It is rather a sort of parenthetical element, external to the predication nucleus. Nevertheless, if it were omitted, the meaning of the sentence would change, because it wouldn’t mean that something is called in a certain way. Yet, the nominal predication would be syntactically acceptable. On the contrary, if a verb is omitted, the proposition is ungrammatical.

Indeed, compare the quotative in (152-154) with the verb *itso*.⁴⁵⁰ In (155) *itso* ‘to be like / to look like’ is followed by the direct object *hnakirbich* /*ḡakirbitç*/ in FF. *itso* is also an irregular element morphology-wise, but the presence of FF rather than BF after *itso* suggests that *itso* has a predicative value.

⁴⁴⁹ Type of fruit. *Yilichta* /*jilitçta*/ is a spicy fruit according to Gonzales *et al.* (1999: 19).

⁴⁵⁰ The irrealis form of *itso*, *ilo*, can be used as a quotative (§8.4).

- (155) Heke yok itso hnakirbich uje iljaabi-k = pa.
 /heke jok itso ɲakirb-itɕ uxe ilxa:bi-k = pa/
 For_this 1S 3.be_like man-MS.FF SUB bad-MS.BF = ELAT
 ‘For this I am like a man who is very bad.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 665)

§13.7.9 The use of the base-form before *dich* /ditɕ/

Dich /ditɕ/ or *dich* /ditɕ/ is a nominal element meaning ‘big, great’. *Dich* is morphologically a MS-FF and, as seen in §13.1.11 (ex. (28d)) and §13.3.1 (ex. (85)), it lacks the BF. This means that the FF is also used in typical BF contexts, as in (156) and (157). Its corresponding FS form *data* is rarely used, so that *dich* is often preferred for the feminine, as in (156). The plural for both genders is *deyo* /dejo/ (158). In (156-157) *dich* is the head noun of the NP with predicative function, while in (158a) it is an adjectival modifier. When instead *dich* follows a qualifying adjective in the same NP, it has the function of an relative marker which modifies the adjective, as in (158b), where it modifies the adjective *ihĩr-tso*, indicating that the fish are ‘very beautiful’. As one can see in (158), the meaning of *dich* /ditɕ/ depends on its position in the NP.

- (156) Yoo estudi petik = ni. Depwe yok di-ch = ni.
 /jo: estudi petik = ni depwe jok di-tɕ = ni/
 1S study at_all = PST after 1S big-MS.FF = PST
 ‘I did not study at all. After I grew (I was big).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (157) Yoo titew-ta [...] shi itso waa pohor-rza waa je ich di-ch.
 /jo: titew-ta [...] ɕi itso wa: pohoɽ-ɽa wa: xe itɕ di-tɕ/
 1S heart-MS.FF DUR 3.be_like DET.FS tree-FS.FF DET.FS SUB CONJ big-MS.FF
 ‘My heart is like a tree which is big.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (158) a. Loshi-yo tre de-yo kahr-o hn ihĩr-tso
 /loɕi-jo tre de-jo kahr-o ɲ ihĩr-tso/
 fish-MP three big-MP yellow-MP CONJ beautiful-MP
 ‘Three beautiful, big, yellow fish (lit. ‘big, yellow and beautiful’).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. Loshi-yo tre kahr-o hn ihĩr-tso de-yo.
 /loɕi-jo tre kahr-o ɲ ihĩr-tso de-jo/
 fish-MP three yellow-MP CONJ beautiful-MP big-MP
 ‘Three very beautiful, yellow fish.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

When *dich* /diɕ/ is used as an relative marker, it has the same value of the relative clitic =/pa/. Indeed, (159a) and (159b) convey the same meaning according to the speakers.⁴⁵¹

(159) a. Yok tuk-umo hutɪ-ta wihĩr-ta di-ch.
 /jok tuk-umo hutɪ-ta wihĩr-ta di-ɕ/
 1S 1S-see book-FS.FF red-FS.FF big-FS.FF
 ‘I see very red book.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Yok tuk-umo hutɪ-ta wihĩr = pa.
 /jok tuk-umo hutɪ-ta wihĩr = pa/
 1S 1S-see book-FS.FF red-FS.BF = ELAT
 ‘I see a very red book.’ (lit. ‘a book which is very red’) (Ciucci, field-notes)

In (160) and (161) there are two predicate NPs. In (160) *dich* /diɕ/ means ‘big’, while in (161) it is the relative marker of the adjective *ilarc* /ilartɕ/ ‘old’.⁴⁵²

(160) Pokorz-ta umo sole: “Ich ihyokõr-ak di-ch, sham.”
 /pokorz-ta umo tsole itɕ ijokõr-ak di-ɕ çam/
 monkey-FS.FF 3.see QUOT EMPH noise-FS.BF big-MS.FF my_friend
 ‘The monkey said: “It is a big noise, my friend.”’ (Balbuena & Perez 1993: 4)

(161) Õryoo deki = lishi ich ilar = di-ch = ni
 /õrjo: deki = liçi itɕ ilar = di-ɕ = ni/
 1PE grandfather = poor.MS EMPH old = big-MS.FF = PST
 je oshent, novent ay-õ hn toy.
 xe oçent nobent aj-õ ñ toj/
 SUB eighty ninety year-MP CONJ 3.die

‘Our poor grandfather was very old, when he was eighty, ninety years old, he died.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

There is no morphosyntactic difference between the two uses of *dich*. In the previous examples, the element modified by *dich* are inflected in the gender, the number and the form of the NP it belongs to, as one can also see in (162),

⁴⁵¹ The only difference is that in (159b) the clitic =/pa/ is added to the feminine BF of the adjective *wihĩrt*, which is the predicate of a reduced relative clause.

⁴⁵² In (161) *dich* forms a phonological word with the BF *ilaro*², which has lost its final elements owing to the process of final-syllable reduction.

where both *loshipit* /loçipit/ and *dich* /ditç/ show up in plural inflection. This is not surprising in Chamacoco, but, although this configuration is correct, this is not the preferred morphosyntactic configuration of the NPs with *dich* as final element.

- (162) T-itim olak par uje erze pukuhnin-o òr eyucha nēhe ese
 /t-itim olak par uxe erçe pukunin-o òr ejutça nehe ese
 1S-tell 2P SUB SUB that.P child-MP 3P 3.remember FUT that.MS
 oyayuwa-t uje t-ew loship-o de-yo.
 ojajuwa-t uxe t-ew loçip-o de-jo/
 giant_anaconda-MS.FF SUB 3-eat animal-MP big-MP

‘I tell you so that these children will remind of this anaconda which eats big animals.’
 (Barbosa 1993: 8)

When *dich* is the final element of an NP, the element modified by it preferentially appears in singular BF, regardless of the number and form required by the NP. In (163), for instance, the phrase *ese ihyokōrak dich* /ese ijokōrak ditç/ ‘this big noise’ requires the FF (singular), but *ihyokōrt* /ijokōrt/ ‘noise’ is in singular BF. The FF of *ihyokōrak* /ijokōrak/ is to be found in (164) and this nominal does not represent an exception: in (164), for instance, the BF used in the same context is considered ungrammatical by the speakers. In (165) too, *pit* shows up in BF before *dich* in a typical FF context, while in (166) the FF is used.

- (163) Ese ihyokōr-ak di-ch masaha pwert ehe-t uje o-ts-akaha.
 /ese ijokōr-ak di-tç masaha pwert ehe-t uxe o-ts-akaha/
 that.MS noise-MS.BF big-MS.FF 3.enter house 3.inside-MS.FF SUB P-3-sit
 ‘That big noise entered the house where they were sitting.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich2000a: 487)

- (164) O-ch-unt kabehe-t hnit-e ihyokōr-t.
 /o-tç-unt kabehe-t ñit-e ijokōr-t/
 P-3-listen horse-MS.FF 3.foot-FP 3.noise-MS.FF
 ‘They listen to the noise of the horse’s hooves.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 36)

*O-ch-unt kabehe-t hnit-e ihyokōr-ak.
 /o-tç-unt kabehe-t ñit-e ijokōr-ak/
 P-3-listen horse-MS.FF 3.foot-FP 3.noise-MS.BF
 [They listen to the noise of the horse’s hooves.] (Ciucci, field-notes from)

- (165) S-ehək tort pi-k di-ch.
 /ts-ehək tort pi-k di-tɕ/
 3-cut cake piece-MS.BF big-MS.FF
 ‘He cuts a big piece of cake.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990d: 109)

- (166) Sēhe t-apur owa pi-t.
 /tsēhe t-apur owa pi-t/
 VOL 1S-ask 2S piece-MS.FF
 ‘I want to ask you for a piece (of cake).’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990d: 109)

In (167) one finds an example with the Spanish loanword *chocolate* /tɕokolate/ ‘chocolate’, used as an invariable masculine nominal. In this example *dich* does not modify the head noun *chocolate*, but the adjective *berzt* /berzt/ ‘long’ in BF, although the NP is inflected in plural form, which appears on *dich* (e.g. *deyo* /dejo/). In (168) one finds two possible configurations of the same NP in singular FF: the BF is preferred on the adjective modified by *dich* (168a), although here the FF is also possible (168b).

- (167) Õr pwele o-ho eladito shi itso koja-n de-yo hn
 /õr pwele o-ho eladito çi itso koxa-n de-jo ɲ
 3P can 3P-drink ice DUR 3.be_like mountain-MP big-MP CONJ
 chukulate berz-ak le-yo shi itso dehe-t
 tɕukulate berz-ak le-jo çi itso dehe-t/
 chocolate big-MS.BF big-MP DUR 3.be_like path-MS.FF

‘They can drink ice-cream like big mountains and (eat) very long (pieces of) chocolate like a path.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 26)⁴⁵³

- (168) a. Yok t-aw chokolate berz-ak di-ch.
 /jok t-aw tɕokolate berz-ak di-tɕ/
 1S 1S-eat chocolate large-MS.BF big-MS.FF
 ‘I eat a very large (piece of) chocolate.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴⁵³ *Dich* occurs twice in (167). The first occurrence is preceded by the plural of *kojāch* /koxātɕ/. In this context, both the plural and the BF are possible.

- b. Yok t-aw chokolate berz-t di-ch.
 /jok t-aw ṭokolate berz-t di-ṭ/
 1S 1S-eat chocolate large-MS.BF big-MS.FF
 ‘I eat a very large (piece of) chocolate.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The adjectives *dich* and *bahlut* /baɭut/ convey the same meaning when they mean ‘big’. In (169) *dich* is the relative marker of *bahlut* in BF. The FF *bahlut* is possible, but the BF is preferred. Since only the element(s) modified by *dich* appear(s) in BF, the NP’s head noun, *hnakirbich* /ɲakirbiṭ/, is in FF, even though it is followed by *bahlut* in BF.

- (169) a. P-ey-ch bahu² di-ch.
 /p-ej-ṭ baɭu² di-ṭ/
 1S-father-MS.FF big.MS.BF big-MS.FF
 ‘My father is very big.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. Yok tuk-umo hnakirb-ich bahu² di-ch.
 /jok tuk-umo ɲakirb-iṭ baɭu² di-ṭ/
 1S 1S-see man-MS.FF big.MS.BF big-MS.FF
 ‘I see a very big man.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

In (170), the NP *pīramit dich* /pīramit diṭ/ shows up in the plural and the head noun *pīramit* in BF. In (171) and (172), one finds possible and impossible configurations of the NP inflected in FF (171) and in plural form (172), as compared with configurations of the NP *pīramit bahlut* /pīramit baɭut/, which practically conveys the same meaning. *Bahlut* is a normal adjectival modifier and agrees in gender, number and form with the head noun it refers to. In the following examples *pīramit* can appear in BF before *dich* (171a) and *deyo* /dejo/ (172b), but not before *bahlut* (171c) and *bahluwo* /baɭuwo/ (172f).⁴⁵⁴

- (170) ãr-lo e-mchaha-lo pīrami-k de-yo.
 /ãr-lo e-mṭaha-lo pīrami-k de-jo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.BF big-MP
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!’ (Ulrich & Ulrich, gramm 1990d: 28)

⁴⁵⁴ *Pīramik dich* (171a) is preferred to *pīramit dich* (171b).

- (171) a. $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, emchehe-lo p̄irami-k di-ch!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄eche-lo p̄irami-k di-t̄/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.BF big-MS.FF
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in a big pot!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, e-mchehe-lo p̄irami-t di-ch!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄eche-lo p̄irami-t di-t̄/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.FF big-MS.FF
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in a big pot!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. * $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, e-mchehe-lo p̄irami-k bahlu-t!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄eche-lo p̄irami-k baļu-t/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.BF big-MS.FF
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in a big pot!] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- d. $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, e-mchehe-lo p̄irami-t bahlu-t!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄eche-lo p̄irami-t baļu-t/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.FF big-MS.FF
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in a big pot!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- (172) a. $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, e-mchaha-lo p̄iram-o de-yo!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄chaha-lo p̄iram-o de-jo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MP big-MP
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, e-mchaha-lo p̄irami-k de-yo!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄chaha-lo p̄irami-k de-jo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.BF big-MP
 ‘(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. * $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, e-mchaha-lo p̄irami-t de-yo!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄chaha-lo p̄irami-t de-jo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.FF big-MP
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- d. $\tilde{A}r$ -lo, e-mchehe-lo p̄iram-o bahlu-wo!
 / $\tilde{a}r$ -lo e-mt̄eche-lo p̄iram-o baļu-wo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MP big-MP
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!] (Ciucci, field-notes)

e. **Ār-lo*, e-mchehe-lo pīrami-t bahlu-wo!
 /*ār-lo* e-mt̤eche-lo pīrami-t baļu-wo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.FF big-MP
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!] (Ciucci, field-notes)

f. **Ār-lo*, e-mchehe-lo pīrami-k bahlu-wo!
 /*ār-lo* e-mt̤eche-lo pīrami-k baļu-wo/
 2.cook-P 2-put-P pot-MS.BF big-MP
 [(You) cook (it) putting (it) in big pots!] (Ciucci, field-notes)

The comparison with *bahlut* /baļuṭ/ confirms that a noun phrase or an adjectival phrase modified by *dich* can have a syntactic configuration where the modified element is in BF. Especially in the case of NPs modified by *dich*, this could be considered an archaic construction, since in Ayoreo (§12.6) and Ancient Zamuco (§14.1) only the last element expresses the number and the form of the whole NP, while the preceding elements are in BF.

§13.7.10 The base-form vs. full-form predominance in selected nominals

The following paragraphs will focus on some particular uses of BF and FF in some nominals. I will present cases where BF and FF are to be observed in non-prototypical contexts, showing their mutual interaction when one of the two forms predominates. Three high frequency nominals will be examined in detail: *dihlak* /dīlak/ ‘night’, *dihirbit* ‘morning’ and *mihnik* /miṅik/ ‘bald, evil’. The first two are often used as head noun of a temporal phrase. Temporal phrases differ syntactically from all other types of phrase, because they are not obligatorily preceded by a preposition, even though they are not part of the argument structure of the predicate. They can also be used before the sentence they refer to, which is often introduced by a coordinative conjunction.

Dihlak /dīlak/. This noun also has the less frequent FF *dihlich* /dīlit̤/. When a temporal phrase precedes the rest of the sentence, this could be considered a para-hypotactic construction⁴⁵⁵ due to the coordinative conjunction which introduces the main clause (173),

⁴⁵⁵ About para-hypotactical structures in Chamacoco and Ayoreo, see Bertinetto & Ciucci (2012).

although the latter can be omitted (174). If so, *dihlak* /d̪ɪlak/ necessarily has the function of a predicate and this explains why it is inflected in BF.

- (173) D̪ihlak hn t-ikēra p-uuru-wo, pahnim-ita.
 /d̪ɪl-ak ŋ t-ikēra p-u:ru-wo p-aŋim-ita/
 night-MS.BF CONJ 1S-dream 1S-dream-MP 1S-granddaughter-FS.FF
 ‘At night (lit. it is night and) I dreamed my dreams, my granddaughter.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (174) D̪ihl-ak-e tik-itkēr waa p-ihyã-ta Berna.
 /d̪ɪl-ak-e tik-itkēr wa: p-ijã-ta berna/
 night-MS.BF-EPENT 1S-talk DET.FS 1S-friend-FS.FF Berna
 ‘At night (lit. it is night) I talked to my friend Berna.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

By contrast, when a temporal phrase is at the end of a clause, it should be considered an adjunct and the FF is expected, for it does not express any predicative function. However, the construction in (173) and (174) is preferred (at least with *dihlak*) over those in (175) and (176). This may explain why the BF (176) tends to be used instead of the FF in this context (175) .

- (175) Hn Pedro sh-uu Cornelio ibi-yo o-masaha pwert ehe-t
 /ŋ Pedro ç-u: korneljo ibi-jo o-masaha pwert ehe-t
 CONJ Pedro 3-let Cornelio 3.servant-MP 3P-enter house 3.inside-MS.FF

 par uje o-mu = hu = chis ese d̪ihli-ch.
 par uxe o-mu = hu = t̪çis ese d̪ɪli-t̪ç/
 SUB SUB 3P-sleep = PREP = there that.MS night-MS.FF

‘And peter let Cornelio’s servant enter the house, so that they could sleep there that night.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 537)

- (176) Uje o-t-aach = ñhi wahacha ese dehe-t pehe-t hn
 /uxe o-t-a:t̪ç = ñhi wahat̪ça ese dehe-t pehe-t ŋ/
 SUB P-3-arrive = PREP there that.MS path-MS.FF half-MS.FF CONJ

 o-yehe = chis par o-mu = hu ese d̪ihl-ak.
 /o-jehe = t̪çis par o-mu = hu ese d̪ɪl-ak/
 3P-stop = there SUB 3P-sleep = PREP that.MS night-MS.BF

‘When they arrived there at half of the street, they stopped in order to sleep there that night.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a: 159)

In *dihlak* the replacement of the FF by the BF is expected, because the FF contexts are relatively rare with this particular word. When it works as a genitival modifier, the FF is required. For instance, in (177) *dihlich* ‘night’ is the genitival modifier of *pehet* ‘middle’ in *dihlich pehet* /d̪iɭit̪ɕ pehet/ ‘middle of the night’. The BF of this nominal is never observed in such a function. Note that in this context, since the temporal expression follows the verb, the nominal head is expected to appear in FF. However, the BF is used instead of the FF.

- (177) Ye e-raha-lo kimiji tak-aach=̃hi dihl-ak o kimiji dihli-ch
 /je e-raha-lo kimixi tak-a:t̪ɕ=̃hi d̪iɭ-ak o kimixi d̪iɭi-t̪ɕ
 NEG 2-know-P SUB 1-come=PREP night-MS.BF DISJ whether night-MS.FF
 pehe-t o kimiji d-eey-ch hu-ta o kimiji dihirbi-t.
 pehe-t o kimixi d-e:j-t̪ɕ hu-ta o kimixi dihirbi-t/
 half-MS.FF DISJ whether 3-father-MS.FF 3.head-FS.FF DISJ whether day-MS.FF

‘You don’t know whether I came here at night or in the middle of the night, or at the beginning of the day or in the morning.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 204)

Mihnik /**miɲik**/ ‘bad, evil’. This nominal, chosen due to its frequency of occurrences in the corpus, has the FF *mihnt* /miɲt/ and the BF *mihnik* /miɲik/. The latter is more frequent, because it is very often used as a nominal predicate (178). The FF *mihnt* is only used as an adjectival modifier to agree with the head noun in FF (179). When ‘bad, evil’ is the head of an argumental NP, as in (180), one would expect the FF *mihnt*, yet the BF is more frequently used. Apparently, the more frequent form tends to replace the less used one. *Mihnik* can also be found as adjectival modifier. Note that there is no case in which *mihnt* is used instead of *mihnik*. In (181) it could even be interpreted as a reduced relative, a typical BF context also in Ayoreo.

- (178) P-ij-o yiliji o-hn-iyōr uje mihn-ik.
 /p-ix-o jilixi o-ŋ-ijōr uxe miɲ-ik/
 1S-son-MP never P-3.IRLS-do COMP bad-FS.BF
 ‘My sons never do what is bad.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (179) Kimiji om uje ese kuchi-t mĩhn-t ye
 /kimixi om uxe ese kutɕi-t mĩŋ-t je
 SUB good.[M/F]BF COMP that.MS thing-MS.FF bad-MS.FF NEG
 tĩr yok ich t-ahmur.
 /tĩr jok itɕ t-aŋur/
 3.come 1S CONJ 1S-want

‘If it is good that that bad thing does not come to you, I want it.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 209)

- (180) Atim Porrosht uje a-hakõr mĩhn-ik.
 /a-tim po:ɰoɕt uxe a-hakõr miŋ-ik/
 2S-tell God-MS.FF COMP 2S-do bad-MS.BF

‘Tell God that you did a bad thing.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1998d: 6)

- (181) Yok t-iyokõr kuchi-t mĩhn-ik
 /jok t-ijokõr kutɕi-t miŋ-ik/
 1S 1S-do thing-MS.FF bad-MS.BF

‘I do something bad.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

Dihirbit. In the case of *dihirbit* ‘morning’, the FF predominates over the BF *dihirbak*. In (§13.7.1) it was observed that the FF can be used instead of the BF in the predication, but the BF continues to be preferred in such syntactic function. Thus, the use of *dihirbit* could represent more a general tendency of currently spoken Chamacoco than an exception. As seen above (ex. (173-174)), when the temporal expression precedes the rest of the sentence, the BF is used, as in (182). In this particular example, the BF is *dihirba* rather than *dihirbak*. The FF can also be used in this context (183), but the BF is definitely preferred. Interestingly, however, the same speakers who preferred the BF in (183), produced the examples in (184), where the FF is used, and in (185), where the BF is to be found. When the temporal expression is at the end of the sentence, only the FF is possible according to some informants (cf. (185) with (186)).⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ In *meyo dihirbit* (185), *meyo* /mejo/ comes from Spanish *medio* ‘middle’. The irregular syntactic use of *meyo* depends on the fact that it is a Spanish loan. However, this does not interfere with the choice of the form *dihirbit*.

(182) Yehe dīhīrb-a ich de = chi pwert ebich.
 /jehe dīhīrb-a itç de = tçi pwert ebitç/
 still morning-MS.BF CONJ 3.EXIST = there house in_front_of
 ‘It still morning and he is in front of the house.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(183) a. Dīhīrb-ak hn t-ish owa.
 /dīhīrb-ak ŋ t-iç owa/
 morning-MS-BF CONJ 1S-meet 2S
 ‘It is morning and I meet you.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Dīhīrbi-t hn t-ish owa.
 /dīhīrbi-t ŋ t-iç owa/
 morning-MS-BF CONJ 1S-meet 2S
 ‘It is morning and I meet you.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(184) Dīhīrbi-t = ke ch-imchehe ir; yehe dīhl-ak ich nihi,
 /dīhīrbi-t = ke tç-imtçehe ir jehe dīl-ak itç nihi
 morning-MS-BF = PST 3-prepare 3S still night-MS.BF CONJ 3.wake_up

 nishii ir, ch-imchehe uu ire polash-o.
 niçi: ir tç-imtçehe u: ire polaç-o/
 3.prepare 3S 3-prepare DET.P 3S rattle-MP

‘On the morning he prepared for the day; it is still night and he wakes up, he prepares (lit. he puts himself in order), he prepares his rattles.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(185) Dīhīrb-ak = pa, e-rēt = ihi meyo dīhīrbi-t.
 /dīhīrb-ak = pa e-rēt = ihi mejo dīhīrbi-t/
 morning-MS.BF 2S-come = PREP middle morning-MS.FF
 ‘It is very early in the morning, come here in the middle of the morning.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

(186) *Dīhīrb-ak = pa, e-rēt = ihi meyo dīhīrb-ak.
 /dīhīrb-ak = pa e-rēt = ihi mejo dīhīrb-ak/
 morning-MS.BF = ELAT 2S-come = PREP middle morning-MS.BF
 [It is very early in the morning, come here in the middle of the morning.]
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

§13.7.11 Uses of the indeterminate-form

From a syntactic point of view, the IF is used in non-predicative contexts, that is in the same contexts where also the FF is typically used in all Zamucoan languages. The FF tends to replace the BF in the predicative function, but this is not a typical FF context; in such position, the BF is still preferred. The IF is never found predicatively in positive or negative clauses. From a semantic point of view, the IF is used when there is a non-specific referent. Three cases can be distinguished: (1) The referent exists, or is considered to exist, but is unknown or simply not specified (§13.7.12); (2) There is uncertainty about the existence of the referent (§13.7.13); (3) There is no referent (§13.7.14). Exceptions to the use of the IF are due to contact with Spanish (§13.7.15). Finally, section §13.7.15 deals with the agreement of nominals in IF-marked NPs.

§13.7.12 Existing referents and the indeterminate-form

In (187) the speaker is talking about his grandfather who didn't want the children to play in the river, because there are dangerous animals. The referent of the noun in IF exists, but it is not specified, because there are many animals that could bite or grab people in the river.

(187) Ye n-ahmuru yeēk, teehe, hmarta, lošip-tik t-ehe = chis
 /je n-aṃuru jē:k te:he ṃarta loçip-tik t-ehe = tçis
 NEG 3.IRLS-want someone INTERJ drown animal-MS.IF 3-bite=there

 awi-t uu-t, uu lošhi-tik ch-ichew.
 /awi-t u:-t u: loçi-tik tç-itçew/
 water-MS.FF 3.under-MS.FF DET.MP animal-MP.IF 3-grab

‘He doesn’t want that someone drowns, that an animal bites (someone) under the water, that an animal grabs (someone).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)⁴⁵⁷

In (188-190) the referent of the IF is still unknown at the time of the speech. One could argue that a referent could not even exist in the real world, but the

⁴⁵⁷ Compare this sentence with ex. (152), in which the animal type is identified and called by its name.

point is that the referent exists in the perception of the speaker: in (188) and (189) it is considered inevitable that the subject will find a husband (188) or a wife (189), although his/her identity is still unknown and then remains unspecified. In (190) the addressee is a young woman who does not have children yet, but who will probably have children. In this case, the IF rather than the FF is used before the clitic copula =/ç/.

(188) Deey-ch ye-t nehe nish d-ish l-abi-tik uje itso wichi.
 /de:j-tç je-t nehe niç d-iç l-abi-tik uxe itso witçi/
 day-MS.FF other-MS.FF FUT EPST 3-meet RFL-husband-MS.IF SUB 3.be_like DET.MS
 ‘Someday she will meet a husband who will be like him.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(189) Deey-ch ye-t nehe nish t-ish p-irahata-rāk uje itso wate.
 /de:j-tç je-t nehe niç t-iç p-irahata-rāk uxe itso wate/
 day-MS.IF another-MS.FF FUT EPST 1S-meet 1S-wife-FS.IF SUB 3.be_like DET.FS
 ‘Someday I will meet a wife who will be like her.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(190) Uje eyj-ñr-i = sh, uje òr o-l-ish da-bi-lo, ich
 /uxe e-jx-ñr-i = ç uxe òr o-l-iç da-bi-lo itç
 SUB 2S-son-MP.IF-EPENT = EXIST SUB 3P P-3-meet RFL-illness-MP CONJ
 a-sim òr o-mshi-yo uu erhe pohir.
 a-sim òr o-mçi-jo u: eḡze pohir/
 2S-give 3P GF-medicine-MP DET.P that.P plant.FP

‘When you have children, when they are ill, give them these plants as medicine.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

The IF is also used in direct or indirect interrogative clauses for questions concerning the identity of someone or something, or to ask about something. The nominal is in IF followed by the enclitic =/ihi/. The predication is expressed by the nominal in IF. This is the only case where the IF has predicative value.⁴⁵⁸ (191-192) feature direct questions, while (193-194) feature indirect questions.

(191) a. Hji-ch-tik = ihi?
 /ixi-tç-tik = ihi/
 3.path-MS.MS.FF.IF = INT
 ‘What/which is the path? / What kind of path?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

⁴⁵⁸ The same occurs in Ayoreo.

b. *litikihi?* / *ĩrkikihi?*
 /i:-tik = ihi / *ĩ:rk = ihi/*
 3.name-MS.IF = INT 3.name.MS.IF = INT
 ‘What is his/her name?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(192) ‘*¿Ee-ytik = ihi?*’ ‘*¿Latikpo?*’ ‘*¡Eeych!*’
 /e:-j-tik = ihi / *latikpo* / *e:-j-tɛ*
 2S.name-MS.IF = INT what 2S.name-MS.IF
 ‘*Wichi iich* *otsii* *Luka.*’
witɛi i:tɛ *otsi:* *luka/*
 DET.MS 3S.name-MS.FF 3P.QUOT Luca
 ‘What’s your name?’ ‘What?’ ‘Your name!’ ‘His name is Luca’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

(193) *Entons erze Mar-o ye o-d-iraha = pe*
 /*entons eɾze Mar-o je o-d-iraha = pe*
 then that.P Paraguayan.MP NEG P-3.IRLS-know = NEG
keshi loship-tik = ihi.
keçi loçip-tik = ihi/
 INT animal-MS.IF = INT
 ‘Then the Paraguayan people did not understand what kind of animal it was.’
 (Barboza 1993: 2)

(194) *Sehe d-iraha keshi loşipi-tik = ihi.*
 /*tsehe d-iraha keçi loçipi-tik = ihi/*
 VOL 3.IRLS-know INT animal-MS.IF-INT
 ‘He wants to know which kind of animal it is.’ (Balbuena 1993: 15)

There is another way to use the IF in questions about the referent’s identity. The predicate nominal is in IF followed by the interrogative enclitic =/po/ rather than =/ihi/. The construction with =/po/ is less frequent than the construction with =/ihi/. In (195) one finds examples of direct questions. In (195b-e) both *imatak* and *ilarc* /*ilartɛ*/ mean ‘old’, the latter being far more frequent.

(195) a. Ee-y-tik-i = po?

/e:-j-tik-i = po/

2S.name-MS.IF-EPENT-INT

‘What’s your name?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. ȷDik ilar-tik-i = po? / ȷNak ıla-rã(k-a) = po?

