

A GRAMMAR SKETCH OF DØMØNA

by

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Signature *Cindy S. Williams*  
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a description of the morphology and syntax of Dəməna, a Chibchan language of northern Colombia. Dəməna is an SOV language with postpositions and genitive-nominal, noun-adjective word orders.

Unusual features of Dəməna include: case marking suffixes which occur as phrasal affixes, a fusion of person marking and deixis in verbal suffixes, and interaction of temporal and spacial deixis on question suffixes.

Dəməna exhibits more agreement than would be expected. Causative constructions may contain two different direct object person agreement prefixes side by side on a single verb. In cases of advancement to direct object, the same argument may be referenced by two different agreement markers.

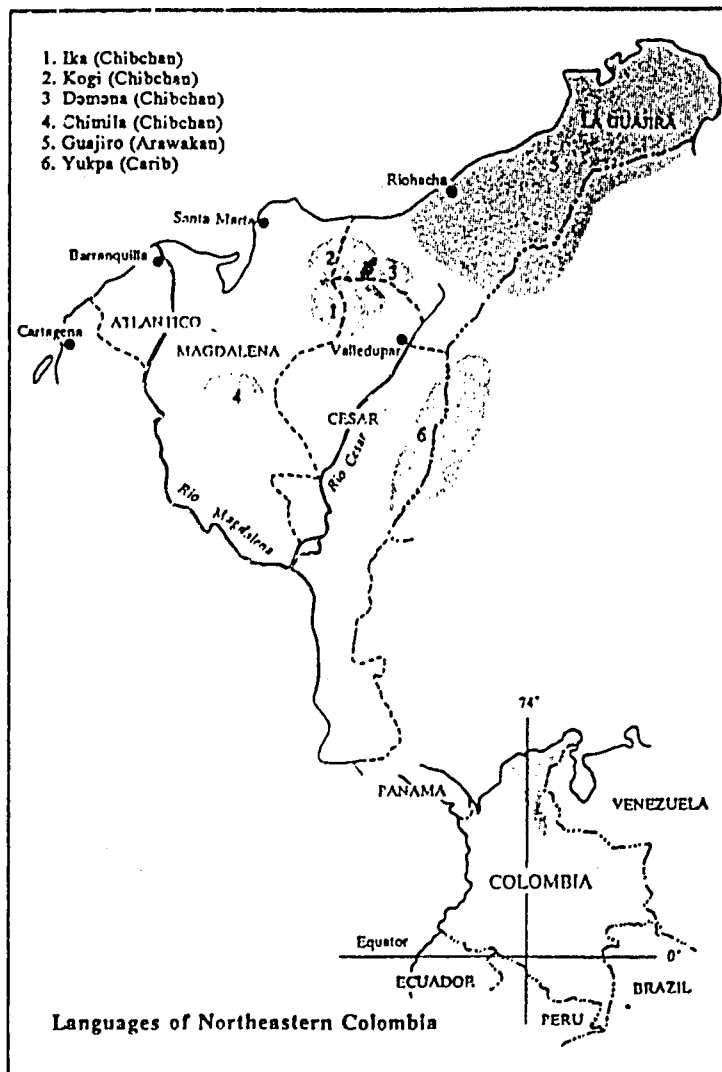
This study was carried out by interviewing speakers of Dəməna in Avingüi and Santa Marta. Part of the process was to study research done in related languages and test the claims for Dəməna.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1p	first person plural
1s	first person singular
2p	second person plural
2s	second person singular
3p	third person plural
3s	third person singular
ABS	absolute
ADV	advancement
ADZ	adverbializer
AR	addressee/recipient
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CK	common knowledge
CNTS	contrast
CONSO	consequence
CONT	continuative
DEIC	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DERIV	derivational
DES	desiderative
DETR	detransitivizer
DIM	diminutive
DO	direct object agreement
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
FIMP	forceful imperative
FP	foregrounded past
FRM	formative
FUT	future
GER	gerund
GN	generic negation
IF	interrogative focus
IG	ignorative
IMN	imminent
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INCP	inceptive
INDFLOC	indefinite location

INF	inform
INFW	inform with proof of witness
IO	indirect object agreement
IRR	irrealis
LN	locative nominalizer
LOC	locative
LOCP	locative postposition
MEDL	medial
NAP	negative agentless passive
NEG	negative
NEGIMP	negative imperative
NEGIMPF	negative imperfective
NEGPFV	negative perfective
O	object
OBG	obligation
OBL	oblique
ON	object nominalizer
OVLP	overlap
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PNI	plural negative imperative
POR	portative
POSA	alienable possession
POSI	inalienable possession
POSRE	possessive reflexive
PRTC	participle
PUR	purpose
OS	question suffix
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REM	remote past
REP	repetitive
RVL	removal
S	subject
ST	sentence terminator
SUB	substitute
SUC	succession
TOP	topic
UNO	unspecified object
VBZ	verbalizer
WIT	witness
WO	without orientation

MAP<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup>This map is an adaptation of a map used by permission from the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Dəməna, the language of the Uiua people, is one of three languages spoken by indigenous groups living in and around the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a mountain range in northern Colombia. Known as the Arhuacan<sup>1</sup> languages, Dəməna, Kogi, and Ika form a subgroup within the Chibchan language family (Frank 1987). Dəməna has SOV word order and meets the typological parameters of Hawkin's (1983) type 24 languages with postpositions and genitive-nominal, noun-adjective word orders.

A word list gathered by Rafael Celedón in 1886 is available in Trillos (1989), but until recently nothing by nature of a linguistic study had been published specifically on Dəməna. In 1989 the Universidad de los Andes published a descriptive volume containing a study of the tense and aspect system in Dəməna by María Trillos, as well as word lists, brief texts, and an anthropological study by Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff. An analysis of the phonological system is presented in C. Williams (in preparation).

Names by which outsiders refer to the speakers of Dəməna include: Uiua, Arsario, Malayo, Sanha, Sanka,

---

<sup>1</sup>Arhuacan is distinct from Arawakan.

Guamaca, and Marocasero. For the purpose of this paper, the term Uiuia will be used as this seems to have the most widespread acceptance within the people group (Trillos 1989). Numbering between 500 to 1500 (Trillos 1989), the Uiuia are the smallest and least known of the indigenous groups of the Sierra Nevada. An estimated 2000 members of the Kogi community also speak a dialect of Dəməna as their first language.

The majority of the Uiuia live on isolated farms on the southeastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. On these farms, ranging in elevation from 3,000 to 11,000 feet above sea level, they practice subsistence farming with slash-and-burn methods to grow coffee, sugar cane, potatoes, manioc, corn, avocados, onions, bananas, mangos and pineapples. Each family may have several small farms at different elevations to take advantage of different climates.

The Uiuia have few domesticated animals, but with the aid of the Colombian government they are acquiring goats, chickens, pigs, and a few cows. Horses, mules, and donkeys are used for transport. Coffee and sugar cane serve as the only cash crops. They travel from farm to farm to plant, care for, and harvest their crops. Many families also maintain a house in the local village which serves as a social and ceremonial center.

The central figure in Uiuá society is the shaman or mama, who serves as a liaison to the spiritual world. He has traditionally presided over all aspects of life: birth, naming of children, puberty rites, marriage, death, harvesting and construction. He has also been responsible for imparting the knowledge of ritual, history, and religious beliefs.

Each village elects a 'comisario' (mayor), who reports to the local government. In addition, the Uiuá have a representative, the 'cabildo gobernador', who conveys indigenous concerns to the national government. With the creation of these two positions has come an erosion of power from the mama. Today, by general consensus, there are no powerful mamas left among the Uiuá.

The Uiuá people are in cultural transition. Some have shed their cultural heritage while others have resisted change by avoiding contact with outsiders. A strong core group led by Mama Rumaldo is reviving Uiuá cultural values by demanding to have their language written and taught through a bilingual school system. Their success has been limited by political unrest in the area. However, the village of Avingúí has succeeded in establishing a school where grade one is taught in Deména and grades two through six are taught in Spanish. It is often necessary to re-explain in Deména concepts which were introduced in Spanish.

The corpus for this study was collected between November 1986 and July 1988 working with speakers of Dəməna in Avingui and Santa Marta under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The main contributors were Leonardo Gil Sauna, Reginaldo Gil Sauna, José Luis Chimonquero Gil, and Santiago Gil Mojica.

An integral part of my methodology was to study research from related languages and test the claims for Dəməna.

The phonemic inventory of Dəməna includes 14 consonants (p, b, t, d, k, g, s, z, š, ž, m, n, r, and h) and 6 vowels (i, e, a, o, u and ə). Voiceless stops are aspirated before vowels: /tudu/ [t<sup>h</sup>udu] 'breast', /pebu/ [p<sup>h</sup>eybu] 'friend', /sak-ən/ seek-IMPF [sák<sup>h</sup>ən] 'seeks'. Both /e/ and /o/ are glided as in /te/ [t<sup>h</sup>ey] 'field' and /bo/ [bow] 'light'. High vowels are voiceless when they occur between voiceless obstruents: /tiukuaiga/ [tšUkkwéygə] 'big', /šika/ [šikk<sup>h</sup>á] 'people'. An underlying /ə/ becomes [ɨ] following a /g/ or a /k/ as in /gəma/ [gɨma] 'son' and /kan-kəna/ [k<sup>h</sup>ənk<sup>h</sup>ɨna] 'wood-place of (forest)'. Voiced obstruents prenasalize at morpheme boundaries: /gura-buru/ [gurambúru] 'hand-DIM (finger)', /ra-že/ [ránže] '1s-POSA (of mine)'.<sup>2</sup>

In general, the first line of each example given in this paper is written in a broad phonetic transcription, leaving

-----  
<sup>2</sup>Exceptions to this rule include -ga 'ergative' and the morpheme boundary between words in a compound: /kəka-di-ia/ [kɨk<sup>h</sup>ɨrža] 'mouth-water-like (saliva)'.

aspiration, off-glides, the devoicing of vowels, and raised /ə/'s unmarked. The second line gives the underlying representation of each morpheme.

## CHAPTER 2. SYNTACTIC OVERVIEW: CLAUSE AND PHRASE STRUCTURE

### 2.1 Word classes

Open word classes in Dəməna include nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Numbers and time words are considered to be semi-open because while membership in this word class is restricted, loan words have been taken in (specifications of Dixon (1988:235)). Pronouns and demonstratives are shifters because the point of reference varies with the perspective of each speaker. Closed grammatical classes include postpositions, aspectual markers, deictic markers, some predicate and NP modifiers, and conjunctions.

The word classes which are recognized in Dəməna and the chapter in which they are discussed are given in Table 1.

### 2.2 Predicate structure

In an equational clause two noun phrases are placed into a relationship of identity. If the subject is an overt NP, it is not necessary for a copula to be present to carry subject agreement, and the predicate head is an NP.

---

Table 1: Word Classes in Dəməna

Open lexical classes

1. Noun, with subclasses alienably possessed and inalienably possessed (including nouns which have been formed from verbs -see Chapter 3.1)
2. Verb (see Chapter 6)
3. Adjective (Chapter 3.2)

Semi-open classes

4. Number (Chapter 3.4)
5. Time word (Chapter 7.2.3)

Closed class of shifters

6. Personal pronouns (Chapter 3.3)
7. Demonstrative (Chapter 9.1)

Closed grammatical classes

8. Postpositions (Chapter 9.1)
  9. Aspectual markers (Chapter 7.1)
  10. Deictic markers (Chapter 9)
  11. Predicate and NP modifiers (Chapters 7 and 5)
  12. Conjunctions (Chapter 5.6)
- 

(1) ra wiwa  
ra uiua  
is uiua

'I am a Uiuu.'

In all other clause types the verb phrase consists minimally of a lexical verb. Through the addition of auxiliary verbs and verbal affixes, information concerning arguments, time, distance, and truth value is

communicated. The nuclear verb phrase may be modified by adverbs and adverbial clauses.

A subject is referenced on the verb phrase by a combination of verbal affixes. The grammatical relations of direct object, indirect object, locative, and benefactive are referenced on the verb phrase with verbal prefixes. Benefactive referencing is discussed in Chapter 8.2.

As illustrated in Table 2, subject agreement is marked by a combination of prefixes and suffixes. First person singular is a special case and is presented fully in Chapter 9.3.

---

Table 2: Subject Agreement Affixes

	Singular	Plural
1st person	(special case)	-kut
2nd person	mə-	mə- -ku
3rd person		di-

---

(2) nayá            ukurin  
 nai-a -á u -kut-ə -in  
 go -PFV-ST do-1pS-WIT-CK

'We went.'

(3) nayá            mawin<sup>1</sup>            (4) nayá            mukwin  
 nai-a -á mə-u -in            nai-a -á mə-u -ku -in  
 go -PFV-ST 2 -do-CK            go -PFV-ST 2 -do-2pS-CK

'You (sg) went.'

'You (pl) went.'

---

<sup>1</sup>U 'do' has an allomorph au before vowels.



- |              |       |              |           |
|--------------|-------|--------------|-----------|
| (5) nayá     | awín  | (6) nayá     | džawín    |
| nai-a -á     | u -in | nai-a -á     | di -u -in |
| go -PFV-ST   | do-CK | go -PFV-ST   | 3pS-do-CK |
| 'S/he went.' |       | 'They went.' |           |

The argument bearing the grammatical relation of direct object is referenced by the prefixes given in Table 3.

---

Table 3: Direct Object Agreement Prefixes

	Singular	Plural
1st person	nə-	ne-
2nd person	mə-	me-
3rd person	--	ka-/ihka- <sup>2</sup>

---

- |                         |                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (7) nətuwá              | (8) netuwá         |
| nə -tu -a -á            | ne -tu -a -á       |
| 1sDO-see-PFV-ST         | 1pO-see-PFV-ST     |
| 'He saw me.'            | 'He saw us.'       |
| (9) mətuwá <sup>3</sup> | (10) metuwá        |
| mə -tu -a -á            | me -tu -a -á       |
| 2sDO-see-PFV-ST         | 2pO-see-PFV-ST     |
| 'He saw you.'           | 'He saw you (pl).' |
| (11) tuwá               | (12) ihkətuwá      |
| tu -a -á                | ihka-tu -a -á      |
| see-PFV-ST              | 3pO -see-PFV-ST    |
| 'He saw him.'           | 'He saw them.'     |

When both second person subject and a direct object are referenced, the prefix order is subject-object.

---

<sup>2</sup>ka- refers to a number of individuals, ihka- refers to a group.  
<sup>3</sup>This example cannot mean 'You saw him.' (See the third function of auxiliaries in Chapter 7.3.)

- (13) mawindžinága mənətúkwa<sup>4</sup>  
 maui-dina-ga mənə -tu -kua  
 2p -PL -ERG 2 -1sDO-see-2pPRTC

'You all know me.' (Lit: 'You all see me habitually.')

An ergative case marking system occurs on noun phrases to disambiguate subject from object in transitive clauses. 'Ergative', ga (ERG), is an enclitic to the end of the subject noun phrase; and the object noun phrase has no overt case marking. (The presence of ergative case marking is discussed further in Chapter 4.1.)

- (14) rágə lorénso tuwá  
 ra-ga lorenzo tu -a -á  
 1s-ERG lorenzo see-PFV-ST

'I saw Lorenzo.'

- (15) lorénso nayá  
 lorenzo nai-a -á  
 lorenzo go -PFV-ST

'Lorenzo left.'

The complete set of prefixes referencing indirect object is given in Table 4. The verbal prefixes which reference a plural indirect object are identical with the prefixes referencing plural direct object.

---

<sup>4</sup>-dina is a nominal suffix meaning 'plural'.

Table 4: Indirect Object Agreement Prefixes

	Singular	Plural
1st person	na-	ne-
2nd person	mi-	me-
3rd person	a-	ka-/ihka-

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (16) nakawá<br>na -kau -a -á<br>1sIO-give-PFV-ST<br><br>'S/he gave (it) to me.'  | (17) nekawá<br>ne -kau -a -á<br>1pO-give-PFV-ST<br><br>'S/he gave (it) to us.'          |
| (18) mikawá<br>mi -kau -a -á<br>2sIO-GIVE-PFV-ST<br><br>'S/he gave (it) to you.' | (19) mekawá<br>me -kau -a -á<br>2pO-give-PFV-ST<br><br>'S/he gave (it) to<br>you (pl).' |
| (20) akawá<br>a -kau -a -á<br>3sIO-give-PFV-ST<br><br>'S/he gave (it) to him.'   | (21) ihkəkawá<br>ihka-kau -a -á<br>3pO -give-PFV-ST<br><br>'S/he gave (it) to<br>them.' |

My corpus contains no examples where direct and indirect object prefixes co-occur or are expected to co-occur.

When third person plural subject and an indirect object are referenced, the order is object-subject.

- (22) žinžóma antšikáwa  
žinžoma a -di -kau -a  
book 3sIO-3pS-give-PFV  
  
'They gave him the book.'

Besides the recipient function in the previous example, indirect object agreement may also refer to addressee, ethical dative (see Chapter 8.2), or experiencer.

(23) ašíza  
 a -šíž-a  
 3sIO-ask-PFV  
 'S/he asked him.'

(24) kěnsi nanžárga  
 kěnsi na -žang -a  
 dog 1sIO-steal-PFV  
 'S/he stole my dog.'

(25) nózi nandúži  
 nozi na -dun -i  
 flour 1sIO-want-GER  
 'I want bread.'

A location may be registered on a verb of motion or existence with i- 'locative' (LOC).

(26) dukəkənámba ipá uší  
 dukəkəna -ba i -pa -a -á u -ši  
 upper.leg-OBL LOC-flat-PFV-ST do-FIMP  
 'Put it (flat object) in his lap.'

Used in conjunction with the verb tu, 'see', and indirect object agreement, the locative marker carries the meaning of 'wait for'.

(27) inatúwa  
 i -na -tu -a  
 LOC-1sIO-see-PFV

'Wait for me!'

The locative prefix may combine with stative verb roots to form new transitive verbs meaning 'be (in a specified orientation) on'.<sup>5</sup> (See Chapter 6.3 for the use of '3pS' with orientation verbs.)

(28) níšte  
 nə -i -di -ta -ai  
 1sDO-LOC-3pS-vertical-ADZ

'be placed on me vertically'

(29) mište  
 mə -i -di -ta -ai  
 2 -LOC-3pS-vertical-ADZ

'be placed on you vertically'

(30) ište  
 i -di -ta -ai  
 LOC-3pS-vertical-ADZ

'be placed on him vertically'

### 2.3 Derivational affixes

Dəməna makes extensive use of derivational affixes. These include -ka 'participle', -ku 'locative nominalizer', -ma 'object nominalizer', and -ai 'adverbializer'.

<sup>5</sup>I am aware of the loop in prefix order: S < DO in (13), DO < LOC in (28), LOC < IO in (27), and IO < S in (22).

The participle suffix is a nominalizer which functions as a habitual aspect marker. When suffixed onto a main verb, the resultant meaning is 'one which 'verbs''.

(31) žangákə  
 žanga-ka  
 steal-3sPRTC

'thief'

(32) kwigə  
 kui -ka  
 dance-PRTC

'hunter'

(33) gókə  
 gau -ka  
 make-3sPRTC

'maker'

Subject agreement, as marked on participles, is summarized in Table 5.

---

Table 5: Subject Agreement on Participles

	singular	plural
1st person	-uga	-kura
2nd person	-ka	-kua
3rd person	-ka	-ka

---

(34) agúgə  
 ag -uga  
 plant-1sPRTC

'I am a planter.'

(35) akúra  
 ag -kura  
 plant-1pPRTC

'We are planters.'

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| (36) mákə       | (37) mákwa      |
| mə-ag -ka       | mə-ag -kua      |
| 2 -plant-2sPRTC | 2 -plant-2pPRTC |

'You are a planter.' 'You (pl) are planters.'

- |              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
| (38) ákə     | (39) džákə       |
| ag -ka       | di -ag -ka       |
| plant-3sPRTC | 3pS-plant-3pPRTC |

'S/he is a planter.' 'They are planters.'

Dəməna also has a locative nominalizer, -ku (LN), which indicates 'the place where 'verb' happens'.

- (40) šamúŋku  
 ša -bun -ku  
 hair-grow-LN

'head' (Lit: 'place where the hair grows')

A third nominalizer in Dəməna is -ma 'object nominalizer' (ON) which changes a verb to a noun meaning 'that which is 'verbed''.

- (41) žáma  
 ža -ma  
 eat-ON

'food' (Lit: 'That which is eaten')

- (42) gwáma  
 guak-ma  
 say -ON

'counsel' (Lit: 'That which is said')

The addition of -ai 'adverbializer' (ADZ) to verbs forms a predicate modifier indicating manner.

- (43) kitté    unaká                          awin  
 k -i -ta                          -ai unak -a -á u -in  
 ADV-LOC-vertical-ADZ bring-PFV-ST do-CK

'He<sub>1</sub> brought him<sub>2</sub> here in a sitting position  
 leaning against him<sub>1</sub>.'

