CHAPTER 30

Reciprocal and sociative in Tariana
Their genetic and areal properties

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University

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References

1. General remarks

1.1 Tariana

Tariana is the only North Arawak language spoken in the Vaupes linguistic area by about 100 people. This area is characterized by an obligatory polylinguism due to marriage patterns based on linguistic exogamy (see Sorensen 1967/1972; Aikhenvald 1996). Other languages spoken in the area belong to the East-Tucanoan family, genetically not related to Tariana. East-Tucanoan languages and Tariana display a striking number of structural similarities due to areal diffusion of patterns, mostly unilateral, from East-Tucanoan to Tariana. There are no lexical borrowings, due to the inhibition on “language mixing” viewed in terms of lexical interference and the borrowing of phonological shape of morphemes. Thus, Tariana is, in many ways, very divergent from other North-Arawak languages, including those with which it is closely related, as far as its grammatical structure is concerned, since it displays a queer combination of genetically inherited morphemes, areally diffused structural patterns and independent innovations, along with symptoms of language obsolescence (see Aikhenvald 1996). As will be shown below, the treatment of reciprocals also reflects this.

Tariana is an endangered language. It is not spoken by children, and younger speakers use this language only when they address older people. The local lingua franca is Tucano, and so the younger Tarianas speak Tucano between themselves and with their spouses and children, though they state that their languages of identity is Tariana. This results in a number of grammatical differences between the younger and the older people who speak Tariana. This also concerns the use of morphological reciprocals.

Grammatical characteristics of Tariana are described in Section 2. This section also discusses classification of verbs, verb structure and reflexives. Reciprocals are discussed in Section 3, and sociative serial verb constructions in Section 4. In Section 5 I consider reciprocals and reflexives in Tucano, a representative of East-Tucanoan language family.

1.2 Overview

Tariana has three mechanisms of expressing reciprocal meanings. There is a morphological reciprocal marked on the verb with a suffix (-*kaka*), e.g. (1b). This mechanism is more frequent in old people’s speech. Ambitransitive (labile) verbs can have a reciprocal meaning, when used intransitively, cf. (1c). Sociative serial verb constructions can also acquire
a reciprocal meaning, e.g. (1d). These two mechanisms are frequently used in the younger people’s language. In (1a) the verb -kwisa ‘to hate’ is used transitively. Tariana has only subject-oriented “canonical” reciprocals.

(1)

a. naha na-kwisa wa-na.
   they 3PL-hate 1PL-OBJ
   ‘They hate us.’

b. naha na-kwisa-kaka.
   they 3PL-hate-rec
   ‘They hate each other.’

c. naha na-kwisa.
   they 3PL-hate
   ‘They hate each other.’

d. naha na-siwa na-kwisa.
   they 3PL-be.together 3PL-hate
   ‘They hate each other’ (or ‘They hate (someone else) together.’)

Sociative is used to express reciprocal meaning in other languages of the world. It is a typical polysemy found in Austronesian languages (e.g., Lichtenberk, Ch. 36 on To’aba’ita; Moyse-Faurie, Ch. 35 on East Futunan; Bril, Ch. 34 on Nélémwa). A comparison with East-Tucanoan languages shows that sociative serial verb constructions with reciprocal meaning evolved in Tariana as a result of areal diffusion from East-Tucanoan languages. East-Tucanoan languages use verb compounding, or verb root serialization, to mark reciprocals and sociatives. The obsolescence of morphological reciprocal found in other North Arawak languages of the region (see Aikhenvald, Ch. 20) but absent from East-Tucanoan is also a recent development in Tariana.

2. Grammatical notes on Tariana

2.1 Typological characteristics

Typologically, Tariana\(^1\) is predominantly head-marking with a few elements of dependent-marking. Constituent order is free, with a strong tendency towards verb-final order.

