CHAPTER 20

Reciprocals and reflexives in North-Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro

(Warekena, Bare, Baniwa of Içana)

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1. Introduction

1.1 General remarks

This paper considers reciprocals and reflexives in three North-Arawak languages spoken in the region of the Upper Rio Negro: Warekena of Xie, Bare and Baniwa of Içana.1

Warekena is spoken on Xie river in Brazil by a few dozen old people. It is a dialect of Baniwa of Guainia spoken by c. 200 people in Venezuela. All the speakers of Warekena use Lingua Geral and Portuguese in their everyday life. Bare is an almost extinct language, formerly spoken in Venezuela and Brazil, around the Casiquaire Channel.

This explains the possible influence of Portuguese and Spanish patterns of reflexives and reciprocals in Warekena and Bare.

Baniwa of Içana is spoken in Brazil and Colombia on the Içana river by around 3,000 people (some of Baniwa dialects are also known as Kurripako).

Within North-Arawak, Baniwa of Içana belongs to the same subgroup as Tariana (see Aikhenvald, Ch. 30 in this monograph). The two languages display lexical similarity and significant grammatical differences due to areal diffusion from East-Tucanoan to Tariana (see Aikhenvald 2002). Bare and Warekena are more closely related to each other than they are to Baniwa and Tariana. Warekena belongs to the Baniwa-Yavitero subgroup of North-Arawak (see Aikhenvald 1998). Bare belongs to the Bare-Guinau subgroup (see Aikhenvald 1999a).

These languages belong to three different subgroups of North-Arawak. However, they display a number of typological similarities, some of which are due to common genetic origins and some due to their long-term coexistence in the linguistic area of the Upper Rio Negro, with a certain amount of bilingualism (see Aikhenvald 1999b).

1.2 Typological characteristics

The North-Arawak languages of the region of the Upper Rio Negro are head-marking and predominantly suffixing, with a few prefixes. They tend to display a split-ergative pattern. Cross-referencing prefixes are used to mark subjects of transitive and intransitive active verbs (A=Sₐ). Cross-referencing enclitics mark direct objects and subjects of intransitive stative verbs (O=Sₒ; see Aikhenvald 1995b). Verbs fall into transitive (which

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1. Materials on Baniwa of Içana were collected in 1991–1994, during three field trips. My materials contain about 350 pp. of narratives (Siuci and Hohôdene dialects).

The discussion of Bare is based on fieldwork (July–August 1991) with the last fluent speaker of Bare in Brazil, late Candelário da Silva multilingual in Bare, Lingua Geral, Spanish and Portuguese. His Bare displayed symptoms of language attrition, which resulted in a heavy impact of syntactic influence of Spanish and Portuguese. My data contain around 150 pp. of texts.

divide into obligatorily transitive, A=S and S=O ambitransitives), intransitive active (S_a) and intransitive stative (S_o). Case-marking is not used for core arguments.

1.3 Overview

North-Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro do not have reflexive or reciprocal pronominal of any sort. There is no special sociative marking. All three languages use an etymologically different verbal suffix to mark reciprocals and reflexives: Warekena -na, Bare -tini, Baniwa -wa. These suffixes more often occur with obligatorily transitive verbs; when they occur with intransitive ones they have a different meaning. These suffixes are also used to mark impersonal passives. This is the only valency reducing operation in North-Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro.\(^2\)

The typological patterns of polysemy of reciprocal and reflexive suffixes are very similar, which may be due both to genetically inherited patterns and areal diffusion between genetically related languages spoken in the same linguistic area (see Section 1.4).

1.4 Reciprocals and reflexives in Arawak languages

About half of Amazonian languages have some sort of intransitivizing derivation, usually just one (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999:1–22). This derivation is typically used for agentless passives, reflexives and reciprocals. Such is the case in Carib languages (Derbyshire 1999:23–64), Ika (isolate from Colombia: Frank 1990), Wari (Chapacuran: Everett & Kern 1997), and the North Arawak languages discussed in the previous sections.

However, the majority of Arawak languages mark reflexives and reciprocals differently. Reciprocal meanings are expressed with a verbal derivation. Reflexive markers are often used as general intransitivizers on verbs of motion (Campa, Amuesha, Achagua); in some languages they can acquire a meaning of agentless passive (Waura). Reflexive pronouns are rare – in agreement with predominantly head-marking morphology of Arawak languages (see Aikhenvald 1999a).