'Generic negation' -gua (GN) negates the question word  
 on which it is suffixed.

- (44) fi    fiŋgwa  
 ni    ni -gua  
 what    what-GN

'what?'    'nothing'

- (45) ma fiŋgwáməkə    əgəfi  
 ma niŋgua -məkə    əgəni  
 2s nothing-in.place.of more

tšukwéga məfi  
 tiukuaiga mə-na-in  
 big                          2s-be-CK

'Nothing is bigger than you.'

Other examples include:

- (46) néne    nenéŋgwa<sup>6</sup>  
 nene    nene-gua  
 who    who -GN

'who?'    'nobody'

- (47) bima    bimandžinángwa  
 bima    bima -dina-gua  
 which    which-PL -GN

'which?'    'none of them'

-----  
<sup>6</sup>Voiced obstruents prenasalize at certain morpheme boundaries.



(48) búye	buyéngwa
buie	buie-gua
when	when-GN
'when?'	'never'

#### 2.4 Subordinate clauses

A subordinate clause differs from an independent clause in Dəməna in that the subordinate verb must either be marked with deontic mood (see Chapters 7.2.1 and 13.3.2) or be nominalized. In (49), the complement clause 'that he had gone to the plain' is nominalized, i.e. in participial form.

(49) gewáʔi	nayánəŋkə	tukwín
geuai	nai-a -na-n -ka	tu -ku-ə -in
plain	go -PFV-be-VBZ-3sPRTC	see-FP-WIT-CK

'I saw that he had gone to the plain.'

The subordinate verb must be marked as a gerund in certain 'want' constructions.

(50) mindúna	uyé	ra žapési
mi -dun -a	u -i -a -i	ra žapeš-i
2sIO-want-PFV	do-MEDL-PFV-QS	1s sweep-GER

'Do you want me to sweep?'

(51) ənágə	andúži	awín	ihkəndžinágə
əná-ga	a -dun -i	u -in	ihka-dina-ga
3s -ERG	3IO-want-GER	do-CK	3p -PL -ERG

ištá gáʔi  
ištá k -ža -i  
beans ADV-eat-GER

'He wants them to eat beans.'

In Dəməna, the verb of an adverbial clause is inflected for subject agreement and deictic/aspect. This is followed by an indicator of the relationship that the previous clause has to the following one: whether temporal or logical. Finally, the adverbial clause may be marked with -ru 'topic' (TOP) (using the terminology of Tracy and Levinsohn 1977).

In (52), the verb root of the adverbial clause is gug 'to catch'. It is marked with first person singular subject agreement (see Chapter 9.3), the deictic -ku (FP) (see Chapter 9.2.2), and succession (SUC).

(52) káru gukugéməndžíru                      naká  
       karu gug -ku-ug -ai -məndi-ru    nak -a -á  
       car catch-FP-1sS-ADZ-SUC -TOP come-PFV-ST

'After catching a car, I came.'

## 2.5 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modals function as verifiers which communicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of his statement, as well as the speaker's judgment of what the hearer knows. Systems of this kind are found in Colombia and Brazil (Palmer 1986:57). Two such modals in Dəməna are kima 'inform' (INF) and -in 'common knowledge' (CK). (A complete listing of the epistemic modals is given in Chapter 7.2.2.)

In a manner of teaching or instructing, the preverbal element kima relates what the speaker knows, but the

addressee does not. The following exchange illustrates the use of *kima* (in 54).

- (53) tukugéru                      rágə    ranžingwiám̄ba  
 tu -kug-a -ai -ru ra-ga ra-ži -guia -ba  
 see-1s -PFV-ADZ-TOP 1s-ERG 1s-POSI-brother-OBL

ašiza                      fi    ki nanú  
 a -šiz-a ni    ki na-n -ú  
 3sIO-ask-PFV what IF be-VBZ-QS

'Seeing this, I asked my older brother, "What is that?''

- (54) ukuéru                      nógwi                      memáru    miku  
 u -ku-a -ai -ru nə -gui -a mema -ru miku  
 do-FP-PFV-ADZ-TOP 1sDO-tell-PFV there-TOP monkey

kima na  
 kima na-a  
 INF be-PFV

'And so he told me, "Those are monkeys".'

The verbal suffix *-in* 'common knowledge' (what Hensarling (MS) calls 'remind') relates what both the speaker and the addressee know.

- (55) fiŋgwi    žáŋgə                      awawinəŋkə  
 níngwi žang -a u -aui-na-n -ka  
 nothing steal-PFV do-NAP-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

nəŋkə                      fi  
 na-n -ka                      na-in  
 be-VBZ-3sPRTC be-CK

'Stealing things is not to be done.'

A complete chart of the epistemic modal system in *Dəməna* is given in Chapter 7.2.2.

## CHAPTER 3. NOUNS AND THEIR MODIFIERS

Nouns are defined as a word class in Dəməna as any element which can head a noun phrase and take other modifiers. These modifiers include adjectives and numbers. Pronouns are discussed in this section because they are used in the formation of some possessive modifiers.

### 3.1 Nouns

Genitive case marking makes a distinction between nouns which are inalienably possessed and those which are alienably possessed. (Genitive case is discussed in Chapter 4.3.) These two subclasses are illustrated in (56) and (57), with 'friend' being inalienably possessed, and 'cow' showing alienable possession.

(56) ranšpébu  
ra-ži -pebu  
1s-POSI-friend

'my friend'

(57) ránže páka  
ra-že paka  
1s-POSA cow

'my cow'

Kinship terms generally carry case-marked pronouns which

Kinship terms generally carry case-marked pronouns which cliticize to the noun.

- (58) ranžingwia  
       ra-ži -guia  
       1s-POSI-brother  
  
       ' my older brother '

When used as a vocative, the kinship term is uninflected.

- (59) gwia       ənžina mənukú  
       guia       ənžina mē-nuk-ú  
       brother how    2 -be -QS  
  
       '(Older) brother, how are you?'

The word class noun includes proper names and common nouns. A person's given name in Dəməna is kept secret from outsiders because it is believed that those who know a person's name have the power to cast evil on him. The few given names I have heard in Dəməna, such as those for the names of gods, appear to consist of more than one morpheme. Proper names which are shared with outsiders are borrowed from Spanish.

Common nouns are often formed from roots meaning a given shape. Two of the most common shapes are 'round/having a hole', which is extended to mean 'female'; and 'pointed', which is extended to mean 'male'. (Reichel-Dolmatoff (1950) similarly identified a 'male' morpheme and a 'female' morpheme in Kogi.) Some common nouns formed from the root 'round/having a hole' are listed in Table 6.

---

 Table 6: Nouns With Root 'Round/Having a Hole'

bu	'round/having a hole/female'
džibu	'lake'
di-bu	
water-hole	
bu	'hammock'
buŋgəma	'daughter' (Lit: 'little hole')
bu-gəma	
hole-DIM	
búku	'pot'
bu -ku	
hole-LN	
áməu	'hole in'
a -bu	
3sIO-bu	

---

Common nouns formed from the root 'pointed' include those given in Table 7.

Abstract concepts may also be expressed in a noun phrase. In (60), mar 'hunger' is an NP marked with ergative case.

- (60) márgə            nəŋgáʔi  
 mar -ga nə -k -ža -i  
 hunger-ERG 1sDO-ADV-eat-GER

'I am hungry.' (Lit: 'Hunger is eating me.')

The descriptive concept of 'diminutive' is expressed in Dəməna with a nominal suffix. If the noun is plural, it is

marked with *-buru* (Trillos 1989:57); and if it is singular, with *-gəma*.

---

Table 7: Nouns With Root 'Pointed'

<i>si</i>	'pointed: male'	
<i>sizi</i>	'male outsider'	
<i>si -si</i>	point-point	
<i>sina</i>	'ray of light; spear'	
<i>si -na</i>	point-be	
<i>sikfina</i>	'needle'	
<i>si -kəna</i>	point-place.of	
<i>sigə</i>	'boy offspring'	
<i>si -ka</i>	point-3sPRTC	
<i>sindúži</i>	'humming bird'	
<i>si -duži</i>	point-class.of.flying.animal	

---

(61) <i>ingina</i>	<i>inginambúru</i>	
'rock'	<i>ingina-buru</i>	'pebbles'
<i>ména</i>	<i>menəngəma</i>	<i>menambúru</i>
'woman'	<i>mena-gəma</i>	<i>mena-buru</i>
	'little woman'	'little women'

### 3.2 Adjectives

Descriptive terms involving dimension, color, and value in *Dəməna* are often related to verbs (L. Williams (in

preparation)). One common method of forming an adjective from a verb is with the verb *ku* 'exist'. 'Pretty', for example, would literally mean 'good exists'.

(62) *zukwéga* 'pretty'  
 (zu -ku -ai -ka)  
 good-exist-ADZ-3sPRTC

Some other adjectives related to verbs are given below:

Dimension:

(63) *ingewága* 'fat'  
 i -(ga -ai -ua) -ka  
 -horizontal-ADZ-motion-  
 LOC-wide -3sPRTC

Color:

(64) *anzisi* 'red'  
 a -zis -i  
 3sIO-suck-GER

Value:

(65) *wandúa* 'evil/ugly'  
 ua -dua  
 motion-WO

Although *tiukuaiga* appears to be functioning as the head of the subject NP in (66), I am analyzing clauses such as this as instances of a headless NP, because since adjectives cannot be modified, they do not function as head nouns.



- (66) tšukkwegáru naká awín  
 tiukuaiga-ru nak -a -á u -in  
 big -TOP come-PFV-ST do-CK

'The big one came.'

The anaphoric use of adjectives is common in narrative. In the following section of text, the head noun 'men' is not repeated in (68), but 'men' is still understood to be what 'good' is modifying.

- (67) terúa wandukwegáru andunúnəŋka  
 terua uandukuaiga-ru a -dun -u -na-n -ka  
 man ugly -TOP 3sIO-want-NEG-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'She had never wanted ugly men.'

- (68) zukwégə kin andúŋgə kéma  
 zukuaiga kin a -dun -ka kəma  
 good only 3sIO-want-3sPRTC INFW

nəŋkwá  
 na-n -ku-a -á  
 be-VBZ-FP-PFV-ST

'She wanted only pretty (men).'

### 3.3 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish first, second, and third person, singular and plural. The six personal subject pronouns are given in underlying form in Table 8.

Personal pronouns function in both intransitive and transitive clauses.

(69) ra nayá  
 ra nai-a -a  
 1s go -PFV-ST

'I went.'

---

Table 8: Personal Subject Pronouns

ra	'first person singular'	(1s)
nai	'first person plural'	(1pl)
ma	'second person singular'	(2s)
maui	'second person plural'	(2pl)
əná/na	'third person singular'	(3s) <sup>1</sup>
ihkəna	'third person plural'	(3pl)

---

(70) rágə lorénso tuwá  
 ra-ga lorenzo tu -a -á  
 1s-ERG lorenzo see-PFV-ST

'I saw Lorenzo.'

Deictic demonstratives also function as third person pronouns (see Chapter 9.1).

### 3.4 Numbers

Numbers in Dəməna operate on a decimal system. The numbers one to ten are listed in Table 9. Examples such as (71) and (72) indicate that -(g)ua is a separate morpheme, but I have not been able to determine its meaning.

---

<sup>1</sup>I do not know the difference between əná and na.



---

 Table 9: Numbers

ingui	'one' <sup>2</sup>
moua	'two'
maigua	'three'
makegua	'four'
ihtigua	'five'
tainua	'six'
kugua	'seven'
ámbigua	'eight'
ihkagua	'nine'
ugua	'ten'

---

-----  
<sup>2</sup>An alternate word for 'one' is šikuá, but it is not used in counting. When used as a verbal modifier, ingui means 'again'.

## CHAPTER 4. CASE MARKING

Case markers are cliticized to the right-most element of a noun phrase. They indicate the role of that noun phrase in the clause, and follow an ergative-absolutive pattern. This contrasts with a nominative-accusative pattern in verb agreement affixes (see Chapter 2.2).

I am calling the four cases which mark noun phrases in Dəməna absolutive, ergative, oblique, and genitive.

### 4.1 Absolutive and ergative cases

Absolutive case is unmarked in Dəməna. Ergative is an enclitic, *-ga* (ERG).

(76) ranžáde            nayá  
ra-ži -ade        nai-a -á  
1s-POSI-father go -PFV-ST

'My father left.'

(77) ranžadégə            dumágə gwagá            awín  
ra-ži -ade -ga    dumaga guag-a -á u -in  
1s-POSI-father-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST do-CK

'My father killed a lion.'

Pronouns may be marked with ergative case, as shown below. A variant form, *-ka*, is used to mark ergative case on the second person singular pronoun.

- (78) rágə lorénso tuwá  
 ra-ga lorenzo tu -a -á  
 1s-ERG lorenzo see-PFV-ST

'I saw Lorenzo.'

- (79) mákə mogwánže aṅgá  
 ma-ka mogua -že anga -a -á  
 2s-ERG parasite-POSA drink-PFV-ST

muyé  
 mə-u -i -a -i  
 2s-do-MEDL-PFV-QS

'Have you taken parasite medicine?'

- (80) ənágə pákə kəkinešá  
 əna-ga paka ka -k -i -nai-ši -a -á  
 3s -ERG cow 3pO-ADV-LOC-go -CAUS-PFV-ST

'He sold them a cow.' (Lit: 'He caused the cow  
 to go to them.')

Besides the use of ergative case described above, there are three additional clause types in which ergative case is found.

First, with verbs that trigger indirect object agreement, the experiencer is marked with -ga.

- (81) rágə gaseósa kin nandúṅgə  
 ra-ga gaseosa kin na -dun -ka  
 1s-ERG pop only 1sIO-want-3sPRTC

'I want only pop.'

Second, if a goal is marked with -ku, the subject of a motion verb is marked with -ga.

(82) ranžadéǵə                      anšpébu                      nugéku  
 ra-ži -ade -ga a -ži -pebu nuk-ai -ku  
 1s-POSI-father-ERG 3sIO-POSI-friend be -ADZ-LN

nayá                      kóma uyá  
 nai-a -á kəma u -i -a -á  
 go -PFV-ST INFW do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'My father went to where his friend was.'

Thirdly, -ga marks the beneficiary in possessor type constructions. In these cases, the subject is referenced with direct object agreement.

(83) ráǵə      mówa gəma nəkənəŋkə  
 ra-ga moua gəma nə -k -ə -na-n -ka  
 1s-ERG two son 1sDO-ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'I have two sons.' (Lit: 'Two sons are for me.')

What I have chosen to call 'ergative' has been characterized by other linguists in a variety of different ways. Trillos (1989:59-60) generalizes the occurrence of -ga as marking an 'agent/dative'. Although 'agent/dative' would accurately describe the function of -ga in examples such as (77) and (81), example (83) indicates that her generalization is inadequate.

Linguists working in related languages have had similar difficulties in glossing the morpheme cognate with -ga. Their proposals are:

Linguist	Language	Generalization
Frank (1990:36)	Ika	locative/source/ goal/ergative
Tracy and Levinsohn (1977)	Ika	a non-topical subject
Paul Lundquist (personal communication)	Ika	focus on agent
Hensarling (MS)	Kogi	NP which is more agent-like

Of these, I prefer the analysis given by Hensarling. It seems to work well together with the following scale (proposed in Van Valin (1990)) in which the role of a given noun phrase may range anywhere between an actor (agent) and an undergoer (patient).

Actor	Undergoer
<hr/>	
Agent Effector <sup>1</sup>	Experiencer Locative Theme Patient

If this scale is taken into account when considering the previous examples, -ga marks the NP containing the nominal which is farthest left on Van Valin's scale; the nominal with more subject-like properties.

Perhaps a gloss such as 'maximum agentivity' would be more appropriate, but I prefer 'ergative' for three reasons:

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Van Valin distinguishes between an agent and an effector in that an effector accomplishes an action without affecting any other referent. In example (80), 'my father' is an effector.



first, -ga typically marks the subject of a transitive clause, secondly, it contrasts with absolutive case marking, and finally, it makes possible the ergative-other contrast in question suffixes (Chapter 10.1.2).

The ergative marker cliticizes to the right-most element of the NP, not to the head noun.

- (84) súži bənšigə zəŋ məkənəkúki  
 suži bənši-ga zən mə -k -ə -nak -uki  
 bird white-ERG fear 2sDO-ADV-BEN-come-NEGIMP

kəma kekwá  
 kəma k -a -i -ku-a -á  
 INFW ADV-AR-say-FP-PFV-ST

'The white bird said to her, "Don't be afraid".  
 (Lit: "Don't let fear come for you.")

In the basic transitive clause, human acts on nonhuman. If this requirement is violated, then the ergative marker is obligatory, otherwise optional.

- (85) terúa dumágə tuwá  
 terua dumaga tu -a -á  
 man lion see-PFV-ST

'The man saw the lion.' (SOV word order)  
 \*'The lion saw the man.'

- (86) dumágə terúa tuwá  
 dumaga terua tu -a -á  
 lion man see-PFV-ST

'The man saw the lion.' (human/non-human hierarchy)  
 \*'The lion saw the man.'

- (87) terúa dumagáǵə tuwá  
 terua dumaga-ga tu -a -á  
 man lion -ERG see-PFV-ST

'The lion saw the man.'

#### 4.2 Oblique case

The oblique case marker, -ba (OBL), is cliticized to the right-most element of an oblique NP.

- (88) iǵúna zukwegámba néngwi  
 inguna zukuaiga-ba nəngui  
 trail good -OBL stand

'He is standing on the good road.' (Refers to following sound principles in his life.)

OBL marks a range of locative and instrumental meanings as well as addressee and recipient. In the following locative examples, -ba is rendered 'on', 'into', and 'to' in the free translation.

- (89) iǵwi kən kaǵəməmba gáǵə kəma  
 ingui kan kəǵəma-ba gaga -a kəma  
 one wood earth -OBL place-PFV INFW

uyá  
 u -i -a -á  
 do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'He laid a stick on the ground.'

- (90) gəməntšínáru dukšwímba íngó kéma  
 gəməntina-ru dukšuf-ba i -kau kəma  
 boy -TOP river -OBL LOC-give INFW

uyá  
 u -i -a -á  
 do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'He threw the child into the river.'

- (91) pwebrúmba naká awín  
 puebru -ba nak -a -á u -in  
 village-OBL come-PFV-ST do-CK

'He came to the village.'

The occurrence of -ba after an instrumental NP is illustrated in (92):

- (92) šerámba nəkəkó awín  
 šera -ba nə -k -ə -ko u -in  
 machete-OBL 1sDO-ADV-BEN-cut do-CK

'He cut me with a machete.'

Addressees and recipients are also marked with -ba.

- (93) ranžadégə anžingwiámba  
 ra-ži -ade -ga a -ži -gula -ba  
 1s-POSI-father-ERG 3sIO-POSI-brother-OBL

ímé kéma əgwiá  
 ima -a! kəma a -gui-a -á  
 this-ADZ INFW 3sIO-say-PFV-ST

'My father said it like this to his older brother.'

(94) ranžadémba                      pákə akáwa                      kəma  
 ra-ži -ade -ba paka a -kau -a kəma  
 1s-POSI-father-OBL cow 3sIO-give-PFV INFW

uyá  
 u -i -a -á  
 do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'He gave a cow to my father.'

#### 4.3 Genitive case

The possessor generally precedes the head noun with the genitive case marker cliticized to the right-most element of the possessor noun phrase.

(95) ména tšukkweqánže mənəkəsára  
 mena tiukuaiga-že mənəkəsara  
 woman big -POSA clothes

'a big woman's clothes'

Dəməna distinguishes two types of possession:  
 alienable and inalienable.

Alienable possession indicates ownership and is marked with -že (POSA).

(96) nawinže urágə  
 nawi-že uraga  
 1p -POSA house

'our house'

Inalienable possession includes part-whole relationships (including most body parts) and personal relationships. It occurs only on pronouns and is marked with -ži (POSI). The

resultant possessive modifier precedes its head noun and is cliticized onto it as evidenced in the following by prenasalization.

(97) ranžingúra  
ra-ži -gura  
1s-POSI-arm

'my arm'

(98) ranžingwía  
ra-ži -guia  
1s-POSI-brother

'my (older) brother'

A head noun with a pronoun possessor proclitic may then function as a possessor.

(99) nawinžáde  
nawi-ži -ade  
1p -POSI-father

'our father'

(100) nawinžadénže                    paka  
nawi-ži -ade -že                    paka  
1p -POSI-father-POSA cow

'our father's cow'

The following examples illustrate the contrast between POSA and POSI on a pronoun possessor. POSA involves two words while POSI is a single word, as evidenced by the devoicing of ži-. (See section on prefix devoicing in C. Williams (in preparation).)