/dik ilar-tik-i = po

nak ıla-rã(k-a) = po/

this.MS old-MS.IF-EPENT = INT

this.FS old-FS.IF-EPENT = INT

‘Who is this old man?’ ‘Who is this old woman?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Nahu ilar-tijo = po? (MP) / Nehi ilēri = po? (FP)

/nahu ilar-tijo = po

nehi ilēri = po/

this.MP old-MP.IF = INT

this.MP old-MP.IF = INT

‘Who are these old guys (men)?’ ‘Who are these old guys (women)?’

(Ciucci, field-notes)

d. Wichi imati-tik-i = po? (MS) / Wate imati-rã(k-a) = po? (FS)

/witç̣i imati-tik-i = po

wate imati-rã(k-a) = po/

DET.MS old-MS.IF-EPENT = INT

DET.FS old-FS.IF-EPENT = INT

‘Who is this old guys (man)?’ ‘Who is this old guy (woman)?’

(Ciucci, field-notes)

e. Wir imati-tiyo = po? (MP) / Wir imat-ĩr = po? (FP)

/wir imati-tijo = po

wir imat-ĩr = po/

DET.P old-MP.IF = INT

DET.P old-FP.IF = INT

‘Who are these old guys? (men)’ ‘Who are these old guys? (women)’

(Ciucci, field-notes)

In (196) and (197) one finds examples of indirect interrogative clauses with IF and =/po/. In (197) the interrogative pronoun *otik* is used with =/iḥi/ (*ye tikiraha otikihichis* /*je tikiraha otikihitç̣is*/) and the singular IF *loshipitik* /*loçipitik*/ is followed by both =/iḥi/ and =/po/.

(196) Sehe d-iraha yeẽk = po iḥi awi-t.

/tsehe d-iraha jẽ:k = po iḥi awi-t/

VOL 3.IRLS-know other.MS.IF = INT 3.drink water-MS.IF

‘He wants to know who drinks the water.’ (Balbuena 1993: 13)

(197) “Kuch-ẽrk yehe tirẽt. Ich ye tik-iraha otikihichis.

/kutç̣-ẽrk jehe tirẽt itç̣ je tik-iraha otik = iḥi = tç̣is

thing-MS.IF now 3.come CONJ NEG 1S-know IGNOR.MS = PREP = there

Nos wir loship-o nos tik-iraha.” Sole: “Hn liki
 /nos wir loçip-o nos tik-iraha tsole n liki
 all DET.P animal-MP all 1S-know QUOT CONJ this.MS
 nohmira shi ye tik-iraha petik keshi loshipi-tik-ihî = po.”
 /noḡira çî je tik-iraha petik keçi loçipi-tik-ihî = po/
 one.[M/F].BF only NEG 1S-know at_all INT animal-MS.IF-INT=INT

“‘Something is going here. I don’t know what kind of thing it is there. I know all animals” He said: “I don’t know at all what kind of animal this one is.”’ (Balbuena 1993: 15)

§13.7.13 Uncertainty about the existence of a referent

The IF can be used for questions concerning the existence of a given referent. The nominal inflected in IF is the subject of the verbal copula *chihî* /*ṭçihî*/ (the irrealis of *de*). The same construction has an existential meaning as well as a possessive meaning when the possessor is expressed (198a-c).

- (198) a. ḡL-ati-rāk chihî?
 /l-ati-rāk ṭçihî/
 3-mother-FS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS
 ‘Is there his/her mother?’ ‘Does he/she have a mother?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. ḡL-ey-tik chihî?
 /l-ey-tik ṭçihî/
 3-father-FS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS
 ‘Is there his/her father?’ ‘Does he/she have a father?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. Abi-tik chihî?
 /abi-tik ṭçihî/
 3.husband-MS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS
 ‘Is there your/her husband?’ ‘Do you have a husband?’ (Ciucci, field notes)
- d. Je o-bi-tik chihî?
 /xe o-bi-tik ṭçihî/
 INT GF-job-MS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS
 ‘Is there a job?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

Sometimes the FF is also to be found in this context (199), although the IF

is more frequent. In (200) both FF and IF can be used, although the IF is preferred. In (200b,c) *de* is used instead of *chihi* /*t̥ɕihi*/. In some cases the realis *de* is used instead of its irrealis counterpart, but not vice versa. However, *chihi* /*t̥ɕihi*/ is preferred over *de* in this context.

(199) a. Je pohnuu eyhi chihi ire?
 /xe poŋu: ejhi t̥ɕihi ire/
 INT gun.FP seed.FP 3.EXIST.IRLS 3S
 ‘Are there bullets (lit. seeds of gun) inside his body?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Je hutɪ-ta ya-ta chihi par t-ēt ishɪr ahwos-o?
 /xe hutɪ-ta ja-ta t̥ɕihi par t-ēt ɪçɪr aʷos-o/
 INT book-FS.FF other.FS 3.EXIST.IRLS SUB 1S-copy Chamacoco.MP 3.word-MP
 ‘Is there another (exercise) book to write (lit. copy) in Chamacoco?’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

(200) a. Je kuch-ēr̄k chihi poōrc?
 /xe kut̥ɕ-ēr̄k t̥ɕihi pō:rt̥ɕ/
 INT thing-MS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS above
 ‘Is there anything above?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Je kuch-ēr̄k de poōrc?
 /xe kut̥ɕ-ēr̄k de pō:rt̥ɕ/
 INT thing-MS.IF 3.EXIST above
 ‘Is there anything above?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Je kuchi-t chihi poōrc?
 /xe kut̥ɕi-t t̥ɕihi pō:rt̥ɕ/
 INT thing-MS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS above
 ‘Is there anything above?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

d. Je kuchi-t de poōrc?
 /xe kut̥ɕi-t de pō:rt̥ɕ/
 INT thing-MS.IF 3.EXIST above
 ‘Is there anything above?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§13.7.14 Lack of referent

The IF is also used to state that a given referent does not exist. It is usually preceded by the negation and followed by the enclitic copula =/ç/. This is the negation of the existential/possessive construction seen above. Note that nominals followed by =/ç/ appear in FF in affirmative and in IF in negative clauses, as one can see in the following examples.

- (201) Yok p-iyěrp-ta = sh. Ye p-iyěrp-rã = sh.
 /jok p-ijěrp-ta = ç je p-ijěrp-rã = ç/
 1S 1S-shirt-FS.FF = EXIST NEG 1S-shirt-FS.IF = EXIST
 ‘There is my shirt / I have a shirt.’ ‘There is no my shirt / I do not have any/my shirt.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (202) Ehni ye p-ijĩr = sh, ich t-ishew wir uu mam akili-ye.
 /eñi je p-ix-ĩr = ç itç t-içew wir u: mam akili-je/
 SUB NEG 1S-son-MP.IF = EXIST CONJ 1S-grab DET.P DET.P 1S.mother 3.advice-MP
 ‘When I didn’t have children, I paid attention to my mother’s advice.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (203) Ye eyuw-ĩr = sh heke a-pook.
 /je ejuw-ĩr = ç heke a-po:k/
 NEG 3.thought-MP.IF = EXIST for_this 2S-be_ashamed
 ‘You don’t think (lit. you do not have thoughts), for this you are ashamed.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (204) Umo wate mĩntan-(ta), uje ye vidrĩr-ĩr = sh.
 /umo wate mĩntan-(ta) uxe je bidrĩr-ĩr = ç/
 3.see DET.FS window(-FS.FF) SUB NEG glas-MP.IF = EXIST
 ‘He saw that window, which was without glass.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

When the existential copula =/ç/ is used in an interrogative clause, the subject NP generally appears in FF rather than in IF, as one can see in (205a), where the plural (common to BF and FF) is used. The use of the IF in the same context is not accepted (205b). The IF is only used with the clitic =/ç/ under negation: a negative question, for instance, requires the IF (205c).

(205) a. Owa, je aab-o = sh? Yok p-aab-o = sh.
 /owa xe a:b-o = ɸ jok p-a:b-o = ɸ/
 2S INT 2S.child-MP = EXIST 1S 1S-child-MP = EXIST
 ‘Do you have children? I have children.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. *_ɔOwa, je aab-ĩr = sh?
 /owa xe a:b-ĩr = ɸ/
 2S INT 2S.child-MP.IF = EXIST
 [Do you have children?] (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. _ɔJe ye aab-ĩr = sh?
 /xe je a:b-ĩr = ɸ/
 INT NEG 2S.child-MP.IF = EXIST
 ‘Do you have children?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§13.7.15 Exceptions in the use of the indeterminate-form

Although the use of the IF usually follows the above described rules, sometimes it doesn't occur where expected. This has mostly been noted in the plural and in cases where the IF is not semantically indispensable. One may wonder whether it depends on final-syllable reduction or on linguistic contact with Spanish. In this respect, example (206), from spontaneous speech text, is particularly interesting: the last three nominals (*oposo*, *nihyokot* /*nijokot*/, *yukich* /*jukitɕ*/) do not appear in IF, even though it is a typical “IF context”. Here the negation is not *ye*, but the Spanish loan *naa* /*na:*/ (from Spanish *no*) and the negative coordinator is *hnü* /*ni:*/ (from Spanish *ni*). Note also that *yukich* /*jukitɕ*/ appears in FF at the end of the sentence, but at the beginning it is in plural IF. However, despite these examples, the IF is still vital and generally used in its typical contexts of use.

(206) Ye d-oho yuk-ĩr = pe, ye t-aak = po = pe. Nĩhyok
 /je d-oho juk-ĩr = pe je t-ak = po = pe nĩjok
 NEG 3.IRLS-drink alcoholic_drink-MP.IF = NEG NEG 3-eat = again = NEG NEG.EXIST

naa	o-pos-o,	hnii	nihyokot,	hnii	yuki-ch.
na:	o-pos-o	ɲi:	nijokot	ɲi:	juki-tɕ/
NEG	GF-food-MP	CONJ.NEG	water	CONJ.NEG	alcoholic_drink-MS.FF

‘He does not drink alcoholic drinks, he does not eat; there is neither food, nor water, nor alcohol’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§13.7.16 Noun phrase marking: agreement with the indeterminate-form

In the previous examples the IF appears in noun phrases without postmodifiers. As seen in §13.7.2, in the case of BF and FF, the adjectival modifier usually agrees in form with the head noun. With the IF, things tend to be different, because only the last nominal of the NP generally appears in IF. In (207-208) there are examples of NP in masculine and feminine IF, respectively. The IF is usually only marked on the last nominal of the NP, while the preceding elements appear in FF. Two other examples are in (209-210). Note that the head noun and the postmodifier(s) agree in gender and number, even though they do not agree in form.

- (207) a. Ye hnakirb-ich pish-tik-i = sh.
 /je ɲakirb-itɕ piɕ-tik-i = ɕ/
 NEG man-MS.FF ELAT-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘There are no real men.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. Ye hnakirb-o pish-ĩr = sh.
 /je ɲakirb-o piɕ-ĩr = ɕ/
 NEG man-MP ELAT.MP.IF = EXIST
 ‘There are no real men.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (208) a. Ye timchar-rza pish-i-rã = sh.
 /je timtɕaɭ-ɭa piɕ-i-rã = ɕ
 NEG woman-FS.FF ELAT-EPENT-FS.IF = EXIST
 ‘There is no real woman.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. Ye timchar-rza pish-i-rãk-a = sh.
 /je timtɕaɭ-ɭa piɕ-i-rãk-a = ɕ/
 NEG woman-FS.FF ELAT-EPENT-FS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘There is no real woman.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Ye timchar-rza pishitãk-a = sh.
 /je timtɕaɽ-ɽa piɕ-i-tãk-a = ɕ/
 NEG woman-FS.FF ELAT-EPENT-FS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘There is no real woman.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

d. Ye timcher pish-ĩr = sh.
 /je timtɕer piɕ-ĩr = ɕ/
 NEG woman.FP ELAT-MP.IF = EXIST
 ‘There are no real women.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(209) Shi o-ts-akaha wahacha pork ye owi-ch ye-tik-i = sh.
 /ɕi o-ts-akaha wahatɕa pork je owi-tɕ je-tik-i = ɕ/
 DUR P-3-remain there because NEG 3.place-MS.FF other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘They remained there, because there was not another place.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 232)

(210) Nĩhyok ye owi-ch kinehẽ-tik-i = sh.
 /nĩjok je owi-tɕ kinehẽ-tik-i = ɕ/
 NEG.EXIST NEG 3.place-MS.FF different-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘There is not a different place.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 842)

In (211) the final element of the NP obligatorily appears in IF, while the first, which in this case is the head noun, can appear in FF (211a) or in IF (211b). The latter possibility is accepted, but the FF is preferred on the non-final elements of the NP, as one can see in (212a) and (212b), where there is a variant of the NP *owich kinehẽtik* /owitɕ kinehẽtik/ shown in example (210). The same alternation is to be observed in (213), where the head noun is feminine. In (213a) *hutita yinak* /hutita yinak/ appears to be the preferred configuration, but (213b) is also possible. The final element of the phrase must appear in IF. The head noun cannot appear in IF if the final element of the NP does not appear in IF too (213c).

(211) a. Deeych yeẽk hn tak-ãha.
 /de:j-tɕ jẽ:k ŋ tak-ãha/
 day.MS.FF other.MS.IF CONJ 1S-go
 ‘I will go another day.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Deey-ch-tik yeĕk hn takāha.
 /dej-tɕ-tik jĕ:k ŋ tak-āha/
 day.MS.MS-FF.IF other.MS.IF CONJ 1S-go
 ‘I will go another day.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(212) a. Owi-ch-tik ye-tik-i = sh.
 /owi-tɕ-tik je-tik-i = ɕ/
 3.place-MS.MS-FF.IF other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘Another place.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Owi-tik ye-tik-i = sh.
 /owi-tik je.tik-i = ɕ/
 3.place-MS.IF other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘Another place.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Owi-tik kihnehĕ-tik-i = sh.
 /owi-tik kiŋehĕ-tik-i = ɕ/
 3.place-MS.IF different-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST
 ‘Another place.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(213) a. Je hutĭ-ta yinak chihi par t-ĕet ishĭr ahwos-o?
 /xe hutĭ-ta jinak tɕihi par t-ĕ:t iɕĭr aɣos-o/
 INT book-FS.FF other.FS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS SUB 1S-copy Chamacoco.MP 3.word-MP
 ‘Is there an (exercise) book to write in Chamacoco?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Je hutĭ-rāk yinak chihi par t-ĕet ishĭr ahwos-o?
 /xe hutĭ-rāk jinak tɕihi par t-ĕ:t iɕĭr aɣos-o/
 INT book-FS.IF other.FS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS SUB 1S-copy Chamacoco.MP 3.word-MP
 ‘Is there an (exercise) book to write in Chamacoco?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. *Je hutĭ-rāk ya-ta chihi par t-ĕet ishĭr ahwos-o?
 /xe hutĭ-rāk ja-ta tɕihi par t-ĕ:t iɕĭr aɣos-o/
 INT book-FS.IF other.FS.FF 3.EXIST.IRLS SUB 1S-copy Chamacoco.MP 3.word-MP
 [Is there an (exercise) book to write in Chamacoco?] (Ciucci, field-notes)

Final-syllable reduction can occur on the NP in IF (214). In (215) the head noun of the phrase *iluuta kihnahĭrāk* /ilu:ta kiŋahĭrāk/ consists of the root. In (216) one finds all possible configurations of the phrase inflected in singular IF. The first element consists of the root (216c), but cannot coincide with the plural (216d).

- (214) Ye yok hutì-t wìhi-rā = sh.
 /je jok hutì-t wìhi-rā = ç/
 NEG 1S book-FS.FF red-FS.IF = EXIST

‘I do not have any red book.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (215) ¿Je ìluu kinahi-rāk chíhi par ishi yok hnítew = ìhi Porrosh-t?
 /xe ìlu:ʔ kinahi-rāk tçihi par içi jok nítew = ìhi po:μoç-t/
 INT 3.way different-FS.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS SUB 3.pay 1S debt.FP = PREP God-MS.FF

‘Is there another way to pay my debts with God?’

(adapted from: Ulrich & Ulrich 1998d: 3)

- (216) a. Hluu-ta kìhnahi-rāk.
 /ìlu:ta kìṇahi-rāk/
 3.way-FS.FF different-FS.IF
 ‘Different way.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- b. Hluu-rāk kìhnahi-rāk.
 /ìlu:rāk kìṇahi-rāk/
 3.way-FS.IF different-FS.IF
 ‘Different way.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- c. Hluuʔ kìhnahi-rāk.
 /ìlu:ʔ kìṇahi-rāk/
 3.way-FS.BF different-FS.IF
 ‘Different way.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- d. *Hluu kìhnahi-rāk.
 /ìlu: kìṇahi-rāk/
 3.way-FP different-FS.IF
 [‘Different way.’] (Ciucci, field-notes)

In (216) the root of *ìluuta* /ìlu:ta/ coincides with the BF, but this does not mean that the BF can appear on the head noun when the adjectival modifier is inflected in IF. In (217) one finds possible and impossible configurations of the phrase *loshipit yetik* /loçipit jetik/ in the clause ‘there is no other animal to eat’. In this context the IF is obligatory and has to be marked on the last element, otherwise the clause is ungrammatical, as in (217d-e). The head noun can consist of the root, but cannot appear in BF (217f), which in this case is

different from the root.

- (217) a. Ye loşipi-t ye-tik-i = sh par y-ahu.
 /je loçipi-t je-tik-i = ç par j-ahu/
 NEG animal-MS.FF other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST SUB 1PI-eat
 ‘There is no other animal to eat.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- b. Ye loşip-tik ye-tik-i = sh par y-ahu.
 /je loçip-tik je-tik-i = ç par j-ahu/
 NEG animal-MS.FF other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST SUB 1PI-eat
 ‘There is no other animal to eat.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- c. Ye loşip yetik-i = sh par y-ahu.
 /je loçip je-tik-i = ç par j-ahu/
 NEG animal other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST SUB 1PI-eat
 ‘There is no other animal to eat.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)
- d. *Ye loşip-tik yet par y-ahu.
 /je loçip-tik jet par j-ahu/
 NEG animal-MS.IF other-MS.FF SUB 1PI-eat
 [There is no other animal to eat.] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- e. *Ye loşipi-t yet-i = sh par y-ahu.
 /je loçipi-t jet-i = ç par j-ahu/
 NEG animal-MS.FF other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST SUB 1PI-eat
 [There is no other animal to eat.] (Ciucci, field-notes)
- f. *Ye loşipi-k ye-tik-i = sh par y-ahu.
 /je loçipi-k je-tik-i = ç par j-ahu/
 NEG animal-MS.BF other-MS.IF-EPENT = EXIST SUB 1PI-eat
 [There is no other animal to eat.] (Ciucci, field-notes)

In some cases the adjectival modifier cannot be inflected or cannot inflect for IF. The irregular nominal *yet* /jet/ ‘other’, for instance, can only appear in IF if the noun it refers to is animate. The use of *yet* /jet/ in IF after an inanimate entity is not considered correct by the speakers (218a). In this case, the preceding element of the phrase appears in IF and *yet* /jet/ is inflected in FF (218b,d). Note that in this context the IF is not obligatory (218c).

(218) a. * Je o-pos-tiyo yēriyo chíhi?
 /xe o-pos-tijo jērijo t̥íhi/
 INT GF-food-MP.IF other.MP.IF 3.EXIST.IRLS
 [Is there other food?] (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Je opos-tiyo / o-pos-ĩr ye-wo chíhi?
 /xe o-pos-tijo o-pos-ĩr je-wo t̥íhi/
 INT GF-food-MP.IF GF-food-MP.IF other-MP 3.EXIST.IRLS
 ‘Is there other food?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

c. Je o-pos-o / o-pos-ĩr ye-wo chíhi?
 /xe o-pos-o o-pos-ĩr je-wo t̥íhi/
 INT GF-food-MP.IF GF-food-MP.IF other-MP 3.EXIST.IRLS
 ‘Is there other food?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

d. Je hut-ĩr yēre chíhi par t-ēet ishír ahwos-o?
 /xe hut-ĩr jēre t̥íhi par t-ēt içír aᵛos-o/
 INT book-FS.IF other.FP 3.EXIST.IRLS SUB 1S-copy Chamacoco.MP 3.word-MP
 ‘Is there an (exercise) book to write in Chamacoco?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

Otik is a pronoun or adjectival modifier with only IF inflection. When it behaves as an adjectival modifier, its function and meaning are equivalent to that of an IF suffix, although it is syntactically the last nominal of the NP, so that the head noun generally appears in FF (219-221).

(219) Yok abuel n-ahmur Baa-ch otik ich = ni
 /jok abwel n-aᵻmur Ba:-t̥ç otik it̥ç = ni/
 1S grandmother 3.IRLS-love Paraguayan.MS.FF IGNOR.MS CONJ = PST
 entonse papa t-ãra
 /entonse papa t-ãra/
 then 1S.father 3-come

‘My grandmother fell in love with an unknown Paraguayan, and then my father was born.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(220) Entons esee = kite ye oy-iraha = pe ese loshipi-t otik
 /entons ese: = kite je oj-iraha = pe ese loçipi-t otik
 then DM = PST NEG 1PE-know = NEG that.MS animal-MS.FF IGNOR.MS

je s-eem ire ich hno yaka.
 xe ts-e:m ire itɕ ɲo jaka/
 COMP 3-move_up 3S CONJ 3.go 3.sink

‘And then we didn’t know what was this animal (lit. this unknown animal) that moved up and down (through the water).’ (Barbosa 1993: 2)

(221) a. Ye tik-iraha hutɪ-ta otĩrak.
 /je tik-iraha hutɪ-ta otĩ-rak/
 NEG 1S-know book-FS.FF IGNOR.FS
 ‘I do not know what book.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

b. Ye tik-iraha hutĩ-rak.
 /je tik-iraha hutĩ-rak/
 NEG 1S-know book-FS.IF
 ‘I do not know what book.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

The preferred structure of the IF-marked NP in Chamacoco reminds that of Ayoreo (see §12.6) and Ancient Zamuco (see §14.1), where only the final element of the NP carries the morphological information concerning number and form, while all preceding elements appear in singular BF. In Chamacoco, when the NP appears in IF, all elements agree in gender and number, but in the preferred configuration only the last element carries the relevant morphological information concerning the form (cf. §13.7.9). Thus, only the last element marks the IF, while all preceding ones appear in FF.

§13.8 The inflection of the possessive classifier *uhut*

As noted in (§10.9), the possessive classifier *uhut* agrees in gender, number and form with the possessee. The inflection follows the same rules described in (§13.1).

(222) uhut (3.MS.FF) uho (3.MP) / uhu (3.[M/F]P)
 uhu² (3.[M/F]S.BF)

 uhuta (3.FS.FF) uhu (3.[M/F]P)
 uhu² (3.[M/F]S.BF)

The singular BF is epicene. The singular FF takes the masculine suffix *-/t/* in the masculine and the feminine *-/ta/*. The plural *uhu*, which differs from the BF due to the lack of final glottal stop, is epicene. The masculine also presents the alternative plural *uho*, where the suffix *-/o/* overwrites */u/* (*/uhu/- + -/o/ = uho*).

In (223) *uhut* agrees with the possessee in BF. In (224) and (225), both *uhut* and the possessee are in FF, while in the subsequent examples *uhut* is used in MP (225-226) and FP (227).

- (223) P-*uhu*[?] *hnakirap / uhu*[?] *hnakirap*.
 /*p-uhu*[?] *ṅakirap uhu*[?] *ṅakirap/*
 1S-PCL_fellow-MS.BF man.MS.BF 2S.PCL_fellow-MS.BF man.MS.BF
 ‘He is my companion / you are my companion (male).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (224) Yok *tuk-umo p-uhu-t* *ilar-c*.
 /*jok tuk-umo p-uhu-t* *ilar-tɕ/*
 1S 1S-see 1S-PCL_fellow-MS.FF old-MS.FF
 ‘I see my old companion.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (225) Yok *tuk-umo p-uhu-t* *hnakirb-ich / p-uho* *hnakirb-o*.
 /*jok tuk-umo p-uhu-t* *ṅakirb-itɕ p-uho* *ṅakirb-o/*
 1S 1S-see 1S-PCL_fellow-MS.FF man-MS.FF 1S-PCL_fellow man-MP
 ‘I see my companion / my companions (male).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (226) Yok *tak-aha t-iṯr kwela hōr p-uhu* *hnakirb-o*.
 /*jok tak-aha t-iṯr kwela hōr p-uhu* *ṅakirb-o/*
 1S 1S-go 1S-go_to school with 1S-PCL_fellow.MP man-MP
 ‘I go to the school with my companions (male).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (227) Owa *bu e-tṯr kwela hōr uhu* *timcher*.
 /*owa bu e-tṯr kwela hōr uhu* *timtɕer/*
 2S 2S.go 2S.go_to school with 2S.PCL_fellow-FP woman.FP
 ‘You go to the school with your companions (female).’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§13.9 Chamacoco numerals

This section describes the Chamacoco numeral system. Section §13.9.1 deals with the use of numerals in distributive expressions. The number ‘one’ *nohmira* /noḡmira/ has a rich inflection, whose FF, BF and IF are addressed in §13.9.2. Section §13.9.3 deals with the diminutive of *nohmira* /noḡmira/, which also has some inflected forms not to be found in the other nominals (§13.9.4). Finally, Chamacoco numerals are compared with AY and A.Z numerals (§13.9.5).

The CH numerals are morphology-wise nominals which follow the noun they refer to (229). The original CH numeral system is now reduced to the number ‘one’ (*sohmira* /tsoḡmira/ or *nohmira* /noḡmira/) and ‘two’ (*osiyer* /osijer/). Only these numbers have inflection; the forms above are the unmarked ones used to count.

- (228) Nohmira hn nohmira ich osiyer.
 /noḡmira ḡ noḡmira itç osijer/
 one.[M/F]S.BF CONJ one.[M/F]S.BF EMPH two.M
 ‘One and one is two.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 110)

Nowadays, CH speakers only use Spanish numbers for every number higher than two.

- (229) O-shim õryok o-terp-e sey.
 /o-çim õrjok o-terp-e sej/
 3P-give 1PE GF-pant-MP six
 ‘They gave us six pairs of pants.’ (adapted from: Balbuena 1991: 12)

- (230) Simon d-eshib-o o-de õr sinko hn n-anim-e õr tre.
 /simon d-eçib-o o-de õr sinko ḡ n-anim-e õr tre/
 Simon 3-brother-MP 3P-EXIST 3P five CONJ 3-sister-FP 3P three
 ‘Simon has five brothers and three sisters.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1991: 88)

Only old people remember the original numeral system, which is very similar to the one reported in Baldus (1932: 394).⁴⁵⁹ Apart from the still surviving *sohmira* /tsoḡmira/ and *osiyer* /osijer/, numbers higher than two were

⁴⁵⁹ Unfortunately Baldus only offers complete data for Tumarãho.

formed by the combination of three possible elements: *toho* ‘one’, *arĩ* ‘two’ or *sharĩ /çarĩ/* ‘two’. The numeral system was thus based on the addition of ‘two’ and ‘one’. For instance, ‘three’ was *arĩ toho* (literally ‘two-one’); ‘four’ was *arĩ sharĩ /arĩ çarĩ/* (literally ‘two-two’). The latter elements presuppose a rigid order: *arĩ* ‘two’ is only used at the beginning of the series, in all other cases *sharĩ /çarĩ/* is used. If the number is odd, the last element is obligatorily *toho* ‘one’. In (231) the original numeral system is reported. (232) is an example from an elderly speaker.

- (231) *tsoṃĩra / noṃĩra* ‘one’
osijer ‘two’
arĩ toho ‘three’
arĩ çarĩ ‘four’
arĩ çarĩ toho ‘five’
arĩ çarĩ çarĩ ‘six’
arĩ çarĩ çarĩ toho ‘seven’
arĩ çarĩ çarĩ çarĩ ‘eight’
arĩ çarĩ çarĩ çarĩ toho ‘nine’

- (232) *Oshaa = ki arĩ, sharĩ, toho kotsĩrbo = ko ich too: “Èhe, nisht!”.*
/o-ça: = ki arĩ çarĩ toho kotsĩrbo = ko itç to: èhe niçt/
 3P-give = PST two two one 3.bag-MP = PST CONJ 1S.QUOT yes enough
 ‘They give me five (lit. two, two, one) bags and I say: “Ok, that’s enough!”.’
 (Gonzales *et al.* 1999: 13)

§13.9.1 Distributive expressions

Numerals and adjectives can be duplicated in order to indicate the distribution of a certain quantity in equivalent sets: *nohmĩr nohmĩr /noṃĩr/* ‘one by one’ (233), *osiyer osiyer /osijer osijer/* ‘two by two’ (234). In this context, for ‘one’ and ‘two’ only the forms *nohmĩr /noṃĩr/* (or *sohmĩr /tsoṃĩr/*) and *osiyer /osijer/* are to be found. *Nohmĩr /noṃĩr/* is supposedly the pure root or a reduced form of *nohmĩra /noṃĩra/*.

