

[Text version of database, created 14/12/2015].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Jabutí group (Macro-Jê family).

Languages included: Arikapú (Maxubí) [ndh-ari], Djeoromitxí (Jabutí) [ndh-dje].

DATA SOURCES

Voort = Voort, Hein van der. Proto-Jabutí: um primeiro passo na reconstrução da língua ancestral dos Arikapú e Djeoromitxí. In: Bol. Mus. Para. Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas, Belém, v. 2, n. 2, p. 133-168, mai-ago. 2007. // *A pioneer work dedicated to the phonological reconstruction of Proto-Jabutí, containing over 200 reconstructed words.*

I. Arikapú

Ribeiro 2008 = Ribeiro, Rosa Maria de Lima. *Dicionário Arikapu / Português, registro de uma língua indígena amazônica*. Master's thesis. Guajará-Mirim, Fundação Universidade Federal de Rondônia, Campus de Guajará-Mirim. // *A comprehensive dictionary of Arikapú; each entry is accompanied by numerous examples.*

Arikapú et al. 2010 = Arikapú, Mamoá; Nazaré Arikapú; Hein van der Voort. *Vocabulário Arikapú-Português*. Cadernos de Etnolingüística. Monografias, 1. // *A less extensive dictionary. The entries are sometimes accompanied by usage examples.*

II. Djeoromitxí

Ribeiro 2008b = Ribeiro, Michela Araújo. *Dicionário Djeoromitxí-Português. Registro da diversidade lingüística do povo Jabuti*. Master's thesis. Guajará-Mirim, Fundação Universidade Federal de Rondônia, Campus de Guajará-Mirim. // *A comprehensive dictionary of Djeoromitxí; each entry is accompanied by numerous examples.*

NOTES

I. Arikapú.

Arikapú is an almost extinct language. In pre-contact times, it was spoken in the headwaters of Rio Branco (Alta Floresta, Rondônia, Brazil). The last speaker, Nazaré Arikapú, resides in Baía das Onças, where the majority of population speaks Djeoromitxí. Her sister Maria reportedly lives in Baía da Coca (Terra Indígena Guaporé) and mostly uses Tuparí and Makuráp (both belong to Tuparí group, Tupíán family) in her daily life. Mamoá Arikapú (deceased), one of the last full speakers of the language, resided in Cajuí village in Terra Indígena Rio Branco and mostly used Tuparí.

The data from [Ribeiro 2008] and [Arikapú et al. 2010] are normally in accordance. However, Arikapú et al. do not distinguish /o/ and /u/ (both are written as *u*), whereas Ribeiro does not distinguish /i/ and /ɨ/. Moreover, Arikapú et al. consider the difference between prenasalized and nasal consonants non-phonemic; they write nasal vowels whenever oral vowels preceded by nasal consonants are found in Ribeiro's transcription. Ribeiro, in turn, treats /b/ as an underlyingly prenasalized consonant which loses its prenasalization after oral vowels.

The transcription used in the database is largely phonetic and follows Ribeiro's transcription faithfully. The orthography is that of Arikapú et al.

The correspondences between the notation systems are presented below.

UTS	Ribeiro 2008	Arikapú et al. 2010 (orthography)
p	p	p
ⁿ b	^m b	b
ⁿ b	m ^b	m (before <i>r</i> + nasal vowel)
b	b	b
β	β	w
m	m	m
w	w	w

UTS	Ribeiro 2008	Arikapú et al. 2010 (orthography)
t	t	t
ⁿ d	ⁿ d	d
r	r	r
č	tʃ	tx
ⁿ ž	ⁿ dʒ	dj
ɲ	ɲ	n (before <i>i</i>)
k	k	k
ʔ	ʔ	-
h	h	h
a	a	a
ə	ə	ä
i	i	ü
ɔ	ɔ	o
o	o	u
u	u	u
ɛ	ɛ	e
i	i	i
ɪ	ɪ	ĩ
ẽ	ẽ	ã
õ	õ	ã
õ	õ	õ
ũ	ũ	ũ
ẽ	ẽ	ẽ
ĩ	ĩ	ĩ
y	ɪ	y
y	ĩ	y
w	ʋ	w
Ẃ	ʋ	w

II. Djeoromitxí.

Djeoromitxí is still spoken by a handful of people in southern Rondônia, in Terra

Indígena Guaporé.

The transcription used by Ribeiro [2008b] is adapted to UTS for use throughout GLD. The correspondences between the transcription and the orthography are the following:

UTS	Ribeiro 2008b	Orthography
p	p	p
p̂s	p ^s	ps
b	b	b
b̂z	b ^z	bz
β	β	w
ʔm	ʔm	m
ϕ	ϕ	pf
t	t	t
d	d	d
r	r	r
ʔn	ʔn	n
č	tʰ	tx
č̂	d ^ʒ	dj
k	k	k
ħ	ħ	h
ʔ	ʔ	-
a	a	a
ə	ə	ä
o	o	o
u	u	u
ö	ø	ü
ε	ε	e
i	i	i
ẽ	ẽ	ã
õ	õ	õ
ẽ	ẽ	ẽ
ĩ	ĩ	ĩ

Proto-Jabutí.

The reconstruction is ours. It is based on the following correspondences:

Proto-Jabutí	Arikapú	Djeoromitxí
*p	p	p, p̄s (before *i), φ (before a labial vowel)
* ⁿ b	ⁿ b	b, b̄z (before *i)
*w	w, β	β
*m	m	ʔm
*pɾ	pɾ	p, φ (before a labial vowel)
* ⁿ bɾ	ⁿ bɾ	b
*mɾ	mɾ	ʔm
*t	t	t
* ⁿ d	ⁿ d	d
*ɾ	ɾ	ɾ, ʔn (before nasals)
*n	n	ʔn
*č	č	č
*ž	č	ɾ
* ⁿ ž	ⁿ ž (?)	ž (?)
*j (only before *i)	č	ž
*š	h (č before i)	ħ
*k	k	k
*kɾ	kɾ	t
* ⁿ gɾ	ɾ	ž
*ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
*a	a	a
*ə	ə	ə, ε (after coronals)
*i	i	i
*ɔ	ɔ	ö
*o	o	o
*u	u	u
*ε	ε	ε

Proto-Jabutí	Arikapú	Djeoromitxí
*ɪ	ɪ	i
*i	i	i
*ẽ	ẽ	õ
*ũ	ũ	õ
*ĩ	ĩ	ĩ
*ay	ay	a
*əy	ay	ə, ε (after coronals)
*ey	əy	ε
*iy	əy	ε
*ãy	ãy	ẽ

The correspondences between some nasal vowels and most diphthongs have not been sufficiently well established.

The reconstructions from [Voort] (including their numbers in the paper) are adduced, when available. Voort's phonological reconstructions are based on limited lexical data and suffer from a number of *ad hoc* solutions.

Database compiled and annotated by: André Nikulin (November-December 2015).

1. ALL

Arikapu *ⁿbəy* {bäy} (1), Djeoromitxi *b̄zi-tē* {bzitã} (1), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿbiy* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 41, 42; Arikapú et al. 2010: 9. Polysemy: 'many / full / everything / all'. Attested in the Swadesh meaning in [Ribeiro 2008: 96, 180]. Distinct from *kē* {kã} 'to end / end / completive / all' [Ribeiro 2008: 82; Arikapú et al. 2010: 19].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 49. Polysemy: 'all / every'. The morphological segmentation is unclear.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *-tē* {-tã} is indeed a suffix in Djeoromitxi (cf. Voort #247 **...tã* 'completive').

2. ASHES

Arikapu *pi=kə=ⁿbrə* {pikäbrä} (1), Djeoromitxi *ka=?mē* {kamē} (1), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿbrə ~ ⁿmrē* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 132; Arikapú et al. 2010: 34.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 74. The morphological segmentation is unclear.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #64 (**pitfə(mrə)*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: It is unclear why the nasalization differs between Arikapú and Djeoromitxi. External data (Jê, Maxakalí) matches the Arikapú form. Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *ka=* {ka=} is indeed a prefix in Djeoromitxi.

3. BARK

Arikapu *kə* {kã} (1), Djeoromitxi *kə* {kã} (1), Proto-Jabuti **kə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 83; Arikapú et al. 2010: 19. Polysemy: 'clothes / skin / leather / bark'. Distinct from *wε* {we} 'peel / pod' [Ribeiro 2008: 207].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 76. Polysemy: 'skin / leather / bark / clothes'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #52 (**kə*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'bark / skin / leather / bark'.

