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PILAGÁ GRAMMAR (GUAYKURUAN FAMILY, ARGENTINA)

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
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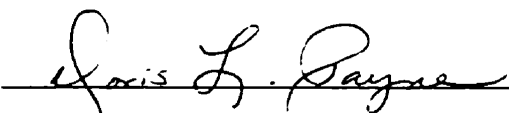
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TITLE: PILAGA GRAMMAR (GUAYKURUAN FAMILY, ARGENTINA)

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The Pilagá language or Pitelaɾa laqtaq (Guaykuruan family, Southern Guaykuruan branch) has approximately 4,000 speakers who live in lowland South America, a region known as Gran Chaco. Pilagá communities are only found in northeastern Argentina (Province of Formosa). When my research on Pilagá started, there was extremely little published work and no comprehensive grammars of this language, nor did dictionaries exist up to that point.

This dissertation is intended to fill a gap in our knowledge of Guaykuruan languages, by providing a description of the Pilagá language based on extensive field work. The first two introductory chapters describe the Pilagá people and communities, and research prior to this dissertation. The next eight chapters constitute the linguistic analysis. Chapter 3 describes segmental and suprasegmental phonology,

providing a basis for the morphological description of nouns and verbs. Three chapters

cover verb morphology. The last four chapters are dedicated to syntactic issues. A

number of diachronic hypotheses are added to the presentation of the topics; however,

the synchronic approach to the language is always the primary goal.

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_____ and Harriet M. Klein. 1998. Pragmatic versus syntactic coding: Irrealis in Pilagá and Toba? Anthropological Linguistics 40.2.175-197.

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DEDICATION

For the Pilagá people, in their struggle to survive and reinvent themselves with dignity and pride.

And to the memory of my parents, Alicia and Julio Vidal, who have accompanied me, despite their absence.

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THE PILAGÁ LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS: HISTORICAL AND

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1.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of an introduction to the Pilagá people and communities,

and to the research prior to this dissertation.

1.1 The Guaykuruans of the Gran Chaco

Pilagá or Pitelara laqtak (Pilagá language) belongs to the grouping of Guaykuruan

(also spelled 'Waikuruan' or 'Guaicuruan') languages spoken in the Gran Chaco of

South America. The word Chaco, of Quichua origin, means 'territory of hunting'

(Cordeu and Siffredi 1971:5). The Gran Chaco covers an area of about 1 million

square kilometers, of which 50% is on Argentinean land , and the other half distributed

between Paraguay, Bolivia and Brazil (Karlin et alt. 1994). The Gran Chaco is

bounded on the west by the Andean foothills, to the south by the Salado River basin, on

the east by the Paraguay and Paraná rivers, and to the north by the Mato Grosso plateau

(see Figure 1).[1]

FIGURE 1. The Gran Chaco Region (Adapted from Braunstein and Miller 1999)

Apparently, prior to colonial times the dominant groups in the Gran Chaco were the nonsedentary Guaykurans, who acquired iron weapons and horses at the end of the 1500's by barter and raids (Saeger 1999:260). Their descendants in the Southern Chaco were the Abipón, the Pilagá, the Toba and the Mocoví. In the northern Chaco, the ancestors of the Kadiwéu settled above the Pilcomayo river. The Kadiwéu are the only surviving descendents of the Mbayá. Several other Chacoan groups like the Mascoian Lengua or Enxet (Maskoy family) and the Maká, Nivaclé and Wichí or Weenhayek (Mataco-Mataguayan family) were often victims of Guaykuruan hostilities.

Ethnohistorians offer the following description of Guaykuruan peoples after the European contact:

> When Europeans invaded the Plata region, the banks of the Río Paraguay were dominated by the Payaguá, Guaykuruan peoples whose habitat and economic patterns differed from the Chaco Guaycuruans[…] After the 1730s the Payaguá began moving to the hispanic world but rejected its ideological rationales, especially Christianity […] In the first two centuries after contact, the Payaguá became more dependent on Europeans even when remaining hostile. Later the Payaguá in Asunción rejected catholicism, although a few tolerated baptisms for children. Males in the 1800s often succumbed to alcohol and impotence. Females whom they thus cut adrift then bore mestizo children of Paraguayan fathers. In 1865, Payaguá society could still muster 500 soldiers for the War of the Triple Alliance, but most succumbed in the conflict. […] As the Payaguá threat to Spanish society declined , so did hostility from the mounted Guaycuruans . Guaycuruan aggression peaked in the 1730s, when southern Guaycuruans drained the Córdoba region of cattle, took captives, and executed hispanized persons. The Abipón and the Mocoví halted the commerce of Santa Fé in 1732, and threatened the city's existence. The Mocoví, probably allied with Tobas, laid siege to Salta in January 1735, killing 100 people, capturing 200 more, and disrupting the city's public life for the next year. But these were the last great military triumphs of the southern Guaycuruans and the power of their arms receded. Several factors eroded Guaycuruan strength and tempted culturally innovative bands to ask Spaniards for missions. One was the loss of females to Spanish raiders in the years of attrition warfare with Spanish society. Another was the increasing

penetration of the Chaco by Spanish ranchers, lumber interests, and missions of Lule and Vilelas. These incursions restricted Guaycuruan autonomy and intensified competition for resources and conflict among bands[...] In the1730s serious epidemics spread from white to native soceieties, unbalancing further native life, and intensifying the harmful effects of iron tools, the grazing of domestic animals, and overhunting on the Chaco environment. [...] Most Chaco missions lasted until 1810, although a number disappeared a few years later after their establishment [...] After 1810 the collapse of colonial intitutions interrupted the misssion experiment. Some Guaycuruan drifted to the hispanic world in individual and small groups, a process tht first began in the 17th century. The Abipón from Santa Fé joined the armies of Artigas, just as the Abipón in Santiago del Estero had fought against the English in 1806. Families of Guaycuruan soldiers away at war often dispersed to grow crops and raise cattle in family units. Some went to Argentine ranches and farms and stayed. Many surviving Abipón and Mocoví regrouped and joined missions established in Santa Fé by Italian Franciscans in the 1850s. (Saeger 1999:262-265)

Anthropologist M. Mendoza (1998:23) states that the Toba and the Pilagá "have trekked different areas of the Chaco since the early 1800s". The route followed by the Pilagá extends east and southeast of Toba land. At the beginning of the 20th century one Pilagá band allied with the western Toba (nachilamolek); as evidence, Mendoza tracked down Pilagá ancestors in the genealogies of members of Toba bands up to four generations ago. Apparently, these bands returned to Pilagá land in the late 1940s.

Braunstein (1983:31) asserts that from a political and social point of view, the usual denominations of Chacoan groups like 'Wichí', 'Toba' or 'Pilagá' do not coincide with socially homogenous entities. Historically, these groups or tribes were integrated by allied local bands which walked around a particular territory. The exchange between bands in a sense explains certain shared cultural and linguistic features among all the Chacoan groups.

The Toba and the Pilagá are actually considered different groups, although linguistically, they are remarkably close. Klein (1985:700) states that both Toba and Pilagá may be dialects of the same language; and it might be well that at a certain point in the history of these peoples, they became two different tribal units, each with its own dialect. However, both in political and in linguistic terms, today neither the Toba nor the Pilagá consider themselves as part and parcel of one and the same group.

Toba, Mocoví and Pilagá use the word qom 'people' to refer to their own group. But, they do not use this term to refer to other Guaykuruan groups, for whom they have their particular nomenclatures. The word qom is the root of the 1st plural independent pronoun in all the Guaykuruan languages.

1.2 The Guaykuruan Family and the Place of Pilagá

Out of the six languages that have been claimed to belong to this family, only four i.e., Kadiwéu (or Caduveo), Mocoví, Pilagá and Toba are currently spoken. The other two, Abipón and Mbayá became extinct more than a century ago. Proposed genetic relationships among the Guaykuruan languages were first elaborated by Loukotka (1968) and later confirmed by Rodrigues (1986). However, there is actually very little comparative work done on the languages of this family. The first attempts at historical reconstructions were done by Viegas Barrios (1993) and Ceria and Sandalo (1995). For these reconstructions, only Mocoví, Kadiweu, Toba and Abipón data were considered, because no Pilagá data had at that time been available. In Vidal (1997b) I revisited the

reconstruction of 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person prefixes in Proto-Guaykurú elaborated by Ceria and

Sandalo, and proposed different reconstructed protoforms. Also, correspondences

between subject prefixes on verbs and possesive markers on nouns prove to be more

similar between Toba and Pilagá than between Pilagá and Mocoví, or between Toba

and Mocoví.

Ceria and Sandalo (1995) proposed a tentative internal classification of the

Guaykuruan family in two sub-branches: Mbayá and Kadiwéu are included in the

Waykuruan branch, whereas Abipón, Mocoví Pilagá and Toba, in the Southern branch:
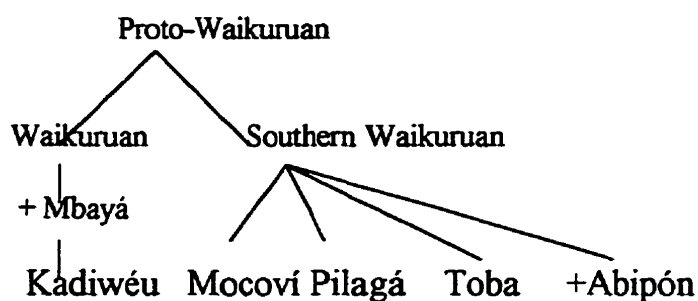
FIGURE 2. Waikuruan language family (Ceria and Sandalo 1995)

According to Figure 2, Pilagá stands in a parallel relationship to both Toba and

Mocoví, though further comparative research could prove that Pilagá and Toba stand

closer to each other, whereas Mocoví is a little more distantly related to these two

languages.

1.3 The Pilagá Communities

Pilagá is spoken by approximately 4000 speakers, all of whom live in sixteen communities in the province of Formosa, Argentina. Formosa has the highest percentage of indigenous peoples in the country.

The Pilagá share this province with the Toba, located to the east and to the west of the Pilagá communities, and with the Wichí (Mataco-Mataguayan), located around Las Lomitas and Pozo del Tigre, but also to the west. Formosa is divided into eight *departamentos* (counties); fifteen Pilagá communities are in the Patiño county, and only one community (i.e. Pozo Molina) is on the border of the neighbouring Bermejo county.

To give an idea of the extension of Pilagá communities, land- distribution and number of families per community, Figure 3 shows official information, though not from all the Pilagá communities.[2]

NAME OF THE COMMUNITY	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	COUNTY	AREA
La Linea: Asoc. Civil "Yancuodi"	15	Bermejo	2098 ha
Laqtasatanyi: Asoc.Civil: idem	25	Patiño	3350 ha
El Simbolar Asoc.Civ."Mariano Gómez	22	Patiño	2957 ha
Campo del Cielo Asoc. Civ. "Rafael Tapiceno"	40	Patiño	3903 ha
La Bomba Asoc. Civil "AYO"	65	Patiño	2289 ha
Pozo Molina Asoc. Civil "Qanaitaq"	20	Bermejo-Patiño	3600 ha
El Descanso Asoc. Civil "Nelagady"	21	Patiño	2482 ha
San José Asoc. Civil"Juan B. Alberdi	100	Patiño	2185 ha
Qompi Asoc. Civil "Qompi Juan So-sa"	98	Patiño	996 ha
Cacique Coquero	14	Patiño	1068 ha
La Yolita Ceferino Namuncurá	14	Patiño	314 ha
San Martin 2	60	Patiño	2239 ha
Pozo Navagan Asoc. Civil "Čiko Dawagan"	74	Patiño	1522 ha
El Ensanche (Ibarreta)	15	Patiño	-
Bartolomé de las Casas (Fontana)		Patiño	-
TOTAL	583		29.003

FIGURE 3. Number of families and area covered by some Pilagá communities (ICA,1995).

According to anthropologists J. Braunstein and A. Dell'Arciprete (1996), the

Pilagá communities can be sorted in two groups. The first, *Pilagá del bañado*

(referenced in Figure 1. as P1), comprises Barrio Qompí, Cacique Coquero, Campo del

Cielo, El Descanso, El Simbolar, Pozo Molina, La Bomba, La Línea, Laqtasatanyi and

Lote 21. and the second group, *Pilagá de Navagán* (referenced in Figure 1 as P2) is a

division that includes the communities of Ibarreta, Juan B.Alberdi (E. del Campo), La

Yolita, Pozo Navagán, and San Martín. Apparently, the ancestors of the actual Pilagá

migrated around this area, and such movements gave rise to these communities from

the beginning of the XX century on (Dell'Arciprete 1992). There still seems to be an

on-going tendency for communities to break down, and new settlements are formed out

of this separation. Thus, when one community becomes overpopulated and the territory

for hunting and gathering scarce for all the families, or when leadership starts to be

challenged from the inside with unresolved consensus between families or bands,

several families set apart in a territory of their own. Lately, this seems to be case of, for

instance, Lote 21, which was established less than adecade ago, and of Fortin Soledad,

consitituted in recent years, but probably also for others.

The geographical distribution into communites is permeated by a pan-Chacoan

social organization of people into bands. 'Band' is defined as a local group of extended

families constituted on kinship and affinity (Braunstein and Miller 1999:10). According

to Braunstein (1983), among the Chacoan groups several bands constitute a 'tribe',

identified by a common name and associated by marriage and exchange. He states that

tribes have been preferably endogamous, with uxirolocal postmarital residence. Among the Pilagá, tribes have identified with names of regional animals (e.g. Poepi 'the ravens', Qaqadepi 'the armadillos'), and these traditional denominations persist in present times.

As many anthropologists have noted, the Chacoan groups, including the Pilagá, have been hunter-gatherers. Hunting includes fishing and collection of honey. Hunting is exclusively the domain of men, while gathering of wild fruits, palm hearts, algarroba (mezquite, prosopis sp.) and firewood is done regularly by women. The major animals hunted are species of deers and armadillos. Among the fish specimens are surubí (Pseudoplatysoma coruscans), pacú (colossoma mitrei) and dorado (salminus maxillosus).

With the advancement of European contact since the conquest, and with the establishment at different times of colonies, farms and missions, Chacoan groups, including the Pilagá, began losing their territories. They became confined to smaller portions of lands, and as a consequence, they discontinued their hunter-gathering activities. Today, with sedentarization, Pilagá people combine traditional practices with land-cultivation and cattle-raising, and the commerce of basketery for susbsistence.

1.4 Previous Studies of the Pilagá Language

When my research on Pilagá started in 1988, there was extremely little published work and no comprehensive grammars of this language, nor did dictionaries exist up to that point.

The first lexicographic work published on the Pilagá language was a comparative vocabulary of Toba and Pilagá (Bruno and Najlis 1965). Two more studies were published after that. The first was a comparative Toba-Pilagá study on kinship terms and toponyms (Dell'Arciprete and Messineo 1993). The second is a thesis on deixis with data from different languages, including Pilagá. (Kirtchuk 1992). This thesis contains some verbal and nominal paradigms, and sentence examples in Pilagá; however, it falls short of being an overview of Pilagá grammar and also, the semantic analysis of deixis in Pilagá is interspersed with a more general discussion of deixis.

There is a succinct Pilagá-Spanish vocabulary elaborated by a missionary from the Mennonite church (Buckwalter 1994), who also translated the Bible into Pilagá. Ethnological work on Pilagá mythology, zoology and ethnobotany can be found in Idoyaga Molina 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1991 and 1995.

Prior to this dissertation, I analyzed particular aspects of Pilagá grammar. Vidal (1995[1997a]) discusses nominal classification systems in Pilagá, focusing on deictic and positional classifiers. A preliminary analysis of the origin of this system of classifiers is in Vidal (1994). Vidal and Klein (1998) elaborate on the category of 'irrealis' in Pilagá and Toba, demonstrating that although these languages lack a grammatical category 'irrealis', there is a demonstrative form that serves to express the irrealis function through inferential connection. A presentation of the semantics of subject prefixes in Pilagá, compared to Abipón and Toba, can be found in Vidal (1997c). (This paper is the antecent of the expanded and rectified analysis developed in Chapter VI of this dissertation.) Finally, Vidal (1997b) revisits the reconstruction of

subject prefixes in all Guaykuruan languages elaborated by Ceria and Sandalo (1995), bringing in data from Pilagá subject prefix sets to the historical reconstruction.

1.5 Sociolinguistic Assessment

In this section I will touch upon dialect differences and assess the language prognosis. Though a dialect study is well beyond the goal of this dissertation, I will make some preliminary notes. Also, issues such as language transmission, endangerment and preservation among the Pilagá will be considered briefly.

1.5.1 Some Dialectal Differences among the Pilagá

Dialect differentiation among the Pilagá is not great, but there are perceived differences between the speakers of the two recognized areas (i.e. *Pilagá del bañado,* i.e., P1, and *Pilagá de Navagán,* i.e. P2). These differences have no implications for political or social cohesion between the people; the Pilagá share cultural and political ties, and have a clear consciousness that they belong to the same ethnic group, despite superficial linguistic differences.

In Table 1, I list the alternations between sounds and morphemes that I have collected so far, from younger speakers of the two areas.

TABLE 1. Dialectal Differences by Area

	Pilagá del Bañado	Pilagá de Navagán	Gloss
[w] ~ [b]	wadyqayk	bidyaqayk	'He is (left) behind.'
	yilew	yileb	'He is dead/died.'
	lawoge	laboge	'a deep hole on earth to keep food'
[ø] ~ [ɾ]ʳ	noop	noɾop	'water'
	nootolek	noɾotolek	'child'
[g] ~ [ɾ]	netage'	netaɾe	'He/she passes/ed by.'
	logedaik	loɾedaik	'tall'
[ae] ~ [ay]	daqaegem	daqaygem	'He distrust him.'
	taeta	tayta	'They come out.'
[oe] ~ [oy]	noe'n	noi'n	'good' or 'beautiful'
/i-/ ~ /yi-/	iyen	yiyen	'He tries.'
/iyi/ ~ /igi/	nesačiyi	nesačige	'He puts something (in his waist).'
/yi/ ~ /ge/	tanyi	tange	'He gets into.'

1.5.2 The Viability of the Pilagá Language

Pilagá enjoys a good level of vitality, being the first language acquired by children up to the age of four when they start the schooling process. Unfortunately, there are no programs of bilingual educaction for the Pilagá and no curriculum has been developed by the Ministery of Education of Formosa for that purpose. A few schools have Pilagá-speaking aides (*maestros especiales de modalidad aborigen*), who form a team with a certified teacher. In addition to team teaching, in one school community the aide teaches one daily hour in the Pilagá language. But since there is no scope or sequence for Pilagá

instruction, and there have not been materials for reading or writing Pilagá, the program is not very effective. In most schools the presence of teachers' aides warrants that children will not be learning Spanish in a traumatic way. But a strong Pilagá literacy program is necessary to counteract the influence of Spanish-language radio and television.

Pilagá people have little access to education beyond the elementary level. High schools are all located in towns, far from the rural areas where the comunities are. Attending high school causes the migration of Pilagá young adults from their rural communities to the closest town (either las Lomitas or Pozo del Tigre). Away from their lands, they do not have many resources to support themselves. There are, however, about one hundred Pilagá teenagers and Pilagá young adults pursuing an educational degree, beyond the elementary level. But most of them feel discouraged by the fact that they are not that prepared for high school, and therefore, many abandon shooling during the first or the second year of their high school studies. But financial support is the principal reason for quitting school. Though the National Institute for Indian Affairs (*Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas*) has been providing small grants for Pilagá students, these grants do not always come in time or in the fashion of continued support.

The complexities of this social picture start very early, with an elementary school that does not satisfy the needs of Pilagá children. During elementary school, Pilagá children are forced to learn to read and write in Spanish, a language that they do not speak at the outset. As a consequence, elementary education takes them more than six or seven years to achieve a level of Spanish and a control of the subjects equivalent to that

of a monolingual native Spanish speaker. It is also the case that, with some exceptions, Spanish teachers in the rural Pilagá schools are not that committed to their teaching jobs. Many who accept these positions do so because, by being rural teachers, they are able to collect an additional percentage on their salary, nearly doubling the salary of a teacher in town for the same amount of work. Most Spanish teachers are simply not trained for the task of educating Indian children, and needless to say, none of them is a speaker of the vernacular language.

The government of Formosa has so far done practically nothing to increase the assets of Pilagá children, though other ethnic groups in Formosa, such as the Wichí from the Pilcomayo river, have been more succesful in getting the attention of governmental authorities.

1.5.3 On Pilagá Language Transmission and Endangerment

Bound up with the issue of language transmission is intragroup communication. Among the adult population, the Pilagá native language is the only linguistic code used. The speech of the youngest generations, however, exhibits a high level of borrowings, and there is code-switching between the vernacular and the national language in the speech of fluent younger Pilagá speakers (Vidal 1994b).

Between adults, the use of Pilagá in daily communication connotates solidarity; but in the case of younger speakers, switching apparently serves to fill gaps in their knowledge of the vernacular language. Their skewed performance in Pilagá has emerged as a consequence of the largely monolingual Spanish education. But also, potential

discrepancy between what people think about their language, and what they actually do with it, may be another reason. This point will be clarified shortly.

Loyalty towards the native language is conflicted. On the one hand, the language is being passed on to young children and Pilagá adults explicitly acknowledge that Pilagá is central to their identity. The role played by women in the socialization process has proven to be very important. Unlike men, most women have not received formal education or are completely illiterate in Spanish. This does not mean that Pilagá women do not speak Spanish, but that they obviously feel that their social acts, activities and relationships are all scenarios for the use of the vernacular language, and that the Pilagá language makes more sense or is more adequate than Spanish to encode such scenes.

On the other hand, linguistic pride and transmission is contradicted by the attitude of some other Pilagá adults who chose the town elementary school (Pozo del Tigre), attended dominantly by criollo or mestizo children, when in fact the community has its own school. While Pilagá children are more exposed to Spanish by sharing a class with monolingual Spanish children, this situation really puts the Pilagá at risk of language shift, because it encourages Pilagá children to not use the vernacular language, and it challenges the possibility of younger speakers becoming competent speaker-hearers in Pilagá. It also deprives them of complete socialization in their mother tongue, as it disassociates them from their peers. Some Pilagá parents think that their children do not need to learn the vernacular at school to get by in a society which has totally different values and does not regard Indian languages as part of their cultural traditions. Usually

these attitudes have to do with the relative prestige of the vernacular in relation to the language of wider currency.

This description does not intend to claim that parental decisions are the main cause of the risk of language shift. The external pressure from the mainstream culture towards complete assimilation of minority indigenous groups is very high. The introduction of christianization into their society also affected the way in which Chacoan groups, including the Pilagá, view and express themselves (Miller 1979). And other factors, such as the role of older siblings in language socialization of their younger brothers or sisters, are also important. Both parental and sibling responses during acquisition seem to indicate that the Pilagá people, specially from the periurban settings, have abondoned a certain "purism" with respect to the vernacular language; younger children are not being corrected while the acquisition process proceeds, though children may be later signalled as imperfect speakers of the vernacular language.

1.5.4 Literacy and Language Preservation among the Pilagá

Despite the obstacles they face, the Pilagá population is making efforts to keep the language alive. These efforts include the preparation of different kinds of written materials.

The first concrete step taken by the Pilagá leaders and school teachers towards the establishment of an orthographic system dates to 1996. With the help of two anthropologists, José Braunstein and Ana Dell'Arciprete, the Pilagá designed the orthographic system currently used (Messineo and Dell'Arciprete 1997).

Later, in 1997, they solicited financial support from the Instituto Nacional de
Asuntos Indígenas, through the Centro de Capacitación Zonal (CECAZO), to carry out
literacy workshops and prepare a collection of written texts. It took the Pilagá two years
to write and collect a series of representative narratives from all the communities. While
in the field, I was able to supervise the transcriptions and translations of such texts, and
to work in the co-editing of that material (Vidal et alt., 2000).

During workshops conducted in 1998 Pilagá representatives acquired more training
in the use of the alphabet, at the same time that they wrote their own texts in a variety of
genres. The grammatical analysis developed in this dissertation has been illustrated with
sentence examples from those texts, among other sources (see Chapter II. Database).

Notes

[1] An overview of the physical geography and ecological constraints of this region can be found in Braunstein and Miller (1999), who also provide an updated ethnohistorical introduction to the peoples of the Gran Chaco, from pre-Columbian to contemporary times.

[2] This data was published by the Institute of Aboriginal Communities (ICA) Formosa. Since the census on which this table is based dates from the beginning of the 1990s, the information is faulty, and therefore, does not include data from the most recently-formed communities (such as Lote 21). I am very grateful to Juan Carlos Godoy (INCUPO) for providing me with these figures.

[3] This symbol represents a voiced phrayngeal fricative phoneme, which can be also realized as a voiced uvular fricative (see Chapter III). The general tendency for older speakers from the western communities (i.e., Pilagá del Bañado) is to pronounce this sound as a pharyngeal; for those from the eastern communities (i.e., Pilagá de Navagán), the tendency is to produce a postvelar fricative. Younger speakers from the first group are, however, deleting the consonant completely.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND GOALS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter mainly deals with methodological issues and the nature of the database

obtained. In the last section, I introduce the most salient grammatical features of Pilagá

and of Guaykuruan languages at large.

2.1 Methodology

My research was conducted in several Pilagá communities of Formosa, Argentina.

I stayed for several weeks in Barrio Qompi between 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1994 (three

months altogether). During that time, the linguistic work was devoted to recording a few

texts and eliciting words and phrases. During that period the main consultants were

Ignacio Silva, José Rivero Salazar, Ernesto Gómez, Hipólito Paiva, Victoria Palomo,

Cipriana Palomo y Francisco Palomo, all residents of Barrio Qompi. The data collected

during those trips and the contacts made with the Pilagá communities established the

basis for my 1997-1999 long-term field research.

I returned to the field in June 1997, and settled in the town of Las Lomitas until

December 1999. During that time, I payed periodic visits to Laqtasatanyi and Campo del

Cielo. I worked on the recording and transcription of texts with the following traditional speakers from Laqtasatanyi and Campo del Cielo: Alberto Navarrete, Julio Quiroga, Fortunata Gonazález, Julio Suárez, and Gabino Acosta. I also recorded texts from other traditional speakers such as Patricio Pérez (La Bomba), Alfredo Florico (El Descanso), Julio Quiroga (San Martín 2), Marco Herrera (El Simbolar), and Solano Caballero (Pozo Molina).

Marcelino Cardozo (El Descanso), Omar Coquero (Cacique Coquero), Alejandro Rodas (Laqtasatanyi) and José Miranda (Laqtasatanyi), all younger bilingual Pilagá-Spanish speakers, helped me with the translation into Spanish of certain narrative passages. By working with speakers from different generations I was able to note some differences between the speech of traditional speakers and that of younger bilingual speakers.

2.2 The Data

The example sentences in this grammar are drawn from a variety of sources. Most come from recorded and transcribed texts. Some simpler sentences I have derived from direct elicitation. Others come from written texts, which the Pilagá themselves wrote for the purpose of compiling and publishing a text-collection. These examples are embedded in descriptions of vegetable and animal species, and mythical tales. The writers of those texts were José Cardozo and Matildo Suárez (J. B. Alberdi); Mario López (Ibarreta); Egidio Tolosa (La Yolita); Ambrosio Figueroa, Domingo Montoya and J.C. Yanzi (La Bomba); Sixto Tapiceno, Martiniano Acosta, Jorge Caballero, Román González and

Severo Navarrete (Campo del Cielo); Damián Suárez and Esteban García (Lote 21);

Marcelino Cardozo, Mauricio Cardozo, Francisco Rojas, Dionicio Zárate and Javier

Florico (El Descanso); Norma Moreno, Eusebia Arias and Marcelo Moreno (San Martin

2); Nelson Moyano, Claudio Fernandez, Donato López and Eugenio Tucho (Pozo

Navagán); José Miranda, Alejandro Rodas, Cresencio Rodas, Juan Zalazar, Tomás

Quiroga (Laqtasatanyi); Franco Herrera, Ricardo Sánchez, Nery Zárate (El Simbolar)

Valentina Dominguez, Juan Segundo, and Rómulo González (La Línea-Fortín Soledad);

Victoria Palomo, Otilia Navarro, Ramona Jiménez and Alfredo García (Barrio Qompí).

The textual corpus amounts to one hundred and twenty six texts, in fifty hours of

tape-recording. The length of each text ranges from twenty to several hundred clauses.

All those texts were transcribed and translated in the field. So far, thirty longish texts

have also been glossed on a morpheme-by-morpheme basis with native speakers, and I

have glossed ten more with the help of the Shoebox 4.0 database program

The texts collected cover a variety of genres: myths, description of species,

description of customs (hunting, fishing, basketry, cooking, sewing, honey and fruit

collection), map descriptions, personal narratives, historical narratives (the attack on Fort

Yunká and the uprising of cacique Pablito against the military forces), hortatory

discourse of Pilagá leaders, and religious chants performed in church (Iglesia

Evangélica Unida).

2.3 Goals and Contents of this Dissertation

The following description fills a gap in the study of Guaykuruan languages, as to

date there are still no complete grammars of any Guaykuruan language, and treatments of

syntax are especially rare. This dissertation covers some topics in the phonology,

morphophonology and syntax of Pilagá.

Chapter III presents a phonological sketch of the language, which includes the

inventory of phonemes, morphophonemic processes, syllable and stress patterns.

Chapter IV deals with the morphology of non-verbal word classes.

The study of verb morphology begins in Chapter V and continues throughout

Chapters VI and VII. Chapter V constitutes an overview of the verb template and deals

with the morphological encoding of subjects and objects. A separate in-depth study of

the subject pronominal case-marking system is undertaken in Chapter VI. Chapter VII

discusses the categories of aspect, directionality and negation in Pilagá.

While Chapters IV, V, VI, and VII pay attention to the lexical and grammatical

properties of nouns and verbs, Chapter VIII attends to noun phrase constituency, and

Chapter IX to the syntax of basic declarative clauses. Chapter IX discusses the syntactic

encoding of subject and objects, and in connection with overt coding properties of subject

and object, also the basic word order patterns that the language exhibits. Another central

topic of Chapter IX is the distinction between basic and derived argument structure (via

applicative markers) for intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Chapter X further

considers other clause types such as locative, existential, interrogative, comparative and

equatives. Chapter XI is devoted to clause combination, in particular to subordination and complementation.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

This study takes an eclectic approach to analyzing the facts of Pilagá grammar. Though several grammatical points prove to be very interesting both typologically and theoretically, this dissertation intends to highlight the most salient aspects of Pilagá without aiming to argue for or against any particular grammatical theory. Rather, I have used typological classifications and theory to explain a number of features, as a way of shaping the description in the most clear and accessible way.

For the grammatical description, I have examined the structural properties of words and clauses, and the pragmatic situations in which various of these structures are used, using what can be broadly defined as a functional-typological approach. I also propose a few diachronic hypotheses, in particular on the development of classifiers, complementizers and relativizers, and add a number of historical comments in connection with phonological processes, noun classes and word order.

2.5 Salient Aspects of Pilagá Grammar in Particular and of Guaykuruan Languages in General

I will summarize here salient typological features of Pilagá within the context of the Guaykuruan languages Toba (Klein 1973, 1978), Mocoví (Gualdieri 1998, Grondona 1998) and Kadiwéu (Sandalo 1995).

Pilagá is morphologically agglutinative, having both prefixes and suffixes, but more suffixes. Nouns are simpler morphologically than verbs. There are no adpositions or case marking for nouns. The overall plural-marking system is quite similar in all the Guaykuruan languages and the forms are cognates with each other. The distribution of plural suffixes to nouns is, synchronically, lexically determined. Verbs exhibit many different plural suffixes for subjects and objects, and nouns exhibit different plurals for possessors. Nouns have a system of classifiers that indicates position and motion of the referenced entity.

Verbal morphology presents different sets of prefixes for subjects and objects; a feature that, with some variation in the number and shape of sets from language to language, is found throughout the family. All the Guaykuruan languages are or have historically been of an active/stative case-marking type.[1] Instrumentals, locatives, benefactives and comitatives may be referenced on the verb through suffixes. In all Guaykuruan languages aspect, directionality and location are encoded on the verb, and the verbs are tenseless.

These languages have a small set of adjectives with nominal morphology; the vast majority of forms with adjectival meaning are stative verbs. All Guaykuruan languages lack a numeral system. Minor word classes such as adverbs, quantifiers, discourse connectors and ideophones remain unstudied.

It has been argued that the basic word order is AVO/SV in Toba (Messineo, pc.) and in Mocoví (Gualdieri 1998, Grondona 1998), and I state that the same holds for Pilagá. For Kadiwéu, however, Sandalo (1995) states that word order is free, and the object or the subject NP can come in any position with respect to the verb. But since most, if not all, Guaykuruan languages belong to the pronominal argument type (i.e., subject and object functions are not distinctively encoded by phrase structure), word order variation is not unexpected. What strikes one as common to all the descriptions of Southern Guaykuruan languages elaborated so far is that the position of the NP subject presents more variation than the position of the NP object. It is, therefore, possible that what have been considered "subject" NPs in the analysis of word order patterns are, in fact, adjuncts, and for that reason occurrence of a lexical NP coreferential with the subject is neither obligatory nor is its position within the clause fixed. Synchronically Pilagá and Toba belong to the Verb-initial type, and probably Mocoví too, suggesting the existence of a synctacticized pattern at least for the languages of the Southern Guaykuruan branch. There are some traces in the grammar of Toba and Pilagá that suggest that at least some languages of the Southern Guaykuruan branch could have been OV (or Dependent-Head) in their origins, evolving towards a verb-intial type in a later stage.

Guaykuruan languages show a tendency to coordination through conjunctions; subordination, however, proves to be more different from one language to another. According to the sources, subordinate clauses fall into two types: they may present no marker of subordination at all, or they may be introduced by a complementizer or a relative pronoun, depending on the function that a subordinate clause bears to its matrix clause.

Notes

[1] As noted just above, Pilagá nouns are not marked for case. This study uses the term *case* to refer to how arguments are marked differently in the verb.

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the phonological system of Pilagá. Section 3.1-3.2 show

consonant and vowel phonemes. Section 3.3 contains a phonetic description of the

phonemes. For each phoneme I provide the environment in which it occurs, with

examples. In section 3.4 I discuss the syllable, concentrating on its structure and

constraints. In 3.5 I explain segmental phonological rules, while in 3.6 I discuss some

more phonological processes that take place during morphological derivation. Section

3.7 is dedicated to discuss the lexicalization of vowel harmony in demonstratives and

section 3.8 attends to stress phenomena.

3.1 Segmental Inventory

There are eighteen consonant and four vowel phonemes in Pilagá. Table 1 presents

the consonants according to their place and manner of articulation, while Table 2 contains

the vowels according to the approximate tongue body position and lip rounding.

TABLE 2. Pilagá Consonant Phonemes

MANNER   PLACE

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Phraryngeal	Glottal
Obstruents Stops	p	t d		k g	q		ʔ
Affricates			č				
Fricatives		s				ʕ	h
Sonorants Lateral		l	λ				
Nasal	m	n	ñ				
Glides	w		y				

TABLE 3. Pilagá Vowel Phonemes

	Front Unround Round	Back Unround Round
High	i	
Mid	e	o a^1

3.2 Contrastive Oppositions

This section is intended to contrast phonetically similar segments in Pilagá.

For that purpose, a set of minimal or nearly minimal pairs (contrast in analogous, not identical, environments) is provided here.[2] Contrasts are in initial and final position, syllable onsets and codas in the case of consonants, and syllable nuclei, for vowels.

The examples in (1) show the contrast between obstruents, and between obstruents and the sonorant /m/:

(1)

(a) [p]/[m] [emaq] 'left-handed' / [epaq] 'tree'

(b) [t]/[č] [koče] 'pig' / [kote] 'piranha'

(c) [t]/[d] [netayï] 'be.on' / [nedam] 'belly button'

(d) [k]/[g] [keteke] 'ear-rings'/ [ketege] 'same as'

(e) [k]/[č] [neketela] 'somebody's ear'/ [neče] 'somebody's leg'

(f) [k]/[q] [halok] 'long' / [haloq] 'his/her food'

(g)[k]/[ʔ] [halok] 'long' / [haloʔ] 'their food'

(h) [q]/[ʔ] [namaq] 'twisted' /[namaʔ] 'twisted(pl.)'

(i) [g]/[q] [gamʔe] 'that.distal' / [qaepa] 'eyebrow'

(j) [g]/[ʕ] [mačaqaga] 'anything.distal' / [maʕakone] 'a long time ago'

(k) [ʔ]/[Ø] [lačeʔ] 'his/her tear' / [lače] 'stone (sp.)'

In (2) the contrast is between pharyngeal and velar, and between pharyngeal and laryngeal (i.e., glottal) sounds.

(2)

(a) [ʕ]/[h] [naʕa] 'no' / [nahaʔ] 'coming.pl'

(b) [ʕ]/[g] [paʕaik] 'black mezquite tree' / [pagaik] 'white.masc'

(c) [ʕ]/[ʔ] [paʕaik] 'black mezquite tree' / [naʔaik] 'road'

In (3), the contrast is between the voiced coronal obstruent /d/ and coronal sonorants.

(3)

    (a) [m]/[n]   [maye] 'smart' / [nayi] 'today'

    (b) [n]/[l]   [nala] 'fruit of mistol' / [laλaɾa] 'darkness'
                  [nayi] 'today' / [layi] 'his/her brother'

    (c) [n]/[d]   [naho?] 'these .proximal' / [dalaĩk] 'new'

    (d) [n]/[ñ]   [naho?] 'these.proximal' / [ñaho?] 'these sitting'

    (e) [l]/[d]   [lole?] 'his/her fire' / [dole?] 'fire'

Examples in (4) show palatal consonants in similar contexts.

(4)
    (a) [ñ]/[λ]   [nañaʕanek] 'strong person' /[saλaʕanek] 'chief'

    (b) [λ]/[l]   [qaλem] 'sound of a bow string' / [yilew] 'he died'

There are two [- back] and two [+ back] vowels in Pilagá. [- back] vowels are redundantly [- round]. However, rounding is a distinctive feature for [+back] vowels.

(5)

    (a) [e]/[a]   [enawak] 'everybody' / [anawek] 'bring it', [em] 'it dried' / am 'you',
                 [sewotak] 'I am walking' / [sawotak] 'I am doing something (e.g.,
                 working'), [dewenataɾan] 'he thought' / [nawanaget] 'he catches'.

(b) [e]/[i]   [nemek] 'somebody's house' / [nemik] 'somebody's nose'

(c) [a]/[o]   [am] 'you' /   [om] 'it blew away'

(d) [e]/[o]   [awe] 'You go!' /[yawo] 'woman'

3.3 Description and Distribution of Pilagá Segments

In this section, I will account for the phonetic form and distribution of Pilagá segments.

3.3.1 Stops

There are seven stops in Pilagá. Voiceless stops and affricates in syllable initial position are released with a crackling sound similar to a closure of the glottis. In such instances the voiceless stops sound like ejective consonants, though in Pilagá ejectives do not comprise a distinct phonological category from non-ejectives.

Stops can be characterized as follows:

/p/ Voiceless bilabial; occurs in syllable onset and coda positions: /pʔe/[3] 'hot',

/napiaʔte/ 'both feet', /nkap/ 'somebody's back'. There is free variation between [p] and ejective [p'] in syllable initial position: [anp'awo] ~ [anpawo] 'you go in!'.

/t/ Voiceless alveolar; occurs in syllable onsets and codas: /tapiñik/ 'armadillo', /yipalteʔta/ 'my back', /layocot/ 'his/her hair'. An ejective allophone occurs in free variation with [t] syllable-initially: [t'adega] ~ [tadega] 'he left in this direction (pointing

at a footprint)', [t'adayk] ~ [tadayk] 'big'. /t/ is realized as a voiceless palatal affricate /č/

before /i/. Thus, neutralization of /t/ and /č/ occurs before [+ high] vowels. When an affix

beginning with a high vowel /i/ follows a root or another affix ending in /t/, palatalization

of the consonant takes place (i.e., /t/ > [č]): /lnat/ 'her nail' + /-i/ 'PL' >[lnači]' her nails,

/qo-/ 'IS'+ /i-/ 'setA.3' + /lo/ 'look' /-t/ 'ASP'+ /-i yi/ 'DIR.in a straight

line' > [qoyločiyi] 'they are observing.'

/d/ Voiced alveolar; occurs in syllable onsets and codas that are not also word-final:

/daho/ 'those few people standing', /načedi/ 'several rivers'. According to phonotactic

constraints in this language, there are no voiced stops word-finally, which suggests a

historical neutralization of voiced stops in that position. The voiced stop /d/ is realized as

a [d] between vowels. In that same position Pilagá speakers may also produce a

sonorant tap [r], in free variation with [d]: [hadam?e] ~ [haram?e] 'she (standing)',

[ledema] ~ [lerema] 'hare'.

/k/ Voiceless velar; occurs in all positions: /katena/ 'sun', /neketela/ 'somebody's ear',

/nemik/ 'somebody's house'. An ejective allophone occurs in free variation with the non-

ejective allophone in syllable initial position: [yik'emalege] ~ [yikemalege] 'he is injured'

[dek'etapiyet] ~[deketapiyet] 'he is eating like chewing'. Voiceless /k/ is optionally

realized as an unreleased allophone in word-final position: [naˤaik˺] 'snake', [na?aik˺]

'road', [loʔok˺] 'his skin'. /k/ is subject to rules of lenition and voicing. Voicing

assimilation of /k/ into [ɣ] occurs either when a vowel precedes it or between two

vowels: /s/ 'setA.1'+/ek/ 'move.go'+ /wo/ 'DIR.outwards' >[sekewo] ~

[seɣewo] 'I left', [t'eksow] ~ [t'eɣsow] 'hopefully'. As the alternation in the examples

indicates, this rule is stylistic and the factors that cause this alternation need to be

investigated.

/g/ Voiced velar; occurs in syllable onsets and codas. Between vowels /g/ is always

realized as a voiced fricative [ɣ]: [haɣamʔe] 'that fem.distal' (note that in the underlying

form of the morpheme there is a /g/, i.e., [gamʔe] 'that masc.distal'),

[ndeɣat] 'somebody's mouth', [nawaɣe] 'somebody's shoulder'. But /g/ may be also

realized as [ɣ] after a voiced consonant: [olɣek] 'salt'. Lenition in word-initial and

word-final positions does not apply and thus, the consonant sounds like a full stop [g]:

[gamʔe] 'that (distal)', [sewoʔg] 'I file (my nails)'.

/q/ Voiceless uvular; occurs in syllable onsets and codas: /qaepa/ 'eyebrow',
/nqaik/ 'head', /noqosot/ 'neck', /nwaq/ 'hand (including forearm)'. An ejective
allophone occurs in free variation with a non-ejective allophone in syllable-initial

position: [q'aepa] 'eyebrow', [nanoq'o] 'the two cheeks of a person'. Like /k/, /q/ has an

unreleased allophone in word-final position: [pegaqˀ] 'horse', [yoʔoqˀ] 'my skin'.

/ ʔ / Glottal or laryngeal stop; occurs syllable-finally, and syllable-initially in word

medial syllables: /yoʔtetadi/ 'both thighs', /yitawoʔ/ 'my blood', /ʔam/ ~ /am/ 'you

(sg)'. All the roots that begin with a glottal stop in my corpus obligatorily take a

pronominal prefix, and consequently the glottal stop stands in the onset position of a

medial syllable: /s-/ 'setA.1'+ /ʔoče/ 'spleep'+ /-tak/ 'ASP.prg'/ 'I am sleeping', /s-/

'setA.1'+ /ʔalaq/ 'yell'/ 'I yell' (coronal prefixes are syllabic, as will be explained in

section 3.4.2 and 3.6.2.) Marginally, it occurs word-initial position. One instance of the

glottal stop in word-initial position is found in the independent pronoun for 2nd person

singular /ʔam/ 'you'. But stylistic variation makes this word alternate with a non-

glottalized form, i.e., /am/ 'you'. Hence, different pronounciations of the same word

may be heard from the same speaker.

The glottal stop has a tendency to elision even when morphemes are specified for it.
In nominal classifiers (see chapter IV), which are all specified for a glottal stop, the
glottal is inaudible in rapid pronounciation. The variation in the pronounciation of these
grammatical words varies from one speaker to another, and possible factors are age and
degree of Pilagá-Spanish bilingualism. Also note that the alternation between the
glottalized and the non-glottalized form in the demonstrative [hʔen] ~ [hen]

'this'/'here', the noun classifier [soʔ] ~ [so] 'far/going.away', and the classifier plus

demonstrative stem [sohoʔ] ~ [soho] 'that far/going away' does not comprise any

meaningful difference. However, when the glottal stop serves to distinguish meaning

(e.g., between singular and plural nouns) this consonant cannot be elided. For example,

in the following nouns the glottal stops helps to maintain number distinctions: [yawo]

'woman'/ [yawoʔ] 'women', [taʕaki] 'pot'/[taʕakiʔ] 'pots'. In other grammatical

lexemes the glottal stop has a certain flexibility as to where in the syllable or in the word

it will occur. In independent pronouns for 1st and 2nd person plural which, like nominal

classifiers, are underlyingly specified for a glottal stop, the location of the glottal

consonant is not fixed; it can occur in one syllable or in the next: [qoʔmi] ~

[qomʔi] ~ [qomiʔ] 'we', [amʔi] ~ [amiʔ] 'you(pl.)'.[4] The placement of the glottal stop

in the following lexical words does not involve any difference in number either:

[napaʔqte] 'lice' (younger speakers) ~ [napaqaʔte] 'lice' (older speakers).

3.3.2 Affricates

/č/ Voiceless palatal; occurs in syllable onsets only (as with the rest of the palatal

consonants): /čikena/ 'arrow', /nče/ 'leg'. An ejective allophone occurs syllable-

initially: [qanač'e] 'and', [nač'el] 'several nails'. The phonemic opposition between /t/

and /č/ is seen before [-high] vowels: [natoɾoge'] 'he spits' vs. [načoɾodek] 'poverty',

[natat] 'he leaves' vs. [načavat] 'somebody's tongue'. Neutralization between /t/ and /č/

occurs before [+high, -back] vowels.