Thus, the pattern encountered in the Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro is quite common for Amazonian languages, but unusual for languages of the Arawak family.

Intransitivizing verbal derivations with a reflexive, reciprocal and impersonal passive meaning in Baniwa, Bare and Warekena are very similar typologically, in spite of their different etymology. Possibly, they developed on the level of individual subgroups, as the result of an areal diffusion between languages spoken in the linguistic area of the Upper Rio Negro.

Intransitivizing derivations in Baniwa and Bare also have other meanings. For one thing, Baniwa -kawa and Bare -tini can mark intensive action, or coreferentiality of the subject of a subordinate predicate to the main predicate, respectively, if used with intran-

\(^2\) The only valency increasing operation is causative. Morphological causatives (marked with -sa in Bare, -ta in Warekena and -ita in Baniwa) are typically formed on intransitive verbs. Periphrastic causatives are used with transitive verbs.
sitive verbs. -Tini derivation in Bare can also have a few other meanings, e.g. sociative; it is also sometimes used to suppress the identity of the agent (A/Sa constituent). These divergencies may be accounted for by the fact that these languages belong to different subgroups within North Arawak.

2. Warekena

2.1 Reciprocals

-Na ‘reflexive-reciprocal’ in Warekena has a reciprocal meaning with a plural subject. (1) illustrates this meaning of the -na derivation.

(1) ni-wiyu-yua ni-mai-na-wa ni-yut’ia-na-wa payalu ifi ni-na-λi.
3pl-die-red 3pl-quarrel-rec-nacc 3pl-kill-rec-nacc all what 3pl-do-reltr
‘They (non-evangelicals) faint of drunkenness, they quarrel with each other and kill each other, this is all they do.’

A transitive verb -yut’ia ‘to kill’ is illustrated in (2).

(2) nu-yut’ia pifiwa mawaya.
1sg-kill 2sg.from snake
‘I shall kill the snake from you.’

More examples of reciprocal meaning of -na derivation are given in (3) and (4). All verbs with reciprocal meanings in Warekena are -na derivations.

(3) ni-mai-na-wa.
3pl-fight-rec-nacc
‘They fought each other.’

(4) ni-we-na-wa.
3pl-leave-rec-nacc
‘They left each other.’

2.2 Reflexives

With a non-plural subject, -na derivation has reflexive meaning, illustrated with nu-tełuka-na-wa ‘I cut myself’ in (5). The transitive use of -tełuka ‘to cut’ is shown in (6).

(5) nu-tełuka-na-wa katfiya iyu.
1sg-cut-refl-nacc knife with
‘I cut myself with a knife.’

(6) piya-ha nu-yalitua pi-fa pi-tełuka aṭapi.
you-paus 1sg-brother 2sg-go 2sg-cut tree
‘You, brother, go and cut a tree (to make a smoking grid, to smoke our stock).’

(7) illustrates the transitive use of -ałaka ‘to put on (clothes)’. (8) illustrates the reflexive intransitive use of the same verb with the suffix -na: ałaka-na ‘dress oneself’.

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(7) ni-alaka ni-tsiluka-ne ni-kamitsa-ne ne-palu ni-tsume-ne
3pl.put.on 3pl.trousers-poss 3pl.shirt-poss 3pl.cat-purp 3pl.food-poss
ni-tsume-ne.
3pl.food-poss
'They put on their trousers and shirts, to eat their food.'

(8) wa: tsuludawa wa alake-na-mia-wa.
then soldier then get.dressed-refl-pfv-nacc.
'Then the soldier got dressed.'

There are few cases of the use of -na- 'reflexive' with intransitive Sa verbs which are probably influenced by Portuguese, as in (9).

(9) neda wi jaguar nu-eskape-na-wa ijiwa.
1sg.see jaguar 1sg.escape-refl-nacc from
'I saw a jaguar and escaped (lit. 'escaped myself'); cf. Portuguese: me escapei from him.'

Reflexive -na derivation can be formed on a causative of an intransitive verb:

(10) ya-mia-tse-pia daba kunehu pipi-nia-na-mia-wa ijiwa.
neg-pfv-know-neg where rabbit lost-inch-caus-refl-pfv-nacc from
'The rabbit did not know where to hide himself (lit. 'make himself get lost') from him (jaguar).'