- (233) Ese ir ɪbi-ch nos t-ɪbii nohm̩r nohm̩r erze uje õr
 /ese ir ɪbi-tɕ nos t-ɪbi: nom̩r nom̩r eɾze uxe õr
 that.MS 3P 3.servant-MS.FF all 3-call one one that.P SUB 3P
- hn̩tew de ir y-ins̩r-c.
 n̩tew de ir j-ins̩r-tɕ/
 debt.MP 3.EXIST 3S 3-employer-MS.FF

‘This servant called one by one all those who had debts with his employer.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000a: 323)

- (234) Erze loş̩p-o uje masaha ehe-t sh̩ ɪteẽt-ak
 /eɾze loɕ̩p-o uxe masaha ehe-t ɕ̩ ɪtẽ:t-ak
 that.P animal-MP SUB 3.enter 3.inside-MS.FF DUR male-MS.BF
- hn timchar osiyer osiyer.
 n̩ timtɕar² osijer osijer/
 CONJ woman.FS.BF two.M two.M

‘These animals that entered inside [the boat] were male and female, two by two.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a: 20)

§13.9.2 Nohm̩ra /nom̩ra/

Nohm̩ra /nom̩ra/ (or *sohm̩ra* /tsohm̩ra/) ‘one’ has a rich paradigm, including some derived forms. Both *sohm̩ra* and *nohm̩ra* are equivalent: they only differ in the first consonant. The alternation between /ts/ and /n/ is free in this context (Ulrich and Ulrich 2000b: 11). The same is true for any form related to *sohm̩ra* / *nohm̩ra*.⁴⁶⁰ The inflection of *nohm̩ra* and its derived forms is provided in (235).⁴⁶¹

- (235) a. nom̩ra ([M/F]S.BF), nom̩t (MS.FF), nom̩ata (FS.FF) ‘one; only one, alone’

⁴⁶⁰ In my corpus, the forms beginning with /n/ have more occurrences. For this reason, in the prosecution of this paragraph I will indicate the forms beginning with /n/-, also referring to the forms beginning with /ts/-.

⁴⁶¹ Ulrich & Ulrich (1990d: 59-63) collected many examples on the use of these forms, in order to begin a systematic analysis of them. Nevertheless, they did not complete their grammatical studies and only listed these forms in a table in Ulrich & Ulrich (2000b: 11) without any further systematization.

- b. *tsom̩iro* (MP), *som̩ire* ([M/F]P) ‘some’
- c. *nom̩ira:p* ([M/F]S.BF.DIM), *nom̩ira:mit* (MS.FF.DIM), *nom̩ira:mita* (FS.FF.DIM) ‘one’
- d. *nom̩ira:mo* (MP.DIM), *nom̩ire:me* (FP.DIM) ‘some’
- e. *nom̩ir̩çiro* (MP), *nom̩ir̩çire* ([M/F]P) ‘only a few’
- f. *nom̩ir̩çira:mo* (MP.DIM), *nom̩ir̩çire:me* (MP.DIM) ‘only a few’

There is a distinction between BF and FF. *Nohm̩ira* is epicene: the FFs are *nohmet* /*no̩met*/ (236) for masculine and *nohmata* /*no̩mata*/ for feminine (235a). *Nohm̩ira* is also used to mean the ‘only one’ or ‘alone’, as in (237), where the BF is used for secondary predication (i.e. small clauses).

- (236) ‘Sēhe tapuru owa jamun, nam.’ ‘Ēhe, tok-osim nohme-t par owa.’
 /tsēhe t-apuru owa xamun nam ēhe tok-osim no̩me-t par owa/
 VOL 1S 2S soap my_sister yes 1S-give one.MS.FF for 2S
 ‘I want ask you the soap, my sister.’ ‘Yes, I’ll give you one for you.’
 (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (237) Ye n-ahm̩uru l-akahachis shi sohm̩ira = pe.
 /je n-am̩uru l-akahat̩çis ç̩i som̩ira = pe/
 NEG 3.IRLS-love 3.IRLS-remain DUR one.[M/F]S.BF = NEG
 ‘He didn’t like to remain there alone.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 24)

Nohm̩ira also has two plural forms referring to few elements: *sohm̩iro* /*tsom̩iro*/ ‘some’ (MP) (238) or *sohm̩ire* /*tsom̩ire*/ ‘some’ ([M/F]P) (239). The latter is epicene. In the plural, there is no contrast between BF and FF.

- (238) Ōr ihyu-wo nom̩ir-o de wahacha.
 /ōr iju-wo nom̩ir-o de wahat̩ça/
 3P 3.house-MP one-MP 3.EXIST there
 ‘There are some houses there.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 60)

- (239) Pop-i nohm̩ir-e de wahacha.
 /pop-̩i nom̩ir-e de wahat̩ça/
 surub̩í_fish-FP one-FP 3.EXIST there
 ‘Some female of surub̩í fish are there.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 60)

For *nohm̩ira* and its derived forms the IF is also available (240).⁴⁶² In this example, the speaker uses the singular IF to underline the impossibility that

⁴⁶² For reasons of simplicity, the IFs have not been indicated in (235).

any of them could eat anything dangerous.

- (240) Kēhe eyok nohme-tik t-ew, ich nos y-ahu, per y-itil-lo.
 /kēhe ejok noḡme-tik t-ew itḡ nos j-ahu per j-itil-lo/
 SUB 1PI one-MS.FF 3-eat CONJ all 1PI-eat but 1PI-be_afraid-GP
 ‘If one of us ate (it), we all would eat (it) but we are afraid.’
 (adapted from: Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 62)

§13.9.3 Diminutive forms of *nohmira*

Diminutive forms are obtained by adding the suffix *-/a:p/* to *nohmira* /*noḡmira*/. The use of such forms is related to the pragmatic context and can indicate endearment (241-243) or attenuation (17).

- (241) Sehe t-uu e-ychim p-iji-t. Shi nohmir-aap.
 /tsehe t-u: e-jtḡim p-ixi-t ḡi noḡmir-a:p/
 VOL 1S-make 2S-see 1S-son-MS.FF only one-DIM.[M/F]S.BF
 ‘I want you to see my son. He is the only one.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 282)

- (242) Hnoy sh-uu Prinsesa_Blanka t-ekir = ihi hmont ehe-t
 /ḡoj ḡ-u: prinsesa_blanka t-ekir = ihi ḡont ehe-t
 3.bring 3-make Snow_White 3.walk = PREP wood 3.inside-MS.FF
 hn iim = ihi = chis. Wate shi nohmir-aap.
 ḡ iim = ihi = tḡis wate ḡi noḡmir-a:p/
 CONJ 3.leave = PREP = there DET.FS only one-DIM.[M/F]S.BF

‘He brought (Snow White) and make (Snow White) walk into the wood and he abandoned her there. she remained alone.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1995: 31)

- (243) Ye arhāk wich = pe ese e-yji-t nohmir-aam-it.
 /je aḡāk witḡ = pe ese e-jxi-t noḡmir-a:m-it/
 NEG 2S.spare DET = NEG that.MS 2S-son-MS.FF one-DIM-MS.FF
 ‘You didn’t spare your only son.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a: 68)

- (244) Lika ḡr ihyu-wo nohmir-aam-o.
 /lika ḡr iju-wo noḡmir-a:m-o/
 here 3P 3.house-MP one-DIM-MP
 ‘There are some houses here.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 100)

§13.9.4 Other derived forms of *nohmira*

The plurals of *nohmira* /noḡira/ yield other derived forms, used to indicate that there are only a few entities, usually less than the speaker's expectation (245-247). These forms probably resulted from fusion with the adverb *shi* /çi/ 'only'. As in *nohmīro* /noḡiro/ and *nohmīre* /noḡire/ 'some' the MP is *nohmīrshiro* /noḡirçiro/, while *nohmīrshire* /noḡirçire/ is epicene. These forms also have a diminutive (*nohmīrshiraamo* /noḡirçira:mo/ (MP) and *nohmīrshireeme* /noḡirçire:me/ (FP)) with the same uses as the diminutive of *nohmira* /noḡira/ (248-249). These forms are not to be observed in the other Zamucoan languages and are semantically reminiscent of the grammatical category of frustrative, widespread in Tupí-Guaraní languages and other Amazonian languages (see Dietrich 2006).

- (245) E-yuhu o-pos-o nohmīrshir-o.
 /e-juhu o-pos-o noḡirçir-o/
 2S-remove GF-food-MP only_one-MP
 'Remove only a bit of food.' (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 61)
- (246) Juan sh-iyeru kabater-o shi s-huu nohmīrshir-o.
 /xwan ç-ijeru kabater-o çi ç-u: noḡirçir-o/
 John 3-catch pacu-fish-MO only 3-make only_one-MP
 'John caught pacu fish but only a few.' (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 62)
- (247) Wichi ch-iyuhu mantij-o nohmīrshir-e.
 /witçi tç-ijuhu mantix-o noḡirçir-e/
 DET.MS 3-take manioc-MP only_one-[M/F]P
 'He took manioc but only a few.' (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 61)
- (248) Juan sh-iyeru popi shi sh-uu nohmīrshir-eem-e.
 /xuan ç-ijeru popi çi ç-u: noḡirçir-e:m-e/
 John 3-catch surubí_fish.FS.FF only 3-make only_one-DIM-[M/F]P
 'John caught surubí fish but only a few.' (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 61)
- (249) Juan sh-iyeru kabater-o shi sh-uu nohmīrshir-aam-o.

/xuan ç-ijeru kabater-o çì ç-u: noṃirçir-a:m-o/
 John 3-catch pacu_fish-MP only 3-make only_one-DIM-MP
 ‘John caught pacu fish but only a few.’ (Ulrich & Ulrich 1990c: 62)

Osiyer /osijer/ ‘two’ agrees in gender with the noun it refers to. *Osiyer* is the masculine form (250). It is also the unmarked form used to count and to refer to entities of unspecified gender. The feminine form is *otiyer* /otijer/ (251). In *osiyer*, needless to say, the BF vs. FF distinction is not morphologically expressed, since in Chamacoco such a distinction is only observed in the singular.

(250) Shi porpah-o uu-lo osiyer de-yo de = chi pwert ehe-t.
 /çì porpah-o u:-lo osijer de-jo de = tçi pwert ehe-t/
 only wasp-MP nest-MP two.M big-MP 3.EXIST = there house 3.inside-MS.FF
 ‘There are two big wasp nests there in the house.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(251) Hn wahacha shakir-rza ehe-t pish-t pohir de otiyer.
 /ṃ wahatça çakiṭ-ṣa ehe-t piç-t pohir de otijer/
 CONJ there garden-FS.FF 3.inside-MS.FF ELAT-MS.FF tree.FP 3.EXIST two.M
 ‘And there, at the very centre of the garden there were two trees.’
 (Ulrich & Ulrich 1992a: 5)

§13.9.5 Ancient Zamuco, Ayoreo and Chamacoco numerals

Examples (252-253) report the AY and A.Z numerals up to ‘five’. CH *sohmira* /tçomira/ ‘one’ corresponds to AY *chojmara* /tçomara/ ‘one’ and A.Z *chomarâ* ‘one’. In all Zamucoan languages the number one has nominal inflection (254). As observed in (§13.9.2), /n/ or /ts/ are free variants in Chamacoco. According to Chomé (1958: 136), in Ancient Zamuco the number one begins with /tç/- in the BF and with /n/- in the FF (254). In other words, /tç/- and /n/- were considered morphologically relevant in Ancient Zamuco.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶³ For a detailed comparison of AY and A.Z numerals, see Kelm (1964: 512-515).

(252) Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009: 16)

tɕomara ‘one’
 gare ‘two’
 gadiok ‘three’
 gagani ‘four’
 tɕeɲa ñimanaj ‘five’

(253) Ancient Zamuco (Chomé 1958: 136)

chomarâ ‘one’
 gar ‘two’
 gadioc ‘three’
 gahagani ‘four’
 chuena yimanaitie ‘five’

(254) Ay. tɕojmaraj (MS.FF), tɕojmara (MS.BF) ‘one’

Ch. nomɛt (MS.FF), nomɪra (MS.BF), nomɪre / nomɪro (MP) ‘one’

A.Z. nomarâtie (MS.FF), chomarã (MS.BF) ‘one’

AY *gare* and A.Z *gar* ‘two’ correspond to CH *arĩ* ‘two’ and indirectly to *sharĩ* /*ɕarĩ*/ ‘two’, which derives from *arĩ*. In Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco the numbers up to ‘four’ have regular nominal inflection⁴⁶⁴ and express the distinction between BF and FF, while no inflection is observed in the CH numbers *arĩ* ‘two’ *sharĩ* /*ɕarĩ*/ ‘two’ and *toho* ‘one’. This is due to the fact that these numerals are no longer known by all speakers, but also to the fact that the distinction BF vs. FF has been lost in Chamacoco. In *osiyer* /*osijer*/ ‘two’, only gender is expressed.

§13.10 Conclusions

This chapter has analysed the nominal suffixation of Chamacoco. In Chamacoco the BF vs. FF opposition is only to be found in the singular (with few exceptions, see §13.7.1, ex. (118-119)). In the masculine, two suffixes are used to form the singular FF: *-/t/* and *-/tɕ/*, corresponding to the feminine FF

⁴⁶⁴ They only lack the singular FF, because they refer to more than one entity, but have the singular BF, which is the form used to count and is provided in examples (252) and (253).

suffixes *-/ta/* and *-/t̥a/*. The suffixes *-/ta/* and *-/t̥a/* are still productive. The IF shows considerable variability, because there are alternating suffixes which can be added to different forms of the word. This suggests that the system of the IF is collapsing. The diminutive suffix *-/a:p/* corresponds to the suffix *-/ap/*, to be found in Ayoreo. As in Ayoreo, the diminutive suffix is added to the singular BF. The uses of BF, FF and IF are very similar to those of the forms in Ayoreo, but there are two remarkable differences: (1) In Chamacoco one can often observe final-syllable reduction, which makes the forms indistinguishable. (2) In Ayoreo, when the NP head is followed by adjectival modifiers, number and form are only marked on the final element of the NP, while the previous nominals appear in singular BF. By contrast, in Chamacoco the NP head and the adjectival modifiers agree in number and form. However, in Chamacoco the singular BF is preferred before the adjective *dich /dit̥/*. When the NP is inflected in IF and the head is followed by one or more adjectival modifiers, the last nominal of the NP is in IF, while the singular FF is preferred in the other nominals. The comparison with Ayoreo suggests that these are archaic structures and that the agreement between the head and the adjectival modifiers is a CH innovation. Finally the numbers ‘one’ and ‘two’ show some similarities in the Zamucoan languages, but in Chamacoco there are three words for ‘two’: *arĩ*, corresponding to AY *gare* and A.Z *gar*, *sharĩ /çarĩ/* (derived from the former) and *osiyer /osijer/*, which is a CH innovation.

§14 Nominal suffixation in the Zamucoan languages: a comparison

This chapter compares the nominal suffixation of Ayoreo, Chamacoco and Ancient Zamuco, showing that all Zamucoan languages share the same morphological categories and use similar suffixes. Section §14.1 briefly describes the morphology and the uses of BF, FF and IF in Ancient Zamuco. Although Ayoreo presents a noteworthy innovation in the singular FF, it is very close to Ancient Zamuco. For this reason, their BF and FFs are compared in §14.2. Then, the BF and FF of Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco are compared with those of Chamacoco in §14.3. Section §14.4 deals with the morphology of the IF. Finally, I discuss the non-numeric quantifier ‘all’ in the Zamucoan languages §14.5.

§14.1 Reinterpreting Chomé’s grammar: base-, full- and indeterminate-forms in Ancient Zamuco

The aim of this section is to demonstrate that in Ancient Zamuco there is a distinction between BF, FF and IF. In order to do that, one has to reinterpret Chomé’s grammatical description, based on Latin grammars.⁴⁶⁵ In Ancient Zamuco there is no morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives: “Todos los nombres, aora sean substantiuos, aora adjectiuos, se declinan del modo dicho” (Chomé 1958: 124). The classical definition of *nomen* is quite appropriate. Nominals are described as having six cases, like Latin. There is a masculine (1) and a feminine (2) declension (Chomé 1958: 123-124).

(1)

	Masculine singular	Masculine plural	desi ‘boy’
NOM.	Desi	Desio	
GEN.	Desitie	Desioddoe	[regime case]
DAT.	Omedesitie	Ome desioddoe	
ACC.	Desitie	Desioddoe	[regime case]
VOC.	Desia	Desiacha	
ABL.	ihi desitie	ihi desioddoe	
	ahã desitie	ahã desioddoe	

⁴⁶⁵ A first attempt to interpret Chomé’s data on nominal suffixation and a very detailed comparison with Ayoreo can be found in (Kelm 1964: 469-488).

(2)

	Feminine singular	Feminine plural	cheque ‘woman’
NOM.	Cheque	Chequei	
GEN.	Chequetae	Chequeyie	[regime case]
DAT.	Omechequetae	Ome chequeyie	
ACC.	Chequetae	Chequeyie	[regime case]
VOC.	Chequea	Chequeacha	
ABL.	Ihi chequetae	ihī chequeyie	
	ahã chequetae	ahã chequeyie	

Ome in the dative and *ihī* or *ahã* in the ablative are adpositions.⁴⁶⁶ In the vocative, *-a* and *-acha* (*-/at̪a/*) are epistemicity markers (the former one still to be observed in Ayoreo). This implies that no specific dative, vocative or ablative form actually existed in Ancient Zamuco. Since the genitive is always identical to the accusative, one can reduce the “case” declension to two forms: nominative vs. genitive/accusative. For reasons which will soon become obvious, the latter will be referred to as “regime” case. In the second chapter of the grammar, Chomé introduces a new case, the regime, which corresponds to all (direct and indirect) arguments of the verb (Chomé 1958: 125). The regime has three tenses according to Chomé (1958: 125). As one can see, the “past” corresponds to the regime of the nominal declension in (1-2).

(3)

	Masculine singular	Masculine plural	
Past	-tie	-ddoe, -nnoe	
Present	-rê, -dde	-ao, -iao	
Future	-ric, -tic, -nic	-igo	[that is: -rigo, -tigo, -nigo]
	Feminine Singular	Feminine Plural	
Past	-tae	-yiè, -ñie	
Present	-ac	-ai	
Future	-rac	-rigui	

The opposition nominative vs. genitive/accusative turns into a nominative vs. regime opposition, the latter allegedly presenting nominal tense declension. The regime “present” has no corresponding forms in the currently spoken Zamucoan languages: it was probably rarely used already in Chomé’s time,

⁴⁶⁶ About the corresponding Ayoreo elements, see Bertinetto (2009: 45).

because this form seldom occurs in Chomé’s grammar and the author himself writes: “La terminacion de preterito muchas vezes la usan por la de présente, y diran, *yacotetae no*, por *yacoteac no*. se fue mi muger: pero la de futuro la suelen usar, sin confundirla” (Chomé 1958: 125). Apparently, the regime “present” has been replaced by the regime “past” (corresponding to the FF). Chomé specifies that the regime “past” is properly a “past perfect”, because the “past imperfect” also exists (Chomé 1958: 125), but, like the regime “present” it has few occurrences in the grammar and does not correspond to any form in Ayoreo and Chamacoco. Both regime “present” and “past imperfect” occur in the same context where the FF would be expected.⁴⁶⁷

By contrast, the regime “future” was vital: “la [terminación] de futuro la suelen usar, sin confundirla” (Chomé 1958: 126). The regime “future” is actually the Ayoreo IF, as one can see in (3) (for more details, see Chomé 1958: 127-128 and §14.4.1). The use is exactly the same as the Ayoreo and Chamacoco IFs. In (4) there is no specific referent, while in (5) and (6) the referent does not even exist. Note that the existential construction with =uz (= /us/) in (5-6) is very similar to the AY and CH ones (see §13.7.6, §13.7.14).⁴⁶⁸

(4) Agu cucha-tic.
 1S-eat thing-MS.IF
 ‘I eat something.’ (unspecified) (Chomé 1958: 132)

(5) Ca y-a-tic uz.
 NEG 1S-child-MS.IF EXIST
 ‘I don’t have any son.’ (Chomé 1958: 164)

(6) Ca yo-tic uz.
 NEG water-MS.IF EXIST
 ‘There is no water.’ (Chomé 1958: 164)

⁴⁶⁷ In this work the regime present and the past imperfect will be considered full-form present (FFP) and full-form imperfect (FFI), respectively, while the regime past of Chomé will be glossed as full-form (FF).

⁴⁶⁸ A.Z = uz (= /us/) is generally represented as an enclitic copula, but in examples (5-6) = uz has been separated from the nominal it refers to.

In chapter §1.4 Chomé describes the use of the regime case.⁴⁶⁹ The difficulty in understanding Chomé’s pages depends on the fact that his use of the grammatical terminology turns out to be ambiguous. On one hand, he describes the use of the regime, by making an implicit distinction between regime vs. non-regime. On the other hand, he uses terms such as nominative, genitive, etc., which in this context do not refer to a specific morphological form, but to its syntactic function in the sentence. Chomé is conditioned by the linguistic framework of his time. The same applies to the realis vs. irrealis distinction in verb morphology, described as a future vs. non-future distinction.

In the following paragraphs Chomé’s data on Ancient Zamuco will be reanalysed in order to show that the distinction non-regime vs. regime is actually a BF vs. non-BF distinction (that is, FF and IF). Leaving aside the IF, which should be considered the “marked” counterpart of the FF, I will focus on the contrast between BF and FF. It is important to keep in mind that the shape of the Ancient Zamuco plural FF cannot be analysed in all its aspects, because two fundamental pages of Chomé’s manuscript are lost (the pages 9-10, see Chomé 1958: 127).

The Ancient Zamuco BF (called nominative by Chomé) is used to mark the NP which has the function of predicate, such as *uomio* (/womio/) in (7) and *uomipuz* (/womipuz/) in (8). The subjects of (7) and (8) appear in FF (corresponding to the regime); an NP in FF has never predicative function in Ancient Zamuco, and the fundamental difference between predication (expressed by the BF) and non-predication, common to all Zamucoan languages, is thus confirmed.

- (7) Nani-onnoe uom-io.
indigenous_man-MP.FF good-MP.BF
‘The indigenous people are good.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

- (8) Tupade uom-i-puz nari, ch-iachêre ñoc.
God good-EPENT-ELAT.MS.BF SUB 3-punish 1P
‘God punishes us, because he is so good.’ (Chomé 1958: 129)

In examples (9-10), the FF is used for argumental NPs, featuring subject (9), direct object (10) or adjunct (such as the temporal adjunct *guetosi-tie nez*

⁴⁶⁹ Chomé (1958: 128-129).

/getosi-tie nes/ in (11)). In the last case, *nez* /nes/ ‘all’ is an uninflectable element and consequently *guetositie* /getosidie/ is the only inflected element of the NP.

(9) *Desi-oddoe dac.*

boy-MP.FF 3.come

‘The boys come.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

(10) *Toria gueda-ddoe.*

3.steal corn-MP.FF

‘They steal corn.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

(11) *A-irauz guetosi-tie nez.*

1S-weed month-MS.FF all

‘I have weeded all month.’ (Chomé 1958: 129)

As anticipated in the previous chapters, when there are two or more inflected elements in an NP, gender, number and form are only marked on the last one. The previous elements appear in singular BF, whatever the form and number required by the NP. For instance, if the nominals of example (7), *nani* ‘indigenous man’ and *uom* /wom/ ‘good’, belong to one and the same NP in predicative function, thus requiring the MP-BF, only *uom* inflects for plural, while *nani* appears in singular BF (12). As Chomé himself indicates, number agreement with the latter element is ungrammatical (13). As in Ayoreo and Chamacoco, the adjectival modifiers follow the NP head.

(12) *Nani uom-io.*

indigenous_man.MS.BF good-MP.BF

‘Good indigenous people.’ (Chomé 1958: 129)

(13) **Nani-o uom-io.*

indigenous_man-MP.BF good-MP.BF

[Good indigenous people.] (Chomé 1958: 129)

The NP *dire garocioddoe* (/dire garosiodoe/) ‘a few days’ (14) requires the (masculine) plural FF, which only appears on the latter element, *garododdoe* (/garodoe/), while *dire* is in singular BF. The same occurs in (15), where *desi yidai ogazoriao* (/desi jidaj ogasoriao/) ‘the boys of my village’ is the subject of

the nominal predicate and appears in FF “present”, while all preceding elements are in singular BF (in this example *yidai* /jidaj/ and *ogazoriao* /ogasoriao/ form a compound). The same occurs in (16), where the NP head is a feminine nominal and *garihi* appears in FP-FF. Numerals behave as nominals. As in (11), in (17) the final element of the NP, the determiner *udda* (/uda/), does not inflect for BF and FF, so that the FF is marked on the NP head.

(14) A-igusi ide dire garoci-oddoe.
 1S-stay here day.MS.BF few-MP.FF
 ‘I’ve been here since a few days.’ (Chomé 1958: 129)

(15) Desi y-idai ogazori-ao, udazu-cho nari.
 Boy.MS.BF 1S- village.MS.BF person_living-MP.FFP coward -MP.BF COP
 ‘The boys living in my village are cowards.’ (Chomé 1958: 129)

(16) A-roc cheque gar-ih-yie.
 2.IRLS-s woman.FS.BF two-five-FP.FF
 ‘Send seven women!’ (Chomé 1958: 136)

(17) A-rahu por-i-tae udda.
 2.IRLS-cut tree-FS.FF DET.FS
 ‘Cut this tree!’ (Chomé 1958: 140)

An embedded NP, generally expressing the possessor, appears in FF when the main NP is inflected in BF (18-20). A dependent NP may appear in FF even if the main NP is in FF (21-22), but in this case the BF is also possible and even preferred according to Chomé (23). In this case, one wonders whether the subordinate NP has been incorporated into the main NP.

(18) Chuguper-i-tie unnoc.
 bird-EPENT-MS.FF wing.MS.BF
 ‘Bird’s wing.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

(19) Nai-tie azure.
 indigenous_man-MS.FF lance.FS.BF
 ‘Indigenous man’s lance.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

(20) Y-ai-tie igueda.
 1S-father-MS.FF 3.house.MS.BF
 ‘My father’s house.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

(21) Eram-i-tie yu-tie.
 wood-EPENT -MS.FF toward-MS.FF
 ‘Toward the wood.’ (Chomé 1958: 129)

(22) Ahu chuguper-i-tie unno-tie.
 1S.peel bird-EPENT-MS.FF wing-MS.FF
 ‘I peel a bird’s wing.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

(23) Ahu chugupêre unno-tie.
 1S.peel bird.MS.BF wing-MS.FF
 ‘I peel a bird’s wing.’ (Chomé 1958: 128)

In conclusion, A.Z nominal suffixation can be reinterpreted according to the scheme provided by Chomé at the beginning of his grammar (Chomé 1958: 123), needless to say, according to grammatical categories not used by him:

(24) desi ‘boy’ (MS.BF)	desi-o ‘boy’ (MP.BF)
desi-tie ‘boy’ (MS.FF)	desi-oddoe ‘boy’ (MP.FF)
cheque ‘woman’ (FS.BF)	cheque-i ‘woman’ (FP.BF)
cheque-tae ‘woman’ (FS.FF)	cheque-yie ‘woman’ (FP.FF)

The singular BF is the base of nominal inflection. In all Zamucoan languages it tends to be the lighter form phonologically speaking. The MS-FF suffix *-/tie/* is reminiscent of the Chamacoco FF suffixes *-/t/* and *-/tɕ/*, while the feminine *-/tae/* is reminiscent of the Chamacoco FF suffixes *-/ta/* and *-/tɕa/*. The MP-BF suffix *-/o/* corresponds to the Chamacoco MP. Ayoreo shows no direct correspondence with the Chamacoco and Zamuco singular FF suffixes, but the plural suffixes are very similar. Compare the following AY suffixes with the A.Z ones in (24): *-/o/* or *-/jo/* (MP.BF), *-/i/* (FP.BF), *-/ode/* (MP.FF), *-/i)die/* (FP.FF). The IF will be discussed in (§14.4).

§14.2 Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco: a comparison⁴⁷⁰

At the morphological level, one can note that the A.Z nominative corresponds to the Ayoreo BF. In (25-43), a comparison between Chomé's examples (Chomé 1958: 124-125) and the corresponding AY nominals is provided. When no corresponding AY example is reported, a morphologically similar case is shown, whenever possible. The singular BF usually coincides with the root. The shape of the plural is almost identical in both languages. As one can see, the plural BF suffixes are generally *-o/* or *-jo/* for the masculine and *-i/* for the feminine in both languages. In both languages, the MP-BF suffix *-o/* is applied to roots ending in a vowel, while *-jo/* (or *-io/*) is applied to roots in consonants. The morphophonological processes are more or less the same as those already described for Ayoreo, with a few differences: for instance, the Ayoreo MP-BF suffix *-o/* deletes if it is preceded by */a/*, while it is preserved in Ancient Zamuco (25). When the root ends in *-k/* (26), *-t/* (27-28) or *-r/* (29, 31-32), these consonants are palatalized by the MP-BF suffix *-jo/*. AY masculine nominals with root in *-r/* always show plural BF in *-jo/*, regardless of nasal harmony, while A.Z nominals in *-r/* exhibit plural BF in *-yo* (*-jo/*) or in *-ño* (*-jo/*), depending on lack vs. presence of nasalization (31-32). Root-final */r/* in AY feminine nominals is always preserved, while in Ancient Zamuco it undergoes palatalization before the FP-BF suffix *-i/* (42-43). Note that in A.Z *nacar* (31), */k/* blocks the spread of nasalization. The same applies in (43). Apparently, the FS-BF is characterized by more variability in Ancient Zamuco than in Ayoreo (37, 38, 41).

(25) Ay. *gigiña* (GF.MS.BF), *gigiña* (GF.MP.BF) 'house'
 A.Z. *guigueda* (GF.MS.BF), *guiguedao* (GF.MP.BF) 'house'

(26) Ay. Ø
 A.Z. *daparebec* (MS.BF), *daparebecho* (MP.BF) 'beggar'
 cf. Ay. *gipek* (3.MS.BF), *gipetço* (3.MP.BF) 'bag'

(27) Ay. *pit* (MS.BF), *pitço* (MP.BF) 'stick'
 A.Z. *pit* (MS.BF), *picho* (MP.BF) 'stick'

⁴⁷⁰ Kelm (1964: 469-488) provides a very detailed comparison between AY and A.Z nominal suffixation.