3.3.3   Fricatives

/s/ Voiceless alveolar; occurs in syllable onsets and codas: /somavaki/ 'shirt',

/nwaas/ 'bracelet', /kasonalawak/ 'lightening'.

/ʕ/ Voiced pharyngeal; occurs in intervocalic position only: /awoʕoik/ 'moon',

/lapaʕat/ 'meat' or 'flesh'. The pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ is a restricted phoneme in Pilagá.

The pronunciation of [ʕ] alternates with a uvular fricative [ʁ] in the eastern dialect (i.e.,

Pilagá de Navagán) or it is simply deleted in the speech of younger speakers from the

western communities (*Pilagá del Bañado*):

(6)

Dialect 1.Pilagá del Bañado		Dialect 2. Pilagá de Navagán	Gloss
(a) [lapaʕat] ~ [lapaat]	~	[lapaʁat]	'louse'
(b) [noʕop] ~ [noop]	~	[noʁop]	'water'
(c) [noʕotolek] ~ [nootolek]	~	[noʁotolek]	'child'

/h/ Voiceless glottal or laryngeal; occurs in syllable onsets and codas: /haso?/ 'that person

(fem.) coming', /soho/ 'that person (masc.) coming', /čaqaytah/ 'dangerous (fem.)'

3.3.4 Laterals

/l/ Voiced alveolar sonorant; occurs in syllable onsets and codas: /loʔok/ 'cloud',

/halo/ 'ash', /paqal/ 'shadow'.

/ʎ/ Voiced palatal sonorant; occurs in syllable onsets only: /ʎaʕata/ 'my

finger', /maʎaʕa/ 'yet'. The lateral palatal has a much more restricted distribution than

the rest of the palatals (for instance, it never occurs in front of /o/, and rarely in front of

/e/, while /č/ and /ñ/ do occur with these vowels). Also, as expected, there are no

occurrences of this phoneme before [+ high] vowels. This is one reason to believe that it

might be new phoneme that conceivably has arisen from /lia/ becoming

[ʎa] or /lya/ becoming [ʎa]. Synchronically, some instances of /ʎ/ result from

morpheme-final /i/ occuring next to morpheme-initial /l/, e.g. /l/ 'Poss.3' +/yaʕata/ '

finger' > [ʎaʕata] 'his/her finger'; but other instances are not involved in any

morphological alternations, e.g. [maʎaʕa] 'yet'.

3.3.5 Nasals

/m/ voiced bilabial; occurs in syllable onsets and codas: /mañek/ 'ostrich',

/nemik/ 'somebody's nouse', /eksegem/ 'he goes up'.

/n/ voiced alveolar; occurs in syllable onsets and codas: /naho/ 'those ones (coming)'

/nokona/ 'toe', /sʔonaʕan/ 'I sleep'. Palatalization affects the alveolar sonorant /n /

(i.e., /n/ > [ñ]). Thus, /n/ is also realized as a palatal [ñ] before /i/:

/aw/ 'setA.2'+ /ʔonaʕa/ 'sleep' + /n/ 'ASP' + /i/ 'PL' > [awʔonaʕañi] 'you (pl.) sleep'.

But, as also noted before, palatals have phonemic status because they contrast with

alveolars in the environment of a [-high] vowel.

/ñ/ Voiced palatal; occurs in syllable onsets, and marginally in syllable codas: /ñačel/ 'I

wash myself', /waqčiñi/ 'star'. The only instance of /ñ/ in the coda position, word-

finally found in my corpus appears in the word for 'small', /qapiñ/.[5]

3.3.6 Glides

/w/ labiovelar glide; occurs in all positions: /wayaɾa/ 'fox', /yawo/ 'woman', /siyawa/

'person', /yilew/ 'he died', /wede/ 'fish'. The labiovelar /w/ has a bilabial fricative

allophone [β] when followed by [+high] vowel, as in [βiase] 'brown deer', [βilili] 'type

of bird', [loβiʔ] 'back (in animals)'.

/y/ palatal glide; occurs in initial and medial positions: /yawage/ 'my shoulder',

/lačiyi/ 'stream', /pyoq/ 'dog', /awoʕoyk/ 'moon', and in word final position in a few

words /ñaqačipoley/ 'my own axe', /emelaseloley/ 'the forest, the habitat'.

3.4 Syllable

In Pilagá one or more consonants may optionally precede the syllable nucleus, and one or two consonants may follow it (i.e., in the onset and coda positions, respectively, though the coda position is very restricted). The nucleus can be simple or complex. Together the coda and the nucleus comprise the rhyme. Pilagá syllable structure is represented in (7) (C=consonant; G=glide; V=vowel):

(7) Pilagá syllable
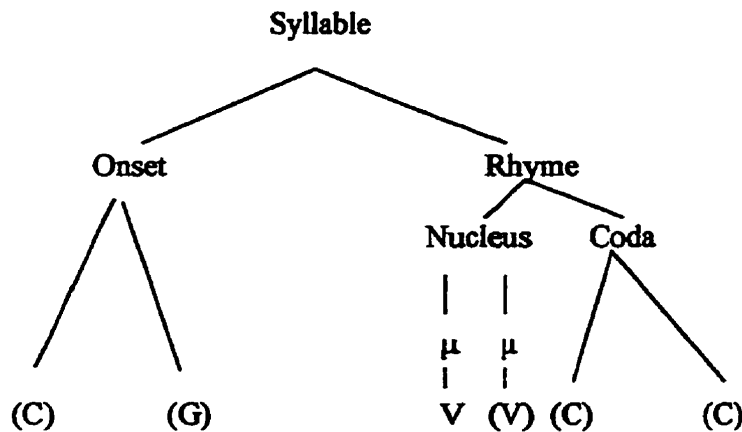
In the next subsections, I discuss syllable structure and its constraints.

3.4.1 Syllable Structure

Universally, every syllable must have a nucleus and Pilagá is no exception to this rule. All vowels and the alveolar segments /d,s, n,l/ can occupy the nuclear position.[6] Each vowel counts as a mora, and the alveolar nuclei have moraic value too.

The general tendency for Pilagá words is that the syllable nucleus is associated with one vocalic position on a skeletal tier (Clements and Keyser 1983). Nevertheless, words containing long homorganic nuclei (e.g., [daːmʔe] 'they', [yaːñi] 'bone, spine', [seseːtak] 'I am criticizing', [ñaloːstak] 'I am running') and vowel sequences (see 3.4.3 below) are possible as well. Double vowels may result from the loss of an intervocalic consonant (with subsequent resyllabification). At least synchronically, a few native roots are lexically specified as having bimoraic syllables.

Other scholars have claimed that phonemic long and short vowels are present in the inventories of other Guaykuruan languages (for Toba, see Klein 1978; for Mocoví, Gualdieri 1998; and for Kadiwéu, see Sandalo 1996); and long vowels have also been reconstructed for Proto-Guaykuruan (Ceria and Sandalo 1995).

In my analysis, I take a different stance by proposing that length contrast is a feature of the syllable, rather than of the vowel phonemes. In order to account for surface long vowels and vowel sequences in Pilagá, I propose that phonetic long vowels and sequences arise because of two mora positions in the syllable structure. Examples with light (monomoraic) and heavy (bimoraic) syllables are provided in (8) and (9), respectively (the diagrams represent syllable weight, omitting the representation of subsyllabic onset-nucleus-coda constituents, shown in (7)):

.

(8)

d   a   mʔ   e
'he – standing'

(9)

d   a   mʔ   e

'they – standing'
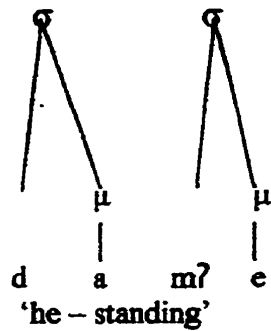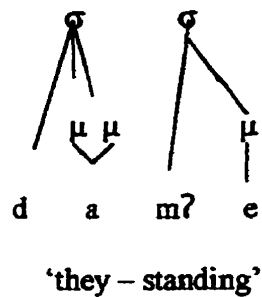
As for the onset, nearly any consonant of the inventory qualifies for that position. Only pharyngeal /ʕ/ is never licensed in an initial onset (i.e., word-initially).

Glides are specified for the same features as vowels, the only difference being the position they occupy within the syllable.

A vowel specified as [- high] always syllabifies as a nucleus. However, segments specified as [+high] or [+labial] are syllabified into the onset position when followed by another vowel; or to the coda, when preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant:

(10)
(a) [wa. ya.ʕa]   'fox'

(b) [aw. ke.ʔe]   'you eat'

There is a tendency to avoid onsetless syllables in this language. Thus, when two vowels are in sequence, association of a high vowel to an unfilled onset position takes place, deriving glides in onset position (11a-b). Whenever possible, a palatal glide is inserted before a high vowel to avoid a syllable without an onset (11c):

(11)

(a) /i/ 'Poss.1'   + /oleʔ/ 'fire'   > [yo.leʔ]   'my fire'

(b) /i/ 'Poss.1   + /oʔoq/ 'skin'   > [yoʕoq]   'my skin'

(c) /i / 'Poss.1'   + /wo/ 'walk' + /tak/ 'ASP'   > [yi.wo.tak]   'He is walking.'

Syllables with complex onsets are much less common than simple onsets, and complex onsets are severely constrained. In Pilagá, the only possible onset is Cy, with a palatal glide as the second member, e.g. /pyoq/ 'dog'.

Finally, as the template in (7) suggests, every syllable may have a coda. The coda position exhibits fewer contrasts than the onset position. Only /č d ʕ ʎ / have not been found in the coda of a syllable.[7] Complex codas are found either word-medial or word-final, but they are severely restricted: only the glottal stop can fill the first slot in a complex coda, e.g. [wo.laeʔt] 'basket'.

3.4.2 Phonotactic Constraints

The following phonotactic constraints have been observed:

(a) In general, there are no restrictions on the distribution of voiceless obstruents.
However, the obstruents /d, č, ʕ/ and the sonorant /ʌ/ are never found syllable-finally or
word-finally. Of these, /ʌ/ is never found word-initially either, but otherwise it can
occur in syllable initial position. Pharyngeal /ʕ/ only occurs between identical vowels
(/a/ or /o/):[8]

(12)

   (a) [layoʕot]   'his/her hair'

   (b) [nataʕasom]   'somebody's face'

(b) There are no geminate consonants.

(c) Pilagá has several syllable types, namely V, CV, VC, CVC, CGV, CVV. See (13)
   for an illustration of syllable types:

(13)

   (a) <u>V.</u> CV.CV

      /a.le.wa/   'land'

(b) <u>CV.CV.CV.CV</u>
/yi.ko.me.na/ 'my grandmother'

(c) <u>VC</u>
/am/ 'you(sg.)'

(d) <u>CVC</u>
/som/ 'door'

(e) <u>CGV(C)</u>
/pyoq/ 'dog'

(f) <u>CVV</u>
/daa.m'e/ 'he (standing)'

(d) Pilagá exhibits tautosyllabic vocalic sequences of two sorts. One involves a glide, but the second type does not. These possibilities are represented in (14).

(14)

    (a)   (b)   (c)
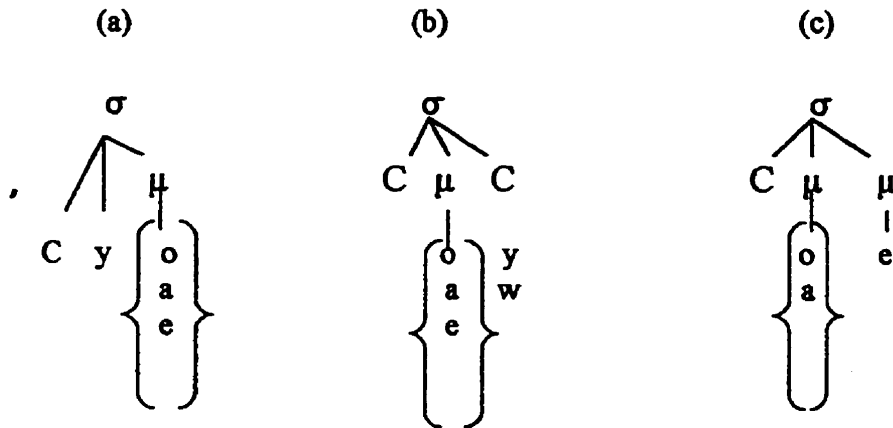
The first two types (14a-b) may consist of a [-high] vowel plus a glide, e.g. /pyoq/ 'dog', /kya.wa/ 'husband', /yo.le?/ 'my fire', /ya.ʕa.ta/ 'my finger'.

[- high] vowel plus labiovelar glide sequences are [aw], [ew] and [ow]. [aw] occurs

in, for instance, [sen.taw] 'cent' (Spanish loanword), [aw.ka.ten] 'you look'. Much less

frequent than [aw] are [ew] and [ow]. [ew] exhibits the greatest articulatory contrast

since the two vocoids are situated at the extremes of the vocalic space (e.g., [sew]

'north'). Only one example with [ow] has been found, i.e., [t'ek.sow] 'hopefully', and

according to my language consultants this is an old word form no longer used in daily

conversation but in traditional narrative genre.

Sequences involving the palatal glide are [ay] as in [ya.ꞓayk.pi] 'my old folks', [oy]

as in [qoy.ko.de.ge] 'one pours', [qoy.men] 'it is sold', and [ey] like in [ña.qa.či.po.ley]

'my own axe', [e.me.la.se.lo.ley] 'the forest, the habitat', and [oy] as in [oy.kya.ꞓayk]

'powerful' and [a.wo. ꞓoyk] 'moon'.

The third type of tautosyllabic vocalic sequence (14c) contains two full vowels,

i.e., a [+back] plus a [- back] vowel, but it is restricted to specific combinations: [ae] and

[oe]. Note that [e] is consistently the second member, as in for instance [w'ae.ñe] 'first',

[wo.laeʔt] 'basket', [pa.gen.ta.na.ꞓae] 'teacher', [lae.ñi] 'middle', and of [oe], as in

[n.qoe.či.yi] 'throat', [da.soe.yi] 'it goes', [a.doe.kya.ꞓak] 'your secret', [n.moe] 'mythic

arrow whose extreme end is made of a special kind of wax'. These tautosyllabic

sequences can be reduced (a process called 'apocope') in fast speech (cf. 3.4.2) and as a

consequence, the second vowel is dropped.

(e) Two contiguous consonants may co-occur but they are always assigned to different

syllables. (Also, as mentioned in 3.4.1, there are severe restrictions on which consonants

can occur in clusters within the onset and the coda). Prefixation may bring two consonants together. If the first one is a coronal, it can sometimes fill the nuclear position of the first syllable, whereas the consonant that follows syllabify into a distinct syllable. (On the ability of coronals to satisfy the nuclear position in a syllable, see 3.6.2 Epenthesis.)

(15)

    (a) [s̩.čo.ʕot]   'I declare.'

    (b) [l̩.če7]   'his/her tear'

    (c) [n̩.čo.ʕot]   'He confesses himself.'

However, in careful speech the sequence is split up by an epenthetic vowel. Person prefixes have the underlying C- form. Thus, examples under (15) can also be pronounced [se.čo.ʕot], [le.če7], [ne.čo.ʕot], as the result of the surfacing of an epenthetic vowel. The vowel is usually a copy of the first vowel of the stem, though there are a number of idiosyncracies. (On the quality of the epenthetic vowel, see 3.6.2 and 3.6.3.)

Further illustration is provided in (16):

(16)

    (a) /s/ 'setA.1'   + /ke7e/ 'eat'   > [seke7e]   'I eat.'
    (b) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /qote/ 'possession' > [noqote] 'possessions'
    (c) /l/ 'Poss.3'   + /mik/ 'nose'   > [lemik]   'his/her nose'

Suffixation may bring two consonants together too, but they are assigned to different syllables, in the coda and onset position of two distinct syllables.

A phonetic glottal stop co-occurs after almost any Pilagá consonant. But in my account of syllable structure I consider these combinations to be ejective allophones rather than clusters. At the phonetic level, voiceless obstruents are just produced with mild closure of the glottis, and this characteristic is also possible, though less frequent, with sonorants.

(f) The sequences formed by a uvular plus [- back] vowel, or a pharyngeal plus [- back] vowel are ill-formed (i.e., *qe, *qi, *ʕe, *ʕi). Phonetically, uvulars and pharyngeals involve a dorsal articulator, whereas /e/ and /i/ are [- back] which makes the ill-formed combinations difficult to produce. However, in present-day Kadiwéu from the Guaykuruan branch, uvular and pharyngeal consonants do occur with [-back] vowels. This fact suggests that in the languages of the Southern branch, the distinction uvular-pharyngeal is lost in the environment of [-back] vowels.

3.4.3 Syllable Reductions

The following changes apply to phonological words. They take place in faster or more casual spoken styles, or in some dialects. Most of them involve the loss of a sound, either a vowel or a consonant, or a complete syllable. They apply to syllables containing

vowels in unstressed weakened positions and as such, are good candidates for

contraction:

(A) Vowel or consonant deletion (with or without subsequent resyllabification):

i. CV.CV > CVC: a medial unstressed vowel is apocopated. The reduction triggers

resyllabification, decreasing the number of syllables by one (['] on the vowel indicates

primary stress):

(17)

    (a) [qa.na.čʔé]   >   [qan.čʔé]   'and'

    (b) [we.ta.wa.ló] > [we.taw.ló] 'he is with several people'

ii. CVV > CV: apocope of a vowel without syllable reduction. The target in this case is a

tautosyllabic vowel cluster.

(18)

    (a) [mae.čʔé]   >   [ma.čʔé]   'own'

    (b) [w'ae.čí.ñi]   >   [w'a.čí.ñi] 'first'

    (c) [no.qoe.či.yí] > [no.qo.či.yí] 'throat'

iii. Consonant deletion between identical vowels. The consonants involved are [g] and

[ʕ]. This is one distinction between younger Pilagá speakers from the west (*Pilagá del*

Bañado) and those from the east (*Pilagá de Navagán*). Examples to the left of the arrow

represent the form as heard from younger speakers of the eastern communities, while those aligned to the right correspond to the same form in the western dialect. Note that here, stress is not significant; it may occur on the syllable carrying the deleted consonant or it may not. Compare (19a-c):

(19)

    (a) [só.ʕo.te]   >   [sóo.te]   'before'

    (b) [la.pa. ʕát]   >   [la.pa.át]   'meat'

    (c) [we.ta.lé.ge]   >   [we.ta.lée]   'to be on'[9]

(B) Syllable deletion or syncope. This occurs at and within morpheme boundaries.

i. Between grammatical morphemes, regardless of morpheme boundaries:

(20) -pe + -lege 'DIR.in motion + DIR. on.over' > [pege] (i.e., CV.CV.CV > CV.CV)

    (a) [tá.pe.le.ge]   >   [ta.pé.ge]   'he goes over something'[10]

ii. Within grammatical morphemes; it affects morphemes with more than one syllable:

(21)   -isegem 'DIR. downwards' > -isem (i.e.,V.CV.CVC > V.CVC)

    (a) [nekisegem]   >   [nekisem]   'he climbs/ed'

The fact that the loss of intervocalic /g/ in the morpheme -isegem does not also exhibit an intermediate stage -iseem synchronically has no explanation to my knowledge.

(22) -pega 'aspect' > -pa (i.e., CV.CV > CV)

(a) [ansalóʔotpeɣa] > [ansaloʔotpa] 'I show something to you.'

(23) -ake 'desiderative'

(a) [sétake] > [sete] ~ [ste] 'I want.'

3.5 Segmental Phonological Rules

A number of consonants undergo phonological changes at morpheme boundaries. Some of these changes are lexicalized, and some are not. In the following subsections, I treat only some lexical and non-lexical rules that Pilagá exhibits; other phonological changes not covered here will become apparent in a number of examples throughout this dissertation.

3.5.1 /k/-Deletion

A velar stop is deleted before /q/, that is part of the plural morpheme -qa or -qo. (This is clearly a lexical rule, since it applies to a certain morpheme.) Note that in (24a-c) vowels on both sides of the uvular consonant are [+back] while in (24d) the uvular is preceded by a [+back] vowel and a glide:

(24)

(a) /emek/ 'house' + /qa/ 'PL' > [emaqa] 'several houses'
(b) /nalonek/ 'firewood' + /qa/ 'PL' > [nalonaqa] 'much firewood'
(c) /yalek/ 'my son' + /qa/ 'PL' > [yalqa] 'my children'

(d) /naʔayk/ 'road' + /qo/ 'PL' > [naʔayqo] 'several roads'

3.5.2 /q / - Deletion

The uvular stop /q/ is deleted in word final position before a glottal stop when the glottal stop instantiates a plural morpheme that occurs with verbs and nouns. The rule is informally expressed in (25) and examples are given in (26):

(25)

/q/ → ø / ___ʔ #

(26)

(a) /y/ 'setA.3' + /alaq/ 'yell' + /ʔ/ 'PL' > [yalaʔ] 'They shout.'

(b) /n/ 'setB.3' + /yelaq/ 'yell' + /ʔ/ 'PL' > [niyelaʔ] 'They come back.'

(c) /pegaq/ 'horse' + /ʔ/ 'PL' > [pegaʔ] 'several horses'

(d) /pyoq/ 'dog' + /ʔ/ 'PL' > [pyoʔ] 'several dogs'

3.5.3 /q/-Lenition

There is a lexical rule by which uvular stop /q/ changes to /ʁ/ between [+back] vowels. Synchronically this rule applies to the verbal plural suffix -qa 'PL' which already contains a [+back, -round] vowel (see examples in (28)). The lenition rule may be informally expressed in the following fashion:

(27)

$$/q/ \rightarrow [\Upsilon] \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +back \\ -round \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +back \\ -round \end{bmatrix} \#$$
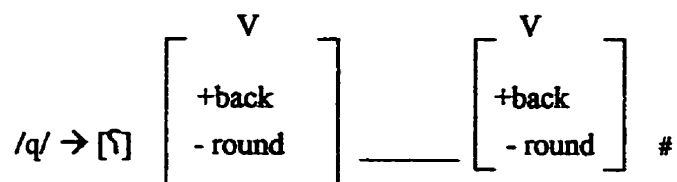
Note that in (28) the examples meet the structural conditions for the lenition rule to apply.

(28)

(a) /s/ 'set A.1' + /akon/ 'pick'+ /qa/ 'PL' + /-lo/ 'Obj.pl'> [sakonaʕalo] 'We pick
several things'

(b) /s/ 'setA.1' + /ae/ 'go' + /qa/ 'PL' /-ta/ 'DIR.out of' > [saʕata] 'We go out'

(c) /s/ 'setA.1' /mača/ 'listen' +/qa/ 'PL' > [semačaʕa] 'We listen'

3.5.4 Deletion of Coronals

When two coronal consonants come together at morpheme boundaries, one of them is deleted. According to the examples in (29), it seems that the coronal consonant that is ranked higher in sonority is the one that is lost (29a-b). But if both coronals are voiceless, the stop prevails over the fricative (29c).

(29)

    (a) /ñ/ 'setB.1' + /ʔeta/'fix' + /naɾan̯/ 'Val2' + /tak/ 'ASP' > [ñʔetanaɾatak] 'I am

                                                     dressing him/her.'

    (b) /ñ/ 'setB.1' + /aloɾoṣ/ 'run' + /naɾak/ 'Val2' > [ñaloɾosaɾak] 'my velocity'

    (c) /t/ 'setA.1' + /aloɾoṣ/ 'run' + /tapiyi/ 'ASP' + /get/ 'DIR' > [taloɾotapiyet] 'He

                                                       rushed.'

3.5.5 Simplification of Adjacent Identical Consonants

In Pilagá, sequences of identical consonantal segments are prohibited within the word. As stated in 3.4.3 (a), on the surface there are no geminate consonants, but morpheme concatenation may involve adjacent identical segments. In that case, simplification applies.

(30)

    (a) /s/ 'setA.1' /not/ 'jump' + /tak/ 'ASP'   > [senotak]   'I am jumping.'

    (b) /nkap/ 'back' + /pi/ 'COL'   > [nkapi]   'many backs (=body part)'

3.6   More Phonological Rules

Three rules will be discussed in this section: epenthesis, palatalization and vowel harmony. Both palatalization and vowel harmony involve feature spreading. In Pilagá, epenthesis interacts with vowel harmony (i.e., the epenthetic vowel harmonizes with the vowel of the next contiguous syllable). For clarity, I will explicate palatalization first, followed by a treatment of vowel harmony and epenthesis.

3.6.1 Palatalization

Palatalization has been represented in non-linear phonology as an assimilatory

process by which a high front segment like /i/ or /y/ typically affects an alveolar,

causing the retraction of the articulation of the consonant to the palate. In Pilagá,

palatalization is a very productive phenomenon but synchronically is only evident across

morpheme boundaries.

In this language, the vowel that changes an alveolar consonant into a palatal is

always [+high]. The following consonants undergo palatalization in Pilagá:

(31)

/t/ > [č]

/n/ > [ñ]

/l/ > [λ]

The [+ high] feature spreads from right to left. As evidenced by examples under

(32), the palatalizing front segment (e.g. /i/) may retain its slot in the skeletal structure

after the palatalization of the consonant has taken place (32a-b), or it may not (32c);

however, the feature [+high] is always retained:

(32)

(a) /an/ 'set B.2'   + /čilan/ 'bathe' + /i/ 'PL'   > [ančilañi] 'you (pl) have a bath.'

(b) /l/ 'Poss.3'   + /nat/ 'nail' + /i/ 'PL'   > [lnači]   'his/her nails'

(c) /l/ 'Poss.3'   + /yaʕata/ 'finger'   > [λaʕata]   'his/her finger'

Coronals /t/, /n/ are [-cont] but /l/ is [+cont] according to Halle and Clements

(1983). /s/ and /d/ are also coronals, but there are no cases involving palatalization of /s/

and /d/. In fact, palatal fricatives and voiced palatal affricates are totally missing from the

inventory of Pilagá consonants (cf. Table 3.1).[11] This lacuna must have a historical

explanation, since in both Toba and Mocoví synchronic palatalization affects all coronal

segments (Klein 1978; Gualdieri 1998, Grondona 1998).

Another consonant that changes when followed by /i/ is /w/. /w/ regularly becomes

[ƀ] before a [+ high] vowel. The pronounciation of /w/ as [ƀ] happens when /w/ occupies

the onset position and the high vowel /i/ the nucleus:

(33)

/a/ setA_2' + /waw/ 'complete' + /i/ 'PL' + /ta/ 'ASP' > [awaƀita] 'You (pl)
finished/completed (e.g. a task).'

The change of /w/ into [ƀ] is thus triggered by a vowel which, like /w/, is also

[+high], since a closure of velum is involved in the articulation of this glide. Unlike /t/,

/n/ and /l/, it is perhaps improper to analyze the change of /w/ > [ƀ] as an assimilatory

process, as the feature [+high] is already present in the underlying representation of the

segment /w/, whereas it is absent from the underlying representation of /ƀ/. Rather than

assimilation, it seems more adequate to view the change of the velar glide into a bilabial

fricative as a dissimilation process.

3.6.2 Epenthesis

In Pilagá, epenthesis includes the insertion of a vowel between two consonants.

However, it can also consist of the insertion of a high glide consonant between two

vowels. In the former case, the insertion of a vowel creates a syllable peak and breaks

the impermissible cluster that would otherwise occur between the coda and the onset of

two contiguous syllables.

In the latter, an onsetless syllable is avoided by inserting a glide. In both cases,

epenthesis is invoked when the string does not meet the structural conditions of a

preferable sequence. Like palatalization, epenthesis occurs at morpheme boundaries,

between a prefix or a suffix and a root. In (34a) epenthetic /a/ avoids the ill-formed

sequence that would result between the two consonants. Reasons why /a/ is the

epenthetic vowel in (34a) are purely phonotactic (cf. 3.4.3(f)). In (34b-c) the epenthethic

vowel (underlined) harmonizes with the vowel of the following syllable.

(34)

    (a) [sečaˁasoq]

        s-čaq-a-soq
        setA.1-cut-ep.vow-PL
        'We cut.'

    (b) [yiketadaña]
        i-keta-d-a-ña
        setA.3-point out -PL-ep-vow-DIR.downwards
        'They point out something downwards.'

A high glide can be inserted between two vowels, causing the number of syllables to augment by one, by creating an onset.

(35)

    (a) [adočaqayï]

        ad-oč-ava-y̲-i
        Poss.2-sleep-NMLZ-ep-PL

        'your(pl) dream'

    (b)[sewalaʕayaqtak]

        s-ewalaʕa-y̲-aq-tak
        setA.1-play-ep.-PL-ASP

        'We are playing.'

    (c) [awanomiya]

        awa -nom..- i -y̲-... a
        setA-know-PL-ep

        'You (pl.) know.'

    (d) [awaniya]

        a-wan... -i -y̲ -...a
        setA.2-find-PL-ep

        'You (pl.) find.'

A separate issue is presented by person prefixes, which are underlyingly $\underline{C}$, always with a coronal consonant.[12]

An epenthetic vowel (unspecified for all features except [-cons]) may occur after these prefixes. In principle the quality of the epenthetic vowel varies according to a

harmony principle, getting its feature specifications from the vowel of the following syllable, usually the root. Here, I propose an autosegmental analysis by which the unspecified values of the vowels are filled in by rules. Therefore, all the features dominated by the root vowel spread to the vowel of the preceding syllable, from right to left, affecting the output of the prefix.

Feature spreading from the root vowel to the preceding syllable occurs provided that the two vowels are only separated by a consonant, as demonstrated in (36), (37) and (38).

(36)

(a) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /tesoqo/ 'uncle'   > [netesoqo]   'somebody's uncle'

(b) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /če/ 'leg'   > [neče]   'somebody's leg'

(c) /l / 'Poss.3'   + /kiyokena/ 'ankle' > [likiyokena] 'his ankle'

(d) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /piyosek/ 'guts'   > [nipiyosek] 'somebody's guts'

(37)

(a) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /qoečiyi/   > [noqoečiyi] 'somebody's throught

(b) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /kona/   > [nokona]   'somebody's finger'

(c) /l/ 'Poss.3' + /qote/   > [noqote]   'his or her elbow'

(38)

(a) /n/ 'Indef.Poss'+ /qaepa/ 'eye-brow' > [naqaepa] 'somebody's eye-brow'

(b) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /qayk/ 'head'   > [naqayk] 'somebody's head'

(c) /n/ 'Indef.Poss'+ /qaʔ/ 'chin'   > [naqaʔ] 'somebody's chin'

The rule that accounts for feature spreading in the case of vowels is represented in (39).

(39) Vowel-feature spreading
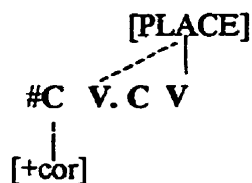
The epenthesis analysis is supported by the fact that a vowel does not follow the coronal prefix. For instance, [neketela] and [nketela] (cf. 40a, below) are always possible pronunciations. When the vowel does not surface, the consonant of the prefix can attach to the nucleus of its own syllable. (40) serves as an illustration of what has been stated:

(40)

(a) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /ketela/   'ear'   > [nketela] 'his ear'

(b) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /pʔe/   'forehead'   > [npʔe] 'his forehead'

(c) /s/ 'setA.1'   + /kewo/   'leave'   > [skewo] 'I am leaving.'

(d) /l/ 'Poss.3'   + /qayk/   'head'   > [lqayk] 'his head'

3.6.3 Vowel Harmony

As already noted in 3.6.2, vowel harmony consists of the spreading of vowel features from right to left:

(41)

   (a) /i/ 'Poss.1'+ /pinek/ 'bone' + /qa/ 'PL' > [yipinɛ˞a] 'my bones'

   (b) /yi/ '1O' + /qo/ 'IS' +/i/ 'setA_3'+ /la'a/ 'find' >[yoqoyla'a] 'They found me.'

   (c) /ñi/ 'setB.1' + /qomit/ 'run a race' > [ñoqomit] 'I prepare for running.'

This type of vowel harmony is especially evident with epenthethic vowels. However, non-epenthetic vowels can be affected by the harmony rule as well (note that in (41a), /e/ > /a/). The suffixes -ñi 'DIR.downwards' and -i '2nd plural' whose underlying forms have a [+high] vowel spread this feature to the left, raising the vowel of the preceding syllable. See (42) for an illustration of what has been stated:

(42)

   (a) /s/ 'setA_1' + /awta/ 'finish' + /pe/ 'DIR'+ /ñi/ 'DIR' > [sawtapiñi] 'I finished it completely'

   (b) /s/'set A_1'+ /ede/ 'write' + /ñi/ 'DIR' > [sidiñi] 'I write down.'

Note that in (42b) the [+high] spreads beyond the immediately preceding syllable boundary to the entire root. One could argue that the domain where the [+ high] harmony rule operates is the morpheme. But that will leave unexplained the fact that in (43a) below, the vowels of the root awta 'finish' are not affected by vowel harmony. It seems possible that only /e/, which like /i/ is [-back], is sensitive to the [+high] feature spreading, as demonstrated by the following examples where vowel harmony does not apply:

(43)

(a) [anatocoyge]
   an -atoco...-i -...ge
   setB.2-spit-PL-DIR

   'You (pl.)spit!'.

(b) [awanomiya]
   awa-nom...-i-y-...a
   setA.2-have knowledge..-PL-

   'You (pl.) have knowledge'.

(c) [awatetoñi]
   aw-ateton-i
   setA.2-know-PL

   'You (pl.) know (e.g. a place or a person)'.

(d) [yisoñ'a]
   i-so-ñ'a
   setA.3-move.go-DIR.downwards

   'He sinks'

From (42) and (43) it can be concluded that [+high] harmony operates from right to left, and applies exclusively to the /e/ vowel, raising the vowel. In (42b) it applies twice; first to the contiguous preceding syllable, and then, to the syllable before that one. The domain is thus the syllable, not the morpheme. Otherwise, it should also apply to /e/ in example (43c), which is the second vowel of the root, and this does not happen.

Vowel harmony in Pilagá is a very complex phenomenon that needs further investigation. In particular, there are a few cases where harmony is expected but does not apply and it is unknown what blocks feature spreading in these cases. I provide the data

in (44). For the moment, there is no other explanation than to assume that the non-harmonizing epenthetic vowel is lexically marked to not undergo harmony (other lexicalized phenomena in connection with vowel harmony will be discussed in the next section.)

(44)

   (a)   /n/ 'setB.3' +/kod/ 'pour' + la't/ 'REFL' > [nekodela't] 'he pours (liquid) on himself'

   (b)   /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /kap/   'back' >   [nekap]   'somebody's back'

   (c)   /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /tawo/   'blood'>   [netawo]   'somebody's blood'

   (d)   /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /toge/   'chest' >   [netoge]   'somebody's chest'

3.7 Other Lexicalized Phenomena

In this section, I will readdress the issue of vowel harmony in connection with grammatical inflection of Pilagá demonstratives. Pilagá demonstratives exhibit number distinctions via vowel-stem inflection.[13] Internally, demonstratives consist of a demonstrative root plus either a positional or a deictic classifier (which are the prefixal part in (45). Number inflection is done by a change in the vowel of the classifier, such that /i/ > /a/ and /o/ > /a/. On top of number inflection there is sometimes vowel harmony in the classifier, when attached to the demonstrative stem. However, all classifiers do not demonstrate harmony under the same phonological conditions. There are a number of idiosyncracies which suggest that a phonological analysis of the classifier vowel is not completely possible. The actual phonological shape of the Pilagá

demonstratives is the result of fossilization of an earlier more-productive harmony

process, but synchronically must be partly lexical. I will discuss this issue after

presenting the Pilagá demonstratives in (45).

(45) Pilagá Demonstratives

	INTERMEDIATE DISTANCE -mʔe	CLOSE to SAP -hoʔ	FAR from SAP -ča
1. VERT sg-col. daʔ/doʔ	damʔe	dohoʔ	dočaʔ
2. VERT paucal daa	daamʔe	dahoʔ	dačaʔ
3 NON-EXT sg. col ñiʔ	ñimʔe	ñohoʔ	ñičaʔ
4 NON –EXT pauc ñaʔ	ñamʔe	ñahoʔ	ñačaʔ
5 HORIZ sg.col diʔ	dimʔe	dyohoʔ	dičaʔ
6 HORIZ paucal dyaʔ	dyamʔe	dyahoʔ	dyačaʔ
7 PROX sg.col naʔ/noʔ	namʔe	nohoʔ	nočaʔ
8 PROX paucal naa	naamʔe	nahoʔ	načaʔ

| 9 GO.AWAY | som?e | soho? | soča? |
| sg.col so? | | | |

| 10 GO.AWAY | sam?e | saho? | sača? |
| paucal sa? | | | |

| 11 DISTAL ga | gam?e | — | — |

The paradigms in (45) indicate that in lines 1, 3, and 7 there is harmony between the vowel of the singular classifier stem and the vowel of the demonstrative root ho? 'close to speech act participants (SAP)', to which the classifier attaches. Note that the following rule only applies to the singular form of the classifier containing a short /i/ or /a/ before -ho? ; it does not apply to paucal even with similar phonological form.

(46)

    (a) i → o / ___ C [o]

    (b) a → o / ___ C [o]

Note that the rule in (46) does not account for why we get doča? in line 1 and noča? in line 7. Presumably it does not affect paucal because it would obscure grammatical number information evident in lines 4, 6 and 10.

By the harmony rule, the vowel /i/ of the classifiers ñiʔ 'non-extended' and diʔ

'horizontal' becomes /o/ in combination with demonstrative hoʔ (i.e., ñohoʔ in line 3 and

dyohoʔ in line 5) by assimilating to the feature [+round] of the vowel in the following

syllable. Note that *ñihoʔ is not allowed by native speakers, while ñohoʔ is [see Table

3.4, line 3].

However, the classifier diʔ 'horizontal' in combination with hoʔ derives a glide

/y/ in the onset position and the vowel slot is filled in with all the feature specifications

[+back, +round] from the vowel of the demonstrative root hoʔ. The demonstrative word

becomes dyohoʔ (cf. line 5 in Table 3) and not *dohoʔ 'horiz.sg'.

Lines 5 and 6 show that the singular horizontal classifier diʔ has two allomorphs,

diʔ and dyo. According to the harmony rule, the demonstrative form for

'horizontal.sg.col' should be dohoʔ, if the only underlying form is diʔ (derived from the

basic form of the classifier and the application of the harmony principle when both the

classifier and the demonstrative root come together). However, as said, the form *dohoʔ

for the meaning 'horizontal.sg.col' is not possible. The form dohoʔ instead means

'vertical.sg.col' (cf. line 1). The apparent ungrammaticality of *dohoʔ for line 5 is

arguably the consequence of avoiding ambiguity.

I want to suggest that the rule in (46) does not apply in the paucal; if it did, it will create further ambiguity between singular and paucal. Note that, in effect, in (47) there is lengthening of the vowel (CV:) in the classifier dač, whose underlying representation already contains /a/ for the singular form:

(47)

(a) dačo síyawa   'that man (who is standing)'

(b) dačo? síyawa?   'those men (who are standing)'

Further, vowel lengthening only applies to the combination of the two noun classifiers dač and nač with the demonstrative root nač́e. This must be the result of lexicalization. When these classifiers occur bound to the demonstrative ča̧, the underlying forms dóč and nóč are used for singular and collective, respectively, even though this forms dóč and nóč cannot be predicted by the harmony rule (note the contrast between line 1-2 or 7-8 in the second and third columns).

Apparently, none of the rest of the Guaykuruan languages have a system comparable to this. Demonstratives can also be formed by classifiers in all these languages, but no harmony rule seems to apply. I presume that the harmony process is lexicalized in certain Pilagá words, though it could have been more productive in an earlier stage.

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3.8 Stress

In Pilagá, stress is marked phonetically by a higher pitch on a syllable and a somewhat lengthened vowel. A few pairs of words are distinguished from each other only in terms of which mora carries stress (e.g. [ñaló:n] 'I swim' vs. [ñaloón] 'I show up or introduce myself'. Overall, stress is lexical and unpredictable; but still, I will describe what regularities the stress system presents.

For some words, stress is on the first mora of the root. Since this stress is lexically attached to the underlying first vowel of the root, if the first phonetic vowel of the word is that of a prefix, it will not affect stress; the actual stress bearing-syllable will then be that which is phonetically second or third (if more than one prefix is present, like in 48f-g). A list of examples is given in (48):

(48)

    (a) [pí.yʔaq] 'night'

    (b) [ké.taq] 'ram'

    (c) [má.yoʔ] 'bird'

    (d) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /wo/ 'dress'   > [ne.wó] 'somebody's dress.'

    (e) /qad/ 'Poss.1'+ /yi/ 'brother'   >[qa.da.yí] 'our brothers.'

    (f) /sa/'NEG' + /nase/ 'go' + /n/ 'ASP'   > [sa.na.sén] 'he doesn't go (or want to go).'

    (g) /qo/ 'IS' +/n/ 'setB.3'+/yaʕana/ 'call' > [qo.ni.yá.ʕa.na] 'they call/ed him or he

                                         is/was called.'

    (h) [só.ʕo.te] 'before'

However, this generalization does not hold for all words. Many two-syllable or three syllable words bear stress on the second syllable of the root, and this does not depend on the word class or the syllabic weight of the stress-bearing unit:

(49)

    (a) [pi.yém]   'sky'

    (b) [pe.só]   'ant'

    (c) [wan.dó]   'mosquito'

    (d) [ol.gék]   'salt'

    (e) [e.páq]   'wood'

    (f) [či.ké.nek]   'arch'

    (g) [ya.wó]   'woman'

    (h) /n/ 'Indef.Poss' + /poto/ 'poncho'   > [n.po.tó]   'poncho (type of coat)'

    (i) /y/ 'setA.3'+/pagé/'teach' + /n/ 'ASP' > [ya.pa.gén]   'He teaches.'

From (48) and (49), I propose that stress must be lexically specified in Pilagá. However, there is a complication to stress assignment which concerns morphologically complex words with suffixes. While stress is a lexical property of many suffixes, both nominal and verbal prefixes are always unstressed.

Several suffixes in Pilagá attract stress. For intance, nominal plural suffixes te and l 'paucal', and pi 'collective' displace stress to the ultimate syllable of the word. That is, in such cases primary stress falls on the suffix syllable. (*In passim*, note that even in (50), primary stress falls on the first or second mora of the root of uninflected word forms.)

(50)

SINGULAR			PAUCAL/COLLECTIVE
(a) /l/ 'Poss.3' + /dáe/ 'tooth'	+	/te/ 'PAUC' >	[lo.dae.té] 'his teeth'
(b) /yawó/ 'woman'	+	/dipi/ 'COL' >	[ya.wo.di.pi] 'the women (of an entire community)'
(c) /epáq/ 'tree'	+	/pi/ 'COL' >	[e.paq.pi] 'pieces of wood'
(d) /wandó/ 'mosquito'	+	/pi/ 'COL' >	[wan.do.pi] 'mosquitoes'
(e) /láwna/ 'feather'	+	/l/ 'PAUC' >	[law.nál] 'feathers'

As far as stress goes, derivational suffixes on verbs behave similarly to inflectional plural markers on nouns. In (51) stress falls on the locative nominalizer ki 'place':

(51)

(a) /n/ 'Poss.3'+ /yóm/ 'drink' + /aʕan/'NMLZ'+ /ki/ 'place' >

[nyom+aʕa+kí] 'place to drink'

(b) /ø/ 'setA.3'+/pagé/ 'teach' + /n/ 'ASP' 'He teaches' >

[pagen+ta+naʕa+kí] 'school'

Certain verbal suffixes always carry stress. These are aspect, object (number) agreement and directional markers. A list of stress-attracting suffixes is provided in (52).

(52) Stress-Attracting Suffixes

-á 'Obj.number.SG': [qoysetapegá] 'they criticize somebody', [sančovotá] 'he does not call him', [yilotagetá] 'he is looking at that coming towards him'.

-ló (b) 'Object number.PAUC': [wetawló] 'be with several people', [tayaqpegaló] 'they are happy', [yawategeló] 'he saw them going away'.

-tá 'DIR.out of': [taetá] 'they surge', [saetá] 'I come out of (e.g.the water)'.

-(p)ége 'DIR.forward': [yilotapegé] 'he is looking at somebody', [detayapegé] 'he is talking to him', [detaqatapegé] 'he is talking to another person'.

-lége 'DIR.on' [netalége] 'to be on', [yikemalege] 'he is hurt (lit. 'has an injury on himself)'.

-péga 'non-progressive/habitual aspect': [awlotapegá] 'you use to watch at times', [awaw'atepegá] 'you are always watching'.

-l?at 'reflexive'/ -?at 'reciprocal': [ankodel?át] 'you pour liquid on yourself',

[ñačet?át] 'We offer (something) to each other', [ñawana?át]'We meet each other'.

As expected, when words have longer strings of syllables, usually with two or more suffixes, a second stress is audible. If there is a second stress, usually one stress is on the root, and the second stress is on the suffix. Let's examine once again the examples in (51), now repeated for convenience under (53) along with two more examples. In (53a-b) there is a stressed syllable and also lengthening of the accented vowel, i.e. yó:m (53a); and pa.gén (53b). The vowel in (53a-b) is produced with a longer duration because it

receives stress. In (53c-d) the roots se 'criticize', and lo 'look' keep their own stress

(represented by the grave accent), but the primary stress falls on the suffixes:

(53)

   (a) [n. yò:. ma. ʕa. kí]   'place to drink'

   (b) [pa. gè:n. ta. na. ʕa.kí]   'school'

   (c) [qo.y.sè:.ta.pe.gá]   'They criticize somebody.'

   (d) [yi.lò:.ta.get.á]   'He is looking at that coming towards him.'

What these examples show is that when words have two or more suffixes, the root

retains its stress; whereas primary stress is assigned to the suffix, which is the rightmost

stress bearing-unit.

Notes

[1] The definition of Pilagá /a/ as [+ back] results from its behavior in certain phonological contexts. For instance, uvular and pharyngeal consonants only occur around /a/ and /o/. Hence, the characterization of /a/ and /o/ as a natural class of (i.e., [+back] vowels), as opposed to /i/ and /e/.