For all constituent types, Tariana uses case-marking which depends on the discourse structure (Aikhenvald 1994b). For personal pronouns with an animate referent, there is an obligatory object case suffix -ma which combines with person cross-referencing prefixes; it is used for marking any non-subject constituent. Case-marking clitic -nuku is used on any non-subject constituent if it is referential and is going to be a future topic of the narrative, or a conversation. Suffix -ne ‘agentive’, which historically developed from instrumental

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1. Materials on Tariana were collected during three fieldtrips in 1991, 1994 and 1995. They contain word lists, conversations and around 700 pp. of texts told by the older speaker (Cândido) and younger speakers – his children Graciliano, Jovino, José and Olivia.
Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald

Table 1. Cross-referencing (A/S) prefixes in Tariana

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-ne, is used to mark the subject (A/S) when it is either in contrastive focus or its actions are consequential for the narrative.

2.2 Classification of verbs

Tariana ‘inherited’ a morphological distinction between active and stative intransitive verbs from Proto-Arawak. In Tariana both active intransitive and transitive verbs obligatorily take cross-referencing prefixes, distinguishing three persons and impersonal in singular and three persons in plural. Stative verbs do not take any cross-referencing markers. Active intransitive and transitive verbs have one obligatory prefixal position, so that when prefixed negation ma- is used, personal cross-referencing prefixes are omitted, and person/gender/number distinctions are neutralized. Cross-referencing prefixes are given in Table 1.

An important property of Tariana verbs is their transitivity value. In some languages every, or almost every verb is strictly transitive or intransitive; in other languages at least some verbs can have either transitivity value. These verbs are called ambitransitive, or labile (Dixon 1994:18, 54). All transitive verbs in Tariana are A=S ambitransitive. This means the object NP can always be optionally omitted, as in English ‘to eat’ (‘he eats dinner’ or ‘he eats’), or ‘to knit’. Example (2) illustrates an ambitransitive verb, and (3) an active (Sa-type) intransitive.

(2) (a:si) nu-hyã-ka.
    (pepper) 1sg.A-eat-decl
    ‘I eat/am eating (pepper).’

(3) nu-ruku.
    1sg.Sa-go.down
    ‘I go downstream.’

Stative (or So-type) intransitive verbs do not take any cross-referencing markers:

(4) nuha keru-mha.
    angry-pres.nvis
    ‘I am angry.’

Ditransitive verbs form a subclass of S=A ambitransitives. Their second argument can be either O or dative, e.g., -a ‘to give’, -phya ‘to sell’, -walita ‘to offer’ (ritual offering); -wãya ‘to buy’.
S=O ambitransitives, i.e. verbs similar to English *break* (*I broke the glass* vs *The glass broke*) are rare. The only consistent S=O ambitransitive is *-bueta* ‘to teach; to learn.’ Another verb in the corpus which is sometimes used as an S=O ambitransitive is *-thuka* ‘to break completely (in two parts).’ It is more frequently used as transitive, as in (5), or A=S ambitransitive, as in (6).

(5) $\text{di-waliki}_{\text{3sg.NF-spine}} \text{ di-thuka-pidana}_{\text{3sg.NF-break-RMPAST}} \text{ di-sua}_{\text{3sg.NF-stay RMPAST}} \text{ di-a-pidana.}_{\text{3sg.NF-go-RMPAST}}$

‘He broke his spine.’

(6) $\text{di-thuka}_{\text{3sg.NF-break}} \text{ dhimaita}_{\text{3sg.NF-burn}} \text{ di-a-pidana}_{\text{3sg.NF-stay-IPVV-RMPAST}} \text{ diha}_{\text{he}} \text{ ñaki.}_{\text{spirit}}$

‘The spirit was breaking, burning, eating (everything he could find).’

The use of it as an S=O ambitransitive is encountered in a text told by a younger speaker (7). In this example the verb *-thuka* is used ambitransitively after it has been used transitively. This may reflect a recent development.

(7) $\text{di-thuka-kha}_{\text{3sg.NF-break-away}} \text{ di-raku}_{\text{3sg.NF-fall}} \text{ di-a}_{\text{3sg.NF-go}} \text{ diha}_{\text{he}} \text{ na-ne.}_{\text{clf:vertical-AG}}$

‘(After the widow broke a branch and managed to hit (the evil spirit) on his penis), it (the penis) was breaking and falling off.’