- (28) Ay. ipesut (3.MS.BF), ipesutço (3.MP.BF) ‘what is done’
 A.Z. pipiazup (MS.BF), pipiazubio (MP.BF) ‘work’
- (29) Ay. imeserāsōr (3.MS.BF), imeserāsoño (3.MP.BF) ‘one who prefers’
 A.Z. pimecêrazore (GF.MS.BF), pimecerazoño (GF.MP.BF) ‘one who loves’
- (30) Ay. erãp (MS.BF), eramio (MP.BF) ‘world, wood’
 A.Z. erãp (MS.BF), eramio (MP.BF) ‘wood’
- (31) Ay. ñakar (MS.BF), ñakaño (MP.BF) ‘young man’
 A.Z. nacar (MS.BF), nacayo (MP.BF) ‘young man’
- (32) Ay. ñar (MS.BF), ñaño (MP.BF) ‘flea’
 A.Z. unnâr (MS.BF), unnaño (MP.BF) ‘flea’
- (33) Ay. wom (MS.BF), omio (MP.BF) ‘good’⁴⁷¹
 A.Z. uom (MS.BF), uomio (MP.BF) ‘good’
- (34) Ay. Ø
 A.Z. ducau (MS.BF), ducaddo / ducauo (MP.BF) ‘interval’
 cf. Ay. uru (3.MS.BF), uruo (3.MP.BF) ‘word’
- (35) Ay. abere (MS.BF), aberej (MS.BF) ‘sterile’
 A.Z. abera (FS.BF), aberai (FP.BF) ‘sterile’
- (36) Ay. gapu (MS.BF), gapuj (MP.BF) ‘girl’
 A.Z. gapu (FS.BF), gapui (FP.BF) ‘girl’
- (37) Ay. Ø
 A.Z. uraramiecoda (FS.BF), uraramiecodai (FP.BF) ‘talker’
- (38) Ay. Ø
 A.Z. guiorac (FS.BF), guiorachi (FP.BF) ‘little rabbit of the wood’

⁴⁷¹ This nominal is irregular in Ayoreo, because in the MS-BF, its root *om* turns into /wom/-: *omi* (MS.FF), *uom* /wom/ (MS.BF), *omío* (MP.BF), *omone* (MP.FF) (Higham *et al.* 2000: 626). The comparison with Ancient Zamuco suggests that this exception is a preservation of the original root. Kelm (1964: 473) reports the forms *ũõm* /wom/ (MS.BF) and *ũõmíõ* /womio/ (MP.BF) in Ayoreo. The corresponding CH nominal (*om*) is irregular and has the forms *omo* or *oomo* /o:mo/ in the MP. /o:/ in the plural corresponds to /wo/- in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco.

(39) Ay. Ø

A.Z. tugut (FS.BF), tuguchi (FP.BF) ‘horn’

cf. Ay. kikuhat (FS.BF), kikuhatçi (FP.FF) ‘ancestor’

(40) Ay. disap (DIM.FS.BF), disabi (DIM.FP.BF) ‘little girl’

A.Z. desap (DIM.FS.BF), desabi (DIM.FP.BF) ‘little girl’

(41) Ay. Ø

A.Z. caz (FS.BF), cazi (FP.BF) ‘clod’

(42) Ay. por (FS.BF), pori (FP.BF) ‘tree’

A.Z. pore (FS.BF), poyi (FP.BF) ‘tree’

(43) Ay. asõre (3.FS.BF), asõrej (3.FP.BF) ‘lance’

A.Z. azore (FS.BF), azoñi (FP.BF) ‘lance’

In the MP-FF there is correspondence between the A.Z suffixes *-oddoe* (-/odoe/) or *-onnoe* (-/onoe/) and AY *-/ode/* or *-/one/*. Note that according to Chomé the suffixes are *-ddoe* (-/doe/) and *-nnoe* (-/noe/), as added to the plural BF (Chomé 1958: 126-127). However, as one can see, especially in examples (44-45), in Ancient Zamuco (as in Ayoreo) the plural FF derives from the singular, rather than from the plural BF. Note that AY /o/ deletes after /a/. This occurs when the suffix *-/o/* or *-/ode/* is added to a root ending in *-/a/* (45). In Ancient Zamuco this is not always the case, because the first /o/ of *-oddoe* (-/odoe/) drops (*guiguedaddoe* /gigedadoe/), while it is preserved when /o/ is the MP-BF suffix (*guiguedao* /gigedao/).

(44) Ay. erãp (MS.BF), eramio (MP.BF), eramone (MP.FF) ‘world, wood’

A.Z. erãp (MS.BF), eramio (MP.BF), eramonnoe (MP.FF) ‘wood’

(45) Ay. gigaña (GF.MS.BF), gigaña (GF.MP.BF), gigañane (GF.MP.FF) ‘house’

A.Z. guigueda (GF.MS.BF), guiguedao (GF.MP.BF), guiguedaddoe (GF.MP.FF) ‘house’

(46) Ay. ipesut (3.MS.BF), ipesutço (3.MP.BF), ipesudode (3.MP.FF) ‘what is done’

A.Z. pipiazup (GF.MS.BF), pipiazubio (GF.MP.BF), pipiazutoddoe, pipiazuboddoe (GF.MP.FF) ‘work’

(47) Ay. disi (MS.BF), disio (MP.BF), disiode (MP.FF) ‘boy’

A.Z. desi (MS.BF), desio (MP.BF), desiaddoe (MP.FF) ‘boy’

(48) Ay. Ø

A.Z. unnotac (MS.BF), unnotacho (MP.BF), unnotaddoe (MP.FF) ‘bird’;

(49) Ay. tarek (MS.BF), taretço (MP.BF), taregode (MP.FF) ‘lazy person’

A.Z. tarec (MS.BF), tarecho (MP.BF), taregoddoe (MP.FF) ‘useless’

(50) Ay. dahek (GF.MS.BF), dahetço (GF.MP.BF), daheode (GF.MP.FF) ‘path’

A.Z. dahec (GF.MS.BF), dahecho (GF.MP.BF), daheddoe (GF.MP.FF) ‘path’

(51) Ay. arek (3.MS.BF), aretço (3.MP.BF), areode (3.MP.FF) ‘tongue’

A.Z. arêc (MS.BF), arêcho (MP.BF), arennoe (MP.FF) ‘tongue’

(52) Ay. pit (MS.BF), pitço (MP.BF), pidode (MP.FF) ‘stick’

A.Z. pit (MS.BF), picho (MP.BF), pidoddoe (MP.FF) ‘stick’

The Ancient Zamuco FP-FF suffixes *-yie* (-/jie/) or *-ñie* (-/pie/) correspond to the AY suffixes *-/die/* or *-/nie/* (depending on nasalization). In the latter language, the FP-FF has probably assimilated to the masculine. The formation of the Ayoreo FP-FF is less complex than the masculine one (53). Unfortunately, the pages by Chomé containing the feminine examples of the singular FF have been lost.

(53) Ay. gapu (FS.BF), gapu (FS.FF), gapuj (FP.BF), gapudie (FP.FF) ‘girl’

A.Z. gapu (FS.BF), gaputae (FS.FF), gapui (FP.BF), gapuyie (FP.FF) ‘girl’

§14.3 Base vs. full-form in the Zamucoan languages

The previous section has demonstrated that in Ancient Zamuco there was a distinction between BF, FF and IF and that there is a syntactic and morphological correspondence between these forms in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco. Table 14.1 sums up the suffixes expressing BF, FF, IF and diminutive form in the Zamucoan languages. Note that in Chamacoco the MS.BF suffixes *-/k/* and *-/ak/*, the MP suffix *-/e/* and some FS-BF suffixes derive from the reinterpretation of the original root (see §14.3.1 and §13.3.9).

	Ancient Zamuco	Ayoreo	Chamacoco
MS.BF	∅	∅	-/k/, -/ak/
MS.FF	-/tie/	-/i/	-/t/, -/tɕ/
MP.BF	-/o/, -yo (-/jo/)	-/o/, -/jo/	-/o/, -/e/, -/tso/, -/lo/
MP.FF	-oddoe (-/odoe/)	-/ode/	
FS.BF	∅	∅, -/e/	∅, -/a ^(?) /, -/e ² /, -/o ² /, -/i ² / ⁴⁷²
FS.FF	-/tae/	∅, -/e/, -/a/, -/ia/	-/ta/, -/tɕa/, -/ɭa/
FP.BF	-/i/	-/i/	-/e/
FP.FF	-/yie (-/jie/)	-/die/, -/idie/	
DIM.BF	-/ap/	-/ap/	-/a:p/

Table 14.1. Nominal suffixes in the Zamucoan languages

The following sections will compare Ayoreo (and Ancient Zamuco) with Chamacoco (§14.3.1). The diminutive will not be discussed, because its morphology follows the same rules as nominals with root in *-/p/*. In the Zamucoan languages the diminutive suffix is attached to the singular BF and derives from the Proto-Zamuco word for ‘child’: cf. AY *ab* (3.MS.BF) ‘child’, CH *aap* /a:p/ (3.MS.BF) ‘child’ and A.Z *yap* /jap/ (1S.MS.BF) ‘child’.⁴⁷³ The Ayoreo singular FF suffix is innovative (§14.3.2). Some Chamacoco FFs are the result of reinterpretation of the root, because they correspond to Ayoreo BFs (§14.3.3). The Chamacoco MP suffix */o/* was originally a MP-BF suffix, as one can see in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco (§14.3.4). The comparison between CH plurals in *-/jo/* and *-/wo/* with Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco shows that these pre-final semiconsonants are often part of the original root, while in other cases are insertions (§14.3.5). The origin of the CH plural suffix *-/lo/* is discussed in (§14.3.6). The rare CH plural suffix *-/tso/* corresponds to the AY plural ending in *-/tɕo/* (§14.3.7). Section §14.3.8 deals with CH nominals in *-/ehet/*. Section §14.3.9 demonstrates that the Chamacoco MP suffix *-/e/* derives from the reinterpretation of the last root-vowel, because CH *-/e/* corresponds to */a/* in

⁴⁷² *-/a^(?)/, -/e²/, -/o²/ and -/i²/* are also used as epicene BF suffixes.

⁴⁷³ See also §13.3.4, ex. (110).

the root of the cognate AY nominals (§14.3.9). The plural of some CH nominals present intervocalic /r/, not to be found in the rest of the paradigm, but present in the cognate AY nominals (§14.3.10). Chamacoco BFs in -/s/ correspond to Ayoreo BFs in -/s/ (§14.3.11). Section §14.3.12 deals with some traces of introflexional morphology to be found in Ayoreo and Chamacoco. The irregular CH adjective *dich* /ditɕ/ is compared with its AY and A.Z cognates. Finally, section §14.3.13 shows that the Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco 2P-suffix, and the MP-BF suffix have the same suffix and go together with similar morphophonological processes.

§14.3.1 The BF and the FF in Ayoreo and Chamacoco

This section compares the Ayoreo BFs and FFs with Chamacoco.⁴⁷⁴ The discussion will be limited to the singular, since in Chamacoco there is no such contrast in the plural. The Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco MS-BF coincide with the root, while the final consonant of the Chamacoco MS-BF has been reinterpreted as a suffix or part of it.

In examples (54-64) masculine nominals with BF in -/k/ are compared. The Ayoreo and Chamacoco singular BF are identical and there is correspondence between the Ayoreo and Chamacoco singular BFs in -/ak/ (54-64). Synchronically, CH /a/ should be analysed as part of the BF suffix, because it is not preserved in either the singular or plural FF. In Ayoreo, /a/ is present in both singular BF and singular FF. The comparison shows that CH /a/ is a conservative element stemming from the original root, which has been simplified or deleted in the singular FF. In the following examples, one can see that the Ayoreo and Chamacoco BFs are closer to each other than the FFs. This is especially true of the morphological devices used, since in the masculine there is no direct correspondence between the Ayoreo singular FF suffix -/i/ and the Chamacoco FF suffixes -/t/ and -/tɕ/. In (58) the Chamacoco FF has

⁴⁷⁴ It is difficult to compare directly CH and A.Z nominals, because there are few data available for the latter language. Moreover, A.Z data are often incomplete and there is a low percentage of lexical similarity between the two languages, in spite of remarkable morphological similarities. However, given the similarities between Ayoreo and Chamacoco, the comparison between AY and CH nominals may be seen as an indirect comparison between Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco with regard to the BF.

probably undergone changes, but the original structure emerges in the singular BF.

- (54) Ay. aberaj (MS.FF), aberak (MS.BF) ‘sterile’
 Ch. ebirt (MS.FF), ebirak (MS.BF) ‘sterile’ (cf. A.Z. abera ‘sterile’ (FS.BF))
- (55) Ay. hokarāj (MS.FF), hokarāk (MS.BF) ‘noise’
 Ch. ijokōrt (3.MS.FF), ijokōrak (3.MS.BF) ‘noise’
- (56) Ay. utčaj (3.MS.FF), utçak (3.MS.BF) ‘dung’
 Ch. itçit (3.MS.FF), itçak (3.MS.BF) ‘dung’
- (57) Ay. dehaj (MS.FF), dehak (MS.BF) ‘night’
 Ch. diłitç (MS.FF), diłak (MS.BF) ‘night’
 A.Z. dehac / dehaque ‘night’ (MS.BF)
- (58) Ay. nasaraj (3.MS.FF), nasarak (3.MS.BF) ‘son-in-law’
 Ch. lasēt (3.MS.FF), lasirā(k) (3.MS.BF) ‘son-in-law’

Examples (59-64) provide other nominals whose BF is marked by a velar element. /k/ is the Chamacoco MS-BF suffix, corresponding to the AY root-final consonant. In Chamacoco, the preceding vowel /i/ (often an epenthetic vowel or the result of vowel reduction, as in (59-61)) corresponds to AY /e/ (59-61). The Chamacoco BF *tok* (62) is an exception, because final /k/ should be considered part of the root, reinterpreted as /w/ in the rest of the paradigm (see §13.1, ex. (9k-1)).

- (59) Ay. ahamej (MS.FF), ahamek (MS.BF) ‘armadillo’
 Ch. aṃurmit (MS.FF), aṃurmik (MS.BF) ‘armadillo’
- (60) Ay. dosipej (MS.FF), dosipek (MS.BF) ‘animal’ (edible from the wood)
 Ch. l-/doçipit (MS.FF), l-/doçipik (MS.BF) ‘animal’
- (61) Ay. pej (MS.FF), pek (MS.BF) ‘piece’
 Ch. pit (MS.FF), pik (MS.BF) ‘piece’
- (62) Ay. tarej (MS.FF), tarek (MS.BF) ‘lazy’
 Ch. towit (MS.FF), tok / to:k (MS.BF) ‘lazy’

- (63) Ay. *uri* (3.MS.FF), *urik* (3.MS.BF) ‘dream’
 Ch. *u:ɾɕ* (3.MS.FF), *u:ɾk* (3.MS.BF) ‘dream’

- (64) Ay. *toj* (MS.FF), *tok* (MS.BF) ‘dead’
 Ch. *topit* (MS.FF), *topik* (MS.BF) ‘dead’

In both Ayoreo and Chamacoco there is a group of nominals with singular BF in *-/s/* (65). The BF coincides with the root in both languages and the comparison shows that */s/* usually turned into */ɕ/* in the Chamacoco FF.

- (65) Ay. *gosi* (MS.FF), *gos* (MS.BF) ‘someone, anyone’
 Ch. *oɕt* (MS.FF), *os* (MS.BF) ‘person’

Another, and larger, group of nominals sharing common morphological properties consists of nominals with singular BF ending in *-/p/* (66) (as for Ancient Zamuco, see example (44)). In all Zamucoan languages, diminutives have singular BF in *-/p/*, which voices word-internally (and nasalizes in nasal-harmony contexts). In (67) *ijaabit* /*ixa:bit*/ and *ajámi* /*ahami*/ are probably not cognates, because the first is originally a diminutive of the Spanish loan *hijo* (*ijit* /*ixit*/ in Chamacoco), while the second is an indigenous word. However, their morphological behaviour is the same as in (66).

- (66) Ay. *aṇami* (3.MS.FF), *aṇap* (3.MS.BF) ‘grandson’
 Ch. *aṇimitɕ* (3.MS.FF), *aṇap* (3.MS.BF) ‘grandson’

- (67) Ay. *ahami* (MS.FF), *ahamia* (FS.FF), *ahãp* ([M/F]S.BF) ‘little’
 Ch. *ixa:bit* (MS.FF), *ixa:pta* / *ixa:bita* (FS.FF), *ixa:p* ([M/F]S.BF) ‘little’

Sometimes, the Chamacoco BF ends in a vowel. This is generally due to dropping of final *-/k/*, but not always, as in (68).

- (68) Ay. *kedeṇaj* (MS.FF), *kedeṇa* ([M/F]S.BF) ‘strange, different’
 Ch. *kinehet* (MS.FF), *kinaha*[?] ([M/F]S.BF) ‘strange, different’

While in Chamacoco the most prototypical singular BF usually takes the suffix *-/k/*, the morphology of the Ayoreo BF exhibits more variability. In (69-

70) Ayoreo singular BFs ending in a vowel correspond to Chamacoco MS-BFs in *-/k/* or *-/ak/*. (69) is another example in which the CH suffix *-/ak/* preserves the last vowel of the original Zamucoan root, as shown by its AY counterpart.

(69) Ay. kirakiraj (MS.FF), kirakira (MS.BF) ‘type of bird’ (*Caracara plancus*)
 Ch. *dit̪ɛ̃kj̃ɛ̃rit* (MS.FF), *dit̪ɛ̃kj̃ɛ̃rak* (MS.BF) ‘type of bird’ (*Caracara plancus*)

(70) Ay. *i* (3.MS.FF), *i* (3.MS.BF) ‘name’
 Ch. *it̪ɛ̃* (3.MS.FF), *ik* (3.MS.BF) ‘name’

In Ayoreo a BF coinciding with the nominal root may end in *-/t/*, while this is not possible in Chamacoco, where such BFs have been reinterpreted as FFs and a new BF was created (more on this in §14.3.2).

(71) Ay. otadi (MS.FF), otat (MS.BF) ‘liquid’
 Ch. *otit̪ɛ̃* (MS.FF), *otik* (MS.BF) ‘liquid’

In (72-73) one finds examples of cognates with different inflection in the BF. This could be due to the fact that in Chamacoco a diminutive suffix indicating endearment has probably been added to the root, although nowadays these words are no longer analysable as diminutives.

(72) Ay. dahate / dahaj (3.MS.FF), dahat (3.MS.BF) ‘brother (of a woman)’
 Ch. *dehebit̪ɛ̃* (3.MS.FF), *dahap* (3.MS.BF) ‘brother (of a woman)’

(73) Ay. desaj (3.MS.BF), desak (3.MS.BF) ‘brother (younger of a man)’
 Ch. *leçibit̪ɛ̃* (3.MS.FF), *leçap* (3.MS.BF) ‘brother (of a man)’

(74) Ay. neri (3.MS.FF), nerat (3.MS.BF) ‘uncle’ (mother’s brother)
 Ch. *nermit̪ɛ̃* (3.MS.FF), *nerap* (3.MS.BF) ‘uncle’

In AY feminine nominals, the singular BF and the singular FF coincide. The Ayoreo FS-FF does not have (at least no longer, see §14.3.2) suffixes comparable to CH *-/ta/* or *-/t̪ɛ̃a/* (75-76). The Ayoreo FS-BF thus coincides with the root (77-78).⁴⁷⁵ The glottal stop is only indicated in Chamacoco when it is morphologically relevant, i.e. when it helps to distinguish the FS-BF from

⁴⁷⁵ Unless it is derived from a MS-BF by attaching the suffix *-/e/* (§12.4).

the plural, as in (75-76) and (78-80). The FP suffix *-/e/* corresponds to the Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco FP suffix *-/i/*, used to form the plural BF. Apparently, the Chamacoco FP derives from a plural BF in the proto-language.⁴⁷⁶

(75) Ay. *abere* (FS.FF), *abere* (FS.BF) ‘sterile’

Ch. *ebiꞑa* (FS.FF), *ebir[?]* (FS.BF), *ebir / ebire* (FP) ‘sterile’

(76) Ay. *pare* (FS.FF), *pare* (FS.BF) ‘closed, stopped up’

Ch. *paꞑa* (FS.FF), *para / pare[?]* (FS.BF), *par[?]* ([M/F]S.BF) ‘virgin’, cf. *pare* (FP)

(77) Ay. *gapupita* (FS.FF), *gapupita* (FS.BF) ‘young teenager’

Ch. *apibitita* (FS.FF), *apibita* (FS.BF) ‘young teenager’

(78) Ay. *kedeꞑa* (FS.FF), *kedeꞑa* ([M/F]S.BF) ‘different, strange’

Ch. *kinahata* (FS.FF), *kinehe / kinaha* (FP), *kinaha[?]* ([M/F]S.BF) ‘different, strange’

(79) Ay. *toge* (FS.FF), *toge* (FS.BF) ‘dead’

Ch. *topita* (FS.FF), *topi[?]* (FS.BF) ‘dead’ cf. *topi / tope* (FP)

(80) Ay. *tarege* (FS.FF), *tarege* (FS.BF) ‘lazy’

Ch. *towiꞑa* (FS.FF), *towi[?] / towe[?]* (FS.BF) ‘lazy’ cf. *towi / towe* (FP)

The nominals in (81) are derived by means of the same irregular process in both languages. */s/* in the masculine turns into */t/* in the feminine. In (82) both AY *ijaroi /iharoj/* and CH *ilarc /ilartꞑ/* present epicene BF with */o/* as last vowel. The BF of *ijaroi /iharoj/* is regular, but final *-/o[?]/* in *ilaro[?] /ilaro[?]/* is unexpected given the FFs *ilarc /ilartꞑ/* and *ilarrza /ilaꞑa/*. Synchronically it should be considered a FS-BF suffix, but the comparison with Ayoreo shows that originally it was part of the root and deleted in the Chamacoco FF. In (83) the words clearly have the same root, but the comparison with Ayoreo shows that in Chamacoco a diminutive suffix has been incorporated into the word.

⁴⁷⁶ As will be shown in (§14.3.4), also the vast majority of Chamacoco MPs was originally a plural BF in the proto-language.

- (81) Ay. goto (FS.FF), goto (FS.BF) ‘someone, anyone’; cf. gosi (MS.FF)
 Ch. otita (FS.FF), oto (FS.BF) ‘person’ ; cf. oçt (MS.FF)
- (82) Ay. iharoj (MS.FF), iharo (FS.FF) ---> iharo ([M/F]S.BF) ‘old’
 Ch. ilartç (MS.FF), ilaııa (FS.FF) ---> ilaro² ([M/F]S.BF) ‘old’
- (83) Ay. nena (3.FS.FF), nena (3.FS.BF) ‘sister’ (of a brother)
 Ch. nanimitça (3.FS.FF), nanap (3.FS.BF) ‘sister’ (cf. other kinship nouns)

§14.3.2 The Ayoreo full-form suffix *-/i/*: a possible explanation

Given the current Ayoreo and Chamacoco FFs, it would be impossible to identify a morphological connection between them if data from Ancient Zamuco were not available. The comparison between Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco shows that Ayoreo is innovative with regard to the singular FF suffix *-/i/*. This paragraph will try to explain the Ayoreo state of affairs.

A.Z nominals with singular BF ending in a vowel add the suffix *-/tie/* to obtain the singular FF (84). Nominals in *-/k/* (85) lose this consonant in the singular FF, as in (86), an exception according to Chomé (1958: 126). The root-final consonant also drops in the singular FF of nominals in *-/t/* (87-88) (excepted *-/Vit/*, see ex. (94-95)). In this case, there is */i/* insertion before the FF suffix, which is not needed if the singular BF ends in *-/it/*. In this case, */i/* corresponds to CH epenthetic */i/* or */i/*, because it precedes *-/tie/*, corresponding to the Chamacoco FF suffixes *-/t/* or *-/tç/*. Therefore, Ancient Zamuco presented not only a FF suffix corresponding to the CH ones, but even the same epenthetic vowel. In (89), by contrast, there is no need for epenthesis.

- (84) Ay. putuguto (MS.BF), putugutoj (MS.FF) ‘jaguar’
 A.Z. putugutto (MS.BF), putuguttotie (MS.FF) ‘jaguar’
- (85) Ay. Ø
 A.Z. gadubec (MS.BF), gadubetie (MS.FF) ‘baton’
- (86) Ay. garajap (DIM.MS.BF), garajabi (DIM.MS.BF) ‘little field’
 A.Z. ugarap (DIM.MS.BF), ugaratie (DIM.MS.BF) ‘little field’⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁷ On the diminutive, see §14.3.

- (87) Ay. jot (MS.BF), jodi (MS.FF) ‘water’
 A.Z. yot (MS.BF), yoitie (MS.FF) ‘water’

- (88) Ay. Ø
 A.Z. pagarãt (MS.BF), pagaraitie (MS.FF) ‘captain’

- (89) Ay. Ø
 A.Z. pibidit (MS.BF), pibiditie (MS.FF) ‘host’

The epenthetic vowel is also to be found in other nominals (90-91), especially in A.Z nominals with singular BF ending in *-/p/* (92-93) or *-/Vit/* (94-95). In examples (92-95) the last radical consonant voices (*/p/ > /b/*, */t/ > /d/*) and possibly nasalizes (*/b/ > /m/*, */d/ > /n/*), as in Ayoreo.

As one can see in examples (90-95), when the comparison is possible, A.Z epenthetic */i/* is also present in Ayoreo, where the singular FF corresponds to the Ancient Zamuco FF minus *-/tie/*. There is, however, a notable difference. In Ayoreo, */i/* is no longer an epenthetic vowel, but rather the singular FF suffix. In other words, a suffix corresponding to A.Z *-/tie/* has dropped in Ayoreo and the epenthetic vowel has been reinterpreted as a MS-FF suffix. The newly created suffix */i/* was then extended to all masculine nominals, so that now it is also present in AY words whose A.Z cognates present no epenthesis, as in (84). This process extended to all AY words. In examples (86) and (87), the last consonant of the Ancient Zamuco singular BF drops in the singular FF, while in the AY counterparts the last consonant simply voices (86) and, when required, nasalizes (87).

- (90) Ay. ãp (MS.BF), emi (MS.FF) ‘wind’
 A.Z. em (MS.BF), emitie (MS.FF) ‘wind’

- (91) Ay. juñor (3.MS.BF), juñori (3.MS.FF) ‘killer’
 A.Z. chugore (MS.BF), chugoritie (MS.FF) ‘killer’

- (92) Ay. erãp (MS.BF), erami (MS.FF) ‘wood’
 A.Z. erãp (MS.BF), eramitie (MS.FF) ‘wood’

- (93) Ay. ipesut (3.MS.BF), ipesudi (3.MS.FF) ‘what is done’
 A.Z. pipiazup (MS.BF), pipiazubitie / pipiazutitie (MS.BF) ‘work’

- (94) Ay. *gait* (3.MS.BF), *gaidi* (3.MS.FF) ‘purpose, intention’
 A.Z. *gait* (MS.BF), *gaiditie* (MS.FF) ‘end of the round’
- (95) Ay. *itihabait* (3.MS.BF), *itihabaidi* (3.MS.FF) ‘cause of amazement’
 A.Z. *pinãrait* (MS.BF), *pinãrãinitie* (MS.FF) ‘amazing’

In conclusion, the data from Ancient Zamuco shade new light into the origin of the Ayoreo MS-FF suffix and also show an unexpected indirect connection between the Ayoreo MS-FF suffix and the CH epenthetic vowel (/i/ or /i/) in masculine nominals.

The hypothesis that this AY innovation is due to the loss of the A.Z suffix *-/tie/* (or equivalent) is confirmed by feminine nominals. If one assumes that the original nominal inflection of Ayoreo was similar to the A.Z one, then also a suffix corresponding to Ancient Zamuco *-/tae/* and CH *-/ta/* or *-/t̥a/* must have disappeared in the FS-FF. However, while the original Ayoreo singular FF suffixes have been lost and a new suffix has originated in the MS-FF, nothing of the sort occurred in the FS-FF, which, differently from the other Zamucoan languages, in many cases does not have any specific morphological marker.⁴⁷⁸ Interestingly, the original singular FF suffixes are to be found in Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco, with a low percentage of lexical similarity, whereas this is not the case in Ayoreo, despite its remarkable similarity to Ancient Zamuco.

§14.3.3 The Chamacoco full-form and the Ayoreo base-form

The Chamacoco MS-FF takes the suffix *-/t/* or *-/t̥/*. The FF in *-/t/* of some CH nominals may coincide with the BF of the corresponding AY nominals, as in (96-99). Note that for the CH nominals in (97-99) no BF is observed. This suggests that the FF was originally a BF.⁴⁷⁹ In (99) the

⁴⁷⁸ The Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco FS-FF suffixes (*-/tae/* and *-/ta/*, *-/t̥a/*) differ from their masculine counterparts (*-/tie/* and *-/t/*, *-/t̥/*) in final or pre-final /a/, which in Ancient Zamuco is opposed to /i/ in the masculine. In the IF suffixes of all Zamucoan languages, /i/ (or /i/) is associated to the masculine, and /a/ to the feminine (see §14.4.1-§14.4.2). The Ayoreo FS-FF morpheme /a/ clearly derives from this element.

⁴⁷⁹ If this is so, the BF of *aat* /a:t/ could be a newly created form.

CH plural *ihĩrtso* corresponds to the AY plural in *-/t̥o/* (on this plural, see §14.3.7).

(96) Ay. *adi* (3.MS.FF), *at* (3.MS.BF), *at̥o* (3.MP.BF) *adode* (3.MP.FF) ‘body’
Ch. *at* (3.MS.FF), *a:²* (3.MS.BF), *ailo* (3.MP) ‘smell; body’

(97) Ay. *gat̥idi* (3.MS.FF), *gat̥it* (3.MS.BF), *gat̥it̥o* (3.MP.BF), *gat̥idode* (3.MP.FF)
‘pet, domesticated animal; vehicle’
Ch. *et̥it* (3.MS), *et̥ijo* (3.MP), *et̥o* (3.MP) ‘pet, domesticated animal’

(98) Ay. *udi* (3.MS.FF), *ut* (3.MS.BF), *ut̥o* (3.MP.BF), *udode* (3.MP.FF)
‘under, below, underneath’
Ch. *uit* (3.MS.FF), *uilo* (3.MP) ‘under, below, underneath’
A.Z. *uitie* (MS.FF), *uddi* (MS.BF), *uddio* (MP.BF), *udoddoe* (MP.FF)
‘below, behind’

(99) Ay. *weradi* (MS.FF), *werat* (MS.BF), *werat̥o* (MP.BF), *weradode* (MP.FF)
‘pretty, nice’
Ch. *ihĩrt* (MS.FF), *ihĩrtso* (MP) ‘handsome’

The same occurs when the Chamacoco FF ends in *-/t̥/*, which corresponds to the Ayoreo BF in *-/t/*. In some cases, a variant of the Chamacoco FF in *-/t/* is also observed, although less used than the *-/t̥/* variant.

