Order Number 8818507

The morphosyntax of discourse in De'kwana Carib. (Volumes I and II)

Hall, Katherine Lee, Ph.D.

Washington University, 1988

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

VOLUME I

Washington University

Department of Anthropology

Dissertation Committee:

Co-Chairpersons: Wallace L. Chafe
Charles A. Hofling
Patty Jo Watson

John R. Bowen
David L. Browman
Robert L. Canfield

THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF DISCOURSE IN DE'KWANA CARIB

by

Katherine Lee Hall

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

May 1988

Saint Louis, Missouri

Gen

ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of grammatical structures in De'kwana Carib and correlations of certain of these structures with high levels of Transitivity in foreground materials of texts.

Grammatical systems of De'kwana phonology, morphology, and syntax are discussed. Word order rules and morphosyntactic marking of nouns and verbs are found to conform to rankings according to animacy statuses and to person categories (i.e., first person is higher than second, etc.). Grammatical patterns for verb morphology are created by thematic affixes marking various levels of transitivity in verb stems. These affixes morphologically mark constructions considered syntactic constructions (e.g., passive) in analytic languages such as English. The De'kwana verb forms pattern into a scale of Transitivity, levels one to six.

Transitivity analysis of De'kwana texts are presented using the six transitivity levels as well as ten parameters of transitivity identified by Paul Hopper and Sandra Thompson. It is shown that the prediction that constructions with high levels of transitivity occur in foreground material in discourse holds for De'kwana Carib. Background material, having lower transitivity ratings, is analyzed into three subtypes of clauses. Within this general association of high vs. low transitivity with foreground vs. background material, respectively, in De'kwana discourse, specific configurations of clause types are shown to reflect speakers' strategies in organizing texts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have carried this project forward to its completion. I am grateful for the academic and non-academic support from those here and in Venezuela.

Fourteen months of fieldwork were supported by a National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant and by Wenner-Gren Foundation. Washington University assisted with two years of dissertation writing support.

I am grateful to Dr. Nelly Arvelo-Jimenez for her encouragement, her assistance, and her friendship. Her husband, Simeon Jimenez arranged for continuing logistical support and ready access to De'kwana consultants. My major consultant was Florinda Jimenez-Gonzales. Florinda endured the most tedious hours spent in linguistic analysis as well as those in conversation and informal storytelling. This dissertation represents her steadfast desire to understand the intricacies of the De'kwana language as much as mine. Others who directly assisted me in my work for anywhere from several days to several months were Florinda's husband, Curumi Gonzales, her brothers: Samuel, Marco and Joel Jimenez, Antonio and Pedro Morillo, Roberto Gomez, Vicente Camico, Juan and Santiago Morillo, Pablo Camico Gonzales and their immediate families. My support system actually included all of the people from the Cunucunuma River area who were in the house at various times.

I would like to thank Dr. Haydee Seijas whose encouragement sustained me during my first challenging year in the field; Maria

Eugenia Villalon, Dr. Roberto Lizerralde, Dr. Leslie Sponsel, Rebecca Holmes and Dr. Marie Claude Mueller; also my thanks to Sr. Rengifo, Dr. Maria Eugenia Gonzales, and other staff members of the Direccion de Asuntos Indigenas (Bureau of Indigenous Affairs) in Caracas and Puerto Ayacucho as well as numerous people in the Ministry of Education offices in both cities.

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Wallace Chafe, Dr. Charles A. Hofling, Dr. Patty Jo Watson, Dr. David Browman, Dr. Robert Canfield, and Dr. John Bowen. I would like to express my gratitude to the late Dr. Marshall Durbin, my advisor and former dissertation director, for the encouragement and incentive he gave me throughout the early part of this project. To his former student, Dr. Charles A. Hofling, who spurred and coaxed me onward to completion after Marshall Durbin's death, I owe a great deal. My deepest thanks go to Dr. Wallace Chafe who accepted the role of senior advisor, ably and patiently guiding the final part of the project. To Dr. Patty Jo Watson who piloted this project locally, I am very grateful. I thank Dr. Carter Revard for his linguistic counsel on campus through successive drafts. I am also grateful to Dr. Jill Brody for reading and making helpful comments on parts of this work. For their generous and talented assistance with the figures drawn for this dissertation, I would like to thank Mary Kennedy and Frances Hall.

The central support has come, of course, from my family. I am extremely grateful to my daughter, Virginia Duerksen, for sharing what she experienced with our De'kwana friends, and for providing ballast and

encouragement while this work emerged. We deeply appreciate the intellectual and practical sustenance provided by my parents, Charles and Frances Hall, and by my brother, Charlie, and sister, Barbara, and their respective families.

The perimeter of thanks must extend to include all the others who have cheerfully urged and assisted the project to completion, particularly those in the Department of Anthropology who facilitated long-distance interactions between myself and my linguistic advisors.

PREFACE: DE'KWANA CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

In this study I provide a linguistic analysis of De'kwana language structure as it functions in discourse. The cultural and sociolinguistic contexts are outlined in the preface. Following the introductory chapter on theoretical and methodological parameters for the study, I examine word order, nominal specificity, and transitivity. In each case, De'kwana language features are identified and discussed as they function in the overall De'kwana discourse structure. De'kwana phonology, morphology, and syntax are outlined in the Appendices, where there are also sample texts and a general vocabulary list. As this study provides the first major linguistic description of the De'kwana language, it offers a basis for further linguistic studies to develop particular aspects in greater detail as well as for applications of the linguistic findings in decisions about orthographies or teaching materials. Because of the central role of language in defining and maintaining De'kwana ethnic identity (see P.1.2.), this study can be a source of sociolinguistic tools for the De'kwana to apply in their continued development.

P.1. Cultural and Sociolinguistic Context

Anthropologists, linguists, chroniclers, and explorers have used over 50 different names to refer to the De'kwana (see Durbin 1977). Likewise there has been great variation in the interpretations of the De'kwana subgroups (subtribes, dialect groups, etc.), and sociocultural

patterns. As can be seen in the discussions of these variations below, language is central to De'kwana as a definitive feature in group identification.

The different names recorded for the group do not consistently represent any political division (Arvelo-Jimenez 1974:16-17) or cultural variation (Wilbert 1966:160), but generally reflect linguistic factors. It has also been suggested that this variation may be a product of earlier absorption of other ethnic groups (Arvelo-Jimenez, personal communication, 1986; Koch-Grünberg 1981-1917). Some of the variation among names for the group occurring in the literature is based on differences apparent today within the language itself (dialects); other recorded variation is due to differing choices of orthographies used by anthropologists or linguists without adequate linguistic analysis (see Appendix A). Early explorers, including those with anthropological and linguistic interests, used orthographies reflecting the conventions existing for written European languages. This trend has continued to the present, now influenced by the national desire to formulate indigenous orthographies in conformity with the Spanish alphabet. Language, rather than geographic location or biological heritage, is a functionally definitive feature for De'kwana ethnic identity. (see Layrisse and Wilbert 1966: 108-120, for blood group characteristics common to speakers of diverse Carib languages). Further, language is becoming more important as a marker of De'kwana ethnic identity with the increasing patterns of articulation with regional and national institutions.

P.1.1. Anthropological and Linguistic Studies

De'kwana is a Carib language of the Southern Guiana Carib group (Durbin 1977), spoken by about 3000 persons in the Amazonas Territory and State of Bolivar in Venezuela (Arvelo-Jimenez, personal communication, 1981). The De'kwana have been described ethnographically (e.g., Arvelo-Jimenez 1971, 1973, 1977; Barandiaran 1962; Frechione 1981; Hames 1980), but little systematic work on language materials has been accomplished. Ethnographic studies have described both traditional De'kwana culture and various aspects of acculturation. Classifications of South American and, more specifically, Carib languages have included De'kwana, but published linguistic materials on De'kwana have been lacking. In the following sections, I review cultural aspects of De'kwana life and the role of language in group identity.

P.1.1.1. Geography and Demography

A series of geographic and demographic factors have affected the De'kwana population. Four different socioeconomic environments make up the demographic profile of De'kwana culture (see P.1.1.1.2.). and these, in turn, offer a means to describe current degrees of acculturation throughout the De'kwana area of occupation. Most of these environments have been represented at various times during the past two hundred years.

P.1.1.1.1. Geographic Location

The De'kwana live primarily on several tributaries of the upper

Orinoco River in Venezuela and in adjacent parts of Brazil. (See Figure 1). De'kwana villages are in the Amazonas Territory and State of Bolivar on the Ventuari, Caura, Erebato, Paragua, Cunucunuma, Padamo and Cuntinamo Rivers. This area of traditional occupation is largely tropical forest broken by occasional savannahs and tabular mountains (up to 2800 m.) of metamorphic rock within the geological formation known as the Guiana Shield (Arvelo-Jimenez 1974:10). Villages and adjacent gardens are located in the forest areas at elevations of 1000-2000 meters with adjacent mountainous areas used for hunting and gathering activities (Arvelo-Jimenez 1974:10).

Traditional (since 1758) occupation has been on tributaries of the upper Orinoco River in areas where available riverine species differ from those in the Orinoco. For example, De'kwana consultants described large species such as the raya, tonina, and caiman that occupy the Orinoco but do not penetrate the upper tributaries, while smaller edible species of fish such as the kushami are not found in the Orinoco. Also, the temperatures are lower along the tributaries where there is an

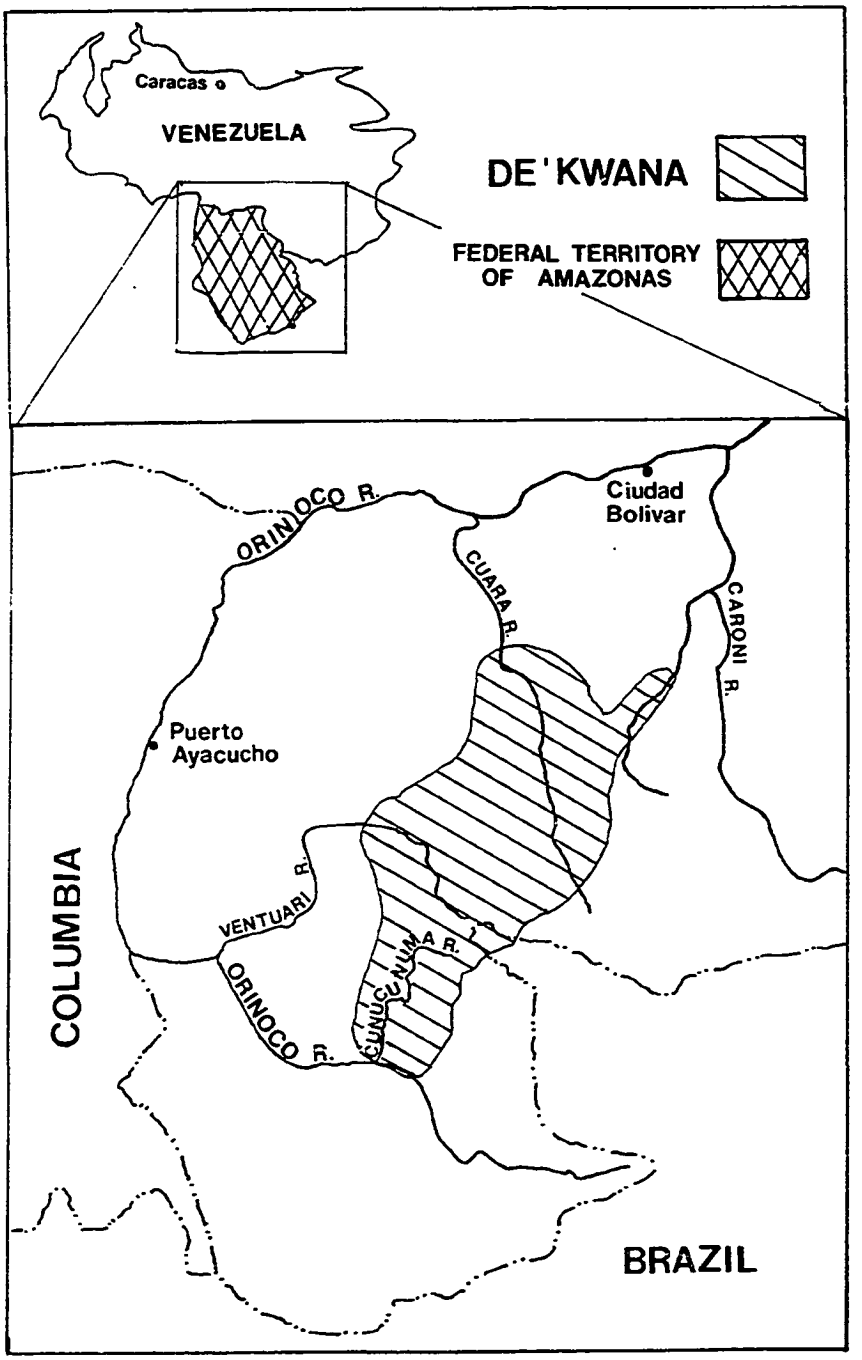

FIGURE 1. (adapted from Frechione 1981:28-29)

absence of a number of the insect species found along the Orinoco proper (Grelier 1957). The presence of these insect species on the Orinoco has encouraged the use of clothing as protection in Orinoco River communities. The traditional De'kwana adapted to the natural environment on the upper tributaries, with subsequent population shifts downriver requiring new adjustments to variations in the natural environment as well as adaptations to the downriver sociopolitical environments. The current situation has emerged during a two hundred year process of intermittent shifts and increasing articulations with criollo society (Arvelo-Jimenez 1974; Frechione 1981; Morales and Arvelo-Jinenez 1981).

P.1.1.1.2. Demography

Modern population estimates for De'kwana in Venezuela have ranged from 1500 to 4970 (Arvelo-Jimenez 1974:9; Armellada 1980:25; Boletín Indigenista Venezolano 1978:21). A 1982 census provides a more accurate figure of 3038 (Seijas et al 1985). This figure does not include those De'kwana residing in Brazil, however; De'kwana population distribution has been altered by an increase in village size, and has extended outside the traditional upriver area of occupation.

Traditional villages seldom grew beyond 50 to 70 people (Arvelo-Jiménez 1973:4), and villages in headwater areas remain this size or smaller currently. At present, village sizes may exceed 250 and are increasingly larger nearer the confluence of each river with the Orinoco River. On the Orinoco itself, a number of towns include up to

several hundred De'kwana as well as populations of other indigenous groups (e.g., Esmeralda).

Currently, De'kwana occupy four distinct socioeconomic environments:

1. Traditional area on upper tributaries
2. Down-river and Orinoco River communities
3. Provincial towns and cities
4. Caracas and other major cities

Downriver migrations of indigenous populations have been charted (Seijas et al 1985:7-9) showing increases of population in socioeconomic environments 2 and 3.[1] Each one of these environments shares some features with the other three, but each shares the greatest number of features with the environment(s) adjacent to it in the list above. For example, traditional De'kwana communities have more characteristics in common with communities near or on the Orinoco River than with De'kwana barrios in Caracas. Environments 2, 3 and 4 show an increasing degree of acculturation to the national, Westernized culture. Additionally, the existence of socioeconomic environments 3 and 4 reflects increasing regional and national influence. An extension of traditional patterns of residential mobility and trade facilitates the maintenance of the four environments. Further, the influence of policies from the national government (especially in education) and from missionaries has helped to differentiate these enviroments.

While it is not relevant to develop this model fully here, the followng list sketches features characteristics of each environment.

1. Traditional headwater area
   a. traditional culture practiced including circular communal houses
   b. only land or river contact to the outside

2. Down-river communities
   a. traditional subsistence practiced together with some salaried positions and assistance from outside
   b. mixture of house types
   c. radio and airplane contact to outside
   d. machines and electricity available on a limited basis
   e. schools through lower primary grades

3. Provincial towns and cities
   a. barrios grouped by family and river of origin
   b. linked to environments 1 and 2 by river
   c. cinder-block houses
   d. wage earning and cash economy, no gardens
   e. food supplies traded from upriver
   f. schools through at least high school

4. Caracas and other major cities
   a. barrios by area of origin
   b. access only by air or bus from other De'kwana areas
   c. total reliance on cash economy; food brought from upriver infrequently

Further discussion of factors pertinent to these socioeconomic environments appears below. (See sections P.1.1.2.2. and P.2.)

P.1.1.2. Ethnographic Studies

A number of early explorers of the upper Orinoco drainage described contact with the De'kwana. In his travels during 1911-1913, Koch-Grünberg entered De'kwana territory from the east. He traveled from Guyana through Brazil into Venezuela along the Uraricoera and Merevari Rivers and crossed over to the upper Orinoco drainages (Koch-Grünberg 1981). While European contact has been reported from

the mid-1700's on (Arvelo-Jimenez 1974:13), the De'kwana remained minimally influenced by outside groups until about 30 years ago. To date there has been no detailed ethnohistory of the De'kwana. but several ethnographic works review their early struggles against outside incursions (e.g., Arvelo-Jimenez 1973, 1974).

The most complete ethnographic work on the De'kwana is by Arvelo-Jimenez (1971, 1974) whose research includes an illuminating analysis of the political interactions within this group with matrilocal, bilateral descent patterns. The De'kwana have a mixed horticultural, hunting and fishing economy (Arvelo-Jimenez 1974:21; Frechione 1981; Wilbert 1966:164) now supplemented through contact with national culture via missionaries and down-river trading of cassava or manioc bread and manioc flour (mañoco).

Wilbert (1966:13) describes the De'kwana as atypical for indigenous groups in the area because of their heavy use of the river as a primary food resource as well as for travel. The De'kwana make and utilize dugout canoes extensively in contrast to a number of other Carib groups (Layrisse and Wilbert 1966:107). De'kwana, meaning the boat people (de means "log", ku/kw means "water/river" and ana means "people"), is descriptive of this adaptation (Barandiaran 1961:23). Flexibility in subsistence economy and in residential patterns have been important in De'kwana survival.

P.1.1.2.1. Traditional Culture

Arvelo-Jiménez (1977) gives an excellent discussion of the social

and political structure of De'kwana society. Village membership, while fully achieved by birth, can also be gradually achieved through marriage, adoption, invitation, and extended paternity rights (Arvelo-Jimenez 1977:109). Preferred cross-cousin marriage, matrilocal postmarital residence, and bilateral descent patterns result in leadership by both sexes in the extended family units (Arvelo-Jimenez 1977:108). (Age also plays a part; e.g., an older sister has power over her siblings of either sex.) Within the village, political decisions as to communal labor are handled by the headman and senior men's circle. Social frictions are ameliorated through a stylized series of indirect discussions and temporary withdrawals from participation in daily village life (Arvelo-Jimenez 1977:110).

Villages are autonomous units whose members are suspicious of all outsiders, yet they interact with members of other villages via migrations, marriages, adoptions, etc., to strengthen both their own village and the larger De'kwana society (Arvelo-Jimenez 1977:112). Arvelo-Jimenez (1977) emphasizes three particularly important processes in De'kwana society:

1. The very gradual independence of any married couple through interactions within the kindred group.
2. The effects of internal migrations upon the three levels of the extended family, the village kindred group(s), and the intervillage networks.
3. The continual cycling through three stages (incipience, growth, maturity with subsequent fission) for any village and the associated scattered settlement pattern resulting from this process.

These three processes were operative in the past within socioeconomic environment 1, but they also play a part in the sociocultural dynamics of the other three socioeconomic environments as they emerged up to the present time. The degree to which the third of these processes has been affected by outside influences which have worked to stabilize the settlement patterns and the resultant effects deserve examination.

P.1.1.2.2. Acculturation

De'kwana legend preserves two images of the early Spanish. Iaranavi, who was good, rich and wise, and, Fañuru who was an evil cannibal (de Civrieux 1980:5-6). This duality mirrors the historic patterns of interactions with Europeans in the area (Arvelo-Jimenez 1973, 1974; de Civrieux 1980). The traditional patterns of residential mobility (see P.1.1.2.1. and P.2.3.) and intertribal contacts (see P.2.1.) have been altered by specific efforts of missionaries and government agencies during the past several decades.

Since the mid 1950's the New Tribes Mission, a protestant missionary group, has played a part in changes in both residential mobility and intertribal contacts by encouraging groups of smaller communities to unite; e.g., Acanaña, Culebras, Toqui Shanamaña (Bermudez-Solett 1982:73). Establishment of schools, health clinics, sanitation facilities, supply dispensaries, and contact with the regional authorities are cited as the benefits resulting from these changes (Bermudez-Solett 1982:74). De'kwana villages within the area of traditional occupation have undergone changes in size and location.

Traditional customs have been discouraged by the missionaries. For example, they have forbidden the preparation of yadaki (a fermented manioc beverage) used for major ceremonies as well as songs and ceremonies connected with inaugurating a new communal house or a new garden (Jimenez 1981:39-41).

Ethnographies have surveyed the degrees of acculturation in De'kwana territory from a variety of perspectives. Coppens (1981) examines several De'kwana communities in various stages of acculturation in the Caura River area (Sta. Maria de Erebato), north of the area of the present study. Recent work by Frechione (1981) at Asenöña in the Alto Ventuari River drainage indicates that economic self-development is influenced more by existing sociocultural customs, of both the indigenous and outside developers, than by the limitations of the tropical environment (contrary to general expectations; see Moran 1984 for discussion of tropical soils agriculture), suggesting that development planning should be coordinated with traditional patterns of cooperation and labor. However, development programs have tended to be insensitive to indigenous sociocultural systems, assuming traditions of collective or communal land holding also meant communal units of production and distribution (Morales and Arvelo Jiménez 1981:621) in contrast to the actual practices of production and distribution via the extended family unit, not the community as a whole. Recognizing such sociopolitical dynamics, Coppens (1981:205-6) advocates informed[3] acculturation:

1. for the indigenous population to understand the impact of assimilation and to learn to choose whether or what to change;
2. for education of the national culture about indigenous culture;
3. to establish communication between the indigenous and national cultures;
4. to avoid ethnological conservationism that strives to preserve the original indigenous cultures in isolation.

In the early 1970's, the national government of Venezuela began concerted efforts to develop the land in the southern part of the country by placing it under the National Agrarian Institute (Coppens 1972:19). This area had been classified as tierra baldía, "uncultivated wasteland" under the 1885 Law of Resguardos, colonial Indian land tenure (Arvelo-Jimenez, personal communication, 1986). This attitude toward land use ignored the slash and burn subsistence practiced by the De'kwana and other indigenous groups in the area (Coppens 1972:20). Numerous government efforts at land development under this program along encouragement of downriver consolidation (see P.1.1.1.2.) triggered an accelerated pattern of village fission among the De'kwana (Arvelo-Jimenez 1973:18-19).

Earlier periods of accelerated village fission into smaller, more mobile groups to avoid pressure from the Sanema (subgroup of Yanomamö) in the late 1800's, and from aggressive rubber merchants during the early 1900's did not coincide with such massive external efforts at land use control as occurred in the 1970's (Arvelo-Jimenez 1973). Thus, due to accelerated fission and altered patterns of fusion (wherein various smaller portions of extended families recombine), in the late 1970's and

early 1980's De'kwana villages grew in size and heterogeneity (Arvelo-Jiménez 1973:12, 17), maintaining more downriver locations with increasing linkages to the regional and national culture (see P.2.). Current villages reflect the results of this newer version of the fission-fusion process. The officially recognized village of Mawashiña (population of 69) is considered to contain about five smaller village units; Culebras (or Belen) with a population of 160 is described as having three subunits, with a fourth smaller family group living somewhat downriver between Culebras and Akenañnö. The opportunity for these village units to become fully autonomous political units in the traditional sense has been removed. Now via social and economic dependencies (see P.2.2. and P.2.3.), some articulation with regional and/or national levels has become necessary.

Along with the process of village fission-fusion, De'kwana occupation has spread out of the traditional area into the four socioeconomic environments described above (see P.1.1.1.2.). The first two environments are in areas traditionally occupied by the De'kwana, although some villages in the second one have been founded and/or augmented through outside influences. The third and fourth environments in barrios of provincial towns and major cities, respectively, are primarily products of the development of regional and national articulations discussed below (see P.2.). Within this climate of acculturation, the issue of De'kwana ethnic identity becomes important to the De'kwana themselves, as well as to others involved directly or indirectly in ongoing socioeconomic change in the Amazonas area.

Traditional patterns of interaction with other indigenous groups existed (see P.2.1.) and continue with modifications due to regional and national interaction. The residential mobility created by traditional patterns of trade and of village fission (Arvelo-Jimenez 1973) has been extended within the current seasonal round of occupation of upriver and downriver socioeconomic environments (see P.2.3.).

P.1.1.3. Linguistic Studies

As indicated earlier (see P.1.), the De'kwana have been identified by a wide variety of names. This proliferation of terms is demonstrated in Salazar-Quijada's (1970:24) listing of five subgroups for the De'kwana (Maquiritare) with 44 versions (Salazar-Quijada 1970:29-30) of the names used to identify the group. Some of the terms came from surrounding tribes. Fr. Armellada (Salazar-Quijada 1970:12) explains the term mañongön as a transformation of the name used by the Pemon, another Carib Indian group, for the De'kwana. Likewise, the term Makiritare or Maquiritare was used for the De'kwana by Arawak tribes and is still used today at the national level to identify the De'kwana.

Most of the variations (Salazar-Quijada 1970:29-30) in the names for the De'kwana are due to phonological or dialect patterns that are not apparent to non-speakers of the language or derive from different orthographic decisions by various authors. For example, the pair of terms, ihuduana vs. ihuruana, reflects r/d allophonic variation (see Appendix A); Decuana vs. Yecuana (the terms used by the group to identify themselves) mirrors a d vs. y dialect variant (see Appendix A);

and de'ucwana reflects a phonological rule of regressive reduplication or metathesis (see Appendix A). Marshall Durbin and Haydëe Seijas (Durbin and Seijas, personal communication, 1981) found it necessary first to sort out all the terms previously used for this group, as well as other Carib groups, before classifying the De'kwana language within the Carib language family.

P.1.1.3.1. Language Classification

Work of Durbin and Seijas (1972a, 1972b, 1973) on historical relationships among Carib languages resulted in a classificatory framework for the Carib language family (Durbin 1977). Northern Carib languages have been found in the Guianas, Brazil, and northwestern Venezuela, while Southern Carib languages were placed in central Venezuela, Brazil, and southeastern Colombia (Durbin 1977:35).

Two other linguists have recently published on South American language classification. Migliazza's (1982) charts of derivations of the Carib language family are similar to the classification suggested by Durbin (1977:36)[4]. Rodrigues (1974:56) having worked mainly in Brazil, posits a relationship between the Carib and Tupi language families that supports the earlier classifications by Greenberg (1960) and Swadesh (1959).

De'kwana is classified under the Southern Carib languages within the subdivision of Southern Guiana Carib along with Hixkaryana, Wayumara-Azumara, Parukoto and Warikyana (Durbin 1977:35). Migliazza (1980:122-123) adopts Durbin's classification with a few adjustments in

internal groupings of languages. He adds Waiwai to the Southern Guiana Carib group along with De'kwana, Hixkaryana, and Warikyana. Of these closely related languages, only Hixkaryana has been previously analyzed (see Derbyshire 1965, 1977, 1979, 1981). Durbin's (1977) article on Carib language classification also reviews the relevant Carib language materials focused on single languages to that time. Since then additional materials have appeared on Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1977, 1979, 1981), and Makushi (East-West Guiana Carib within Northern Carib) (Carson 1981), and survey work has been conducted including these and other Carib languages (Derbyshire and Pullum 1979, 1981).

P.1.1.3.2. Language Specific Studies

The De'kwana language has previously received some attention, although not for the purpose of linguistic analysis per se. Materials prepared for religions and/or educational reasons have been published in De'kwana.[5] De Civrieux collected De'kwana legends that were published in Spanish (de Civrieux 1970) and English (de Civrieux/Guss 1980). Brief articles by de Escoriaza (1959, 1960) and Migliazza (1967) present limited linguistic materials on De'kwana grammar. Unfortunately, most of the direct linguistic work on De'kwana initiated so far remains unfinished or in unpublished manuscripts.[6]

In April 1977, Dr. Nelly Arvelo-Jimenez and a De'kwana speaker, Florinda Jimenez-Gonzales, working with Marshall Durbin, undertook limited text analysis of De'kwana materials. Several short unpublished papers were assembled as a result of related research with the same

De'kwana speaker (Martin 1977; Hofling n.d.; Rochberg 1977). However, these efforts were not followed up until the present project was carried out during 1981-83. While current work presents phonological and morphological outlines (see Appendices A and B), the major focus is on a functional discourse analysis (see 1.4.) of the De'kwana Carib language as spoken by residents of the Cunucunuma river region.

P.1.2. De'kwana Ethnic Identity

Language assumes a major role in delimiting De'kwana ethnic identity in two general ways. First, language use together with residence is the criterion for group membership among the De'kwana. Group identity, as well as group cohesion, rests on language use. Secondly, De'kwana dialect variation has traditionally distinguished various localities and mirrored village membership within the traditionally politically autonomous village units. This dialect variation, while reflected in the literature on the De'kwana, has not been systematically studied and will undoubtedly undergo alteration as the result of present and future socioeconomic change.

P.1.2.1. Ethnic Boundaries and Group Cohesion

Language is central to the ethnic identity of the De'kwana. Tribal membership is recognized for those who speak the De'kwana language more than by physical form or any other cultural trait (de Civrieux 1980:2). Traditionally, language defined true humans (De'kwana), while speakers of unintelligible languages were considered dangerous (de Civrieux

1980:3). General cultural traits (subsistence, house types, clothing, etc.) are shared with other Carib-speaking groups (Basso 1977) increasing the importance of language for identifying the De'kwana.

As is common among people in small societies, one aspect of the importance of language to group cohesion is kinship terminology identifying the social structure, which also serves as the political structure for the group and governs residence and rules of behavior. Furthermore, language interaction (in the form of general discussions in which any adult male who wishes must be allowed to speak on an issue before the group reaches consensus) are the chief means for handling decisions no matter how serious (Arvelo-Jimenez 1977:109).

P.1.2.2. Internal Ethnic Variation

Among the De'kwana, variation in language is easily recognizable in pronunciation[7] (see Appendix A), vocabulary[8] and morphology.[7] The De'kwana are aware that those from the Alto Ventuari, Erebato, and Brazil, and the cabecereños diverge in pronunciation and vocabulary usage from those of the Cunucunuma River region. They can reproduce some of the differences in both pronunciation and vocabulary.[9] However, it is not clear exactly where dialect lines should be drawn, or whether they would have any reality from a geographic perspective considering the amount of residential mobility among the various areas. (See P.2.3. for discussion of residential mobility and related factors.)

The practice of matrilocality establishes overlapping kinship

networks among the various dialect areas. Resettlement due to village fission occurs with relocation in villages where male relatives have married into a local family. This procedure produces significant intravillage dialect variation. For example, in one village on the Cunucunuma River, De'kwana from Brazil, and from the Cuntinamo and Ventuari Rivers have either married into the group or resettled to be with close kindred within the last thirty years. Because of the traditionally prevalent practice of matrilocality, it has generally been assumed that a child would learn the mother's dialect, thus preserving the identity of origin associated with the region of birth. However, I observed that some children were learning their father's dialect, often to the dismay of the mother, indicating a greater degree of mixture than has been recognized previously.

Because identity of language is largely isomorphic with sociopolitical identity, there is a need for formal dialect study to determine the extent of dialect variation and how it interacts with other social factors. In my study, dialect variations are noted as they pertain to phonology and morphology (see Appendices A and B). Consultants for this project represented the Cunucunuma, Ventuari, Cuntinamo Rivers, first generation descendants of De'kwana from Brazil, as well as those living on the edge of the Cabecereño area. However, because the major consultants for the work were from the Cunucunuma River dialect, citations are given in a form consistent with speech of that region.

Thus, De'kwana ethnic identity is closely tied to language. The

De'kwana language boundary has been coterminous with the cultural boundary. When De'kwana territory was comparatively isolated, village residence served as an equally strong feature of De'kwana identity. However, now that De'kwana are beginning to occupy portions of ethnically mixed downriver communities,[10] De'kwana language boundaries remain as the single clearcut identifying feature for group boundaries.

In the following section I outline De'kwana patterns of contact with outside groups ranging from trade patterns within the traditional socioeconomic environment, now present only in headwater communities, to the recent patterns of increasing interaction with regional and national institutions.

P.2. Relations with Outside Groups

The De'kwana have traditionally seen themselves as traders and travelers, although persistent distrust of outsiders is also present. Until fairly recently, the vast majority of De'kwana territory was free of any consistent presence of outsiders. During the last 50 years, this situation has gradually changed until a description of De'kwana contemporary culture must include government and missionary influences. Increasing outside influence is reflected in the four socioeconomic environments outlined above (see P.1.1.1.2.). De'kwana are faced with repeated decisions about what kinds of and how much interaction with outside groups is desirable or necessary.

P.2.1. Other Indigenous Groups

At the turn of the century, De'kwana were traveling from the Guianas to Colombia for trade and work. Koch-Grünberg (1981:50-51) in the description of his travels 1911-1913 noted that De'kwana (Majonggong) traveled to British Guiana (Guyana) to trade manioc-graters, blowguns, and poison for arrows in exchange for shotguns and hunting dogs. For example, he encountered a De'kwana man in the Guianas who was married to a Makushi (Carib) woman (Koch-Grünberg 1981:48, 61). The De'kwana man had traveled downriver with his father to work for a European on the Cunucunuma River and later worked for another European in northern Brazil before reaching Guyana. This mobility to the east was matched by other De'kwana (Koch-Grünberg 1981:224) who had traveled west from the Merevari River region to San Carlos de Rio Negro on the Venezuelan-Colombian border. De'kwana were the main producers of manioc-graters in the region, trading them to surrounding Carib and non-Carib groups (Koch-Grünberg 1981:226, 247).

Also reported by Koch-Grünberg was widespread trade with the Yanomamö or Schirischana (Koch-Grünberg 1981:62) of axes, machetes, cloth, etc. However, in northern Brazil, Koch-Grünberg observed a careful avoidance of the Yanomamö (there called Waika). There the De'kwana traveled on the river at night through Yanomamö territory (Koch-Grünberg 1981:182) due to a previous period of conflict. Some Ginau (Arawak) were living with the De'kwana on the Uraricoera River in Brazil (Koch-Grünberg 1981:167) but the children reportedly learned

their mother's language (De'kwana).

During the 1950's a chain of bartering was observed through which goods were transmitted from criollo peddlers through De'kwana groups on the Cunucunuma River to the Yanomamö groups in that area (see Table drawn up by Cruxent in Grelier 1957:90). The Yanomamö traded bows and arrows for metal goods (hatchets, machetes, knives, fish hooks) and such exchanges still occur to some extent. However, as a high percentage of De'kwana now have shotguns (Hames 1979:223), the need for acquisition of bows by the De'kwana has been reduced.

Trade interactions still occur, but as each indigenous group is drawn more and more into regional and national networks, the traditional trade patterns among indigenous groups are greatly reduced. The heterogeneity of downriver villages both sociopolitically (Arvelo-Jiménez 1973:10-11) and ethnically (e.g., Hames 1979:222) has altered the traditional patterns of interaction. Intermarriage is present to a slightly increased degree (see Vickers 1984:367). I observed that daily interactions among diverse indigenous groups in socioeconomic environment 3 were limited to educational, health care, and market activities with consistently separate living arrangements.

P.2.2. Formal Education

Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries established schools in the De'kwana area. Since local village schools (socioeconomic environment 2) usually include only a few elementary grades, De'kwana students are encouraged to continue their education in larger towns or

cities (socioeconomic environments 3 and 4). Exercising this option involves either boarding away from home by the student, living with relatives who have already migrated downriver, or movement of the entire family unit downriver for the period of school attendance. There are instances of all of these arrangements with, perhaps, a larger number exercising the second option (which is also economically the easiest).

Catholic schools are run as private schools with informal influence from the government administration. However, the De'kwana schools in the Cunucunuma River area, originally controlled by the Protestant New Tribes Mission, were subsumed under the Venezuelan Ministry of Education in recent years. Government policy for supporting bilingual, bicultural education was established by law (Decreto Presidencial No. 283) on September 20, 1979. Programs to write bilingual readers and other teaching materials also include training for indigenous teachers emphasizing language materials (e.g., an Institute was held at Carizal near Caracas, September-October 1981 involving educators, linguists, and anthropologists).

A standardized alphabet was proposed by the government[11] and projects to publish indigenous materials continue to the present. The De'kwana have been actively involved in these issues. Following some resistance in favor of the alphabet used by the missionaries, a series of efforts was initiated to allow the De'kwana to debate the issue in a semi-traditional fashion. For example, in April 1983, a three-day conference was held at Culebras (or Belen) on the Cunucunuma River to which all De'kwana were invited. The traditional procedure of allowing

all men (and a few women) who wished to do so to speak on the issue resulted in non-stop debate for the three days. De'kwana from all Venezuelan tributaries and from Brazil attended the conference as well as local government dignitaries.

Prior to the bilingual-bicultural education decree, classroom instruction was presumed to be dominated by Spanish usage. In reality, usage of the indigenous language was more common. Upon enactment of Decreto 283, the directions were to begin instruction in the indigenous language, change to Spanish gradually and to maintain usage of the indigenous language especially to transmit cultural traditions in history, legends, myths, etc. This created some confusion as to the application of these "new" instructions. The overall goals and plans for implementation were constructed with expertise by educators at the national level. Their actual implementation encounters obstacles generated by other acculturation influences and by the growing diversities among the four De'kwana socioeconomic environments.

Evidence for the varying degrees of acculturation can be observed among the De'kwana consultants for the current study. The major consultants have had anywhere from several months to several years of schooling, either as children or as adults with a variety of levels of literacy represented. All consultants have their primary residences on the upper drainages of the Orinoco in traditional or semi-traditional communities mostly on the Cunucunuma River. One consultant is a grade school teacher in a remote, upriver community, actually on a tributary of the Ventuari River although the community maintains its major kinship

ties to the Cunucunuma drainage. Another consultant has finished elementary school since working on this project. The range of educational levels is interconnected with the diversity of residential mobility due to the increased regional articulation for De'kwana culture.

P.2.3. Residential Mobility and Regional Articulation

Arvelo-Jimenez (1973) has called attention to the ways in which De'kwana patterns of residential mobility were utilized in an extreme fashion to avoid unwanted influences by Europeans or other indigenous groups in the past. De'kwana villages broke into smaller groups and moved into less accessible locations (Arvelo-Jimenez 1973:16). Currently, residential mobility provides a means for linkages among the four socioeconomic environments outlined above (see P.1.1.1.2.). At the same time, the differentiation of these environments shows an adaptation to increased interaction at the regional and national levels.

Besides the pressures to pursue an education outside the village discussed above (see P.2.2.), there are three aspects of increasing articulation that heighten residential mobility for the De'kwana. Access to the national health care delivery system (SAS), the growing dependence on the cash economy through salaries and trade, and the influx of modern technology (e.g., appliances and designer jeans) all are possible through residential mobility and tend to heighten it as well. The national health care delivery system is present in three of the four De'kwana socioeconomic environments. Male nurses staff village

"clinics" in environment 2. Critically ill persons are taken by boat or plane to downriver facilities in socioeconomic environment 3 where hospitals and pharmacies provide direct access to treatment and supplies. Health care equivalent to that in the U.S. is available in socioeconomic environment 4, although De'kwana normally have access to only the most general facilities. Often, particularly when children are sick, family members are flown down to Puerto Ayacucho (enviornment 3), and live there for the duration of the treatment period.

While disease and accident contribute to the health care case lists, so also do factors generated by adaptations to socioeconomic environments 2, 3, and 4. Attention has been called (Seijas and Arvelo-Jimenez 1978) to the fact that there is commonly a deterioration in the quality of diet as indigenous groups come increasingly under the influence of regional and national programs. Additionally, problems such as hypertension and diabetes become more pronounced with increased dependence on diets high in salt and refined sugar in conjunction with lowered physical activity in downriver communities.

The modern health care delivery systems are utilized by De'kwana but the traditional healing systems function as well. De'kwana shamans along with well-reputed shamans from other indigenous groups are paid in cash for home visits in socioeconomic environment 3, for example, while national medical expertise is consulted simultaneously.

The growing dependence on the cash economy through salaries and trade affects all four De'kwana socioeconomic environments. Villages in headwater areas are included in national educational (and health care)

systems as much as possible and this means at least one salaried position for a school teacher (or nurse) who may cover more than one headwater village. In socioeconomic environment 2, salaried positions include the school teacher(s), the supply commissioner (in charge of transporting and distributing supplies such as salt, soap, kerosene, matches, etc., in the village), the person who operates the village electrical generator, or who is in charge of machines (outboard motor, manioc-grating machine, etc.) assigned to the village, radio operator, and/or others on the payroll of the government agency for indigenous affairs. Others in this socioeconomic environment establish cash flow via downriver trade of cassava bread, mañoco, bananas, and De'kwana artifacts, traveling downriver up to four times a year or more. Local airstrips (socioeconomic environment 2) allow Venezuelan tourists to spend vacations camping out near De'kwana villages and to trade for De'kwana bead and basket-work.

De'kwana barrios in socioeconomic environments 3 and 4 are basically a transplantation of socioeconomic environment 2 to the outskirts of a city without the upriver space for gardens or rural sanitation methods (see McGinn and Davies 1969 for discussion of such barrios around Ciudad Guyana in Venezuela). In the newer socioeconomic environments 3 and 4, language still defines the boundaries of De'kwana culture. The De'kwana language is used at home in the barrios except by a few younger gangs of teenage boys of mixed indigenous composition, or when other outsiders are present. Internal sociopolitical tensions among group members are resolved by up/downriver mobility augmenting the

traditional temporary absences for hunting or fishing trips as a resolution for social frictions. Barrio existence does increase the dependence on the cash economy, reduce the variety in diet and increase access to products of modern technology.

In 1980 satellite television transmission became available to Puerto Ayacucho (socioeconomic environment 3), accessible only by river or air from Caracas at that time. By the end of 1981, virtually every house in most barrios had a television set, a VC recorder (as well as a tape deck, electric fans, and, for the more affluent, refrigerators and stoves). Television sets and FM-AM radio-tape sets were transported from socioeconomic environment 2 to number 3 and back again to take advantage of weeks or months spent downriver each year where media transmission is regularly available.

Salaried individuals in socioeconomic environments 1 and 2 on the Cunucunuma River must come to Puerto Ayacucho to collect their salaries, and teachers are required to attend seminars twice a year at salary-collection time. De'kwana who come for these reasons as well as those who come to trade food supplies and artifacts bring portions of their families for the two weeks to two months of downriver residence. Access to shopping, movies, etc., is considered desirable even for the generally monolingual female family members.

Thus, through linkages in the health care systems, the government-salaried positions and the products of modern technology, a growing articulation with regional and national levels has been established. At present, maintenance of socioeconomic environments 1

and 2 with their traditional or semi-traditional customs is possible through an extension of De'kwana residential mobility patterns originated earlier for other purposes.

The maintenance of a semi-traditional lifestyle concurrently with the growing articulations at regional and national levels has emerged from a cultural and sociolinguistic context in which language plays a major role. A cultural adaptation that included a wide range of flexibility as to residential mobility is continuing to allow survival of more traditional cultural patterns along with regional and national level interactions.

In this climate of acculturation, language continues to provide a means of ethnic identity. Within the past few years language has also played a major role due to the government program for bilingual education (see P.2.2.). This program has demonstrated the need for rigorous linguistic studies of De'kwana in order to generate educational materials in the indigenous language that reflect linguistic structures and dialect variations accurately.

The current study provides an initial effort to meet the need for linguistic analysis with phonological and morphological summaries (Appendices A and B) as well as an analysis of grammatical aspects of word order patterns, NP specificity, and transitivity (Chapters 2-4, respectively). The results of this analysis form a basis for further linguistic investigations in each category and provide a greater potential for the generation of language materials by the De'kwana.

NOTES

[1]Excellent additional demographic data were collected during the 1982 census (see Censo Indigena 1982: Resultados de Avance; Seijas et al 1985; El Nomenclador del Censo Indigena, in press).

[2]Work from another perspective by Dieter Heinen in the De'kwana territory in the state of Bolivar is currently unavailable but may be helpful as it reportedly focuses on infrastructures and the associated functioning of traditional structures such as the kinship system.

[3]This point raises the question as to who will do the informing and from what perspective. Some degree of protection for the traditionally autonomous indigenous cultural units is perhaps advisable for a substantial period of time.

[4]Migliazza and Durbin differ on their ideas about degrees of language change as indicators of location for the homeland of a language family. The respective authors state differing positions as follows:

> The geographical area in which languages of the same family show the greatest degree of differentiation is probably the homeland of the family (Migliazza 1982:499).
>
> Throughout our work we have used the hypothesis that the more changed a language is from the protoform, the farther it is likely to have traveled from its original homeland (Durbin 1977:35).

However, their results are similar as to the major sequence of splitting within the Carib family.

[5]The New Testament (1966), a History of Venezuela (1971), and two beginning readers (1971, 1976) were assembled by the New Tribes Mission. The Venezuelan Ministry of Education has published a reader (1982) and a Manual on De'kwana Culture (1985).

[6]For example, a respectable grammatical outline of De'kwana assembled from the Sta. Maria de Erebato region by René Bros is awaiting publication by the Instituto Caribe de Antropología y Sociología of the Fundación La Salle in Caracas. Maria Eugenía Villalon has compiled data from field work with the De'kwana in several areas that is yet unpublished. In 1978 Leslie Sponsel, a cultural anthropologist, worked with Marcus Colchester on a De'kwana reading chart.

[7]Final nasals have been dropped almost completely in the Cunucunuma River dialect but are still audible in the Sta. Maria de Erebato area. Tapes from the latter area give evidence that the particle marking identity, dea, that sometimes occurs in the Cunucunuma dialect with a final glottal stop as dea' retains a word-final nasal in the Sta. Maria de Erebato dialect (Maria Eugenia Villalon, personal communication 1983). This word-final nasal sometimes surfaces in the Cunucunuma dialect as a product of morphological derivation (see Appendices A and B).

[8]De'kwana consultants gave examples of vocabulary items differing from area to area. Many of these differences reflected ecological differences in flora or fauna, or kinship terms retained in more conservative headwater regions.

[9]De'kwana language consultants from the Cunucunuma River region provided triplets such as: [daŋwa], [yaŋwa], [ðaŋwa]; [më'dë], [mëñë], [mëðë]; or, [damǫ:dï], [yamǫ:dï], [ðamǫdï]. The first variant is characteristic of the Cunucunuma region. The second variant is described as being used in the Sta. Maria de Erebato area, or by those De'kwana from Brazil. The [ð] version is ascribed to the cabecereños (headwater people). However, additional phonological and morphological factors are involved in these variations (see Appendices A and B), in addition to dialect variation (see P.1.1.3.1. and P.1.1.3.2.).

[10]For example, the population of Esmeralda on the Orinoco River includes over a hundred De'kwana as well as groups of Yanomamö, Piaroa, and representations of Arawak groups. De'kwana barrios in Puerto Ayacucho, capital of the Amazonas Territory (see Figure 1), represent the Cunucunuma River, Cacuri, Orinoco River communities, and De'kwana groups from the Casiquiare region.

[11]Caracterización del Sistema Sonoro de las Lenguas Indígenas Venezolanas, Informe de la Comisión Lingüística en la Primera Etapa de implementación del Decreto Presidencial 283 referente al Régimen de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en las Comunidades Indígenas de Venezuela, Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, Ministerio de Educación, Caracas, Venezuela, 1982.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME II
APPENDICES

TABLES

FIGURES

1. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

1.1. Introduction

Language as communication may be described from at least two general perspectives: 1) the use or exchange of information through discourse, and 2) internal language structure as traditionally represented by phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. A major but largely unachieved goal in the history of linguistics is the integration of research from both these general perspectives. A related goal of western linguistics from Humboldt onwards has been to discover and utilize units of analysis that enable not only the description and explanation of language function in discourse but also the description of language structure.

During the first decade after the turn of this century three traditions of linguistic work (structuralism, functionalism, and descriptive or field linguistics) were initiated that have continued in largely separate paths until very recently. In 1911 Mathesius (see translation in Vachek 1964) published a treatise upon which rests subsequent work in the functionalist tradition. The same year, Boas produced his Handbook of American Indian Languages, which provided impetus for descriptive studies of Amerind languages. At that same time, Saussure's (Bally and Sechehary 1966) lectures were establishing the bases for emergent structuralists such as Bloomfield and Harris and, later, the offshoots of Chomskian transformational grammar and associated derivative Generative Grammars.

The present work builds upon aspects of each of these three traditions from the perspective of more recent work in linguistics integrating structural and functional concerns with a cross-cutting approach to language data situated in its cultural context. Use of this approach necessitates concern with speakers' choices of discourse structures that transmit specific information, including cultural information shared by the speaker and listener.

Analysis of the ways in which morphosyntactic markers (e.g., nominal or verb inflections) reflect speakers' choices in discourse strategies provides a link between internal language structures and the exchange of information. The present work provides an analysis of morphosyntactic markers reflecting the discourse strategies of speakers of the De'kwana (Makiritare) language in the Orinoco River Basin of South America. Focus on the discourse functions of linguistic structures requires attention to factors also studied by other social scientists, by philosophers, and by literary critics.

1.2. Theoretical Background

The internal structures of languages and information exchange through discourse have been investigated by linguists operating under the distinctive perspectives of structuralism, functionalism and descriptive linguistics. As just noted, however, these varied approaches have not been integrated until recently. Edward Sapir's work is representative of this lack of integration. He collected a large amount of field data (see Golla 1984) dealing with both internal

language structure and recorded texts; pursued phonological analysis from a structural perspective to establish family relationships among languages (e.g., Golla 1984:135, 206); and, wrote broadly about aspects of language from a more functionalist perspective regarding grammatical concepts and psychological functions (e.g., Sapir 1921:88-112).

The separateness of form (structure) and function was overtly stated by Sapir: "we cannot but conclude that linguistic form may and should be studied as types of patterning, apart from the associated functions" (Sapir 1921:60). However, Sapir's work certainly opened the way for subsequent efforts to integrate form and function (see 1.2.3. for discussion of such work). An obvious example is the issue of a psychological function for language developed by Sapir's students in the well-known Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Students of both discourse analysis and theories about internal language structures concentrated almost exclusively on structural concerns until the 1960's. In a similar fashion, field linguists collected information on internal language structures and they also collected texts, but systematic text analysis was rarely undertaken.

1.2.1. Discourse Analysis

Early attempts at discourse analysis usually involved examination of isolated stories, myths, or legends providing cultural information (see Levi-Strauss 1963, 1966), or formalistic morphosyntactic analysis excluding semantic aspects (see Harris 1963; Prince 1978). Since the mid 1960's, proponents of Textlinguistics (van Dijk 1972, 1976, 1981;

Petofi 1975; van Dijk and Petofi 1977; Petofi and Riesen 1973) have attempted to analyze discourse in larger structural units, and discourse analysts in conjunction with students of tagmemics (Longacre 1968, 1976b, 1977) have emphasized the structural analysis of surface discourse structures (clause, sentence, paragraph, and entire discourse levels).

However, the textlinguistic approach failed to produce a useful common methodology (see Dressler 1978), and leaves a gap between the discourse level and the majority of the language structures commonly called grammatical, syntactic, or morphosyntactic structures. Newer work under this approach continues to handle macrostructure at the expense of microstructure (van Dijk 1981), or limits the linguistic content examined to semantic information neglecting morphosyntax (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983). Analysts using the tagmemic approach examine morphosyntax, but they isolate morphosyntactic items from their sentential contexts to analyze macro-discourse structure, and thus fail to integrate all the internal morphosyntactic structures of the sentence with the discourse framework as a whole.

1.2.2. Internal Language Structures

While anthropologists have incorporated language and meaning in studying culture (e.g., Firth 1973; Malinowski 1935, 1948), only after the 1960's has the question of "meaning" in relation to language structure been formally addressed by mainstream American linguists.

During the 1960's, syntactic autonomy as defended by the

Transformationalists (e.g., Chomsky 1965) provided a structural model of transformations operating between and among underlying, intermediate, and surface structures of sentences (Transformational Grammar) that set the stage for later work. Case Grammar (Fillmore 1968) and Generative Semantics (McCawley 1971; Lakoff 1971) address underlying semantic structures of different types; Typology studies (Greenberg 1966; Lehmann 1978; Martin 1978) describe language structure according to basic word order patterns; and, Relational Grammar (Perlmutter 1983) explores propositional semantics and syntactic roles of sentence constituents.

These efforts remain nearly exclusively directed at the sentence unit isolated from its discourse context. More recent work has attempted to reach across the gap between sentential and discourse analyses in various ways.

As noted above, structuralism and functionalism were distinct approaches during the first two thirds of this century. Beginning in the 1960's, structuralist principles were elaborated in the formalisms of Generative Theories for syntax and semantics from Chomsky onward. More recently (Dik 1980; Bolkestein et al 1981), functionalism has also become more formalistic mirroring the generative approach. Neither approach addresses the relation of language internal structures to discourse function(s).

1.2.3. Current Relevant Perspectives

Recent research in at least three general areas provides a basis from which to establish the theoretical perspective for the current

study. First would be work done by those linguists who have attempted to connect discourse motivations with morphosyntactic structures and their functions while continuing to use the sentence as the major unit of analysis:

Both syntactic and cognitive considerations contribute to nominal statuses, with associated roles in packaging phenomena such as given or new information, definite or indefinite properties, and subject or topic of a sentence (Chafe 1976b). But the relationships between syntactic and cognitive considerations are not always clear.

The speaker's empathy may be expressed in choice of subject and theme in sentences (Kuno 1976). This method is promising in two ways: 1) concern for the speaker's intentions expressed in empathy focused on one discourse participant per sentence, and 2) the discussion of sentential syntactic structures as restricted by the speaker's empathy.

The formal properties of the syntactic mode are seen to coalesce out of the less formal organizations of the pragmatic mode that directly reflect communicative needs of basic discourse (Givon 1979a, 1979b). Here, discourse is taken as the context but with the focus still on syntax as a sententially based entity.

A second group of linguists have identified discourse roles for morphosyntactic phenomena largely using narrative discourse as the structural unit of analysis. Various morphosysntactic phenomena (e.g., verb tense/aspect, or participant reference particles) may outline the discourse structure, i.e., background, event line or peak (Jones and Longacre 1979:viii, 3); highlight mainline or eventline material (see

Hopper 1979 for Hebrew; Larson 1978 for Aguaruna); or may distinguish among the various types of discourse (as identified by Longacre 1976a; Longacre and Levinsohn 1978) such as narrative, procedural, hortatory and expository (McArthur 1979; Larson 1978). These steps are extremely helpful because they treat morphosyntactic phenomena in the context of discourse, but the focus is still primarily on the total discourse unit in relationship to a single morphosyntactic phenomenon.

Pertinent research in a third area has been done by those linguists who are concerned with the functional roles of the speaker and hearer in discourse either at the sentential or discourse level.

The speaker-hearer interaction is explicitly formulated as a part of Halliday's (1970) model of language, and is identified by Halliday and Hasan (1976:26-29) under the interpersonal component of the semantic system as reflected in mood or modality at the clause level, in person marking, in speaker-hearer attitudes in nominals, and in comment (adverbial group). The role of the speaker is also considered in the ideational component, which includes cultural content and logical relations, and in the textual component under the clausal theme (the speaker's organization of the message).

Under a second approach to the speaker-hearer interaction, linguists examine relationships underlying discourse occurring as 1) content organization (old vs. new information introduced at a rate the speaker thinks the hearer can process); and, 2) the performative implicit behind commands, demonstrative elements, person categories, and time references (Grimes 1975:72, 112-113). Underlying performatives are

tied (Longacre 1976a: 249-259) to discourse types (e.g., narrative has the underlying abstract performative verb "recount"). Further, the composer of a discourse is characterized as framing the discourse at the clause, sentence, paragraph, or discourse levels (Longacre 1976a, Revised Chapter 5:21-23).

Shared knowledge of needs, abilities, rights and obligations of the speaker and hearer are discussed (Labov and Fanshel 1977) as underlying the application of basic rules of discourse in speech actions such as requests and narratives. Rules of discourse (Rule of Requests, etc.) are said to be unconscious, invariant, and entail obligatory responses (as shared by all members of the speech community) on the part of the participants in the speech action (Labov and Fanshel 1977:75, 77-93). Speech actions that counter the expectations would be challenges, threats, etc., also expressed in rule form (Labov and Fanshel 1977:93-98).

Under such approaches to discourse, speaker control of the hearer's (or receiver's) attention and participation can be discussed. The underlying performative and expected responses from the receiver of the discourse are signaled by various language-specific morphosyntacitc devices. For example, morphosyntactic markers reflecting the speaker-hearer interaction have been identified for Kham in West Nepal languages (Watters 1978) and for Syuwa in East Nepal languages Höhlig 1978). In Syuwa, aspect markers and a particle indicate the directness of the speaker's source of information, while Kham clauses of identical meaning (information content) may be marked for either the orientation

or response elicitation mode. However, these are treated in isolation without overall consideration of the speaker-hearer roles in discourse. The markers are simply identified without relating them to the general discourse structure. Some of these phenomena are identifiable (although not necessarily explainable without considering discourse context) by examining the morphosyntactic structure directly, and others are perceived in total discourse settings without considering sentential relations.

These last approches have tremendous potential for use within discourse analysis. Unfortunately, they have not been applied on a wide-spread basis, often due to the problem of dealing with both semantic and syntactic factors in situations where syntax and semantics have traditionally been treated differently. Some outside technique is needed to approach the phenomena in question in order to observe the functional characteristics of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors.

A similar problem has arisen about the unit of analysis. In comparing the techniques of Text Grammar or Discourse Analysis to work under the Functional Sentence Perspective (e.g., Palkova and Palek 1978), it is noted that Textlinguistics aims to deal with all aspects of text structure while the Functional Sentence Perspective describes the sentence in its potential use in a discourse situation. Thus, the latter approach treats the sentence as the basic unit while the former holds a broader viewpoint. The failure to combine these two approaches to discourse sucessfully has intensified the need for a cross-cutting

technique of discourse analysis.

The following diagram shows these four separate categories of language phenomena (semantics, syntax, sentence level, and discourse level). There is an area that has been drawn with some overlap to demonstrate the need for a cross-cutting approach to examine the interaction among all four categories.

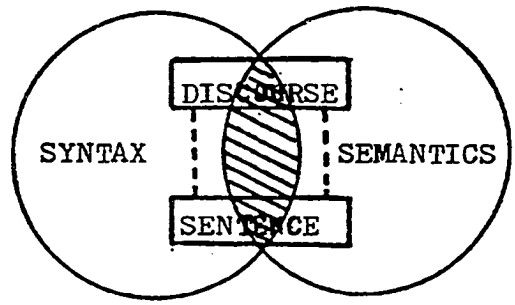

Figure 2

Language Categories

Each of the several approaches outlined so far has included a focus within one or two of the four categories in the diagram as the locus for the unit of analysis; likewise, the respective foci have largely determined the associated context, either implicit or explicit, considered to relate to the unit of analysis under each theoretical approach. For example, Generative models contained units of constituent structures within the sentence context. Tagmemics had multiple

hierarchies for a model of language with, thus, multiple units of analysis depending upon which hierarchy (phonological, grammatical, referential) is considered. However, under this approach there is no integration of the hierarchies nor is the question of the unit of analysis examined in relationship to the context into focus as it pertains to discourse function(s).[1]

The functionalist perspective gave a much broader base from which to consider the question of the unit of analysis, and, indeed, functionalists have chosen to deal with a wide variety of linguistic units in their studies (Trubetskoy 1969; Kuno 1976). The current perspectives discussed above also maintain a flexibility that is lost in some of the more rigorous formalisms. However, those formalisms provide a means for examining very specific units of analysis. At present the need is to be able to examine well-defined units of analysis within the context of discourse in terms of the pertinent discourse functions.

Another problem has been the adherence to sequentiality in linguistic models at the expense of features of simultaneity in language, or, conversely, to focus on simultaneity to the exclusion of sequentiality. Sequentiality has played a major role in the perpetuation of the linearity present in most linguistic models since the early 1900's. Even the taxonomies have been built upon the principle of contrastive analysis wherein two items have differing features; i.e., binary oppositions or sequences of oppositions assembled in bundles in linear relationships without an effort to describe or explain the simultaneous relationships emerging after the bundling takes

place.[2] In discussing the item and arrangement model of grammatical description, Hockett (1957:397) touched on the issue of simultaneity in a footnote, quoting Lounsbury as suggesting that simultaneity should be considered as one possible arrangement of items within a single dimension of grammatical description. Durbin (1975:121, 126-128, 132) called attention to the interchangeability of the paradigm, matrix/taxonomic and tree structures, and noted the emphasis upon sequentiality at the expense of simultaneity. The simultaneity from bundling of features has overt existence for phonological or semantic analyses in phonemes, syllables, words, etc. However, when considering discourse functions, the underlying assumptions and overt existences of simultaneously bundled features are not accesible in the same fashion. Examination of simultaneous functions would allow integration of traditionally separate analytic levels of sentence vs. discourse and of syntactic and semantic features as they simultaneously function within sentences and within discourse.

1.2.4. Simultaneity and the Unit of Analysis

Once the question of the unit of analysis in relationship to its context is under consideration, simultaneity comes into play. The question of the unit of analysis and its context involves at least one phase of simultaneity in that the unit of analysis will be in context and is projected to the listener simultaneously with its context. While the two, the unit of analysis and context, can be described separately, the sum total of the communicative event must be understood in terms of

their combination, the simultaneous convergence of the various properties of the unit of analysis in its context as transmitted by the speaker and as received by the listener.[3]

There is a broad analogy to this view of simultaneity in human language in a presentational format sometimes used in physiological textbooks. Illustrations of the human body employ a series of transparent overlays wherein one biological system is drawn on each successive page. These transparencies can be examined as separate systems or can be viewed in relation to other systems, the total combination of digestive-intestinal, circulatory, nervous, muscular, skeletal, etc., systems, producing a representation of all the systems as a part of the complete human organism.

Several observations can be made about the total entity:

1. The systems can be studied separately.
2. The systems function simultaneously.
3. The systems interact and influence each other in various ways.
4. All the systems are necessary for the organism as a whole to function properly (either artifically or naturally).

While I certainly would not like to see any restrictive application of this image to linguistics, it does serve to illuminate the type of simultaneity that is present in languages. The limitations of the application of either an organic or more broadly mechanistic model to language should be apparent upon only slight reflection.[4] However, the utility of considering just what takes place when the various

linguistic subsystems or levels are employed simultaneously to produce an utterance remains.

To establish a fully-developed model for language that successfully represents this important feature of simultaneity is beyond the scope of the present project. However, the analysis of particular morphosyntactic phenomena as to their discourse functions does allow one to address a selected slice of simultaneity in terms of the way(s) the morphosyntactic phenomenon under analysis interacts within any or all of the commonly identified subsystems of language from phonology to case relations, to word order, to participant referencing, to sentence, to discourse levels.

Under this approach, there is the freedom to focus the analytic consideration upon any defined subsystem(s) within the language under study and to look at possible ways these subsystems may interact. Flexibility in considering subsystems is maximized, while conflating any particular subsystems, or stretching previously developed terminologies beyond their traditionally defined analytic boundaries is avoided. It does allow one to grapple with the age-old problem of what viable primitives to use that are not restricted to only one subsystem nor to a single theoretical approach.

Salience is one way to evaluate the linguistic relationship between the unit of analysis (UA) and its context. That is, the UA (e.g., any particular UA representative in the form of morphosyntactic marking) is judged as to its salience in its context. This process involves the identification of the coding norm (grammatical conventions) present in

the linguistic context and the deviance by the UA from that norm in order to produce salience. The coding norm is a product of the grammatical or morphosyntactic conventions in the discourse as well as the shared cultural information among the participants in the discourse event.

Polanyi and Hopper (1981:4-5) discuss the ways information is presented in narrative discourse so as to indicate what material is evaluated as being important. They characterize this importance as being achieved through rhetorical marking or evaluative devices that point to salient elements in the information flow. The salience "is marked by deviance from the coding norms" (Polanyi and Hopper 1981:5). The coding norm is established within any text in terms of the grammatical conventions expected to occur in such a text; i.e., dialogue would be salient in descriptive prose but not in a text reporting a conversation. Thus, salience must be discussed first in terms of establishing the coding norms of a discourse situation and then in terms of the deviance from those norms that result in appropriate marking for salient features.

Polanyi and Hopper's (1981) taxonomy of events and states in narrative discourse addresses semantic features that are listed as parameters for transitivity levels (Hopper and Thompson 1980). While Polanyi and Hopper (1981) only discuss narrative discourse, the assumptions about marking and saliency do extend to the morphosyntactic or grammatical conventions that are used to signal the various types of events or states in any particular language for any and all discourse

contexts.

The question of salience has been applied in a more general way to semantic features of language. For example, Comrie (1981:88, 181, 192) notes a correlation of salience with agents, and degree of salience with degree of animacy, but in general characterizing linguistic salience as resulting from interacting factors such as animacy, definiteness, singularity, concreteness, etc. These factors will be coded in the morphosyntax of a language. The assumptions about the "coding norm" and the deviance from it in order to signal salient items are congruent whether applied to specific morphosyntactic areas such as word order patterns or to specific discourse units such as the phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, etc., or to linguistic levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics).

Further, the congruency is realized in terms of a coding norm that can be discerned in any one of these arenas as mentioned above, or with two or more of the arenas taken together. That is, coding norms have been established within separate studies of phonology, morphology, syntax, for various languages and have been discussed also under the diadic concerns labeled morphophonemics and morphosyntax. Coding norms have been investigated for phrases, for clauses, for sentences, and for all three of these taken together (note the proliferation of "grammars" since Chomsky's ascendency).

Often the variables considered responsible for producing the coding norms were restricted under particular approaches (e.g., efforts to restrict Transformational Grammar to non-semantic factors or treating

them as ancillary). But once the question of marked units and their saliency in discourse is set forth, whether for purposes of analyzing syntactic structures or for explicating the thematic fabric or assemblage of a text, the entire range of possible linguistic elements that might result in the evaluative devices used to chart saliency must be taken into account in some fashion.

This is not to say that one should abandon the consideration of syntactic structure nor stray entirely from semantically grounded discourse or text analysis. But it is to suggest that discourse analysis must be charted so as to include the concerns from each analytic perspective that are relevant to the ways in which the text producer guides the receiver to process important information by highlighting salient features (whether morphosyntactic or semantic, whether by phonological or grammatical devices, whether at the word or paragraph level, etc.). This perspective requires careful consideration and handling of the potential linkages among the various linguistic arenas and an awareness of the limitations of the focus of any one study in relationship to the total picture of language analysis.

The current study emphasizes the morphosyntactic marking that a speaker may choose to use to highlight, or mark as salient, particular aspects of discourse. This approach is based on the assumption, developed by van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) in their cognitive model of discourse comprehension, that speakers will use specific strategies in constructing a discourse. We are examining a slightly different range of linguistic phenomena to discuss the morphosyntactic structures used

in De'kwana to project the salience of particular participants, events, or modifying information. No attempt is made to predict which strategies will be chosen by a speaker, but merely to identify specific morphosyntactic structures associated with specific strategies for achieving marking of salience in particular discourse contexts. These choices by speakers to highlight certain aspects of the semantic content through morphosyntactic marking of salience serve to guide the listener's attention to particular persons, actions, or themes in the discourse, thus marking them as more salient items. The speakers' choices to highlight person, actions, or themes result in morphosyntactic marking peculiar to the structure of any particular language.

These morphosyntactic signaling devices indicate to the listener (or receiver) which discourse constituents are important or salient at each point in the discourse. The morphosyntactic marking may take the form of variations in word order, morphological marking by inflections, affixes, particles, enclitics, etc., or any combination of the above.

The discourse universe includes the speaker, the hearer, third person(s), the linguistic context, the cultural context, and the physical environment. One or more of these factors may be salient simultaneously. There are obvious limitations to the cognitive abilities to pay attention to an excessive number of salient entities (see Chafe 1980 for focus of attention in discourse). However, the morphosyntactic marking of salient items in discourse functions to establish categories of salient, or in-focus items, and systems of

cross-referencing to keep information accessible and/or recallable to the attention of the listener/receiver of the discourse. Such aids or guideposts for accessing and retrieval of information would include lexical semantic connections such as networks of class membership and attributive relationships, morphosyntactic marking systems, thematic organization of discourse, shared cultural information, and the context of delivery. The overlap and interaction of these linguistic categories appear in language output. In the present work we are focusing on morphosyntactic marking, but also addresses the other categories in order to discuss discourse functions of morphosyntactic markers. To achieve these goals a cross-cutting approach is appropriate.

1.2.5. Cross-cutting Techniques

During the late 1970's a number of cross-cutting approaches emerged that combined semantic and syntactic data and associated discourse functions (Hopper and Thompson 1980), cognitive and semantic/syntactic data (Chafe 1980), and morphosyntactic data and the speaker-hearer interaction (Durbin and Ojeda 1979).

Hopper and Thompson (1980) have developed a technique for observing morphosyntactic and semantic behavior within discourse through transitivity. Intra-sentential constituents correlate with each other to create a highly transitive sentence (e.g., agent or actor, a verb, and a patient or receiver of the action) as opposed to a sentence low in transitivity (e.g., an intransitive verb and related nominal). Intra-sentential structures are analyzed using ten parameters

(Participants, Kinesis, Aspect, Punctuality, Volitionality, Affirmation, Mode, Agency, Individuation of O, and Affectedness of O) reflected in morphosyntactic markings that commonly correlate with one another in high vs. low scaling to produce overall high or low Transitivity for any clause or sentence (the Transitivity Hypothesis in Hopper and Thompson 1980:255). High Transitivity is used to foreground or emphasize material in discourse (Hopper and Thompson 1980:280-281). Transitivity analysis has been applied in a general fashion (Hopper and Thompson 1982), and in a more codified manner (Hopper 1983; Thompson 1983) to particular languages. (See Chapter 4 for further discussion of both applications of this approach.) Thus, we have an approach for analyzing morphosyntactic phenomena and associated semantic information in relation to their function in discourse.

Chafe (1970, 1976b, 1980) has worked to link linguistic categories (e.g., new vs. old information) with cognitive units. He describes cognitive units of focuses of consciousness as expressing idea or information units in discourse (Chafe 1980:13-15). Focuses of consciousness are formulated in linguistic units of phrases, clauses, or sentences, and function to communicate comments about the speaker-hearer interaction, the process of recall (e.g., "Yes, I remember now"), characters, events, states of narrative discourse, and evaluative comments (Chafe 1980:17-19). Centers of interest including more than one focus of consciousness commonly emerge as linguistic sentences (Chafe 1980:26-29). The basic psychological necessity of orientation in spatial, temporal, and social context (people, events, etc.) is

expressed through their presentation linguistically in discourse with the discourse flow patterned by the ease vs. difficulty of reorientations to successive centers of interest (Chafe 1980::44-47). Such a perspective encourages the examination of varying linguistic units of analysis as to their functions in discourse settings cutting across traditional domains of sentence-grammar, syntax vs. semantics, and discourse analysis.

An application of the general perspective accounting for speaker-hearer roles appears in a paper by Durbin and Ojeda (1979). Cognitive proximity or, alternatively, distance from the speaker and addressee(s), is achieved by certain morphosyntactic processes in Yucatec Maya. The Transitivity level of a sentence correlates with the use of proximity marker conventions. The choice made by the speaker depends heavily upon the apparent amount of shared information between the speaker and addressee. This choice, then, serves to control the receiver's attention and participation in the discourse situation.

These morphosyntactic phenomena are discussed as within 'discourse situations' in general rather than in specific discourse contexts alone. This approach relies on access to a language consultant fluent in the language with some background in language analysis, who actively participates in the work, and has the advantage of providing a wide range of instances more quickly than is the case when one obtains the same number of examples from isolated occurrences in discourse texts.