(101) ránže páka  
 ra-že paka  
 1s-POSA cow

'my cow'

(102) ranšpébu  
 ra-ži -pebu  
 1s-POSI-friend

'my friend'

In cases of inalienable possession where the possessor noun phrase is other than a pronoun, a combination of POSA and POSI is used. Example (103) illustrates that POSA is cliticized onto the possessor NP, 'one man'. A redundant pronoun and POSI form the possessive modifier which is then cliticized onto its head noun, 'child'. I have never seen this use of a redundant pronoun in cases of alienable possession.

(103) ingwi teruanže anžingəmage uné awin  
 ingui terua-že a -ži -gəma -ga unai u -in  
 one man -POSA 3s-POSI-child-ERG take do-CK

'The son of some man took it.'

## CHAPTER 5. THE NOUN PHRASE

As in most languages, the structure of a noun phrase consists minimally of the head noun. The head noun may then be modified by a demonstrative, a quantifier, adjective(s), a possessor, and/or a delimiter. Dəməna, however, also freely forms NPs with empty heads.

### 5.1 Head noun with demonstrative

A demonstrative precedes the head noun. Demonstratives follow a deictic system with three degrees of distance. (See Chapter 9.1 for more discussion.) The relative order of modifiers in a noun phrase, demonstrative-quantifier-head-adjective, is illustrated in (104).

(104) ima mówa dumáǵə tšukkwéǵa  
ima moua dumaga tiukuaiga  
these two lion big

'these two big lions'

(105) méma gáya  
mema gaia  
that girl

'that girl'

(106) iyáma kéri  
 iama keri  
 that side  
 'side over there'

As shown in (107), a demonstrative can head an NP, functioning as a pronoun.

(107) fi gwaši iyamága  
 ni guak-1 iama -ga  
 what say -QS over.there-ERG  
 'What is that one over there saying?'

## 5.2 Head noun with quantifiers

The set of quantifying words includes numbers (Chapter 3.4) and those in Table 10.

---

Table 10: Quantifying Words

bəguí	'many/much'
énguazi	'little'
əgín	'few'
kə	'all'

---

When there is no adjective, the quantifier may precede or follow the head noun.

(108) šikká bəgwí naká awín  
 šiká bəguí nak -a -á u -in  
 person much come-PFV-ST do -CK  
 'Many of the people came.'



(109) bəgwi terúa dʒinákə awin  
 bəgwi terua di -nak -a u -in  
 much man 3pS-come-PFV do-CK

'The many men came.'

The difference in ordering seems to depend on definiteness (Frank 1990:31). I understand the order in (110) to mean that there were more than four shells available. In (111), where the quantifier precedes the head, Serankwa had only four daughters.

(110) ukuéru ətənágə duʃinŋá makégwa  
 u -ku-a -ai -ru ətəna-ga duʃinua makegua  
 do-FB-PFV-ADZ-TOP old -ERG shell four

gúga  
 gug-a  
 get-PFV

'And so the old lady fetched four shells.'

(111) serankwágə makégwa bungəma  
 serankua-ga makegua bungəma  
 serankwa-ERG four daughter

kən nkə  
 k -ə -na-n -ka  
 ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-3SPRTC

'Serankwa had four daughters.'

When a head noun is modified by both a quantifier and an adjective, the quantifier precedes the head.

(112) mówa dumágə tʃukkwéɡə  
 moua dumaga tiukuaiga  
 two lion big

'two big lions'

## 5.3 Head noun with adjective

Adjectives follow the head noun.

(113) ranžáde            dumága tšukkwéga tuwá  
 ra-ži -ade        dumaga tiukuaiga tu -a -á  
 is-POSI-father lion big        see-PFV-ST

awin  
 u -in  
 do -CK

'My father saw a big lion.'

Instances of two adjectives following the head noun appear to be cases of conjoining with a zero conjunction.

(114) súzu ombónši mókši  
 suzu abənsi məkti  
 bag white black

'a white and black bag'

## 5.4 Head noun with genitive

The possessor generally precedes the head noun.

(115) škwa teruánže šéra  
 šikuá terua-že šera  
 one man -POSA machete

'one man's machete'

If the possessed nominal is the predicate in a predicate nominal construction, the order is reversed.

(116) memáru gwáma menandžinánže  
 mema-ru guama mena -dina-že  
 that-TOP counsel woman-PL -POSA

'That is counsel for women.' (That is women's  
 counsel.)

(117) memáru šéra robertúnže  
 mema-ru šera robertu-že  
 that-TOP machete robertu-POSA

'That is Robertu's machete.'

Genitive case is discussed further in Chapter 4.3.

### 5.5 Head noun with delimiter

Delimiters qualify the noun phrase as a whole. Two delimiters are: -gua 'also' and kin 'only'. 'Also' is phonologically bound as evidenced by prenasalization; 'only' is not.

(118) ənánže žandunáŋgwa ənzisi nekəmpána  
 əna-že žanduna-gua azisi nek-ənpán-a  
 3s -POSA seed -also red do -INCEP-PFV

'Her seed also began to be red (she also  
 miscarried).'

The following examples demonstrate that the delimiter can mark noun phrases in various grammatical roles. First, kin modifies the subject of an intransitive clause (119), next, a direct object (120), then, a locative (121), and finally, the subject of a transitive clause (122).

- (119) ranžingwia      kiŋ   naká      awin  
 ra-ži -guia      kin   nak -a   -á   u -in  
 1s-POSI-brother   only   come-PFV-ST   do-CK

'Only my older brother came.'

- (120) kən   kəndúma   kiŋ   ga      néši  
 kan   kanduma   kin   k   -ža -a   nek-i  
 wood   rotten   only   ADV-eat-PFV   do   -GER

'He eats only rotten wood.'

- (121) memáru      gegírgə      kiŋ   kwága  
 mema -ru   gegərga      kin   kua   -ka  
 there-TOP   Sierra Nevada   only   exist-3sPRTC

'That one lives only in the Sierra Nevada.'

- (122) anžabúgə      kin   žáma   akáwa  
 a   -ži   -abu   -ga   kin   žama   a   -kau -a  
 3sIO-POSI-mother-ERG   only   food   3sIO-give-PFV

'Only his mother gave him food.'

## 5.6 Conjoined nouns

The conjunctions in Dəməna are *nən* 'with' and *kua* 'or'.

A phonological variant of Spanish *y* 'and' is also used.

- (123) tógua   sákə      širúna   nən  
 togua   sak-a      širuna   nən  
 bowl   look.for-PFV   spoon   with

'S/he looked for a bowl and spoon.'

- (124) težúna   kwa   teyróna   kənəŋkə      áya  
 težuna   kua   terona   k   -ə   -na-n   -ka      aniu  
 težuna   or   tairona   ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-3sPRTC   coca

'Težuna or (his other name) Teyrona had coca.'

*Nən* also functions to conjoin nominals in a negative clause.

(125) ranžási            nən ranžimi            nənru  
 ra-ži -asi        nən ra-ži -mi        nən -ru  
 1s-POSI-sister with 1s-POSI-spouse with-TOP

sóma gaúŋgwi            nugín  
 soma gau -u -əngui nuk-ə -in  
 baby make-NEG-still be -WIT-CK

'Neither my older sister nor my wife have had their babies yet.' (Lit: 'My older sister with my wife have still not made babies.')

kua may also conjoin entire clauses.

(126) nənáy nəjká            kwa kwisa nəjká  
 nənai na-n -ka        kua kwisa na-n -ka  
 truth be-VBZ-3sPRTC or lie be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'(I wonder) is it the truth or is it a lie?'

The phonological variant of Spanish 'and' is [ə].

(127) šamúŋku ə        təməkéna námsi  
 šamunku ə        təməkéna na -mət -i  
 head        and stomach 1sIO-occur-GER

'my head and stomach hurt'

## CHAPTER 6. VERB STEMS

Verbs serve as heads of verb phrases and code events in a text. Trillos (1989) defines a verb in Dəməna as the entity formed by the combination of a stem plus agreement, aspect, and mode-person marking affixes (see Chapter 9.4).

In Dəməna, verb stems may be complex or non-complex. Complex stems include expressions of possession which are formed from copulas, placement verbs formed from orientation verbs, a basic motion serving as the root for another action involving that motion, and verbs which are related to ideophones.

### 6.1 Non-complex verbs

Basic transitive verbs are extremely rare in Dəməna, verbal concepts generally being formed from intransitive verbs. Non-complex verbs which take an object include verbs of perception, verbs of speech, verbs of destruction, verbs of transaction, and verbs of creation.

## Verbs of perception:

tu	'see'
nuku	'hear'
natun	'smell'

## Verbs of speech:

i	'say' (with direct quote)
guak	'say'
maše	'greet'
šiž	'ask'

## Verbs of destruction :

guag	'kill'
gaš	'burn' (person is subject)
pun	'burn' (fire is subject)

## Verbs of transaction:

angaši	'send'
kau	'give'
buaž	'loan'

## Verb of creation:

gaua	'build or make'
------	-----------------

Some verbs, like du 'want', involve an experiencer marked with ergative case (see Chapter 4.1), which is surprisingly referenced with indirect object agreement:

- (128) rágə gaseósa kin nandúŋgə  
 ra-ga gaseosa kin na -dun -ka  
 1s-ERG pop only 1sIO-want-3sPRTC  
 'I want only pop.'

Other verbs which take an ergative-marked experiencer include:

- (129) mət 'occur'  
 námsi 'hurts me'  
 na -mət -i  
 1sIO-occur-GER
- (130) ua 'motion' (away from)  
 nawáži 'I vomit' (Lit: 'going  
 na -ua -n-i out from me')  
 1sIO-motion-VBZ-GER
- (131) gi 'rise'  
 nanggiži 'I burp' (Lit: 'rises  
 na -gi -n -i to me')  
 1sIO-rise-VBZ-GER
- (132) zi 'motion' (squeezing)  
 nanziži 'I sneeze'  
 na -zi -n -i  
 1sIO-motion-VBZ-GER

## 6.2 Verbs formed from copulas

The set of copular verbs in Dəməna includes *na*, *nuk*, and *ža*. In clauses equating two NPs, a copula is required only if mood marking needs to be made explicit.



(133) terúa narín  
 terua na-n -u -in  
 man be-VBZ-1s-CK

'I am a man.'

The following example illustrates the use of na in combination with 'benefactive' for expressing possession:

(134) serankwáǵə makégwa bungéma  
 serankua-ga makegua bungəma  
 Serankwa-ERG four daughter

kənónkə  
 k -ə -na-n -ka  
 ALV-BEN-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'Serankwa had four daughters.' (Lit: 'Four daughters were for Serankwa.')

As shown in the following interchange, nuk serves as the copula in a predicate locative construction .

(135) bíʔən mercáo nukú  
 bí -ən mercao nuk-ú  
 where-INDFLOC market be -QS

'Where is the market?'

(136) íʔən nugin  
 í -ən nuk-ə -in  
 here-INDFLOC be -WIT-CK

'It is near here.'

The copula ʒa is required when the subject of a clause is impersonal or inanimate. It is used in clauses pertaining to weather, time, and properties of inanimate objects.

- (137) méʔən                    ənʒina ʒarí  
 me    -ən                    ənʒina ʒa-n -í  
 there-INDFLOC how        be-VBZ-QS

'How is it (the weather) around there?'

- (138) kəskəna    ʒaráška...  
 kəskəna    ʒa-n -i    -a -aška  
 beginning be-VBZ-MEDL-PFV-OVLP

'In the beginning...'

- (139) géru            tégwi anʒəŋga  
 ge -ru tégwi a    -ʒa-n -ka  
 fire-TOP hot    3sIO-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'The fire is hot.'

ʒa is also used when identifying an animate subject in terms of its origin. This point of origin may be a location or a point in time.

- (140) ingwi terúa əndúa puébru ʒána            tuwá  
 ingwi terua əndúa puebru ʒa-n -a    tu -a -á  
 one man other village be-VBZ-PFV see-PFV-ST

awín  
 u -u -in  
 do-is-CK

'I just saw a man who was from another village.'

- (141) súʒi əmbənsi džibúke ʒána  
 suʒi abənsi dibu-ka ʒa-n -a  
 bird white sea -LOCP be -VBZ-PFV

əŋkamayəmpána  
 ən -k -a -mai -ənpan-a  
 POSRE-ADV-AR-sing-INCP -PFV

'A white bird that was from the sea began to sing his own song.'

(142) nawinžimáma            mužiringwi            žána  
 naui-ži -mama            mužiri            -gui ža-n -a  
 1p -POSI-ancestor two.days.ago-EMPH be-VBZ-PFV

imé            kéma gwašá  
 ima -ai kéma guak-i    -a -á  
 this-ADZ INFW say -MEDL-PFV-ST

'Our ancestor (who was) from a long time ago  
 said like that.'

Example (143) illustrates that ža is used to express  
 possession.

(143) ra iba nekənžáži  
 ra iba nē -k -ə -ža-n -i  
 I work 1sDO-ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-GER

'I have work.' (Lit: 'Work is for me.')

### 6.3 Orientation verbs

Orientation verbs indicate the location of an object with  
 respect to a surface. For example, a woman may be either  
 vertical or horizontal depending if she is sitting or lying  
 down.

(144) eténa kuté  
 etəna gu -ta            -ai  
 old long-vertical-ADZ

'the old woman sat'

(145) eténa gagá  
 etəna gaga            -a -á  
 old horizontal-PFV-ST

'the old woman lay down'

Orientation verbs can also express placement of an object in a position. The ambiguity between existence verbs and locational verbs of placement is resolved through nominal suffixes. A participial suffix on a noun indicates existence with the indicated orientation.

(146) lápi mesáke gagá  
 lapis mesa -ka gaga -a -á  
 pencil table-LOCP horizontal-PFV-ST

'The pencil was on the table.'

An object which is placed with a certain orientation with respect to a surface is marked with -ba 'oblique' (OBL).

(147) lápi mesámba gagá  
 lapis mesa -ba gaga -a -á  
 pencil table-OBL horizontal-PFV-ST

'He put the pencil on the table.'

In Table 11, the verbs of orientation are organized with respect to their prominent relation to the surface (orientation) and dimension (D).

ta 'vertical' and gagá 'horizontal' were illustrated in examples (144) and (145).

pa 'flat' indicates that an object is flat against a reference surface.

(148) kəká pa  
 kəka pa  
 mouth flat

'a closed mouth'

Table 11 Verbs of Existence and Placement

	vertical 1-D	horizontal 1-D	horizontal 2-D	without orientation
on	ta	gagá	pa	á
up on	išté or ité	ingagá	išpá or ipá	induá
leaning against a surface of this shape	kəté		kəpá	
down in (unseen)	kəšá	kəšá	kəšá	kəmá

If the subject is without a particular orientation with respect to a reference surface, its placement verb is *duá*.

(149) mangéra mesámba duá  
 mangera mesa -ba dua-a  
 cord table-OBL WO -PFV

'He put the cord on the table (in a haphazard manner).'

The locative prefix, *i-* (LOC), on a verb of orientation carries the idea of 'up on'. When an object is placed so

that a flat surface is in contact with a non-flat surface,  
the form ipa is used.

- (150) dukəkənámba ipá uši  
dukəkəna -ba i -pa -a -á u -ši  
upper.leg-OBL LOC-flat-PFV-ST do-FIMP

'Put it (flat object) in his lap.

When two surfaces of the same type are in contact, the  
orientation verb is marked with di- '3pS'. For example,  
išpá means that a flat surface is in contact with another  
flat surface.

- (151) išpá kónža  
i -di -pa -a k -ə -ži -a  
LOC-3pS-flat-PFV ADV-BEN-tie-PFV

'(The lion was) tied (with his forehead) flat '  
(against the tree).

Likewise, išté indicates that two objects are in contact  
vertically, and ite means that an object with vertical  
orientation is in contact with an object whose prominent  
dimension is not vertical.

- (152) ra ránže burúmba išté  
ra ra-že buru -ba i -di -ta -ai  
1s 1s-POSA donkey-OBL LOC-3pS-vertical-ADZ

nayugá  
nay-ug -a -á  
go -1sS-PFV-ST

'I left mounted on my donkey.' (A person mounted  
on a donkey is vertical because his legs hang  
down.)

- (153) dukəkənámba ité uši  
 dukəkəna ·ba i -ta -ai u -si  
 upper.leg-OBL LOC-vertical-ADZ do-FIMP

'Put it vertically in his lap.'

Kəté and kəpá mean that an object exists or is placed so that its contact with another surface is not quite vertical or horizontal respectively.

- (154) əŋkasésən kəté  
 ən -k -a -ses -ən k -ə -ta -ai  
 POSRE-ADV-AR-rest-IMPF ADV-BEN-vertical-ADZ

nukwéga  
 nuk-ega  
 be -PUR

'S/he should lean back to rest.'

- (155) džirákə kəpá nušin  
 dira -ka k -ə -pa -a nuk-in  
 water-LOCP ADV-BEN-flat-PFV be -CK

'S/he is face down in the water.'

When a rigid object is placed inside another object so that it is no longer in sight, the verb used is kəšá.

- (156) lápi duadúmba kəšá  
 lapis duadu -ba k -ə -ša -a  
 pencil woolen.bag-OBL ADV-BEN-place.in-PFV

'He put the pencil in the woolen bag.'

With kəmə, the contained object is without orientation.

(157) mənkesára duadúmba kəmə  
 mənkesara duadu -ba k -ə -ma -a  
 clothes woolen.bag-OBL ADV-BEN-around-PFV

'He put clothes in the woolen bag.'

Frank (1990:53) describes the equivalent system in Ika as a noun class system, requiring a form of agreement with the lexical verb.

The main classes name long objects (one dimensional), flat objects (two dimensional), three dimensional objects, liquids, containers, or objects with specialized holders. The grammatical correlates of these classes are different words chosen according to the category of the noun, such as ... (pa) 'put down flat objects'.

This contrasts with the system in Dəməna in which it is not the inherent shape of a noun which is the only crucial issue, but its orientation (horizontal/vertical) and its relation to a reference surface.

One way in which the meaning of orientation verbs may be extended in Dəməna is through reflexivization. Reflexives may be marked as 'possessive reflexive' (POSRE) or with ži- 'detransitivizer' (DETR).

(158) əŋkəté  
 ən -k -ə -ta -ai  
 POSRE-ADV-BEN-vertical-ADZ

'put on (one's own shirt)'



(159) ənkəgagá  
 ən -k -ə -gaga -a  
 POSRE-ADV-BEN-horizontal-PFV

'put on (one's own mochila (a cloth bag used to carry personal possessions))'

(160) žipá  
 ži -pa -a  
 DETR-flat-PFV

'roll up'

(161) žipéši  
 ži -pa -ai -ši  
 DETR-flat-ADZ-CAUS

'clap (hands)'

Ta 'vertical' is the root of the following verbs:

(162)

a. taná 'freeze'  
 ta -na  
 vertical-be

b. zité 'standing very still'  
 zi -ta -ai (Lit: 'carefully upright')<sup>1</sup>  
 motion-vertical-ADZ

c. žitaná 'walk'  
 ži -ta -na  
 DETR-vertical-be

d. kətaná 'arrived'  
 k -ə -ta -na (Lit: 'be vertical for  
 ADV-BEN-vertical-be (location)')

A common extension of ša 'place inside' is šana 'buy'  
 (Lit: 'be placed inside (a bag)).

<sup>1</sup>See Chapter 7.2.3 for this sense of zi

(163) rágə lápi mikišaná  
 ra-ga lapis mə-k -i -ša -n -a -á  
 1s-ERG pencil 2s-ADV-LOC-place.in-VBZ-PFV-ST

'I bought a pencil for you.' (Lit: 'I placed a pencil in your (bag).')

#### 6.4 Verbs of motion forming related actions

There are a number of verbal roots based on various types of motion, and these form the basis of other verbs. One such root is ua 'back and forth'.