2.3 Valency changing derivations

Tariana has one valency-increasing derivation, marked with the suffix *-ita*. It is a morphological causative when used with intransitive verbs, e.g., *-musu* ‘to go out’ $\rightarrow$ *-musu-ita* ‘to make go out.’ When used with transitive verbs, it often expresses promotion of an oblique constituent (instrumental, comitative, purpose or locative) into core, e.g., *-wapa* ‘to wait (for sb)’ $\rightarrow$ *wape-ta* (from *-wapa-ita*) ‘to wait for sb with a ritual offering’; *-wana* ‘to call’ $\rightarrow$ *-wane-ta* ‘to invite/call to do something’. Another regular way of forming causatives of transitive verbs is via syntactic causatives, or causative serial verb constructions. On the syntax and semantics of morphological and syntactic causatives in Tariana, see Aikhenvald (2000:145–72).

There is also a passive, and a topic advancing voice (see Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997:71–113).

2.4 Verb structure

Tariana has a very complicated verb structure compared to neighbouring North Arawak languages (Baniwa of Içana, Warekena, Bare; see Aikhenvald, Ch. 20). There are two types of predicates – simple predicates and serial verb constructions.

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2. This verb is one of the few loan words from Lingua Geral, or Nheengatu, a creolized version of Tupinambá which used to be spoken in the whole Amazon. This language was gradually replaced by Tucano as a lingua franca of the Vaupes region. This unusual property of the verb *-bueta* may be due to its foreign origin.
2.4.1 Simple predicate structure

Simple predicates have the following structure:

- Cross-referencing A/S a prefix or negative prefix *ma-* + verbal ROOT + thematic syllable + the following suffixes:
- Valency-increasing -*ita* 'causative, applicative'.
- Negative -*kade*.
- Resultative -*karu* (plus purposive mood -hyu); or -*ni* 'topic advancement', or -*kana* 'passive'.
- Verb-incorporated classifier.
- Benefactive -*pena*.
- Reciprocal -*kaka*.
- Relativizing and nominalizing affixes (relative and converb -tfi, past relative -katfi, nominalizers -mi, -nipe or a classifier in a derivational function; see Aikhenvald 1994a).

Suffixes are followed by enclitics. Unlike suffixes, (a) enclitics can often be omitted; (b) they preferably go on the verb, but can also go on any focussed constituent; (c) all enclitics (except those marking mood) allow variable ordering; (d) enclitics longer than one syllable have a secondary stress. Tense-aspect-mood and evidentiality markers are not obligatory. Verbal forms without these are understood as past tense non-eyewitness.

The most frequent and functionally unmarked order of enclitics is:

- mood (imperative, frustrative, conditional);
- evidentiality fused with tense;
- Aktionsart;
- aspect;
- degree (augmentative, diminutive, approximative: 'a little bit');
- markers of clause sequencing some of which also mark switch reference.

There is no productive verb compounding (unlike East-Tucanoan languages; see Section 5). (8) is an example of a simple predicate with three suffixes and two enclitics.

(8) *na-matwi-ka-ita-kaka-sita-pidana.*

3PL-be,bad-TOP-CASU-REC-ANT-RMPAST.INFR

'They have apparently transformed each other into something bad.'

(lit. 'other made each be something bad.')

2.4.2 Serial verb constructions

Tariana also has productive verb serialization (Aikhenvald 1999:479–508). Serial verb constructions (SVC) are known to include up to seven verbs. They are strictly contiguous (i.e. no other constituent can intervene between their components). Each component of a SVC is an independent phonological word, and they all receive the same inflection for person, number and gender of A/S. All the components of a SVC have the same tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality and polarity value. The order of the components may be fixed or not depending on the construction type. SVC cannot consist of stative verbs only. (9) is an example of a serial verb construction.
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(9) phe pi-nu.
   2sg.enter 2sg-come
   'Come in!'