AY nominals with singular BF in *-/t̥/* or *-/t/* have plural BF in *-/t̥o/*. The same also occurs in Ancient Zamuco (see *pitie* (103)).⁴⁸⁰ This alternation between */t/* and */t̥/* in the AY root reminds of the alternation between the Chamacoco FF suffixes *-/t/* and *-/t̥/*. One can wonder whether the presence of two FF suffixes, *-/t/* and *-/t̥/* in Chamacoco depends on the same phenomenon which caused the alternation between */t/* and */t̥/* in the root of AY and A.Z nominals. The correspondence between Chamacoco FF and Ayoreo BF suggests that in some cases the former probably derives from an original BF and that the morphological boundary was probably reanalysed. If this is so, the original Chamacoco FF has been lost. This explains why in several

⁴⁸⁰ “Todos los terminados en *c*, o en *t*, hazen *cho*. *Daparebec...* pedigueno, *Daparebecho...* pedigueños. *pit...* palo. *picho...* palos” (Chomé 1958: 124).

nominals no BF is reported. In the following examples there are no CH plurals corresponding to the AY plurals in *-/t̥o/*. In (103-105) *-/o/* is probably added after the reanalysis of the morphological boundaries and the disappearance of the suffix **-/jo/* in Chamacoco (see §14.3.7), otherwise the plural would end in *-/tso/* as in (99), while in (100-102) and (106) the CH plural does not correspond to the Ayoreo plural BF (see §14.3.6).

(100) Ay. kukarani (MS.FF), kukarāt (MS.BF), kukarāt̥o (MP.BF), kukaranone (MP.FF)
 ‘mountain, hill’

Ch. kojāt̥ / kojāt (MS.FF), kojano (MP) ‘mountain, stone’

AZ. cucaraitie (MS.FF) ‘stone’

(101) Ay. otadi (MS.FF), otat (MS.BF), otat̥o (MP.BF), otadode (MP.FF)
 ‘juice, broth, liquid’

Ch. otit̥ / otit (MS.FF), otik (MS.BF), otilo (MP) ‘liquid, juice’

(102) Ay. hogadi (3.MS.FF), hogat (3.MS.BF), hogat̥o (3.MP.BF), hogadode (3.MP.FF)
 ‘place, location’

Ch. owit̥ / owit (3.MS), owilo (3.MP) ‘place’

(103) Ay. pidi (MS.FF), pit (MS.BF), pit̥o (MP.BF), pidode (MP.FF)
 ‘stick, firewood (in the plural)’

Ch. pit̥ (MS.FF), pijo (MP) ‘stick, firewood, wood’

A.Z. pitie (MS.FF), pit (MP.BF), picho (MS.BF), pidoddoe (MP.FF) ‘stick, wood’

(104) Ay. purudi (GF.MS.FF), purut (GF.MS.BF), purut̥o (GF.MP.BF),
 purudode (GF.MP.FF) ‘shade’

Ch. pur̥t̥ (MS.FF), pur̥k (MS.BF), pur̥ruwo / puruwo (MP) ‘shade, shadow’

(105) Ay. etarudi (3.MS.FF), etarut (3.MS.BF), etarút̥o (3.MP.BF), etarúdode (3.MP.FF)
 ‘thigh, part of the leg between hip and thigh’

Ch. itert̥ (3.MS.FF), iterk (3.MS.BF), itero (3.MS) ‘thigh’

(106) Ay. ugutadi (3.MS.FF), ugutat (3.MS.BF), ugutat̥o (3.MP.BF),
 ugutadode (3.MP.FF) ‘pillow, cushion’

Ch. itit̥ (3.MS), itilo (3.MP) ‘pillow’

§14.3.4 Chamacoco nominals with plural in -/o/

In Chamacoco there is no difference between BF and FF in the plural, although the proto-language probably presented two plural forms. Actually, the few CH plurals in *-/tso/* seem to be used in BF contexts (see §13.7.1, ex. (118-119)), while the standard MP suffix is *-/o/*. The latter suffix is used in Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo as MP-BF (107-109). Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco present the MP-FF suffixes *-/ode/* and *-/oddoe/* (*-/odoe/*), respectively. Note the correspondence between the Chamacoco and Ayoreo BF.

(107) Ay. *usuguruj* (3.MS.FF), *usuguru* (3.MS.BF), *usuguruo* (3.MS.BF),
usuguruode (3.MP.FF) ‘fingernail, claw, hoof’

Ch. *duçurtç* (3.MS.FF), *duçurk / duçur*² (MS.BF), *duçuro* (3.MP) ‘nail, claw, hoof’

(108) Ay. *igiosi* (3.MS), *igios* (3.MP), *igioso* (3.MP.BF), *igiosode* (3.MP.FF) ‘relatives’

Ch. *i:sit* (3.MS.FF), *i:s* (3.MS.BF), *i:so* (3.MP) ‘relative’

(109) Ay. *iharoj* (MS.FF), *iharo* ([M/F]S.BF), *iharo* (MP.BF), *iharode* (MP) ‘old’

Ch. *ilartç* (MS.FF), *ilaro*² ([M/F]S.BF), *ilaro* (MP) ‘old’

In examples (107-109) the correspondence between the CH plural and the Ayoreo plural BF in *-/o/* is evident, but the AY or A.Z plural BF does not always correspond exactly to the CH plural, because AY and A.Z nominals with consonant-ending root show the plural BF suffix *-/jo/* (or *-/io/*), as in (110-114).⁴⁸¹ In this case, one wonders whether such CH plurals correspond to Ayoreo or Ancient Zamuco plural BFs in *-/io/* or to plural FFs with dropping of the last syllable *-/de/*. The answer is that the CH plurals in (110-114) were originally plural BFs, since AY and A.Z *-/jo/* (or *-/io/*) and *-/o/* are allomorphs.

(110) Ay. *abi* (3.MS.FF), *ap* (3.MS.BF), *abio* (3.MP.BF), *abode* (3.MP.FF) ‘child’

Ch. *a:p* (3.[M/F]S.BF), *a:bo* (3.MP) ‘child’

A.Z. *yabitie* (1.MS.FF), *yap* (1.MS.BF), *yaboddoe* (1.MP.FF) ‘child’

⁴⁸¹ For similar A.Z examples, see §14.2, ex. (30) and (33).

- (111) Ay. aṇami (3.MS.FF), aṇap (3.MS.BF), aṇamio (3.MP.BF), aṇamone (3.MP.FF)
 ‘grandson’
 Ch. aṇimitç (3.MS.FF), aṇap (3.[M/F]S.BF), aṇimo (3.MP) ‘grandson’
- (112) Ay. kutçabi (GF.MS.FF), kutçap (GF.MS.BF), kutçabio (GF.MP.BF),
 kutçabode (GF.MP.FF) ‘little thing’
 Ch. kutçabit (MS.FF), kutçap (MS.BF), kutça:bo (MP) ‘little thing’
- (113) Ay. ṇumi (MS.FF), ṇup (MS.BF), ṇumio (MP.BF), ṇumone (MP.FF)
 ‘earth; ground; floor; dust’
 Ch. ṇimitç (MS), ṇimo (MP) ‘land, ground’
- (114) Ay. erubi (3.MS.FF), erup (3.MS.BF), erubio (3.MP.BF), erubode (3.MP.FF) ‘urine’
 Ch. iḥirbitç (3.MS.FF), iḥirap (3.MS.BF), iḥirbo (3.MP) ‘urine’

Some morphophonological processes take place in the AY and A.Z plurals when /jo/ is added. For instance, in (115-120) -/jo/ palatalizes the root-final consonant, yielding -/ɲo/.⁴⁸² This does not occur in Chamacoco, where -/o/ is used. In (115-120) there is a general correspondence between the Ayoreo and Chamacoco singular BFs, although in Chamacoco there is a tendency to regularize the masculine BF by adding the suffix -/k/.

- (115) Ay. ikasisōri (3.MS.FF), ikasisōr (3.MS.BF), ikasisoṇo (3.MP.BF),
 ikasisorone (3.MP.FF) ‘opponent who is not afraid; challenger in a battle’
 Ch. asipsĩrtç (3.MS.FF), asipsĩr² (3.[M/F]S.BF), asipsĩro (3.MP)
 ‘opponent in combat’
- (116) Ay. uṇari (3.MS.FF), uṇar (3.MS.BF), uṇaṇo (3.MP.BF), uṇariṇone (3.MP.FF)
 ‘breath, respiration’
 Ch. ijertç (3.MS), ijero (3.MP) ‘breath, breathing’,
- (117) Ay. osōrasōri (3.MS.FF), osōrasōr (3.MS.BF), osōrasōṇo (3.MP.BF),
 osōrasōrone (3.MP.FF) ‘one who is merciful, compassionate’
 Ch. josĩrsĩrtç (MS.FF), josĩrsĩrk / josĩrsĩr² (MS.BF), josĩrsĩro (MP)
 ‘liberator, merciful person’

⁴⁸² For similar A.Z. examples, see §14.2, ex. (29), (31) and (32).

(118) Ay. juḡori (3.MS.FF), juḡor (3.MS.BF), juḡorone (3.MP.FF), juḡoḡo (3.MP.BF)
 ‘killer; winner in a game’

Ch. juwĩrtɕ / juwĩrt (MS.FF), juwĩr² ([M/F]S.BF) / juwĩrk (MS.BF), juwĩro (MP)
 ‘killer’

(119) Ay. gaḡesõri (3.MS.FF), gaḡesõr (3.MS.BF), gaḡesoḡo (3.MP.BF),
 gaḡesõrone (3.MP.FF) ‘owner, master, possessor’

Ch. jĩnsĩrtɕ (3.MS.FF), jĩnsĩrk / jĩnsĩr² (3.MS.BF), jĩnsĩro (3.MP)
 ‘master / owner / employer’

(120) Ay. jusõri (3.MS.FF), jusõr (3.MS.BF), jusõḡo (3.MP.BF), jusõrone (3.MP.FF)
 ‘killer; winner in a game’

Ch. irsĩrtɕ (3.MS.FF), irsĩr² / irsĩrk (3.MS.BF), irsĩro (3.MP) ‘winner’

Examples (121-125) feature AY nominals with MP-BF in *-/tɕo/* which correspond to CH nominals with the MP suffix *-/o/*. Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco MP-BFs in *-/tɕo/* are yielded by palatalization of root-final */t/* and */k/* before the MP-BF suffix *-/jo/*. This mechanism is no longer to be found in Chamacoco, where the ending *-/tso/*, rarely preserved, was reinterpreted as a MP suffix (see §14.3.7) and most nominals present the MP suffix *-/o/*. However, the presence of plurals in *-/tso/* suggests that **-/jo/* was also present in Chamacoco. The AY nominals in (121-125) show singular BF in *-/k/*, also to be observed in Chamacoco, where final */k/* was reinterpreted as a singular BF suffix and, consequently, is not preserved in the MP.

(121) Ay. arej (3.MS.FF), arek (3.MS.BF), aretɕo (3.MP.BF), areode (3.MP.FF) ‘tongue’
 Ch. ahãrtɕ (3.MS.FF), ahãrk (3.MS.BF), ahãro (3.MP) ‘tongue’

(122) Ay. ahamej (MS.FF), ahamec (MS.BF), ahametɕo (MP.BF),
 ahameone (MP.FF) ‘armadillo’

Ch. aḡurmĩt (MS.FF), aḡurmĩk (MS.BF), aḡurmo (MP) ‘armadillo’

(123) Ay. uḡoj (3.MS.FF), uḡok (3.MS.BF), uḡotɕo (3.MP.BF), uḡoḡone (3.MP.FF)
 ‘wing of bird’

Ch. ihĩt (3.MS), ijõ (3.MP), ijãk (3.MS.BF) ‘wing; leaf’ (variant: ijĩt)

(124) Ay. pej (MS.FF), pek (MS.BF), pet̩o (MP.BF), peode (MP.FF) ‘piece’
 Ch. pit (MS.FF), pik (MS.BF), po (MP) ‘piece’

(125) Ay. eroj (3.MS.FF), erok (3.MS.BF), erot̩o (3.MP.BF), erogode (3.MP.FF)
 ‘firewood’
 Ch. urt̩ (3.MS.FF), uro (3.MP), urk (3.MS.BF) ‘piece of wood’

§14.3.5 Nominals with plural in *-/jo/* or *-/wo/*

CH nominals exhibit plural in *-/jo/* when the root ends in *-/j/* or *-/i/*.⁴⁸³ In the former case the corresponding AY nominals also have root in *-/j/* and both languages show the plural suffix *-/o/* (126-128). In the latter case, */j/* of *-/jo/* is an insertion in Chamacoco (129-131). In these examples, CH root-final */i/* is also to be observed in the AY root, but not necessarily in root-final position.⁴⁸⁴

(126) Ay. abaj (3.MS.FF), abaj (3.MS.BF), abajo (3.MP.BF), abajode (3.MP.FF)
 ‘husband’
 Ch. abit̩ (3.MS), abej (3.MS.BF), abijo (3.MP) ‘husband’

(127) Ay. daj / dajé (3.MS.FF), daj (3.MS.BF), dajo (3.MP.BF), dajode (3.MP.FF) ‘father’
 Ch. dejt̩ (3.MS), dej (3.MS.BF), dejo (3.MP) ‘father’

(128) Ay. gaj (3.MS.FF), gaj (3.MS.BF), gajo (3.MP.BF), gajode (3.MP.FF) ‘over’
 Ch. ejt̩ (3.MS), ejo (3.MP) ‘on, over; surface, roof’

(129) Ay. orotabidi (3.MS.FF), orotabit (3.MS.BF), orotabit̩o (3.MP.FF),
 orotabidode (3.MP.FF) ‘rib’
 Ch. aꞤjibit̩ (3.MS.FF), aꞤjibijo (3.MP) ‘rib’

(130) Ay. pidi (MS.FF), pit (MS.BF) pit̩o (MP.BF), pidode (MP.FF)
 ‘stick, firewood (in the plural)’
 Ch. pit̩ (MS.FF), pijo (MP) ‘stick, firewood, wood’
 A.Z. pitie (MS.FF), pit (MP.BF), picho (MS.BF), pidoddoe (MP.FF) ‘stick, wood’

⁴⁸³ Leaving aside the final glottal stop.

⁴⁸⁴ On the reinterpretation of the root in Chamacoco, see §14.3.9.

- (131) Ay. abuhi (3.MS.FF), abuhi (3.MS.BF), abuhio (3.MP.BF), abuhiode (3.MP.FF)
 ‘nephew, woman’s brother’s son’
 Ch. debihit / debihit̩ (3.MS), debijo (3.MP), debihik (3.MS.BF) ‘nephew’
 (also: debuhut̩ (3.MS.FF))

This does not imply that all AY cognates in (126-131) have their plural BF in *-/jo/* or *-/io/*. Plurals in *-/t̩o/* are also to be found (129-130), but this kind of plural is rarely observed in Chamacoco (see §14.3.7) where the suffix *-/o/* is generally used. However, in (129-130) a CH plural in *-/jo/* corresponds to an AY plural with the suffix *-/jo/* but, CH */j/* is an insertion. The same applies to (133). In (132) */i/* is obviously part of the root. In (133) no trace of */i/* is to be found in the FF *imisht /imiçt̩/*, but it emerges in the plural *imishiyo /imiçijo/* and this is confirmed by the comparison with AY *bisit*. The same can be observed in (134), where */r/* is absent in the FF *aach /a:t̩/*, although it belongs to the root of its AY cognate and re-emerges in the CH plural *aaryo /a:rjo/*. In (135) epenthetic */j/* shows up in the plural owing to phonotactic reasons, that is in order to avoid the sequence **/io/*, which is illegal in Chamacoco. Note that in the BF */dit̩ik̩iri:jak/*, */a/* of the suffix originally belonged to the root, as one can see in the corresponding AY nominal.

- (132) Ay. i (3.MS.FF), i (3.MS.BF), io (3.MP.BF), iode (3.MP.FF) ‘name’
 Ch. it̩ (3.MS), ijo (3.MP), ik̩ (3.MS.BF) ‘name’

- (133) Ay. bisidi (MS.FF), bisit (MS.BF), bisit̩o (MP.BF), bisidode (MP.FF) ‘medicine’
 Ch. imiçt̩ (3.MS.FF), imiçijo (3.MP) ‘medicine’

- (134) Ay. garaj (MS.FF), garaj (MS.BF), garajo (MP.BF), garane (MP.FF)
 ‘open space in village or woods; field’
 Ch. at̩ (MS.FF), arjo (MP) ‘field’

- (135) Ay. kirakiraj (MS.FF), kirakira (MS.BF), kirakira (MP.BF), kirakirade (MP.FF)
 ‘type of bird’ (*Caracara plancus*)
 Ch. dit̩ik̩irit (MS.FF), dit̩ik̩iri:jak (MS.BF), dit̩ik̩iri:jo (MP)
 ‘type of bird’ (*Caracara plancus*)

CH /i/ may correspond to AY /u/, as in (136). By contrast, CH /u/ (or /i/) corresponds to AY /i/ in (137-138), where both vowels belong to the root. CH /w/ is an insertion before the plural suffix -/o/ when /u/ is part of the plural root (138). In (139) /u/ is the root-final vowel in both languages, at least in the plural. In (138) and (139) the CH root vowel /u/ only emerges in the plural.

(136) Ay. uguhi (3.MS.FF), uguk (3.MS.BF), ugut̩çɔ (3.MP.BF), ugugode (3.MP.FF)
 ‘path’

Ch. ixit̩ç (3.MS.FF), ixik (MS.BF), ixijo (3.MP) ‘path’

(137) Ay. idaj (3.MS.FF), idaj (3.MS.BF), idajo (3.MP.BF), idajode (MP.FF)
 ‘village; town’

Ch. dit / dut (MS), duwo (MP) ‘village’

(138) Ay. uri (n.3MS), urik (3.MS.BF), urit̩çɔ (3.MP.BF), urigode (3.MP.FF) ‘dream’⁴⁸⁵

Ch. ur̩t̩ç (3.MS), ur̩k (3MS.BF), ur̩ruwo (3MP) ‘dream’

(139) Ay. purudi (GF.MS.FF), purut (GF.MS.BF), purut̩çɔ (GF.MP.BF),
 purudode (GF.MP.FF) ‘shade’

Ch. pur̩t̩ç (MS.FF), pur̩k (MS.BF), pur̩ruwo / puruwo (MP) ‘shade, shadow’

Occasionally, CH /w/ (or /w̩/) corresponds to AY /r/, as in (140-142). In (142) the CH plural presents the alternation of /r/ and /w/ in the root.

(140) Ay. orerāj (MS.FF), orerāk (MS.BF), orerāt̩çɔ (MP.BF), orerāne (MP.FF)
 ‘valuable, precious’

Ch. oruhut (MS.FF), oruwo (MP) ‘precious’

(141) Ay. tarej (MS.FF), tarek (MS.BF), taret̩çɔ (MP.BF), taregode (MP.FF) ‘lazy person’

Ch. towit (MS.FF), tok (MS.BF), towo (MP.BF) ‘lazy, idle’

(142) Ay. ũriaroj (3.MS.FF), ũriaro (3.MS.BF), ũriaro (3.MS.FF), ũriarone (3.MP.FF)
 ‘molar; hinge of jawbone’

⁴⁸⁵ “Usually used in the plural *urigode*” (Higham *et al.* 2000: 840).

Ch. *irürt* / *irürtɕ* (MS), *irürk* (MS.BF), *irũwo* (MP) ‘tooth’⁴⁸⁶ (also: *urürtɕ*)

Apparently, in Chamacoco there is a tendency to regularize the plurals in *-/jo/*, which turn into plurals in *-/o/*. In (143), the AY root is *-/atɕit/*. Accordingly, in its CH cognate *echit* /*etɕit/*, /*i/* or /*i/* is expected to be part of the root and indeed the plural *echiyo* /*etɕijo/* is observed. However, the more “regular” plural *echo* /*etɕo/* is also to be found, since most CH nominals in *-/it/* take *-/o/* in the plural without glide insertion. In (144-145), the comparison with AY nominals with root in *-/i/* shows that CH /*i/* or /*i/* was originally a root vowel, although it is not preserved in the plural.

(143) Ay. *gatɕidi* (3.MS.FF), *gatɕit* (3.MS.BF), *gatɕitɕo* (3.MP.BF), *gatɕidode* (3.MP.FF)
 ‘pet, domesticated animal; vehicle’

Ch. *etɕit* (3.MS), *etɕijo* (3.MP), *etɕo* (3.MP)
 ‘pet, domesticated animal’

(144) Ay. *dakide* (3.MS), *daki* (3.MS.BF), *dakio* (3.MP.BF), *dakiode* (3.MP.FF)
 ‘grand-father’

Ch. *dekitɕ* (3.MS), *deko* (3.MP) ‘grand-father’

(145) Ay. *orietɕoki* (MS.FF), *orietɕoki* (MS.BF), *orietɕokio* (MP.BF),
orietɕokiode (MP.FF) ‘robber’

Ch. *etɕikit* (MS.FF), *etɕiko* (MP), *etɕiki*[?] ([M/F]S.BF) ‘thief’

In most case, however, when Ayoreo or Ancient Zamuco present the MP-BF */io/*, the CH plural forms do not end in *-/jo/*, but in *-/o/*, because */i/* is not part of the root.

(146) Ay. *ɲumi* (MS.FF), *ɲup* (MS.BF), *ɲumio* (MP.BF), *ɲumone* (MP.FF)
 ‘earth; ground; floor; dust’

Ch. *ɲimitɕ* (MS), *ɲimo* (MP) ‘land, ground’

(147) Ay. *erubi* (3.MS.FF), *erup* (3.MS.BF), *erubio* (3.MP.BF), *erubode* (3.MP.FF) ‘urine’

Ch. *ihirbitɕ* (3.MS.FF), *ihirap* (3.MS.BF), *ihirbo* (3.MP) ‘urine’

⁴⁸⁶ A plural form *irũro* is also found, but is not accepted by all speakers.

§14.3.6 The Chamacoco plural suffix *-/lo/*

Some CH nominals take the plural suffix *-/lo/* or *-/no/*. This is the case in (148-153); the corresponding AY nominals present root in *-/t/*. By contrast, in (154-156) one finds CH nominals with plural in *-/lo/* or *-/no/* with no such correspondence in Ayoreo.

Let us begin by analysing the nominals in (148-153). AY root-final */t/* voices into */d/* when the plural FF suffix *-/ode/* is added, corresponding to A.Z *-(o)ddoe /odoe/*.⁴⁸⁷ Unfortunately, the very page where Chomé described the plural FF of nominals with root in *-/t/* has been lost. Nevertheless, some paradigms, such as *piperocaiditie /piperokaiditie/* (150) and *pitie* (157), can be extracted from Chomé's grammar. In (150) and (157), the Ancient Zamuco plural FF is very similar to the AY one: */t/* voices into */d/* and the suffix *-oddoe (-/odoe/)* is added. In examples (148-153), the CH plurals in *-/lo/* or *-/no/* correspond to Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco plural FFs via loss of *-/de/* and *-ddoe (-/doe/)* respectively. In this connection, three hypotheses suggest themselves.

The first hypothesis, based on examples (148-153), claims that, from a proto-language more similar to Ancient Zamuco than to Ayoreo or Chamacoco, a suffix reduction process consisting in the loss of *-/de/* or *-ddoe (-/doe/)* took place: A.Z *d-oddoe /d-odoe/* ---> AY */d-ode/* ---> CH **-/d-o/* > *-/lo/*. Then, the original Proto-Zamuco suffix would have reduced to *-/o/* in Chamacoco, where the morpheme boundary was reanalysed, giving rise to the new morpheme *-/lo/*, with */l/* coming from */d/*. */l/* and */d/* are indeed related to each other, for in word-initial position they are free-variant allophones. Moreover, */l/* has no phonematic status in Ayoreo and in Ancient Zamuco. In (149) *-/no/* is the nasalized counterpart of *-/lo/*; this is a rare trace of the nasalization process widely observed in Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo plural FFs.

⁴⁸⁷ Here A.Z data are reported in Chomé's orthography, where the double consonant <dd> does not seem to correspond to a geminated consonant [dd], but it was probably used to indicate that the preceding vowel was a short one (Kelm 1964: 462).

- (148) Ay. *adi* (3.MS.FF), *at* (3.MS.BF), *at̃o* (3.MP.BF), *adode* (3.MP.FF) ‘body’
 Ch. *a:t* (3.MS.FF), *a:²* (3.MS.BF), *a:lo* (3.MP) ‘smell; body’
- (149) Ay. *kukarãni* (MS.FF), *kukarãt* (MS.BF), *kukarãt̃o* (MP.BF), *kukarãnone* (MP.FF)
 ‘mountain, hill’
 Ch. *koxãt̃e* / *koxãt* (MS.FF), *koxãno* (MP) ‘mountain, stone’
 A.Z. *cucaraitie* (MS.FF) ‘stone’
- (150) Ay. *hogadi* (3.MS.FF), *hogat* (3.MS.BF), *hogat̃o* (3.MP.BF), *hogadode* (3.MP.FF)
 ‘place, location’
 Ch. *owit̃e* / *owit* (3.MS), *owilo* (3.MP) ‘place’
 cf. A.Z. *piperocaiditie* (MS.FF), *piperocait* (MS.BF), *piperocacho* (MP.BF),
piperocaidoddoe (MP.FF) ‘place where you go for something’
- (151) Ay. *otadi* (MS.FF), *otat* (MS.BF), *otat̃o* (MP.BF), *otadode* (MP.FF)
 ‘juice, broth, liquid’
 Ch. *otit̃e* / *otit* (MS.FF), *otik* (MS.BF), *otilo* (MP) ‘liquid, juice’
- (152) Ay. *udi* (3.MS.FF), *ut* (3.MS.BF), *ut̃o* (3.MP.BF), *udode* (3.MP.FF)
 ‘under, below, underneath’
 Ch. *urt* (3.MS.FF), *u:lo* (3.MP) ‘under, below, underneath’
 A.Z. *uitie* (MS.FF), *uddi* (MS.BF), *uddio* (MP.BF), *udoddoe* (MP.FF)
 ‘below, behind’
- (153) Ay. *ugutadi* (3.MS.FF), *ugutat* (3.MS.BF), *ugutat̃o* (3.MP.BF),
ugutadode (3.MP.FF) ‘pillow, cushion’
 Ch. *itit̃e* (3.MS) ‘pillow’, *itilo* (3.MP)
- (154) Ay. *diri* (MS.FF), *dir* (MS.BF), *djno* (MP.BF), *dirode* (MP.BF) ‘day’
 Ch. *de:jt̃e* (MS.FF), *da:lo* (MP) ‘day’
 A.Z. *diritie* (MS.FF) *dire* (MS.BF), *diyo* (MP.BF) ‘day’
- (155) Ay. *erami* (MS.FF), *erãp* (MS.BF), *eramio* (MP.BF), *eramone* (MP.FF)
 ‘earth, world, woods, land’
 Ch. *ormit* (MS.FF) ‘wood, woods’, *ormo* / *ormilo* (MP), *ormik* (MS.BF)
 Ch. *irmit* (MS.FF) ‘edge’, *irmino* (MP) ‘edge’, *irmo* (MP) ‘world’,
irmik (MS.BF)⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁸ The AY word *erãmi* ‘woods, world’ corresponds to two CH words *ormit* ‘woods’ and *irmit*,

- (156) Ay. poti (3.MS.FF), pos (3.MS.BF), poso (3.MP.BF), posode (3.MP.FF) ‘food’
 Ch. poçt (3.MS), pos (3.MS.BF), poso / posilo (rare) (3.MP) ‘food’
 A.Z. yibosoddoe (1.MP.FF) ‘food’

- (157) Ay. pidi (MS.FF), pit (MS.BF) pitçø (MP.BF), pidode (MP.FF)
 ‘stick, firewood (in the plural)’
 Ch. pitç (MS.FF), pijo (MP) ‘stick, firewood, wood’
 AZ. pitie (MS.FF), pit (MP.BF), picho (MS.BF), pidoddoe (MP.FF) ‘stick, wood’

The fact that, by hypothesis, the original FF suffix reduced to *-/o/* in Chamacoco made it coincide with the original plural BF suffix *-/o/*. This could explain the loss of the BF vs. FF contrast in the plural.

The first hypothesis, however, does not take into account nominals such as those in (154-156), which present the suffix *-/no/* or *-/lo/* not deriving from the root, because the latter does not end in *-/t/* here. There is an alternative hypothesis concerning the origin of CH plurals in *-/lo/* or *-/no/*. The suffixes *-/lo/* or *-/no/* might result from the suffix *-(o)ddoe* (*-/(o)doe/*), rather than from the final part of the root. One can surmise that in the nominals in (148-153), the original root-final consonant (*/t/*) had already been reinterpreted, so that voicing into */d/* was no longer possible. In (158) the possible evolution of the CH suffixes corresponding to A.Z *-/tae/* and *-(o)ddoe* (*-/(o)doe/*) is proposed. A.Z final */e/* is not preserved in Chamacoco, as one can see in the feminine FF suffix (158). The same could have occurred with the final */e/* of *(o)ddoe* *-/(o)doe/*. The CH suffix *-/lo/* or *-/no/* would thus correspond to the A.Z suffix *-(o)ddoe* (*-/(o)doe/*), just as the AY suffix *-/(o)de/*.