(164) ua [wa] 'back and forth'

- |                          |                     |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| a. wekúbi                | 'swim/fly'          |
| ua -ai -kum -i           |                     |
| motion-ADZ-remain-GER    |                     |
| b. wéši                  | 'fan a fire'        |
| ua -ai -ši               |                     |
| motion-ADZ-CAUS          |                     |
| c. awéša                 | 'clear small brush' |
| a -ua -ai -ši -a         |                     |
| 3sIO-motion-ADZ-CAUS-PFV |                     |
| d. awáži                 | 'vomit'             |
| a -ua -n -i              |                     |
| 3sIO-motion-VBZ-GER      |                     |
| e. wási                  | 'throw'             |
| ua -sis                  |                     |
| motion-lose              |                     |

Other motion verbs and some of their derived forms are:

- (165) nak 'come'
- a. unákə 'bring'  
u-nak-a  
POR-come-PFV
- b. zep kənáši 'be afraid'  
zain k -ə -nak -i (Lit: 'Fear comes  
fear ADV-BEN-come-GER for him.')
- (166) nai 'go'
- a. uné 'take'  
u -nai  
POR-go
- b. néši 'sell'  
nai-ši (Lit: 'cause to  
go -CAUS go')
- (167) zi 'intertwining'
- a. anzina 'light a fire'  
a -zi -n -a  
3sIO-intertwine-VBZ-PFV
- b. anzižən 'kiss'  
a -zi -ši -ən  
3sIO-intertwine-CAUS-IMPF
- (168) ži 'tie'
- a. kánži 'be stuck'  
k -ə -ži  
ADV-BEN-tie
- b. šikənži?i 'learn'  
ši -k -ə -ži -i (Lit: 'tie a  
string-ADV-BEN-tie-GER string on')

- (169) ma 'around'
- a. améši 'beat/stir food'  
 a -ma -ai -ši  
 3sIO-around-ADZ-CAUS
- b. gúra əŋkəméši 'hug'  
 gura ən -k -a -ma -ai -ši  
 arm POSRE-ADV-3IO-around-ADZ-CAUS
- c. amáži 'squeezing'  
 a -ma -n -i  
 3sIO-around-VBZ-GER
- d. təŋ amá 'wring clothes'  
 tən a -ma  
 tight 3sIO-around
- e. amá 'wrap'  
 a -ma  
 3sIO-around
- f. amenúke 'striped'  
 a -ma -ai -nuk-ka  
 3sIO-around-ADZ-be -3sPRTC

- (170) iu [iyu] 'go down'
- a. kaiyú 'put down' <sup>2</sup>  
 k -a -iu -ú  
 ADV-AR-go.down-IMP
- b. žiyú 'put legs in pants'  
 ži -iu -ú  
 REFL-go.down-IMP

<sup>2</sup>Kaiuma, literally 'that which is thrown down', means 'garbage'.

c. šiyúši		'sew'
ši -iu -ši		(Lit: 'cause
string-go.down-CAUS		string to go
		down')

### 6.5 Verbs related to ideophones

The following examples illustrate a relationship between verbs and ideophones. The sound made from something splitting, *kwən*, is also used in forming the verb 'to split'.

- (171) kúgwa kégí džwi uši inginággwa  
 kugua kəgi diui u -ši ingina-gua  
 seven year sun do-FIMP rock -also

kwən kwən kóma kekwá  
 kuən kuən kəma k -a -i -ku-a -á  
 sound sound INFW ADV-AR-say-FB-PFV-ST

'For seven years (it was so hot and dry), the sun caused even the rocks to split.' (Lit: 'The rocks said 'kwən kwən'.')

- (172) iwa zumé kəndúma  
 iua zumé kan -duma  
 today well wood-rotten

rikwəntšúnnanəŋkə ži  
 ži -kuən -ši -ú -ən -na-n -ənka ži  
 DETR-sound-CAUS-NEG-IMPF-be-VBZ-FUT worm

gaéga  
 k -ža -ega  
 ADV-eat-PUR

'Today (from now on) he will not be able to split rotten wood well in order to eat worms.'

There is also a relationship between a grunt sound and weight (glossed 'effort').

(173) ukwáškøru                   gø    gø    rišá  
 u -ku-a -aška-ru gø    gø    riš -a -á  
 do-FP-PFV-OVLP-TOP sound sound shout-PFV-ST

'And 'gø gø' sounded (something exploding in the fire).'

(174) gø            anzéŋga  
 gø            a    -ža-n -ka  
 effort 3sIO-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'It is heavy.'

(175) góži  
 gø    -n -i  
 effort-VBZ-GER

'pulling'

## CHAPTER 7. VERB PHRASE AND VERBAL INFLECTION

With the exception of clauses equating noun phrases, a predicate consists minimally of a lexical verb. Through the addition of auxiliary verbs, verbal affixes, and other predicate modifiers, information concerning arguments, time, distance, and truth value is communicated.

The major topics discussed in this chapter are: aspect and temporal relationships, predicate modifiers, the functions of auxiliary verbs, and negation.

Agreement with arguments is covered in Chapters 2.2 and 9.3.

### 7.1 Aspect and temporal relationships

Aspect is indicated by means of verbal suffixes. Its scope is only the action denoted by the verb on which it is marked.

Affixes which perform an aspectual function include those in Table 12.

Perfective aspect refers to a complete event (Comrie 1976); that is, an event which is viewed as an undifferentiated whole.

Table 12: Aspectual Suffixes

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-a	perfective	(PFV)
-ən	imperfective	(IMPF)
-i	iterative, durative	(GER)
-ka	habitual	(PRTC) <sup>1</sup>

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(176) anžabúgə                      kin žáma akáwa  
 a -ží -abu -ga kin žama a -kau -a  
 3sIO-POSI-mother-ERG only food 3sIO-give-PFV

'Only his mother gave him food.'

Imperfective aspect, marked with -ən 'imperfective' (IMPF), indicates that an event is going on at the time of the reference point.

(177) ŋi dūgwən nukú  
 ni dug -ən nuk-ú  
 what cook-IMPF be-OS

'What is s/he cooking?'

(178) kunéhu nákən kəma tukwá dumagáge  
 kunehu nak -ən kəma tu -ku-a -á dumaga-ga  
 rabbit come-IMPF INFW see-FP-PFV-ST lion -ERG

'The lion saw the rabbit coming.'

Additional suffixes serve to qualify imperfective aspect. These extensions of 'imperfective' are shown in Table 13. Aspectual suffixes involving 'imperfective' are indicated as

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<sup>1</sup>-ka is used here as a representative form for participle. The form of participle varies for person (see Chapter 2.3).



bimorphemic for the remainder of this chapter, but for the sake of clarity are given a single gloss.

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Table 13: Imperfective Aspect

-ənté	continuative	(CONT)
(-ən -te)		
-IMPF-be		
-əngui	continuing longer than expected	'still'
(-ən -gui)		
-IMPF-still		
-ənpən	inceptive	(INCP)
(-ən -pən)		
-IMPF-begin		
-ənuá	imminent	(IMN)
(-ən -ua)		
-IMPF-motion		
-ənka	future	(FUT)
(-ən -ka)		
-IMPF-3sPRTC		

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(179) əná iyám agenté           nugin  
 əná iəm ag   -(ən-te) nuk-ə -in  
 3s corn plant-CONT   be -WIT-CK

'He is continuing to plant corn.'

(180) na homəngwi  
 na hom   -(ən-gui)  
 3s bathe-still

'He is still bathing.' (Trillos 1989:95)

- (181) dumeguməmpána<sup>2</sup>  
 dumegum -(ən-pan)-a  
 play -INCP -PFV  
 '(He) began (and continued) to play.'  
 (from that time on)

- (182) əná iyəm agwá awín  
 əná iəm ag -(ən-uá) u -in  
 3s corn plant-IMN do-CK  
 'He is about to start to plant corn.'

- (183) əná iyəm ágən nayəŋka  
 əná iəm ag -ən nai-(ən-ka)  
 3s corn plant-IMPF go -FUT  
 'S/he will go to plant corn.'

A gerundive suffix encodes the aspectual qualities of iterativity or durativity. It replaces the imperfective, rather than being added to it. On a punctiliar verb, a gerund indicates repetitive action throughout a span.

- (184) kúgwa kégi kən kəndúma kin ga néší  
 kugua kəgi kan kanduma kin k -ža -a nek-i  
 seven year wood rotten only ADV-eat-PFV do -GER  
 'For seven years, (he) used to eat only rotten wood.'

When a non-punctiliar verb is marked with a gerundive suffix, the action concerned takes place throughout a span at the same time as another action.

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<sup>2</sup>Hensarling (MS) calls aspectual markers such as (-ən-pan) 'stem-forming aspects' because they create a new verb to which additional aspectual suffixes may be added.

(185) mundžuwi žanéken<sup>3</sup> nukwáškəru  
 mo -diui ža-nek-ən nuk-ku-a -aška-ru  
 two-sun be-do -IMPF be -FP-PFV-OVLP-TOP

dumāgə márgə gáʔi džíra  
 dumaga mar -ga k -ža-i díra  
 lion hunger-ERG ADV-eat-GER water

andúži widəmpána kéma ukwá  
 a -dun -i uid-ənpən-a kéma u -ku-a -á  
 3sIO-want-GER die-INCP -PFV INFW do-FP-PFV-ST

'For two whole days the lion was hungry and  
 thirsty, and he began to die.'

The participial suffix on a verb stem conveys the idea of  
 'habitual': it also nominalizes the verb to mean 'a person  
 who does X', or 'a person who knows how to do X' (see  
 Chapter 2.3).

(186) méma gáya kúgwa súzu gókə  
 mema gaia kugua suzu gau -ka  
 that girl seven bag make-3SPRTC

nəḡkwá  
 na-n -ku-a -á  
 be-VBZ-FP-PFV-ST

'That girl was a seven bag a day maker.'

Temporal relationships are also communicated through  
 clause chaining where an event serves as the reference point  
 for location in time for the event in a subsequent clause.  
 Connectors marked with -məndi 'succession' (SUC), indicate

<sup>3</sup>This verb appears to be a compound of ža, the auxiliary used in time  
 and weather expressions (see Chapter 7.3), and nek 'do'.

that the situations are sequential; -aška marks temporal overlap (OVLP).

- (187) kekwéməndžiru                      ɪŋɡwi máʃi  
 k -a -i -ku-ai -məndi-ru    ɪŋɡwi maš -i  
 ADV-AR-say-FP-ADZ-SUC    -TOP again leave-GE

nayá  
 nai-a -á  
 go -PFV-ST

'After telling her that, he went as though he were leaving her.'

- (188) džiráŋɡwa    haná              ukwáška              na  
 dira -ɡua    han-a    -á    u -ku-a    -aška na  
 water-also dry-PFV-ST do-FP-PFV-OVLP 3s

márgə              ɡáʔi  
 mar -ga    k -ža-i  
 hunger-ERG ADV-eat-GER

'The water also dried up, and he was hungry.'

The past perfect construction is a form of relative tense. In this construction, the 'be' auxiliary, na, is a proclitic attached to an auxiliary verb. It is used in non-chronological story telling, and indicates that an action occurred prior to the reference point indicated by the tense marking on the verb (Hensarling (MS)).

(189) ingwi tūgə      antšikáwa      áwa  
 ingui tuga      a    -di -kau -a    u -a  
 one    grandson 3sIO-3pS-give-PFV do-PFV

nánəŋkə  
 na-na-n -ka  
 be-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'They (each) had given a grandson to her.'

Trillos (1989) calls na-/nana- 'historic past/legendary past'. She implies that the reduplication of na- conveys a greater degree of removal in time, but it seems rather that the reduplicated form indicates that the reported state is not true at the time of the reference point. Example (190) is the introductory sentence to a narrative which describes the history of the condor. It states that the condor once ate people, but the condor learns that he must not eat people and no longer does.

(190) witširi dumáge žitubikúma      šikká  
 uitiri dumaga ži -tubikum -a      šiká  
 condor lion REFL-turn.into-PFV people

ga              nékə      nanánəŋkə  
 k -ža -a    nek-a    na-na-na-n -ka  
 ADV-eat-PFV do -PFV be-be-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'There was a condor who turned into a lion and had been a people eater.'

The prefix si- (which is likely related to the verb sis 'to lose') relates an event in the past which the speaker claims to be true, but no longer remembers exactly when it occurred. Hensarling (MS) calls the corresponding morpheme

in Kogi 'remote past' and describes its use as being what an old person would say when referring to a trip taken in his youth.

(191) ra ža kéma saugá  
 ra ža kéma si -u -ug -a -á  
 1s eat INFW REM-do-1sS-PFV-ST

'I ate.' (sometime in the distant past, don't remember when)

When a series of events takes place in a narrative, the entire sequence may be located in time by a time expression at the beginning and an aspectual marking on the auxiliary verb at the end.

(192) mundžuwi žanéken nukwáškəru  
 mo -diui ža-nek-ən nuk-ku-a -aška-ru  
 two-sun IA-do -IMPF be -FP-PFV-OVLP-TOP

dumáge márgə gáʔi džira  
 dumaga mar -ga k -ža-i dira  
 lion hunger-ERG ADV-eat-GER water

andúži widəmpána kéma ukwá  
 a -dun -i uid-ənpan-a kéma u -ku-a -á  
 3sIO-want-GER die-INCP -PFV INFW do-FP-PFV-ST

'For two whole days the lion was hungry and thirsty, and he began to die.'

## 7.2 Predicate modifiers

Predicate modifiers include markers of deontic and epistemic modality and adverbial concepts.

## 7.2.1 Deontic modality

Modals which communicate the notions of reality, obligation, intention, ability and permission in Dəməna include those listed in Table 14.

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Table 14 Deontic Modal Suffixes

-ega	'purpose'	(PUR)
-du	'irrealis'	(IRR)
-guaša	'conditional'	(CONSQ)
-akua	'obligation'	(OBG)
-au	'prohibition'	(NAP)
-ú	'negative'	(NEG)
-rənga	'able'	
-ənka	'future'	(FUT)
-ka	'know how to'	(PRTC)

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Purpose clauses may be glossed as 'in order to', and are marked by the suffix -ega (PUR). (Motion verbs take a different purpose marker. See Chapter 13.2.)

(193) lápi náwa nékə žinžóma gawéga  
 lapis naua nek-ka žinžoma gau -ega  
 pencil need do -3sPRTC book make-PUR

'Pencils are needed in order to make books.'

Following imperfective aspect -du carries the meaning of 'irrealis' (IRR). In this sense it is often used in conjunction with -guaša 'consequence' (CONSQ) to express a contrafactual-consequence pair.

(194) náya mawéndu tuwá  
 nai-a mə-u -ən -du tu -a -á  
 go -PFV 2s-do-IMPF-IRR see-PFV-ST

mawənəngwáša ñi  
 mə-u -a -na-n -guaša-a na-in  
 2s-do-PFV-be-VBZ-CONSO-PFV be-CK

'If you had gone, you would have seen it.'

When -du follows future, however, it merely casts doubt on the validity of the statement. In these situations it may be glossed 'maybe'.

(195) naká aungarú  
 nak -a -á u -ənga -du  
 come-PFV-ST do-1sSFUT-IRR

'(Maybe) I will come.'

Obligation is conveyed by the modal suffix -akua (OBG).

(196) əgəma ši əŋkéndža  
 əgəma ši ən -k -ə -ži -a  
 more string POSRE-ADV-BEN-tie-PFV

awakwága  
 u -akua- ə -ka  
 do-OBG -FRM-3sPRTC

'(I) should learn more.' (Lit: 'tie more string on')

akua is also used in constructions involving an agentless passive.



(197) anžóma isə awakwá ñi  
 anžoma i -sə u -akua na-in  
 shell LOC-peel do-should be-CK

'It (the lion) should be skinned.'

The equivalent of a negative agentless passive 'NAP' is marked with -aui. It is used to refer to what is prohibited.

(198) ekwége žáŋgə awawinəŋkə ñi  
 ekuaiga žang -a u -aui-na -n -ka na-in  
 things steal-PFV do-NAP-be -VBZ-3sPRTC be-CK

'Stealing things is not to be done.'

(199) nabióŋkəra gawinəŋkə  
 nabionkəra k -ža -aui-na-n -ka  
 dog ADV-eat-NAP-be-VBZ-2s/3PRTC

'Dogs are not to be eaten.'

The contrast between -akua and -aui is illustrated in the following conversation concerning the edibility of a certain type of fruit:

(200) gawinəŋkə?  
 k -ža -aui-na-n -ka  
 ADV-eat-NAP-be-VBZ-2s/3PRTC

'Is it not to be eaten?'

(201) gakwága  
 k -ža -akua-ka  
 ADV-eat-OBG -3sPRTC

'It is to be eaten.'

When used in conjunction with the auxiliary *ža* 'be' in a possessive construction, *-akua* has an extended sense of permission.

- (202) *nayákwa kənzári*  
*nai-akua-a k -ə -ža-n -i*  
 go -OBG -PFV ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-GER

'He has the right to go.'

Negation is discussed primarily in Chapter 7.4; it is mentioned here with deontic mode because when it occurs with imperfective aspect, it includes an element of intention.

- (203) *ranžáde nayún fi*  
*ra-ži -ade nai-ú -ən na-in*  
 1s-POSI-father go -NEG-IMPF be-CK

'My father did not go.' (and won't)

*-rənga* 'able' asserts that the subject is capable of performing the action in question. The use of *-rənga* in complement clauses is discussed in Chapter 13.3.

- (204) *néne nangonekaréngə bebía*  
*nene na -gonek-ka -rənga bebia*  
 who 1sIO-help -3sPRTC-able medicine

*wargwéga*  
*u -arug -ega*  
 POR-ascend-PUR

'Who can help me in order to take the medicine up.'



Table 15: Epistemic Mood Markers

	speaker	addressee	first hand knowledge
me	-	-	-
ki	-	+	?
kima	+	-	-
kəma	+	-	+
-in	+	+	-
-ə-in	+	+	+

Me and ki are used in question formation. Me marks an ignorative question (see Chapter 10.5) where neither the speaker nor the addressee knows the information requested (therefore, both are marked with -).

(207) widá            aú    me  
 uid-a -á u -ú me  
 die-PFV-ST do-QS IG

'Who knows if it died?'

Ki is used in question focus, and is described in Chapter 10.1.3. In these cases, the speaker does not have the requested knowledge (-), but believes that the addressee does (+).

(208) manžadegə                    dumagə gwagá            ki aú  
 ma-ži -ade -ga dumaga guag-a -á ki u -ú  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST IF do-OS

'Did your father kill a mountain lion?'

Kima 'inform' and kəma 'inform with proof of witness' occur as independent words before the final verb. With the use of kima, the speaker asserts the truth of his statement. He informs the addressee, without claiming the existence of a reliable witness.

(209) naká            kima ukwá  
 nak -a -á kima u -ku-a -á  
 come-PFV-ST INF do-FP-PFV-ST

'He (this one here) came.' (No one saw him arrive.)

The use of kəma asserts that the information being relayed came from a reliable witness.

(210) naká            kəma ukwá  
 nak -a -á kəma u -ku-a -á  
 come-PFV-ST INFW do-FP-PFV-ST

'He (this one here) came.' (Someone saw him arrive.)

If the first hand knowledge conveyed by kəma is through the speaker's own experience, a verb of perception such as 'see' must be used to specify how the speaker obtained this knowledge.

(211) əndúndu      ənté      kəma tugá  
 əndundu      ənté      kəma tu -ug-a -á  
 young.ones position INFW see-1s-PFV-ST

'I saw that the young ones (have been born).'

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<sup>4</sup> The position implied here is that the newborns cannot yet support themselves.

A clause marked with a verb of perception, but without *kəma*, is a means for the speaker to give his personal opinion without making any claims as to the truth of his statement.

(212) dumagáǵə unayá tšuwí  
 dumaga-ga u -nai-a -á tu -i  
 lion -ERG POR-go -PFV-ST see-GER

'It seems that a lion has carried him away.'

The epistemic modal -in 'common knowledge' (CK), always follows the final verb in a clause.

(213) náʔi awín  
 nai-i u -in  
 go -GER do-CK

'He is going.'

The addition of 'witness' (WIT), -ə, indicates that the speaker is claiming to be a witness to the truth of the statement. Examples (214) and (215) illustrate that although -ə never appears in a surface form, its presence is evidenced by the sound changes it causes on the verb stem.

(214) nayənté nugín  
 nai-ənté nuk-ə -in  
 go -CONT be -WIT-CK

'He is going (along the trail).' (The speaker and the addressee both believe this to be true; the speaker has seen the referent on the trail.)

(215) nayənté nušín  
 nai-ənté nuk-in  
 go -CONT be -CK

'He is going (along the trail).' (The speaker and the addressee both believe this to be true; the speaker has not seen the referent on the trail.)

Hensarling (MS) has observed that the speaker's personal knowledge may be supernatural in nature (as in a dream). This is also true in Dəməna. The following example is a translation of a Kogi sentence given in Hensarling's manuscript.

(216) dumagáǵə məkunénəǵkə                    ɲi  
 dumaga-ga mə-k -unai-na-n -ka        na -in  
 lion -ERG 2s-ADV-take-be-VBZ-2sPRTC be -CK

naməžín  
 na -mət -ə -in  
 1sIO-occur-WIT-CK

'I feel that a lion has carried him away from you.' (Lit: 'It occurs to me that...')

### 7.2.3 Adverbial concepts

Adverbial concepts of direction or location may be conveyed by deictic demonstrative pronouns (Chapter 9.1), oblique case markers (Chapter 4.2), or locative postpositions. The locative postpositions include those in Table 16.

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 Table 16: Locative Postpositions
 

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məndi	'from'
kena	'toward'
ka	'in; on'

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Examples (217) and (218) illustrate that məndi 'from' may be used in both a locative and a temporal sense.

(217) ránže uragákə məndži nakanárgə  
 ra-že uraga-ka məndi nak -a -na-n -uga  
 1s-POSA house-LOCP from come-PFV-be-VBZ-1sPRTC

'I am come from being at my house.'

(218) iwa məndži  
 iua məndi  
 today from

'from now on'

kena 'toward' has only a locative sense.

(219) ingwi ranšpébu kéna nayá  
 ingui ra-ži -pebu kena nai-a -á  
 one 1s-POSI-friend to go -PFV-ST

'I went to a friend of mine.'