This study, then, concerns the actual production of discourse (in natural text and as provided by the consultant) wherein salience is

established as deviance from the coding norms by changes in various subsystems to highlight particular aspects of the message; i.e., the changes could occur in any one or more of the subsystems that function simultaneously, such as highlighting through intonation, particles, word order variation, syntactic or morphological subordination as possible markings.

The term "topic" has been utilized by many scholars to refer to "what the discourse is about" in a general way.[5] Usually these "topics" are people (or participants) or central themes in a discourse emerging as NP's that then may be tagged by language-specific morphosyntactic marking. The topic (see Givon 1983) as part of the coding norm in a discourse may be a marked or an unmarked structure. However, if a discourse topic is highlighted (salient old information) syntactically, it is described as having undergone the process of topicalization. In a parallel fashion, highlighted new information is expressed via the syntactic process of contrastive focus. (See Brody 1982 and Hofling 1982 for descriptions of these processes in the Mayan languages of Tojolobal and Itza, respectively; also, Chapters 2, 3 and 5 below.)

Both shared and new information as signaled by morphosyntactic phenomena and associated functions in discourse strategies are central to this research. Discourse strategies projected through Transitivity levels reflect speakers' choices of highlighting or backgrounding information. By examining transitivity markers of morphosyntactic phenomena in discourse, the linguist adds a new dimension to the

analysis of language units. Further, this dimension facilitates the incorporation of concerns formerly relegated to separate fields of research: discourse analysis and internal language structures.

1.3. Hypothesis

Based on the theoretical perspective described above, Transitivity Analysis of discourse is tested in De'kwana. I advance the following hypothesis:

> Transitivity Analysis of De'kwana discourse will reveal certain aspects of speakers' choices of discourse strategies as manifested by specific morphosyntactic devices used to control the receiver(s)' attention and participation.

Specifically, the following aspects are examined: 1) the correlation of Transitivity features to produce high or low levels of transitivity in De'kwana sentences (Transitivity Hypothesis of Hopper and Thompson); 2) the discourse function of Transitivity levels as a part of speakers' strategies to foreground material (Hopper and Thompson 1980) or to control the rate of introduction of new material (Derbyshire 1977); 3) discourse strategies based on the speaker's choices of morphosyntactic structures as influenced by shared information within both discourse and cultural context (Durbin and Ojeda 1979); and, 4) the operation of these discourse strategies to control the receiver(s)' attention and participation.

1.4. Methodology and Research

The breadth of data necessitated by the theoretical perspective outlined above and the flexibility of the accompanying procedure to accommodate a shifting unit of analysis has lead to development of a cyclic (see 1.4.2.1.) methodological process based upon the tradition of contrastive analysis incorporating a functional perspective.

1.4.1. Native Consultants

The data were gathered through field work carried out during fifteen months in 1981-82 and the summer of 1983. De'kwana language consultants lived with me in an extended family household (ranging from four to 40+ people through the year) in Puerto Ayacucho.[6] De'kwana speakers were observed in conversation, and texts were recorded. Working formally with twelve native speakers ranging in age from fifteen to fifty-plus years, I obtained specific information on morphological and syntactic structures. Intensive consultation on phonological, morphological, and syntactic paradigms was provided by three De'kwana consultants. After discussion of the possible discourse contexts of specific morphosyntactic structures, I hypothesized rules from direct observations, and tested analyses of recorded texts. This method causes the native speaker to become aware of some of the more covert intentions that are taken for granted in normal discourse.

1.4.2. Types of Data

A traditional phonological, morphological, and syntactic sentence type analysis was carried out to supplement materials available from

preliminary work (see preface). The cyclicity (see 1.4.3.1.) of this method is reflected in choices of content for language materials gathered as well as the interactions among the categories of data. For example, the following procedures were used: verbs and sentence structures were taken from texts, and paradigms for them were elicited; mini-discourse units (two or more connected sentences) were elicited based on contrastive frames observed in recorded texts; texts were analyzed based on the results from both previous types of data; controlled elicitation of sentences to discover the grammatical boundaries of acceptability for word order patterns was done utilizing cards with De'kwana lexical items on them; and sentences were elicited using morphosyntactic structures observed in recorded texts. Thus, a cycle is established with analysis of paradigms illuminating what happens in texts and vice versa.

Natural texts in the forms of stories and legends were tape recorded and then transcribed with the assistance of De'kwana consultants. In some cases more than one version of the same story was recorded.[7] Several times a subject or topic for discourse was introduced, such as how to make cassave bread, and then discussed by one or two De'kwana informants. These, too, were recorded, and later transcribed.

Elicited material includes presentation of short Spanish texts or mini-discourses based on themes or morphosyntactic structures taken from natural texts, sentences presented in either Spanish or De'kwana to establish or confirm morphosyntactic patterns, and controlled

elicitation by presenting sentences composed with De'kwana words on cards to discuss word order patterns.

Discussion of the grammaticality of all material was divided into categories of correctness assessed in terms of those structures that are: 1) acceptable grammatically, 2) understandable, and 3) usable, either oral or written. The judgements of individual De'kwana consultants were checked with other De'kwana consultants and with both bilingual and monolingual De'kwana speakers. In a few cases it was possible to discuss the question of Basic Word Order with more than one De'kwana consultant together, building on linguistic learning conducted during the fieldwork period as well as outside training of the De'kwana involved.[8]

Some sentences judged grammatical by speakers may seldom occur in speech or in texts. For example, the English sentence: "The farmer killed the duckling," while grammatically acceptable, would seldom occur in current usage. However, knowledge about its status, grammaticality, and usage are important. The fact that this sentence might occur in certain traditional folktale styles but not in modern oral or (most) written contexts indicates its limits as well as general information on structural patterns in English. Under the cyclical approach used in this study, sentences were taken from De'kwana texts and their statuses were discussed, both grammatical and pragmatic, inside and outside of the text situations. Often, elicited mini-discourses were constructed from this material. Discussions of these with De'kwana consultants illuminated grammatical statuses (in the categories listed above) as

well as possible usage contexts. However, no patterns were considered characteristic (or diagnostic) unless verified by occurrences in natural language contexts such as stories or conversations.

1.4.3. Analysis

The method used in this study was developed by Marshall Durbin in conjunction with his students J. Brody and C. A. Hofling in work on Tojolobal (Brody 1982) and Itza Maya (Hofling 1982). The method utilizes contrastive analysis of sentences in discourse settings to determine the specific discourse functions for particular morphosyntactic structures. Because this method involves all three realms: morphosyntactic structures, sentences, and discourse settings, it relies upon a cyclicity of procedures.

1.4.3.1. Durbin-Brody-Hofling Technique

The method rests upon the principle of contrastive functions in linguistic processes. While the isolation of minimally contrastive units has been explicit in phonological studies for a long time (e.g., minimal pairs), the procedure has not been systematically applied to morphosyntactic processes. In addition, a concern for context is an explicit part of this method.

Four analytic steps to the procedure have been outlined (Durbin, Hofling and Ojeda 1983):

1. Isolation of minimally different morphosyntactic structures (often said to be synonymous by native speakers)

2. Identification of environments of contrastive discourse occurrence (i.e., where only one of the structures may occur)
3. Determination of the discourse pragmatics of each structure (its functional meaning and appropriate context)
4. Testing for syntactic constraints by charting any limitations on participation in syntactic processes operating for the morphosyntactic structures under analysis (e.g., what happens under Equi-NP deletion, specification, gapping, etc.)

These four steps are treated as a cyclical sequence with data from paradigms, sentences, and discourse repeatedly utilized.

1.4.3.2. Functional Discourse Analysis

The phrase Functional Discourse Analysis is used to describe my approach in the current study, and serves to identify two important features of the approach. There is a central focus on discourse both in texts and in shorter mini-discourse units of at least two sentences that provide a minimal context for contrastive analysis of discourse functions. The investigator examines particular units of analysis in these discourse contexts. In addition, the centrality of functional aspects is overtly labeled. The Functional Discourse analyst treats linguistic structures from a functional perspective in their discourse settings.

1.5. Summary and Overview

In this study, I examine functions of linguistic structures (as units of analysis) that produce salient items in discourse settings (see 1.2.3.). The notion of "salience" in discourse settings refers to a

perception on the part of the speaker and hearer(s) and is produced by manipulations of morphosyntactic structures to highlight selected discourse material (see 1.2.4.)[9] Under this usage, "highlighting" is a relative term. One item (morphosyntactic structure, type of information, affix, participant, etc.) is highlighted relative to some other item(s) (see discussions of this discourse function in Chapters 2, 3, and 4). Therefore, there is no single definition for "highlighting" in discourse in the same fashion that there is for foreground/background (structural categories), for example (see 4.3.). "Highlighting" is, then, a context-specific term.

In contrast, foreground/background categories are structural designations in discourse settings, and these terms may refer either to local or to global functions in texts. Local foregrounding (i.e., within the clause) often highlights certain parts of a sentence (e.g., contrastive focus, topicalization, etc.). However, the structural category of foreground in discourse refers to the global role of foregrounded clauses in the discourse such that material crucial to the main story line is more prominent than other background material. And, so that the foreground material is, in one sense, highlighted or that it stands out from the background material. Within either category, foreground or background material, specific information may be highlighted. Thus, while foreground material could be said to be highlighted as opposed to background material, also, some foreground material may be highlighted as opposed to other foreground material. In the first instance the context is the total discourse including

background material while in the second, the context is other foreground material alone.

Likewise, nominal specification (see 3.1.) may have either local or global functions (or both) in discourse. Specification of nominals (e.g., modification by deictics, adjectival structures, relative clauses, etc.) may function as clause-level highlighting (local function) or, at a discourse or global level, may serve to mark topic flow of the global foreground structure, for example.

Subsequent chapters are organized to discuss salient features of word order, NP specification, and transitivity in the De'kwana language. In each chapter the appropriate unit(s) of analysis and their accompanying context(s) are examined to describe the coding norms (e.g., Basic Word Order in Chapter 2), and then the salience of each unit of analysis (UA) category in its context is discussed.

NOTES

[1]This problem is discussed in a number of places (see Hopper 1983:67-68; Grimes and Glock 1970:415) in terms of the relationship of discourse grammar and sentence-level grammar. Structuralists (e.g., Grimes and Glock 1970) tend to view sentences as "building blocks" of discourse and handle the levels separately while functionalists (e.g., Hopper 1983) work across the boundaries of the two. Friedrich (1979:19) has called attention to the effect of an atomistic perspective upon linguistic endeavors lacking adequate formulation of linguistic systems as wholes and neglecting context(s) for the linguistic "atom, taken in abstraction from relevant systems of cultural semantics and social pragmatics." Friedrich (1979:451) advocates context-sensitivity for any linguistic unit of analysis, rather than comprehensive handling of all possible contexts.

[2]Friedrich (1985:186) calls attention to the need for multidimensional, multivariate models to accommodate linguistic subsystems such as verb aspect. Earlier efforts along these lines exist (see Friedrich 1974: S25).

[3]Chafe (1980) explores the cognitive units of discourse with focuses of consciousness expressed linguistically as phrases, clauses or sentences and centers of interest that include more than one focus of consciousness and usually correspond to a sentence. The focus of consciousness has a peripheral component serving as context for the focus and providing material for succeeding focuses of consciousness (Chafe 1980:40-41). That is, a person is peripherally aware of material that functions as context for a particular focus of consciousness and that, also, contains potential subsequent focuses of consciousness. This characterization may parallel a simultaneous awareness of the linguistic unit of analysis and its context with the unit of analysis taken as the focus and the context as peripheral material, also within awareness.

[4]The problems of limitations to such models were discussed earlier by cultural anthropologists as they criticized the organic models of culture expoused by those scholars building from Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinism (e.g., E. Leach 1961, 1966).

[5]Chafe (1976:50-51) has called attention to the fact that this label is not appropriate for what have been called topic-prominent languages such as Chinese, suggesting rather the description: "the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds." Discussion below (see 3.4.2.) of De'kwana conventions for marking topic reveal an overlap of these functions.

[6]The majority of the language consultants for the present study were from the Cunucunuma River from the villages of Culebras (Belen), Akanaña, Huachamacari, and Mawashiña. (See Figure 1).

[7]In one case the consultant preferred to write down the text first and then record the story; however, this was the exception to the usual way.

[8]The major consultants on the project were involved in outside linguistic training. For example, Florinda Jimenez-Gonzalez worked with Marshall Durbin during 1977 in St. Louis; Marco Jimenez, Samuel Jimenez, and Roberto Gomez attended a training seminar at Carizal outside Caracas during Fall 1981, which included lectures by several linguists.

[9]The status of "salience" as a perceptual notion may in some way(s) approximate the discourse function of the term "highlighting". However, these two terms are considered as only roughly parallel at this time. Their specific relationship would be interesting to pursue under other methodologies that are beyond the scope of the current project.

2. WORD ORDER

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. Medieval Grammatical Perspectives

The order or arrangement of lexical units in grammatical sentences was a focus of linguistic concern in the Middle Ages when the scholastic grammarians (or *modistae*) promulgated:

> the elaboration and exposition of a system of functional syntactic analysis not based on particular morphological classifications and covering in principle the syntax of all possible Latin sentences (Robins 1980:237).

In contrast to earlier Stoic grammars, the medieval speculative grammars were not based directly on propositional logic but instead rested on grammatical roles within natural language (Robins 1980:231-2). Although subsequent syntactic analyses did not maintain the same system, current linguistic terminology and conceptual explanations echo those of the scholastic grammarians (Robins 1980:239). There is an additional aspect of the *modistic* grammatical perspective relevant and applicable to the present study.

The identification by scholastic grammarians of *suppositum* (grammatical subject), *appositum* (grammatical predicate) and the relation between them called *compositio* operating to form *constructiones intransitivae* or *transitivae* with the internal, and potentially recursive, syntactic relationship of *dependentia* among the verb, noun(s), adjective, adverb, etc. In terms of word order there was the

ordo naturalis of subject-verb-object as opposed to subject-object-verb, which could occur as the ordo artificialis due to stylistic reasons such as emphasis (Robins 1980:236). These descriptions presage major aspects of recent twentieth-century linguistic pursuits as discussed below. (Also see Chapter I, pp. for general discussion of current, related approaches.)

One other central feature of the scholastic grammatical tradition was that the constructiones were all viewed as binary units within the dependentia relationships. Thus, the verbs were seen as depending on their associated NP(s), adjectives on nouns, adverbs on verbs, etc. (Robins 1980:236). These binary frames were described as nesting or combining in a series of recursive dependencies (Robins 1980:237) similar in principle to modern-day discussions of successively embedded structures in complex sentences. What was an accepted part of the modistic approach and what will be explored below (see 2.3.3. and 2.4.) is the presumed centrality of the binary syntactic frame. This perspective has not received prominence in more recent linguistic work on word order, except as it has emerged under approaches incorporating principles drawn from propositional logic with its basic, binary predicate-argument frame (e.g., Bartsch 1973; Lakoff 1976; Lakoff and Ross 1976; Steinberg and Jakobovits 1971). The focus of studies in syntactic typology has been upon three items, subject (S), verb (V), and object (O), as the Basic Word Order (BWO) syntactic frame for the sentence. In general, the binary modifier-modified frame is not viewed as the primary relationship.

As is made clear in the discussion below, BWO as three arguments, S, V, and O, has received a great deal of attention in typological studies. In contrast, word order principles in De'kwana support the greater constancy of the binary syntactic frame but include the interaction of the binary frame with the tertiary syntactic conventions described as BWO.

2.1.2. Basic Word Order

Beginning in the 1960's (Greenberg 1963), word order studies focused on typological concerns relating to the basic order of subject (S), verb (V), and object (O) in sentences along with corresponding word order patterns commonly found for other sentence constituents (cf. Lehmann 1973; Li 1976; Venneman 1975). More recently a growing number of investigations have explored the question of discourse functions for word order(s) (e.g., Li and Thompson 1975; Kuno 1978; Durbin and Ojeda 1978; Hofling 1982; Brody 1984). Both these foci are relevant to this study because De'kwana exhibits characteristics both of conformity and of disconformity to existing assumptions about word order typologies, and because only a limited amount of information about discourse functions for word orders (whether typologically regular or irregular) has been discussed in the literature.

As this work developed it brought to light the fact that at least one of the six possible word orders for S, O, and V can be seen to predominate in any particular language, and these distinctive patterns have come to be called the Basic Word Order (BWO) for each particular

language. Greenberg's (1966) universals for word order organization established the prevalence among world languages for BWO's of SOV, SVO and VSO, and posited a number of relevant correlations for these orders with other sentential constituents. Venneman (1976) and Lehmann (1973; 1977; 1978) extended this approach by describing each type as having an associated list of other typological features including the order for noun-adjective (NA), noun-genitive (NG), head noun-relative clause (N-rel), verb-auxiliary verb (V-aux), noun-quantifier (NQ), and the type of adposition (Po/Prep) evidencing generally predictable patterns in each language.

Steele's survey (1978) of 63 languages determined BWO to pattern as SOV, SVO, VSO, or VOS types in free, rigid, or mixed versions.[1] Steele's list of BWO's includes VOS, which was not among Greenberg's predominant types. A further finding from this study was that those languages that do not conform to expected word order patterns tend to have copy or semi-copy verb agreement (Steele 1978:614).

Somewhat later, Hawkins (1983) expanded Greenberg's data base to 350 languages with more detailed information for over 100 of these to examine questions of word order universals. Hawkins (1983:11-12) accepts the position that BWO can be identified cross-linguistically and that semantic criteria will serve to establish equivalences when languages fail to have identical syntactic classes; i.e., that underlying semantic categories will be comparable cross-linguistically even when syntactic marking differs.

The studies by Steele and Hawkins substantiated and extended

Greenberg's approach. They used a wider sampling of languages and some brief explanations for syntactic patterns associated with variations in BWO typology. Such studies have been useful for determining the range and scope of word order patterns cross-linguistically and in formulating syntactic typology and universals. Most of what has been done, however, has merely continued Greenberg's work with only slight acknowledgement of pragmatic concerns.

Additional work on the criteria for arriving at decisions about BWO, given the word order variations and the lack of typological consistencies observed in large-scale studies, has also been undertaken. The need to incorporate considerations of discourse functions led to work of a slightly different nature. To address these latter two issues, significant refinements of syntactic and pragmatic principles crucial to BWO as applied to particular languages have emerged from work by Brody (1984), Durbin and Ojeda (1978), Hofling (1984) and Thompson (1978). Durbin and Ojeda (1978) called attention to the need to consider only fully transitive, unmarked, discourse-neutral sentences in determining BWO.

This approach has been adopted and restated by Hofling (1984:5) who suggests the following criteria for BWO candidate sentences:

1. Sentences with full nominal subjects and objects of equivalent animacy and minimal specificity.
2. Sentences that are simple, active, and declarative.
3. Sentences pragmatically unmarked for highlighting processes such as contrastive focus.
4. Sentences with fully transitive verbs allowing

reciprocal relations between S and O referents, and minimally marked for modal and aspectual features.

In essence, these criteria essentially say that the basic word order structures are sentences that cannot be interpreted from semantic content, but must rely solely on syntactic arrangement to convey or signal the propositional semantic relations. This approach reduces the possibility of indiscriminately including potentially non-equivalent sentential units in the process of determining BWO for any language. But, as has been pointed out (Brody 1984; Hofling 1984; Thompson 1978), the role of BWO sentences in terms of actual occurrence frequencies and functional utility in discourse are not often included in the general typological approach.

Thompson (1978) advances a distinction between BWO resting on pragmatic function as opposed to grammatical considerations. Thus, languages like English use word order to signal primarily grammatical information while others (presumably with the grammatical functions handled in some other fashion) use word order to project pragmatic information such as the encoding of theme and rheme or old vs. new information. Brody (1984) has argued for the existence of both types of BWO, grammatical word order (GWO) and pragmatic word order (PWO), in Tojolobal Maya, pointing out (Brody 1984:712) that BWO sentences may not play the same role in every language.

There are at least two factors operative within the overall system of any language that will be important to keep in mind as we consider word order typology as applied to De'kwana data. First, the BWO

criteria listed above are applied from a perspective that includes both pragmatic and grammatical functions for word order. Because most studies have addressed word order in isolation from discourse settings, it is necessary to examine discourse functions for BWO and the discourse functions achieved through word order variations such as the highlighting of important or salient information (see 1.2.3., 1.2.4., and 1.5. for discussion of these terms). Investigating both pragmatic and grammatical functions of word order is one way to clarify discourse function(s) for word order.

Secondly, this application operates with the awareness that BWO variations may rest in part on factors of: a) semantic equivalences rather than identical syntactic classes (Hawkins 1983:11-12); and, b) that material handled via grammatical encoding in BWO for some languages will appear elsewhere in other languages, e.g., in grammatical person agreement systems (Steele 1978:614). These factors play a part in the overall grammatical system of De'kwana as discussed below.

2.1.3. Word Order in Carib Languages

BWO in Carib languages has been reviewed by Hoff (1978) and by Derbyshire and Pullum (Derbyshire 1981; Pullum 1981; Derbyshire and Pullum 1981). This work is important in that it adds object-initial word orders to typological inventories whereas formerly only subject-initial and verb-initial orders were included. Also, these applications of BWO analysis to Carib languages offer the extant background for the Carib family from which to approach the De'kwana

data. A variety of procedures for determining BWO was relied upon in these articles, including the criterion of frequency of occurrence.

Six Carib languages were included in Pullum's (1981) catalogue of languages that have object initial BWO. All six (Apalai, Bacairi, Hianacoto, Hixkaryana, Makushi, and Panare) are listed as OVS, although there is some question about this BWO in both Makushi and Bacairi (Pullum 1981:151-2).

A more extensive discussion of BWO for these same languages appeared in Derbyshire and Pullum's 1981 article on object-initial languages. The six Carib languages inventoried in Pullum's (1981) article mentioned above are included in this longer treatment along with another Carib language, Arekuna-Taulipang (Pemon) under the category of OVS languages. As the authors point out (Derbyshire and Pullum 1981:193), only Hixkaryana, of the Carib languages discussed, has adequate data available in print relevant to BWO. However, text frequencies in the limited samples for word orders in the other languages (or documented statements about BWO where available) provided the bases for their BWO determinations.

Hixkaryana, Panare, Hianacoto-Umaua and Apalai are considered to have OVS as BWO, while Makushi, Bacairi and Arekuna-Taulipang are described as "either an OVS language or a language vacillating between SOV and OVS" (Derbyshire and Pullum 1981:202). It should be noted that reliance upon the statistical aspect of BWO, the frequency of occurrences for each word order, is indeed to focus on the actual presence in a usage setting of the word order patterns but it fails to

explore the dynamics of the discourse roles of those same word orders as a possible avenue for revealing a fuller picture of BWO behavior.

Hoff's (1978) study of Carib also relied on statistical counts of text frequency for word order patterns. However, Hoff (1978:15) considered examples containing only one NP with a verb as well as those with two NPs. While Hoff reported 19 examples with two NPs (eleven SOV and eight OVS) the 240 sentences tabulated for discussion were either patient (P) plus verb (transitive verbs) or "agent" (A) and verb (both transitive and intransitive examples). In 178 cases the NP (either P or A) preceded the verb while 62 sentences had the NP (P or A) following the verb.

Hoff (1978:23) points out that because the order PV is more fixed grammatically, he believes that PVA (or OVS) would be a more likely solution than AVP for instances that are ambiguous due to the non-distinctive verb morphology for two third person participants as A and P. Hoff only hints at diacronic progression in his sketching of a "solution" but others have directly discussed the possibility of such syntactic change.

Derbyshire (1981:) projects this reasoning to the diachronic profile for Hixkaryana and Carib languages in general. As mentioned above the SOV/OVS vacillations noted for several Carib languages (Derbyshire and Pullum 1981:202) are characterized as most likely the result of a diachronic progression from SOV to OVS as the BWO (Derbyshire and Pullum 1981:204). Derbyshire (1981) explores this possibility for diachronic progression by comparing data from Hixkaryana

(OVS) and Makushi (?OVS) to Surinam-Carib. He finds that the grammaticalization of right dislocated, afterthought information, particularly subjects and specified subjects with modifying nominalized subordinate clauses, is characteristic of the change from SOV to OVS (Derbyshire 1981:217-18).

While it is entirely possible that such diachronic arguments will provide a valid and a useful explanation relevant to word order in Carib languages in general, such considerations are premature or at least must be considered tentative until further work has been done regarding the function(s) of BWO in discourse for Carib languages. Certainly the synchronic roles for variant word orders should be considered in future diachronic treatments of word order in Carib languages.

Somewhat earlier, Derbyshire (1977) discussed Hixkaryana word order as conditioned by discourse environment, such that variants of BWO would be accounted for in both structural and stylistic terms. A topicalization rule is described (Derbyshire 1977:596) as operating to introduce and highlight a new participant in discourse. Except for such instances (which permit SOV), OVS is considered as the BWO (Derbyshire 1977:597).

This approach does offer a limited "functional" explanation in terms of discourse structure but it does not include a number of factors discussed above (see 2.1.2.) concerning pragmatic vs. grammatical motivations and the underlying criteria for BWO sentences. These points are addressed below (see 2.3.2.1. and 2.3.2.2.1.) as they pertain to De'kwana data.

2.2. Dominant Word Order Principles in De'kwana

The BWO criteria (see 2.1.2.) set forth by Durbin and Ojeda (1978) and restated by Hofling (1984) have been followed to determine BWO in the language data for the current study. De'kwana is an SOV language and conforms to a number of general typological features expected for this basic word order (see Greenberg 1966; Lehmann 1978) with the associated patterns of postpositions, main verb-auxiliary verb (V-aux), genitive-noun (GN), and quantifier-noun (QN). However, the order for adjective and noun alone is most often NA and the subordinate clauses functioning as relatives also follow the noun they modify (N-rel).[2] These latter two patterns do not conform to the expected patterns and are discussed below.

Alternate word orders of SVO, OVS and OSV do occur in conjunction with factors of differential animacy, specificity and/or social status between the NPs' referents (see discussion below). Verb-initial orders are not accepted in simple sentences with overt NPs as S and O, but sometimes occur in complex units where the verb form (marked by person prefixes) functions as the entire main clause or is accompanied only by locatives (i.e., the NPs associated with the main verb may not follow it in simple VSO nor VOS patterns).

While no Carib languages are represented in Steele's (1978:605) sample, De'kwana falls under Steele's classification as a mixed word order language (see Note 1), having OSV and SVO as alternate orders. In Steele's sample over half of the 30 SOV languages had OSV as an alternate, about half had SVO, and 12 had both. De'kwana has the

uncommon OVS alternate order listed for SOV languages in Steele (1978:601), but not the uncommon VOS nor VSO orders.

Twenty-five of the 30 SOV languages in Steele's (1978) sample have person agreement marking (Steele 1978:613)[3] as does De'kwana (see Chapter 4 and Appendix B). Steele (1978:614) notes that person agreement marking has a high correlation with languages that do not have typologically consistent word order patterns.

In another study, Foster and Hofling have noted (1987:476, 481-483) that NA order in SOV languages tends to show agreement marking. This correlation between agreement marking and typologically inconsistent word order patterns (also noted in Steele's work above) is generally descriptive of the importance of agreement marking in De'kwana (see Appendix B and 4.2.2.1.).

Another major work on word order that fails to include any languages from the Carib family is that by Hawkins (1983). Those SOV languages with postpositions, GN and NA word orders are classified as Type 24 while those with the same features except for AN order are placed under Type 23 (Hawkins 1983:286-7). Approximately half the languages in Hawkins' expanded sample (151 out of 350) are in these two categories of Types 23 and 24 (Hawkins 1983:288). De'kwana word order lines up with Type 24 but Type 23 is also mentioned due to the noticeable variation that occurs in adjective-noun order discussed below (see 2.3.2.).

There is an additional, important way in which De'kwana deviates from typological regularities for SOV languages. De'kwana does not

conform to Greenberg's (1963:6) universal 41 which says that:

> If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system.

No such case system is in evidence in De'kwana. This also suggests that the reason why the word order of OSV, a common alternant in SOV languages, is not generally available is that there is no case marking to disambiguate the subject and object NPs. In De'kwana when word orders besides SOV occur in the forms of OSV, OVS, or SVO, semantic factors are normally present to assist disambiguation. That is to say, for example, that all instances of OVS so far examined can be clearly understood merely by relying upon the semantic information of the NP arguments and the verb to indicate subject and object roles.

While OV languages are a well-known type of language (e.g., early and extensive literature on Hindi, Turkish, Old English), and they are reportedly the largest group among world languages (cf. tabulations in studies cited above by Greenberg, Hawkins, and Steele), OV languages are in some ways the least understood type. The other typological order, VO, has BWO variants of VSO, SVO, and VOS that have been described in various language families of the world, giving us a much richer knowledge of how the morphosyntactic structures act and interact under more than one version of VO as basic word order. There is a corresponding lack of breadth in typological studies for OV variants (OVS, SOV, OSV) due to the low frequency of object-initial orders.

In addition to this lack of studies for OV variants (OVS, SOV,

OSV), there is a common typological inconsistency among SOV languages regarding NA or AN orders. OV order is also problematic because it is more difficult to have the typologically regular Rel-N order due to problems of linear perception (Bever 1975:596-598;Kuno 1974:118-123). The following typological outline of BWO patterns in De'kwana is intended as a step toward filling this large gap in our knowledge about the regularities and irregularities of OV languages.

2.2.1. Typological Outline of BWO in De'kwana

The typological outline of De'kwana below follows the format established by Greenberg (1966), Lehmann (1978, 1979), and others as discussed above. Examples are taken from natural texts and elicited materials (see 1.4.1.2. on data collection). Examples of the latter type (i.e., elicited materials) serve to test the limits of the system. Just as the sentence, "Mary hit John." would probably be used less often in English language discourse situations than: "She hit John."; "Mary hit him."; "She hit him."; etc., some elicited De'kwana examples may represent seldom used examples. However, such examples do serve to identify the limits of grammatically acceptable structures.

2.2.1.1. Transitive Sentences

The following examples exhibit the basic word order of SOV for De'kwana in simple, declarative sentences where both NPs have equal semantic valences as to animacy and status:

S O V
1a. Jose Wan neneanö
Jose Juan saw

Jose saw Juan.

S O V
b. Wanita Madoku küna:döi
Juanita Marco carried

Juanita carried Marco.

When the object out-ranks the subject in animacy, the BWO of SOV is rigidly maintained as would be expected because no case markings are available to distinguish subject from object in such sentences:

S O V
2a. töhu danwa neka
rock man strikes

The rock strikes the man.

S O V
b. manku mudekökö naihuka
mango child hits

The mango hits the child.

S O V
c. kudiyada danwa neka
boat man strikes

The boat strikes the man.

S O V
d. makiña damo:dü küne'kai
machine her-hand it-mashed-it

The machine mashed her hand.

The following sentence taken from a story about a race between an opossom and a box turtle exhibits the basic word order of SOV:

```
                                S          O
3.  yö:he-mma  ya:wö   waya:mu  ti-himmö
    thus -contr verif  box turtle his-family

        V
    kün-a'dewf-a  - to  ya:wö
    3/3-call - tns-pl   verif
```

Thus, the box turtle called his family.

2.2.1.2. Indirect Object

The unmarked word order pattern is for indirect objects to follow post-verbal direct objects. This dative construction is characterized by the postposition wö following the indirect object NP.

```
      V                  O       IO
4a.  k-untu-i    ya:wö tü-nnedü odo'sha    wö
     she-gave-it verif her-baby she-devil to
```

And she gave her baby to the she-devil.

```
           O          V
 b.  tü - nnedü kü - (u)tü - i chea ya:wö
     her -child  3/3 - give -DPC    again verif

                     O           IO
     ñö:dö tü - nnedü  odo'sha wö  maha
     that  her -child witch  to   and
```

And she gave her child to the witch again.

As in example 4b above, sometimes the direct object occurs twice, preverbally alone, and post-verbally with the IO. This pattern follows the tendency for the O to occur post-verbally when it is marked for increased specificity (see 2.3.2.2.1.).

2.2.1.3. Intransitive Sentences

In intransitive sentences the unmarked word order is subject before verb (SV).

S V
5a. waya:mu kün-kana'ka - i ya:wö
box turtle 3 - win DPC verif

The box turtle won.

S V
b. ö'kude'kö ñö:dö inño kün-ö'tö-i
a little that husband 3-go- DPC

ya:wö inñanno
verif there

A little while later, that husband went there.

2.2.1.4. Postpositions

De'kwana has postpositions as seen in the following two examples from texts. The first text describes the making of casave bread beginning with the gathering of yuca in the garden. The second example is from a story about a race between an opossom and a box turtle to see which is faster.

6a. wenü:nta ü'wadü a'ka wü'ta ya:wö
I-put basket in I-go verf.

I put it in my basket and I go.

b. dawa:de kün - (o)t - oneha - a - to
opossom 3/3 - recip - compare -DPI - plural

waya:mu a'kö
box turtle with

The opossom compared himself with the box turtle.

2.2.1.5. Verb-auxiliary

The auxiliary verb follows the main verb in De'kwana. In addition to forms of the verb na:dü "to be", forms of wü'tö:nö "to go" and tüweiye na:dü "to have" also can serve as auxiliaries. (See Appendix B for auxiliary verb forms.) The first sentence below is the beginning of a short text on making baskets. The second example is from a story about Komashi, a legendary hero.

		V	aux		V
7a.	wana	akö'e	wü'ta	edu:wa	akö'tödü:-he
	bamboo	cut	I-go	today	cutting -top.

aux
wa edu:wa
I-am now

Today I am going to cut bamboo and now
I am cutting it.

			V	aux	
b.	he:nadödö:ne	tün-ekamma'ho	kün-öhö:kö		ya:wö
	middle-of-night	3-ask	3/3-be-DPI		verf.

He had asked in the middle of the night.

2.2.1.6. Genitive Constructions

The genitive relationship for NPs is realized in the juxtaposition of two NPs in the order of possessor-possessed NP, or GN. There is no overt morphological marking to signal the genitive relationship beyond the word order itself. The syntactic frame GN, marked only by word order, occurs in additional syntactic constructions besides the basic GN construction (see 2.3.3. for discussion).

G N
8a. shi:chu'kö denü
baby mother

the baby's mother

G N
b. tü-nnedü hana:dü
her-child's ear

her child's ear

G N
c. önña e'kudu
corn juice

corn's juice

G N
d. madu:da ewü:tü
armadillo cave

the armadillo's cave

2.2.1.7. Demonstrative-Noun

As may be seen in the following examples, the expected order of demonstrative-noun appears, and the demonstrative agrees with the noun in number:

9a. ñö:dö mado nñanno mado
that tiger those tigers

b. ñö:dö danwa nñanno danwakomo
that man those men

Deictics (alone or with adjectives) precede the Ns they modify, while adjectives follow as seen in the examples below (see Chapter 3 for discussion of the word order variations illustrated below):

10a. möñö wodi danwa nene'ma
this woman man sees

This woman sees the man.

b. möñö wodi tüseheka'to danwa nene'ma
this woman intelligent man sees

This intelligent woman sees the man.

c. möñö wodi danwa tüseheka'to nene'ma
this woman man intelligent sees

This woman sees the intelligent man.

d. danwa möñö wodi nene'ma
man this woman sees

The man sees this woman.

In the following two examples from texts, the deictics for distal animate (ñö:dö) and inanimate (i:yö) appear. The first example is from a story about a man whose wife is devoured by Jiawa (a she-devil), and the second, from a tale about two youngsters who outwit a witch by pushing her into her own cooking pot rather than being cooked themselves.

11a. ö'kude'-kö ñö:dö inño kün-ö'tö-i
later -dim that husband 3- go -DPC

ya:wö inñano
verif there

After a little while that husband went there.

b. ñö:dö no'samo'kö i:yö a'ka kün-adima-i -cho
that old lady that into 3- fell - DPC - plural
(pot)

ya:wö ta'nö'to - komo - hüdü a'ka
verif cook -plural - past into
nonf

They pushed that old lady into that (pot), into their (the grandparents') cooking pot.

2.2.1.8. Quantifier - Noun

The quantifier precedes the noun it modifies in the expected Q-N word order pattern.

12a. a:kö ano:to
two days

b. aduwawö danwakomo wodinñamo nene'mato
three men women sees

Three men see the women.

The first of the two examples below is from the tale of the two youngsters and the witch mentioned above, while the second is from the story about the race between the opossom and the box turtle.

13a. kün-anö:tö ya:wö a:'kö hya:mo ssoto - he maha
3 - were verif two grandchild person-like also

There were two grandchildren person-like also.

b. to:ni wedu de: anwa'ka ñö:dö künnü -i ya:wö
one year tree(s) among that he-put-him-DPC verif
one

ñö:dö waya:mu
that box turtle

One year that-one (opossom) put the box turtle
in the forest.

2.2.1.9. Noun - Adjective

Basic order for attributive adjectives with nominals is NA (noun-adjective) as seen below:

14. wodi inñatahato danwa nene'ma
woman beautiful man sees

The beautiful woman sees/looks at the man.

However, both the attributive and the predicate adjective forms can occur in a number of different sentential positions with and without overt lexical NPs. These word order variations are dependent upon the syntactic statuses of the adjectival forms (see 3.3.4.) regarding word class and syntactic function (see 2.3.3.1.), and upon various discourse highlighting functions, especially specification (see 2.3.2.1., 2.3.2.2.1.,and 2.3.2.3).

2.2.1.10. Noun - Relative Clause

Contrary to typological expectations, relative clauses follow the noun they modify as can be seen below (see also 3.3.5., 5.2.1. and B4.):

15. mudekökö [mayu:du na'totö- i - chü] e:hü-'da
girl beads 3-string-RPC-nom come-neg

neiya fieta a'ka
aux party to

The girl who strung the beads didn't come to the party.

2.2.1.11. Adverbials

In texts, adverbial expressions generally appear at the beginning of the clause. Time expressions almost always begin the clause while the position of spatial expressions, independent lexical adverbials, and postpositional phrases is less fixed and they may occur in almost any position.

16a. to:ni wedu dee anwa'ka ñõ:dõ künnüi
one year tree(s) among that-one put-DPC

ñõ:dõ waya:mü
that box turtle

One year that-one (opossom) put that box turtle in the forest.

b. öne:dawö ano:to awö dawa:de kün-(ö)'tö(mõ)-dea
another day (when) opossom 3 -go -ident

ya:wö
verif

Another day the opossom went to the same place.

c. shi:chu'kö kün-amo-akö ya:wö ho:he
baby 3- cry-DPI verif much/a lot

d. ho:he shi:chu'kö kün-amo-akö ya:wö
much/ baby 3- cry-DPI verif
a lot

The baby was crying a lot.

Formulaic adverbial expressions translated as "thus" (yö:he, mödö:he, hö:tö, etc.) occur at the beginning of clauses:

17. yöhe-ma ya:wö odo'sha kün-ödü - i
thus-contr verif she-devil 3-arrive-DPC

Thus, the she-devil arrived.

2.2.1.12. Interrogatives

In interrogative sentences with question words, the question word appears at the beginning of the sentence. The following set of examples includes one from the story about the opossom and box turtle, two from the story about Jiawa, the she-devil, and one from the story about the hero Komashi.

18a. "öi'shakö m - ödü - i ke?" kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö
where 2 - say-RPC repor 3/3-say-DPI verif

"Where are you?" he asked.

b. "öne'kö:mü ma:dö m - uhi - anö ke"
what there 2/3-look-RPI repor
for

kün-ödü -a'kö
3/3-say-DPI

"What are you looking for there?" she asked.

c. yö:he kün-ödü-ato ya:wö, "öi'sha m-üt(ö)-anö
thus 3/3-say-DPI verif where 2-go-RPI

ke?"
repor

Thus he asked, "Where are you going?"

d. "akene ad-awana-i ho:nü'kö ke?" tüwödü-e
how 2-awake -RPC nephew repor say - pred

kün-öhö:-ko. "akene ö-wönetü-i ke?"
3/3-be-DPI how 2-sleep/ -RPC repor
dream

"How are you, nephew?" he said. "How did
you sleep?"

While the question word must precede the verb, other word order variation is acceptable.

19a. öisha Omayada nai
where Omayada is

b. öisha nai Omayada
where is Omayada

c. Omayada öisha nai

Where is Omayada?

d. *Omayada nai öisha

e. *nai Omayada öisha

f. *nai öisha Omayada

Examples 19b and 19c retain the order of the interrogative pronoun before the verb, as is also found in the most basic ordering in 19a. However, in both 19b and 19c the proper noun Omayada has been moved outside the predication frame proper, in the former case to a postverbal position, and in the latter to the sentence-initial position. The 19b example carries the sense of the English translation: "Where is she, Omayada?" The 19c example topicalizes 'Omayada' giving the reading: "Omayada, where is she?" The last three word order possibilities, 19d, 19e, and 19f, position the interrogative pronoun after the verb and are unacceptable versions as indicated by the star at the beginning of the sentence.

2.2.2. Summary of BWO in De'kwana

The BWO patterns for De'kwana are typologically consistent for most categories. The BWO of SOV is accompanied by word order patterns conforming generally to modifier-head orders as seen below:

S O V

modifier - head

genitive - noun

noun - postposition

demonstrative - noun

quantifier - noun

verb - auxiliary

Those categories where the word order coding norm does not conform to this pattern, those of noun - adjective and noun - relative clause, have been shown to be inconsistent in typological studies. However, as is discussed below, these categories are grammatically either nominal or predicate structures, which accounts in part for the variation in De'kwana (See 2.3.3.1 and 2.3.3.2.). This variation is also related to discourse factors including NP specification (see 2.3. and 3.3.).

2.3. Marked Word Orders

Word order variation in De'kwana involves discourse processes of highlighting such as topicalization, focus and contrast; syntactic restrictions such as the GN frame; semantic features of animacy and definiteness; and, the process of noun incorporation. When lexical semantics serves to disambiguate S and O roles, the four orders: SOV, SVO, OVS and OSV, may occur in simple sentences. Factors of definiteness or degree of specification also influence the variation in word order permitted.

The alternate word orders SVO, OSV, and OVS often reflect discourse functions of highlighting through topicalization or focus constructions. These functions become apparent in discourse context. The relevant context includes the linguistic material occurring before and/or after the construction that may be seen in texts. These contexts are considered in narrative texts such as myths or legends and in mini-discourse sequences (i.e., shorter elicited texts).

2.3.1. Animacy and Word Order

Under the basic criteria (see 2.1.2.) used to determine BWO for this study, the first stated requirement was:

> Sentences with full nominal subjects and objects of equivalent animacy and minimal specificity.

The relative animacy of NPs is important in De'kwana. As has been outlined above (see 2.2.1.1.) Basic Word Order for transitive sentences is SOV. However, as is discussed below (see 2.3.1.2.) variant word orders for simple sentences occur depending on varying combinations of animacy rankings for the grammatical roles of subject and direct object. Thus, factors of animacy are of primary concern for minimally specified NPs in De'kwana word order patterns.

2.3.1.1. Factors of Animacy

In addition to the BWO of SOV, alternate orders are permissible when semantics (available in the NPs and/or in the verb) will disambiguate the syntactic roles of the NPs as can be seen in examples

20b and 20d where the alternate orders of SVO and OVS, respectively, are acceptable.

S O V
20a. danwa asükü nadöa
man mouse carries

The man carries the mouse.

S V O
b. danwa naihukui sü'na
man hit dog

The man hit the dog.

S O V
c. mado danwa nekai
jaguar man attack or kill
by biting

The jaguar killed the man.

O V S
d. mado nüwüi danwa
jaguar killed man
(with a
weapon)

The man killed the/a jaguar.

Semantic factors of animacy along with verbal semantics disambiguate the syntactic roles for the NPs in the first two examples (in 20a and 20b) while in 20c and 20d verbal semantics indicate the NP roles. The verbs: nüwüi, "killed with a weapon" and nekai, "killed by biting", clearly restrict the possible associated agents to a human in the first case and to a nonhuman in the second. In each case the action described by the verb clearly has associated agent and patient roles that are resticted to certain animacy categories.[4]

The following group of examples first gives two situations in which

both OSV and SOV word orders are accepted, although upon discussion SOV was preferred. In these cases the verbs have built-in animacy valences as noted earlier so the word order variation is acceptable. However, in the third situation wherein the animacy of both NPs is equivalent, the verb semantics does not clarify S and O. SOV order is necessary to identify the actor and patient, respectively.

O S V
21a. danwa süna ne'ka

S O V
süna danwa ne'ka

The dog is attacking the man.

O S V
b. süna danwa naminñöka

S O V
danwa süna naminñöka

The man is attacking the dog.

S O V
c. danwa wodi naminñöka

The man is attacking the woman.

S O V
wodi danwa naminñöka

The woman is attacking the man.

Thus, animacy ranking rather than word order is crucial to the interpretation of examples like 21a and b. The BWO SOV need not occur for such sentences. Non-SOV orders for these sentences function to project discourse highlighting particularly when factors of definiteness come into play, as discussed below.

2.3.1.2. BWO and Marked Variant Orders

BWO for transitive sentences is SOV in cases where the NP semantic valences are equal, where S is higher or in such cases as those outlined above where the verbal semantics disambiguate the NP roles, and it is necessarily SOV when the O outranks the subject in animacy, Thus, we consider SOV as the unmarked BWO. As the animacy rankings of the two NPs are obviously crucial in the question of word order norms it is useful to recognize three word order categories based on the animacy rankings. The following listing summarizes the major word order categories.

NP Animacy	Unmarked Word Order	Marked Word Order
1. S and O are equal in animacy	SOV	SVO, OSV
2. S is higher O is lower	SOV	OVS
3. S is lower O is higher	SOV	---

The first column lists the animacy rankings for the nouns in subject and object roles, respectively. The second column confirms the preferred or required word order of SOV. The third column lists possible alternate word orders for each category.

Examples of category 1 appear below in 22a and b, and 23a and b. All speakers agreed that SOV was a better order and more traditional. Monolingual speakers of De'kwana more strongly picked SOV as first

choice but did not completely reject SVO, saying that as long as the actor came first it was understandable.

```
        S      O      V
22a.  wodi   danwa nene'ma
      woman  man    sees

        S      V       O
  b.  wodi   nene'ma danwa
      woman  sees    man

      The woman sees the man.

        S      O       V
23a.  dikadu wan   naihukui
      Ricardo Juan hit

        S        V       O
  b.  dikadu   naihukui wan
      Ricardo  hit      Juan

      Ricardo hit Juan.
```

It appears that SVO choices have been strongly influenced by the use of Spanish as language contact persisted. It is also important to examine the discourse function of the SVO word order, as it is also often found in complex sentence constructions of various types (see Chapter 3 and Appendix B).

Category 2 is descriptive of sentences such as 20d above. In such sentences the syntactic roles of subject and object are indicated by the lexical semantic content. Nevertheless, the SOV order was judged as more acceptable in isolation.

Category 3 is illustrated in the examples below, wherein the word order alone marks the correct grammatical roles for the NPs, and only SOV order is utilized.

	S	O	V
24a.	kudiyada	danwa	ne:ka
	canoe	man	strikes

The canoe strikes the man.

	S	O	V
b.	de:	danwa	ne:ka
	stick	man	strikes

The stick strikes the man.

Several generalizations about factors important to BWO in De'kwana can be derived from these basic categories. First, the word order norm might be described as subject-initial order. This norm was mentioned by monolinguals and bilinguals alike in discussing word order rules for De'kwana. This factor accounts for the accepted alternate word order of SVO for sentences with equally animate norms in category 1 (examples 22a, 22b, 23a, 23b). Secondly, we can see that animacy ranking plays a prominent role. If the S clearly outranks the O, and particularly if the O is inanimate, then the alternate order OVS, is often used. The underlying assumption here is that the subject will be higher in animacy: human and higher in social ranking (i.e., older over younger, male over female, etc.).

Factors of animacy influence speakers' choices of syntactic arrangements in the following manner:

1. In a sentence with two nominal arguments, there is an expectation that subject/agent will be higher in animacy than the object/patient noun.[5]

2. This assumption is operative in SOV order in De'kwana in the following ways:
   a. the OV order codes an inanimate (unspecified) noun in obligatory preverbal

position in the expected patient role.
b. the sentence-initial position codes the agent role; it is obligatory when the O outranks the S in animacy and it is generally maintained when the S and O are equivalent in animacy ranking.

3. Syntactic flexibility occurs in conjunction with higher levels of animacy (unless the O outranks the S) whenever:
   a. the S is higher in animacy than the O it may occur post-verbally (OVS);
   b. the O is equivalent to the S in animacy it may occur post-verbally (SVO) or in sentence-initial position (OSV; see discussion below).

Thus, a judgement[6] about the relative animacy ranking of the two nominal arguments is necessary before a word order frame can be selected. The selection among the possible word order variations is made according to speakers' choices to highlight certain information in discourse settings (see 1.5. for discussion of the term "highlight"). Initially, the syntactic freedom to make such choices rests on the animacy relationships between the nominal arguments.

The restrictions on word order in relationship to the object are complex and are discussed below. (See sections 2.3.2.2.1. and 2.3.2.2.2.) However, the norm of the immediately preverbal position for the O is clearly required when it outranks the S in animacy. Also, the O occurs preverbally when it is inanimate and unspecified. Likewise, an O of animacy ranking equal to the S NP but which is highly specified may occur sentence initially or in postverbal position. The discourse functions for these variations due to highlighting by specification or animacy are discussed below.

2.3.2. NP Highlighting

Just as levels of animacy affect freedom of movement for S, and O NPs, so do levels of specification (see 1.5. and Chapter 3). NP specifiers include deictics, possessive affixes, attributive adjective, relative clause, indirect object in a GN frame (see 2.3.3.3.), etc. (See Chapter 3 for discussion of these aspects of nominal specificity.) A higher degree of specification functions similarly to a higher degree of animacy for a noun.

The NP which is more specified also has the freedom to occur out-of-position. Thus, SVO word order occurs when S and O are equal in animacy or when O is highly specified; and, OSV occurs when O is specified and/or undergoing discourse highlighting. In these cases it is the marked NP that moves out-of-position syntactically. The alternate word orders so triggered, SVO and OSV, all have an NP out-of-position in relationship to the BWO of SOV.

In these cases the NP higher in animacy, or more highly specified, functions as a prominent element within the sentence structure. Its salience is marked by specifiers and/or position giving it associated communicative prominence (chosen and marked by the speaker and then perceived by the hearer).

2.3.2.1. Highlighting of Subject

The choice as to whether or not to place the subject NP in sentence-initial position rests upon the following factors:

1. Animacy and Specification
2. Highlighting of New and Old Information

The position of the O in such sentences is also determined by factors of animacy, specification, and topicalization.

While it is stated earlier that SOV is the BWO and that subject-initial orders are expected, there are also cases where the subject-initial word order serves to highlight or mark the subject as can be seen in the text examples that follow. An important communicative function of the sentence-initial position for the subject NP is to highlight new characters in the discourse, or to switch the referent in focus. In the following mini-discourse, we see a sequence of sentences wherein the sentence-initial subject position is filled by NPs referring to various persons as they are introduced into the discourse.

In the fourth sentence (25d) the subject no longer occurs sentence-initially. Its referent has already been introduced. Further, the O is lower than the S in animacy in the fourth sentence. Thus, neither factor, that of animacy differences (see 2.3.1.2.) nor that of using sentence-initial position to introduce new characters, is operative in the fourth sentence. In contrast, the third sentence (25c), while similar to the fourth as to NP content ("wife" and "fish") does have the SOV marked word order. The "wife" is a new character in the discourse in the third sentence, but not in the fourth.

	S	V	
25a.	danwa	no'tö	tuna-ha-kökö
	man	fishes	river-?-in

The man fishes in the river

S O V
b. nnūdü tüno'tödü na'döa mmai-cha'ka
his-son fish he-carries-it house-to

His son carries the fish to the house.

S O V
c. hinñamo tüno'tödü nadö'ha
(his)wife fish she-prepares-it

His wife prepares (cleans,cuts) the fish.

O V S (O)
d. kata'da na'na hinñamo o'tahö
meal she-cooks-it wife fish

His wife cooks the fish (for lunch).

S V
e. ashicha wei'chokono nowashincha
happily the people/ they-eat-it
family

The family eats happily/well.

In 25d, the "fish" is highlighted old information in the sentence-final topic position, but the new information, that the "fish" are being prepared for a meal appears sentence-initially. The specific lexical identification of "fish" is placed at the end of the sentence as a right dislocation for topicalized information.[7] The occurrences of SOV in the previous mini-discourse were, thus, projecting a discourse function going beyond the labeling of SOV as BWO. In this context, SOV serves the discourse function of highlighting new information.

The other subject-initial word order, SVO, also occurs to project discourse information through specification and highlighting. However, in this case the focus is on the post-verbal position for the direct

object. The O can occur in post-verbal position under conditions of either: 1) equivalent animacy of the S and O nouns (see 2.3.1.2.), and/or, 2) non-equivalent animacy (the S noun is higher in animacy) with the O noun specified (see 2.3.2.2.1. below). When there are two humans as S and O NPs, the SVO alternant is acceptable. In this case the O noun has the freedom to occur after the verb, in contrast to an unspecified noun of low animacy that is syntactically restricted to preverbal position (OV). The choices regarding word orders of SOV and SVO then, are guided by decisions about highlighting information of the S and O NPs.

2.3.2.2. Highlighting of Object

As discussed above (see 2.3.1.2.) the unmarked O is lower in animacy and less-highly specified than the S when it occurrs preverbally in the BWO pattern. The binary frame of OV (or of a noun in a non-agentive role and a verb) is the most basic syntactic frame in De'kwana (see 2.2.2. and 2.4.). This binary frame may be altered under certain circumstances when the O noun is higher in animacy or specified. In these cases, the O noun has greater syntactic freedom and may occur post-verbally (SVO) or sentence-initially (OSV). The only exception is when the O noun is higher in animacy than the S noun in which case the SOV order is obligatory (see 2.3.1.2.).

2.3.2.2.1. Object Position

As indicated in the following examples, unspecified Os low in

animacy occur only in preverbal position. The Os specified by possessive markers (attributive or IO constructions) have more freedom occurring pre- or post-verbally and in sentence initial position.

```
          O          V
26a.  wa'to  kün-ememükü - i - cho
      matches/ 3-steal - DPC  - plural
      light

      They stole the matches.

            S          O          V
  b.  ñotü-ton-komo tuna  kün-annukü- i   adaihöto
      grandparent-pl-pl water 3-place/-DPC large-one
                              set up

      ödinñö a'ka
      pot    in

      Their grandmother set up the water in the
      large pot.

        S              V
  c.  hya:mo    kün-ei - cho ya:wö
      grandchildren 3-take-pl verif

                                 O
      tü-notü       -ton-komo wa'to-dü
      their-grandparent-pl-pl matches-poss

      The grandchildren took their grandparents'
      matches.

                  O          S          V
  d.  ti- hinñamo hu:'hö-mma ma:do kün-edantö-i
      his-wife    head-spec jaguar 3/3-encounter-DPC

      ya:wö ödinñö a'ka
      verif  pot    in

      The jaguar encountered his wife's head in
      the pot.
```

		O	S	V
e.	tako:no'kö shekoto'kö younger smallest sister	wo:mü	madiya	nutui gave

Maria gave a skirt to her youngest sister.

If the O is inanimate but highly specified, then it may appear in post-verbal position. In example 26c the O (wa'todü 'matches') is marked for possession. The preceding nominal expression is marked for possession and is in a genitive construction with wa'todü. Thus, wa'todü specified by possessive marking and a genitive construction occurs in the post-verbal position serving to highlight this information in the sentence.

In the last two examples, the O is fronted to highlight specified noun strings including several lexical items ("wife" and "head" in the first example, "skirt", "smallest", and "younger sister" in the second). The Ns "head" and "wife" are in a GN frame in 26d, and the noun for skirt is in a GN frame with the NP unit for youngest sister in 26e (see 3.3.4. for discussion of adjectives as NPs). The use of the GN frame to mark the IO function is discussed below (see 2.3.3.3.). In the present examples (26d-e), the entire NP strings composed of the O noun (hu:'hö and wo:mü) and the IO nominal units (tihinñamo and tako:no'kö shekoto'kö) are out-of-position at the beginning of the sentence to highlight this information.

A correlation of specification of the O and its position in relation to the verb has been noted for other languages previously (e.g., Li and Thompson 1971:1 for Chinese; Hetzron 1975:372 for

Hungarian). The general pattern described is where the object may appear on both sides of the verb. The O is less specified in the BWO position and more specified in the alternant word order pattern.[8]

2.3.2.2.2. Noun Incorporation and Word Order

An intricate word order pattern emerges when we examine the morphosyntactic process of noun incorporation (NI) which involves obligatory OV orders with Os low in the animacy hierarchy and occurrences of the sentence type: Subject - unspecified O - V - specified O. The most commonly identified type of noun incorporation is morphological incorporation of an object N into its associated verb stem. In De'kwana there are forms such as:

27a. w - incha - tü: - a
1p - mouth - is done - asp

I mouth-wash him/her.

b. w - (w)ana - akö: - a
1p -bamboo - cut it - asp

I am bamboo cutting.

that demonstrate such morphological noun incorporation. (See 4.2.2.2. for a discussion of this process.) Examples of noun incorporation where an unspecified noun and verb are juxtaposed but not combined morphologically also exist; wüwa nü'küa, "he/she is basket-weaving". Further discussion of such examples of noun incorporation appear in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.4.2.).

The other type of NI mentioned above was that of the unspecified O

preceding the verb while the same O in a more specified version occurs in post-verbal position. In the following example we see the direct object nominal, "matches", in two forms preceding and following the verb.

28. wa'to kün-ememükü- i - cho y-(w)a'to-dü
fire/ 3/3-steal - DPC -pl 3-fire/-poss
matches matches

They stole the matches.

In this construction, the relationship of the verb and the unspecified version of its O could be read as 'they did match-stealing', while the post-verbal version of the O specifies 'their matches', highlighting this information.

2.3.2.3. Attributive Highlighting of S and O NPs

In unmarked SOV order sentences, adjectives may be interpreted as relating to either one of the NPs or be ambiguous regarding their relation. A major factor determining which NP the adjective modifies is the animacy of the two NPs. If the subject/agent NP is animate and the object/patient NP is not, a nominalized, attributive adjective between them is taken as referring to the animate subject/agent, while the non-nominalized, predicate adjective form is seen as describing the object/patient. This contrast can be viewed in the examples below:

S O V
29a. mönö wodi inñatah-ato wüwa nü'ka'a
this woman beautiful-nom basket weaves

This beautiful woman weaves a basket.

S O V
b. mönö wodi inñatah-e wüwa nü'ka'a
this woman beautiful-pred basket weaves

This woman weaves a beautiful basket.

The predicate adjective may also occur after the noun it modifies as in the following examples:

S O V
30a. möñö wodi wüwa nü'ka'a inñatahe
this woman basket weaves beautiful

S O V
b. möñö wodi wüwa inñatahe nü'ka'a
this woman basket beautiful weaves

This woman weaves a beautiful basket.

The position of the predicative adjective in examples 29b and 30b serves to emphasize that the basket is beautiful, that its beauty compares favorably with other similar items. This interpretation differs from that for 30a. In 30a, the reading does not include a comparative interpretation; that is, in this case the basket's beauty is merely commented upon but not emphasized as being assessed in relationship to other baskets. Thus, the choice by the speaker to put the predicate adjective in front of the V rather than after it, results in a highlighting of the information about the basket's beauty in the discourse situation.

The nominalized form of the adjective may be used to refer to the inanimate object/patient NP if it immediately follows that NP, before or after the verb. Adjectives of either form may occur following the verb and apart from the modified noun when lexical semantics serves to

identify the NP that is modified, or when the syntactic role of the adjective (i.e., as predicate adjective) is unambiguously marked as in 30 above. Thus, the first three of the following examples are correct but the fourth is not, because neither lexical semantics nor morphosyntax unambiguously marks which NP the adjective modifies:

31a. wodi ö'wa'tö inñatahato nichanichöi
N A
woman hammock beautiful made

b. wodi nichanicha ö'wa'tö inñatahato
N A

The woman made a beautiful hammock.

c. mönö wodi tüwo:mü nicho'ka no:saha'to
N A
this woman clothes washes dirty

This woman washes the dirty clothes.

d. *wodi ö'wa'tö nichanichöi inñatahato
N A
woman hammock made beautiful

As may be seen in 31c, if there is nc possibility of ambiguity, it is acceptable to place an attributive adjective describing the object/patient in a position after the verb even though that NP precedes the verb. No one would construe the adjective in 31c as modifyng the subject NP 'woman'.

Likewise, when both NPs are animate, and the object/patient NP precedes the verb, its adjective does not ordinarily follow the verb due to the ambiguity it causes as to its associated NP. Thus, the first three examples below are clearly understood, but the fourth one is not considered intelligible:

S O V
32a. to:ni wodi inñatahato danwa nenea
a/one woman beautiful man sees

A beautiful woman sees the man.

S O V
b. to:ni wodi danwa inñatahato nenea
a/one woman man beautiful sees

A woman sees the handsome man.

S V O
c. to:ni wodi nenea danwa inñatahato
a/one woman sees man handsome

A woman sees the handsome man.

d. *to:ni wodi danwa nenea inñatahato

Word order variation is also used to highlight the attributive characteristics of NPs. For example, in a story about two orphans who escape being eaten by a tiger-shaman couple acting as their grandparents, an attributive adjective (adaihöto, 'large') occurs out-of-position preceding the modified N in a postpositional phrase to highlight the size of the cooking-pot the adjective describes.

33. ñotütonkomo tuna kün-annukü - i
grandmother water 3/3-organize/ - DPC
set up

adaihöto ödinñö a'ka
large cooking-pot in

The grandmother set up water in the large cooking pot.

In the two previous sentences the size of the pot had been mentioned. The adjective "large" first appeared in the predicative form, adaihö, coming at the end of a stative sentence and modifying the

subject, ödinñö, "cooking pot". In the subsequent sentence the attributive form, adaihöto, "large one", begins the sentence functioning as an independent NP without the accompanying NP ödinñö, but still referring to the large pot. In the third sentence (example 33 above) the attributive form introduces the postpositional phrase: adaihöto ödinñö a'ka with its N following, rather than in the usual noun-adjective-postposition order (see 2.2.1.4.). Thus, the word order variation serves to highlight the importance of the size of the pot that the grandmother is setting up to cook the two orphans. In contrast to her expectation, the orphans push her into the pot shortly thereafter.

2.3.3. Word Order Variation and the GN Frame

The GN word order pattern serves as a more general syntactic frame beyond its role to indicate possessor-possessed. In addition the GN frame applies to NA and Rel-N structures (see 2.3.3.1. and 2.3.3.2.), and is used in dative constructions (see 2.3.3.3.). When the GN frame appears in complex sentence constructions, the word order for one of the clauses involved is altered. The BWO of SOV is the norm for subordinate as well as main clauses (see Appendix B). However, as discussed below (see 2.3.3.3.2.), other word orders may occur in subordinate clauses as a result of the GN frame.

In the GN construction in De'kwana the genitive meaning is achieved solely via the juxtaposition of two NP units with no morphological marking for the genitive relationship. This syntactic feature of juxtaposition can be observed in the following examples:

34a. önña e'kudu corn juice
corn juice

b. madu:du ewü:tü the armadillo's cave
armadillo cave

Thus, the semantic relationship of possessor-possessed is signaled entirely through the word order arrangement.

A salient structural feature of the GN frame that has wider implications for De'kwana syntax is the binarism of the structure. As noted above (see 2.1.1.) binary structures received attention from medieval linguists as the central syntactic principle. The prevalence of binary units of verb and one NP in Carib language texts was discussed by Hoff (1978:15) for Surinam-Carib and mentioned by Derbyshire (1977:594) as also common in Hixkaryana. In De'kwana, this binarism of nominal constituents is also relevant at other syntactic levels including complex sentences in which subordinate clauses are nominals related to their noun in a GN pattern (see 3.3.4., 3.3.5. and Appendix B).

The intersection of BWO principles with the syntactic frame of the GN construction is linked to marked word order variation. Here, these word order variations are discussed from a synchronic perspective although they are also relevant to word order change. Two different applications of the BWO and GN frame intersection are discussed in the sections below. First, the typologically inconsistent NA and N-Rel word order norms for De'kwana are examined as juxtaposed NP-NP structures paralleling the GN construction.

Likewise, the IO construction may be realized as a GN construction

(see 2.3.3.3.1.) both in simple and complex sentences. In complex sentences the BWO and GN frame intersection occurs when one of the NP members plays a role in both main and subordinate clauses. The word order variation in such cases is a direct consequence of the IO/GN structure (see 2.3.3.3.).

2.3.3.1. NA Word Order

Noun-adjective orders (NA/AN) are discussed above under BWO typology (see 2.2.1.9.). The NA order found in De'kwana is not the ideal type for SOV BWO, although it is found in about half the world's SOV languages. A typologically consistent order of AN is predicted for SOV languages under the reasoning that the NP will be the head of the syntactic construction and be modified by the adjective. (See Zwicky 1984 for a discussion of the role of 'head' in such constructions.) Thus, the AN order parallels the modified-modifier/head constructions of OV, GN, QN, etc., for SOV BWO (cf. Venneman 1976; Lehmann 1978).

In De'kwana, the syntactic relationship between the NP and attributive adjective does not follow this typological model but, instead, can be characterized as a construction of two juxtaposed nominals functioning in the GN syntactic frame. In contrast, predicate adjectives operate as adverbial expressions within the syntactic domain of the verb phrase. The binary syntactic frame of NA occurs with different morphological marking for attributive vs. predicative adjective forms (see 2.2.1.9., 2.3.2.3., 3.3.4. and Appendix B). The attributive adjective form is marked by suffixes which are nominalizers.

The NA unit, then, is essentially an NP - NP unit with the second NP functioning, or semantically interpretable, as an attributive adjective.

35a. wodi inñataha - to
woman beautiful - nom.

the beautiful woman

b. ö'wa'ttö seweicha - to
hammock red - nom.

the red hammock

These binary units might equally well be interpreted as a GN frame yielding: 'the woman's beauty', or 'the hammock's redness', respectively. Such interpretations more accurately reflect the nominal status of the attributive adjective. (See 3.3.4. for discussion of this nominal role for adjectives.)

2.3.3.2. N-Rel Word Order

The analysis of noun-relative clause structure raises questions parallel to those about noun-adjective structures for De'kwana as well as other Carib languages (e.g., Derbyshire 1979:26, 42). Clauses translated as relative clause structures are morphosyntactically nominalized clauses in De'kwana. These structures function in an attributive relationship in a manner similar to relative clauses in other languages. However, the lack of a relative pronoun and the nominalization of the verb form (see 3.3.5. and Appendix B) as well as the word order pattern wherein the relative clause follows the head NP suggest that this construction is composed of juxtaposed NPs in the GN

frame. That is, a parallel application of the syntactic pattern found in the GN frame is apparent in the N-Rel construction (also suggested above for the NA structure) in De'kwana.

```
          G    [         NP          ]
         S/S         O        V         V
36a.  mudekökö [mayu:du na'totöi'chü] e:hü'da neiya
       girl         necklace string-nom come-neg aux

      fieta  a'ka
      party  to

      The girl who strung the necklace did not come to
      the party.

         G  [         NP      ]
        S/O            V          V
  b.  wo:di [koi'hai weneannü] e:tö na
      woman last    we-saw-nom here she-is
            night

      The woman whom we saw last night is here.
```

The nominal suffixes -<u>chü</u> and -<u>nü</u> indicate subordinate verbs, but no relative pronouns link these verbs to the head nouns in the main clauses. Instead, a syntactic link exists in the adjacent positioning of the subordinate clauses to their head nouns creating a pair of nominals, NP-NP, that (like the juxtaposed nominals in the GN frame, and in NA constructions) can be read as a GN relationship. Thus, 36a might be literally read as: The girl (the girl's necklace stringing) did not come to the party.

2.3.3.3. Dative

The GN frame is also used for an NP in the indirect object role. Example 37 below shows the parallel possibilities for expressing the syntactic role of a dative in a canonical dative structure as opposed to another version with the GN syntactic frame. The position of the IO also is affected by the animacy of the S and O NPs. When the O has the syntactic freedom to occur post-verbally, the IO will accompany it. (See example 28 above)

In the indirect object construction, the indirect object NP is marked by the postposition wö (see 2.2.1.2.). When there is an attributive adjective modifying the IO noun, the attributive adjective is positioned between the N and the postposition as seen in examples 37a and b below. However, when the item given is clothing or some other item considered to belong to a specific individual in a particularly close fashion, the construction for the indirect object involves the GN frame to indicate that ownership (37c and d):

	O	S	V	IO
37a.	wame:di	Wan	nutui	mö'dö wodi ta:saha'to wö
	chicken	Juan	gave	that woman thin/skinny to

Juan gave the chicken to that thin woman.

	S	V	IO
b.	wodi	nutui	tüweichakono inñatahato wö
	woman	gave	her-cousin beautiful to

The woman gave it to her beautiful cousin.

	G	N
c.	möñö wodi	tunuwa:dü kü:müi nutui
	this woman	her-brother machete gave

The woman gave her brother a machete.

G N
d. madiya tüweicha'kono wo:mü nutui
Maria her-cousin skirt gave

Maria gave her cousin a skirt.

When the IO structure occurs as a GN frame in a complex sentence with a relative clause, a number of word order variations may appear in the main and/or the subordinate clause. In the first three examples below the GN frame occurs for "cousin" and "skirt" in the main clause of each example:

S V O
38a. wodi nutui tüwei'chakono womü
woman gave cousin skirt

inñataha'to wö [chomomüdawö
beautiful to last night

kenea'kennü wö]
we-saw-her to

The woman gave a skirt to her beautiful cousin whom we saw last night.

S V O
b. wodi nutui tüwei'chakono womü inñataha'to
woman gave cousin skirt beautiful

[chomomüdawö kenea'kennü wö]
last night we-saw-her to

The woman gave a beautiful skirt to her cousin whom we saw last night.

S O V
c. wodi tüweichakono inñatahato wo:mü nutui
woman her-cousin beautiful skirt gave

[chomomüdawö kenea'kennü wö]
last night we-saw-her to

The woman gave a skirt to her beautiful cousin
whom we saw last night.

S O V IO
d. danwa kü:mü nutui tüweichakono wö [suku:hi
man machete gave his-cousin to spear

tüwo:dü nutuhüdü wö]
his-uncle he-gave-him to

The man gave a machete to his cousin to whom
his uncle had given a spear.

Examples 38a and b have contrastive readings due to two factors. In example 38a, the main clause IO role for tüwei'chakono inñataha'to, "her beautiful cousin", is marked by wö following inñataha'to. In this case, inñataha'to modifies tüwei'chakono ("her beautiful cousin") in the IO construction. The nominal for "cousin" precedes the nominal "skirt" in the GN construction while the wö marker accompanies inñataha'to. Since the GN construction may imply the dative role for the possessor noun as illustrated in examples 37a-d above, "beautiful" is understood to modify "cousin" by virtue of being marked by the IO postposition wö. In 38b the same lexical item inñataha'to is not marked for the IO role and so is understood to modify womü, "skirt", instead.

In example 38c the "beautiful cousin" receives the skirt as the dative in the main clause, but is positioned in a juxtaposed GN frame with "skirt". The "beautiful cousin" is, however, still overtly indicated as the IO of the main clause by the postposition wö following the subordinate clause verb form. This marking of the subordinate verb indicates that the IO of the main clause is the relativized NP (see

2.3.3.2.), thus confirming the IO role for "beautiful cousin", although this NP unit is not marked as IO directly but is instead in a GN relationship to the "skirt".