2.5 Intransitives and reflexives

All the North-Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro use the same verbal suffix for reciprocals and reflexives (see Aikhenvald, Ch. 20). The reciprocal suffix, -kaka, can be occasionally used to mark reflexives, as shown in (10). This pattern, common for the Arawak languages of the region, but unusual for East-Tucanoan languages, is being lost from Tariana.

(10) nuha nu-pisa-kaka-mha.
    1sg-cut-refl-pres.nvis
    'I have just cut myself.'

Examples of this sort are extremely rare. Usually, A=S ambitransitives can acquire a reflexive meaning when used intransitively.

(11) illustrates a transitive use of -pisa 'to cut'. An intransitive use of -pisa with a reflexive reading is illustrated with (12). This is a usual way of expressing a reflexive meaning.

(11) diwhida na-pisa na-pala-pidana.
   3sg.nf.head 3pl-cut 3pl-put-rmpast.infr
   '(They fished the snake, took him into a clay basket,) put him, cut his head and put it (there).'</n
(12) maliye-ne nu-pisa-makha-niki.
    knife-inst 1sg-cut-rpast.nvis-compl
    'I cut myself with a knife.'

3. Reciprocals in Tariana

3.1 Morphological reciprocals with the suffix -kaka

3.1.1 General properties

Morphological reciprocal is marked on the verb, with the suffix -kaka. The reciprocal -kaka is used on transitive, or ambitransitive verbs, if they have a plural A identical with the O, and the action is symmetrical. (13) illustrates the reciprocal -kaka on the verb -inu 'to kill, fight, hunt'. The same verb is used transitivity in (14).

(13) pa-ti naviki desano alia-pidana, diha talia-seri-sini
    other person Desano be-rmpast.infr he Tariana-every-also
    pa-ta-sina, na-inu-kaka-pidana.
    one-clegnr-rmpast.nvis 3pl-kill-rec-rmpast.infr
    'One (group of) people was Desano, the other was Tariana, they fought each other.'
(14) yawi na-inu-sina.
    jaguar 3PL-kill-RMPAST,NVIS
    ‘They killed a jaguar.’

In (15) -inu is used intransitively, being an A=S ambitransitive, as any transitive verb in Tariana (see Section 2.2).

(15) na-inu-sina.
    3PL-kill-RMPAST,NVIS
    ‘They were fighting.’

Reciprocal form of -nalita ‘to quarrel, scold’ is illustrated in (16). The same verb is used ambitransitively in (17).

(16) di-pumina na-lita-kaka.
    3SG,NF-because.of 3PL-quarrel-REC
    ‘They quarreled with each other.’

(17) kiaku di-nalita.
    strong 3SG,NF-quarrel
    ‘He scolded (his son) a lot.’

### 3.1.2 Expression of reciprocal arguments

In Tariana, the instrumental case marker -ne is used to mark the comitative argument of a reciprocal. This is illustrated in (18), with a reciprocal of -kolota ‘to meet’. Instrumental -ne appears on di-we-ri-ne ‘with his younger brother’. Similar constructions are found in Baniwa of Içana, a closely related North Arawak language (see Aikhenvald, Ch. 20). More than one participant is involved, and this explains plural cross-referencing on the verb.

(18) di-we-ri-ne na-kolota-kaka-sina.
    3SG,NF-younger.sibling-M-INST 3PL-meet-REC-RMPAST,NVIS
    ‘A mythical hero met his younger brother.’
    (lit. ‘They met each other with his younger brother.’)

### 3.1.3 Morphological reciprocals and language attrition

Younger speakers of Tariana tend to avoid using morphological reciprocals in -kaka. Ambitranseive verbs, used intransitively, tend to acquire reciprocal reading if they have a plural subject. For instance, the older speaker consistently used morphological reciprocal -kaka on such verbs as -nalita ‘to quarrel, scold’ in (16) and -kwisa ‘to hate, scold’ in (19). These verbs have a reciprocal reading in examples from young people’s speech: see (20) and (21).