4. BELLY

Arikapu *pri-ka* {prika} (1), Djeoromitxi *pi-ka* {pika} (1), Proto-Jabuti **pri-ka* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 137; Arikapú et al. 2010: 35. *-ka* {-ka} is possibly a classifier morpheme for round objects, though it might also belong to the root.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 105. *-ka* {-ka} is possibly a classifier morpheme for round objects, though it might also belong to the

root.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #20 (**prika*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

5. BIG

Arikapu *kuhuhu* {*kuhuhu*} (1) / *rukɾɛ* {*rukɾɛ*} (2), Djeoromitxi *buru* {*buru*} (3) / *čiči* {*txitxi*} (4), Proto-Jabuti **čiči* (4).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 97; Arikapú et al. 2010: 22. Both *kuhuhu* {*kuhuhu*} and *rukɾɛ* {*rukɾɛ*} are extensively found in examples, while *čiči* {*txitxi*} [Ribeiro 2008: 165; Arikapú et al. 2010: 45] and *ʔurənū* {*ʔoranū*?} {*uränū*} [Arikapú et al. 2010: 49] are apparently quite rare. Ribeiro 2008: 144; Arikapú et al. 2010: 38.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 46. Ribeiro 2008b: 121.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #15, #124 (**-ʔitʔi*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: In both languages it is also used as an augmentative (as is common across South America).

6. BIRD

Arikapu *ⁿbikɾay* {*bükɾay*} (1), Djeoromitxi *bitä* {*bitä*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ⁿbikɾay* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 47. The generic word for birds. However, in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 12] it is translated as 'tinamou'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 44. Polysemy: 'bird / tinamou'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #128 (**mikɾaj* 'tinamou'). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy 'bird / tinamou' is readily reconstructible.

7. BITE

Arikapu *koko* {*kuku*} (1), Djeoromitxi *βekä* {*wekä*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 90; Arikapú et al. 2010: 23. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 127.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **koko* (a reduplication of **ko*?) and **wekə(y)* are equiprobable candidates. Cf. Voort #166 (**ku*), which, however, most likely meant 'to eat'.

8. BLACK

Arikapu *kər̥-ɔ* {*kär̥üo*} (1), Djeoromitxi *biro* {*biro*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 87. Derived from *kəri* {kärü} 'dark / dirty / at night' (translated as 'black / dark / dirty' in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 20]).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 44.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **kəri* and **b(r)iro* are equiprobable candidates.

9. BLOOD

Arikapu *čɔ* {txo} (1), Djeoromitxi *kəʔi* {käi} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 168; Arikapú et al. 2010: 46. In the latter source, with polysemy: 'blood / water / broth'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 76.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **čɔ* and **kəʔi(y)* are equiprobable candidates.

10. BONE

Arikapu *ʔi* {i} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʒi* {dji} (2), Proto-Jabuti **ji* (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 72; Arikapú et al. 2010: 16. Polysemy: 'bone / skeleton'. Cf. *či* {txi} 'fishbone' [Ribeiro 2008: 163], translated as 'bone' in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 44].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 54.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #185 (**dʒi*, **i*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, changing its meaning to 'fishbone' in Arikapú. Replacements: In Arikapú, *ʔi* 'bone, skeleton' is found in this meaning; this root might have meant just 'skeleton' in Proto-Jabuti. **ji* and **i* are likely to be ultimately related. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

11. BREAST

Arikapu *ⁿbə-ka* {bäka} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnõβi* {nõwi} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 42; Arikapú et al. 2010: 8. Polysemy: 'breast / thorax / diaphragm'. Might be derived from *ⁿbə* {bä} 'liver' and *ka* {ka} 'fruit / round', though this is uncertain. Distinct from *ⁿdũⁿdi* {dudü} 'breast (female)' [Ribeiro 2008: 53; Arikapú et al. 2010: 12]. Cf. *ⁿbə-ri-ka* {bärika} [Arikapú et al. 2010: 9].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 97. Distinct from *bə-ri-ka* {bärika} 'thorax' [Ribeiro 2008b: 42].

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. Cf. Voort #230 (**nuni*), though the listed words are hardly cognate. *ⁿbə-ri-ka* 'thorax' is reconstructible.

12. BURN TR.

Arikapu *kə* {kä} (1), Djeoromitxi *čɛ-tu* {txetu} (1), Proto-Jabuti **čə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 84; Arikapú et al. 2010: 19. Polysemy: 'warm / to burn'. Both transitive and intransitive. Cf. *ka-nē* {känā} 'to burn, to set on fire' [Ribeiro 2008: 86; Arikapú et al. 2010: 19].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 119. Polysemy: 'to burn / to set on fire'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #216 (**fā...*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'warm / to burn' is reconstructed. Apparently, the word for 'fire' is also derived from this root.

13. NAIL

Arikapu *ni=kətay* {nikätay} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnĩ=kətε* {nĩkäte} (1), Proto-Jabuti **nĩ=kətəy* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 117; Arikapú et al. 2010: 30 (*ni=kətay* {nikätay}). Polysemy: 'claw / nail'. Cf. also *ni=kay=ka=kə* {nikaykakä} 'fingernail' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 30].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 93.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #118 (**nĩkətaj*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

14. CLOUD

Arikapu *pi=kə=čio* {pikätxio} (1), Djeoromitxi *bε=ʔnɔ̄-hi* {benōhi} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 132; Arikapú et al. 2010: 34. Polysemy: 'smoke / cloud'. Cf. *hēti* {hätü} 'cloudy' [Ribeiro 2008: 66], *mē-kəkə-māw* {mē kokomāw} 'misty cloud' [Ribeiro 2008: 93], *mē-nurēw* {mē nurāw} 'colored cloud at dawn or dusk' [Ribeiro 2008: 108]. *mē* {mē} is translated as 'sky' in [Ribeiro 2008: 108] and as 'sky / cloud' in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 26].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 43.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. Apparently the same root as 'smoke'. Possibly **bε ~ *mē* 'sky' was used to convey this meaning, like in Ofayé (cf. also Rikbaksá *bio*). Cf. Voort #182 (**mε(ko)*), translated as 'cloud' though its direct reflexes mean only 'sky'.

15. COLD

Arikapu *čiči* {txitxi} (1), Djeoromitxi *žiži-rö* {djidjirü} (1), Proto-Jabuti **jiji* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 165; Arikapú et al. 2010: 45. Distinct from *kəpiči* 'cold weather, feeling cold' [Ribeiro 2008: 86; Arikapú et al. 2010: 19].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 54.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

16. COME

Arikapu *prəy* {*präy*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hari* {*hari*} (2) / *ʔneʔu=βεʔnĩ* {*neuwenĩ*} (3), Proto-Jabuti **prɛy* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 135; Arikapú et al. 2010: 35. Polysemy: 'to arrive / to come'. Distinct from *haru=ko ~ herẽ=ko* {*haruko ~ herāko*} [Ribeiro 2008: 64, 68; Arikapú et al. 2010: 14] (centripetal; used only if the speaker is located in the place in question); *brɛhe* {*brehe*} 'to come back' [Ribeiro 2008: 104; Arikapú et al. 2010: 28 (*mrẽhẽ* {*mrẽhẽ*})]; *pə* {*pä*} 'to arrive, to come back where the speaker is' [Ribeiro 2008: 130; Arikapú et al. 2010: 33 ('to come home')].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 58. Distinct from *ʃε=ʔn ʃna* {*djenōna*} 'to arrive' [Ribeiro 2008b: 53]; *pɛ* {*pe*} 'to arrive' [Ribeiro 2008b: 105]. Ribeiro 2008b: 91.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #262 (**prəj*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. The reflex in Djeoromitxi is *pɛ* {*pe*} 'to arrive'. Semantics and structure: Polysemy 'to arrive / to come' is reconstructible.