In example 38d the main clause IO is coreferential with the subordinate clause IO. The IO role in the main clause is overtly marked with wö: danwa kü:mü nutui tüweichakono wö in example 38d as well as being marked on the subordinate verbs as we saw in 38c. The IO role in the subordinate clause is handled via the GN frame, this time linking the main clause IO phrase to the subordinate clause object nominal: tüweichakono wö suku:hi. This arrangement of the IO/GN construction results in a word order of OSV in the subordinate clause rather than the SOV order expected in subordinate clauses.[9]

Additional word order variations can be observed for the IO/GN construction in other grammatical roles. In the following example the main clause subject is also the subordinate clause IO and this latter role is expressed in a GN structure with the subordinate direct object. Unlike the examples in 38, the IO role is not overtly marked by wö due to its major role as main clause subject.

```
                S/IO      O      S          V
39.  ñö:dö mudekökö [wü:wa wo:di küntui'chü]
     that  girl     basket woman gave

           V
     maha ne:hö-dea     tunnuwadü ha:dö
          came -iden    her-brother with
```

The girl to whom the woman gave a basket came with her brother.

In order to achieve the GN frame for the IO and DO of the subordinate

clause, the word order within the subordinate clause again surfaces as OSV rather than SOV. This reordering also reflects the intimacy of the GN relationship (the Intimacy Hierarchy discussed below in 3.3.2.) in contrast to the following example where the possessed noun is not so intimately related to the possessor.

	S/IO	S	O	V
40.	nö:dö wo:di	[danwa	wame:di	küntui'chü]
	the woman	man	chicken	gave

ö:'wa:tö nichanicha:nö unwa
hammock was-weaving there

The woman to whom the man gave a chicken was making a hammock over there.

In this latter example, the word order of SOV is preserved in the subordinate clause with the subordinate clause juxtaposed to the head NP of the main clause.

2.3.3.4. S and O in the GN Frame

The GN frame also may play a part in conveying the information that a genitive relationship exists between two NPs which are also participating independently in two separate grammatical roles in a sentence. In the example below, the GN frame is utilized to show that the S and O are also in the relationship of possessor and possessed, respectively.

In a story about the she-devil Jia:wö, the first sentence (example 41 below) includes a GN frame that subtly conveys information about the major participants in the story. A man, his wife and Jia:wö are all

mentioned in this first sentence. The man as the major human actor throughout the story is mentioned first and is the subject of the verb. The she-devil Jia:wö is oblique agent of the underlying subordinate clause. The man's wife is the object of the causative verb (see 4.2.1. and 4.2.4.1.).

41. to:ni danwa tü-hinñamo kön-anö-ho - i
one man ref1-wife 3/3-eat-caus-DPC

hia:wö wö
Jia:wö by

A man allowed Jia:wö to eat his own wife.

The word order arrangement here provides the BWO of SOV (man-wife-verb) but it also has the GN frame for "man-wife" ("the wife of the man"). Because the possessive prefix on "wife" is reflexive, the relationship is already marked. Although the juxtaposition of these two NPs is not demanded by the construction (see 4.2.4.1.), the choice to arrange it in this fashion reinforces the relationship between the man and his wife by utilizing the GN frame, too. The third, antagonistic, participant, Jia:wö, is on the other side of the verb. The personal relationships of the participants are reflected in the linguistic structure with Jia:wö as an oblique agent in post-verbal position vs. the SOV core of the sentence in which the man and his wife are linked through the implication of the GN frame.

This example is additional evidence of the variety of roles that the GN frame plays in De'kwana discourse. The parallel of the GN frame with NA and N-Rel structures, and its usage in lieu of the IO frame

described above, serve to underline the importance of the GN frame in De'kwana grammar.

2.4. Summary

Word order in De'kwana reflects both grammatical and pragmatic factors. The grammatical BWO for De'kwana has been described as SOV in section 2.2. Semantic factors such as animacy and pragmatic factors such as highlighting are important in De'kwana word order patterns (see sections under 2.3.). In terms of purely grammatical considerations, the two syntactic patterns least influenced by pragmatic or semantic factors are the genitive construction (GN) and OV order.

The former syntactic pattern, GN, carries no overt morphosyntactic marking beyond the word order arrangement (see 2.2.1.6.), and is utilized in NA, N-Rel and IO constructions (see 2.3.3.1., 2.3.3.2. and 2.3.3.3.). It may also function subtly to overlay a GN relationship on S and O arguments (see 2.3.3.4.).

The OV frame reflects factors of animacy and specificity and is basic to the verbal syntactic convention of noun incorporation. An unspecified object is syntactically linked to the verb in the OV frame (see 2.3.2.2.1., 2.3.2.2.2. and 4.2.2.2.). The importance of the OV frame for syntactically identifying the O role grammatically is most apparent when the O is higher in animacy than the S, in which case SOV word order is mandatory to disambiguate the NP roles (see 2.2.2.).

Both the S and the O may occur post-verbally when high in animacy or specificity. The choice to use the options (VS, VO) is for discourse

function reasons, but the freedom to do so is based on animacy, and specification. The syntactic restrictions governing the binary unit of a noun and a verb (S-V or O-V) follow two assumptions:

1. A single noun accompanying the verb will be in a non-agentive case role; i.e., patient, dative, benefactive, etc. (Dubois 1981).

2. If there are two nominal arguments with the verb, then S will be higher in animacy than O; i.e., an agent noun is expected to be higher in potency on the agentive or animacy scale than an non-agent and thus out-ranks any of the nominal case roles that accompany the verb as a binary or one-argument form.

So the OV frame is the most restricted unit syntactically and an S that is an agent in the same sentence has greater syntactic freedom because it is higher in animacy. Thus, there is the accepted word order alternant of OVS in such cases. If the S is not higher in animacy; i.e., if the O is higher, then the BWO of SOV is rigidly maintained to conform to the patient-verb or OV frame that is basic (the non-agent noun and verb syntactic frame). In this case the agent with lower animacy may not be in the position next to the verb because being there would negate its role of agent, it would then be in a non-agent role.

If, however, the S and O Ns are equivalent in animacy or if the O N is highly specified, then the O N has the syntactic freedom to occur post-verbally or sentence-initially. Again, the utilization of the alternant word orders of SVO or OSV are the results of speaker's choices to highlight certain discourse material, but the syntactic or grammatical freedom to do so depends upon restrictions that are the

consequence of the animacy and the degree of specification ascribed to the S and O Ns, respectively (see 2.3.1.2. and 2.3.2.). The coding norm of the syntactic frame OV is, thus, altered for highlighting in discourse.

Because of the stability of the two syntactic frames and their roles in influencing word order patterns within other syntactic constructions, the GN and the OV word order frames are considered the central organizing principles for De'kwana word order patterns. As intimated earlier (see 2.1.2.), the binary feature of these frames is pertinent and relevant in light of other work[10] on word order principles. Lehmann (1978, 1979) and other linguists have discussed the modifier-modified patterns as outlined above (see 2.1.2.), but the BWO types are generally characterized according to the three arguments S, O, and V.[11]

As discussed earlier (see 2.1.2.) some effort has been made to include a consideration of pragmatic factors in word order studies. Thompson (1978:20) posits a continuum wherein some languages have only GWO and others only PWO; still others have a combination of GWO and PWO between the two extreme types. The description Thompson gives (1978:24) for those languages with both grammatical and pragmatic rules influencing BWO includes V-initial and V-final languages. Verb placement is described as fixed by grammatical rule while the NP positions are determined by pragmatic factors such as known vs. unknown information. Brody (1984) discusses Tojolobal in terms of both GWO and PWO, but her description (1984:730-731) sorts the two versions of BWO so

that some word order patterns (e.g., SOV, VSO, OSV, OVS) are pragmatically marked while others (in the Tojolobal case VOS) are not.

As noted above, De'kwana word order is influenced by pragmatic factors, but there is a grammatical BWO and the OV and GN frames are syntactically stable constructions. The situation in De'kwana certainly supports the inclusion of pragmatic factors, particularly with respect to the three arguments of S, O, and V (see 2.2.2.). However, the binary frames of OV and GN are relatively stable and grammatically based. For these reasons, it would not be desirable to characterize De'kwana as either a GWO or a PWO language, nor to describe De'kwana as mixing grammatical and pragmatic factors in a fashion paralleling either Thompson or Brody. In De'kwana, the verb's position is not fixed in relation to the sentence, while the NPs' positions vary according to pragmatic considerations as Thompson (1978) describes for PWO. Thus, as in De'kwana where the alternate word orders of SOV/OVS can occur it is not useful to talk in terms of a sententially fixed position for the verb. Likewise, De'kwana fails to have a division between some word order(s) that are PWO along with others that are BWO, paralleling the situation in Tojolobal as discussed by Brody (1984). The word orders of OV and GN are the fixed grammatical patterns in De'kwana.

The pragmatic and syntactic factors obviously do interact in De'kwana word order, but this interaction patterns very differently indicating that the binary syntactic frames of OV and GN take precedence over the three-argument S, V, and O, frame. This suggests that for some languages the three-argument frame may incorporate pragmatic

considerations, while other syntactic frames in the same languages (e.g., in De'kwana the GN and OV frames) may be grammatically determined. This also points to the need for consideration of the appropriate unit(s) of analysis for typological studies, favoring, at least in the case of languages like De'kwana, the examination of the roles for binary frames beyond just a descriptive listing of the consistencies or inconsistencies of the word order patterns in any language.[12]

Thus, De'kwana word order can be described as having BWO of SOV but with the central word order patterns of GN and OV most consistently operating in the organization of De'kwana grammar. Pragmatic factors related to animacy and highlighting function to project the speakers' choices about relative imporance of information in De'kwana disocurse. In the next chapter, animacy, highlighting, and other aspects of specification in De'kwana grammar are further considered.

NOTES

[1]Steele (1978:605-606) defines rigid word order languages as those languages that conform to all expected typological consistencies; free word order types as those that can violate all the expected typological consistencies; and, mixed word order languages as those that are in between.

[2]In Greenberg's (1966:77) typological survey about half the SOV languages had AN and the rest NA orders with a parallel duality of pattern for a noun with a relative clause (N-Rel vs. Rel-N).

[3]Twelve of Steele's (1978:613) SOV languages with NA have inflectional person agreement, three have copy person agreement, six have semi-copy person agreement and four have some other, unnamed type of person agreement.

[4]See Chafe (1970:105, 114-118) for a discussion of the specification rules governing verb and noun associations. Verbs are

semantic units (state, action, process, ambient) called selectional units and the semantic content of such units channels their NP associations.

[5]Comrie (1979:19) notes that "subjects tend to be definite, animate, and topic (thematic); while direct objects tend to be indefinite, inanimate, and rhematic" (also see Givon 1976; Keenan 1976).

[6]Comrie (1979:18, ftnt. 4) reports "some idiolect variation in the precise weighting of definiteness and animacy" for determining direct object marking in languages where such marking varies depending on features of animacy and definiteness. A similar phenomenon may operate for De'kwana speakers. It is possible that languages, like De'kwana, wherein two argument sentences rarely include two nominals as independent lexical items, judgements about the weighting of animacy may vary.

[7]Derbyshire (1979:75) discusses topicalization through right dislocation in Hixkaryana.

[8]This is analogous to the pattern listed above under word order category 1.

[9]Genitive constructions also are used for indirect objects in Dyirbal (Foster 1980:7-8).

[10]Evidence for syntactic frames with a verb and one nominal argument has been noted by other linguists. Brody (1984:726) mentions that the sentence type "most frequent in Tojolobal discourse is a verb with only one NP". DuBois (1981:2) cites the Preferred Argument Structure for Sacapultec as "a verb followed by a single full noun phrase".

[11]Hoff (1978:15) noted the importance of binary units of verb and NP rather than verb and two NPs in Surinam Carib. He discusses these binary examples in terms of theme-rheme units, characterizing the AV order as theme-rheme as opposed to VA order of rheme-theme. According to Hoff (1978:22) the variant VP order reflects a highlighting or emphasis of a thematic P in contrast to constructions with the grammatically fixed order PV (see 2.3.2.2.1. for similar patterns in De'kwana). Hoff is actually dealing with both grammatical and pragmatic factors although they are not discussed in those terms. As mentioned earlier (see 2.1.2.) other linguists have discussed the existence of basic word order according to both grammatical factors (GWO) and to pragmatic factors (PWO).

[12]There are intriguing indications that the De'kwana OV and GN frames are equivalent; however, it is not feasible to investigate this possibility systematically in the present study.

3. NP SPECIFICITY

3.1. General Overview of Specificity

NP specificity plays a major role in many of the grammatical processes in De'kwana, interacting with word order patterns, verb morphology and person marking prefix systems, for example. Semantic/pragmatic properties that play roles in specification or modification of nominal constructions in De'kwana include animacy, deixis, number, possession, attributive adjectival qualities of size, color, personal abilities, etc., attributive information in nominalized clauses, and discourse roles as marked by particles and morphosyntactic processes of anaphora. In the current study, the term "specification" refers to morphosyntactic conventions including modification of nominal structures (see also 1.4.3.2.). However, specification also signals semantic and/or pragmatic factors (such as those listed above) not necessarily operating in traditional syntactic patterns of modification.[1] The term "specificity" describes the range of semantic features associated with nominals.

Some categories such as animacy[2] are inherent in the basic nominal lexical item, while other categories are optionally specified through a variety of associated morphosyntactic structures (e.g., adjectives, relative clauses, or highlighting particles; see 3.4.). In all cases, the morphosyntactic conventions serve to project information that marks the NP unit in question as possessing some specific semantic/pragmatic property. In one sense each specificity category is

a part of the coding norm for the respective semantic properties in that category (animacy, etc.). However, the presence of specified information may be salient in relationship to the lack of such information for other equivalent units (e.g., two NPs in the discourse context, one marked for specification and one not so marked).

Each one of the categories of specification communicates semantic/pragmatic information about NP's undergoing specification. Specificity functions in discourse to mark salient aspects of the information being communicated within a particular discourse context, as when various particles highlight contrastive information (see 1.2.4. and 1.5. for further discussion). That is, the NP specification functions to convey semantic information about a particular noun (N) or noun phrase (NP) in a general sense, but it also serves to signal the role of the NP in communication within the discourse context as a potentially salient unit in relation to other NP's, actions, discourse participants, or other information units in the discourse.

3.2. Unspecified Nominals

The unmarked NP may be used either to identify a member of the class it names (e.g., <u>danwa</u>, 'a man'), or, that same lexical NP may be interpreted as identifying non-particular members of the class (e.g., <u>danwa</u>, 'men'). Only with marking for specification categories such as number, deixis, etc., does the interpretation become unquestionably a particular instance (or a particular group of those instances) of the NP item. An unmarked NP can be used in De'kwana to refer to a single

individual in contrast to languages such as English in which we are generally required to use an article ('a', 'an', etc.) when we wish to refer to a single individual. The De'kwana convention of using the unmarked NP to refer to one instance or individual or to any number of members of the class points to a perspective viewing the individual as equally representative of any number of members of the class. Only through specification such as plural (marking an identifiable, specific group), deictics, adjectival or relative clause attribution does the NP become removed from the dual role of the unmarked NP. The role of a nominal in discourse derives from the discourse context including associated shared cultural information (either stored or situationally present). In myths, or legends, the stated, named, individual NP referred to in a sense preserves its generic function by representing any number of members of the class; animals such as jaguar, anteater, etc., represent the animal in a particular story, but also represent the culturally shared information about typical behaviors of that animal.

The De'kwana unspecified NP can be used to mention one member of the NP class (wodi 'a woman'), but not to refer to an identifiable member (möñö wodi 'this woman') for the receiver/listener. Particularization of an individual NP class member occurs with specificity marking, including particularization of an identified group of NP class members via marking for plural. NP individuation is not, then, the same thing as particularization, as no particular, single item is meant as separate from the class as a whole when an item of that NP class is mentioned. Particularization occurs with deictic or other

specification marking.

3.3. NP Specification

Morphosyntactic marking for NP specificity occurs in all languages, but it is language-specific in its manifestations. De'kwana NP specification involves categories of plural, possession, deictics, adjectives and relative clauses as would be expected from a cross-linguistic standpoint. However, the morphosyntactic structures representing these categories include both postpositions and attributive adjectives which function as NP's, and deictics which carry a predicative function, providing systems divergent from many well-known Indo-European languages. In following sections I discuss marking in each category. For example, marking for number (plural marking and/or quantification via adjectival numerals) specifies a particular group of the individuals referred to by the NP (see 3.3.1.). A particular NP individual may also be specified via deixis (see 3.3.3.), adjectives (3.3.4.), etc.

3.3.1. Plural

Unmarked De'kwana NPs may refer to a single instance of the item named, to a general group of that item, or to non-particularized members of the class named by the NP (see 3.2.). NP specification for number is used to refer to a particular group and may be marked by plural suffixes, by the accompaniment of adjectival numerals or by verb affixes.

There are two plural suffixes used on NPs, -tomo and -komo. The suffix -tomo marks the NP for plural number as seen below:

1a. üwü tu'dedü 'my enemy'
üwü tu'de'tomo 'my enemies'
b. üwü yekünü 'my pet (dog, etc.)'
üwü yeküntomo 'my pets'

The suffix -komo marks the plural number for the person of the possessor of the item (also see 3.3.2., B.2.1.2., and B.3.1.2.3.)

2a. (üwü) tu'dedü 'my enemy'
(künwanno) ku'tu'dedü-komo 'our enemy'
b. (üwü) yekünü 'my pet'
(künwanno) kökünü-komo 'our pet'

Both plural suffixes together mark plural items with plural person possessors:

3a. ku'tu'de-tomo-komo > ku'tu'detonkomo 'our enemies'
b. kökünü-tomo-komo > köküntonkomo
'our pets'

However, currently these two suffixes functionally merge, as -komo is generally used on NPs to mark plural number. The two distinct plural suffixes -tomo and -komo are used to mark the pluralized item also marked by plural person of the possessor prefix when consultants are carefully seeking the correct form. Also the kinship terms retain the double plural suffixes. Thus, while the suffix -komo is used fairly

consistently to mark agreement with the plural possessor of an NP, the suffix -tomo to mark plural number of the person or object named by the lexical item is not utilized as often. This convention, no doubt, reflects the basic view of a lexical item as representing one or several of its class without any change in marking. However, again conforming to ranking of the animacy hierarchy, kinship terms are used with both plural endings:

4. ño:tütonkomo 'grandparents'

   ño:tü-tomo-komo > *ño:tü-tom-komo

   > ño:tütoŋkomo

   (see Appendix A for m > ŋ /___k //)

With inanimate forms, the plural marker -komo is also optional.

The suffix -to marks verb forms for plural number agreement with nominal arguments. Paradigm examples marked for plural number in subject nominals appear in Appendix B (see B.3.1.2.3.). The suffix -to follows tense/aspect markers as in example 5b below. Likewise, when the object/patient is plural the marker for plural number also follows the tense marker as in example 5b below:

5a. n - edantö - i
    pers -stem -tns/asp
    3/3 - meet - rec pst comp

    He met him/her/it. (non-reflexive)

b. n - edantö - i - cho
   pers - stem -tns/asp-num
   3/3 - meet -rec pst - plural

   He met them.

For forms with third person plural for both subject/agent and object/patient a double plural marker may be used to clarify the number of each, if it is not clear from the accompanying pronouns or other factors in the discourse context. Thus, the first two versions below have the independent pronouns to clarify number, while the third version has the two plural markers, the first to mark agent and the second to mark patient:

6a. mönö kün - edantö - i - cho kanno
3s 3 - stem -tns/asp-num 3 pl
he 3 - meet -dist pst-pl them

He met them.

b. kanno kün - edantö - i - cho kanno
3 pl 3 - stem -tns/asp-num 3 pl
they 3 - meet -dist pst-pl them

They met them.

c. öd - edantö - tö - ne - to
pers- stem -num -tns/asp-num
3/2 meet -plural-dist pst-plural

They met you (pl.).

Another convention for marking plurality on verbs can also indicate plural number for nominal arguments. The affix -hö- marks verb forms for the number of times an action occurs, i.e., repetitive action. In some cases this functions to communicate ongoing action, repetition of punctual acts (e.g., chopping), and in other cases it marks the verb to show the action was executed upon numerous items (e.g., chopping of a number of logs as opposed to repeated chopping on one log).

7a. wewa'töi 'I hung the hammock.'

wewa'tö-hö-tüi 'I hung the hammocks.'

b. kami:sha cho'kata 'I wash the shirt.'

kami:sha cho'ka-hö-'ta 'I wash the shirts.

c. wi:sho:ka 'I sew it.'

wi:sho:ka-hö-'a 'I sew them.'

This meaning for the affix -hö of action done to many objects specifies number for the patient NP, although it is marked within the verb morphology.

Also, when a noun has been derived from a verb root, this same affix, -hö-, may be used to mark the NP, as plural:

8a. üwü nadwöhüdü 'my garden'

b. üwü nadwö-hö-tüdü 'my gardens'

This NP form is derived from the verb for 'to plant': ña:tü'tödü.

3.3.2. Possession

De'kwana nouns may occur marked for specificity by possession affixes. Both animate and inanimate items can occur in possessed as well as nonpossessed forms of the NP.

The following list shows the unmarked NP form on the left and the corresponding possessed (first person) form on the right:

öwa'tö	'hammock'	yewütü	'my hammock'
amo	'hand'	yamodü	'my hand'
nta	'mouth'	üntadü	'my mouth'
ödinñö	'jar, pot,	yedinñöi	'my pot, jar'

Full paradigms for possessed nominals appear below in Appendix B (see B.2.1.2.).

Possession marking divides De'kwana NP's into three classes: those marked by the suffix -dü; those marked by -i; and those that have other suffixes and that do not occur in forms unmarked for possession. The third class are NP's that name semantically marked items from a cultural standpoint. Kinship terms and names of body parts, for example, are included in this class. However, some body-part terms are in one of the other two classes and some non-human terms are included in this third class. Cultural assumptions about the relative importance or closeness (intimacy) of certain items may be relevant to these NP class divisions.

It has been suggested (Marshall Durbin, personal communication, 1983) that there is a culturally shared scale of intimacy within the human environment for any group that may be reflected by morphosyntactic marking in language. For example, in Mayan the spider is considered part of the human environment in the house and, therefore, the lexical item for "spider" is marked with the inflection for possessed nominals while, in contrast, the lexical item for "turtle" is not so marked. It is possible that the third De'kwana NP class mentioned above conforms to a similar categorization based upon a scale of intimacy. Further work needs to be done to systematically verify this possibility for De'kwana.

3.3.3. Demonstratives

The demonstrative pronouns (see B.1.1.2. for a chart of animate and inanimate demonstrative pronouns) can occur strictly independently or in

conjunction with adjectives and/or nominals as seen in the examples below:

9a. Möñö wodi tüseheka'to danwa nene'ma
this woman intelligent man sees

This intelligent woman sees the man.

b. Möñö wodi danwa ködöy'hato nene'ma.
this woman man sick sees

This woman sees the sick man.

c. Edu:wa e'dö ano:to nadwöhüdü wichuhicha.
now this day my garden I will cultivate

Today I'm going to cultivate my garden.

d. To:ni wedu de: anwa'ka ñö:dö künnüi ya:wö
one year trees/ in he did it to verif. ptl.
forest

ñö:dö waya:mu.
that turtle

One year in the forest he unsuccessfully tried to trick that turtle.

The proximal animate pronoun refers to someone the speaker and hearer can see and touch, to someone near the speaker but not the hearer, or to someone the hearer can see and/or touch (as when the listener in a phone conversation is near the person spoken of). The medial demonstrative refers to persons that the speaker and hearer can see but are not close enough to touch, or directly interact with minimum effort, while the distal deictic refers to persons more remote in geographical distance and/or time. (See Appendix B for animate and inanimate deictic sets.)

Some items are categorized as inanimate in some contexts and animate in others. Animacy is a culturally defined category and

includes items such as stars that in tradidional De'kwana stories are categorized as animate, representing the spirits of the deceased, and, in that context, are accompanied by animate demonstrative forms.

10. nñanno shidi:chö tüw-(ö)t-öno-ho tüw-ei-ye
those stars 3-pssv-eat-pssv 3-be-subj

kün-öhö: - tö
3-be-DPC

Those stars were eated (by him).

3.3.4. Adjectives

Speakers of English tend to take for granted that other languages, like English, possess "adjectives"; but, uncertainty about the existence of an adjective class for non-Indo-European languages has surfaced in a number of places (e.g., Matisoff 1973:195). Various North American Indian languages have often been characterized as entirely lacking an adjective class (see Perrett 1974:12; Boas and Deloria 1941:23; Hoijer 1951:112). Active (or agent) languages are described (Klimov 1979:328) as lacking "categories of adjectives". Furthermore, the existence of a separate adjective class has been denied for at least two Carib languages, Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1979:26, 41-42) and Kariña (J. Mosonyi 1978:163-164). Hoff (1968:105-107) mentions the problems of attempting to identify traditionally discrete morphological or syntactic word classes in Carib and uses a process orientation to discuss the overlapping morphosyntactic properties of word classes in general (Hoff 1968:106-110) and of adjectives in particular (Hoff 1968:259-269).

Likewise, in De'kwana there is no single morphological word class

corresponding to adjectives in the sense of words modifying an NP nor any one syntactic word class existing that serves to augment nouns in both attributive and predicative fashions. However, a number of items may be identified as adjectives, as those items that semantically modify nouns both attributively and predicatively. Therefore, the term 'adjectives' is used in the present study for descriptive purposes. However, the group of lexical items so described does not conform to the adjective class in English or IndoEuropean languages in general in that it lacks the morphosyntactic unity traditionally expected for the adjective class in those languages.

This stem class seems to be partially nominal in origin but is morphologically and functionally different than other nouns (see Appendix B, B.2.3.). De'kwana adjectives are marked morphologically to function either as nominal structures or as adverbial structures. Those adjectives occurring as nominal structures may be associated with NP's attributively in a GN frame (see 2.3.3.1.), while the adverbial adjectival structures occur as predicate adjectives. Syntactically, De'kwana adjectives have a broader role as they can function as independent nominals, for example (see examples below).

When there is just one NP in a sentence, either form of the adjective may occur, but under distinct syntactic circumstances. If the predicative form is used, the adjective follows the NP it modifies preceding the copula verb:

11. Josefina inñatahe na. 'Josephina is beautiful.'
Josephine beautiful she-is

or to say the opposite:

12. Josefina inñatahe'da na. 'Josephina isn't beautiful.'
Josephine beautiful-not she-is

When the NP has other modifiers, for example, deictic and numeral modifiers, the predicate adjective remains in the position closest to the verb form (or in the syntactic predicative structure):

13. kanno wodinñamo aduwanködö inñatahenñe na:to
these women three beautiful are

These three women are beautiful.

On the other hand, the word order with the nominalized or attributive forms (with suffixes -to, -no, etc.; see Appendix B) does not necessarily include a form of the verb to be as these nominalized forms may associate with the specified sentential NP in an equative appositional construction:

14. Josefina ñö:dö inñatahato
this one beautiful

Josephina is this beautiful one.

15. möñö wodi inñatahato
this woman beautiful

This woman is (a) beautiful (one).

When there is only one NP in the sentence with a non-copula verb, the position of the nominalized or attributive form of the adjective determines its syntactic role as a noun phrase modifier or, in contrast, a role as an independent nominal. In example 16a below, the adjective follows the NP 'woman' and is understood as referring to that NP, while

in example 16b, the adjective follows the verb and is understood as an independent nominal referring to a separate, beautiful person who is in the object/patient role in the sentence. Likewise, in example 16c, the adjective is an independent nominal, this time in the position of the subject/agent NP:

S V
16a. wodi inñatahato na'dewfa
woman beautiful she-calls-him

The beautiful woman calls him.

S V O
b. wodi na'dewfa inñatahato

The woman calls the beautiful one.

S V O
c. inñatahato na'dewfa wodi

A handsome man calls the woman.

If the only noun in the sentence is inanimate, the accompanying nominalized attributive adjective in post-verbal position is understood to refer to an independent referent as a syntactically independent NP, while the non-nominalized form in the same sentential position specifies the inanimate N and is syntactically associated with it. This contrast can be seen in the following pair of examples:

17a. wüwa nü'ka'a inñatahato
basket weaves beautiful woman

The beautiful woman weaves the basket.

b. wüwa nü'ka'a inñatahe

She weaves a beautiful basket.

If only one or the other of the two adjective forms occurs with the verb without an NP, a similar assumption about the respective syntactic roles is made: the nominalized adjective is understood as an independent NP structure, while the non-nominalized form is syntactically within the sentential predicate rather than in NP status. These contrasting roles are seen in the next two examples:

18a. inñatahato nü'ka'a

A beautiful one weaves.

b. inñatahe nü'ka'a

She weaves beautifully/beautiful things.

Another factor supporting the designation of attributive adjective forms as NP units is that these forms may take deictics when they function as NPs. In the example below the attributive adjective form for 'old' begins the sentence referring to 'the old-one', or 'the grandmother', and is accompanied by the distal deictic: ñö:dö:

19. ñö:dö no'samo'kö i:yö a'ka
that old-one that-one into

kün-adima- i - cho ya:wö ta'nö'to-komo-hüdü
3/3-push-DPC-plural verif for cooking-them-DPC

a'ka
into

They pushed that old-one (their grandmother)
into it (the pot), the one that had been for
cooking them.

3.3.5. Relative Clauses

As was discussed above (see 2.3.3.1. and 3.3.4.), the adjective

function of attributively modifying a noun exists only in a semantic sense while the morphological manifestation involves two NP's (one being the adjective form) that are related to each other syntactically through juxtaposition in a GN frame. In a similar fashion, the semantic information communicated by relative clauses in English and similar languages is expressed in De'kwana by subordinate clauses with nominalized verbs (-dü suffixed to verb forms).

20a. yö:he kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö hi:ñamo,
thus 3-say-DPI verif wife

ya:daihüdü t-önöni-hü-dü n-etün-a ke
my-grandmother 3-eat-pst-rel 3-scream-pres repor

kün-ödü-a'kö
3-say-DPI

Thus, the wife said to him, "The one who ate my grandmother is screaming," she said.

b. mudekökö mayu:du n-a'totö-i - chü e:hü-da
youth beads 3/3-string-RPC-rel come-neg

neiya fieta a'ka
be-RPI party to

The youth who strung the beads did not come to the party.

c. wo:di ö'wa'tö n-utu - i to:ni mudekökö wö
woman hammock 3-give-RPC a boy to

dee ho:na Wan kün-enea - dü wö
tree in Juan 3-watch-rel marker to

The woman gave a hammock to a boy whom Juan saw in the tree.

These nominalized structures[3] follow the NP they modify (as do nominalized attributive adjectives) and are linked by juxtaposition with

that NP in a syntactic relationship patterned upon the GN frame (also like the syntactic pattern described for NA structures). These NP or nominalized clause structures can be marked by the nominal plural suffix -komo. They can also take postpositions marking the syntactic role (IO or object of postposition) of the NP that they modify (see example 20c above).

Internally, the nominalized structures serving as relative clauses have variations in morphosyntactic markings based on transitivity levels (see 4.2.). Word order within such clauses is SOV when both S and O NP's are contiguously available (see 20b) unless some other syntactic pattern takes priority such as marking of the IO relationship by GN frame juxtaposition involving the S or O of the clause (see 2.3.3.2.2.).

3.4. Discourse Cohesion and Specificity

Discourse cohesion occurs through marking of anaphora and through marking by specifying particles. In De'kwana, anaphora is marked most often by person prefixes on verbs (see 4.2.1.2.). Independent pronouns, including demonstratives, also give anaphoric reference as do nominalized adjectives and inflected postpositions. Specifying particles (dea, he, ne, ma) mark continuation, or lack thereof, in discourse. These items are discussed separately in the section immediately following.

3.4.1. Anaphora

Reference to items, actions, or circumstances already mentioned in

the discourse provide instances of anaphora. In De'kwana, person prefixes on verbs, independent pronouns, and other nominalized expressions mark anaphora. Further, the particle dea has an anaphoric function (see 3.4.2.).

The examples below are taken from a story about the legendary hero Komashi. In the opening sentence, a jaguar (mado) or shaman is introduced (see example 21a). Thereafter, he is referred to by the anaphoric independent pronoun "he" (tüwü) in the second and third sentences (e.g., 21b), and is referenced by a person prefix and modified by a demonstrative (ñö:dö) in the seventh sentence (21c).

21a. mado tüw-enta'na kün-öhö:-kö
jaguar 3-eat 3-be-DPI

The jaguar ate (people).

b. ssoto tüwü
human he (was)

A human was he.

c. yö:he tüw-ö:dü-e kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö
thus 3-say-pred 3-be-DPI verif

ñö:dö mado
that jaguar

Thus, he spoke, that jaguar.

3.4.2. Identity or Equivalence Particles

The discourse particle dea is used for highlighting identity or equivalence. It marks verbs, nominals, anaphoric adverbials, and postpositional phrases. Whatever lexical class is marked by dea carries the sense of being repeated--an action repeated; a particular person or

thing itself is repeated in the sense of being the same one mentioned before; i.e., identical to the one mentioned; an identical sequence of action, spatial or temporal entity may be repeated creating identity or equivalence with an earlier occurrence; postpositional phrases may occur that are marked for their equivalence or identity to an earlier instance.

The semantic relationship is translated "also", "again", "another time", "the very same one", "at that very same moment", "the same one", "him-/herself", etc. Dea must follow the item it refers to, scoping the particular units of V, or NP, or PP. Dea marks the repetition,[4] equivalence or identity of a particular entity as opposed to the non-reoccurrence of that entity. For example, dea can mark the same referent(s). When the speaker has specified a group or individual, dea refers to the one individual or group already specified or narrowed down out of the general class named.

In the first example below, the particle dea occurs in the second clause to mark continuation of the action that is the topic (marked by -he) of the discourse.

22a. danwa-komo de: adaiho'to kün-ö:'dö'-a - to
man-plural log large 3-carry-DPI-pl

a:kö kün-eduka- i- cho ya:wö
two 3-fall-DPC-pl verif

dantai adö:dü-he dea kün-öhö-'to
others carry -top ident 3-be-DPI

The men were carrying a large log; two (of them) fell, but the others continued carrying it.

b. kün-a'dew - a'kö ya:wö ñö:dö hya:n(a) aka
3-talk-DPI verif that-one ear in

dea önö:kü waya:mu
ident this box turtle

He answered (talked) into his (the deer's) ear
again, this box turtle.

The second example is from a story recounting a race between a box turtle and a deer. The particle dea marks the postpositional phrase: hya:naka 'in his ear', indicating that the box turtle (or some other box turtle in his family) is talking into the ear (same ear, again) of the deer.

3.4.3. Topicalization

The particle -he functions to mark topics in De'kwana discourse. This topic marker occurs with nominals (nouns, postpositional phrases, and nominalized verb forms), and it is also a part of a set of anaphoric adverbials: yö:he, mödö:he, edöhe, all meaning roughly "thus, so it goes". The sentential item marked by -he usually appears clause initially on lexical items other than verbs, but if marking a nominalized verb stem, one NP (either subject or object NP) will precede the verb on which -he occurs. The topics that are marked in these fashions represent prominent discourse material that is salient and, thus, highlighted.

In the first pair of examples below, the particle he marks verb forms that are the actions necessary to basket-making, the subject of the procedural text "Waha".

23a. wana akö'e wü't(ö)-a edu:wa akö'tö-dü-he
bamboo cut 1-go-pres now cut - nonf-top
(today)

wa edu:wa
I-am now (today)

Today I am going to cut bamboo and already (now)
it's cutting I am doing.

b. sha:dama-dü - he wa edu:wa sheicha-dü - he maha
strip -nonf - top I-am now tie -nonf - top and

It's stripping it I am (doing) and tying it.

Notice that the very first verb that establishes the topic of the text is not marked by -he, but the succeeding verbs that carry that topic forward are so marked.

The second pair of examples come from a story about a box turtle and an opossum who are competing with each other. In the first part of the story, the box turtle is left in the jungle to await the ripening of his food. In the first example (24a) the lexical item for food is marked as the topic of most importance in that section of the story.

24a. to:ni wedu de: anwa'ka ñö:dö kün-(ü)nü-i ya:wö
one year tree among that-one 3/3-put-RPC verif

ñö:dö waya:mu
that box turtle

One year in the jungle (among the trees) that-one put
the box turtle.

to:ni wedu ñö:dö kün-ö:hö:-kö ya:wö
one year that-one 3-was-DPI verif

mehe ñö:dö ewainshiñü-he ya:wö
(fruit tree) that-one food-top verif

önö:kü waya:mu
this box turtle

One year he was (there) and meje, it was his food,
this box turtle.

b. dawa:de kü-öhö:-kö ya:wö wadidi-he yö:dahö
opossum 3-be-DPI verif insect-top being-with

The opossum was there; it was with maggots (insects)
he was.

This second example (24b) occurs at the very end of the story after the opossum has had his turn to wait for his food to ripen. When the box turtle goes to tell the opossum that his food is ready, he finds the opossum is dead (and infested with maggots). In this case, the topicalizer -he emphasizes the mark of death (maggots), representing the end of the struggle between the two protagonists, and the crucial event in the final section of the text.

The particle -he may mark an NP which is not syntactically tied to the sentence with which it occurs other than by apposition to another NP that is more directly syntactically integrated within the sentence. In these cases, the topic marker -he serves a more generalized topic-marking function reminiscent of the topic-comment structures described by Chafe (1976b:50) and by Li and Thompson (1976). The following two examples (25a and b) have a topic frame of humanness that pertains for the rest of the predications.

25a. ma:do kün-öhö:-kö hena:dö ssoto tönö ssoto-he
tiger 3-be-DPI a long human eat human-top
time ago

The tiger was, a long time ago, eating people,
human-like (as a human).

b. kün-ahö:tö ya:wö, a:ko hya:mo ssoto-he maha
3-have-DPI verif two grandsons human-top and

Also as humans, he had two grandsons.

Topic marking may also occur when the particle -he is paired with the contrastive particle -ne (see 3.4.4. below) as -hene. Together, these particles mark major shifts in the topic focus of a discourse when this shift directly contrasts with the preceding topic focus of the discourse. The example below is from the story about the box turtle and the opossum who take turns waiting for their food to ripen. It occurs at the point in the story where the box turtle has survived his wait and it is the opossum's turn to try to do the same.

26. to:ni wedu yödüa-hökö ya:wö; ya:wö-he -ne
one year be - with verif verif-top-contr

kun-u'ka-i de: anwa'ka-no
3/3-leave-RPI tree among

It had been one year; truely it was, he had left him in the forest.

3.4.4. Contrastive Particles

There are two contrastive particles in De'kwana, -(m)ma and -ne, that may be suffixed to nominal, verbal, adjectival, or adverbial expressions singly, or in combination. The first one serves to highlight information by narrowing or specifying a particular item through emphasizing it in contrast to others in general while the second one highlights the more restricted contrast of an item to a previously mentioned or understood item in the discourse context.

The first particle, -(m)ma, is understood in the sense of a contrast between the marked item and all other possible candidates as in

the proposition, "x and only x". Translations include: "the only one"; "no others"; "only those that are/have (it)". In the first example below, the item in question contrasts with all other possible items that could have been requested, and in the second example, the two items described as having been used in making necklaces contrast with all other items that could possibly have been used:

27a. iyö-mma m-anont(ö)-a
this -spec 2/3-demand/-pres tns
ask for

It is the only one that you ask for.
(This alone is what you ask for.)

b. mödö'kwa'kö a:kō-mma
thus-it-is-done two-spec

It's two things that are used, no more.

In these examples we can see that a particular item (or items) is highlighted by specifying it in contrast to all other possible candidates and that this contrastive marking with -(m)ma creates a clefted construction carrying the sense of "it is only", or "it is the only one". In the first example the contrastive marker occurs with a deictic, "this" (or, "this one") and in the second example the marker is with the numeral "two". The particle -(m)ma also occurs with nominals and nominalized verb forms as well as idiomatic anaphoric adverbials and can mark an entire quotation. This range of function can be viewed in the examples below.

The other enclitic, -ne marks contrastive items that reverse some aspect of the previous information, based on what the speaker thinks the

listener expects either from shared cultural information or from the overt content of previous information in the discourse itself. The contrast with -ne expresses the concept: "x and not y", where "y" is information which is shared either culturally or from the preceding discourse. An example of contrast within the shared cultural information sphere appears in the following sentence:

28. öisha-ne ö-mma-i na-i
where-contr 2-house-pssn it is-irrel

Where is your house?

In this example, the shared cultural information rests on the understanding that the normal expectation behind such question is that the location of the listener's house contrasts with the location of the speaker's house; thus it is also out of sight of the participants in the discourse or, at least, unseen or unknown by the speaker. The speaker is asking, in effect, "Where, in contrast, is your house?" The listener's house contrasts with the speaker's house and also with the shared cultural assumption that the location of the participants in the discourse will be the normal context for content of the discourse.

The contrastive particle, -ne, occurs with nominals, locative expressions, verbs, and postpositional phrases. These possibilities are illustrated below. In the first example the main character in the story, a woman, is realizing that the woman she thought was a friend of hers is really a demon.

29. odo'sha:-ne mö'dö ñö:dö-hünü-ne
demon-contr she-is that-one-neg-contr

mö'dö ke k(ü)-tüta'hö:tü-i
she-is repor 3-thought-rec. pst.compl.

"She is a demon; she is not that one (my friend),"
she thought.

In another story, an opossum abandoned a turtle in the forest to wait for food to grow and for a year there was no food whenever the opossum checked on the situation. Finally, the fruit had flowered in contrast to the previous visits, and the opossum comments upon the event:

30. edu:wa-ne yüse'nai ke künödüa'kö ya:wö
now-contr it-is-blossoming repor he-said verif

töhu:de edu:wa ke künödua'kö ya:wö dawa:de
flowers now repor he-said-it verif opossum

"Now it is blossoming," he said; "Now there are
flowers," said the opossom.

Both of the two previous examples display a contrast involving information within the discourse context. As seen above, and in the upcoming example, culturally shared information also plays a part.

In the following example, Komashi and the jaguar's daughter are trying to trap the jaguar in a series of caves where lapas are often caught to be eaten. In the example ne marks the eating of people by the jaguar, as opposed to people eating lapas normally caught in the same location. This information is shared by the characters in the story, but also is shared cultural information among the De'kwana (specifically on the Cunucunuma River).

31. aichüdü ha:dö dea-mma tüweiha'ka tüweiye
prodding with iden-spec come-out aux

künöhö:kö ya:wö ñö:dö mado-he ya:wö
aux verif that jaguar-top verif

ñö:dö soto e:ka:-ne ya:wö mado-he ya:wö
that-one people eat-contr verif jaguar-top verif

It was with the same prodding that that tiger came out to eat people.

The enclitic -ne may follow postpositional phrases to mark contrast as in the example below where Komashi insists that the tiger's daughter should not use her paint but his own to paint him. The enclitic -ne follows the negated postpositional phrase mö'dö ke, "with this".

32. yö:he künödüa'kö ñö:dö Komashi
thus he-said-it that-one

mö'dö-ke-'da-ne küwa:nai'chö-kö ke
this-with-neg-contr paint-imper repor

wa:nai tüweiye maha na dea-awö e:'dö ke-ne ke
my-paint aux and is iden-when this with-contr repor

Thus said Komashi, "Don't paint me with this; when there is my paint, paint me with it."

This example incorporates information about body painting described in the text along with shared cultural information about variation in body-painting patterns and practices. Thus the recognition of a person as friend or foe may depend upon the body paint.

The two contrastive enclitics -(m)ma and -ne occur together combining the senses of contradictory and contrary marking. The doubly marked item is highlighted by being singled out from other possible candidates and further highlighted by being contrasted to a previously

mentioned or understood item producing a highly specified focus upon a contrasted opposition of items. The combined form, mane, marks a reversal of expectation or that something is contrary to the expectation of the listener and is translated as "but" in the contrastive sense; that is, the sense of "but" when it means "and" is not included for -mane. When used in an answer, it marks an item as different than indicated in the question such as: kawö-mmane, "he/she is taller (than indicated in the question)"; or, nuwe-mmane ene'kö'de, "Bring me only large ones (in contrast to the question)."

The passage below, from a story about Komashi, a legendary hero, includes the two specifying and contrastive particles ma and ne following the topicalization marker he. These three particles mark the nominal mado 'tiger', at the beginning of the second clause in the passage and placing it into contrast with the first clause.

33. ssoto tüwü mado-he -ma -ne ya:wö tüwü
human he (was) tiger-top-spec-contr verif he (was)

He was human but also it's a tiger, he was.

The use of ma and ne in this example marks a contrast between the information in the first and second clauses. The opposition is built upon the contrastive senses of the two particles: ma, x and only x; and, ne, x and not y. These senses combine to mark a reversal of the expectation the speaker thinks is in the mind of the listener. The first equative clause establishes that the one mentioned is human, but the second clause says that even so (contrary to the expectation established), this one is a tiger.

3.5. Summary

Information in discourse is specified in a number of ways. In this chapter, we have reviewed specification of nominals (see 3.3.) by marking for number and possession, and by modification with demonstratives, adjectives, and relative clauses. These constructions mark greater degrees of specification of nominals in discourse, and are determining factors in the tabulations of transitivity parameters in Chapter 4 (see 4.3.1.). One transitivity parameter in particular draws upon these constructions: individuation of patient. Two others (affectedness of patient and potency of agent) are also often affected by degrees of specification. In addition, degrees of specification interact with word order conventions as is discussed in Chapter 2.

In De'kwana a number of particles have a specifying function in discourse. The particle dea marks material that is identical to previous mentions, specifically carrying on the main ideas in a text. Topicalization (he) and contrastive particles (ma and ne) mark items that are in focus as topic, or that shift focus (by either being a new topic or being in contrast to items or topics in preceding discourse).

These particles function as cohesive devices in discourse. Cohesion may be marked as continuity of discourse items as seen in anaphoric constructions (see 3.4.1.), occurrences of the particle dea (see 3.4.2.), or with the topicalizer he (see 3.4.3.). Maintaining the focus through these morphosyntactic devices creates cohesion by sustaining the attention of the receiver/listener.

The contrastive particles ma and ne shift the focus of attention,

and, potentially, interrupt the established cohesion. However, these particles function to maintain continuity in the discourse by marking particular kinds of contrast to items already in the discourse setting. The contrastive marking, then, is contrastive in terms of its relationship (established by contrast) to the discourse, and, thus, provides linkage even though it may move the discourse forward in another direction.

NOTES

[1]The term "modification" was not chosen for this general category in De'kwana to avoid the implication of English-style hypotaxis in nominal specification (see 2.3.3.1. for description of noun-adjective (NA) as a juxtaposition of nominal structures in De'kwana, for example).

[2] While animacy is an inherent property, it does interact with other factors to determine patterns of specification in De'kwana. For example, the animacy level of the NP that is a syntactic object of the verb determines the WO options for itself and for any modifiers.

[3]Migliazza (1985:20) discusses areal features for relative clauses in the northern part of South America to include constructions that are appositives and nominalized, rather than embedded constructions like those in English, for example.

[4]The particle dea marks repetition as does the iterative suffix -hö-. However, dea has a different specifying function incorporating anaphora. The suffix -hö- merely marks numbers of occurrences of actions or items, in general, and, thus, marks plurality or number (see 3.3.1.). But it lacks the degree of specification that dea exhibits in marking items already identified in discourse.

4. TRANSITIVITY

4.1. Introduction

Under three approaches to transitivity analysis different units of analysis are examined: 1) lexical verb structures for transitivity levels (see 4.2.1.), 2) clause or sentential units for transitivity functions (see 4.2.2.), and 3) discourse units (four De'kwana texts) both for Hopper and Thompson's ten transitivity parameters and for the six transitivity levels that were determined under the first approach in number one above (see 4.3.). These three analyses are focused on transitivity relationships and by shifting their concerns from lexical through clause to discourse units provide a view of more than one structural level and, thus, at some ways in which transitivity features interact simultaneously in discourse settings.

An initial review of definitions of transitivity finds that it is closely tied to Indo-European languages or to languages that are either nominative or ergative types. Nevertheless, De'kwana, an active (agent-patient) language, has morphosyntactic marking in verb structures that function with varying degrees of transitivity. These verb structures, described as exhibiting transitivity levels one to six (see 4.3.1.), are counted in texts and another technique for tracing transitivity, following Hopper and Thompson, is used (see 4.3.2.). The results of these tabulations are presented in this chapter and reveal evidence of transitivity features in an active (agent/patient) language lacking the transitive-intransitive dichotomy expected in other types of

languages.

4.1.1. Definitions of Transitivity

The distinction between transitive and intransitive constructions appeared in work by the Roman grammarian Priscian and was passed on by medieval grammarians into the modern grammatical tradition (Padley 1976:53). More recently linguists have directed their attention to the linguistic notion of transitivity per se, and have shifted from mainly structural to broader semantically or discourse-based functional considerations (see 1.2. for a summary of this shift).

In the late 1960's, Halliday (1967, Parts I and II; 1968) discussed transitivity in English using a systemic approach. Verb arguments were sorted into directed action, non-directed action and ascription, with basic nominal arguments as actor, initiator, goal, and attribuant (Halliday 1967:39-42). While Halliday (1967:39) put forth a syntactic frame of S (subject), P (predicate) and C (complement), the major part of his analysis focused on the meaning-based roles of verbs and their associated nouns such as the directed vs. non-directed action or actor vs. initiator distinctions listed above.

In more recent work, Halliday (1985) has developed his approach to include both transitive/intransitive and ergative grammatical patterns. For Halliday (1985:101, 137) the clause structure comprises: 1) the process itself (verb); 2) participants in the process; and, 3) circumstances associated with the process (manner, cause, accompaniment, time and space). The transitive grammatical pattern is a linear

extension of verbal processes from an actor to a goal (Halliday 1985:103). In contrast, the ergative grammatical pattern is a nuclear unit of the verb (process) and one participant, the Medium, through which the process is actualized or accomplished. Under the ergative interpretation, the Medium is the participant that, under a transitive interpretation, is equivalent to Actor in an intransitive clause and to Goal in a transitive clause (Halliday 1985:146). The semantic roles of Benificiary and Range (scope or domain of the action) as well as Agent may also have more central positions as participants in the clause than would be the case under the transitive pattern (Halliday 1985:149).

Also focusing on semantic roles for grammatical structures, Chafe (1970:10) emphasized the centality of the verb, with nouns related to it through agent, patient, benefactive, etc., roles. These verb-noun relationships were seen as the core of semantic structure for languages.

Based on a paper given at the 1978 LSA Summer Meetings at the University of Illinois, Hopper and Thompson (1980) formulated ten morphosyntactic parameters that correlate with transitivity levels of clauses, and initiated a series of studies (e.g., Hopper and Thompson 1982) on transitivity in sentence and discourse settings. Recently, Payne (1985) extended the idea of degrees of transitivity to lexical units in her analysis of Yaqua verb structures, calling it "inherent transitivity" to distinguish it from Hopper and Thompson's usage.

In Hopper and Thompson's (1980) article, the notion of transitivity was characterized as "a central property of language use"; "a global property of an entire clause"; said to exhibit "grammatical and semantic

prominence" derived "from its characteristic discourse function"; and, to include "semantic characteristics" which are "grammaticized in the morphosyntax of natural languages" (Hopper and Thompson 1980:251). These semantic characteristics are considered under ten parameters: participants, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, individuation of the object and affectedness of the object (Hopper and Thompson 1980:255).

A major strength in the approaches noted above lies in the fact that they have identified semantically-based parameters to utilize in analysis of morphosyntactic data. Such analysis applied across languages will allow us to see which features are universal and which are language specific. In the current study, transitivity analysis is applied to De'kwana in an effort to discern how morphosyntactic patterns reflect transitivity and to sort out the relevant divergencies that are language-specific. However, there are also a number of limitations in these perspectives that become apparent in an analysis of De'kwana language data. While there has been substantial movement away from linguistic models overly restricted by reliance on Indo-European data, some remnants of such restrictive models may still exist; for example, the assumptions about agent and patient roles.

Many, if not most, of the languages studied to date have coded agent orientation as primary over other nominal roles (see Comrie 1978 and 1981, for related discussions). Even when considering patient-oriented marking that occurs in ergative languages, the agent role is still generally considered to be primary. In Carib languages

the semantic role of agent is marked morphosyntactically on the noun: the suffix -ya in Makusi (Keary n.d.:37) and also in Wayana (Jackson 1972:60), and the suffix -wa in Hoff's Carib (Hoff 1968:291). In Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1979:177) the agent has been identified as being marked with the relator wya in sentences containing causative constructions, while in De'kwana an affix -wö marks the agent in passive and causative constructions, and in complement clauses. These markers are not case markers but, rather, oblique markers.

Additionally, there are restrictions on agents that operate in passive constructions. In Makusi (Keary n.d.:65) the passive may be used with an instrumental noun but not when an agent noun is present, except when the agent noun appears with an adjectival participle modifying the semantic patient noun. This process reduces the transitivity of the sentence by demoting the agent to subordinate clause status. For Hixkaryana, Derbyshire (1979:177, 259, 261) described pseudo-passive constructions derived via causative, detransitive and nominalization processes, as lacking an overt agent. Additionally, the tendency in De'kwana to mark the patient in preference over the agent (see 4.2.3. and Hall 1984) encourages a re-examination of the generally assumed primacy of the agent in transitivity studies (see Givon 1984:140, 155; DeLancey 1981:645-646). There is no reason a priori to consider agent orientation as more natural than patient orientation. Certainly the experience of growing up offers us plenty of occasions on which to observe ourselves and others as recipients of the effects of actions and events. It may become necessary to consider agent

orientation as a culture-specific or language-specific attitude in light of such evidence as the De'kwana morphosyntactic marking of patient in preference to the agent.

Another residual problem surrounds usage of the term "transitivity" and its association with the transitive/intransitive dichotomy. The literature on American Indian languages offers many examples of verb systems patterning in action/non-action, active/neutral, dynamic/stative fashions (cf. Boas, Sapir, Hoijer, etc.). Recent work in language typology (Klimov 1974, 1979; Comrie 1976) has discussed "active" languages along with "nominative" and "ergative" languages and noted that rather than having a clear division between transitive and intransitive verb roots there may be a continuum of degrees of transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Payne 1985:20); and, that verb systems may contain a mixture of features identified for active, ergative and nominative languages (Hall 1984; also see 4.2. below).

Both these limitations (primacy of agent and the transitive/intransitive dichotomy) revolve around the assumptions carried within a traditional view of the transitivity relationship. Hopper and Thompson (1980:251) summarize this perspective as follows:

> Transitivity is traditionally understood as a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is 'carried over' or 'transferred from an agent to a patient.

This statement reflects assumptions associated with certain types of languages in which the transitive or intransitive dichotomy is present and in which the agent is in focus as being in control and as the

originator of the action. The perspective of the language/language user is stated in its most basic form by the phrase: "an activity is 'carried over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient." When we read this phrase, we have a tendency to translate it into an agent-verb-patient frame that is characteristic of a large number of languages including English. However, other perspectives are possible. English and other languages shift to other perspectives using syntactic constructions such as the passive, for example, in some cases deleting the agent entirely.

In Hopper and Thompson's original phrasing of this transitivity frame quoted above, the activity is mentioned first, not the agent, but the syntactic conventions of English then produce the passive construction "is 'carried over' or 'transferred'" and the patient is mentioned after the agent as an oblique nominal argument (as is agent). Although it appears that Hopper and Thompson's statement is an effort to be neutral, it is difficult to move beyond the expected focus wherein the agent plays a dominant role by instigating the activity.[1] In contrast, one might assume a perspective that has as its focus the non-agent roles, where the concern includes the activity and its recipient with the possibilities of various degrees of importance for an agentive force, all the way from indefinite, unspecified or unnamed, not mentioned agents through generalized minimally specified but mentioned agents, to a specific named person as agent in a clause. The first category (unspecified agent) is considered as a specially marked situation in English (passive construction with agent deleted), but it

forms a basis for viewing the verb system in De'kwana (see 4.2.1., 4.2.2. and B.3.1.).

If we take such a perspective and call the non-agentive nominal arguments 'X', we then have a syntactic frame of: X and verb (V), where X may be a recipient of the activity with case roles of patient, dative, benefactive, goal, etc., but also experiencer and actor, anything not an agent. The associated verb reflects various degrees of transitivity that code the kind of involvement of the nominal argument in the activity of the verb. Here we might draw upon Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity parameters and talk about the "Affectedness of O", or the "Individuation of O" as relevant to the kind of involvement, rephrasing these as: the individuation of X, and the affectedness of X.

Thus, the XV frame (with X a non-agent NP accompanying the verb) is useful for describing De'kwana transitivity and its coding in the morphosyntactic markers outlined in this chapter. The importance of a binary syntactic frame was discussed in terms of word order in Chapter 2 above (see 2.3.3.) which would provide a certain motivation to adopt such a perspective for considering transitivity in De'kwana. However, the morphosyntactic material marking transitivity in De'kwana gives two additional major reasons to support the adoption of this viewpoint.

On the one hand, the morphosyntactic marking of verb stems by person prefixes reflects this perspective. Two prefix sets mark patient, dative, benefactive (y-, ø- set) roles vs actor or experiencer (w- set) roles, respectively (see 4.2.1. and 4.2.1.2.). This arrangement is called "split-intransitive" or "active" as a type of verb system (see

Givon 1984; Heath 1986). These verbs (intransitive) all have one argument that is marked by a single person prefix on affirmative forms, and on the auxiliary but not on the verb stem in the negative form (see 4.2.1.2.). In contrast, those verbs that do have two (or more) NP arguments are marked by person prefixes, coding both agent and patient on affirmative verb forms, and two prefixes on negative verb forms, one on the verb stem and another on the auxiliary coding patient and agent, respectively (see 4.2.1.2.). The non-agent role receives preferential treatment with this latter group, however, as the patient role is marked rather than the agent in the transitive forms coding both agent and patient (see 4.2.1.2.).

A second area in which the viewpoint emphasizing non-agent roles with the XV frame is useful to transitivity analysis is in terms of the overt marking of degrees of transitivity by various verbal affixes. Most studies on transitivity consider the clause level and discourse level (see Hopper and Thompson and others), but have not fully explored verb morphology. Doris Payne (1985) extended transitivity analysis to verb morphology but labeled it by the distinct term of "inherent transitivity." This distinction betweeen domains for transitivity is less useful for De'kwana. In De'kwana the term "inherent transitivity" is needed only if morphology is isolated from syntax, such that verb stems are viewed as a category separate from syntactic constructions such as passive or causative. De'kwana verb stems could be said to have "inherent transitivity" by virtue of the presence of the various thematic markers and, especially, the presence or absence of the

transitive markers -t- or -ho- (see B.3.1.1.2.3., and 4.2.1.1.). But, to do so creates an artificial boundary in De'kwana since the same transitivity morphemes, -t- and -ho-, also mark constructions translated as passive, causative, reciprocal and reflexive (see 4.2.4. and B.3.1.2.6.). A perspective starting with the binary syntactic frame of XV as the coding norm, then, provides this verb-plus-one-argument model as a basis for the constructions utilizing transitivity markers (-t-, -ho-). Constructions translated as passive, causative, etc., are treated as extensions of the transitivity marking in the verb stem morphology rather than isolating them as mere versions of a two-argument syntactic frame. This latter position leads to the view that there is no "true" passive in such systems or to use a label like "pseudo passive" for the construction (see 4.2.2.1. and 4.2.2.2. below).

When dealing with transitivity the question of unit of analysis becomes exceedingly complex. The factors that determine levels of transitivity cross-cut traditional linguistic categories and raise questions about restrictions in the linearity of scalar models. Both of these points are addressed under a perspective concerned with simultaneity of linguistic phenomena (see Chapter 1).

The former point involves transitivity features that cross-cut morphological, lexical, and syntactic domains, and involve both structural and functional considerations. Consideration of the simultaneous functions of these various manifestations of transitivity will be discussed below (see 5.4.).

The latter point surfaces under the approach of Hopper and Thompson

to Transitivity analysis. In this case separate high vs. low scaling of ten transitivity parameters are combined to indicate high vs. low (again linear) transitivity for a clause or sentence. There is an implied simultaneity of the ten transitivity parameters in producing the Transitivity level for the entire clause, but this is a rather nebulous arrangement (coded quantitatively for presence/absence of the parameters). It says little about the relationships among the parameters (beyond presence of high Transitivity with other high Transitivity items, if obligatorily coded; or, low Transitivity with other low Transitivity items). Thus, while Hopper and Thompson's (1980; 1982) continuum of transitivity is a discourse notion based on semantic parameters, it also has manifestations in lexical morphology (verb system and/or nominal marking) as well as in clause-level and discourse functions.

4.1.2. Transitivity Analysis

De'kwana verb forms exhibit a number of morphosyntactic markers indicating the importance of transitivity features, although no single previous approach provided a clear fit to De'kwana data. For this reason several approaches have been applied to De'kwana verb forms, clauses and texts in order to explore transitivity levels and to determine what parameters of analysis are relevant and useful.

High Transitivity features of two or more participants, high potency of the agent, an individuated object and a totally affected object (Hopper and Thompson 1980:2) are morphosyntactically

distinguished in Carib languages. In De'kwana, different morphosyntactic strategies in discourse reflect transitivity features in representing the speaker's control of the receiver(s)' attention and participation.

Transitivity features are explicitly coded in the De'kwana verb system within the domain of lexical semantics or morphology. Hopper and Thompson (1982:1) discuss the importance of the verb for transitivity relationships but focus on the importance of the nominal arguments, or participants, associated with the verb saying:

> Indeed, the number, kind, and interrelationships of the participants are frequently the basis for the organization of the entire verb system into conjugational and aspectual classes.

Chafe (1980:10), on the other hand, discusses the centrality of the verb in semantic structure and characterizes verb semantics as determining the relations with nominal arguments. In both cases the noun-verb relations are considered to be the basic semantic structure of language. These relationships may be coded more or less explicitly in languages. In De'kwana the transitivity relationships are coded explicitly within the morphosyntax of the verb system (see 4.2.1. and 4.2.2.). These noun-verb relations also function in clause or sentential units, and reflect Hopper and Thompson's (1982:3) transitivity features. The sentential interdependence of transitivity features in De'kwana is discussed under 4.3. below.

The semantic core of the noun-verb relationship functions at both the clausal and discourse levels. For example, the role of nominal

arguments or participants expresses both clausal relationships and discourse functions. Hopper and Thompson (1982:1, 4) and Givon (1983; 1984:137) emphasize the role of participants in discourse; the former, in their central role in the cardinal transitivity of clauses (see 4.3.1.), and, the latter, in the maintenance of topic continuity in discourse (see 3.4.2.). By examining De'kwana transitivity relations in lexical verb structures (see 4.2.1.), in sentential units (see 4.2.2.) and in discourse sequences (see 4.3.), on can establish some basis for discussing simultaneity of functions.

4.2. De'kwana Degrees of Transitivity

De'kwana discourse exhibits multiple degrees of transitivity in verb stems, in person prefix markers and in clause level constructions. For example, agreement patterns in the De'kwana pronominal prefix system reflect a complex intersection of features from the animacy and person hierarchies and related aspects of transitivity levels (see 4.2.1.2.).

Additional degrees of transitivity can be observed both by 1) examining derivational and inflectional morphology of De'kwana verb stems (see 4.2.1.), and, 2) by examining the morphosyntactic constructions translated with reflexive, reciprocal, passive, or causative senses (see 4.2.2.). In De'kwana, these two areas exhibiting morphosyntactic markings for degrees of transitivity are not unrelated. For example, as noted above, the -t- and -ho- transitivity markers occur in both areas, and the alternation in verb stem vowels to reflect lowered transitivity also occurs in constructions conveying a passive

meaning.

These various interlocking aspects of the De'kwana verb agreement system will be discussed by examining aspects of transitivity in verb stems (see 4.2.1.), in the affirmative person markers with out-of-position marking of the patient (see 4.2.2.), transitivity relationships of tense/aspect and modal markers (see 4.2.3.), and their relationship to discourse functions of clausal Transitivity (see 4.2.2. and 4.3.)

4.2.1. Transitivity in De'kwana Verbs

In De'kwana the verb forms scale from low to high degrees of transitivity. In English, transitivity is not marked overtly until the clause level (except for semantic classes of verbs). That is, the morphological structure of the verb forms alone do not allow one to discern transitivity statuses. The speaker knows the syntactic valence of each verb; i.e., how many arguments it takes or, in some cases, that options (e.g., 'sing', 'eat', etc.) for either transitive or intransitive realizations exist. In contrast, De'kwana verb forms reflect transitivity levels through morphosyntactic marking. Transitive and intransitive inflection for non-finite forms (see B.3.2.1.) along with three person prefix sets (see B.3.1.2.1.) and verb stem morphology (see B.3.1.) coordinate to create verb classes. These classes are summarized in Table 4.1. below:

Table 4.1

Verb Stem Transitivity Markers

Category	1	2	3
nonfinite	w...nö	w...nö	ø...dü
nominalized	Ø(i)...nö		
person	patient	agent	agent/patient
prefixes	y-, ø-	w-	w-
Stem	e - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -		i
Vowels		ö - - - - - - - -	e
		V: - - - - - - - -	V

The two categories of nonfinite marking are discussed below. Person prefixes and stem vowels also distinguish the verb classes listed below and are discussed more fully in the following two sections (see 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.1.2.).

The De'kwana verb system has contrasting markers for the non-finite forms of transitive and intransitive verbs, -dü[2] and w...nö, respectively, e.g., ene-dü 'to see something' and w-a'sen-nö, 'to laugh'. Pairs of vowels (i/e, e/ö) mark higher vs. lower levels of transitivity in verb stems as well; e.g., niwo:nta, 'he dresses him (non-reflexive)', newo:nta, 'he dresses (intransitive)'; wenea, 'I see (someone)', wönea, 'I am seen'. Examples of these are listed below:

intransitive	transitive
w-e-wa'tö-nö to help oneself	i-wa'tö-dü to help someone
w-e-wo:ntö-nö to dress oneself	i-wontö-dü to dress someone else
w-e-ntatü:-nö to wash one's mouth	i-nchatü-dü to wash someone else's mouth
w-ö-wa'tö-nö to hang one's hammock	e-wa'tö-dü to hang a hammock
w-ö-ne-nö to be seen	e-ne:-dü to see something
w-ö-:ma-nö to die	e-ma:-dü to kill
w-ö-nu'(k)-nö to rise	annu'ku:du to climb

These two categories are generally consistent with the transitive/intransitive distinction in English, for example, with the intransitive as a one-argument predication and the transitive as a two- or three-argument predication. However, the semantic distinction between these two categories follows a different patterning convention that is common to active (agent-patient) languages. The w...nö affixes mark verbs to indicate a change of state. (See discussion of w- as a thematic affix with similar meaning in B.3.1.1.2.1.). This category includes verbs whose associated nominal arguments undergo some change either directly (e.g., 'get dirty') or indirectly experiencing something (e.g., 'get lost', 'dream'). Verb classes labeled (Klimov 1974:15; 1979:329) as verba sentendi, and verba affectuum in other languages of this type represent semantic categories similar to that included in De'kwana verb Classes 1 and 2 that are marked by w...nö in non-finite forms.

These non-transitive verbs (with nonfinite forms inflected by w...nö) are subdivided into two groups. In one group are those verbs marked by person prefixes where the nominal argument has a semantic case role of patient, experiencer, or some other non-agentive role. (See related discussion in section 4.1. above.) Another group is marked by prefixes with the nominal argument in the case role of actor, or agent (and in some cases the recipient as well of reflexive action). This kind of arrangement has been discused as "split-intransitive" by Givon (1984:149-168; also Heath 1986), but is more accurately characterized as the active/nonactive type (Givon 1984:149-150; Klimov 1979; Schmidt 1979). Further discussion of these marking systems appears below (see 4.2.1.2.).

Transitive verbs with the nonfinite forms inflected by ø...dü are marked by the entire set of conjunct person prefixes listed below in 4.2.1.2. and B.3.1.2.1., and take the two nominal arguments of agent (as subject) and patient (as direct object). There is a further subdivision within the transitive verbs for those having only third person as the second nominal argument in the patient case role. The two subgroups of intransitive verbs along with transitive verbs create three verb classes as listed below.

Class 1 (intr)

w-ewa'tö-nö	'sustain oneself'
w-e'dukka:-nö	'fall'
w-ekamhiaka-nö	'change'
w-entatü:-nö	'wash one's mouth'
w-eka'tün-nö	'run'
w-eha'ka-nö	'go out, leave'
w-ennu-nö	'be born'

w-e'kodoyma-nö	'get dirty'
w-ennaka-nö	'return'
w-a'dew'nö	'speak, say, talk'
w-a'sen-nö	'laugh'
w-ahanün-nö	'jump'
w-awana-nö	'get up, begin the day'
w-awo:-nö	'swell, inflate'
w-omon-nö	'enter'
w-önu'-nö	'rise, go up'
w-ünü'-nö	'sleep'
w-enadü-nö	'be wrecked, foul up'
ø-tütahö-nö	'think'
ø-da'tu:-nö	'burn oneself, burn up'
ø-kö'tün-nö	'shout'
ø-hönün-nö	'swim'
ø-se:de'tö-nö	'dry'

Class 2 (intr)

w-amo-nö	'cry'
w-a:hö:i-ñö	'grab oneself'
w-onwatü:-nö	'wash hands'
w-owashinchö-nö	'eat'
w-ö'dü-nö	'arrive, say, speak'
w-ö'ka-nö	'stop, finish, terminate'
w-önwa-nö	'dance'
w-önnanü'-nö	'get lost, be lost'
w-o:'ka-nnö	'cut oneself'
w-ö:nehe:-nö	'flee'
w-ö:wa'tö-nö	'hang ones hammock'
w-enetü-nö	'dream'
w-ö:ma-nö	'die, be killed'
w-öne-nö	'to be seen'
w-ö-nö	'to be'
w-ü'tö-nö	'to go'

Class 3a (trans--third person object only)

e'ka'tö:-dü	'beg, ask, petition'
ehe:ma-dü	'buy'
oima-dü	'mix'
utu:-dü	'give'
tü'ka:-dü	'dig, excavate'
tüdü:-dü	'do, make'
tü'kü:-dü	'grate'
tü'kahü-dü	'weave'
yöhi-yü	'grind, mash'
shemeka-dü	'clean, sweep'
shedenamhü-dü	'dry things'
shi:cha-dü	'break'

sho:ka-dü	'sew'
chü:na-dü	'clean the garden'
ña:tü'tö-dü	'plant'

Class 3b (trans--non-third person object possible)

ennuicha-dü	'give birth'
ekamhü-dü	'believe'
ekamma-dü	'speak, say'
edantö-dü	'encounter'
enkutö-dü	'deceive, lie'
ememme'kü-dü	'rob'
ewanaka:-dü	'save'
ewa'tö-dü	'hang a hammock (someone else's)
emhanö'-dü	'take'
aihuku:-du	'hit'
adö:-dü	'carry'
tönö-dü	'eat meat'
uhi:-yü	'look for'
tüwö:-dü	'spear, kill with spear'
tüdüho-dü	'permit'
shoma-dü	'guard'
cho:'ka-dü	'wash things'
ya'kwa-dü	'burn'
hyumma-dü	'like, want, love'
i'wa'tö-dü	'help or sustain someone'
inchatü:-dü	'wash someone's mouth'

These verb classes represent person marking categories or classes, not verb stem classes. A verb stem may appear in more than one class with differing affixes. The classes show varying degrees of transitivity from the intransitive verbs taking patient prefixes, to those taking agent prefixes, to transitive verbs taking only a third person direct object, to those taking any person category as direct object (see 4.2.2. below for a more extensive listing of these plus other levels of Transitivity). While there is no apparent morphological distinction between verbs in classes 3a and 3b, the division is based on selectional restrictions incorporating differences in animacy and person hierarchy rankings, factors also crucial for De'kwana word order (see chapter 2)

and verb prefixes (see 4.2.1.2.). These verb categories are similar to the classifications described for active languages (Klimov 1974, 1979; Schmidt 1979) as opposed to ergative or nominative languages, and have been identified in the systems of various North American Indian languages (e.g., Sapir 1917; Hoijer 1948, 1951). Systems of verb morphology patterning in active/nonactive marking have been described as favoring semantics (Givon 1984:149; Heath 1986:161; Klimov 1974:13-15).