[2] Conventions for Pilagá orthography generally follow a phoneme-based view. Pilagá practical orthography was established by Pilagá representatives and school teachers in 1997. The glottal stop is represented as <'>, and the pharyngeal fricative as <c > in the Pilagá alphabet. The rest of the graphemes are identical to the phonemic symbols encountered in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. Consonants [w] and [ƀ] are in complementary distribution, but each allophone was assigned separate orthographic representations, i.e., <w> and <ƀ>, respectively. In the present chapter I do not follow orthographic conventions for representing sounds, although they are used in the transcription of examples throughout the following chapters.

[3] In this particular case, there is contrastive opposition between /pʔe/ 'hot' and /pe/ 'DIR.along with/concurrent motion'.

[4] The status of this 'floating glottal' in both grammatical and lexical words deserves further study, particularly whether in grammatical words formed by two morphemes the glottal stop is lexically associated with the first or with the second piece. In lexical words, a detailed description regarding the range of limits as to where it can occur is also necessary.

[5] As happens with palatals /č/ and /λ/, /ñ/ generally does not occur in word-final position. The word qapiñ 'small' can also be pronounced qapin, and the difference seems to be one of degree, where in the first case the speaker is exaggerating about the size of the referent.

[6] Syllabic coronal consonants result from prefixation (cf. 3.4.2).

[7] Only one word has been found with the palatal nasal in a syllable coda, and that in word-final position.

[8] Susan Guion (p.c.) suggests that the restricted distribution of the pharyngeal consonant may be pointing out that /a/ and /o/ might have once been long vowels [a:] and [o:], with the actual configuration arising from some sort of "breaking" phenomenon.

[9] The change VʔV → V.V versus VʔV → VV (i.e., where the vowels syllabify as pertaining to the same syllable or to different syllables) is based on stress.

[10] There are stress-attracting suffixes in Pilagá and -lege 'on' is one of them (cf. 3.8 Stress). This may be one reason for the displacement of stress.

[11] This is one crucial difference between Pilagá and the rest of the Guaykuruan languages. The sister languages Toba (Klein 1975) and Mocoví (Gualdieri 1998, Grondona 1998) do have palatal fricatives and affricate phonemes.

[12] I am referring to 1st and 3rd person prefixes (see Chapter IV). Though examples in this section are all nouns, vowel epenthesis is also evident with verbal pronominal prefixes (see Chapter V and VI).

[13] See Vidal (1995 [1997a]) for a discussion of the morphosyntax of demonstratives and classifiers in Pilagá.

CHAPTER IV

NON-VERBAL WORD CLASSES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses all word classes that can be found within the noun phrase (structure of the noun phrase will be taken up in chapter VIII). It focuses on the morphosyntactic properties of nouns (4.1.-4.6), adjectives (4.7), specifiers (i.e., classifiers and demonstratives; 4.8), independent pronouns (4.9) and quantifiers (4.10).[1]

4.1 Nouns

Nouns in Pilagá are characterized by the fact that they can head noun phrases, and as such they can be arguments of verbs and heads of nominal predicates. Nouns in this language can also be modified by an adjective (cf. chapter VIII) or a relative clause (cf. chapter IX); they can be indexed by demonstratives, and classified by deictic and positional classifiers.

Morphologically, lexical nouns may or may not be possessed. This is one crucial difference between nouns and adjectives; adjectives are never marked by a possessive prefix. Nouns can be arranged into classes according to a specific gender or type,

indicated by a class marker morphologically fused with the stem. But marking of class

is not entirely productive, since not every root has to have a class marker attached to it.

'Number' is an inflectional category that Pilagá nouns exhibit as well. Unlike verbs,

nominals do not cross-reference their dependents or modifiers (adjectives,

demonstratives and classifiers). Like the rest of the Guaykuruan languages, Pilagá

nominals are not marked for case.

4.2 Possession

'Possession' is the ascription of belonging of a particular entity to another. In

Pilagá it can be marked morphologically on the noun with possessive prefixes, or it can

be indicated phrasally through a possessive noun phrase. In the present section, I will

focus on the morphological expression of 'possession'.

Morphological possession in Pilagá divides nouns into possessed (i.e., those that

always or most usually occur with a possessive prefix), and impossessible[2] nouns (i.e.,

those that never occur with a possessive marker, though they can be possessed using a

separate NP).

Possessive prefixes are organized into two sets, which I call set C and D (in order

to distinguish these two sets from verbal subject prefix sets A and B; cf. Chapters V and

VI). Unlike verb roots that can take prefixes from either set A or set B, no noun can take

prefixes from set C and set D alternatively.

The two sets of possessive prefixes are presented in (1). The portion preceding the noun stem corresponds to person; and the number is indicated by the suffixal part of what can be called synchronically discontinuous possessive prefixes.

(1) Possessive Prefixes

	SET C	SET D
1sg.	i-	ñi-
2sg	ad-	an-
3sg	l-	n-
Indef.	n-	n-
1pl	qad-	qan-
2pl	ad-...-i	an-...-i
3pl	l-...-'/-i	n-...-i

Obligatorily possessed nouns must take a possessive marker, even when there is no known possessor. The possessive marker n- '3sg' serves to indicate that the possessor is unknown or indefinite, but yet that there is one.

In terms of possession, the existence of two classes of prefixes gives rise to a division of nouns into three groups. To the first group belong nouns which take only set C possessives; to the second, nouns that co-occur with possessive prefixes only from set D. Free roots that are never possessed belong to the third group.

The semantic category of 'inalienable possessed nouns' does not coincide with the use of a particular set of possessive prefixes in Pilagá; some semantically inalienable possesed nouns (such as body parts and kinship terms) take set C prefixes, whereas others take only set D prefixes. Since the grouping of nouns is not predictable on either

morphological or semantic grounds, I conclude that the possessive system establishes arbitrary lexical classes within the nominal system. In some languages, the category of 'inalienability' is grammaticized to separate nouns into distinct classes (Nichols 1988).

4.2.1 Set C Possession

Set C nouns includes nouns of diverse semantic classes. They comprise body part terminology (e.g., -lotike 'lashes', -anoq 'cheek', -waq 'forearm', -o'teta 'thigh', -at'a 'finger', -toge 'chest', -ameq 'liver', -o'oq 'skin', and many more), kinship terms (-sodo 'aunt', -dawa 'sister in law', -at'e 'mother', -t'a 'father', -qaya 'brother') and manufactured objects (-ooki 'bag').

(2) and (3) exemplify the usage of possessive prefixes from set C. The noun emek 'house' co-occurs with set C prefixes only. Note that the prefix n- 'Indef.Poss' appears in n-emek to indicate that that the house has an owner. The paradigm in (3) shows the possessive markers on the bound nominal root -yat'a 'finger':

(2)

    [yimek]
    i-emek
    Poss.1-house
    'my house'

    [ademek]
    ad-emek
    Poss.2-house
    'your house'

.

[lemek]
l-emek
Poss.3-house
'his/her house'

[nemek]
n-emek
Indef.Poss-house
'somebody's house'

[qademek]
qad-emek
Poss.1pl-house
'our house'

[ademiki]
ad-emek-i
Poss.2-house-PL
'your (pl) house(s)'

[lemege']
l-mek-'
Poss.3-house-PL
'their house'

(3)

[yat'a]
i-yat'a
Poss.1-finger
'my finger'

[adyat'a]
ad-yat'a
Poss.2-finger
'your finger'

[ƛat'a]
l-yat'a
Poss.3-finger
'his finger'

[ñat'a]
n-yat'a
Indef.Poss-finger
'somebody's finger'

[qadat'a]
qad-yat'a
Poss.1pl-finger-PL
'our finger'

[adyat'al]
ad-yat'a-l
Poss.2pl-finger-PL
'your fingers (pl.)'

[ʌat'al]
l-at'a-l
Poss3-finger-PL
'their finger(s)'

Deverbal nouns, when possessed, take prefixes from this class too. See the following examples used as a *nomen acti*; nontanaɾak 'the job' (< onta 'to work'); nekesegetaɾak 'the copulation' (<kes(e) 'to copulate').

4.2.2 Set D Possession

A separate set of roots occur with set D prefixes only, but there is no semantic difference between roots belonging to one group or the other. Noun roots that are possessed with prefixes from class D designate man-made objects (e.g., somaɾaki 'shirt', karo 'mug', som 'door', tagaqte 'comb', hat'o 'hat', sogek 'axe'); kinship (e.g., tesoqo 'uncle'), body-parts (e.g., degat 'mouth', qae'pa 'eye-brow', p'e 'forehead', pokena 'hand', saqtaki 'armpit'), names of animals (koče 'pig', mayo' 'bird'), trees

(map 'carob tree', takaik 'chañar'), and plants or parts of them (peta 'seed', tawae 'corn'). Several nouns denoting configurations of nature, when possessed, co-occur with prefixes from set D. These include piyem 'sky', alewa 'land', lo'ok 'cloud', wetep 'rain', layat 'wind', piy'aq 'night', nlo' 'day', aworoik 'moon', qa 'stone', waqčiñi 'star', poganava 'sand'.

Complete paradigms are found in (4) and (5):

(4)

   ñi- biaq
   Poss.1-forest
   'my forest'

   an-biaq
   Poss.2-forest
   'your forest'

   n-biaq
   Poss3-forest
   'his/her forest'

   qan-biaq
   Poss1pl-forest
   'our forest'

   an-biaq-yi
   Poss2.-forest-PL
   'your forest'

   n-biaq
   Poss3-forest
   'their forest'

(5)
   ñi-tesoqo
   Poss1-uncle
   'my uncle'

an-tesoqo
Poss2-uncle
'your uncle'

n-tesoqo
Poss3-uncle
'his/her uncle'

n-tesoqo
Indef.Poss-uncle
'somebody's uncle'

qan-tesoqo
Poss.1pl-uncle
'our uncle'

an-tesoqo
Poss.2-uncle
'your uncle'

n-tesoqo
Poss.3-uncle
'their uncle'

4.2.3 Impossessable Nouns

More evidence for the distribution of nouns into lexical classes is provided by a

group of non-possessible noun stems. These nouns cannot be morphologically possessed,

and as such they are free roots. The group also includes nouns denoting animals (mañek

'ostrich', pyoq 'dog', pegaq 'horse'), people (yawo 'woman', le'em 'man', yaꞓayna 'old

woman' wanoketak 'baby'), certain plants and fruits (nalaik 'mistol'=zizyphus mistol,

newake 'watermelon'), and configurations of nature (mala 'smoke', halo 'ash',

hayak 'dawn', na'aik 'road', nalonek 'log', loꞓoge 'shore').

For this set of nouns, the absence of 'relationality', understood as the sensitivity of a noun to exhibit the grammatical property of 'possession' (Lehmann 1998:47), remains a puzzle. Especially note that some nouns denoting natural configurations, fit into the class that can take possessive prefixes from class D, while others are left unpossessed and, as such, belong to this third group.

For some concrete and definite noun stems in this third group, however, the inability to be posssessed could have a sociocultural explanation. Nouns such as 'woman' or 'man' are names for human genders that do not serve to indicate relationship to another entity (and the Pilagá vocabulary provides terms like 'spouse' for that matter). The Pilagá nouns for 'dog' and 'horse' belong to the impossessable type. Pyoq 'dog' designates a domestic animal extremely common among the Pilagá. Dogs wander around and nobody claims them as theirs, except for up to one dog per family. A Pilagá family may have one dog; but very rarely, a family has one horse (i.e., pegaq 'horse'). Today, many communities completely lack horses. According to Chacoan ethnographers (Miller and Braunstein 1999), horses were culturally much more important in the past for purposes of war and transportation, than they are nowadays.[3]

There is a form yilo 'own', which can mark the affiliation between an animal and the possessor. In Pilagá one can felicitously say lalo pyoq 'his own dog', or yilo pyoq 'my own dog' , with the stem -lo carrying the possessive prefix. This construction also applies to the noun for 'horse' pegaq. The word nlo designates, in fact, any domestic animal a Pilagá person or family can claim ownership of.[4]

4.3 Noun Class Markers

As noted elsewhere (Dixon 1982; Craig 1986, 1992, 1994 inter alia), noun classes and gender markers constitute one type of nominal classification. Noun classes are morphosyntactically complex markers typically found in the languages of the Bantu (Niger-Congo) family. In these languages, about a dozen or more markers must be added to nouns to indicate 'gender' for humans, animals or even inanimates. These markers also exhibit agreement patterns within the NP and across the predicate (Heine 1982; Demuth, Faraclas and Marchese 1986, inter alia).

In Pilagá there is a set of noun class suffixes with some characteristics of noun class markers (Nclass), but it is not a productive system. Only some nouns are marked for the category of 'class', and each of them can combine with only one specific class marker. Most class markers are completely morphologized and the relation between root and suffix is, in most cases, not semantically transparent from a synchronic perspective. Unlike Bantu noun classes (Demuth 2000), Pilagá class markers do not function as part of a 'concordial' agreement system, where nominal modifiers, pronouns, and verbs are all marked with the same noun class (gender) feature.

The items that can combine with class suffixes are kinship terms, certain designated trees, items of clothing, utensils for food/liquid preparation and consumption, and names of enclosed locations. Semantically, class markers involve a variety of notions such as gender, manufacture and place. In terms of the morphological locus, class markers are always suffixes.

There are about 11 nominal suffixes that have been identified as noun class markers.

(6) wa 'human'

Wa attaches to human referents. It is also related to the idea of 'human companion.'

    (a) y-awode-wa
        Poss1-friend-human
        'my acquaintance'

    (b) yi-kya-wa
        Poss1—husband- human
        'my husband'

    (c) ñ-aega-wa
        Poss1-partner- human
        'my partner'

    (d) siyaɾa-wa
        person-human
        'person'

(7) ki 'manufactured object'

The class marker ki is associated with man-made objects such as clothes, furniture, buildings (school, church), parts of a house, and containers for storage and transportation of food, e.g., bags or pots:

    (a) tamnaɾa-ki
        religion-place
        'church'

    (b) n-kiyaɾa-ki
        Indef.Poss.3-eat-place
        'dinning-room'

(c) pagen-ta-na-ki
teach-vf-NMLZ-place
'school'

(d) qad-ovo-ki
Poss.1-skin, peel-place
'our skin-bag'

(8) na 'ascendent relative'

Na occurs in some kinship terms which designate 'ascendent relative':

(a) čide-na
'mother'

(b) tade-na
father

(c) kome-na
'grandmother'

(d) ape-na
'grandfather'

There are four sets of gender (masculine/feminine) suffixes, each set being lexically restricted to occur with certain roots. Except for a particular set, most Pilagá nouns are not overtly marked for gender. (9) through (16) list and exemplify the gender markers analyzed up to this point.

(9) lek 'masculine' (also pronounced [le'ek], with the glottal stop triggering an echo effect on the vowel):

(a) qose-lek
'white man'

(b) byase-lek
    'inhabitant of the forest'

(c) nače-lamo-lek
    river-trunk-masc

    'Toba from the west'

(d) noɾot-olek
    'boy'/'child'

(e) y-ačoqo-lek
    'my older brother'

(10) <u>naq</u> 'masculine'

    (a) piyoɾo-naq
        'shaman'

    (b) nolga-naq
        'Toba from Chaco'

(11) <u>nek</u> 'masculine'

    (a) saλaɾa-nek
        'chief'

    (b) npota-nek
        'guardian'

(12) <u>ik</u> 'masculine/type or attribute'

    (a) paɾa-ik
        'widower'

    (b) pagentanaɾa-ik
        'teacher'

    (c) map-ik
        'mezquite tree'

(13) <u>lase</u> 'feminine'

(a) qose-lase
'white woman'

(b) byase-lase
'inhabitant (fem.) of the forest'

(14) le 'feminine'

(a) ono-le
'one young woman'

(b) año-le
'girl'

(c) ya-le
'my daughter'

(d) pilo'o-le
'older sister'

(e) no-le
'younger sister'

(15) e 'feminine'

(a) kóɾot-e
'daughter' (see kóɾot 'son')

(b) pagentanaɾa-e
'teacher (fem).'

(16) na' ~ naɾa 'feminine'

(a) piyoɾo-na'
'medicine woman'

(b) npota-naɾa
'guardian'

Semantically, the motivation for allocating a noun to a particular grammatical noun

class in Pilagá is quite opaque. Also associated with the lack of semantic transparency are

obscure motivations for the co-existence of different 'feminine' and 'masculine'

suffixes. Some class markers play a derivational function, causing a change in word class

(e.g., ik and sek 'masculine'; see 4.5.2). For instance, deverbal nouns oĉaçaik 'sleeper',

sanaede'naçaik 'miserly', and ĉiyoçosek 'crafty' do carry class markers.

In Pilagá, class markers do not trigger agreement on the other NP constituents; they

do not occur on demonstratives, quantifiers or adjectives. The fact that Pilagá does not

have a concordial system challenges its characterization as a system of class markers,

according to the definition of (noun) class markers in the literature (Dixon 1986:105;

Craig 1992, 1994). But even if the synchronic motivation for their occurrence is not

agreement or inflection, class markers may be the residue of an older class system present

in an earlier stage of the language, namely in Proto-Guaykuruan.

4.4 Number

Pilagá exhibits several different plural suffixes, some of which coincide with verbal

plural markers, such as -qa, -qo, -', and -di (see Chapter V, section 5.3.1). The choice

between plural suffixes is lexically determined.

In principle, the grammar of Pilagá encodes four number differences: singular, dual

paucal and collective. 'Dual' is scarcely used, with a few nouns that naturally come in

pairs. 'Paucal' means a small group, between two or three and up to eight or ten. For

most nouns, the suffix that indicates 'paucal' takes on the idea that the number of

referenced entities may be two or a few. 'Collective' designates a bigger group of entities, though 'collective' does not necessarily comprise all the members of the class.

All the lexical stems for which these number distinctions are feasible are individual and quantifiable nouns. For mass nouns (rice, flour, water, meat) there are only two number possibilities: singular and collective. Deverbal nouns with abstract meaning (e.g., 'the teaching', 'the work', 'the strength') are not subject to change into the plural number; they are used only in the singular form.

In (17), I provide two examples of individual noun stems illustrating all number distinctions:

(17)

SINGULAR	DUAL	PAUCAL	COLLECTIVE	Gloss
napya	napya-te	napya-di	napya-pi	'foot'
pegaq	———	pega-'	pega-pi	'horse'

I will discuss each number distinction separately. (18) shows all the paucal suffixes. Suffixes are presented according to frequency of distribution in the Pilagá lexicon. Thus, (18a-d) occur with ninety or more percent of noun stems, while those in (18e-g) occur with a very small set of stems:

(18)

SG.('one')		PL. 'PAUCAL' (i.e. 'several')	
(a) yawo	'woman'	yawo-'	'women'
nodaete	'eye'	nodaete-'	'eyes'
siyawa	'person'	siyaw-'	'people'
taɾaki	'pot'	taɾaki-'	'pots'
pyoq	'dog'	pyo-'	'dogs'
pegaq	'horse'	pega-'	'horses'
(b) yipinek	'my bone'	yipina-qa	'my bones'
nalonek	'log'	nalona-qa	'logs'
čikenek	'arch'	čikena-qa	'archs'
saλaɾanek	'chief'	saλaɾan-qa	'chiefs'
paeik	'widower'	paeya-qa	'widowers'
noɾotolek	'child'	noɾotol-qa	'children'
(c) nokona	'toe'	nokona-l	'toes'
neketela	'ear'	neketela-l	'ears'
qaepa	'eyebrow'	qaepa-l	'eyebrows'
nodaete	'tooth'	nodaete-l	'teeth'
koče	'pig'	koče-l	'pigs'
taɾañi	'duck'	taɾañi-l	'ducks'
(d) som	'door'	som-i	'doors' (< som + di)
palte'ta	'back'	palte'ta-di	'backs'
ñače	'river'	nače-di	'rivers'

ketak	'goat'	keta-di	'goats'
čimook	'bedbug'	čimook-di	'bedbugs'
ñïyaq	'fish'	ñïyaq-di	'fish (pl)'
(e) na'aik	'road'	na'ai-qo	'roads'
nanoq	'cheek'	nano-qo	'cheeks'
(f) lo'ok	'cloud'	lo'o-se	'clouds'
naete-lo'oq	'eyelid'	naete-lo-se	'eyelids'
(g) newaɾasek	'sash'	newaɾa-s	'sashes'

For a few nouns there is a distinction between 'singular' and 'dual'; this distinction is lost for the rest of the nouns that use a single form to designate two or more than two.

(19)

SINGULAR		DUAL	
(a) pela'	'flip-flop'	pela'-te	'a pair of flip-flops'
(b) napya'	'foot'	napya'-te	'the two feet'
(c) nečeset	'rib'	nečese-te	'a pair of ribs'

'Collective' is a separate number category in Pilagá. There are two collective suffixes: -sat, used for trees and for the noun designating 'lake', and pi for the rest of the nouns.

(20)

COLLECTIVE

-sat 'many'		-pi 'many'	
lačiyi-sat	'lakes'	peta-pi	'seeds'
mapi-sat	'mesquites'	newaka-pi	'melons'
takae-sat	'chañar'	qololo-pi	'frogs'
nodi-sat	'oak trees'	epaq-pi	'trees'

Three nouns designating 'people' or 'human species' form the collective by adding -dipi , pronounced as [dipi] ~ [ripi] ~ [rpi] (21). Recall that these same nouns indicate paucal by attaching -' to the singular form (18a-c). However, just -pi 'collective' is overwhelmingly used for the rest of the nouns (22) :

(21)

    (a) siyara-dipi
        person-col
        'people'

    (b) yawo-dipi
        woman-col
        'women'

    (c) le'em-dipi
        men-col
        'men'

(22)

    (a) nsona-di
        rabbit-pauc
        'several rabbits'

(b) nsona-pi
   rabbit-col
   'many rabbits'

(c) asna-di
   donkey-pauc
   'several donkeys'

(d) asna-pi
   donkey-col
   'many donkeys'

(e) [ketadi]
   ketak-di
   goat-pauc
   'several goats'

(f) ketak-pi
   goat-col
   'many goats'

The following are examples of nouns used either in the singular or in the collective

form, since they do not accept paucal and dual terminations:

(23)

	SINGULAR		COLLECTIVE	
	noɤop	'water'	noɤo-pi	'lots of water'
	lapat	'meat'	lapat-pi	'lots of meat'
	alewa	'land'	alewa-pi	'lots of land; lands'
	epaq	'wood'	epaq-pi	'lots of wood'
	poganaɤa	'sand'	poganaɤa-pi	'lots of sand'

4.5 Noun Compounding

Noun compounding is a sort of classification by which nouns appear to classify

other nouns. Unlike class markers that involve gender and type distinctions and are

completely grammaticized, nouns that participate in noun compounding usually have

independent existence as full nouns.

In Pilagá, certain nouns function as generic terms to categorize other more specific

ones under the form of compound nouns. These compounds designate a special kind of

entity, typically animals or plants. The generic noun denotes the superordinate category,

and the whole compound functions as a hyponym of the superordinate term. The more

general noun follows the specific term in the following names of insects and worms

(insect larvae), all of which fall into the genric category of lapaꞃat 'insect':

(24)

    (a) page-lapaꞃat
        wasp-insect
        'wasp'

    (b) pyo-lapaꞃat
        flea-insect
        'flea'

    (c) delak-lapaꞃat
        worm- insect
        'worm'

In contrast, the next compound designations (taken from Filipov 1994; the transcription has been slightly modified from the original, according to my consultants) are formed by some other kind of semantic relation holding between the roots. The meaning of the compound cannot be built up from the meaning of its inner parts. In the following, for instance, selkaik means 'iguana', nemik, 'nose' and lt'a 'his father'; yet none of these meanings are present in the compositional meaning of the complete noun construction, which has a semantics of its own, as the glosses in (25) illustrate.

(25)

(a) selkaik-letedik
    iguana- ?
    'mauve'

(b) selkaik-nemik
    iguana-nose
    'meloncillo' (costela coccinea)

(c) awqapi-la-tolek
    grass- Poss3- little father
    'turf'

(d) awqapi-lpolyo'
    grass- big
    'grass (sp.)'

(e) awqapi-la-t'a
    grass-Poss3-father
    'grass (sp.)'

The two noun stems of a compound can stand in a part-whole semantic relationship. As expected, there is no possessive marker on the head noun of the

compound, and we know that it is a compound since (a) no other element (like demonstratives or classifiers) can break the compound in two parts, and (b) the plural marker comes at the end of the compound, not on each of the nouns. Also notice that, according to the cases, the order of the elements is arranged differently: Dependent-Head (26a-e) or Head-Dependent (26f-g). Since these are co-lexicalized expressions, the order is fixed in each case (i.e. cannot be reversed). Some of these compound nouns designate parts of physical objects, borrowed from body-part concepts by metaphor (26c-g).

(26)

    (a) eme(k)-lae't
       house-part
       'roof or wall' (of a house)

    (b) nasip-layoᴕot
       lip- hair
       'moustache'

    (c) woᴕonqate- hala
       rifle-fruit
       'bullet' (lit. the fruit of the rifle')

    (d) pegaq-l-iki'i
       horse Poss3-image
       'bicycle' (lit. 'image of horse')

    (e) walde-l-eket
       bucket-Poss3-ear
       'handle of the bucket.'

    (f) nawel-l-oᴕoki
       belly, womb-Poss3-bag
       'the inside part of a bag'

(g) lo'oq - mapik
    peel, skin-mezquite tree (prosopis)
    'the peel of a mezquite tree'

Idoyaga Molina (1995) provides examples of some plant denominations where the

dependent precedes the head. In (27) epaq 'tree' (which by extension applies to 'wood')

occurs in the following compound names:

(27)

    (a) epaq-law'o
        tree- flower
        'flower of the tree' (Parasitic plant, sp.)

    (b) epaq-ketela
        tree- ear
        'ear of the tree' (Epiphyte plant, sp.)

The parts of a tree, like 'leaves' or 'trunk' (27), which have the noun epaq as

head, are construed similarly to those compounds in (28).

(28)

    (a) epa(q)-layorot
        tree- hair
        'leaves (of a tree)'

    (b) epaq-lamo
        tree-trunk
        'trunk'

Other noun compounds denoting a specific type of animal arise by comparison

between two different species, and by 'generalization'. Kedok-lapya 'paw of the tiger

(lit., tiger-foot)' designates a type of spider, and petolo-kedok 'butterfly-tiger', a type of

butterfly. Idoyaga Molina (1995) explains that in such cases the presence of kedok

('tiger') is due to the similarity between the color of the tiger's skin and the one of the

animals being compared.

Compound nouns, therefore, not only occur to designate species from flora and

fauna domains; they are used as common names for objects, or parts of objects, as the

preceding examples attest. Semantically, the relationship between the compound

elements may be the part-whole relation, or has arisen by comparison with a specific

species with which the designated entity shares similar characteristic of color or shape.

Compounds are valuable materials for digging into Pilagá's construction of the lexicon,

the categorization of entities and organization of taxa.

4.6 Derivational Affixes

Nominalization of verbs in Pilagá is a highly productive grammatical process. The

most common markers of nominalizations on verbs are (a) possessive prefixes; (b) the

nominalizing suffix i.e., -naɣak; and (c) noun class markers. The three of them may co-

occur in a single noun form.

There is no zero-derivation in Pilagá by which verbs and nouns are related to each

other without derivational morphology; rather the opposite: a nominal suffix (i.e., the

derivational -naᵴak , optionally followed by a noun class marker) must occur for the word to count as a noun.

Another derivational process for nouns, which has been already presented, is noun compounding. Though a resource for word formation, noun compounding creates new nouns out of extant lexical nouns. Having presented noun-compounding, in this section I will focus on deverbal nouns only.

4.6.1 Deverbalizing Morphology: -(n)aᵴak

The suffix -naᵴak happens to derive nouns from verbs. The deverbal nouns occur with a possessive prefix from class C attached. The suffix -naᵴak does not apply to a specific class of verbs; in fact, it can be used with many different roots, as the following examples attest:

(29)

    (a) n-onta-naᵴak   'somebody's job' 'the job' (<onta 'to work)
        l-onta-naᵴak   'his job'
    (b) n-aqta-naᵴak   'somebody's word or talk'; 'the talk' (<aqta ' to speak')
    (c) n-pagen-naᵴak   'somebody's learning' ; 'the learning'
    (d) n-pagenta-naᵴak   'somebody's teaching' ; 'the teaching'
    (e) n-qoƀien-a-naᵴak   'somebody's lie'; 'the lie'

The nominalizing suffix can be followed by noun class markers (including gender markers). In the following examples, the suffix denotes 'feminine' or 'masculine' gender of the referenced entity:

.

(30)

    (a) ñi-pagenta-naʕa-e
       Poss.1-learn- NMLZ-fem
       'my teacher (fem)'

    (b) ñi-pagenta-naʕa-ik
       Poss.1-learn- NMLZ-.masc
       'my teacher (masc)'

    (c) [yapoganaʕanek]
       i-apoga-naʕa-nek
       Poss.1-harvest-NMLZ-masc
       'my harvest-person'

    (d) ona-naʕa-e
       work-NMLZ-fem
       'the artisan' (fem)

4.6.2 Deverbal Nouns with Class Markers

As I said before, a verb can be nominalized just by the intervention of a noun class

marker (see section 4.2), without the nominalizing suffix -naʕak.

(31)

    (a) ne-wos-ek   (<wose 'to cook')
       Indef.Poss.3-cook-NCl.masc
       'stew'

    (b) yapaʕagenek
       i-apagen-nek
       Poss.1pl-learn-NCl.masc
       'my advice'

    (c) la-yata-nek
       Poss.3-think-NCl.masc
       'his idea'

(d) n-wos-ae
Indef.Poss-cook-fem
'the cook (fem)'

Apart from -nek and some other gender suffixes, two more class markers serve as

nominalizing suffixes: -ki and -la 'place'. The semantic difference between these two

seems to be based on the shape of the putative place; -la implies that the referenced

location has a plain side, while -ki indicates a location with depth, usually a house or a

room. Note the use of both suffixes with the verb roots 'oče 'sleep' and ke'e 'feed',

below:

(32) - ki 'place'

   (a) nočaʕaiki
       n-'oče-aʕa-ik-ki
       Indef.Poss-sleep-NMLZ-masc-place
       'room or hotel'

   (b) qan-čel-aʕa-ki
       Poss. 1-bathe-NMLZ-place
       'our place to have bath'

   (c) n-kiy-aʕa-ki
       Indef.Poss-feed-NMLZ-place
       'dining room'   (<ke'e 'feed oneself')

   (d) pagenta-naʕa-ki
       teach-NMLZ-place
       'school'   (<pagen 'to learn')

(33) -la 'place'

   (a) n-kiy-aʕa-la
       Indef.Poss-feed-NMLZ-place
       'table'   (<ke'e 'feed oneself')

(b) n-oč-ara-la
Indef.Poss-sleep-NMLZ-place
'bed'   (<oče 'to sleep')

4.6.3 Other Nominalizations

There is a suffix -gat that, while deriving nouns out of verbs, adds information

concerning function as an instrument. It has two allomorphs: -gat ~ -rat. The distribution

of allomorphs is not based on the phonological environment but on sociolinguistic

factors; younger speakers prefer the first form whereas older traditional speakers tend to

use the second form. I have glossed it 'instrumental' (INSTR) based on its meaning:

(34) - gat ~ -rat   instrumental

    (a) gan-agat   (< pogan 'to cut')
       cut-INSTR
       'knife'

    (b) na-gan-arat   (< pogan 'to cut')
       Indef.Poss-cut-INSTR
       'any tool used for sowing'

    (c) l-awe-gat   (<awe 'to close')
       Poss.3-close-instr
       'his/her zipper'

4.7 Adjectives

Adjectives in Pilagá comprise a word class partly defined by their ability to modify

nouns. Though they can function as the predicate, I will show later on that adjectives are,

by their morphology, a word class different from verbs.

Within a noun phrase, adjectives may agree in gender and number with the noun they modify. Feminine and masculine affixes on adjectives coincide with gender markers used for nouns, which were discussed above (cf. 4.2). Notice the termination -e 'feminine' in the following example (35):

(35)

> han   hala donatana-e
> dem.fem fruit poisonous-fem
>
> 'the poisonous fruit'

As with demonstratives, number agreement for adjectives is not necessary if number is marked on the head noun or on another modifier within the noun phrase. See (36) where 'paucal' or 'plural' is marked on the head, and optionally on the rest of the constituents:

(36)

> (a) na' ema-qa   taday(a)-qa
>   CL house-PL big-PL
>
>   'the big houses'
>
> (b) ñi novoto-l-qa   onaik=haloyk
>   CL child-NCl-PL good
>
>   'the good children'

According to their morphological properties, Pilagá adjectives can be divided into (a) those that look more like nouns because they manifest gender and number categories, and (b) those that look like verbs because they inflect for number, but not for gender.

I'll start with the first group. One feature that adjectives do not share with nouns is 'possession'. But like nouns, some of them exhibit number and gender inflection. Most adjectives that inflect for gender and number designate 'color' and 'dimension'.[5] There are six basic color terms in Pilagá, but only four of these present gender and number inflection. Yoqobi 'yellow' and dadala 'green' have singular/plural alternative forms, but do not vary between masculine/feminine, as indicated in (37).

(37) Basic Colors

Masc.Sing	Fem.Sing	Masc.Plural	Fem.Plural	Gloss
pagaɾa-yk	pagaɾa-e	pagaɾa-yk-qa	pagaɾa-e-qa	'white'
ledaɾa-yk	ladaɾa-e	ledaɾa-yk-qa	ladaɾa-e-qa	'black'
tomaɾade-yk	tomaɾad-ae	tomaɾad-eyk-qa	tomaɾad-ae-qa	'red'
malaɾade-yk	malaɾad-ae	malaɾad-eyk-qa	malaɾad-ae-qa	'blue'
dadala		dadalay		'green'
yoqobi		yoqobiyi		'yellow'

It seems possible that both dadala and yoqobi refer more to processes of becoming or change than to inherent states; vegetation generally changes from green to yellow between seasons, while 'blue', 'red', 'black' and 'white' seem to be more inherent or intrinsic to certain plants or things and thus, less subject to change. Compared to the rest of the color terms, the absence of gender marking for 'green' and 'yellow' makes them pattern more with verbs than with nouns. For certain, dadala can take verb affixes, as for

instance, the progressive -tak in dadala-tak, with the meaning 'It is getting green.' But this is not a robust argument for separating color terms in two different classes, since 'red' also inflects for both gender and number, and yet also has some verbal behavior: the finite form n-tomaċa-segem means 'he/she blushed' (lit. 'the red came up'). A noun versus verb connection for the word for 'yellow' is problematic too. There is a form yoqobičiyi that means 'clean', as in for instance, noqobičiyi na' nkiyaċaki 'the plate is clean'; but I am not aware of any obvious historical connection between the color term and the 'absence of dirtiness'.

Apart from the monolexemic color terms, there are derived color terms formed by the roots for the basic colors plus -qalege 'quasi'. This termination indicates that it is a derived color, or a similar shade, to the basic color.

(38) Derived Colors

   (a) tom-qalege
     'pink' (lit. 'half-red')

   (b) mal-qalege
     'light blue' (lit. 'half-blue')

   (c) paga-qalege
     'whitish' (lit. 'half-white')

   (d) dadaλ-alege
     'greenish' (lit. 'half-green')

Adjectives that occur in compound combinations involve a noun stem plus an adjective, in that order. The adjective specifies the size or color of the animal, and is applicable to species belonging to different subcategories.

(39)
  (a) peso tomaʁadeyk
     ant   red

     'red ant'

  (b) peso ledaʁayk
     ant   black

     'black ant'

  (c) peso qapin
     ant   small

     'small ant'

  (d) pačidïya pagayk
     spider   white

     'white spider'

Some adjectives denoting 'dimension' inflect for gender and number; others inflect only for number (i.e., plural), the masculine and the feminine having exactly the same form:

(40) Dimension Adjectives

Masc.Sing	Fem.Sing	Masc.Plural	Fem.Plural	Gloss
(a) y'ade-yk	y'ada-e	y'aday(a)-qa	y'aday(a)-qa	'fat'
(b) tada-yk	tada-e	taday(a)-qa	taday(a)-qa	'big'
(c) saleka	saleka	saleka-y	saleka-y	'small'
(d) poyo-lek	poyol-e	poyo-l-qa	poyo-l-qa	'short'
(e) logedaĭk	logedae	logeday(a)qa	logeday(a)qa	'tall'
(f) kat'oñok	kat'oñoh			'small'

'Age', 'speed', 'value', 'human and physical propensity' semantic types, as defined by Dixon (1982), complete the array of property concepts that the language has. Again, these adjectives have to be distinguished according to the grammatical categories they inflect for, i.e., either for gender and number, or only for number. More inflected forms for gender and number can be seen in (41):

(41) Other Semantic Types

Masc.Sing	Fem.Sing	Masc.Plural	Fem.Plural	Gloss
(a) ya-yk	ya-e	yayk-qa	yae-qa	'sharp'
(b) p'e	p'e	p'-i	p'-i	'hot'
(c) halaɾayk	halaɾa-e	halaɾayqa	halaɾayqa	'crazy'
(d) yaɾakačiyi	yaɾae-na			'old'
(e) yi	ya-e			'mature'
(f) qalwaɾa-yk	qalwaɾa-e			'bad'

The following property concepts (Thompson 1988:168) do not exhibit gender inflection, though they can be pluralized. They are not nominal in the sense that they do not carry any morphology related to nouns or to other nominal constituents like demonstratives. They are more like verbs with a subject person prefix (t-; y-; d-, n-, h- or

ø-); however, some of them are deponent verbs with one single form for 1st, 2nd and 3rd

singular (e.g., qaqata 'dry'). Some are derived from each other, like opposites, by

negation. Note the contrast between (42h) and (42i), where (42i) carries the prefix sa-

'negative'.

(42) Verbal-like Adjectives

(a) taworoyi	'broken'
(b) t'añe	'strong'
(c) tontaq	'sad'
(d) niliñi	'tired'
(e) yilowak	'sick'
(f) qaqata	'dry'
(g) yabiyi	'burned'
(h) dato	'raw'
(i) sa-dato	'cooked'
(j) omyi	'cold'
(k) hama	'sweet'
(l) aloqta	'bitter'
(m) qawon	'fast'

There are two suffixes that are used to increase the degree of quality denoted by

the property word. These forms are -h and -m . They do not indicate 'superlative' (Pilagá

does not have superlative adjectives), but 'augmentative':

(43)

    (a) hama-h
       sweet-AUG
       'very sweet'

(b) p'e-h
    hot-AUG
    'very hot'

(c) nowa-h
    salt-AUG
    'very salted'

(d) n'ocota-m
    good-AUG
    'very good'

4.8 Specifiers

Specifiers in Pilagá are of two types, i.e., classifiers and demonstratives. Since classifiers may take part in the morphological structure of demonstratives, I will present classifiers first, and then discuss demonstratives. The presentation of Pilagá classifiers here is just an overview of this interesting word class (found in all Guaykuruan languages). A more extensive treatment of Pilagá classifiers can be found in Vidal (1995 [1997a]).

4.8.1 Classifiers

In Pilagá, classifiers constitute a morphosyntactic category in their own right, independent from other noun modifiers. Classifiers occur with count and mass nouns. They are obligatory, and can either stand by themselves or attach to demonstrative stems to form demonstratives.

This system has received different names in the Guaykuruan literature. They have been referred to as 'demonstratives' in Kadiwéu (Sandalo 1995); in Mocoví as 'demonstratives' (Grondona 1998) and 'classifiers' (Gualdieri 1998); in Toba as

'classifiers' (Klein 1979), 'positionals particles' (1998 and forthcoming), and 'deictics' (Censabella 1997). For Pilagá, Vidal 1995 [1997a] discusses at length how they compare typologically to other systems that have been termed 'classifiers'.

There are six classifiers in Pilagá, organized according to the following cross-cutting parameters: a) proximity/distance of the referent; b) motion of the referent, and c) position of the referent. Thus, according to their internal semantics, the classifier can be grouped into two sets, namely deictic classifiers and positional or non-deictic classifiers.

(44) Classifiers

Positional classifiers

da'	'vertically extended'
ñi'	'sitting/non-extended'
di'	'lying/horizontally extended'

Deictic classifiers

na'	'coming/proximal'
so'	'going away/past'
ga'	'absent/distal'

The parameters of 'proximity/distance' and 'motion' are conflated in a single form: na' 'coming/present', so' 'going away/past', and ga' 'distal/not in motion'. These are decitic classifiers.

For referents in view, they can be subcategorized as going away or approaching towards the deictic center, or even as totally invisible from the perspective of the speaker and, as such, the configuration or motion conditions of the referent are unpredictable.

When the entities are classified according to their position, their presence within the visual field is implied since their configuration is observable. The positional sub-set is composed of the other three classifiers: da' 'standing/vertically extended', ñi' 'sitting/non-extended', and di' 'lying/horizontally extended'.

The three positional classifiers correlate with the three basic body positions for humans, but also with the basic three shapes, for the rest of the referents in the world (standing=one dimensional/long; lying=two dimensional/flat; sitting=three dimensional/round).

In Pilagá, the unmarked position for human beings is 'standing'. Thus, da' 'vertically extended' occurs with a human noun (45a), and on the third person demonstrative (45b):

(45)

(a) da'   siyawa   di-kiyaɾa-n-a   da'   l-ganaɾat
    CL. vert person   setA.3-eat-ASP-Obj.sg   CL   Poss3-knife

'The person (standing) eats/ate with a knife.' (The person shows the knife, which is also in vertical position.)

(b) da'm'e   d-a-lon-a
    CL.vert-DEM   3sg-sing-Obj.sg

'He sings.'

The classifier ñi' 'sitting' or 'non-extended' marks the canonical position for

buildings like a house, church or school. It also extends to humans in a sitting position,

and indexes the canonical position of mammals, birds and insects:

(46)
     ñi'   pyoq   neta-we ñi' emek
     CL.non-ext dog   be-DIR   CL house

     'The dog is inside the house.'

Di' has the basic meaning of 'lying' (as horizontally extended). It is used with

names of places, small towns, plain surfaces (plates, tables), and with naturally elongated

animals such as fishes. Ancestors and dead people or dead animals are generally

categorized by di':

(47)
     qo-y-anem   hada'   yawo   di'   siyaq
     IS-setA.3-give fem-CL.ext woman CL.lying animal

     'Somebody gave the woman an animal' (to eat; the animal is dead.)

As for deictic classifiers, na' has been attested carrying the meaning of 'in

movement/coming/present'. Food and utensils for cooking and eating, kinship

terminology, and parts of the body occur with na'. Other nouns which have been found in

combination with na' are small trees. Possibly, na' represents a general category for

whatever entities are present in the visual field, i.e., 'proximal', without necessarily

implying anything about their position or actual movement:

(48)
[naega'   awpyagek   na' lapat]
naega'   aw-pyag-wek   na'   lapat
QUEST   setA.2-cut-DIR.outwards   CL.prox   meat

'What do you cut meat with?'

So' conveys movement away from the vantage point of the speaker, but also that

the referent is going away from the speaker's perception. In this last sense, so' pairs

with ga' according to the parameter of 'non-proximity', i.e., they both convey

'distalness'. But neither 'position' nor 'movement' are involved in ga':

(49)

   (a) so'-m'e   siyawa yi-la-ake   l-alonek
       CL.going away-DEM   person setA.3-look for-MOD Poss3-wood

   'That person (going away) goes to look for wood.'

   (b) se-čiyo-ge'   ga'   ad-qaya
       setA.1-come-DIR.thither   CL.distal Poss2-sibling

   'I came from my sister's (the referent is out of view).'

The classifier ga' is linked to the speaker's intention and beliefs about the

accomplishment of the event within the world.[6] 'Unknown' or 'indefinite referent' are

metaphorically associated with the particular circumstances of a referent, which is absent

from the visual perception and the speech scenario of both the speaker and the hearer

(Vidal and Klein 1998: 182):

(50)

da-m'e	yi-yi-nat-ek	gam'e	a-wanat
CL.dem	1O-setA.3-call-DIR.	CL.distal-dem	setA.2-want

'He asked me: "What do you want?"'

Having shown the basic semantics of Pilagá classifiers, I will now elaborate on

some additional considerations, regarding their morphological and pragmatic variation.

Firstly, Pilagá classifiers inflect for number, indicated by stem alternation (see

(51)). The morpheme that serves this function is -a 'plural/paucal'. The number of

referenced entities is not restricted to a certain quantity; it may be two or a bigger group.

Stem inflection is particularly evident with those classifiers which do not contain a vowel

/a/ in the singular form. But for those that do contain an -a in the singular, the distinction

between the singular and the plural is not always reflected in the surface form (i.e., ga')

(51) Classifier Inflection

SINGULAR	PLURAL/PAUCAL	GLOSS
da'	daa'	'vertically extended'
ñi'	ña'	'sitting/non-extended'
di'	dya'	'lying/horizontally extended'

(51) Classifier Inflection (cont'd)

na'	naa'	'coming/proximal'
so'	sa'	'going away/past'
ga'	ga'	'absent/distal'

Classifier inflection also applies in the formation of demonstratives. (Recall the discussion in Chapter III, section 3.7, where I claim that stem inflection coalesced with vowel harmony in the case of demonstratives, yielding lexically frozen forms.)

Secondly, variation in the selection of the classifier is conditioned by the particulars of the speech situation. This feature has been already pointed out for other classifier languages (Becker 1975, Carpenter 1986, inter alia). 'Variation' implies that a noun does not necessarily always occur with the same classifier. In Pilagá, pragmatic variation among the positional and the deictic classifiers is not only allowed but is also highly frequent. It shows the fluidity of this closed system of classification within the parameters involved. In this sense, "canonical" classification (by which most entities are either assigned a particular position or shape, or take na' 'proximal') can be overriden by deictic classifiers if the referent is performing a movement towards or away from the visual field, or if the entitiy is completely absent either from the visual field or from the speaker's consciousness.

Variation also occurs among positional classifiers if the entity has experienced a change in terms of its position. This implies that classified entities do not always belong

to fixed classes or taxons. While the number of classificatory parameters is limited, an object can still be conceptualized as participating in more than one parameter. From a pragmatic stance, the speaker has an array of available choices, and in his /her judgement, will select the more relevant (or more marked) "configuration" at a particular point of discourse.