The locative postposition -ka indicates 'in' or 'on'. It cliticizes to the NP as evidenced by penultimate stress on mesáka (from the Spanish mésa).



(220) lápi mesákə gagá  
 lapis mesa -ka gaga -a -á  
 pencil table-LOCP horizontal-PFV-ST

'The pencil was on the table.'

Ways of communicating the number of times an action is performed in Dəməna include ingui 'one', the use of reduplication, -uina 'times', and -guazi 'repetitive' (REP).

Modifying a verb with ingui 'one' means 'again'.

(221) ingwi gwákə uši  
 ingui guak-a u -ši  
 one say -PFV do-FIMP

'Say it again.'

Dəməna utilizes reduplication of placement verbs to indicate a situation that is true of several items.

(222) pa	'flat'
(223) pa-pa [pabá]	'place several flat objects'
(224) kuté	'seated'
(225) ku-te-te [kutedé]	'several seated'

When a number is followed by the suffix -uina 'times', it indicates the number of times that an action occurs.

(226) ingwi nęgwiá                    uš'            mowina  
 ingui nę -gui-a -a u -ši        mo-uina  
 again 1sDO-say-PFV-ST do-FIMP two-times

maywina  
 mai -uina  
 three-times

'Tell me (the same thing) again two or three times.'

The verbal suffix -guazi 'repetitive' means that an action is done over and over again.

(227) męsa pašingwazi  
 mesa pa -ši -i -guazi  
 table flat-cause-GER-REP

'hitting the table repeatedly'

In Dęmęna, it is common for verbs to be used adverbally. Two ways in which this may be accomplished are with serial predicate constructions and by using the motion verb zi 'a winding motion' in a verbal compound. Examples (228) and (229) illustrate a serial predicate construction in which the adverbial concept of manner is communicated through a placement verb.

(228) išpá                                    kęnžá  
 i -di -pa -a k -ę -ži -a -á  
 LOC-3ps-flat-PFV ADV-BEN-tie-PFV-ST

'He was tied so that (his head) was flat against (a tree)'

(229) kitté unaká awin  
 k -i -ta -ai unak -a -á u -in  
 ADV-LOC-vertical-ADZ bring-PFV-ST do-CK

'He<sub>1</sub> brought him<sub>2</sub> here in a sitting position  
 leaning against him<sub>1</sub>.'

A serial predicate construction involving a motion verb  
 and a gerund indicates the manner in which the motion is  
 carried out.

(230) kekwéməndžiru ingwi  
 k -a -i -ku-a -ai -məndi-ru ingui  
 ADV-3sIO-say-FP-PFV-ADZ-SUC -TOP again

máši nayá  
 maš -i nai-a -á  
 leave-GER go -PFV-ST

'After telling her that, he went as though he  
 were leaving her.'

The use of *zi* 'winding motion' in a compound  
 construction with another verb means that the verb is done  
 cautiously. L. Williams (in preparation) claims that the  
 association between the winding motion and the concept of  
 being cautious is made because the winding motion is typical  
 of animals as they cautiously hunt prey.

(231) zigá  
 zi -k -ža -a  
 motion-ADV-eat-PFV

'eat secretly'

The addition of *-ai* 'adverbializer' (ADZ) results in a  
 predicate modifier meaning 'do like this'.

(232) imé kəma kayá  
 ima -ai kəma k -a -i -a -á  
 this-ADZ INFW ADV-AR-say-PFV-ST

'(It was) like this he said it to him'.

Absolute time words (which literally refer to positions of the sun) are formed from verbs.

(233) šetaná  
 ša -ai -ta -n -a -á  
 place.in-ADZ-vertical-VBZ-PFV-ST

'evening'

(234) bukwé  
 bu -kua -ai  
 round-exist-ADZ

'morning'

Words that express time relative to the present moment include:

(235) iua 'today'  
 iua

(236) kéua 'now'

(237) šígi 'tomorrow'  
 ší -gi  
 one.alone-rise

(238) mógi 'day after tomorrow'  
 mo -gi  
 two-rise

(239) máhe 'in three days'  
 mai -ai  
 three-ADZ

- (240) šáye 'yesterday'  
 ša -ia -aj  
 place.in-like-ADZ
- (241) moginžiri 'two days ago'  
 mo -gi -ži -ži  
 two-rise-motion-motion
- (242) maynžiri 'three days ago'  
 mai -ži -ži  
 three-motion-motion

Other time expressions:

- (243) kógi 'year'  
 kə -ga  
 all-rise
- (244) džua 'day', 'sun'
- (245) sága 'month'; 'moon';  
 'grandmother'

Names for the days of the week as well as the word *semana* 'week' have been borrowed from Spanish.

### 7.3 Auxiliaries

Auxiliary verbs in Dəməna include *u* 'do', *nuk* 'be', and *na* 'be'.

*U* may function as a main verb meaning 'do'.

- (246) ŋi áwən mənukú  
 ni u -ən mə-nuk-ú  
 what do-IMPF 2s-be -QS

'What are you doing?'

na and nuk may function as copulas (see Chapter 6.2).

When u, nuk, and na function as auxiliary verbs, they serve four basic functions. First, they help connect clauses; auxiliaries support temporal, modal, and logical suffixes which relate a clause to the following one.

(247) ža            ukwéməndži            homá  
          ža -a    u -ku-a    -ai -məndi hom -a -á  
          eat-PFV do-FP-PFV-ADZ-SUC    bathe-PFV-ST

'He bathed after he ate.'

Secondly, auxiliary choice functions to categorize a situation as being bounded or unbounded. Situations which have either a beginning point or an endpoint are bounded, and take u 'do'. Unbounded processes take nuk 'be'.

When a gerund is followed by u 'do', the meaning is inceptive: the situation has just begun at the reference point.

(248) náʔi        awin  
          nai -i     u -in  
          go    -GER do-CK

'He is going (actually getting up to leave).'

When the main verb is marked with a gerund but the auxiliary is nuk 'be', the situation is in progress at the reference point.

(249) ra ránže gunáma nən íba néší  
 ra ra-že gunama nən íba nek-i  
 1s 1s-POSA community with work do -GER

urágə gáwi bəgwí nukún  
 uraga gau -i bəguí nuk-u -in  
 house make-GER much be -1s-CK

'I, along with my community, am working hard,  
 building a lot of houses.'

Since -ənpən 'inceptive' (INCP) and -ənuá 'imminent'  
 (IMN) refer to the beginning point of a situation, they take  
 u 'do'.

(250) nakəmpána awəŋkə ŋí  
 nak -ənpən-a u -ənkə na-in  
 come-INCP -PFV do-FUT be-CK

'He will begin to come.'

(251) bunúŋgu nakwá kəma ukwá  
 bunungu nak -ənuá kəma u -ku-a -á  
 owl come-IMN INFW do-FP-PFV-ST

'The owls are about to begin to come.'

-ənté 'continuative' and -əngui 'still' merely  
 emphasize the duration of a process, with no reference to a  
 boundary. They therefore take nuk.

(252) nayənté nugin  
 nay-ənté nuk-ə -in  
 go -CONT be -WIT-CK

'He is going (along the trail).'

(253) əndúndu      ənté      awəngwi    nuʃi  
           əndundu      ənté      u -əngui    nuk-i  
           young.ones    position    do-still    be    -QS

'Have the young ones been born yet?'

Trillos (1989:113) has an interesting graphic way of portraying aspectual suffixes. Each aspectual suffix is illustrated with an arrow and boundary. She refers to -əngui 'still' as 'limotrofe' and claims that it characterizes an event which has not come to pass although it was expected to have happened by the speech moment. She symbolizes -əngui as:

----->]  
           Time zero

By defining -əngui in terms of a terminal boundary, however, Trillos misses the generalization for auxiliary choice based on aspect: that is, that -ənté and -əngui involve unbounded processes.

Table 17 summarizes auxiliary choice based on aspect.

---

Table 17: Auxiliary Choice and Aspect

nuk (unbounded)	u (bounded)
-ən      (IMPF)	-a      (PFV)
-i      (GER)	-i      (GER)
-ənté    (CONT)	-ənpan    (INCP)
-əngui 'still'	-ənuá    (IMN)

---



A third function of auxiliary verbs is to carry subject agreement marking when the main verb is marked with either aspect or negative mode.

(254) ištuná                      mənəŋka  
i -ži -tun -a mə-na-n -ka  
LOC-DETR-appear-PFV 2s-be-VBZ-2sPRTC

'You have arrived from below.'

(255) memé              nəkayún                      məná  
memé              nə -k -a -i -u -ən mə-na  
like.that 1sDO-ADV-3sIO-say-NEG-IMPF 2s-be

ŋi  
na-in  
be-CK

'Don't ever talk to me like that.'<sup>5</sup>

(256) nukún              narún  
nuk -u -ən na-n -u -in  
hear-NEG-IMPF be-VBZ-1sS-CK

'I don't understand.' (Lit: 'I don't hear.')

Finally, auxiliaries are needed in constructions where a main verb marked for aspect requires deictic information to be located in time.

(257) widəmpána              kəma ukwá  
uid-ənpan-a kəma u -ku-a -á  
die-INCP PFV INFW do-FP-PFV-ST

'He was starting to die.'

-----  
<sup>5</sup>It seems odd that an imperative should be marked with 'common knowledge'. It needs to be checked with a speaker of Deməna if the idea is that the addressee is aware that the command is something he should be doing.

The equivalent of a perfect tense construction is made up of a main verb marked with perfective aspect, the 'do' auxiliary marked with perfective aspect, and na 'be' marked as a participle.

(258) náké áwa nárgə fi  
 nak -a u -a na -n -uŋa na -in  
 come-PFV do-PFV be -VBZ-1sPRTC be -CK

'I have come.'

#### 7.4 Negation

Negation is generally accomplished in Dəməna by the use of the negative suffix, -ú (NEG).

(259) nakún fi  
 nak -ú -ən na-in  
 come-NEG-IMPF be-CK

'He did not come.'

(260) nakúnŋwi nuŋin  
 nak -ú -ənŋui nuk-ə -in  
 come-NEG-still be -WIT-CK

'He has still not yet come.' (He will eventually be here but is not here yet.)

The following example illustrates the use of a special negative suffix, -uŋi 'negative perfective' (NEGPRF), which marks a verb as both negative and perfective. -uŋi is taken to be a single morpheme rather than a combination of -ú and 'perfective' because there is no evidence that -fi indicates 'perfective'. Trillos

(1989:120) also considers -ufi to be a single morpheme, glossed 'past negative'.

(261) ranzáde            nayufi        awin  
       ra-zi -ade        nai-uní      u -in  
       1s-POSI-father go -NEGPRF do-CK

'My father did not go.'

A few other negative suffixes are used in specialized structures or for special purposes. They include those in Table 18.

---

Table 18: Special Negative Suffixes

'negative imperative' (NEGIMP)	-uki
'plural negative imperative' (PNI)	-kua
'negative agentless passive (NAP)	-aui

---

The scope of negation may encompass the entire sentence or only the clause in which it is marked. One way in which an entire sentence may be negated is when a sensory verb functions as an evidential. In (262), the scope of the negative morpheme on tu 'see' encompasses the entire sentence, including the embedded clause, even though that clause has no overt negation.

(262) hwánga dumáge gwagá robertúge  
 huan-ga dumaga guag-a -á robertu-ga  
 huan-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST roberto-ERG

tuñi  
 tu -uni  
 see-NEGPRF

'Robertu did not see that Huan had not killed  
 the lion.'

In clauses where the main verb of the subordinate clause is negated, the scope of the negation is the clause containing that particular verb. In (263), 'negative agentless passive' relates only to the complement clause.

(263) nayáwi kóma mægwarugá  
 nai-aui kəma mə-gua -n -ug-a  
 go -NAP INFW 2s-think-VBZ-1s-PFV

'I do not want you to go.' (Lit: 'I am thinking to you that should not go.')

Except as noted above, when the verb of the main clause is negated, its scope does not extend to the embedded clause.

(264) ra mingonekárngə ñi  
 ra mi -gonek-a -rəngə na-in  
 1s 2sIO-help -PFV-able be-CK

nəgəntáikufi áwi  
 nə -gənti-ku-uni u -i  
 2sDO-know -1s-NEGPRF do-GER

'I do not know how I am able to help you.'

Negation is emphasized by placing the subject in clause final position.

(265) nəkənanú                      ñingwa!  
 nə -k -ə -na-n -ú    nigua  
 1sDO-ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-NEG nothing

'I do not have anything!' (Lit. 'Nothing is for me.')

(266) nanúnənkə                      siya  
 na-n -ú -na-n -ka    siya  
 be-VBZ-NEG-be-VBZ-3sPRTC chair

'That was never a chair!'

## CHAPTER 8. VALENCE CHANGE

The most common derivational affixes on verbs are those affecting transitivity: -ši(š) 'causative', k- 'advancement' and ži- 'detransitivizer'. The prefix k- may be used in combination with prefixes marking indirect objects, benefactives, and locatives. Detransitivization is achieved through reflexivization, passivization, and through the referencing of an unspecified object.

Object incorporation is also discussed in this section, although I have found no evidence that it affects transitivity.

### 8.1 Causatives

Causation is marked by a verbal suffix. The suffix is -ši if the verb to which it is attached is intransitive. The causee is referenced with direct object agreement.

(267) ra mánže kónsi néša aún  
ra ma-že kónsi nai-ši -a u -u -in  
1s 2s-POSA dog go -CAUS-PFV do-1s-CK

'I made your dog go (chased him away)'.

(268) nəkǎǎǎša                   muyá  
 nə -kənuá-ši -a mə-u -i -a -á  
 1sDO-sleep-CAUS-PFV 2s-do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'You made me sleep.'

(269) ranžingwía               nəšúnša  
 ra-ži -guía nə -k -iu -n -ši -a  
 1s-POSI-brother 1sDO-ADV-go.down-VBZ-CAUS-PFV

awín  
 u -in  
 do-CK

'My older brother caused me to fall.'

The causative suffix is -šiš if the verb to which it is attached is transitive; the causee is referenced with direct object agreement. Dəməna allows for two direct object agreement prefixes to appear side by side.<sup>1</sup> The outer affix agrees with the causee, and the inner affix references the direct object of the verb root.

(270) manžábu                   nəmətušíša                   awín  
 ma-ži -abu nə -mə -tu -šiš -a u -in  
 2s-POSI-mother 1sDO-2sDO-see-CAUS-PFV do-CK

'Your mother caused me to see you.'

<sup>1</sup>Hensarling (MS) observed the same referencing pattern in Kogi.

(271) ranžingwía      nəšunšiša  
 ra-ži -guia      nə -k -iu      -n -šiš -a  
 1s-POSI-brother 1sDO-ADV-go.down-VBZ-CAUS-PFV

mawin  
 mə-u -in  
 2s-do-CK

'You made my older brother cause me to fall.'<sup>2</sup>

When a verb marked with 'causative' is negated, the meaning is prevention.

(272) guma    ranžingəma    gašišufi      aün  
 guma    ra-ži -gəma k -ža -šiš -uni    u -u -in  
 snake 1s-POSI-son    ADV-eat-CAUS-NEGPRF do-1sS-CK

'I did not let the snake bite my son.'

Since third person is unmarked, there may be a certain degree of ambiguity as to which constituent is the causee and which is the direct object of the inner verb, as in the following examples. If there are two independent noun phrases, the ambiguity is not present because the causee precedes the direct object of the inner verb.

(273) dumáə nətvišiša      mawin  
 dumaga nə -tu -šiš -a    mə-u -in  
 lion 1sDO-see-CAUS-PFV 2s-do-CK

'You caused me to see the lion.'  
 or, 'You caused the lion to see me.'

---

<sup>2</sup>This example illustrates that Deməna exhibits morphological haplology since the surface form is -šiš and not -ši-šiš.



(274) ranžingwía            dumágə tušiša            mawin  
       ra-ži -guia        dumaga tu -šiš -a        mə-u -in  
       1s-POSI-brother lion    see-CAUS-PFV 2s-do-CK

'You caused my older brother to see the lion.'  
 \*'You caused the lion to see my older brother.'

## 8.2 Advancement to direct object

In Dəməna there are clauses with recipients that take indirect object agreement (see Chapter 2.2). These are taken to be surface indirect objects.

(275) nakawá  
       na -kau -a -á  
       1sIO-give-PFV-ST

'S/he gave (it) to me.'

There are, however, clauses with addressees that take a different set of agreement prefixes; these include direct object agreement, k- and a-.

(276) ia                            nəkaya  
       i -a                            nə -k -a -i -a  
       say-PFV                        1sDO-ADV- -say-PFV

's/he said'                        's/he said to me

The prefixes in (276) would indicate that the addressee is referenced with direct object agreement. The verbal prefix k-, glossed 'advancement' (ADV), then, registers an advancement to direct object (using the terminology of Perlmutter 1984). The existence of a set of agreement prefixes for surface indirect objects, as in (275),

indicates that advancement to direct object is not obligatory for indirect objects in Dəməna.

Examples (277) and (278) illustrate the use of k- 'ADV' with benefactives:

(277) dugwa	kəndugwa
dug -a	k -ə -dug -a
cook-PFV	ADV-BEN-cook-PFV
'she cooked'	'she cooked for him'
(278) maša	nəkəmaša
maš -a	nə -k -ə -maš -a
leave-PFV	1sDO-ADV-BEN-leave-PFV
'S/he left it'	'S/he left it for me'

Benefactive referencing occurs only with k-, never without it. Therefore, all benefactives in Dəməna advance to direct object.

A location is registered on a verb of motion or existence with the locative prefix, i- (LOC).

(279) dukəkənamba	ipá	uši
dukəkəna -ba	i -pa -a -á	u -ši
upper.leg-OBL	LOC-flat-PFV-ST	do-FIMP

'Put it (flat object) in his lap.

The locative prefix also occurs with k-, indicating that the advancement of a locative to direct object is optional.

- (280) *ñikibunəmpána*<sup>3</sup>  
 nə -k -i -bun -ənpən-a  
 1sDO-ADV-LOC-grow-INCP -PFV  
 'began to grow on my (child)'

The use of the same prefix for all advancements to direct object creates a functional problem: how to code the semantic role of the advanced argument.<sup>4</sup> *Dəməna* solves this problem by employing verbal prefixes which follow the 'ADV' morpheme and indicate the semantic role of the advanced argument. These verbal prefixes are:

- ə- 'Benefactive'  
 a- 'Addressee/Recipient'  
 i- 'Locative'

- (281) *máša*                      *nekəamáša*  
 maš -a                      ne -k -ə -maš -a  
 leave-PFV                      1pO-ADV-BEN-leave-PFV  
 's/he left it'              's/he left it for us'

- (282) *ia*                              *nəkáya*  
 i -a                              n-k -a -i -a  
 say-PFV                              1s-ADV-AR-say-PFV  
 's/he said'                      's/he said to me'

- (283) *ñikibunəmpána*  
 nə-k -i -bun -ənpən-a  
 1s-ADV-LOC-grow-INCP -PFV  
 'began to grow on my (child)'

<sup>3</sup>The presence of the 1sDO agreement prefix indicates that this example is more complicated than just the advancement of a locative to direct object because it involves the advancement of the possessor of the location.

<sup>4</sup>*Givón* (1984:169) calls this the functional dilemma in objectization.

An advancement prefix appears to be present in both Kogi and Ika, although k- has not been recognized as a separate morpheme in either of these languages. In Kogi, the segment k is considered to combine with the object prefixes to form what Jackson (personal communication) calls dative case, and what Hensarling (MS) terms Object 2. Since Kogi does not have a separate set of prefixes for indirect object agreement, I propose that Kogi has obligatory advancement from indirect object to direct object. This would account for Jackson's 'dative case' being marked as 'object + k'.

Frank (1990:68) combines the k prefix with the following vowel, a  $\Lambda$ , and calls it 'peripheral participant'(PERI).

The prefix k $\Lambda$ - (peripheral participant) increases a verb's valence by allowing it to take an object-person prefix referring to an additional participant.

The problem with this analysis is that it cannot account for vowel variation after the k as shown in his following examples:

- |          |            |       |
|----------|------------|-------|
| (284) k  | -i-sana    | p. 37 |
|          | PERI-?-buy |       |
| (285) ke | -i         | p.43  |
|          | PERI-say   |       |

It appears that Ika also advances a non-patient argument to direct object and references that argument's semantic role with verbal prefixes. This analysis would allow for

the referencing of 'peripheral participants', account for their coding as direct object, and explain the vowel variation following the k. An obligatory advancement to direct object in Ika would also explain the list of verbs given which take object agreement in a clause with a single participant (page 22). Frank likens these verbs to experiencer subject-dative object examples, yet each verb is marked with direct, not indirect object agreement. By assuming that k- marks advancement to direct object, and exhibits allophonic variation to ʔ before a consonant (as well as the kʔ →g rule noted by Frank), all of his examples may be accounted for.