17. DIE

Arikapu *pi* {*pi*} (1) / *kamɔči* {*kamotxi*} (2), Djeoromitxi *hahi* / *=rahi* {*hahi / rahi*} (3).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 131; Arikapú et al. 2010: 34. Polysemy: 'to die / to be drunk / to dry (of plants)'. Ribeiro 2008: 79. Polysemy: 'to die / dead / corpse'. Translated as 'dead' in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 18] (they cite *kam ɛi* {*kamōtxi*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 57.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **pi*, **kam ʃč,ʒji* and **šaši(y) / *=ʒaši(y)* are equiprobable candidates. If Djeoromitxi *psi* {*psi*} 'to smash, to step' is related to Arikapú *pi* 'to die', **pi* can be reconstructed, though its exact semantic evolution would remain obscure ('to die' > 'to die by smashing' > 'to smash?').

18. DOG

Arikapu *kora* {*kura*} (1), Djeoromitxi *βa* {*wa*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **way* # (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 91; Arikapú et al. 2010: 24. Polysemy: 'jaguar / dog'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 126. Polysemy: 'jaguar / dog'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, changing its meaning to 'agouti' in Arikapú. The opposite scenario is not excluded, however. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

19. DRINK

Arikapu *ʔo* {*o*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnɔ̃* {*nō̃*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **ʔo* # (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 124; Arikapú et al. 2010: 32. Polysemy: 'to smoke / to drink / to suck'. Distinct from *ʔu* {u} 'to suck / to eat fruits or porridge / to absorb' [Ribeiro 2008: 175; Arikapú et al. 2010: 48].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 95. Polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke / smoke'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Arikapú. The Arikapú word is tentatively compared to Maxakalí *šoʔop* / *šop* 'id.', Krenák *yop* 'id.'. The absence of an initial palatal remains, however, unaccounted for. A possible parallel might be Proto-Jabuti **ʔi* 'skeleton', which is possibly cognate to Proto-Jabuti **ji* 'bone'; both would originate from a Macro-Jê root with an initial palatal consonant. Another such example is Proto-Jabuti **ʔū* 'to give', whose cognate in Jê has an initial palatal. These facts make the comparison plausible.

20. DRY

Arikapu **brə* {brä} (1) / *rĩ* {rĩ} (2), Djeoromitxi *hiʔoriru* {hioriru} (3), Proto-Jabuti **brə* # (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 48; Arikapú et al. 2010: 11. Distinct from *kəkə* {kokä} 'dry, empty' [Ribeiro 2008: 93; Arikapú et al. 2010: 20 ('little (liquid)'), *kəri* {korü} 'dry (of vessels)' [Ribeiro 2008: 95; Arikapú et al. 2010: 20 'to end (of liquids)']. Cf. *karə* {karo} [Arikapú et al. 2010: 18]. Ribeiro 2008: 142; Arikapú et al. 2010: 37. Polysemy: 'dry / to grill meat or fish'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 62. Distinct from *tuʒu* {tudju} 'to get dry (of plants)' [Ribeiro 2008b: 117], *čiruru* {txiruru} 'to dehydrate' [Ribeiro 2008b: 121].

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Arikapú. The Arikapú word is tentatively compared to Rikbaktsá *eburuk* 'id.'. Cf. Voort #166 **karo*, based on material not attested in the sources consulted by us Arikapú *karə*, Djeoromitxi *kurö*.

21. EAR

Arikapu *nĩ=puarə* {nipuaro} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnĩ=pi* {nĩpi} (2), Proto-Jabuti **nĩ=pi* (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 119; Arikapú et al. 2010: 31 (*nĩ=puarə* {nĩpuaro}). Distinct from *nĩ=pi-koy* {nipükoy} 'ear channel / to listen / to hear' [Ribeiro 2008: 118; Arikapú et al. 2010: 31 (*nĩ=pi-koy* {nĩpükoy})]. Cf. *nĩ=pure* {nĩpure} 'earring, ear' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 31] (only the meaning 'earring' is attested in [Ribeiro 2008]).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 94.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #184 (**nĩpi*). Distribution: The root is preserved in both daughter languages (in Arikapú only in compounds); I suggest comparing it to Rikbaktsá *špi* 'id.'. Replacements: In Arikapú, the root for 'leaf, thorn' with a prefix usually found in the names of body parts is attested in this meaning. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

22. EARTH

Arikapu *mi-ka* {mika} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔmĩ* {mĩ} (1), Proto-Jabuti **mĩ(-ka)* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 108; Arikapú et al. 2010: 27 (*mĩ-ka* {mĩka}). Apparently derived from *mĩ* {mĩ} 'ground' [Ribeiro 2008: 109; Arikapú et al. 2010: 27].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 88. Distinct from *ʔmĩ-ka* {mĩka} 'dirt' [Ribeiro 2008b: 89].

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #240 (**mĩ(ka)*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are completely regular. **Semantics and structure:** Both **mĩ* and **mĩ-ka* have reflexes in Arikapú ('ground' and 'earth' respectively) and Djeoromitxi ('earth' and 'dirt' respectively).

23. EAT

Arikapu *ko {ku}* (1) / *po {pu}* (2), Djeoromitxi *ko {ko}* (1) / *ɸo {pfo}* (2), Proto-Jabuti **ko* (1) / **po* (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 89; Arikapú et al. 2010: 21 (*ku* {ku} 'to eat / to bite / to chew / to smell / to drink'). Polysemy: 'to eat / to chew'. Distinct from *ʔu* {u} 'to suck / to eat fruits or porridge / to absorb' [Ribeiro 2008: 175; Arikapú et al. 2010: 48]. Ribeiro 2008: 133. In [Arikapú et al. 2010: 35] it is translated as 'to eat meat / meat / food / game'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 78. Ribeiro 2008b: 107.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #69, #166 (**ku* 'to eat, to bite'). **Distribution:** Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are completely regular. **Semantics and structure:** Arikapú indicates that this root meant 'to eat / to chew', as opposed to 'to eat meat'. Voort #69 (**pu*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are completely regular. **Semantics and structure:** Arikapú indicates that this root meant 'to eat meat', as opposed to 'to eat / to chew'.

24. EGG

Arikapu *rẽ {rẽ}* (1), Djeoromitxi *ʒɛ {dʒe}* (1), Proto-Jabuti **grɛ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 140; Arikapú et al. 2010: 37.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 51.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #188 (**ɛ̃*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** The correspondence is unique, but apparently regular. The cluster **grɛ* is prompted by the cognates across Macro-Jê.

25. EYE

Arikapu *hẽ-ka-rɛ {hãkare}* (1), Djeoromitxi *h̃ɔ-ka {hõka}* (1), Proto-Jabuti **šẽ-ka* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 61; Arikapú et al. 2010: 14. Derived from *hẽ* {hã} 'seed'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 65. Derived from *h̃ɔ* {hõ} 'seed'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #183 (**hãka(rɛ)*). **Distribution:** Preserved in all daughter languages. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are completely regular. **Semantics and structure:** Derived from *šẽ* 'seed', as in Rikbaktsá.

26. FAT

Arikapu *to-ka {tuka}* (1), Djeoromitxi *tõ {tõ}* (1), Proto-Jabuti **to* ~ **tõ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 155; Arikapú et al. 2010: 41. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 116.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #123 (**tū(ka)*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: It is unclear why the nasalization differs between Arikapú and Djeoromitxi. Cf. Rikbaktsá *tuta*. Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *-ka* {-ka} is suffixal in Arikapú.

27. FEATHER

Arikapu *ka=i* {*kai*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hi* {*hi*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ší* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 76. Polysemy: 'feather / hair / a hair / plumage'. Arikapú et al. [2010: 17] translate it as 'hair / a hair / plumage' and list *kuyu* {*kuyu*} 'wing / feather' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 25], *to* {*to*} 'feather' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 41], *ni=kay* {*nikay*} 'feather from tail' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 29] and other more specific terms.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 61. Polysemy: 'hair / straw / feather'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'hair / feather' is reconstructed. In Arikapú, **kay=>ka=* {*ka=*} 'head' was prefixed.

28. FIRE

Arikapu *pi=ka* {*pikā*} (1), Djeoromitxi *pi=če* {*pitxe*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **pi=čə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 132; Arikapú et al. 2010: 34. Although the stem is not synchronically segmentable, external comparison suggests that *pi=* {*pi=*} is actually a prefix.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 106. Although the stem is not synchronically segmentable, external comparison suggests that *pi=* {*pi=*} is actually a prefix.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #113 (**pitə*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Although the stem is not synchronically segmentable, external comparison suggests that **pi=* is actually a prefix. Apparently, the word for 'fire' is also derived from the root **čə* 'warm / to burn'.