(52)

    (a) di-m'e   d-'oče-tak
        CL.lying-dem   setA.3-sleep-ASP.progr

    'He is sleeping.'

    (b) se-čiyo-ge'   na'   ad-qaya
        setA.1-come-DIR.thither CL.prox Poss2-sibling

    'I came from my sister's. (The sister is either in view, or the speaker wants to signal the relationship of between him/her and his/her sibling.)

Thirdly, an extensional meaning from the spatial to the temporal domain is a possible consequence of the function of deictic classifiers. Therefore, the movement can go away from the location of the speech event, and by metaphorical extension, it goes away from the time of the speech event as well.

(53)

    (a) an-sa-nem   na'   paan
        2O-setA.1-give   CL.prox bread (Sp. loanw.)

    'I give you bread. (The bread is present; speaker can point it out.)'

(b) an-sa-nem   so'   paan
    2O-setA.1-give   CL.going away bread

'I gave you bread.(The bread is not in view anymore.)'

(c) an-sa-nem   ga'   paan
    2O-setA.1-give   CL.distal bread

'I'll give you bread.(There is no bread out there, but the speaker implies that there will be some and in that case, he/she will give it to the hearer.)'

Fourthly, from a typological viewpoint, positional classifiers bear semantic similarities with some 'verbal classifiers' systems (Craig 1992, 1994) such as those found in Siouan languages, or with the Eskimo 'in-view' classification. In Siouan languages, verbs like 'sit', 'stand' and 'lie' have evolved into noun classifiers and definite articles. The common semantic parallels between these North American verbal classifier systems and Pilagá classifiers suggest that positional, and probably deictic classifiers too, could have a verbal origin.

Pilagá classifiers along with other systems found in Amazonian languages (see Tariana and multiple other languages (Payne 1987; Aikhenvald 1994, 2000) appear to challenge previously-proposed typologies (Adams and Conklin 1973; Denny 1976; Allan 1977; Craig [See Grinevald] 1992, 1994, inter alia). In light of recent descriptions, Grinevald (2000:68) proposes the label of 'demonstrative' or 'article' classifier for the Guaykuruan type. I doubt that the main function of Pilagá classifiers is 'individuation of referents', as is true for Jakaltec (Mayan) noun classifiers, though it is clearly one of the functions. Pilagá classifiers are pervasive throught the grammar, especially as they are used with demonstratives and time adverbials.

As shown above, and also discussed elsewhere (Vidal and Klein 1998) deictic classifiers have taken on temporal and modality functions, as a metaphorical extension of the spatial meaning. Being demonstrative-like words, one classifier (i.e., da') has taken one step further by functioning as a subordinator in complement clauses (akin to English 'that'). Moreover, there is a striking isomorphism between the verbal directional suffix -ñi 'downwards', the positional classifier ñi' 'non-extended/sitting' and the lexical verb ñi 'to sit', which seems to confirm these classifiers' verbal source. But the fact that motion/positional verbs were reanalyzed with different functions, as part of the verb word and of the noun phrase too, suggests that there could be more than one path of evolution for these forms.

4.8.2 Demonstratives

Pilagá does not have one single set of demonstratives. There are a few demonstrative roots, but they constitute a prolific word class in their ability to combine with classifiers, number suffixes and a feminine prefix. Sometimes, the difference in meaning between the demonstrative or combined forms is so subtle that it is synchronicaly unanalyzable. I assume most demonstratives must be very old, coexisting with presumably newer ones. Some demonstratives are scarcely used; these occur in folk narratives uttered by traditional story-tellers. For that reason it seems that frequency varies from one speaker to another in a rather stylistic fashion.

I will start by discussing the most frequent sets of demonstratives. The masculine is left unmarked for gender. However, as will be illustrated in (54) below, demonstratives can occur by themselves, i.e., without any classifer morpheme at all.

Summarizing, the morphological structure of a demonstrative may consist of up to four parts, as follows:

(54)

GENDER	— CLASSIFIER -	ROOT -	NUMBER
(ha-) 'FEM'	(da' ~ daa ~ do')	- ho	
	(ñi' ~ ña' ~ ño')	- m'e	
Ø 'MASC'	(di ~ dya ~ dyo)	- č'a	(-lo)
	(na' ~ naa' ~ no)		
	(so' ~ sa')		
	(ga')		
	hen	- ho	
		- m'e	

Demonstratives roots listed in (54) are all monosyllabic. Semantically, they indicate relative distance of the referent from the speaker. They are ho' 'very proximate', m'e 'proximate', and ča 'far'. Demonstratives plus classifiers, for instance with the 'proximate' root, look like the following: da'm'e 'he/this standing'; ñi'm'e 'he/this sitting'; di'm'e 'he/this lying' ; na'm'e 'he/this coming', so'm'e 'he/this going away', ga'm'e 'he/it distal'. By adding ha- 'fem', those same forms would be hada'm'e 'she/this standing'; hañi'm'e 'she/this sitting'; hadi'm'e 'she/this lying' hana'm'e 'she/this coming', haso'm'e 'she/this going away', haga'm'e 'she.distal'.

Demonstrative roots, therefore, indicate the relative distance of the referent from the speaker, whereas the classifiers contribute with information regarding the referent's position and motion properties.

Demonstratives can also be pluralized. The plural is indicated by inflection of the classifier (see (55)). But additionally, a plural suffix -lo can be attached to the end of the demonstrative stem ča exclusively. Recall that -lo is also used to indicate plural number of the object or of the intransitive subject with several verbs (cf. Chapter V, section 5.3.2). Furthermore, -l is a plural marker for certain nouns as well (cf. Chapter IV, section 4.3). However, -lo is optional with the demonstrative ča if the classifier is inflected for 'plural', or if 'number' is already indicated in the head noun. Vice-versa, if -lo is present, the speaker may neglect number inflection for the classifier.

(55)

    (a) ha-da-ča-lo   yawo-'
        FEM-CL-dem-PL   woman-PL.paucal

    'Those women standing'

    (b) ha-da-ča   yawo-'
        fem-CL-dem   woman-PL.paucal

    'Those women standing'

    (c) ha-sa-ča-ge'-lo[7]   yawo-'
        fem-CL-dem-DIR.thither.PL   woman-PL.paucal

    'Those women that are going away'

(d) ha-sa-ča-ge'   yawo-'
   fem-CL-dem-DIR.thither   woman-PL.paucal

'Those women that are going away'

As was suggested at the beginning of this section, demonstrative roots can occur by themselves, functioning as plain temporal/spatial deictics, or may combine among themselves. <u>Ho</u> typically indicates 'time', i.e. 'then'/ 'at that moment'. It can be used either alone or in combination with <u>hen</u> (masc) or <u>han</u> (fem) meaning 'this'/'here'. <u>Hen</u> ~ <u>han</u> are noun modifiers that fill the prehead specifier position in an NP. <u>Hen</u> or <u>han</u> depending on the gender of the referent, can co-occur with <u>ho</u> and <u>m'e</u>, but never with <u>ča</u>. Either alone, or in combination with <u>m'e</u> and <u>ho</u>, <u>hen</u> is a full demonstrative. In all such cases, it should be translated as 'this'/'here'.

(56)

(a) W'o   ho'   so'   nolo'
   EXIST   dem   CL   day

'There was a day...'

(b) Qaedi ya-wa'te-get   ho'   so'm'e   na-keta-pega.
   conj setA.3-watch-DIR.hither   dem   CL-dem   setB.3-rob-ASP.hab

   qaqaedi n-alik-pi   nadatakpi
   conj   Indef.Poss-eat-PL   conserved

'Thus, he will be able to see then those that rob, thus, the conserved/kept food.'

(c) ya-saqatpeg-owe   henm'e l-qawag'-o   da' de-ke'e
   setA.3-throw-DIR   dem   Poss3-vagina-PL   CL setA.3-feed onself

'They threw inside their vaginas what they ate.'

(d) ya-wote-tak   hen dalaik   n'epet
setA-cook-ASP.progr dem fruit/green Indef.Poss-fishing

'They roasted the new fish.'

Yitaca dalaik   hen halo' henho
again fruit/green dem food   dem

'Again there was new food there.'

Pilagá does not distinguish between demonstratives and pronouns for 3rd person.

Demonstratives can function as proforms (when there is no N head, as in (57)). However,

the demonstratives have the same shape regardless of whether they function as specifiers

to another noun head or as a proform.

(57)

    (a) sa-waw-t-get   so' yawodipi nodočiñi yawodipi
        setA.1-watch-ASP-DIR.hither CL women   only   women

    'I have seen the women; only women'

    hoso'   qad-we-tak   m'e qomi   yoqo   ø-waqte-ta'pe
    dem-CL   setC-1-need-ASP[8] dem PRO1pl sustenance setA.3-take-ASP.progr

    'that we need , that are taking away from us the food.'

I assume that proforms stand for the whole noun phrase, rather than for the head

exclusively. One basic observation is that demonstratives cannot be modified by

quantifiers, adjectives or genitives. They are more restricted than nouns, therefore, in

terms of the syntactic constituents that they govern. This syntactic fact along with their

distinctive morphological properties place demonstratives in a separate word category, different from nouns. And also unlike nouns, demonstratives are employed for tracking participants in discourse

I now turn the discussion to a completely distinct set of demonstratives that is used on a less frequent basis. The formation of these demonstratives is different from the one proposed in (54). The demonstrative root here is naqae but it may attach to any of the six classifiers (58). In these demonstratives, the positional and deictic classifiers came after the root.

(58)

naqae-da   'that.standing'

naqae-di   'that. lying'

naqae-ñi   'that. sitting'

naqae-na   'that.coming'

naqae-so   'that.going away'

naqae-ga   'that.distal'

The following are the first lines of a recorded folk text 'Fox and Chunga', which illustrate the use of naqaena (59):

(59)

    Qanač'e ø-enak   maeč'eso da' ø-enak   qa'č'e
    and   setA.3-say   that one CL setA.3-say interj

    naqae-na   ho'   na' ñ-aega-wa.
    dem-coming there CL Poss1-fellow-companion

'And said, that one, he said, oh!, that coming there (is) my partner.'

4.9 Independent Pronouns

There are free personal pronouns in Pilagá. This language does not distinguish between demonstratives and pronouns for 3rd person (as shown in the previous section.) However, 1st and 2nd person have their own pronominal forms. These are hayem 'I', am 'you', qom'i 'we', and am'i 'you (pl.)'. They can be used as subjects to any verb class or as objects to transitive verbs. (Recall that reduced forms of object prefixes are also available, but these do not co-occur with full independent pronouns; cf. Chapter V, section 5.2.2.)

Independent pronoun for 1st and 2nd are morphologically complex. Qom'i 'we' can be traced to a lexical source (qom) the name that Pilagá, Toba and Mocoví use to refer to themselves (see also qomlek 'Indian person from the Qom group'). The nominal root is combined with a number suffix -i which also appears in the discontinuous marking of 'number of the subject' and in possessive markers (see Possessive prefixes, below). This same suffix occurs in the independent pronoun am'i 'you (pl.)'. The root am participates in both 2nd singular and plural forms of independent pronouns and respresents an old person root; *a was reconstructed as the form for all 2nd person morphemes (Vidal

1997b), and the consonant as a separate piece, more functionally transparent in an earlier stage of the language.

4.10 Quantifiers

Quantifiers have been attested as nominal modifiers, though they need not occur contiguous to the noun (60a). Very frequently, quantifiers function as proforms and they do not have a fixed position in the sentence, as in (60b-e)

(60)

(a) Qanč'e maqone'e da' kopat'a   enawak de-ket   ho-so' qa'-pi
    conj   it is said CL after a while all   setA.3-explode/jump dem-CL stone-col

   'And it is said that after a while all those stones exploded.'

(b) ga' ø-en'am   ga' enawak qo-na-loyi   na' yawo-di-pi
    CL setA.3- be like CL all/some IS-setB.3-look after CL women-pauc-coll

   'And it looked like all looked after the women (from that point on.)'

(c) yima d-aworon   sowarat qaga'te   yawo
    all   setB.3-cook because NEG.EXIST woman

   'All (the men) roasted (the fish) because there was no woman.'

(d) Qanač'e yima dato noqo'   la-woq-pi
    and   all raw   it is said Poss3-food-pl

   'And they all (ate), it is said, the food raw.'

(e) Qanač'e yima h-ek
    and   all setA.3-go

   'And they all left.'

Pilagá has no native numerals words. The words for 'one' are onole' (fem.) and onolek (masc.), and the word for 'two' is dosolqa. They come from Spanish *uno* and *dos*, and have been phonologically and morphologically adapted into Pilagá, as the terminations -le', -lek and -qa, respectively demonstrate. The rest of the numerals have been borrowed without phonological or morphological nativization.

(61)

    (a) ñi' onolek siyaɣawa maeč'e payo'ot da' ni-yama-'at
        CL one person own form conj setB.3-prepare-REFL

    'Each person (has) its own responsibility of preparing himself (for going fishing)

    (b) qanač'e na' tayiñi dosolqa na' emek-qa
        conj CL south two-plural.pauc CL house-Pl.pauc

    'And in direction to the south, there are two houses.'

Notes

[1] This dissertation does not treat adverbs. My preliminary analysis is that they are verbal in their origin.

[2] This denomination is taken from Lehmann (1998).

[3] The possession of horses was banned by the military forces at the beginning of the century, since Guaykuruans used them for the purpose of war.

[4] According to this description, -lo is like a possessive or genitive classifier. In languages with Genitive classifiers (Carlson and Payne 1989:88), a classifier must occur in the genitive expression in order to indicate possession of the noun (e.g., John's animal dog = 'John's dog'.)

[5] Here, I am assuming Dixon's semantic types (Dixon 1982).

[6] Vidal and Klein 1998 argue that ga' pragmatically codes that the event in question has not been realized, is hypothetical, or is a future projection.

[7] Clearly, this demonstrative root can be traced to a verb lexical source. I have glossed the independent verb ča as 'go' or 'move'.

[8] See chapter V, section 5.4.

CHAPTER V

VERB MORPHOLOGY I: OVERVIEW

5.0 Introduction

Beginning in this chapter and continuing throughout chapters VI and VII, I discuss

phenomena pertaining to verb morphology. (The verb phrase will not be discussed until

chapter IX.) This chapter presents an overview of the entire verb. Because the subject

prefix sets, aspect, and directional/applicative paradigms are especially complex, these

are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters, and only a very brief introduction is given

to them here. Other elements of the verb are simply treated in this chapter.

Section 5.1 covers the verb template, showing all the categories that can be manifested

morphologically. Section 5.2 then focuses on pronominal case marking for subjects and

objects. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 discuss number agreement morphology for the subject and

the object. Finally, 5.5 overviews stem-level derivational and discusses valency issues in

Pilagá.

5.1 Overview of Pilagá Verb Structure

The verb is the most morphologically complex word class in Pilagá. Much of its

complexity comes from the the variety of categories that can be marked on it, and from

the profuse allomorphic variation that some classes exhibit. The categories that can be

manifested in the verb are negation, object person, indefinite subject, subject person,

subject (plural) number, aspect, directionality, and object number. The first four

categories are indicated by prefixes, and the last five through suffixes. The order of

prefixes is determined by a templatic model where categories occupy a fixed position

relative to each other. An simplified overall schema is shown in Table 4. Parentheses in

Table 4 indicate that the category is not required by the minimal verb structure; arabic

numbers designate the position class for the category, and roman numerals the chapter

where each of these categories are discussed.

TABLE 4. Pilagá Verb Structure

(NEG)- (Obj)- (Indef. Subj) - Subject – STEM -(Subj.number)- (Aspect)- (Dir/Appl)- (Obj.number)								
1	2	3	4		5	6	7 / 8	9
VII	V	V	V-VI	V	V	VII	VII IX	V

The core of the Pilagá verb, the stem, consists of the root plus derivational suffixes, if any (see section 5.5). Applicative markers signal the addition of a participant to the basic argument structure of the simple root, and they rarely co-occur with directionals. Number of the subject may be indicated before, after or inside the stem; "after the stem" means either before or after aspectual suffixes. Object number is always positioned at the right edge of the verb. At the left edge of the verb there is negation, followed by pronominal prefixes. Object, Impersonal Subject, and Subject person have their own slot in the template.

5.2 Pronominal Affixes

Pilagá exhibits a morphological structure by which core arguments and many other semantic categories are expressed within the verb. This also implies that noun phrases are not always necessary for grammaticality, nor are they required by the hearer to track participants in discourse.

Pronominal prefixes are bound and arose historically by phonological cliticization of free pronouns (Vidal 1997b, 1997c). Synchronically, the bound pronouns cannot stand by themselves but are attached to their hosts, and are unstressed. However, since full pronouns or a full NP can co-occur with the pronominal subject markers bound to the verb, pronominal subject prefixes constitute an intermediate category between bound pronouns and inflectional agreement affixes. Subject prefixes are closer to agreement than are object prefixes, since object prefixes are in complementary distribution with object NPs. (On object markers, cf. 5.2.2.)

Nida (1946) coined the term 'substitutes' to designate the functional class of morphemes that substitute for other classes of forms, especially nouns. The most common type of substitutes are pronouns, though Nida distinguished between bound substitutes (i.e., affixes) and unbound substitutes (i.e, independent pronouns). However, it is important to note that not all inflectional affixes are substitutes in the sense of Nida. In Spanish, for instance, the portmanteau suffix for person and number of the subject is a substitute for an NP subject (i.e., the sentence is a fully grammatical clause just with the verb form); but in English, the inflectional suffix -s '3rd sg' is not a substitute for the subject because it must co-occur with an additional free pronoun or full NP. In Nida's terms, Pilagá subject and object pronominal suffixes are bound substitutes.

Within a different framework, Jelinek (1984, 1988) introduced the terminology of 'pronominal argument' to characterize those languages where participants are morphologically referenced, and this reference constitutes the only necessary mention of an argument in a clause. In Jelinek's parlance, in pronominal argument languages only clitics and affixes occupy argument positions (Jelinek and Demers 1994:698). Pilagá roughly fits the characterization of a pronominal argument language since the verb can constitute a complete sentence. That is, neither free pronominal nor nominal subject and object noun phrases are necessary for grammaticality, though subject prefixes are required by the minimal Pilagá verb structure (cf. Table 4, above).

In this section I discuss the subsystem of pronominal affixes. In 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 I describe the morphological marking person for subject and object respectively,

represented in the template by positional classes 4 and 2. In 5.2.3 I argue for the category of 'indefinite subjects', represented in the template by positional class 3.

5.2.1 Basic Schema for Case Marking

In Pilagá, pronominal prefixes constitute the only case marking device, since the language lacks case markers on nouns and free pronouns, and lacks adpositions for nominals. The reason why I call the pronominal prefix system 'case-marking' is because the verb is the case-marking element that requires an argument, and also requires the argument to have certain forms. That is, choice of bound pronominal forms are governed by the verb.

In Pilagá, a separate third set of prefixes marks the object of transitive and ditransitive verbs. (I postpone discussion of object markers until section 5.2.2.)

In this language, case marking of subjects is partially semantically-based. There are two sets of prefixes for subject persons, which I call Set A and Set B (see Table 5). Set A prototypically references a performer or a source, with or without control. Set B prototypically references subject participants affected by the event, or which have no control over it. To some extent Pilagá set A and set B forms index the semantic role of transitive and of intransitive subjects. The first represents participants conceived as semantic agents, whether the clause is transitive or intransitive; the second set represents subject participants acting as semantic patients or as experiencers, again in both intransitive and transitive sentences.

TABLE 5. Subject Pronominal Prefixes

	SET A	SET B
1sg	s-	ñ-
2sg	aw- ~ o-	an-
3sg	d- t- i- ~ yi- h- Ø- w-	n-
1pl	s-...-so ~ -sa s-...-(a)q s-...-qa s-...-ʕa	ñ-...-so ~ -sa ñ-...-aq ñ-...-qa ñ-...-ʕa
2pl	aw-...-i ~ o-....-i aw-...-e aw-...-q(a)+e	an-....-e an-....-i
3pl	d-...-' t-...-'/-d i-... -'/-d ~ y-...-'/d Ø-... -'/-d t-....-d	n-....-'/-d

The two sets of subject pronominal prefixes are presented in Table 5. Dots in the representation of the affixes in Table 5 indicate that the part to the right to the left is a prefix, while the part to the right is either suffixed or infixed to the root. The portion preceding the verb stem corresponds to person; and the number is indicated by the suffixal part of what can be called synchronically discontinuous "subject" morphemes.

Allomorphs are separated by $\approx$. Pilagá verbs can be classsified into three groups according to the way subject marking is distributed: a) those that can take Set A prefixes only; b) those that can take Set B prefixes only; and c) those that can take either Set A or Set B prefixes. In the third group, there is a fairly regular semantic contrast between the Set A marked and Set B marked verb forms (see Chapter VI). Though this schema accounts for the vast majority of the prefix choices on Pilagá verbs, the assignment of a particular case to a verb is still lexicalized. (Lexicalization of subject case-marking is also addressed in Chapter VI.) The subject prefixes will be illustrated throughout the following sections and in Chapter VI.

5.2.2 Merged Subject Paradigms

'Merged ' refers to the fact that certain verb stems exhibit subject pronominal prefixes from different sets, i.e., A and B, in the same inflectional paradigm. But it also implies that the merger is between pronominal subject prefixes from either set A or B, and possessive prefixes from sets C and D (cf. Chapter IV), which are typically used to code the 'possessor' on nouns.

Compare the following examples. In (1) and (2) the verb is inflected with the set A person forms, but in the 1st plural, qad- from set D possessive markers, is used to code the subject. Also (2) shows a possessive marker from set C, in the finite forms for 3rd person:

(1)

se-linkip
set A.1-drink

'I drink (e.g. water).'

aw-linkip
set A.2-drink

'You drink.'

yi-linkip
set A.3-drink

'He drinks.'

qad-linkip
set C.1pl-drink

'We drink.'

aw-linkip-i
setA.2-drink-PL

'You (pl) drink.'

yi-linki-..'...-p
set A.3-drink-PL

'They drink.'

(2)

[yiwotawe]
i-wota-owe
set A.1-walk-DIR.inwards

'I get into (e.g., a place).'

a-wota-we
set A.1-walk-DIR.inwards

'You get into.'

le-wota-we
setC.3-walk-DIR.inwards

'He gets into.'

qad-wota-we
setC.1pl-walk-DIR.inwards

'We get into.'

ad-wota-we
setC.2-walk-DIR.inwards

'You get into.'

le-wota-d-we
setC.3- walk-PL-DIR.inwards

'They get into.'

In (3) and (4), the forms for 3rd singular and plural are different, though they are

both from set A (according to table 5.2). Also in the plural forms in (4), the same plural

suffix -d is used for both 2nd and 3rd person. Recall that, as indicated in Table 5.2 and as

will be illustrated in 5.3.1 below, -d normally just indicates 3rd person plural:

(3)
[sekiyaratak]
se-kiyaran-tak
setA.1-listen-ASP.progr

'I am listening.'

aw-kiyara(n)-tak
setA.2-listen-ASP.progr

'You are listening.'

yi-kiyaɾa(n)-tak
setA.3-listen-ASP.progr

'He is listening.'

se-kiyaɾan-qa-tak
setA.1-listen-PL-ASP.progr

'We are listening.'

[awkiyaɾañitak]
aw-kiyaɾan-i-tak
setA.2-listen-PL-ASP.progr

'You (pl.) are listening.'

di-kiyaɾan-t'ape
setA.3-listen-ASP.progr

'They are listening.'

(4)

se-pičiči-ñi
setA.1wake up-ASP.cptv

'I woke up after a while.'

aw-pičiči-ñi
setA.3-wake up-ASP.cptv

'You woke up.'

ø-pičiči-ñi
setA.3-wake up-ASP.cptv

'He woke up.'

se-pičiči-ñ-aq
setA.wake up-ASP.cptv-PL

'We woke up.'

aw-pičiči-di-ñi
setA.2-wake up-PL-ASP

'You (pl) woke up.'

yi-pičiči-di-ñi
setA.wake up-PL-ASP

'They woke up.'

The examples in (5) seem to involve the conflation of two different verb roots in a single inflectional paradigm. Notice the difference between the singular and plural forms, and the loss of formal contrast between the 1st and 2nd plural, as a consequence of this merger:

(5)

[ñobi']
ñ-obid [1]
setB.1-come

'I arrive.'

anobi'
setB.2-come

'You arrive.'

n-obi'
setB.3-come

'He arrives.'

[ñibiedawo]
ñi-bied-qa-wo
setB.1-come-PL-DIR

'We arrive.'

[ñibiedawo]
ñi-bied-qa-wo
setB.1-come-PL-DIR

'You (pl) arrive.'

nedwo
n-ed-wo
setB.come?-DIR

'They arrive.'

5.2.3 Object Marking

To give a complete overview of pronominal prefixes, this section discusses object

marking. From a semantic stance, object prefixes generally encode a human participant

who receives the action denoted by the transitive verb. For this reason, I term this

participant Dative. Discussion of the syntactic status of 'objects' in Pilagá can be found

in Chapter IX. It suffices for now to say that the 'object', like both subject types, may

show person and number agreement. Unlike subject prefixes which can co-occur with a

pronoun or full NP, object prefixes are mutually exclusive with full pronouns and lexical

NPs.

Object markers are presented in Table 6. They share some similarities with set D

possessive prefixes (cf. Chapter IV), and partially with set B prefixes (Table 5),

specially for the 2nd person singular. Note that only for the singular does the paradigm

provide procliticized forms. First and second person plural are expressed through full

pronouns exclusively: qom'i 'we' and am'i 'you (pl.)'

TABLE 6. Object Markers

DATIVE
OBJECT

1sg yi- ~ ñi-
2sg an-
3sg Ø-
1pl qom'i
3pl Ø-
2pl am'i

As noted, the object is indicated morphologically if it is a speech act participant i.e.,

a 1st or a 2nd singular person. Third persons singular and plural are always zero.

Allomorphs for 1st person singular are not phonologically triggered, but are lexically

assigned. Historically, possessive prefixes and non-agentive subject prefixes seem to be

the source for object prefixes in Pilagá, and like object prefixes, 1st person possessive

allomorphs are also lexically assigned.

Besides the specific set of prefixes for 1st and 2nd person singular, full pronouns after

the verb (hayim 'I', am 'you') can be used to fulfill the object function, instead of the

prefix. Nevertheless, for the coding of plural participants there are no prefixes; only full

pronouns qom'i 'we', am'i 'you (pl.)' are used, also surfacing to the left of the verb (6h-

i). In Pilagá there is only one set of independent pronouns (hayim 'I', am 'you', qom'i

'we', am'i 'you (pl)' which are used whether that participant plays the role of a subject

or an object.

(6)

(a)[ñilota]
ñi-i-lota
1O-setA.3-look

'He looks at me.'

(b)[anilota]
an-i-lota
2O-setA.3-look

'He looks at you.'

(c)[yilota]
ø-i-lota
3O-setA.3-look

'He looks at him (somebody else)/her.'

(d)[hayem awlota]
hayem   aw-lota
PRO.1sg setA.2-look

'You look at me.'

(e)[ñiawlota]
ñi-aw-lota
1O-setA.2-look

'You look at me.'

(f)[awlota]
ø-aw-lota
3O-setA.2-look

'You look at him.'

(g)[anselota]
    an-se-lota
    2O-setA.1-look

    'I look at you.'

(h)[qom'i   awlota]
    qomi'   aw-lota
    PRO.1pl setA.2-look

    'You look at us.'

(i) [am'i   yilotra]
    am'i   yi-lot..-d-..a
    PRO.2pl setA.3-look..-PL

    'They look at you (pl.)'

As seen in (6d) and (6e), either a pronoun or a prefix is used, but not both. In (7) I

provide more examples illustrating object prefixes in combination with set A and set B

subject prefixes:

(7)

    (a) an- ñi-qotoɣon   an-s-e'et
        2O-setB.1.-wake up   2O-setA.1-fix

        'I wake you up.'   'I fix you/dress you.'

    (b) yi-an-qotoɣon   yi-aw-e'et
        1O-setB.2-wake up   1O-setA.2-fix

        'You wake me up.'   'You fix me/dress me.'

(c) yi-n-qopita   yo-qo-y-la'a[2]
   1O-setB.3-like   1O-IS-setA.3-find

   'He likes me.'   'He/somebody finds me.'

(d) an-n-qopitet-pega[3]   an-qo-y-la'a
   2O-setB.3-love-ASP   2O-IS-setA.3-find

   'He likes you.'   'He finds you.'

(e) ø-ñi-čilan   ø-s-e'et
   3O-setB.1-wash   3O-setA.1-fix

   'I wash him.'   'I fix him/her.'

(f) an-ñi-čilan-aq   an-s-e'et-aq
   2O-setB.1-wash-pl   2O-setA.1-fix-pl

   'We wash you.'   'We fix you.'

(g) yi-an-čilañ-I   ñi-i-lotake
   1O-setB.2-wash-pl   1O-setA.3-look for

   'You (pl.) wash me.'   'They look for me.'

5.2.4 Qo- 'Indefinite Subject'

When the subject of a transitive or an intransitive verb is an unspecified third person participant, Pilagá has the possibility of defocusing the subject or downgrading its status, since its identity is unimportant or unknown. The grammar does this by attaching a pronominal prefix qo- 'Indefinite Subject (IS)' to the verb word, specifically to the left of the subject prefix. This prefix obligatorily co-occurs with a third person subject prefix from either set A or set B. The postverbal NP indicates a patient 3rd person object.

(8)

    (a) hayem   qo-y-alon-a   ñi' emek
         PRO.1sg   IS-setA.3-show-Obj.sg CL house

    'Somebody showed me the house'

    (b) qo-na-tade   na' siyaw- '
         IS-setB.3-cure CL animal- PL

    'Somebody cured the animals'

    (c) qo-n-ačel-aɾan   so' siyaɾa-di-pi
         IS-setB.3-wash-Val CL person-PL-COL

    'Somebody baptized these people.'

    (d) qo-y-ama-ge'   di' noik so' noɾotole'ek
         IS-setA.3-send-DIR.thither CL town CL child
         'Somebody sent the boy to town.'

Pragmatically, this type of construction seems to code something that is functionally close to a passive voice, where the semantically transitive subject is less important. Since subject noun phrases are not required for subjecthood, demotion or deletion of a subject NP cannot apply in Pilagá, as would be the case for a prototypical passive construction. In fact, Pilagá lacks a prototypical passive device. A sentence having a verb with an indefinite subject marker can be glossed as an impersonal passive, similar to Spanish "se+verb+subject".

The coding of the subject as unimportant via qo- is possible regardless of the degree of referentiality of the patient. It can be animate or not, human or not, as the

examples in (8) and also in (9) demonstrate. (9) is a text excerpt where the speaker

(Victoria Palomo, Barrio Qompí) is telling how to prepare the stew:

(9)

da' qo-y-aw'o   ne-wosek   qo-y-wetake   lapat taʿa
conj IS-agt3-make Indef.Poss.3-stew IS-setA.3-need meat and

ga' l-alege.
CL Poss.3- ingredients

'When preparing the stew, one needs ingredients.'

w'aeñi qo-ya-saʿa-ñi   ga' lapat qo-n-akot   taañi
first   IS-setA.3-throw-DIR   CL meat IS-setB.3-add squash

'First, one throws in meat, adds squash.'

kopa'a qo-ya-saʿa-ñi   ga' yačiñi l-alege.
then   IS-setA.3-throw.DIR CL other   Poss.3-ingredients

'Then, one throws in the other ingredients.'

da' qo-y-e'et   ga' ne-wosek   qo-y-aw'o   čita   na' taʿaki.
conj IS-setA.3-fix CL Poss.3-stew IS-setA.3-make grease,oil CL pot

'To fix the stew, one makes/uses grease in the pot.'

(10a) is the beginning of a story told by a traditional speaker, Julio Suárez. The

story narrates how Coy (sp. of rodent) steals the fire from Fox in order to roast meat. The

subject of the verbs qoyawana and qoysetapega is dya' qadet'al 'our ancestors'; qo-

signals that the referenced subject participant is unspecified; it does not need to be

specified since it is indefinite or unknown, even if it was not referenced before.

(10)

(a) Hokal'i   maʌaᴄa
   at that time   yet

'Once upon a time, yet

da'   na-   čoᴄodek   qaya'te   qo- ya-wana
CL   Poss.3- poverty NEG.EXIST IS- setA.3-find

there was poverty; they found nothing.'

qo- y- seta-pega   so'   wadiñolek
IS-setA.3- tell-ASP   CL   Coy

'They told about the coy'.

In the next examples, the narrator is using qo- to signal that the subject is indefinite or unspecified; throughout the preceding part of the story the subject has simply been the indefinite so' siyaᴄadipi 'people'.

(11)

(a) hokal'i qo-ya-ča-wo   so' l-mačaqa
   then   IS-setA.3-go-DIR CL Poss.3-house, settlement

'Then, they (the people) went to the camp.'

(b) qo-n-la-ñ-a   hokal'i so' nanayki hanače qo-d-qaege-lege
   IS-set B.3-see-DIR-Obj.sg then   CL snake   conj IS-setA.3-frighten-DIR

'They (the people) saw the snake then, and they became frightened.'

5.3 Number

In this section I will discuss the number agreement system for subject and object participants. These two categories are represented by positional classes 5 and 9 respectively, in the verb template (Table 4).

5.3.1 Subject Number

The Pilagá verb agrees with its subject in person and number. The verb template shows that person prefixes immediately precede the verb stem, while number suffixes follow it. In actuality, the number suffix may follow the root or it may be infixed. This means that 'subject number' is not a unitary category as far as position is concerned. Reasons why this happens have not been clarified yet. Complete paradigms exemplifying number prefixes can be seen in (12). (When the affix occurs as an infix, the split of the root is marked by [..].)

As with subject prefixes, allomorphy between plural suffixes is not phonologically conditioned. Also, attempts to find explanations for the distribution of plural allomorphs, based on the verb's pronominal case-marking properties have not been successful. Rather, all allomorphs appear to be lexically conditioned.

The paradigms in (12) illustrate the use of plural suffixes with prefixes from set A and set B (again, [...] surrounds material infixed to a root).

(12)

    (a) sa-noma
       setA.1-know

       'I know (i.e., have knowledge).'

       awa-noma
       setA.2-know

       'You (sg.) know.'

       ø-noma
       setA.3-know

       'He/she knows.'

       sa-noma-ra
       setA.1-know-PL

       'We know.'

       awa- nom...-i -y-..a
       setA.2-know..-PL-ep

       'You (pl) know.'

       na- nom..-d-..a
       setA.3-know..-PL

       'They know.'

   (b) s-ae-ta
       setA.1-come-DIR.out of

       'I come out (e.g., of the water).'

       [aeta]
       a-ae-ta
       setB.2-come-DIR

       'You come out.'

t- ae-ta
setA.3-come-DIR

'He/she comes out.'

s-a-ʳa-ta
setA.1-come-PL-DIR

'We come out.'

t-a..-d..-e-..ta
setA.3-go..-PL-DIR

'They come out.'

In (12a-b), the morpheme for the 1ˢᵗ person plural is -ʳa and it is suffixed to the

stem; for 2ⁿᵈ person it is -i; and for 3ʳᵈ person, it is -d. In (12a), both markers for 2ⁿᵈ and

3ʳᵈ person plural are infixed. (Notice the insertion of a glide between the plural

morpheme and the second part of the root for 2ⁿᵈ plural; cf. Chapter III, section 3.6.2.)

Now, compare the allomorphic variation between the plural affixes in (12a-d).

A verb like -ateton 'know' in (12c) shows -aq '1pl', whereas -laq 'yell' in (12d) has -soq

'1pl'. For the 2ⁿᵈ person plural, a morpheme consisting of a vowel phoneme is a

constant; though variation in the vowel quality is subject to harmony (Notice the

palatalization of n > ñ when followed by -i '2ⁿᵈ plural' in (12c), and the epenthesis of

/a/ in (7d). All these phonological adjustments were discussed in Chapter III.)

For the 3ʳᵈ person plural, both verb roots have a glottal stop inserted as their plural

marker, while (12a) and also (12e), below, exhibit -d '3pl'.

(c) s-ateto-n
   setA.1-know-ASP

   'I know (e.g., a person or a place).'

   aw-ateto-n
   setA.2-know-ASP

   'You know.'

   y-ateto-n
   setA.3-know-ASP

   'He knows.'

   s-ateto-n-aq
   setA.1-know-ASP-PL

   'We know.'

   [awatetoñi]
   aw-ateto-n-i
   setA.2-know-ASP-PL

   'You (pl) know.'

   y-ateto-'-n
   setA.3-know-PL-ASP

   'They know.'

(d) sa-laq
   setA.1-yell

   'I yell.'

   awa-laq
   setA.2-yell

   'You yell.'

ya-laq
setA.3-yell

'He/she yells.'

sa-la..-so..-q
setA.1-yell..-PL

'We yell.'

awa-laq-a-e
setA.2-yell..-ep.vow-PL

'You (pl) yell.'

ya-la-..'..-q
setA.3-yell..-PL

'They yell.'

(e) sa-čiyaqa-segem
   setA.1-descend-DIR.up/upwards

'I come (from an upper location).'

aw-čiyaqa-segem
setA.2-come from-DIR

'You come.'

ø - čiyaqa- segem
setA.3-come from-DIR

'He/she comes.'

sa-čiyo-..sa..-qa-segem
setA.1-come from..-PL-DIR

'We come.'

aw-čiyoqa-e-segem
setA.2-come from-PL-DIR

'You (pl) come.'

ø-čiyoqo-da-segem
setA.3-come from-PL-DIR

'They come.'

As shown, -so and -sa are both possible realizations of the 1ˢᵗ person plural

morpheme (and as mentioned above, the plural marker -so or -sa, versus -qa, is lexically

determined). Interestingly, the most general form for the 1ˢᵗ plural is CV, where the

consonant alternates between /q/, /c/ and /s/. But metathesized -aq occurs when a

consonant precedes the plural affix (cf. 12c and also 12f, 12g, in contrast with 12h).

(f) ñ-atoʕo-ge'
   setB.1-spit-DIR.thither

   'I spit.'

   an-atoʕo-ge'
   setB.1-spit-DIR

   'You spit.'

   n-atoʕo-ge'
   setB.3-spit-DIR

   'He/she spits.'

   ñ-atoʕo-g-aq
   setB.1-spit-DIR.-PL

   'We spit.'

an-atoɣo-i-ge'
setB.1-spit-PL-DIR

'You (pl) spit.'

n-atoɣo-de-ge'
setB.3-spit-PL-DIR

'They spit.'

(g) ñi-čila-n
   setB.1-wash-ASP

'I wash myself.'

an- čila-n
setB.2-wash-ASP

'You wash yourself.'

na-čila-n
setB.1-wash-ASP

'He washes himself.'

ñi-čila-n-aq
setB.1-wash-ASP-PL

'We wash ourselves.'

an-čila-ñ-i
setB.2-wash-ASP-PL

'You (pl) wash yourselves.'

na-čila-'-n̩
setB.3-wash-PL-ASP

'They wash themselves.'

As stated, the same plural marker may be suffixed or infixed. In this sense, compare the position of -aq in (12c, 12f, 12g) in contrast with (12h). Also notice that the position of the plural marker with respect to the root is not the same for all the grammatical persons within the same paradigm. As (12h) shows, the plural morpheme may come before the root in the 1st and 2nd person forms, or after the root but preceding the directional in the 3rd person:

(h) s-ačin-yi
    setA.1-dive-DIR.downwards

    'I dived into (e.g the water).'

    a-čin-yi
    setA.2-dive-DIR.

    'You dived into.'

    t-ačin-yi
    setA.3-dive-DIR.

    'He/she dived into.'

    s-aq-ačin-yi
    setA.1-dive-PL-DIR.

    'We dived into.'

    aw-e-čin-yi
    setA.2-PL-dive-DIR.

    'You (pl) dived into.'

    t-ači-di-n-yi
    setA.3-dive-PL-DIR

    'They dived into.'

The example in (12i) shows a suppletive verb paradigm (i.e., different root forms; specifically notice that the root form for the 1ˢᵗ plural is different). The plural suffixes in (12i) show no new forms from those in the preceding examples. Notice that phonetically the morpheme for 2ⁿᵈ plural -i surfaces as -y to satisfy syllable constraints. Here, the /e/ and /k/ phonemes in the root undergo metathesis. (The reason for assuming that the basic root form is ek is that this form occurs when the verb 'go' occurs without any affixes whatsoever.)

(i) s-ek
  setA.1-go

  'I leave.'

  aw-ek
  setA.2-go

  'You leave.'

  ø-ek   (~ hek)
  setA.3-go

  'He/she leaves.'

  qolaq⁴
  'We leave.'

  o-k..-y-..ewo
  setA.2-go..-PL

  'You (pl) leave.'

  ø-ke..-de..-wo
  setA.3-go..-PL

  'They leave.'

(12j) illustrates the same verb root as in (12i), but in (12j) the root co-occurs with a directional marker -wo. The suppletive form of the root for the 1ˢᵗ plural still holds, but unlike (12i), root-metathesis applies throughout the entire paradigm:

(j) se-ge-wo[5]
setA.1-go-DIR.outwards

'I go (i.e., to the house).'

o-ke-wo
setA.2-go-DIR

'You go.'

ø-ke-wo
setA.3-go-DIR

'He/she goes.'

qolawo[6]
'We go.'

o-k.-y..-ewo
setA.2-go..-PL-DIR

'You (pl) go.'

ø-ke..-de-..wo
setA.3-go-PL-DIR

'They go.'

The next is an example of a set B case-marked verb. In principle, set B verbs have the same plural forms as the set A verbs. However, plural forms in (12k) show a number of idiosyncrasies. For 1ˢᵗ plural, -a is the remnant of the suffix. Notice that the root is

-qat 'catch', and that an epenthetic vowel inserted before another consonant-initial suffix,

such as the directional prefix -ñi 'downwards'. Usually, the plural affix for 2nd plural is

-i; and one could argue that there is no certainty as to whether the vowel between the root

and the directional suffix is epenthetic or whether it corresponds to the 2nd plural affix.

The form for the 2nd plural is, at first glance, identical to the 2nd singular. However, the

Pilagá consultant from whom this paradigm was elicited emphasized that there is stress-

shift in the plural verb form. I was able to double-check this example with a few more

speakers, and they all confirmed that there is a difference based on stress between the

singular and the plural. Thus, while in the singular stress falls on the vowel of the verb

root, the accented syllable in the plural form is the penultimate i.e., anqáčiñi vs. anqačíñi.

Since epenthetic vowels are never stressed, it is possible that the vowel in the 2nd plural

corresponds in effect to the surface form of the plural morpheme, and it is the plural

suffix which manipulates stress assignment, causing a change in meaning, from 'singular'

to 'plural':

(k) ña-qáčiñi
    ña - qat - i - ñi
    setB.1-catch-ep.vow-DIR.downwards

    'I caught (e.g. an animal).'

    an-qáč-i-ñi
    setB.2-catch-ep.vow-DIR.downwards

    'You caught.'

na-qáč-i-ñi
setB.3-catch-ep.vow.-DIR.downwards

'He caught.'

ñaqátañi
ña-qat-qa-ñi
setB.1-catch-PL-DIR.downwards

'We caught.'

an-qač-í-ñi
setB.2-catch-ep.vow-DIR.downwards

'You (all)caught.'

na-qáč-i-di-ñi
setB.3-catch-ep.vow-PL-DIR.downwards

'They caught.'

Up to this point, we have seen subject number indication and the many forms that it

takes. These plural marker forms specify the number for both types of transitive subjects

(set A and set B), and for all intransitive subjects. I conclude that, according to the

preceding observations, the distribution of subject plural allomorphs must be lexically

specified. Subject number affixes undergo phonological changes and may cause the verb

root to undergo phonological changes as well (e.g., palatalization and metathesis). The

fact that number forms can be infixed or suffixed challenges verb consituency in Pilagá,

since the same verb stem may be discontinuous, depending on the type and number of

suffixes that intervene in a verb word. Plural affixes may occur as suffixes, preceding

every other verb suffix (i.e., aspect and directional markers), or they may be placed at the

end of the verb word, even after aspect and directional markers. All these pecularities

make the study of the subject number category particularly interesting, due to the

implications for morphological theory (the fact that number does not have a fixed linear

position).

5.3.2 Object Number

A separate subsystem of number affixes is used to code number of the object. These

forms are always suffixed. They occupy the last position in the verb complex (positional

class 9), and they are optional.

Though object number suffixes have scope over the object participant of a transitive

verb (i.e., O), a few instances where the object number suffixes have scope over the

intransitive subject (i.e., S) have been found in my data, and I will discuss them at the end

of the present section.

Object number suffixes co-occur with noun phrases or free pronouns. An object

free pronoun is postverbal when it references a 3rd person, or preverbal if it references a

1st or 2nd person object participant. As with subject noun phrases but less frequently than

them, noun phrases referencing 3rd person objects can be omitted, especially if they are

understood from the context.

Pilagá has three morphemes for 'object number': -a 'Singular', -to 'Paucal' (which

addresses a small group of referents), and -lo 'Plural' (which comprises a larger number

of entities than those included in the paucal category). Though it is possible to elicit it,

the paucal number suffix is a very low frequency morpheme. Generally, the plural suffix

assumes the pluralizing function, no matter whether the number of referenced entities is two or more than two, a small or a big group of entities.

The sentences in (13a-c) exemplify 'singular' number agreement:

(13)

    (a) yi-ketap-sem-a   so'   yawo
         setA.3-point-DIR.upwards-Obj.sg CL   woman

    'He pointed up to the woman (who was up, in a tree). (Nesoge.II.45).'

    (b) y-akon-a   so'   l-ayo
         setA1-pick up-Obj.sg CL   POSS3-mortar

    'She picks her mortar.'