The advancement prefix is also used in constructions involving the referencing of a possessor. In (286) and (287), mət 'occur' takes indirect object agreement, referencing the experiencer. In (288), however, there is a combination of a- 'addressee/recipient', 'advancement', and direct object agreement referencing the possessor of the experiencer.

(286) ukwama namsi  
 ukwama na -mət -i  
 sickness 1sIO-occur-GER

'I am sick.' (Lit: 'Sickness occurs to me.')

- (287) əruamasigə ukwama amsi  
 əruamasiga ukuama a -mət -i  
 child sickness 3sIO-occur-GER

'The child is sick.' (Lit: 'Sickness occurs to the child.)

- (288) ukwama nəkámsi  
 ukuama nə -k -a -mət -əi  
 sickness 1sDO-ADV-AR-occur-GER

'My (child) is sick.' (Lit: 'Sickness occurs to my (child).')

Examples (289-91) illustrate that the possessor of a benefactive (malefactive) may also be referenced with 'advancement' and direct object agreement.

- (289) ra widəmpána  
 ra uid-ənpána  
 1s die-INCP

'I am beginning to die.'

- (290) mena widá  
 mena uid-a -a  
 woman die-PFV-ST

'The woman died.'

- (291) nəkəwidá  
 nə -k -ə -uid-a -a  
 1sDO-ADV-BEN-die-PFV-ST

'My (wife) died.'

The same applies to the possessor of a locative:

(292) Mikimbunəmpana  
 nə -k -i -bun -ənpan-a  
 1sDO-ADV-LOC-grow-INCP -PFV

'began to grow on my (child)'

Frank (1990:70) likens the same phenomenon in Ika to possessor ascension. Following Tuggy (1980:106), an alternative analysis is possible in which the 'possessors' that are referenced by direct object agreement are in fact like ethical datives, i.e. an advanced benefactive or malefactive which refers to the "person affected intimately (and usually adversely) by the action or state predicated".

### 8.3 Detransitivizer

The verbal prefix *ʒi-* 'detransitivizer' marks reflexives, reciprocals and passive.

#### 8.3.1 Reflexives and reciprocals

A common result of a reflexive or reciprocal construction is the detransitivization of a clause. Like promotional passives, both reflexives and reciprocals apply primarily to transitive clauses. In Dəməna, reciprocal/reflexive constructions also occur as intransitive clauses with co-referent indirect objects or obliques.

The reflexive verbal prefixes occupy the slot of the object pronoun. The three forms of the reflexive pronoun are *a-*, *ʒi-*, and *ən-*. Selection is made on the basis of

whether the reflexive/reciprocal subject is co-referent with the direct object, the indirect object or oblique, or is a possessive-reflexive construction.

The co-reference of subject and direct object is marked in Dəməna by the reflexive object prefix a- 'reflexive (REFL)'.  
(REFL)'

(293) ra atuwá  
ra a -tu -a -á  
I REFL-see-PFV-ST

'I saw myself'

Reflexive constructions in which the subject is co-referent with the indirect object or benefactive are marked with ži- 'detransitivizer' (DETR). Subject and indirect object are co-referential in (294).

(294) ukwéru rigambwažá  
u -ku-a -ai -ru ži -k -di -a -buaž-a -á  
do-FP-PFV-ADZ-TOP DETR-ADV-3pS-AR-lend-PFV-ST

'And so they loaned (their beaks) to each other.'

In (295), DETR is used with the verb 'to make' because the subject and the benefactive are coreferential.

(295) urágə žingawənté nugin  
uraga ži -gau -ənté nuk-ə -in  
house DETR-make-CONT be -FRM-CK

'He is making a house for himself.'



In a possessive-reflexive construction, the prefix ən- 'possessive reflexive' (POSRE) indicates that the subject is coreferential with the possessor of another argument in the clause.

(296) ra lápi əŋkətuwá  
 ra lapis ən -k -ə -tu -a -á  
 I pencil POSRE-ADV-BEN-see-PFV-ST

'I found my pencil'

The verb glossed 'to buy' literally means 'to place inside (the purchaser's bag)' and optionally takes a locative prefix. (The variant form of POSRE, in-, is caused by a vowel harmony rule.)

(297) rágə lápi inkišaná  
 ra-ga lapis ən -k -i -ša -n -a -á  
 1s-ERG pencil POSRE-ADV-LOC-place.in-VBZ-PFV-ST

'I bought a pencil for myself' (Lit: 'I bought my pencil.')

Because there is no structural difference distinguishing between reflexive and reciprocal meanings, the interpretation is made according to the number of the subject, analytical markings in the noun phrase, and context. The reciprocal sense is, of course, possible only if the subject is plural.

(298) atuwá ukurín  
 a -tu -a -á u -kut-ə -in  
 REFL-see-PFV-ST do-1p -WIT-Ck

'We see each other'

DETR can be interpreted as reciprocal in the following example because the subject is plural. The form ži- is chosen because the subject and oblique are coreferential.

(299) žitána                          ukužin  
       ži -ta                  -n -a    u -kut-ə -in  
       DETR-vertical-VBZ-PFV do-1p -WIT-CK

'We stepped on each other.'

Example (300) includes two independent noun phrases with extra morphology. The analytical marking of reciprocal in Dəməna is nən 'with' on the noun phrase.

(300) sizi    nən    ra žimašé  
       sizi    nan    ra ži    -maša -i  
       friend with I    DETR-leave-say

'We have talked (greeted), I with my male friend.'

### 8.3.2 Passive

'Passive' is marked in Dəməna by ži- DETR.

(301) ukwéru                      ənzisi džúne  
       u -ku-a    -ai -ru    anzisi ži -unai  
       do-FP-PFV-ADZ-TOP red    DETR-take

awanəṅkwá  
       u -a    -na-n    -ku-a    -á  
       do-PFV-be-VBZ-FP-PFV-ST

'And so the red one was taken.'

Passive constructions are rare in narrative. Their occurrence seems to be limited to clauses which contain a specified direct object and an unspecified subject.

#### 8.4 Unspecified object

The prefix *ža-* references an unspecified direct object (UNO). Example (302) illustrates that *ža-* on a transitive verb such as 'shoot' results in an intransitive clause.

(302) *əruamamba žatáya*  
*əruama-ba ža -tai -a*  
 spirit-OBL UNO-shoot-PFV

'S/he pretended to shoot.' (Lit: 'shot in the spirit')

#### 8.5 Object incorporation

Trillos (1989) cites several examples of object incorporation in *Dəməna*. Two of these are:

*suzugawən* (*suzu-n-gaw-ən*)  
 bag make (page 44)  
 'making bag' or 'bag-making'

*gəminuka* (*gəma -mi-nuka*)  
 child-2s-be (page 56)  
 'You are pregnant.' or 'child-having'

Since each of these examples is given as a single word, out of context, it is possible to determine neither the grammatical status of the 'incorporated' object, nor the transitivity of the overall clause. My corpus contains no clear examples of an incorporated object losing its syntactic status as an argument, resulting in an intransitive clause.

CHAPTER 9. DEICTICS

9.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives mark three degrees of distance, and may be used as either determiners (preceding the head noun) or pronouns (in the absence of an overt head). Demonstrative pronouns are given in Table 19.

---

Table 19: Demonstrative Pronouns

Deictic		Demonstrative
here	ima i -ma here- ON	'this'
there	mema ma -i -ma around-here-ON	'that'
over there	iyama i -ia -ma here-like-ON	'that'

---

(303) ima mówa dumáǵə tšukkwéǵə  
ima moua dumaga tiukuaiga  
these two lion big

'These two big lions'

(304) méma gáya kúgwa súzu gókə  
 mema gaia kugua suzu gau -ka  
 that girl seven bag make-3sPRTC

nəḡkwá  
 na-n -ku-a -á  
 be-VBZ-FP-PFV-ST

'That girl was a seven bag [a day] maker.'

(305) iyamáḡə kən áso nušín  
 iama-ga kan a -soz nuk-in  
 that-ERG wood 3sIO-catch be -CK

'He (over there) catches a stick.'<sup>1</sup>

## 9.2 Temporal deixis

Time location is expressed by means of a deictic system. Using the terminology of Grimes (1971), situations are related as being within a primary setting (proximal) or outside the primary setting (distal).

### 9.2.1 Degrees of removal within the primary setting

A distinction in epistemic mood markers (see Chapter 7.2.2) serves to mark degrees of removal within the primary setting. The following examples illustrate a proximal setting, spatiotemporally close. The equivalents of present tense, very recent past, and immediate future are all communicated with the common knowledge modal suffix, -in.

-----  
<sup>1</sup> The indirect object agreement on soz references the subject.

(306) náʔi awín  
 nai-i u -in  
 go -GER do-CK

'He is going.'

(307) náké aún  
 nak -a u -u -in  
 come-PFV do-is-CK

'I just came.'

(308) nákéñ nugin  
 nak -ən nuk-ə -in  
 come-IMPF be -WIT-CK

'He is coming (will be here).'

A proximal setting slightly removed is marked with kima 'inform' or kəma 'inform with proof of witness'<sup>2</sup>. This is logical, because if an event is currently going on it would be common knowledge: only if an event were past would the speaker need to inform the addressee.

(309) nayá kima awá  
 nai-a -á kima u -a -á  
 go -PFV-ST INF do-PFV-ST

'He left.'

### 9.2.2 Degrees of removal within the distal setting

Situations in a distal setting are marked with either -i 'medial' (MEDL) or -ku 'foregrounded past' (FP). An

-----  
<sup>2</sup>The same contrast is found in expressions with 'common knowledge' with or without 'witness'.

action which occurred within the last twenty-four hours is marked by MEDL.

(310) manžingóma nakáwa awá  
 ma-ži -gəma na -kau -a u -a  
 2s-POSI-son 1sIO-give-PFV do-PFV

mənəŋkə nará  
 mə-na-n -ka na-n -i -a -á  
 2 -be-VBZ-2sPRTC be-VBZ-MEDL-PFV-ST

'You have given me your son (this day).'

An action which occurred more than a day ago is marked by FP.

(311) manžingóma nakáwa  
 ma-ži -gəma na -kau -a  
 2s-POSI-son 1sIO-give-PFV

awámənəŋkə nəŋkwá  
 u -a -mə-na-n -ka na-n -ku-a -á  
 do-PFV-2s-be-VBZ-2sPRTC be-VBZ-FP-PFV-ST

'You have given me your son (before today).'

The use of a twenty-four hour distinction is noted as common by Comrie (1985:87): the "commonest cut-off point seems to be that between 'today' and 'before today', to which we give the Latinate names hodiernal and pre-hodiernal".

A summary of the different combinations and the relative order of modal suffixes is given in Table 20.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>The distinction between 'close' and 'removed' may be as simple as 'known to addressee' and 'not known to addressee'.

## 9.3 Person deixis

As shown in Chapter 2.2, subject agreement is marked by a combination of verbal prefixes and suffixes. In this section, the combinations of verbal agreement suffixes with modal suffixes are presented first.

---

Table 20: Relative Order of Modal Suffixes

Proximal				
Close				CK
Removed	INF			
Distal				
Earlier today				
Close			MEDL	CK
Removed	INF		MEDL	
Before today				
Close		FP		CK
Removed	INF	FP		

---

This is followed by a discussion of the partial fusion of first person singular subject agreement suffixes with the deictic system.

First person plural, *-kut*, occurs in various combinations with epistemic modals and 'medial' (MEDL) or 'foregrounded past' (FP). The relative order of verbal suffixes is given in Table 21.

Examples (312-313) show verbal suffixes on *u* 'do', with the subject of each clause being 1p. They are given to illustrate the ordering of suffixes, as well as to show morphophonemics.



Table 21: Relative Order of Verbal Suffixes

---

Stem | -ku FP | Person/Number | MEDL | -ə WIT | -in CK  
Agreement

---

## (312) Proximal setting

Close

Removed

a. ukurín

u -kut-ə -in  
do-1pS-WIT-CK

'We (just) did.'

b. kima ukurá

kima u -kut-a -á  
INF do-1pS-PFV-ST

'We (just) did.'

## (313) Distal setting

Earlier today

Close

Removed

a. ukusín

u -kut-i -ə -in  
do-1pS-MEDL-WIT-CK

'We did.'

b. kima ukusá

kima u -kut-i -a -á  
INF do-1pS-MEDL-PFV-ST

'We did.'

Before today

Close

Removed

c. ukwagužín

u -ku-a -kut-ə -in  
do-FP-PFV-1pS-WIT-CK

'We did.'

d. kima ukwagurá<sup>4</sup>kima u -ku-a-kut-a -á  
INF do-FP-?-1pS-PFV-ST

'We did.'

---

<sup>4</sup>An intrusive vowel appears in verbs marked with FP followed by 1pS and in verbs marked with FP followed by 2pS. I do not believe that the intrusive -a is PFV because aspect is marked after -kut and -ku.

Second person plural subject, -ku '2pS', also interacts with temporal deixis in a regular pattern. Because they have the same form, there is no way of knowing the relative order of -ku FP and -ku 2pS. I am assuming that the order is the same as that shown in Table 21.

(314) kəma mukwagwá  
 kəma mə-u -ku-a-ku -á  
 INF 2 -do-FP-?-2pS-ST

'You (pl) did.'

First person singular '1s' is a special case because it has three distinct forms for different degrees of removal. Table 22 summarizes the combinations of '1sS' with temporal deixis. The combination of '1sS' with -i MEDL is a portmanteau, -ku.

---

Table 22: The Combination of '1sS' With  
 Deictic Markers

Proximal				
Close			1sS (-u)	CK
Removed	INF		1sS (-ug)	
Distal				
Earlier today				
Close			1sS+MEDL(-ku)	CK
Removed	INF		1sS+MEDL(-ku)	
Before today				
Close		FP	1sS (-ug)	CK
Removed	INF	FP	1sS (-ug)	

---

In other words, the form of the verbal affix indicating '1sS' also conveys the deictic information given in Table 23.

---

Table 23: Deictic Information in '1sS' Suffix

Degree of Removal	Form of 1sS
proximal, close	-u
earlier today, both close and removed	-ku
anything else	-ug

---

In each of the following clauses (all glossed 'I came. '), the deictic/modal suffixes for first person singular serve to remove the action in time.

Proximal Setting.

Close:

(315) naká            aún  
       nak -a -á u -u -in  
       come-PFV-ST do -1sS-CK

'I came.' (just now)

Removed:

(316) naká            kima augá  
       nak -a -á kima u -ug -a -á  
       come-PFV-ST INF do-1sS-PFV-ST

'I came.' (just a little while ago)

Medial Setting:

Earlier Today:

(317) naká            ukwín  
 nak -a -á u -ku        -in  
 come-PFV-ST do-1sS+MEDL-CK

'I came.'

Earlier Today, Removed:

(318) naká            kima ukwá  
 nak -a -á kima u -ku        -a -á  
 come-PFV-ST INF do-1sS+MEDL-PFV-ST

'I came.'

Before Today:

(319) naká            ukugin  
 nak -a -á u -ku-ug -in  
 come-PFV-ST do-FP-1sS-CK

'I came.'

Before Today, Removed:

(320) naká            kima ukugá  
 nak -a -á kima u -ku-ug -a -á  
 come-PFV-ST INF do-FP-1sS-PFV-ST

'I came.'

These suffixes follow a strict nominative-accusative pattern, as do the person prefixes (see Chapter 2). In the following set of examples, -u 'first person singular close' marks agreement with the subject of both intransitive and transitive clauses.

(321) naká            aúñ  
 nak -a -á u -u -in  
 come-PFV-ST do-1sS-CK

'I came.'

(322) dumáge tuwá aún  
dumaga tu -a -á u -u -in  
lion see-PFV-ST do-1sS-CK

'I saw a lion.'

## CHAPTER 10. INTERROGATIVES

The three types of interrogative constructions in Dəməna are polar, content, and ignorative questions. Polar questions are marked by -i or -ú 'question suffix' (QS) to the end of the verb phrase. In addition to one of these question suffixes, content questions include special question words which generally occur in the same position as the argument being questioned. Ignorative questions, which express the speaker's ignorance of some information, utilize the special question words but do not employ the question suffixes. The next few sections look at the devices used to encode the different types of neutral questions. In sections 10.2-10.5 some special versions of each type are discussed in some detail.

### 10.1 Coding Interrogatives

#### 10.1.1 Constituent order

The prototypical form for questions preserves the normal SOV constituent order.

	S		O		V		
(323)	manžadéǵə		dumága	gwagá		ki	aú
	ma-ži -ade -ga		dumaga	guag-a -á		ki	u -ú
	2s-POSI-father-ERG		lion	kill-PFV-ST		IF	do-QS

'Did your father kill a lion?'

	S		O		V		
(324)	manžadéǵə		ñi	gwága		ki	aú
	ma-ži -ade -ga		ni	guag-a		ki	u -ú
	2s-POSI-father-ERG		what	kill-PFV		IF	do-QS

'What did your father kill?'

#### 10.1.2 Morphology

A clause is marked as an interrogative by adding *-i* or *-ú* 'question suffix' (QS) to the end of the verb phrase. The following sets of examples demonstrate the contrast between declarative and interrogative clauses.

(325)	manžadéǵə		dumága	gwagá	
	ma-ži -ade -ga		dumaga	guag-a -á	
	2s-POSI-father-ERG		lion	kill-PFV-ST	

'Your father killed the lion.'

(326)	manžadéǵə		dumága	gwaži	
	ma-ži -ade -ga		dumaga	guag-i	
	2s-POSI-father-ERG		lion	kill-QS	

'Did your father (just now) kill the lion?'

(327)	ima	maškáwa		nəjke	
	ima	ma-ži -kaua		na-n -ka	
	this	2s-POSI-family		be-VBZ-3sPRTC	

'S/he is your relative.'

(328) ima maškáwa nanú  
 ima ma-ži -kaua na-n -ú  
 this 2s-POSI-family be-VBZ-QS

'Is s/he your relative?'

The choice of -i versus -ú is rather complicated. In order to decide whether to use -i or -ú, it must first be determined which argument is what I will call the primary nominal in the question. The primary nominal is then categorized as being either grammatically close or grammatically removed. Finally, temporal considerations are taken into account.

The primary nominal in a question is the focused nominal if there is one, and the topic (subject) if there isn't. The primary nominal may be focused in one of three ways. First, it may be followed by ki (see Chapter 10.1.3). In (329), the primary nominal is 'lion', the direct object of the clause.

(329) manžadégə dumagə ki gwagú  
 ma-ži -ade -ga dumaga ki guag-ú  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG lion IF kill-QS

'Was it a lion that your father killed?'

The position of ki may indicate that an entire clause is the primary nominal.

(330) manžadegə dumagə gwagá ki aú  
 ma-ži -ade -ga dumaga guag-a -á ki u -ú  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST IF do-QS

'Did your father really kill a lion?'



Secondly, clauses may be marked for focus with one of the 'nominal' question words (any of the question words which correspond to an argument and can be marked for case (see Chapter 10.3)). When one of these question words is used, it occupies the position of the primary nominal (assuming unmarked SOV order). In (331), *ñi* 'what' occurs in the direct object position before the verb; the primary nominal is the direct object.

(331) *ñi gwákən nukú*  
*ni guak-ən nuk-ú*  
 what say -IMPF be -QS

'What is s/he saying?'

Finally, a nominal may be marked for focus by postposing it. In (332), the primary nominal is the subject.

(332) *ñi gwaši iyamága*  
*ni guak-i iama -ga*  
 what say -QS over.there-ERG

'What is that one over there saying?'

In questions which are unmarked for focus, the primary nominal is the subject. In (333), the primary nominal is the deictic pronoun.

(333) *ima maškáwa nanú*  
*ima ma-ži -kaua na-n -ú*  
 this 2s-POSI-family be-VBZ-QS

'Is s/he your relative?'

The appropriate question suffix is then chosen on the basis of its interaction with the deictic system of Damana, as summarized in Table 24. 'Removed' and 'close' refer to how prototypical the primary nominal is. An argument which is either plural, ergative, or removed in distance is 'removed'. All others are 'close'. 'Proximal' and 'distal' refer to distance in time (see Chapter 9.2).

---

Table 24: Question Suffixes and Deixis

Grammatical Distance	Temporal Distance	
	proximal	distal
close	-ú	-i
removed	-i	-ú

---

A unitary account of the question suffixes could be given in terms of deictic consistency. From this perspective, -ú is used when temporal distance is consistent with grammatical distance (proximal with close or distal with removed). Deictic inconsistency (the occurrence of grammatical proximal with temporal distal or grammatical removed with temporal proximal) is marked with -i.

When questioning a grammatically 'removed' argument (that is, a plural argument, one marked with ergative case, or

removed in distance) in a proximal temporal setting, the -i OS is used.

(334) ənžina mənukwi  
 ənžina mə-nuk-ku-i  
 how 2 -be -2p-OS  
 'How are you (pl)?'

(335) ŋiḡə dumáḡə gwaži  
 ni -ga dumaga guag-1  
 what-ERG lion kill-OS  
 'What killed the lion?' (recently)

(336) ənžina nuši  
 ənžina nuk-i  
 how be -QS  
 'How is s/he (and s/he is not there now)?'