- (158) *-tae* (A.Z) ---> *-ta* (Ch)
-(o)ddoe (*-/odoe/*) (A.Z) ---> **-do* > *-lo* (Ch)
-(o)ddoe (*-/odoe/*) (A.Z) ---> *-(o)de* (Ay)⁴⁸⁹

whose plural *irmo* means ‘world’. Both *erámi* and its CH counterparts, *ormit* and *irmit*, have no possessive inflection.

⁴⁸⁹ In (158), I do not mean that the AY and CH suffixes *-/(o)de/* and *-/lo/* or *-/no/* derive from the A.Z ones, but that in this case the A.Z suffix *-(o)ddoe* (*-/(o)doe/*) is probably the most similar to the MP-FF suffix in the Proto-Zamuco.

An alternative hypothesis is that *-/lo/* has originated from the MP-BF suffix *-/jo/*, in analogy with verbs showing alternation between */l/* and */j/* root-initially (§5.4.9), but the fact that */l/* in most cases corresponds to AY and A.Z. */d/* (for instance in the 3-irrealis prefix) suggests that *-/lo/* was originally a plural FF suffix.

According to the first hypothesis, the last part of the original root has been preserved and reanalysed in Chamacoco, while in the second one the root underwent simplification. The second hypothesis is to be preferred, because the CH suffix *-/lo/* or *-/no/* does not only emerge in nominals whose original BF ended in *-/t/* (see §14.3.3). In the CH plurals corresponding to the AY and A.Z plurals in *-/tɕo/*, the last consonant of the original BF is not preserved in most cases: only the suffix *-/o/* is added. This is indirect confirmation of the second hypothesis. If this is correct, one may also surmise that in the CH nominals with an original BF in *-/t/* haplology occurred: **/dodoe/ > /dodo/ > /do/ > /lo/*.

In conclusion, the CH suffix *-/lo/* or *-/no/* directly corresponds to the A.Z suffix *-(o)ddoe* (*-/(o)doe/*) and to the AY suffix *-(o)de/*. Although the difference between BF and FF has been lost in Chamacoco and the original BF suffix is unconditionally used to form the plural, some plural forms definitely derive from an original plural FF. These are probably traces of the existence of the plural BF vs. plural FF contrast in an earlier phase of the language.

The suffix *-/lo/* is also used as plural or greater plural marker in personal pronouns and in verb morphology. In the other Zamucoan languages, no plural suffix used in personal pronouns or in verb morphology shows similarities with any FF affix. On the contrary, the 2P-person suffixes used for plural persons of A.Z and AY verb inflection possibly derive from plural BF suffixes (see §14.3.14).

§14.3.7 Plurals in *-/tɕo/* and *-/tso/*

In most cases, Chamacoco MPs take the suffix *-/o/*, stemming from the Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco MP-BF suffix *-/o/*. The exceptions are the plurals

in *-/lo/* or *-/no/*. Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco often present plural BFs in *-/t̥o/*. The corresponding CH plural has usually regularized into an ordinary plural in *-/o/*. Nevertheless, a few CH plurals in *-/tso/* (or *-/t̥o/*) are to be observed. In (159) only *-/tso/* is reported, while in (160) *-/tso/* is rare and *-/o/* is preferred (about these plurals, see also §13.7.1, ex. (118-119) and §14.3.7). Since AY and A.Z *-/t̥o/* is yielded by the root-final consonant */t/* or */k/* which palatalizes before the plural suffix *-/jo/*, the presence of CH plural in *-/tso/* suggests that the same also occurred in Chamacoco. Here the original root-final consonant has been reinterpreted as a FF suffix (159)⁴⁹⁰ or as a BF suffix (160)⁴⁹¹ and the plural suffix **-/jo/* has disappeared.

(159) Ay. *weradi* (MS.FF), *werat* (MS.BF), *werat̥o* (MP.BF), *weradode* (MP.FF)

‘pretty, nice, beautiful’

Ch. *ih̃rt* (MS.FF), *ih̃rtso* (MP) ‘beautiful, handsome’

(160) Ay. *dosipej* (MS.FF), *dosipek* (MS.BF), *dosipet̥o* (MS), *dosipeode* (MP.FF) ‘animal’

Ch. *lo̥ipit̥* (MS.FF), *lo̥ipik* (MS.BF), *lo̥ipo* / *lo̥iptso* (MP) ‘animal’

The correspondence between AY, A.Z */t̥/* and CH */ts/* is also witnessed by verb inflection (161). Indeed, the CH prefixes */t̥/-* and */ts/-* occasionally alternate in the same verb (see §5.4.13).

(161) Ay. *t̥-i-mes̃ere* (3) ‘to want, to prefer’⁴⁹²

Ch. *ts-a-mur* (3) ‘to love, to like’

A.Z. *ch-i-mec̃ere* (3) ‘to love’

§14.3.8 Nominals in *-/ehet/*

CH masculine nominals in *-/ehet/* alternate */e/* in the FF with */a/* in the BF and in the plural. The comparison with Ayoreo shows in which CH form(s) the change has taken place. *-/ehet/* corresponds to AY *-/ahej/* (162-163): originally the first */e/* was */a/*, which re-emerges in CH plurals in *-/aho/*. In

⁴⁹⁰ See §14.3.3.

⁴⁹¹ See §14.3.1.

⁴⁹² Cf. also AY. *chijnóra* /*t̥iɲora*/ ‘love, to prefer’.

(164) both CH /e/ correspond to AY /a/ (-/ehet/ vs. -/ahāj/): here too, /a/ is still to be found in the Chamacoco BF and in the plural.

(162) Ay. dahej (GF.MS.FF), dahek (GF.MS.BF), daheode (GF.MP.FF),
dahetɔ (GF.MP.BF) ‘path’

Ch. dehet (MS.FF), dehek (MS.BF), daho (MP) ‘path’

A.Z. dahec (GF.MS.BF), dahecho (GF.MP.BF), daheddoe (GF.MP.FF) ‘path’

(163) Ay. ahej (3.MS.FF), ahe (3.MS.BF), aheode (3.MP.FF), aheo (3.MP.BF) ‘inside’

Ch. ehēt (3.MS.FF), aho (3.MP) ‘inside’

(164) Ay. kutamurahāj (MS.FF), kutamurahã (MS.BF), kutamurahã (MP.BF),
kutamurahane (MP.FF) ‘Ayoreo clan name’

Ch. kutimrehet (MS.FF), kutimraho (MP), kutimraha[?] ([M/F]S.BF)

‘Chamacoco clan name’ (variant: kutumrehet)

The last syllable of *kinehet* (-/het/) should be compared with AY -/ɲaj/ (165): again, CH /e/ in the FF corresponds to AY /a/ and this vowel is preserved in the Chamacoco BF. However, and exceptionally, the first /e/ in the Chamacoco FF corresponds to AY /e/. The CH word *laseēt* /lasɛ:t/ (166) does not include the termination -/ehet/, yet it is one more example of a nominal where /a/ turned into /e/ in the FF, as the comparison with AY indicates. The same alternation between /e/ (in the FF) and /a/ (in the BF and in the plural) is reported in the CH nominals in (167) and (168), which unfortunately cannot be compared with their AY cognates in this respect, because these words have a different ending. Nevertheless, the AY nominal *umajósōri* /umahosōri/ can be segmented into *umajó* /umaho/ and -/sōri/ (the masculine animate agentive suffix), so that one can compare AY /umaho/- with CH *imaho* (3.MP), with /a/ in both Ayoreo and Chamacoco (168).

(165) Ay. kedeɲai (MS.FF), kedeɲa ([M/F]S.BF), kedeɲa (MP.BF), kedeɲane (MP.FF)
‘strange, foreign’

Ch. kinehet (MS.FF), kinaha[?] ([M/F]S.BF), kinaho / kinahu (MP) ‘different’

(166) Ay. nasaraj (3.MS.FF), nasarak (3.MS.BF), nasarane (3.MP.FF), nasaratɔ (3.MS.BF)
‘son-in-law’

Ch. lasēt / dasēt (3.MS.FF), lasērak / lasīrak (3.MS.BF), lasīre / dasēre (3.MP)
 ‘son-in-law’ (also: lasēt)

(167) Ay. kesej (MS.FF), kese (MS.BF), keso (MP.BF), kesoode (MP.FF) ‘knife, sword’

Ch. kiskirehet (MS.FF), kiskiraha² ([M/F]S.BF), kiskiraho (MP) ‘knife, machete’

(168) Ay. umahosōri (3.MS.BF) ‘enemy’

Ch. imehet (3.MS.FF), imaha² (3.[M/F]S.BF), imaho / imahatso (3.MP) ‘enemy’

In conclusion, the comparison between Ayoreo and Chamacoco shows that a synchronically subregular plural formation in Chamacoco has a diachronic explanation. Although there are relatively few comparable examples, it appears that in CH nominals in *-/ehet/*, */a/* in the plural and in the BF is a conservative element (162-164), while */e/* in the singular is a CH innovation.

§14.3.9 The masculine plural suffix *-/e/*

The standard Chamacoco MP suffix is *-/o/*, but sometimes *-/e/* is to be observed, which in some cases alternates with *-/o/*. The following examples list CH masculine nominals with the plural suffix *-/e/*, as compared with their AY counterparts. Most nominals in *-/e/* have BF in *-/ak/* and, importantly, all CH nominals in (169-177) correspond to AY nominals with root in *-/a/*. The latter present plural BF in *-/a/* rather than in *-/o/*, because the BF-MP suffix *-/o/* is overwritten by the last root-vowel. Something similar has probably occurred also in Chamacoco, where the original MP suffix *-/o/* has been lost. This correlation between the Chamacoco MP suffix *-/e/* and the AY nominals with root in *-/a/* suggests that *-/e/* was originally part of the root and has been reanalysed as a suffix. The FP suffix *-/e/* (which has a different origin) has probably exerted an influence on this process. Also the CH number ‘one’ (177) has the plural form meaning ‘some, few’ which can take the suffix *-/e/*. Although this possibility is not observed for its AY counterpart, the latter has root in *-/a/*.

- (169) Ay. *dehaj* (MS.FF), *dehak* (MS.BF), *dehade* (MP.FF), *dehatço* (MP.BF) ‘night’
 Ch. *d̥ilitç* (MS.FF), *d̥ilak* (MS.BF), *d̥ile* (MP) ‘night’
- (170) Ay. *ṅakaripitaj* (MS.FF), *ṅakaripita* (MS.BF), *ṅakaripita* (MP.BF),
ṅakaripitade (MP.BF) ‘young teenaged man’
 Ch. *ṅak̄irbitit* (MS.FF), *ṅak̄irbitak* (MS.BF), *ṅak̄irbito* / *ṅak̄irbite* (MP)
 ‘young man’
- (171) Ay. *hōraj* (3.MS.FF), *hōra* (3.MS.BF), *hōra* (3.MP.BF), *hōrane* (3.MP.FF) ‘friend’
 Ch. *ijēt* (3.MS.FF), *ijērak* (3.MS.BF), *ijēre* (3.[M/F]P) / *ijēro* (3.MP)
 ‘friend, companion’
- (172) Ay. *kutçaj* (GF.MS.FF), *kutça* (GF.MS.BF), *kutça* (GF.MP.BF), *kutçade* (GF.MP.FF) ‘thing’
 Ch. *kutçit* (MS), *kutçe* (MP) ‘thing’
- (173) Ay. *nasaraj* (3.MS.FF), *nasarak* (3.MS.BF), *nasarane* (3.MP.FF),
nasaratço (3.MS.BF) ‘son-in-law’
 Ch. *lasēt* / *dasēt* (3.MS.FF), *lasērak* / *las̄rak* (3.MS.BF), *las̄re* / *das̄re* (3.MP)
 ‘son-in-law’ (also: *lasēt*)
- (174) Ay. *pātaraj* (3.MS.FF), *pātarak* (3.MS.BF), *pātarane* (3.MP.FF), *pātaratço* (3.MP.BF)
 ‘tooth’
 Ch. *potēt* / *potēt* (3.MS.FF), *potērak* (3.MS.BF), *potēro* / *potēre* (3.MP) ‘tooth’
- (175) Ay. *utçaj* (3.MS.FF), *utçak* (3.MS.BF), *utçatço* (3.MP.BF), *utçade* (3.MP.FF)
 ‘excrement, feces, dung’
 Ch. *itçit* (3.MS.FF), *itçak* (3.MS.BF), *itçe* / *itço* (3.MP) ‘dung’
- (176) Ay. *in̄iekade* (3.MP) ‘songs, chants, vocal music’
 Ch. *in̄ēt* (3.MS.FF) ‘song’, *in̄ē:rak* (3.MS.BF), *in̄ē:ro* / *in̄ē:re* (3.MP)
- (177) Ay. *tçom̄araj* (MS.FF), *tçom̄ara* (MS.BF) ‘one’
 Ch. *nom̄et* (MS.FF), *nom̄ira* (MS.BF), *nom̄ire* / *nom̄iro* (MP) ‘one’
 A.Z. *nomarâtie* (MS.FF), *chomarâ* (MS.BF) ‘one’

Not all masculine AY nominals with root-final /a/ correspond to CH masculine nominals with plural in *-/e/* (see ex. (178-181)). In (179), both the Ayoreo singular and plural BF end in *-/a/*, and the CH plural ends in *-/a:ʔ/* too. If one assumes that AY *casecai* /*kasekaj*/ is more

conservative, in CH *kasaat* /kasa:t/ the long vowel possibly originated via /k/ deletion. In (180) the MP takes the suffix -/o/, while in (181) one finds alternation between -/e/ and -/o/.

(178) Ay. *ṃanekaj* (3.MS.FF), *ṃaneka* (3.MS.BF), *ṃaneka* (3.MP.BF),
ṃanekade (3.MP.FF) ‘arm, wrist to elbow, forearm’
 Ch. *ṃejkit* (3.MS.FF), *ṃejki*² (3.MS.BF), *ṃejko* (3.MP) ‘arm’

(179) Ay. *kasekaj* (MS.FF), *kaseka* (MS.BF), *kaseka* (MP.BF), *kasekade* (MP.FF) ‘ant’
 Ch. *kasa:t* (MS.FF), *kasa:*² / *kasak* (MS.BF), *kasa:* (MP) ‘ant’

(180) Ay. *aberaj* (MS.FF), *aberak* (MS.BF), *aberade* (MP.FF), *aberaṭeo* (MP.FF) ‘sterile’
 Ch. *ebirt* (MS), *ebiro* (MP), *ebirak* (MS.BF) ‘sterile’

(181) Ay. *hokarāj* (MS.FF), *hokarāk* (MS.BF), *hokarāṭeo* (MP.BF), *hokarāne* (MP.FF)
 ‘noise’
 Ch. *ijokōrt* (3.MS.FF), *ijokorāk* (3.MS.BF), *ijokōro* / *ijokōre* (3.MP) ‘noise’

§14.3.10 The dropping of word-internal /r/

AY intervocalic /r/ tends to drop. In some CH nominals /r/ emerges in the plural and in the BF, but it is not to be found in the FF. The comparison shows that /r/ is to be observed in the whole AY paradigm (182-187). There is thus a diachronic motivation for the presence of /r/ in some Chamacoco BFs and plurals, while the lack of /r/ in the singular FF is a CH innovation. Note that in currently spoken Chamacoco there is no tendency to drop etymological /r/, as is often the case in currently spoken Ayoreo.

(182) Ay. *garaj* (MS.FF), *garaj* (MS.BF), *garajo* (MP.BF), *garane* (MP.FF)
 ‘open space in village or woods; field’
 Ch. *a:ṭe* (MS.FF), *a:rjo* (MP) ‘field’

- (183) Ay. daterama (3.FS.FF), daterama (3.FS.BF), dateramaj (3.FP.BF), dateramanie (3.FP.FF)
 ‘aunt, mother’s sister’ (also: daterã, dateramia)
 Ch. d-/latermitça (3.FS.FF) ‘aunt’, latirme (3.FP), latirme² (3.FS.BF)
 (also: d-/late:mtça (3.FS))
- (184) Ay. hōraj (3.MS.FF), hōra (3.MS.BF), hōra (3.MP.BF), hōrane (3.MP.FF) ‘friend’
 Ch. ijēt (3.MS.FF), ijērak (3.MS.BF), ijēre (3.[M/F]P), ijēro (3.MP)
 ‘friend, companion’
- (185) Ay. nasaraj (3.MS.FF), nasarak (3.MS.BF), nasarane (3.MP.FF),
 nasaratço (3.MS.BF) ‘son-in-law’
 Ch. lasēt / dasēt (3.MS.FF), lasērak / lasīrak (3.MS.BF), lasīre / dasēre (3.MP)
 ‘son-in-law’ (also: lasēt)
- (186) Ay. tçomaraj (MS.FF), tçomara (MS.BF) ‘one’
 Ch. noṃet (MS.FF), noṃira (MS.BF), noṃire / noṃiro (MP) ‘one’
 A.Z. nomarâtie (MS.FF), chomarâ (MS.BF) ‘one’
- (187) Ay. pātaraj (3.MS.FF), pātarak (3.MS.BF), pātarane (3.MP.FF), pātaratço (3.MP.BF)
 ‘tooth’
 Ch. potēt / potēt (3.MS.FF), potērak (3.MS.BF), potēro / potēre (3.MP) ‘tooth’

§14.3.11 Nominals in -/s/

Some CH nominals present a root alternation /s/ vs. /ç/ between BF and plural, and FF. /s/ appears in the BF coinciding with the root and in the plural. The corresponding AY and A.Z nominals have /s/ in both BF and FF (/ç/ does not exist in these languages). This suggests that CH /ç/ in the FF is an innovation (/s/ + /t/ > /çt/).

AY *poti* is a rare case of root allomorphy. It presents root-final /t/ in the MS-FF and root-final /s/ in the rest of the paradigm. The comparison with CH *posht* /poçt/, showing the FF suffix -/t/, suggests the following scenario: in AY *poti*, /t/ might be the ancient MS-FF suffix, reinterpreted as a part of the root replacing the original /s/ which underwent phonetic erosion.

(188) Ay. gosi (MS.FF), gos (MS.BF), goso (MP.BF), gosode (MP.FF) ‘anyone, someone’
 Ch. oçt (MS.FF), os (MS.BF), oso (MP) ‘person’

(189) Ay. poti (3.MS.FF), pos (3.MS.BF), poso (3.MP.BF), posode (3.MP.FF) ‘food’
 Ch. poçt (3.MS), pos (3.MS.BF), poso / posilo (rare) (3.MP) ‘food’
 A.Z. yibosoddoe (1.MP.FF) ‘food’

(190) Ay. utasi (3.MS.FF), utas (3.MS.BF), utaso (3.MP.BF), utasode (3.MP.FF) ‘vein, artery’
 Ay. etasi (3.MS.FF), etas (3.MS.BF), etaso (3.MP.BF), etasode (3.MP.FF) ‘root’
 Ch. utuçt (3.MS.FF), utus (3.MS.BF), utuso (3.MP) ‘root; vein’ (also: itičt)

§14.3.12 Traces of nonconcatenative morphology in the Zamucoan languages?

Consider the following pairs of AY (191) and CH (192) nouns. In *daquerã* /dakerã/ or *daterã* (191a) and *osiyer* /osijer/ or *otiyer* /otijer/ (192a) the gender difference is not expressed by a morpheme, but through the change of a consonant word-internally. *Daquerã* /dakerã/ ‘uncle’ (191a) has an irregular FF which does not take the suffix *-i/*, so that it is only distinguished from its feminine counterpart by root allomorphy. The following contrasts emerge: /s/ vs. /t/ in (191b-c, 192a) and /k/ vs. /t/ in (191a). In (191b-c) and (192b), gender is identifiable through the morphemes, but one can observe the same consonantal contrast in (192b): /s/ (or /ç/) ⁴⁹³ in the masculine vs. /t/ in the feminine. In all examples below, /t/ is used word-internally to express the feminine, generally in contrast with /s/, and in one case with /k/ (191a). (191b) is an example of word derived by means of the suffixes *-/sõri/* (MS.FF), *-/to/* (FS.FF). This pair of suffixes is very frequent in AY morphology and the masculine vs. feminine contrast is associated with the contrast between /s/ and /t/ word-internally.

- (191) Ayoreo
- a. dakerã (3.MS.FF) ‘uncle’, daterã (3.MS.FF) ‘aunt’
 - b. gañesõri (3.MS.FF) ‘owner, master’, gañeto (3.FS.FF) ‘owner, mistress’
 - c. gosi (MS.FF) ‘anyone, someone’, goto (FS.FF) ‘anyone, someone’

⁴⁹³ About the alternation between /ç/ and /s/ in Chamacoco, see (§13.1.7).

(192) Chamacoco

- a. osijer (M) ‘two’, otijer (F) ‘two’
- b. oçt (MS.FF), os (MS.BF), oso (MP) ‘person’
- > otita (FS.FF), oto[?] (FS.BF) ‘person’, ote (FP)

This might be interpreted as a mechanism of nonconcatenative morphology, no longer productive and of obscure origin. In Chamacoco, a similar case can be found for the realis vs. irrealis distinction in the verb *itso* (193a) and the related adverb *itsorz* /itorz/ (193b). Word-internal /ts/ vs. /l/ expresses realis vs. irrealis. /ts/- and /l/- are prefixes widely used in verb morphology (§5) for the realis vs. irrealis distinction. These nonconcatenative mechanisms probably have different origins.

- (193) a. *itso* (rls) ‘to seem, to be like’, vs. *ilo* (IRLS) ‘to seem, to be like’
- b. *itsorz*_l (rls) ‘so this way’ vs. *ilorz*_l (IRLS) ‘so this way’

§14.3.13 *Dich* /ditç/

The CH adjective *dich* /ditç/ has an irregular plural, with alternation between /i/ and /e/ opposing the singular to the plural. No BF vs. FF contrast is observed. One can compare these forms with the corresponding AY forms and with A.Z *dieda* (FS.BF), unfortunately the only form of this adjective reported by Chomé. The CH forms *dich* /ditç/ and *data*, which should now be considered FFs, were probably BFs at an earlier stage and were reinterpreted as FFs. In the feminine, Ayoreo and Chamacoco are closer to each other than to Ancient Zamuco. In the plural, CH /e/ corresponds to AY /a/ (as it often occurs). The CH plural probably originated by analogical levelling caused by the reinterpretation of *dich* /ditç/ and *data* as FFs and the subsequent reanalysis of the morphological boundaries in the singular. In the CH plural, /j/ is an insertion.

- (194) Ay. *datej* (MS.FF), *date* (FS.FF), *date* (MS/F.BF), *dateo* (MP.BF), *dateode* (MP.FF)
 ‘big, large, great’
 Ch. *ditç* / *ditç* (MS), *dejo* ([M/F]P), *data* (FS) ‘big, large, great’
 A.Z. *dieda* (FS.BF)

§14.3.14 The plural base-form suffix and the second person plural suffix

In the Zamucoan languages, the 2S-prefix and the 2P-prefix tend to be identical. A suffix is added in the 2P-person in order to distinguish the two forms, the exception being the Ayoreo 2P-realis - but not the irrealis - which presents the prefix /wak/-, resulting from the incorporation of the personal pronoun *uac* /wak/ (2P). In all Zamucoan languages there is a remarkable correspondence between the plural suffixes used in nominal morphology and those used to form the 2P-person in verb morphology. The same element tends to be used in both cases. In Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo, the 2P-suffix in verb morphology was originally a generic plural suffix, while the 1P-suffix is specific for verb morphology.⁴⁹⁴

In Chamacoco, the 2P-suffix *-lo/* is properly a plural suffix. It is also used for the greater plural of the 1PI-person (that is the ‘plural’ of the inclusive person), for the plural of free pronouns and occasionally for the MP in nominal morphology.

In A.Z and AY verb morphology the situation is more complex, due to greater variability of suffixes and morphophonological processes. In both languages the 2P-suffix corresponds to the MP-BF suffix in nominal morphology and the morphophonological processes are the same. In (195) A.Z data concerning the MP-BF are reported (Chomé 1958: 124).⁴⁹⁵

- (195) a. *guigueda* (GF.MS.BF) ---> *guiguedao* (GF.MP.BF) ‘house’
 b. *daparebec* (MS.BF) ---> *daparebecho* (MP.BF) ‘beggar’
 c. *pit* (MS.BF) ---> *picho* (MP.BF) ‘stick’
 d. *erâp* (MS.BF) ---> *eramio* (MP.BF) ‘mount’
 e. *pipiazup* (GF.MS.BF) ---> *pipiazubio* (GF.MP.BF) ‘work’
 f. *uom* (MS.BF) ---> *uomio* (MP.BF) ‘good’
 g. *nacar* (GF.MS.BF) ---> *nacayo* (GF.MP.BF) ‘young man’

⁴⁹⁴ In Chamacoco the 1P-person has a specific prefix and no suffix.

⁴⁹⁵ These nominals have been compared with Ayoreo in §14.2.

- h. unnâr (MS.BF) ---> unnaño (MP.BF) ‘flea’
- i. pimecêrazore (GF.MS.BF) ---> pimecerazoño (GF.MP.BF) ‘one who loves’

The formation of the Ancient Zamuco MP-BF is summarized in Table 14.2, along with the formation rules of the 2P-person in verb morphology (see data in §6.1). Table 14.2 features the final elements of the nominal/verb root which are substituted or undergo a morphophonological change in the plural.⁴⁹⁶ The symbol Ø indicates that no final element is modified and the root remains unchanged. The plural termination of the nominal/verb is provided after the arrow. The suffixes used for the Ancient Zamuco MP-BF are /o/ (after vowel) and /jo/ (after consonant). In verb morphology, the suffix /o/ is used for the 2P-person when no substitution occurs, while the suffixes appearing with mobile syllables stem from the suffix /jo/, to be found when the root ends in /r/ or /re/. In nominal and verb morphology, /jo/ can nasalize into /jo/. Not all terminations are observed in nominal and verb morphology. However, when the nominal/verb root ends in /k/, the same morphophonological changes occur: namely, when /jo/ is added, /k/ palatalizes into /tʃ/. The same process has probably yielded /tʃo/ in verb morphology.

Ancient Zamuco	
Nominal morphology	Verb morphology
masculine singular base-form ---> masculine plural base-form	verb root ---> second person plural suffix
Ø ---> -o (prototypical suffix)	Ø ---> -o (prototypical suffix)
-re / -r ---> -yo / -ño	-re / -r ---> -yo / -ño
/	-z, -zu, -zi ---> -zo
-p ---> -bio / -mio	/
-/t/ ---> -cho	⁴⁹⁷
-c ---> -cho	-c ---> -cho

Table 14.2

⁴⁹⁶ It depends on how the process is interpreted.

⁴⁹⁷ In Chomé’s grammar there is no indication about the plural forms of verbs ending in /t/ (or /te/, considering that euphonic /e/ can be added). By contrast, verbs ending in /p/ are not to be found in either Ancient Zamuco or Ayoreo.

The AY suffix *-/jo/* is the standard suffix used for the 2P-person when the root does not end in a mobile syllable. This directly corresponds to the MP-BF suffix *-/jo/* used with nominals ending in a consonant. Not all cases of AY mobile syllables are reported in Table 14.3. In AY nominal morphology, when a root in *-/t/* or *-/k/* takes the MP-BF suffix *-/jo/*, *-/t/* and *-/k/* palatalize into */tʃ/*, yielding */tʃo/*. The same process probably occurred in AY verbs ending in *-/t/* or *-/k/*, where the last consonant is replaced by *-/tʃo/*, supposedly yielded by palatalization before *-/jo/*. However, in Ayoreo the correspondence between the 2P-person and the MP-BF is weaker than in Ancient Zamuco. In AY verb morphology, the suffix *-/tʃo/* is not only used when */t/* or */k/* are in final position (or followed by the euphonic vocoid */e/*), but also with the syllables *-/da/*, *-/di/*, *-/ga/*, *-/go/*, *-/gu/*, *-/gi/*, *-/ŋa/*, *-/ŋo/* and *-/ŋu/*, namely with all mobile syllables, excluding *-/sa/*, *-/se/*, *-/si/*, *-/so/* and *-/su/*.⁴⁹⁸ For instance in AY verb morphology, *-/re/* is not replaced by *-/ɲo/*, just as in AY and A.Z nominal morphology, but by *-/tʃo/*. This indicates that *-/tʃo/*, has been reinterpreted as an independent suffix in AY verb morphology.

In AY nominals in *-/s/*, the MP-BF suffix *-/jo/* is added, but final */s/* overwrites */j/*, yielding the MP-BF in *-/so/*. The same probably occurred in A.Z and AY verb morphology, where however *-/so/* should be considered a suffix on its own. In AY and A.Z verb morphology not only final *-/s/*⁴⁹⁹ in the singular corresponds to */so/* in the plural, but also the AY mobile syllables *-/sa/*, *-/so/*, *-/si/* and *-/su/* and A.Z *-/si/* (<zi>) and *-/su/* (<zu>) are replaced by *-/so/* (<zo>).

⁴⁹⁸ For an inventory of the mobile syllables, see §4.8.1.

⁴⁹⁹ Here the vocoid */e/* can be added to re-create the syllabic structure CV.

Ayoreo	
Nominal morphology	Verb morphology
masculine singular base-form ---> masculine plural base-form	verb root ---> second person plural suffix
Ø ---> -o (prototypical suffix)	Ø ---> -jo (prototypical suffix)
-re ---> -jo	-re ---> -tɕo
-s ---> -so	-s ---> -so ⁵⁰⁰
-p ---> -bio	/
-t ---> -tɕo	-t ---> -tɕo
-k ---> -tɕo	-k ----> -tɕo

Table 14.3

In conclusion, one can observe remarkable correspondences between verb and nominal suffixation. In Ayoreo and Chamacoco, the suffix originally used for the 2P-person coincides with one of the MP-BF suffixes used in nominal morphology. The original suffixes used for the 2P-person in verb morphology were /o/ and /jo/ in Ancient Zamuco and /jo/ in Ayoreo. The suffix /jo/ is to be found in Ancient Zamuco when the verb ends in /r/ or /re/, while in the other cases AY and A.Z /jo/ yielded the suffixes /tɕo/ and /so/ used for the 2P-person in AY and A.Z verb morphology.