A -na derivation can sometimes have a reflexive meaning even if the subject is plural, as in (11). Then, reflexive and reciprocal meanings can only be distinguished by the context. Without a reciprocal marker, -bayata is a regular transitive verb.

(11) ale-hë ni-bayata-na-wa-mia-ha.
so-paus 3pl.spread-refl-nacc-pfv-paus
'So they (the turtles) spread themselves (over the road) (they went away).'

Reflexive derivation does not apply to S=O ambitransitives. -eta 'to burn' is an ambitransitive. (12a) illustrates its transitive use, and (12b) its intransitive use. Note that Ø prefix is used to cross-reference 3.sg.nf A/Sa in Warekena.

(12) a. nata-mia-wa napi.
1sg.burn-pfv-nacc 1sg.hand
'I burnt my hand.'

b. eta-mia-wa pani-fi.
burn-pfv-nacc house-nposs
'The house burnt.'

c. nata-mia-wa payalu.
1sg.burn-pfv-nacc all
'I burnt myself all.'

If the O is omitted, the construction is understood as reflexive by default; cf.:

Reflexive derivation in Warekena is not used to emphasise the identity of the A constituent. The instrumental-comitative adposition ima which cross-references A, is used for this purpose, as illustrated in (13):

(13)
2.3 Agentless passives

-Agentless passives can be used as agentless passives, as illustrated below. In (14) -na cannot be understood as reflexive because it is known from the previous text that the jaguar did not tie himself to the tree (it was the smart rabbit who did it).

(14) wa ja-wa puatũ mutũta-mia-hã a:ta waũlĩ alita-na-wa.

then go-ACC monkey bite-pfv-PAUS vine where tie-refl-ACC

'Then the monkey went and bit the vine where he (the jaguar) was tied.'

In (15), the jaguar could not have untied himself, since it is known from the previous stretch of the text that it was a young monkey who untied him.

(15) mutũta puatũ ate balika-mia-wa a:ta wakwe-na-mia-wa

bite monkey until tear-pfv-ACC vine untie-refl-PERFS-ACC

wakwe-na-mia-wa.

untie-refl-PERFS-ACC

'The monkey bit (the vine) until it tore, and he (the jaguar) was untied, untied.'

The agent cannot be expressed, as illustrated by (16) and (17) (elicited).

(16) waũlĩ alite-na-wa minaũ atapi.

jaguar tie-refl-ACC on tree

'The jaguar was tied to the tree.'

(17) *waũlĩ alite-na-wa minaũ atapi ima kunehu.

jaguar tie-refl-ACC on tree with rabbit

'?The jaguar was tied to the tree by the rabbit.'

Agentless passive is used very rarely. It may be the result of an influence of Portuguese se.

3. Bare

3.1 Reciprocals

The marker -tini 'reflexive-reciprocal' in Bare (see Aikhenvald 1995a) has a reciprocal meaning if the subject is plural. The reciprocal meaning of -tini is illustrated with (18). The transitive use of -kuyud’a 'to embrace' is illustrated in (19).

(18) nu-t̃uũ-ta kahu u-t̃uũ-ta nū wa-kuyud’a-tini.

1sg-kiss-SEQ she 3sg-.f-kiss-SEQ I 1pl-embrace-REC

'I kissed her (the woman), she kissed me, we embraced each other.'

(19) nu-kuyud’ã kahu.

1sg-kiss/hug.pfv she

'I embraced her.'
3.2 Reflexives

-Tini ‘reflexive-reciprocal’ has a reflexive meaning when the subject is singular. Its reflexive meaning is illustrated with (20). The transitive use of the verb ‘to cover’ is shown in (21).

(20) nu-bale-d’a-tini.
    1sg-cover-inch-refl
    ‘I covered myself.’

(21) nu-bale-d’a kahu nu-kaku-le abi.
    1sg-cover-inch,pfv he 1sg-fishing.net-poss with
    ‘I covered him with my fishing-net.’