If an event is proximal in time, the -ú OS is chosen when questioning an argument which is 'close'; in the following examples, these are a direct object and predicate adjectives.

(337) ŋi gwákən nukú  
 ni guak-ən nuk-ú  
 what say -IMPF be -QS  
 'What is s/he saying?'

(338) ənžina nukú  
 ənžina nuk-ú  
 how be -QS  
 'How is s/he?'

- (339) ənžina mənukú  
 ənžina mə-nuk-ú  
 how 2s-be -QS

'How are you?'

For an event which is temporally distal, the choice of question suffix corresponds with the choice of -i or -ku. When -i (MEDL) 'earlier today' is used, the -i OS is chosen.

- (340) nenéga ga uyé  
 nene-ga k -ža -a u -i -a -i  
 who -ERG ADV-eat-PFV do-MEDL-PFV-QS

'Who ate it?' (earlier today)

- (341) məngáʔi uyé  
 mə-k -ža -i u -i -a -i  
 2s-ADV-eat-GER do-MEDL-PFV-OS

'Did it itch?' (earlier today) (Lit: 'Did it eat you?')

- (342) súzu nakawá muyé  
 suzu na -kau -a -á mə-u -i -a -i  
 bag 1sIO-give-PFV-ST 2s-do-MEDL-PFV-QS

'Did you give me the bag?'

In distal settings, the use of the -ú QS corresponds with verb phrases marked with -ku (FP) 'before today'.

- (343) nenéga gakwó  
 nene-ga k -ža -ku-a -ú  
 who -ERG ADV-eat-FP-PFV-QS

'Who ate it?'

(344) *nigə dumága gwakwó*  
*ni -ga dumaga guag-ku-a -ú*  
 what-ERG lion kill-FP-PFV-QS

'What killed the lion?'

(345) *məngáʔi ukwó*  
*mə-k -ža -i u -ku-a -ú*  
 2s-ADV-eat-GER do-FP-PFV-QS

'Did it itch?' (Lit: 'Did it eat you?')

(346) *súzu nakawá mukwó*  
*suzu na -kau -a -á mə-u -ku-a -ú*  
 bag 1sIO-give-PFV-ST 2s-do-FP-PFV-QS

'Did you give me the bag?'

The interaction of question suffixes with the deictic system in Dəməna contradicts Bybee's (1985:175) claim that question 'particles' have little interaction with the tense/aspect/mode systems of languages.

### 10.1.3 Focus

Ki 'interrogative focus' (IF) is part of the epistemic modal system (Chapter 7.2.2), and is used in polar questions. It marks the constituent in focus (primary nominal), and indicates that the speaker believes that the hearer knows the required information. In constructions where no one constituent is in focus, it occurs after the main verb and before the final auxiliary.

(347) manžadéǵə                    dumáǵə gwagá                    ki aũ  
 ma-žǵi -ade -ga dumáǵa guag-a -a ki u -ũ  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST IF do-QS

'Did your father really kill a lion?'

The focus of a question can be shifted by changing the position of *ki*, so that it occurs immediately after the element in focus. This type of construction is usually used to verify one piece of information of which the speaker is unsure. In the following, the element in focus is the patient, 'lion', and *ki* follows it.

(348) manžadéǵə                    dumáǵə ki gwagú  
 ma-žǵi -ade -ga dumáǵa ki guag-ũ  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG lion IF kill- QS

'Was it a lion that your father killed?'

In ordinary content questions, *ki* does not occur. If it does follow a question word, *ki* indicates contra-expectation or incredulity (Hensarling (MS)).

(349) manžáde                    bin                    náya ki aũ  
 ma-žǵi -ade bi -ən                    nai-a ki u -ũ  
 2s-POSI-father where-INDFLOC go -PFV IF do-QS

'Where did your father go?'

(350) manžáde                    bin                    ki nayú  
 ma-žǵi -ade bi -ən                    ki nai-ũ  
 2s-POSI-father where-INDFLOC IF go -QS

'Wherever did your father go?'

Questions in which the topic is marked for focus also seem to be cases of contra-expectation or incredulity.

(351) manžadégə ki dumágə gwaží  
 ma-ží-ade-ga ki dumaga guag-f  
 2s-POSI-father IF lion kill-QS

'Your father killed a lion?'

#### 10.1.4 Intonation

Question intonation is marked by high pitch at the focus of the question (beginning with the stressed syllable). If the action as a whole is being questioned, the pitch rises on the main verb and remains high on any following auxiliaries (Hensarling (MS)).

(352) manžadégə dumágə gwagá ki aú

manžadégə dumágə gwagá ki aú  
 ma-ží -ade -ga dumaga guag-a -á ki u -ú  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST IF do-QS

'Did your father really kill a lion?'

This is in contrast with the intonation of a declarative in which the pitch falls at the end of the sentence.

(353) manžadégə dumágə gwagá awín

manžadégə dumágə gwagá awín  
 ma-ží -ade -ga dumaga guag-a -á u -in  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST do-CK

'Your father killed a lion.'

In cases when something other than the action as a whole is in focus, only the primary nominal has high pitch; the rest of the sentence has normal intonation (Hensarling (MS)).

(354) manžadéga ki dumáge gwaži

manžadéga                      ki dumáge gwaži  
 ma-ži -ade -ga ki dumaga guag-i  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG IF lion kill-QS

'Was it your father that killed the mountain lion?'

In content questions, the question word is always in focus; it therefore receives high pitch.

(355) ənžina džwi menaiú

ənžina džwi menaiú  
 ənžina diui me -nai-ú  
 how day 2pO-go -QS

'How did your (pl) day go?'

As in Kogi, when shorter versions of questions are used in normal conversation, the final verb and question suffix are omitted. In these cases, intonation carries a heavier load in signaling interrogative mood (Hensarling (MS)).

(356) manžadéga  
 ma-ži -ade -ga  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG

'Your father (did it)?'

## 10.2 Polar questions

Polar questions may be neutral (like all of those illustrated in 10.1), leading, or alternative.



Leading polar questions are generally formed by adding a tag consisting of the *na* auxiliary and the *-ú* OS to a clause ending in a participle. The tag is used with both positive and negative statements to affirm the truth of the statement.

(357) manžáde                      memé  
       ma-ži -ade            mema -ai  
       2s-POSI-father there-ADZ

gwakánɛŋkə                      nanú                      nanú  
       guak-a -na-n -ka            na-n -ú            na-n -ú  
       say -PFV-be-VBZ-3sPRTC be-VBZ-NEG be-VBZ-QS

'That is not what your father said, is it?'

(358) ranžábu                      widá                      awánɛŋkə  
       ra-ži -abu            uid-a -á u -a -na-n -ka  
       1s-POSI-mother die-PFV-ST do-PFV-be-VBZ-3s3PRTC

nanú  
       na-n -ú  
       be-VBZ-QS

'My mother has died, isn't that correct?'

(359) ranžábu                      widú                      ŋi  
       ra-ži -abu            uid-u            na-in  
       1s-POSI-mother die-NEG be-CK

awánɛŋkə                      nanú  
       u -a -na-n -ka            na-n -ú  
       do-PFV-be-VBZ-3sPRTC be-VBZ-QS

'My mother has not died, isn't that correct?'

Answers to such polar questions correspond to whether the verb in the question is negative or positive. To affirm a positive leading question, such as (358) above, the answer

is positive ('Yes, she died'.). To affirm a negative leading question as in (359), the answer is negative ('No, she didn't die.'). To contradict a positive leading question the reply is negative; to contradict a negative leading question, the reply is positive (Hensarling (MS)).

A negative tag may also consist of a sensory verb in a verifying sense.

(360) ranžábu           widá  
ra-ži -abu     uid-a -á  
1s-POSI-mother die-PFV-ST

awánəŋkə           tuún  
u -á -na-n -ka     tu -ú -ən  
do-PRF-be-VBZ-3sPRTC see-NEG-IMPF

'My mother has died, do (you) not see?'

Alternative polar questions consist of two alternative choices joined by kua 'or'.

(361) zuméŋgwi   kwa ukwáma   aməsi  
zume-gwi   kua ukwama   a   -mət -i  
well-EMPH or   illness 3sIO-occur-QS

'Is he well or is he sick?'

When neither choice is marked with a QS, the speaker is assuming equal validity to both choices. If, however, the first alternative is tagged with a QS and the second is not, the speaker is assuming that the second alternative is the correct one (Hensarling (MS)).

- (362) manžáde            ki naká            kwa manžábu  
 ma-ž1 -ade        ki nak -a -á    kua mu-ž1 -abu  
 2s-POSI-father IF come-PFV-ST or 2s-POSI-mother

'Did your father come or your mother?' (assuming either choice as valid)

- (363) manžáde            ki nakó            kua  
 ma-ž1 -adai        ki nak -a -ú    kwa  
 2s-POSI-father IF come-PFV-QS or

manžábu  
 ma-ž1 -abu  
 2s-POSI-mother

'Was it your father that came or your mother?' (assuming the second choice as correct)

### 10.3 Content questions

Content questions are formed with special question words. The question words and their glosses are given in Table 25.

---

Table 25: Question Words

nene	who
ni	what
bima	which
bion	how many
buyc	when (future)
buie-gui	when (past)
bi-en	where (unspecified)
bi-ku	where (specific)
bi-mi	where (on the body)
inžué	why
enžina	how

---

The 'nominal' question words that can correspond to a subject, object or oblique noun phrase are *nene* 'who', *fi* 'what', and *bima* 'which'. In the role of referencing an NP, they can take the normal noun trappings including case marking. In (364), the question is asking about the subject, therefore, *nene* 'who' occurs in subject position, and is marked for ergative case.

(364) *nenéḡə dumága gwagá ki aú*  
*nene-ga dumaga guag-a -á ki u -ú*  
 who -ERG lion kill-PFV-ST IF do-QS

'Who killed the lion?'

To ask about the direct object, *ni* 'what' occurs in the direct object position.

(365) *manžadéḡə fi gwágə ki aú*  
*ma-ži -ade -ga ni guag-a ki u -ú*  
 2s-POSI-father-ERG what kill-PRV IF do-QS

'What did your father kill?'

In (366), an Instrumental nominal is being questioned.

(366) *fiimba tsíwá kóši mənukú*  
*ni -ba tinua ko -ši -i mə-nuk-ú*  
 what-OBL grass cut-CAUS-GER 2s-be -QS

'With what do you cut grass?'

*Bima* 'which' refers to one member of a set of possibilities.

(367) bima ki nakó  
 bima ki nak -a -ú  
 which IF come-PFV-OS

'Which one came?'

(368) bimáǵə gwagá  
 bima -ǵa guag-a -á  
 which-ERG kill-PFV-ST

'Which one killed it?'

Bion 'how many' is the question word used to refer to quantity. This question word always occurs with the copula *ža* 'be'. I assume that *bima* 'which' and *biaun* 'how many' are mono-morphemic and are not formed from *bi-* 'where'.

(369) bióŋ anžǵǵə  
 bion a -ža-n -ka  
 how.many 3sIO-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'How much does it cost?' (Lit: 'How many pertain to it?')

(370) bióŋ žanú  
 bion ža-n -ú  
 how.many be-VBZ-QS

'What time is it?'

The question word which refers to time is *buie* 'when'. It is marked with *-gui* EMPH when it refers to a past time.

(371) búy mənəkunakǵkə  
 buie mǵ-nǵ -k -unak -ǵnka  
 when 2 -1sDO-ADV-bring-FUT

'When will you return it to me?'

(372) buyéngwi mənəkunaká  
 buie-gui mə-nə-k -unak -a -á  
 when-EMPH 2s-1s-ADV-bring-PFV-ST

'When did you return it to me?'

The root of 'where', *bi*, occurs in three different words. The first is *biən*, a combination of 'where' and *ən* 'unspecified location' (INDFLOC), meaning 'about where'.

(373) *biʔən* mənəká  
*bi -ən* mə-nai-ka  
 where-INDFLOC 2s-gō -2sPRTC

'About where are you going?'

*iyáʔən* nayugá  
*ia -ən* nai-ug-a -á  
 there-INDFLOC go -1s-PFV-ST

'I'm going over there.'

*Biku*, a combination *bi* and *-ku* 'locative nominalizer' (see Chapter 2.3) indicates a specific location.

(374) *bigu* məkutešé  
*bi -ku* mə-gu -ta -ai -ši -a -i  
 where-LN 2s-long-vertical-ADZ-CAUS-PFV-QS

'Where did you place it?' (Lit: 'Where did you cause it to exist vertically?')

*mesamba* kuteškwín  
*mesa -ba* gu -ta -ai -ši -ku-in  
 table-OBL long-vertical-ADZ-CAUS-1s-CK

'I placed it on the table.' (Lit: 'I caused it to be vertical on the table.')

The suffix *-mi*. 'close' is generally used with a deictic root.

(375) iyámi  
       i            -mi  
       over.there-close

'right there'

When used as a suffix on *bi*, *-mi* refers to the body.

(376) bimi            mimətú  
       bi    -mi       mi   -mət   -ú  
       where-close 2sIO-occur-QS

'Where do you hurt?' (Lit: 'Where has it occurred to you?')

šamúnku náməsi  
   šamunku na   -mət   -i  
   head        1sIO-occur-GER

'My head hurts.' (Lit: 'My head occurs to me.')

The question word *inžué* 'why' questions a reason, cause or purpose.

(377) inžwé ki memé        monekú  
       inžué ki mema -ai   mə-nek-ú  
       why    IF there-ADZ 2s-do -QS

'Why do you act that way?'

*ənžina* 'how' deals with the manner of events and predicate adjectives.

(378) ənžina džwi menayú  
       ənžina díui me -nai-ú  
       how        day 2pO-go -QS

'How did your (pl) day go?'

(379) ənžina mənukú  
 ənžina mə-nuk-ú  
 how 2s-be -QS

'How are you?'

ənžina can also be used in exclamations such as:

(380) džiuá            ənžina néši  
 di -ua            ənžina nek-i  
 water-motion how do -GER

'How it rained!'

Content questions can be tagged by possible alternatives (in abbreviated form) at the end of the question. As with alternative polar questions, the implication seems to be that the last alternative is the correct one (Hensarling (MS)).

(381) bima ki nakó            manžáde            kwa  
 bima ki nak -a -ú ma-ži -ade kua  
 which IF come-PFV-QS 2s-POSI-father or

manžábu  
 ma-ži -abu  
 2s-POSI-mother

'Which one came, your father or your mother?'

#### 10.4 Ignorative questions

Palmer (1986:31) refers to a question construction, the ignorative, which is "essentially an expression of the speaker's ignorance of the facts, with merely the implication that it is hoped that the hearer will supply



them". In terms of structure, these are statements, but they carry the pragmatic force of a question. The three ways of forming ignorative questions in Dəməna are with cognitive verbs, participial forms, and with the epistemic modal, me.

Alternative ignorative questions are formed by connecting two complete questions with *lua* 'or', then adding a negated verb of cognition afterward.

(382) *nakəŋkə nanú kwa nakún*  
*nak -ənka na-n -ú kua nak -u -ən*  
 come-FUT be-VBZ-OS or come-NEG-IMPF

*nanəŋkə nanú*  
*na-n -ənka na-n -ú*  
 be-VBZ-FUT be-VBZ-QS

*nəgəntšikkún fi*  
*nə -k -ža-n -ši -ku -ú -ən na-in*  
 1sDO-ADV-be-ADV-CAUS-1sS+MEDL-NEG-IMPF be-CK

'I do not know whether he will come or not.  
 (Lit: 'Will he come, or will he not come; it is not caused to be to me.')

Ignorative questions can be formed by using a participial form of a verb, with no finite verb (and no mood marker).

(383) *búye nakəŋkə nəŋká*  
*buie nak -ənka nə-n -ka*  
 when come-FUT be-VBZ-3sPRTC

'(I wonder) when will he come?'

They can also be formed by postposing the epistemic modal me 'ignorative' (IG), which may be glossed 'who knows?'

(384) ʔidá            aú        me  
      uid-a    -á    u -ú    me  
      die-PFV-ST do-QS IG

'Who knows if it died?'

## CHAPTER 11. IMPERATIVES

Imperatives in Dəməna vary depending on (1) the force of the imperative (i.e. immediate versus future) and (2) where the action is to be performed relative to the place of speaking. Most imperatives have a main verb followed by a stressed auxiliary verb. The main verb is normally uninflected, although it may bear the negative or imperfective suffix. The hortatory form of imperative is marked on the verb phrase by first person plural subject agreement.

### 11.1 Immediate imperatives

Immediate imperatives are formed with the imperative suffix, -ú. Examples (385) and (386) illustrate na 'be' in the role of auxiliary followed by -ú.

(385) te                    no  
      ta                -ai na-ú  
      vertical-ADZ be-IMP

'Be still'

(386) kuté                    no  
      gu -ta                -ai na-ú  
      long-vertical-ADZ be-IMP

'Be seated!'

The most basic and frequent of imperatives is the immediate positive command that involves no movement to another location to perform the action.

(387) ga            aú  
           k -ža u -u  
           ADV-eat do-IMP

'Eat it!'

The more forceful and consequently more blunt command utilizes an uninflected main verb followed by the auxiliary u plus the forceful imperative suffix -ši (FIMP).

(388) nayá            uši!  
           nai-a -á u -ši  
           go -PFV-ST do-FIMP

'(You) go!'

When the action is to be performed immediately, but away from the location of the speaker, the suffix -aua 'removal' (RVL) is added to the main verb.<sup>1</sup>

(389) gáwa  
           k -ža -aua  
           ADV-eat-RVL

'Eat over there!'

-----  
<sup>1</sup>-aua appears to be morphologically complex. I believe that it is either a reduplication of the 'do' auxiliary or a combination of the 'do' auxiliary and ua 'go out'.

- (390) lapiséru nəkəngugáwa<sup>2</sup>  
 lapis -ru nə -k -ə -gug-*aua*  
 pencil-TOP 1sDO-ADV-BEN-get-RVL

'Go and get me a pencil!'

The second person plural form also uses *-aua* to indicate plurality in conjunction with the imperative morpheme *-u*.

- (391) mšta ušawó  
 mət -a u -ši -*awa-ú*  
 occur-PFV do-FIMP-RVL-IMP

'Come in (pl)!'

To reflect motion as well as plurality, *-aua* is repeated.

- (392) gawawawó  
 k -ža -*aua-aua-ú*  
 ADV-eat-RVL-RVL-IMP

'Eat (pl) (away from here)'

It appears that *-aua* indicates removal in distance and number and therefore may be a form of deictic.

Negative imperatives have two different forms depending on whether the addressee is singular or plural. If the addressee is singular, the suffix used is *-uki* 'negative imperative' (NEGIMP). If the addressee is plural, the suffix is *-kua* 'plural negative imperative' (PNI).

-----  
<sup>2</sup>An epenthetic vowel occurs between *s* and *r* because *s* is not an acceptable syllable coda in Dəməna.

(393) gaúki  
 k -ža -uki  
 ADV-eat-NEGIMP

'Don't eat!'

(394) nayákwa ñi  
 nai-a -kua na-in  
 go -PFV-PNI be-CK

'Don't go (pl)!'

(395) ga aúki  
 k -ža u -uki  
 ADV-eat do-NEGIMP

'Don't eat!'

(396) ušúki  
 u -ší -uki  
 do-FIMP-NEGIMP

'Don't do it!'

Two verbs have developed special immediate command forms:  
 name 'come' and nemi 'go'.

## 11.2 Future imperatives

A future imperative is declarative in form but functions pragmatically as a command. It utilizes overt second person marking on the u auxiliary followed by the na auxiliary and the evidential modal suffix -in 'common knowledge' (CK).

(397) ábu meméngwi məkənžánu  
 abu mema -ai -gui mə-k -ə -ža-n -u  
 mother there-ADZ-EMPH 2s-ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-NEG

néru nózi ga muñi  
 na-a -ai -ru nozi k -ža -a mə-u -na-in  
 be-PFV-ADZ-TOP bread ADV-eat-PFV 2s-do-be-CK

'Mother, if the same thing has not happened to you, eat the ceremonial bread!' (in the near future)

A future imperative with the main verb marked with imperfective (IMPF) aspect implies that the action should be completed in an understood period of time, e.g. before the speaker returns.

(398) zidúa dúgwa mawéməndži  
 zidua dug -a mə-u -a -ai -məndi  
 careful cook-PFV 2s-do-PFV-ADZ-SUC

nəkəməgən náya muñi  
 nə -k -ə -meg -ən nai-a mə-u -na-in  
 1sDO-ADV-BEN-gather-IMPF go -PFV 2s-do-be-CK

'After you cook it well, gather it there for me!' (Before I return)

Future non-stationary commands use motion verbs such as nai 'go' (399) and bina 'go (to stay for a while)' to indicate that motion is involved in the command.

(399) ángan bina muñi  
 anga -ən bina mə-u -na-in  
 drink-IMPF go 2s-do-be-CK

'Go drink it!'