(19) nha nhamepa na-kwisa-kaka na-wa na-pidana te halite.
    they TWO,CLF,AN 3PL-hate-rec 3PL-TRY 3PL,GO-RMPAST,INFR until white,CLF,AN
    ‘Thus they did, they scolded each other until it was dawn.’

(20) naha na-kwisa.
    they 3PL-hate
    ‘They hate each other.’
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(21) ne-se nemhani-ni-se, na-ña-amepa na-nalita-pidana.
  then-LOC 3PL.walk-REL-LOC they  two.CLF:AN 3PL.quarrel-RMPAST.INFR
  ‘Then while they were walking, the two of them (tapir and turtle) quarreled with each other’ (there are no other characters in the story to quarrel with).

One of the reasons for this may be that the existence of a morphological reciprocal is not characteristic of other languages of the area – East-Tucanoan languages (see Sections 1.2; 5). Thus, the loss of morphological reciprocal in Tariana is due to language attrition together with areal pressure of East-Tucanoan languages.

3.2 Symmetrical predicates

Some predicates usually acquire a reciprocal interpretation without taking any special marker. In Tariana, this is the case with A=S ambitransitive verbs which permit the interpretation of the participants as having identical, or symmetric relations to each other. This happens only if the A of these verbs is plural, and the O is omitted. Among symmetrical predicates which behave this way are -naku ‘to swive, make love’, -sape ‘to speak’, -keta ‘to meet’.

The verb -naku, when used transitively means ‘to swive, make love to sb’, or ‘to put into one’s lap’, as in (22):

(22) nuhua-de nu-ri-nuku nu-naku nu-kwa.
  1-IMMFT 1SG-son-top.O 1SG-put.on.the.lap 1SG-hang
  ‘(Bring me my son,) I shall put him in my lap (hanging in the hammock)’ (said the ghost to the widow).

When used without a direct object with plural subject it is always understood as a symmetrical predicate ‘to swive each other’; cf. (23):

(23) na-ña-amepa na-ya-dawa-se na-sua-li-se na-naku na-ka
  3PL.CLF:AN 3PL.POSS.CLF:ROOM-LOC 3PL.LIE-REL-LOC 3PL.swive 3PL.go-decl
  na-swa-pidana.
  3PL-stay-RMPAST.INFR
  ‘They two were swiving in their room in their bed.’

4. Sociative serial verb constructions

4.1 General properties

Serial verb constructions which contain a prefixed verb -siwa ‘to be together’ are used to express sociative meaning ‘together with somebody’. In agreement with the properties of serial verb constructions (see Aikhenvald 1999:479–508), serial constructions with -siwa show the same subject constraint; no other constituent can intervene between -siwa and the other component, and there is one tense-aspect-evidentiality marker per construction,
as in (27) or (28). The order of the components in serial verb constructions with -siwa is free; -siwa is most often the first component in serial constructions.

-Siwa tends to occur mostly in serial verb constructions, but it sometimes can be used as an independent predicate ‘to be together’, as in (24). This sentence does not contain a serial verb construction because thuya ‘all’ comes in between na-sape-pidana ‘they talked’ and na-siwa ‘they were together’.

(24) naha ifinda-ne na-sape-pidana thuya, na-siwa.
they turtle-AG 3PL-speak-RMPAST.INFR all 3PL-be.together
‘All the turtles spoke, they were all together.’

Prefixless stative verbs cannot form a sociative construction with the verb -siwa. This may be due to a more general restriction on the use of stative verbs in serial constructions (see Section 2.4.2).

4.2 Reciprocal meaning

Serial verb constructions with the verb -siwa are often used in reciprocal meaning with transitive verbs, especially in younger people’s speech, e.g. (25).

(25) São Gabriel-se wa-siwa wa-keta.
São Gabriel-LOC 1PL-be.together 1PL-meet
‘We all shall meet (each other) in São Gabriel.’