    (c) ana-kya-n-a
         setA.2-listen-ASP.non progr-Obj.sg

    'Listen (to that sound)! (Wole.35)

    (d) hayem   aw-aɾalon-a   ga' niǰiñ'a
         PRO.1sg setA.2-show-Obj.sg CL place

    'Show me the place!' (Toǰ'el.36)

    (e) qanaǰ'e qo-y-aɾalon-a   haga' noɾop
         conj   IS-setA.3-show-Obj.sg DEM water

    'And the water was shown.' (Toǰ'el.41)

Examples (14a-c) illustrate the 'paucal' number marker. The verbal paucal suffix -to is formally similar to the 'dual' suffix -te for nouns, which suggests a possible historical connection between them:

(14)

    (a) si-yala-to
       setA.1-to be worry-Obj.Pauc

    'I am worried about those (looking at a few children).'

    (b) qanč'e yi-lota-to   da'   siyoχoda
       conj   setA.3-look-Obj.Pauc CL   white women

    'Then he looked at those white women.' (Ign.III.12)

    (c) no-qopita   da'   ø-taya-pe-to   na' qokte lawali
       setA.3-like CPTZ setA.3-speak-DIR-Obj.pauc CL grandchildren

    'She likes talking about her grandchildren.' (Nole.10)

    (d) qamal'e nač'e y-awa'te-ge-to'   so' ele'
             conj   setA.3-see-DIR-Obj.pauc CL parrot

    'And then Parrot saw those who were coming.'(Wole.32)

In (15), examples of 'plural' marking for objects are provided:

(15)

    (a) y-i-ketap-i-sem-lo   so'   yawo-di-pi
       setA.3-point-DIR-Obj.pl CL   woman- col

    'He points up at the women.'

    (b) ami'   si-yaχana-lo
       PRO.2pl setA.1-call-Obj.pl

    'I will call you (pl).' (Wole.15)

(c) qom'i   an-qopita-lo
    PRO.2PL   setB.2-like-Obj.pl

'You like us (i.e the people in the community).'

The fact that object agreement suffixes may indicate the number of the intransitive

subject as well is confirmed by (16); (16) demonstrates that the plural suffix indeed refers

to the grammatical subject, since they are all intransitives with one core argument:

(16)

(a) t-a-t-e-ge'-lo   so' siyaꞔa-di-pi
    setA.3-go-ASP.progr-ep.vow-DIR-Obj.pl   CL   person-col

'The people are going away.'

(b) na-yapeg-eg'a-lo   hen   ñiyaq-pi
    setB.3-run in water-DIR-Obj.pl   DEM   fish-col

'The fish run with the flow.'

(c) n-ibiet-'at-a-lo
    setB.3-control-RECP-ep.vowel-Obj.pl

'They control each other.' (Toč'el. 22)

The reason why in (16) plural number of the subject is indicated through the object

number markers, rather than by subject number markers, has no explanation to my

knowledge. One possibility is that this plural marking system may be the residue of a no

longer productive absolutive agreement system, or rather the opposite, it could be an

emergent absolutive system, and for either reason sometimes functions to indicate the plural number of the only argument of an intransitive verb.

5.4 Valency Affixes

In preceding sections we have looked at a number of inflectional paradigms corresponding to numbered positions in the verb stem (cf. Table 4). I now turn to several non-productive affixes that affect valency at the level of the verb stem.

Some verb roots can co-occur with affixes that increase or decrease the number of arguments of the verb. For one set of verbs, valency-change is correlated with alternation of subject prefixes from set A and set B; though for many other verbs this is not the case, as will be discussed in this chapter and the next.

Stem-level affixes that may cause valency to change include -aɢan 'transitivizer', -l'at 'reflexive', -'at 'reciprocal'. Pilagá lacks morphological causatives; causatives are periphrastic constructions with finite inflected verb forms. For this reason, I defer the discussion on causative constructions until Chapter XI. (Directionals/applicatives also sometimes affect argument structure; but these occur in a distinct position in the verb and are discussed at length in Chapters VII and IX.)

5.4.1 Val 2 -aɢan

The main function of -aɢan is to increase the number of participants for a handful of verbs which otherwise are used intransitively. Without -aɢan these verbs would be otherwise reciprocal (17a), reflexive (17c and e), or simply intransitive (17g). Verbs

carrying -aɣan are semantically bivalent. For that reason I choose to gloss -aɣan as a 'valency-increasing' suffix (Val2), resulting in a verb that behaves as transitive.

In Pilagá, -aɣan may occur without the pharyngeal fricative, sometimes provoking uncertainty as to whether the morpheme occurs in a particular verb or not. Deletion of the fricative is particularly common in my data, as the Pilagá consultants who provided most of the elicited data speak a dialect that tends to delete the pharyngeal consonant between vowels (*Pilagá del Bañado*; cf. Chapter I). But nevertheless, when comparing data from this dialect with that provided by speakers from the *Pilagá de Navagán* dialect, this morpheme still appears to occur in very few instances in texts.

In Pilagá the alternation between the verb form with -aɣan and the form that does not have it is generally accompanied by a different subject prefix choice, i.e., the verb form with -aɣan co-occurs with set A subject prefixes, while the verb form without -aɣan co-occurs with prefixes from the set B. This is not so in one hundred per cent of the cases, however, due to the pervasive lexicalization that the case-marking system has already gone through. Similarly for Mocoví, Gualdieri states that the derived verb forms marked by this suffix tend to co-occur with prefixes from the agentive class, which are basically cognates with Pilagá set A forms.

Examples are provided in (17). Phonological adjustments between the root and the suffix should be noticed. In particular, see the change in the vocalism of the root between (17g-h), where the inserted glide causes the vowel of the root to change, i.e., /e/ > /i/. (Also, verbs ending in a glottal stop, with no following suffix, create an echo effect which duplicates the vowel to the right of the glottal closure, i.e., /ke'/ 'feed' > [ke'e].)

(17)

    (a) ñi-tawa-n-'at
        setB.1-help-ASP.non progr-RECP

        'We help each other.'

    (b) an-se-tawa-<u>aꞔan</u>
        2O-setA.1-help-Val2

        'I help you.'

    (c) ñ-e'et
        setB.1-fix

        'I fix myself.'

    (d) s-e'et-<u>aꞔan</u>
        setA.1-fix-Val2

        'I fix somebody else (him/her)'

    (e) ña-čel
        setB.1-bathe

        'I bathe myself.'

    (f) yi-an-čel-<u>aꞔa</u>-tak
        1O-setB.2-bathe-Val2-ASP.progr

        'You are bathing me.'

    (g) s-ke'e
        setA.1-feed

        'I eat (or I feed me).'

    (h) s-ki-y-<u>aꞔan</u>
        setA.1-feed-ep-Val2

        'I feed somebody else.'

The transitivizer aɣan is also found in Toba (Klein 1973) and Mocoví (Gualdieri 1998) from the Southern Guaykuruan branch, and in Kadiwéu (Sandalo 1996), from the Mbayá-Guaykuru branch as well. Klein (1973:86) analyzes the cognate Toba -aga as a stem formative "which at times means a kind of inchoative or inceptive aspect, in other instances, closer to a factitive". The same interpretation is given by Gualdieri (1998:249) for Mocoví, while Sandalo recognizes the Kadiweu cognate form as a type of valence-increasing marker. It seems, therefore, that -aɣan represents an old transitive/intransitive alternation, probably traceable to Proto-Guyakuruan.

It is important to point out that for some verbs the distinction between a transitive and a reciprocal form does not depend on -aɣan, but on the choice of the subject prefix along with the reciprocal marker -'at, as the following pairs without -aɣan seem to confirm (see extensive discussion of this in Chapter V, section 5.5.2).

(18)

    (a) ñ-ačet-'at
       setB.1-offer-RECP

       'We offer each other something.'

    (b) am   s-ačet
       PRO.2 sg setA.1-offer

       'I offer you something.'

    (c) ñi-waten-'at
       setB.1-trust-RECP

       'We trust each other.'

(d) am   se-watet-get
PRO.2sg setA.1-trust-DIR.hither

'I trust you.'

(e) ña-wan-'at
setB.1-find-RECP

'We find each other.'

(f) am   sa-wana
PRO 2 sg   setB.1-find

'I meet/find you.'

Finally, the derived verb 'teach' (based on 'learn') carries -aꞩan co-lexicalized with -t(a), as the next example shows. In (20) the function of -ta (glossed as 'verbal formative' (vft)) remains a puzzle. The form pagen+ta simply appears to be part of the stem as indicated by the following nominalizations: pagenta-naꞩa-ki 'school' pagenta-naꞩa-e 'teacher (fem.)'. (The formation of deverbal nouns was already discussed in Chapter IV.)

(19)

(a) ñ-apagen-a
setB.1-learn-Obj.sg

'I learn.'

(b) d-apagen-ta-aꞩan
setA.3-learn-vft-Val2

'I teach.'

My conclusion is that while it is possible to classify -acan as a valence-increasing morpheme, it is not completely productive synchronically.

5.4.2 Reflexives and Reciprocals

There is one clear way by which a verb becomes intransitive; that is by adding the reciprocal -'at or the reflexive -l'at. As was mentioned above (and will be discussed in the following chapter) 'reflexivity' and 'reciprocality' generally correlate with the occurrence of set B subject markers. Reflexive and reciprocal constructions occur with a single pronoun prefix, marking the subject (see 20 and 21). No pronominal prefix expresses what would be the human patient of the transitive verb.

(20)

    (a) ñi-lo-qo-t-'at
        setB.1-look-PL-ASP-RECP

       'We are looking at each other.'

    (b) an-lo-e-t-'at
        setB2-look-PL-ASP-RECP

       'You are looking at each other.'

    (c) n-lo-t-'at
        setB3-look-ASP-RECP

       'They are looking at each other.'

    Contrast the reciprocal verb form with -'at, with the reflexive verb form having -l'at:

(21)

(a) [ñilol'at]
ñi-lo-l'at
setB1-look--REFL

'I look at myself.'

(b) [anlol'at]
an-lo-l'at
setB.2-look-REFL

'You look at yourself.'

(c) [nlol'at]
n-lo-l'at
setB.3-look-REFL

'He/she looks at himself/herself.'

(d) [ñiloqol'at]
ñi-lo-qo-l'at
setB.1-look-PL-REFL

'We look at ourselves.'

(e) [anloel'at]
an-lo-e-l'at
setB.2-look-PL-REFL

'You look at yourselves.'

(f) [nlotr'at]
n-lo-t-d-l'at
setB.3-look-ASP-PL-REFL

'They are looking at themselves.'

5.4.3 Other Stem Derivations

We do encounter as part of the Pilagá verb stem an affix that does not fit into the inflectional category, and does not change the verb valency either. This form is -asak which, like -asan, is subject to phonological reduction (/aʳak/ > [a: k]). This form seems to indicate that there are no other participants involved except for the subject. For this reason I gloss it as 'Val1', as opposed to -asan 'Val2'.

Now, -asak can be found on verbs and on deverbal nouns, with different functions. The first function of -asak contrasts with -asan, apparently in cases where the verb can be equally monovalent or bivalent. Actually only one instance of the alternation between these suffixes with the same verb root was found in the corpus; in the relevant example, the verb forms do not differ by the presence of -asak only; they have subject prefixes from different sets as well:

(22)

    (a) ña-pogan-asak
        setB1-harvest-Val1

        'I harvest for myself (=my own harvest).'

    (b) sa-pogan-asan
        setA1-harvest-Val2

        'I harvest for somebody else.'

One could argue that -aᶜak has a certain semantic effect related to 'affectedness'. In (22a), subject case marking and probably also -aᶜak indicate that the subject is more like a patient. In (23b and 23d), the use of -aᶜak also indicates that the subject is affected :

(23)

    (a) se-som-tak
        setA.1-loose-ASP.progr

       'I am lost.'

    (b) se-som-aᶜak
        setA.1-loose-Val1

       'I got lost.'

    (c) [yačemačiyi]
        ya-čemat-iyi
        setA.3.-roast-DIR.

       'They roast (fish, stuck to the floor).'

    (d) na-čemat-aᶜak
        setB.3-roast-Val1

       'It is roasted.'

In a second type of situation, the suffix has co-lexicalized with the stem. Thus, it has become part of a lexical verb stem with idiomatic meaning. There is no transitive counterpart for these forms and they must occur with -aᶜak. The following are, therefore, always intransitive and monovalent stems:

(24)

(a) ñi-tonaɾak
setB.1-be happy

'I am happy.'

(b) ñ-ayaɾak
setB.1-menstruate

'I menstruate.'

Thirdly, it occurs as part of a nominalizer -(n)aɾak, whose main function is to derive nouns from verbs. As verbs, these roots can occur without -aɾak.

(25)

Verb root		Noun	
-na	'to sow'	na-na-naɾak	'the sowing'
-onta	'to work'	n-onta-naɾak	'the work'
-kese	'to copulate'	n-keseget-aɾak	'the coitus'
-aloɾos	'to run'	n-aloos-aɾak	'the velocity'
-mana	'to desire'	na-mana-naɾak	'the sexual desire'

As with -aɾan, Pilagá -aɾak does not prove to be a productive morpheme on verbs. It does not function as a valence-reducing derivation, and it is also involved in lexicalized forms.

Notes

[1] Pilaga does not allow /d/ in word-final position; thus the surface glottal stop occurs instead.

[2] The pronominal form qo- 'indefinite subject' is the topic of the next section. Note that there is vowel harmony between the vowel of this prefix and the vowel of the dative object prefix for 1st person.

[3] The verb qopita 'like' selects either set A or set B subject prefixes. With set B prefixes, it means 'like', but with set A marking it means 'love' (the difference probably based in the subject's intentionality or volitionality). Usually when marked with a prefix from set A, the verb takes a second human participant (the recipient of action) as its dative object. Note that when it has a set B 2nd person subject, the verb form is anqopita 'you like (it/something)'. The 3rd person-set A verb form is qopita 'he loves somebody', with zero marking for the subject. If we attach a dative object prefix for 2nd person singular to the verb form qopita, the form would be *anqopita 'he likes you', causing homophony between anqopita 'you like it.' and *anqopita 'he likes you'. I have no explanation for the presence of anqopitetpega (also pronounced [anqopitetpa] ; all I can say is that synchronically this verb form carries an aspectual suffix -pega , a non-progressive aspectual marker, which is absent for the rest of the forms.

[4] Historical studies point out that it is not unusual to find suppletive roots for verbs like 'go' in other languages (e.g. English go/went).

[5] Synchronically, I found no explanation to account for the voicing difference between 1st and 2nd person singular forms in this paradigm

[6] See note 1.

CHAPTER VI

VERB MORPHOLOGY II: SUBJECT CASE-MARKING

6.0 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to explaining in detail how the Pilagá subject case-marking

system works. As noted in Chapter V (section 5.2.1), there are two sets of subject

prefixes. According to the distribution of these sets to verb stems, I propose that verbs fall

into any of following three categories: (a) verbs that take set A prefixes only, (b) verbs

that take set B prefixes only, and (c) verbs that can take either set A or set B. For the

third group, the coding of the same verb by either set A or set B forms highly depends on

the semantic properties of the subject. When coded by set A forms, the subject is

generally conceived more like a semantic Agent; whereas when set B forms are used, the

subject is generally understood as a semantic Undergoer or as an Experiencer. However,

for the first and second groups of verbs, there are a number of vicissitudes. For many

verbs included in the first group (set A-coding only), the subject is not a prototypical

Agent. For the second group (set B-coding only), there is group of verbs like 'drink',

'catch' or 'run' for which the subject should not be understood as a Undergoer; I assume

that in those cases, the assignment of a verb to a prefix class is synchronically lexicalized (Mithun 1991).

Another typological oddity that subject case-marking in Pilagá shows is the colescence of two rationales, that is 'voice/valency' and 'trajectory of the event' into the same system. The encoding of 'trajectory' in this case-marking system (also referred to as 'directionality' in Toba by Klein (1981)) is probably widespread in the languages of the Southern Guaykuruan family, a topic that this chapter also discusses. Since this coalescence must have developed gradually over time, I compare Pilagá subject case-marking with the cognate system in Toba and Abipón.

6.1 Distribution of Case-Marking

I will start by discussing the distribution of subject case marking for the first two groups of verbs, that is, those that can only occur with set A or set B. "Set A" and "Set B" are formal labels, in the sense that they stand as labels for classes of forms. I have deliberately avoided the use of semantic-sounding terminology such as "active/stative" or "agentive /non-agentive" (Vidal 1997b), simply because these terms are strongly connotative and in Pilagá, for many verbs the grammatical coding does not always align with semantics of 'agentivity/non-agentivity'.

6.1.1 Set A-Only Verbs

In a semantic sense, Agents are participants who perform an action. Typically, 'agentivity' implies 'intention' or 'volition'. However, in a number of Pilagá examples the grammatical subject is a non-volitional participant and is not in control of the situation described by the predicate. Therefore, one important idea to bear in mind is that for the Pilagá case-marking system, the Agent does not always exercise control over the action; rather the Agent seems to be a performer or a source with or without control.

The verbs presented in (1) are events characterized as activities (Vendler 1967). These verbs take set A case-marking only.

(1)

(a) se-taqa-tak
setA.1-speak-PRG.progr

'I am speaking.'

(b) se-see-tak
setA.1-criticize-ASP.progr

'I am criticizing.'

(c) se-nataça-nek
setA.1-ask-human

'I ask about somebody.'

(d) s-'alaq
setA.1-shout

'I shout.'

(e) s-ae-ta
setA.1-go/move-DIR.out of

'I come out.' (surge, e.g., out of the water)

(f) s-ae-yi
setA.1-go/move-DIR.downwards/inside

'I go.' (e.g., to the forest)

(g) s-ačiyoro-ge'
setA.1-procede-DIR.thither

'I come from.' (e.g., a far place)

(h) s-ačiyaqa-yi [1]
setA.1-procede-DIR.downwards

'I descend from.'

(i) s-aw'o
setA.1-make

'I make/prepare.'

(j) se-ke'e
setA.1-eat

'I eat.'

(k) se-walara-n
setA.1-play-ASP

'I play.'

It should not go without noting that verbs in (1) involve a physical activity of some sort where the subject is definitely an Agent, according to our definition of Agent as a

performer (even in -čiyaqa 'descend (genetic lineage)', which should be taken as a metaphorical extension of the motion verb -čiyoco 'procede from a location'). But as soon as one starts looking at other verbs that fall into this group, problematic cases appear. For instance, predicates denoting mental activity are also found in the class of Set A-only verbs, as seen in (2).

(2)

    (a) s-ateto-n
        setA.1-know-ASP

    'I know (a person or a place).'

    (b) sa-yate-n
        set.A.1-know-ASP

    'I know.' (somebody told me)

Thus, these examples are one reason why the entire class of set A-only verbs cannot be characterized as a class where the subject is in control of the situation, understanding by 'control' the capacity which an individual has to choose (Klaiman 1991:115). In fact, some set A-only marked predicates in Pilagá are verbs of perception and verbs of involuntary bodily processes (3a-c) which do not involve any control whatsoever. It could be argued that verbs of perception and verbs of mental processes are not subject to control because of certain unvoluntariness on the part of the subject, as in (2) and (3). In (3) verbs like 'cough' or 'scratch' address a more spontaneous behavior than, for instance,

'play', 'eat' or shout' given in (1). But as shown, in all such cases, the subject is marked

by a person prefix from set A.

(3)

    (a) se-senava-n
       setA.1-scratch-ASP

       'I scratch (myself).'

    (b) sa-qaegoso-n
       set A.1-cough-ASP

       'I cough.'

    (c) s-awa't-e-get
       setA.1-observe-ep.vow-DIR

       'I observe.'

    (d) se-lota-pega
       setA.1-look-ASP/MOD

       'I see something.'

Up to this point, set A-only case marked verbs might suggest that one general

semantic feature for this class is that the subject is understood as a performer or as a

source, with or without control. However, in Pilagá other verb types, such as states, also

appear in this class. Verbs in (4), which are all states (in particular, emotion predicates)

where the grammatical subject is more an Undergoer than an Agent, show that 'control'

does not play a role in the choice of case-marking here.[2]

(4)

    (a) s-ekon
        setA.1- headache

        'I have a headache.'

    (b) s-akiko
        setA.1-sad

        'I am sad.'

    (c) s-elwak
        setA.1-sick

        'I am sick.'

    (d) s-asqowa-t
        setA.1-hunger-ASP

        'I am hungry.'

The examples provided in this section show that set A can occur with different verb classes, and that many of the verbs can be used transitively, by instantiating a patient or a dative object though an object prefix (such as (3d) illustrated in chapter 5, section 5.2.2) or a postverbal noun phrase. I provide more examples of verbs included in the set A-only case marked group in (5).

(5) *Physical activity verbs*: -lew 'die', -lat 'kill (tr/refl.)', -opi 'carry water', -čiyoɣo 'get', -sona 'stick/nail something on the floor', -ñoɣot 'to obtain/get for onself', -'ete 'prepare (for instance, food or fire)', -alik 'eat', -epe(t) 'to fish', -keta 'point out', -saqa 'throw', -

ñe 'sit/move downwards', -bit 'move/go', -'oče 'sleep', -lekte 'mix'; *Mental and emotion predicates*: -w'at 'observe', -yak 'wait', -li 'hear', -peta 'think';

Statives/positionals: - b'iya't 'be bent', -soedi 'be kneeling down' -kosa 'be asleep', -neta 'reside/live/be', -wana 'have'; *Speech-act verbs*: -seet 'criticize', -set 'tell/narrate', -taqa 'speak'; *Translational motion verbs*: -pae ~ae 'go to', -kole(t) 'fly', -yoq 'carry'.

6.1.2 Set B-Only Verbs

A small group of verb roots take set B subject prefixes exclusively. The core of the verbs that participate in this set are intransitive predicates where the subject is an Undergoer. In such cases there is no sense of 'control' on the part of the grammatical subject. Examples are provided in (6):

(6)

    (a) ñi-tonaçak
       set B.1-be happy

       'I am happy.'

    (b) ñi-doč-i-ñi
       set B.1-to be sincere-ep.vow-ASP

       'I am sincere.'

Some verbs that describe body posture such as 'standing', 'lying' and 'sitting' also pattern with non-agentive marking (7). (However, as noted in (5) 'to be bent' and 'to be kneeling down' pattern with set A case-marking.)

(7)

   (a) n- čate-tapiñi
      setB.3-stand up-ASP

   'He is in the process of moving to an upright position.'

   (b) ne-na-tapiñi
      setB.3-lie-ASP

   'He is in the process of moving to an extended (=lying down) position.'

   (c) ne-s'oɤo-tapiñi
      setB.3-sit-ASP

   'He is in the process of moving to a downwards position.'

Most spontaneous bodily processes, also called 'reaction verbs' by Klaiman (op.cit: 119), have a human participant and select a subject prefix from set B. (But note that, exceptionally, the verb 'cough' in (3b) is a set A case-marking only verb.)

(8)

   (a) ñ-awek
      setB.1-breath

     'I breathe.'

(b) ñ-'ayaɾak
    setB.1-menstruate

'I menstruate.'

(c) ñ-oye-n
    setB.1-cry-ASP

'I cry.'

(d) ña-qase-n
    setB.1-sneeze-ASP

'I sneeze.'

If we assume that the core of the B-only group are intransitive undergoer predicates, some exceptions to the core meaning of the class are found. In particular, the next set (9) contains activity verbs where the grammatical subject can only be marked by set B forms, but the human participant is not in any given state and does not undergo a change of state. Considering the verb's lexical semantics, there is no apparent explanation for the fact that verbs in (1) co-occur with forms from set A, and verbs in (9) co-occur with forms from set B exclusively.

(9)

(a) ñi-yom
    setB.1-drink

'I drink.'

(b) ñ-aloqte-n
setB.1-dominate-ASP

'I dominate (somebody).'

(c) ña-qač-i-ñi
setB.1-catch-ep.vow-DIR

'I catch/hunt an animal.'

(d) ñ-ačaq- tapiñi
set B.1-run-ASP

'I am running.'

Other verb roots included in the set-B only group are:

(10) *Physical activities*: -pet 'to shave (tr/refl)', -wan'e 'to meet', tocoge 'to spit',

-mateda 'to pull out/up', -wana 'to catch',-ato 'to recollect', loon 'to swim', -kese(se) 'to

joke'/ 'to copulate'; *Mental and emotion predicates*: -kian 'to listen', -towe 'remember'.

Whether the verbs presented in this section constitute an exhaustive representation

of the Set-B verb types remains an open question. As shown in (7)-(9) and also in (10),

the set of verbs that comprises this group looks somewhat random. I am not entirely sure

about the inclusion of wana 'to catch' in the group of set B-only (cf. (10). There exists a

probably homophonous stem which occurs with set A prefixes with the meaning 'to find'

(e.g., sawana 'I find', awana 'you find' yawana 'he finds'.) However, my glosses (i.e.,

either 'to catch ' or 'to find') might not accurately reflect the meaning of the lexical verb when combined with one versus the other set of prefixes.

But setting this particular verb stem aside, even if the group of verbs that co-occur with prefixes from set B exclusively constitute a small group, one can still argue that some of these are activity verbs that, under some circumstances can be used transitively or intransitively, where transitivity has no relation to the choice of prefix set. For example, -pet 'to shave' can be used intransitively with a reflexive meaning, or transitively with the addition of a patient object (cf. also example (24) below). But there is no change in the prefix class whatsoever. Also (9a-c) can have a noun phrase which makes explicit the affected participant or patient object, but even in those cases this does not affect the choice of prefix set. A verb like aloq(te) may be used transitively like in (9b), or intransitively as in ñaloqtel'at 'I dominate myself', again with no change in the prefix class. The categorization of the verb 'drink' in (9a) as transitive or intransitive proves to be more problematic. -yom 'drink' describes a conventional action where the fact that the patient undergoes change of state might not be important. However, one could argue the same thing for a verb like 'eat' which in Pilagá has two different forms alik 'eat' and ke' or kiya meaning 'feed onself' or 'feed somebody else'. However, these last two verb stems, unlike 'drink', are included in the first group (i.e., set-A only; cf. (1j) and (5)).

In sum, much of the case-marking in Pilagá does appear semantically determined, but the fact that many of these verb stems can appear with only one particular prefix set suggests that the system is very lexicalized.

In the next section I will discuss the third group of verbs, which constitutes the vast majority of Pilagá verb stems. This is the group that can occur with either set A or set B markers.

6.2 Alternating Set-A and Set-B Case-Marking

The possibility for many verbs stems to be assigned to one case or the other suggests that Pilagá subject case-marking reflects a "split-S system" (Dixon 1994; also, called "active agreement" (DeLancey 1981)). If that were the case, one would expect that one class of prefixes might embody a subject who is in control of the event described by the verb, while the other class might encode a subject who is not in control of the activity or event. Thus, there should be basically two classes, one containing verbs that correlate with agentivity, and another class correlated with stativity or nonvolitionality.

Mithun (1991:518) argues that for some South American languages (e.g., Guaraní) and several North American languages (e.g., Caddoan, Pomo and Iroquoian), split-S systems are initially organized according to certain semantic bases, but as soon as there is much lexicalization, it starts to be less semantically transparent. Of the semantic parameters discussed in connection with split-intransitives, 'control' and 'affectedness' are particularly prominent.

However, I have shown above that in Pilagá, participants coded by set A forms do not always exhibit control or instigation, and that participants marked by set B forms do not always demonstrate affectedness and non-instigation. Verbs such as 'to be sad', 'to be

sick' or 'to cough' occur with set A case-marking, whereas the subject of verbs such as 'to be sincere' and 'to sneeze' are coded with set B prefixes. Thus, so far the purely semantic approach leaves us at a point where more investigation is necessary to explicate what governs the split.

In order to proceed with the discussion of what features rule the distribution of case-marking in Pilagá, it is important to examine what kind of semantic contrast arises when both sets of prefixes are possible. This is the topic of section 6.2.2. However, before getting into that discussion, I will review some of the literature on Split-S or active/stative systems common in languages throughout the world, to then determine how Pilagá compares with other similar systems (section 6.4).

6.2.1 Split-S Systems Cross-Linguistically

In Split-S systems (Dixon 1979, 1994),[3] intransitive verbs show an opposition between subjects treated like agents versus subjects treated as patients or undergoers (Perlmutter 1978; Van Valin 1990; Mithun 1991; inter alia). One syntactic treatment for this split is elaborated by Perlmutter (op.cit.) who distinguishes two kinds of intransitive verbs, i.e., unaccusatives and unergatives. Syntactic unaccusativity means that for certainintransitive predicates the grammatical subject displays the behavior of a grammatical object (i.e., unaccusative); whereas for other intransitive predicates, the subject behaves as a transitive subject (i.e., unergative). The information on the valency requirement of each verb is included in the lexicon.

Accounts of Split-S systems in genetically unrelated languages are numerous. A few of them will be briefly reviewed here.

Kamaiurá from the Tupí-Guaraní family exhibits two sets of person prefixes, i.e., active (participant in control) and inactive (lack of control) (Seki 1990). What Seki calls set I subject prefixes (the active paradigm) are associated with one-argument and two-argument active verbs. The inactive participant, coded by "dependent" inactive pronouns and "relational" prefixes (in Seki's terms) may play all such functions as (some) subjects, objects, genitive modifiers to nouns, or objects of postpositional phrases. In Kamaiurá the distribution of the active/non-active classes follows the semantic nature of the verb (in case of one argument verbs), and the semantic content of NPs (based on a hierarchy of person with two argument active verbs) (Seki 1990: 382). Such systems are also common in the Jê family .

Nevertheless, the distribution of classes in other South American active/non-active systems (i.e., in Guaymí (Chibchan), Campa (Arawakan) and Yagua (Peba-Yaguan)) seem to follow different principles (T. Payne 1984). In those cases, So (patient-like-subject) coding is highly correlated with verbs of locomotion, even though those verbs may involve volition, action and control on the part of their subjects (1984.:222). Interestingly, So verbs are used to indicate a change in the theme's locational scene (1984.:229).

Active/non-active systems are common in North American languages as well. In the Western Muskogean languages Chickasaw and Choctaw, for the most part the semantic role of the subject of an intransitive sentence has to be marked as to whether it is a semantic agent, or as a semantic patient (though there are lexicalized idiosyncracies, Munro and Gordon 1982).[4]

For some languages, like Lakhota (Siouan), 'agency' is a complex category where performers, effectors or instigators in control tend to be formally classified as agents. (Mithun, 1991, Mithun 1999). But in Pomo, Caddoan and Iroquoian, 'eventhood', 'performance' and instigation do not always cluster with the active paradigm. In Central Pomo, participants must be both out of control and significantly affected to be formally classified as patients. Thus, not only 'control' plays a role in the active/non-active division, but also 'affectedness' (1991:532).

The defining features of a grammatical class change over time and this may cause case assignment to look really opaque. Most active/non-active systems are, in principle, based on agency; but in Iroquoian languages the feature of aspect (perfective) became relevant to the system over time, yielding the contrast between inherent versus resultant states, and the reanalysis of patients in terms of categorial aspect, as pertaining to active or the the non-active class, respectively.

On active-marked systems Mithun explores how not only the shift of semantic features but also grammaticization and lexicalization can obscure the apparent reasons for case marking. In Mithun's terms grammaticization has happened when certain case choices become automatic consequences of other grammatical distinctions. For instance, in Mohawk all arguments of intransitive perfect verbs are categorized grammatically as patients, regardless of their actual affectedness. Thus, case selection has been grammaticized in the perfective aspect.

Lexicalization can obscure the semantic bases of marking too, when a verb enters the language and it becomes established with a particular case; or when the selection of a particular

marking category is the result of a long-established combination of a predicate and the marking-category as a unit. As a consequence, the original motivation for that combinatory unit is not synhronically transparent.

This evident clash between the semantics of the verb and the active/non-active morphological coding can be explained by the derivational history of words; in highly agglutinative languages with intricate morphological structure, words develop idiomatic senses no longer predictable from the meanings and arrangments of their composing elements. Idiomaticity ends up obliterating the literal meaning, no longer recoverable in present-day languages (Mithun 1991: 536-7).

6.2.2 Situation Types for Alternating Case-Marking in Pilagá

In Pilagá, set A and set B can occur with the vast majority of verb stems. The case-marking variation shows functional similarities between all the constructions encoded by the same set of prefixes. Despite some lexicalized idiosyncracies, in general for this large class of verbs set A aligns with induced and non-reflexive events, and in general with events where the subject participant discloses intentionality when performing an action. Conversely, set B encodes resultative events, reflexive events and in general, events where the subject participant does not exhibit deliberation when performing an action. This is the topic of the next subsections.

6.2.2.1 'Induced' vs. 'Spontaneous' Events and 'Resultative' States

Two distinctions that set A vs. set B case-marking reveals in Piiagá are 'induced' vs. 'spontaneous' events[5] (or what has been termed in the literature the 'causative/inchoative' opposition; cf. Haspelmath (1993), inter alia); and also 'induced' vs. 'resultative' states. These two pairs of concepts propose quite different scenarios, though the connection between them will be clarified shortly.

Both members of a causative/inchoative verb pair express the same basic situation (generally a change of state, more rarely an atelic process) and differ only in that the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant who causes the situation, whereas the inchoative verb meaning excludes a causing agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously (Haspelmath (1996: 90); e.g., the girl broke the stick (causative) vs. the stick broke (inchoative)). To use a particularly clear instance, note that 'sink' or 'melt' in sentences like the ship sank or the ice melted construe the event as occurring spontaneously.

DeLancey (1984) proposes that agentivity is a superordinate category that includes 'causation' (which in turn, subsumes 'volition' and 'proximate causation' entailed by participating in an event with external consequences). Thus, a volitional transitive event (e.g., X breaks the cup) is characterized by a two stage causation scheme; whereas a non-volitional event (e.g., The cup broke) will involve one causal chain. On the other hand, a volitional intransitive event (e.g., I jump) involves one causal vector "in which the act of

volition causes the act" (1984:8) and a non-volitional intransitive event (e.g., X died) does not define any causal chain.

Within a cognitive approach to verb lexical semantics, Croft (1994:91-93) considers the causation scheme elaborated by Delancey (1984) and restates it in somewhat different terms. He proposes that 'causative', 'inchoative' and 'stative' are part of an idealized 'causal chain'. The 'causal chain' in Croft's parlance has three separate segments, i.e., CAUSE-BECOME-STATE. Based on this idealized chain, he argues that since simple events are endpoint-oriented, verbs may code just the last segment (i.e., stative), or the second and the last (i.e., inchoative), or all three segments (i.e., causative).

In terms of this schema, it seems that in Pilagá when an event is conceptualized from its starting point (or source, DeLancey 1990), this situation is coded via set A case marking (recall our characterization of Agent in Pilagá as a performer or source). However, when the event is conceptualized as a change of a state (i.e., the second segment, according to Croft) or as the outcome of an event (i.e., the last segment in Croft's model), the speaker chooses set B case marking.

In the third group of Pilagá verbs, 'causative' vs. 'stative', and 'causative' vs. 'inchoative' meanings correlate with alternating case marking, as shown in (11a-b) and (11c-d).

(11)

(a) yačemačiyi
[y-ačemat-iyi]
setA.3-roast-DIR in a straight line

'He roasts something.'

(b) n-ačemat-ačak
setB.3-roast-Val2

'They are roasted (i.e., the fish).'

(c) s-ewat-ege
setA.1-open-DIR.forward

'I open (e.g., the door).'

(d) ñ-ewate-tayi
setB.1-open- ASP.cptv

'It (e.g., the door) is open.'

It is, however, important to underscore that suffixes also play a role in shaping either causative, inchoative, or stative verbal meanings. For example, in (11), not all causatives or all statives receive the same type of verbal suffixes; rather, it is the verb's lexical semantics that motivates the occurrence of the specific suffixes. In the causative, for instance, a verb like ačemat 'roast' takes a directional suffix -iyi 'in a straight line, downwards' (describing a special manner of roasting by sticking the fish to the ground); and it takes a detransitivizing suffix in the stative construction (11a-b). 'Open' (11c-d), on the other hand, is marked with an aspectual suffix -(ta)yi 'completive' in the stative.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that for some verbs the causative-inchoative and

the causative-stative alternations do not correlate with case-marking changes. (12b) is an

example where the stative is an adjectival form, with no case-markers added; that it is not

a verb is shown by the fact that the non-finite qaqata 'to be dry' is the same for 1st and 2nd

person. The verb 'break' in (12c-d) shows a somewhat similar situation. Case-marking

does not make any contribution to the causative vs. inchoative distinction, since in both

meanings the subject is grammatically categorized as an Agent. Here, what marks the

difference between the causative and the inchoative construction is the aspectual marker

-vi 'completive' in (12d) (cf. Chapter VII). Conversely, note that in (12c) for the

causative meaning the verb stem has a directional suffix -vi 'DIR downwards'. However,

for 'break' the difference between the causative and inchoative does correlate with case-

marking, as (12c-d) shows. Case-marking proves to differentiate the process vs. the state,

as addition of (12e) demonstrates:

(12)

    (a) se-qayat
       setA.1-dry

      'I dry.'

    (b) hayim   qaqata
       PRO1sg dry

      'I am dry.'

(c) dolačiyi
[d- ola-t -yi]
setA.3-break-ASP?-DIR.downwards

'He breaks (something).'

(d) d-ola-yi
setA.3-break-ASP.cptv

'It broke.'

(e) n-awla
setB.3-break

'It is broken.'

Sometimes, different stems are used for causative versus inchoative meanings (This is what Haspelmath (1996: 92) calls 'suppletive' alternations for causative/inchoative verb pairs.) Some examples are given in (13). (13a-c) show that the causative-inchoative reading for the concept 'lose' does not depend upon case-marking. (13b) represents the accomplished process with a verb stem like som 'to get lost', while (13a) with the stem gem 'to lose' presents the event from the point of view of the entire process. But most important here is that in both examples the subject is marked by set A forms. (13c-d) constitute another instance where the inchoative and the causative concepts are not derived from the same stem, and where case-marking also does not participate in coding the causative-inchoative semantic distinction.

(13)

    (a) se-gem
       setA.1-lose(tr)

       'I lost something.'

    (b) se-som-ak^6
       setA.1-lose-Val2

       'I got lost.'

    (c) ya-lat
       setA.3-kill

       'He kills/ed someone.'

    (d) socote yi-lew
       already setA.3-die

       'He died already.'

6.2.2.2 Events with High vs. Low Intentionality

With a few verbs denoting mental and speech predicates, the choice of one set vs.

another set of prefixes may indicate the degree of intentionality of the subject when

performing an action. Set B indicates that the subject's intention in performing the action

is not deliberate, while set A marking indicates that it is done more purposefully, or that

the subject is more aware of the action denoted by the verb. See (14) for an illustration:

(14)

   (a) ñi-čoʁot
      setB.1-warn

      'I warn/let know.'

   (b) an-se-čoʁot
      2O-setA.1-warn

      'I report you.'

   (c) an-čoʁot
      setB.2-warn

      'You speak/say something.'

   (d) aw-čoʁot
      setA.2-warn

      'Tell (me or him) something'

   (e) ña-nom-ta
      setB.1-know-ASP.rslt

      'I know.'

   (f) sa-noma
      setA.1-know

      'I have knowledge (i.e., I am capable of/I know what I am capable of).'

   (g) ñi-lota-ñ'a
      setB.1-look-DIR.downwards

      'I look downwards.' (e.g., the subject is up, in a tree).

   (h) se-loč-iyi
      setA.1-look-DIR.in a straight line

      'I look at something/somebody insistently, without moving my eyes.'

A few comments on the preceding examples are in line. As shown in (14a-b), the speech verb čoȼot 'warn' can be associated with one (14a) or two arguments (14b). This is indicated by a different prefix choice plus the aggregate of an object participant marked on the verb (see an- '2O' in (14b)). When no second human participant is ostensibly involved, the degree of intentionality on the part of the subject is still indicated by alternating prefixes from set A and set B (14c-d). The verb nom(a) 'know' (14e-f) also exhibits alternating case marking from both sets; but the aspectual suffix -ta 'resultative', which derives activities into states (see Chapter VII), is also signaling that the event is seen from the point of view of its results. In such a case the subject is marked as an Undergoer (14e), unlike (14f) where case-marking indicates the greater involvement of the subject. The last pair (14g-h) exemplifies the case of a verb lot 'see' that can take either one (14g) or two arguments (14h) marked on the verb (see Chapter V, section 5.2.2). In (14h), the object participant is zero marked, since it is 3rd person. (14g) indicates that the subject is not looking at a specific target or with any intention; whereas (14h) signals that the subject is looking at something or somebody on purpose.

6.2.2.3 Reflexive/Non-Reflexive Events

The choice between the sets of subject prefixes may convey a difference in 'reflexive/non-reflexive' meaning. A 'reflexive' event involves one participant, which stands in an Initiator/Endpoint relation to itself (Kemmer 1993:52). To obtain the reflexive meaning, -l'at 'reflexive' may also be added to the root (cf. (15)), though this is

not necessarily the case. For some verbs, case-marking alone suffices to yield the reflexive

vs. non-reflexive interpretation (cf. (16)). 'Reciprocality', indicated through 'at, is another

meaning associated with non-agentive morphology in Pilagá.

The pairs in (15)-(16) contrast 'reflexive/non reflexive', and also illustrate the

reciprocal usage of set B marking with a reciprocal suffix -'at, as opposed to the non-

reciprocal action with two participants. (15a) is reflexive, while (15b) is non-reflexive;

both are marked with set B prefixes. According to the glosses (i.e., 'look at myself' in

15a and 'realize' in 15b), (15b) is also marked with a set B prefix even though non-

reflexive. However, the sense is not 'reflexive' since, instead of a reflexive suffix, a

directional marker shows up on the verb to derive the meaning of 'to realize' (lit., 'look

forward'). (15c) is a variation on (15a), based on a different grammatical person.

(15)

    (a) ñi-lo-l'at
       setB.1-look-REFL

       'I look at myself (in the mirror)'

    (b) ñi-lot-ege
       setB.1-look-DIR.forward

       'I realize' ('as if one's mind opens)

    (c) an-lo-l'at
       setB.2-look-REFL

       'You look at yourself (in the mirror)'

The following pairs illustrate reflexive/non-reflexive, and reciprocal/non-reciprocal constructions in Pilagá:

(16)

    (a) se-kodat
       setA.1-pour

       'I pour.' (a liquid, on a surface or on somebody)

    (b) ñi-kode-l'at
       set B.1-pour-REFL

       'I pour (liquid) on myself.'

    (c) am   s-ačet
       PRO2sg   setA.1-offer

       'I offer you something.'

    (d) ñ-ačet-'at
       setB.1-offer-RECP

       'We offer (something) to each other.'

    (e) am   sa-wana[7]
       PRO2sg   setA.1-meet

       'I meet you.'

    (f) ña-wana-'at
       setB.1-meet -RECP

       'We meet each other.'

    (g) y-alat
       setA.3-kill

       'He kills/ed (someone).'

(h) n-alat-e-l'at
setB.3-kill-ep.vow-REFL

'He killed himself.'

Though with some verbs a specifically reflexive suffix occurs for the reflexive

meaning, other times just case marking choice conveys this meaning. In (17), I provide

examples of reflexive/non-reflexive constructions, which are based solely on alternating

case-marking:

(17)

(a) ñe-'et
setB.1-fix

'I fix myself.'

(b) se-'et
setA.1-fix

'I fix her/her.'

(c) n-'amen
setB.3-spread

'He/she makes up (e.g., as with facial makeup).'

(d) y-'amen
setA.3-spread

'He/she spreads something (e.g., grease).'

(e)[ñañoᴄoᴄiñi]
   ña - ñoᴄot - i - ñi
   setB.1-hide-ep.vow-DIR

   'I hide myself.'

(f) ña-ñoᴄo-tapiñi
   setB.1-hide-ASP

   'I simulate (i.e., pretend).'

(g) sa-ñoᴄot
   setA.1-hide

   'I hide something.'

(h) ñi-yo
   setB.1-wash

   'I wash myself.'

(i) si-yo
   setA.1-wash

   'I wash somebody/something.'

Most examples in (17) are body care verbs. The lack of a reflexive marker in (17), as opposed to what we see in (16), seems to confirm what Haiman (1983) argues for body action verbs. In reference to an economic motivation in language, Haiman asserts that the expected case for washing, shaving and similar actions is that the human being will perform the action upon him or herself, and therefore, a reflexive object does not require overt coding with such verbs; this could also be an explanation for why grooming or body care verbs do not require the reflexive marker in Pilagá either. A verb like 'hide', as in

(17e-g), does not immediately fit into the category of body care verbs, though it does denote an event where the body is the locus of the action.

One hypothesis that deserves further work is that the verbs in (16) differ from those in (17) in terms of the degree of transitivity involved. The first group of predicates generally presupposes a second (human) participant, and are conceivably higher in semantic transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). Transitivity is downgraded in reflexive constructions (Hopper and Thompson op.cit: 277). Thus, in (16) 'reflexivity' is less expected and as such, it is 'marked' by choice of prefix set on the verb.

In the next section, I will discuss one last property of this case-marking system, which is the encoding of 'trajectory of the event'.

6.2.2.4 Trajectory of the Event: Motion towards/away from a Vantage Point

For one group of stems that may take either set of prefixes, case-marking describes different orientation of the spatial trajectory taken by the subject participant. These are generally translational motion verbs involving motion to a different location, but also verbs where the subject participant does not move, literally speaking, as in 'buy'/'sell' 'learn/teach' and 'plow/harvest'. Thus, non-motion verbs of this group describe an imaginary trajectory relative to some point of reference.[8]

The point of reference does not necessarily coincide with the speaker's location. (I will return to this point after showing examples in (18)). As shown in (18), 'sell/buy' exhibit different stems, though the distribution setA/set B case-marking for 'sell/ buy'

respectively holds. In the case of 'teach/learn' and 'plow/harvest' the verbs differ in case-marking, the stem being the same. Note that in (18a-j) the stem form is clearly irrelevant to the choice of the prefix

(18)

    (a) an-yelaq
        setB.2-go back

        'You come back here.'

    (b) aw-yelaq
        setA.2-go back

        'You go back there.'

    (c) n-yela-wo
        setB.3-go back-DIR.outwards

        'He comes back (he arrives at a place.)'

    (d) yi-yela-wo
        setA.3-go back-DIR.outwards

        'He goes back (to the place where he came from).'