29. FISH

Arikapu *minū* {*minū*} (1), Djeoromitxi *mi?nō* {*minō*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **minū* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 109; Arikapú et al. 2010: 27.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 88.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #194 (**minū*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Voort provides the etymology in parentheses because a similar form (*manini*) is attested in the unrelated Kwaza language. However, even if these forms are related, the direction of the borrowing would have been the opposite, since Rikbaktsá *piknu* 'id.' is very likely to be a cognate. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

30. FLY

Arikapu *čɔpɔ* {*txopɔ*} (1), Djeoromitxi *höφö* {*hüpfü*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **šɔpɔ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 169; Arikapú et al. 2010: 47. Polysemy: 'to fly / to hover'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 69. Polysemy: 'to fly / to menstruate'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. It can be further compared to Rikbaksá *ča* and *pa* with the same meaning.

31. FOOT

Arikapu *pray* {*pray*} (1), Djeoromitxi *pa* {*pa*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **pray* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 134; Arikapú et al. 2010: 35.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 102. Distinct from *φö* {*pfü*} 'lower side / extremity' [Ribeiro 2008b: 107].

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #191 (**praj*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

32. FULL

Arikapu *ⁿbəy* {*bäy*} (1), Djeoromitxi *žɛ=βzi* {*djebzi*} (1), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿbiy* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 41, 42; Arikapú et al. 2010: 9. Polysemy: 'many / full / everything / all'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 51.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

33. GIVE

Arikapu *?ũ* {*ũ*} (1), Djeoromitxi *?ō* {*ō*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **?ũ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 177; Arikapú et al. 2010: 48.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 101.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #82 (**ũ*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Note the similarity to Proto-Tupará **(y=)ō-*.

34. GOOD

Arikapu *hawī* {*hawī*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hāʔiʔnē* {*hainē*} (2) / *ʔmεžö* {*medjü*} (3), Proto-Jabuti **šawi* # (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 67; Arikapú et al. 2010: 15 (*hēwi* {*hāwi*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 57. Ribeiro 2008b: 87. Polysemy: 'good / well / better / satisfied'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Arikapú; the Arikapú root is tentatively compared to Karajá *awī* and Rikbaktsá *šapi*.

35. GREEN

Arikapu *kapi* {*kapi*} (1), Djeoromitxi *kapi* {*kapi*} # (1), Proto-Jabuti **kapi* # (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 80; Arikapú et al. 2010: 18. Polysemy: 'unripe / green'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 75. Only the meaning 'unripe' is attested.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #259 (**kapi*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: It is uncertain if the Proto-Jabuti root had the meaning 'green (of color)'. Only the meaning 'unripe' is readily reconstructible.

36. HAIR

Arikapu *ka=i* {*kai*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hi* ~ *kōʔā=hi* {*hi* ~ *kōāhi*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ši* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 76; Arikapú et al. 2010: 17. Polysemy: 'feather / hair / a hair / plumage'. Distinct from *čiv* 'a hair' [Ribeiro 2008: 164].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 61, 135. Polysemy: 'hair / straw / feather'. The ambiguity is resolved when *k ʔā=* {*kōā=*} 'head' is prefixed.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'hair / feather' is reconstructed. In Arikapú, **kay=>ka=* {*ka=*} 'head' was prefixed.

37. HAND

Arikapu *ni=kay* {*nikay*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnī=hu* {*nīhu*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 116; Arikapú et al. 2010: 29 (*ni=kay* {*nīkay*}). In the latter source, with polysemy: 'hand / finger'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 92.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **ni=kay* and **ni=šu* are equiprobable candidates. Cf. Voort #154 (**nī.u*), based on an erroneous comparison.

38. HEAD

Arikapu *kay* {*kay*} (1), Djeoromitxi *kɔʔã=ka* {*kõãka*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **kay* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 76; Arikapú et al. 2010: 18.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 79. *k ʔã=* {*kõã=*} is also found in *k ʔã=hi* {*kõãhi*} 'hair on the head', and the meaning of the morpheme is definitely 'head'. However, *=ka* {*=ka*} is treated as the main morpheme here because no lexical replacement took place since the Proto-Jabuti stage.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'hair / feather' is reconstructed. In Djeoromitxi, *k ʔã=* {*kõã*} 'head' was prefixed.

39. HEAR

Arikapu *ⁿbə* {*bä*} (1) / *ni=pi-koy* {*nipükoy*} (2), Djeoromitxi *bə* {*bä*} (1), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿbə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 40, 41; Arikapú et al. 2010: 8. Polysemy: 'to understand / to know / to learn / to feel / to listen / to hear'. Ribeiro 2008: 118; Arikapú et al. 2010: 31 (*ni=pi-koy* {*nipükoy*}). Polysemy: 'ear channel / to listen / to hear'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 41. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to understand / to feel'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #187 (**mə*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to understand / to feel / to know' is reconstructible.

40. HEART

Arikapu *ⁿbə=titi-ka* {*bätütüka*} (1), Djeoromitxi *bə=tutu-ka* {*bätutuka*} (1), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿbə=titi-ka ~ ⁿbə=tutu-ka* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 44. Arikapú et al. attest *ⁿbə-ka* {*bäka*} [2010: 8] 'chest / thorax / heart'; *ⁿbə-rɛ* {*bäre*} [2010: 9] 'guts / heart'; *ⁿbə-tao* {*bätao*} [2010: 9] 'stomach / heart'; *kuⁿbə* {*kübä*} [2010: 22] 'to think / heart'. *-ka* {-ka} is possibly a classifier morpheme for round objects, though it might also belong to the root.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 42. Polysemy: 'heart / a purple part of a banana bunch to which bananas are attached'. *-ka* {-ka} is possibly a classifier morpheme for round objects, though it might also belong to the root.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #73 (**mə(tutu)ka*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The vocalic correspondence is irregular. Semantics and structure: The prefix is derived from the root for 'liver'. **-ka* is possibly a classifier morpheme for round objects, though it might also belong to the root.

41. HORN

Arikapu *ni=pi=ku* {*nipüku*} (1), Djeoromitxi *?mɛ=ku* {*meku*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **=ku* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 119. Cf. *ni=pi=koy=ku* {*nipükoyku*} [Arikapú et al. 2010: 31]. The morphological structure of the word must be

a calque from Tuparí languages (Proto-Tuparí **api=kíp* 'horn', literally 'ear=tree').

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 87. The morphological segmentation is unclear.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *?mε=* {me=} is a prefix in Djeoromitxi. The morphological structure of the Arikapú word must be a calque from Tuparí languages (Proto-Tuparí **api=kíp* 'horn', literally 'ear=tree').

42. I

Arikapu *?i-he* {*ihe*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hö* {*hü*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **?i-* # (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 72; Arikapú et al. 2010: 16.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 68.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Arikapú; the Arikapú root is tentatively compared to Proto-Jê **i(C)-*, Rikbaktsá *iki.aa* (?).

43. KILL

Arikapu *kõⁿdä* {*kõdä*} (1) / *tẽⁿbrẽ* {*tãbrã*} (2), Djeoromitxi *hi* {*hi*} (3).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 95; Arikapú et al. 2010: 23 (*kõⁿdä* {*kodä*}). More specifically, 'to shoot dead'. Ribeiro 2008: 147; Arikapú et al. 2010: 40 (*tãm^rã* {*tãm^rã*}). Polysemy: 'to hit / to strike / to run into / to kill'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 61. Distinct from *tõmĩ* {*tümĩ*} 'to hit, to kill with a strike' [Ribeiro 2008b: 118].

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **ši(y)* and **k^hdä* are equiprobable candidates. Cf. **tVm^r Ṽ* 'to hit, to kill with a strike' (Voort #158 (**t.m^r.*)).

44. KNEE

Arikapu *mεpe* {*mepe*} (1), Djeoromitxi *pεpe* {*pepe*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **pεpe* ~ **ⁿbεpe* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 107; Arikapú et al. 2010: 27 (*mεpe* {*mepe*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 105.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #139 (**mεpe*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The initial consonants do not correspond regularly.