3.3 Other meanings of -tini derivation

-Tini derivation has a number of other meanings. It has a spatial reciprocal meaning with transitive and intransitive verbs (Section 3.3.1). Other meanings considered here, i.e. subject coreferentiality, full involvement of the subject and unspecified subject, are confined to intransitive verbs. All these uses are rather rare in my corpus. Some of them may be due to calques from Portuguese, or Spanish.

3.3.1 Spatial reciprocal meaning

The spatial reciprocal meaning of the -tini derivation with a transitive verb is illustrated in (22), and with an intransitive one in (24). The transitive use of -wabukuda ‘to join, collect’ is illustrated in (23). The verb -ituka ‘to return’ is used intransitively in (25).

(22) kulimau-nu me-wabukuda-tini me-nika-waka kwati.
    turtle-pl 3pl-join-rec 3pl-eat-purp jaguar
    ‘Turtles joined each other (came together) to eat the jaguar.’

(23) wamisi hiwiña kameni-ute ikha wa-wabukuda idi wa-nika teďa.
    1pl.smoked 3sg,nf.fall fire-dir 3sg,nf.burn 1pl-join then 1pl-eat that
    ‘Our smoked food fell into the fire, it burnt. We joined (it), then we ate (all) that.’

(24) hwetuka-tini-ka wa-bahada-tini.
    1pl.return-rec-decl 1pl-share-rec.
    ‘We will return to each other and divide (the found money) between ourselves.’

(25) nu-diriká kahu hetuka ihiwa-na.
    1sg-hit he 3sg,nf.return 3sg,nf.go-pfv
    ‘I hit him (the dog), he went away.’

3.3.2 Subject coreferentiality

-Tini derivation can be formed on intransitive verbs. Then it may express coreferentiality of the subject of a subordinate predicate to that of the main predicate. Such an example is (26). helu-da in (26) is an intransitive verb, and so helu-da-tini cannot mean ‘make himself dry.’ These examples are very rare.
3.3 Full involvement of subject

In the following examples the -tini derivation means that the subject fully undergoes the action/state expressed by the verb. This is illustrated with (27) and (28). Intransitive uses of kahawi 'to be painful' and -khuna 'to excrete' are shown in (29) and (30).

(27) nu-kahawi-d’a-tini.
1sg-pain-inch-refl
'I feel pain all over myself, I am complaining about pain.'

(28) tantu nu-kiate-d’a-ka kasi nu-khuna-tinyaka.
so 1sg-fear-inch-decl almost 1sg-excrete-refl.decl
'I was so scared that I almost excreted on myself.' (Port. quase me caguei)

(29) tekhiyabite kahawi nu-dusia.
this.over pain 1sg-head
'This is why I had a headache.' (lit. 'my head was painful. ')

(30) nu-khuná.
1sg-excrete.pfv
'I excreted.'

3.3.4 Unspecified subject

The marker -tini is also sometimes used when the subject is unspecified, as in (31). Examples of this sort are rare.

(31) lansa id’uali hamuduka-tini-waka.
spear good INDEF.kill-refl-purp
'Spear is good for fighting.'

Examples like (31) may be considered the result of the influence of Spanish or Portuguese se 'reflexive-reciprocal enclitic', which is frequently used in this meaning. (32) is the Portuguese equivalent of (31) given by the speaker:

(32) a lança é boa para se matar.
ART.sg.3G spear be.pres.3G good.sg.3G for refl kill
'A spear is good for fighting.'

The use of -tini with a number of verbs could result from Portuguese/Spanish influence. Nu-takasa-tini (1sg-cheat-refl) 'I was mistaken' looks like a calque of Portuguese eu me enganei (lit. 'I cheated myself') 'I was mistaken'; nu-karakasa-tini (1sg-stumble-refl) 'I stumbled by hitting myself (on something)'.

The -tini derivation is not used to emphasize the identity of agent. Then, Bare uses the emphatic particle -~ki.
4. Baniwa of Içana

Baniwa of Içana uses -kawa 'intransitivizer' for both reciprocal and reflexive meanings (also see Taylor 1991:47).

4.1 Reciprocals

When -kawa is used on a transitive verb with a plural subject, the verb acquires a reciprocal meaning, as in (33). The verb can optionally take a comitative constituent (‘with their enemies’ in (33)). The verb -inua 'to kill' is used transitively in (34).