§14.4 The indeterminate-form in the Zamucoan languages: a comparison

The following sections deal with the IF in the Zamucoan languages. After a short introduction on the Ancient Zamuco IF, the following section compares the masculine IF suffixes (§14.4.1). The IF of feminine nominals are addressed in §14.4.2. Section §14.4.3 compares two Ayoreo and Chamacoco IFs which have been reanalysed as interrogative or indefinite pronouns.

⁵⁰⁰ Although /s/ is preserved in the 2P-person, this case has been inserted in the table, because the full substitution of /s(V)/ is to be observed in the 1P-person.

§14.4.1 The masculine indeterminate-form in the Zamucoan languages

In Ancient Zamuco, despite the scarcity of paradigms, one can have a clear idea of the IF morphology, which is almost identical to that of Ayoreo, as one can see in Chomé’s grammar.⁵⁰¹

Masculine indeterminate-form: “Todos los acabados en *m R Re* cuya *e* no se pronuncia como son todos los participios activos, se mudan en *nic* y para el plural en *nigo*. *pahirizore*. El que mira... *pahirizonic*... el que ha de mirar. *pahirizonigo*... los que han &c. *nacar*... mozo. *nacanic*... El que ha de ser mozo. *nacanigo* los que &c. *Êm*... viento. *ca Enicuz*... no ay viento. v supra. todos los acabados En *C, p, t, y, z*, la mudan en *tic*, y en el plural en *tigo*. *canirac*... diligente, *caniratic*... el que ha de ser &c. *caniratigo*... Los que han &c. *carup*. soga. *carutic*... la que ha &c. *pit*. palo. *pit[i]c* el que ha &c... *noz* cuña... *notic*... la que ha de ser. todos los en vocal házen *Ric*. Añadido a la vocal, y *rigo*, en el plural. Excipe: *dai*... padre, que haze *nanic*, y todos los demas acabados en *ai*. *manai*. mano *mananic*. *idai*. pueblo. *Inanic*.” (Chomé 1958: 128)

Feminine indeterminate-form: “Se haze con Anadir *Rac*, a la ultima del nombre, y *Rigui*, para el plural. *Acote*. Esposa. *Acoterac*... la que ha de ser. &c. *Acoterigui*. las que han &c. si se acabaren en *t*, Antes la muden en *de*; si en *c*, la mudan en *Gue*, y si en *z* se mudan en *ze*. *Azore*, lanza. haze *Azonac*. como tambien los de essa terminacion.” (Chomé 1958: 128)

Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco have three series of masculine IF suffixes (Table 14.4). In Chamacoco there are only two series of suffixes, with a few exceptions to analyse below.

Ayoreo	
-tik (MS.IF), -tigo (MP.IF)	-tak (FS.IF), -tigi (FP.IF) [rare]
-rik (MS.IF), -rigo / -riño (MP.IF)	-rak (FS.IF), -rigi / -riņi (FP.IF)
-nik (MS.IF), -niño (MP.IF)	-nak (FS.IF), -niņi (FP.IF) [rare]
Chamacoco	
-t̃ik (MS.IF), -tijō (MP.IF)	-tã(k) (FS.IF), -ĩr (FP.IF)
-ĩrk (MS.IF), -ĩr (MP.IF)	-rã(k) (FS.IF), -ĩr (FP.IF)
Ancient Zamuco	
-tic (MS.IF), -tigo (MP.IF)	∅
-ric (MS.IF), -rigo (MP.IF)	-rac (FS.IF), -rigui (FP.IF)
-nic (MS.IF), -nigo (MP.IF)	-nac (FS.IF) [rare]

Table 14.4. Indeterminate-form suffixes

⁵⁰¹ Of course, Chomé does not use the term *indeterminate-form*, but calls it “future of the regime case”. For a detailed comparison between the Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco IFs, see (Kelm 1964: 483-486).

The CH series *-/tik/*, *-/tijo/* corresponds to *-/tik/*, *-/tigo/* in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco, while *-/ĩrk/* and *-/ĩr/* correspond to AY and A.Z *-/rik/* and *-/rigo/* (or *-/riño/*). In the latter series of suffixes, consonant-vowel metathesis has occurred in Chamacoco, as one can see by comparing *-/ĩrk/* and *-/ĩr/* with its feminine singular counterpart *-rã(k)*. CH *-/ĩr/* is epicene and also corresponds to *-/rigi/* or *-/riņi/* (FP.IF). The latter only differ from *-/rigo/* or *-/riño/* (MP.IF) in the last vowel, which helps to distinguish gender and number: */o/* and */i/* coincide with the MP-BF suffix *-/o/* and the FP-BF suffix *-/i/*, respectively.⁵⁰² The CH suffix has lost the final syllable **-/kV/*, so that the MP- and FP-IF suffixes have merged. Chamacoco does not show any suffix corresponding to AY and A.Z *-/nik/*, *-/nigo/* (or *-/niño/*). The main difference is the following: in Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo a nominal usually only takes one series of suffixes, depending on the BF morphology, in Chamacoco by contrast both series of suffixes can alternate in the same nominal. So that, as one can see in the following examples, there is no direct correlation between the suffixes used in Ayoreo⁵⁰³ and those used in Chamacoco.

Another difference between Chamacoco and the other Zamucoan languages is the formation of the IF. The Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco IF suffix is always added to the BF, while in Chamacoco it can be added to the root or the BF, and the plural IF can also be added to the plural. In Chamacoco the rules are less rigid than in Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco.

In (196-205) one finds AY nominals with *-/tik/* and *-/tigo/*, which appear in masculine nominals with singular BF ending in a consonant (excepted */r/*), namely *-/k/*, *-/p/*, *-/s/* or *-/t/*. The MS-IF suffixes *-/tik/* (CH) and *-/tik/* (AY, A.Z) only differ in vowel quality. The plural suffixes *-/tijo/* (CH) and *-/tigo/* (AY, A.Z) show trace of agglutination in final */o/*, which in all Zamucoan languages identifies a MP suffix. From a phonological point of view, AY and A.Z */g/* corresponds to CH */j/*, for

⁵⁰² As already noted, this hints at a previous agglutinative stage of the language.

⁵⁰³ The same also applies to Ancient Zamuco, although there are no Ancient Zamuco nominals in the following examples.

/g/ does not exist in Chamacoco.⁵⁰⁴ When the suffixes *-/tik/*, *-/tigo/* and *-/tijo/* are added to a form ending in a consonant, a consonantal cluster originates in Chamacoco, whereas in Ayoreo consonantal clusters always simplify. Simplification can optionally occur in Chamacoco. Compare, for instance, AY. *atic* /atik/ (from: *ap* ‘son’ + /tik/; see ex. (196)) with CH. *aatik* /a:tik/ or *aabtik* /a:btik/ (from: *aap* /a:p/ ‘son’ + /tik/; see ex. (196)).

- (196) Ay. *abi* (3.MS.FF), *ap* (3.MS.BF), *atik* (3.MS.IF), *atigo* (3.MP.IF) ‘son, children’
 Ch. *a:p* (3.MS) ‘son, children’ ---> *a:tik* (3.MS.IF), *a:btik* (3.MS.IF), *a:btijo* (3.MP.IF),
a:bĩr (3.MP.IF)
- (197) Ay. *desaj* (3.FS.FF), *desatik* (3.FS.IF), *desatigo* (3.FP.IF)
 ‘brother, younger of a man or boy’, cf. *desak* (3.MS.BF)
 Ch. *leçibitç* (3.MS.FF) ‘brother’ ---> *leçibtik* (3.MS.IF), *lectik* (3.MS.IF),
leçibĩrk (3.MS.IF), *leçibĩr* (3.MP.IF), *leçibtijo* (3.MP.IF), cf. *leçap* (3.MS.BF)
- (198) Ay. *dosipej* (MS.FF), *dosipetik* (MS.IF), *dosipetigo* (MP.IF) ‘animal’ cf. *dosipek* (MS.BF)
 Ch. *loçipit* (MS.FF) ‘animal’ ---> *loçipitik* (MS.IF), *loçipĩrk* (MS.IF),
loçiptijo (MP.IF), *loçipĩr* (MP.IF), cf. *loçipik* (MS.BF)
- (199) Ay. *igiosi* (3.MS.FF), *igios* (3.MS.BF), *igiotik* (3.MS.IF), *igiotigo* (3.MP.IF) ‘relative’
 Ch. *i:sit* (3.MS.FF) ‘relative’ ---> *i:sĩrk* (3.MS.IF), *i:stik* (3.MS.IF), *i:sĩr* (3.MP.IF),
itijo (3.MP.IF), cf. *i:s* (3.MS.BF)
- (200) Ay. *hogadi* (3.MS.FF), *hogatik* (3.MS.IF), *hogatigo* (3.MP.IF) ‘place, location’
 cf. *jogat* (3.MS.BF)
 Ch. *owitç* (3.MS.FF) ‘place’ ---> *owitik* (3.MS.IF), *owitçtik* (3.MS.IF), *owitijo* (MP.IF),
owitçĩrk (3.MP.IF), *owilĩr* (3.MP.IF)
- (201) Ay. *nasaraj* (3.MS.FF), *nasaratik* (3.MS.IF), *nasaratigo* (3.MP.IF) ‘son-in-law’
 cf. *nasarak* (3.MS.BF)
 Ch. *lasçit* (3.MS.FF) ---> *lasçittik* (3.MS.IF), *lasçĩrĩr* (3.MP.IF), *lasçittijo* (3.MP.IF)
 ‘son-in-law’

⁵⁰⁴ In Chamacoco [g] is not a phoneme, but only a possible realization of /k/ in an intervocalic context. The AY and A.Z phoneme /g/ does not usually correspond to CH /k/.

(202) Ay. *ɲumi* (MS.FF), *ɲutik* (MS.IF), *ɲutigo* (MP.IF) ‘land, country’, cf. *ɲup* (MS.BF)
 Ch. *ɲimitɕ* (MS.FF) ‘land, country’ ---> *ɲimitɕtik* (MS.IF), *ɲimitik* (MS.IF),
ɲimĩrk (MS.IF), *ɲimĩr* (MP.IF), *ɲimitɕĩr* (MP.IF), *ɲimitɕtijo* (MP.IF),
ɲimitijo (MP.IF)

(203) Ay. *poti* (3.MS.FF) ‘food’, *potik* (3.MS.IF), *potigo* (3.MP.IF)
 Ch. *poɕt* (3.MP.FF) ‘food’, *poso* (3.MP) ---> *potik* (3.MS.IF), *poɕtik* (3.MS.IF),
posĩr (3.MP.IF), *potijo* (3.MP.IF), *postijo* (3.MP.IF)

(204) Ay. *toj* (MS.FF), *totik* (MS.IF), *totigo* (MP.IF) ‘dead’, cf. *tok* (MS.BF)
 Ch. *topit* (MS.FF) ‘dead’ ---> *topitik* (MS.IF), *topĩrk* (MS.IF), *tobtijo* (MP.IF),
topĩr (MP.IF)

(205) Ay. *uguhi* (3.MS), *ugutik* (3.MS.IF), *ugutigo* (3.MS.IF) ‘path’, cf. *uguk* (MS.BF)
 Ch. *ixitɕ* (3.MS.FF) ‘path’ ---> *ixitɕtik* (3.MS.IF), *ixitɕtijo* (3.MP.IF), *ixijĩr* (3.MP.IF)

Except for special cases, from now on only AY and A.Z examples will be discussed, for CH does not show any morphological peculiarity in the case of the IF. In (206) one finds diminutive forms in Ayoreo and Chamacoco. With regard to the IF, AY diminutive forms behave like nominals with singular BF in *-/p/* and take the IF suffixes *-/tik/* or *-/tigo/*.⁵⁰⁵

(206) Ay. *kutɕabi* (GF.DIM.MS.FF), *kutɕatik* (GF.DIM.MS.IF), *kutɕatigo* (GF.DIM.MS.IF)
 ‘little thing’ cf. *kutɕap* (GF.DIM.MS.BF)
 Ch. *kutɕa:bit* (DIM.MS.FF) ‘little thing’ ---> *kutɕa:bitik* (DIM.MS.IF),
kutɕa:btijo (DIM.MP.IF), *kutɕa:bĩrk* (DIM.MS.IF), *kutɕa:bĩr* (DIM.MP.IF),
 cf. *kutɕap* (DIM.MS.BF)

In (207-211) the AY nominals with *-/rik/* and *-/rigo/* or *-/riɲo/* are compared with their CH cognates.

(207) Ay. *ɲani* (MS.FF), *ɲanirik* (MS.IF), *ɲaniriɲo* (MP.IF) ‘man’ cf. *ɲani* (MS.BF)
 Ch. *ɲakĩrbitɕ* (MS.FF) ‘man’ ---> *ɲakĩrbitik* / *ɲakĩrtik* (MS.IF), *ɲakĩrbĩrk* (MS.IF),
ɲakĩrbtijo (MP.IF), *ɲakĩrbĩr* (MP.IF), cf. *ɲakĩrap* (MS.BF)

⁵⁰⁵ On the diminutive, see §14.3.

- (208) Ay. *i* (3.MS.FF), *irik* (3.MS.IF), *irigo* (3.MP.IF) ‘name’ cf. *i* (3.MS.BF)
 Ch. *i:ɬ* (3.MS.FF) ‘name’ ---> *i:tik* (3.MS.IF), *ĩrk* (3.MS.IF), *e:jtik* (2.MS.IF), *ẽrk* (2.MS.IF),
itijo (3.MP.IF), *ĩr* (3.MP.IF)
- (209) Ay. *iharoj* (MS.FF), *iharorik* (MS.IF), *iharorigo* (MP.IF) ‘old’
 Ch. *ilartɬ* (MS.FF) ‘old’ ---> *ilartik* (MS.IF), *ilãrk* (MS.IF), *ilartijo* (MP.IF), *ilarĩr* (FP.IF),
ilaɬĩr (FP.IF)
- (210) Ay. *kedeñaj* (MS.FF), *kedeñarik* (MS.IF), *kedeñariño* (MP.IF) ‘different, strange’
 Ch. *kinehēt* (MS.FF) ‘different, strange’ ---> *kinehētik* (MS.IF), *kinehērk* (MS.IF),
kinehĩr (MP.IF), *kinehetijo* (MP.IF)

The CH word *kuchit* /kutɬit/ ‘thing’ (211) has some irregular forms which can be explained by the comparison with AY *cuchai* /kutɬaj/ ‘thing’. In *kuchērk* /kutɬērk/, *kuchēriyo* /kutɬērijo/ and *kuchēryo* /kutɬērjo/ there is /e/ (rather than /i/, as expected) at the root-suffix boundary. This is probably due to the fact that in the IF the original vowel of the root has been preserved. Indeed, the AY root-final vowel is /a/, which regularly corresponds to CH /a/ or /e/. The forms *kuchēriyo* /kutɬērijo/ and *kuchēryo* /kutɬērjo/ show that this is indeed the case (compare CH *kuchēriyo* /kutɬērijo/ with AY *cuchárigo* /kutɬarigo/). Since the Chamacoco plural IF suffix has lost its final part, a form such as *kuchēriyo* /kutɬērijo/ shows preservation of the original MP-IF suffix. The original suffix is also preserved in a few other forms, such as *yēriyo* /jērijo/, the irregular MP-IF of *yet* /jet/ ‘other’, and *porroshīryo* /po:ɬoɬĩrjo/ (MP.IF) ‘God’.

- (211) Ay. *kutɬaj* (GF.MS.FF), *kutɬarik* (GF.MS.IF), *kutɬarigo* (GF.MP.IF) ‘thing’
 cf. *kutɬa* (GF.MS.BF)
 Ch. *kutɬit* ‘thing’ ---> *kutɬērk* (MS.IF), *kutɬtik* (MS.IF), *kutɬērijo* (MP.IF),
kutɬērjo (MP.IF), *kutɬtijo* (MP.IF)

The following pair of nominals are cognates (212-215), but their respective IF suffixes differ, because AY nominals take the suffixes *-/nik/* and *-/niño/*, not to be found in Chamacoco.

- (212) Ay. abaj (3.MS.FF), amanik (3.MS.FF), amaniño (3.MS.FF) ‘husband’, cf. abaj (3.MS.BF)
 Ch. abitɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘husband’ ---> abitik (3.MS.IF), abĩrk (3.MS.IF), abijĩr (3.MP.IF),
 abitijo (3.MP.IF), abijorĩr (3.MP.IF)
- (213) Ay. daje (3.MS.FF), danik (3.MS.IF), daniño (3.MP.IF) ‘father’ cf. daj (3.MS.BF)
 Ch. dejtɕ (3.MS.FF) ‘father’ ---> lejtik (3.MS.IF) / dejtɕĩrk (3.MS.IF),
 dejtɕtik (3.MS.IF), dejtɕtijo (3.MP.IF), dejĩr (3.MP.IF)
- (214) Ay. diri (MS.FF), dinik (MS.IF), diniño (MP.IF) ‘day’ cf. dir (MS.BF)
 Ch. dejtɕ (MS.FF) ‘day’ ---> dejtɕtik (MS.IF), dejtɕtijo (MP.IF), dejtɕĩr (MP.IF),
 de:jĩr (MP.IF)
- (215) Ay. eruej (3.MS.IF), eruenik (3.MS.IF), erueniño (3.MS.IF) ‘end’, cf. erue (3.MS.BF)
 Ch. uhurtɕ (MS.FF) ‘end’ ---> uhurtik (MS.IF), uhurtɕtik (MS.IF), uhurtɕĩrk (MS.IF),
 uhurtɕtik (MS.IF), uhurtijo (MP.IF), uhurĩr (MP.IF)

§14.4.2 The feminine indeterminate-form in the Zamucoan languages

Table 14.5 shows the correspondences between the feminine IF suffixes used in the Zamucoan languages.⁵⁰⁶

Ayoreo		Chamacoco	Ancient Zamuco
-tak (FS.IF)	[rare]	-tã(k) (FS.IF)	∅
-tigi (FP.IF)	[rare]	-ĩr (FP.IF)	∅
-rak (FS.IF)		-rã(k) (FS.IF)	-rac (FS.IF)
-rigi / -riñi (FP.IF)		-ĩr (FP.IF)	-rigui (FP.IF)
-nak (FS.IF)	[rare]	∅	-nac (FS.IF) [rare]
-niñi (FP.IF)	[rare]	∅	∅

Table 14.5. Feminine IF suffixes in the Zamucoan languages

AY feminine nominals generally take the IF suffixes -/rak/ (singular) and -/rigi/ or -/riñi/ (plural). Two other series of suffixes corresponding to the masculine -/tik/ (MS.IF), -/tigo/ (MP.IF) and -/rik/ (MS.IF),

⁵⁰⁶ Masculine and feminine IF suffixes are compared in Table 14.4.

-/riŋo/ (MP.IF) are used: -/tak/ (FS.IF), -/tigi/ (FS.IF) and -/nak/ (FS.IF), -/niŋi/. AY -/tak/ (FS.IF) and -/nak/ (FS.IF) are to be observed in a few exceptions, so that one can generalize by saying that the only productive series is -/rak/ (FS.IF), -/rigi/ or -/riŋi/ (FP.IF). In Ancient Zamuco -*rac* (-/rak/) (FS.IF) and -*rigui* (-/rigi/) or *ringui* (/riŋi/) (FS.IF) are reported. A.Z -/nak/ (FS.IF) is also reported, but it is rarely used.⁵⁰⁷ Chamacoco shows two singular suffixes, -/rã(k)/ (FS.IF) and -/tã(k)/ (FS.IF), while in the plural only the epicene suffix -/ĩr/ ([M/F]P.IF) is used. If compared with the masculine, the feminine presents less variation. The CH suffix -/tã(k)/ (FS.IF) does not have a proper plural counterpart, because -/ĩr/ was originally the plural of -/rã(k)/ (or -/ĩrk/, §13.5). AY -/tak/ and -/tigi/ and CH -/tã(k)/ belong to a series which is disappearing in the Zamucoan languages, because CH -/tã(k)/ has lost its plural counterpart, -/tak/ and -/tigi/ are rarely used in Ayoreo and no corresponding suffix is to be observed in Ancient Zamuco. This means that Ancient Zamuco had lost these suffixes in the 18th century or that they were extremely rare. If this is so, Ayoreo, although generally more innovative, would prove to be more conservative than Ancient Zamuco with regard to the IF suffixes. Chamacoco lacks IF suffixes corresponding to AY -/nak/, -/nigi/ or -/niŋi/.

Some Ayoreo and Chamacoco feminine IFs can be compared in (216-220). Since the AY series -/rak/, -/rigo/ (or /riŋo/) is the most frequently used, the feminine IF suffixes usually correspond to the CH ones (216-219), the only exception being CH -/tã(k)/ (FS.IF) which alternates with -/rã(k)/ and is far more frequent than AY -/tak/ (FS.IF), not to be found in the following examples. In (220) the AY and CH suffixes do not correspond to each other.

(216) Ay. *date* (3.FS.FF), *daterak* (3.FS.IF), *daterigi* (3.FP.IF) ‘mother’

Ch. *data* (3.FS.FF) ‘mother’ ---> *latirã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *latã(k)* (3.FS.IF), *latĩr* (3.FP.IF)

(217) Ay. *aṇua* (FS.FF), *aṇurak* (FS.IF), *aṇuriŋi* (FS.IF) ‘seed’

Ch. *ejhita* (FS.FF) ‘seed’ ---> *ejhirã(k)* (FS.IF), *ejhĩr* (FP.IF), *ejhitã(k)* (FS.IF),
ejhitĩrã(k) (FS.IF)

⁵⁰⁷ Its plural counterpart, however, is not reported by Chomé.

- (218) Ay. *iharo* (FS.FF), *iharorak* (FS.IF), *iharorigi* (FP.IF) ‘old’
 Ch. *ilaɰɰa* (FS.FF) ‘old’ ---> *ilarã(k)* (FS.IF), *ilartã(k)* (FS.IF), *ilaɰɰã(k)* (FS.IF),
ilerĩr (FP.IF), *ilaɰɰĩr* (FP.IF)
- (219) Ay. *kedeña* (FS.FF), *kedeñararak* (FS.IF), *kedeñariri* (FP.IF) ‘different, strange’
 Ch. *kinahata* (FS.FF) ‘strange, different’ ---> *kinaharã(k)* (FS.IF), *kinehĩr* (FP.IF),
kinahirã(k) (FS.IF), *kinahatã(k)* (FS.IF), *kinehěr* (FP.IF), *kinahatĩrã(k)* (FS.IF)
- (220) Ay. *poria* (FS.FF), *poṅak* (FS.IF), *poṅi* (FP.IF) ‘tree’
 Ch. *pohoɰɰa* (FS.FF) ‘tree’ ---> *pohorĩrã(k)* (FS.IF), *pohoɰɰĩrã(k)* (FS.IF),
pohortã(k) (FS.IF), *pohorã(k)* (FS.IF), *pohoɰɰã(k)* (FS.IF), *pohorĩr* (FP.IF), *pohĩr* (FP.IF)

§14.4.3 *Gotic* /gotik/ and *otik*

AY *Gotic* /gotik/ (or *gotique* /gotike/) ⁵⁰⁸ is morphologically the MS-IF of *gosi* ‘anyone, someone’, the cognate of CH *osht* /oçt/ ‘person’ (see §14.3.11, ex. (188)). It is used in *wh*- questions in the sense of ‘why’ (221) and ‘what’ (222) (Bertinetto 2009: 38). *Gotic* /gotik/ is also used at the end of a negative sentence to express referential indetermination (223).

- (221) ¿Je gotique uje don Felipe todo a?
 /he gotike uhe don felipe todo a/
 MOD IGNOR COMP don Felipe 3.fear MOD
 ‘Why was don Felipe afraid / what was don Felipe afraid of?’
 (QCCB, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 38)

- (222) ¿Ore imó-rique gotique e?
 /ore imo-rike gotike e/
 3P 3.what_is_seen-MS.IF IGNOR MOD
 ‘What did they see?’ (QCCB, cit. in Bertinetto 2009: 38)

- (223) ¿Que ch-imo umuñura-i gotique!
 /ke tɕ-imo umupura-j gotike/
 NEG 3-see bull-MS.FF IGNOR
 ‘He didn’t see any bull!’ (QCCB I: 19)

⁵⁰⁸ Here too, final /e/ is a euphonic vowel.

AY *gotic* /gotik/ is diachronically related to the interrogative or indefinite pronoun *otik*, which morphologically should be considered the MS-IF of *osht* /oçt/ ‘person’ (MS.FF), although it has taken on a meaning and a function completely different from that of *osht* /oçt/ (MS.FF) and for this reason it was considered an independent element, only presenting IF inflection (§13.5.1, ex. (106c)). The FS of *otik* (MS.IF), *otirāk* (FS.IF), is related to AY *gotórac* /gotorak/, which is morphologically the feminine form of *gotic* /gotik/, but it does not share the same range of uses of the latter. Although *gotic* and *otik* do not have the same uses (cf. §13.7.16, ex. (219-221)), in some cases they have similar functions: *otik* for instance can be used as an interrogative adjective (224) or as an interrogative pronoun (225) (cf. (221) and (223)).⁵⁰⁹

(224) Wichi otik t-ãacha?
 /witçi otik t-ã:tça/
 DET.MS IGNOR.MS 3-come
 ‘Who is coming?’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

(225) Ye tik-iraha otik.
 /je tik-iraha otik/
 NEG 1S-know IGNOR.MS
 ‘I do not know what it is.’ (Balbuena *et al.*, 1993: 16)

§14.5 *Nos*, *jnese* /ɲese/ and *nez* (/nes/)

In all Zamucoan languages the word for ‘all’ is uninflectable. In Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco it behaves syntactically as an adjective, following the nominal(s) which it modifies. As explained in §12.6 and §14.1, in both Ancient Zamuco and Ayoreo, when an adjectival modifier is the final element of the NP, it takes number and form as required by the NP, while all preceding elements appear in singular BF. This does

⁵⁰⁹ Note that *otik* is not very frequently used in Chamacoco. The wh- word for ‘who’ is generally *yečk* /jẽ:k/ (the IF of *yet* /jet/ ‘other’) and the wh- word for ‘what’ is usually *latik*, which was probably an old IF, as one can see in the word ending, but it is not possible to say from which word it derives.

not occur with *nez* (/nes/) and *jnese* /ɲese/, which are uninflectable. This is why in (226) and (227) the element preceding *jnese* /ɲese/ and *nez* (/nes/) appears in FF.

- (226) Jogasui jnese ore nina_re uje ore t-agu tache-i.
 /hogasu-j ɲese ore nina_re uhe ore t-agu tatçe-j/
 GF.family.MS.FF all 3P 3.be_happy_3.RFL SUB 3P 3-eat agouti-MS.FF
 ‘The whole family is with them when they eat the agouti.’ (Ayoreo. QCCB: II,30)

- (227) A-irauz guetosi-tie nez.
 1S-weed month-MS.FF all
 ‘I have weeded all month.’ (Ancient Zamuco. Chomé 1958: 129)⁵¹⁰

CH *nos* is also uninflectable. Generally CH adjectival modifiers follow the noun they refer to, which independently has full inflection for gender, number and form (228). Thus, *nos* does not interfere with the inflection of the rest of the NP it belongs to. CH *nos* has a further peculiarity: it can freely move to the left periphery of the clause. In (229) *nos* refers to *pohor* ‘plants’ and is the first element of the clause, as in (230), where it refers to the object *iiyo* /i:jo/.⁵¹¹

- (228) Je inaapo ese pwert ehe-t? Yehe wir asujār-o nos de.
 /xe ina:po ese pwert ehe-t jehe wir a-suxār-o nos de/
 INT how that.MS house 3.inside-MS.FF still DET.P 2S-thing-MP all 3.EXIST
 ‘How is the house inside? There are still all your things.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

- (229) Nos t-ormihi ire wir pohor ñhy-o.
 /nos t-ormihi ire wir pohor ñj-o/
 all 3-cover 3S 3P plant.FP leave-MP
 ‘He covered himself with the leaves of all plants.’ (Balbuena 1993: 14)

- (230) T-ish todo loşip-o. Nos tik-iraha ii-yo.
 /t-iç todo loçip-o nos tik-iraha i:jo/
 1S-meet all animal-MP all 1S-know 3-name-MP
 ‘I have met all animals. I know all their names.’ (Balbuena 1993: 16)

⁵¹⁰ *Nez* follows a noun in FF also in the texts published by Hervás (1787b: 101-102, 229-230).

⁵¹¹ In (230), *todo* ‘all’ is a Spanish loanword. In currently spoken Chamacoco, it can alternate with *nos*.

Nos can also be the head of an NP, as in (231), where it is the subject.

- (231) Esee = ki nos o-ym: Emiyõr-rza iim-i = ke,
 /ese: = ki nos o-jm emijõɽ-ɽa i:m-i = ke
 DM = PST all 3P-leave Paraguayan_woman-FS.FF 3.leave = PST
 chofer iim-i = ke, komisari iim.
 tɕofer i:m-i = ke komisari i:m/
 driver 3.leave-EPENT = PST commissary 3.leave

‘Then everyone left: the Paraguayan woman left, the driver left, the commissary left.’ (Ciucci, field-notes)

§14.6 Conclusions

This chapter has compared the nominal suffixation of the Zamucoan languages, which have similar morphological devices to express gender, number and form. Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco are very close to each other, but Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco share similar features not to be found in Ayoreo. For instance, the original Proto-Zamuco singular FF suffixes are preserved in Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco, while alternative morphological devices for the singular FF have originated in Ayoreo. With few exceptions, CH has lost the difference between BF and FF in the plural. Chamacoco masculine nominals take the plural suffix *-/o/*, which was originally a MP-BF suffix, but it may alternate with relics such as *-/lo/*, originally a MP-FF suffix, and *-/tso/*, which in some cases cannot be used in FF contexts. The comparison between Ayoreo and Chamacoco permits to explain some Chamacoco subregularities, such as the presence of */r/* in some plurals (§14.3.10), the alternation between */a/* and */e/* in plurals in *-/ehet/* (§14.3.8), the MP suffix */e/* (§14.3.9), and the alternation between */s/* and */ç/* in nominals in *-/çt/* (§14.3.11). Finally, the Zamucoan languages have more series of suffixes to express the IF (depending on the language). In this case too, one can observe significant correspondences between the IF suffixes.