For active languages, the verbs are divided not according to transitive vs. intransitive, but in terms of an active vs. inactive distinction (sometimes called active vs. neutral or dynamic vs. stative as well). This division in the verbal system reflects the dynamic semantic contrast between activity which remains with or within the nominal argument accompanying a predicate (centripetal or non-centrifugal action), as opposed to activity which goes out from the nominal argument, either as action emanating in general or as action directed to a second (and/or third) nominal argument in the predication (centrifugal action). In a similar fashion, adcorporeal vs. abcorporeal movement is identified for the Toba verb morphology by Klein (1981). Abcorporeal movement is outward or away from the body, while adcorporeal movement is inward toward the body of the person doing the movement (Klein 1981:228-229).

As applied to the De'kwana categories, we then have patient person prefixes marking inactive-intransitive verbs in category 1 reflecting non-centrifugal or adcorporeal action. Actor/agent person prefixes mark active-intransitive verbs in category 2, and both sets, patient and

agent prefixes, along with the transitive prefixes mark active-transitive in category 3, the active verbs in categories 2 and 3 showing centrifugal or abcorporeal action. Such a two-way division into active-inactive verbs puts verb categories 2 and 3 together as active verbs. This division is based on the semantic distinction between direction of the action, inward toward or outward from the person participating in the action.

Another semantic distinction underlies the so-called intransitive/transitive groupings marked by w...nö and ø...dü, respectively. The predication frame of process (verb) and medium (noun) suggested by Halliday (1985; and 4.1. above) represents activity that is brought about and realized through the 'medium' (noun). If the process (activity) is self-engendering or brought about from within (Halliday 1985: 145-147), the situation parallels De'kwana verb categories 1 and 2. If, on the other hand, the process is engendered from outside with another participant functioning as agent, then activities such as those in De'kwana verb classes 3a and 3b occur. This distinction, self-engendering vs. engendered from outside, coincides with the marking of w...nö vs. ø...dü verbs in De'kwana. Thus, two semantic dichotomies are marked by these divisions into three categories in the De'kwana verb system: centripetal/centrifugal or adcorporeal/abcorporeal marked by the person prefixes held in common by categories 2 and 3 vs. category 1, and, self-engendering/engendered from outside marked by nonfinite affixes shared by categories 1 and 2 vs. category 3. This pattern of marking semantic features

morphosyntactically also is encoded in stem vowels and thematic affixes (see 4.2.1.1.), and in person prefixes (see 4.2.1.2.). These various categories displaying degrees of transitivity (verb stems and inflectional morphology and, reflexive, reciprocal, passive and causative constructions) are discussed separately (see 4.2.2., 4.2.3. and 4.2.4.), followed by an exploration of their functions in discourse (4.2.4. and 4.3.) within and between clauses from De'kwana texts.

4.2.1.1. Transitivity in Verb Stem Derivation

De'kwana verb stems show degrees of transitivity in several ways. Initial stem vowels (e/ö, e/i) marking degrees of transitivity, as well as vowel length, pattern in pairs of verb stems as outlined in Appendix B (see B.3.1.1.2.3.). Thematic affixes (see B.3.1.1.2.1.) in complex verb stems also reflect varying degrees of transitivity, as do person prefixes that mark the nominal case roles associated with verb forms (see 4.2.1.2.). These central processes in verb stem derivations produce verb stems of varying degrees of transitivity.

Initial stem vowels mark transitivity (see B.3.1.1.2.3.) as higher than (-i-) or lower than (-ö-) the level of the basic predication or action marked by the initial stem vowel -e-. In general, a verb stem with -e- that is intransitive will be marked as transitive by a change of the initial stem vowel to -i-, while a transitive verb with initial stem vowel -e- is lowered in transitivity by a change to -ö-. Transitive verb stems with other initial stem vowels (e.g., -a-, -o-) exhibit lessened degrees of transitivity by lengthening of the initial

stem vowel (V > V:). Examples of all three types of transitivity variation in initial stem vowels appear below:

e - i

-ewa'tö- 'help oneself (intr)
-iwa-tö- 'help someone else (trans)'

e - ö

-ema- 'kill (trans)
-öma- 'die, be killed (intr)'

V - V:

-ahö:i- 'grab something (trans)'
-a:hö:i- 'grab oneself, be grabbed'

Examples of thematic affixes marking transitivity are -kV- that marks active, transitive action by an agent, and -tV- that marks intransitive action (inactive verbs) received by a non-agent case nominal argument. The contrast between these two thematic affixes can be seen in the following pair of verb stems:

-d-a'-t(V)-w-a- 'burn oneself, burn up' (intr)
-i-a'-k(V)-a- 'fell, burn' (trans)

The former verb stem utilizes patient prefixes and thus is associated with a non-agent case role for the nominal argument. This stem has the -tV- thematic affix marking non-transitive action. The second member of the pair includes the transitive or agent marker -kV- in its stem and uses agent and patient prefixes as well as transitive person prefixes.

Other thematic affixes also contribute to degrees of transitivity in verb stems. The thematic affix -wV-, which marks change of state,

also occurs in the example above (-d-a'-t-w-). It conveys the sense of the total affectedness of the nominal referent, in this example being consummed by flames, or burned up. That same affix occurs with the transitive stem for 'to burn' as: i-a'k-w-a 'burn (something) up', again showing a higher degree of transitivity as to the affectedness of the patient nominal. This feature, the affectedness of the patient, is one of Hopper and Thompson's ten parameters by which transitivity is measured in clauses (see 4.3. below), although here we see it marked within the verb stem itself, giving a contrast in degree of transitivity between the transitive verb stems:

-i-a'-k-a-	'fell, burn'
-i-a'-k-w-a-	'burn (something) up'

Thus, the verb stem for burn may vary either for transitivity of the NP argument functioning as subject: with -t-, as in d-a'twa- 'burn oneself' vs. with -k-, as in -i-a'ka- 'burn something', or, the stems may vary as to the degree of change or affectedness of the NP arguments. The stem -i-a'ka- 'burn something' does not specify change of state or completion of the process as do the stems -d-a't-w-a 'burn up' and -i-a'k-w-a 'burn (something) up'.

Degrees of transitivity in terms of the affectedness of an NP argument that is the target of the process described in the verb stem are also marked by additional thematic affixes. The suffix -mV- marks "focused action" when it is added to the stem of a verb. For example, its addition to the stem -ene- 'see' results in a focusing of the seeing process. The verb n-ene-a, "s/he sees it" in the sense of a glance or

general look at someone or something becomes n-ene-ma-a "s/he stares at it", indicating a longer look, or a more focused or pointed look, at something or someone. This latter verb stem describes a situation in which the recipient or object of the look is more affected by the action or process described. Thus, the latter form with the suffix -ma- is more transitive in having a more affected object (see 4.3. for this feature as one of Hopper and Thompson's parameters of transitivity).

The thematic affix -hV- (action of subordination) occurs as -ho- on a number of verb stems with altered lexical meanings similar to the senses carried by the morpheme -ho- when it occurs on verb forms translated in passive or causative senses (see 4.2.2. below). However, the thematic affix -ho- becomes a part of the verb stem that may be inflected by any of the tense/aspect or modal suffixes, or further marked with the -ho- morpheme in the causative or passive useage. Below are several pairs of verb stems where the simple stem or root listed first also occurs with the thematic affix -ho-.

-a'dew-	'talk, speak, answer'
-a'dew-ho-	'call over, invite (permit to speak)'
-üdü-	'do, make'
-üdü-ho-	'permit (i.e., let do); command, order (i.e., cause to do)'
-ö'nö-	'eat meat'
-ö'nö-ho-	'stay with, remain with (i.e., let eat)'
-ene-	'see'
-ene-ho-	'show (i.e., let/cause to see)'
-ekamma-	'speak, say'
-ekamma-ho-	'ask, inquire (i.e., cause to speak)'

These verb stem pairs have a difference in degree of transitivity with the presence of the thematic affix -ho-. The verb stem -a'dew- 'talk, speak, answer' does not take a syntactic direct object other than third person indefinite 'it' ('say it'), but rather the person(s) described as being talked to or talked with are oblique nominal arguments with the postpositions -wö and a'kö, respectively. In contrast, the verb stem -a'dew-ho- 'call over, invite' may take any nominal direct object and is, thus, more transitive in being able to do so. Likewise, the verb stem -üdü- 'do' is less transitive than -üdü-ho- 'permit' since the latter can have any nominal direct object while the former cannot.

In each of these cases, the process (or action) designated by the verb stem is actualized by an associated NP argument or 'medium' (cf. Halliday 1985:145-147). Whether the process is intransitive (-a'dew- 'talk') or transitive (-üdü- 'do, make', -ö'nö- 'eat meat', etc.), the assumption is that the action is realized through the subject or medium (intransitive) or through the agent and object (or medium) nominals (transitive). The addition of the suffix -ho- shifts the actualization of the process to indicate a new participant role central to the process. The shift can either add an entirely new participant, or change the syntactic role of a participant from oblique status to direct object. The last four verbs in the list above involve a new participant with the addition of the suffix -ho-. The verb -üdü- 'do or make' has two NP arguments, one animate, the doer, and the other, inanimate, the object made. With the addition of the suffix -ho-, -üdü-ho- 'permit' acquires a second animate argument, direct object,

with the sense of accomplishing the 'doing' process through the new participant. The transitive verbs -ö'nö- 'eat meat' and -ene- 'see' both have two participants but the processes described by the verbs with the suffix -ho- are extended through an additional participant. For example, "to eat" through another participant is to stay with them; and, to have the process of "seeing" actualized through another participant is to show them. These additions of thematic affixes to verb stems change the semantics (as evidenced in the translations) and the associated case frames.

Some verb stems have variations in both stem vowels and thematic affixes. One set of examples can be seen in the three versions utilizing the stem -ene- 'see' as follows:

w-ene-a	I see it.
w-öne-a	I am seen.
w-ene-ma-a	I stare at it.

Using a different combination of suffixes, the derivation of the verb stems for 'to begin' shows an interaction of transitivity in both thematic affixes and stem vowels. The verb root ahö: 'grab' combines with two thematic affixes: -n(V)- (action just terminated, finished) and -tö- (intransitive or passive action received by a non-agent case nominal).

-ahö: - n - tö-
grab-action-patient
finished

to begin (i.e., to just be grabbed by some action)

This complex verb stem then conveys the sense of the nominal argument being grabbed by an action, or, thus, beginning that action. Both transitive and intransitive versions of the stem 'begin' occur as seen below with the initial stem vowel lengthened to mark the less transitive version.

-ahö:i-	'to grab'
-ahö:ntö-	'to begin something (trans)'
-a:hö:ntö-	'to begin (intr)'

These examples of varying degrees of transitivity in verb stems plus or minus the thematic affix -ho- are similar to the usage of the -ho- in passives or causatives in that the higher degree of transitivity of the clause is also marked in these latter two cases (see 4.2.2. below). The degrees of transitivity marked in verb stems are further marked for transitivity by the person prefix system as observed in the section immediately below.

4.2.1.2. Person Marking

Degrees of transitivity are marked by person prefixes on both affirmative and negative verb forms. The person prefix pattern for affirmative verb forms is a result of marking first and second person in preference to third person on transitive forms. This ranking of person categories is known as the person hierarchy. These person prefixes are outlined in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2
Person Prefixes

Person Categories	Patient Prefixes	Agent Prefixes
1	y-,ø-	w-
1+2	k-, kü-	k-
1+3	nña: ø-	nña: n-
2	öd-, ö-	m-
3	ø-	n-
Transitive Prefixes		
1/2	mön-	
1+3/2	nña: mön-	
2/1	kö-	
2/1+3	nña: kö-	

The patient prefixes y- (ø-), k- (kü-),öd- (ö-) mark the patient of Category 1 intransitive verbs and the patient of transitive forms with third person agents. The agent prefixes w-, k-, m-, and n- mark the agent of Category 2 intransitive verbs and the agent of transitive forms with third person patients.

The total inventory of person prefixes accompanying transitive verbs (TV) are themselves identical to the person prefixes marking single-arguments on intransitive verb (IV) Categories 1 and 2 with the exception of the transitive prefixees mön-, kö-, nña: Ø-, and Ø-. Such transitive verb markers have often been characterized as portmanteau markers. In De'kwana, these portmanteau markers include

forms that involve first and second person in both agent and patient roles. These transitive prefixes occur only with affirmative verb forms. In contrast, person prefixes with transitive verbs have third person as either patient or agent. When third person is agent, the first and/or second patients are marked. When third person is both agent and patient, a zero prefix occurs (see Table 4.2 above) indicating an unmarked status for third person patient. (In texts, the use of third person patient prefixes is based on the speaker's decision to highlight the patient role for particular discourse functions.)

Ranking within the Person-Animacy hierarchy underlies the arrangement of in the De'kwana prefixes marking transitive verb forms. This ranking system places first and second person pronouns above third person personal pronouns followed by human, animate and then inanimate nouns at the bottom (Comrie 1978; Dixon 1979; Silverstein 1976). The pronominal prefixes for transitive verbs that parallel the inactive prefix set mark first and second person positions; that is, the y- and öd- prefixes mark first and second person as patient with third person agent. Such marking is in line with the high ranking of first and second person in the Person-Animacy hierarchy.

Comrie (1978:386-8) notes that items may be marked either for being at a certain position in the hierarchy or for being out of position. Dixon (1979:86) characterizes out-of-position marking as occurring when an agent is from the lower end, or a patient from the upper end of the hierarchy. The De'kwana transitive prefix system has both types of marking in that first and second persons are marked both in agent

position and also in patient position. The crux of the overlaps between pronominal prefixes marking intransitive and transitive verbs is that both conventions for marking occur--both postional and out-of-position, in order to mark both agent and patient roles as is common in active (agent-patient) languages.

In De'kwana the patient role is marked whenever it is first or second person. This pattern occurs with the three transitive verb prefixes that do not repeat any of the forms: 1/2, 2/1 and 1+3/2. The prefix for first person actor and second person patient is mön- while the reverse, second person actor and first person patient is k(ö)-. In the former marker, mön-, we find evidence that the patient is being marked as it is the m- prefix which marks second person actor as agent with active verbs, now occuring with a vowel /ö/ to mark second person as patient. This vowel generally marks lowered transitivity of non-agentive verb forms (see 4.2.1.1. and B.3.1.1.2.3.). This same vowel also accompanies the prefix for first person patient with second person agent, k-. Examples of these two forms are: mön-edanta 'I meet you', and k-ödanta 'you meet me'. The forms with second person as the patient (1/2 and 1+3/2) both have the prefix mön- which incorporates the second person prefix m- from the agent-marking prefixes along with the vowel ö indicating lowered transitivity. In addition, the 1+3/2 form obligatorily includes the the independent personal pronoun nña: marking the first person exclusive category. Thus, the marking pattern in De'kwana reflects the preference to mark patient over agent within the upper end of the hierarchy.

Examples of person prefixes with affirmative forms of Category 2 and 3 verbs are:

Intransitive	Category 1	Category 2
(singular)		
1	ỳ-a:wo-a	w-amo-a
	1-swell-pres	1-cry-pres
	I swell	I cry, I am crying
2	ad-a:wo-a	m-amo-a
	2-swell-pres	2-cry-pres
	you swell	you cry, you are crying
3	n-a:wo-a	n-amo-a
	3-swell-pres	3-cry-pres
	he swells	he cries, he is crying
(dual)		
1+2	k-a:wo-a	k-amo-a
	1+2-swell-pres	1+2-cry-pres
	we (incl) swell	we (incl) cry
1+3	nña: n-a:wo-a	nña: n-amo-a
	1+3 1+3-swell-pres	1+3 1+3-cry-pres
	we (excl) swell	we (excl) cry

Transitive (Category 3)

person	agent-prefixes	patient-prefixes
(singular)		
1/3	w-edant(ö)-a	
	1/3-meet-pres	
	I meet him/her	
3/1		y- edant(ö)-a
		3/1-meet-pres
		he meets me

2/1			kö-(e)dant(ö)-a 2/1-meet-pres you meet me
2/3	m-edant(ö)-a 2/3-meet-pres you meet him/her		
3/2			öd-edant(ö)-a 3/2-meet-pres he meets you
1/2			mön-edant(ö)-a 1/2-meet-pres I meet you
1+3/2			nña: mön-edant(ö)-a 1+3 1+3/2-meet-pres we (excl) meet you
3/3	n-edant(ö)-a 3/3-meet-pres he meets her		ø-edant(ö)-a 3/3-meet-pres he meets her (patient focus)[22]
(dual) 1+2/3	k-edant(ö)-a 1+2/3-meet-pres we (incl) meet him/her		
3/1+2			k-edant(ö)-a 3/1+2-meet-pres he meets us (incl)
1+3/3	nña: n-edant(ö)-a 1+3 1+3/3-meet-pres we(excl)meet him/her		
3/1+3			nña: ø-edant(ö)-a 1+3 3/1+3-meet-pres

he meets us (excl)

2/1+3 nña: m-edant(ö)-a
1+3 2-meet-pres

you meet us (excl)

The pattern for person marking prefixes with negative forms differs from those with affirmative forms, as mentioned above, but, again, both agent and patient are marked. In negative forms, two prefix positions are available by virtue of the presence of an auxiliary verb with negative forms. The prefix position on the main verb is utilized for patient markers while the actor/agent is marked on the auxiliary verb. Agent prefixes (w-, m-, n-) accompany the auxiliary forms while patient prefixes occur on the main verb. The third person patient, unmarked with affirmative forms, is marked by by the prefix Vn- with negative forms. Examples of affirmative-negative pairs of verb forms are as follows:

Verb Class 1

y - a'sew(ü) - a	a'sewü - 'da w - (ö) - a
1 - laugh - pres	laugh - neg 1 - be - pres
I laugh.	I don't laugh.

Verb Class 2

w - ö'dü - a	ö'dü - 'da w - (ö) - a
1 - arrive - pres	arrive - neg 1 - be - pres
I arrive.	I don't arrive.

Verb Class 3

w - eka - a	ön - eka - 'da w - (ö) - a
1/3 - bite - pres	3 - bite - neg 1 - be - pres
I bite it/him.	I don't bite it/him.

In the negative predications for both inactive and active intransitive forms the position for patient marking on the main verb is empty. This lack of marking for object/patient reinforces the designation of these verbs as intransitive or one-argument verbs. Agent prefixes still appear on the auxiliary verb as subject with intransitive forms establishing a nominative agreement pattern for negative predication paradigms. That is to say, the subjects for all verb categories 1, 2 and 3 are marked with the same set of prefixes on the auxiliary verb.

4.2.1.3. Tense/aspect and Mood

De'kwana tense/aspect suffixes code distances in time (also, to a lesser degree, in space) and completion or non-completion of the action (see B.3.1.2.2.). Modal affixes (see B.3.1.2.4.) code iterative, desiderative, abilitative, imperative, permissive, and futuritive categories. An action viewed from the terminal point (past time and/or completed action) and, that has occurred, not one that is requested for the future (indicative vs. abilitative, imperative, permissive or futuritive) is higher in transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252). De'kwana tense/aspect categories code these differences, but there are overlaps among the De'kwana categories.

In De'kwana, one set of morphosyntactic markers encode both tense and aspect. The temporal categories so marked are most clear-cut for recent past (same day) vs. distant past (more than one day to several years), and for either of these vs. non-past. However, the semantic category of future blends into the morphosyntactic coding of the "present" tense and is carried by several other verbal suffixes partially governed by differences of spatial distance as well as temporal distance.

The incompletive aspect marker -a occurs alone to indicate on-going action currently in progress. It also occurs as a part of the recent past incompletive (-a-nö) and distant past incompletive (-a-kene) suffixes. The incompletive aspect marker is not bounded in the direction of future in that present, on-going action is seen as potentially continuing on into the future. The incompletive aspect marker, thus, carries more than one possible sense as illustrated in the following example:

üwü w-a'n(ö)-a	'I cook.' OR 'I will cook.'	
I 1-cook-asp	OR 'I am cooking.'	

This marker may encompass future or ongoing actions that are not determined as to their actual completion. These categories of action are lower in transitivity than past action or action that has definitely occurred.

The tense/aspect markers for past time are split into categories for recent and distant past, and for completive and incompletive action. All four of these tense/aspect categories are deictic showing a contrast

to the time and/or space of the speech event. The suffix -i marks completed action in the recent past that is not seen, or one that is out of the view of the participants in the discourse. The suffix -ne marks completed action that is more remote in time/space from the speech situation (i.e., distant past) and that contrasts with the time and/or space of the speech event. This tense/aspect category is in opposition to events within the shared present or recent past experience of the speaker and hearer(s).[3] The expected discourse context is the present, or that context connected with immediate experience and/or recently shared experiences (i.e., recent past). The reverse is remote past time. The distant past incompletive marker -a-ke-ne marks the on-going sense of the action with -a, the distant past time frame with -ne, and the -ke morpheme (also functioning as instrumental and reportative markers) linking the morphemes, possibly in the sense of: "distant past with on-going action".

The incompletive recent past has a dual function. In addition to marking recent past incompletive statements, this tense/aspect marker also appears in questions. The examples below show these two possible uses for the recent past incompletive:

m - ihumm(a) - a - nö
2 - want - asp RP

You wanted (were wanting) it.

But this tense marker is also used in questions such as:

önekö:mü m-ihumm(a)-a-nö?
what 2-want - asp-RP

What do you want?

The use of this recent past incompletive marker for an interrogative function rests on an assumption that the only 'current' event of the moment when the interrogative form is uttered is that question itself, placing the action or state being asked about into the recent past. Asking a question generally presupposes that the speaker does not know the answer. In the immediate context of speaker (questioner) and listner (answerer) the thing being asked about does not exist, so it is asked about as a just-perceived event on the part of the listener, existing before the boundary of the current speech event in progress. The marker for this tense/aspect category combines the suffix -a, the non-past marker, coding the sense of on-going action and the suffix -nö coding "action just terminated or finished" (see B.3.1.1.2.1.). Taken together, these affixes mark on-going (or incompletive) action in the recent past.

The future immediative marker -ta also has at least two discourse roles. In the most common usage, the future immediative marker -ta is translated as an action to be performed in the near future.[4]

```
  w -  ö:netü: - ta
pers - stem  -  tns/asp
1s -  dream  - fut immed
I  -  dream  - fut immed
```

I will dream.

But the future immediate marker also may appear with imperative functions as illustrated in the examples below:

```
ettõ tüdü-'kö      Put it here.
here   do -imper
```

unwa tüdü-'ta Put it there.
there do-imper

This usage of -ta conflates spatial and temporal distance as well.

De'kwana tense/aspect marking is also affected by the Person Hierarchy rankings that were discussed above under person marking (see 4.2.1.2.). The distant past completive forms for first and second person categories are marked differently as seen in the examples below which show the contrasting positions for the plural marker in present (non-past) when it follows tense/aspect, and distant past completive tense forms when it precedes tense/aspect.

present (non-past)

k - edant(ö) - a - to
pers- stem -tns/asp-num
1+2 - meet -present-plural

We meet him.

m - edant(ö) - a - to
pers-stem -tns/asp-num
2 -meet -present-plural

You (pl) meet him.

distant past completive

k - edantö - tö - ne
pers-stem -num -tns/asp
1+2- meet - plural - dist past

We (incl.) met him.

m - edantö - tö - ne
pers- stem - number - tns/asp
2 - meet - plural - dist past

You (pl.) met him.

In contrast, the third person plural marker always remains in the terminal slot of the verb form. This pattern is true even when the third person is the object/patient rather than the subject; it is still marked as plural in the two respective positions:

```
  n - edantö - a - to
pers-stem -tns/asp-num
  3/3 -meet -pres  - plural

  They meet him.

  öd - edantö - ne - to
pers -stem  - tns/asp - num
  3/2 - meet -dist pst-plural

  They met you (s.).

  öd - edantö - tö - ne - to
 pers -stem  - num - tns/asp - num
  3/2  - meet - plural-dist pst-plural

  They met you (pl.).

 öd - edantö - tö - ne
pers -stem   - num - tns/asp
 3/2   -meet  -plural- dist pst

 He met you (pl.).

  kün - edantö - i
pers -  stem  - tns/asp
  3/3  -  meet-dist pst

  He met him/her (long ago).

  kün - edantö - i - cho
 pers - stem - tns/asp- num
   3/3  - meet-dist pst-plural

  He met them (long ago).
```

The De'kwana tense/aspect and modal forms are examined further as a part of the transitivity analysis applied to four texts below (see 4.3).

4.2.2. Discourse Functions of Transitivity Markers

The various degrees of transitivity identified by means of morpohological markings of transitivity offer an array of forms that may be arranged on a scale according to increasing degrees of transitivity.

Table 4.3

De'kwana Transitivity Scale

Transitivity Level: 1	2	3	4	5	6
y-, Ø-	w-	reflex -t-	recip -t-	trans w- (1/3)	caus -ho-
	(V:)		passive -t-...-ho- (ö)		
e - i					
	ö - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - e				

A number of types of shifts in transitivity are represented in the above scale (e.g., shifts in adcorporeal vs. abcorporeal action, in associated nominal case roles, and in degree of involvement for the nominal roles). Person prefix sets are listed (y-, Ø-, w-) as are stem vowel variants (-e-, -i-, -ö-, -V:-). These options are discussed in this chapter (see 4.2.1.2. and 4.2.1., respectively), and in Appendix B (see B.3.1.2.1. and B.3.2.2.3.4.).

The various transitivity patterns appear in discourse settings with different functions. These pragmatic conventions are discussed below (see 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2.). In a subsequent section (4.3.) the

transitivity patterns of clauses in discourse settings are examined in the fashion established by Hopper and Thompson (1980) to delineate transitivity patterns through the tabulation of ratings according to their ten parameters of transitivity.

Many of the factors included in Hopper and Thompson's ten parameters are also evident in the above charts of De'kwana transitivity levels. However, the discussions in the two sections immediately following (4.2.2.1. and 4.2.2.2.) focus on the six levels of De'kwana transitivity outlined above and associated discourse functions, while Hopper and Thompson's parameters are discussed in section 4.3. below. Tabulations of Hopper and Thompson's parameters of transitivity quantitatively trace the distribution of the semantic factors within the ten parameters across four De'kwana texts. Percentages for the De'kwana verb Transitivity scale (Levels 1-6) were tabulated from these four texts (see 4.3.2.).

4.2.2.1. Increasing Transitivity

Variations in the transitivity levels of verbs used in discourse occur according to the speaker's strategy or choices among selectional options. These options are represented by the Transitivity scale in the previous section grouping them into six different levels. The options exercised by the speaker may be grouped into three general areas. One set of options are described as lexical selection choices; another, as use of transitivity markers (e.g., -t-, -ho-) listed in the scale above; and, a third set of options falls under other grammatical processes that

affect transitivity such as noun incorporation. In this section, options that lead to higher transitivity are discussed, while those resulting in lower transitivity appear in the following section (see 4.2.2.2.).

An example of the first set of optons, lexical selection, is found among the De'kwana verbs for 'to eat'. In De'kwana, there is a verb meaning 'to eat' in a general sense: wowashinchönö. In addition, there are three verbs that mean 'to eat' in reference to specific classes of foods; for example üwü wö'kwa, 'I eat' is used for vegetables (such as corn, cassava, pijiguau or palm fruit, potatoes, beans, and rice), while üwü wamea, "I eat" is used with fruits (bananas, pineapple, grape, orange, watermelon, mango, papaya, tomato). A third verb, üwü wönöa, 'I eat', is used with meats (such as deer, various kinds of fowl or birds, fish and other mammals). As would be expected there is a separate verb 'to drink', wen'a, which includes liquids such as water, juices, and fermented beverages (soup is included here by some De'kwana consultants). Thus, the item(s) being consumed will determine the lexical choice for a verb expressing the concept of eating. That is to say, the semantic content of the NP in the patient case role in the sentence determines the verb selection among these three verbs for 'to eat'.

The choice as to which verb to use--the general or the specific versions of 'to eat'--depends on the discourse context. In monologue contexts the choice is made under the control of the speaker according to which aspect of the situation is being focused upon in the discourse.

If the topic flow centers on eating in general, then the verb selection is made accordingly. In contrast, a focus on the item(s) being consumed results in the use of one of the verbs correlating with the specific food category being mentioned. This contrast also occurs in dialogue, and the verb selected for the answer depends upon the form of the question. This contrast can be seen in the following pair of interchanges:

1a. What are you going to eat?

b. üwü wowashincha kawadi aka.
I eat deer with

I am eating deer.

2a. What meat are you eating?

b. üwü wönöa kawadi
I eat deer

I am eating deer.

Notice that the syntactic relationship of the item being consumed varies for the general versus the specific verbs. In 2b the NP kawadi, 'deer', is the O with the verb for eating meat while in 1b this same NP appears with the postposition aka, putting it in an oblique relation to the verb. In 2b the O is more directly connected with the action of the verb than the oblique object NP associated with the general verb for 'to eat'. That is also to say that the example in 2b is higher in transitivity by virtue of the closer syntactic relationship between the verb and its direct object. The semantic patient is more strongly affected by the action of the specific verbs for 'to eat' and is so

marked syntactically. Thus, the constructions with the specific verbs for 'to eat' are the more highly transitive as seen in the contrast between the constructions in 1b and 2b above. The verbs taking direct objects, -önö- 'eat (meat)', -ö'kw- 'eat (vegetables)', and -ame- 'eat (fruits)' are in verb category three (see 4.2.1.) and at Transitivity level 5 on the scale above (see 4.2.2.). In contrast, the verb -owashinchö- 'eat (in general)', occurs in verb category two, and at Transitivity level 2 on the scale above.

This latter verb may occur with increased transitivity as in the following example from a text where a young man is talking about his older sister:

3. y - ewashinchö - a
   3/1 - feeds - pres

   She feeds me.

The stem vowel of -ö- appears as -e- in this example and the person prefix codes third person agent with first person patient (see 4.2.1.2. for discussion of person prefixes with transitive verbs).

Several of the transitivity markers on the scale are selected to increase the transitivity level of verb forms. The previous example showed the use of an alternate stem vowel for that purpose. Similarily, verbs in Transitivity level 1 with a stem vowel of -e- have the higher Transitivity level of 5 with the alternate stem vowel -i-. Verbs that are paired in this fashion are listed above (see 4.2.1.1.) and in Appendix B (see B.3.1.1.).

Another option from the transitivity scale is marked by the suffix

-ho-, a causative[5] marker. In De'kwana, the analytic (Comrie 1981:160) causative structure is seen in the example below:

4a. Pedu Wan n-anontö-a mudekökö eda'chö
Pedro Juan 3/3-causes/-pres child watch/care for orders

Pedro orders Juan to watch/care for the child.

This verb, -anontö- 'to cause, order, let', is from verb category three (see 4.2.1.) and at Level 5 on the Transitivity scale above (see 4.2.2.). When marking for the morphological causative (the suffix -ho-) is selected from the Transitivity scale, we have examples such as the following:

4b. Pedu Wan wö mudekökö n - eda'chö - ho - a
Pedro Juan by child 3/3-watch/- caus-pres care for

Pedro orders Juan to watch/care for the child.

In this second example, the verb is Level 6 on the Transitivity scale. The recipient of the order, Juan, who is also the doer (agent) of the watching is an oblique NP in the morphological causative construction.[6]

The morphological causative is more transitive than the analytic counterpart. The object or patient in the subordinate clause in example 4a above becomes the direct object of the main verb in example 4b. This latter syntactic arrangement places this object more centrally within the process (action of the verb) and, thus, the patient is perceived as more directly affected, marking the clause as being more highly

transitive (see 4.3. for tabulations of this parameter of transitivity).

In De'kwana, the morphological causative positions the causee less centrally in relationship to the main verb of the clause. In English this factor is not apparent in the same way. In the sentence: John caused Susan to drop her books, Susan is not morphosyntactically marked, and is a major NP argument of the main caluse. Likewise, in De'kwana, with the analytic causative (example 4a), the causee is the syntactic object of the main verb. But, with the morphological causative (example 4b) it is an oblique NP with the postposition -wö. Semantically, this secondary agent (of the action caused) is still an important participant in the process, but it has an altered syntactic status with the postposition, one that is reduced in comparison to its companion object that is now a major NP in the clause. This oblique NP is sometimes deleted and, as would be expected, the morphological causative verb prefixes do not encode this NP, while those with the analytic causative above do.

These two causative constructions appear in adjacent sentences in a story about Hia:wa, a female demon. The first clause exemplifies the analytic causative and the second, the morphological causative:

5a. tun-anontö- hö- 'e tüw-ei - ye kün-öhö:-kö
3 -order -iter-pred 3 -be/-subj 3/3-be-DPI
indef indef have

tuna ei - ye
water be/-subj
get

He ordered her to get water.

b. önña e:'kudu kün-ekutö-ho -i ya:wö tüwü
corn juice 3/3-prepare-caus-DPC verif he

He ordered her to prepare corn juice.

The former example appears as background material describing how difficult it had been to cope with Hia:wa. The lower transitivity is reflected by the use of two auxiliary verbs. The second example is foreground material on the event line, and shortly thereafter the protagonist pushes Hia:wa into the corn juice as she is preparing it, killing her. The switch from the analytic causative to the morphological causative signals a higher level of transitivity in the verb form (from Level 5 to Level 6). Further, the use of the morphological causative in the second case marking foreground material is additional support for Hopper and Thompson's (1980:290) prediction about the correlation of higher Transitivity with foreground in discourse.

4.2.2.2. Decreasing Transitivity

In De'kwana discourse, decreasing transitivity also occurs through selection of transitivity markers from the scale (4.2.2.), and through other grammatical processes including noun incorporation. Two affixes chosen from the scale mark constructions that convey a reduction in transitivity. The prefix -t- marks reflexive and reciprocal verb forms, and this prefix along with the suffix -ho- marks verb forms translated into English as passive constructions.

The prefix -t- marking reflexive and reciprocal verb forms

indicates that the subject of the verb is both an actor, or active participant in the process or action described by the verb, and, also, that it is a recipient of the action as the patient.[7] In the former case, the reflexive, a single NP is both the agent and patient. In the latter case, the reciprocal, a second NP is involved in the action described. This second NP is also both a giver and receiver of the action; however, it is not an independent NP like the subject but is, instead, oblique, accompanied by a postposition.

These two constructions, the reflexive and reciprocal, appear below in examples 6a and 6b, respectively. The former example is taken from a story about Komashi, a legendary hero, and the latter opens a story about a Box-Turtle and a Deer.

6a. yö:he w-ö:ne'tü-i ke kün-ödü-akö
thus 1-dream-RPC repor 3-say-DPI

ya:wö heku:de a'ka t -üwönema-a ke hu:ha-dü
verif mirror in refl-see-pres repor my-hair

t - a'kö-'e maha ya:wö ke
refl-cut-pred aux verif repor

"Thus, I dreamed," he said. "I saw myself in a mirror and I cut my hair."

b. dawa:de kün-(o)t-oneha-a - to waya:mu a'kö
opossum 3-recip-compare-DPI-pl box turtle with

The opossum and (lit: with) the box turtle compared themselves to each other.

The prefix for the reflexive and reciprocal marks verbs that are Transitivity Level 5, and, thus, it lowers the transitivity level making it a Level 3 (reflexive) or Level 4 (reciprocal) construction. The

occurrence of the prefix -t- for the reflexive and reciprocal constructions, as well as the passive (see discussion below), marks a patient orientation of the subject NP to the action descirbed by the verb. This semantic feature ties together the three syntactic constructions of reflexive, reciprocal and passive, and is an extension of the sense conveyed by the thematic affix -t(V)- (see 4.2.1.1., B.3.1.1.2.3., and B.3.1.2.6.). The thematic affix -t(V)- occurs in verb stem derivations conveying the sense of "intransitive or passive action received by a non-agent case nominal argument" (see B.3.1.1.2.1.). This thematic affix appears with verbs in Category 1 (Transitivity level 1), a category discussed as describing adcorporeal movement, movement toward the body, (see 4.2.1.1.). The transitvity marker -t- is an extension of this meaning, of adcorporeal movement, to the reflexive and reciprocal forms.

The passive construction varies slightly depending upon the animacy ranking[8] of the agent involved. Thus, there are two oblique markers for the agent in passive constructions: wö for animate agents and ke for inanimate agents (instruments). The following two examples illustrate the animate and inanimate options:

7a. Wan tü-weichakono wö n-(ö)t-öka-ho - i
Juan his-brother by 3-pssv-bite-pssv-RPC

Juan was bitten by his brother.

b. tamo:dü kün-e'ka-ho -i makiña ke
her-hand 3/3-mash-pssv-DPI machine by

Her hand was mashed by the machine.

These constructions are translated as passives but do not correspond entirely to passive constructions in languages such as English. The two markers for the De'kwana "passive" also individually mark other constructions:

passive:	-t-	...	-ho-
reflexive:	-t-		
reciprocal	-t-		
causative			-ho-

And both affixes play a part in verb stem derivation (see 4.2.1.1., B.3.1.1.2.1., and B.3.1.1.2.3.). Taken individually, the affixes indicate 1) that the subject NP argument is a non-agent case role (-t-), and 2) that the process or action described in the verb stem is actualized through another NP, not the subject (-ho-). Both of these situations are also descriptive of the passive. However, the fact that the affixes mark a wider range of morphosyntactic phenomena suggests a less-specifically passive reading for the De'kwana construction with -t-...-ho-. The suffix -ho- in its causative use has a wider semantic range than a true causative (see 4.2.2.1.) including the senses of 'cause, order, let, and permit'.

These meanings also are important for the De'kwana passive. De'kwana consultants used Spanish translations for constructions with -t-...-ho- that indicate this range of concepts. The most consistently used Spanish verb was dejarse, translated into English as "to permit, let," with the allied Spanish-American usage of no dejarse, 'not to be

an easy mark, not to let others pick on one' (Castillo and Bond 1972:56). Another use for -ho- along with the lowered or lengthened stem vowel prefix -ö- was translated by De'kwana consultants with the standard Spanish passive, with dejar and with querrer 'to wish or desire'. These meanings ascribed to De'kwana "passives" raise the issue of volition or control of the action described. The syntactic subject seems to have options ranging over these senses of control, cause or volition with transitive verb stems. Adjustments in control, cause or volition are marked when these semantic factors are not exercised by the NP in subject position. In this study, the primary concern is that the constructions marked by the affixes -t- and -ho- have altered degrees of transitivity. (A more extensive exploration of the question of semantic features associated with these constructions remain for future work.)

The two examples below illustrate the use of passive constructions in De'kwana discourse. They are from a text about the legendary hero Komashi. The 8a example occurs as the fourth sentence in the introductory section giving background information before the story's events begin. Example 8b is also background material. Later in the story, the jaguar's daughter is putting body paint on Komashi before he goes out to hunt. This latter example expresses her feelings and motivations while she paints him.

8a. nñanno shidi:chö tüw-(ö)t-önö-ho
those stars 3-pssv-eat-pssv

tüw - ei - ye kün-öhö:-'-to
3- be-subj 3-be-DPC-pl

Those stars were eaten.

b. ho:he tüwü tüw-öku-ho - se
much she 3-be made-pssv-desid
love to

kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö chö:wö
3- be -DPI verif him-by

She very much wanted to be made love to by him.

Transitivity also is lowered through the process of noun incorporation (see 2.3.2.2.2.). Mithun (1984:856, 859) characterizes functions of noun incorportion (NI) as loss of individual salience for the NP and verb root, now semantically and syntactically one unit, and as backgrounding of known or incidental information in discourse settings. The following portion from a procedural text on basket-making illustrates both the analytic version and the noun-incorporated version of cutting bamboo.

9. wana akö -'e w-ü'tö-a edu:wa
bamboo cut-pred 1-go -pres now

akö'tö-dü - he w-ö-a edu:wa
cut-nonf-top 1-be-pres now

a'mohadö-mma w-(w)ana - akö:-a edu:wa
ten - spec 1-bamboo-cut-pres now

Today I'm going to cut bamboo and now I'm cutting it
and I'm going to cut exactly ten (stalks of) bamboo.

This passage opens the discourse with the independent lexical items for both "bamboo" and "cut" in the first clause. In the third clause, the NI form appears: wanakö:a 'I am bamboo-cutting'. Here, the semantic information about the activity of cutting bamboo is already known, so incidental, while the number of bamboo stalks to be cut is foregrounded.

The general process of NI decreases transitivity by removing the NP argument from independent status and, often, leaving the clause with one NP argument.

The transitivity of De'kwana constructions of 'to say' with quotative constructions are lower in transitivity than other object complement constructions. De'kwana quotations are marked with the postposition ke (see B.5.). This postposition also serves to mark the instrumental case role and inanimate oblique agents with passive constructions. Thus, the quotative clause or phrase serving in a parallel fashion to an object complement with the 'say' verb is marked in a manner that indicates the lower transitivity of the construction by marking the quotation as an oblique nominal argument with ke, in this case, an oblique object complement. Munro (1982) discusses the "intransitive" nature of 'say' verbs showing various syntactic conventions exhibiting low transitivity characteristics of 'say' verbs. The De'kwana convention of marking quotation clauses with the postposition ke seems to conform to this pattern of handling 'say' verbs as lower in transitivity. Because quotations with 'say' verbs are prominent in De'kwana texts, their status in discourse and their degree of transitivity are be discussed below (see 4.3.).

4.3. Sentential Interdependence of Transitivity Features

The ten parameters of transitivity identified by Hopper and Thompson (1980) were found to correlate with one another (i.e., high transitivity rating in any one parameter was found to correlate with

high transitivity on other parameters), and levels of transitivity were observed to be higher in the foreground of discourse than in background material. Further work by Hopper (1983) and Thompson (1983) and by others (Hopper and Thompson 1982) have generally supported the basic claims set forth in Hopper and Thompson's (1980) original article (see Moravcsik 1986 for a review of this work). The most consistent support has come from scholars giving attention to particular morphosyntactic structures and the ways in which they exhibit high or low degrees of transitivity, and whether these degrees are what is expected in relation to foreground or background locations.

The focus placed on particular morphosyntactic structures (e.g., the passive) has tended to mean that particular types of clauses and their incumbent transitivity ratings have been the main consideration in any one study. This technique allows the information relevant to the particular morphosyntactic structures to be addressed to the exclusion of other material around it in the text(s); i.e., the context material (whether background or foreground). Kalmar's (1982) analysis, however, includes the entire content of a Czech folk tale. This approach raises some questions about exactly what type of material is subsumed under the notion of foregrounding in narrative texts, and divides this notion into sequentiality and foregrounding proper. Kalmar (1982:242) characterizes direct and indirect quotation as a means of highlighting material to be included as a part of foregrounding in discourse in addition to temporal sequencing. Munro (1982), in an article in the same volume, also raises questions about the correlation of transitivity with quotation material,

or 'say' constructions as she calls them.

There is similar lack of clarity in terms of the definition of backgrounded material when dependent and independent clauses are lumped together in this category. Thompson (1983) uses the term "local" background to refer to the relationship between detached participial clauses and their associated main clause. However, it is not clear, even if a local (sentence) vs. global (discourse) level distinction is made for the category of background material, just what this distinction would mean in terms of correlation among degrees of transitivity for background material of both types and either, or both, as opposed to foreground material. Four De'kwana texts were examined in an effort to sort out some of these issues. All clauses were coded for the ten parameters of transitivity and for the six transitivity levels in De'kwana verb forms. Resulting percentages and types of clauses are discussed in the following sections.

Each text was marked for foreground and background material. Decisions about foreground vs. background material were subjective judgements based on the following assumptions: 1) that foreground material in narrative texts would include the main story line, also called mainline, backbone, on-the-line information, or event line (Grimes 1975; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Longacre 1968, 1976b:9-10; Thompson 1983:63, ftnt.), and 2) that background material would include commentary, elaboration, explanation, evaluation, motivation, description, temporal and spatial background or settings, collateral or off-the-line information (Grimes 1975; Longacre 1976b:9-10; Thompson

1983: 44, 63). Judgements about foreground material included those clauses necessary to convey the story line of the text. Most often these clauses described events; however, speech acts, as events, and quotations that reported major events, not otherwise mentioned were included (Grimes 1975:69-70; Kalmar 1982:242; Larson 1978:240) as well as other crucial, highlighted but non-sequential information. In contrast, clauses with information that elaborated, explained, etc., were judged as background material.

These categories of foreground and background material function as major structural units of the narrative text in a global manner. On the other hand, local (or sentence-level) functions of foreground vs. background were identified among clauses within the global foreground or background categories. For example, a descriptive elaboration (possibly a relative clause structure) might occur as local background to a main clause in either the global foreground or the global background categories. Within each category, main vs. subordinate clauses were identified as: foreground main clauses with their associated subordinate clauses (having local and global background functions), and background main clauses with accompanying subordinate clauses. First, global and then local categories of foreground and background material are presented in the next section (see 4.3.1.)

Clause boundaries in the De'kwana texts were determined after independently marking intonation breaks and predicational content. Intonation breaks were marked as discerned from the taped texts. All predicates were coded separately as to tense/aspect, mode,

finite/non-finite, etc. verb form. 1) Intonation units with independent verb forms were considered independent clauses. 2) Intonation units containing grammatical structures of subordinate status were designated as subordinate, or dependent, clauses. 3) Intonation units containing both independent and subordinate clauses also were distinguished. 4) Each clause was coded for the ten parameters of Transitivity identified by Hopper and Thompson. 5) Finally, texts were coded for transitivity levels in verb forms (see 4.2.2.); and, for numbers of NPs and PROs per clause with their animacy, definiteness and syntactic roles, respectively.

4.3.1. Percentages for Ten Parameters of Transitivity

Three De'kwana texts included in this tabulation were of short to medium length (27 to 97 clauses), and one was longer (242 clauses). These four texts were recorded with two different De'kwana consultants. The first section of tabulations lists percentages for the Hopper and Thompson parameters while the second series of tables in the subsequent section (see 4.3.2.) gives percentages for clauses correlating verb transitivity levels one to six (for Transitivity scale, see 4.2.2.). Sample data sheets used in both tabulations and explanation of the coding used on them appear in Appendix D. The two general issues under examination in these two sections and discussed below (see 4.4.) are: 1) to what degree can we observe a correlation between high transitivity levels and foreground material in the texts; and, 2) are there variations in the transitivity patterns among types of clauses within

background material.

The following tables summarize the percentages of clauses that had a high rating for transitivity under each of the ten parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). In those immediately following, background material is divided into independent vs. dependent clauses in addition to the total percentages for each parameter under the "background" category.

In their original article, Hopper and Thompson (1980:284) designate as background material (along with independent background clauses) subordinate clauses, particularly participial clauses, because they usually provide commentary on any forgrounded clause with which they may be associated. This approach was followed for the tabulations in the first set of charts below (Tables 4.4 through 4.6). Subsequent work (e.g., Thompson 1983; Hopper 1983) has re-examined such clauses. Those subordinate clauses associated with foregrounded main clauses are described as local background, while those accompanying background main clauses are a part of the global background material. A subsequent series of charts (Tables 4.7 through 4.11) reflects these further distinctions of local vs. global background material.

The following chart of the first series gives the combined results of the analysis of the four texts under the first approach to background material. Subsequent charts (under the same approach) give similar percentages for each text taken separately. In the combined chart below, we see Hopper and Thompson's ten Transitivity parameters listed for foreground material and for background material.

Table 4.4

Transitivity Levels in De'kwana Texts

N-455

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground N-140	Background N-315
Participants	10	4
Aspect	61	21
Kinesis	72	47
Affectedness of Patient	8	7
Polarity	99	95
Modality	100	75
Potency of Agent	46	28
Individuation of Patient	17	11
Volitionality	97	70
Punctuality	44	11

Each clause was coded as having (1) or not having (0) the ten transitivity parameters (see Appendix D). The total number of clauses having each parameter was tabulated. This number was converted into the percentage of the total clauses in that category. Thus, ten percent of foreground clauses in the texts were coded positively for participants, while four percent of background clauses were coded for that same parameter.

Low percentages for the "participants" parameter may reflect at least two types of factors. The first would be the common occurrence of sentences without overt NPs as agent or patient when those syntactic roles are coded by prefixes on the verb forms. This pattern has been noted for other Carib languages (cf. Hoff 1968; Derbyshire 1986:242).

A second set of factors would be pragmatic considerations involving the degree of specification of the agent or patient NPs. When new

information is introduced in foreground material it is not necessarily greatly specified or individuated, but undergoes increasing specification as a part of event line sequences. In contrast, background material often contains commentary on, or elaboration of, the items already specified during their tenure in foreground material, and those items do not become less individuated within such subordinate material. Also, the specification itself often occurs within subordinate structures rather than in independent main clauses.

The following table (Table 4.5) shows the percentages of foreground material for each text analyzed in the study.

Table 4.5

Percentages for Foreground Material

Transitivity Parameters	Box Turtle and Deer[9] N-8	Hia:wa N-36	She-Devil N-32	Komashi[10] N-65
Participants	13	6	29	3
Aspect	25	67	68	60
Kinesis	25	75	81	72
Affectedness of Patient	0	19	7	3
Polarity	100	97	100	100
Modality	100	100	100	100
Potency of Agent	88	50	52	37
Individuation of Patient	13	19	36	8
Volitionality	88	83	100	94
Punctuality	0	53	65	35

The table below gives the companion percentages for the background material in these four texts.

Table 4.6

Percentages for Background Material

Transitivity Parameters	Box Turtle and Deer N-19	Hia:wa N-61	She-Devil N-58	Komashi N-177
Participants	0	3	5	4
Aspect	21	13	17	25
Kinesis	33	41	41	54
Affectedness of Patient	0	10	5	7
Polarity	100	91	93	97
Modality	74	54	60	86
Potency of Agent	47	18	31	29
Individuation of Patient	0	13	14	10
Volitionality	53	59	83	72
Punctuality	0	10	5	14

The first tale is about a box turtle and a deer who are racing one another. Generally, the low percentages for the aspect and kinesis parameters for foreground material in this story reflect a lack of action events beyond the running of the participants.

The second tale is about a man whose wife is devoured by the she-devil, Hia:wa. In this instance the expected correlation of higher degrees of transitivity with the aspect and kinesis parameters (in foreground) is present.

The third story is about a woman who is tricked by a she-devil and it also has, generally, the expected correlations of high transitivity features with foreground material as does the fourth text about the legendary hero Komashi.

The next table gives percentages for background material divided into independent and dependent clauses. More of the background material

is found in dependent clauses. These dependent clauses include those linked to either foreground or background independent clauses, listed as the background dependent category in the table below.

Table 4.7

Categories of Background Material
N-455

Transitivity Parameters	Background: Independent N-137	Dependent N-178	Total N-315
Participants	7	2	4
Aspect	15	26	21
Kinesis	25	64	47
Affectedness of Patient	3	10	7
Polarity	98	93	95
Modality	98	57	75
Potency of Agent	45	15	28
Individuation of Patient	4	16	11
Volitionality	88	56	70
Punctuality	12	10	11

The following sequence of tables lists the Transitivity parameter percentages for each of the four texts individually showing the background material broken into independent and dependent clauses as well as the totals for back ground material.

Table 4.8

The Box Turtle and the Deer (1)
N-27

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground N-8	Background: Independent N-10	Dependent N-9	Total N-19
Participants	13	0	0	0
Aspect	25	10	33	21
Kinesis	25	0	33	33
Affectedness of Patient	0	0	0	0
Polarity	100	100	100	100
Modality	100	100	44	74
Potency of Agent	88	50	44	47
Individuation of Patient	13	0	0	0
Volition	88	80	22	53
Punctuality	0	0	0	0

The second table in this group reviews the percentages for the text about the she-devil, Hia:wa.

Table 4.9

Hia:wa (1)
N-97

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground N-36	Background: Independent N-22	Dependent N-39	Total N-61
Participants	6	5	3	3
Aspect	67	9	15	13
Kinesis	75	0	64	41
Affectedness of Patient	19	0	15	10
Polarity	97	100	85	91
Modality	100	100	28	54
Potency of Agent	50	41	5	18
Individuation of Patient	19	0	21	13
Volitionality	83	86	44	59
Punctuality	53	5	13	10

The third text, entitled "She-Devil", has the following percentages:

Table 4.10

The She-Devil (1)
N-89

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground N-31	Background Independent N-27	Dependent N-31	Total N-58
Participants	29	7	3	5
Aspect	68	7	26	17
Kinesis	81	15	65	41
Affectedness of Patient	7	0	10	5
Polarity	100	96	90	93
Modality	100	100	26	60
Potency of Agent	52	37	26	31
Individuation of Patient	36	4	23	14
Volitionality	100	93	74	83
Punctuality	65	7	3	5

The fourth and longer text relates the adventures of the legendary hero, Komashi.

Table 4.11

Komashi (1)
N-242

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground N-65	Background: Independent N-78	Dependent N-99	Total N-177
Participants	3	8	1	4
Aspect	60	19	30	25
Kinesis	72	39	67	54
Affectedness of Patient	3	5	8	7
Polarity	100	97	96	97
Modality	100	96	79	86
Potency of Agent	37	49	13	29
Individuation of Patient	8	6	13	10
Volitionality	94	89	59	72
Punctuality	35	17	12	14

In all the stories the breakdown of background material into dependent vs. independent clauses allows the observation of some variations in degrees of transitivity between these two subcategories. While a number of the parameters have higher ratings for the backgrounded independent clauses, several do not. For example, kinesis is higher for subordinate clauses as the actions, often first occurring in the foreground material, appear in background subordinate clauses as a part of commentary or elaboration. Also, the percentages are higher for individuation and affectedness of patient parameters for subordinate clauses in background material. Agency factors correlate more strongly with independent clauses (and, of course, most strongly with foreground material).

The following chart separates the material designated above as "background" into the three categories of Foreground Dependent (i.e.,

subordinate clauses of Foreground Main Clauses), Background Independent and Background Dependent. This arrangement allows us to see which clauses, while background material in function, are associated with foreground clauses structurally. These clauses are listed as Dependent (Foreground) below:

Table 4.12

Transitivity Levels in Three Types of Background Clauses

Transitivity Parameters	Background: Totals N-315	Dependent (Foreground) N-78	Independent N137	Dependent (Background) N-100
Participants	4	3	7	1
Aspect	21	18	15	32
Kinesis	47	58	25	69
Affectedness of Patient	7	10	3	9
Polarity	95	95	98	91
Modality	75	63	98	52
Potency of Agent	28	13	45	17
Individuation of Patient	11	19	4	13
Volitionality	70	63	88	51
Punctuality	11	9	12	11

The four subsequent tables list these three types of background clauses as they are found in each of the four texts examined.

The first text about the Box Turtle and the Deer has the lowest number of clauses of the four used in the present analysis. Thus, the percentages for the clauses reflect only four, five, eight, or ten possible clauses within the categories of background dependent, foreground dependent, foreground independent, and background independent clauses, respectively. The chart below refines that seen above for the same text by dividing the dependent clauses in this fashion:

Table 4.13

The Box Turtle and the Deer (2)
N-27

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground: Independent N-8	Dependent N-5	Background: Independent N-10	Dependent N-4
Participants	13	0	0	0
Aspect	25	40	10	25
Kinesis	25	40	0	25
Affectedness of Patient	0	0	0	0
Polarity	100	100	100	100
Modality	100	60	100	25
Potency of Agent	88	40	50	50
Individuation of Patient	13	0	0	0
Volitionality	88	20	80	25
Punctuality	0	0	0	0

The second text with 97 clauses offers the following spread of percentages for foreground dependent vs. background dependent clauses along with the previously tabulated distinction for independent clauses.

Table 4.14

Hia:wa (2)
N-97

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground: Independent N-36	Dependent N-14	Background: Independent N-22	Dependent N-25
Participants	6	7	5	0
Aspect	67	14	9	16
Kinesis	75	57	0	68
Affectedness of Patient	19	29	0	8
Polarity	97	86	100	84
Modality	100	21	100	32
Potency of Agent	50	7	41	4
Individuation of Patient	19	21	0	20
Volitionality	83	43	86	44
Punctuality	53	21	5	8

The third text about the She-Devil likewise shows variations among the Transitivity percentages.

Table 4.15

The She-Devil (2)
N-89

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground: Independent N-31	Dependent N-15	Background: Independent N-27	Dependent N-16
Participants	29	7	7	0
Aspect	68	7	7	38
Kinesis	81	53	15	75
Affectedness of Patient	7	13	0	6
Polarity	100	87	96	94
Modality	100	20	100	31
Potency of Agent	52	27	37	25
Individuation of Patient	36	20	4	25
Volitionality	100	80	93	69
Punctuality	65	0	7	6

The table for the fourth text has percentages divided between locally backgrounded clauses associated with foregrounded main clauses vs backgrounded main clauses, respectively, in the following fashion:

Table 4.16

Komashi (2)
N-242

Transitivity Parameters	Foreground: Independent N-65	Dependent N-44	Background: Independent N-78	Dependent N-55
Participants	3	0	8	2
Aspect	60	21	19	38
Kinesis	72	61	39	71
Affectedness of Patient	3	5	5	11
Polarity	100	100	97	93
Modality	100	91	96	69
Potency of Agent	37	7	49	18
Individuation of Patient	8	21	6	7
Volitionality	94	68	89	51
Punctuality	35	9	17	15

These percentages for Hopper and Thompson's parameters of Transitivity are discussed below (see 4.4). First, additional percentages correlating Transitivity levels for verbs from the scale shown above (see 4.2.2.) are presented.

4.3.2. Percentages for De'kwana Transitivity Levels 1-6

The same four texts were used for examining verbal Transitivity levels (one to six) as for the charts containing Hopper and Thompson's parameters of Transitivity. The decision to tabulate percentages for the six levels in the De'kwana Transitivity scale for verb forms rests

on two concerns. First, the morphosyntactic analysis of De'kwana (see Appendix B, Chapters 2 and 3, and 4.2.) revealed an intricate gradation of degrees of transitivity among verb forms. Therefore, it was decided to compare percentages for De'kwana transitivity levels one to six against that tabulated for the ten transitivity parameters of Hopper and Thompson seen above (see 4.3.1.). This tabulation will allow comparison of the language-specific information about transitivity in verb forms with the more universally applied transitivity parameters of Hopper and Thompson.

Secondly, this comparison offers a way to explore linkages between lexical or morphological (word-level) phenomena and clause-level function within discourse. This combination provides a base for discussion of simultaneous function mentioned earlier (see Chapter 1). Both of these concerns are discussed below (see 4.5.and Chapter 5).

The tables in this section are ordered in a sequence similar to those above (see 4.3.1.). The first several tables (Tables 4.18 to 4.20) are presented to show the general correlation of transitivity levels one to six with foreground or background material. Following that are another group of tables (Tables 4.21 to 4.25) that give percentages for clause subtypes within background material. The first table includes percentages for the four texts combined. (See Appendix D for sample data sheet used in coding the verb transitivity levels one to six.)

Table 4.17

Transitivity Levels 1-6
N-457

Transitivity Levels	Foreground N-136	Background N-321
6	6	0
5	30	39
4b	2	1
4a	1	0
3	0	2
2	54	36
1	8	7
Copula	2	12
Equative	0	3

The distribution of the percentages at either end of the scale is as would be expected. Level 6 verbs appear in foreground material while copula and equative constructions have higher percentages in background material. These figures support the correlation of high transitivity with foreground material as predicted. However, the percentages for Levels 5, 2 and 1 occur in a contrasting pattern. Level 5 forms occur in a somewhat higher number with background material even though of a high transitivity level. Levels 1 and 2, while lower in transitivity, have higher percentages for foreground material.

These general patterns are distributed slightly differently among the four texts as can be seen in the two tables below:

Table 4.18

Levels 1 to 6 in Foreground Material

Transitivity Level	Box Turtle and the Deer N-6	Hia:wa N-34	She-Devil N-31	Komashi N-65
6	0	6	10	2
5	33	29	29	31
4b	0	3	3	0
4a	17	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0
2	0	59	48	59
1	50	3	10	6
Copula	0	0	0	3
Equative	0	0	0	0

Table 4.19

Levels 1 to 6 in Background Material

Transitivity Level	Box Turtle and Deer N-22	Hia:wa N-64	She-Devil N-61	Komashi N-174
6	0	0	0	0
5	9	36	41	44
4b	0	0	2	2
4a	0	0	0	0
3	5	0	0	3
2	46	33	46	32
1	27	11	3	5
Copula	14	17	7	11
Equative	0	3	2	4

In the first text, Level 5 has a higher percentage for foreground than for background material as would be expected, and Level 2 is represented strongly in backgound material. However, Level 1 forms occur more prominently in foreground material in the contrastive pattern mentioned above.

In the other three texts, the percentages for Level 5 are about ten percentage points higher for background than for foreground material. This pattern will be looked at again below when background material is broken up into three clause types. For Level 2 correlations, we find the reversal of the expectation represented in "Hia:wa" and "Komashi", while in "She-Devil", the percentages are about equal for foreground and background material. Correlations for Level 1 forms in these three

texts are as expected for "Hia:wa", reversed for "She-Devil", and about even for "Komashi".

As was seen above for the Hopper and Thompson Transitivity parameters, a breakdown of the background clauses into independent and dependent (or subordinate, with foreground vs. background material) gives us some additional information.

Table 4.20

Clause Types in Combined Texts
N-457

Transitivity Levels	Foreground: Independent N-136	Dependent N-83	Background: Independent N-129	Dependent N-109
6	4	0	0	0
5	30	49	26	48
4b	2	2	2	0
4a	1	0	0	0
3	0	2	2	2
2	54	21	51	28
1	8	7	9	6
Copula	2	13	9	13
Equative	0	5	2	4

There is a distribution for Level 5 forms across all four types of clauses with the higher percentages under subordinate clauses. A similar pattern of high percentages in subordinate clauses for some parameters such as kinesis was noted above (see 4.3.1.). Commentary or elaboration of events often appears in subordinate clauses in background

material.

The distribution for Level 2 forms in background material is the opposite of that for Level 5 forms. Percentages for Level 2 are similar for foreground and background subordinate clauses, while the percentage for background independent clauses is close to that for foreground independent clauses. The percentages for Level 1 forms are rather evenly distributed with background independent clauses slightly higher than the rest.

These four clause types are shown for the four texts individually in the tables below:

Table 4.21

The Box Turtle and the Deer (3)

Transitivity Levels	Foreground: Independent N-6	Dependent N-4	Background: Independent N-10	Dependent N-8
6	0	0	0	0
5	33	0	0	25
4b	17	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	10	0
2	0	75	50	25
1	50	25	30	25
Copula	0	0	10	25
Equative	0	0	0	0

The percentages in this text follow the expectation that high

transitivity will appear in foreground and low transitivity in background material more consistently than in the other texts.

The percentages in "Hia:wa" follow the patterns observed above in Table 4.20 for the texts combined with one exception.

Table 4.22

Hia:wa (3)

Transitivity Levels	Foreground: Independent N-34	Dependent N-17	Background: Independent N-22	Dependent N-25
6	6	0	0	0
5	29	53	14	44
4b	3	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0
2	59	12	50	32
1	3	12	18	4
Copula	0	18	18	16
Equative	0	6	0	4

In this Text, Level 1 forms occur in larger percentages in foreground dependent and background independent clauses rather than occurring more evenly across the four clause categories.

In "She-Devil", again we find subordinate clauses having the highest percentages for Level 5 forms in background material.

Table 4.23

The She-Devil (3)

Transitivity Levels	Foreground: Independent N-31	Dependent N-16	Background: Independent N-29	Dependent N-16
6	10	0	0	0
5	29	63	21	56
4b	3	6	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0
2	48	19	69	31
1	10	6	3	0
Copula	0	0	7	13
Equative	0	6	0	0

Patterns for Level 2 and 1 forms follow those commented upon for the combined texts. Level 2 is most strongly represented by independent clauses in foreground and background material; Level 1 forms occur in more evenly distributed percentages.

The fourth text is also the longest. Although ten fewer percentage points characterize the spread, Level 5 forms are once again most prominently in subordinate clauses.

Table 4.24

Komashi (3)

Transitivity Levels	Foreground: Independent N-65	Dependent N-46	Background: Independent N-68	Dependent N-60
6	2	0	0	0
5	31	48	35	50
4b	0	2	3	0
4a	0	0	0	0
3	0	4	2	3
2	59	20	44	27
1	6	2	6	5
Copula	3	17	7	10
Equative	0	2	3	5

Patterns for Level 2 and Level 1 forms again generally conform to those noted above for the texts combined (see Table 4.20).

4.4. Summary

The two kinds of tabulations for correlations of transitivity in discourse represent means of examining different morphosyntactic manifestations of semantic features and their manipulations by speakers in discourse organization. While both tabulations support the correlation of high transitivity with foreground material in discourse, there were some variations that are observable. These variations occur for the ten transitivity parameters when high transitivity is paired with background material, particularly in subordinate clauses. It also

appears when Transitivity Levels 5, 2 or 1 in verb forms were observed. In an earlier section (see 4.2.2.), it was seen that specific morphosyntactic constructions such as passives or causatives are arranged in discourse so that those high in transitivity tend to occur in foreground material, and those low in transitivity, in background material. Thus, the correlation of high transitivity with foreground material in discourse that was predicted by Hopper and Thompson is supported.

Further, an examination of independent vs. dependent background clauses shows that some high transitivity levels do occur with background material, but predominantly in subordinate clauses. The higher percentages for Transitivity Levels 1 and 2 in foreground material in De'kwana texts reflects an overall greater number of verbs with either no independent NPs, or with only one NP. The tables above (see 4.3.2.) show this evidence by the larger percentages for Level 2 and 1 forms as opposed to Level 5 and 6 forms in the texts examined. Therefore, the generalization that was advanced by Hopper and Thompson as the hypothesis that high transitivity would be correlated with foreground material does apply, but there are a number of variations that appear when specific parameters or when specific levels (one to six) are taken into consideration. These variations reflect language-specific factors and strategies of discourse organization.

NOTES

[1]As noted above (4.1.), Halliday (1985:103) makes the linearity of the verb-noun association explicit when he identifies the transitive grammatical pattern as an "extension of verbal process

from an actor to a goal" in contrast to the nuclear unit made up of a verb and the NP role of Medium characterizing ergative grammatical units.

[2]This suffix also marks one class of nominals in possessed forms (see Chapter 3 and B.2.). The verbs marked with this suffix also may be read with a nominal sense: ene-dü 'to see' or 'seeing'.

[3]The tense/aspect suffix -i carries the sense of not-now-experienced, or of a general irrealis when it marks recent past completive, subjunctive, and certain recent past incompletive forms in interrogative uses (e.g., ösha ömmai na-i 'where is your house').

[4]The De'kwana affix -t- marks lowered transitivity in a number of constructions. It occurs in verb stem derivation (see B.3. and 4.2.1.1.) and, also, as a marker in reflexive, reciprocal and passive constructions (see B.3.1.1.2.3., B.3.1.2.6.).

[5]The term "causative" is used in this study to designate verb constructions marked by the suffix -ho- that convey the sense of causing, ordering, letting, or permitting someone to do something. This broader interpretation for the causative is described by Comrie (1981:164):

> In many languages, however, expecially in languages with a morphological causative, the same construction ranges over both true causative and permissive senses, as in Georgian.

De'kwana is another language wherein this broader range of causative meanings occurs. In De'kwana, however, the causative suffix -ho- also plays a part in verb stem derivation (see 4.2.1. and B.3.1.1.), and in marking for passive constructions (see 4.2.2.2.). This overlap reflects the broader meaning just outlined for the causative as well.

[6]There is a syntactic restriction blocking use of two oblique NPs so that the suffix -ho- cannot occur as a morphological causative with verbs such as 'to give' when it already has an oblique NP with the postposition -wö.

[7]These constructions have associated semantic features that are commonly called "middle voice" in other languages. However, I have chosen not to use this term for these constructions in De'kwana since the same affix marks other constructions (e.g., passive and reciprocal), and serves as a more general marker of lowered transitivity (see B.3.1.1.2.1., B.3.1.2.6., and 4.2.1.1.).

[8]In De'kwana, animacy ranking is important to word order patterns (see Chapter 2), and is related to person hierarchy ranking (see 4.2.1.2.).

[9]This story was also collected by Koch-Grünberg (1924, 1981: 122-123) during his 1911-1913 travels through southern Venezuela and northern Brazil. The tale was told to him by a speaker of Taulipang (Pemon), a Carib language clasified as East-West Guiana Carib by Durbin (1977)

[10]Komashi appears (as Kuamachi) in legends collected by de Civrieux (1980). The events recounted as one text by my De'kwana consultant are included in two of the stories compiled by de Civrieux from the retellings he collected. The current version lacks references to Komashi's birth that are in de Civrieux's publication.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Introduction

In this study I examine morphosyntactic structures in De'kwana Carib as they project speakers' strategies in discourse organization. Following the central proposition stated in the hypothesis in Chapter 1, I used Transitivity Analysis to discover correlations between morphosyntactic structures with high levels of transitivity and foreground material in discourse. Basic descriptions of the grammatical systems of De'kwana phonology, morphology, and syntax provide information used in the Transitivity Analysis in Chapter 4.

These descriptions of De'kwana grammatical systems establish various units of analysis that are discussed in their respective contexts (see Chapters 2 and 3, 4.2., and Appendices A and B). Examples of these units of analysis are identified in De'kwana texts (see 4.2. and 4.3., for example) to observe their discourse functions. The issue of simultaneous functions raised in Chapter 1 is encountered in a striking way in De'kwana morphosyntactic markers of transitivity (see 4.2., 4.3., and B.3.). For example, morphological markers of transitivity also mark constructions translated as passive, or causative constructions that function in foreground/background structures in discourse.

De'kwana verb forms are found to pattern into a scale of Transitivity, levels one to six. These six levels are tabulated for occurrences in four De'kwana texts and compared to tabulations for

Hopper and Thompson's ten parameters of transitivity. In the texts, foreground material and background material, divided into independent vs. dependent clauses, are identified. Comparisons of the correlations of foreground material with high transitivity in each tabulation generally support such a correlation, but also reveal divergent percentages according to both universal and language-specific patterns.

5.2. Results of Transitivity Analysis

Transitivity analysis of De'kwana texts using ten parameters (following Hopper and Thompson 1980) and six transitivity levels in verbs (see 4.2.1.1. and 4.3.2.) leads to two generalizations. First, the hypothesis of Hopper and Thompson that high transitivity occurs in foreground material in discourse is supported by the data. However, a second look at the data with division of background material into independent vs. dependent clauses and, further, of those dependent clauses associated with foreground independent clauses as opposed to background independent clauses, shows high levels of transitivity for some background material. These reversals of the expected pattern fall into several categories.

1. High transitivity levels occur in subordinate clauses that are commenting on or elaborating events in the story.
2. Speakers' strategies in discourse organization vary from text to text, and percentages for transitivity levels reflect these strategies as well as the kinds of actions described.
3. Language-specific tendencies of: a) utilizing only verb prefixes morphosyntactically marking nominal arguments, or just one independent nominal in a clause; b) using quotatives as a

part of the event line; and, c) the centrality of the binary syntactic frame in the De'kwana grammatical system, are apparent.

Aspects of these categories interact in discourse settings and are discussed below (see 5.4.).

5.3. Units of Analysis in Context

The units under analysis in this study range from phonemes to clauses in discourse. Chapter 2 demonstrates that word order (WO) patterns are based on a binary syntactic frame (e.g., OV, GN, etc.). Further, that word order for a verb with two nominals occurs as Basic Word Order of SOV with other WO options for S and O depending on their relative levels of animacy. In discourse contexts, these rules still apply. However, additional WO variations occur when nominals are highly specified (with modifiers or marked by particles such as dea or he), and to introduce or place certain nominals into prominent focus.