45. KNOW

Arikapu *ⁿbä* {*bä*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hõnõ* {*hõnõ*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **ⁿbə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 40, 41; Arikapú et al. 2010: 8. Polysemy: 'to understand / to know / to learn / to feel / to listen / to hear'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 66.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in this meaning only in Arikapú; in Djeoromitxi a separate verb is introduced. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to understand / to feel / to know' is reconstructible. Cf. Proto-Amazonic Jê **n̄ba*.

46. LEAF

Arikapu *puarɔ ~ kuarɔ* {*puaro ~ kuario*} (1) / *čarɔ ~ čuarɔ* {*txaro ~ txuaro*} (2), Djeoromitxi *?nĩ* {*nĩ*} (3), Proto-Jabuti **nĩ* (3) / **šarɔ* (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 137 (*puarɔ* {*puaro*}). Polysemy: 'leaf / a kind of mushroom'. In [Arikapú et al. 2010: 22, 36], two separate words are registered: *puarɔ* {*puaro*} 'a kind of mushroom' and *kuarɔ* {*kuaro*} 'leaf'. Likely related to *čarɔ* {*txaro*}, but the morphological segmentation is unclear. Distinct from *nĩ* 'thorn' [Ribeiro 2008: 116], translated as 'thorn, needle, fishhook, leaf' in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 29]. Ribeiro 2008: 160; Arikapú et al. 2010: 43, 47.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 92. Polysemy: 'leaf / thorn'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #114 (**-nĩ*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy 'thorn / leaf' is reconstructible. External comparison suggests that the meaning 'thorn' is primary. Distribution: Preserved only in Arikapú. The root is also found in Ofayé and Rikbaksá (*šaro*). Possibly Arikapú *puarɔ ~ kuarɔ* {*puaro ~ kuario*} is related.

47. LIE

Arikapu *kōrēy* {*kōrāy*} (1), Djeoromitxi *?ore* {*ore*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 92; Arikapú et al. 2010: 20 (*kōrēy ~ kōrī* {*korāy ~ korī*}). Distinct from *rōči* {*rotxi*} 'to lay down' [Ribeiro 2008: 144; Arikapú et al. 2010: 38].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 99.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **k̄r̄{ē, ŋy}* and **?or{ε, ə}(y)* are equiprobable candidates. Cf. Voort #84 (**-rāj*), based on arbitrary segmentation of the data.

48. LIVER

Arikapu *ⁿbə* {*bä*} (1), Djeoromitxi *bə* {*bä*} (1), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿbə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 41; Arikapú et al. 2010: 8.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 41.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #108 (**mə*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

49. LONG

Arikapu *rehēči* {*rehātxi*} (1), Djeoromitxi *təri* {*tāri*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **təriy* (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 140; Arikapú et al. 2010: 37 (*reh āi* {*rehātxi*}). Polysemy: 'long / tall'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 113.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in this meaning only in Djeoromitxi; the meaning shifted to 'far' in Arikapú. Reconstruction shape: It is uncertain why Proto-Jabuti *ɔ* was retained after a coronal in Djeoromitxi.

50. LOUSE

Arikapu *ta* {*ta*} (1), Djeoromitxi *tṣ-žε* {*tōdje*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ta ~ *tē* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 148. Arikapú et al. [2010: 38] attest only *ta-ɔ* {*tao*}, which is plural.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 116.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: It is unclear why the nasalization differs between Arikapú and Djeoromitxi.

51. MAN

Arikapu *ʔṣnēhē* {*ōnāhē*} (1), Djeoromitxi *čiʔö* {*txiü*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 123; Arikapú et al. 2010: 16 (*ʔṣn hε* {*onāhe*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 121.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **ʔ ṣnēhē* and **č{i,i}ʔɔ* are equiprobable candidates.

52. MANY

Arikapu *hekūⁿbrē* {*hekūbrā*} (1) / *ⁿbəy* {*bäy*} (2), Djeoromitxi *köʔε* {*küε*} (3) / *ʔuʔičatṣ* {*uitxatō*} (4).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 68; Arikapú et al. 2010: 15 (*hekumrē* {*hekurā*}). Ribeiro 2008: 41, 42; Arikapú et al. 2010: 9. Polysemy: 'many / full / everything / all'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 83. Ribeiro 2008b: 123.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **{š,č}ekunⁿbrē*, **kəʔε(y)* and **ʔuʔ(i,i)ča{t,kr}{ē,ū}* are equiprobable candidates.

53. MEAT

Arikapu *ni* {*ni*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnī* {*nī*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **nī* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 116; Arikapú et al. 2010: 29 (*nĩ* [nĩ]). Cf. also *po* {pu} 'meat / food / to eat meat / game' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 35] ('to eat / edible' in [Ribeiro 2008: 133]).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 92.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #49 (**nĩ*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

54. MOON

Arikapu *kupa* {*kupa*} (1), Djeoromitxi *kupa* {*kupa*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **kupa* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 100, 101; Arikapú et al. 2010: 24. Polysemy: 'moon / bay or lake connected to a river with a channel'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 82.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #147 (**kupa*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Voort provides the etymology in parentheses because an allegedly similar form (*pakuri*) is attested in the unrelated Mekéns and Wayoró languages. However, this comparison is extremely dubious. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

55. MOUNTAIN

Arikapu *kamã* {*kamã*} (1), Djeoromitxi *?öri* {*üri*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 78; Arikapú et al. 2010: 17.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 125.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **kam i* and **?öri(y)* are equiprobable candidates.

56. MOUTH

Arikapu *čẽⁿbi=kɔ* {*txãbiko*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hakö* / *=rakö* {*hakü* / *rakü*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **šakɔ* / **=žakɔ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 158; Arikapú et al. 2010: 42 (*čẽⁿbi=kɔ* {*txabiko*}). The infixless variant *čakɔ* {*txako*} is cited by Arikapú et al. [2010: 42].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 57.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #25 (**tjako*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: According to some sources, the Arikapú form presents an additional syllable in the middle of the root. Other such cases are known (see *tongue*, *short*). External comparison indicates that this root was indeed segmentable in Proto-Macro-Jê ('mouth-hole'), but it is unclear in this was the case in Proto-Jabuti.

57. NAME

Arikapu *tači* {*tatxi*} (1), Djeoromitxi *tōhi* {*tōhi*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **taši* ~ **tēši* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 149; Arikapú et al. 2010: 39. In the latter source, with polysemy: 'name / to call'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 116.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #178 (**tōhī*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: It is unclear why the nasalization differs between Arikapú and Djeoromitxi.

58. NECK

Arikapu *pəkə* ~ *kəpə* {*poko* ~ *kopo*} (1), Djeoromitxi *köfö* {*küpfü*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **kəpə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 133; Arikapú et al. 2010: 20, 34.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 84.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #201 (**poko*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Arikapú seems to have innovated, presenting an optional irregular metathesis. Voort holds the opposite view and assumes that the Arikapú variant *pəkə* {*poko*} is due to Djeoromitxi influence.

59. NEW

Arikapu *rə=təy* {*rätäy*} (1), Djeoromitxi *do=tε* {*dote*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **=təy* ~ **=tεy* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 141. Cf. *təy* {*täy*} [Arikapú et al. 2010: 40]. Distinct from *kē^hbu* 'young' [Ribeiro 2008: 83; Arikapú et al. 2010: 17 (*ka^hbu* {*kabu*})].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 50. Polysemy: 'new / young / fresh'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular; both Proto-Jabuti **əy* and **εy* are supposed to yield *əy* in Arikapú and *ε* in Djeoromitxi after coronals, so neither reconstruction can be ruled out. Semantics and structure: The morphological segmentation of the word in the daughter languages is unclear.

60. NIGHT

Arikapu *mi* {*mi*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hōiika* {*hōiika*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 108; Arikapú et al. 2010: 27 (*mī* {*mī*} 'nightfall, evening'). Polysemy: 'night / darkness / to grow dark'. Distinct from *kəri* {*kärü*} 'dark / dirty / at night'. Cf. *pačiu* (*pačio?*) {*patxiu*} 'night, evening' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 33].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 65. Cf. *pači-rö* {*patxirü*} 'cloudy, to grow dark', *pači-te* {*patxite*} 'sunrise' [Ribeiro 2008b: 104].

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **mī* and **š(ā,ū)iika(y)* are equiprobable candidates. Cf. **pači-* 'sunset' (Voort #176 **patfifu* 'night').