§15 General conclusions

The present investigation has described and compared the three areas of inflectional morphology in the Zamucoan languages: verb inflection (§4-§8), possessive inflection (§9-§11) and nominal suffixation (§12-§14).

Although Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco have a relatively low (but far from marginal) percentage of lexical similarity with Chamacoco, the Zamucoan languages present similar morphological categories, expressed by similar morphological devices (cf. §7, §11 and §14). The genetic relationship among the Zamucoan languages has thus been demonstrated. All Zamucoan languages derive from a common ancestor, Proto-Zamuco. Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco are very close to each other, but the comparison with Chamacoco reveals a number of surprises, because Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco share some peculiarities which have been lost in Ayoreo, such as the realis vs. irrealis opposition in the 3-person. Moreover, the groups of verbs which do not present realis vs. irrealis opposition in the 3-person are the same in both Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco (/t/- verbs and radical verbs). An analogous case is represented by the A.Z. singular FF suffixes *-/tie/* (M) and *-/tae/* (F), which can be compared with CH *-/t/* (MS-FF) and *-/ta/* (FS-FF). This shows that Ancient Zamuco and Chamacoco preserve the original singular FF suffix, which has disappeared in Ayoreo. By contrast, there are many peculiarities in which Chamacoco differs from Ayoreo and Ancient Zamuco: for instance, Chamacoco has lost the full distinction between plural BF and plural FF.

This study is the first scientifically-grounded analysis on the inflectional morphology of the Zamucoan languages. The results of the present work allow one to start thinking about the possible diachronic evolution of the Zamucoan languages, in order to reconstruct Proto-Zamuco. In some cases, it is possible to hypothesize features which characterized a very early stage of the Zamucoan family. For instance, Proto-Zamuco had probably the same verb groups nowadays observed in the Zamucoan languages, but the large variability in the 3-person suggests that at some point Proto-Zamuco has developed morphological devices to express the originally prefixless 3-person. In nominal morphology, the structure of some suffixes indicates that at a very early stage Proto-Zamuco must have been an agglutinative language. The morphological comparison shown in this study should be integrated with a systematic

comparison of verb roots, nominal roots and other parts of the lexicon, in order to establish regular phonetic correspondences among the Zamucoan languages. This will be the object of future research.

Finally, the relationship with the surrounding languages is another topic for further investigation. In the course of this study, some points of contact with other indigenous languages have been indicated (see also Appendix A). It would be desirable to make a systematic comparison with other linguistic families to find further traces of contact and typological similarities. In this respect, the main problem is represented by the scarcity of data available for many South American languages, but new studies will presumably provide interesting material for the comparison. The same applies to the possibility to find genetic relationships between the Zamucoan family and other languages, although – at least for the time being – linguistic and genetic studies suggest that the Zamucoan languages form an isolated family.

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Appendix A. The Swadesh List of 207 words

		Ancient Zamuco	Ayoreo	Chamacoco
1	I	(u)yu	(u)ju	jok
2	you (S)	(u)gua	uwa / ua	owa
3	he	güite / udde (M) guate / udda (F)	ude ‘this’ (M) udak ‘this’ (F) ute ‘that’ (M) wate ‘that’ (F)	witçi (M) wate (F) ire
4	we	(u)yoc	(u)jok	ejok (inclusive) õrjok (exclusive)
5	you (P)	(u)guac	uwak / wak	olak
6	they	ore uddao / uddoe (M) uddai / uyie (F)	ore udoho ‘these’ (M) udahi ‘these’ (F) udore ‘those’ (M) udire ‘those’ (F)	õr wir õr ire
7	this	güite / udde (M) guate / udda (F)	ude (M) udak (F)	ele (M) diki/dika (M) ana (F) na(k)a (F)
8	that	Ø	ute ‘that’ (M) wate ‘that’ (F)	ese (M) asa (F)
9	here	ide	de/ne	lika
10	there	ite	sona waite	wahatça
11	who	guioitie (M) guiotàe (F)	gosi (M) goti (F)	jē:k / jē:kpo
12	what	irige	gotik(e) / (t̥o) rike	latik
13	where	irige	rike	irã:po
14	when	irique	(t̥o) rike	latik
15	how	quitie	(t̥o) rike	ina:po
16	not	ca	ka (IRLS) ke (RLS)	je
17	all	nez	ṇese	nos

18	many	Ø	dipesej (MS.FF) pieña waseñane (MP)	kiñija
19	some	uyego (MP) uñanigui (FP)	uñane (MP.FF) uñanie (FP.FF)	tsomiro (MP) tsomire ([M/F]P)
20	few	garocioddoe (MP.FF)	garosiode (MP.FF) garosidie (MP.FF)	aṛa:bo (M) aṛe:be (F)
21	other	Ø	uñaj (MS.FF))	jet (MS.FF)
22	one	chomarâ ([M/F]S.BF)	tçomara (MS.BF)	tsomira ([M/F]S.BF)
23	two	gar (MS.BF)	gare (MS.BF)	osijer (M) otijer (F)
24	three	gadioc (MS.BF)	gadiok (MS.BF)	arĩ toho
25	four	gahagani (MS.BF)	gagani (MS.BF)	arĩ çarĩ
26	five	chuena yimanaitie	tçeña jimanaj	arĩ çarĩ toho
27	big	dieda (FS.BF)	kutçabi (MS.FF) datej (MS.FF) keruj (MS.FF) ekañai (MS.FF)	ditç (MS.FF) bałut (MS.FF)
28	long	Ø	jorikoj (MS.FF)	berzł (MS.FF)
29	wide	Ø	eñumej (MS.FF)	ehet ditç (MS.FF)
30	thick	urôtie (MS.FF) urônac (MS.BF)	nañoraj (MS.FF) uroñaj (MS.FF) ‘fat’	tsoła
31	heavy	Ø	imenuñaj (MS.FF)	iñe
32	small	Ø	ahami (MS.FF) atiami (MS.FF) urigabi (MS.FF)	ija:bit (MS.FF)
33	short	Ø	katadej (MS.FF) utugudej (MS.FF)	turkã:bit (MS.FF)
34	narrow	Ø	ahami (MS.FF) urigabi (MS.FF)	ehet ixa:bit (MS.FF)
35	thin	Ø	atiami (MS.FF) godoj (MS.FF)	koçka:bit (MS.FF), olo
36	woman	chequetae (FS.FF), cheque (FS.BF)	tçeke (FS.FF)	timtçajja (FS.FF)

37	man	nani (MS.BF)	ṅani (MS.FF)	ṅakirbitç (MS.FF)
38	person	∅	ajorej (MS.FF)	oçt (MS.FF)
39	child	abitie (3.MS.FF) ap (3.MS.BF)	abi (3.MS.FF) disi (MS.FF)	a:p (3.MS.BF), ixit (3.MS.FF)
40	wife	acotetae (3.FS.FF) acote (3.FS.BF)	acote (3.FS.FF)	irāhata (3.FS.FF)
41	husband	∅	abaj (3.MS.FF)	abitç (3.MS.FF)
42	mother ⁵¹²	date (3.FS.BF)	date (3.FS.FF)	data (3.FS.FF)
43	father	daitie (3.MS.FF) dai (3.MS.BF)	daj / daje (3.MS.FF)	dejtç (3.MS)
44	animal	∅	dosipej (MS.FF)	doçipit (MS.FF)
45	fish	∅	ojidi (MS.FF)	doçit (MS.FF)
46	bird	chuguperitie (MS.FF) chugupêre (MS.BF)	tçuṅupēri / tçuṅupēri (MS.FF)	tçipirmitça (FS.FF)
47	dog	potitie (MS.FF) potit (MS.BF)	tamokoj (MS.FF)	pohotç (MS.FF)
48	louse	∅	ṅari (MS.FF)	ṅatsikita (FS.FF)
49	snake	∅	ugaj (MS.FF)	etçēit (MS.FF)
50	worm	∅	huputçaj (MS.FF) uhūri (MS.FF)	ditçaçĩrtç (MS.FF)
51	tree	poritae (FS.FF)	poria (FS.FF)	pohoṭṭa (FS.FF)
52	forest	∅	ugĩnamuj (MS.FF)	ṁont ormit (MS.FF)
53	stick	pitie (MS.FF) pit (MS.BF)	pidi (MS.FF)	pitç (MS.FF)
54	fruit	∅	a (FS.FF)	e:ta (FS.FF)
55	seed	chotie (MS.FF) chococ (MS.BF)	aṅua (FS.FF)	ejhita (FS.FF)
56	leaf	∅	akāraj (3.MS.FF)	ihĩt (3.MS.FF) ⁵¹³
57	root	eros (MS.BF) ('kind or	etasi (MS.FF)	utuçt (3.MS.FF)

⁵¹² Compare the Pilagá word *-at'e* 'mother', with the possessive prefix *I-* in the 3-person (Vidal 2001: 79-80).

⁵¹³ *Ihĩt* means both 'leaf' and 'wing': cf. AY. *ujnoi /uñoj/* (3.MS.FF) 'wing' and A.Z. *unnotie* (*/unotie/*) (MS.FF) 'wing'.

		root')	taposi (MS.FF)	oꞓꞓa (FS.FF)
58	bark (of a tree)	∅	gatodaoj (MS.FF)	juhũꞓꞓa (FS.FF)
59	flower	∅	asige (FS.FF) poꞓaꞓe (FS.FF)	plorta (FS.FF)
60	grass	∅	ꞓakaraj (MS.FF)	jerbita (MS.FF)
61	rope	carubitie (MS.FF) carup (MS.BF)	enuvej (3.MS.FF)	dukwērtꞓ (MS.FF)
62	skin	yahotie (1.MS.FF)	aoj (3.MS.FF)	yuhũꞓꞓa (3.FS.FF)
63	meat	∅	ãri (3.MS.FF)	ẽro (3.MP) sot (MS.FF) ⁵¹⁴
64	blood	∅	ijoj (3.MS.FF)	armista (3.MS.FF) ikirmista (3.MS.FF)
65	bone	∅	aꞓokej (3.MS.FF)	debitꞓ (MS.FF) lotibitꞓ (MS.FF)
66	fat (n)	∅	i (MS.FF)	ꞓetꞓit krast
67	egg	curec (MS.BF)	kurēj (MS.FF)	ꞓart (MS.FF) webit (MS.FF)
68	horn	tugut (MS.BF)	ubutꞓuj (3.MS.FF) ue (3.FS.FF)	wa:pita (FS.FF) urta (FS.FF)
69	tail	∅	kari (MS.FF)	kolta (FS.FF)
70	feather	∅	arama (FS.FF) ojoj (3.MS.FF)	ihĩt (3.MS.FF)
71	hair	∅	acãrai (3.MS.FF)	akãrt (3.MS.FF)
72	head (phys.)	yatoitae (1.FS.FF)	gatoj (3.FS.FF)	huta (3.FS.FF)
73	ear	agoroitae (3.FS.FF)	aꞓorone (3.FS.FF)	ãꞓꞓa (3.FS.FF)
74	eye	eddo (3.FS.BF)	edo (3.FS.FF)	onta (3.FS.FF)
75	nose	∅	kõratꞓuj (3.MS.FF)	dixērpita (3.FS.FF)
76	mouth	∅	piꞓani (3.MS.FF)	aꞓo [?] (3.MS.BF)
77	tooth	∅	pãtaraj (3.MS.FF)	potē:t (3.MS.FF) irũrtꞓ (3.MS.FF)
78	tongue	arecho (MP.BF)	arej (3.MS.FF)	ahãrtꞓ (3.MS.FF)

⁵¹⁴ *Sot* 'meat' is probably a loan from the Guaraní *so'o*.

79	finger nail	∅	usuguruj (3.MS.FF)	duçurtç (3.MS.FF)
80	foot	∅	gidaj (3.MS.FF) jirídaj (1.MS.FF)	ñitita (3.FS.FF) pi.ɽa (1.FS.FF)
81	leg	∅	etarudi (3.MS.FF) ⁵¹⁵ gidogoropote (3.FS.FF)	dilt (3.MS.FF)
82	knee	∅	ikatade (3.FS.FF) katade (GF.FS.FF)	ketita (3.FS.FF)
83	hand	manai (3.MS.BF)	manaj (3.FS.FF)	mata (3.FS.FF)
84	wing	unnotie (MS.FF) unnoc (MS.BF)	uñoj (3.MS.FF)	ihit (3.MS.FF)
85	belly	∅	ika (3.FS.FF)	ijita (3.FS.FF)
86	guts	ahetie (3.MS.FF)	utçaj (3.MS.FF)	itçit (3.FS.FF)
87	neck	∅	etabi (3.MS.FF)	etibitç (3.MS.FF)
88	back	∅	gidoboj (3.MS.FF)	ner ² (3.MS.BF)
89	breast	∅	ina (3.FS.FF)	oxõ.ɽa (3.FS.FF)
90	heart	∅	ijobie (3.FS.FF)	titewta (3.FS.FF)
91	liver	∅	abito (3.FS.FF)	i:bita (3.FS.FF)
92	to drink	∅	tçohi (3)	ihì (3)
93	to eat	tac (3) (INTRANS) tagu (3) (TRANS)	tak (3) (INTRANS) tagu (3) (TRANS)	ta:k (3) (INTRANS) tew (3) (TRANS)
94	to bite	∅	tçigas (3)	tçe:s / tse:s (3)
95	to suck	∅	tçuku (3)	tçuku (3)
96	to spit	∅	tçutĩre (3)	tsitsẽr dało (3)
97	to vomit	∅	pogaj (3)	pwey (3)
98	to blow	∅	tçubutçu (3)	tsobita / tçobita (3)
99	to breathe	∅	tçinime daɽari (3)	tsitsẽr dejertç (3)
100	to laugh	∅	kana (3)	jana (3)
101	to see	aimo (1S)	tçimo (3)	umo (3)
102	to hear	chidut (1S.IRLS)	tçudute (3)	tçunt (3)
103	to know	chiraha (3)	tçiraha (3)	tçiraha (3)

⁵¹⁵ According to Higham *et al.* (2000), *etarúdi* ‘part of the leg between the hip and the knee’; *gidogoropote* / *gidogoropote* / ‘part of the leg between the ankle and the knee’.

104	to think	∅	ajipie doj (3) ajipie t̥aise (3) [ajipie 'thoughts' (3.FS.FF)]	ejuwo t̥is̥r̥ / t̥is̥r̥ (3) ejuwo u:ɕi (3) [ejuwo 'thoughts' (3.MP)]
105	to smell	∅	t̥ohare (3)	t̥ow̥ir (3)
106	to fear	∅	todo (3)	tola (3)
107	to sleep	aimo (1S)	mo (3)	umo (3)
108	to live	∅	eka (3)	debuhu (3)
109	to die	toi (3)	toj (3)	toj (3)
110	to kill	chue (3)	t̥chue (3)	ɕu: (3)
111	to fight	∅	doj pokaniɲaj (3)	tsats̥r̥ (3)
112	to hunt	∅	doj dosipeode (3) doj kut̥isode (3)	tej̥ãha a:t̥e (3)
113	to hit	chue (3)	t̥chue (3)	ɕu: (3)
114	to cut	airahu (1S)	t̥akesu (3)	t̥ek̥ɕehe (3), ijo (3)
115	to split	∅	t̥ahuke (3)	t̥sehek (3)
116	to stab	∅	t̥it̥ɕagu (3)	t̥it̥ɕew (3)
117	to scratch	∅	t̥ibika (3)	t̥ẽjhi (3)
118	to dig	∅	t̥ihot̥ɕa (3)	t̥it̥ɕew (3)
119	to swim	aiyaz̥âr (1S)	doj ɲakoj iji jodi gaj (3)	tsaɲ nãɲɲa (3)
120	to fly	aiyo (1S)	t̥o (3) jijo (1S)	ijo (3) ⁵¹⁶
121	to walk	∅	dik (3)	dir̥k (3)
122	to come	dac (3)	d̥i (3)	t̥ir̥ɛt̥ (3)
123	to lie	∅	ter̥ɛta (3) 'to lie down'	t̥inim (3) 'to lie down' t̥sejne ɲimit̥ɕ (3) 'to lie on the chest'
124	to sit	aiyakarihi (1S)	t̥akare (3)	tsakir (3)
125	to stand	iyague (3)	t̥age (3) jijage (1)	ijehet (3)

⁵¹⁶ Cf. the Mocoví intransitive verb *ayo* 'to fly' (Grondona 1998: 270).

126	to turn	choquiyigui (3)	tɕaparu dabaj (3)	tejtɕ dele (3)
127	to fall	baz (3)	base (3)	beɕi (3) kaj
128	to give	osi (1S), asi (2)	tɕisi (3)	ieim (3)
129	to hold	∅	tɕisa (3)	tɕeɕew (3)
130	to squeeze	∅	tɕihose (3) tɕipatigase (3)	sejkêhe ɲimitɕ (3)
131	to rub	∅	tɕaɲuɲera gaj (3) tɕaguɲera gaj (3) tɕuɲuɲera gaj (3)	tɕukwerɔ (3)
132	to wash	∅	tɕuru	tɕurũ (3)
133	to wipe	∅	tɕaɲuɲera gaj (3) tɕaguɲera gaj (3) tɕuɲuɲera gaj (3)	tɕurũ (3)
134	to pull	∅	tɕurugus (3)	tɕurɿ (3)
135	to push	∅	tɕurugus (3)	tɕukus (3)
136	to throw	aoz (1S)	tɕiɲira (3) tõraha (3) 'to throw into'	tãra (3)
137	to tie	agayo (2P)	tɕigaru (3)	ɕijeru (3)
138	to sew	chichichêre (1S.IRLS) achichêre (2S.IRLS)	tɕuga (3)	tɕitɕew (3)
139	to count	acecaru (2S.IRLS)	tɕisekãru (3)	tiskĩr (3)
140	to say	tata (3) choniga (3)	tɕatata (3) tɕoɲiɲa (3)	tata (3)
141	to sing	∅	tɕirate (3) tɕiɲekare (3)	tejtɕi (3)
142	to play	∅	kanare (3)	lota (3)
143	to float	∅	digihi jodi gaj (3)	dohir e:jtɕ (3)
144	to flow	∅	∅	u:ɕi (3) 'run'
145	to freeze	∅	teɲuj (MS.FF) 'cold'	kĩ:s 'cold'
146	to swell	∅	põ 'to be swollen' geɲaj (MS.FF) 'swollen'	potita 'swollen'

147	sun	guiedetie (MS.FF) guiede (MS.BF)	gede (MS)	dejɬɛ (MS.FF)
148	moon	∅	gedoside (MS.FF)	ɕekurkit (MS.FF)
149	star	gueddo (FS.BF)	gedo (FS.FF)	põ:ɬɛ:btɕa (FS.FF)
150	water	yoitie (MS.FF) yot (MS.BF)	jodi (MS.FF)	nijokot ⁵¹⁷ awit (MS.FF)
151	rain	bec ‘it rains’	gej (MS.FF) beke ‘it rains’	ibik ‘it rains’ juwebit (MS.FF) osãsiro (archaic)
152	river	∅	tie (FS.FF)	ono:ta (FS.FF)
153	lake	∅	gaɲo (FS.FF)	∅
154	sea	∅	tie kutɕabi (MS.FF) (lit. ‘big river’) jote kedeɲaj (MS.FF)	ono:t(a) baɬurta (FS.FF) (lit. ‘big river’)
155	salt	echotie (MS.FF)	etɕoj (MS.FF)	jokitɕ
156	stone	cucaraitie (MS.FF)	kukarané (FS.FF)	kojãtɕ (MS.FF) ⁵¹⁸
157	sand	uddapie	uɲa (FS.FF) arĩ (MS.FF)	erent (MS.FF)
158	dust	numitie (MS.FF) numi (MS.BF)	ɲumi (MS.FF) uruj (MS.FF)	ukult (MS.FF)
159	earth	numitie (MS.FF) numi (MS.BF)	ɲumi (MS.FF) erami (MS.FF)	ɲimitɕ (MS.FF) ĩrmo (MP) ‘world’
160	cloud	gueoddo[e] (MP.FF)	ge abuha (FS.FF) ge ikagoj (MS.FF)	ukuɬuɬa (FS.FF)
161	fog	∅	hesi (FS.FF)	icibilt (MS.FF)
162	sky	idaitie (MS.FF)	gate (MS.FF) gataɲokej (MS.FF)	põ:rtɕ (MS.FF)
163	wind	emitie (MS.FF)	emi (MS.FF)	mjenta (FS.FF)

⁵¹⁷ This word is probably a loan from Kadiwéu *ninyogodi* ‘water’ (Kadiwéu data from Griffiths 2002: 140, 174). Nowadays this word is often replaced by *awit*, stemming from Spanish *agua* ‘water’.

⁵¹⁸ The CH word *kojãch* /kojãtɕ/ basically conveys two meanings: ‘stone’ and ‘mountain’ (see above). In the first meaning it should be compared with AY *cucarané* /kukarane/ (FS.FF) ‘rock, stone, gem’. In the second meaning it should be compared with the corresponding masculine form of *cucarané*, that is *cucarani* /kukarani/ ‘mountain, hill’; *cucarané* is probably derived from the latter word.

		em (MS.BF)		
164	snow	∅	∅	∅
165	ice	∅	∅	koxãtç pít 'piece of ice' (lit. 'piece of stone')
166	smoke	piotoddoe (MP.FF) pioboddoe (MP.FF) piobio (MP.BF)	ujuña (FS.FF)	i:bitç (3.MS.FF)
167	fire	pio[t] (MS.BF)	pioj (MS.FF)	urũta (FS.FF) xwekita (FS.FF)
168	ash	∅	putçukuruj (MS.FF)	pi:tsít (MS.FF)
169	to burn	iddu	tagu (gaj) (3) tçãru (gaj) (3)	duļu
170	road	urahec (3.MS.BF) dahec (GF.MS.BF)	dajej (GF.MS.FF) ũrajej (3.MS.FF)	dehet (MS.FF)
171	mountain	∅	kukarani (MS.FF)	koxãtç (MS.FF)
172	red	pisap (MS.BF)	karataj (MS.FF) tçarumañaj (MS.FF) gati (MS.FF)	wihĩrt (MS.FF)
173	green	∅	perupi (MS.FF) sarej (MS.FF)	bertít (MS.FF)
174	yellow	cagôra	kañuraj (MS.FF) perupi (MS.FF) sarej (MS.FF)	kahĩrt (MS.FF)
175	white	chopo (3) 'to be white'	kobi (MS.FF) hutuj (MS.FF) pororoj (MS.FF)	po:rtç (MS.FF)
176	black	chotoc (3) 'to be black'	utataj (MS.FF)	wis (MS.BF)
177	night	dehac (MS.BF)	dehaj (MS.FF)	dĩlak (MS.BF) dĩlt (MS.FF)
178	day	diritie (MS.FF) dire (MS.BF)	diri (MS.FF)	de:jtç (MS.FF)
179	year	zequere	sikere / sekere (FS.FF)	tarokot (MS.FF)
180	warm	aiyotare (1S)	pioke 'to be warm'	duļu

		aiyotâco (1P) dayotaño (2P) 'to be warm'		
181	cold	areritie (MS.FF)	areredatej (MS.FF) teņuj (MS.FF)	ki:s
182	full	cho chic chic (3) 'to be full'	iraguhi (MS.FF)	ir̥ew
183	new	∅	ehoj (MS.FF) it̥aj (MS.FF)	it̥carãha aļt (MS.FF)
184	old	choquidatie (MS.FF) choquida (MS.BF)	arimej (MS.FF) iharoj (MS.FF)	ilart̥ç (MS.FF)
185	good	uomitie (MS.FF) uom (MS.BF)	omi (MS.FF)	om (MS.BF)
186	bad	uzodatie (MS.FF) uzoda (MS.BF)	gaņarej (MS.FF) siņaj (MS.FF)	il̥xa:bit (MS.FF) miņt (MS.FF)
187	rotten	cho r̥ârac / cho r̥âratie (3) 'to be rotten'	tarataj (MS.FF)	topit̥ (MS.FF) (also 'dead')
188	dirty	∅	gekorisej (MS.FF) igirikonaj (MS.FF) huduj (MS.FF) opoj (MS.FF) topiej (MS.FF)	warec
189	straight	∅	kaputaj (MS.FF)	dereçt (MS.FF)
190	round	ucozitie (MS.FF) ucoz (MS.BF)	aparugaitaj (MS.FF)	ir̥nonto
191	sharp	∅	asikoj (MS.FF)	weçtiç
192	dull	∅	derokoj (MS.FF) pacaj (MS.FF)	pako
193	smooth	∅	karuņaj (MS.FF)	kututa ([M/F]S.BF)
194	wet	panota	tetaj (MS.FF) arupatej (MS.FF); pakata 'to be very wet'	panta
195	dry	canore cho can(n)ac	kaņori (MS.FF)	çirã

196	correct	∅	kaputapis ihi ɲumi 'to be correct'	om (MS.BF)
197	near	upuzu ite 'there close'	ehoj (3.MS.FF) idogosi (MS.FF)	ahir (3)
198	far	dit	idahaj (MS.FF) ɲaropiej ɲoropiej	dukuɭa ([M/F]S.BF)
199	right	∅	āratɕua (3)	wā:ɕta (3.FS.FF)
200	left	∅	arase (3)	wā:ɕxãɭa (3.FS.FF)
201	at	(i)hi, aha	ihi, tihi, aha	= ihi,
202	in	(i)hi, aha	ihi, tihi, aha	= ihi, ehet (3) 'inside'
203	with	ega, uddi	ome, tome	(h)ōr, ahir (3)
204	and	apo	(e)ɲa	ɲ, itɕ
205	if	= ga	uhetiga	uxe, kimixi, kirēhe, kēhe
206	because	∅	uhe	pork, jexi (archaic)
207	name	∅	i (3.MS.FF)	i:ɕ (3.MS.FF)

Appendix B. Paradigms of Ancient Zamuco possessable nouns in Chomé's grammar

Nouns

- (1) y-i-pahe (1S), a-pahe (2S), a-pahe (3), Ø-Ø-pahe (GF) 'belt'
- (2) y-a-ho (1S), a-ho (2S), a-ho (3), p-a-ho (GF) 'leather'
- (3) ote (1S), d-a-te (3), az-ote (1P), ay-a-te (2P) 'mother'
- (4) y-e-ddo (1S), e-ddo (2S), e-ddo (3), p-e-ddo (GF) 'eye'
- (5) y-u-ague (1S), a-gue (2S), g-ü-ague (3/GF) 'family'
- (6) y-i-baya (1S), a-baya (2S), i-baya (3), p-i-baya (GF) 'excuse'
- (7) y-i-gueda (1S), a-i-gueda (2S), i-gueda (3), da-i-gueda (RFL), gu-i-gueda (GF),
ay-i-gueda (1P/2P) 'house'
- (8) y-i-guioz (1S), a-guioz (2S), i-guioz (3), Ø-Ø-guioz (GF) 'relative'
- (9) y-i-podduo (1S), a-podduo (2S), i-podduo (3), Ø-Ø-podduo (GF) 'lungs'
- (10) y-i-raogenna (1S), a-raogenna (2S), i-raogenna (3), Ø-Ø-daoguenna (GF) 'mortar'
- (11) y-i-terepec (1S), a-terepec (2S), i-terepec (3), pepec (GF) 'tissue'
- (12) y-u-cau (1S), a-cau (2S), u-cau (3), p-u-cau (GF) 'elbow'
- (13) y-u-hoz (1S), a-hoz (2S), u-hoz (3), d-u-coz (GF) 'disease'
- (14) y-u-rahec (1S), a-rahec (2S), u-rahec (3), Ø-Ø-dahec (GF) 'path'
- (15) ch-o-rotat (1S), ay-o-rotat (1P/2P) 'shoulder'

Verbal nouns

- (1) ch-a-cac (1S), a-cac (2S), a-cac (3), p-a-cac (GF) 'what is planted'
- (2) ch-e-câric (1S), e-caric (2S), e-caric (3), p-e-caric (GF) 'what is followed'
- (3) ch-i-mecêrac (1S), a-mecêrac (2S), i-mecêrac (3), p-i-mecêrac (GF) 'what is loved'
- (4) y-i-yauc (1S), a-yauc (2S), i-yauc (3), p-i-yauc (GF) 'what is leaved'
from: i-yau (3) 'to quit; to stop'
- (5) ch-o-irac (1S), o-irac (2S), o-irac (3), p-o-irac (GF) 'what is added'
- (6) ch-o-it (1S), o-it (2S), o-it (3), p-o-it (GF) 'who/what is brought'
from: t-o-râ (3) 'to bring'⁵¹⁹
- (7) y-i-noriga (1S), a-noriga (2S), Ø-Ø-noriga (3), p-i-noriga (GF) 'way',
from: no (3) 'to go'
- (8) y-i-bidit (1S), a-bidit (2S), Ø-Ø-pidit (3), p-i-bidit (GF) 'who/what is called'
from: t-i-bidi (3) 'to call'
- (9) ch-u-manic (1S), a-manic (2S), u-manic (3), p-u-manic (GF) 'what is finished'
- (10) ch-a-cac (1S), ay-a-cac (1P/2P) 'what has been planted'

⁵¹⁹ Here the derivational process is not clear.

(11) ch-a-gari (1S) 'what is believed' from: t-a-gari (3) 'to believe'⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ Here the translation is not provided by Chomé and the paradigm is not complete.