Chapter 3 reviews various morphosyntactic devices marking degrees of specification for nominals from possession marking to contrastive particles (ne, ma). Each of these devices is demonstrated in discourse environments reflecting the speaker's strategies to direct the listener(s)' attention to particular information.

The Transitivity Analysis in Chapter 4 incorporates two types of data. De'kwana verb transitivity levels (one to six) serve as one kind of unit of analysis, while Hopper and Thompson's ten parameters of Transitivity are another set of units. These two kinds of units are analyzed in the context of four De'kwana texts.

In Chapters 2 to 4, then, I examine different units of analysis and their functions in the context of discourse. In the following section (see 5.4. below) I discuss ways in which functions for the units of analysis in the study overlap. One of these overlaps, that between word order and specification, has just been mentioned. These overlaps of functions mean that various morphosyntactic structures are playing simultaneous roles in De'kwana discourse.

5.4. Simultaneity in Discourse

Grammatical structures may be considered from a number of different perspectives that are simultaneously activated in discourse settings. A number of these perspectives are taken in this study. Chapters 2 through 4 as well as the Phonology and Morphosyntax appendices each examine one or more different units of analysis in turn. Each unit of analysis is considered in discourse contexts, but now it is time to review some of the overlapping functions that operate simultaneously in discourse.

Three of these overlaps have been chosen for discussion here. The first is the importance of animacy and person ranking to various morphosyntactic markers. Animacy and person hierarchy influence word order norms, the person prefix system, and plural markers on verb. The relative levels of animacy for the two nominal arguments, S and O, in a clause determine whether BWO of SOV is mandatory or optional. S or O nominals with higher animacy have more positional options; but, if the O is higher than S, then, SOV is required (see Chapter 2).

The person prefix system is organized so that first or second person, being more highly ranked than third person, receives preferential marking (see 4.2.1.2. and B.3.1.2.1.). Likewise, first and second person verb forms in the distant past completive tense/aspect are marked for number in a fashion differing from the conventions for third person (see 4.2.1.3.). These influences of animacy and person ranking upon morphosyntactic marking across several categories provides a greater salience for first or second person in discourse settings. It also supports the stronger link between semantic features and morphosyntactic marking in active (agent-patient) languages (see 4.2.1.2.) that has been suggested by Klimov (1974, 1979;also see Comrie 1976).

Another series of overlaps occurs among the binary WO frame (see 2.3.2.), higher percentages for one argument verbs or for verbs with one independent nominal (see 4.3.), and the non-transitive grammatical interpretation of verb (process) with Medium, a non-agentive nominal (see 4.1.1.). In the discussion of WO norms for De'kwana, we find that a binary grammatical frame is central occurring as OV (object-verb) and as GN (genitive-noun). This binary frame is also operative for NA (noun-adjective) and N-Rel (noun-relative clause) patterns. Further, the occurrence of inanimate objects in the rigid OV frame may be related to the grammatical process of noun-incorporation (see 4.2.2.2.). The non-transitive frame of verb-noun, or process-medium, is also binary, and is descriptive of De'kwana verbs in Transitivity Levels 1 through 4. The high percentages for, either one-argument verbs (Levels 1 and 2),

or, those with only one independent nominal, gives further support to the overlapping functions observed separately for word order, verb structure, and clauses in discourse settings.

A third area where overlapping functions are apparent is the fuzziness of the boundary between lexical morphology and clause level syntax that occurs with transitivity markers in De'kwana Carib. There is no clear break between these two levels because verb stem vowels as well as other affixes (e.g., -t-, -ho-) are used to mark verb categories, and to mark constructions translated as passive or causative constructions. In discourse settings, the various options available with this morphosyntactic marking system are often used in subsequent clauses (for example, see 4.2.2.1. and 4.2.2.2.). Each of these overlapping sets of functions is used in foreground vs. background material in texts (see 4.3. and 4.4.).

5.5. Cultural Implications

The wider cultural context surrounding De'kwana was discussed in the Preface above. Results of the linguistic analyses reviewed in chapters two through four have implications for relevant cultural contexts. First, there is an intricate interaction between linguistic structure and cultural context that may be observed in word order conventions (see 2.3.1.2.). Because younger, more-bilingual consultants tended to use SVO word order more often when translating Spanish sentences than did older or monolingual consultants, it is tempting to hypothesize Spanish influence as a force encouraging language change.

However, this increase in SVO word order in isolated sentences was not accompanied by a similar predominance of SVO in texts nor in conversations. Thus, while SVO might increase in frequency, it would have to occur in all types of discourse and to contradict traditional De'kwana conventions (SVO is permitted with nominals of equal animacy; see 2.3.1.) before I would consider it to be significant. That is, it would need to substantially permeate information flow in connected discourse of all kinds.

A second cultural context in which the results of this study might play a part would be education. This work had limited ties to such contexts while the study was underway.[1] However, the information asembled herein, particularly in Appendices A, B, and E, would be useful for creating extensive instructional materials in De'kwana in the future.

A third set of implications from this study would be the encouragement to identify factors pertinent to both syntactic typology (see Chapter 2) and content typology (see Chapters 3 and 4), and the study's contribution to knowledge about South American languages. The central role of animacy in De'kwana word order patterns (see 2.3.1.) results in inconsistencies among BWO parameters that define syntactic typology. On the other hand, a central role for semantics is expected in active (agent-patient) languages under the perspective of content typology (see 4.2.). These two perspectives (syntactic typology and content typology) should be examined in relationship to each other, especially in light of similar patterns that may occur in other South

American languages. Further, the relationships between these two perspectives might illuminate additional functional simultaneity among units of analysis similar to those discussed above (see 5.4.). The results of the present study indicate that an amplified typological perspective is in order.

5.6. Summary

The discourse strategies that are observed in this study stem from a combination of the shared information about the language that is held by the speaker and hearer(s) both from their cultural perspective, and from each speaker's choices among the grammatical options. These options exist within De'kwana grammatical systems having simultaneous functions such as those discussed above (see 5.4.). The choices made by De'kwana speakers result in clauses that are in foreground or background material in discourse (see 4.3.). These patterns of discourse organization guide the listener(s)' attention by distinguishing more immediately salient material (foreground) from less (background). Thus, the speaker's strategies control the attention and participation of the listener(s).

NOTES

[1]Some De'kwana consultants for this project also prepared materials for a De'kwana primary reader sponsored by the Venezuelan Ministry of Education. And, one De'kwana teacher reviewed the verb file from this project to assist him in a lecture to other De'kwana teachers.

VOLUME II
APPENDICES

Washington University

Department of Anthropology

Dissertation Committee:

Co-Chairpersons: Wallace L. Chafe
Charles A. Hofling
Patty Jo Watson

John R. Bowen
David L. Browman
Robert L. Canfield

THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF DISCOURSE IN DE'KWANA CARIB

by

Katherine Lee Hall

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

May 1988

Saint Louis, Missouri

APPENDIX A. Phonology

There are 28 phonemes in De'kwana, 14 consonant phonemes and 14 vowel phonemes, seven short and seven long. The consonant phonemes are /t/, /d/, /k/, /'/, /s/, /š/, /č/, /m/, /n/, /ñ/, /r/, /w/, /y/, /h/, and the vowel phonemes, /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/, /ï/, /ë/, /i:/, /e:/, /a:/, /u:/, /o:/, /ï:/, and /ë:/. These appear in Chart I below:

Chart I

Phonemes in De'kwana

Consonants

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops and affricates					
vl.		t	č	k	'
vd.		d			
fricative		s	š		
nasal	m	n	ñ		
semivowel and liquid	w	r	y		h

Vowels

	front	central (unrnd.)	back (rnd.)
high	i, i:	ï (ü)[1], ï: (ü:)	u, u:
mid	e, e:	ë (ö)[1], ë: (ö:)	o, o:
low		a, a:	

De'kwana back vowels are articulated with the tongue tip up and back. Alveolar consonants are retroflex before /o/, /o:/, and /u/, /u:/, and palatalized before /i/, /i:/.

Stress, as understood in terms of pitch and intensity (or loudness), is predictable in De'kwana utterances. All word units receive primary stress on the penultimate syllable. Words of four or more syllables (see A.3. and A.4. for discussion of syllable structure) have secondary stress on the second syllable or on all even-numbered syllables as counted from the beginning of the word up to the primary stress. Examples and further discussion of these stress patterns appear below (see A.2.).

The allophones of each of the phonemes are described below. Citations are given in phonemic notation unless otherwise indicated. In the orthography employed for this study some of the phonemes appear as written above in the phonemic chart, but there are some alterations to adjust for typing conventions and to conform with De'kwana orthographies currently in use in Venezuela. The phonemes /t/, /d/, /k/, /h/, /w/, /s/, /m/, /n/, /ñ/, /y/, /r/, /'/, /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/, /i:/, /e:/, /a:/, /u:/, and /o:/, are written as above. The phonemes /č/, and /š/ appear as /ch/ and /sh/. The vowel phonemes representing [ï], [ï:] and [ë], [ë:] appear as /ü/, /ü:/ and /ö/, /ö:/ respectively. This symbolization is one of at least three possible notations for these vowel segments (see footnote 1).

All consonant phonemes occur word-initially and word-medially. All nasal phonemes occur syllable finally but not in word-final position,[2] except for the nasal velar allophone [ŋ] of the phoneme

/n/ which appears word-finally in lexical items borrowed from Spanish (paŋ 'bread'; waŋ 'Juan'). Only the semivowels /w/, /y/, /h/ and the glottal stop /'/ appear in syllable-final position and in word-final position as well.

Further, /w/, /y/ and /h/ have several other shared characteristics that warrant their inclusion under the same category, as semivowels. They follow vowels in word-interior and word-final positions without creating a separate syllable break and yet all have, of course, a vocalic quality to them. Data for the above points are included in the discussions of each phoneme below.

A.1. Phonemic Inventory

Consonant phonemes are outlined below followed by semivowel phonemes and then vowels.

A.1.1. Consonants

/t/

Description: [t] a voiceless alveolar stop

[ṭ] a retroflex voiceless alveolar stop

[č] a palatalized alveolar stop

Distribution: syllable initially

[t] /#__ V [-round, (-front, -high)]//

[ṭ] /__V [+round]//

[č] /i__, __i //

Examples [t] [ta:'ne] 'hot'
[tē'hu] 'stone'
[tīwī] 'he/she/it'
[eta:dï] 'to hear'

[o:tëdï] 'to fish'
[mati:di] 'mañoco basket'
[hati:ya] 'watermelon' (from Sp 'patilla')
[hote:ya] 'bottle' (from Sp 'botella')
[kë'tïnnë] 'voice'
[wëtë'tiha:në] 'exchange, trade'
[wehu'ta] 'I put the stick'
[kuda:ta] 'blowgun'
[oho:tï] 'your(s) intestine'
[anë:të] 'fishhook'
[ku:datai] 'my blowgun'
[ënta] 'mouth'

[ţ] [ţuna] 'water'
[maţu:ţu] 'butterfly'
[ţo:ni] 'one'
[nema:ţo] 'they kill him/it'
[kï'ţo] 'frog'
[da'ţo'tï] 'string, rope'

Contrasts: matu:tu 'butterfly'
madu:da 'giant armadillo'

ta:ka 'in me'
cha:ka 'in him'

ho:tü 'my intestine'
ho:nü 'my male cousin'

'ta:wadü 'my lung'
'cha:wadü 'his lung'

he:tü 'my foot'
he:dü 'my face'

ta:ka 'in me'
da:ka 'he cuts me'

tawa:he 'light, frivolous'
dawa:de 'opossum'

mutu' 'worm'
munu 'blood'

moto 'earthworm'
modoy 'spider which doesn't bite'

tüwü 'he/she/it'
küwü 'we two'

Morphophonemic changes: The morphophonemic alternant /ch/ appears in the environment /i__//. This occurs as a result of metathesis and assimilation in words such as 'cha:wadü 'his lung' from i- (third person possessive prefix) and 'ta:wadü ('lung' possessed form) producing the intermediate form tya:wadü which is indeed sometimes heard with some speakers.

/d/

Description: [d] a voiced alveolar stop

[ð] a voiced dental-alveolar fricative

[ɖ] a retroflex voiced alveolar stop

Distribution: initially, medially

[d] ~ [ð] / __a, e, ö //

[ɖ] ~ [ð] /#__ o, u //

[ɖ] /__o, u //

[d] / elsewhere: ___ a, e, i, ö, ü //

Examples: [d] ~ [ð]
[danwa] ~ [ðanwa] 'man'
[dantai] ~ [ðantai] 'some'
[dantadu] ~ [ðantadu] 'island'
[dedï] ~ [ðedï] 'teeth'
[deyude] ~ [ðeyude] 'wrinkled'
[më:dë] ~ [më:ðë] 'this one'
[ada:wa] ~ [aða:wa] 'flare'
[a:da:di] ~ [a:ða:di] 'fishing with poison (Sp. barbasco)
[tu'demMhïnï] ~ [tu'ðemMhïnï] 'bachelor'
[oda'kuëkëno] ~ [oða'kuëkëno] 'skirt separate from dress'
[wada:da] ~ [waða:da] 'giant tortoise'
[ëda:hë] ~ [ëða:hë] 'chief'
[adawa:nai]~ [aðawa:nai] 'Did you get up alright? (morning greeting)
['aku:daha:da] ~ ['aku:ðaha:da] 'powder'
[da'de:du e'qu:ni] ~ [ða'de:du e'qu:ni] 'chief's assistant who wants to be chief'

[ɖ] ~ [ð]
[ɖowa:nēkē] ~ [ðowa:nēkē] 'he knows'
[ɖo:nē] ~ [ðo:nē] 'below'
[ɖudi:nñu] ~ [ðudi:nñu] 'fire'

[ɖ]
[ɖo:'ta] 'trunk of body, thorax'
[ɖuḍu:mọi] 'his stomach'
[mụ:ɖu] 'morocoto'
[mạ:ɖo] 'jaguar'

[d]
[da'hu] 'bamboo'
[damạ] 'sea'
[dea'] 'the same'
[de:] 'tree'
[dï:'tē] 'beside me'
[tu'de] 'enemy'
[e'dë] 'this'
[mu:de] 'low seat'
[na:dï] 'here it is; to have'
[tudi] 'basket carrier'
[kuda'ta] 'blowgun'

Contrasts: na:dü 'here it is; to have'
na:tü 'trees or tree-products'

da:ka 'he cuts me'
ta:ka 'in me'

tu:'da' 'large gourd'
tu:'na 'to blow'

ha:dü 'grandson'
ha:nü 'my male cousin'

ha:dö 'with me'
ha:nö 'trap, snare'

udu:tu 'dangerous night butterfly'
utu:du 'to give'

dawa:de 'opossum'
tawa:he 'light, frivolous'

eda:mo 'sponsor'
eta:dü 'to hear'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive prefix d-

appears as the morphophonemic alternant /č-/ before front vowels. As the initial consonant (the d- prefix) palatalizes, an initial stem vowel /e/ is pronounced further back, in central rather than front position (e > ö), unless the vowel /e/ is in a closed syllable. The following examples illustrate these processes. Note that the first three examples contrast with the following four:

d - a:'hö:du > da:'hö:du 'his arm'
d - udu' > dudu' 'his cassava'
d - o:'tü > do:'tü 'his meat',

but,

d - edahö > *chedahö > chödahö 'his chief'
d - ededü > *chededü > chödedü 'his liver'
d - edinñöi > *chedinñöi > chödinñöi
'his jar, pot'
d - ey'yedü > chey'yedü 'brother-in-law'

The phoneme /d/ also appears as the morphophonemic alternant /ch/ when the morpheme dea' 'the same' occurs following /i/ or /y/; likewise, 'da 'not' occurs as 'cha:

dea' > *dyea' > chea' 'the same'
'da > *'dya > 'cha 'not'
(For examples, see /r/ below)

In addition to the conditioned alternation for the /d/ phoneme seen above, there is also dialect variation for the /d/ phoneme. The /d/ phoneme has a dialect alternant of /y/ heard in words such as: danwa/yanwa 'man'; and: de:/ye: 'tree'.[3]

Some words such as danwa/ðanwa (a sub-phonemic intradialect variant for the Cunucunuma; also, the latter variant represents the cabecereña or headwater dialect) clearly have the dialect alternant yanwa. This

produces three dialect alternants, two sub-phonemic for the Cunucunuma dialect and two phonemic alternants overlapping between dialects: 1) [d] vs [ð]; 2) /y/; and 3) /ð/. Other words have evidence for only two dialect alternants (e.g., de:/ye: 'tree' or [danñami]/[ðanñami] 'nesting place'). It is possible that subsequent data will reveal a third variant in such cases. For example, additional work in 1983 with De'kwana speakers near headwater areas revealed the variant of [ðe'kwana] for the formerly established dialect variants of De'kwana and Ye'kwana. Further, confusions over dialect alternants may arise such as with yamo:dũ which means 'my hand' in the dialect of the present study but means 'his hand' under the phonemic alternation of dialect variation (/y/ vs. /d/). This difference is the subject of a great deal of comment among speakers of the various dialects. A full study of these dialect variations would be very useful to clearly sort out the overlapping subphonemic intradialect and/or interdialect alternations.

/k/

Description: [k] a voiceless back velar stop

[q] a voiceless uvular stop

Distribution: syllable initial

[k] ~ [q] /__ V(:) //[4]

Examples: [k] ~ [q]
[ka:do] ~ [qa:do] 'tasty'
[kata:da] ~[qata:da] 'meal, dinner'
[ke:mą:to] ~ [qe:mą:to] 'we kill him'
[konẹ'da] ~[qonẹ'da] 'bad, evil'
[kude:wẽ] ~ [qude:wẽ] 'parrot'
[kį̈nnọ'to'] ~ [qį̈nnọ'to'] 'snake'
[kidi'šu] ~ [qidi'šu] 'spiny animal'
[suku:hi] ~ [suqu:hi] 'spear'
[a:kenẹ] ~ [a:qenẹ] 'how, what'

[nąˈkuawë] ~ [nąˈquawë] 'near the river'
[šaˈkuë] ~ [šaˈquë] 'hot sauce'
[šahoko] ~ [šahoqo] 'tucan'
[aŋwaka] ~ [aŋwaqa] 'in, inside'
[kïmïˈkë] ~ [qïmïˈqë] 'knife'
[ënaːku] ~ [ënaqu] 'teardrop'
[ënẹ̈ːkï] ~ [ënẹ̈qï] 'who'
[widiːki] ~ [widiːqi] 'shaman's crystal stone'
[taˈḍuke] ~ [taˈḍuqe] 'closed'

Contrasts: ko:ko 'grandfather'
to:ki 'ceremony for clearing a new garden'

tadaːya 'blue/grey heron'
kadayhyay 'river spider used for fish bait'

tunke 'not an orphan'
chün'e 'go out to fish with poison (barbasco)

nuˈkaˈa 'he weaves'
naːkaˈka 'in the river'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive (i-) prefix metathesizes with word-initial /k/ and palatalizes resulting in ch- in the following examples:

i-kanway > *kyanway > chanway 'his basket'
i-kaːtaːdü > *kyaːtaːdü > chaːtaːdü
'his meal, dinner
i-kaːwayˈchü > *kyaːwayˈchü > chaːwayˈchü
'his tabacco'
i-kahichaːnayˈ > *kyahichaːnayˈ > chahichaːnayˈ
'his chief, capitan'
i-kaːwadimakay > *kyaːwadimakay > chaːwadimakay
'sling for carrying child'
i-kuːdaːway > *kyuːdaːway > chuːdaːway 'his poison'
i-kuːnway > *kyuːnway > chuːnway
'his blowgun darts'
i-kushiyü > *kyushiyü > chushiyü 'his drink'
i-kudaˈtayˈ > *kyudaˈtayˈ > chudaˈtayˈ
'his blowgun'
i-küːmüyˈchö > *kyüːmüyˈchö > chüːmüyˈchö
'his knife'
i-köˈtümüːdü > *kyöˈtümüːdü >
chöˈtümüːdü 'his voice'
i-küːmüy > *kyüːmüy > chüːmüy 'his machete'

/'/

Description: ['] a glottal stop

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

['] /___ V //

/ __ C, V (a, e) //

Examples: ['ai'ča'] 'grandmother'
[ši:'] 'sun'
[šeu'] 'coati'
[u'hu] 'foot'
[ha'hi] 'fishnet'
[nądē'ha]~[nądēhha] 'he orders him to carry
[kuða'kuē]~[kuða:kuē] 'hot sauce'
[tü'ka'hĭdĭ]~[tü'ka:hĭdĭ] 'to weave'
['i:'tšē:dĭ]~[i:'tšē:dĭ] 'to walk'

Contrasts: 'ay'chudi 'song'
haychi:tu' 'picure'

tunke 'not an orphan'
chun'e 'go out to fish with poison (barbasco)'

chu:'nödü 'the end, final point, barrier'
chu:nödü 'to heat up, to get hot'

ewü'tü 'his hammock'
ewütü 'lair'

mö'dö 'his'
mödö 'it is'

ahö'tödü 'put on an arm band'
ahöntödü 'to begin'

Morphophonemic changes: The pattern vowel-glottal stop (-V'-) in some words becomes long-vowel (-V:-) and vowel-glottal frictive (-Vh-) in word-medial position.[5] The following examples demonstrate this:

kidi'shu ~ kidi:shu 'hedgehog, porcupine'
kuða'kwö ~ kuða:kwö 'hot sauce'
nüdü'ha ~ nüdühha 'he orders it to be done'
nadö'ha ~ nadöhha 'he orders him to carry it'
tü'ka'hüdü ~ tü'ka:hüdü 'to weave'

The alternation _V:_/_Vh_ seems to be the result of the process of consonant gemination discussed below.

In the following list of examples the /'/ phoneme is the result of gemination or of regressive reduplication of the stop component of the succeeding consonant. Syllable-initial oral stops or stop components of affricates may become geminates following a long vowel or closed syllable. This phenomenon occurs with the stop beginning the following syllable in the first six examples, and with the stop component of the affricate /ch/ in the next eleven examples.[6]

Rule for gemination with dissimilation:

C > C C > 'C

*inchonkomo > *inchonkkomo > inchon'komo
'the old ones; very great'
*a:dewkwe > *a:ddewkkwe > a:'dew'kwe 'speech'
cha:tü > *cha:ttü > cha:'tü 'animal fat'
chö:tü > *chö:ttü > chö:'tü 'his name'
*küweyhoko:mo > *küweyhhokko:mo
> küwey'ho'ko:mo 'as we were'
wo:küdü > *wo:kküdü > wo:'küdü 'my yucuta'

*hüyeychö > *hüyeytchö > hüyey'chö
'mapuey'
*akaychadü > *akaytchadü > akay'chadü
'to make ridges by rubbing'
*seweychato > *seweytchato > sewey'chato 'red'
*künenüycho > *künenüytcho > künenüy'cho
'then drink'
*nonohoychöto > *nonohoytchöto > nonohoy'chöto
'below'
*cha:waychü > *cha:waytchü > cha:way'chü
'his tabacco'
*chünküychü > *chünküytchü
> chünküy'chü 'his manioc squeezer'
*küweychokomo > *küweytchokkomo
> küwey'cho'komo 'as we're going to be'
*akoychahüdü > *akoytchahhüdü
> akoy'cha'hüdü 'at the termination point'
*künwohaycho > *künwohhaytcho > künwo'hay'cho
'he gives beer to them'

Consonant gemination through regressive reduplication of the stop feature may have occurred followed by optional replacement by a glottal originally producing two forms as seen in the last eleven of -V'- alternants above, with subsequent usage of the glottal stop alternant as the accepted normal usage.

At present, the status of this phoneme is problematic for a number of reasons. Close to forty percent of vocabulary words in the current sample have the phoneme /'/ in them. The glottal stop is being retained with phonemic status because I do not feel that all occurrences can be explained as replacement for other predictable phonemes at this time. It is possible that more than one level of glottal stop function exists,[7] one as an independent consonant phoneme of few occurrences (see phoneme description for /'/ above), and one as a predictable and statistically very frequent result of these morphophonemic changes. Also there are some contrast pairs in evidence. Additional analysis may clarify the existence of the glottal stop as a part of further phonologial change in progress and will relegate this phoneme to another status (such as a suprasegmental alternant or some other emergent phoneme).

/s/

Description: [s] a voiceless alveolar fricative

[ṣ] a retroflex voiceless alveolar fricative

Distribution: syllable initial

[s] /__ a, e, ü //

[ṣ] / __u, o //

Examples: [s]
[sawi:ya] 'adornment'
[seda'hadi] 'a type of fish'
[sï:na] 'dog, wolf'
[ë'sa] 'room'
[ne'se'ta] 'he manages it'
[asï:kï] 'mouse'
[maku:sa] 'needle' (from Sp 'aguja')
[wa'sennë] 'to laugh'

[ṣ]
[ṣo:'ka'] 'tupiro' (monkey grapes)
[ṣuku] 'urine'
[tïṣoča:mï̱] 'match, light for the fire'

Contrasts: ö'sa 'room, salon'
öisha 'where'

ö'sa 'room'
ösha:dü 'spiny fruit'

sa:ku:dahe 'it's not ripe'
sha:ku 'potato'

so:'ka' 'tupiro'
cho:kadü 'wash clothes, table, etc.'

so:'ka' 'tupiro' (monkey grapes)
sho:kadü 'to sew'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive prefix i- metathesizes with the initial /s/ phoneme giving the intermediary form beginning with the segment *sy- yielding š- in the following examples:

i-sa:wiyay > *sya:wiyay > sha:wiyay 'his saliva'
i-sa:yuy > *sya:yuy > sha:yuy 'his salt'
i-su:kuhi:yu > *syu:kuhi:yu > shu:kuhi:yu 'his spear'

/š/

Description: [š] a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative

[ṣ] a retroflex voiceless alveopalatal fricative

Distribution: syllable initial

[š] /__V (except__ ü, õ)//

[ş] /___ u, o //

Examples: [š]
[šaq̲uahē] 'toasted manioc bread'
[še:nẹ] 'green, blue'
[šidi:cë] 'star'
[ši:'] 'sun'
[wiša] 'black monkey'
[kuši] 'a drink'
[yeši:ya] 'I am torn'
[a:'ša:dï] 'to select or choose'
[oọo'ša] 'devil'

[ş]
[şo:dï] 'stream'
[şu:mạdï] 'suck, kiss'
[wişo:mạ] 'I guard'
[wi:şo:qa] 'I sew'

Contrasts: sho:kadü 'to sew'
cho:'kadü 'wash clothes, table, etc.'

sha:ku 'potato'
sa:ku:dahe 'it's not ripe'

shu:madü 'to kiss, suck'
chu:madü 'rising water, high water'

ka:shay 'pirhana'
kay'chay 'parrot'

kahu:shawa 'devil'
kömusa'kö 'my son-in-law'

For morphophonemic changes see discussion under /s/ above for occurrences of [š] as an allophone of /s/.

/č/

Description: [č] a voiceless alveopalatal affricate

[ç] a retroflex voiceless alveopalatal affricate

Distribution: syllable initial

[č] /#___ a, e, ö, ü //

/V (a, i, o, ö, ü)___ V (a, i, ö, ü) //

[ǧ] /__ o, u //

Examples: [č]
[ča:'tï] 'animal fat'
[čei'yedï] 'his brother-in-law'
[čïŋ'e] 'go out to fish with poison (barbasco)
[ši:'čï] 'younger brother'
[wei'čï] 'living people, family'
[ëši:ča:dï] 'sugar cane'
[šidi:cë] 'star'
[haiči:tu'] 'agouti'
[tïşoča:mǔ] 'match, light'
[ennǰčadï] ' to wet, dampen'
[čë:hu'hë'] 'seeds'

[ǧ]
[ǧomǫmǰdawë] 'after noon, in the PM'
[ǧu:ta'] 'trees, forest'
[ǧu:'hë] 'lake'
[ǧo:'kadï] 'to wash things'

Contrasts: cho:kadü 'wash clothes, table, etc.'
sho:kadü 'to sew'

cha:tü 'animal fat'
ta:'ne 'hot'

cha:'tü 'animal fat'
da'hu 'bamboo'

cha:ta:dü 'his dinner'
sa:'da'da 'sand'

cha:way'chü 'his tobacco'
ka:way'chü 'my tobacco'

For morphophonemic changes see discussions under /t/, /d/, /k/, /'/ above.

/m/

Description: [m] a voiced bilabial nasal

Distribution: syllable initially, finally, but not word finally

[m] / __V, h //

Examples:
[mą:di] 'small, white heron'
[mẹmụ] 'snail'
[mọdoi] 'spider which doesn't bite'
[mẽnse] 'behind'
[mụṭu] 'worm'
[mĩnẽ:tẽ] 'scorpion'
[amọ] 'hand'
[homị] 'spice, seasoning sauce'
[womụ'] 'dress, outfit'
[i'mọi] 'egg'
[tẽnẽ:mĩ] 'dinner, meat'
[suną:mọ] 'hot sauce of the Orinoco River area'
[mịyẽhiya] 'you (sing) tie it'
[mịši:ča] 'you break it'
[yomọmhẽ'a] 'I am entering'
[wẽ'nẽmha] 'I stay'

Contrasts:
muwa:hu 'skirt'
nuwa:du 'brother'

ömmay 'your house'
önna 'nose'

ömmay 'your house'
önña 'corn'

mö:kü 'that one'
wo:'kũ 'yucuta'

chu:madü 'high water, rising river'
chu:wadü 'leaves'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive prefix i- metathesizes with word-initial /m/ resulting in ñ- and presumably passing through a stage of *my- as in the following examples:

i-ma:tidiyü > *mya:tidiyü > ña:tidiyü
'basket for manioc flour'
i-ma:nkuy > *mya:nkuy > ña:nkuy 'his mango'
i-ma:na:dey > *mya:na:dey > ña:na:dey
'his round, flat basket for sifting manioc'
i-maha:yay > *myaha:yay > ñaha:yay 'his papaya'
i-ma:dadü > *mya:dadü > ña:dadü 'tree, shrub'
i-mesay' > *myesay' > ñesay' 'table'
i-mu:dey > *myu:dey > ñu:dey 'low seat, bench'
i-mu:wahuy' > *myu:wahuy' > ñu:wahuy 'skirt'

The phoneme also undergoes gemination which is discussed more fully below. In some cases the lexical item may exhibit both gemination and regressive dissimilation as in:

kömme/könme 'cold'
mihumma/mihunma 'you want'
wekamma/wekanma 'I say, speak'

When the geminate /mm/ precedes /h/ it partially devoices as in:

[tamMhë:ne] 'fast'
[ëqatomMhë] 'image'
[sekemMhïnï] 'dull, hasn't a point'
[konemMhïnï] 'problem'
[tunkemMhïnï] 'orphan'
[tï'ðemMhïnï] 'bachelor'
[cëmMhamï:'tï] 'fulminate'
[ëmu:'demMhïnï] 'rightside'
[yekamMhia'ka] 'I change'
[wemMhanna] 'I take it'

/n/

Description: [n] a voiced alveolar nasal

[ɳ] a retroflex voiced alveolar nasal

[ŋ] a voiced velar nasal

Distribution: syllable initially, finally, but not word finally

[n] / __V [-rounding] //

[ɳ] /__ u, o //

[ŋ] /# ___C (+velar, glottal) //

/__ .V (except not /__i, i__ //)[8]

Examples: [n]
[nąkuai] 'by means of the river'
[nę:nę] 'true'
[nẽnwa] 'he dances'
[nĭ'ta] 'he goes'
[nįǫ'ha] 'he gives him (causes him to) drink'
[ʈunąa] 'water'
[ta:'nę] 'hot'
[ɳų:nẽ] 'moon'
[ho:nĭ] 'my male cousin'
[ʈo:nį] 'one'
[a:nsa] 'necklace tassles'
[mǫnse] 'snake, emerald boa'
[wëmęntënẽ] 'to accuse one another'
[wewǫntënẽ] 'to dress'
[wedąnta] 'I meet him'

[ɳ]
[ɳǫɳǫ] 'earth'
[ɳųwe] 'long'
[ɳų:nẽ] 'moon'
[ënų] 'eye'

[ŋ]
[ŋwa] 'there'
[ŋwa'këi] 'bottom'
[wihuŋa] 'I put cotton in blowgun darts'
[wemą:ŋ'a] 'I paint him/it'
[ną:ǫǫŋka] 'he is cured'
[dąŋwa] 'man'
[kų:ŋwa] 'blowgun darts'
[nǫŋwa] 'he dances'

Contrasts: nu:du 'my tongue'
ñu:du 'his tongue'

önna 'nose'
önña 'corn'

wenö 'to come'
weñö 'to live'

na:dü 'here it is, to have'
ña:dü 'clear the garden'

nu:du 'my tongue'
tu:'na 'to blow'

önna 'nose'
önta 'mouth'

tu:'na 'to blow'
tu:'da' 'large gourd'

nu:du 'my tongue'
mu:du 'morocoto'

ne'se'ta 'he manages it'
ye'saka 'in my house'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive prefix i- metathesizes with word-initial /n/ becoming *ny- and ñ- as in the following examples:

i-nuwa:dü > *nyuwa:dü > ñuwa:dü
'his brother'
i-nu:du > *nyu:du > ñu:du 'his tongue'
i-no'tü > *nyo'tü > ño'tü 'his grandmother'
i-nonodü > *nyonodü > ñonodü 'his earth'
i-na:tü:dü > *nya:tü:dü > ña:tü:dü
'his tree, shrub'
i-no'tödü > *nyo'tödü > ño'tödü
'his fish'
i-na:'dudu > *nya:'dudu > ña:'dudu 'his lids, covers'
i-na:mö'hüdü > *nya:mö'hüdü > ña:mö'hüdü 'his roof'
i-na(w)dwöhüdü > *nya(w)dwöhüdü > ña(w)dwöhüdü 'his garden'
i-nay'chüdü > *nyay'chüdü > ñay'chüdü
'his garden'

The allophone [ŋ] while predictable as described in the environmental statement above is also involved in a morphophonemic alternation with the [n] allophone under certain circumstances. The nasal consonant in the word inchawö 'his shoulder' is pronounced as either [ŋ] or [n]. The non-possessed form for 'shoulder' is [ŋkawö]. The morphophonemic alternant /č/ appears for /k/ when the third person possessive prefix /i/- is added:

[ŋkawö] 'shoulder'
[ünkawö] 'my shoulder'
[iŋčawö] ~ [inčawö] 'his shoulder'

In the environment of the palatal affricate derived from the velar stop, the adjacent nasal phoneme may occur alternantly as an alveolar or as a velar as seen in the example above.

Word-final /n/ in lexical items borrowed from Spanish appears as [ŋ] ([pąŋ] 'bread'; [wąŋ] 'Juan') except when the subsequent word begins with [n] where it also occurs as [n]: [a:kenę wąn nai?] 'Where is John?'; in contrast to: [pąŋ he 'da nąˀ] 'There's no bread'.

In certain words where a syllable final [ŋ] occurs preceding a glottal stop, the glottal stop is sometimes lost.[9] Due to this phenomenon the [ŋ] might be claimed to be a separate phoneme, though this is not the claim here.[10] A representative list is below:

chüŋ-'e ~ chüŋ-e	'go fishing with poison'
chönüŋ-'e ~ chönüŋ-e	'thank you'
wi-moŋ-'a ~ wi-moŋ-a	'I turn'
wi-huŋ-'a ~ wi-huŋ-a	'I decorate blowgun darts with cotton'

Thus, the statement above that the [ŋ] allophone is predictable in syllable final position before velar and glottal consonants includes instances where the glottal stop may be omitted. While it is possible that additional data could bring to light lexical items with the [ŋ] segment functioning phonemically, it remains in allophonic status based on the data available under the present analysis.

Morphologically conditioned morphophonemic alternants occur with the addition of tense morphemes for certain verb sets and in conjunction with postpositions for nominals. Verbs whose present tense form ends in -na have a recent past tense form terminating in -müi as in the following examples:

yomoŋa 'I enter' yomomüi 'I entered'
hönüŋ'a 'I swim' hömmüi 'I swam'
kö:'tüŋŋa 'I shout' kö:'tümüi 'I shouted'
ye:katüŋŋa 'I run' ye:katümüi 'I ran'

/ñ/

Description: [ñ] an alveopalatal nasal

[ɳ̃] a retroflex alveopalatal nasal

Distribution: syllable initially, finally, but not word finally

[ñ] /___ V [-rounding] (except not /__ i)//

[ɳ̃] / __u, o //

Examples: [ñ]
[ña:dï] 'to clear a garden'
[ñë:dë] 'he, that one (distant)'
[kaiña] 'incest'
[mɳ̃:ñɳ̃] 'this one'
[wë:'hiñë] 'to bathe'
[hadëinñe] 'with them'
[ñą:ñụdi] 'otter'

[n̪]
[n̪o:tï] 'his grandmother'
[n̪u:du] 'his tongue'
[n̪u:toho] 'for tying, to tie'
[niñ̪o:nta] 'he frightens him'
[ña:n̪udi] 'giant otter'

Contrasts: ñu:du 'his tongue'
nu:du 'my tongue'

ña:dü 'to clear a garden'
na:dü 'here it is'

önña 'corn'
önna 'nose'

/r/[11]

Description: [r] an alveolar liquid flap

[d] an alveolar stop (tap)

[l] an alveolar lateral flap

Distribution: syllable initially

[r] ~ [d] ~ [l] /__a, i, o, u, ü //

Examples: [r] ~ [d] ~ [l]
[tarwa] ~ [tadwa] ~ [talwa] 'tabla' (from Sp. 'tabla')
[a(w)rwahë] ~ [a(w)dwahë] ~ [a(w)lwahë][12] 'garden'
[tara(w)dwe] ~ [tada(w)dwe] ~ [tala(w)dwe] 'to grate'
[kankuru] ~ [kankudu] ~ [kankulu] 'gourd'
[tarawa:hu] ~ [tadawa:hu] 'work, job'
[yara:karu] ~ [yada:kadu] 'monkey'
[kone'ra] ~ [kone'da] 'bad, evil'
[saroro] ~ [sadodo] ~ [salolo] 'small otter'
[wiri:ki] ~ [widi:ki] 'shaman's crystal stone'
[mahi:ri] ~ [mahi:di] 'mosquito'
[mati:ri] ~ [mati:di] 'basket for manioc flour'
[hihi:ri] ~ [hihi:di] 'peach palm'
[yo:radai] ~ [yo:dadai] ~ [yo:ladai] 'daytime devil'
[arawa'ta'] ~ [adawa'ta'] 'howler monkey'

Contrasts: a(w)rwö:rü 'make a garden'
adö:rü 'to carry'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive prefix i-

metathesizes with word-initial /r/ becoming *ry- and y- in the following

examples:

i-re:'hö> *rye:'hö> ye:'hö 'his bone'
i-re:rü> *rye:dü> ye:rü 'his teeth'
i-ra:may'chü> *rya:may'chü> ya:may'chü
'his barbasco (fishing with poison)'
i-ro:'tarü> *ryo:'tarü> yo:'tarü
'his trunk, thorax'
i-ruy> *ryuy> yuy 'his older brother (M)'

The possessive marker sufix '-rü' has morphophonemic alternants of '-yü' and '-chü' which occur in the following environments:

-yü / i_ //

-chü / i'__ //

These alternants can be seen in the following examples:

hihiri-yü 'my peach palm'
ka:way'-chü 'my tobacco'
ya:ki:-yü 'my blood'
ho:mi:'-chü 'spice, peppers'
ha:hi-yü 'fishnet'
ka:sa'ri-yü' 'cooked hot peppers'
kushi-yü 'my drink'

The morpheme -'ra 'not' (negation) has a morphophonemic alternant of -'cha which occurs in the environment of / i __ //.

Examples: kone'ra 'bad, evil'
konemhünühe'ra na 'There's no problem.'
tüdühay'cha wa 'I can't fix it (thing)'
üwa'tahay'cha manö woi'he
'I need help/Please help me.'
(literally: I can't do it myself.)

In similar fashion, the particle, 'rea, has the morphophonemic alternant 'chea in the environment of /i/. Examples:

kün-eduka - i - chea ya:wö He fell (in) once more.
3/3-fall-DPI-ident verif

kün-edantö-i-chea Hia:wa maha ya:wö
3/3-encounter-DPI-ident and verif

And he again encountered Hia:wa.

A.1.2. Semivowels

/w/

Description: [w] a voiced bilabial semivowel with velarization

[v] a voiced labio-dental fricative with lip rounding or extension

[ß] a voiced bilabial fricative

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[w] /#__ , V__ V, V__CV, ___# //

[w] ~ [v] /V_1__V_2 (where V_2 is /i/) //

[w] ~ [ß] / __o //

Examples: [w]
[waha] 'flat circular basket'
[weḍu] 'year'
[wi:'ša'] 'to fight'
[wo:dï] 'uncle'
[wënë] 'war'
[wu:wa] 'basket'
[ṇuwe'] 'long'
[ïwï] 'I'
[a:wë] 'in'
[öwah] 'cemetary'
[kawaw] 'toad'
[šew] 'coati'

[w] ~ [v]
[iwi] ~ [ivi] 'small deer'
[hawi:] ~ [havi:] 'bird'
[sawi:ya] ~ [savi:ya] 'adornment'

[w] ~ [ß]
[wo:y] ~ [ßo:y] 'plants, woods'
[sewo:ya] ~ [seßo:ya] 'onion' (from Sp. 'cebolla')

Contrasts: waha 'flat basket for siting grated manioc'
maha 'and, also, too'

wö:'kü 'yucuta'
mö:kü 'this one (medial distance)'

chu:wadü 'leaves'
chu:madü 'rising water, high water in the river'

kawaw 'toad'
kahaw 'armadillo'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive prefix i- metathesizes with word-initial /w/ becoming y- and presumably passing through a stage of *wy- as in the following examples:

i-wa:hay'> *wya:hay'> ya:hay'
'his basket for sifting manioc'
i-waychadü> *wyaychadü> yaychadü
'his shotgun'
i-wa:diwa:diyü> *wya:diwa:diyü> ya:diwa:diyü
'his fan'
i-wanade:key> *wyanade:key> yanade:key
'his pineapple'
i-wa:ta'sokwadü> *wya:ta'sokwadü >
ya:ta'sokwadü 'his noises'
i-wa:dekuy> *wya:dekuy> ya:dekuy 'his cotton'
i-wa:hu'nöy> *wya:hu'nöy> ya:hu'nöy
'his fruit of guama tree'
i-wa'todü> *wya'todü> ya'todü 'his flame, ember'
i-wey'chü> *wyey'chü> yey'chü 'his family'
i--wedennö:'töy> *wyedennö'toy> yedennö'töy
'his ashes'
i-wi:shuy> *wyi:shuy> yi:shuy 'his paint'
i-wo:dü> *wyo:dü> yo:dü 'his uncle'
i-wo:y'chü> *wyo:dü> yo:y'chü 'his tree, shrub'
i-wo:mü> *wyo:mü> yo:mü 'his outfit'
i-wö:'töy> *wyö:'töy> yö:'töy
'his door'

The /w/ phoneme is involved in the morphophonemic processes of progressive reduplication and/or metathesis when it occurs in word-interior clusters with /d/ or /k/. Progressive reduplication may

occur giving: a:'dew'ke > a:'dew'kwe or metathesis may occur as in a:'dew'ke > a:'de'kwe. Any one of the alternants may be heard in speech.

a:wda:hö ~ a:wdwa:hö ~ a:dwa:hö 'garden'
a:wdö:dü ~ a:wdwö:dü ~ a:dwö:dü
'to clear or make a garden'
tawda ~ tawdwa ~ tadwa 'tabla, board'
tada:wde ~ tada:wdwe ~ tada:dwe 'to grate'
tada:wde:mö ~ tada:wdwe:mö ~ tada:dwe:mö
'snake'

Both regressive and progressive reduplication occur in the lexical item in the following example which varies as progressive with the /u/ and regressive with the /a/:

na:'kuka/na:'kwakwa/na:'kukwa
'in the river'.

/y/

Description: [y] a palatal semivowel

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[y] /___V (except /__i)//

Examples: [ya:ya] 'older sister'
[ye:dï] 'his teeth'
[yo:tï'] 'my meat'
[yuhuduñąnnǫ] 'cabecereñno'
[yï'se] 'about to bear fruit'
[heyu] 'wrinkle'
[hu:ya] 'arrow point' (from Sp. 'puya')
[yeyyedï] 'my brother-in-law'
[iyohï:di"] 'breast'

Contrasts: yo:tü 'my meat'
do:tü 'his meat'

mayu:du 'beads'
madu:da 'giant armadillo'

kuyu:wi 'turkey'
kudu:mu 'vulture'

mayu:du 'beads'
matu:tu 'butterfly'

udu:yu 'parrot'
utu:du 'to give'

ye:dü 'his tooth/teeth'
de:dü 'my tooth/teeth'

Morphophonemic changes: Morphophonemic alternants under dialect variation were disscussed above under /d/ and /r/ phonemes but merit review in terms of the overlapping phonemic materials involved. The phoneme /d/ has the morphophonemic dialect variant of /y/ as in danwa~yanwa 'man'. The phoneme /y/ in the dialect under investigation occurs independently (e.g., ya:ya 'older sister'), and is actively involved in morphophonemic processes of reduplication and palatalization (see discussion under the /d/, /k/ and /'/ phonemes) as is the phoneme /i/. The liquid phoneme /r/ is most often represented in the Cunucunuma dialect as a flapped[13] [d] allophone ([widi:ki]~[wiri:ki] 'shaman's crystal stone') which thus overlaps with the /d/ phoneme itself. In addition, the /r/ phoneme is replaced by /y/ under metathesis with /i/ (see /r/ phoneme). Thus, the three phonemes of /d/, /y/, and /r/ have several interesting overlaps which no doubt relate to questions of historical and geographical factors, both intriguing topics for further investigation.

/h/

Description: [h] a voiceless laryngeal semivowel with friction

[x] a voiceless back velar fricative

[f] a voiceless labio-dental fricative with lip rounding

[ɸ] a voiceless bilabial fricative

Distribution: initially, medially, finally[14]

[h] ~ [x] ~ [f] ~ [ɸ] /# __ //

[h] ~ [x] / elsewhere

Examples: [hadë]~[xadë]~[fadë]~[ɸadë] 'with'
[hana]~[xana]~[fana]~[ɸana] 'ear'
[he:na]~[xe:na]~[fe:na]~[ɸe:na] 'oar'
[ho:he]~[xo:he]~[fo:he]~[ɸo:he][15] 'a lot, much'
[hëde:mụ]~[xëde:mụ]~[fëde:mụ]
~[ɸëde:mụ] 'anteater'
[hu:]~[xu:]~[fu:]~[ɸu:] 'hair'
[hï:]~[xï:]~[fï:]~[ɸï:] 'mountain, hill'
[hiya:nạ]~[xuiya:nạ]~[fiya:nạ]~
[ɸiyan:ạ] 'eagle'
[ahi:ša] 'large, white heron'
[hihi:di]~[xihi:di]~[fihi:di]~[ɸihi:di]
'peach palm'

Contrasts: ho:he 'a lot, much'
wo:'mo 'necklace'

kahaw 'armadillo'
kawaw 'toad'

haychi:tu 'agouti'
'ay'chüdi 'song'

u'hu 'foot'
suku 'urine'

Morphophonemic changes: The third person possessive prefix,[16] i-, metathesizes with the initial /h/ phoneme in the following words:

i-ho:tü > hyo:tü 'his intestine'
i-hi:'hö > hyi:'hö 'his skin'

The following examples are a more complete list of words that undergo this process:

hya:duduy 'his banana'
hyaduy'chü 'his sister'
hyay'chünno 'his brother-in-law'
hya:tadü 'his town, community'
hyadahiyü 'his plate'
hya:dü 'his grandson'
hya:'se' 'his female cousin'
hya:nadü 'his ear'
hya:'hiyü 'his fishnet'
hya:da:nö 'his daughter-in-law'
hyatiyay 'his watermelon'
hyannüdü 'his son-in-law'
hyaheday' 'his paper'
hya:danka:nay 'his pot, jar'
hye:tü 'his foot'
hye:dü 'his face'
hye:nay' 'his oar'
hyo:nü 'his male cousin'
hyo:dedü 'his calf (of leg)'
hyo:mi:'chü 'his hot sauce of peppers'
hyihidiyü 'his peach palm'
hyü:müdü 'his neck'
hyiñamo 'his wife'
hyö:huduy 'his wall'
hyu:'hö 'his head'
hyu:'hadü 'his hair'
hyu:nu 'his meat, flesh'

Progressive reduplication of /i/ occurs in the following words as accepted alternates:

wihuna ~ wihyuna 'I put cotton in blowgun darts'
aday'hö ~ aday'hyö 'large'
wayhu'ka ~ wayhyu'ka 'I hit it/him'
ködö:yhe ~ ködö:yhye 'sick, ill'
kadayhay ~ kadayhyay 'river spider used as fish bait'

A.1.3. Vowels

/i/ and /i:/

Description: /i/ appears as:
[i] a high tense front unrounded vowel

[į] a nasalized high tense front unrounded vowel

/i:/ appears as:
[i:] a long high tense front unrounded vowel

[į:] a long nasalized high tense front unrounded vowel

Distribution: syllable initially, medially, finally

[i] and [i:] /all (except not ch__, s__ , ñ_ ,#t_) //

[į] and [į:] /nasal C___ //[17]

Examples:

[i]
[iwi] 'small deer'
[i'moy] 'egg'
[imĭ:dĭ] 'to tie'
[inča:dĭ] 'his mouth'
[hiya:na] 'eagle'
[kawadima:ka] 'sling for carrying child'
[tĭwë'hiyĭ] 'to bathe'

[i:]
[i:'tsë:dĭ] 'to walk'
[kudi:di] 'palm'
[hihi:di] 'peach palm'
[hawi:] 'pauji bird'

[į]
[nįñǫ:nta] 'he frightens him'
[to:nį] 'one'
[ëmmį] 'fingernail'
[ǒanñąmį] 'nesting spot'

[į:]
[imį:cĭ] 'root, nail, claw'
[ëmį:he] 'hunger, hungry'

Contasts: /i/

niwo:nta 'he dresses him'
newo:nta 'he dresses himself'

wimo:na 'I turn'
wema:n'a 'I paint'

wana:di 'carpenter bird'
mana:de 'flat basket for sifting manioc'

inño 'her husband'
ünño 'my husband'

inño 'her husband'
önña 'corn'

'ai'chüdi 'song'
'ai'chüdü 'put a stick in a crevice; plant manioc'

/i:/

shi:' 'sun'
shew' 'coati'

shi:'chu 'younger brother (M)'
she:ne' 'green, blue'

'i:moy 'egg'
'ü:moy 'my egg'

Morphophonemic changes: A number of morphophonemic processes involving consonant phonemes occur when they are in the environment of the /i/ phoneme (see descriptions under the /t/, /d/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /w/, and /h/ phonemes).

/ö/ and /ö:/ morphophonemically alternate with /i/ and /i:/, respectively, when the third person possessive prefix ch- is affixed to stem-initial /i/ as in the examples below; and, likewise, when the first person plural (inclusive) k- prefix is added to the same stems (see /d/ and /e/ phonemes for discussions of a similar change with another front vowel):

ch-i:'hiyü' ~ chö:'hiyü' 'his lip'
k-i:'hiyü' ~ kö'hiyü' 'our lip(s)'

ch-imi:chü ~ chö:mi:chü 'his nail, claw'
k-imi:chü ~ kömmi:chü 'our nail, claw'

/e/ and /e:/

Description: /e/ appears:

[e] a mid tense front unrounded vowel

[ẹ] a nasalized mid tense front unrounded vowel

[ɛ] a nasalized mid lax front unrounded vowel

/e:/ appears as:

[e:] a long mid tense front unrounded vowel

[ẹ:] a long nasalized mid tense front unrounded vowel

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[ẹ] ~ [ɛ] /V [-length], closed syllable//

[ẹ] /nasal C__ //

[e], [e:] /elsewhere (except not t__ //

Examples: [ẹ] ~ [ɛ]
[wẹmmha] ~ [wɛmmha] 'after I give it'
[ëmu:'ðẹmMhi̯nɨ̯] ~
[ëmu:ðɛmMhi̯nɨ̯] 'rightside'

[e]
[de'mu̯'] 'old person with white hair'
[šew'] 'coati'
[wedewede] 'fly'
[mąną:de] 'flat basket for sifting manioc'
[ya'de'dï] 'my words, my language'

[e:]
[de:] 'tree'
[he:nąˌ] 'oar'
[hade:dë] 'fast'
[še:'kë] 'small'
[ye:'hë] 'bone'

[ẹ]
[kë:mmẹ] 'cold'

[kǫnęmMhį̈nį̈] 'problem'
[męmų] 'snail'
[nęymą] 'he smokes'
[nęmą:to] 'they kill him'

[ę:]
[wamę:di] 'chicken'
[mę:ši] 'cat'

Contrasts: /e/
wema:n'a 'I paint'
wimo:na 'I turn'

eda:hö 'his chief'
öda:hö 'chief'

a:'ke 'nothing, zero'
a:kõ 'two'

a:kene 'how'
a:köne 'two persons'

/e:/
she:'kö 'small'
shi:'chu 'younger brother'

he:dü 'my face'
hi:chu 'flute'

Morphophonemic changes: /e/ has a morphophonemic alternant of /ö/ in stems which begin with /e/ upon prefixing the third person possessive prefix ch- as in the following examples (see /d/ and /i/ phonemes for an explanation of this process). Also, the addition of the velar phoneme /k/ as the first person plural (you and I) possessive prefix causes a similar morphophonemic change of the stem-initial vowel /e/ to /ö/.

For example:

d-e:dahõ > *che:dahõ > chö:dahõ 'his chief'
d-e:hay'chü > *che:hay'chü > chö:hay'chü
'his elbow'

k-e:dahõ > *ke:dahõ > kö:dahõ 'our chief'
k-e:hay'chü > *ke:hay'chü > kö:hay'chü
'our elbow(s)'

/a/ and /a:/

Description: /a/ appears as:

[a] a low central unrounded vowel

[ą] a nasalized low central unrounded vowel

[æ] a low front unrounded vowel

[ę] a nasalized low front unrounded vowel

/a:/ appears as:

[a:] a long low central unrounded vowel

[ą:] a long nasalized low central unrounded vowel

[æ:] a long low front unrounded vowel

[ę:] a nasalized long low front unrounded vowel

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[ą], [ę] /nasal C__//

[a], [a:] ~ [æ], [æ:], respectively /words with two or more occurrences of /a/ //

[ą], [ą:] ~ [ę], [ę:], respectively /nasal C__//

[a] and [a:] /elsewhere//

Examples: [a] ~ [æ] and [a:] ~ [æ:]
[tadawa:he] ~ [tædæw:he] 'work'
[dawa:de] ~ [dæwæ:de] 'opossum'

[ą] and [ą:] ~ [ą̃] and [ą̃:]
[mąną:de] ~ [mą̃ną̃:de] 'flat basket for sifting manioc'

[a]
[danwa] 'man'
[damąy] 'fishing with poison (barbasco)'
[haną] 'ear'
[ahi:sa] 'large, white heron'
[kawaw] 'toad'
[kuda:ta] 'blowgun'

[a:]
[ha:ha] 'father'
[hada:nẽ] 'daughter-in-law'
[a:'deu̲'ku̲e] 'language, speech'

[ą]
[ną] 'he/she/it is'
[mąha] 'also, too'
[damąy] 'fish with poison (barbasco)'
[haną] 'ear'
[neymą] 'he smokes'
[waną] 'bamboo'

[ą:]
[himmą:dï] 'to sprinkle'
[qumą:dï] 'to flood'
[waną:di] 'carpenter bird'

Contrasts: /a/
wanö 'bee, wasp'
wönö 'war'

maha 'also, too'
mehe 'a tree with edible fruit'

inña 'there'
inño 'her husband'

/a:/

wema:n'a 'I paint'
wimo:na 'I turn'

inña'köy 'bottom'
inñö:kö 'beside him/her'

mada:na 'case for blowgun darts'
modo:no 'magic spell; talisman'

ma:dö 'over there'
mö:dö 'this one'

Morphophonemic changes: When the possessive suffix i- is added to the postposition -a'ka, the final /a/ appears as the morphophonemic alternant /ö/, an assimilation from a low to a mid point of articulation under influence of /___i//.

ha:ta	-	a'ka	-	i	> ha:ta'köi
my town		to/in		poss/nom suffix	

/ü/ and /ü:/

Description: /ï/ appears as:

[ï] a high central unrounded vowel

[ɨ̈] a nasalized high central unrounded vowel

/ï:/ appears as:

[ï:] a long high central unrounded vowel

[ɨ̈:] a long nasalized high central unrounded vowel

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[ɨ̈] and [ɨ̈:] /nasal C__ //

[ï] and [ï:] /elsewhere except not s__ /

Examples: [ï]
[tïdï:'kë] 'do it! make it!'
[ë:tï] 'name'
[makï:dïwï:dïy] 'name of an animal'
[kïmɨ̈] 'machete'
[wïwë'hiyï] 'to bathe'
[yïwï:dï] 'capybara'
[nï'ta'] 'he goes'

[ï:]
[makï:dïwï:dïy] 'name of an animal'
[asï:kï] 'mouse'
[sï:'nɨ̈] 'dog, wolf'
[yïwï:dï] 'capybara'

[ɨ]
[čomǫmɨdawë] 'in the afternoon'
[tënę:mɨ] 'dinner, meat'
[wǫmɨ] 'dress, outfit'
[mĩnạ:tata'] 'door'
[mɨnę:tę] 'scorpion'

[ɨ:]
[čë:'tɨmɨ:dï] 'scream, shout'
[xamɨ:dï] 'son-in-law'

Contrasts: /ü/
üntadü 'my mouth'
öntadü 'your mouth'

ha:dü 'grandson'
ha:dö 'with me'

hi:chü 'medicine'
hi:chu 'flute'

ümmay 'my house'
immay 'his house'

üwü 'I'
iwi 'small deer'

üwwö 'to me'
öwwö 'to you'

a:'kü 'maggot'
a:'kö 'two'

/ü:/
'ü:moy 'my egg'
'i:moy 'egg'

tüdü:dü 'to do it'
tudu:du 'toad'

Morphophonemic changes: Vowel reduction may occur in examples such as in the verb form for 'he sleeps' which may occur as nünü'ka or as nünka. (NOTE: An additional phonological change occurs here as the second /n/ appears as [ŋ] before /k/.)

/ö/ and /ö:/

Description: /ö/ appears as:

[ë] a mid central unrounded vowel

[ę̈] a nasalized mid central unrounded vowel

/ö:/ appears as:

[ë:] a long mid central unrounded vowel

[ę̈:] a long nasalized mid central unrounded vowel

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[ë] and [ë:] /all except not s__ //

[ę̈] and [ę̈:] /nasal C_ //

Examples: [ë]
[ëda:hë] 'chief'
[ënu̱'të] 'mucus in the eyes'
[ënta] 'mouth'
[këmu̱sa'kë] 'my son-in-law'
[e'se'tëdï] 'to manage'
[wëtë'tiha] 'I exchange or trade'

[ë:]
[mi̱në̱:të] 'scorpion'

[ę̈]
[më̱dë:he] 'thus'
[da:më̱] 'louse'

[ę̈:]
[mi̱në̱:të] 'scorpion'
[wedennë̱më̱] 'a grey bird'

Contrasts: /ö/
önño 'your husband'
inño 'my husband'

a:köne 'two persons'
a:kene 'how'

ha:dö 'with me'
ha:dü 'grandson'

ha:nö 'cave, crevice'
ha:na 'ear'

wö 'to, for'
wa 'I am'

ma:dö 'there'
ma:do 'jaguar'

wa'tö 'feces in general'
wa'to 'fire'

/ö:/
wö:'tö 'door'
wo:'ta' 'I fish'

wö:'nö 'twine used in making baskets'
wo:'mo 'necklace'

chö:tü 'his name'
cha:tü 'animal fat'

tüwö:dü 'to stab'
tüwo:dü 'his uncle'

Morphophonemic changes: Refer to /e/ for a description of /e/ > /ö/ and vowel reduction.

/u/ and /u:/

Description: /u/ appears as:

[u] a high back rounded vowel with lip extension

[ų] a nasalized high back rounded vowel with lip extension

/u:/ appears as:

[u:] a long high back rounded vowel with lip extension

[ų:] a long nasalized high back rounded vowel with lip extension

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[u] and [u:] /all (refer to t, d, s, š, č, n, ñ for statements about retroflection and /k/ for post-velarity)

[ụ] and [ụ:] /nasal C ___//

Examples: [u]
[kuši] 'a drink'
[suku] 'urine'
[tuną] 'water, river'
[yuhuduñąnnǫ] 'cabecereño'
[kidi:su] 'porcupine, hedgehog'

[u:]
[u:] 'cassava'
[tudu:du] 'toad'
[tuku:di] 'lid'
[su:mądü] 'to kiss, suck'

[ụ]
[tëmụ'da'to] 'lefthanded'
[tuhụnnąto] 'important'

[ụ:]
[demụ:ši] 'giant eagle'
[kụ:nwa] 'blowgun darts'
[wexụ:mmą] 'transport a person by blowing rituals'

Contrasts: /u/
hi:chu 'flute'
hi:chü 'medicine'

töhu'ke 'with a rock'
töhü'ke 'he fell down'

mutu' 'worm'
moto 'earthworm'

dudu' 'his cassava'
dodo 'parrot'

ude:dü 'blow on the fire'
ü'de:dü 'my manioc'

/u:/
tudu:du 'toad'
tüdü:dü 'to do it; to make it'

u:'nadü 'to blow on another person'
ü'nadü 'my water'

/o/ and /o:/

Description: /o/ appears as:

[o] a mid back rounded vowel with lip extension

[ǫ] a nasalized mid back rounded vowel with lip extension

/o:/ appears as:

[o:] a long mid back rounded vowel with lip extension

[ǫ:] a long nasalized mid back rounded vowel with lip extension

Distribution: initially, medially, finally

[ǫ] and [ǫ:] /nasal C__ //

[o] and [o:] /elsewhere//

Examples: [o]
[wodi] 'woman'
[ma:do] 'tiger'
[wa:'to'] 'fire'
[yo'ha:dü] 'give beer to everyone'

[o:]
[wo:y] ~ [ßo:y] 'savannah foliage'
[ɖo:'nɛ̃] 'below'
[to:ki] 'ceremony for making a new garden'
[yo:tü'] 'my meat, flesh'

[ǫ]
[kĩnnǫ'to'] 'snake'
[ɖuɖu:mǫy] 'his stomach'
[wǫ:'mǫ] 'necklace'

[ǫ:]
[damǫ:dü] 'his hand'
[wǫ:'mǫ] 'necklace'

Contrasts: /o/
monse 'green boa constrictor'
mönse 'behind, across'

modo:no 'magic charm or spell'
mödö:he 'thus'

wa:'to' 'fire'
wö:'tö' 'door'

/o:/
damo:dü 'his hand'
amu:tu 'bar for making manioc-squeezer'

wo:dü:mö 'my father-in-law'
wö:'dünö 'to arrive'

A.2. Stress

Stress in De'kwana is marked by an increase in pitch and intensity (or loudness). Basic stress patterns are not affected by syllable type (i.e., open or closed), vowel length nor consonant gemination. Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable. Secondary stess falls on the second syllable and all even numbered syllables for longer word units. The following list shows these stress patterns for words of two to eight syllables (primary stress is marked as ´and secondary, as).

śs: túna 'water', tűnküy 'sebucan', tú:'na 'to blow'

sśs: tü'ká:dü 'to dig, excavate', tö:nshího 'to cough', düá:hö 'made', su:námo 'hot sauce of the Orinoco River region', ö:né'da 'not seen', ökú:de 'to wait', ö'köde 'come here'

sὶśs: edùwáto 'new', yamànádi 'iguana', dantàwőto 'normal', tadiñña:mo 'birds', tadì:nñűmö 'one bird', wadìshídi 'mono marimonda (type of monkey'

sὶsśs: dawòdekő:kö 'around', watàsoká:dü 'noises' ömù:'demhünu" 'rightside', öichànnawőkö 'when', mahà:nahá:na 'an abrasive or sandpaper made from plants used to polish gourds'

sssšśs: wo:wànomàtóho 'school'

sssšśśs: künwǒ:netù hö'á'to 'they had dreamed various times'

sssšśśśs: wishèdenànü'àkéne 'I had dried (them)'

Longer units such as noun phrases and phrases which include the verb 'to be' receive identical stress patterns as in the following examples:

da:'dèdu è'kúni 'the chief's assistant who aspires to be chief'

tüwǒtümà'sé na 'he's angry'

ewaìnshiñühé' na 'his supper is here/ready' (vs ewaìnshiñühe 'supper')

tadǒnñé wa 'I am healthy' (vs: tadónñe 'healthy')

Non-stressed syllables are vulnerable to morphophonemic processes of vowel reduction, or syncope, that may or may not create stress shift. For example, the middle syllable in a five-syllable word may be reduced as in: maha:naha:na~maha:nha:na 'an abrasive or sandpaper made from plants used to polish gourds', odokahato~odokhato 'quadruped', and adakuhu:sa~adakhu:sa 'shotgun'. Under this process the five syllable word then condenses to a four-syllable word with stress remaining on the same syllables (second and fourth, now second and third). An example of vowel reduction that does effect stress placement can be seen in: õichannawökö > channawökö[18] 'when'. In discourse when the first syllable is dropped the secondary stress shifts from the original to the new second syllable. The relationship of stress and consonant gemination is discussed below.

A.3. Syllable Structure

Syllable structure in De'kwana includes vowel initial types: V(:)(C)(C) and consonant initial types: C(C)V(:)(C). Examples of each one of these is given below.

Any consonant may appear in syllable-initial position but only nasals /m/, /n/, /ñ/, semivowels /w/, /y/, /h/, and the glottal /'/ may occur syllable-finally. Syllable breaks may occur as V.C, V.V, C.V, C.C, C.CC, or CC.C. When C.CC occurrs, the second C of the cluster will be a semivowel and with CC.C, the cluster is a result of gemination.[19] All vowels may occur in any syllable pattern. However, there are some co-occurrence restrictions with various consonants which will be discussed below. De'kwana syllable structure is of four basic types: 1) V(:), 2) V(:)C, 3) C(C)V(:), and 4) C(C)V(:)C(C). Examples of the four syllable types are given below:

type 1
- V — a-köy'-che-a' 'four'
- V: — dü-a:-hö 'made, manufactured'

type 2
- VC — de-a' 'the same'
- V:C — a:n-sa 'necklace tassles'

type 3
- CV — me-mu 'snail'
- CV: — ka:-do 'tasty'
- CCV — nwa 'there'
- CCV: — mmaa 'house'

type 4
- CVC — shew 'coati'
- CV:C — ho:y-ma 'he mixes'
- CCVC — mmay 'his house'
- CCV:C — 'ho:'-tü 'his/its feather'

A.3.1. Co-occurrence Restrictions

First, occurrences of CV patterns are discussed and, then, the restricted distributions for sibilants and nasals are listed.

A.3.1.1. CV Patterns

The following chart summarizes CV distributions marking instances for each co-occurrence of vowel and consonant phoneme pairs. Each pair indicates an occurrence of the consonant phoneme (reading across the top) with the corresponding vowel phoneme (reading down the left side) in a CV pattern. Examples containing short vs. long vowels are not distinguished in this chart.

Chart II
Occurrences of CV pairs

	/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/	/ö/	/ü/
/t/							
#____	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____#	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
/d/							
#____	0	X	X	X	X	0	X
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____#	X	X	X	0	X	X	X
/k/							
#____	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____#	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
/'/							
#____	0	0	X	0	0	0	0
interior	0	0	X	0	0	0	0
____#	X	X	X	0	0	0	0
/ch/							
#____	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____#	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
/s/							
#____	0	X	X	X	X	0	X
interior	0	X	X	X	X	0	X
____#	0	X	X	0	X	0	0
/sh/							
#____	X	X	X	X	X	0	0
interior	X	X	X	X	0	X	0
____#	X	0	X	0	X	0	0
/m/							
#____	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____ #	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
/n/							
#____	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____ #	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

/n̄/							
#____	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
interior	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
____#	0	X	X	0	0	X	X
/w/							
#____	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
interior	X	X	X	X	0	X	X
____#	X	X	X	0	0	X	X
/r/							
#____	0	0	(X)	0	0	0	0
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____#	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
/y/							
#____	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
interior	0	X	X	X	X	0	0
____#	0	X	X	0	X	X	X
/h/							
#____	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
interior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
____#	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

The /'/ phoneme is sparsely represented in the chart. This phoneme most often occurs in syllable final position. The /'/ phoneme is infrequently syllable-initial, although occurring more often with /a/.

A.3.1.2. Distributions of Sibilants and Nasals

In the CV syllable types all possible combinations of the 28 vowels and consonants occur in syllables but several interesting restrictions occur for the sibilants, and the nasals. /s/ and /š/ occur in a restricted distribution pattern so that they contrast only before four vowels (/a/, /o/,/u/, /e/). These restricted distributions for /s/ and /š/ rule out the combinations of: *si(:), *sö(:), and *šü(:). Examples can be seen in the following chart:

Distribution Chart for /s/ and /sh/:

/s/

	word-initial	word-medially
/i/	------	-------
/i:/	------	-------
/e/	seda'hadi 'fish'	ne'se'ta 'he manages it'
/a/	sawi:ya 'adornment'	ö'sa 'room'
/o/	so:'ka' 'tupiro'	tüsocha:mü 'match'
/ö/	-----	-----
/u/	suku 'urine'	kusu:'kusu: 'squirrel'
/ü/	sü:'na 'dog'	asü:kü 'mouse'

/sh/

	word-initial	word-medial
/i/	shidi:chö 'star'	mashikidi 'cunaguaro'
/i:/	shi:' 'sun'	wishi:widi 'titi monkey'
/e/	she'kö 'small'	----------
/e:/	she:ne 'green'	wishe:meka 'I sweep'
/a/	----------	wisha 'black monkey'
/a:/	sha:ku' 'potato'	
/o:/	sho:dü 'stream'	insho:'kö 'old'
/ö/	----------	öishöno 'which'
/u/	----------	wi:shu 'paint'
/u:/	shu:madü 'suck, kiss'	-------
/ü/	--------	--------
/ü:/	--------	--------

The distribution chart for /m/ and /n/ is complete although the combination #mi(:) word-initially appears only in second person verb forms in data colleced so far.

Distribution chart for /m/ and /n/:

/m/

	word initial	word medial
/i/	mishi:cha 'you break it'	homi 'peppers, spice'
/i:/	mi:sho:ka 'you sew'	----------
/e/	memu 'snail'	kömme 'cold'
/a/	mahi:di 'mosquito'	damay' 'fish with poison'
/o/	modo:no 'evil charm'	amo 'hand'
/ö/	mönse 'behind'	wo:dü:mö 'my father-in-law'
/u/	mutu 'worm'	----------
/u:/	----------	homu:kö 'an insect'
/ü/	münö:tö 'scorpion'	hü:mü 'neck'

/n/

/i/	niwo:nta 'he dresses him'	to:ni 'one'
/e/	newo:nta 'he dresses himself'	ta:ne 'hot'
/e:/	ne:ne 'true'	----------
/a/	nakway 'by means the river'	tuna 'water'
/o/	nono 'earth'	modo:no 'evil charm'

/ö/ nönwa 'he dances' wönö 'war'

/u/ nuwe 'long' munu 'blood'

/ü/ nü'ta 'he goes' ho:nü 'my male cousin'

The /ch/ and /ñ/ distribution chart shows gaps for *či(:), *ñi(:) and *ñe(:). The restrictions in the /ñ/ distribution are not shared by the phoneme /n/ (see above) as /ni/ and /ne/ do occur. Thus among the nasals, the /i/ vowel phoneme appears with /n/ and /m/ but not /ñ/, while among the sibilants, it occurs with /sh/ but not with /s/ and /č/.