In elicitation at earlier stages of fieldwork, younger speakers often gave constructions with -siwa to translate reciprocal constructions from Portuguese, and used Portuguese reciprocal-reflexive se to translate -siwa constructions, e.g.:

(26) twinu na-siwa na-hwã-ka-nihka.
dog 3PL-be.together 3PL-bite-DECL-RMPAST.INFR
‘Dogs are biting each other.’

4.3 Other meanings

4.3.1 Sociative meaning

The verb -siwa can have a sociative meaning with intransitive verbs, as in (27). This example comes from a traditional story told by the older speaker.

(27) nha-ña-pe ala-pidana na-siwa neka-pidana.
they-PFJ-PL existential-RMPAST.INFR 3PL-be.together 3PL-laugh-RMPAST.INFR
‘They were there, the naughty ones (Tariana’s forefathers), they laughed together.’

They can also have a sociative meaning with some transitive verbs, as illustrated in (28) (from an older man’s story), and (29) (from a story told by a younger man). However, the sociative meaning seems to be restricted to verbs which do not occupy a high position on
the transitivity hierarchy (Hopper and Thompson 1980). The verb -ira ‘to drink, consume without chewing’ is a typical example.3

(28) payaru na-ira-pidana na-siwa.
whisky 3PL-drink-RMPAST.INFR 3PL-be.together
‘They drank whisky together.’

This usage is also found in younger people’s speech, cf. (29) and (30):

(29) waha wa-sape-naka wa-siwa talia yarupe.
we 1PL-speak-PRES.EYEW 1PL-be.together ‘Tariana thing
‘We are speaking Tariana all together.’

(30) waha elkwapi-pe hda-pada na-nu-kade-ka wa-siwa.
we day-PL every-SUFF NEG-COME-NEG-DECL 1PL-be.together
‘We do not come together (lit. come-be together) every day.’

4.3.2 Reflexive-benefactive meaning
Serial verb constructions with -siwa may have a benefactive interpretation. (31) is a rather rare example.

(31) nuha pa-ita malie nu-waya-ka nu-siwa.
I one-CLFOBJ knife 1SG-buy-DECL 1SG-be.together
‘I bought a knife for myself.’

A serial verb construction with -siwa construction can be understood as having a reflexive meaning. This is very rare. (32) comes from a story about the magic power of evil spirit’s shirt told by a younger speaker. However, this example is ambiguous, because -siwa can also be understood as emphasizing the identity of the subject (see 4.3.3), and transitive verb di-sole ‘to take off’ as unmarked reflexive. I have mentioned in Section 2.5 that any transitive verb in Tariana can acquire a reflexive reading if used intransitively.

(32) di-siwa-pidana di-sole diha-maka.
3SG.NF-be.together-RMPAST.INFR 3SG.NF-take.off he-CLF:CLOTH
‘It (the shirt) took itself off (from the man).’

4.3.3 Emphatic meaning
Serial verb constructions with the verb -siwa are widely used by all the speakers to emphasize the identity of the subject, similarly to English ‘self’ in you yourself do it. This is illustrated with (33). Note that third person singular non-feminine cross-referencing prefix is used independently of the number of the subject if it has an inanimate referent.

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3. Verbs of eating and drinking form a separate class of transitive verbs in all North Arawak languages. They share some morphological properties with intransitive verbs. For instance, unlike transitive verbs, they can have morphological causatives, e.g. Tariana -ira ‘to drink’, -ireta ‘to make drink’. See Section 2.3.
(33) tiya-pe kwe-peri-tupe di-siwa-pidana di-kolo-ka
plate-pl what-pl-pl.dim 3sg.nf-be.together-rmpast.infr 3sg.nf-roll-seq
di-ruku di-a uì-se.
3sg.nf-go.down 3sg.nf-go port-loc
‘All the little plates (lit. ‘whatever little plates’) went down to the port by themselves.’ (lit.
‘be together-roll.’)

(34) i-siwa i-yeka.
2pl-be.together 2pl-know
‘You know for yourselves’ (but I have told you that you should not be doing this).