    (e) ñ-ek-isegem
        setB.1-go-DIR.upwards

        'I came up (the speaker is at the destination place.)'

    (f) s-ek-isegem
        setA.1-go-DIR.upwards

        'I go up (the speaker is not at the destination place.)'

(g) ñi-do-wo
   setB.1-carry-DIR.outwards

   'I bring (lit. 'carry here'.)'

(h) se-do-wo
   setA.1-carry-DIR.outwards

   'I take (lit. 'carry there').'

(i) na-ta-wo
   setB.3-move-DIR.outwards

   'He/she is coming.'

(j) ta-ta-wo
   setA.3-move-DIR.outwards

   'He/she is going.'

(k) ña-paɾagen
   setB.1-learn

   'I learn.'

(l) sa-paɾagen-taɾan
   setA.1-learn- Val2

   'I teach.'

(m) na-wode-n
   setB.2-buy-ASP

   'He/she buys.'

(n) y-anem
   setA.3-sell

   'He/she sells.'

(o) ña-pog-aʕak
setB.1-cultivate-Val1

'I cultivate or sow for myself (i.e. my own field).'

(p) sa-pog-aʕan
setA.1-cultivate-Val2

'I harvest (i.e., for somebody else).'

Note that motion verbs (18a-j) carry a directional suffix, independently of the fact that the case-marking indicates 'trajectory' relative to a point of reference. Very importantly, the suffix is also coding path or trajectory (see Chapter VII). The point of reference coincides with the speaker location in (18a-b). In (18c-d), since the grammatical subject is 1st person it is difficult to separate the speaker's location from the grammatical subject's trajectory, though the gloss in (18e) suggests that the point of reference is the endpoint of the trajectory 'up at the tree', and the speaker is in effect at the point of reference in such case. Unlike (18e), in (18f) the speaker moves towards that point of reference, from a starting point, in an upwards direction, as indicated by the directional suffix. In (18i-j) the 'coming' or 'going' can be only predicated from the stance of a speaker who sees the subject approching towards or away from him/her.

Certain motion verbs have colexicalized together with a directional suffix, to the extent that their basic stem form contains a directional suffix. In direct elicitation when the form for the verb 'bring' or 'take' is requested, the speaker utters the expressions

transcribed in (18g-h); but the same root can also combine with other directional suffixes (i.e., sedoget 'I receive'; sedoyi 'I carry something from the inside to the outside').

The non-motion verbs given in (18k-p) do not have directional markers, though valency suffixes may be not irrelevant to the the the meaning of these constructions. In these examples, the grammatical case indicates that a trajectory is implied; the subject is affected when the event is done in his/her own interest and thus, set B case marking occurs (even though the affected subject may also be an agent as in 'buy' or 'cultivate'). When the subject is a performer and a second participant is involved as the affected participant, set A forms occur.

6.2.3 Interim Discussion: Case-Marking and Voice

It has been suggested that for Toba (which is Pilagá's closest relative within the Southern Guaykuruan branch), the cognates of what I have named 'setA' and 'set B' are part of a voice system that encodes the distinction 'active' vs. 'middle', respectively (Censabella 1997). Censabella analyzes all instances of the two sets as marking active versus middle voice. This author's interpretation of middle voice in Toba is based on Kemmer's (1993) survey of middle voice languages. For Kemmer, middle voice is tied to 'reflexivity' (in body action, body posture, and grooming verbs) and 'reciprocality', but also to other middle situation types such as spontaneous events (with lack of volitional initiation), passive-middle events (where the external causer is pragmatically deemphasized:147) and mental processes, which naturally exhibit low control, will or

instigation. In sum, middle events comprise situations where the initiator is also an endpoint, or an affected entity, or the event is characterized by a lower degree of participant elaboration (Kemmer, op.cit: 243). All these functions are part of what set B case marking does in Pilagá. However, in Pilagá, the expression of 'reflexivity' is *also* a function of the reflexive suffix. In those cases where the verb does not necesitate a reflexive marker (i.e., like in (16)), set B constructions are semantically, though not structurally, reflexive.

The distribution of case marking in Pilagá demonstrates that most stems of the setA-only group are activities, with or without control on the part of the subject participant. In such cases, the subject is mapped onto the set A case-marking since he or she is perceived as non-affected. (The grammatical changes that have caused certain states or positional verbs to became part of this group remain synchronically obscure.) The second group, i.e., those stems which are exclusively set-B marked, is comparably smaller and has also some exceptions to the core meaning of the group. These verbs are most usually nonactions where the subject is grammaticized as if it were an Undergoer, not as a controller, to use Klaiman's (1991) terminology. The group of verbs able to take either case is large, and semantically pattern with middle meanings, which indeed makes the system look very much voice-oriented.

From a semantic stance, 'voice' denotes the viewpoint that the speaker takes to describe a particular event. From a functional-pragmatic standpoint, voice is the mechanism by which semantic roles are mapped on to the syntactic relations of 'subject'

and 'object', a mechanism oriented by the relative topicality of participants in discourse (Givón 1990). But crucially, for many event-describing verbs, Pilagá speakers do not have more than one perpective from which describe an event. That is, if this were just a voice system, the choice is not available for every verb in the lexicon. Also, the array of meanings that set B case marking encodes covers other senses beyond what has been characterized as typical middle functions (in particular, set B case-marking may signal 'trajectory of the event' with motion-cum-translation and non-motion verbs (a feature that to my knowledge has not been documented for Split-S systems so far). Furthermore, the distribution of case marking for the first two groups (i.e, set A-only and set B-only) is not entirely predictable (cf. section 6.4, on lexicalization). My analysis is that case marking overlapps with middle meanings, but 'middle' is a by-product of the set-B prefix class in Pilagá. Based on the description provided in the preceding sections, I argue that in general the Pilagá system is organized on the basis of 'agentivity', where the set B paradigm semantically includes some middle meanings, such as 'reflexivity' and 'spontaneous events'.

6.3 Closure

The general characterization of the subject person marking system is based on the fact that core choices between sets are based on whether the subject is the agentive doer of an activity verb, versus an affected entity. However, in the final analysis set A and set B are formal labels to designate each subject prefix class, without implying that the subject

argument position is filled by a participant who is invariably perceived as either the semantic Agent or the semantic Undergoer of an event or state. The semantic case roles of Agent and Undergoer account for the fact that many verb stems can alternatively code the grammatical subject as pertaining to either class, and that different conceptualization of the same event can be expressed.

I would like to propose the existence of two semantic parameters in connection with this system, which ultimately might have triggered the distribution of case-marking in Pilagá:

a)   VIEWPOINT:[9] I argue that in Pilagá an event is viewed from the stance of its initial viewpoint or from its endpoint. Pilagá appears to be sensitive to a model of causation (as proposed by DeLancey 1981; and reinterpreted by Croft 1994; cf. section 6.2.2.1). This means that 'causative', 'inchoative' and 'stative' indicate different elaboration types of events, and this elaboration exhibits some correlation with pronominal case-marking in this language. Similar systems have been documented in the literature. Merlán (1985: 351) notes that in Arikara (Caddoan), inchoativization is marked by a shift in the prefix inflectional class. However, as I said, this correlation is not consistent in one hundred percent of the cases, which implies that sometimes the distinction 'causative' vs. 'inchoative'and/or 'stative' does not align with alternating set A and set B in Pilagá.

'Viewpoint' also accounts for the fact that subject pronominal case marking encodes 'trajectory of the event', by which participants "move", either in a physical or a

metaphorical sense, towards a specific point of reference which may or may not coincide with the speaker's location, as demonstrated in 6.2.2.4.

b) AFFECTEDNESS: when the event is conceptualized from its endpoint, the participant coded as subject is affected. 'Affectedness' is a crucial parameter in voice systems, and this is the reason why 'middle' meanings can be obtained from set B case marking (cf. 6.2.2.3). Also, an affected participant lacks intentionality, volition or purpose. Some verbs denoting mental predicates (cf. 6.2.2.2) and states may convey such distinctions by set B forms, despite the fact that that the system also exhibits pervasive lexicalization which results in certain mental predicates and states to be case-marked by set A forms, as will be discussed next.

6.4 The Lexicalization Hypothesis

This section addresses particular questions regarding the lexicalization of subject prefixes in agentive case-marked languages in general, and the Pilagá system in particular. The notion that agentive/active marking lexicalizes over time seems to have been around in North American linguistics for quite sometime (Boas and Deloria 1941), but the bulk of my analysis is born out of Mithun (1991)'s ideas, based on the analysis of agentive systems in Guaraní and several North American languages. However, I will first examine a previous analysis of the semantics of subject prefixes in other Southern Guaykuruan languages such as Toba and Abipón. I then consider to what extent the Pilagá system

compares to other Southern Guaykuruan languages such as Toba and Abipón. A

comparison between subject-marking systems in Pilagá, Toba and Abipón discloses

semantic commonalities. However, I will show the distribution of prefixes sets is, to some

extent, semantically opaque in synchronic Pilagá.

6.4.1 Subject Prefixes in Southern Guaykuruan Languages (Toba, Abipón and Pilagá)

As discussed in 6.2.2, apart from marking person of the grammatical subject, each set of

prefixes may convey additional semantic features. Let's examine how those semantic

differences have been captured in the analyses of Toba and Abipón.

Klein (1981:229) states that Toba has three sets of subject prefixes, the first two being

more productive than the third one which is only found in combination with a handful of stems.

Therefore, I will concentrate on the first two sets (i.e., "class I" and "class II" in Klein's terms

which correspond to my set B and set A case-marking for Pilagá, respectively), and bring in the

information regarding the third set when it is relevant to the discussion.

Klein has established that for Toba, the choice of a certain set is dependent on the

meaning involved in the verbal action. In general, event-describing verbs are characterized as

going towards the body of a subject (which may or may not coincide with the speaker), i.e.,

('adcorporeal'), or away from it ('abcorporeal'). In the former case, a class I prefix occurs (see

(19a), (19c) and (19e) below.) Notice that in Toba 'adcorporeality' conveys 'reflexivity' (19a,

19c and 19e). 'Abcorporeality' requires the selection of a class II (or a class III) prefix (see

(19b), (19d) and (19f)):

(19) Toba

(a) ña-pilo-tak
   classI.1sg-wash-PRG

   'I am washing myself (upper torso; face and hands but not feet).'

(b) si-yo- tak   na'   y-apia'-te
   classII.1sg-wash-PRG CL.prox. POS.1SG-foot-DUAL

   'I am washing my feet.'

(c) ña-maga-t
   classI.1sg-pull-ASP.progr

   'I am pulling.'

(d) sa-maga-φ
   classII.1sg-push-ASP.punctual

   'I push.'

(e) ñi-men-aga-n
   classI.1sg-buy-vft-ASP.punctual

   'I buy.'

(f) se-men-aga-n
   classII.3sg-sell-vft-ASP.punctual

   'I sell.'

These minimal pairs require some comments. In (19a) it is evident that the action is being done towards the self and, as can be predicted, a class I form co-occurs with the verb root. In (19b), by contrast, both prefix and verb root have changed; 'abcorporeality' is conveyed by the

subject prefix s-, and the change of the root pilo 'wash' to yo 'wash' is associated with the lack

of reflexivity (Klein, op.cit: 227). Another difference between (19a) and (19b) is given by the

occurrence of an overt NP na' yapia'te 'my feet' in (19b). In (19a) the fact that the upper

portion of the body is the target of the action is understood solely from the class of prefix; the

NP in (19b) specifies the particular member affected by the action. Examples (19a) and (19b)

show the usage of the prefix classes with different verbal roots. The rest of the examples

(19c)-(19f) illustrate how the prefix alone indicates the directionality of the action.

Klein, reflecting on the combination between a particular base and a verbal prefix, claims

that "neither a knowledge of the phonological system nor the semantics of the verb base will

predict the selection of the appropriate class" (op.cit: 226).

Toba class III 'abcorporeality' is extremely small and the semantic features that

distinguish prefixes of class II from class III are synchronically unanalyzable (Klein 1981:229).

Class III prefixes in Toba are found with only three roots (see (20)), and these roots cannot

alternatively take class I or class II prefixes (Klein, personal communication):

(20) Toba

    (a) ja-sapat-ta
        class III.1sg-do-ASP.progr

      'I am doing well.'

    (b) ji-'i-tak
        class III.1sg-be scared-ASP.progr

      'I am scared.'

(c) ar-alo-ta-lek
    class III.2sg-get-ASP.progr-DIR.outwards

'You are getting to something.'

Many Toba roots can take prefixes from both class I and class II, depending on the directionality. But other Toba roots are lexicalized to take only class I or only class II. Thus, development of a split-S or active/non-active system is really occurring. Overall, class II is the most common of the three.

Abipón has seven classes of subject prefixes (Najlis 1966). In Abipón (now extinct), the best that can be discerned from the available data is that subject prefixes classify the verbal roots into lexical classes. However, not all the classes are equally productive: the first four classes are by far the most frequent. Each prefix has allomorphs; some are phonologically triggered; others are subject to the morphotactics, i.e., they only co-occur with certain other prefixes (Najlis 1966:34).

Najlis points out that only 6% of the roots can take prefixes from more than one set, specially from the first three sets. She suggests that there can be a difference in meaning, i.e., that one of the forms can be interpreted as intransitive or passive, and the other as transitive or active. Najlis's designated set 1 (cf. (21b)) is correlated with reflexivity. As for set 3 (in (21e)), it is unclear whether the first person r- marks a patient-like participant (perhaps a type of passive construction). The set 2 subject-marker in (21a) and (21c) seems to be signaling the agent:

(21) Abipón

(a) na-paini
   set 1.1sg-cover

   'I cover myself (refl.).'

(b) ha-paini
   set 2.1sg-cover

   'I cover (something).'

(c) na-pagRan
   set 1.1sg-teach

   'I learn (I teach myself).'

(d) ha-pagRan
   set 2.1sg-teach

   'I teach.'

(e) ñ-apagRan
   set 3.1sg-teach?

   'I learn (somebody else teaches me).'

The interesting fact about the distinction 'transitivity/intransitivity' that Najlis raises here is that (21a-b) and (21c-d) are quite like Toba's quasi minimal pairs 'ad-/ab-corporeal' (19a-b), and the minimal pairs (19c-d) and (19e-f). Moreover, note how the nasal prefix in (21) conveys 'adcorporeality,' as does the nasal series in Toba. On the other hand, ha- and ñ- in (21b), (21d) and (21e) index the 'abcorporeal' meaning in the same way that the class II does in

Toba. Thus, phonological equations suggest a possible relation between Najlis's analysis of subject prefixes as a transitive/intransitive distinction and the adcorporeal/abcorporeal system proposed by Klein for Toba.

As for Pilagá, the distinction between 'adcorporeal' vs. 'abcorporeal' is not always clearly indicated by the subject prefixes. Examples (22) and (23) show that although the same verb root can take prefixes from both classes, the distinction 'adcorporeality'/'abcorporeality' is semantically opaque even with translational motion verbs. Native speakers from whom sentences (22) and (23) were elicited emphasize the different points of reference that somebody takes when uttering them. In (22a and 22b) the speaker is in the destination place; while in (23a and 23b) he/she is not:

(22) Pilagá

    (a) nač'e   an-bid-wo
         QUEST   setB.2-move-DIR.outwards

    'Have you arrived?' (the speaker is at the point of destination)

    (b) na-ča-wo
         setB.3-go-DIR.outwards

    'He is coming/came.' (The speaker is at the point of destination.)

(23) Pilagá

    (a) naho'   yawo-'   i-bid-wo
         dem   woman-PL setA.3-move-DIR.outwards

    'These women are in/have entered.' (i.e., the speaker is not at the point of destination)

(b) sa-ča-wo
setA1-go-DIR.outwards

'I go in.'

Verbal directional suffixes in Guaykuruan languages more explicitly describe the trajectory or path of motion encoded by the verb. In Pilagá sentences (22) and (23) -wo indicates that the movement goes into a bounded space. (24) is however, an illustration of the fact that the distinction ad/abcorporeal is not consistently encoded in the class of prefix in Pilagá. In (24a) the verb form ñipetek denotes that the action is being done towards the self, and a set B form prefix occurs. In (24b) however, the action is non-reflexive (since it is done towards the participant coded as object , not towards the particpant coded as subject); note that even with the inclusion of a second participant, who is the locus of the action's effects, a set B prefix still occurs. Unlike (24a) an object prefix yi- 'IO' appears to indicate that the event is non-reflexive:

(24) Pilagá

(a) ñi-petek
setB.1-shave

'I shave myself.'

(b) yi-an-petek
IO-setB.2-shave

'You shave me.'

Thus, directional semantics do not completely coincide with the choice of subject prefix set, and the notion of trajectory of the action is also indicated by directionals. In examples (22) and (23) the movement 'into a location' is indexed by -wo regardless the class of the subject prefix (set B in (22) and set A in (23)).In (24) whether reflexive or not, the verb stem co-occurs with set B prefixes.

Further examples in which the distinction 'adcorporeality' vs. 'abcorporeality' is semantically opaque are given below. As mentioned, a verb like -alik 'eat,' for instance, is combined only with set A prefixes, supposedly 'abcorporeal' (25). Conversely, -yom 'drink' appears only with set B, supposedly an 'adcorporeal' form (26).

(25) Pilagá

  (a) s-alik   hen   paan
      set A_1 -eat dem bread (Sp. loanw.)

   'I eat some bread.'

  (b) y-alik   hen   paan
      setA_3- eat dem bread (Spanish loanword)

   'He eats some bread .'

(26) Pilagá

  (a) n-yom   na'   noʕop
      setB_3-drink CL.proximal   water

   'He drinks water.'

(b) ñi-yom   na'   noʕop
    setB.1-drink CL.proximal   water

'I drink water.'

In 6.1.1 and 6.1.2, I showed that some verbs denoting states appear with set B prefixes (ñičatetein 'I am standing'), while some other state-describing verbs occur with set A prefixes (soñičiñi 'I am sitting,' sakiko(ta) 'I am sad,' selwaq 'I am sick'). Also, some verbs denoting events or activities appear with set B prefixes (ñiqoton 'I wake somebody up,' ñiloeyi 'I wake up'; and motion verbs like ñaloʕostak 'I am running,' ñinotege 'I go forward'); whereas many other event-describing verbs appear with an set A form (selotake 'I look for', sela'a 'I find,' se'et 'I fix somebody,' soñesegem 'I stand up,' sčiqa'a 'I come,' sekisegem 'I go up',' soč'e 'I sleep,' ske'e 'I eat,' skiyaʕan 'I feed somebody,' sasot 'I dance', etc.).

But even when certain activity verbs can be potentially marked by either set A or set B prefixes, the combination verb + prefix does not automatically yield the semantic distinction of reflexive (non-agent or patient-oriented)/non-reflexive (agent-oriented), respectively. For instance, petek 'to shave' has lexicalized in the set B class, regardless of the fact that the bodily function may be performed towards a non-coreferential participant (cf. (24), above). Furthermore, notice that a verb like 'plow' can be used with set B and set A prefixes (cf. 17o-p). Here, the reflexive meaning has mutated to understand the owner of the field as the participant who is affected by the act of cultivating. Thus, with set B prefixes the verb means 'to cultivate your own harvest', while with set A prefixes it means 'to cultivate somebody else's.

6.4.2 Conclusion

Pilagá examples show clearly that verbs which require agency or control are found in both set A-only and set B-only groups. Unlike Iroquoian, which distinguishes temporary vs. inherent conditions via its split-system, in Pilagá temporary states appear with both set B (for instance, 'be standing'), and set A forms ('be sitting' and 'be sick' are also temporary). Verbs of motion-cum-directionals also appear in both classes. Moreover, 'eat' and 'drink' which are both seemingly agent-controlled activities solely occur with either set A forms ('eat'), or with set B forms ('drink'). With this description in mind, I propose that for many verbs, the choice of class must synchronically be lexically triggered in Pilagá.

In Pilagá, lexicalization of case assignment must have gone first from 'adcorporeality' to 'affectedness', and from 'abcorporeality' to 'non-affectedness'. This was followed by increasing lexicalization of the system, which means that combinations of pronominal prefixes and verb stems became "learned, stored and selected as units" (Mithun, op.cit: 517). Therefore, for many verbs Pilagá speakers do not seem to make a selection on a semantic basis when they speak, since lexicalization serves "to automate on-line decisions" (Mithun 1991:541).

By this analysis I do not mean to imply that there is no semantic basis for an active/agentive vs. non-agentive split in the subject marking system of Pilagá, and probably in the languages of the Southern Guaykuruan branch. The proto-system was conceivably configured as an adcorporeal/abcorporeal one, probably with a class for prototypical agents,

and a second class for affected patients, judging by the present distribution of the classes in the daughter languages. In synchronic Kadiwéu from the Waikurúan branch, verbs follow the active/non-active split, according to Sandalo 1996.[10] In synchronic Toba, Klein's analysis is that the system is organized according to the distinctive notions of adcorporeality/non-adcorporeality. By extension, these notions associate with reflexivity (thus, more patient-oriented) versus non-reflexivity (thus, more agent-oriented). However, I suggest that according to Klein some degree of lexicalization has occurred even in the Toba system. I have shown that in Pilagá the semantics of adcorporeality/non-adcorporeality is opaque, but that the reflexive/non-reflexive distinction encoded by set B and set A prefixes, respectively, is maintained for certain event-describing verbs ('pour,' 'fix'). For other intransitive event-describing verbs ('go,' 'come,' 'wake up,' 'run') set B forms do not convey any reflexive meaning at all. These are however, change of state, change of location or movement verbs, which in lots of languages, as argued by T. Payne (1984), pattern as *So* verbs since the theme/patient changes location or state.[11]

A root like pogan 'plow,' which is a single-argument verb in Pilagá, constitutes an interesting case of the complexity of semantic distinctions encoded in this system. It also suggests a change in the semantic features from 'adcorporeality/reflexivity' to 'affectedness.' As we have seen, the "affected" participant is the grammatical subject, i.e., ña-pogasak 'I plow (my own field),' as indicated by set B case-marking, while with set A case-marking the action does not have effect an the same person as the grammatical subject, i.e., sa-pogasan 'I plow (somebody's harvest).'

Notes

[1] I would like to draw attention to the pair (1g-h). A verb like 'descend' in the sense of lineage, is formed by the verb -ĉiyaqa 'procede' plus a directional suffix (1h). An allomorph of the verb stem exists for this specific meaning. This may be the result of a process of ablaut, i.e., phonological change in different morphological contexts, also observable for other roots. With both -ĉiyaqa and -ĉiyoco, a noun phrase would instantiate the locus of provenience.

[2] DeLancey (1984:10), on the treatment of emotions in some South Asian languages, argues that predicates of emotions are considered 'agentive' or not according to the speaker's assessment of the degree of control which the subject exercised or could have exercised.

[3] These systems have also been referred to as 'active/inactive' (Sapir 1917; quoted in Merlan 1985) 'active agreement' (DeLancey 1981), 'fluid S-marking' (Dixon 1978), 'split-S' (Dixon 1994), and 'split-intransitivity' (Merlán 1985).

[4] Chicasaw actually exhibits three classes of person prefixes: for the most part class I agrees with an active subject, transitive or intransitive; class II agrees with the patient object of a transitive clause and the non-agent subject; and class III generally marks certain other single arguments of intransitive verbs and datives (Munro and Gordon 1982:83).

[5] 'Event' is a cover term for any verb class.

[6] -acak and -ak are surface variants of the same morpheme (cfr. Chapter V, section 5.4.3)

[7] The verb wana exhibits an array of meanings; as an intransitive verb it means 'find', 'get' and 'have'.

[8] Klein (1982) had proposed the existence in Toba of a similar parameter which she calls 'directionality' subdivided into 'adcorporeality' vs. 'abcorporeality'. According to this author, this parameter organizes the distribution of subject prefixes for all verb stems.

[9] The existence of this explanatory parameter for split-S systems is not new (in this respect see Delancey 1981, which constitutes the first work suggesting a connection between 'viewpoint', agent/patient categories and active typology).

[10] The Kadiwéu person prefixes themselves actually just show vestiges of an active system. They mark 1sg, 1pl, 2sg/pl, and 3sg subjects of unergative and unaccusative verbs by the same

sets of prefixes. There are, however, some unaccusative verbs that must be marked by an object prefix instead of a subject prefix. (Sandalo 1996:133). However, according to Sandalo, Kadiwéu has apparently generated a new and completely regular means of indicating an active-stative split via addition of d:- 'theme- morpheme.

[11] Similarly, DeLancey (1991:341) has argued for this basic schema. An event is defined as a change of state or location. The localist Case Grammar assumes that in every clause there is a metaphorical locative relation between a Theme and a Location. States and physical and temporal locations are Locations. States are distinguished from events which describe the Theme coming to be at a Location.

CHAPTER VII

VERB MORPHOLOGY III: DIRECTIONALITY, ASPECT AND NEGATION

7.0 Introduction

This chapter focusses on the categories of 'directionality' and 'aspect' in Pilagá. Along with these categories, I also consider 'negation', since in grammar, negation is tied to the modality of events. However, Pilagá does not have a 'modality' system *per se*. In principle, there is no 'realis/irrealis' opposition encoded in the verb.[1] And also, speech act types (i.e., assertions, commands or questions) are not morphologically marked in Pilagá (unless the desiderative suffix -ake is to be considered a modal; but see section 7.5).

'Negation' (cf. section 7.6) is part of the semantic notion of irrealis modality since it describes that the event has not been realized. In Pilagá the negative prefix has its own position in the verb template (i.e., position class 1, before the stem).

As the reader should have noticed by now, 'tense' as a category is not morphologically indicated in this language. There are a number of lexical time phrases such as ho kal'io 'once upon a time', maɾakone'e 'in the old times', qomle qanče 'after', soɾote 'in the past/already', ma 'yet/already' sekaet 'yesterday', senete 'this morning', so' wo'e lqaya 'last year' and a handful more that either indicate the

boundaries of an event in time, or serve to mark temporal units within narrative

discourse. However, in this study, I will not deal with such expressions.

7.1 Directionality: an Overview

Most verb stems are not lexically specified for direction. Rather, directionality can

be expressed by either subject prefixes and/or by directional suffixes on the verb. By

'directionals' I designate the class of suffixes that can indicate either trajectory or

stationary location depending on the lexical semantics of the verb stem. As discussed in

the preceding chapter, pronominal subject prefixes are sometimes associated with

'trajectory of the subject participant'. However, I argued that this encoding is restricted

to a certain group of verb stems, and that the system is synchronically lexicalized.

Since there are two separate systems for the morphological encoding of spatial

reference available for speakers, it is interesting to see which is more frequently used, or

whether one unambigously codes the trajectory over which the action denoted by the verb

is carried out. Without a doubt, directional suffixes play that function *par excellence* in

Pilagá; thus, subject prefixes and directional suffixes do not compete for the expression

of 'directionality'.[2]

In this section, I will concentrate on directional suffixes on verbs. It is important to

underscore that, since Pilagá lacks adpositions, directionals are employed as the resource

for spatial reference. Directionals encode trajectory or relative location of the Figure in

relation to a Ground.[3] Directionals may be followed by a noun phrase which makes the

Location/Goal explicit, though it can be omitted if the Location/Goal is identifiable by

the hearer (the question of how this NP is related to the directional will be discussed in Chapter IX).

Directional suffixes may change the meaning of a stem. This is not unexpected, if we think how adpositions, semantically analogous to directional markers, have functioned in the history of other languages. In Spanish, for instance, many verb roots have prepositions attached. Historically, the word-cum-preposition has developed different senses, from the original meaning conveyed by the root itself. For instance, traer 'bring' appears in contraer 'contract' (a muscle or a debt) and distraer 'distract' or 'entertain'. Likewise, in Pilagá directional markers derive different meanings out of the same stem: apo-sop 'you gather' vs. apo-lege 'you cover with something /put on something', sedo-wo 'I carry or take', sedo-get 'I receive', yamaɣa-ta 'he takes out of', yamaɣa-ge' 'he sends away'; yamaɣa-get 'he comes towards here', yamaɣa-lege 'he sends over (e.g., to the field)'.

In Pilagá, there are at least sixteen directional markers, listed in Table 7. Some of these forms have allomorphs, which will be presented along with the discussion of the specific directional suffix in the following sections.

TABLE 7. Directional Markers

-ge'	'away from the reference point'
-get	'towards the reference point'
-segem	'upwards'
-ot	'upwards'; 'under'
-ñi	'downwards'
-som	'downwards' (e.g., towards a water source)
-yi	'downwards (to the inside)'
-owe	'inwards'
-wo	'outwards'
-ege	'forward' ; 'in front of'
-eg'a	'to/in a specific place'
-iyi	'in straight line'
-sop	'in circles'; 'with'
-lege	'on/over'
-ta	'out of'; 'to the other side'
-pe	'along with' (concurrent motion)

As Table 7 shows, directionals reveal a variety of meanings. There is one

morpheme with 'path' meaning, listed in Table 7, i.e., -pe provisionally glossed as 'along

with/concurrent motion'. In Toba, Klein (1973:140) analyzes cognate -pe as a verbal

suffix with the meaning 'circular position', as if the action were going on within a real or

an imaginary circle or semi-circle. But I find that this interpretation is not always

consistent with Pilagá use of -pe. In general, more than one directional can not combine

together in a single verb, but -pe constitutes an exception. In Pilagá, -pe always co-

occurs with other morphemes, rendering the following morphemic complexes: (-pe

'DIR along with' +-ege DIR forward' > -pege; -pe 'DIR along with'+-lege

'DIR on/over'> -pelege; -pe 'DIR along with' +-ñi 'DIR downwards' > -piñi). Similar

combinations are found in Toba as well (Klein 1973). But -pe not only became fused

with certain specific directionals. The suffix -pe co-occurs with aspectual morphemes

(cf. 7.2. Aspect), specifically with progressive, durative and habitual forms.

Morphologically, this is one reason to include it within the class of directionals,

synchronically. Semantically, the form -pe 'along with/concurrent motion' apparently

entails the interpretation of 'continuous action' by participating in the marking of all

such aspectual notions.

As suggested, directionals signal the trajectory or location of the Figure; but

interestingly the Figure can be coded as the intransitive subject or as the object of the

verb. Examples in (1) illustrate that the Figure is coded as the object:

(1)

    (a) ø-se-sowe-ta-pe-lege
        3O-setA 1-insult-ASP-DIR -DIR on

        'I am insulting him (who is lying).'

(b) ø-s-esowe-t-pe-wo
3O-setA.1-insult-ASP-DIR.-DIR.outwards

'I am insulting him (while he is entering the room).'

(c) ø-s-esowe-ta-ña
3sgO-setA.1-insult-ASP-DIR.downwards

'I am insulting him (who is siting).'

(d) ø-se-sowe-ta-sem-a
3O-setA.1-insult-ASP-DIR.upwards-Obj.sg

'I am insulting him (who is up, in a tree)'

An additional example is provided in (2). (2) contrasts two different situations. In

(2a) the subject spits upwards, as indicated by the directional marker -segem. In (2b) the

subject spits on somebody (the object) who is located in an upper position with respect to

him/her, as indicated both by the directional suffix and the number agreement suffix. In

this second case, the directional still refers to the trajectory of the action (i.e., the

spitting), but suffix -a signals that there is a participant affected by the action of the verb:

(2)

(a) ñ-atoro-segem
setB.1-spit-DIR.upwards

'I spit upwards.'

(b) ñ-atoro-sem-a
setB.1-spit-DIR.upwards-Obj.sg

'I spit on him or her (who is up, e.g., in the tree).'

Having presented an overview of the category of directionality in Pilagá, I will turn to consider directional suffixes and their meanings, followed by examples of use.

7.2 Spatial Reference

An inspection of the Pilagá system of directionality suggests a distinction between two spatial reference systems: (a) a *deictic* system, based on the relative proximity of the Figure with respect to a point of reference (the speaker or other); and (b) a *geocentric* system of location and orientation, based on the location of water sources (rivers or lagoons) and orientation in the forest.

The deictic system of directionals distinguishes between -get 'hither' and ge' 'thither'. In the geocentric system the following directions and locations are possible: -owe ~ we ~ -wek 'inwards', -wo 'outwards' -segem, -ot 'upwards'; -ñi, -ñ'a and -som 'downwards'; -yi ' down and to the inside'; -sop 'in circles'; -ege 'forward/in front of'; -lege 'on/over a surface'; -eg'a 'to/in a specific place in the forest'; -ta 'out of' (most usually out of a water source); and -iyi 'in a straight line'. Because of their semantic commonalities, I will call the directional markers included in group (a) 'deictic directionals', and those included in group (b), 'non-deictic directionals'.

7.2.1 Deictic Directionals

Deictic directionals to be explicated in this section are closely connected, both phonologically and semantically. They cut out a differentiated spatial universe, around the real or imagined location of the speaker or the addressee at the coding time.

Deictically, many events have two possibilities: towards or away from the reference point (= the deictic center), which may or may not coincide with the speaker's location, although not necessarily originating at the speaker's location.

I will start by discussing the use of -get 'towards the reference point', glossed as 'hither'. It can be equally used with motion and non-motion verbs.

(3a) showing -get 'hither' is an interesting example of the encoding of two different paths of direction in the same verb form: the grammatical subject moves away (indicated by the pronominal subject prefix), and a second participant moves as well, towards the speaker (indicated by the directional suffix). In (3d) the speaker turns around when he/she sees somebody coming towards him/her. In that case, note the presence of -pe which seems to indicate the concurrent motion realized by the intransitive subject, along with his/her perception of the object, coming towards him. The rest of the examples illustrate what the semantics of the directional -get 'hither':

(3)

    (a) s-awqa-get
       setA.1-approximate-DIR.hither

      'I go towards somebody (who is coming too).'

    (b) awa-wa'te-get
       setA.2-observe-DIR.hither

      'You are watching him coming.'

(c) aw-la-pe-get
setA.2-look-DIR-DIR.hither

'Look at him!' (The speaker turns around, as if someone were coming towards him/her and the addressee.)

(d) na-ča-get
setB.3-go-DIR.hither

'He/she comes (from the perspective of the speaker).'

(e) ø-se-do-get   na' yamayk
3O-setA.1-bring-DIR.hither   CL happiness

'I receive him (coming) with happiness.'

In (3a-c), the point of reference is at the starting point of the motion event; the directional signals the trajectory of the Figure, moving towards the speaker. In (3c-d), however, the point of reference is at the endpoint of the motion event.

In the following example, the figure moves towards to a point of reference which does not coincide with the speaker's location. This is one reason to believe that a label such as 'towards the speaker' for -get is too narrow:

(4)

ñi' nwosek ø-qapal-get   ñi' tačaki
CL stew   setA.3-stick-DIR.hither CL pot

'The stew stuck to the pot.'

Directionals seem to interact with verb valency, a topic that will be discussed later in Chapter IX on clausal syntax. Here, I will make just a few comments.

The reciprocal verb form ñi-wate-n-'at 'we trust each other' has no directional suffixes attached, but an aspectual -n and a reciprocal suffix -'at. Conversely, the transitive verb form (am) se-wate-get 'I trust (you)' carries a directional marker -get 'hither', suggesting that the directional is allowing the introduction of a second participant, other than the subject himself/herself, i.e., an object. However, notice that directional suffixes are missing from the following examples which contrast reciprocal vs. transitive: ñačet'at 'we share'/ am sačet 'I offer you'; ñawana'at 'we meet each other' / am sawana ' I meet you'.

Now, I will turn to the discussion of -ge' 'away from the reference point'. This directional suffix also occurs with motion and non-motion verbs (5). With non-motion verbs, the event (or state) is conceived as happening far from the deictic center. I have glossed -ge' 'thither', as opposed to -get 'hither'.

(5)

    (a) na-ča-ge'
       setB.3-go-DIR.thither

       'He went away.'

    (b) w-eta-ge'   ñi' Formosa
       setA.3- be-DIR.thither   CL Formosa city

       'He is in Formosa city.' (a distant place from where the speaker is located)

(c) da' s-ara-ge'   di' qan-alewa
    conj setA.3-go-DIR.thither CL Poss.1pl-land

'When we go to the other part of our land'

(d) ya-mara-ge'   so' lqot da' Formosa
    setA.3-send-DIR.thither CL son   CL Formosa city

'He sent his son away to Formosa city.'

In (6), I provide two more examples of the use of -ge'. In these two examples, the object, not the subject, moves away from the deictic center:

(6)

    (a) se-la-ge'
       setA.1-see-DIR.thither

    'I saw him going away.'

    (b) se-sowe-ta-pe-ge'
       setA.1-insult-ASP-DIR-DIR.thither

    'I insulted him (while he was leaving).'

7.2.3 Non-Deictic Directionals

Pilagá has a set of directional markers that indicate trajectory or location, without concern for a point of reference. Chacoan speakers attend to the paths of the forest and water sources to orient themselves in the flat and vast environment in which they hunt and gather. For such orientation, the language provides a rich set of directions and locations. The cultural incidence of major rivers and water sources in the Chacoan

cultures is notorious in the vocabulary. Dell' Arciprete (2000) notes that many toponyms designating geographical locations that the Pilagá have traditionally occupied in the last two hundred years are names of lagoons and other water sources. Furthermore, the Pilagá orient themselves in the forest according to the course of the Pilcomayo river, which flows in a northeast-southwest direction. In effect, there are four coordinates, two relative to the direction of the river: tadewo (northwest) and tayiñi (southeast), and two more absolute coordinates se'w 'north' and qoλaça 'south'. Thus, the existence in the language of distinctions such as 'upwards', 'downwards', 'inwards' and 'outwards' encoded by a full range of different directional morphemes, are not independent from Pilagá cultural traditions and from the speakers' communicative needs.

The first distinction to be discussed in this section contrasts 'upwards' and 'downwards'. There are two different forms for 'upwards' in the language: (a) -isegem ~ -segem (phonologically conditioned by the preceding sound; after a consonant or after a vowel, respectively), and (b) -ot.

The examples in (7) containing -segem serve as an illustration. (7a) is an elicited sentence, while (7b-e) are taken from two narratives, the "Origin of the Tabacco Plant" (Haso' yawo nesoge) and "Fox and Chunga" (Toč'el)[4], told by Ignacio Silva (Barrio Qompi).

(7)

   (a) na-toṛo-segem
      setB.3-spit-DIR.upwards

     'He spits upwards.'

   (b) se-no-ta-segem
      setA.1-go-ASP-DIR.upwards

     'I am going up.'

   (c) aw-ke-segem
      setA.2-move-DIR.upwards

     'Come up here!' (Speaker is at the destination place.)

   (d) na-diče-segem
      setB.t3-get -DIR.upwards

     'He got up slowly.'

   (e) se-nod-isegem
      setA.1-jump-ep vowel-DIR.upwards

     'I jumped up.'

Like -segem 'upwards', -ot indicates trajectory from a lower to an upper position.

In (8a), the verb yatpek 'request' is followed by -ot 'upwards'. This example is an

elicited sentence, where what is being solicited (the complement of the verb of request)

will be in favor of the requester. Thus, it seems possible that the person who requests is

located in a pragmatically (not socially) lower position than that who the request is

directed to. (11b) is part of the tale "Fox and Chunga", a passage where Fox seizes at

Chunga with distrust, because Chunga does not want to reveal where the source of water

is until Fox reveals where he has hidden the food. Because of the size and shape of the

two characters (Chunga is taller than Fox), Fox looks at Chunga from a lower position

and this is the reason why the suffix -ot occurs on the verb. Similarly to (8a-b), (8 c-d)

illustrate the use of -ot 'upwards':

(8)

  (a) si-yatpek-ot
    setA.1-request-DIR.upwards

    'I request something from him.'

  (b) yi-lot-ot   ho'   naegarawa
    setA.3-look-upwards dem   fellow

    'He looked at his fellow.'

  (c) aw-kon-ot
    setA.2-wake –DIR.upwards

    'You wake somebody up.'

  (d) w-om-ot
    setA.3-push, kick-DIR.upwards

    'He kicked or pushed the snake (with his foot, upwards).'

An extensional meaning of -ot 'upwards' is illustrated in (9). Here, the dog is

located under the table (though it is uncertain whether the speaker is taking the

perspective of the dog, or the perspective of the table when uttering this example).

Because of this ambiguity, it seems possible that Pilagá -ot is a semantically general

form with respect to the axes 'up' and 'down', and thus, may be pragmatically interpreted

as 'up' or 'down' when the ground is not specific.[5]

(9)

    ñi'   pioq   net'ot   na' nikiyaçala
    CL   dog   be-under   CL   table

    'The dog is under the table.'

The form -ot is part of two verb roots which convey motion 'upwards'; in

(10) I transcribe two inflected forms of the verbs 'to jump' and 'to dance' in 1st singular,

obtained through direct elicitation. I assume that -ot is part of these roots for two

reasons: (a) these verbs do not take any other directional suffix; and (b) according to the

verb template, -ot should be part of the stem; otherwise, the aspectual suffix could not

occur after it:

(10)

    (a) se-not-tak
        setA.1-jump-ASP.progr

        'I am jumping.'

    (b) s-asot-tak
        agt1-dance-ASP.progr

        'I am dancing.'

Four different forms are used for the expression of trajectory 'downwards':

-ñ'a, -ñi -yi and -som. The first three are much more common than the fourth one. In

fact, the first and the second could be allomorphs, though not phonologically triggered

(not due to vowel harmony).[6] Compare the following examples:

(11)

    (a) ña-toᶜo-ñ'a
        setB.1-spit-DIR.downwards

        'I spit on something (the direction of the spitting is downwards)'

    (b) yi-soedi-ñ'a
        setA.3-nail-DIR.downwards

        'He nailed down (something).'

    (c) n-apo-yi-ñ'a   so' napoto
        setB.3-cover-ASP-DIR.downwards CL poncho

        'He covered himself with a poncho or a blanket.'

    (d) so-wa-ñ'a
        setA.1-locate-DIR.downwards

        'I settle down.'

    (e) s-awqa-ñ'a   di' noᶜop
        setA.1-approximate-DIR.downwards CL water

        'I came close to the water (that is inside a hole).'

    (f) [awlapiñ'a]
        aw - la - pe - ñi -a
        setA.2-see-DIR.along with-DIR.downwards-Obj. sg

        'See down there!'

(g) t-ae-ñi   na' senal
    setA.3-go-DIR.downwards   CL mud

'He falls/fell in the mud.'

(h) ø-biyela-ñi
    setA.3-go-DIR.downwards

'He submerged.'

(i) ni-sidi-ñi   so'   looge
    setB.3-carve,dig-DIR.downwards   CL   hiding place

'He dug into the hiding place (a cavern, a hole under the land, covered
with removed land).'

(j) qo-y-qolke-ta-yi   qaedi wana ø-qapal-ñi
    IS-setA.3-stir-ASP.progr-DIR.downwards conj   NEG setA.3-stick-DIR.downwards.

'You (have to) stir (the stew) in order (for it) not to stick.'

(k) qo-ya-saɾa-ñi
    IS-setA.3-throw-DIR.downwards

'Somebody/one throws something in (e.g., a pot).'

The discovery of traces of lexical items in the affixes may point out the origin of the

directional system. The directional -ñi̱ has a secure etymology in the verb 'sit'. One

piece of evidence for grammaticization is provided in (12), suggesting that the affix

derived from the full verb. This form of the verb ñi̱ 'sit' also carries the directional

marker, as if the verb root has lexicalized only 'motion', whereas 'trajectory' is expressed

by the suffix:

(12)

o-ñi-ñi
setA.2-sit-DIR.downwards

'Sit down!'

The third suffix -yi 'downwards' can be used with motion and non-motion verbs.

The examples in (13) show -yi in combination with non-progressive suffix -n. (13b)

shows a semantically interesting case, since according to the scenario that the sentence is

describing, the cooking is done on the floor; thus, the trajectory of the pot when placed

onto the fire is 'downwards'.

(13)

(a) a-či-n-yi
    setA.2-dive-ASP-DIR.downwards

'You, dive!.'

(b) ya-na-n-yi   haso' tavaki so' dole'
    setA.2-put-ASP-DIR.downwards CL   pot   CL fire

'He put the pot on the fire.'

In (14) -yi is used with non-motion verbs. The form neta is a locative copula (cf.

Chapter X) that co-occurs with directional suffixes that make explicit the location of the

Theme. The most adequate translation for the predicate in (14) is 'to be on', though the

meaning 'to be on' might arise from conceptualizing the referent as hanging, like

pointing 'downwards'.

(14)

    (a) haso'   waltañi netayi   na' emek-lae't
        CL.fem fly   be-downwards CL part of house

    'The fly is on the wall.'

    (b) so mayo netayi   hada   epaq
        CL bird be-downwards CL.fem tree

    'The bird is on the tree.'

The use of -som 'downwards' is very restricted in my corpus. I present in (15) and

(16) the only examples found in texts; in these three instances the directional occurs with

the same verb root. The directional indicates that the participant goes downwards, into

the river. Unlike -ñi and ñ'a, -som refers almost exclusively to water sources.

(Interestingly, the ideophone of the sound produced when somebody submerges is

tokom.)

(15)

    (a) se-no-ta-som
        setA.1-move-ASP-DIR.downwards

    'I go down.'

(b) we-no-t-e-da-som   enawake
    setB.3-move-ASP-ep.vow-PL-DIR.downwards   QUANT.all, together

'They jumped together.'

Example (16) comes from the text "Fox and Chunga" (Toč'el). It refers to the

passage when Chunga advises the thirsty Fox to jump into the water, in the middle of the

lagoon, where the water is fresher to drink.

(16)

   Qanač'e aw-no-ta-som   qaqaedi
   conj   setA2-move-ASP-DIR.downwards   conj

   a-či-nyi   na' laeñi
   setA.2-get-LOC.inside   CL part

   qaqaedi a-bid-i-ñ'a   di' da-pyak-n-yi
   conj   setA.2-go-ep.vow-DIR.down CL setA.3-cut, carve-ASP-DIR.downwards

   noꞋop
   water

' "Then you jump, in order to get to the middle (of the lagoon), and you go down";
then he dove himself into the water.'

With the pair -wo /-owe, the ground is configured as a bounded space. Both

suffixes indicate that either the trajectory or location is 'towards/at a bounded space'.