61. NOSE

Arikapu *nĩ=nĩ-ka* {*nĩnĩka*} (1), Djeoromitxi *?nĩ=?nĩ-köte* {*nĩnĩküte*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **nĩ=nĩ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 119; Arikapú et al. 2010: 30. Polysemy: 'nose / stern'. Cf. *nĩ=nĩ* {*nĩnĩ*} 'beak' [Ribeiro 2008: 119].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 93. The morphological segmentation is unclear.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *-köte* {-küte} is a suffix in Djeoromitxi.

62. NOT

Arikapu *tē* {*tā*} (1) / *či* {*txi*} (2), Djeoromitxi *tō* {*tō*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **tē* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 146; Arikapú et al. 2010: 39 (*tē* {*tā*}). Distinct from *pí* {*pü*} 'prohibitive' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 36]. Ribeiro 2008: 162; Arikapú et al. 2010: 44.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 116.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely. Cf. Voort #172 (**māj*), whose reflex in Djeoromitxi is a polar negation particle.

63. ONE

Arikapu *tēywe* {*tāywe*} (1), Djeoromitxi *?u?iči* {*uitxi*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 147; Arikapú et al. 2010: 40 (*tēywe* {*tāywe*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 123.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **tēywe* and **?u?iči(y)* are equiprobable candidates.

64. PERSON

Arikapu *čanay* ~ *hanay* {*txanay* ~ *hanay*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hikəbö* {*hikəbü*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 158, 159. Polysemy: 'other / person / people / relative'. Cited as *čanēy* / *hanēy* {*txanāy* / *hanāy*} 'other, companion' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 14, 43].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 62.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. Replacements: **šan aj* / **šan aj* 'other' (cf. Djeoromitxi *rənē* {*ränē*} 'other' [Ribeiro 2008b: 110], Voort #186 **fanāj*) acquired the meaning 'person' in Arikapú. **šikəb(r)ə* is a likely candidate.

65. RAIN

Arikapu *nay* {*nay*} (1), Djeoromitxi *nĩ-pa* {*nĩpa*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **nVĩ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 112; Arikapú et al. 2010: 27 (*nēy* {*nāy*}). Cf. *ɾokɔ* {*roko*} 'to drown, to rain' [Ribeiro 2008: 144; Arikapú et al. 2010: 38].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 94. The morphological segmentation is unclear. Cf. *h k̃ö ~ n k̃ö* {*hökü ~ nökü*} 'to fall, to erode, to rain' [Ribeiro 2008b: 65].

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The vowel correspondence is unique. Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *-pa* {-*pa*} is a suffix in Djeoromitxi.

66. RED

Arikapu *nurẽw* {*nurãw*} (1), Djeoromitxi *nõrö* {*nõrü*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **nũrV(w)* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 114; Arikapú et al. 2010: 32 (*nũr ã* {*nũrãõ*}). Apparently distinct from *pĩri* {*pürü*} 'color of carnation, brown, red' [Ribeiro 2008: 133; Arikapú et al. 2010: 36].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 96.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #261 (**nũr(ɔ)*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Arikapú must have undergone an irregular denasalization in the first syllable. The vowel correspondence in the second syllable is unique.

67. ROAD

Arikapu *βi* {*wĩ*} (1), Djeoromitxi *βi-kö* {*wikü*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **wɪ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 26; Arikapú et al. 2010: *wɪ* {*wĩ*}.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 128. Derived from *βi* {*wĩ*} 'track'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #41 (**w*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: It is unclear why [i] is registered in [Ribeiro 2008]. Otherwise the correspondences are regular. Semantics and structure: Voort suggests that the Djeoromitxi form contains the classifier *-kö* {-*kü*} 'hole', symbolizing that the roads are full of vegetation.

68. ROOT

Arikapu *nžiri* {*djiri*} (1), Djeoromitxi *rari* {*rari*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **šaci* / **=žaci* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 54; Arikapú et al. 2010: 13.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 110.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages (if the Arikapú word is indeed a reflex of the common Jabutí word). Reconstruction shape: The development of the first syllable in Arikapú remains mysterious. Semantics and structure: The word-initial alternation was probably lost in Djeoromitxi. However, it can be clearly seen in Proto-Jê **fare* / **yare* 'id.'.

69. ROUND

Arikapu *ka* {*ka*} (1) / *kaŵẽy* {*kaŵãy*} (2), Djeoromitxi *h̄õbε-rö* {*h̄õberü*} (3) / *karofõ* {*karopfõ*} (4), Proto-Jabuti **ka* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 76. Polysemy: 'fruit / round / deep'. Ribeiro 2008: 81. Polysemy: 'to rotate / around / round'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 64. 2D. Related to *h̄ε-ka* {*h̄õbeka*} 'face / forehead / cheek / fish scales'. Ribeiro 2008b: 75. 3D. Possibly related to *ka-* {*ka-*}, but this is uncertain. Cf. *ka* {*ka*} 'round being' [Ribeiro 2008b: 73].

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #224 (**ka*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages; in Djeoromitxi the meaning was narrowed to 'round being'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The polysemy 'round / fruit', typical of the region, can be reconstructed (Djeoromitxi *ku=ka* {*kuka*}, literally 'tree=round').

70. SAND

Arikapu *kikira* {*küküra*} (1), Djeoromitxi *mĩ=kənõrö* {*mĩkänörü*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **kənẽrɔ* # (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 89; Arikapú et al. 2010: 25 ('sand / dirt').

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 89. Literally 'earth=white'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Djeoromitxi; the root is tentatively compared to Karajá *kən ša* 'sand'. Semantics and structure: The Djeoromitxi root has both the meanings 'white' and 'sand'. Since the development 'white' > 'sand' is much more typical of the languages of the world than the opposite development, the polysemy might date back to Proto-Western Macro-Jê or even represent a separate parallel development (an exact semantic parallel is found e.g. in Proto-Tupí-Guaraní) with a subsequent loss of the meaning 'white' in Karajá.

71. SAY

Arikapu *pamõ* {*pamõ*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hubə* / *=rubə* {*hubä* / *=rubä*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **paⁿbɔ* ~ **pamõ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 126. Polysemy: 'to tell / to say / to teach / to warn / to share / to confess'. Translated as 'to tell / to teach' in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 32]. Distinct from *kay* 'to speak / to sing' [Ribeiro 2008: 76, 77], *čarokɔ* ~ *harokɔ* {*txaroko* ~ *haroko*} 'to speak / speech / language / story' [Ribeiro 2008: 160, 161; Arikapú et al. 2010: 161].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 67. Polysemy: 'to say / to talk / to tell'. Distinct from *pabö* {*pabü*} 'to speak, to tell' [Ribeiro 2008b: 102]; *šɛ=piro* {*djepiro*} 'to speak' [Ribeiro 2008b: 106].

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages; in Djeoromitxi the meaning was narrowed to 'to speak / to tell'.

Reconstruction shape: It is unclear why the nasalization differs between Arikapú and Djeoromitxi.

72. SEE

Arikapu *ʔarẽ* {*arã*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔəʔnõ* {*änõ*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ʔarẽ ~ *ʔərẽ*(1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 36; Arikapú et al. 2010: 7. Polysemy: 'to see / to be able to see / to know / to look / to show'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 39. Polysemy: 'to see / to know / to visit / to read'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #258 (**arã*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The vowel correspondence in the first syllable is irregular.

73. SEED

Arikapu *hẽ* {*hã*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hõ* {*hõ*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **šẽ*(1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 59; Arikapú et al. 2010: 13. Polysemy: 'seed / pyrena'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 64.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #231 (**hã*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

74. SIT

Arikapu *nõ* {*nõ*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hõ=ʔna* {*hõna*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **nV*(1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 113; Arikapú et al. 2010: 31.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 66. The morphological segmentation is unclear.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages (if the Djeoromitxi word is indeed a reflex of the common Jabuti word). Reconstruction shape: The vowel correspondence is irregular. Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *h ɕ* {*hõ=*} is a prefix in Djeoromitxi.

75. SKIN

Arikapu *kə* {*kä*} (1), Djeoromitxi *kə* {*kä*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **kə*(1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 83; Arikapú et al. 2010: 19. Polysemy: 'clothes / skin / leather / bark'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 76. Polysemy: 'skin / leather / bark / clothes'.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #77 (**kə*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'bark / skin / leather / bark'.