Distribution Chart for /č/ and /ñ/

	/č/	
	word initial	word medial
/i/, /i:/	---	---
/e/	chey'yedü 'his brother-in-law'	amoinche'da 'near'
/a:/	cha:'tü 'animal fat'	öshi:cha:dü 'sugar cane'
/o/	chomomüdawö 'afternoon, PM'	inchomo 'old'
/ö/	---	shidi:chö 'star'
/ö:/	chö:hu'hö' 'seeds'	---
/u/	---	shi:chu 'younger brother'
/u:/	chu:'hö 'lake'	---
/ü/	chün'e 'fish with poison'	wey'chü 'family'

	/ñ/
/i/ /i:/	---------- ----------
/e/	inñedü 'his child'
/a/ ñañu:di	kayña 'incest'
/a:/ ña:dü 'to clear a garden'	
/o/	ne'ñoho 'no'
/o:/ ño:tü 'his grandmother'	
/ö/	mö:ñö 'this one'
/ö:/ ñö:dö 'he, that one'	
/u/	ña:ñudi 'giant otter'
/u:/ ñu:du 'his tongue'	
/ü:/ ñu:toho 'for tying, to tie'	wiñü:a 'I tie'

A.3.2. Consonant Clusters

Complex codas of syllables are created through morphophonemic processes of gemination (with or without replacement by glottal stop; see /'/ phoneme for discussion), of progressive and regressive reduplicaton of consonants, and metathesis.

While many closed syllables are formed through these processes, there are other examples of closed syllables that do not derive from these processes (e.g., an-sa 'necklace tassles'; wö-men-tö-nö 'to accuse each other'; ney-ma 'he smokes'; dan-wa 'man'; a:'-dew'-kwe 'language, speech'.

Complex syllable onsets are more restricted in their occurrences and many of the examples currently available are the result of a morphophonemic process involving the third person possessive prefix, möñö (see list for syllable initial CC's below).

Consonant clusters occurring word-initially are shown in the examples below:

Examples of word initial CC:

't	'tawa:dü 'his lung'
	'tadi:yü 'her clay/metal griddle for cooking cassava'
'd	'dohü:dü 'her breast'
's	'sa:'tahe 'thin'
'm	'me:'ku'tö:dü 'to sing'
'w	'wadü 'his basket'
'h	'hu:du 'his foot'
	'ho:'tü' 'his skin'
nt	ntadü 'his mouth'
nk	nkawö 'his shoulder'
nw	nwa 'there'
nñ	nño 'her spouse, husband'
mm	mma:y' 'his house'
nn	nnedü 'his son'

Triad consonant clusters appear in some words as products of consonant gemination and/or regressive reduplication or other morphophonemic processes. Such examples are listed below. A more complete listing is presented under the discussion of morphophonemic changes for the phoneme /'/.

*chünküychü > *chünküytchü > chünküy'chü
'his manioc squeezer'
*adayhö > *adayhhö > aday'hö 'large'
*küweychokomo > *küweytchokkomo > küwey'cho'komo
'as we're going to be'
*inchonkomo > *inchonkkomo > inchon'komo 'the ancient ones'
*akoychahüdü > *akoytchahhüdü > akoy'cha'hüdü
'termination point'

A.4. Phonological Word

De'kwana word types are discussed with a subsequent look at sequences of syllable pattern occurrences.

A.4.1. Word Types

The phonological word may have from one to nine syllables, although words that have from two to five syllables are most frequent. Examples with seven to nine syllables occur as verb forms in the current sample. Most verb stems are composed of two or three syllables; only one sixth of the current sample has either one, or four to six, syllables. Affixation of tense/aspect markers and other syntactic processes produce the words with seven to nine syllables. The following list gives examples of these phonological word patterns:

Number of syllables	Examples
1.	u: 'cassava'; na 'he/she/it is'
2.	me-mu 'snail'; u'-hu 'foot'
3.	sa-wi:-ya 'adornment'
4.	do-wa:-nö-kö 'he knows'
5.	cho-mo-mü-da-wö 'after noon, PM'
6.	wo:-wa-no-ma-to-ho 'school'
7.	kün-wö:-ne-tü-hö-'a'-to 'they had dreamed various times'
8.	wi-she-de-na-nü-'a-ke-ne 'I had dried them'
9.	ni:-ña:-tü'-tö-dü-ko-mo-hü-dü 'they had been planting'

A.4.2. Sequence of Syllable Pattern Occurrences

Word-internal distributions of the various syllable types V(:), V(:)C, C(C)V(:), C(C)V(:)C(C), are listed in charts below. The simplest syllable pattern, which is that of V(:), occurs word-initially, word-internally and word-finally. In word-initial and medial positions the following syllable begins with a consonant.[20] These patterns are seen in the following examples.

	V	V:
initial	a-day-hö 'large'	a:-kö 'two'
medial	ne-ne-a-to 'they see'	dü-a:-hö 'made, manufactured'
final	nü-dü:-a 'he does/makes it'	

The second syllable type (C)CV(:) occurs in its simplest form, CV, as the most common syllable pattern in De'kwana and occurs in all positions.

CV	
initial	me-mu 'snail'
medial	shi-di-shi-di 'foster child'
final	tüwü 'he/she/it'
CV:	
initial	ka:-do 'tasty'
medial	mü-nö:-tö 'scorpion'
final	ha-wi: 'pauji bird'
CCV	
initial	nwa 'there'
medial	na:'-kwa-kwa 'in the river'
final	a:'-dew'-kwe 'language, speech'

CCV:
initial nne-dü 'his child'
medial aw-dwõ:-dü 'to make a garden'
final --

The third syllable type V(:)C occurs most often in word-initial position.

VC
initial un-ka-wö 'my shoulder'
medial ni-o'-ha 'he gives him drink'
final de-a' 'the same'

V:C
initial a:n-sa 'necklace tassles'
medial wi-a:'-ku-a 'I burn it'
final --

The fourth syllable type, C(C)VC(C), illustrative of closed syllables, begins with one or more consonants as well as ending with one or more consonants. The syllable final position sometimes is CC through the lengthening process (see below and under descriptions of individual consonant phonemes for discussion).

CVC
initial shew 'coati'
medial a-hön-tö-dü 'to begin'
final ka-waw 'toad'

CV:C
initial ho:y-ma 'he mixes'
medial ho:-mi:'chü 'my hot peppers'
final wa:-ho:y 'I chewed it'

CCVC
initial mmay 'his house'
medial way-hyu'-ka 'I hit him'
final ka-day-hyay 'river spider for bait'

```
CCV:C
initial   'ho:'-tü' 'his/its feather'
medial      --
final       --

CVCC
initial   'ay'-chü-di 'song'
medial    kü:-müy'-chö 'my knife'
final     a:'-töy' 'seat'

CV:CC
initial   wo:y'-chü 'my shrubs, trees'
medial     --
final      --
```

The syllable types of CV and V(:) may occur anywhere in the word but syllables of the V(:) type do not occur adjacently. That is, a V or V: syllable will be preceded and/or followed by a syllable beginning with C, although it may be followed by one beginning and ending with C(C). CV syllables occur without restrictions in any position or sequence of syllables in a word. Syllables with CC initially or finally are more limited in their occurrences. In both cases the CC is most often the result of a gemination process such as: #CCV in nne-dü 'his son, child'; CVCC in wemm-ha 'after I give it to him'; or the result of progressive reduplication as in CCV# na:'-ku-ka > na:'-ku-kwa 'in the river'. In addition, a sequence of CVC-CV or CVCC-CV is often the result of gemination. CVCC-CV, likewise, often appears under the morphophonemic process of progressive reduplication (see discussion under description of the /'/ phoneme for additional examples).

A.5. Morphophonemic Overview

The following list summarizes morphophonemic proceses that were discussed above under the individual phonemes, respectively.

A.5.1. Feature Modifications or Alterations

1. Consonantal variation in the environment of /i/.

t,k > č / i(C)____
Ci(:)____

m > ñ / i(C)_____
Ci(:)_____

d,w,r, > y /i____

d,r, > č /iC ____

s > š /Ci(:)____
i(C) ____

2. Vowel harmony occurs when the personal pronoun possessive prefixes are added to the nominal base as in the change of first person plural prefix kü- to ku- before a syllable containing the vowel /u/, and in the change of the possessive suffix -dü to -du following a syllable containing /u/.

a. kü- > ku- /#__ C(C)u //

Examples: ku-duy 'our older brother'

ku-kuda:tay 'our blowgun'

ku-su:kuhi:yü 'our spear'

b. -dü > -du /C(C)u__ //

Examples: kö:nu-du 'our eyes'

kö:'mu-du 'our knees'

kö:'ta'ku-du 'our saliva'

c. Both rules apply

Examples: ku-'hu:-du 'our feet'

ku-nu:-du 'our tongues'

3. Assimilation to point or manner of articulation

a. manner: /m/ > [M] /__ h //

(See examples under the /m/ phoneme above.)

d > n /n___//

ön-üdü-'da wa > *ön(ü)dü'da wa
3 -do -neg I-am

> *öndü'da wa > önnü'da wa

I don't do it.

b. point of articulation: m > n /__ t //

n > m /__ h

4. Dissimilation as to point of articulation

a. Vowels

i > e / y __//

Example: y-i:'hiyü' > *yi:'hiyü' > ye:'hiyü'
'my lip'

b. Consonants

mm > nm

Example: kömme > könme 'cold'

A.5.2. Segment Augmentation and Reduction

1. Lengthening Processes

a. Consonant Gemination

Consonant gemination occurs word internally across syllable and morpheme boundaries.[21] Gemination occurs in syllables preceded by both primary and secondary stress, and in some cases in conjunction with the morphophonemic process of regressive reduplication. Not all examples are explained by these processes as can be seen in the lists below. Therefore, consonant gemination is not considered predictable at

this time.

Consonant Gemination preceded by primary stress:
ömmi 'fingernail'
ümmay 'my house'
himmö 'my family'
nña:mma 'we two (he and I), no others'
kö:mme 'cold'
henamma 'tomorrow'
yötö:mma 'there'
wehu:mma 'blowing to transport a man to another place'
hütadimmay 'hut for cooking casabe'
wenñö 'living people'
ñanno 'that one'
önna 'nose'
ka:nno 'they'
hönü:nnö 'to swim'
wemmha 'after I give it'
ödi:nñö 'pot, jar'
hadöinñe' 'with them'
dudi:nñü 'fire'
köinñe 'with (them)'
inña 'there'
ne:nña 'it's raining'
wetta 'I hear'
ye:'dukkwa 'I fall'
wemMhanna 'I take it'
üwwö 'to me'
öwwö 'to you'[4]

Consonant gemination preceded by secondary stress:
ömannö'e 'to look for a person to marry'
nömannö'ta 'to walk to hunt/with children'
wö:manñö:'nö 'to walk'
wü'tönñoho 'so long'
awonñö'ka:dü 'to inflate, blow up'
emanñühüdü 'to go out to hunt with dogs'
'aminña'kadü 'to kill'
tadinña:mo 'birds'
tadi:nñümö 'a bird'
yekammhia'ka 'I change it'
ye:ntattü:a 'I wash my teeth'
wonwattü:a 'I wash my hands'

Exceptions:
ennüichadü 'to wet'
enno'hadü 'to throw'
wennaka:nö 'to come back'
künno'to' 'snake'

anna'ka' 'main room'
künnüdü'komo 'our things, made by us'
chönnadu" 'his nose'
wennühüi 'shoulder strap or carrying child'
yennadü 'my nose'
yennsu'dödu" 'to inflate, blow up'

Consonant gemination occurs with a palatal consonant by a regressive reduplication process: that is, the gemination is a part of the regressive reduplication of features; both palatal /i/ and nasal /n/ undergo regressive reduplication.[22]

*ine:dü > inñe:dü 'his son, child'
*inö:kö > inñö:kö 'beside him'
*wañene'ney > wanñene'ney or wainñene'ney 'aunt'
*dañami >dainñami or ðanñami 'nesting spot'
*muña'tö > munña'to or muinña'tö 'it is used'
*wañünnö > wanñünnö or wainñünnö 'to fly'
*düñañe > dünñanñe or
düinñainñe 'where they are'
manñuku manioc flour
önña 'corn'

b. Reduplication, progressive and regressive

1) Progressive reduplication appears in the following examples:
ye:'dukkua 'I fall' (from: ye:'duka)
[yadaqadu'huai] 'spider which bites'

2) Regressive reduplication of an optional 'w' before the cluster 'dw' in word interior position; process also occurs with '-rw-' and '-kw-': a(w)dwawö, 'three'; a(w)dwahö, 'covers'.

3) Combination reduplication of both progressive and regressive reduplication as seen in the example: na:'kuka/na:'kwakwa/na:'kukwa.

2. Segment Reduction

a. Vowel reduction occurs in unstressed syllables (see A.2. and footnote 18).

1) Syncope

adakuhu:sa > adak(u)hu:sa > adakhu:sa 'shotgun'
möna:tata > m(ö)na:tata > mna:tata 'door'
nünü'ka > nün(ü)'ka > nünka 'he sleeps'
öhö:ne-komo > öhö:n(e)komo > öho":nkomo
'fare thee well'

2) Apheresis

Apheresis occurs in the lexical item öicha' 'where' and in compounded items including this base.

öicha > cha 'where'

öichannawökö > channawökö 'where'

3) Replacement

Another group of verbs has morphological alternants which add '-Vi' for the past tense (recent and distant) forms as in the verb for 'to eat (in general)':

w - owashinch - a 'I eat'

w - owashinch - öi 'I ate'

b. Consonant reduction is a result of dissimilation as discussed above (see discussion above under description of the /'/ phoneme).

CC > 'C

4. Optional deletion of final stem morpheme

a. Occurring in Present Tense

One group of verbs adds a recent past tense morpheme of '-tVi' to the stem while another adds '-hVi' as seen below:

wu:'a 'I give' wu:'tui 'I gave'
wa:'kö'a 'I cut it' wa:'kö:to"i 'I cut (past) it'
tu"ta'hö:'a 'I think' tüta'hö:'tüi 'I thought'

wannö'a 'I collect it' wannö'hüi 'I collected it'
wü'ka'a 'I weave it' wü'ka'hüi 'I wove it'

b. Occurring in Past Tense

This process can be observed in the verb 'to sleep' where the present tense form: ünnü'ka 'I sleep' becomes in the recent past tense: ünnü'küi 'I slept', but in the distant past ünnü'ne 'I slept' without the final stem morpheme of -kü. This same morpheme may optionally occur in the distant past non-punctual form: ünnü'(kü)hö'ne 'I cut it several times, or cut several things'.

Also: wannu'ka 'I climb'
wannu'kui 'I climbed'
wannu'ne 'I climbed'

way'hu'ka 'I hit him'
way'hu'kui 'I hit him (recent)'
way'hu'ne 'I hit him (distant past)'

ya'dew'wa 'I speak'
ya'dewwüi 'I spoke (recent)'
ya'denne 'I spoke (distant)

ya'sewa 'I laugh'
ya'sewöi 'I laughed'
ya'senne 'I laughed (distant past)'

wememme'ka 'I rob him'
wememme'küi 'I robbed him (recent)'
wememme'ne 'I robbed him (distant)'

A.5.3. Combinatory Morphophonemic Processes

1. Vowel reduction with progressive or regressive assimilation to point of articulation.

a. with progressive assimilation:

tako:no - komo > *tako:nokomo > *tako:nkomo
friend plural
> tako:ntomo 'friends'

b. with regressive assimilation:

nünü'ka 'he sleeps' > *nünka > nüŋka
öhö:ne - komo > *öhö:nekomo
you go plural
> *öhö:nkomo > öhö:ŋkomo
na:'kukano - komo > *na:'kukankomo > na:kukaŋkomo
one who lives plural
in the river

2. Vowel reduction and progressive or regressive assimilation to manner of articulation.

a. With progressive assimilation

-akene - dühe > *-akenedühe >*-akendühe > -akennühe
DPI aspect

b. With regressive assimilation

ö - möna'tata - dü > *öm(ö)na'tatadü
2 - door poss

> ömna'tatadü ~ önna'tatadü

'your door'

3. Vowel harmony and vowel reduction with regressive assimilation.

yö:nu'ka 'I go up, rise'

with vowel harmony in past tense becomes:

*yö:nukai > *yö:nukui which also undergoes
vowel reduction: >*yö:nkui along with
regressive assimilation: > yö:ŋkui 'I went up'

4. Gemination and progressive reduplication with optional replacement of first consonant by glottal:

ye:'duka > ye:'dukka > ye:'dukkwa/ye:'du'k(w)a
'I fall'

5. Gemination and stress: Another type of interaction between length and stress is discussed under the section on stress (see A.2.) in the example 'öichannawökö'

6. Consonant length with vowel length:

   nadonnka' 'he cures'
   na:do:nka 'he cures himself; he is cured'

   niñonnta 'he is afraid'
   niño:nta 'he frightens him'

7. Morphological alternation with vowel reduction and assimilation to point of articulation:

   hönün'a (I swim) + recent past tense
   >*hönümui > *hönmüi > hömmüi
   'I swam'

   -nü + -hüi (recent past tns)
   > *-nühüi > *-nhüi > -mhüi

   Examples:
   weka:nü'a 'I believe'
   wekamhüi 'I believed'

   wönnanü'a 'I lose it'
   wönnamhüi 'I lost it'

   wishedenanü'a 'I dry it'
   wishedenamhüi 'I dried it'

Notes

[1]The phonetic symbols [ï] and [ë] have been used on occasion, and 'ö' and 'ä', respectively, have been employed by the New Tribes Mission (1966, 1971a, 1971b, 1976) for these phonemes. The symbols used here, 'ü' and 'ö', have been traditionally applied for Carib languages. These symbols are also those which have been recommended by the Venezuelan Ministry of Education (1982a, 1982b) for the De'kwana writing system, while, of course, the ultimate choice must be up to the native speakers themselves.

[2]n the Sta. Maria de Erebato area word final nasals are sometimes heard. Tapes provided by Maria Eugenia Villalon give evidence that a word final velar nasal exists. In the Cunucunuma dialect this segment has been reduced to an optional /'/.

[3]Pike (1975:123) discusses two kinds of free variation 1) between independent phonemes and, 2) subphonemic, among allophones. Key (1968a:45; 1968b:46-47) has identified phoneme fluctuations in

Bolivian Chama (Tacanan) that conform to patterns based on shared phonetic features. This fluctuation is described as derivative of diachronic relationships: "related to the patterns of reflexes and correspondences of the related languages....in the form of borrowings or retentions of a former state (Key 1981:6). Phoneme fluctuation was also described for another South American language, Qawasqar (Alacaluf), by Clairis (1982:435-450).

[4]There is also a voiced post-velar fricative of which I have only one example: [ögwö] 'to you'; and the corresponding, [cögwö] 'to him'. It is possible that syllable final position for the velar segment causes its realization as [g] rather than [k] or [q]. Another possiblility is that this is dissimilation from a geminate -ww- to -gw-.

[5]Hoff (1972:3) discusses similar alternations among vowel length, a velar fricative, [h], and [s], to replace a syllable with [p] in the word for fire. This segment may represent Proto-Carib *p. Hoff (1972:4-5, 8) describes the alternations both as present synchronically and as functioning in diachronic change.

[6]This appears to be involved with stylistic variation of register and/or sex of speaker. For example, women tend to use more glottal stops particularly when addressing adult males in semi-formal situations.

[7]Mattei-Muller (1981) describes a double role for the glottal stop in Panare (Carib). Some glottal stop occurrences are derived from underlying (formerly surface) stop phonemes (p,t,k) that surface under morphological conditions (noun or verb stem plus inflection or postposition). This derived glottal stop is explained as part of the diachronic process of syllabic reduction (apocope of a final vowel followed by change of the preceding stop (p,t,k) to /'/). Other lexical items exist containing glottal stops that do not undergo these morphophonemic changes and are thus not derived. While the glottal stop in De'kwana is not identical to that in Panare, it does share the general feature of having more than a single derivation. That is, some occurrences of the glottal stop are the result of morphophonemic processes while others are not. While it is, of course, possible that all occurrences of the glottal stop may be remnants of earlier morphophonemic changes, it is not possible to resolve the question at this time. A serious diachronic examination of this problem in De'kwana as well as other Carib languages would be welcomed.

[8]The allophone [ŋ] occurs syllable finally preceding a vowel initial syllable. For examples of such occurrences see A.C.1.b. above and Appendix B.

[9]A similar situation for alternating presence of a glottal stop has been noted under discussion of the /'/ phoneme.

[10]The alphabet recommended by the Venezuelan Ministry of Education (see Preface, Footnote 10) includes the orthographic representation of [ŋ] as nh. This phonetic segment has been discussed as a separate phoneme (Linguistic Commission, Direccion de Asuntos Indigenas, Minesterio de Educacion, Caracas, 1981), but it is treated as an allophone of the /n/ phoneme in the present study with the potential for independent status in the future.

[11]Although the current phonological summary includes a separate /r/ phoneme (with [r], [d], [l] allophones), this phoneme is written as /d/ elsewhere in conformity with the pronunciation of the major language consultants for the present study. This pronunciation characteristic of the Cunucunuma River dialect (as opposed to the Sta. Maria de Erebato area, for example) indicates a merging of the /r/ and /d/ phonemes for this dialect and should receive attention in future studies (also see footnote 13 below). The phoneme /r/ has defective distribution as it does not occur in initial position for this dialect due to phonological change in progress.

[12]Note that metathesis of /r/ and /w/ occurs in this example and the following one.

[13]Loukotka's (1968:214) brief word lists include items showing the recorded /d/ for this area in contrast to /y/, and also the [d] allophone of the /r/ phoneme for this same dialect area in contrast to [r] for other areas.

[14]Here too, the allophonic variation may reflect diachronic patterns as this phoneme is descendant from Proto Carib *p (Durbin 1977; Durbin and Seijas 1973:24). The pattern of retention of the labial variants in word initial position emerged in the orthographic decisions by De'kwana language consultants for a Manual (1984) of texts wherein word initial occurrences were written as 'f' while word interior occurrences of the same stem have the segment written as 'h' in a manner consistent with the cabecereños or headwater (more traditional) dialect.

[15]It is possible that back vowels in words are less likely to have alternants with front allophones for /h/; ie., the shift from ProtoCarib *p to /h/ (Durbin and Seijas 1973:24) is more stable in the environment of back vowels.

[16]See Appendix B for paradigm examples. The following words show the affixation of the third person possessive prefix when it does not metathesize with the following segment: immai 'his house'; iwüdü 'his axe'; inño 'her husband'.

[17]The feature of nasalization occurs with vowels that are contiguous to nasal consonant phonemes. However, in addition, nasalization may spread over longer segments including portions of longer utterances following the occurrences of nasal consonants in

long-component fashion (cf. Trubetskoy). Migliazza and Grimes (1961:35) discuss nasalization as characteristic of some word units in Shiriana (Yanomamö) wherein the "overall degree of nasalization implies only a moderate opening of the velic throughout the nasal foot." This description may also apply to De'kwana. It does not resemble anything like the nasal harmonization described for Guarani (Saguier and Dessaint 1983:314-315).

[18]This example shares the process of dropping the initial syllable with several other lexical items such as (öi)shono 'Which one?' and (ö')köde 'Come here' which are also often reduced. However, these two examples do not undergo stress shift as the stress remains on the penultimate syllable in both unreduced and reduced versions.

[19]In the case of groups of three consonants, two of the three C's are usually the result of the morphophonemic process of regressive reduplication or consonant gemination (see discussion of morphophonemic changes under the /'/ phoneme).

[20]That is, syllable Types 3 or 4. See A.3. for a listing of syllable types and A.3.1. for phoneme distributions in syllables.

[21]The contrast between these two morphological environments can be seen by observing ma as a bound suffix and as an independent morpheme.

ömödö - ma
you (sg)- you are

'you are'

nñaa - ma > nñaamma
we (excl)-spec ptl

'we (he and I) and no others'

akö - ma > akömma
two - spec ptl

'two, no more'

[22]These phonological processes should be examined further. It is likely that a consideration of the syllable level as the crucial structural unit will prove to be productive (possibly under an approach like that of CV Phonology).

APPENDIX B. Morphosyntax

De'kwana morphology and syntax are integrated into an agglutinative pattern of affixation in the verbal system and this pattern involves the nominal system to a lesser degree. Suffixation and juxtaposition are the two most productive morphosyntactic processes and postpositions serve as lexical connectors at both phrase and clause level.

Verb forms are marked for person, tense, aspect, number, mood, negation, for passive, reflexive, reciprocal and causative constructions and by particles marking topicalization, contrast, emphasis, and nominalization. Nominal forms are marked for possession, number, and occur in constructions with other nominals functioning as quantifiers, and as adjectival modifiers. Postpositions either accompany nouns or, when marked for person and number, act as independent nominals. Sentence types illustrated below include declarative, interrogative and negation clauses as well as complex sentence forms (see B.4.).

B.1. Pronominal Systems

The De'kwana pronominal system includes demonstrative, interrogative and personal independent pronouns as well as dependent personal pronoun markers. Demonstrative pronouns occur in both animate and inanimate forms. The person marking system has singular, dual and plural forms and the dependent pronominal prefixes occur on both nominal (including postpositions) and verbal forms. The possessive pronominal prefixes for nominals are repeated on intransitive verb forms, while

portmanteau (see B.3.1.2.1.) prefixes mark transitive verb forms.

B.1.1. Independent Pronouns

Three kinds of independent pronouns exist in De'kwana, personal pronouns, demonstrative and interrogative forms. All independent pronominal forms may occur in non-agent case roles.

B.1.1.1. Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns include the usual first, second and third person singular and plural along with additional forms to indicate an inclusive-exclusive distinction. The following table lists these pronouns.

person	singular	dual	plural
1	üwü	küwü (incl)	künwanno (incl)
		ññа: (excl)	ññа: (excl)[1]
2	ömödö		önwanno
3	tüwü		tünwanno

In De'kwana, 1+2 and 1+3 are treated as a dual or non-plural category (as seen in the chart above). The 1+2 dual pronoun is similar in form to the singular forms (e.g., üwü 'I'/ küwü 'you and I'), and both the 1+2 and 1+3 pronouns have singular verb agreement. The 1+2 (incl.) pronoun under the plural column is similar to other plural forms (e.g., künwanno 'you all and I'; önwanno 'you(pl)'), and has plural verb agreement.

B.1.1.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronoun forms are marked for number, proximity and animacy. The plural marker -komo is optionally used with inanimate forms. These forms are as follows:

Animate	Singular	Plural
proximal	mö'dö[2] möñö	kanno
medial	mö'kü	ma'kammo
distal	ñö'dö	nñanno
Inanimate		
proximal	e:'dö	e:'dö(komo)
medial	mönö	mönü(komo)
distal	i:yö:	i:yö:'(komo)

Usage of demonstrative pronouns is discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.3.).

B.1.1.3. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns appear in clause-initial position (see B.4.2. for examples). The interrogative pronouns are the following:

a:kene 'how'
önö:kü 'who'
önekö:mü 'what'
öisha 'where'
ö'wasa'kö 'how many'
öichönawö'kö 'when'

B.1.2. Dependent Personal Pronoun Markers

Dependent personal pronoun prefixes occur with three separate

syntactic classes: possessed nominals, postpositions, and verbs. While a number of these person markers are duplicated for the three classes, it will facilitate their descriptions to list them separately for nominals and postpositions, on the one hand, and verbs on the other.

B.1.2.1. Person Prefixes on Possessed Nominals

The person prefixes for possessed nominals and for postpositions fall into two sets. These sets are distinguished as to whether the stem with which they occur begins with C or V. The two sets are as follows:

Singular	Set 1 (#C stem)	Set 2 (#V stem)
1	ü-, Ø-	y-
2	ö-[3]	öd-[3]
3 (nd)[4]	i-[5]	d-[5]
3 (d)[4]	Ø-	Ø-
Dual		
1+2 (incl)	kü-[3]	k-[5]
1+3 (excl)	nña: Ø-	nña: Ø-[8]
Plural		
1+2	kü...komo[3]	k...komo[5]
2	ö...komo[3]	öd...komo[3]
3 (nd)	i...komo[5]	d...komo[5]
3 (d)	Ø...komo	Ø...komo

Examples of these prefixes with possessed nominals and postpositions appear under section B.2 below.

B.1.2.2. Person Prefixes on Verbs

The dependent person markers for verbs are prefixed to finite, inflected verb stems. Person prefixes for intransitive verb forms mark the person of the intransitive subject (either agent or patient), while the person categories of both agent and patient are marked by the transitive prefixes (see B.3.1.2.1. and Chapter 4 for further discussion).

Intransitive person prefixes (with Catetory 1 verbs) mirror, in part, the possessed nominal prefixes (see B.1.2.1. directly above) as can be seen by comparing them with the lists of intransitive verb person prefixes below.

Category 1 intransitive verb pronoun prefixes:

Singular	(#C stem)	(#V stem)
1	ü-, Ø-	y-
2	ö-[6]	öd-[7]
3	n(V)-	n-
Dual		
1+2	kü-	k-
1+3	nña: n(V)-	nña: n-[8]
Plural		
1+2	kü...to	k...to
2	ö[6]...to	öd[7]...to
3	n(V)...to	n...to

The person markers for 1, 2 singular and 1+2 dual are identical to

those for possessed nominals. Third person singular forms differ entirely. The plural markers have the same prefixes as those for possessed nominals but have a different suffix: -to for verbs as opposed to -komo for possessed nominals.

Category 2 intransitive verbs (including the copula) are accompanied by the following agent prefixes:

Singular	
1	w-
2	m-
3	n-
Dual	
1+2	k-
1+3	nña: n-
Plural	
1+2	k...to
2	m...to
3	n...to

Person markers for active, transitive verb forms code both agent and patient case roles for first and/or second person. Thus, the transitive person prefixes are identical to those with intransitive verbs listed above. The person prefixes are listed below. Paradigms with the various person prefixes appear in B.3.1.2.1.

Person Prefixes on Verbs

Person Category	Patient Prefixes	Agent Prefixes
1	y-, Ø-	w-
1+2	k-, kü-[9]	k-
1+3	nña: Ø-	nña: n-
2	öd-, ö-	m-
3	Ø-	n-
Transitive Prefixes		
1/2	mön-	
1+3/2	nña: mön-	
2/1	kö-	
2/1+3	nña: kö-	

B.2. Nominals

Both prefixes and suffixes occur on nouns, on nominals functioning as attributive adjectives and on postpositions, marking possession, number, diminution, tense and negation. Further, specifying and contrastive particles as well as postpositions are suffixed to noun stems (see B.2.5.4.).

B.2.1. Independent Nominals

Independent nominals may appear in non-possessed form. Other nominals only occur in possessed form where the root or stem is inflected by a suffix marking morphosyntactic class and by a person prefix.

B.2.1.1. Morphosyntactic Classes

Possessed nominals are divided into two major morphosyntactic classes marked by the suffixes -dü (allomorphs of -chü and -yü) and -i, respectively, and several minor classes.[10] Examples of nominals in each class are listed below. The unpossessed form, if it occurs, is listed first followed by the root or stem that accompanies the class suffix. Two common changes that distinguish these two versions of the independent nominal are a shift of the initial stem vowel from /ö/ to /e/ or /i/ for possessed forms, and, for consonant-initial forms, a lengthening of the initial stem vowel. Spanish or Portuguese words that have been borrowed are so indicated in the lists below. It appears that the borrowed words usually enter the De'kwana nominal system as a member of the -i class.

Class with -dü

non-possessed	root/stem	suffix	gloss
nta	-nta	-dü	'mouth'
hata	-ha:ta	-dü	'community'
amo	-amo	-dü	'hand'
önna	-enna	-dü	'nose'
ömmi	-immi:	-chü	'fingernails'
hihidi	-hihidi	-yü	'palm fruit'
-----	-nne	-dü	'child'
möna'ta'ta	-mna'ta'ta	-dü	'door'
-----	-nwainñühü	-dü	'brother-in-law'
-----	-'tawai	-dü	'lung'
-----	-'tadi:	-yü	'griddle, baking pan'
-----	-'dohu:	-dü	'breast'
-----	-'hu:	-du	'foot'
-----	-da:mö	-dü	'louse'
do'ta	-do:'ta	-dü	'trunk of body'
küde:de	-de:	-dü	'manioc'
-----	-de'	-dü	'teeth'
damai	-da:mai	-chü	'fishing with poison'
-----	-hadui'	-chü	'sister (used by males)'

-----	-hada'hi	-yü	'plate'
-----	-ha:	-dü	'grandchild'
hana	-ha:na:	-dü	'ear'
hahi	-ha:hi:	-yü	'fishing net'
-----	-hannü	-dü	'son-in-law'
-----	-he'	-dü	'face'
-----	-ho:de	-dü	'calf of leg'
homi	-ho:mi:'	-chü	'hot sauce'
hümü	-hü:mü:	-dü	'neck'
-----	-hu:'ha	-dü	'hair'
-----	-kata:	-dü	'dinner'
kawai	-ka:wai'	-chü	'tobacco'
-----	-ka:'tükü	-dü	'wrinkle'[11]
-----	-kasa'di	-yü	'toasted hot sauce'
kushi	-kushi:	-yü	'a drink'
-----	-kõ'tümü	-dü	'voice'
mati:di	-ma:ti:di	-yü	'basket for processed manioc (mañoco)'
-----	-mada:	-dü	'foliage (>Sp)'
-----	-na:'du	-du	'lid'
-----	-nai'chü	-dü	'garden (ready to cultivate)'
-----	-nadwöhü	-dü	'garden (not ready to cultivate)'
-----	-na:mö'hü	-dü	'roof'
na:tü	-na:tü:	-dü	'cultivated plants'
no'tö	-no'tö	-dü	'fish'
nono	-nono	-dü	'earth'
-----	-nuwa:	-dü	'brother'
-----	-tamu:	-du	'grandmother'
tünküi'	-tünkü'	-chü	'manioc squeezer'
tu:'de	-tu:'de'	-dü	'enemy'
sukuhi	-su:kuhi:	-yü	'lance, spear'
wadiwadi	-wa:diwa:di	-yü	'fan'
-----	-waicha	-dü	'shotgun'
-----	-wata'sokwa	-dü	'noise'
wa'to	-wa:'to	-dü	'fire'
wo:i	-wo:i'	-chü	'forest, trees/shrubs'
wo'mo	-wo:'mo	-dü	'necklace'
wokü	-wokü	-dü	'manioc drink'
amo	-amo:	-dü	'hand'
-----	-a:ki:	-yü	'blood'
-----	-a'hö:	-dü	'arm'
öhi	-e:hi:	-chü	'medicine'
öma	-e:ma	-dü	'road, path'
öwainshi	-ewainshi	-ñü	'dinner'
ö'sa	-e:'sa	-dü	'room'
önña	-e:nña	-dü	'corn'
-----	-e:nu	-du	'eye'
-----	-e:hai'	-chü	'elbow'

-----	-e:'hi	-yü	'lip'
-----	-e:mu	-du	'knee'

Class with -i

non-possessed	root/stem	suffix	gloss
mma	-mmaa:	-i	'house'
'tauda	-'tauda	-i	'board, plank (>Sp)'
chuta	-chu:ta	-i	'forest'
hadudu	-ha:du:du	-i	'plaintain, small banana'
hatiya	-ha:tiya	-i	'watermelon'
hahe:da	-hahe:da	-i	'paper (>Sp)'
hadankana	-hadanka:ha	-i	'jar, pot (metal)'
hena	-he:na	-i	'oar'
-----	-hö:hu:du	-i	'wall'
-----	-hu:ya	-i	'arrow point'
kanwa	-kanwa	-i	'woven box (square basket)'
-----	-ka:'tükü	-i	'wrinkle'[11]
kahichana	-kahicha:na	-i	'leader (>Sp)'
kawadimaka	-ka:wadimaka	-i	'sling for carrying child'
kuda:wa	-ku:da:wa	-i	'curare (poison)'
kunwa	-ku:nwa	-i	'blowgun darts'
-----	-kuda:'ta	-i	'blow gun'
kudiya:da	-kudiya:da	-i	'dugout (>Sp)'
kümü	-kü:mü	-i	'machete'
kümü'kö	-kü:mü	-i-chö	'knife'
mayu:du	-ma:yu:du	-i	'beads'
manku	-ma:nku	-i	'mango'
mana:de	-ma:na:de	-i	'flat, round basket'
maha:ya	-maha:ya	-i	'papaya'
mesa	-me:sa	-i	'table (>Sp)'
mude	-mu:de:	-i	'bench, seat'
muwa:hu	-mu:wa:hu	-i	'skirt
sawiya	-sa:wiya	-i	'sap'
sayu	-sa:yu	-i	'salt'
shimada	-shima:da	-i	'arrow'
waha	-waha	-i	'flat, round basket'
wade:ku	-wa:de:ku	-i	'cotton'
wahu'nö	-wa:hu'nö	-i	'guama (potato-like)'
wanadeke	-wana:deke	-i	'pineapple'
wennühü	-wennühü	-i	'sling for carrying children'
weyama	-we:yama	-i	'mapuey (potato-like)'
wishu	-wi:shu	-i	'black/red paint'
wö'nö	-wö:'nö	-i	'natural twine'
wö'tö	-wö:'tö	-i	'port, dock'
ansa	-a:nsa	-i	'necklace'
a'tö	-a:'tö	-i	'seat'
anötö	-a:nötö	-i	'fishnet'

ödinñö	-edinñö	-i	'clay pot, jar'
-----	-udu:mo	-i	'stomach'

Independent nominals that do not fall in one of the two major morphosyntactic classes can be grouped into several additional minor classes. These classes do not correspond to semantic domains such as kinship terms or body parts. And, indeed, many kinship or body part terms are already listed within the -dü or -i classes above. Examples of possessed forms in these minor classes are as follows:

-tü

no:tü	'grandmother'
ü'ho:'tü	'hide, feathers'
he:tü	'leg'
ho:tü	'intestine'
we:tü	'feces'
ye:'tü	'name'
yewütü	'hammock'
ya:'to'tü	'string, twine'
yo:'tü	'meat, catch'
ye:wü'tü	'urn, lair, holder'

-hö

hi:'hö	'skin'
hu:'hö	'head'
de:'hö	'bone'
yedahö	'chief'
o:'ta:hö	'fish'

-nü

ho:nü	'nephew'
ye:wanü	'heart'
ye'künü	'pet'
ye:senü	'hunt'
yewainshiñnü	'dinner'
denü	'mama'

-no

ünño	'husband'
weichakono	'brother, friend'
ya:ko:no	'little brother'

-toho

wo:wanomatoho	'school'
we:ka:toho	'toilet, bathroom'

-mo

hüiñmo 'family (female)'

miscellaneous

ha:'se'	'niece'
nwainñe	'brother-in-law'
nkawõ	'shoulder'
uyu	'casave'
wo:mũ	'clothing'

The irregular morphosyntactic classes above have historically resulted from derivational processes.[12] For the most part they are no longer actively participating in those processes but are, instead, frozen or conventionalized nominal forms.

B.2.1.2. Marking for Possession

Possessive prefixes occur in two sets to mark person while plural number is marked by the suffix -komo following the possessive suffix (see B.2.5.1.). Person categories not marked for number include singular (1, 2 and 3) and dual (1+2 and 1+3). The possessive prefixes marking person categories may be grouped into two sets used according to the initial phonological segment of the noun stem. The prefixes are as follows:

Person Prefixes person	Set 1 (#C stem)	Set 2 (#V stem)
1	ü-, Ø-	y-
2	ö- (a-, o-)[13]	öd- (ad-, od-)[13]
3 (nd)	i-	d-
3 (d)	Ø-	Ø-
1+2	kü- (ki-, ku-)[9]	k-
1+3	nña: Ø-	nña: Ø-
3 (reflx/indef)	tü-	t-

Set 1 prefixes for first person include two subcategories, one for nominals beginning with CC or /y/, and the other for nominals beginning with a single consonant. For example, the first person prefix ü- occurs with CC or /y/ nominals and Ø- with nominals having single initial consonant as in:

ü-'wa-dü 'my basket'

Ø-ha:ta-dü 'my community'

Ø-kü:mü-i 'my machete'

The two person prefix sets are shown with nominal stems in the paradigms that appear below. The -dü class is listed first followed by examples from the -i class. The alternating order of these two classes is repeated for each of the person prefix sets or subsets. Plural forms are described in a subsequent section (see B.2.5.1.).

Set 1 (stem begins with CC or /y/)

person marker	stem	poss	gloss
-dü class:			
1	ü - 'wa	- dü	'my basket'
2	ö - 'wa	- dü	'your basket'
3 (d)	Ø - 'wa	- dü	'his (specific) basket'
3 (nd)	i - 'wa	- dü	'his (unsp) basket'
1+2	kü - 'wa	- dü	'our basket (incl)'
1+3	nña: Ø - 'wa	- dü	'our basket (excl)'
-i class:			
1	ü - mma	- i	'my house'
2	ö - mma	- i	'your house'
3 (d)	Ø - mmaa	- i	'his (specified) house'
3 (nd)	i - mma	- i	'his (unspecified) house'
1+2	kü - mma	- i	'our house (incl)'
1+3	nña: Ø - mma	- i	'our house (excl)'

Set 2 (stem begins with V)

person	prefix	stem	poss	gloss
-dü class:				
1	y -	ema	- dü	'my path'
2	öd-	ema	-dü	'your path'
3 (d)	Ø -	eema	- dü	'his path'
3 (nd)	i -	ema (chömadü)	- dü	'his path'
1+2	k -	ema (kömadü)	- dü	'our path (incl)'
1+3	nña: ,Ø -	eema	- dü	'our path (excl)'

-i class:

1	y - edinnö - i	'my pot, jar'
2	öd- edinnö - i	'your pot, jar'
3 (d)	Ø - edinnö - i	'his pot, jar'
3 (nd)	d - edinnö - i	'his pot, jar'
1+2	k - edinnö - i	'our (incl) pot, jar'
1+3	nña: Ø - edinnö - i	'our (excl) pot, jar'

These sets of possessive prefixes are identical in most cases (i.e., except for third singular and 1+3) to the dependent personal pronoun prefixes for Category 1 intransitive verbs (see B.1.2. and B.3.1.2.1.). The possessive prefixes may also be used on postpositions as discussed below (see B.2.2.2.).

B.2.2. Postpositions

Postpositions accompany nouns that may be marked for possession and number, or they may occur independently with person prefixes themselves. In the latter case, postpositions act as a subclass of nominals which share with the class the following properties: 1) inflection for person (prefixes); and, 2) marking for plural number (suffix). However, postpostions as a class occur following nominal or verbal stems and have the further option of being nominalized, either singly or in construction with a nominal or verbal stem. Examples of each of these types of occurrences appear below.

B.2.2.1. Postpositions with Independent Nominals

Postpositions follow nominals to indicate location, direction and

accompaniment (both temporal and/or spatial). Postpositions organized by monosyllabic, bisyllabic, and trisyllabic categories are listed below.

monosyllabic	bisyllabic
ke 'with'	a'ka 'in, at'
wö 'to, by'	a:kö 'with'
	awö 'when, where'
	daha 'and not'
	da'ka 'toward me, in/at me'
	dakö 'with me'
	da'me 'with'
	dawö 'when'
	dewö 'upon'
	dü'tö 'with, beside, next to'
	e'nei 'because'
	ha:dö 'with me, under me'
	hökö 'with me'
	hüdü 'after, afterwards, later'
	maha 'and'
	ta'ka 'in, at'
	wadöi 'for'

trisyllabic

heta'ka 'in front of'
wadödö 'toward'

Postpositions follow an independent nominal forming a postpositional phrase. Examples of these appear as follows:

(1) Florinda Katadina dü'tö na.
beside is

Florinda is beside/next to Katherine.

(2) Wenü:ta ü'wadü a'ka wü'ta ya:wö
I-put-it my-basket-in I-go verif

I put it into my basket and go.

(3) Tö'hu de'wö Katadina nöhö:nö
stone on was

Katherine was seated on the rocks.

(4) üwü ya'dewwa danwa wö
I talk man to

I talk to the man.

(5) Dika:du ha:dö Wan ne:hö fieta a'ka.
Ricardo with Juan came party to

Juan came with Ricardo to the party.

Postpositions appear as the final member of a phrase containing a nominal, an adjective and a postposition:

(6) Madiya ma:nku wü:wa adaihö'to a'ka nü:düi.
Maria mango basket large into put

Maria put the mangoes into a large basket.

Postpositions also function as connectives for nominals (7a and b), for phrases (7c and d), or for clauses (7d). The following sentences are examples of such linkage by postpositions. The postposition maha functions as a connective for the postpositional phrases: homi hadö 'with hot sauce' and u: hadö 'with casave bread'.

(7)a. dui'chö üwü ha:ha maha nña nowashincha soto
older brother I papa and we eat people

hadönñe
with-them

My older brother, I and my papa eat with the people.

b. danwakomo nütato wüwü dame kümü maha
man-pl went axe with machete and

The men went with their axes and machetes.

c. na'kukankomokö kado nato homi hadö
fish tasty are hot sauce with

u: hadö maha
casave bread with and

The fish are tasty with hot sauce and casave bread.

d. edu:wa tösaka tüwödüatö hökö nekammahöa
now house-in he-arrives when he-is telling

yawö tühüiñamo wö tünakomo wö maha
verif his-wife to his-children to and/also

Now when/as he arrives at home he is telling/talking to his wife and to his children.

Additional examples of clause-level linkage by postpositions appear below in B.4.5.1.1.

B.2.2.2. Postpositions as Independent Lexical Items

Independent postpositions occur with possessive person marker sets 1 or 2 (see B.1.2) depending upon an initial vowel or consonant of the postposition:

(vowel-initial)

y - a:kö 'with me (conjunctive, accompaniment)

ad - a:kö 'with you'

Ø - a:kö 'with him (d)'

d - a:kö 'with him (nd)'

(consonant-initial)

Ø - ha:dö 'with me, under me'

a - ha:dö 'with you'

(möñö) Ø - ha:dö 'with him (d)'

chö - ha:dö 'with him (nd)'

B.2.2.3. Derived Forms

Two types of derivational processes may occur with postpositions: 1) postpositions combine with nominal or verbal stems which are marked by inflections for person and number (see B.2.2.3.1.); and 2) either lexically independent postpositions or these compounded constructions of a postposition with a nominal or verbal stem may further be marked by nominalizing suffixes (see B.2.2.1.2.).

B.2.2.3.1. Derived Forms with Nominal or Verbal Stems

Postpositions combined with nominal stems as suffixes are seen in the following constructions:

(8)a.ha:ta'ka (Ø-ha:ta - a'ka) 'to my town'
my-town to

b. ye'sawö (y-ö'sa - awö) 'in my house'
1s house in

c. ye'saka (y - ö'sa - aka) 'into my house'
1s house into

Postpositions occur along with verb stems (see B.3.1. for further discussion of such derivations) in the following examples:

(9) a. yowanökö na (y - owa - nökö na)
'I know.' 1s knowing with it-is

b. tütödawö (t - ütö - dawö)
when he goes 3s going when

B.2.2.3.2. Nominalized Postpositions

Lexically independent postpositions may be nominalized with the suffix -no[14] as in the following example:

(10) yakano (y - aka - no)
1s in nom.

'in or with me, my withness'

Postpositions in derived constructions with either nominal or verbal stems may be nominalized. In the examples below, the nominals hata ('town'), önu ('eye'), and hana ('ear') are combined with the postposition a'ka and then with the suffixes -i and -no creating additional nominal expressions.

(11) ha:ta'köi '(the location of) in my town'

ha:ta + a'ka + i
town in nom/possn

(12) önu'akano 'sight'

önu + a'ka + no
eye in nom

(13) hana'kano 'hearing'

hana + a'ka + no
ear in nom

B.2.3. Adjectives

In De'kwana, attributive and predicative adjectives are marked

distinctly. Derivational processes apply to both types.

B.2.3.1. Basic Forms

Adjectives occur in two basic forms, one with attributive function and the other, predicative. Both forms are marked by suffixes in order to indicate plural number, past tense or negation as well as by several other suffixes with discourse functions (see B.2.5.) (Also, see 3.3.4. for discussion of the category of adjective.)

The attributive forms are marked with the suffix -(a)to or other suffixes with a nominalizing function, while the predicate form is not so marked. The majority of adjectives follow the inflectional pattern seen below where the predicate form ends in -e and the attributive, in -ato.[15] The following list gives those forms taking the suffix, -ato (subject to vowel harmony), for the attributive form. The subsequent listings give forms that take other nominalizing suffixes. Examples in context apppear in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.4.).

-(a)to

sediuhe, sediuhato	'serious (>Sp)'
sekumhe, sekumhato	'lame, crippled, one-legged'
inñatahe, inñatahato	'beautiful'
öchödöhe, öchödöhato	'partly'
höduhe, höduhato	'strong, loud'
hushihe, hushihato	'fat, stout, thick'
wenñöhe, wenñöhato	'always, anyway, in every case'
yawanadühe, yawanadühato	'dawning'
chönün'e, chönün'ato	'equal'
ta'wane, ta'wanato	'luminous, bright, shining'
takwanñe, takwanñato	'happy'
tahuhuñe, tahuhuñato	'wide'
töihe, töihato	'hard, firm, solid'
töhuye, töhuyato	'fat, large'
tawe'de, tawe'dato	'short, scanty'

tühe, tühato	'dark'
tühü:ye, tühü:yato	'timid, apologetic, embarrassed'
ta'ne, ta'nato	'hot'
tutune, tutunato	'bitter, acidy'
tamönñe, tamönñato	'heavy, boring, dull'
tamhö'ne, tamhö'nato	'light, rapid, quickly'
tüwanohone, tüwanohonato	'intelligent'
tütütahö'e, tütütahö'ato	'pensive'
tüwansu'de, tüwansu'dato	'bland, soft, smooth'
anwaküme, anwakümato	'narrow'
kömme, kömmato	'cold'
nuwe, nuwato	'long'
wentumhe, wentumhato	'sad'
shene, shenato	'blue, green, unripe'
----, seweichato	'red, ripe, yellow'
tadoinñe,	'healthy, sound, sane, healthful'
adaihö, adaihoto	'large, big, treat, grand'
hena'dohö, ----	'old'
she'kö, shekotokö	'small, tiny'
nonoho'chö, nonoho'chöto	'low, short'
kawö, kawöto	'tall, high'
akede, akedeto	'thin, lean, skinny, weak'
tüweshicha, tüweshichato	'broken, shattered, torn'
tükincha, tükinchato	'tired'
tüwowanomasa, tüwowanomasato	'studious'
----, eduwato	'new'
ashicha, ashichato	'good'

Some adjective forms take the nominalizer, -no, for the attributive form, while others are marked by the suffix, -hünü. Such examples include:

-no

ka:do, ka:dono	'tasty'
yötö:dö, yö:tödöno	'tranquil, calm'
öhümanü, öhümanüno	'young'

-hünü

kone'da, konemhünü	'bad, evil'
----, tüwödönemhünü	'fortunate, lucky'

Irregular

sokahö'nei 'thorny, difficult, dangerous'

B.2.3.2. Dependent and Independent Constituency

Adjective forms may occur independently or along with a nominal as its modifier. The status of dependent (modifier) or independent constituency is determined by the syntactic structure, often in terms of the word order in a particular sentence. Such syntactic patterns are discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.4.)

B.2.4. Quantifiers and Numerals

De'kwana uses numerals and adverbial quantifiers as independent lexical items and to mark quantities of nominal entities. The numerals are listed (B.2.4.1.) followed by examples in sentences (B.2.4.2.) and then quantifiers are exemplified (B.2.4.3.).

B.2.4.1. Number System

The De'kwana number system is base-twenty. Numerals up to two hundred are listed below. The numbers over three are rare in texts, and the word for the number "two" functions as a postposition meaning 'with' in the sense of accompaniment. The word for zero occurs as a sentence-level negation marker (see B.4.3.).

0	a:'ke
1	to:ni
2	a:'kö
3	aduwawö
4	a:'köi'chea
5	hya:todea

6 to:ni amoha'to
7 a:'kö amoha'to
8 aduwawö amoha'to
9 a:'köi'chea amoha'to
10 amohadö
11 amohadö'to de:wö to:ni
12 amohadö'to de:wö a:'kö
13 amohadö'to de:wö aduwawö
14 amohadö'to de:wö a:'köi'chea
15 amohadö'to de:wö hyatodea
16 amohadö'to de:wö to:ni amoha'to
17 amohadö'to de:wö a:'kö amoha'to
18 amohadö'to de:wö aduwawö amoha'to
19 amohadö'to de:wö a:'köi'chea amoha'to
20 to:ni ssoto
21 to:ni ssototo de:wö to:ni
22 to:ni ssototo de:wö a:'kö
25 to:ni ssototo de:wö hya:todea
26 to:ni ssototo de:wö to:ni amoha'to

30 to:ni ssototo de:wö amohadö
31 to:ni ssototo de:wö amohadö to:ni
35 to:ni ssototo de:wö amohadö hyatodea
36 to:ni ssototo de:wö amohadö to:ni amoha'to

40 a:'kö ssoto
41 a:'kö ssototo de:wö to:ni
45 a:'kö ssototo de:wö hyatodea
46 a:'kö ssototo de:wö to:ni amoha'to

50 a:'kö ssototo de:wö amohadö
60 aduwawö ssoto
70 aduwawö ssototo de:wö amohadö
80 a:'köi'chea ssoto
90 a:'köi'chea ssototo de:wö aamohadö
100 hya:todea ssoto
110 hya:todea ssoto amohadö
200 amohadö ssoto

The example below illustrates the use of numerals in adjectival functions. This example is from a story about a boxturtle and an opossum.

(14)To:ni wedu de: anwa'ka ñö:dö künnüi ya:wö
one year trees/ in he did it verif
forest

ñö:dö waya:mu.
that turtle

One year in the forest he unsuccessfully tried to trick that turtle.

B.2.4.2. Quantifiers

Adverbial quantifiers include the following lexical items: ho:he 'much'; tame:dö 'all'; hahe:dö 'rapid' that combine with nominals to specify quantity as in the following phrases:

(15)a. tame:dö shidi:chö 'all the stars'
all star

all the stars

b. manade ho:he tuhunne na
basket many want he-is

He wants many baskets.

In the following two examples, the quantifier ho:he 'many, a lot' functions as an adverbial intensifier glossed as 'very', although the De'kwana construction literally conveys the sense of amount or quantity.

(16)a. mudekökö ö:mihe na ho:he
child hungry is very

The child is very hungry.

b. ho:he ma:do kone'da kün-ödü-ho- i ñanno
very tiger bad 3-say-?-pst tns them

hököi-nñe
with -pl

The tiger became very angry with them.

B.2.5. Plural Suffixes

Plural markers for independent nominals, attributive adjective forms and derived nominals (with -dü, -no, etc.) are the suffixes -komo or -tomo (allomorph -chomo). In contrast, postpositions and predicate adjective forms are marked by the suffix -(n)ñe. Further discussion of these markers with additional examples appears in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.1.).

B.2.5.1. Plural Markers on Nominals

The plural markers may occur on a possessed noun to indicate plurality either of that noun, with -tomo, or of its possessor, with -komo, as discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.1.). The plural suffix is obligatorily expressed with certain animate nouns such as the kin terms: ño:tütonkomo (*ño:tü-tomo-komo) 'grandparents'. Otherwise, the plural marker, -tomo, is optional on the nominal form itself and usually is expressed by other sentential markers such as the presence of numerals and/or inflection on attributive adjectives accompanying the noun. In conversation, the plural marker, -komo, is sometimes used both for plurality of the nominal and for plurality of its possessor.

Plural possessors are marked on nominals in the -dü and -i classes as follows:

person marker	stem	poss	number	gloss

-dü class:

1+2	kü	- 'wa	- dü	- komo	'our (incl) basket'
2	ö	- 'wa	- dü	- komo	'your (pl) basket'
3 (nd)	i	- 'wa	- dü	- komo	'their (nd) basket'

-i class:

1+2	kü	- mma	- i	- chomo	'our (incl) house'
2	ö	- mma	- i	- chomo	'your (pl) house'
3 (nd)	i	- mma	- i	- chomo	'their (nd) house'

The plural suffix occurs less often with inanimate nouns:

(17) Madiya künnüi hyatodea wo:'mo mönö nu:na hökö.
Maria made five necklaces this month in

Maria made five necklaces this month.

The attributive adjective or the numeral quantifier may be marked with the plural suffix as in the following example:

(18) ka:nno aduwawö wo:dinñamo inñataha'-komo
these three women beautiful-pl

danwa-komo akö'chea-'komo nenema:to.
men -pl four -pl see

The three beautiful women see the four men.

B.2.5.2. Postpositions and Predicate Adjectives

The second plural marker, -nñe, occurs with postpositions and predicate adjectives. The first of each of the following pairs of

examples contains the singular form of the postposition and the second member has the corresponding plural form with the plural suffix, -ñe:

(19) a. Florinda künöhö:kö (mö'dö) y-ü'tö
was him 3-beside

Florinda was beside/next to him.

b. Florinda künöhö:kö y-ü'tö-nñe
was 3-beside-pl

Florinda was beside/next to them.

(20) a. Florinda künöhö:kö ö-nnökö
was 2-beside

Florinda was beside/next to you (sing.).

b. Florinda künöhö:kö ö-nnökö-nñe
was 2-beside-pl

Florinda was beside/next to you (pl.).

In the following examples taken from texts the plural marker follows a postpositional phrase:

(21)a. chö:'sa'kanñe
chö-ö'sa - a'ka-(n)ñe
3-house - in - pl

'in their house'

b. nñanno wö-nñe
them with-pl

'with them'

c. wo:di su:nwa wö-nñe tühödu-ho -hüdü e'nei
woman wasp with-pl sting-caus-past because

'Because the woman let/caused her to be stung by wasps.'

The predicate adjective form is also marked for plural with the suffix

-ñe: as in the example below:

(22) ka:nno aduwawö wo:dinñamo inñatahe:-ñe na:to:dü
these three women beautiful-pl are

nenema:to danwa
see man

These three beautiful women see the man.

B.2.6. Anterior and Counterfactive Markers

De'kwana nominals may be inflected by suffixes marking anterior and counterfactive senses. Independent nominals, attributive adjective forms and derived nominals may be marked with the anterior suffix -hüdü and the counterfactive (negative) suffix -hünü, carrying the sense that the item is no longer the case. In contrast, postpositions, predicate adjectives and topicalized independent nominals are marked by the verbal modal suffix 'da for negation. When lexical items in either of these categories move derivationally into the other category, the alternate suffixes may be used as shown below.

Independent Nominals

damo:dü	'his hand'
damo:dü-hüdü	'his former (detached or cut off) hand'
da:nsai	'her necklace'
da:nsai-hüdü	'her (deceased) former necklace'
yo:dü:mö	'his father-in-law'
yo:dü:mö-hüdü	'his former father-in-law' (if either deceased or the possessor has divorced the daughter)

ñatüdü	'his cultivated plants'
ñatüdü-hüdü	'his former cultivated plants' (if he leaves the village, if he dies, or if the garden has gotten old and hasn't been cleared out recently)'
chu:datai	'his blowgun'
chu:datai-hüdü	'his former blowgun (if he died, has been gone over three years, or if the blowgun is broken)'
ñö:dö-hünü	'(it's) not her'
manku-hünü	'(it's) not mangos'

Attributive Adjectives

ka:dono	'tasty'
ka:donohüdü	'it was tasty'
ka:donohünü	'not tasty'
inñatahato	'beautiful'
inñatahatohünü	'not beautiful'
yö:tödöno	'tranquil, calm'
yö:tödönohüdü	'he/she/it was tranquil, calm'

Postpositions/Postpositional Phrases

hö:kö - 'da	'stay away, not with me
with-me - neg	(lit: don't be with me)'
mö'dö-ke - 'da - ne	'not with this'
this-with-not-contr	

Predicate Adjectives

inñatahe-'da	'She isn't beautiful.'
a:kede-'da	'It's not thin.'
kawö-'da	'He's not tall.'
ka:do-'da	'It's not tasty.'

Predicate adjective forms can occur with the -hünü negation suffix if a nominalizer suffix is added first as in the following example:

inñatahe-no-hünü --> inñatahe-n-hünü -->
inñatahe-m-hünü

(23) inñatahe - m -hünü ñö:dö Josefina.
beautiful-nom-not this-one

Josephina isn't beautiful.'

On the other hand, nominalized attributive adjective forms may also involve the -'da negation marker if they are first inflected with the -he suffix (topic marker):

tükinchato - he - 'da 'There's no one tired here'

yö:tödöno - he - 'da 'there's no one calm here.'

B.2.7. Diminutives

The diminutive suffix -'kö (allomorph -'chö) is seen in the following examples:

kümü - 'kö 'knife' (kümü 'machete')

danwa - 'kö 'boy' (danwa 'man')

tako:no - 'kö 'younger brother (used by female)'

a:kö - 'kö 'few' (a:kö 'two')

wodi - 'chö 'girl' (wodi 'woman')

ho:he - 'kö 'a little more (of something)'

wötu:nö-'kö 'a story for children (wötu:nö 'story, legend')'

The diminutive suffix follows other derivational or inflectional suffixes. For example, the lexical item for small includes the diminutive suffix -kö (she'kö 'little, small'). The nominalizer

-(V)to is suffixed to the lexical base in a position before the diminutive suffix: shek - oto - 'kö, 'little, small (one)'. Likewise, the diminutive suffix occurs after the possessive and plural suffixes as can be seen in the inflected examples below:

kümü - 'kö machete-dim	'knife'
kü:mü - i - 'chö stem poss dim	'his knife'
kü:mü - i - 'chomo - 'kö stem poss plural dim	'their knife'

B.2.8. Comparative Constructions

In De'kwana, syntactic constructions marking comparisons use ehode'kö or the nominalized form, ehodato. Either form may occur as in the following examples:

(24)a. Madiya inñatahe na edena ehode'kö
Maria beautiful she-is Helen less-than

Maria is more beautiful than Helen.

b. möñö ñödö danwa tahönato
this-one that-one man rapid

wekatümödü nuwadü
that-he-runs/his running my-brother

ehodato
less-than

This man runs faster than my brother.[16]

c. Madiya ñödö tawanohoñato tunuwatomo ehode'kö
Maria that-one intelligent her-sisters less-than

Maria is more intelligent than her sisters.

B.3. Verbs

Verb stems are composed of verbal or nominal roots, thematic affixes and transitivity markers. Verb stems are inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, mood and negation. Transitivity affixes mark reflexive, reciprocal, passive and causative forms. Subordination affixes mark infinitive forms, subjunctive, topicalized and contrastive forms.

Person prefixes marking either patient or agent may be followed by affixes to indicate transitivity conditions. Verb stems may consist of canonical root forms (see B.3.1.1. below), or may be derived by the addition of thematic affixes (see B.3.1.1.2.1. below) to the root, or by compounding of a noun stem and verb stem. Suffix postions mark tense/aspect, mode and number. The basic order of the components is as follows:

person prefix + (transitivity prefix) + STEM (root ± thematic affixes) + (mode) pos 1 + tense/aspect + (number) + (mode) pos 2

These positional components are discussed in the sections below. Verb stems include a root and various derivational affixes (B.3.1.1.); person prefixes mark two sets of intransitive as well as transitive verbs (B.3.1.2.); tense/aspect markers distinguish non-past, and recent and remote past, both incompletive and completive (B.3.1.3.); number is

marked by plural suffixes (B.1.3.4.); and, modal suffixes mark the manner of the action (B.1.3.5.).

B.3.1. Verb Stems

Verb stems include roots, derived stems and unanalyzable stems. Roots serving as stems are considered to be simple stems (see B.3.1.1.1.), while derived and unanalyzable stems are complex stems (B.3.1.1.2.). Verb stems contain from one to four syllables. For example, the irregular verb for 'to be', w-ö-nö, has only one stem syllable (-ö-); in contrast, the majority of verbs have stems made of a two-syllable root accompanied by various thematic affixes.

B.3.1.1. Stem Derivation

While the canonical VCV form is most frequent, verb roots also occur as VC, CV and CVC. VCV verb roots function as simple stems and are inflected for person, number and tense/aspect. VC, CV and CVC roots occur as a part of derived or complex stems. These complex stems involve thematic stem affixes (B.3.1.1.2.), transitivity prefixes (B.3.1.1.3.) and the process of noun incorporation (B.3.1.1.2.). All verb stems are inflected by person prefixes, and suffixes marking tense, aspect, number, manner and transitivity (see B.3.1.2.).

B.3.1.1.1. Simple Stems

Simple stems are VCV roots that function as a complete verb stem. These stems may participate in derivational processes as described below

becoming complex verb stems with a different lexical meaning (see B.3.1.1.2.1.). As simple verb stems these VCV roots are inflected for person and tense/aspect. Full paradigm examples of these forms are given below in B.3.1.1.2.2. Examples of simple stems are listed as follows:

-adö:-	'carry'	-öne-	'be seen'
-aho-	'chew'	-önö-	'eat meat'
-ako-	'cut down, tear down'	-utu-	'give'
-amo-	'cry'	-uhi-	'look for,search for'
-a:wo-	'swell, inflate'	-üdü:-	'to do'
-e:ka-	'bite'	-üwö:-	'to stab, wound'
-ema-	'kill'	-ö:ma-	'die'
-ene-	'see'		
-eta-	'hear'		
-iña-	'clear brush, clean the garden'		

B.3.1.1.2. Complex Stems

Complex verb stems are derived by affixation on a bound root (VC, CV, CVC), or on a simple stem (VCV). Bound roots may be either verbal or nominal units that become a full verb stem by affixation of vowel prefixes, thematic suffixes or noun incorporation. These affixes result in varied levels of transitivity and altered lexical meanings for the derived complex verb stems. Complex stems are discussed under three categories: verb roots with thematic suffixes (B.3.1.1.2.1.), nominal roots (B.3.1.1.2.2.) and transitivity marking (B.3.1.1.2.3.). All of these complex verb stems are inflected for tense, aspect, number, and mode, and may be marked for further variations in transitivity levels in passive, causative, reflexive and reciprocal constructions (see B.3.1.2.

below).

B.3.1.1.2.1. Verb Stems with Thematic Affixes

Complex verb stems may take a variety of thematic affixes[17] that give a newly derived lexical meaning. Some of these thematic affixes are analyzable as marking altered transitivity factors or referring to modal/aspectual characteristics of the action described by the verb (e.g., sequential vs. punctual), while others are not. Verb roots of monosyllabic structures (VC, CV and CVC) function as bound roots with thematic affixes, while some simple roots of VCV structure discussed above also take thematic affixes, providing an additional set of derived complex verb stems. While the boundary between derivational and inflectional morphemes is not as clear in De'kwana as in some languages, thematic affixes function as derivational morphemes when they are positionally closely adjoined to the verb root as a part of the verb stem. Inflectional affixes differ positionally occurring terminally and mark the auxiliary verb in complex forms while thematic affixes remain with the verb stem (see B.3.1.2. and B.3.1.2.4.).

Thematic affixes consist of a fixed consonant with a following vowel. These CV units are suffixed to verb roots singly or in combinations. All thematic affixes occur as suffixes to verb roots or stems; several also occur as prefixes deriving additional complex stems or altering the transitivity of the verb form (see B.3.1.1.2.3.). Thematic affixes and their meanings are as follows:[18]

-dV- 'sequential action'
-hV- 'action of subordination'
-kV- 'active, transitive action by an agent'
-mV- 'focused action'
-nV- 'action just terminated, finished'(not now)
-sV- 'action desired'
-tV- 'intransitive or passive action received by a non-agent case nominal argument'
-wV- 'change of state'

Two of the thematic affixes also occur with additional derivational or syntactic functions. The -t(V)- affix is discussed both under transitivity marking for complex verb stems (B.3.1.1.2.3.) and under transitivity markers on reflexive, reciprocal and passive forms (B.3.1.2.4.). The -h(V)- suffix also functions in the marking for passive and causative forms (B.3.1.2.4.). The role(s) of these thematic affixes in transitivity levels of De'kwana verb stems is explored elsewhere (see 4.2.1. and 4.2.2.).

Examples of thematic affixes are provided below, first organized under the various types of verb roots, and, then under each thematic affix. Complex stems derived from simple roots of the form CVC with thematic affixes are listed first followed by bound roots of the forms VC or CV with thematic affixes; CV bound roots may be combined with nominal roots (see B.3.1.1.2.2.).

Simple roots with thematic affixes:

-adi-ma-	'push'
-ahö-n-tö-	'begin'
-edu-ka-	'fall'
-eko-do-i-ma-	'get dirty, become dirty'
-icho-do-i-ma-	'make dirty, soil'
-icho-'ka-	'wash'
-üko-ne-'ka-	'clean'
-eho-me-dö-	'deceive (intr)'

-iho-me-dö-	'deceive (trans)'
-ena-dü-	'wreck'
-eka-n-h-i-a-ka-	'change'
-eka-n-hü-	'believe'
-em(V)-ha-nö-	'take'
-ö:ne-he-	'flee'
-ene-hü-	'carry, bring, lead, conduct'
-ishe-de-na-n-hü-	'dry things'
-üdü-ho-	'permit'
-ehe-ma-ho-i-	'sell, vend'

Bound roots affixes with thematic affixes:[19]

-a'-	-a'-nö-	'cook'
	-a'-se-w-	'laugh'
	-a'-tö-	'hold, support'
	-a'-de-w-	'talk, speak, answer'
	-a'-de-w-ho-	'call over, invite'
	-a'-kö-tö-	'cut down'
-ö'-	-ö'-dü-	'arrive, speak'
	-ö'-ka'	'finish, to be through acting'
	-ö'-nö-ho-	'stay with, remain'
-ü'-	-ü'-ka-	'dig, excavate'
	-ü'-kü-	'grate'
	-ü'-tö-	'go, leave, depart'
	-ü'-ka-hü-	'weave'

Unanalyzable verb stems include a group of irregular verbs and verbs with VCCV stem structures. These verbs are inflected like other verbs as described below in B.3.1.2. These complex stems include:

-ennu-	'be born'
-önwa-	'dance, party, celebrate'
-annö-hü-	'collect'
-önna-m-hü-	'lose'

The following lists give examples of verb stems that take each thematic affix presented above.