4.4 Morphological reciprocals and sociative serial verb constructions

The reciprocal marker -kaka can be used in a sociative serial construction marked with
-siwa ‘to be together’. The reciprocal suffix -kaka goes on the verb -siwa, since it is most
frequently the first component of the serial verb construction.

The meaning of a serial construction consisting of -siwa-kaka + another predicate(s)
is ‘do something all together to one another’. Sociative and reciprocal meanings are com-
bined. These constructions are used to emphasize that every one of the participants is,
or was involved in a reciprocal action. This use is restricted to serial constructions with
transitive verbs. The subject is always plural.

This construction type is found in the speech of both old and young people. (34)
comes from a narrative told by a younger speaker.

(35) pa-pie-pidana itiiri na-siwa-kaka na-ni.
one-clf.time-rmpast.infr animal 3pl-be.together-rec 3pl-do
‘Once the animals did (like this) together to one another.’

Simple morphological reciprocal which involves just two people doing something to each
other can not be marked with -siwa. This is illustrated with (36), from a traditional story
told by an older speaker. This example describes a tobacco-smoking ritual where every-
body participates in talking to each other, and so both sociative serial verb construction
and morphological reciprocal are employed (na-sape-kaka na-siwa). However, only two
people are involved in exchanging cigars – literally, ‘making each other smoke tobacco’.
This is why na-siteta-kaka (and not na-siwa-kaka na-siteta) is used.

(36) hiku-nhina na na-sape-kaka na-siwa yema
thus-rmpast.rprt 3pl.go 3pl-talk-rec 3pl-be.together tobacco
na-siteta-kaka.
3pl-smoke.caus-rec
‘So they talked to each other all together, they made each other smoke.’
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4.5 ‘Doubling’ of reciprocal -kaka in sociative serial verb constructions

The reciprocal suffix -kaka can be used twice on both components of a serial verb construction with -siwa, to emphasize the reciprocal character of the action and the participation of everybody in it. (37) summarizes a story about Tariana’s wars with a neighbouring tribe.

(37) na-siwa-kaka 3pl-be.together-rec na-inu-kaka.
3pl-kill-rec

‘All (Tariana and Desano) fought all together.’

4.6 Typological characteristics

East-Tucanoan languages in close contact with Tariana are Tucano, Guanano-Piratapuya and Desano. Tucano is the main language of communication, a kind of lingua franca of the region, with approximately 6000 speakers (Aikhenvald 1996). When not marked otherwise, Tucano examples come from my field work materials. All East-Tucanoan languages are structurally very similar, though not mutually intelligible. This structural similarity is due both to genetic affinity and to the patterns of indirect structural diffusion in the predominantly East-Tucanoan linguistic area of the Vaupes river basin.

All East-Tucanoan languages are suffixing, predominantly head-marking with a few characteristics of dependent marking. Most transitive verbs in Tucanoan languages are A=S ambitransitives and intransitives (see West 1980:81–83; Ramirez 1997). Transitive verbs can be derived from intransitives by the addition of a causative suffix -i. According to West (1980:83), some intransitive verbs can have a reflexive-like meaning, e.g., bi ‘to bathe (oneself)’, cf. causative io ‘to make sb bathe themselves’. The only transitivity reducing operation is passivization (Ramirez 1997).

In Tucano reflexive meaning is mainly conveyed with the help of a reflexive pronoun, also used to emphasize the identity of the agent, or a patient. Reciprocal and sociative meanings are expressed with the help of verb compounding. Typologically, the use of verb compounding to mark reciprocals is an extremely rare phenomenon.

4.7 Reflexives

Tucano, like all the East-Tucanoan languages, has no special reflexive or reciprocal verbal derivations. Reflexive meanings are conveyed with the help of special pronominal forms. Reflexive pronominal ba(h)så, basi, basu ‘self’ is used in reflexive meaning; see (38) and (39).