76. SLEEP

Arikapu *nūtē* {*nūtā*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnōtō* {*nōtō*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **nūtē* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 115; Arikapú et al. 2010: 32 (*nūt* i {*nūtā*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 97.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #91 (**nūtō*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

77. SMALL

Arikapu *ⁿbray* {*bräy*} (1), Djeoromitxi *tə-ču* {*tätxu*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **bráy* # (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 49; Arikapú et al. 2010: 11 (*ⁿbray* ~ *ⁿbrey* {*bräy* ~ *brey*}). Polysemy: 'narrow / thin / small'. Also used as a diminutive suffix. Distinct from *ⁿbīw* {*bīw*} 'tiny' [Ribeiro 2008: 47; Arikapú et al. 2010: 11].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 113. Cf. =*ču* {*txu*} 'diminutive'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Arikapú; the root is tentatively compared to Rikbaktsá *ii=pirik*.

78. SMOKE

Arikapu *pi=kə=čiw* {*pikätxio*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔnō* {*nō*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 132; Arikapú et al. 2010: 34. Polysemy: 'smoke / cloud'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 95. Polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke / smoke'.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. Apparently the same root as 'cloud'. **{č,š,y}iʔw* and **n{ē,ū}* are equiprobable candidates.

79. STAND

Arikapu *čue* {*txue*} (1), Djeoromitxi *tu?mĩ* {*tumĩ*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 171; Arikapú et al. 2010: 47. Distinct from *pa(č)a* {*pä(tx)a*} 'to put in vertical position, to make' [Ribeiro 2008: 131; Arikapú et al. 2010: 33].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 117.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **ču?ε* and **{t,kr}umĩ(y)* are equiprobable candidates.

80. STAR

Arikapu *wirə-wirə* {*wirəwirä*} (-1), Djeoromitxi *b̂zire-b̂zire* (-1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 181; Arikapú et al. 2010: 52. Distinct from *warə-warə* {*warəwarä*} 'bright star, Venus' [Ribeiro 2008: 179; Arikapú et al. 2010: 50 ('a bright star in Crux')]. A local Wanderwort, cf. Kanoë *βariβari* 'star', Aymara *warawara*.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 48. A local Wanderwort, cf. Kanoë *βariβari* 'star', Aymara *warawara*.

Proto-Jabuti: A local Wanderwort, cf. Kanoë *βariβari* 'star', Aymara *warawara*.

81. STONE

Arikapu *kra* {*kra*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ta* (1), Proto-Jabuti **kra* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 95; Arikapú et al. 2010: 21.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 112.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #192 (**ka*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

82. SUN

Arikapu *taha* {*täha*} (1), Djeoromitxi *t̂h̄h̄* {*t̂h̄h̄*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **tVš̄ē* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 150; Arikapú et al. 2010: 39 (*tahē* {*tähā*} 'sun / summer'). Polysemy: 'sun / year / month'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 116.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #234 (**tōhā*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The vowel correspondences are irregular.

83. SWIM

Arikapu *ⁿbi=[?]i=pri* {*biüpri*} (1), Djeoromitxi *b̂zi=ru=[?]i=wa* {*bziruiwa*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 45. Literally 'to go through water'. Arikapú et al. [2010: 35] attest just *pri* {*pri*}. Distinct from *[?]i=kōču* {*ükotxu*} 'to swim (of animals), to row' [Ribeiro 2008: 74].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 49. Literally 'river=take'.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. Apparently there was no separate root, as is common across Macro-Jê; the meaning was likely to be conveyed using the words for 'water' and 'to go'.

84. TAIL

Arikapu *ⁿi=^wiwio* {*nivio*} (1), Djeoromitxi *?o* {*o*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **?o* (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 119; Arikapú et al. 2010: 31 (*ɲĩ=wiw* {nĩwio}). Cf. *ɲĩ=təy* {nĩtäy} 'tail' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 31].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 98.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Djeoromitxi; the word is tentatively compared to Rikbaktsá *a* 'id'.

85. THAT

Arikapu *ⁿbue-hẽ* {*buehã*} (1) / *ⁿži-hẽ* {*djihã*} (2), Djeoromitxi *bupε* {*bupe*} (1) / *ʔneβi* {*newi*} (3), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿbu-* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 49; Arikapú et al. 2010: 12 (*bwe(-hẽ)* {*bwe(hã)*}). Denotes something far away. Ribeiro 2008: 54. Denotes something close to the listener. Cf. *ⁿži-hẽ-čẽ* {*djihãtxe*} [Arikapú et al. 2010: 13].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 46. Denotes something far away. Ribeiro 2008b: 91. Denotes something close to the listener.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences of the first syllable are completely regular. The second syllables do not match but they are likely to be suffixal. Semantics and structure: The reconstructed root is for distal deixis. The root for medial deixis might have been present as well but it is not reconstructible.

86. THIS

Arikapu *ʔay-hẽ* {*ayhã*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔneβε ~ ʔneʔu* {*newe ~ neu*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 35; Arikapú et al. 2010: 7 (*ʔěy-hẽ* {*ăyhã*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 91.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **ʔ{a,ə}y-* and **n{ĩ,ẽ}-* are equiprobable candidates.

87. THOU

Arikapu *ʔa-hε* {*ahe*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔa-žε* {*adje*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ʔa-* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 35; Arikapú et al. 2010: 7.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 37.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #264 (**a*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

88. TONGUE

Arikapu *ⁿdu-ku=tə-rε* {*dukutäre*} (1), Djeoromitxi *nõte* {*nõte*} (1), Proto-Jabuti *ⁿnũtə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 53; Arikapú et al. 2010: 13.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 96.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #145 (**nu(ku)tə(rɛ)*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The Arikapú word has been influenced by *nduku* {duku} 'mouth and lips', acquiring a classifier suffix for worm-like objects. External data correspond perfectly well to the Djeoromitxi form, cf. Proto-Jê **çyʔa* / **ɲyʔa*.

89. TOOTH

Arikapu *čo-krĩē* {*txukrĩā*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hö* / =*rö* {*hü* / *rü*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **šɔ* / **ʒɔ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 167; Arikapú et al. 2010: 46 (*čo-krĩē* ~ *čo-krĩh* δ {*txokrihā* ~ *txukrihā*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 68.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #85 (**tʔo*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *-krĩ(h)ē* {-*krĩ(h)ā*} is a suffix in Djeoromitxi.

90. TREE

Arikapu *ku* {*ku*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ku* {*ku*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ku* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 97; Arikapú et al. 2010: 21. Polysemy: 'tree / wood / big knife / machete / long sword'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 80.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #14 (**ku*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

91. TWO

Arikapu *heri* {*heri*} (1), Djeoromitxi *žēbo* {*djebo*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 69; Arikapú et al. 2010: 16.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 51.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **šeri* and **{ⁿʒ,ⁿgr}ɛⁿbo* are equiprobable candidates.

92. GO

Arikapu *pri* {*pri*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔmɛʔnĩ* {*menĩ*} (2) / *ri* {*ri*} (3).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 135. Distinct from *herẽ=mũ* {herãmũ} [Ribeiro 2008: 69] (centrifugal). In [Arikapú et al. 2010: 35] it is translated as 'to swim / to follow / to catch / to receive'. Cf. *hĩ* {hã} 'to go, to want to go' [Arikapú et al. 2010: 15], *kəɾəy* {käräy} 'to walk' [Ribeiro 2008: 86].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 87. Distinct from *kĩ* {kõ} 'to go away' [Ribeiro 2008b: 79], *dudu* {dudu} 'to walk' [Ribeiro 2008b: 50]. Ribeiro 2008b: 110.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **pri*, **ri(y)* and **mẽ{r,n}ĩ* are equiprobable candidates. Cf. **kẽ* 'to go away / to end / to stop' (Voort #163). We were unable to identify the Djeoromitxi form used to reconstruct **kəɾej* 'to walk' (Voort #11).

93. WARM

Arikapu *kə* {kã} (1), Djeoromitxi *həte-rö* / *=ratε-rö* {häterü / räterü} (2), Proto-Jabuti **čə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 84; Arikapú et al. 2010: 19. Polysemy: 'warm / to burn'.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 59.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #218 (**tʃə...*). Distribution: Preserved in this meaning only in Arikapú, narrowing its meaning to 'to cook' in Djeoromitxi. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'warm / to burn' is reconstructed. Apparently, the word for 'fire' is also derived from this root.