Thematic Affixes in Complex Verb Stems:

-dV- 'sequential action'[20]

-a'-de-w-	talk
-a'-de-w-fa-	call
-e:'-ko-do-i-ma-	get dirty
-eho-me-'-do-	lie, deceive
-ö'-dü-	arrive
-ünna-dü-	wreck

-hV- 'action of subordination'

-eka-m-h-i-a-ka-	change
-em(V)-ha-nö-	take
-ö:ne-he-	flee
-ene-hü-	carry
-ö'-nö-m-ho-	stay
-üdü-ho	permit, allow
-ü'-ka-hü-	weave
-annö-hü-	pick up, gather, pull in
-eka-nü-hü-	believe
-ishe-de-na-nü-hü-	dry (trans)
-önna-nü-hü-	lose

-kV- 'active, transitive action by an agent'

-a'-k-w-	burn
-önu-k-	rise
-annu-k-	climb
-a-i-hu-k-	hit, strike
-enna-ka-	return
-isho-ka-	sew
-icho-ka-	wash, clean (trans)
-ö'-da-ka-	cut oneself
-eha-(V)'-ka	leave, go out
-edu-(V)'-ka-	fall
-ata-ka-	slide, tumble, shake
-i-a'-ta-ka-	pierce
-ishe-me-ka-	sweep, clean
-ewa-na-ka-	save, salvage
-eka-m-h-i-a-ka-	change
-a'-kö-tö-	cut
-ünü-kü-	sleep

-mV- 'focused action'

-eka-mma-	say, speak
-isho-ma-	guard
-ene-ma-	see, look at, stare

-ihu-mma-	wish, want
-ehe-ma-	buy
-adi-ma-	push
-o:wa-no-ma-	learn
-owa:-no-ma-	teach
-e'-ko-do-i-ma-	get dirty
-ö'-nö-m-ho-	stay
-eme-mme-kü-	rob

-nV- 'action just terminated, finished (not now)'

-awa-na-	arise, awake
-ewa-na-ka-	save, salvage
-ihi-ñña-	haul
-ishe-de-na-nü-hü-	dry (trans)
-em(V)-ha-nnö-	take
-a'-nö-	cook
-ö'-nö-m-hö-	stay
-eka-nü-hü-	believe
-önna-nü-hü-	lose
-o:wa-no-ma-	learn
-owa:-no-ma-	teach

-sV- 'action desired'

-a'-se-wö-	laugh
-se-de-ta-	dry (intr)
-ishe-de-na-nü-hü-	dry (trans)
-isho-ka-	sew
-isho:-ma-	guard
-ishi:-cha-	break
-ishe-me-ka-	sweep, clean

-tV- 'intransitive, passive, or reflexive action received by a non-agent case nominal or argument'

-edan-tö-	encounter, meet
-a:'-kö-tö-	cut
-se-de-'-ta-	dry (intr)
-iwa'-tö-	aid, help
-ewa'-tö-	hang a hammock
-e'wa'-tö-	help oneself
-ö:-wa'-tö-	hang ones own hammock
-ahö-n-tö-	begin
-enku-tö-	lie, deceive
-inña-tü'-tö-	plant
-ö:ne-tü-	dream
-enta-tü-	wash ones mouth, teeth
-onwa-tü-	wash ones hands
-tü-ta-hö-tü-	think

-wV- 'change of state'

-a'-se-wö-	laugh
-ia'-k-wa-	burn
-d-a'-t-w-[21]	burn oneself
-a'-de-wü-	talk, answer
-a'de-w-fa-	call

B.3.1.1.2.2. Nominal Stems

Nominal stems may become derived complex verb stems with the addition of a vowel prefix. These stems may take any of the thematic affixes discussed above (see B.3.1.1.2.1.). Other nominal roots are prefixed to verb roots as a result of the process of noun incorporation (NI). These NI stems are then inflected as any other verb stem with person prefixes and tense/aspect suffixes, for example, according to the conventions discussed in B.3.1.2. below.

B.3.1.1.2.2.1. Derivation from Nominal Stems

Complex verb stems are derived from consonant-initial nominal stems by the addition of the verbalizing stem vowel -e-. For example, the nominal root womü, 'dress, garment,' takes the prefix -e- and the thematic suffix -tö- to become the derived complex verb stem: -e-wom(ü)-tö- > -ewontö- 'dress, get dressed'. The morphophonemic processes of vowel reduction and assimilation occur in this derivational process and are discussed above in Appendix A.

Nominal roots may be combined with certain verbal thematic affixes such as -tü- to form a complex verb stem in a process reminiscent of noun incorporation. The affix -tü carries the sense of 'to be done to (nominal argument)' as indicated in the listing of thematic affixes

above (see B.3.1.1.2.1.), thus marking reflexive action. These derived complex verb stems differ from those described above in that the nominal stem itself does not simply take the verbalizing prefix vowel to become a derived verb stem. Instead, a bound verbal suffix marking the verbal nature of the expression (i.e., a patient-oriented verbalizer) is combined with the nominal root, thus encouraging the analysis of a second type of derivation from nominal stems to describe this process. Examples of this verb stem derivation are as follows:

nominal stem	patient-oriented verbalizer	complex verb stem	
-önta- mouth	-tü-	-entatü-	'wash one's mouth'
-onwa- ?	-tü-	-onwatü-	'wash one's hands'
-önu- eye	-tü-	-enetü-	'dream'
-iña- plants	-tü-	-iñatütö-	'plant, sow'
-ö:ma- road, path	-tö	-ö:ma'tö-	'be ready (to go)'

Such derived stems also take additional thematic affixes as in the next to last example above. Further, initial stem vowels of /ö/ become -e- under the derivation process while other vowels such as /o/, /a/, /i/, remain unaltered by the process. This pattern may be related to the transitivity marking described below (B.3.1.1.2.3.) but also occurs in the possessed nominal forms of these same nominal roots.

B.3.1.1.2.2.2. Noun Incorporation

Nominal roots are incorporated into the verb stem by combination with simple verb roots forming complex verb stems. These complex stems are inflected with person prefixes and tense/aspect or modal suffixes. The following example of NI involves a nominal root and a simple verb stem. This example occurred in a procedural text about making baskets:

(25) a'mohadö-mma w-(w)ana-(a)kö:-a edu:wa
ten -contr 1-bamboo-cut-pres now

Now I'm going to cut ten (pieces of) bamboo.
(Lit: It is exactly ten bamboo-cutting
I am doing now.)

While noun incorporation occurs in De'kwana, it does not appear as a currently productive process. Possible relationships between NI and the derivational process described in the previous section should be investigated.

B.3.1.1.2.3. Transitivity Marking

Initial stem vowels, vowel length, and stem prefixes mark variation in the transitivity roles for verb stems. Some verb stems high in transitivity with initial stem vowel of -e- have a companion verb stem with initial vowel of -ö- and a lexical meaning that is lower in transitivity. In contrast, verb stems that are lower in transitivity (intransitive, reflexive in meaning) have the initial stem vowel of /e/ replaced by /i/ to derive a fully transitive verb stem. Examples of such verb stem pairs are:

e > ö

-ema-	'kill'
-öma-	'die'
-ene-	'see'
-öne-	'be seen'
-ewa'tö-	'hang a hammock'
-öwa'tö-	'hang one's own hammock'
-edantö-	'meet him/her'
-ödantö-	'be met'

e > i

-ewa'tö-	'help oneself'
-iwa'tö-	'help someone else'
-ewontö-	'dress, get dressed'
-iwontö-	'dress someone else'
-entatü-	'wash one's mouth'
-inchatü-	'wash someone else's mouth'
-eshi-	'tear, rip (one nominal argument)
-ishi-	'tear, rip (two nominal arguments)
-eshichako-	'break, be weak'
-ishicha-	'break something'
-eko-do-i-ma-	'get oneself dirty, become dirty'
-icho-do-i-ma-	'make dirty, soil'
-e'sha-	'cut, shed, peel off, flake'
-i'sha-	'cut, peel, pluck'
-ehomedö-	'deceive (intr)'
-ihomedö-	'deceive someone'

Other stem vowels also exhibit this change as in:

-annu'ku-	'climb'
-önu'k-	'rise'

For transitive verb stems with other initial stem vowels,

differences in vowel length convey information about the varying transitivity levels. Vowel length marks a reduction in transitivity such that only one nominal argument accompanies the verb giving an intransitive or mediopassive sense as in the following pairs:

-owa:noma-	'to teach'
-o:wanoma-	'to learn, to be taught'
-ahöi-	'to grab'
-a:hö:i-	'to grab oneself or be grabbed'
-ahö:ntö-	'to start something'
-a:hö:ntö-	'to begin'

The transitivity marker of a stem vowel /i/ also occurs with verb stems that do not pair with an intransitive form carrying the stem-initial vowel of -e-. Transitive complex verb stems that are marked with stem vowel /i/ include:

-sede'tö-	'dry'
-i-sedenamhü-	'dry something'
-ennu-	'be born'
-ennu-i-cha-	'give birth'
-da'tw-[22]	'burn up'
-ia'kw-	'burn something up'

These conventions for marking variations in transitivity factors are discussed in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.) as to their roles in the multilevel system marking transitivity in De'kwana verb morphology and their functions in discourse settings (see 4.3.).

B.3.1.2. Verb Stem Inflection

De'kwana verb stems are inflected for tense, aspect, number, mood and transitivity. With the exception of prefixes for person and transitivity, all inflection categories are marked by suffixes of a (V)(')CV(CV) form. Discussions of the first four inflection categories: person, tense, aspect, and number are followed by paradigm examples of the main stem classes in B.3.1.1. Subsequently, inflectional suffixes for negation, mood and transitivity are treated separately (B.3.1.2.6.-7.).

B.3.1.2.1. Person Marking

Person prefixes were listed above (see B.1.2.2.) for intransitive and transitive verb forms. All person prefixes are shown below with a paradigm of present (non-past) tense forms. As can be seen, patient prefixes accompany both some transitive forms and Category 1 intransitive forms, while agent prefixes occur with other transitive forms and with Category 2 intransitive forms. This pattern with its associated features of transitivity, agentivity and person hierarchy are discussed in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.1.2.). Plural forms are marked by the suffix -to and are discussed below (see B.3.1.2.4.).

Intransitive Category 1		Category 2
(singular)		
1	y-a:wo-a	w-amo-a
	1-swell-pres	1-cry-pres
	I swell	I cry, I am crying

2	ad-a:wo-a	m-amo-a
	2-swell-pres	2-cry-pres
	you swell	you cry, you are crying
3	n-a:wo-a	n-amo-a
	3-swell-pres	3-cry-pres
	he swells	he cries, he is crying
(dual)		
1+2	k-a:wo-a	k-amo-a
	1+2-swell-pres	1+2-cry-pres
	we (incl) swell	we (incl) cry
1+3	nña: n-a:wo-a	nña: n-amo-a
	1+3 1+3-swell-pres	1+3 1+3-cry-pres
	we (excl) swell	we (excl) cry

Transitive (Category 3)

person	agent-prefixes	patient-prefixes
(singular)		
1/3	w-edant(ö)-a	
	1/3-meet-pres	
	I meet him/her	
3/1		y- edant(ö)-a
		3/1-meet-pres
		he meets me
2/1		kö-(e)dant(ö)-a
		2/1-meet-pres
		you meet me
2/3	m-edant(ö)-a	
	2/3-meet-pres	
	you meet him/her	
3/2		öd-edant(ö)-a
		3/2-meet-pres

		he meets you
1/2		mön-edant(ö)-a 1/2-meet-pres
		I meet you
1+3/2		nña: mön-edant(ö)-a 1+3 1+3/2-meet-pres
		we (excl) meet you
3/3	n-edant(ö)-a 3/3-meet-pres	Ø-edant(ö)-a 3/3-meet-pres
	he meets her	he meets her (patient focus)[22]
(dual) 1+2/3	k-edant(ö)-a 1+2/3-meet-pres	
	we (incl) meet him/her	
3/1+2		k-edant(ö)-a 3/1+2-meet-pres
		he meets us (incl)
1+3/3	nña: n-edant(ö)-a 1+3 1+3/3-meet-pres	
	we(excl)meet him/her	
3/1+3		nña: Ø-edant(ö)-a 1+3 3/1+3-meet-pres
		he meets us (excl)
2/1+3		nña: m-edant(ö)-a 1+3 2-meet-pres
		you meet us (excl)

The independent pronoun nña: (first person exclusive) is mandatory in preverbal position in contrast to other pronoun categories wherein the

pronoun is optional and may also occur in post verbal position. Nña: must directly precede the verb form (or the auxiliary verb if there is one) whether it serves as the subject or as the 0 NP. Nña: may appear twice preverbally with one occurrence immediately preceding the verb. This close adherence of the pronoun nña: to the verb is particulary striking in examples with negation as in the following examples:

(26)a. anaihuku-'da na mö'dö
hits -neg aux he

b. mö'dö anaihuku-'da na

c. anaihuku-'da mö'dö (na)

He doesn't hit him.

(27)a. anaihuku-'da nña: na
hit -neg we aux

b. nña: anaihuku-'da nña: na

We (excl) don't hit him.

c. *nña: anaihuku-'da na

Such obligatory occurrence for the first person exclusive pronoun with verb forms has been noted for other Carib languages (Derbyshire 1979:146-7; Hoff 1968:).

B.3.1.2.2. Tense/aspect

Tense/aspect markers follow the verb stem and designate the temporal distinctions of non-past, recent past, distant past, and future. Aspect surfaces as the distinction of completive vs. incompletive for the recent and distant past tenses. The following list

marks both transitive and intransitive verb forms:

present (non-past)		-a
recent past	completive	-i
	incompletive	-anö
distant past	completive	-ne
	incompletive	-akene
future	immediative	-ta
	probabilitive	-tai

Paradigms of intransitive (y- and Ø- prefix sets) and transitive verb forms with the seven tense/aspect markers follow. The first person singular forms are used to illustrate the various tense/aspect categories to illustrate intransitive verbs. Third person subject with first person object forms illustrate the transitive paradigm. Discussion of the semantico-syntactical relationships among these markers and aspects of transitivity appears in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.3. and 4.3.).

Intransitive Category 1 (stem begins with C)

Non-past

Ø-kö'tün'-a
1-shout-pres

I shout.

Recent Past

Completive	Incompletive
Ø-kö'tüm(ü)-i[23]	Ø-kö'tün-anö
1-shout-RPC	1-shout-RPI
I shouted.	I was shouting.

Distant Past

Ø-kö'tün-ne	Ø-kö'tün'-akene
1-shout-DPC	1-shout-DPI
I shouted.	I was shouting.

Future

Immediative	Probabilitative
Ø-kö'tün-ta	Ø-kö'tün-tai
1-shout-fut imm	1-shout-fut prob
I will shout.	I will (likely) shout.

Intransitive Category 1 (stem begins with V)

Non-past

y-omon-'a
1-cry-pres

I cry/I am crying.

Recent Past

Completive	Incompletive
y-omom(ü)-i[23]	y-omon-'anö
1-cry-RPC	1-cry-pst RPI
I cried.	I was crying.

Distant Past

y-omon-ne	y-omon-'akene
1-cry-DPC	1-cry-DPI
I cried (long ago).	I was crying (long ago)

Future

Immediative	Probabilitative
y-omon-ta	y-omon-tai
1-cry-fut imm	1-cry-fut prob
I will cry.	I will (likely) cry.

Intransitive Category 2

Non-past

w-ö'dü-a
1-arrive-pres

I arrive.

Recent Past

Completive	Incompletive
w-ö'dü-i	w-ö'dü-anö
1-arrive-RPC	1-arrive-RPI
I arrived.	I was arriving.

Distant Past

w-ö'dü-ne	w-ö'dü-akene
1-arrive-DPC	1-arrive-DPI
I arrived (long ago).	I was arriving (long ago).

Future

Immediative	Probabilitative
w-ö'dü-ta	w-ö'dü-tai
1-arrive-fut imm	1-arrive-fut prob
I will arrive.	I will (likely) arrive.

Transitive (Category 3)

Non-past

y-edant(ö)-a
3/1-meet-pres

He meets me.

Recent Past

Completive	Incompletive
y-edantö-i	y-edant(ö)-anö
3/1-meet-RPC	3/1-meet-RPC
He met me.	He was meeting me.

Distant Past

y-edantö-ne	y-edant(ö)-akene
3/1-meet-DPC	3/1-meet-DPI
He met me (long ago).	He was meeting me (long ago).

Future

Immediative	Probabilitative
y-edantö-tɐ	y-edantö-tai
3/1-meet-fut imm	3/1-meet-fut prob
He will meet me.	He will (likely) meet me.

B.3.1.2.3. Number - Plural

Verb forms are marked for plural number in first person inclusive, and second and third persons, but not first person exclusive. The plural marker -to (allomorph -cho)[24] follows the tense/aspect marker except for the distant past completive forms for the first (incl.) and second person plural where it precedes the tense/aspect marker (see 4.2.2.1. for discussion of person hierarchy in verbal markers).

Examples with the plural marker -to follow for present (non-past) tense forms, and recent past and distant past, completive and incompletive. Distant past incompletive forms are included while the irregularities of distant past completive forms are discussed in Chapter 4 (4.2.1.2.). Also, plural suffixes occur to mark both subjects and

objects. (See Chapter 3 for discussion of discourse conditions affecting the choice of this marker.)

Non-past

y-edant(ö)- a - to
3/1-meet-pres-pl

They meet me.

Recent Past

Completive	Incompletive
y-edantö- i - cho	y-edant(ö)-an(ö) - to
3/1-meet-RPC -pl	3/1-meet-RPI -pl
They met me.	They were meeting me.

Distant Past

y-edantö- ne - to	y-edant(ö)-aken(e)-to
3/1-meet-DPC -pl	3/1-meet-DPI -pl
They met me (long ago).	They were meeting me (long ago).

On complex verb forms, either nominalized forms or forms with modal affixes in position one, the plural of the direct object (patient) is marked with the suffix -ñe on the verb stem while the normal plural marker -to occurs on the accompanying auxiliary form for the subject:

(28) a. y - aihuku - a - to
3/1 -hit -pres - plural

They hit me.

b. y - aihuku-da n - a - a - to
1 - meet-neg 3 - be - asp-pl

They don't hit me.

(29) a. kanno k - aihuku - a - to
they 3/1+2- hit - pres-plural

They hit us.

b. kanno k - aihu(ku)-tö-(n)ñe-da n-a-a-to
they 1 - hit -pl-pl--neg 3-be-asp-pl

They don't hit us.

B.3.1.2.4. Complex Verb Forms

Complex verb forms are made up of a main verb and one or more auxiliaries. Auxiliaries are forms of the verb 'to be' or 'to go'. The main verb form is normally an inflected stem with the suffix -e as in 30a and 30c (unless the stem itself ends in /a/). In some instances a nominalized version or a topicalized infinitive form with -dü occurs as the main verb form (see 30d). Examples of these from texts appear below:

(30)a. yö:he tü-w-ö'dü-e kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö
thus 3-?-say 3- be -DPI verif

ñö:dö mado
that tiger

Thus said that tiger.

b. mado tü-w-enta'na-Ø kün-öhö:-kö ma:nu:mö tö:tu
tiger 3-?-eat people 3/3- be -DPI named

A tiger named Ma:nu:mö ate people.

c. wana akö'-e wü'ta edu:wa
bamboo cut I-go today

Today I'm going to cut bamboo.

d. akö'tö-dü -he wa edu:wa
cut-nom-top I-am now

Now I am cutting it.

e. yö:he ye- i - hökö tü-w-ö:ma-Ø tüweiye
thus be-irrel-with 3-?-die be-aux

kün-öhö:'-to ya:wö tünwanno
3-be-pl/DPI verif they

For this they died.

B.3.1.2.5. Modal Suffixes

Under an operational definition, "mode" describes the morphemes that indicate the manner in which an action is performed or exists (-hö iterative; -hai abilitative; -'da negative; -'de futuritive) and/or it expresses the attitude of the speaker toward the discourse such as wish or command (-se desiderative; -kö imperative; -ñoho permissive). These modal morphemes appear in two different positions within the basic verb form in De'kwana, one preceding the tense/aspect markers, and the other, following. Some of them are suffixed to the verb stem accompanied by an auxiliary verb.

B.3.1.2.5.1. Modal Position One

The first position for modal markers has three subdivisons. The iterative marker occurs closest to the verb stem, followed by the slot for either the desiderative or abilitative marker, and the final modal morpheme which may occur is the marker for negation.

Modal Position One:

Verb Stem	- Iter	- Abil/ Desid	- Neg	(Aux)

The following set of examples illustrates these subdivisions. Notice that with the desiderative, abilitative and negative forms the auxiliary

carries person and tense/aspect markers.[25] In 31a, we see the desiderative marker -se alone and then with the iterative marker -hö-. The second set of examples (31b) employs the abilitative marker -hai in one and adds the iterative marker -hö- for the second example. The final set of three examples (32a, b, c) displays the negation marker 'da first, followed by examples of it with the desiderative and abilitative markers, respectively.

(31)a. (i) w-eha'ka-se w-(ö)-a
pers-stem-desid pers-aux-tns/asp
1-leave-want 1-be -pres

I want to leave.

(ii) w-eha'ka-hö-tü-se w-öhö-önö
pers-stem-iter- ?-desid pers-aux-tns/asp
1-leave-iter-?-want 1-be-RPI

I wanted to leave several times.

b. (i) eha'ka-hai w-(ö)-a (ü)wü
stem-abil pers-aux-tns I
leave-can 1-be-pres I

I can leave.

(ii) eha'ka-hö-hai w-(ö)-a (ü)wü
stem -iter-abil pers-aux-tns I
leave- iter- can 1-be-pres I

I can leave several times.

(32)a. eha'ka-da w-(ö)-a üwü
stem-neg pers-aux-asp pers pro
leave-neg 1-be-pres I

I don't leave./I'm not leaving.

b. w-eha'ka-hö-se-'da w-(ö)-a
pers-stem-iter-desid-neg pers-aux-tns/asp
1-leave-iter-want-neg 1-be-pres

I don't want to leave several times.

c. eha'ka-hö-hai-cha w-(ö)-a
stem-iter-abil-neg pers-aux-tns/asp
leave-iter-can-neg 1-be-pres

I can't leave several times.

In complex verb structures with the negation marker (32a, b, c), person prefixes occur on both the main verb and its accompanying auxiliary verb. The prefix position on the main verb serves to mark the patient role with patient prefixes. The auxiliary forms are marked by agent prefixes that occur with Category 2 intransitive or as transitive agent person prefixes when third person is the patient. The following set of examples shows the correspondence between the person marking on the auxiliary verb for subject of transitive and subject of Category 2 intransitive with differing patient markers for direct object of a transitive verb separately occurring as prefixes on the main verb form.

Non-Past Tense/Aspect with Negation

an - ayhuku - 'da wa üwü 'I don't hit him.'
3s stem neg aux I

ad - ayhuku - 'da wa üwü 'I don't hit you.'
2s stem neg aux I

y - ayhuku - 'da ma ömödö 'You don't hit me.'
1s stem neg aux you

an - ayhuku - 'da ma ömödö 'You don't hit him.'
3s stem neg aux you

y - ayhuku - 'da mö'dö na 'He doesn't hit me.'
1s stem neg he aux

ad - ayhuku - 'da mö'dö na 'He doesn't hit you.'
2s stem neg he aux

an - ayhuku - 'da mö'dö na 'He doesn't hit him.'
3s stem neg he aux

See Chapter 4 (4.2.1.2. and 4.2.1.3.) for further discussion of these patterns.

B.3.1.2.5.2. Modal Position Two

The imperative (-kö), futuritive (-'de) and permissive (-ñoho) morphemes occupy the final position in verb forms. Examples of each one follow:

(33)a. ene'kö 'Look!'

b. odowadödö e:'chö 'Look out/Take care!'

(34) ö'wasa'kö ano:to m-ü'tö-anö-'de ömö:dö?
how many days 2-go-RPI -fut you

How many days will you be traveling?

(35)a. w-ü'tö-(n)ñoho
pers-stem-permis
1-go -permis

With your permission, I am going.

b. y-öhicha' - ñoho
1-bathe -permis

With your permission, I am going to bathe.'

(36) takwanñato-(m)ma-ne adew-fa-'kö-'de
happy one-emph-contr stem-caus-imper-futur
happy one-emph-contr speak-caus-imper-futur

Call only the happy one.

B.3.1.2.6. Transitivity Markers

Transitivity affixes including the prefix -t- and the suffix -ho- were discussed above (see B.3.1.1.2.3.). The productive process involving the use of these two transitivity affixes is extended to forms

that may be translated in reflexive, reciprocal, causative or passive senses. The -t- prefix marks forms that convey reflexive or reciprocal meanings (depending on the number of nominal arguments and/or verb semantics) and, along with the suffix -ho-, marks 'passive' forms. The reflexive, reciprocal and passive constructions, all having the transitivity prefix -t-, carry the sense that the associated nominal argument is the recipient of the action expressed by the verb. In some constructions, the stem vowel -ö- marks the lowered transitivity of the verb and the patient status of the clausal subject. The suffix -ho- marks both passive and causative constructions indicating the relationship of the patient to an oblique agent of the action (See 4.2.1.1. for discussion of the roles of the morpheme -ho- as a marker of transitivity levels in verb morphology and further discussion of these constructions.) Examples of the reflexive, reciprocal, passive and causative verb forms follow, and discussion of their significances in De'kwana discourse is found in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.2.).

(37) wodiñamo wan wö mudekökö n-eda'cha-ho-a-to
women Juan child pers-stem-caus-tns/-num asp
3/3-watch-ask-pres-pl

The women ask Juan to watch the child.

(38) wodiñamo n-(a)t-aihu-ho -hö - a -to
women 3-pssv-stem-caus-iter-tns-num

danwa wö
man by

The women are being hit by the man.

(39)a. mödö:he kü-ot-onehö-hö'-a'-to tühö:dudu-komo
thus 3/3-recip-compare-iter-asp-pl strength-pl

Thus, they compared their strength between them.

b. heku:de a'ka t - üwönema-a ke hu:ha-dü
mirror in refl-see-asp repor my-hair

t - a'kö-'e maha ya:wö ke
refl-cut-pred aux verif repor

I saw myself in a mirror and I cut my hair.

B.3.2. Subordinate Verb Forms

Subordinate verb forms include nominalized verbs with the suffixes -dü and w...nö, subjunctive forms with -i-e (-ye), participial constructions and complex verb forms with an auxiliary. The following four sections illustrate these subordinate verb form types.

B.3.2.1. Non-Finite Constructions

The following two examples are from a story about a she-devil who takes the place of a woman's sister-in-law when they go on an outing to dig worms:

(40)a. motto tü'ka:-dü kün-anönt-a'-to ya:wö
worms dig-to they-began-it-pl verif

They began to dig worms.

b. odo'sha kün-ahöntö - i ya:wö hya:nadü
she-devil 3/3-begin-past verif its-ear
tns

tönö:-dü
eat-to

The she-devil began to eat its (the baby's) ear.

B.3.2.2. Subjunctive Forms

Subjunctive verb forms are marked by suffixing the irrealis marker

-i- with -e, the predication marker (together written -ye). The following examples are from a text about the she-devil Hia:wa and another about Komashi, a legendary hero.

(41)a. mö'dö w-eima(i)-ye ya:wö ke
her 1/3-kill-sbjn verif repor

ö:nehe-'kö-'de ke
(you) escape-imper fut repor

"While I kill her, you run away."

b. e:ka-dü-he y-eha'ka(i)-ye katöimma
eat-inf-top 3-go out-sbjn he-thought

"In order to eat him, I'll go out," he thought.
he thought.

B.3.2.3. Participial Constructions

Participial constructions in De'kwana discourse function to background certain material by placing it into subordinated participial constructions. Morphosyntactic markers of -to, -ho, -hö, and -toho accompany these participial constructions. Further discussion of discourse highlighting appears above in Chapter 3 (see 3.4.). Examples follow from texts:

(42)a. inña ya:wö yö:he t-üdü-dü -ho küntö:mö
there verif thus 3-do-nom-ptpl she-went

ya:wö tüwü
verif she

There she went after doing it.

b. yö:he e'kammaho-dü -ho -mma kün-aihü'kü-i ya:wö
thus ask -nom-ptpl-spec 3/3-hit- RPC verif

After asking, he hit him.

c. koihaitü:'tö tüweiye künöhö:kö mado
at night be aux-be tiger

eta:dawa'ko-ho
work -ptpl

At night the tiger was out working.

B.4. Clause Types

The following sections outline major clause and sentence types in De'kwana. Clauses comprising simple sentences are illustrated as declarative, interrogative, negative and imperative clauses. Combinations of main and subordinate clauses are seen under coordinate clauses, either juxtaposed or linked by a postposition, and under subordinate clauses--relative, complement or adverbial clauses.

B.4.1. Declarative Clauses

The most frequent De'kwana clause type has an inflected verb form (with one or two nominal arguments marked by person prefixes) with adverbials, postpositional phrases, and/or associated subordinate structures. Next most frequent would be clauses also containing one independent pronoun or noun. Much less frequent in occurrence are two-argument clauses with two independent nominals. This pattern is similar to that described as the Preferred Argument Structure for Sapultepec (Du Bois 1985:348), and is also mentioned for other Carib languages (Derbyshire 1986:242; Hoff 1978:15) as well as for Yagua (D. Payne 1985:21). Further discussion of this clausal patterning is found in Chapter 4. Word order for clauses with independent nominals is influenced by both grammatical and pragmatic factors as discussed in

Chapter 2. The following examples are from a story about a deer and a box turtle.

(43)a.yö:hemma ya:wö waya:mu tihimmö
thus verif box turtle his-family

kün-a'dewfa-'a-to ya:wö
3/3-call-DPI-pl verif

Thus, the box turtle called his family together.

b. kawa:di kün-a'su'ta-i ya:wö
deer 3 - tire-DPI verif

The deer got tired.

B.4.2. Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative clauses may be marked by an introductory interrogative pronoun, by an interrogative particle, ka, or by rising intonation. In some cases the interrogative particle occurs in clauses introduced by an interrogative pronoun. The interrogative pronouns are listed above (see B.1.1.3.). Use of these interrogative forms is illustrated in the following examples:

(44)a. akene adawa:nai ho:nü'kö
how you-rest nephew

How did you rest, nephew?

b. öichö-ne i:yö nai tukuiha:no
where-contr this it-is tukuiha:no (vulnerable spot)

Where is this thing, the tukuiha:no?

c. tishiye manö ömö:dö edu:wa
enjoy are-you you now

Are you enjoying yourself now? (rising intonation)

d. tishiye ka manö ömö:dö edu:wa
enjoy interr are-you you now

Are you enjoying yourself now?

e. öisha ka shi: ñai
where interr sun it-is

What time is it?

B.4.3. Negative Clauses

Three negation markers occur in De'kwana clauses: -'da, a:'ke, and -hünü. The first marker, -'da (45a), occurs with verb forms, with predicate adjective forms, with postpositions, and with topicalized nominals. The second marker, -hünü (45d), is postposed to nominal expressions and occurs in equative clauses as the negation marker. Another marker, a:'ke (45b and c), occurs as an independent lexical item marking a following clause, phrase or other syntactic unit.

(45)a. mö'dö-ke-'da ne küwa:naichö'kö ke
this with neg contr paint-me imper repor

Don't paint me with this.

b. a:'ke ematoho ñö:dö tunuhiye tüwieye
neg killing he look-for aux

künöhö:kö ya:wö tüwü Hia:wa
aux verif her

He was looking for a way (i.e., there wasn't one) for killing her, Hia:wa.

c. a:'ke unwa tünanontöhö'e tüweiye künöhö:kö
neg there order/send for aux aux

tuna eiye ya:wö
water look-for verif

He sent (unsuccessfully) her to look for water.

d. hüinñamo-hünü-ne mö'dö
wife - neg-contr this one

This one isn't my wife.

B.4.4. Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses usually contain the imperative verb forms with the suffix -kö. However, on occasion the subjunctive or recent past verb forms are used and interpreted in imperative senses.

(46)a. mödö adötö -kö '-de ke
this (you)carry-imper-fut repor

"You carry this."

b. Maaaaa eduwa aichü-'kö ke
now stick-imper repor

"Now you stick it in."

c. ünnedü a'höi-'chö ke
my-child carry-imper repor

"Carry my child."

d. m-annühü-i ñö:dö hawi
2/3-collect-RPC this bird

"Go collect this bird."

B.4.5. Compound and Complex Sentences

Compound and complex sentences in De'kwana are constructed of coordinate or a main and subordinate clause. Coordinate clauses are either simply juxtaposed, or are connected by postpositions. Subordinate clauses may be joined by adverbial postpositions or contain infinitives, subjunctive forms, nominalized verbals or participials.

B.4.5.1. Coordinate Clauses

Coordinate clauses are joined either through juxtaposition of the two clauses, or by the occurrence of a postposition following the second clause. When the two clauses are joined by juxtaposition, one noun phrase may contain a nominal argument appearing in both clauses and act as an NP pivot in the sentence.

B.4.5.1.1. Clauses with Postpositions

The postpositions maha and daha link coordinate clauses, as well as other syntactic units of words and phrases (see B.2.2.1.). The first example below shows two subordinate clauses linked by the postposition maha, translated as "and". The postposition daha in the second example marks contrastive linkage.

(47a) wishu na wesato:ho:he weetadawakohonawö
paint it-is for painting when working

wönwanawö maha
when-dancing and

One paints oneself when one works and when one dances.

(47b) kün-aichü-hö- a' - to ya:wö; a:'ke;
3/3-put it-iter-DPI-pl verif; nothing;

i:yö mönsedöno a'ka daha; a:'ke mmaha;
then other side in and nothing and
(contr)

They put it in (the cave); there was nothing; and (contr) then into the other side; and there was nothing.

Examples of postpositions as clause connectives are found in B.2.2.1.

B.4.5.1.2. Juxtaposition and NP Pivot

Both juxtaposition and NP pivot constructions link coordinate clauses in De'kwana. The following example from a procedural text about making manioc squeezers shows the coordination of clauses by juxtaposition.

(48) akö'tö-dü -he wa edu:wa edu:wa yenna'ka dea
cut-nom-top i-am now now I-return ident

Now I am cutting and now I return.

The two clauses are juxtaposed syntactically, but there is semantic linkage in the repetition of the adverbial edu:wa. The adjacent positions of the adverbials implies a syntactic linkage.

NP pivot constructions occur when one independent nominal occurs at the end of one clause and the beginning of the next where it could equally well be interpreted as occurring in the second clause by virtue of its role as a nominal argument in that clause as well. In the following example, the subject of the subordinate clause (Madiya) has been moved after the adverbial postposition (dawö) that would normally mark the clause boundary in order to be in a position preceding the NP 'skirt' (wo:mü). This word order corresponds to the genitive (GN) construction and indicates the ownership of the skirt by Maria even though the actual surface meaning of the translation of the elicited sentence did not specify the overt genitive construction.

(49) kata:da küna'na da:wö Madiya wo:mü küinña'tui
comida she-cooks when Maria skirt she-burned-it

When Maria was cooking, she burned her skirt.

The coreferential NP serves as a syntactic pivot and word order in one clause may be an alternate to the BWO of SOV in order to position the NP so it occurs in both clauses. There is no other morphosyntactic marking of this linkage in such examples. In the sentence below we see the lexical item for "bird" serving as the overlapping or pivotal conjunctive linkage between clauses:

(50) yö:hemma ya:wö kümhöi ya:wö hawi
thus verif he-killed-it verif bird

künedu'kai ya:wö
it-fell-down

Thus, he (the husband) killed the bird and it fell down.

There is generally an assumption that the subject of the first verb will be the subject of verbs that have the same person/number agreement in subsequent clauses unless otherwise indicated (see subordinate constructions below). Thus, in the example above, the person who did the killing would normally be interpreted as the one who also fell, except for the NP pivot. The dual role of O of the first verb and subject of the second verb is marked by its position in the sentence, post-verbal in the first clause and preverbal in the second. The dual role also serves to link the two clauses together and to make explicit the conjunctive nature of the relationship.[26]

Another example of pivotal NP linkage occurs in the following example:

(51) ahöntödü-he wa edu:wa tünkuichü
beginning-it-top I-am now my-manioc squeezer

eho:düho:dü-he wa edu:wa
stitching-it-top I-am now

I am beginning (to weave) my manioc squeezer and
I am stitching it now.

In this example, the pivotal NP, "manioc-squeezer", functions as the O in both clauses, but is positioned after the verb in the first clause but before the verb in the second. A semantic adverbial linkage similar to that in example 48 above may function also in example 51. However, in this latter example the syntactic pivot function is accomplished through the position of 'manioc-squeezer' as discussed rather than the adjacent positioning of the adverbial expressions edu:wa - edu:wa in example 48.

An example of an NP pivot construction that seemingly does not disrupt BWO conventions occurs in the sentence below. Both clauses share the O, "fruit", that appears within the subordinate clause. If the entire subordinate clause is taken as the O of the main clause, then BWO of SOV can be seen to hold for both main and subordinate clauses.

(52) tono:do müdekökö chöhüdüdü nihö'tüdü
bird boy fruit he-picks-it

name'a
he-eats-it

The bird is eating the fruit that the boy
is picking.

This nested embedding with the NP "pivot" construction illustrates subordination relying upon the linkage of the dual role of an NP. In

this case the BWO of SOV is preserved in contrast to the previous two examples where variant orders occurred to accommodate the pivotal NP.

B.4.5.2. Subordinate Clauses

De'kwana subordination constructions function to project salient information in discourse. The information appearing in subordinate clause constructions generally is backgrounded in relation to information in the main clause. Such subordinated information can occur in adverbial clauses, nominalized clauses (complement or relativized clauses), or participial constructions. The subordinate construction may serve to give additional information about the main clause as a whole (e.g., adverbial clause; some non-restrictive relative clauses), or about particular members of the main clause (relative clauses, infinitival or participial constructions). In every case, these constructions reflect the speakers' choice(s) to background (subordinate) some information while highlighting other information in the discourse.

B.4.5.2.1. Relative Clauses

Clauses that translate as relative clauses in English take several structures in De'kwana depending upon the case role of the nominal argument serving as the head of the clause (see 2.3.3.2. and 3.3.5. for further discussion). The verb forms are nominalized with the suffix -dü and may be marked with person prefixes and temporal suffixes. Word order conventions often determine the way the nominal arguments are

interpreted in the relative clause and/or the main clause (see 2.2.2.). The following examples illustrate first, the subject of the main clause as the head for the subordinate clause where it is also the subject; secondly, the main clause subject is the subordinate clause direct object due to the variation in the word order patterns. In the first example, the second nominal, 'Juan', is next to the subordinate verb in the undisputed position for the direct object; in the second example, that same nominal is separated from the subordinate verb by an adverbial, indicating that the nominal is now the subject in the subordinate clause

(53)a. mudekökö mayu:du na'totöi'chü e:hü-'da neiya
girl beads string go-neg aux

fieta a'ka
party to

The girl who was stringing beads didn't go to the party.

b. Ñö:dö wo:di Wan konñadö künenea'dü
that woman Juan yesterday that-saw

tüwö:mü künkodokakö Pe:du wö:'dü dawö
her-clothes was washing Pedro arrive when

That woman that Juan saw yesterday was washing her clothes when Pedro arrived.

B.4.5.2.2. Complement Clauses

De'kwana clauses ending in nominalized verb forms include infinitival constructions as well as other subordinate complement structures. Such structures either function as a nominal argument themselves in the sentence, or are morphosyntactically related to one of

the nominal arguments in the main clause. The various nominalized subordinate clause structures are used by speakers to put certain information in a background or subordinate position in relation to other information, sometimes to add new information about a main clause argument (cf. specifying function of relative clauses discussed in Chapter 3). In other instances, the subordinate clause information by being in a less prominent or backgrounded position serves to highlight the information in the main clause in a more general fashion as seen in examples discussed below. Examples with participial, subjunctive and infinitival forms appear above in sections B.3.2.3., B.3.2.2. and B.3.2.1., respectively, while adverbial clauses are discussed in the next section below (see B.4.55.2.3.

B.4.5.2.3. Adverbial Clauses

De'kwana adverbial clauses are marked by a postposition occurring clause-finally. Adverbial clauses describe action occurring in a time sequence (before, after, while) in relation to the action of the main clause. The subordinate clause verb is inflected for tense/aspect and for person. The adverbial clause precedes its main clause in the typologically expected word order pattern of modifier-modified. The following example is from a text wherein a man is describing how he makes a basket.

(54)a. wö'ka hökö, wehu'ta ya:wö
I-finish-it when I-put-it-on verif

When/after I finish it, I put it on

b. shei'chadü wö'ka hökö wa:ho:nta ya:wö
to-tie-it I-finish-it when I-begin-it verif

tü'kahüdü
to-weave-it

After/when I finish tying it, I begin to weave it.

c. mödö:he wo'mo tünnö'e nñaa wene:ne
thus necklace make we (excl) aux

öwa:nü tüdü:-dawö
heart make -when

Thus we make necklaces when one makes
the heart (-shape).

These adverbial clauses serve two functions in the procedural text in which they occur. The adverbial clauses provide cohesion in the discourse by linking one activity to the next in the procedure of making the basket. In addition, each subordinate clause provides a background against which the successive, new activity is highlighted or foregrounded in the discourse.

B.5. Discourse Particles

In De'kwana a number of particles accompany various lexical items to mark contrast (ma, ne), equivalence or identity (dea), topicalization (he, ha), verification (ya:wö) and direct discourse (ke). These particles follow the lexical items or phrases so marked and are affected by relevant morphophonemic processes such as the environment of /i/ (see Appendix A for a description of such processes operating on De'kwana phonemes). For example, the reportative particle ke becomes che following a word ending in /i/. These particles also enter into various

discourse functions such as noun modification or nominal specification and are discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 3, 3.4.).

The two particles ya:wö (verif) and ke (repor) have the most general applications and follow phrases or clauses performing the discourse functions of marking verification by the speaker of events not witnessed by the hearer(s), and marking citations or direct discourse by characters in narratives, respectively. The following example containing both particles occurs in a story about a box turtle and an opossom:

(55) kün-ödü-a -'kö ya:wö edu:wa-ne seweiche nai
3- say-prog-DPI verif now-contr ripe it-is

a-na:me-dü ke
2-food-nom repor

Truely he said, "Now, in contrast, your food is ripe."

The contrastive particle ne also appears in the above example. It carries the sense of contrast to something elso in the discourse. In this case, the contrast is in relationship to the unripe condition of the opossom's food up until this point in the story.

The other contrastive particle ma narrows the focus of concern to a specific item, contrasting it with all other possible items that are like it (or a particular group of items as opposed to other like groups). The following example includes the particle ma as well as the particle dea, this latter particle marking identity or equivalence.

(56) yö:he-(m)ma ya:wö kün-a'dew-a dea ya:wö
thus-spec verif 3-say-prog ident verif

önö:kö waya:mu öisha'ö m-ö'dü-i ke
this-one box turtle where 2-arrive-RPC repor

Thus he again said it, this one the box turtle,
"where are you at?"

The particles he and ha serve to topicalize the syntactic unit they mark and, thus, to call attention to it, making it more prominent than surrounding text material. The particle he occurs fairly frequently in texts, elicited discourse and in conversation. The particle ha, however, appears less frequently and one of the most obvious examples occurred when the daughter of a De'kwana consultant heard the noise of the approaching Cocoa Cola truck rumbling into the barrio and excitedly said: Coca cola-ha, 'It's coca cola." The following examples from texts incorporate the particle he marking independent nominals in the first two examples and marking a postpositional phrase in the third.

(57)a. mado kün-öhö:-kö hena:dö ssoto tönö ssoto-he
tiger 3- was-DPI long ago human eat human-top

A tiger was human long ago and it was people he ate.

b. to:ni wedu ñö:dö kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö
one year he 3-was-DPI verif

mehe ñö:dö ewainshiñü-he ya:wö
meje he his-food-top verif
tree

önö:kö waya:mu
this-one box turtle

One year he was (there) and the meje tree, it
was his food, this box turtle.

c. mönsedöno a'ka-he kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö
other-side in-top 3-was-DPI verif

tüwü ya:wö
he(was) verif

It was in the other side he was, he it was.

A further and more in-depth examination of the functions of these particles must await future work.

Notes

[1]Chafe (1977:497-8) has described merging of pronominal categories such as plural, exclusive-inclusive, etc., for certain Iroquoian verb prefixes, thus having fewer forms than actual categories. A similar situation exists in De'kwana wherein the number distinction of plural is not separately marked for the 1+3, while it is marked for the 1+2, for example.

[2]The mönö vs. mö'dö forms seem to reflect dialect variation as discussed under phonology (see Appendix A); the dialect alternant möðö is used by persons from upriver or head-water towns, and is considered the more traditional usage. While möñö is described by consultants as the dialect alternant for the Alto Ventuari drainage area, it seems to be more wide-spread among people in the Cunucunuma region along with the expected mö'dö form.

[3]The vowels in these prefixes vary under vowel harmony (see Appendix A).

[4]The symbols 'd' and 'nd' represent the terms 'deictic' and 'non-deictic', respectively.

[5]These prefixes are involved in various morphophonemic processes that are discussed under Phonology in the previous appendix (see pages) under the /d/, /k/, /ö/ phonemes and under the morphophonemic summary.

[6]Vowel harmony occurs with a following vowel (e.g., /a/) after a single consonant: ada:'twa 'you burn yourself'; but not with CC: önnadü:a 'you wreck it'.

[7]Vowel harmony with the following vowel as in: adawa:na 'you get up'; odomon'a 'you enter'.

[8]See footnote number one above.

[9] The alternate forms seen under the first column as patient

prefixes are applied to vowel-initial and consonant-initial stems, respectively.

[10]These two morphosyntactic classes may reflect a more specialized set of derivational processes. The suffix -dü derives from -irü that is common in other Carib languages (see Hoff 1968:215; and see my Appendix A, under the /r/ phoneme). However, in De'kwana the suffix -dü also occurs with transitive verb stems with the functional role of nominalization. Semantically these verbs denote centrifugal action and the use of the suffix -dü for one major nominal class may have a function related to this semantic domain. Likewise, the nominal suffix -i appears in the verb system as an irrealis marker. It is possible that its occurrence with the other major nominal class has a related function. The suffix -i may put items into this morphosyntactic class in order to be discussed or referred to; i.e., used in discourse rather than directly named. These nouns are referring to concrete items experienced as separate entities in the surrounding environment. The suffix -i may represent an abstraction process such that the item may be discussed in a linguistic framework, whether or not it is present in the immediate environment. Both of these possibilities deserve attention at another time. Most kinship terms and some body part terms do not take a possessive suffix, although these same ones do appear with the possessive prefixes (e.g., denü 'his mother', hinamo 'wife', ee'tü 'name', he'tü 'leg', ho'tü 'intestine', he'dü 'face', hi'hö 'skin', hu:'hö 'head', nkawö 'shoulder', de'dü 'teeth', we'tü 'feces', ewanü 'heart', eda:hö 'his chief', nudu 'tongue', ha:'se 'my female cousin').

[11]This nominal stem was cited with both morphosyntactic class markers. No difference in meaning was determined.

[12]The suffixes in this group of nominals may be related to the thematic affixes in the verb system (see B.3.1.1.2.1.). In some cases the relationships to other morphosyntactic classes can be traced such as the parallels in nominal and verbal forms for öwa'tö 'hammock' beside yewü'tü, 'my hammock' and the verbs ewa'tödü, 'to hang a hammock', iwa'tödü, 'to help someone', wewa'tönö, 'to help oneself' and wöwa'tönö, 'to hang one's own hammock' (see B.3.1.1. for discussion of verb stem derivation). Also less opaque are the forms with suffixes marking subordination and nominalization: -no, -toho, -hö. While it is possible that the suffix -nü also represents a marker of nominalization (as in the negative nominalizer -hünü) such an analysis is not yet confirmed.

[13]The alternant forms are the result of vowel harmony (see Appendix A).

[14]This nominalizing suffix -no may relate to the verbal

thematic affix -nV- in the sense of the action being terminated or ended; i.e., not descriptive of an action, but instead of a state, or nominal.

[15]The change of the vowel -e to -a- with the -to suffix is an alteration which may reflect the regressive morphophonemic influence of the final back vowel -o upon the front vowel -e causing it to surface in central position as -a. A parallel effect occurs with: adaihö and adaihoto where the central vowel -ö is expressed as -o- with the suffix -to. Some other cases conform to rules of vowel harmony by not changing the final vowel on the non-nominalized form as in the following example: akede/akedeto 'thin, meager'.

[16]The use of the two demonstrative forms, möñö and ñödö may indicate a difference in referential distance between the speaker's brother and the man referred to in this example.

[17]Other AmerInd languages have been identified as having "thematic affixes" in the verb system (e.g., see California Publications in Linguistics Series volumes). These affixes in De'kwana might also be labeled as transitivity affixes as most of them correspond to variations in transitivity levels among verb stems and because at least one thematic affix -hV- also occurs to specifically mark alteration in transitivity (see B.3.1.1.2.3. and B.3.1.2.6.). However, the occurrence of these morphemes internally with verb stems is described under the term "thematic affixes" in order to distinguish this usage from other similar appearances of the morphemes in nominal and/or verbal derivation or inflection.

[18]These thematic affixes are listed with a succeeding vowel. The consonant itself seems to carry the major information as to the characteristics of the action being described. The accompanying vowels do mark slight variations in meanings but are often deleted under vowel reduction and other associated morphophonemic processes (see Appendix A). This system of thematic affixes may represent an underlying pattern of sound symbolism in De'kwana, but this possibility was not explored under the current study.

[19]These stems are not considered unanalyzable stems since both the VC roots and the subsequent thematic affixes that are suffixed to them are identifiable. Also it is possible to identify these roots in nominal forms such as the root -a'- appearing in the verb for 'to cook' (-a'-nö-) and also appearing in the nominal wa'to 'fire'.

[20]The modal suffix -'de (futuritive) and the discourse particle -dea marking identity or equivalence carry the same sense of sequentiality listed for the thematic affix -dV-. See Sections B.3.1.2.5. and B.5. for the uses of the futuritive suffix -'de and the particle -dea, respectively.

[21]More than one thematic affix can be observed in this example and in the one directly preceding it. The prefix -d- on the complex stem: -d-a'tu', 'burn up', is the intransitive or inactive counterpart to the transitive or active forms: -i-a'-ka-, 'fell, burn', and -i-a'-k-w-a, 'burn something up'. These latter two active/transitive forms have two markers of higher transitivity in the thematic affixes of -k- and the stem vowel -i-. The thematic affix -w- marks 'change of state' indicating a more totally affected object with this form. The initial d- may be a morphophonemic alternant for -t- and as such be related to the -t- thematic affix marking intransitive action (see B.3.1.1.2.1.), and/or the transitivity prefix marking reflexive, reciprocal and passive constructions (see B.3.1.2.4.).

[22]For a discussion of patient focus see Chapter 4.

[23]The verb root-final -n- becomes -m- under morphophonemic processes discussed in Appendix A. Stem-final syllables of -tö-, -tü- or -hü- are often absent in non-past verb forms.

[24]This suffix may derive from the Pan-Carib terms for 'people': kɔtɔ/gɔtɔ, and sɔtɔ in De'kwana.

[25]Note the appearance of -tü- or -tö- on the main verb forms occurring with these modals. This may correspond to the presence of similar supletive morphemes mentioned above in note 23.

[26]In support of this dual role in both clauses, the Spanish translation by the De'kwana consultant included explicit usage of the lexical item for "bird" two times, once in each clause.

APPENDIX C. Texts

The texts below were recounted by two De'kwana consultants and were transcribed and translated with the second consultant during 1981-1982 and the summer of 1983. The numbering (using whole numbers, 1, 2, 3, etc.) was established with the De'kwana consultant. These units often correspond to a sentence, but sometimes contain more. The categories used by Klein (1986:216) for Toba discourse can be applied to the De'kwana units my consultant identified. The De'kwana numbered units correspond to Klein's "episode" (containing one or more sentences), while "line" is also equivalent to the syntactic unit of sentence for De'kwana.

Additional numbers appear in parentheses indicating units tabulated in the Transitivity Analysis discussed in Chapter 4. For analysis using Hopper and Thompson's ten parameters, clauses were isolated (see 4.3.1.). For tabulating transitivity levels (1-6), all verbal forms were used (see 4.3.2.). Both clauses and subordinate verbal constructions are numbered in parentheses below.

C.1. The Box Turtle and the Deer (Pedro Morillo)

1. waya:mu akö:tü önö:kü kawa:di kün-(o)t-oneh(a)-a-to
box turtle with this deer 3-recip-compare-asp-pl

(1.2) yöhe kün-ödü-a'kö tajö'ne (1.3) kü-w-ei'-chü
thus 3-say-DPI fast 1+2-?-be-rel

(1.4) k-oneha-ye ke
1+2-compare-subjn repor

(1.5) kün-ödü-a'kö kawa:di waya:mu wö
3-say-DPI deer box turtle to

With the box turtle, the deer compared himself; thus, he said, "we are going to compare who is faster," said the deer to the box turtle.

2. yöhemma ya:wö waya:mu töhimmö önekö:mü
thus verif box turtle family what/that

tihimmö wö kün-a'dew-(wü)i ya:wö waya:mu
his-family to 3-tell-DPC verif box turtle

(2.2) yöhe ke y-oneha-se ñö:dö na kawa:di ke
thus-it-is repor 3/1-compare-desid he aux deer repor

(2.3) kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö

(2.4.) ta'hö'ne w-ei'-chü ke
fast nf-be-nonf repor

So the box turtle told that to his family, "thus it is; the deer wants to compare who is faster.

3. ta'hö'ne dada'-ne waya:mu tüw-ei-ye nai
fast not-contr box turtle indef-be-subjn aux

(3.2)ö:he yei'hökö t-ümamiñu-komo-he kün-(ü)nü-a'-to
thus for this refl-joke/-pl-top 3/3-do/make-asp-pl
ridicule

ya:wö
verif

The box turtle is not fast; thus, for this reason they made fun of themselves.

4. yö:hemma ya:wö waya:mu tihimmö kün-a'dew-f(a)'-a'-to
thus verif box turtle his-family 3/3-call-asp-pl

ya:wö (4.2) kün-esadimincha-i-cho ya:wö, waya:mu
verif 3/-line up-asp-pl verif deer

nu:we otonño
large lines

Thus, the box turtle called his family and they lined up, the turtles in long lines.

5. yö:hemma ya:wö yöhe kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö ñö:dö
thus verif thus 3-say-DPI verif that

dawa:di ya:wö (5.2) "Maaaaa edu:wa ke ka'tömü-ye ke
deer verif Aaaaaah now 1+2-run - subjn repor

Thus, the deer said (to him), "Aaaah now we are going to run."

6. kün-ahönta-i - 'cho ya:wö a:ko:da-ne
3/3-begin it-DPC-pl verif equal-contr

(6.2) tüw-e'katüwü-dü-komo (6.3) kün-(V)tön-to ya:wö
3-run-rel/nonf-pl 3-run-(DPC)-pl verif

(6.4) kawa:di w-ütö:-dü ke
deer nonf-go-nonf repor

(6.4a) kawa:di w-ütö:-dü ya:wö
deer nonf-go-nonf verif

(6.5) "öi'shakö m-ö'du-i ke?"
where 2-arrive-RPC repor

(6.6) kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö
3-say-DPI verif

(6.7) dako:da:-ne dea kün-a'dew-a'ko ya:wö ñö:dö
along side-contr ident 3-talk-DPI verif he

hya:n(a)-aka dea önö:kü waya:mu
his-ear-in ident the boxturtle

(6.8) öi'sha'kö m-ö'dü-i ke hyan(a)-aka dea
where 2-arrive at-RPI repor his ear-in ident

yötönnö hya:n(a)-aka maha ya:wö
there his ear-in and verif

(6.9) kawa:di kün-a'su'ta-i ya:wö
deer 3-tire out-DPI verif

They began to run side by side; they ran, the deer was gaining; the deer was gaining; "Where are you?" he said. The box turtle answered at his side in his ear; "Where are you", asked the deer; again the turtle answered in his ear. The deer got tired.

7. yö:hemma ya:wö kün-a'dew-a dea ya:wö önö:kü
thus verif 3-talk-asp ident verif the

waya:mu
box turtle

(7.2) "oi'sha'kö m-ö'dü i ke
where 2-arrive-RPI repor

(7.3) tüw-a'su'ta ñö:dö kawa:di
indef-tire out that deer

Thus, the box turtle still talked, asking, "Where are you?" and that deer was tired.

8. yö:hemma ya:wö önekö:mü kün-a'su'ta - i ya:wö
thus verif that-one 3-tire-RPC verif

ñö:dö kawa:di ya:wö
that deer verif

(8.2) ñö:dö waya:mu w-a'de(n)-nö-he dea hya:n(a)-aka dea
that box turtle nonf-talk-nonf-top ident his ear-in ident

(8.3)dako:da:-ne dea kün-a'dew-a'kö waya:mu
beside-contr ident 3-talk-DPI box turtle

(8.4) w- a'su'ta'-nö
nonf-tire-nonf

(8.5) waya:mu kün-(V)kana'ka - i ya:wö
box turtle 3-win-DPC verif

Thus, that one tired out, that deer, that box turtle talking in his ear again and again, and talking beside him, the box turtle, and his tiring out; the box turtle won.

C.2. The She-Devil (Florinda Jimenez-Gonzales)

1. Hena:dö ssoto kün-ödü-akö tü-weichakono wö
long ago person 3-say-DPI refl-friend to

wo:di tüwü
woman she

(1.2) motto kön-(V)katai-ye-'de henamma ke
worms 3-dig-subjn-fut imm morning repor

(1.3) kün-ödü-a'kö tü-weichakono wö
3-say-DPI refl-friend to

Once upon a time a woman said to her friend, "tomorrow we are going to dig worms," she said to her friend.

2. chomomüdawö tü-weichakono wö yö:he kün-ödü-a:kö
at night refl-friend to thus 3-say-DPI

(2.2) odo'sha e:tahötü-dü-he kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö
she-devil listen-nonf-top 3-be-DPI verif

hüdonanno
outside

(2.3) yöhe tü-weichakono wö ñö:dö' wo:di w-ö'dü-dü
thus refl-friend to that woman nonf-say-nonf

At night she said to her friend, "The She-Devil is listening outside," is what she said to her friend.

3. yöhemma ya:wö kün-awana - i ya:wö
thus verif 3-get up-DPC verif

(3.2) odo'sha kün-(V)tömö ya:wö
she-devil 3-go-(DPC) verif

(3.3) ñö:dö motto kadü-hökö (3.4) y-a'dewwü-hü-dü
that worms dig-with 3-talk-past-nonf

(3.5) owa:hodö kün-(V)tömö ya:wö odo'sha
before 3-go-(DPC) verif she-devil

Thus she got up (in the morning), the She-Devil went there (the one who talked about digging worms), the She-Devil went first.

4. odo'sha kün-(V)tömö ya:wö ñö:dö wo:di owahodö
she-devil 3-go-(DPC) verif that woman before

ñö:dö ssoto wo:di y-eichako:no düinña
that person woman 3-friend where-she-was

(4.1a) henadö:dö'kö kün-(V)tömö ya:wö ñö:dö
earlier 3-go-(DPC) verif that

owahodö
before

(4.2) yöhe kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö hüdonanno
thus 3-way-DPI verif outside

(4.3) "yako'kö edu:wa k-ünt(V)-anö (4.4) k-ö:mat(V)-anö edu:wa
sister-in-law, now 1+2-go-RPI 1+2-go out-RPI now

(4.5) ü'tö-dü mödö edu:wa ke
go-nonf aux now repor

(4.6) kün-ödü-a:kö ya:wö ñö:dö odo'sha
3-say-DPI verif that she-devil

The She-Devil went ahead of that woman, where the friend of that person (the woman) was; earlier she went, ahead of her; thus she said outside, "Sister-in-law, now let's go. Let's go out now. I'm going now," said that She-Devil.

5. ñö:dö wo:di kün-ekanö-a'kö ya:wö
that woman 3-believe-DPI verif

tü-weichako:no chomomüdawö
refl-friend at night

(5.2) motto kön-kata-ye-'de ke
worms 3-dig-subjn-fut imm repor

(5.3) kün-ödü-a-(ö)dü-a'tö-i y-eichako:no
3-speak-asp-speak-asp-DPC 3-friend

(5.4) kün-(V)tömö (5.5) kün-ö:ma'tö-i
3-go-(DPC) 3-go out-DPC

(5.6) kün-(V)tömö ya:wö tü-nne-dü shi:chu'kö da'me
3-go-(DPC) verif refl-child-poss baby with

(5.7) kün-(V)tömö ya:wö ñö:dö a'kö
3-go-(DPC) verif that-one with

That woman believed it was her friend that said let's dig worms, she believed her friend went; she was ready and she went with her child, her baby; she went with that-one.

6. ñö:dö dea dowa:hodö kün-(V)tömö odo'sha dea
that-one ident before 3-go-(DPC) she-devil ident

(6.2) inña kün-ödü-i ya:wö
there 3-arrive-DPC verif

(6.3) inña kün-ödü -i-cho ya:wö
there 3-arrive-RPC-pl verif

That-same-one went first, the same She-Devil; there she arrived; there they both arrived.

7. motto tü'ka-dü (7.2) kün-ahönt(ö)-a'-to ya:wö
worms dig-nonf 3-begin-asp-pl verif

(7.3) yö:he kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö ñö:dö
thus 3-say-DPI verif she

(7.4) shi:chu'kö da'me wo:di kün-öhö-dü
baby with woman 3-be-nonf

(7.5) ü-nne-dü a'höi'-chö ke
1-child-poss carry-imper repor

(7.6) kün-ödü-a'kö odo'sha wö
3-say-DPI she-devil to

(7.7) odo'sha wö kün-ödü-a'kö
she-devil to 3-say-DPI

(7.8) ü-nne-dü a'höi'-chö
1-child-poss carry-imper

(7.9) kun-(u)tu-i ya:wö tü-nnedü ñö:dö wö odo'sha wö
3/3-give-DPI verif refl-child that to she-devil to

They began to dig worms and the woman who had the baby said, "Carry my child," she said to the She-Devil. To the She-Devil she said, "Carry my child." She gave the child to her, to the She-Devil.

8. kün-ka-a'kö ya:wö ñö:dö shi:chu'kö denü
3-dig-DPI verif that baby mother

(8.2) kün-ka-akö ya:wö motto
3-dig-DPI verif worms

She was digging worms, that baby's mother; worms, she was digging.

9. shi:chukö kün-amo-akö ya:wö ho:he
baby 3-cry-DPI verif much

(9.2) ho:he shi:chu'kö kün-amo-akö ya:wö
much baby 3-cry-DPI verif

(9.3) odo'sha kün-ahöntö-i ya:wö hyanadü tönö-dü
she-devil 3-begin-DPC verif her ear eat-nonf

(9.4) "sssshush" tüdü-dü
do-nonf

(9.5) nün'e mödö hyana-dü kün-ön'-akö ya:wö odo'sha
equal aux her ear-poss 3-do-DPI verif she-devil

(9.6) ho:he shi:chu'kö kün-amo-akö ya:wö
much baby 3-cry-DPI verif

The baby was crying a lot; a lot, the baby was crying. The She-Devil began to eat her ear; "Ssssshush," doing it just like this she was eating her ear, the She-Devil; more and more the baby was crying.

10. ye:nü kün-öka-i ya:wö (10.2) motto tüka-dü
her mother 3-stop-DPC verif worms dig-nonf

(10.3) tü-nne-dü wamo-dü e'ne
refl-child-poss cry-nom because

(10.4) tü-nnedü kün-eka'tö-i ya:wö
refl-child 3-request-DPC verif

(10.5) ñö:dö odo'sha enawönno ya:wö
that she-devil carrier verif

(10.6) i-nñe-dü kun-(u)tu-i ya:wö ñö:dö odo'sha
3-child-poss 3-give-DPC verif that she-devil

The mother stopped digging worms because of her crying baby; she asked for her baby (that She-Devil was the one carrying it). She gave (up) the child, the She-Devil.

11. tü-nnedü hana:dü kün-edanta-i ya:wo ñö:dö
refl-child ear 3-find-DPC verif that

wo:di taki:ye a:'ke tönö
woman bleeding neg eat

She found the baby's ear bleeding, ruined, eaten.

12. yö:hemma ya:wö onwoha-'da kün-ei-a'kö ya:wo
thus nurse-neg 3-be-DPI verif

(12.3) tü-nnedü kün-(u)tu-i chea ya:wö ñö:dö
refl-child 3-give-DPC ident verif that

tü-nnedü odo'sha wö maha
refl-child she-devil to and

She didn't nurse it and she gave her child, that child to the She-Devil again.

13. mö:ñö ke kün-ödü-akö
this-one repor 3-say-DPI

(13.2) a'höi-chö - 'de ke (13.3) kün-ödü-akö
carry-imper-fut imm repor 3-say-DPI

(13.4)mönsedö'kö w-önkata-nñoho motto ke
over there 1-dig-permissv worms repor

(13.5) kün-ödü-akö (13.6) ettö a'höi-chö - 'de ke
3-say-DPI here carry-imper-fut imm repor

(13.7) ñö:dö ssoto kün-ödü-akö ya:wö odo'sha wö
that person 3-say-DPI verif she-devil to

"Take this-one," she said; "carry it," she said. "Over there I'm going to dig worms," she said. "Here, carry it," that person said to the She-Devil.

14. yö:hemma ya:wö kün-(V)tömö ya:wö ñö:dö wo:di
thus verif 3-go-(DPC) verif that woman

(14.2-3) i'chö-dü-nene kün-öhö-kö ya:wö tüwü
go-nonf-contr 3-be-DPI verif she

(14.4) ñö:dö y-önehe-dü (14.5) tü-nnedü tönö
that-one 3-flee-nonf refl-child eat

(14.6) edantö-hü-dü e'nei
find-past-nonf because

(14.7) odo'sha-ne mö'dö ñö:dö-hünü-ne
she-devil-contr she-was that one-neg-contr

mö'dö ke
she-was repor

(14.8) k-üt-ütahö:tü-i ya:wö
3-think-DPC verif

(14.9) kün-ö:nehe-i ya:wö (14.10) kün-(V)tömö
3-flee-DPC verif 3-go-(DPC)

Thus she went, the woman; unexpectedly she went, the one who fled; because of finding her child eaten. "It's the She-Devil, not that one (my friend)," she thought. She fled; she went.

15. odo'sha ya:wö-mma odo'sha kün-ahe'ka-i ya:wö ñö:dö
she-devil verif-spec she-devil 3-pursue-DPC verif that-one

(15.2) i-nñe-dü-'kö tönö-nei-hü-dü
3-child-poss-dim eat-contr-past-nonf

(15.3) ñö:dö akoichakühо-mma
that-one after beginning-spec

(15.4) odo'sha kün-(V)tömö ya:wö
she-devil 3-go-(DPC) verif

(15.5) kün-ahe'ka-i ñö:dö
3-pursue-DPC that-one

(15.6) kün-önehe-i ya:wo wo:di
3-be pursued-DPC verif woman

(15.6a) shi:chu'kö denü-hü-dü
baby mother-past-nonf

Right then the She-Devil pursued her, (the one who had just been eating (it). The She-Devil went; she pursued her. She was pursued, the woman who had been the baby's mother.

16. tahe'ka-dü e'nei
pursue-nonf because

(16.2) madu:da ewü:tü taka kün-o:momü-i ya:wö
giant cave in 3-fell into-DPC verif
armadillo

(16.3) madu:da ewü:tü taka kün-o:momü-i ya:wö
giant cave into 3-fell into-RPC verif
armadillo

(16.4) tahe'ka-dü e'nei
pursue-nonf because

Since the She-Devil pursued her, into the giant armadillo's cave she fell; into the giant armadillo's cave she fell, because she pursued her.

17. yö:hemma ya:wö odo'sha kün-ödü-i ya:wö
thus verif she-devil 3-arrive-DPC verif

(17.2) inña y-omomü-hü-dü a'ka
there 3-fell into-past-nonf in

(17.3) inña tüw-omomü-se kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö tüwü
there 3-fell in-desid 3-be-DPI verif she

(17.4) su:nwa kün-ö'hö-to ya:wö inñata'toho
wasps 3-be-pl verif entrance

(17.5) su:nwa wamöa-komo nñanno wöi-nñe ken-ehoduho-i
wasps nest-pl those by-pl 3-bite-DPC

ya:wö tüwü
verif her

(17.6) ñö:dö ssoto ene'honontö-da:wö
that person look for-when

Thus, the She-Devil arrived where she had fallen in; where she (the She-Devil) wanted to fall in, too. Wasps were in the entrance and she was bitten by them (the wasps) because she was after that person.

18. yöhemma ya:wö kün-etüma-i ya:wö
thus verif 3-let go-DPC verif

(18.1a) kün-etüma-i ya:wö ñö:dö odo'sha wo:di
3-let go-DPC verif that she-devil woman

(18.2) su:nwa wöi-nñe t-ühödu-ho-hü-dü e'nei
wasps by-pl pssv-bite-pssv-pst-nonf because

(18.3) yö:hemma ya:wö mödö'kwa'kö-mma mödö
thus verif until now-spec this

wö:tunö n-öhö:nö (18.4) edu:wa w-ö'ka-i
story 3-be-(RPI) now 1-finish-RPC

Thus, she let her go; the She-Devil let her go, the woman, because she (the She-Devil) was stung by wasps. Thus, until now, was the story; now I have finished.

C.3. Hia:wa (Pedro Morillo)

1. to:ni danwa tü-hinñamo kön-anö-ho - i Hia:wa wö
a man refl-wife 3/3-eat-caus-DPC by

Once there was a man whose wife was eaten by Hia:wa.

2. inña kön-töhö'-a - to tünwanno
there 3 - go - asp - pl they

(2.2) önekö:mü dukö:hü inñühu'taho
that (name of tree) thing-climbed

(2.3) ene'ho awa:na
where to awake

They awoke near the tree-ladder.

3. yöhe kün-ödü-akö ya:wö hi:nñamo
thus 3/3-say - DPI verif his-wife

(3.2) ya:daihüdü t - önö-ni-hüdü
my-grandmother 3-eat-?-past nom

(3.3) n-etün'a ke
3-scream-pres repor

(3.4) kün-ödü-a'kö
3/3-say-DPI

The wife said to him, "The one who ate my grandmother is screaming."

4. yö:hemma ya:wö k-ümhö - i ya:wõ hawi
thus-it-is verif 3/3-shoot-DPC verif bird

(4.2) kün-edu'ka - i ya:wõ
3/3-fall-DPC verif

Thus it was; he shot a bird and it fell down.

5. yöhe kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö
thus 3/3-say -DPI verif

(5.2) mö'dö maha a:nnö'ta'ke ke
that-one also go-get repor

(5.3) kün-ödü-a'kö
3/3-say - DPI

(5.4) awa:na-da dea ya:wö
awake-neg ident verif

Thus he said, "That one, too; go get it," he said; but she didn't appear.

6. ö'kude'kö ñö:dö inño kün-ö'tö-i ya:wö
   then that husband 3-go-DPC verif

   inñanno
   there

   Then that husband went over there.

7. tü-hiñamo - he -'da kün-edantö - i ya:wö
   refl-wife-top-neg 3/3-encounter-DPC verif

(7.2) ñö:dö Hia:wa-mma kün-öhö:-kö
      that-one Hia:wa-spec 3-be-DPI

      ya:wö hinñamo:-he
      verif his-wife-top

   He didn't find his wife; it was just Hia:wa as his wife.

8. tame:dö chönün'e kün-öhö:-kö ya:wö
   all equal 3-have-DPI verif

   tüwü yewaihhutöhö-'ahö
   she necklaces-ptcpl

(8.1a) tame:dö yewo:'mo'töhö-'ahö
       all necklaces-ptcpl

(8.2) she'kös'kö ma ya:wö
      small she-was verif

(8.3) tüwü hinñamo nün'e da
      she wife equal not

   She had everything equal (to the wife); she had necklaces, lots of necklaces; but she was smaller than the wife, she was not equal.

9. hinñamo nün'e da
   wife equal not

(9.2) kün-adeuwa-kö ya:wö tüwü tahö'ne
      3/3-speak-DPI verif she rapidly

(9.3) yö:hemma ya:wö kone'da kün-ödüho - i
      thus-it-was sad 3-become-DPC

      ya:wö ñö:dö inño
      verif that-one husband

(9.4) hünñamo hünü-ne mö'dö ke-mma
his-wife neg-contr this-one repor-spec

(9.5) kün-tütahö:tü - i ya:wö
3-think - DPC verif

She wasn't his wife; she talked too fast; therefore, he became sad, that husband. "This one isn't my wife," he thought.

10. yöhe kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö tüwü
thus 3/3-say-DPI verif he

(10.2) m-annühü- i ñö:dö hawi ke
2-bring-DPC that-one bird repor

(10.3) kün-a'dew-a'kö ya:wö tüwü ta'hö:'ne
3/3-speak-DPI verif that-one rapidly

ñö:dö Hia:wa
that-one Hia:wa

He asked her, "Did you get that bird?" And Hia:wa answered quickly.

11. nwa n-e'duka - i ke
there 3-fall-DPC repor

(11.2) kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö
3-say-DPI verif

(11.3) ñö:dö inño kün-tömö ya:wö inña
that husband 3-go verif there

"Over there it fell," she said (to him); that husband went there (where she had said).