But, while these two suffixes describe similar trajectories, especially with motion verbs,

they differ in the point of reference; this is, where the Figure is located relative to the

ground when the motion or non-motion event starts. With -wo the Figure is at the starting point of the trajectory; with -owe the Figure is at the endpoint of the trajectory.

First, I will illustrate the usage of -wo (sometimes realized as [w'o]) glossed as 'outwards', in (17) with non-motion verbs, and in (18) below, with translational motion verbs.

(17)

    (a) se-nata-n-wo
       setA.1-ask-ASP-DIR.outwards

       'I will ask inside there.'

    (b) di-yo-wo   ñi' Yunka
       setA.3-make noise?-DIR.outwards CL proper name

       'They make noise inside the Yunka (the noise is coming from there, the
       Yunka club).'

    (c) se-warano-wo
       setA.1-hit- DIR.outwards

       'I knock at the door.'

Also in (18), the point of reference is at the starting point:

(18)

    (a) s-ek-e-wo
       setA.1-go-ep.vow-DIR.outwards

       'You go away.'

(b) s-awqa-wo
setA.1-approximate-DIR.outwards

'I approach to a place.'

In (19), the path 'inwards' via -owe is indicated.[7] This directional marker has two

phonologically conditioned allomorphs: -owe and -we. The back vowel is dropped

when another back vowel precedes it. Thus,

(19)

    (a) [yasaqatowe na' nedegat]
        ya-saqa-ta-owe   na' nedegat
        setA.3-throw- ASP-DIR.inwards   CL mouth

        'She hit (him) in the mouth.'

    (b) qo-y-men-owe   na' doqose
        IS-setA.3-give-DIR.inwards CL white people

        'They (e.g., the products) are sold to the white people.

. (c) [yenowe   na' qopedañik]
        ye - no - owe
        setA.3-go-DIR.inwards CL yuchán

        'He went into the big tree or yuchán'[8] (Nesoge.36)

    (d) i-wota-we   ñi' *oficina*
        setA.3-go-DIR.inwards CL office (Sp.loanw.)

        'He came into the office.'

    (e) ñi' yi-wa   neta-we   di' lačaqa
        CL Poss1-spouse be-DIR.inwards CL house

        'My husband is in the house.'

In (19a) the Ground is at the endpoint of trajectory. In (19b) the Ground is also at the endpoint, since once the merchandise is sold, it stays at the Ground, with the person who buys it (i.e., the white people). Also in (19c) the Ground is at end point of the trajectory, represented by the yuchán. In (19e) with an intransitive non-motion verb such as the locative copula neta 'be', the directional may simply indicate 'inside'.

I will now discuss the use of -ege 'forward', a non-deictic directional marker with motion and non-motion verbs. It implies that the Figure moves towards a position in front of some Ground. However, with non-motion verbs there is obviously no physical translation involved; it just means 'in front':

(20)

   (a) [sewawtege]
     se-waw-ta-ege
     setA.1-lead-ASP-DIR.forward

     'I left first.'

   (b) ø-kod-ege   so'   le'ek
     setA.3-spill-DIR.forward   CL   liquid

     'The liquid spilled.'

   (c) [sowatege]
     s-owa-ta-ege
     setA.1- open-ASP-DIR.forward

     'I open (e.g., the door).'

(d) [seketege so' na'ayk]
    s-eke-ta-ege   so' na'ayk
    setA.1-go-ASP-DIR.forward   CL road

'I follow the path.'

(e) ñawege   na' nkiyaꞔala
    ñ-awek-ege   na' nkïyaꞔala
    setB.-pull-DIR.forward   CL   table

'I pull the table out.'

This directional attaches to non-motion verbs as well. In (21) the verb lot 'see' when combined with -ege means 'realize'. Therefore, in Pilagá 'to realize' literally means 'to look forward' or 'to look in front':

(21)

    (a) ñi-lot-ege
        setB.1-see-DIR.forward

        'I realize.'

Though subject to future comparative research with the rest of the languages of the family, it is very likely that this suffix has derived from the verb 'release' in Pilagá. The meaning of the actual verb suggests a semantic extension from 'release' to 'forward', 'in front', all possible translations for the directional suffix -ege. As with the verb ñi 'sit' and the directional suffix of the same etymon, no phonological reduction is apparent in this case.

(22)

Da' de-toɾo-n   na' selkeik načena'am sa-ñ-ø-ege
conj setA.3-bite-ASP.non progr CL iguana conj   neg-1O-agt3-release

'When the iguana bites (me), then she does not release me.'

The suffix -ege intervenes in time adverbials, e.g. saqa'tege 'until' and kop'atege

'after a while' as shown in (24). Temporal extensions are not unexpected when the basic

meaning of -ege is 'forward'. The first example (24a) comes from a text written between

several Pilagá young adult writers, entitiled 'The Fishing'; the second comes from a myth

of origin ("The Origin of Women") that narrates how women end up living with men, by

Julio Suárez (Campo del Cielo):

(23)

(a) di-y'ako-tak   na' siyaɾadipi
    setA.3-fish-ASP   CL   people

    saqa'tege na' ledokyanaɾat
    until   CL   amount of fish

    qanč'e t-ae-ta   na' siyaɾadipi.
    and   setA.3-go-DIR.out of CL   people

    'People fish until (they have) a certain amount, and then they go out (of the
    water).'

(b) Kopa'tege   ho'   qataɾa yitaɾa n-obi'   ho'
    after a while then conj   again setB.3-arrive then

    so' n-aketa-pega   so' nalikpi nawokpi.
    CL setB.3-steal-ASP CL stored   food

    'After a while, then those that used to steal the stored food arrived again.'

As a directional, -eg'a means 'to/in a specific place'. Whether it indicates trajectory

or location depends on the lexical information provided by the verb, rather than on the

suffix itself. While in (24b-c) the verb indicates translational motion, in (24a) it does not:

(24)

    (a) si-yoco-n-eg'a
       setA.1-wash-ASP-DIR.in a specific place

       'I do the washing (e.g., at somebody's house).'

    (b) qo-y-bid-eg'a   so'   mapisat
       IS-setB.3-go-DIR.in a specific CL   mezquite plantation

       'He/she goes to the mezquite plantation.'

    (c) da' s-eket-eg'a   hañi' molino
       conj setB.1-want-DIR.a specific place CL   watermill

       'When I want (to go to) the watermill.'

The form –iyi conveys a trajectory 'in a straight line'. This suffix is used with

non-translational motion verbs (i.e., the configuration of the body may change, but the

body stays in place). Note that in (25), -iyi 'in a straight line' may occur either preceded

by an aspectual marker (25a-d), or may not (25e).

(25)

(a) qoyločiyi
    qo - i -lo - ta - iyi
    IS-setA.3-look-ASP-DIR.

    'He is looking at somebody without moving the eyes.'

(b) [sasaqačiyi]
    sa - saqa-t - iyi
    setA.1-throw-ASP.progr-DIR

    'I shoot/point (e.g., with a gun).'

(c) [yasaqačiyi]
    ya-saqa-t-iyi   so˙ lasot   so˙ lket so˙ yawodipi
    setA-throw-ASP-DIR CL center CL chain CL women

    'He threw (a stone, cutting) the women's chain in the middle.

(d) [dolačiyi]
    d-ola-t-iyi
    setA.3-break-ASP-DIR

    'He broke something (by throwing it against the floor).'

(e) [yawačiyi]
    y-awat-iyi   da˙ y-alik   so˙ onole
    setA.3-watch-DIR conj setA.3-eat CL one

    'He saw that she ate one.'

The directional -sop indicates trajectory 'in circles'. With motion verbs, the

encoding of the trajectory is quite transparent. As seen in other examples below, with

the copula neta 'to be' there is no possible trajectory since the verb does not comprise

motion, not even in a figurative sense (26).

(26)

   (a) ø-kole-sop
      setA.3-fly-DIR.in circles

      'It flies in circles.'

   (b) l-apo-sop
      setC.3-cover-DIR.in circles

      'They/He gathered around a place.'

   (c) so' Matolie'n   neta-sop   so' Ignacio
      CL proper name be-DIR.in circles   CL proper name

      'Matolien [=José's native name] is with Ignacio (=they live together)'

A different kind of trajectory is marked by -ta 'out of'. It may also mean that the

Figure moves 'to the different side'. I provide examples of its occurrence in (27):

(27)

   (a) [denodeta]   ,
      de-no-d-ta
      setA.1-go-PL-DIR.out of

      'They jumped out of the water (to the land).'

   (b) [qoyamaçata ga' newosek]
      qo-y-maça-ta   ga' n-wosek
      IS-setA.3-take-DIR.out of CL Indef.Poss-stew

      'The stew is taken from the fire.'

   (c) t-ae-ta   na' siyaçadipi
      setA.3-go-DIR.out of CL people

      'The people come out of the water.'

(d) [yibidata]
    i-bid-ta
    setA.3-go-DIR.out of

    'He went to the other side (of the community).'

Unlike the other directional suffixes, -lege 'on/over' conveys stationary location in

many more instances (cf. (28)). With both motion and non-motion verbs, the suffix

indexes the location where the Figure is to be found.

(28)

    (a) s-ačoco-lege
       setA.1-carry-DIR.on

       'I carry something on (e.g on a horse).'

    (b) sa-saqa-ta-lege
       setA.1-throw-ASP-DIR.on

       'I hit him on = 'I knock him out.'

    (c) la- paca-lege   so' napoto
       setC.3-put-DIR.on CL poncho

       'He put on a poncho (also, a blanket).'

    (d) [yiwalelege]
       yi-wal-lege
       setA.3-track-DIR.on

       'He is tracking somebody.'

(e) [senotelege]

    se - no - t - lege
    setA.1-go-ASP-DIR.on

'I am going down on something (e.g., from a tree, on to a table).'

(f) ø-kole-lege

    setA.3-fly-DIR.on

'It flies over (e.g., a place) (=not in circles, but crossing it)

(g) s-awqa-lege

    setA.1-approach-DIR.on

'I persecute somebody.' (=I am over somebody.)

Note than in (28a) the directional suffix indicates where the Figure is to be found; in

(28b), it describes the location of the affected participant. However in (28d-g), it rather

signals the trajectory followed by the Figure.

Idiomatic senses with -lege have been found, as in the following example:

(29)

    se-sama-ta-lege
    setA.1-confuse/mistake-PRG-DIR.on

    'I made a mistake.'

The suffix -lege is also used to indicate that somebody is sitting in front of another

person, but they do not face each other:

(30)

Abel da-so-ta-lege   ñi José
Abel setA_3-sit-ASP-DIR_on/over CL Joseph

'Abel sits in front of José.'

7.3 Aspect

Pilagá has a rich system of aspectual distinctions. According to Comrie (1976) 'aspect' refers to the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Similarly, for Talmy (1985:132) aspect is "the pattern of distribution through time of an event or state"; it is either incorporated in the meaning of verb roots (*Aktionsarten*), or it occurs in inflections or modifiers to the head.[9]

Many authors (Vendler (1967), Smith (1996), Breu (1994), inter alia) have argued that *Aktionsart* ('form of action') forms part of the lexical features of predicates in a very significant way. All these proposals underline that no matter what aspectual distinctions a language enocodes in its grammar,[10] these grammatical distinctions coexist with the internal temporal features of the situations described by lexical verbs.

Lexical aspect has inspired several verb classifications with a slightly different terminology. A recurrently cited one was elaborated by Vendler (1967), who distinguishes between 'states', 'activities', 'achievements' and 'accomplishments'.[11] Smith (1991, 1996) refers to three basic 'situation types', identified as 'stative', 'durative' and 'instantaneous'. What remains constant throughout these taxonomies are

the features that form the basis for the characterization of lexical aspect, i.e., 'stativity', 'durativity' and 'telicity'.

In this section, I will present a general characterization of aspect in Pilagá and will describe the grammatical morphemes that are used to code it; the interaction between grammatical and lexical aspect in Pilagá, though important, will be mentioned only in passing where necessary for the discussion of grammatical aspect.

Aspectual distinctions of the grammatical sort are expressed through suffixes in Pilagá. Aspectual suffixes may combine among themselves, particularly the formative -ta 'progressive' which intervenes in the formation of several other aspectual markers.

The aspectual system of Pilagá makes five distinctions, indicated by eleven different suffixes:

TABLE 8. Aspect Markers

-tak / -tape	'Progressive'
-tapiñi / -tapiyi	'Durative'
-(ta) pega	'Habitual'
- n	'Non—Progressive'
-tayi / -ñi / -yi	'Completive'
-tañi / -ta	'Resultive'

In the following subsections, I will discuss the aspectual categories indicated in the second suffixal slot (position class 2 after the stem; cf. Chapter V, Table 4).

7.3.1 Progressive

'Progressive' means that the situation is in progress at the reference time;[12] that is, the internal temporal description does not focus on the inception or on the termination of the situation; nor on a specific point in time.

There are a number of formatives in Pilagá that have progressive meaning: -tak, -ta, and -tape (also pronounced [tap'e] or [t'ape]). The distribution of the first two forms are phonologically conditioned. The first allomorph occurs in final position, when it is not followed by any other suffix; whereas the second occurs when another suffix follows. The third is a portmateaux suffix which indicates 'Progressive.3PL'.

Semantically, the events denoted by verbs that take the progressive are inherently lexically 'durative', such as in (31). Progressive aspect with instantaneous events or states is expressed by a separate form, with a somewhat different meaning (i.e., focused on the fact that the event is unfolding through different stages. See 7.3.2 Durative).

(31)

(a) se-see-tak
    setA.1-criticize-ASP.progr

    'I am criticizing.'

(b) si-yoq-tak
    setA.1-carry-ASP.progr

    'I am carrying something.'

(c) na-kyaᵽa-tak
   setB.3-listen-ASP.progr

   'He is listening.'

(d) s-e'e-tak   di' yole
   setA.1-fix-ASP.progr CL fire

   'I am fixing my fire.'

(e) s-opi-tak
   setA.1-water-ASP.progr

   'I am carrying water.'

(f) [senotak]
   se-not-tak
   setA.1-jump-ASP.progr

   'I am jumping.'

(g) sa-se-ta-ge'
   setA.1-go-ASP.progr-DIR.thither

   'I am going away.'

(h) se-lo-ta-get
   setA.1-look-ASP.progr.-DIR.hither

   'I am looking (at somebody coming towards me).'

(i) [anyiwatetrake]
   an-i-wate-ta-d-ake
   2O-setA.3-wait-ASP.progr-PL-desid

   'They are waiting for you.'

(j) yi-wal-ta-de-lege
   setA.3-track-ASP.progr.-PL-DIR.over/on

   'They are tracking somebody.'

The use of -tape is illustrated in (32):

(32)

(a) na-locos-tape
setA.3-run-ASP.progr

'They are running.'

(b) de-taqa-tape
setA.3-talk-ASP

'They are talking.'

(c) d-opi-tape
setA.3-carry water-ASP.progr

'They are carrying water.'

7.3.2   Durative

'Durative', like 'progressive', implies extension in time. It is indicated in the grammar by two allomorphs -tapiñi and -tapiyi occuring with different roots, though the rationale for such distribution could not be established yet.

The usage of -tapiñi ~ -tapiyi suggests that its aspectual value ranges between durativity and iterativity, but sometimes it also has a sense of progressiveness.[13] For instance, with predicates such as 'sit', 'stand', 'lay down' (33a-c), it means 'to be in the process of', with the understanding that there is a telic endpoint. With activity verbs, it indicates 'durative' (34a, c, e), but it may also entail the repetition of an event through time, i.e., 'iterative', as in (35a-c).

Though from a synchronic point of view I treat -tapiñi and -tapiyi as different

morphemes from -tak and -tape, it should not go without noticing that the aspectual

markers are apparently formed by the addition of actual directional markers -ñi and

-yi meaning 'downwards' to the progressive marker, i.e., -tape + -ñi and -tape + -yi.[14]

(Also, both -ñi and -yi have other aspectual uses as completive markers; cf. section

7.3.5.)

(33)

    (a) ni-če-tapiñi
       setB.3-stand up-ASP.dur

       'He is in the process of standing up.'

    (b) ne-na-tapiñi
       setB.3-lay down –ASP.dur

       'He is in the process of lying down.'

    (c) ne-so'o-tapiñi
       setB.3-sit down-ASP.dur

       'He is in the process of sitting down.'

Notice that -tapiñi cannot be analyzed as a plain progressive aspectual marker,

since many activity verbs can alternatively take -tak and -tapiñi, and the difference in

meaning is based on whether the event is conceptualized as efectively going on (i.e., with

-tak), or as having a certain duration, without reference to a time frame (i.e., with

-tapiñi).

(34)

  (a) na-loʁos-tapiñi
     setB.3-run-ASP.dur

     'He runs/ran and runs/ran.'

  (b) ña-loʁos-tak
     setB.run-ASP.progr

     'He is running.'

  (c) ya-saqa-tapiñi
     setA.3-throw-ASP.dur

     'He throws something (e.g., to the floor).'

  (d) ya-saqa-tak
     setA.3-throw-ASP.progr

     'He is throwing something (e.g., to the floor).'

  (e) yi-wote-tapiñi
     setA.3-insult-ASP.dur

     'He insulted (and insulted) somebody.'

  (f) yi-wote-tak
     setA.3-insult-ASP.progr

     'He is insulting (somebody).'

However both -tak and -tapiñi are not available for all verb types. The following

are examples of verbs which do allow -tapiñi, but do not allow -tak (cf.(35)). Here,

-tapiñi imparts an iterative sense to the event, which translates with the expression 'many

times'. This is so because these verbs describe an inherently punctual action, and when

the whole event is conceptualized as having happened or happening over some time,

there is a sense that it must have happened several times.

(35)

    (a) s-one-tapíñi   ñi' kamioneta
       setA.1-move-ASP.dur CL   van

    '(Many times) I go (to the town) by van.'

    (b) s-a(e)-tapiñi   ñi' pedona
       setA.1-go-ASP.dur   CL lagoon

    '(Many times) I go to the lagoon (e.g., in order to fish).'

    (c) ya-sap-tapiñi
       setA3-stick-ASP.dur

    '(Many times) it gets stuck.'

Two more examples are given in (36) where -tapiñi yields a progressive sense.

These examples show use of -tapiñi with the verb 'hide' (36a) which, according to the

suffix, comprises an attitude that has a duration over time; similarly, 'go crazy' is

conceptualized as a process that involves several stages. However, due to some internal

semantic properties, these verbs do not accept -tak (in other words, one cannot say

literally speaking "I am hiding something" or "I am going crazy", using the progressive

marker -tak).

(36)

   (a) ña-ñoᴄos-tapiñi
     setA.1-hide-ASP.dur

   'I simulate (i.e., hide oneself=pretend.)'

   (b) ø-čeyaqa-tapiñi
     setA.3-go crazy-ASP.dur

   'He went crazy.'

Instead of -<u>tapiñi</u>, -<u>tapiyi</u> 'durative' is used with other verb stems. Though both

forms share the same sense of 'durativity', synchronically they co-occur with different

verbs, and there is no phonological or semantic conditioning for their distribution. (It is

also important to keep in mind that both -<u>tapiñi</u> and -<u>tapiyi</u> contain a morpheme -<u>pe</u>, in

order to avoid potential confusions with other aspectual suffixes -<u>tañi</u> and -<u>tavi</u>, to be

discussed in the section 7.3.4)

Examples of -<u>tapiyi</u> are provided in (37). (37a-b) come from a folk tale, <u>Dole</u>, the

"Origin of Women", that narrates how Fox steals the fire from Armadillo. (37a)

describes the fact that animals were masticating the cooked meat; in (37b) the verb

describes that the animals were victorious and laughing, once they were able to cook

their food. (37c), from <u>Wole</u>, refers to the segment where the animal characters are

talking about how to distribute the women who fell from the sky, among themselves.

The meaning obtained from -<u>tapiyi</u> in (37c) can be either 'durative' or 'iterative'. (37d)

comes from sentence elicitation:

(37)

(a) [dek'etapiyet]
de-k'e-tapiyi-get
setA.3-eat-ASP.dur-DIR.hither

'They were chewing'

(b) netotapiyet
ne-to-tapiyi-get
setB.3-be happy-ASP.dur-DIR.hither

'They were happy'

(c) hokal'i   so' siyaradipi qo-de-taya-tapiyi
at that moment CL   people   IS-setA.3-talk-ASP.dur

'At that time, people were talking.'

(d) hayim   nalorote   da' ñi-yom-tapiyi   hen norop
PRO.1sg every day   setB.1-drink.ASP dem water

'Every day I drink water.'

Example (38) comes from a tale about "Chunga and Fox", Toč'el, where Fox is

tricked by Chunga. The verb form in (38) describes Chunga's careful and slow march.

Here, the speaker is using talootapiyet to show that Chunga was walking slowly towards

Fox, but also as a way of backgrounding Chunga's action with respect to Fox's actions:

(38)

[talootapiyet]
t-aloos-tapiyi-get
setA.3-walk-ASP.dur-DIR.hither

'He walked slowly (approaching to Fox).'

7.3.3 Habitual

Another domain that the Pilagá aspectual system encodes is 'habitual'. 'Habitual' means 'characteristic of an extended period of time'; so extended, according to Comrie (1976:28), that "the situation refered to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment, but precisely, as a characteristic feature of the whole period".

The verbal morpheme -pega indicates a timeless habitual event that occurs/ed with a certain regularity. Most verbs that take -pega can also take 'progressive' -tak or 'durative' -tapiñi. With -pega the speaker does not necessarily imply that a single instance of the event extends in time. -Pega may occur with either a lexically punctual or durative stem, and indicates that the event takes place or took place over and over. -Pega can also surface with a prefixed -ta 'progressive' i.e., -tapega, which is what obviously gives the idea of extension through time.

Examples are given in (39). (39a-b) are taken from a narrative were the speaker is telling about the oldest people's way of fishing and roasting fish. (39c) refers to the fact that ancestors knew the art of narrating folk tales, which was passed from one generation to the next, better than the young people today.

(39)

    (a) qo-i-na-pega   pon   qataʕa haso'   miyoʕo
        IS-setA.3-pick up-ASP.hab arrow and DEM.fem walking stick

    'They used to pick/picked the arrow and the special walking stick.' (Fish13.1)

(b) qo-ya-sona-pega
   IS-setA.3-stick-ASP.hab

'They used to stick it by the fire.' (e.g., meat or fish, to be roasted)

In (40), notice the semantic contrast between some verbs forms with -pega, and the same forms with other aspectual suffixes discussed above. For instance, (40b, d, f, h) are marked 'progressive' to indicate that the action is going on either at the coding time or at the reference time:

(40)

(a) aw-awat-pega
   setA.2-watch-ASP.hab

'You always look at it.'

(b) [awawatak]
   aw-awat-tak
   setA.2-watch-ASP.progr

'You are looking at it.'

(c) se-see-ta-pega
   setA.1-criticize-ASP-progr+hab

'I generally criticize.'

(d) se-see-tak
   setA.1-criticize-ASP-hab

'I am criticizing.'

(e) si-yoq-ta-pega
setA.1-carry-ASP.progr-ASP.progr+hab

'I use/d to carry.'

(f) si-yoq-tak
setA.1-carry-ASP.progr-ASP.progr

'I am carrying.'

(g) na-kya-ta-pega   da'   l-oyavak
setA.3-listen-ASP.progr-ASP.progr+hab   CPTZ   Poss.3-manner

'He use/d to listen (for some time), according to his manner.'

(h) na-kyava-tak
setA.3-listen-ASP.progr-ASP.progr

'He is listening.'

(i) na-kya-tapiñi
setA.3-listen-ASP.progr-ASP.dur

'He keeps on listening.'

The verb stem 'know' which is not an activity verb, does not accept 'durative' or 'progressive' affixes, only the habitual with the meaning that a "state of knowing" might be going on:

(41)

(a) sa-noma-pega
setA.1-know-ASP.hab

'I know.' (=I know something that is going on.)

(b) sa-noma
setA.1-know

'I know.' (=Somebody came and told me some news.)

7.3.4 Non-Progressive

In this section, I will discuss the use of -n 'non progressive'. When using -n 'non-progressive', the speaker focuses on a single stage of the event in question. The semantics of the -n affix when attached to activity verbs should not be understood as 'completive' (Pilagá has other morphemes to indicate 'completed action' to be discussed in the next section).

'Non-progressive' is the meaning obtained from -n with verbs that may or may not imply internal duration. It even occurs with verbs that arguably have an inherent terminal point, such as 'scratch' (42g) or 'cough'(42h), but also with those that are atelic, such as 'sleep' 'eat', or 'know' (cf. (43d-e). All such verbs can be used in the progressive, i.e., they accept the suffix –tak. For convenience, the translation of the examples is given in the present tense, though since there is no tense marking in Pilagá, they could be equally translated as past, if the context calls for a past reading.

(42)

(a) na-kyaɾa-n-a
setB.3-hear-ASP.non progr-Obj.sg

'He hears something.'

(b) so-qoʉye-n
   set A.1-lie-ASP.non progr

   'I lie.'

(c) aw-kate-n
   setA.2-look-ASP.non progr

   'Go look!'

(d) se-walaʡa-n
   setA.1-play-ASP.non progr

   'I play.'

(e) s-ateto-n
   setA.1-know-ASP.non progr

   'I know (e.g., a person or a place.)'

(f) sa-yate-n
   setA.1-know-ASP.punctual

   'I know' (somebody told me)

(g) se-senaʡa-n
   setA.1-scratch-ASP.punctual

   'I scratch (myself).'

(h) sa-qaegoso-n
   setA.1-cough-ASP.punctual

   'I cough.'

Some verbs indicate 'non-progressive' aspect by no surface marker at all. Thus,

zero marking for 'non-progressive' aspect is another possibility. I propose that 'non-

progressive' is the default category in Pilagá, and that each time a verb does not exhibit

an aspectual marker, it should be infered that the event denotes a momentary situation.

Complete paradigms of verbs with no aspect marking in the surface form were given in

Chapter V, section 5.3.1. But more examples of verb forms with zero marking for aspect

are provided in (43):

(43)

    (a) se'et   di' y-ole
       setA.1-prepare CL Poss.3-fire

       'I prepare the fire.'

    (b) si-yo
       setA.1- wash

       'I wash somebody.'

    (c) s-enot
       setA.1- jump

       'I jump/ed.'

    (d) de-ke'e
       setA.3-eat

       'He eats.'

    (e) d-oč'e
       setA.1-sleep

       'He sleeps.'

7.3.5 Completive and Resultative

Pilagá distinguishes 'completive' and 'resultative' aspect through different suffixes. 'Completive' means that the action is viewed from its terminal point. Resultative aspect denotes a state resulting from a prior situation. Completive and resultative are, then, instantiated by distinct aspectual inflections: -tayi, -yi, -ñi 'completive'; and -tañi and -ta 'resultative.' Most 'completive'/ 'resultative' affixes are formally similar, but as will become clear from the examples below, the specific meaning that emerges seems to be based on the semantic content of the verb plus affix. The reason why some verbs have grammaticized to select one particular allomorph is unknown for the moment.

Certain verbs mark the difference between an event that has been completed, i.e., completive, and the resultant state of an event, i.e., resultative. But others verbs fail to take morphology to distinguish both categories; such verbs are simply grammaticized to select either the resultative or the completive form (or zero) to indicate that the action is finished. I will show the use of the completive aspect first, and then turn to consider the resultative suffixes.

The suffix -tayi expresses that the action has gone to completion (44a-d). In my data, this morpheme co-occurs with motion-cum translation verbs, but also with the verb 'open' having a stative meaning. The translation of the forms is given in past tense, as should be understood in the narrative context where they come from.

(44)

    (a) se-p'a-tayi
      setA.1-hurry-ASP.cptv

    'I hurried up.'

    (b) sa-se-tayi
      setA.1-go-ASP.cptv

    'I left.' (Lit, I left completely)

    (c) yi-sama-tayi
      setA.3-pass-ASP.cptv

    'He passed by.' (e.g., running)

    (d) ne-wate-tayi
      setB.3-open-ASP.cptv

    'The door is open.'

To get either a progressive or a present meaning one cannot use -tayi. Compare the forms in (44) with those in (45):

(45)

    (a) se-p'a-t-ege
      setA.1-hurry-ASP-DIR.forward

    'I hurried (but came last).'

    (b) sa-se-ge'
      setA.1-go-DIR.thither

    'He is going away.'

(c) se-samaq

    setA.1-leave

'I am leaving.'

(d) ne-wat-ege

    setB.3-open-DIR.forward

'He opens the door.'

The second form -yi with the meaning 'completive' occurs with a greater variety of

predicates, both activities and processes. Examples (46a-b) come from elicited

paradigms. (46c) is taken from a folk tale, the "Origin of the Tabacco Plant" (Nesoge)

and the form refers to the passage where the woman is already transformed into a

ferocious anthropophagi being that is going to kill her husband.

(46)

    (a) ñi-loe-yi

       setB.1-wake up-ASP.cptv

      'I woke myself up.'

    (b) [yabiyi yiwosek]

       y-abi-yi   i-wosek

       setA.3-burn-ASP.cptv Poss.1-stew

      'My stew burnt.'

    (c) [načedaeyi sa' lenače]

       n-ače-d-e-yi   sa'   l-nače-'

       setB.3-grow?-PL-ASP.cptv   CL.paucal Poss.3-nail-PL

      'Her nails had grown.'

(d) ne-saɾa-yi
setB.3-throw-ASP.cptv

'It is full.' (Lit., 'It is thrown in')

The next set in (47a-e) contain atelic predicates. Interestingly, <u>yom</u> 'drink', and

<u>saɾa</u> 'throw', with a completive suffix and with a patient object become telic. The

ungrammaticality of the sentences marked with an asterisk points out the incompatibilty

of using a noun phrase without the completive aspect marker.

(47)

(a) n-yom
setB.3-drink

'He drinks.'

(b) soɾote   n-yom-yi   so' noɾop
    already setB.3-drink-ASP.cptv CL water

'I already drank water.'

* soɾote nyomyi
* soɾote nyom so' noɾop

(c) ya-saɾak   haso' pelota
    setA.1-throw   CL   ball

'He throws/is throwing the ball.'

(d) ya-saɾa-yi   haso' pelota
    setA.1-throw-ASP.cptv CL   ball

'He threw a ball.'
In what follows, three more forms will be discussed: -ñi, -tañi, and -ta.

Aspectual -ñi 'completive' is used with locative predicates to indicate that the event

is accomplished (48). Recall that these same verb stems indicate duration (i.e., 'to be in

the process of') through -tapiñi 'durative' (cf. (33)). Semantically, the suffix -ñi

'completive' marks a limit, a bound on the change of position denoted by the lexical

verb, as confirmed by (48):

(48)

    (a) ni-čači-ñi
       setB.3-stand-ASP.cptv

      'He stood up.'

    (b) ne-na(e)-ñi
       setB.3-lay-ASP.cptv

      'He laid down.'

    (c) ne-so-ñi
       setB.3-sit-ASP.cptv

      'He sat down.'

However, when focusing on the resultant state, the same set of locative verbs co-

occur with a different suffix, i.e., -tañi 'resultative'.

(49)

(a) [ničatetañi]
   ni-čat-tañi
   setB3-stand-ASP.rslt

   'He is standing.'

(b) ne-na-tañi
   setB.3-lay-ASP.rslt

   'He is lying.'

(c) ne-s'o-tañi
   setB.3-sit-ASP.rslt

   'He is sitting.'

States and accomplished event verb stems which are inherently punctual, i.e., non-durative, indicate the resultant state of an event by attaching -ta 'resultative' to the end of the verb. Compare the semantic contrast between the verb form without -ta (50a,c, e), and the verb with the aspectual marker on it (50b, d, f).

An expression like the one in (50a) is used in narratives to mark the transition of an action to the other ("and when he/she finished that, the..."); the one in (50b) is used when a class or a meeting is over. According to my consultants' interpretation, it is probable that the difference between (50c and d) is based on transitivity (i.e., 'have a specific knowledge' vs. 'know in general'). Though there is a meaning difference, my consultants could not provide an acceptable Spanish paraphrase to reflect such difference.

(50)

    (a) y-em
       setA.3-finish

       'It finished.'

    (b) y-em-ta
       setA.3-finish-ASP.rslt

       'It is finished.'

    (c) sa-noma
       setA.3-know

       'I have knowledge.'

    (d) ñ-om-ta
       setB.1-know-ASP.rslt

       'I know.'

    (e) se-lama-ta-tak
       setA.1-be angry-rslt-ASP.progr

       'I am angry.'

    (f) se-lama-ta[15]
       setA.1-be angry-rslt

       'I got angry.'

Aspectual -ta derives activities into states, as in (51):

(51)

    (a) sa-qayat   na' y-o'ok
       setA.1-dry   CL POSS1-skin
       'I dry my skin (my body, in general).'

(b) hayim   qaqa-ta
    PRO1sg   dry-ASP.rslt

'I am dry.'

7.4 Aspect + Directionality

As was discussed in 7.2.2, as directional markers -ñi and -yi indicate 'downwards'

trajectory. They also take part in the formation of a number of aspectual suffixes,

according to the description provided in section 7.3. It is not unusual for directional

affixes that circumscribe the trajectory of the motion event in space, to evolve into

aspectual markers, indicating that the event is either bounded or unbounded in time as

well. Payne (1985: 254) describes the case of Yagua, a Peruvian language that exhibits

suffixes for both bounded and unbounded motion. In Yagua, while bounded ones convey

a 'punctual' sense, unbounded ones have an 'imperfective' meaning.

I suggested that -tapiñi and -tapiyi do contain -ñi and -yi, synchronically

homophones with the directionals -ñi and -yi. This points out that also in Pilagá the

directionality-to-aspect route followed by directionals -ñi and -yi could be the same as the

one described for other languages, such as Yagua. But as was mentioned in 7.1, also

directional -pe 'concurrent motion' appears in -tapiyi, -tapiñi and -(ta)pega, all of which

share the sense that events are not bounded in time. Conversely, the forms -tayi,

-tañi, -yi, -ñi do not exhibit the directional -pe, and in all such cases the event is

construed as accomplished or finished, that is bounded in time. This hypothesis is highly

speculative and deserves an in depth comparative and diachronic study. If the

hypothesis that these three directionals contribute to the aspectual meaning of events is confirmed, an interesting typological feature for at least a group of South American languages will be brought up.

7.5 Other Affixes: -ake

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there is one suffix -ake whose meaning can be categorized as modal. It is not part of the aspectual system since it does not impose any time frame over the predicate, and furthermore, it does not imply that the speaker is coding the dinamicity or telicity conditions of such events.

The 'desiderative' -ake is used when the subject is expressing an action with an explicit purpose. The presence of -ake is tied to verbs of desire and searching, where an experiencer is indicated through prefixes from Set A. In such instances, the thing or the person desired or searched for is expressed by an object prefix if it is 1st or 2nd (52a,e), or a postverbal noun phrase if it is 3rd person (52c). Despite its clear modal meaning, -ake is an argument structure affix rather than a modality affix. Note that in (52a) it combines with the verb 'look' to derive its basic meaning into 'look for'; similarly, a verb stem like (a)wat 'to watch or to observe', becomes 'to wait', with -ake (52d-e).

(52)

    (a) an-se-lo-t-ake
        2O-setA.1-look-ASP.progr-desid

        'I am looking for you.'

(b) s-et-ake   s-ek
    setA.1-want-desid.   setA.1-go

    'I want to go.'

(c) selake   na' lapat
    se - la - ake   na' lapat
    setA.1-look-desid   CL   meat

    'I am going to look for something.' (cf. sela'a[16] na' lapat ' I found the meat')

(d) a-wat(e)-t-ake
    setA.2-watch-ASP.progr-desid

    'You are waiting for her/him!'

(e) [yawatetrake]
    ya - wate - t - d - ake
    setA.3-watch-ASP.progr-PL-desid

    'They are waiting (for somebody).'

7.6 Negation

In Pilagá, negation is morphologically expressed by the prefix sa-. It attaches to the verb word and precedes all person prefixes that may occur (i.e., positional class 1 in the verb template).

There are other ways of conveying negative meaning (negative adverbial wana and negative existentials); however, since they are not part of the morphological encoding of negation on verbs, I will not deal with them in this section (on negative existentials, cf. Chapter X).

Though the locus of sa- is the verb word, the negative prefix has scope over the

complete clause. The negative prefix is first illustrated in (53). These clauses are part of

a text Dole' "The Origin of Fire", told by Julio Suarez (Campo del Cielo). Notice that

the negative prefix attaches to two different verbs, i.e., čočot 'tell' and noma 'know':

(53)

    (a) sa-n-čočot-a   ha-ga'   yawo-'
         NEG-setB.3-tell-Obj.sg   fem-CL-distal   woman-PAUC

    'He did not tell about the women.' (Dole' 008)

    (b) so'   l-ayi   sa-Ø-noma-pega   mačakone'e
         CL   POSS3-fellow   NEG-setA3-know-ASP   at that moment

    'His fellows did not know (about the women) at that moment.' (Dole' 011)

The sentences in (54) were taken from a different text, "The Origin of Women".

The story narrates how women fell from the sky and end up living with men on earth.

(54)

    (a) qalačasa sa-ya-wa-n-get   kaye'ma so' l-'očača
         but   NEG-setA.3-ASP-DIR.hither   because   CL   Poss3-sleep

    'But he did not see (them), because of his sleep.'

    (b) hokal'i   sa-l-kas-ake   haga' yawo'
         at that moment   NEG-setA.3-fornicate-desid   CL   women

         sa-na-wan'e   haga'   yawo'
         NEG-setA.3-find   CL   women

    'At that time they did not fornicate with women; they did not find women (or there were no women).'

Notes

[1] Vidal and Klein (1998) state that 'irrealis' is signaled by a 'distal' marker, which attaches to nouns and noun phrases, though the signaling is at the pragmatic level of coding, and not yet at the syntactic level. Morphosyntactically, the distal marker is an independent word, included along with five more morphemes in the category of 'classifiers' (cf. Chapter IV). Classifiers may co-occur with other word classes, especially demonstratives. Likewise, for Mojave, Munro (1974:56) proposes that the irrealis marker may have developed from a demonstrative.

[2] Recall examples (22) and (23), Chapter VI, where the prefix indicates 'trajectory' from the point of view of the speaker, whereas the directional suffix is signaling the path of motion followed by the Figure.

[3] I use 'Figure' and 'Ground' following Talmy's (1985) traditional terminology. Figure is the salient moving or stationary object in a motion event and the 'ground' the reference-object in a motion event (op.cit: 129). Figure is a semantically neutral concept which refers to a participant that either moves by itself or by an external force; or is located at a certain point in the Ground. (Elsewhere, for instance [DeLancey 1991]), this semantic role is referred to as Theme.)
In Pilagá, the Figure does not always "move" in physical sense; with non-motion verbs the directional marker can be used to indicate locatedness as well. This issue will be explicated and illustrated in the next subsections. Also, Figure is a cover term here; we will see, as the discussion proceeds, that the trajectory or location can be attributed to the participant coded as the subject or to the grammatical object of an event.

[4] It means Chunga, in Spanish *Chuña.*

[5] I thank Eric Pederson (p.c.) for having pointed this out to me.

[6] A hypothesis to be checked in the future is whether in ñ'a 'downwards' the vowel stands for the suffix of object number agreement (i.e., singular); similarly, peg'a 'towards a specific place' is also another candidate. The presence of the glottal stop in ñ'a but not in ñi suggests that there might a morphological process involved, and thus, that the glottal stop might be not just the result of the phonetic glottalization of the consonant in syllable initial position.

[7] In Toba, the cognate directional suffix is -wek ~ -ek 'from the inside to the outside'(Klein 1973:144).

[8] The carved part of a tree-trunk inside which Chacoan groups prepare aloja, a drink made from ground mezquite fruit and seeds, and honey. The drink has a special use in religious ceremonies and festivities.

[9] Talmy refers to affixes like these as 'satellites' (1985:102).

[10] Bybee and Dahl (1989:55) postulate that 'progressive', 'perfective' and 'imperfective' are the most basic or 'atomic' aspect types across the languages of the world.

[11] For a review of this classification, see Van Valin and La Polla (1997:93ff).

[12] 'Reference time' does not mean 'coding time' (Fillmore 1997:78). The 'coding time' is the time where the speaker or the hearer are located; the 'reference time' here, refers to the narrative time.

[13] Some languages make a distinction between 'durative' and 'progressive'. Comrie (1976:41) states that 'durative' and 'continuous' do not address the same notions. Trask (1993:87) defines 'durative' as "an aspect which expresses an action or state which is perceived as lasting for a certain length of time".

[14] Synchronically, it is difficult to determine the function of -pe in isolation. As said in section 7.1, this morpheme can be interpreted as having either a directional or an aspectual sense, always tied to either 'progressiveness' or 'duration'. In my opinion, there is no evidence to suggest that historically, the aspectual marker -tape 'Progr. 3pl' described in the preceding section, and -tape occurring as part of the aspectual markers -tapiñi(<(ta(+pe)+ñi) 'Durative' or -tapiyi 'Durative' (<(ta(+pe)+yi) may have different sources.

[15] qolama is a nominal root meaning 'fear'.

[16] The root is la', with the glottal stop probably triggering an echo effect on the vowel in word final position. (Similarly, see ke [ke'e] 'eat'.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE NOUN PHRASE

8.0 Introduction

We now turn to issues of syntax. In this chapter, I present an overview of nominal

phrase structure, i.e., head and dependents. The chapter constitutes a general presentation

of the structure of the noun phrase, since the discussion of each constituent was

undertaken in chapter IV. (Verb phrase structure will simply be taken up as part of the

discussion of basic clause structure in chapter IX.)

8.1 Internal Structure of the NP

The diagram in (1) represents the internal structure of a NP. Constituents in

parenthesis are not required for the minimal NP. Repetition of the quantifier constituent

(Q) indicates that it can be found either before or after the head:

(1)

    [Specf (Q) N (Q) (Adj) (NP)$_{Poss}$]$_{NP}$

A noun phrase consists minimally of a head, either a noun or a pronoun (N)

preceded by up to two types of modifiers, i.e., specifier (Specf) and quantifier (Q). The

head can be also followed by a quantifier, an adjective and a possessive noun phrase. The specifier category can be filled by either a bare classifier (CL), or a demonstrative (Dem). A classifier can occur alone, as the only specifier of the head noun. It is really unusual in natural discourse to find a noun phrase having all these constituents. The head noun itself can be possessed or unpossessed and further categorized for a particular semantic class (cf. Chapter IV, sections 4.1- 4.2).

For a preliminary idea of noun phrase consitutuency, some examples are provided in (2). (2a-b) are examples of two juxtaposed phrases, a pronoun and a noun, where the noun is understood as predicating a state or condition for the subject, referenced by the independent pronouns hayem and ami‘, respectively. The pronoun, i.e., the head of the subject phrase, can be modified by a quantifier as in (2b). In (2c) a demonstrative is functioning as a proform; the quantifier in that example follows rather than preceds the demonstrative proform.

(2)

(a) hayem   pitelaʻa-lase
    PRO.1sg Pilagá-fem

    'I am Pilagá.'

(b) yima   am'i   qose-lase-'
    Q   PRO.2pl   white person-fem-pl

    'You're all white.'

(c) naa-m'e enawake pitelaca-lase-l
    CL-dem   Q   Pilagá-fem-pl

'Some of them are Pilagá (fem).'

The order of possessive phrases within the noun phrase is quite rigid. The examples

in (3) illustrate the position of the possessive phrase. In (3a) the possessor follows the

possessum (i.e., Head-Dependent), separated by a positional classifier . The possessum

does not require a possessive prefix; but it may carry one, if the noun belongs to the

category of obligatorily possessed nouns, as in (3b) l-nate:

(3)

  (a) s-čiyaqa   [lačaqa [ñi' y-ačoco-le'ek]$_{NP POSS}$] NP
     setA. l-come   house CL Poss1-sibling-masc

  'I come from my brother's house.'

  (b) [so' locoki [haso' l-ate]$_{NP POSS}$] NP
     CL bag   dem Poss3-mother

  'his mother's bag'

The following constructions have, on the surface, two juxtaposed nouns that

semantically bear a part-whole relationship between them (the order is Dependent-Head

in all such cases). The syntactic relationship here is not that of possessor-possessum. I

argue that they behave more like compound nouns (cf. Chapter IV, section 4.4), since

these nouns cannot be separated by a specifying consitutuent (as seen in 3a-b).

(4)

(a) na' laqata layoqte
CL carandillo leaf

'the leaf of the carandillo (Trithrinax sp.)'

(b) na' noɾot laet
CL clothes basket

'a basket (for/with) clothes'

(c) na' pedona loɾoge
CL lagoon shore

'the shore of the lagoon'

The adjective follows the noun head; however the specifier, as already shown, is consistently pre-head:

(5)

(a) na' le-naĉe-' seleka-i
CL Poss3-nails-pl short-pl

'short nails'

(b) na' alewa ledaɾaik
CL land black

'black land'

(c) na' layoqte dadala
CL leaves green

'green leaves'

8.2. Possessive NPs

Pairs of nominals can form a phrase by means of a syntactic relationship termed as 'possessive'. Thus, one NP can modify a head noun within a larger containing NP. The relationship is not expressed by the use of a case form, as Pilagá lacks nominal case; rather, it is expressed by the juxtaposition of constituents. The order of the possessor NP with respect to the head noun is generally fixed. In example (6) the order of components is possessum-possessor. Very few instances with the opposite arrangement were found in texts.[1]

A possessive prefix on the head nominal (i.e., to designate the possessor) is not required to mark the possessor-possessum relationship; rather, it occurs only if the possessed noun is obligatorily possessed, or inalienable, as in (3a), above. Interestingly alewa 'land' can mean both 'the world' or 'the land extension comprised by a particular settlement or community'. When having this second sense, the noun generally co-occurs with a possessive prefix, but sometimes it shows up without one. Though this is precisely the meaning that one obtains from the noun in (6a), I have no explanation for the fact that it shows up unpossessed. It could be argued that the absence of a possessive marker on the noun here is supplemented by the possessive phrase that designates the possessor.