(33) na-inua-kawa hnepûda i-apida.
    3PL-kill-rec 3PL.enemy INDEF-with
    ‘They fought (lit. ‘killed each other’) with their enemies.’

(34) na-inua dzawi.
    3PL-kill jaguar
    ‘They killed a jaguar.’

4.2 Reflexives

When -kawa is used on a transitive verb with a singular subject, the verb acquires a reflexive meaning. Reflexive use of -takha 'to cut' is shown in (35). Its transitive use is illustrated in (36).

(35) kwame-kha pi-kaphiwida ıame nu-takha-kawa-ka.
    how-INT 2SG-finger no 1SG-CUT-REFL-DECL
    ‘What is there with your finger? (asked the mother). Nothing, I cut myself’ (answered the daughter).’

(36) nu-takha nu-kapi.
    1SG-cut 1SG-hand
    ‘I cut my hand.’

If -kawa is used on a transitive verb which can also be used intransitively (as a A=Sambitransitive verb), it still expresses a reflexive meaning with a singular subject, see (37). The verb -kapuku 'to turn' is used transitively in (38), and intransitively in (39).

(37) dzama kadzu-pida ıi Kapuku-kawa.
    two so-RPRT 3SG.NF TURN-REFL
    ‘He (the god) turned around (lit. ‘turned himself’) twice.’

(38) nu-kapuku ıta.
    1SG-turn canoe
    ‘I turned the canoe.’

(39) ıta ıi Kapuku.
    canoe 3SG.NF TURN
    ‘The canoe turned.’
4.3 Agentless passive

When used with a transitive verb, -\textit{kawa} derivation may have the meaning of an agentless passive. Example (40) illustrates this use of the verb -\textit{phiuta} `to trap', and of -\textit{taita} `to finish'. The verb -\textit{phiuta} is used transitively in (41).

(40) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{kamena} \textit{iñemi} \textit{λi-phiuta-kawa} \textit{λi-taita-kawa}. \\
then devil 3SG.NF-trap-INTR 3SG.NF-finish-PASS
\end{tabular} \\
`Then the devil was trapped, he was finished.'

(41) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{nu-phiuta} \textit{dzawi}. \\
1SG-trap jaguar
\end{tabular} \\
`I trapped a jaguar.'

4.4 Other uses of -\textit{kawa}: Intensive action

The marker -\textit{kawa} can be used to mark intensive action, both with transitive and with intransitive verbs. (42) and (43) follow each other in the origin myth. (42) contains the transitive predicate -\textit{hmaita} `to burn' and (43) contains an intransitivized -\textit{hmaita-kawa} `to burn strongly'.

(42) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{na-hmaita-pida} \textit{heku} \textit{panudzwa}. \\
3PL-burn-RPT wood middle
\end{tabular} \\
`They burnt the wood in the middle.'

(43) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{na: na-kapuku, na-dana} \textit{λi-hmaita-kawa} \textit{tidze}. \\
3PL-go 3PL-go.around, 3PL-around 3SG.NF-burn-INTS fire
\end{tabular} \\
`They went around, around them fire was burning.'

-\textit{Kawa} is used with an intransitive verb -\textit{eku} `to run': -\textit{eku-kawa} `to run around (a lot)' in (44):

(44) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{kame-tsa-pide-ka} \textit{λi-eku-kawa-ka} \textit{kamuy} \textit{rii} \textit{λi-\textit{fwa-ta}}. \\
then-EMPH-RPT-DECL 3SG.NF-run-INTS-DECL sun riil 3SG.NF-stay-again
\end{tabular} \\
`Then the sun started running around, riil! it stopped.'

Unlike To'aba'ita, where, according to Lichtenberk (1991; also Lichtenberk, Ch. 36), the depatientive function of the morpheme \textit{kwai}- developed from its reciprocal function, there are no reasons to believe that it happened the same way in Baniwa. The suffix -\textit{kawa} is polysemous. In this language, there is no reason for considering any of its meanings as primary, or secondary.

Acknowledgments

I am extremely grateful to my teachers of the indigenous languages of the Amazon – Humberto Baltazar and Pedro Ângelo Tomas (Warekena), late Candelário da Silva (Bare), late Marcília Rodrigues, Afonso, Albino and João Fontes, Celestino da Silva and Cecilia and

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