12. yöhe hia:wa kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö
thus Hia:wa 3-say-DPI verif

(12.2) öne'kö:mü ma:dö m-uhiy-anö ke
what there 2-want-RPI repor

(12.3) kün-ödü-a'kö
3-say-DPI

(12.4) ma:dö w-e:kohö:tü - i ke
there 1-excrete-DPC repor

(12.5) w-e"tü-mma mön-edantö - i ma:dö ke
1-feces-spec 2/1-encounter-DPC there repor

(12.6) kün-ödü-a'kö
3-say-DPI

Hia:wa said (to her husband), "What are you looking for there?" she said. "There I excreted; look out for my feces," she said.

13. yö:hemma ya:wö kün-ennaka -i -cho ya:wö ha:t(a)-aka
thus verif 3-return-DPC-pl verif village-to

(13.2) kün-ö:dü - i -cho ya:wö senü düinña
3-arrive-DPC-pl verif mother place-there

Thus, they returned to the village; they arrived at his mother's house.

14. hyünñamo Hia:wa n-önnö-i ke
my-wife Hia:wa 3-eat-RPC repor

(14.2) kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö tüwü
3-say-DPI verif he

(14.3) mö'dö na:dü ya:wö tüwü ke
this-one there verif she repor

"Hia:wa ate may wife," he (the husband) said (to his mother); "There she is."

15. hyinñamo:-he tüwü kün-öhö-ö'kö ya:wö
his-wife-top she 3-be-DPI verif

His wife, she was.

16. a:'ke ema-toho ñö:dö
neg kill-ptcpl that-one

(16.2) tunuhiye tüweiye kün-öhö-ökö ya:wö tüwü Hia:wa
look-for aux 3-be-DPI verif her Hia:wa

Unsuccessfully, he had been looking for a way (i.e., there wasn't one) to kill her, Hia:wa.

17. a:'ke unwa tünanontöhö'e tüweiye kün-öhö-ökö
neg there order aux 3-be-DPI

(17.2) tuna eiye
water to get

(17.3) ya:wödö-dea-mma tüwü yö'düdü ya:wö
verif-ident-spec she arrive verif

(17.4) se:nü düinña an-ado-ho-'da maha ya:wö tüwü
his-mother there 3-talk-caus-neg and verif she

Unsuccessfully, he had been ordering her to get water; but she arrived again (rapidly); and she wouldn't come to talk with her mother-in-law.

18. yö:he-mma ya:wö ö:ne:dawö ano:to awö ya:wö
thus-spec verif another day on verif

önekö:mü önña e:'kudu kün-ekuto-ho-i ya:wö tüwü
what corn juice 3/3-make-caus-DPC verif he
(juice)

On another day he ordered her to make some corn juice.

19. Hia:wa-wö yö:he kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö
Hia:wa-to thus 3-say-DPI verif

(19.2) önña ö:-nekutö-kö -'de ke
corn 2-make-imp-fut repor

(19.3) Hia:wa kün-ekutö-i ya:wö önña
Hia:wa 3/3-make-DPC verif corn

(19.4-5) i:yö Hia:wa önekö:mü önña e:'kudu
this Hia:wa that-one corn juice

ahoho-dü - he yeichü ya:wö
stir-nonf-top aux-nonf verif

(19.6) inño kün-adima-i ya:wö
husband 3-push-RPC verif

To Hia:wa, thus he spoke, "You will prepare corn (juice)." Hia:wa prepared corn (juice); this Hia:wa, while she was stiring the corn juice, her husband pushed her in.

20. dowa:nökö kün-öhö-ökö ya:wö
know 3-be-DPI verif

(20.2-3) ema-toho-he ñö:dö weichü
kill-ptcl-top that-one to-be

(20.4) Hia:wa ema-toho
Hia:wa kill-ptcl

He knew that he would kill her, kill Hia:wa.

21. a:'ke tunuhiye tüweiye kün-öhö-ökö awa'de
neg look-for aux 3-be-DPI at-first

(21.2) yö:he kün-tötahötü-i ya:wö
thus 3-think-DPC verif

(21.3) yö:he ema - hai wa ke
thus kill-abil 1-aux repor

At first he had been looking for a way unsuccessfully;
he thought, "So it is, I must kill her."

22. se:nü wö yö:he kün-ödü-a'kö ya:wö
his-mother to thus 3-say-DPI verif

(22.2) öhö:ne-'de unwa ke
go-imp-fut there verif

(22.3) töhu ön-edantö-kö-'de edöhe ke
rock 2-go into-imp-fut thus repor

tü-mmai-cha-'to ke
3-house-imp-pl repor

To his mother he spoke, "Go up there; find the rocks
and house yourself in them."

23. mö'dö w-ema-iye ya:wö ke
her 1-kill-subj verif repor

(23.2) ö:n-ehe-'kö:-'de ke
2-flee-imp-fut repor

(23.3) yö:he-mma ya:wö ye:nü kün-tömö ya:wö
thus-spec verif his-mother 3-go verif

inña töhu-ta'ka
there rock-in

"Since I am going to kill her, you must flee."
So his mother went there into the rocks.

24. ñö:dö tü-hinñamo ema-dü we'tü ya:wö
that-one refl-wife kill-nonf nonf-aux verif

(24.2) kün-tömö ya:wö ñö:dö Hia:wa önö:kü
3-go verif that-one Hia:wa who

ñö:dö Hia:wa - nño tü-hinñamo dünña
that-one Hia:wa-her-husband his-wife there

(24.3) Hia:wa kün-edantö-i ya:wö
Hia:wa 3-find-RPC verif

(24.4) önekö:mü önña e:'kudu ahoho-dü -he ya:wö
that corn juice stir-nonf-top verif

In order to kill his wife, he went, Hia:wa's husband, where his wife (Hia:wa) was. There he found Hia:wa stiring corn juice.

25. yö:he yeichü
thus it-was

(25.2) tüwü kün-adima-i ya:wö
he 3/3-push-DPC verif

(25.3) i:yö önekö:mü önña e:'kudu a'ka
this that corn juice into

Thus it was; he pushed her into the corn juice.

26. Hia:wa yö:he adima-dü -ho
Hia:wa thus push-nonf-ptcl

(26.2) ñö::dö kün-tömö ya:wö danwa se:nü wadö:dö
that-one 3-go verif man mother toward

(26.3) ya:wö dea mma hehenchö kün-ö:'dü-i ya:wö
verif ident spec wind 3-begin-RPC verif

After he pushed Hia:wa, he went, the man, to (toward) his mother; at the very same moment, the wind began (to blow).

27. möntö nñanno Hia:wa himmö hadönñe
there those Hia:wa sister with (by)

kün-ohodü-i ya:wö
3/3-be met by-RPC verif

There he was met by Hia:wa's sisters.

28. yö:he kün-dödü -a -to ya:wö
thus 3-say-asp-pl verif

(28.2) öi'sha m-üta:-anö ke
where 2-go-RPI repor

He asked them, "Where are you going?"

29. ñö:dö e'kamma-(n)ködö ñö:dö dünña ke
that-one speak-ptcl that-one there repor

(29.2) kün-ö:'dü-akö ya:wö
3-say-DPI verif

Responding, "Where my sister is," she said.

30. ñö:dö aihükü-dü - he - mma
that-one strike-nonf-top-spec

(30.2) kün-(V)tö-nnea ya:wö
3-go-ident verif

(30.3) yöhöhe kün-(V)tö-nnea ya:wö
then 3-go-ident verif

(30.4) kün-edantö -i-'chea Hia:wa maha ya:wö öne:ha-mmaha
3-encounter-RPC-ident Hia:wa and verif other-and

After killing that one, he went on; then he was going on, and he encountered another of Hia:wa's sisters.

31. ñö:dö kün-aihükü -i -'chea ya:wö
that-one 3/3-strike-RPC-ident verif

(31.2) yöhöhe ya:wö kün-(V)tö-nnea ya:wö
thus verif 3-go-ident verif

He killed that one the same way, and went on as before.

32. yotö:-mma kün-at-anno-ho - i ya:wö tüwü
there-spec 3-pssv-lift-pssv-RPC verif he

(32.2) kahu o:wadünña ñö:dö kün-(V)tömö ya:wö
sky where-ends that-one 3-go verif

(32.3) kün-annühü-i ya:wö ñö:dö
3-lift-RPC verif that-one

(32.4) hinñamo-hü-dü
his-wife-past-nonf

There he was lifted up; where the sky ends he went;
she lifted him, the dead wife.

33. ye:nü-ma - ne ya:wö inña töhu-ta'ka kün-öhö-ökö
mother-spec-contr verif there rock-in 3-be-DPI

ya:wö
verif

Meanwhile, his mother was in the rocks.

34. aku:de chökatomhüdü kün-ehö ya:wö kawa:nadü-he
then image 3-come verif Cock-of-the Rock-top

ya:wö tüwü
verif he

After that his image came as a Cock-of-the Rock (bird).

35. inña se:nü dünña kün-ö:dü-i ya:wö kawa:nadü
there mother there 3-arrive-DPC verif Cock-of-the-Rock

nün'e ya:wö ñö:dö ekatomhüdü ya:wö
equal verif that-one image verif

He came, where his mother was, in the form of a Cock-of-the-Rock.

36. kahu owadünña i:'chö-hü-dü ekatomhüdü
sky where-ends aux-pst-nonf images

(36.2-3) yö:he-mma mödö:he-mma ya:wö ñö:dö
thus-spec thus-spec verif that-one

Hia:wa ema-nei - hü-dü kün-öhö-ökö
Hia:wa kill-contr-past-nonf 3-be-DPI

Where the sky ends were the images; thus it was that
that one killed Hia:wa.

APPENDIX D. Data Sheets

Data Sheet - 1
Hopper and Thompson - Parameters of Transitivity

Text Title:

Clause		Participants	Aspect	Kinesis	Affectedness of Patient	Polarity	Modality	Potency of Agent	Individuation of Patient	Volitionality	Punctuality	Total
#	Type											

Data Sheet - 1 (coding)

Clause Type FM - Foreground Main Clause
FS - Foreground Subordinate Clause
BM - Background Main Clause
BS - Background Subordinate Clause

Ten Parameters of Transitivity

Parameter	Coded
1. Participants	0 - zero or one participant 1 - 2 participants
2. Aspect	0 - atelic (imperfect) 1 - telic (point oriented)
3. Kinesis	0 - non-action 1 - action, motion
4. Affectedness of Patient	0 - patient not physically affected 1 - patient physically affected
5. Polarity	0 - negative 1 - affirmative
6. Modality	0 - irrealis 1 - realis
7. Potency of Agent	0 - incapable of spontaneous action 1 - animate, human
8. Individuation of Patient	0 - indefinite, nonreferential 1 - definite, referential
9. Volitionality	0 - action by agent without intention 1 - action by agent deliberate or intentional
10. Punctuality	0 - action durative, iterative 1 - action punctual

Data Sheet - 2

Text Title:

Clause #	Referent	Anim.	Spec.	Syn. Role	Gram. Code	Clause Type	Word Order	Verb Levels: Main Clause	Verb Levels: Subord. Clause

Data Sheet - 2, (coding)

1. Referent
   Name of Item
   Discourse Role
   -major participant (M)
   -minor participant (R)
   -prop (P)

2. Animacy
   -animate (A)
   -inanimate (I)

levels 1-6

3. Specificity
   -definite (D)
   -indefinite (ID)
    -referential
    -non-referential

4. Syntactic Role
   -agent (A)
   -subject (S)
   -object (DO, IO)
   -oblique (Q)
   -copula (C)

5. Grammatical Code
   -zero anaphora (Ø)
   -unstressed/bound pronouns (PRE)
   -stressed/indep pronouns (PRO)

6. Clause Type
   -intransitive (INTR)
   -transitive (TRAN)
   -quotation (QUOT)
   -copular (COP)
   -equative (EQUA)
   -question (INTER)
   -adverbial clause (ADVBL)
   -relative clause (REL)
   -participial (PTCL)
   -nonfinite (NONF)
   -ideophone (IDEO)

7. Word Order
   -subject (S)
   -object (O)
   -agent (A)
   -verb (V)
   -oblique (OBL)
   -noun processor (GEN)
   -noun incorporation (NI)

8. Verb Levels
   -main clause, levels 1-6
   -subordinate clause,

APPENDIX E. Glossary

A

a:da:di - to fish with poison
a:'deufato - worried, in a hurry, difficult
a:'deufa'to'me - to call
a:'deu'kue - language, idiom, speech
a:duahö - covered, hidden, lid
a:'duka:kö - open (adj)
a:du'ka'toho - opener
a:'dukö - closed
a:duwa:wö - three
a:hu - garlic
a:'ke - nothing, zero
a:'kede:to - lean, skinny, frail, weak
a:kene - how, what
a:kene yeihökö - Why is it?
a:kö - two
a:'kö - with
a:kö'kö - few
a:kö:tödü - sharp, cutting
a:'kü - maggot
a:nsa - ornaments or streamers on a necklace
a:'sha:dü - to choose, select, pick out
a:ta:mudu - your grandfather
a:'to - rope, twine
a:'töi - seat, bench
a:wö - in
ada:kö - with you
adai'hö big, large, wide
adai'hö'kö - larger
adai'hö'to - large
adak(u)hu:sa - shotgun
ada:wa - light, torch
ada:wö - between the two
adawa'ta - araguato monkey (Alouatta seniculus)
adimadü - to push
adonkada:wö - when he cures (him)
adowanö:kö - do you know
adö:dü - to carry
adu:du - small flying animal, like a bat
aha:dadi - agouti
ahi:sha - large, white heron
ahi'sha'ne - there are large, white herons
a'hö - arm
ahö'müi - decorative arm bands or bracelets
ahöntödü - to begin
ahö'sai - wing

ahö'tödü - to put on a wrist band
ahö'wa - ocelot
ahu:ni - soap
ai'cha - grandmother
ai'chüdi - song, chant
aichu:di eda:mo - healing specialist (of blowing)
ai'chüdü - to put a stick into a hole; to plant yuca
aka:naha:to - site, flat or level place
aka:no - from there
akai'chadü - to make manioc flour (mañoco) by rubbing
akoi'cha'hüdü - termination point, tip, top
a'kö'e - walk and cut (to clear a field)
akötödü - to be cutting
a'kushönö - president, leader
aku:daha:da - powder
ama:kai - comb
aminña'kadü - to kill
amo - hand
amoinchadö'to:ma - my distant (female) cousin
amoinche - far, distant
amoinche'da - near
amö'hüdü - roof, wall
amu:tu - reeds for making a manioc-squeezer
amu:tu adü - leaves for making manioc baskets
ana:medü - for you to eat
anei'ñö - from below, from another part
anna'ka - (dining) room, main room
anwaka - into, in
ano:to - day
a'nödönködö - the two
anö:tö - fish hook
asü:kü - mouse
atö'tiha:ne - arrive to trade
a'to'toto'ho - to weave
awdwa:hö - garden
awdwö:dü - make a garden
awa:'de - before, first
awadudi - fox
awonñö'ka:dü - to inflate, swell up

CH

cha:mudu - his grandfather
chanwai - shaman's pouch or woven box
cha:ta:dü - his dinner, meal
cha:tü - animal fat
cha:wadü - lungs
cha:wai'chü - his tobacco
chei'yedü - his brother-in-law

chomomüdawö - in the evening, during the night
chomomü:dü - night
cho:'kadü - to wash things
chö'hiyü - border
chömhamü:'tü - light, flint (percussion cap)
chönnadü - his nose
chö:dahö - his chief
chö:dedü - liver
chö:hadöinñe - with them
chö:hadö:no - his friend
chö:hu'hö - seeds
chö:hüdü - flower
chö:hüdü:dü - fruit
chö:'kudu - fruit juice
chö:künü - pet
chö:nün'a:'to - sure, correct
chö:nün'e na - thank you
chö:nün'e neta:dawa kaha:nö - Is the work going well?
chö:ta:hö - rotten
chö'ta:nadü - his cousin
chö:ta'ku:du - his saliva
chö:'tü - his name
chö:'tümü:dü - his voice, his shout
chö:wanü - his heart
chö:'wütü - his hammock
chu - mountain, forest
chu'dedü - his enemy
chu'kannühü:dü - to fill, to stuff
chu:da:wai - his poison
chu:hiyü - to cut down, to carve, to clear
chu:'hö - lake
chu:'hö e:'hiyü - shore of the lake
chu:madü - rising river
chu:nödü - to heat
chu:'nödü - the end, a dead end
chu:ta - trees, forest
chu:wadü - leaves
chühan'ahö - cloudy
chühan'ahö:na - it's cloudy
chün'e - go to fish with poison
chünküi'chü - his manioc-squeezer
chü:müi - his machete

D

'da - no, negation, no one knows
da:ka - he cuts me
da:'küdü - tail
da:mö - louse

da'de:du e'ku:ni - chief's assistant
dadü - leaves
da'hö:dü - his arm
da'hö:'sai - winged
dahu - bamboo
da'ka - into
dama - sea
damai - fish with poison
damo:dü - his hand
damo:dühü:dü - his hand (deceased)
dainña - over there
danñami - nest
dantadü - island
dantai - some
dantawö:to - normal (the average size of a man)
danwa - man
danwa'kö - boy
danwadü - narrow, thin
danwa'komo - the men
dato:tü - cord, string
dawa:de - opossum
dawodekö:kö - about, around
dea - the same, again, the identical one
dedü - teeth
de: - tree
dehu:shi - slide, earth quake
De'kwana - Ye'kuana, Dhe'kuana
de'mu - white hair, elder person
demo:shi - eagle
deyude - wrinkled
dodo - parrot (>Sp)
do:'nö - below
do:'ta - trunk (of body), soul
dowa:nökö - he knows
dudi:nñü - fire
dudu:noi - stomach
dui'chö - my older brother
du'kadi - peccary (Tayassu pecari)
dukö:hü - a type of tree
düinñainñe - where they are
düa:hö - made
dü:'tö - beside me
du:du - his cassava

E

edu:wa - now, already
eduwa:to - new
'eee - yes

e:da:mo - sponsor, mentor
e'dö - this one
e:ka:dü - to bite, chew
ee:'kudu - juice
e:ne'ho - where it is
e:tö - here, right here
ehe:düdü - fruit
ehe:madü - buy, pay
ehi:chü - medicine for him
e'kuka:dü - to squeeze, express
ema:dü - to kill
emañühü:dü - to go out hunting with dogs
ene:dü - to see, know
enehodü - to show
enkwekadü - to put out, extinguish
enno'hadü - to throw
enñontödü - to be mean, stingy
ennuichadü - to give birth
ennüichadü - to get wet, moisten
ennüichahõ - soaking
e'se'tödü - to manage, organize
eta:dü - to hear
eta'dödü - to spit
ettömuho - chin, beard
etü:dötoho - sacred calabash, gourd
ewainshiñühena - his dinner it is
ewanaka:dü - to save
ewa'tödü - to hang a hammock

H

hadö - with
ha:dö - with me
ha:dü - grandchild
ha:ha - papa
ha:mo - grandchild
hana - ear
ha:nö - trap
ha:tu - duck
hada:hi - plate
hadanka:na - pot, jar
hada:nö - daughter-in-law
hade:dö - rapidly, fast
hadöinñe - with them
hadönñe wa - I am with them
hadu:du - plantain
hadu:ma - pigeon, dove
hahe:da - paper (<Sp)
ha'hi - fish net

haichi:tu - agouti (Dasyprocta aguti)
ha'ki:ya - wild pig (Dicotyles tajacu)
haku:dimü'tü - thread
hamü:dü - son-in-law
ha'ta - village, community
hati:ya - watermellon
hawi: - bird
he'de - tortoise, turtle
he:dü - my face
he:na - canoe paddle
he:tü - my leg
he'kai - forehead
hehe:nchö - wind
heku:de - mirror
hena:dö - in the past, long ago
henamma - tomorrow
heyu - wrinkle
heyuha:no - to wrinkle
hi:chu - flute
hihi:di - palm fruit
hi'hö - skin
hima:dü - to throw water
himmö - family (especially female members)
hiya:na - hawk, eagle
ho'de - calf of leg
hyo'ho:dü - to smell
hyo'kahöke - made of wood
homi - peppers, spice, hot sauce
ho:he - much, many, a lot
ho:nü - my cousin
ho:tü - my intestine
hyo:tü - his intestine
hyo:tüdühe - arrowhead, arrow point; the one who comes first
hote:ya - bottle (<Sp)
höde:mu - anteater
höhö - jar, pot
hö'kö - with this
hömu:kö - name of an insect
hönü:nö - to swim
hö:'hudu - wall
hö:kö - with me
hö:kö'da - leave me alone
hö:'nö - little hen, guinea hen
hö:nü'kö - my cousin
hudumato - black
hyunu - someone's flesh
hu: - hair
hu:'hö - my head
hyu:nu - his flesh, meat
hu:shi:hato, hu:shi:he - fat, stout, thick

hu:ya - arrowhead
hüdo:do - yard, patio
hüdüi - stop, bet, parade, walk
hüdüi weinñö - go walking, make a bet
hüdü:'kö - savannah deer
hü: - mountain
hü:'hano - mountainous
hünü:ne - it is not
hüta:di - griddle, skillet
hütadimmai - cooking hut for making cassave (with griddle)
hü:mü - neck
hü:wai - shaman
hü:'waka:dö - going down or over
hüyei'chö - mapuey (a type of potato)
hüyei'chö e'kuduhato - violet or the color of mapuey

I

i'ho'tü - feathers, hair
i'hudu - his foot
i:'chomo:dü - to waste, squander (water)
i:'chö:dü - walk, stroll
imi:chü - root, fingernail
i'moi - egg
imü:dü - to tie
incha:dü - his mouth
inchomo - old one
inchomo'kö - old one, elder
inña - there
inñahu'tahö - climbed, ladder
inña'köi - bottom, source
inñata:dü, inñataha'to - beautiful
inñatü'tö:dü - his plants, crops
inñe:dü - his/her son, child
inñö:kö - by his/her side
insho:'kö - old person
iwi - small deer
i:yö - this one, it is
iyohü:Udü - breast

K

ka:do - tasty, sweet
ka:'dutu - cloud
ka:'dutuhená - it is cloudy
ka:nno - they, them
ka:nwa - shaman's pouch, woven box
ka:'shai - piranha

ka:tü - my fat
ka:'tükü - wrinkle
ka:wai - tobacco
kada:kada:di - king vulture (Sarcoramphus papa)
kadaihyai - river spider used for fish bait
kade:hu - shaman
kadi:yu - squirrel
kadu:wai - macaw, large parrot
kaha - urn
kahaw - armadillo
kahicha:na - captain
kahu - sky
kahu:shawa - devils
kahu:yu - tarantula
kai'chai - parrot
kaiña - offspring of incestuous union
kana: - large-mouthed fish
kana:dühe - because of, by (instrumental)
kanaimö - night-devil
kankudu - gourd
kassa:kidi - toasted hot sauce
kata:da - meal (meat, fish)
kata:tadu - cicada
kawa:di - deer
kawa:nadu - Guiana Cock-of-the-Rock (Rupicola rupicola)
kawadi:mö - puma
kawadima:ka - sling for carrying baby
kawaw - toad
kawö: - above
ke:ma:to - we kill
keima:to - we smoke
kidi'shu - porcupine
koihai - at night, in the middle of the night
kone'da - bad, evil
konemhünü - bad, problematic
kono:ho - rain
ko:ko - grandfather
ködö:ihye - sick
köinñe - with
kökködiha'to - round, surrounding
kömusa'kö - my son-in-law
kömme - cold
kön'kwö - my son-in-law
kö'tünnö - voice
kuda:ta - blow gun
kuda:wa - poison (curare)
kuda:wa'ke - with poison
kudai - a type of palm
kudaima:du - hen
kude:wa - a type of parrot

kudi:di - catfish
kudiya:da - dugout canoe
kudu:mu - black vulture (Coragyps atratus)
kuhö:di - type of palm tree and its fruit
kuma:dawa - poison (curare)
kuma:dü - to flood, overflow (lit. rising river)
ku:datai - my blow gun
ku:nwa - blow gun darts
ku:shi: - pig
kusu:'kusu: - squirrel
kushi - beverage
kuwai - type of palm (moriche)
kuyu:wi - turkey
küda:kwö - hot sauce of the Cunucunuma River
küda:tai - grasshopper
küda:yu - leaves boiled for resin used to stain gourds
küde:de - manioc
kühödudu - our strength
kümü'kö - knife
künenüi'cho - they drink
künno'to - poisonous snake
künnüdü'komo - our things, made by us
künota a:kuduha'to - yellow
künwanno - we, us
künwo'haicho - s/he gives beer to them
kü'to - frog
kümü - machete
küwei'cho'komo - as we are, as we will be
küwei'ho'ko:mo - as we were
küwü - we two (first and second person)

M

ma - you (s) are
ma:di - small white heron
ma:do/mado - jaguar
ma:dö - over there
ma:kö - biting gnat
ma:'shiki:di - mountain cat or ocelot; Felis (Leopardus) tigrina
mada:na - case for blowgun darts
madu:da - giant armadillo
maha - and, also
maha:naha:na - rough part of a plant for polishing gourds
maha:ya - papaya
ma'hi - corn pasta with meat filling
mahi:di - mosquito, gnat
mana:de - round basket for sifting manioc flour
manatü:dü e:kudu - breast milk
manku - mango

manñuku - manioc flour (mañoco)
maku:sa - needle
makü:düwü:düi - name of an animal
mati:di - basket for manioc flour (mañoco)
matu:tu - butterfly
mawa:di - poisonous river snake
mayu:du - beads
me:'ku'tö:dü - count, tell, narrate
me:shi - cat
mehe - a tree with edible fruit
memu - snail
mesa - table (<Sp)
mma: - house
mma:ta'ka - into the house
mmhm - yes
mm'hm - no
modoi - spider that does not bite
modo:no - evil powers used against enemies
monse - green boa constrictor
motto - earth worm
mödö - it is, it goes
mödö:he - thus, so it is
mönse - on the other side
möntö - there
mö:'dö - this, this one here
mö:kü - this, this one just there
mö:ñö - this one
mude:shi - youth, young ones
mudekö:kö - boy
mudu:kuku - food, edibles
muinña'tö - it is used, utilized
munu - blood
mutu - worm, maggot
mu:de - seat, bench
mu:du - type of fish
muwa:hu - skirt
müna:tata - door
münö:tö - scorpion

N

na - s/he is; it is
na:do:nka - he is cured
na:döha - he orders him to carry (it)
na:dö:a - she carries (it)
na:dü - there it is
na:'kuka - in the river
na:kukwa:no - fish
na:to - they are

na:tüdü - my foliage, plants
natü:dü - his plants, foliage
na:wa - skirt of a dress
na'dewfa - he calls (her/him)
na'dewwa - he talks, speaks
nadonnka - he cures/heals (him/her)
nakai'cha - rub harina between hands
nakwai - by means of the river
nakwano - fish in river
na'kwawö - near the river
na'ttü - seedlings
neda:ntöi - s/he encounters, meets him/her
ne:ka - sh/he bites, chews
ne:ne - truely
ne:nña - it's raining
neho:dü'a - he succeeds, attains, achieves, gets something
neima - he smokes
nema:to - they smoke
nemannö'ta - to go out to hunt; to go out with children
nenn'a - he drinks
ne'ñoho - no; to the contrary
nenñonta - s/he is being mean, stingy
ne'sa'ka - s/he paints himself
ne'se'ta - s/he manages it, he arranges it
ne'ta - s/he hears (it)
newa:'ta - s/he hangs a hammock
newo:nta - s/he is dressed
nichanicha - s/he weaves
niñonnta - s/he is afraid
niño:nta - s/he frightens him/her
nio'ha - s/he gives him/her a drink
nio'hato - s/he gives them a drink
nio'hai'cho - s/he gave them a drink
ni'shadü - that which he plucks, peels, cuts off
niwo:nta - he dresses him
nña: - we, us (I and s/he)
nnedü - child
nono - ground, earth
nonohoi'chöto - low, tiny (close to the ground)
no:hoima - s/he walks
no:ima - s/he mixes (it)
no'samo'kö - old woman
nossahe - dirty
nö'düi - s/he arrived
nö'hiya - s/he takes a bath, bathes
nö'menka:to - this but not that
nönwa - s/he dances
nö:'ka - s/he finishes, stops (it)
nö:ka'a - be woven
nö:meka:to - to do magic

nö'shiya - s/he scratches, slashes him-/herself
nötö'tiha - s/he trades
nu:du - my tongue
nu:'kai - s/he takes (it) out, pulls out, draws out
nu:nö - moon
nuwe - large, long
nüdüha - s/he orders (him/her) to do it
nüdü:a - s/he does it
nü'ka'a - s/he weaves (it)
nünü'ka - s/he sleeps
nü'ta - s/he goes
nüwõ:a - s/he throws it out, shoots, hurls it (e.g., arrow)
nwa'kõi - bottom
ña:dü - clear, clean up the garden
ña:madu - stroke, dash, stripe, mark, line, ray
nña:mma - we, us (I and s/he), no others
ña:ñudi - giant otter
nña: tamu:du - our grandfather
ña:tü'ta:hö - planted, sown, seedlings
ñanno - that thing
ñadwahüdü - his garden
ño:tü - his grandfather
ñö:dö - that one
ñu:du - tongue
ñü:toho - for tying

O

oddoi - merey (a fruit)
odokaha'to - quadruped; (pl) odokaha'komo
odo:ma - paca (Agouti paca)
odo:tü - your meat, booty
odo:wanö:kö - you know
oimahö - mixed
ono:tü - your grandfather
o:'ta:hö - fish (out of river)
owa:ho - before, at first
owodü:mü - your father-in-law
owo:dü - your uncle

Ö

öda:hö - chief
öda'kwökönо - separate skirt
öde:mi eda:mo - master of song
ödi:nñö - jar, pot
öhi - medicine, remedy
öhö:kö - with you

öichönna:wökö - when
öisho:no - which
öishöno - which do you want
ökatomhö - image, spirit
ö'kö:de - come here
ökö:yu - snake
öku:de - so it goes; it awaits
ömannö'e - to go out to hunt
ömi:he - hungry
ömmi - fingernails, claws
ömö:dö - you
ö'mu'da'to - lefthanded
ömu:'demhünü - rightside, righthand
öna:ku - tears (water of the eyes)
önedawö - another day
öne:ha - other one
önekö:mü - what
önna - nose
önña - corn
önö:kü - who
önta - mouth
önu - eye
önu'tö - mucus
önwanno - you (pl)
ö:'hi - lips
ö:isha - where
ö:ma - road, route, path
ö:'mu - elbow, knee
ö:ne'da - that which is not seen
ö:ta'ku - saliva
ö:tü - name
ö:'wa'tö - hammock
ö:'wa:ttö hu:nsada:dü - hammock strings
ö:wainshi - food, meal
ö'sa - room, assembly room
ö'saka - to the house, at the house
össe - hunt, hunting party
ö'sha:dü - fruit of hawthorn, buckthorn
öshi:cha:dü - sugar cane
öttö - churuata (traditional house)
ötü:kö - small armadillo
öwah - cemetary
öwa'tö - hammock

S

sa:'da'da - sand
sa:'donna:'to - straight
sa:ku:dahe - it is not ripe

sa:'tahe - delicate
sa:yu - salt
sada:du - salad
sawi:ya - ornament, adornment
sewo:ya - onion
seda'hadi - a type of fish
sekemhünü - blunt, having no cutting edge
sewei'chato - red, ripe
so:'ka - tupiro (monkey grapes)
ssado:do - small otter
ssa'dö:'dö - towards here, coming this way
sse:na - remedy for diarrhea
ssede:he - dry
ssese:'du - name of a small parrot
ssodo'ha - trap
ssoto - people
ssuku:taka - manioc meal or mush
suku - urine
suku:hi - lance, spear
suna:mo - hot sauce of Orinoco River
sü:'na - dog, wolf

SH

sha:damadü:he - broken up, divided, split
sha:ku - potato
sha:yadu - parakeet
shadwahö - toasted cassava
shadwödü - cooked chili peppers
shahoko - toucan
sha'kwö - hot sauce of Cunucunuma River
she:'kö, she:'koto'kö - small
she:mekadü - to clean, to sweep
she:ne, she:'na'to - green, blue, not ripe
she:'se'dü - ashes of cassava
shei'chadü - to sand, to sand-paper, to rub smooth, to polish
shew - coati
shidi:chö - star
shidishidi - cricket
shidiyo'ka - bead ornaments on a skirt
shi: - sun
shi:'chu - younger brother
shima:da - arrow
shima:da ehu:du - bow
shiña'tö - fiber cord for tying cassava bundles
sho:dü - torrent, rapids
sho:kadü - to sew
shu:madü - to suck, to nurse

T

ta:'ne - hot, warm
tada:dwe - to scratch, grate
tada:dwe:mö - snake
tada:ya - blue-grey heron
tadawa:hu - work
tadi:nñümö - one bird
tadinña:mo - birds
tadonñe wa - I am healthy
taduyhye - s/he wants to eat meat
ta'duke:na - it is shut
ta'huhu:ñe - wide, broad, large
ta'ka - in, into
tamedö:dö - all (of it)
tamhö:'ne - fast, rapidly
tamönñato - heavy
tanoyñato - s/he gives orders but does not work
tadwa - board, plank (<Sp)
tawa:he - light, frivolous
tawedato - short, weak
to:ki - ceremony or celebration for clearing a new garden
to:ni - one (thing)
to:ni amoha:to - six
to:ni (i)yö: - one time
tö'hu - rock
töhuya:to - fat
töinshi'ho - to have a cough
tö'ke'ne, tö'kena:to - white
tömena'to - robber, thief
tömu'da'to - lefthanded
tönö:mö aminñökatoho - hunting gear
tönömü - food, meat
tö:dekwade - he is brave, wild, boastful
tö'saka - to his house
tu'de - enemy
tudi - basket for carrying things on one's back
tudu:du - toad
tuhu'hu:dato - blunt, not sharp, has no point
tuhunnato - important
tuhu:mö - together, reunited
tu'kui - hummingbird
tuku:di - drinking gourd
tuna - water
tunke - child with parents
tunkemhünü - orphan
tu:'da - large gourd
tu:'na - to blow
tu:nu:nu - white medicinal resin
tü'demhünü - bachelor

tüdüahö - served, prepared, made, having had it
tüdü:'kö - make it, do it
tü'ka:dü - to dig, to excavate
tü'ka'hüdü - to weave
tünküi - manioc squeezer
tünküi dedümmai - house where manioc flour is made
tünü'nö - mass of squeezed manioc
tünwanno - they, them
tüsa:de na - s/he is afraid
tüsocha:mü - light, matches
tüta:wa'ta - to float in the river
tü:'tahö:'nö - to think
tüwa:motunu'ke na - the closed hand
tüweiye - there is, s/he has
tüwo:dü - his uncle
tüwö'hiyü - to swim, to bathe
tüwö:dü - to stab
tüwö:tüma: na - s/he is mad, angry
tüwö:tüma:'se na - s/he is trying to be boastful or bullying
tüwü - s/he, him/her

U

ude:dü - blow (on the fire)
udu:moihüdü - stomach
udu:tu - night butterfly
udu:yu - name of a parrot
u'hu - foot
uka:dü - to burn
utu:du - to give
u: - casavva
u:dui - my older brother
u: ene'kö - please bring me cassava
u: ennüichadü - to soak cassava
u: ennüichakö - (you) soak (imp) cassava
u: ennüichahö - wet cassava
u:'hu:du - my feet
u:'ka:dü - to draw, draw out, take out, pull out
u: shadwahö - toasted cassava

Ü

ü'de:dü - my manioc
ümmai - my house
ümmai a'dü - roof of my house
ü:wüdü - my axe
üwü - I, me

W

wa - I am
wa:dö:a - I carry (it)
waha - flat basket
wa:'ha - I pulverize it; I make flour.
wa:dü'he - It pleases me; I like it.
wa:munö - tear (of eye)
wa:sha - to collect, catch
wa:sai yadü - palm leaf
wa:'shichanö - sneeze
wa:'to - fire
wada:da - large tortoise
sada:kani - crab, crayfish
wade'da'ta - sloth
wade:ku: - cotton
wa'denta - I put in/attach feathers.
wadi - small anteater
wadidi - small insect similar to a bee
wadishidi - marimonda monkey (Ateles belzebuth)
wadiwadi - fan
wahö:nta - I begin (to do some particular thing)
wahönta - I begin (in general)
wahu'nö - fruit of guamo tree (a shade tree)
way'cha - shotgun
waychadü - my arm
wayha:ma - song for the innauguration of a house
wayhyu'ka - I hit/strike (him/her/it)
waynñe'ney - aunt
waynñünnö - to fly
wakühe'da - I doesn't please me; I don't like it.
wame:di - chicken
wame:di e:wü'tüko:mo - chicken house
wana - bamboo (used in flutes)
wana:deke - pineapple
wana:di - woodpecker
wana:di hinñamohüdü - name of a small black and yellow frog; mythological spouse of a deity.
wannö - bee
wa'sennö - to laugh
wa'shadi - tapir
watahhima:nö - to sit down
watasoka:dü - noises
wa'to'ta - I string (beads), thread (needle)
wa'tö - feces
waya:mu - box turtle
waya:wa - guava
weda:nta - I meet/encounter him/her
wede:nnö - wood ashes
wede:wede - fly

wedennö:mö - small grey bird
wedu - year
we'dukwa:nö - to fall
wehu'ta - I put in the stick
wehu:mma - transporting a person to another spot;ritual blowing
weichako:no - friend, companion
wei'chü - people, family (living persons)
weyama - large gourd or pumpkin
weka:toho - bath room, latrine
wekanta:'ñönõ - to sing
wema:n'a - I paint (him/her)
wemmha - after I give it
wena'tahõ'e'nö - to vomit
wene:ne - always
wennaka:nö - to return, to come back
wennühüi - sling for carrying children
wenñõ - life, to be, living persons
we'sa'toho - for painting
wewa:ka - I put it, insert it
wewa'ta - I hang (a hammock)
wewontönö - to dress
widi:ki - crystal, diamond (kept by shaman)
widi:nchö - smoke, vapor
wihun'a - I put cotton on the back of blowgun darts.
wi:didi:mö - Great Kiskadee (Pitangus sulphuratus)
wi:'sha - to peel, to skin, to strip
wi:shi:cha - to grab a flat or limp object
wi:'yaka - to grab or take a little or handful
wemöi:ya - I wind, roll it up.
wimo:n'a - I double, fold, bend it.
wiñü:a - I tie, fasten it.
wisha - black monkey
wishe:meka - I clean, sweep.
wishi:widi - titi monkey
wishu - red paint from arnotto tree
wiya:ka - I knock down, cut down trees.
wo'kü - manioc meal or mush
wo:'mo - necklace, collar
wo:'modü - my necklace, collar
womü - clothes, dress, garmets
wone:ha - test, trial
wodi - woman
wo:dü - uncle
wo:dü:mö - my father-in-law
wo:hoimanö - to walk, to go
wo:i - wild grass, savannah grass
wo:küdü - my manioc meal or mush
wo:'ta - I am fishing, I fish
wo:wanomatoho - school
woto:neha:nö - to fight

wowashi:nchönö - to eat
wömentönö - to accuse each other
wöne:tünö - to dream
wönö - war
wönwana:wö - while dancing
wö:de:manö - to breathe
wö:de:tanö - to rest
wö'dü:a - I arrive
wö'hiñö - to bathe oneself
wö:'küdü:manö - to be squeezed, crushed; to rub hard, scrub
wö:manñö:'nö - to go for a walk or outing/hunting on foot
wö:nehe:nö - to escape, to flee
wö:'nö - fiber cord or twine used in making baskets
wö:'tö - door
wöshikihanö - to play
wötö'tiha - I trade (things)
wötö'tiha:nö - to trade
wüdüa - I make (it), I do (it)
wüdühö'a - I put it out.
wü'ka'a - I weave
wükü:a - I grate (it)
wü:nkünö - to sleep
wü:tö:nö - to go
wü:wa - basket
wü:wü - axe
wü'tönñoho - farewell; with your permission, I'm going

Y

ya:kö - with me
ya:kö - large ant
ya:'kwadü - to burn
ya:tohötüdü - to divide, to part
ya:tokwa:dü - divide in the middle
ya:wö - so it is; thus
ya:ya - older sister
yada:kadu - monkey
yada:di - fermented beverage made from bitter manioc
yada:nawi - criollos (non-indigenous or European)
yadakadu'hwai - spider that bites
ya'de'du - my language, my words
ya'dewwa - I speak, I talk
yadü - leaves
yaichadü - lance, spear
yaichuma:dü - to blow, blow on, blow away
yaima:di - type of bird
yama:nadi - iguana
ye:dü - his teeth
ye:'hiyü - my lips

ye:'hõ - bone
ye:'hüdü - arrival
ye:ma:to - they kill me
ye:madü - my path, my road
ye:'mudu - my knee, shinbone
ye:nudu - my eye
yedukadü - waterfall
yehaichü - my elbow
yehu'kwai - to be or become wrecked, founder; to sink, fall through
yeichü:döhe - forever
yeihedü - my brother-in-law
Ye'kwana - De'kwana, Dhekwana
yennadü - my nose
yennsu'dödü - to inflate, blow up, puff up, swell
ye'saka - in my house
ye'sawõ - in my house
yeshi:ya - I scratch/slash myself
ye'ta:nadü - my cousin/brother
yewashi:ncha - he feeds me
ye'wü'tü - my hammock
yo'ha:dü - give drink to someone
yo:'küdü - his manioc meal or mush
yo:'tawö:ne - midnight, middle of the night
yo:tü - my flesh, my meat
yö:he - so it is, thus
yö:'hiyü - he bathes, he swims
yö:'höhe - after, afterward, then
yö:tö - over there
yötö:mma - there
yuhuduñanno - headwater people, traditionals
yü:'se - bearing fruit, mature
yüwü:dü - capybara (Hydrochoerus hudrochaeris)

APPENDIX F. Abbreviations and Symbols

A	agent
abil	abilitive
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
asp	aspect
aux	auxiliary
BWO	basic word order
C	consonant
caus	causative
contr	contrastive particle
conj	conjunction
cop	copula
CV	consonant-vowel
dem	demonstrative
desid	desiderative
det	determiner
DO	direct object
DPC	distant past completive
DPI	distant past incompletive
excl	exclusive
fut	future
fut imm	futuritive immediative
fut prob	futuritive probabilitive

GN	genitive-noun
ident	identity or equivalence particle
imp	imperative
incl	inclusive
interr	interrogative
intr	intransitive
IO	indirect object
irreal	irrealis
iter	iterative mode
IV	intransitive verb
N	noun, nominal
NA	noun-adjective
neg	negative
NI	noun incorporation
nom	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OV	object-verb
permsv	permissive mode
pl	plural
poss	possession marker
pres	present, non-past tense/aspect
pssv	passive
pst tns	past tense
refl	reflexive

recip	reciprocal
rel	relative
repor	reportative particle
RPC	recent past completive
RPI	recent past incompletive
S	subject
sing	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb
spec	specification particle
subjun	subjunctive
tns	tense
top	topicalization particle
trans	transitive
TV	transitive verb
V	vowel
verif	verification particle
VP	verb phrase
1/3	first person subject and third person object
3/2	third person subject and second person object
/____'x'	in the environment of: preceding 'x'
/ 'x'____	in the environment of: following 'x'
//	end of statement
/ /	phoneme
[ ]	phonetic symbol
*	not an acceptable or correct expression; ungrammatical

#	word boundary
>	becomes
:	vowel length
( )	optional expression
.	syllable break
~	alternates with

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Stephen R.
1976 On the Notion of Subject in Ergative Languages. In Subject and Topic, C. N. Li (ed.), pp. 1-23.

Armellada, Fray Cesareo
1980 Literaturas Indigenous Venezolanas. Caracas: Monte Avila Editores.

Arvelo-Jimenez, Nelly
1971 (1974) Political Relations in a Tribal Society: A Study of the Ye'cuana Indians of Venezuela. Studies Program Dissertation Series 31. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Latin American Studies Program. Spanish Edition, 1974. Relaciones Politicas en una Sociedad Tribal: Estudios de los Ye'cuana, Indigenas del Anazonas Venezolano. Mexico: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

1973 The Dynamics of the Ye'cuana ("Maquiritare") Political System: Stability and Crises. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Document Series 12.

1977 A Study of the Process of Village Formation in Ye'cuana Society. In Carib-Speaking Indians: Culture, Society and Language, E. Basso (ed.), pp. 106-112.

1983 Organizacion Social, Politica y Economica de las Principales Etnias del Territorio Federal Amazonas. En Sistemas Ambientales Venezolanos. Proyecto Ven/79/001. Region Guayana. Territorio Federal Amazonas. Vol. 1, pp. 183-320. Caracas: MARNR-UNESCO (mimeo).

Bach, E. and R. Harms (eds.)
1968 Universals in Linguistic Theory. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bally, Charles and Albert Sechehaye (eds.)
1966 Course in General Linguistics: Ferdinand de Saussure. New York: McGraw-Hill Company.

Barandiaran, Daniel de
1961 Santa Maria de Erebato o la Fundacion de un Nuevo Pueblo en el Estado Bolivar. Caracas: Editorial Sucre. Natura, Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle, No. 15-16, pp. 1-34.

1962 Actividades Vitales de Subsistencia de los Indios Yekuana o Makiritare. Antropologica XI:1-29.

Bartsch, Renate
1973 The Semantics and Syntax of Number and Numbers. IN Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 2, J. P. Kimball (ed.). New York: Semlinar Press, pp. 51-93.

Basso, Ellen B. (ed.)
1977 Carib-Speaking Indians: Culture Society and Language. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, No. 28. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press.

Bermudez-Solett, Dionisio Rafael
1982 Autodesarrollo del Indigena Maquiritare. Bogota, Colombia: Buena Semilla.

Bever, Thomas G.
1976 Functional Explanations Require Independently Motivated Functional Theories. Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism, R. E. Grossman, L. J. San and T. J. Vance (eds.), pp. 580-609.

Boas, Franz
1966 Handbook of American Indian Languages. Reprint ed. by Preston Holder. University of Nebraska Press. (Originally published 1911 by the Goverment Printing Office, Washington D. C.)

Boas, Franz and Ella Deloria
1941 Dakota Grammar. Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, Vol. 23. Dakota Indian Foundation, Dakota Press.

Boletin Indigenista Venezolano, Vol. 18, No. 14
1978 Direccion de Asuntos Indigenas, Ministerio de Educacion. Caracas.

Bolkestein, Am. M., et al.
1981 Predication and Expression in Functional

Grammar. London: Academic Press.

Brody, Jill
1982 Discourse Processes of Highlighting in Tojolabal Maya Morphosyntax. Unpublished Phd. Dissertation, Washington University, St. Louis.

1984 Some Problems with the Concept of Basic Word Order. Linguistics 22:711-736.

Carson, Neusa M.
1981 Phonology and Morphosyntax of Macuxi (Carib). University of Kansas: Phd. Dissertation.

Castillo, Carlos and O. F. Bond
1972 Spanish Dictionary, Revised Edition. New York: Pocket Books.

Chafe, Wallace L.
1967 Seneca Morphology and Dictionary. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 4. Washington: Smithsonian Press.

1970 Meaning and the Structure of Language. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1976a The Caddoan, Iroquoian and Siouan Languages. Trends in Linguistics, State of the Art Report, 3. The Hague: Mouton.

1976b Giveness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View. In Subject and Topic, C. N. Li (ed.), pp. 25-55.

1977 The Evolution of Third Person Verb Agreement in the Iroquoian Languages. In Mechanisms of Syntactic Change, C. N. Li (ed.). Austin: The University of Texas Press, pp. 493-524

1980 The Deployment of Consciousness in the Production of Narrative. In W. Chafe (ed.), The Pear Stories: Cognitive, Cultural, and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publication Corporation, pp. 9-50.

Chomsky, Noam
1965 Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

de Civrieux, Jean Marc Sellier
1960 Leyendas Maquiritares. Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle, No. 56, vol. 20. Caracas, pp. 105-125.

1968 Mitologia Maquiritare: La Primera Historia. Oriente Medico, vol. 1 (4):319-324.

1970 Watunna Mitologia Makiritare. Monte Avila editores, Caracas.

1980 Watunna: An Orinoco Creation Cycle. David M. Guss, ed. and transl. San Francisco: North Point Press.

Clairis, Christos
1982 Linguistique Fuegienne le Qawsqar. Doctoral dissertation, University of Paris.

Comrie, Bernard
1976 Review of G. A. Klimov, Ocerk obscej teorii ergativnosti. (Outline of a General Theory of Ergativity), Moscow, 1973. Lingua 39:252-260.

1977 Causative Verb Formation and Other Verb-Deriving Morphology. Manuscript for Center for Applied Linguistics Project: Language Typology and Syntactic Field-Work. University of Cambridge.

1978 Ergativity. In Syntactic Typology, W. P. Lehmann (ed.), pp. 329-394.

1979 Definite and Animate Direct Objects: A Natural Class. Linguistica Silesiana 3:13-21.

1981 Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

1982 Verb Agreement in Ket. Folia Slavica 5:115-127.

Coppens, Walter
1972 The Anatomy of a Land Invasion Scheme in Yekuana Territory, Venezuela. IWGIA Document Series, #9. Copenhagen.

1981 Del Canalete al Motor Fuera de Borda. Monografia No. 28. Instituto Caribe de Antropologia y Sociologia. Caracas: Fundacion de La Salle.

DeLancey, Scott
1981 An Interpretation of Split Ergativity and Related Patterns. Language 57(3):626-657.

Derbyshire, Desmond
1965 Textos Hixkaryana. Publicacoes Avulsas, No. 3. Brasil: Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi.

1977 Discourse Redundancy in Hixkaryana. IJAL 43:176-188.

1979 Hixkaryana. Lingua Descriptive Series, Vol. 1. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.

1981 A Diachronic Expllanation for the Origin of OVS in Some Carib Languages. Journal of Linguistics 17:209-220.

1986 Topic Continuity and OVS Order in Hixkaryana. In Native South American Discourse, J. Sherzer and G. Urban (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 237-306.

Derbyshire, D. C. and G. K. Pullum
1979 A Select Bibliography of Guiana Carib Languages. IJAL 45:271-276.

1981 Object-Initial Languages. IJAL 47(3):192-214.

van Dijk, Teun A.
1972 Some Aspects of Text Grammars. The Hague: Mouton.

1981 Studies in the Pragmatics of Discourse. The Hague: Mouton.

van Dijk, T. A. (ed.)
1976 Pragmatics of Language and Literature. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.

van Dijk, T. A. and Walter Kintsch
1983 Strategies of Discourse Comprehension. New York: Academic Press.

van Dijk, T. A. and Janos S. Petofi (eds.)
1977 Grammars and Descriptions. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Dik, Simon C.
1980 Studies in Functional Grammar. London: Academic Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. (ed.)
1976 Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Dixon, R. M. W.
1979 Ergativity. Language 55:59-138.

Dressler, Wolfgang U. (ed.)
1978 Current Trends in Textlinguistics. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. c. 1977.

DuBois, John W.
1981 Ergativity and Preferred Argument Structure in Sacapultec Discourse. m.s.

1985 Competing Motivations. In Iconicity in Syntax, J. Haiman (ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 343-365.

1987 The Discourse Basis of Ergativity. Language 63(4):805-855.

Durbin, Marshall
1975 Models of Simultaneity and Sequentiality in Human Cognition. In Linguistics and Anthropology in Honor of C. F. Voeglin, M. Dale Kinkade and Kenneth L. Hale (eds.). Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press, pp. 113-135.

1977 A Survey of the Carib Language Family. In Carib-Speaking Indians: Culture, Society and Language, E. Basso (ed.), pp. 23-38.

Durbin, M., C. A. Hofling, and F. Ojeda
1983 Reference Grammar and Stem Dictionary in Yucatec Maya. m.s.

Durbin, M. and Fernando Ojeda
1978 Basic Word Order in Yucatec Maya. In Papers in Mayan Linguistics. University of Missouri Miscellaneous Publications in Anthropology, Number 6; Studies in Mayan Linguistics, Number 2. Columbia, Missouri: The University of Missouri, pp. 69-77.

1979 Patient Deixis in Yucatec Maya. m.s.

Durbin, M. and Haydee Seijas
1972a The Phonological Structure of the Western Carib

Languages of the Sierra de Perija, Venezuela. Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale. Degliamericanisti. Roma-Genova.

1972b A Relative Chronology of the Carib Language Family. Paper read, XXII Convencion Anual de la Sociacion Venezolana para la Avance de la Ciencia, Maracaibo, Junio 1972.

1973 Proto Hiancoto: Guaque-Carijona-Hianacoto Umaua. IJAL 39:22-31.

England, Nora c. (ed.)
1978 Papers in Mayan Linguistics. University of Missouri Miscellaneous Publications in Anthropology, No. 6. Studies in Mayan Linguistics, No. 2. Columbia, Missouri: The University of Missouri.

de Escoriaza, Damian
1959 Datos Lingüisticos de la lengua Makiritare. Antropologica 6:7-46.

1960 Algunos Datos Linguisticos mas sobre la lengua Makiritare. Antropologica 10:61-70.

Fillmore, Charles
1968 The Case for Case. In Universals in Linguistic Theory, E. Bach and R. Harms (eds.), pp. 1-90.

Firth, Raymond
1973 Symbols: Public and Private. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Foster, Joseph F.
1980 Why There Are No Primitive Languages--and Why Dyribal Is One. Paper presented at the LSA winter meetings, San Antonio, Texas.

Foster, J. F. and Charles A. Hofling
1987 Word Order, Case and Agreement. Linguistics 25: 475-499.

Frechione, John
1981 Economic Self-development by Yekuana Amerinds in Southern Venezuela. Doctoral dissertation, The University of Pittsburg.

Friedrich, Paul
1974 Aspect Theory and Homeric Aspect. IJAL Memoire 28.

1979 Language, Context and Imagination. Stanford Press.

1985 Review of Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics. P. J. Hopper (ed.). Language 61(1): 182-187.

Fuchs, Helmut
1964 El Sistema de Cultivo de los Deukwhuana (Maquiritare) del Alto Rio Ventuari, Territorio Federal Amazonas, Venezuela. American Indigena 24:171-195.

Givon, Talmy
1976 Topic, Pronoun, and Grammatical Agreement. IN Subject and Topic, C. N. Li (ed.). New York: Academic Press, pp. 149-188.

1979a From Discourse to Syntax: Grammar as a Processing Strategy. In Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 12, T. Givon (ed.), pp. 81-112.

1979b On Understanding Grammar. New York: Academic Press.

1984 Syntax: a Functional-Typological Introduction, Vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Givon, T. (ed.)
1979c Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 12: Discourse and Syntax. New York: Academic Press.

1983 Topic Continuity in Discourse: a Quantitative Cross-Language Study. Typological Studies in Language, Vol. 3. Amsterdam: John Benjamins BV.

Golla, Victor (ed.)
1984 The Sapir-Kroeber Correspondence. Reports from the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, No. 6.

Greenberg, Joseph H.
1960 The General Classification of Central and South American Languages. In Men and Cultures; Selected papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, Sept. 1-9, 1956. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 791-794.

1963 Some Universals of Grammar with Particular

(1966) Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements. In Universals of Language, J. H. Greenberg (ed.). Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, pp. 73-113.

Grelier, Joseph
1957 To the Source of the Orinoco. Translated from the French by H. A. G. Schmuckler. London: Herbert Jenkins.

Grimes, Joseph E. (ed.)
1972 Languages of the Guianas. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

1978 Papers on Discourse. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Grimes, Joseph
1975 The Thread of Discourse. The Hague: Mouton.

Grimes, Joseph E. and Naomi Glock
1970 A Saramaccan Narrative Pattern. Language 46(2):408-425.

Hall, Katherine Lee
1979 The SCRAPS of Discourse. m.s.

1984 Split-Ergativity in the De'kwana (Carib) Pronominal Agreement System. Proceedings of the First Eastern States Conference on Linguistics. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, pp. 35-45.

Halliday, M. A. K.
1967 Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, Parts I and II. Journal of Linguistics 3:37-81, 199-244.
1968 Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, Part III. Journal of Linguistics 4:179-215.

1970 Language Structure and Language Function. In New Horizons in Linguistics, J. Lyons (ed.). Penguin Books, pp. 140-165.

1973 Explorations in the Functions of Language. New York: Elsevier North-Holland, Inc.

1985 An Introduction to Functional Grammar. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Ruqaiya Hasan
1976 Cohesion in English. London: Longman.

Hames, Raymond B.
1979 A Comparison of the Efficiencies of the Shotgun and the Bow in Neotropical Forest Hunting. Human Ecology 7(3):219-252.

1980 Studies in Hunting and Fishing in the Neotropics. Working Papers on South American Indians, No. 2.

Harris, Zellig
1963 Discourse Analysis Reprints. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Hawkins, John A.
1983 Word Order Universals. New York: Adacemic Press.

Heath, Jeffrey
1986 Review of "Syntax: a Functional-Typological Introduction, I. Language 62(1):160-163.

Hockett, Charles
1957 Two Models of Grammataical Description. Reprint from Word 10:210-231, 1954. In Readings in Linguistics I, Martin Joos (ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 386-399.

Hoff, B. J.
1968 The Carib Language. The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff.

1972 Linguistic Change in Carib Society. m.s.

1978 The Relative Order of the Carib Finite Verb and its Nominal Dependents. In Studies on Fronting, Frank Jansen (ed.). Foris Publications, pp. 11-27.

Hofling, Charles A.
n.d. A Preliminary Investigation of Interrogatives in De'cuana. m.s.

1982 Itza Maya Morphosyntax from a Discourse Perspective. Unpublished Phd. Dissertation, Washington University, St. Louis.

1984 On Proto-Yucatecan Word Order. Journal of Mayan Linguistics 4(2):35-66.

Höhlig, Monika
1978 Speaker Orientaation in Syuwa (Kagate). In Papers on Discourse, J. Grimes (ed.), pp. 19-24.

Hoijer, Harry
1948 Apachean Verb, Part IV: Major Form Classes. IJAL 14:247-259.

1951 Cultural Implications of Some Navaho Linguistic Categories. Language 27(2):111-120.

Hopper, Paul
1979 Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse. In Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 12, T. Givon (ed.), pp. 213-241.

1983 Ergative, Passive and Active in Malay Narrative. In Flora Klein-Andreu (ed.), Discourse Perspectives on Syntax. New York: Academic Press, pp. 67-88.

Hopper, Paul (ed.)
1982 Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics. Typological Studies in Language, 1. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Hopper, P. and Santra A. Thompson
1980 Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. Language 56(2):251-299.

Hopper, P. and S. A. Thompson (ed.)
1982 Studies in Transitivity. Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 15. New York: Academic Press.

Horn, Laurence R.
1985 Metalinguistic Negation and Pragmatic Ambiguity. Language 61(1):121-174.

Jackson, W. S.
1972 A Wayana Grammar. In Languages of the Guianas, J. Grimes (ed.), pp. 47-77.

Jimenez, Simeon
1981 Testimonio del Dirigente Indigena Ye'kuana Simeon Jimenez, La Espalda y la Cruz: Mision Nuevas Tribus. IN El Caso Nuevas Tribus, E. Mosonyi et al (eds.). Caracas: Editorial Ateneo de Caracas, pp. 37-43.

Jones, Linda Kay and R. E. Longacre (eds.)
1979 Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages,

Vol. 1. Dallas, Texas: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington.

Kalmar, Ivan
1982 Transitivity in a Czech Folk Tale. In Studies in Transitivity, Syntax and Semantics, vol. 15, P. Hopper and S. Thompson (eds.). New York: Academic Press, pp. 241-259.

Keary, Fr.
n.d. Makusi Grammar. m.s.

Keenan, Edward L.
1974 The Functional Principles: Generalizing the Notion of 'Subject of'. Papers from the Tenth Regional Meeting. Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Linguistic Society, pp. 298-308.

1976 Towards a Universal Definition of "Subject". IN Subject and Topic, C. N. Li (ed.). New York: Academic Press, pp. 303-333.

Key, Mary Ritchie
1968a Comparative Tacanan Phonology: with Cavineña Phonology and Notes on Pano-Tacanan Relationships. The Hague: Mouton.

1968b Phonemic Pattern and Phoneme Fluctuation in Bolivian Chama (Tacanan). La Linguistique, II:35-48.

1981 North and South American Linguistic Connections. La Linguistique 17(1):3-18.

Klein, Harriet E. Manelis
1981 Location and Direction in Toba: Verbal Morphology. IJAL 47(3):227-235.

1986 Styles of Toba Discourse. In Native South American Discourse, J. Sherzer and G. Urban (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 213-235.

Klimov, G. A.
1974 On the Character of Languages of Active Typology. Linguistics 131:11-25.

1979 On the Position of the Ergative Type in Typological Classification. In Ergativity, Frans Plank (ed.). New York: Academic Press, pp. 241-262.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodor
1981(1917) Del Roraima al Orinoco, Vol I. Translated from the German by Federica de Ritter. Ediciones del Banco Central de Venezuela. Caracas: Ministerio de Educacion.

Kuno, Susumu
1974 The Position of Relative Clauses and Conjunctions. Linguistic Inquiry 5(1):117-136.

1976 Subject, Theme, and the Speaker's Empathy--A Re-examination of Relativization Phenomena. In Subject and Topic, C. N. Li (ed.), pp. 417-444.

Labov, William and David Fanshel
1977 Therapeutic Discourse: Psychotherapy as Conversation. New York: Academic Press.

Lakoff, George
1971 On Generative Semantics. In Semantics, D. Steinberg and L. Jakobovits (eds.), pp. 232-296.

1976 Toward Generative Semantics. IN Notes from the Linguistic Underground, Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 7, J. D. McCawley (ed.). New York: Academic Press, pp. 43-61.

Larson, Mildred Lucile
1978 The Functions of Reported Speech in Discourse. Dallas, Texas: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington.

Layrisse, Miguel and Johannes Wilbert
1966 Indian Societies of Venezuela: Their Blood Group Types. Instituto Caribe de Antropologia y Sociologia, Fundacion La Salle de Ciencias Naturales, Monograph #13. Caracas: Editorial Sucre.

Leach, Edmund
1961 Rethinking Anthropology. London: Athalone Press.

1966 On the Founding Fathers. Current Anthropology 7: 560-576.

Lehmann, Winfred P. (ed.)
1973 A Structural Principle of Language and Its Implications. Language 49:47-66.

1978 Syntactic Typology. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Levi-Strauss, Claude
1963 Structural Anthropology. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

1966 The Savage Mind. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.

Li, Charles N. (ed.)
1976 Subject and Topic. New York: Academic Press.

Li, Charles N. and S. A. Thompson
1975 The Semantic Function of Word Order: A Case Study in Mandarin. In Word Order and Word Order Change, C. N. Li and S. A. Thompson (eds.). Austin: The University of Texas Press, pp. 163-195.

Longacre, Robert E.
1976a An Anatomy of Speech Notions. Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press. (Under revision 1979-1980)

1983 The Grammar of Discourse. New York: Plenum Press.

Longacre, R. E. (ed.)
1968 Discourse and Paragraph Structure in Selected Philippine Languages, Vol I. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

1976b-77 Discourse Grammar: Studies in Indigenous Languages of Columbia, Panama, and Ecuador, Parts 1 and 3. Dallas, Texas: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington.

Longacre, R. E. and Stephen Levinsohn
1978 Field Analysis of Discourse. In Current Trends in Textlinguistics, W. U. Dressler (ed.), pp. 103-122.

Loukotka, Cestmir
1968 Classification of South American Indian Languages. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, UCLA, Reference Series 7.

Lyon, Patricia J. (ed.)
1974 Native South Americans. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

McArthur, Harry S.
1979 The Role of Aspect in Distinguishing Aguacatec Discourse Types. In Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages, Vol. I, Jones and Longacre (eds.), pp. 97-121.

McCawley, James D.
1971 Where Do Noun Phrases Come From? In Semantics, D. Steinberg and L. Jakobovits (eds.), pp. 217-231.

McGinn, Noel F. and Russell G. Davies
1969 Build a Mill, Build a City, Build a School: Industrialization, Urbanization and Education in Ciudad Guayana. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Malinowski, Bronislaw
1935 Coral Gardens and Their Magic. London: Allen and Unwin.

1948 Magic, Science and Religion. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.

Martin, Katherine Hall
1977 A Preliminary Study of Negation in De'cuana. m.s.

1978 A Preliminary Survey of Modals in Mayan Languages. In Papers in Mayan Linguistics, N. C. England (ed.), pp. 92-105.

Mathesius, V.
1964(1911) On the Potentiality of the Phenomena of Language. In A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, Vachek, J. (ed.), pp.

Matisoff, James A.
1973 The Grammar of Lahu. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

Mattei-Muller, Marie Claude
1981 La Reduccion Silabica en Panare. Amerindia 6:59-84.

Matthews, P. H.
1972 Inflectional Morphology: a Theoretical Study Based on Aspects of Latin Verb Conjugation. Cambridge University Press.

1974 Morphology: an Introduction to the Theory of Word-Structure. Cambridge University Press.

Migliazza, Ernesto
1967 Grupos Linguisticos do Territorio Federal de Roaima Atas do Simposio sobre a Biota Amazonica. Antropologia 2:153-173. Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas.

1980 Languages of the Orinoco-Amazon Basin: Current Status. Antropologica 53:95-162.

1982 Linguistic Prehistory and the Refuge Model in Amazonia. In Bilogical Diversification in the Tropics, G. T. Prance (ed.), pp. 497-519.

Migliazza, E. and J. Grimes
1961 Shiriana Phonology. Anthropological Linguistics 3(6):31-41.

Mithun, Marianne
1984 The Evolution of Noun Incorporation. Language 60(4):847-894.

Morales, F. and Nelly Arvelo-Jimenez
1981 Hacia un Modelo Estructura Social Caribe. America Indigena 41(4):603-626.

Moran, Emilio F.
1984 Amazon Basin Colonization. Interciencia 9(6): 377-385.

Moravcsik, Edith A.
1986 Review of "Studies in Transitivity". Language 62(2):425-432.

Mosonyi, Jorge
1978 Algunos Problemas Referentes a la Interpretacion de las Categorias Morfologicas de la Lengua Cariña. Boletin Indigenista Venezolano, No. 14. Caracas: Ministerio de Educacion, pp.

Munro, Panela
1982 On the Transitivity of 'Say' Verbs. In P. J. Hopper and S.A. Thompson (eds.), Studies in Transitivity, Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 15. New York: Academic Press, pp. 301-318.

Newmeyer, Frederick J.

1986 Lingustic Theory in America, 2nd edition. New York: Academic Press.

Padley, G. A.
1976 Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500-1700. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Palkova, Zelda and Bohumil Palek
1978 Functional Sentence Perspective and Textlinguistics. In Current Trends in Textlinguistics, W. U. Dressler (ed.), pp. 212-227.

Payne, Doris
1985 Degrees of Inherent Transitivity in Yagua Verbs. IJAL 51(1):19-37.

Perlmutter, David M.
1983 Studies in Relational Grammar I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Perrett, Herman
1974 Discussing Language. The Hague: Mouton.

Petofi, Janos S.
1975 Beyond the Sentence: Between Linguistics and Logic. In Style and Text: Studies Presented to Nils Erik Enkvist. Stockholm: Sprakforlaget Skriptor, pp. 377-390.

Petofi, J. S. and H. Rieser (eds.)
1973 Studies in Text Grammar. Dordrecht-Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Polanyi, L. and P. Hopper
1981 A Revision of the Foreground-Background Distinction. Paper presented at the Winter Linguistic Society of America Meetings, New York, NY.

Pottier, Bernard (ed.)
1983 America Latina en sus Lenguas Indigenas. Caracas: Monte Avila Editores, C. A.

Prance, Ghillean T. (ed.)
1982 Biological Diversification in the Tropics. New York: Columbia University Press.

Prince, Ellen F.
1978 Discourse Analysis in the Framework of Zellig S. Harris. In Current Trends in Textlinguistics, W. U. Dressler (ed.), pp. 191-211. c. 1977

Pullum, G.
1981 Languages with Object before Subject: a Comment and a Catalogue. Linguistics 19:147-155.

Robins, R. H.
1980 A Short History of Linguistics, 2nd ed. London: Longman. c. 1979

Rochberg, Nanette S.
1977 Preliminary Analysis of Relative Clauses in De'cuana. m.s.

Rodrigues, Aryon Dall'igna
1974 Linguistic Groups of Amazonia. In Native South Americans, P. J. Lyon (ed.), pp. 51-58.

Saguier, Ruben Bareiro and Michel Dessaint
1983 Esbozo del Sistema Linguistico del Guarani Paraguayo. In America Latina en sus Lenguas Indigenas, B. Pottier (ed.), pp. 311-329.

Salazar Quijada, Adolfo
1970 Onomastica Indigena. Serie Lenguas Indigenas de Venezuela, No. 7. Universidad Catolica Andres Bello, Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas, Seminario de Lenguas Indigenas. Caracas: Editorial Sucre.

Sampson, Beoffrey
1980 Schools of Linguistics. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sapir, Edward
1917 Review of C. C. Ulenbeck, The Passive Character of the Transitive Verb or of the Active Verb in Languages in North America. IJAL 1:82-86.

1921 Language: an Introduction to the Study of Speech. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Schmidt, K. H.
1979 Reconstructing Active and Ergative Stages of Pre-IndoEuropean. In Ergativity, Frans Plank (ed.) New York: Academic Press, pp. 333-345.

Seijas, Haydee and Nelly Arvelo Jimenez
1978 Factores Condicionantes de los Niveles de Salud en Grupos Indigenas Venezolanos. In Unidad y Variedades, Ensayos en Homenaje a Jose M. Cruxent. Caracas: IVIC, Centro

de Estudios Avanzados.

Seijas, Haydee, M. E. Suels, R. Lizerralde, B. W. Kolodner
1985 Datos Censales Preliminares de la Poblacion Indigena de las Comunidades y Colectivadades de la Cuenca del Orinoco y Zonas Adyacentes. Version revisada de una ponencia presentada en la XXXIV Convencion Anual de la Asociacion Venezolana para lel Avance de la Ciencia. Cumana, Noviembre de 1985.

Silverstein, Michael
1976 Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity. In Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages, R. M. W. Dixon (ed.). Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, pp. 112-171.

Steele, Susan
1978 Word Order Variation: a Typological Study. In Universals of Human Language, vol. 4, J. H. Greenberg (ed.). Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 585-624.

Steinberg, Danny D. and Leon A. Jakovobits (eds.)
1971 Semantics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swadesh, Morris
1959 Mapas de Clasificacion Linguistica de Mexico y las Americas. Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia, Serie Antropologica, No. 8. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico.

Thompson, Sandra A.
1978 Modern English from a Typological Point of View: Some Implications of the Function of Word Order. Linguistische Berichte 54:19-35.

1983 Grammar and Discourse: the English Detached Participial Clause. In Discourse Perspectives on Syntax, F. Klein-Andreu (ed.), pp. 43-65.

Trubetzkoy, N. S.
1969 Principles of Phonology. Translated by C. A. M. Baltaxe. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Venneman, T.
1975 An Explanation of Drift. In Word Order and Word

Order Change. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 269-305.

Verschueren, Jef
1987 Pragmatics as a Theory of Linguistic Adaptation. International Pragmatics Association, Working Document 1. University of Antwerp, Belgium.

Vickers, W. T.
1984 The Faunal Components of Lowland South American Hunting Kills. Interciencia 9(6):366-376.

Wallace, Stephen
1979 Figure and Ground: the Interrelationships of Linguistic Categories. In Tense and Aspect P. Hopper (ed.)

Watters, David
1978 Speaker-Hearer Involvement in Kham. In Papers on Discourse, J. Grimes (ed.), pp. 1-18.

Wilbert, Johannes
1958 Kinship and Social Organization of the Yekuana and Goajiro. SWJA 14(1):51-60.

1966 Indios de la Region Orinoco-Ventuari. Caracas: Fundacion La Salle de Ciencias Naturales.

Zwicky, Arnold M.
1984 Heads. In Papers on Morphology, A. Zwicky and R. Wallace (eds.). Working Papers in Linguistics. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, pp. 50-69.