The negative future imperative utilizes the negative suffix -ún with the 'be' auxiliary suffixed with -i 'gerund'.

(400) sóma máwāškə gūgunáži  
 soma mau-ənu-aška gug -u -na-n -i  
 baby cry-IMN -OVLP pick.up-NEG-be-VBZ-GER

'When the baby cries, don't pick him up!'

Motion may also be reflected in the future negative form.

(401) ángan nayúnaži nukú  
 anga -ən nai-ú -na-n -i nuk-ú  
 drink-IMPF go -NEG-be-VBZ-GER be -IMP

'Don't go drink it!'

### 11.3 Hortatory

The hortatory has the form of a declarative. The verb is marked with first person plural subject agreement and -i 'GER'.

(402) žakúži  
 ža-kut-i  
 eat-1p-GER

'Let's eat.'

(403) kšwākúži  
 kənua-kut-i  
 sleep-1p -GLR

'Let's sleep.'

If motion to another location is involved, it is indicated by a motion verb.



(404) ángan            bína    ukúži  
 ánga -ən    bína    u -kut-i  
 drink-IMPF go    do-1p -GER

'Let's go drink it.'

The hortatory can also be negative.

(405) angonáži                            nukúži  
 ánga -u   -na-n   -i    nuk-kut-i  
 drink-NEG-be-VBZ-GER be -1p -GER

'Let's not drink it.'

## CHAPTER 12. COMPARATIVES

Comparative structures may be formed using copular verbs or the main verb meaning 'to surpass'. In constructions involving a copula, the comparative adjective follows the standard of comparison. In (406), the standard of comparison, *ma*, is followed by the comparative marker *gwaši* 'than', the comparative adjective, and the copula *ža* 'be'. Through advancement, the standard of comparison is referenced as direct object.

	STANDARD		ADJECTIVE
(406)	<i>ma manžidúgə</i>		<i>gwaširu əgəma</i>
	<i>ma ma-ži -duga</i>		<i>gwaši-ru əgəma</i>
	<i>2s 2s-POSI-brother</i>	<i>than</i>	<i>-TOP more</i>

<i>məkənžəngə</i>		<i>fi</i>
<i>mə-k -ə -ža-n -ka</i>		<i>na-in</i>
<i>2s-ADV-BEN-be-VBZ-2sPRTC</i>	<i>be-</i>	<i>CK</i>

'You are bigger than your younger brother.'  
 (Lit: 'There is more for you than your younger brother.')

The copular verb need not be overtly mentioned. In these cases, the standard and 'than' follow the comparative adjective.

(407) páblu əgəma žindkə            ra gwašingwa  
 pablu əgəma ži -nuk-ka        ra gwaši-gua  
 pablu more long-be -3sPRTC 1s than -also

'Pablu is also taller than I.'

When comparatives are constructed with the verb guminš 'surpass', the standard of comparison is referenced on the verb as direct object. In (408) and (409), the comparative adjective appears to be fused with -in 'common knowledge' (əgəŋi).<sup>1</sup>

(408) ma əgəŋi kənžita ra gwaširu    nuḡuminša  
 ma əgəni kənžita ra gwaši-ru    nə-guminš -a  
 2s more thin    1s than -TOP 1s-surpass-PFV

'You are thinner than I am.'

(409) ra əgəŋi kənžita ma gwaširu    nuḡuminša  
 ra əgəni kənžita ma gwaši-ru    mə-guminš-a  
 1s more thin    2s than -TOP 2s-surpass-PFV

'I am thinner than you are.'

The equivalent of an English superlative may be formed using a comparative construction. In these cases the comparative marker is omitted.

(410) ma ŋingwáməkə            əgəma zumé  
 ma ningua -məka            əgəma zu -ma-ai  
 2s nothing-in.place.of more good-ON-ADZ

'Nothing is better than you.'

<sup>1</sup>I assume that this adds the idea 'and we both know it'.

(411) ma fiŋgwáməkə                      əgəfi tšukwégə məfi  
 ma ningua -məka                      əgəni tiukuaiga mə-na-in  
 2s nothing-in.place.of more big                      2s-be-CK

'Nothing is bigger than you.'

In comparisons of equality, the order is: standard of comparison, comparative (equative) marker, and comparative adjective. The equative marker is *ie* which is made up of *ia* 'like' and *-ai* 'adverbializer' (ADZ).

(412) nánže    ša    zdúa    burúna ié            bo  
 na-že    ša    zidua    buruna ia -ai bo  
 3s-POSA hair careful cotton like-ADZ light

kənzəŋgə                                      kóma na  
 k -ə -za -n -ka                      kəma na-a -á  
 ADV-BEN-be -VBZ-3sPRTC INFW be-PFV-ST

'His hair is as bright as cotton.'

## CHAPTER 13. SUBORDINATION

### 13.1 Relative Clauses

Prototypical relative clauses in Dəməna follow the head noun. There is a gap in the relative clause which corresponds to the head noun. Case markers occur on the end of the relative clause rather than on the head noun, just as with any other descriptive modifier. Only the subject of an intransitive clause may be relativized. This fact is illustrated in the next several examples.

In example (413), the head noun *terua* 'man' is the subject of an intransitive relative clause (which is bracketed), hence, the absolutive. It is also the subject of the main clause which is transitive, so the ergative suffix *-ga* occurs at the end of the relative clause.

(413) *ɪŋwi terúa [ránže puébru žaná]gə*  
*ɪŋwi terua ra-že puebru ža-n -a -ga*  
one man 1s-POSA village be -VBZ-PFV-ERG

*dumága gwagá awin*  
*dumaga guag-a -á u -in*  
lion kill-PFV-ST do-CK

'A man who is from my village killed a lion.'

An ergative (the subject of a transitive clause) cannot

be relativized in Dəməna. Instead, nominalization is used to alter a transitive clause. In (414), for example, *terua* 'man' is the ergative of the clause 'the man killed the lion.' As such, it cannot be relativized. By nominalizing the clause with *-ka* 'participle', 'the man killed the lion' becomes 'the lion killer man'.

(414) *terúa* [dumága gwagá]nəŋkə                      naká  
       *terua dumaga guag-a -na-n -ka        nak -a -á*  
       man    lion        kill-PFV-be-VBZ-3sPRTC come-PFV-ST

awin  
 u -in  
 do-CK

'The lion killer man came.'

According to Fox's (1987) Absolute Hypothesis, if only one nominal in a language can be relativized, it will not be the subject, but the absolutive. This would mean that it should be possible to relativize a direct object. I have no clear examples of this, however, since every instance I have seen of a direct object being relativized has the form of (415) where the participial suffix occurs on the verb of the relative clause. In (415), the head noun, *suzu* 'bag', is the absolutive of the relative clause, the direct object of a transitive clause. It is the subject of the main clause, which is intransitive, therefore it is absolutive. There is no overt case marking for absolutive, but *-ru* 'topic' is

marked at the end of the relative clause. The verb *mət* 'occur' is marked as a participle.

(415) *súzu* [ənáçə nešənéci  
*suzu* əná-çə nai-ši -ən -eci  
*baç* 3s -ERG çə -CAUS-IMPF-DES

*aməká|ru* *bəçwi*  
 a -mət -ka -ru *bəçwi*  
 3sIO-occur-3sPRTC-TOP much

*amenúke*  
 a -ma -ai -nuk-ka  
 3sIO-around-ADZ-be -3sPRTC

'The *baç* that he wants to sell ('cause to go')  
 has many stripes.'

In (416), again through nominalization, 'the man killed the lion' becomes 'the lion killer man'. With the addition of *-ba* 'oblique' (OBL), the meaning is the instrument used to kill the lion.

(416) ([teruáçə duméçə çwəçə|nəŋka]mbáru  
*terua-çə* *dumaçə* *çwəçə-a* -na-n -ka -ba -ru  
 man -ERG lion kill-PFV-be-VBZ-3sPRTC-OBL-TOP

*tšukwia* *fi*  
*tiukuia* na-in  
*biç* be-CK

'The thing with which the man killed the lion is  
*biç*.'

In (417), a location is nominalized.

(417) imambáru [ména nən žitanawi]nəŋkə  
 ima -ba -ru mena nən žitan-auf-na-n -ka  
 this-OBL-TOP woman with walk -NAP-be-VBZ-3sPRTC

kíma žená  
 kima ža-n -a -á  
 INF be-VBZ-PFV-ST

'At this place is (where) it is forbidden to  
 walk with a woman.'

The nominalization strategy is also used in non-restricting relative clauses. In the following example, the descriptive clause is not distinguishing one lion from another; it is merely describing the state of the lion in question.

(418) dumága kšwánəŋkə túwa kéma  
 dumaga kənu-a -na-n -ka tu -a kéma  
 lion sleep-PFV-be-VBZ-3sPRTC see-PFV INFW

uyá  
 u -i -a -á  
 do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'He saw the lion, which was asleep.'

My analysis that relative clauses in Dəməna follow the gap strategy agrees with Hensarling's analysis of Kogi (1984). It differs from the analysis given for Ika by Frank (1990:99), in which he argues for an internal head. His analysis is based upon an assumption of flexible word order and case marking occurring on the end of the clause:



There is no ... evidence of gapping, given that variation in word order in main, declarative clauses makes it impossible to fix an invariable position for major clause constituents.

The claim for a variance in word order is difficult to support because he states (p. 123) that (generally) 'subject precedes object when both constituents occur', as shown in Table 26.

Frank's corpus contains only three instances where the direct object is ordered before the subject in a clause. Two of these three instances are cases of relativization into the object position (pp. 100-1). One example is

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Table 26: Word Order Statistics in Ika

Transitive clauses	
V	88
OV	89
SV	28
SOV	23
OSV	3
SVO	3
OVS	4

---

given in (419); bracketing follows Frank's analysis.

(419) [kʌn zi -seʔ ga -na] dingiri kaw -in  
 stick worm ERG eat-MEDL full.of.holes seem-WIT

'The stick that the worms ate is full of holes.'

In my analysis, kʌn 'stick' is outside the relative clause.

As for case marking, Frank (1990:99) claims:

When ... case markers occur with a relative clause, they occur on the end of the restricting clause rather than on the head noun itself, suggesting that the head noun is internal to the relative rather than external.

However, it has been shown that case marking in these languages consistently falls at the end of the entire noun phrase; the facts with respect to relative clauses are consistent with an external head analysis as well. Case marking can therefore be adequately explained without resorting to internally-headed relative clauses, and without confusing the word-order facts.

### 13.2 Adverbial Clauses

Constructions that function as adverbial clauses in Dəməna fall into four categories: destination, purpose, conditional, and temporal clauses.

In adverbial clauses involving destination or purpose with motion verbs, the verb of the purpose clause is marked with *-ən* 'imperfective' (IMPF).

(420) ranžadégə                      túwən      nayá      kéma  
       ra-ži    -ade    -ga    tu -ən    nai-a    -á    kəma  
       1s-POSI-father-ERG    see-IMPF    go -PFV-ST    INFW

uyá  
 u -i    -a    -á  
 do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'My father went to see him.'

Destination clauses marked with *-ku* 'locative nominalizer' (LN), indicate the place where the verb happens (see Chapter 2.3).

- (421) ranžadéḡe                      anšpébu                      nugéku  
 ra-ži -ade -ga a -ži -pebu nuk-ai -ku  
 1s-POSI-father-ERG 3sIO-POSI-friend be -ADZ-LN
- nayá                      kóma uyá  
 nay-a -á kóma u -i -a -á  
 go -PFV-ST INFW do-MEDL-PFV-ST

'My father went to the place where his friend was.'

Purpose clauses may be glossed 'in order to', and are marked by the modal suffix *-ega* (PUR). They generally follow the main verb.

- (422) lápi      náwa néke                      žinžóma gawéḡe  
 lapis      naua nek-ka                      žinžoma gau -ega  
 pencil need do -3sPRTC book      make-PUR

'Pencils are needed in order to make books.'

Conditional clauses are contrafactual in nature, and are marked by *-du* 'irrealis' (IRR).

(423) ra džui nəkənəŋgwi nanáandu  
 ra diui nə-k -na-n -gui na-n -na-n -du  
 is gold is-ADV-be-VBZ-EMPH be-VBZ-be-VBZ-IRR

buey iŋkišána  
 buey ən -k -i -ša -n -a  
 ox POSRE-ADV-LOC-place.in-VBZ-PFV

awanəŋgwašá  
 u -a -na-n -guaša-a -á  
 do-PFV-be-VBZ-CONSO-PFV-ST

'If I had money, I would buy an ox.'

Temporal clauses mark either sequence or overlap.  
 Sequential events are marked by a clause containing the  
 suffix -məndi 'succession' (SUC).

(424) ža ukwéməndži homá  
 ža -a u -ku-a -ai -məndi hom -a -á  
 eat-PFV do-FP-PFV-ADZ-SUC bathe-PFV-ST

'He bathed after he ate.'

Temporal overlap is marked by -aška 'overlap' (OVLP).

(425) teškákə ukwáškə tuún  
 te -ška-ka u -ku-a -aška tu -u -ən  
 field-end-LOCP do-FP-PFV-OVLP see-NEG-IMPF

'At the end of the field (and while there)  
 (she) did not see him.'

Overlap clauses following a time word set the time  
 reference for the entire passage.

(426) kəškəna            žarāškə                    mówa gáya  
 kəsá-kəna            ža-n -i -a -aška moua gaia  
 foot-place.of be-VBZ-MEDL-PFV -OVLP two girl

kəma nará  
 kəma na-n -i -a -á  
 INFW be-VBZ-MEDL-PFV-ST

'In the beginning (at the foot), there were two girls.'

Logical clause connectors indicate reason. They are marked with -ai 'adverbializer' (ADZ) and -ama 'reason'.

(427) na mənəkəsara nəgətéškə  
 3s mənəkəsara nə -k -ə -ta -ši -ka  
 he clothes 1sDO-ADV-BEN-vertical-CAUS-3sPRTC

náme                    gwarúgə  
 na-ama -ai guan-uga  
 be-reason-ADZ love-1sPRTC

'Because he clothes me ('causes clothes to be vertical for me), I love him.'

### 13.3 Complement Clauses

Dəməna employs a full range of complementation types. Cases of direct quotation involve a switch in deixis from the main clause, and exhibit no forms of reduction. Full sentence complements are linked to the main clause solely through juxtaposition. Strategies for incorporating a subordinate complement clause into the syntax of the main clause include referencing the subject of the inner clause with direct object agreement and nominalization.

## 13.3.1 Full sentence complements

One type of full sentence complement is a quotation complement. The following set of examples illustrates that all three main moods can occur in the direct quote:

Declarative:

(428) ukwéməndži                   kunehúgə    dumagə  
 u -ku -a -ai -məndi kunehu-ga dumaga  
 do-FP-PFV-ADZ-SUC    rabbit-ERG lion

kayá,                                ma fiŋgwáməkə  
 k -a -i    -a -á ma ningua -meka  
 ADV-AR-talk-PFV-ST 2s nothing-in.place.of

əqəfi tšukwégə məfi  
 əgəni tiukuaiga mə-na-in  
 more big                2s-be-CK

'And so afterwards the rabbit said to the lion,  
 "Nothing is bigger than you!".'

Interrogative:

(429) ukwáškə                    gayandžinágə ašiza  
 u -ku-a -aška gaia-dina-ga a -šiz-a  
 do-FP-PFV-OVLP girl-PL -ERG 3sIO-ask-PRV

biŋki                                mununayú  
 bi -ən        -ki mə-nə -unay-ú  
 where-INDFLOC-IF 2s-1sDO-take-QS

'And the girls both asked him. "Where are  
 you taking me?".'

## Imperative:

(430) ukwéməndžiru                      gwasaréə  
 u -ku-a -ai -məndi-ru guasare-ga  
 do-FP-PFV-ADZ-SUC -TOP toucan -ERG

watapanáži kima kayá,                      šéra  
 uatəpanaži kima k -a -i -a -á šera  
 woodpecker INF ADV-AR-talk-PFV-ST beak

nambwáža              úši  
 na -buaž-a      u -ši  
 isIO-loan-PFV do-FIMP

'And so afterwards the toucan told the  
 woodpecker, "Loan me your beak".'

Clauses which serve as the complement to verbs of cognition, such as tu 'see' and gəñš 'know', may also be completely unrestricted. In examples (431) and (432), each of the complement clauses could stand as an independent sentence; there is no special verb morphology. The complement clause may precede or follow the matrix verb.

(431) robertúə      dumáə gwagá              hwáəə  
 robertu-ga      dumaga guag-a -á huan-ga  
 robertu-ERG lion kill-PFV-ST huan-ERG

tuwá  
 tu -a -á  
 see-PFV-ST

'Huan saw that Robertu killed a lion.'

(432) ənágə əgəńša ra nakún  
 əná-ga a -gəńš-a ra nak -ú -ən  
 3s -ERG REFL-know-PFV 1s come-NEG-IMPF

nanəńgə  
 na-n -əńga  
 be-VBZ-FUT

'He knows that I will not come.'

### 13.3.2 Integrated complement clauses

Complement clauses may be integrated into the syntax of the matrix clause through referencing as direct object or through nominalization of the subordinate clause.

With verbs such as 'want' or 'tell' which do not presuppose the truth of their complement, the logical subject of the complement clause may be the grammatical direct object of the main clause. This is evidenced by the lack of agreement markers in the subordinate verb phrase, while the subject of the subordinate clause is referenced as the direct object of the matrix clause.

(433) nayəńgi kəma məgwarugá  
 nai-ən -egí kəma mə-gua -n -uga -á  
 go -IMPF-DES INFW 2s-think-VBZ-isPRTC-ST

'I want you to go.'

Clauses with a negative propositional attitude also exhibit this phenomenon.



- (434) nayáwi kə́ma mə́gwarúgə  
 nai-ai kə́ma mə-gua -n -uga  
 go -NAP INFW 2s-think-VBZ-1sPRTC

'I do not want you to go.' (Lit: 'I think  
 to you that (you) not go.')

Another format for a 'want' clause in Dəməna is a topic-comment construction using the modal suffix -rə́nga 'able'. The subject of the subordinate complement clause is referenced both on the subordinate verb phrase and on the matrix verb. Examples (435) and (436) illustrate that the transitivity of the subordinate clause is not important.

- (435) rágə mə́gwarugáru mən̄kəsára  
 ra-ga mə-gua -n -uga -ru mən̄kəsara  
 1s-ERG 2s-think-VBZ-1sPRTC-TOP clothes

matukwarə́ngə  
 mə-atuk-a -rə́nga  
 2s-wash-PFV-able

'I want you to wash the clothes.' (Lit: 'What  
 I think is that you are able to wash the  
 clothes.')

- (436) ra mə́gwarugáru máru imámba  
 ra mə-gua -n -uga -ru ma-ru i -ma-ba  
 1s 2s-think-VBZ-1sPRTC-TOP 2s-TOP here-ON-OBL

áša mawarə́ngə  
 a -ša -a mə-u -a -rə́nga  
 3sIO-place.in-PFV 2s-do-PFV-able

'I want you to sit down here.' (Lit: 'What  
 I think is that you are able to sit down  
 here.')

When the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the wanter (i.e. when it is a controlled subject), the matrix verb used is *mət* 'occur'. In this construction, there is no subject agreement in the subordinate clause. It makes no difference if the subordinate complement clause is transitive or intransitive.

(437) *nayənégi kóma namərá*  
*nai-ən -egi kóma na -mət -i -a -á*  
 go -IMPF-DES INFW 1sIO-occur-MEDL-PFV-ST

'I wanted to go.' (Lit: 'It occurred to me that (I) go.')

(438) *díosómba məšizənégi namərin*  
*dios-ba mə-šiz-ən -egi na -mət -ə -in*  
 God -OBL 2s-ask-IMPF-DES 1sIO-occur-WIT-CK

'I want to pray to God for you.' (Lit: 'It occurs to me that (I) ask God for you.')

### 13.3.3 Nominalization

A complement clause may also be nominalized. Frank (1990) refers to these constructions as resultant state complements.

(439) *gewá?i nayánəŋkə tukwín*  
*geuai nai-a -na-n -ka tu -ku-ə -in*  
 plain go -PFV-be-VBZ-3sPRTC see-FP-WIT-CK

'I saw that he had gone to the plain.'

In Deməna, *dun* 'want', is used only in constructions involving partially inflected sentence complements, with the subordinate verb in the form of a gerund.

(440) mindúna            uyé                    ra žapéši  
 mi -dun    -a u -i    -a -i    ra žapeš-i  
 2sIO-want-PFV do-MEDL-PFV-QS 1s sweep-GER

'Do you want me to sweep?'

(441) ənágə    andúži            awín    iškəndžinágə    ištá  
 əná-ga    a    -dun -i    u -in    iškə-dina-ga    ištá  
 3s -ERG 3sIO-want-GER do-CK 3p -PL -ERG beans

gáʔi

k -ža -i

ADV-eat-GER

'He wants them to eat beans.'

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