(38) pji basu koe.
  I self wash
  ‘I wash myself.’ (Brüzzi 1967:166)

4. Here I preserve different orthographies used by West (1980), Brüzzi (1967), and Ramirez (1997).
(39) sèbè basì pikò-do ba’à-bì.
    pacca self tail-suff eat-pres.eyeW.M.3sg
    ‘Pacca eats its own tail.’ (Ramirez 1997:116)

Bahsì ‘self’ can also have emphatic meaning, as in (40).5

(40) ko bahsu-pe-le wehà-mo.
    she self-emph-top kill-3sg.F
    ‘She killed herself.’ (Brüzzi 1967:166)

4.8 Reciprocal constructions

Reciprocal constructions in Tucano are formed with verb root compounding. Verb compounding is used to express a large variety of meanings, including valency increase. (See Gomez-Imbert 1988). Verb compounding, or verb root serialization, is a subtype of serial verb constructions (see Durie 1997).

4.8.1 Verbal compounds with the postposed verb poteò ‘to equalize’

Tucano uses compounded constructions with either of the two verbs, poteò ‘to equalize, restitute, counter-balance’ and amè ‘to do to each other, retribute’. According to the explanations given by my consultant, Alfredo Fontes, compounds with poteò mean ‘the equal amount of action on both sides’, cf. (41).

(41) maìì iyà-poteò-là we.
    we look-equalize-pl do
    ‘We are looking at one another’ (i.e., you are looking at me and I am looking back an equal number of times).

Poteò can be used in compounding with transitive and intransitive verbs, and its meaning is ‘to do something equally’. Poteò can be with intransitive verbs, e.g. wihya ‘to go out’ → wihya-poteò ‘to go out from both sides’ (Brüzzi 1967:317); òma ‘to run’ → òma-poteò ‘to run parallelly’; or with transitive verbs, e.g. wehe ‘to pull’ → wehe-poteò ‘to pull from both sides’ (Brüzzi 1967:317), cf. (42):

(42) jiì nìi-le mahlí-poteò.
    I you-top know-equalize
    ‘I know as much as you do.’

Poteò is often used in comparatives of equality:

(43) jiì nìi-le ììììì poteò.
    I you-top high equalize
    ‘I am equal to you in height.’ (lit. ‘I am as tall as you are.’)

5. Reflexive and emphatic meanings can be ambiguous. The following example comes from Ramirez (1997:116):

(1) basì wehaust-br
    he self kill-RCPAST.eyeW.M.3sg
    ‘He killed himself’, or ‘He himself killed someone else.’
4.8.2  Verbal compounds with the preposed verb -amê ‘to do to each other, retribute’
Verbal compounds with amê(-ni) ‘to do to each other, retribute, reward’ mean ‘to do to each other, do back’, without necessary equality:

(44)  ate  amê-kê-la  we-ma.
this.one.pl do.to.each.other-hit-pl do-pl.
‘These ones hit each other.’

If the identity of the subject has to be emphasized, amê(-ni) can co-occur with bahsi ‘self’, as in (45).

(45)  na  bahsi  amêni  koca-ma.
they self rec wash-pl.
‘They wash each other themselves.’

According to Brüzzi (1967:279), amê can also be used to show that A=O and to emphasize the identity of the subject, and in this case it co-occurs with bahsi, ba(h)su with a non-plural subject, e.g.:

(46)  kà  bahsu  amê-wehêa-pê.
he self refl-kill-empf
‘He (himself) killed himself.’

Amê and poteõ can co-occur, e.g.:

(47)  amê-kê-poteõ-ma.
do.to.each.other-hit-equalize-pl.
‘They hit each other (equally)’ (i.e., one hit the other twice, and the other did so twice).

Verb compounding with poteõ and amê creates intransitive verbs; thus, the two reciprocals in Tucano can be considered as valency reducing operations.

4.8.3  Sociative verbal compounds
Verb compounding is also used to express sociative meaning (see Gomez-Imbert (1988) for Tatuoyo and Barasana); cf. Tucano (Brüzzi 1967:314):

(48)  dara-peti.
work-do.all
‘All (people) work.’
(49)  buhi-peti.
laugh-do.all
‘All (people) laugh.’

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