94. WATER

Arikapu *bi* {bi} (1), Djeoromitxi *bzi-ru* {bziru} (1), Proto-Jabuti **bi* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 44; Arikapú et al. 2010: 10. Polysemy: 'water / river'. Distinct from *?i* {ü} 'liquid / milk / broth / wine' [Ribeiro 2008: 74; Arikapú et al. 2010: 49].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 49. The morphological segmentation is unclear. Distinct from *?i* {i} 'liquid' [Ribeiro 2008b: 70].

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #5 (**miru*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The comparison is valid if *-ru* {-ru} is a suffix in Djeoromitxi. A distinct root **?i* 'liquid / classifier for liquids' can also be reconstructed (Voort #6 **i*).

95. WE

Arikapu *či-hε* {txihe} (1), Djeoromitxi *hi* {hi} (1), Proto-Jabuti **ši* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 163; Arikapú et al. 2010: 45.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 61.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #179 (**hi-*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

96. WHAT

Arikapu *hɛw-hɛ̃* {*hewhã*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hãçi* {*hatxi*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **šɛw-* # (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 70; Arikapú et al. 2010: 16 (*hɛ̃w̃hɛ̃* {*hẽwhã*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 58.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved only in Arikapú in this meaning; the root is tentatively compared to Rikbaktsá *hawá*. See *who*.

97. WHITE

Arikapu *mẽw̃* {*mãw*} (1), Djeoromitxi *kãñrõ* {*kãñõrũ*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **=kãñẽrɔ* # (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 106; Arikapú et al. 2010: 26 (*mẽw̃* {*mãõ*}). Distinct from *tãytã* {*tãytã*} 'clean / white (of skin)' [Ribeiro 2008: 151].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 77.

Proto-Jabuti: See *sand*.

98. WHO

Arikapu *hɛw-hɛ̃* {*hewhã*} (1), Djeoromitxi *hö?ã* {*hüã*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **šɛw-* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 70.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 68.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are somewhat irregular, though the development of Proto-Jabuti diphthongs in Djeoromitxi is not sufficiently studied.

99. WOMAN

Arikapu *pako-ɛ* {*pakue*} (1), Djeoromitxi *pako* {*pako*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **pako* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 126; Arikapú et al. 2010: 32. Derived from *pako* {*paku*} 'younger sister' [Ribeiro 2008: 125; Arikapú et al. 2010: 32].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 103.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #179 (**paku*). Distribution: The root is preserved in all daughter languages. The suffixless root shifted its meaning to 'younger sister' in Arikapú. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

100. YELLOW

Arikapu *ᵀdũᵀbu-ɔ* {*dũbuo*} (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 53. Derived from **dũ^wbu* {dübu} 'pale, yellow'. Arikapú et al. [2010: 12] attest **du^wbu* {dubu} 'yellow' and **du^wbu-ɔ* {dubuo} 'blue, green'.

Djeoromitxi: Not attested. Voort [159] cites *b̄zidu* {bzidu}; it is uncertain to what extent the material cited there is credible.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **dũ^wbu* is a likely candidate.

101. FAR

Arikapu *təray* {täräy} (1), Djeoromitxi *kōtə* {kütä} (2) / *bεφö* {bepfü} (3).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 153; Arikapú et al. 2010: 40.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 85. Ribeiro 2008b: 43. Translated as a postposition, but found as an adverb in examples in [Ribeiro 2008b: 41, 82, 90].

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **kɔ{t,k}{ε,ə}(y)*, **bεpɔ* are equiprobable candidates. Replacements: The Arikapú word is cognate to Djeoromitxi *təri* 'long'; most probably, Proto-Jabuti **təriy* actually meant 'long'.

102. HEAVY

Arikapu *komã* {kumã} (1), Djeoromitxi *ku?mi* {kumi} (1), Proto-Jabuti **k{o,u}m* \tilde{V} (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 90, 91; Arikapú et al. 2010: 23.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 81.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #200 (**kum*). Distribution: The root is preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The vowel correspondences are slightly irregular.

103. NEAR

Arikapu *reri* {reri} (1) / *kōkĩ* {kokĩ} (2), Djeoromitxi *kaφöçε* {kapfütxe} # (3) / *heri* / *=reri* {heri / reri} # (1), Proto-Jabuti **rɛɪ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 141. Polysemy: 'near / close to / neighbor'. Ribeiro 2008: 93.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 75. Ribeiro 2008b: 60.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Djeoromitxi *heri* {heri} must have emerged by analogy, since the words with the alternation *h-* / *r-* in Djeoromitxi usually do not correspond to Arikapú words with an initial *r-*. Alternatively, the Arikapú word might be a borrowing from Djeoromitxi.

104. SALT

Arikapu *kukə-ŋi* {*kukäni*} (1), Djeoromitxi *kukə-ʔnĩ* {*kukänĩ*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **kukə-ŋĩ* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 98; Arikapú et al. 2010: 23 (*kukə-ŋĩ* {*kukänĩ*}). *kukə* {*kukä*} is a bract of an aroid plant used to produce salt.

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 80.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The word is a compound: **kukə* is a bract of an aroid plant used to produce salt, **-ŋĩ* is a classifier for thorns and leaves.

105. SHORT

Arikapu *ɾ-tē* {*rotā*} (1) / *pakatə* {*pakatā*} (2), Djeoromitxi *patə* {*patā*} (2), Proto-Jabuti **pa(ka)tə* (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 144. Technically a negation of *ɾ* {*ro*} 'to grow'. Ribeiro 2008: 125. Polysemy: 'short (of length) / short (of height)'.
Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 104. Polysemy: 'short (of length) / short (of height)'.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The Arikapú form presents an additional syllable in the middle of the root. Other such cases are known (see *mouth, tongue*). Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'short (of length) / short (of height)' is reconstructible.

106. SNAKE

Arikapu *ⁿbrēy* {*brāy*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔmē* {*mē*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **mrēy* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 104; Arikapú et al. 2010: 28 (*mrēy* {*mrāy*}).

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 87.

Proto-Jabuti: Voort #66 (**mrāy*). Distribution: The root is preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

107. THIN

Arikapu *kəbitə* {*käbitä*} (1), Djeoromitxi *kəbzitə* {*käbzitä*} (1), Proto-Jabuti **kəbitə* (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 84. Polysemy: 'shallow / thin (2D)'. The absence of prenasalization is unclear. Distinct from *kēyɾe* {*kāyre*} 'thin (of people)' [Ribeiro 2008: 77].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 76. 2D. Polysemy: 'thin (2D) / narrow'. The word for 'thin (1D)' is not attested.

Proto-Jabuti: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

108. WIND

Arikapu *ʔučičio* {*utxitxio*} (1), Djeoromitxi *ʔo ~ ʔoʔo* {*o ~ oo*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 175. Translated as 'storm' in [Arikapú et al. 2010: 49].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 98.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **ʔu(č,š,y)l(č,š,y)iʔo*, **ʔo* are likely candidates.

109. WORM

Arikapu *krahi* {*krahü*} (1), Djeoromitxi *teʔöri-rε* {*teürire*} (2).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 96; Arikapú et al. 2010: 18 (*krahi* {*karahü*}). Distinct from **duruču* {*durutxu*} 'worm (generic) / rainbow' [Ribeiro 2008: 53, Arikapú et al. 2010: 13 ('snake, worm')], *čon* : {*txunō*} 'a reddish earthworm, approximately 15 to 20 cm in length, usually found on river banks' [Ribeiro 2008: 167].

Djeoromitxi: Ribeiro 2008b: 114. Apparently distinct from *töʔirire* {*tüirire*} 'worm (generic term)' [Ribeiro 2008b: 118].

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. **krahi*, **{t,kr}{ə,ε}ʔöri-* are likely candidates. The Arikapú word is hardly related to Rikbaktsá *ikiri*.

110. YEAR

Arikapu *taha* {*täha*} (1).

References and notes:

Arikapu: Ribeiro 2008: 150. Polysemy: 'sun / year / month'.

Djeoromitxi: Not attested.

Proto-Jabuti: Not reconstructible. A separate word for this notion does not exist in most languages of South America.