(6)

(a) na'   alewa hen   qom-pi
    CL.prox land dem   qom.people-COL

   'the Qom's land'

(b) so'   la-qayk   so' l-t'a
    CL   Poss3-head   CL Poss.3-father

   'his father's head'

(c) da' l-añaɾak   so' le'em
    CL Poss3-strength CL man

   'the man's strength'

The next is the only example of the order possessor-possessum encountered in the corpus:

(7)

   so' siyaɾawa da' lo-qolana
   CL person CL   Poss3-fear

   'The man's fear'

As conveyed by the diagram in (1), the scope of a specifier (i.e., the classifier or the demonstrative) is a test for NP consituency. Each noun co-occurs with one and only one specifier; therefore, if there are two specifiers, they indicate the existence of two separate NPs (though an NP could be embedded within another):

(8)

```
                    NP
                   /\ 
                  /  \
                 /    \
            SPEC  N     NP
             |    |    /\ 
             |    |   /  \
             |    | SPEC  N
             |    |  |    |
            CL  strength CL  man
```
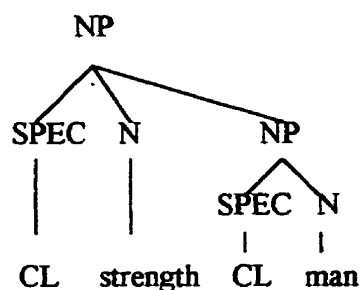
8.3 Adjectives as Noun Modifiers

Noun phrases in Pilagá can also contain adjectives, or adjective phrases. The general rule is that adjectives are contiguous to the Ns they are understood as modifying when functioning as attributes. For clarification it is important to note that adjectives can also precede Ns. But in this case, the adjective functions as a predicate (9b and 9d) and is not part of a single NP with the Noun. Compare the following:

(9)

    (a) na' emek tadaik
        CL house big

        'the big house'

    (b) tadaik na' emek
        big   CL house

        'The house is big.'

    (c) henho' noɤop yeči omyi
        dem   water very cold

        'this very cold water'

(d) yeči omyi hen nocop
   very cold dem water

'This water is cold.'

In (9b) the adjective is not in the attributive position, inside the noun phrase headed

by na' emek 'the house', and is not under the scope of the classifier na' 'proximal'.

Similarly, in (9d), the whole adjective phrase is out of the scope of the specifier.

The following excerpt also confirms the function of adjectives as predicates when

occuring to the left of the noun head. The text was written by a young native speaker,

Alejandro Rodas, from the community of Laqtasatanyi (the adjective functioning as the

predicate is underlined):

(10)

da' l-asocok   hen laqata   yataqta čimqačiñi
CL Poss3-form dem carandillo very   firm

'The form of the carandillo (palm, sp.) is very firm'

qatara yolel hen l-ocok
and   fury dem Poss3-peel, skin

'and its peel, fury'

setet'eta na' leh
sharp   CL thorn

'sharp, its thorn'

qanče han leh   da' y-asoq
and   dem thorn conj setA_3-mature

'and when the thorn matures'

```
nač'e t-aya              layorot na' l-ayoqte-l
then setA.3-change hair      CL Poss.3-leave-PL
```

'its leaves change into a hairy thing.'

Further, the noun for which an adjective serves as an attribute can be omitted when the referent is understood from the context. The following example belongs to a description about the different forms and uses of the mezquite tree, a very typical Chacoan tree species. Thus, the mezquite tree is the topic of the description and the noun mapik 'mezquite tree' has been mentioned in some previous sentences. Here, the speaker stresses two distinct kinds of mezquites, according to their sizes:

(11)

```
w'o    na' saleka ; w'o    na' tadaik
EXIST  CL small    EXIST  CL big
```

'There is a small (one) (and) there is a big one.'

Then, the speaker continues describing the stages towards obtaining the fruit of the plant and says:

(12)

```
qo-y-lake            na' map ;    qo-y-lake            na' no'oin
IS-setA.3-look for    CL mezquite  IS-setA.3-look for CL good
```

'Then one looks for the fruit; one looks for the good one.'

Notes

[1] In Chapter IX, section 9.2.3.3 I discuss word order variation in
Pilagá. The intonation and pauses in cases of order variation have not been checked.

CHAPTER IX

SYNTAX OF THE BASIC DECLARATIVE CLAUSE

9.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the major features of simple clauses, a topic which has not been explored in the previous chapters. Central issues discussed here are the encoding of the major syntactic functions of 'subject' and 'object' in independent clauses, and the distinction between underived objects and applied objects. The latter is a particularly interesting problem since Pilagá lacks adpositions and case marking for nouns. Thus, syntactic functions will be defined according to language-specific grammatical properties. I will proceed by surveying declarative intransitive and transitive sentences (9.1-9.2); then I will turn to discuss basic ditransitives (9.3); and finally, derived transitives and ditransitives (9.4).

9.1 Simple Intransitive and Transitive Sentences

There are two types of declarative clauses: verbal and non-verbal. In a verbal clause the predicate can have one or more arguments, marked by a prefix on the verb and/or a noun phrase. The fact that subjects and objects can be indicated through NPs may give the misleading impression that a clause requires them. In texts, clauses may lack subject and object noun phrases, especially after the first mention of a referent , or if

the referent is understood from the context, as examples in (1) demonstrate. Another feature of Pilagá clause structure to bear in mind is the lack of adpositional phrases to express either core arguments or obliques.

The following excerpts come from two written texts: <u>da' y'akoq</u> "The Fishing" by Donato López (Pozo Navagán), and <u>Haso' Yaena</u> "The Old Woman" by Ignacio Silva (Barrio Qompi). Example (1a) comes from a passage that tells one activity that men may do when they go fishing, i.e., honey-collection; (1b) describes the collection, grinding and storage of mezquite fruit. Example (1) includes a number of verbs attributed to the same subject. Notice that in (1a) <u>so' siyaɾawa</u> 'the other person' is the subject of the following three verbs, two of which share the same object, indicated by the noun phrase <u>qatek lapaɾat</u> 'bee', then referenced by a demonstrative proform <u>nam'e</u>. In (1b) the verbs <u>qoyačanyi</u> and <u>qoyiyamaɾat</u> lack a surface NP, since the referent (i.e., the ground mezquite) is understood from the context.

(1)

    (a) nač'e so' siyaɾawa laqaya yi-lo-ta-pi-segem   yi-lotake
         conj CL person   brother setA.3-look-ASP-DIR-DIR setA.3-look for

        qatek lapaɾat da' yi-la'a nač'e yi-lot-ege   nam'e t-ae-ya
        bee (sp.) conj setA.3-find conj setA.3-watch-DIR dem   setA.3-go-DIR

        'Then another person starts looking (up), looks for the bee; and when he finds (it) then he watches it (with the sight), (where) it goes.'

    (b) qo-i-kona   ga' noɾoki kodage lo'ok
        IS-setA.3-pick CL bag   pig(sp.) leather, skin

        qa-y-ača-n-yi   y-em   nač'e qo-yi-yamaɾat nač'e
        IS-setA.3-throw-ASP-DIR setA.3-finish conj IS-setA.3-keep conj

da' mačaqaga nolo
CL dem   day

'One picks a bag of maján (pig, sp.) leather and throws it (=the grinded mezquite) in and   keep it for one future day.'

When several participants are made explicit through noun phrases, the order of such

nouns phrases after the verb is rather flexible (see 9.2 for a full treatment of three-

argument clauses). Notice that the readings of (2a) and (2b) are essentially the same.

(2)

   (a) so' siyaɾa wa   y-anem   haso'   nalo   hañi' yawo
       CL   man   setA.3-give dem   fruit   dem   woman

   'The man gave the fruit to the woman.'

   (b) so siyaɾawa y-anem   hañi' yawo   haso' nalo
       CL   man   setA.3-give   dem   woman dem   fruit

   'The man gave the fruit to the woman.'

The preverbal slot is, however, more constrained; in a transitive clause, the leftmost

noun phrase is the subject/Agent:

(3)

   (a) so yawo   y-anem   hañi' siyaɾawa   haso' nalo
       CL woman   setA.3-give dem   man   dem   fruit

   'The woman gave the fruit to the man.'

(b) ñi' yawo de-taya-pege so' siyarawa
CL woman setA.3-talk-DIR CL person, man

'The woman is talking to the man.'

(c) so' siyarawa de-taya-pege ñi' yawo
CL person, man setA.3-talk-DIR CL woman

'The man is talking to the woman.'

9.2 Coding Properties of Subjects vs. Objects

Overt coding properties, i.e., morphological properties and word-order, serve prima facie to distinguish grammatical relations (see Keenan 1976, Givón 1995, inter alia). In Pilagá, while morphology is very relevant to the syntactic roles of subject and object, word order is only somewhat relevant, though not to the same degree as case-marking, seen in the choice of verb prefix sets (Chapters V-VI). Assuming Dixon's terminology (1979; 1994), the order of noun phrases for transitive clauses is (A)VO, and VS for intransitives. Thus, case-marking enables one to distinguish subjects from non-subjects in this language; but constituent order does not distinguish between intransitive subject vs. non-subject NPs, or between "types of objects". Also in 9.1, I have shown that more than one non-subject noun phrase can occur after the verb, and that these can occur in any order with respect to each other.

Three aspects of the overt coding system of 'subject' and 'object' in Pilagá will be considered here: (a) case-marking; (b) number agreement; and (c) word-order. The first two were extensively treated in Chapter V, though for completeness, I will briefly review them here, and then will discuss word order in more detail.

9.2.1 Pronominal Case Marking

The grammar of Pilagá makes a morphosyntactic distinction between 'subject' and 'object' through case-marking in bound pronominal prefixes.

In chapters V and VI, I have shown that verbs cross-reference the subject through prefixes organized in two distinct formal sets, which I have called set A and set B. Furthermore, transitive and ditransitive verbs (i.e., verbs with two objects, such as patient and dative) may index the person category of the object participant through either object prefixes or independent pronouns that precede the subject prefix (though only 1st or 2nd person objects have non-zero forms). In this respect, see also (4) for further illustration.

(4)

(a) w'aeñi qomi   qo-ya-paragen-ek-e   da' qo-y-e'et   na' čikena
    first   PRO.1PL   IS-setA.3-teach-DIR-PL   CL IS-setA.3-make CL   arrow

'First, they taught us how to prepare (lit. somebody prepares) the arrow.'

Third person object participants are zero marked on the verb or are expressed through a noun phrase, and object prefixes are in complementary distribution with full NPs. In contrast, nothing prevents an independent pronoun functioning as subject from co-occuring with the subject verb prefix. For this reason, there is an asymmetry between 'subject' and 'object' as to the status of bound pronominal prefixes.

9.2.2 Number Agreement

Number agreement for subjects and objects is also morphologically indicated on the verb through distinct sets of suffixes. In Chapter V, I stated that object number suffixes are optional and may indicate plural number of the transitive object, and of the intransitive subject; though this marking system does not apply to all intransitive subjects (only to the subject of motion verbs, as examples provided in (11) of Chapter V, attest). This means that for intransitive subjects, two systems co-exist for the marking of the plural category: object plural suffixes, agreeing with the subject of some intransitive verbs (but also with transitive objects); and subject number suffixes, agreeing with the subject participant of transitive verbs and of most intransitive verbs.

9.2.3 Word Order

As noted in 9.1, Pilagá exhibits two basic constituent orders in declarative sentences: transitive (A)VO and intransitive VS. Some variation on these dominant patterns is possible, as will become clear from the discussion found in this section.

In 9.1, we saw possible variation in the order of noun phrases when the verb governs two objects (ditransitives will be further treated in 9.2). In this section, however, I will concentrate on word order in intransitive and transitive clauses, that is the discussion is restricted to clauses with one core-argument and with two core-arguments.

9.2.3.1 AVO/VO

In transitive declarative clauses, the subject precedes the verb, while the object

quite rigidly follows the verb, as shown in (5a). Sentences (5c) and (5d) are the VO type,

with no overt NP subject.

(5)

(a) hada'm'e   yi - kiy-aɤan   ñi' nosotolek
     dem.fem   setA.3- feed-Val2   CL child

'She feeds/fed the child.'

(b) so' siyaɤawa   y-osot-e-tapiñi   so' l-ole
     CL person   setA.3-hide-ep.vow-ASP   CL Poss.3-fire

'That person was hiding his fire.'

(c) qanač'e   s- aw- qo   haso'   nota
     conj   setA.1-make-PL   CL.fem   note

'And we wrote/prepared a note.'

(d) nač'e   y-akon-a   so' l-oɤo-ki   biaɤase-lo'oq
     and   setA.3-take-Obj.sg   CL Poss.3-bag-NCl   deer-skin

'And she took her bag of little brown deer skin.'

Transitive sentences where the 3rd person object is referenced pronominally are

possible. In (6a-b) the verb carries a subject prefix from set A, and the clause is

interpreted as transitive with two human participants involved. The demonstrative

pronoun referring to the object can be added after the verb but not before it, as the

ungrammaticality of (6b) shows:

(6)

   (a) ∅-s-e'et   (do-ho')
      3O-setA.1-fix CL-dem

   'I fix him/her.'

   (b) *doho' s-e'et
      CL-dem setA.1-fix

   'I fix him.'

According to the description provided in Chapter V, section 5.2.3, 1st and 2nd object

participants come before the verb, never after it. The OV distribution, therefore, holds

when the participant is 1st or 2nd person, but VO if it is 3rd person, suggesting the

existence of hierarchy based on 'person'. Pilagá reflects a by now well-recognized

topicality hierarchy present in many languages of the world, by which 1st and 2nd persons

are prominent over 3rd persons (on this topic, cf. seminal work by Silverstein 1976;

DeLancey 1981 and Givón 1984, inter alia). On South American languages, Payne

(1994:316) argues that there is a person hierarchy in the inverse system of Tupí-Guaraní

languages. Verb prefixes preferentially mark speech act participants on the verb, over 3rd

person, regardless of whether the participant denoted by the prefix is A or O. In the case

of Pilagá, the person hierarchy is evident not only in verb marking (1st and 2nd get

marked by overt prefixes, while 3rd is zero marked on the verb), but also in constituent

order, since 1st and 2nd person participants, whether cliticized or not, come before the verb, whereas 3rd persons are postverbal.

There is one instance where the object can come before the verb: when the subject is an indefinite subject or defocused participant (Chapter V, section 5.2.4). Note the position of the NP object in (7), suggesting that both orders, i.e., VO and OV are acceptable.

(7)

   (a) qo-y-alat   ha-di'   yawo
       IS-setA.3-kill fem-CL woman

     'Somebody killed the woman.'

   (b) hadi'   yawo qo-y-alat
       dem.fem   woman IS-setA-kill

     'Somebody killed the woman.'

9.2.3.2 VS

In Pilagá, the VS order is typical of existential clauses and of those carrying motion verbs. Sentences (8a) and (8b) correspond to intransitive motion verbs. In (8a-b) the S introduces a new human participant in the discourse. This pattern is widely attested in other languages (such as Spanish and in English presentationals).

(8)

(a) ø- ek   ha-so' Nell
    setA.3-go   fem.CL Nelly

'Nelly arrived.'

(b) yataqta ne-bid-i yi   so' *gerente*
    but   setB.3- come-DIR CL boss (Sp. loanw.)

'But the boss came.'

Examples of existential constructions with VS order are given in (9). Pilagá speakers do not accept the reverse order when the verb position is filled by an existential marker and its complement is a noun phrase:

(9)

(a) w'o   so' y-emek
    EXIST CL   Poss.1-house

'There was my-house (a house for me=I had a house).'

(b) Qaya'   so' noꭓop
    NEG.EXIST   CL   water

'There was no water.'

VS order with existentials and verbs of motion serves as a presentative device. In Pilagá so-called 'existentials' w'o and qaya' are not true verbs. Morphologically, they do not exhibit most verbal categories (i.e., subject case-markers, direction or aspect) that the other verbs do. (On Existential and presentational sentences, see Chapter X.)

In general VS with intransitive verbs is the preferred word order pattern, and in elicitation, speakers reject the SV order, even with non-existential and non-motion intransitive verbs, as in (10b and 10d). (However, cf. section 9.2.3.3 on possible word order variation.)

(10)

    (a) ni-li-ñi   na' alewa
        setB.3-flow-DIR CL land

        'The land covered (with water)'.

    (b) * na' alewa niliñi

    (c) ne-taya-pe-l'at   da' yawo'
        setB.3-speak-DIR.REFL CL woman

        'The woman speaks to herself.'

    (d) *da' yawo' ne-taya-pe-l'at

Like (8), (11) shows a motion verb and a postverbal subject NP. However, unlike (8), (11) is very difficult to parse because another intransitive motion verbs follows the subject NP (i.e., VSV, either [VS]V or V[SV]). Thus, it is uncertain whether the NP should go with V_1 or V_2.

Example (11) describes the episode when the people, the fishermen, had to jump over a snake on their way back to the camp. The snake (so' nanaik) was introduced in the previous clause. Though the verb exhibits a directional marker -lege 'over', the location

over which people jump (the snake) is not made explicit by an NP, since it is understood

from the preceding context.

(11)

    qanč'e qo-ø-qawa-lege   som'e   siyaꭓadipi qo-y-iɓid-eg'a
    and   IS-setA.3-jump-DIR CL-dem people   IS-setA.3-come-DIR

    som'e   n-mačaqa
    CL-dem Indef.Poss-camp

    'And the people jumped over; they came/arrived in the camp.'

(12), from the same narrative text, describes the moment when the women fell. The

subject noun phrase, <u>so' yawodipi</u> 'the women', is adjoined to the end of the clause, in a

kind of appositive position, rather than directly after the verb. Therefore, the subject NP

may come immediately after the verb, or a further from the verb.

(12)

    ø-čiyoꭓo-ge'   so' piyem hanč'e ho' qomle   ø-taya-pi-ñ'a
    setA.3-come-DIR CL sky   and   dem afterwards setA.3-fall-DIR-DIR

    henho so' yawodipi
    there CL women

    'They came from the sky, and then they fell there, the women.'

(13) is taken from a different text, <u>Nesoge</u>, told by Ignacio Silva (Barrio Qompí)

This is an intransitive sentence bearing the existential form w'o followed by its

complement (what it is predicated to exist, i.e., so' paya'get 'spirits that give strength and

power to mythical characters and to shamans in general'). Example (13) confirms the VS

pattern for existential constructions.

(13)

    w'o   so' paya'get hasom'e yawo
    EXIST CL spirits   dem.fem woman

    'And there was this spiritual strength for the woman.' (Lit, 'there were spiritual
    entities for the woman.')

9.2.3.3 Other Word Order Patterns

The order of constituents in transitive and intransitive sentences shows some

variation with respect to the apparently basic VO/VS patterns. Variation concerns

especially the lexical expression of the sentence subject. In this section, I will describe

such variants and elaborate on an explanation for them. My analysis is that lexical

expressions referring to subjects are less argumental than those referring to objects (i.e.,

the bound pronominal markers are the necessary and sufficient markers of the subject).

Texts performed by traditional speakers do show cases of SV arrangement. This is

illustrated in (14)-(15). (14) comes from a narrative about the "Origin of Women", told

by Alberto Navarrete (Laqtasatanyi). At the point of clause (14), he describes how the

guard of the camp, the mythical bird Wole, calls the fishermen back to the camp to see

the women, who had just fallen from sky into earth. The intransitive verb yačawo

describes the motion-cum trajectory of the men (so' siyaɾadipi).

(14)

hanač'e so' siyaɾadipi ya-ča-wo   hokal'i qo-ya-ča-wo   so' l-mačaqa
and   CL people setA.3-move-DIR then IS-setA.3-move-DIR CL Poss3-camp

'And the people came; then they came to their camp.'

Instances of postverbal lexical subjects in transitive clauses (i.e., VA) are very rare,

though possible. In (15) so' npotanek 'the guard' occurs after the transitive verb.

(15)

ø-enak   hokal'i so' npotanek "am'i y-aqaya   aw-seda-ñi   ho' "
setA.3-say then   CL guard   2Pl Poss.1-brother setA.2-carve,write-DIR dem

'The guard said "You, my brothers, dig there."

Therefore, according to (14) and (15), AV and VA for transitive clauses, but also

VS and SV with intransitives, are possible for the position of the lexical NP subject. One

interpretation of these distribution facts is that, since the lexical expression of the subject

is not obligatory (except when a participant is introduced for the first time in the

discourse), the noun phrase explicitly mentioning the subject must have the status of an

adjunct, instead of being truly argumental, and this is the reason why it does not have a

rigid position within the clause. Any possible effect of intonation and pauses on word

order variability needs to be investigated on the basis of texts; it might be the case that

adjoined phrases do not form a phonological unit with the rest of the predicate, but are

phrased separately from the rest of the clause

Up to this point, I have argued that the dominant constituent orders are VS for

intransitives and (A)VO (or VO) for transitive clauses; but also that in the narratives by

older speakers there are instances of SV and VA order. I have found that word order

variabilility correlates with a generational difference, but this correlation needs to be

explored in more depth. In oral and written texts by younger speakers, the correlation

with the AVO/VS arrangement is very strong. Setting written texts aside, which are

obviously more planned and lack the intonational junctures and pauses typical of an oral

performance, I compared the information provided by older speakers with the oral

narratives produced by younger speakers. With a very high consistency, subject and

object noun phrases follow the basic (A)VO/VS patterns in the narratives of younger

Pilagá speakers, while those provided by older traditional speakers show the word order

variants described above.

Another element that reinforces the idea that word order is more flexible in the

speech of older traditional speakers is the existence of discontinuous expressions at the

NP level. Relevant examples are given in (16). They constitute clear cases of split

constituents, where the demonstrative modifier in (16a) and the genitive in (16b) have

been left-dislocated from their heads. Note, *in passim*, that these are examples of

intransitive sentences where the subject head follows the verb. Neither here, have I

verified the existence of different intonation contours or longer pauses, compared to when NP constituents are contiguous to each other.

(16)

   (a) som'e siyaɾawa kal'i di-mač-i-y-a   <u>som'e</u> di-ya-tak
       dem   people   then   setA.3-listen-PL-ep-Obj.sg   dem   setA.3-call-ASP

      <u>n-potanek</u>
       Poss.Indef-guard

       'The people then heard him; the guard was calling (them.)'

   (b) <u>hasom'e</u>   <u>yawo</u>   n-ače-da-yi   <u>sa'</u>   <u>l-enače</u>
       dem.fem   woman   setB.3-grow nails-PL-ASP CL.pauc Poss.3-nails

       'And the woman's nails had grown.'

Having shown the coding properties of subjects and objects in intransitive and transitive sentences, I will now turn to consider the distribution and nature of postverbal noun phrases in ditransitives.

9.3 Ditransitive Sentences

I have argued on language-internal grounds that there is a clear distinction between 'subject' and 'object'. The major difficulty arises in determining the syntactic functions of the nonsubjects in ditransitive sentences. Most ditransitive sentences in texts exhibit only one NP lexical object; and when both object participants are 3rd person, pragmatic conditions determine which is marked by a prefix on the verb, and which by a lexical NP.

The basic word order pattern for ditransitive sentences is (A)V O_1 O_2.

(17)

    (a) y-an-em   haso'   nalo   hañi' yawo
        setA.3-give-DAT   dem   fruit   dem   woman

    'He/She gave the fruit to the woman.'

    (b) ø-y-an-em   hañi' yawo   haso' nalo
        3O- setA.3-give-DAT dem   woman dem   fruit

    'He/She gave the woman the fruit.'

But since one object participant can be referenced on the verb, ditransitive clauses

may exhibit a single postverbal noun phrase. In all cases the dative object is expressed

through a prefix or an independent pronoun if 1st and 2nd person, whereas the 3rd person

patient object is instantiated by a noun phrase (see Chapter V, <u>Object Marking</u>). (18)

illustrates what has been stated:

(18)

    (a) ø-y-an-em   haso' nalo
        3O- setA.3-give-DAT dem   fruit

    'He/She gave (somebody) the fruit.'

    (b) an-y-an-em   haso' nalo
        2O-setA.3-give-DAT dem   fruit

    'He gave you the fruit.'

In this section, however, I will focus on those clauses that have two NP objects,

both 3rd person participants. This type of clause is extremely rare in texts, and for that

reason the examples provided below come from sentence-elicitation.

As suggested in 9.1 and further illustrated in (17), two object NPs after the verb can

occur in either order with respect to each other. The tendency is to assume that when two

noun phrases are involved in a sentence, any preverbal NP is the subject. A sentence like

(19) is not ambiguous; there is no other interpretation for the noun phrase

hañi' yawo 'the woman' than to be the subject of that sentence.

(19)

        hañi'   yawo ø-y-anem   haso' nalo
        dem woman 3O-setA.3-give dem fruit

        'The woman gave somebody a fruit'

Both patient and dative object NPs can be moved before the verb if the agent has

been defocused through qo- 'indefinite subject'. (20a-c) are all acceptable sentences. This

does not mean that the operation of agent defocusing necessarily triggers fronting or

dislocation of the NP object (recall that these examples come from sentence elicitation,

and in texts the consistency with which an object NP follows the verb is pretty robust):

(20)

  (a) qo-y-an-em   hañi'   yawo   da' onole nede
      IS-setA.3-give-DAT dem.fem woman CL one   book

      'Somebody gave the woman one book.'

(b) hañim'e   yawo   qo-y-anem   da' onole nede
    dem.fem   woman   IS-setA.3-give   CL one   book

'Somebody gave the woman one book.'

(c) da' onole nede qo-y-anem   hañi'   yawo
    CL one   book IS-setA.3-give   dem.fem woman

'Somebody gave the woman one book.'

Apart from nouns, demonstratives functioning as proforms can play the role of a

verb's object. The pronominal form can address the only object of a transitive verb (see

(6) above), or the dative object of a ditransitive verb (21). In both cases, the

demonstrative pronoun follows the verb, never preceds it:

(21)

(a) y-anem   haso'   da' onole nede
    setA.3-give   dem.fem   CL one   book

'He/She gave her one book.'

So far we have seen that the two objects in ditransitive clauses share a number of

properties in common. However, Pilagá does not seem to differentiate between a direct

and an indirect object. And as for the distinction between 'primary object' (i.e., the

indirect object in a ditransitive clause or a direct object in a monotransitive clause) and

'secondary object' (i.e., the direct object in a ditransitive clause) (Dryer 1986), the

evidence that such categories exist in this language is not compelling. Pilagá treats the

only object of a transitive clause and the dative of a ditransitive clause the same, but it

also treats the only object of a transitive and the patient of a ditransitive the same. There

is an asymmetry between objects based on personhood, not on the semantic role of the participant. Pilagá has a grammatical rule by which if it is 1st or 2nd person, participants have to be marked, whereas 3rd person objects are never overtly marked on the verb. 1st and 2nd person are speech act participants and as such, human objects.

9.4 Derived Transitive and Ditransitive Sentences:

Applied Objects

Pilagá proves to be one of those languages where an extra argument which is semantically a Benefactive, a Commitative, Instrumental, or Locative are allowed in the derived argument structure of the verb. In many other languages, non-core participants are expressed in oblique adpositional phrases, and optional applicative constructions are used to create derived argument frames, which allow these participants into the core. But since Pilagá does not have oblique noun phrases, I have to assume that all such participants are obligatorily treated as derived core arguments whenever they occur, in the absence of good evidence to assert the opposite. In this section, I will examine derived two- and three-argument clauses.

9.4.1 Derived Core Arguments

The Pilagá verb includes suffixes that indicate the semantic roles of Benefactive, Dative, Comitative and Instrumental. While locatives are generally marked by directionals on the verb (and an optional NP may explicitly corefer to the putative

location), Instrumentals and Comitatives are indicated by two morphemes that do not

belong to the group of directionals markers.

Verbs behave differently as to whether they can take an extra applied argument.

Also, the co-ocurrence of these suffixes and an external noun phrase highly depends on

the pragmatics of communication. The lexical NP may not surface if both the speaker and

the hearer know whom or what is being talked out. I will now turn to discuss the

encoding of all these derived arguments.

9.4.1.1 Benefactives

In this section I will discuss Benefactive applicatives with different verb classes.

Benefactives are participants for whose benefit some action is performed (Van Valin and

La Polla 1997:85).

With cognate object verbs, the suffix -lege signals the addition of a participant to

the basic verb argument structure of the simple root. The form lege 'on/over' was

included in the group of directional markers, because it is in the meaning of this form: it

signals the location where the action of the verb takes place. But interestingly, apart from

indicating location, syntactically it functions as an applicative marker with benefactive

meaning.

For the benefactive meaning, the added argument is human, and can be made

explicit by a noun phrase if it is 3rd person. Thus, assuming a basic argument structure

that includes < Agent, (Theme) > (the Theme is in parentheses since for some verbs it is

cognate with the verb, and as such it is not made explicit), the derived stem adds a

benefactive so that the verb frame becomes <Agent, (Theme), Benefactive >. The suffix

<u>lege</u> thus allows an extra noun phrase to be used in the sentence.

In (22a,c,e,g), I provide examples of cognate-object verbs whose non-derived basic

forms involve an Agent and a Theme. (22b,d, f, h) show the same verb in its derived

form, with a benefactive participant:

(22)

    (a) de-wose-tak   ñi' lapat[l]
        setA.3-cook.stew-ASP.progr   CL meat

    'He/she is cooking the meat.'

    (b) de-wose-lege   ñi' tesoqo
        setA.3-cook.stew-DIR.on/over   CL uncle.

    'He cooks for his uncle.'

    (c) d-ona-tak
        setA.3-sing-ASP.progr

    'He is singing.'

    (d) d-ona-lege   hada'   yawo
        setA.3-sing-DIR.on/over   dem.fem woman

    'He sings for the woman.'

    (e) d-asot
        setA.3-dance

    'He/she dances or is going to dance.'

    (f) d-asot-e-lege   hada'   yawo
        setA.3-dance-ep.vow-DIR.on/over   dem.fem woman

    'He/she dances for the woman.'

(g) hayem   ñ-oye-n
PRO.1SG setB.1-cry-ASP.non progr

'I cry.'

(h) hayem   ñ-oye-lege   na' siyaꞓawa
    PRO.1SG   setB.1-cry-DIR.on/over   CL person, man

'I cry for this person.'

In (23), a transitive verb like maꞓa ~ maq 'send' includes an Agent and a Theme in

its basic frame. Thus, in (23a), the underived verb maꞓa ~ maq, does not make the

location explicit by a noun phrase, but in (23b-c) lege brings a new participant to the

clause. This participant is a location, understood as a goal. (In a broad sense, benefactives

are also goals.) The NP that makes explicit the location is underlined in (23b-c). Like in

(22), also in (23b) lege functions as an applicative. Notice that in (23b) the speaker

signals the eventual location of the Theme as a 'far away' place (Formosa city is about

300 km. from where the speaker is located), via the directional ge' 'thither':

(23)

(a) na-maq   haso'   n-ede-lae't
    setB.3-send   dem.fem   Poss.3-write-piece, part

'He sent a letter.'

(b) ya-maꞓa-lege   he'n n'onaꞓa so' l-ko'ot
    setA.3-send-DIR.on/over   dem   field   CL   Poss.3-son

'He sent his son (over) to the field'

(c) ya-maɣa-ge'   so' loko'ot <u>da' Formosa</u>
    setA.3-take,send-DIR.away   CL son   CL Formosa city

'He sent his son (away) to Formosa.'

(24) shows examples where <u>lege</u> occurs with intransitive motion verbs. The same verbs can occur both with <u>lege</u> or with other directional suffixes. But in (24), the verb root plus <u>lege</u> has the sense that another human being is involved. This second participant is in fact a Locative, but this reading can be the result of the motion feature conveyed by these verbs.

(24)

(a) s-a-lege
    setA.1-go-DIR.on/over

'I am passing by somebody's house'.

(b) s-awqa-lege
    setA.1-move, go-DIR.on/over

'I am tracking somebody (=I am over somebody's traces.)'

Also in (25), <u>lege</u> seems to be applying a new argument to the verb. Like in (24), The NP that makes explicit the location in (25a-b) is underlined:

(25)

    (a) sa-na-lege   ñi' nkiyarala haso'   taraki
        setA.1-put-DIR.on/over CL table   fem.dem   pot

    'He put the pot on the table'

    (b) se-kode-lege   so' norop ñi' y-alek
        setA.1-pour-DIR.on/over CL water   CL Poss.1-son

    'I poured water on my son.'

Example (26) constitutes a further illustration of the applicative usage of lege

'on/over'. The example corresponds to a segment of the mythical tale Wole ("The origin

of Women"), when the women discovered Parrot (so' ele') up in the tree, while he was

watching them. (Several pieces of information are missing from this specific section of

text, such as the artifacts that women threw to Parrot, e.g. charcoal-grilled chops,

according to one of my consultants. I have added them in the translation, for a better

understanding of the passage.) Though not made explicit through a NP, Parrot is the

locus, to which lege makes reference:

(26)

    Hokal'i haso'   yawodipi qo-d-ik-tape-lege   qo-ya-saqa-ta-lege
    then   dem.fem women IS-setA.3-go-ASP-DIR   IS-setA.3-throw-ASP-DIR

    'Then the women went over (him), throwing [charcoal-grilled chops] onto (him).'

9.4.1.2 Datives

In Pilagá, there are no inherently trivalent verbs; in order to have a Dative argument

any verb that describe change of possession or social interaction (Levin 1993), including

'give' needs to be indicated through –em. This suffix has two allomorphs, –em ~

–m based on whether the preceding sound in a consonant or a vowel.

Thus, when verbs have -em ~ –m as part of their derived form,e.g. 'give', 'allow' or

'tell', it means that they are lexically subcategorized for a third core argument in their

frame. In their basic argument structure, these verbs have two participants <Agent,

Theme>. These verbs can be used without -em, as simple transitive verbs. For that

reason, I argue that -em is an applicative when it occurs. The form em looks to derive

from the root anem 'give', which has become a Dative applicative for some verb forms.

(27)

    (a) am   s-an-em   so' pan
         PRO.2sg   setA.1-give-DAT   CL bread

         'I gave you bread.'

    (b) am   s-eta-pege-m
         PRO.2sg   setA.1-say-DIR.-DAT

         'I allow you (to do something).'

    (c) ø-s-aqta-n-em   so' ñi-tesoqo
         3O-setA.1-sayl-ASP-DAT   CL Poss.1-uncle

         'I told (something) to my uncle.'

(d) qo-d-aqta-n-em   ñi Xose   da'   n-obi'   ñi' Sedaɾakien
     IS-setA.3-say-ASP-DAT   CL Joseph CL setB.3-arrive   CL prop.name

'Somebody told José that Sedaɾakien (=Ignacio's Pilagá native name) had arrived.'

(e) s-aqta-ta-pege-m   so' kotaɾak so' yawo   da' n-oye-tak
    setA.1-say-ASP-DIR-DAT CL problem CL women   CL setB.3-cry-ASP

'I was explaining the problem to the woman who was crying.'

All these verbs are basically transitives; most of them do not need to mark a dative object, but when they do, -em needs to occur on the verb. Thus, -em is an index a valency-increasing process by allowing the introduction of a third core participant.

9.4.1.3   Comitatives and Instrumentals

Comitatives are participants who, concurrently with a semantic Agent (or sometimes an Undergoer), perform the action denoted by the verb. Instrumentals are entities manipulated by an agent in the carrying out of an action (Van Valin and La Polla 1997:85).

Comitatives and Instrumentals are indicated through suffixes on the verb in Pilagá. The suffixes mark the added role; the arguments are part of the new verb stem.

Both suffixes allow the inclusion of a noun phrase. But the case of Intrumentals is a little bit different from Comitatives, and even from Datives. Interestingly, if the Intrumental noun phrase is explicit, the Theme cannot be made explicit. Thus, the verb root governs only one argument and the presence of the Intrumental does not bring up a

change in transitivity; rather what the Instrumental applicative causes is a re-arrangement of the semantic roles of the derived verb form.

Comitatives are indexed by -wa , a form which was found to occur with some nouns to mean 'companion', and was analyzed as a 'noun class marker' (see Chapter IV. Noun classes). As a comitative marker on the verb, it is scarcely productive and the examples that I registered come from sentence-elicitation. I assume that the usage of -wa was much more frequent in an earlier stage of the language.[2]

(28)

    (a) di' noʁotolek   l-ona-n-wa   hada'   yawo
         CL child   SetC.3-work-ASP-COM dem.fem woman

   'The child works with the woman.'

    (b) ñi-wana-wa
       setB.1-eat-COM

   'I eat with someone.'

    (c) [yibitawa]
       i-bit-a-wa
       setC.1-trust, know-ep.vow-COM

    'I trust him/her.'

Some of the forms in (28) have person prefixes that are identical to possessive markers. This is not surprising since, as I showed in Chapter V, some verb prefix sets exhibit a coalescence of nominal possessive and verbal person prefixes into a single inflectional verb paradigm. The verb form in (28c) has been also registered with the

meaning of 'trust each other'. In that case the verb, rather than showing the Comitative

suffix, carries a reciprocal marker (see (29)):

(29)

(a) so' siyaᶜawa   sa-n-bit-e-t-a't-ae   so' naegaᶜawa
    CL person, man   NEG-setB.3-trust-ep.vow-ASP-RECP-PL   CL friend

'And that person, they did not did not trust each other, his friend.'

Instrumentals are indicated through -sona ~ -na. Reasons for the alternation

between these two forms have not been totally clarified, but syllable reduction within a

single morpheme (cf. Chapter III, section 3.4.3) may be a factor for allomorphy. The

following set shows the usage of -na (30c) with a verb that can be used transitively, if a

prefix from set A occurs (30a-b) (or reflexively, if it takes a set B prefix ; (30) does not

show the reflexive form):

(30)

(a) si-yo
    setA.1-wash

    'I wash/I am about to wash somebody.'

(b) si-yoᶜo-n
    setA.1-wash-ASP.non progr

    'I wash/I am about to wash something.'

(c) si-yoɣo-na
    setA.1-wash-INSTR

'I wash with something (e.g., the soap).'

The Instrumental may be made explicit by a noun phrase (31b) or not, as (31a) and (30c) above show. However, with the Instrumental, the Theme cannot be expressed overtly. If it were, it could be interpreted that this is the NP which the instrumental suffix is giving case to, or otherwise that it is sentence subject. In both situations, I have starred the anomalous sentences:

(31)

(a) di-čaɣa-sona
    setA.3-cut-INSTR

    'He cut/s with something.'

(b) di-čaɣa-sona   so' ganaɣat
    setA.3-cut-INSTR   CL knife

    'He cut with the knife.'

(c) *dičaɣasona so' lapat
    *'The meat cuts.'

(d) *dičaɣasona so' lapat so' ganaɣat
    *'The knife cuts with the meat.'

(e) *dičaɣasona so' ganaɣat so' lapat
    *'The meat cuts with the knife.'

This suggests that, unlike with Datives described in the previous section, one cannot get a ditransitive structure with Intrumentals. To bring an Instrumental NP into the clause structure, -(so)na must occur on the verb (compare 32a-b). Otherwise, an Instrumental can only be expressed in another clause, as attested in (32c):

(32)

    (a) yi-čaꞓa-yi   so' lapat
        setA.1-cut-DIR CL meat

    'I cut the meat.'

    (b) *yičaꞓayi so' lapat so' ganaꞓat

    (c) yi-čaꞓa-yi   so' lapat yi-do'ok   so' ganaꞓat
        setA.1-cut-DIR CL meat setA.1-poke CL knife

    'I cut the meat; I poke the knife.'

The fact that both arguments cannot be made explicit is constrained by animacy factors. With the introduction of Instrumentals, the verb would appear to have two objects. Since the language does not indicate case on nominals (and does not incorporate arguments either), one mechanism for clarifying the role of the overt NP and avoiding, therefore, a possible case of ambiguity, is the "demotion" of the Theme from the basic argument structure of the verb.

The perhaps historically complex transitive form of the verb kiy(aꞓan) 'eat/feed' may include an Instrumental argument in its frame, accompanied by a postverbal NP that references the sort of instrument:

(33)

    da' siyaɾawa   di-kiyaɾa-na   da' ganaɾat
    CL man, person setA.3-feed,eat-INSTR CL knife

    'The man is eating with a knife.'

When an Instrumental NP is made explicit, the suffix has to occur on the verb and then, the NP is treated as an object. Evidence that Instrumentals are objects is given by the presence of an object number suffix: the Instrumental argument may trigger number agreement on the verb, as shown in (34)[3]:

(34)

    (a) sa-piag-a-na
        setA.1-cut-ep.vow-INSTR

      'I cut with something (e.g., a knife)'

    (b) sa-piag-a-na-lo
        setA.1-cut-ep.vow-INSTR-Obj.pl

      'I cut with all the knives.'

In the next section, I will show that third person Locatives behave similarly to Instrumentals. In other words, like Instrumentals, Locatives can also trigger number agreement.

9.4.1.4 Locatives

Different locations (and trajectories) can be indexed by means of Pilagá

directionals, and specified by coreferential noun phrases. This topic was extensively

discussed in Chapter VII. However, I will now discuss how the NP is related to the

directional marker.

Verbs that include a Location in their derived frame, i.e., <Theme, Location> and

<Agent, Theme, Location> can have, therefore, two or three arguments, depending on the

verb class. Here, I will examine three-argument verbs first, in particular verbs of putting

and handling. Then I will look at verbs whose derived semantic structure includes two

participants, i.e., <Theme, Location>, in particular motion verbs. I will discuss the

possibility that in this case, the Location can function as an applied object argument.

<Agent, Theme, Location> have an Agent and a Theme, and one derived argument

licensed by the directional suffix, i.e., Location. In such cases, the directional suffix does

not code the trajectory of the action denoted by the verb; rather it codes the location

where the Theme is to be found:

(35)

(a) s-ekodi-nyi   he'n nocop ha'n   n-yom-aca-ki   \
    setA.1-pour-DIR. dem   water fem.dem Poss.Indef.3-drink-NMLZ-NCL.place

   'I pour water in the glass.'

(b) s-a-ča-nyi   so' lapacat ñi' tacaki
    setA.1-put-DIR   CL meat   CL pot

   'He put the meat into the pot.'

(c) qo-ya-saqa-ta-owe   na' n-degat
    IS-setA.3-throw-ASP-DIR   CL Indef.Poss- mouth

'Throw something in the somebody's mouth.'

The following verbs include only a Theme and a Location in their derived frame:

(36)

(a) s-awqa-ñ'a   di' noʕop
    setA.1-approximate-DIR.downwards CL water

'I am going down to the river.'

(b) s-awqa-wo
    setA.1-approximate-DIR.outwards

'I approached a place.'

(c) ø-čiyoʕo-ge'   da' piyem
    setA.3-descend-DIR.thither CL sky

'They come from the sky.'

In (37), the locative NP <u>di' qadet'a</u> expresses a metaphorical location of the action

denoted by the verb. Though the directional <u>get</u> in (37) describes the trajectory implied

by the motion verb 'to descend', the NP in (37) denotes a human participant which

functions syntactically as the object, as evidenced by the presence of the number suffix.

(37)

sa-čiyoᴙo-get-a   di'   qad-et'a
setA.1-descend-DIR.hither-Obj CL.ext Poss.1pl-father

'I descend from (or come from) my father.'

9.5 Summary

From the analysis presented in the previous sections, the following overt coding

properties serve to identify 'subjects' vs. 'objects' in Pilagá:

(a) The subject prefix identifies the grammatical subject, and can anaphorically track a

participant. Both subject and object prefixes satisfy the argument requirements of the

verb in Pilagá, where noun phrases are optional. However, there is an asymmetry

between subjects and objects: in the case of objects, an object prefix and co-referent

lexical NP cannot co-occur in the same clause.

(b) When lexical NPs or free pronouns occur, the basic sentence order is (A)VO/VS. If

one omitts the subject NP in either type of sentence, a pronominal subject interpretation

occurs.

(c) The object NP occurs in a highly rigid position with respect to the verb (i.e.,

postverbal). The only case when an object NP can occur before the verb is when the

agent is defocused. Conversely, the subject NP does show some flexibility in the clause.

For that reason, I claimed that NPs refering to the subject are more-adjunct like than NPs refering to object.

(d) Number agreement for subjects and objects occurs with all three grammatical persons.

(e) With both transitive and ditransitive verbs, 1st and 2nd person objects have to be indicated by a prefix on the verb or by an independent pronoun, but these never co-occur. Third person objects are either zero marked or are referenced by full noun phrases. More than one object participant cannot be referenced on the verb. Thus, if both patient and dative of ditransitive verbs are 1st and 2nd person, the speaker has to choose between marking one or the other, but both cannot be referenced on the verb.[4] Third person objects are neither distinguished by adpositions nor case markers on lexical nouns.

(f) Pilagá shows that semantic Datives, Benefactives, Commitatives and Instrumentals can be referenced on the verb through suffixes. All such arguments function as applied objects, but the effect of applicatives over the basic verb frame is not the same in all such cases. With verbs with a low transitivity profile (cognate object verbs and motion verbs) the added argument derives a transitive construction. However, on the surface, there is no change in the subject prefix class or in other part of the verb word. With Datives, which occur on already transitive verbs, the derived structure becomes ditransitive, including three core arguments, of which two are objects, i.e. a patient and a dative. Instrumentals do not derive ditransitive structures out of transitive ones. Benefactives, Datives,

Instrumentals, Locatives and Comitatives allow for a noun phrase to be used in the sentence. They also prove to have morphosyntactic object properties. One element arguing for object properties is that some (if not all) of these arguments trigger object number agreement on the verb. I assume all these may be treated as obligatorily derived core arguments, since Pilagá lacks oblique noun phrases.

Notes

[1] While this sentence is completely grammatical, Pilagá speakers prefer the expression vaw'o na' nwosek 'he/she makes the stew.'

[2] In Kadiwéu (Sandalo 1996) and Mocoví (Gualdieri 1998) the cognate -wa (Kadiwéu) or -wa' (Mocoví) have been analyzed as dative markers. In Mocoví, it occurs with verbs such as qo't 'like', Gaya 'listen, wan 'know' and do 'bring', to indicate the second human participant of a transitive or a ditransitive verb. In Pilagá, the cognate roots qopi(ta) 'like', kiyava 'listen', wana 'know' (but also 'find'), and do 'bring/take' do not occur with this suffix.

[3] I do not have sentence examples showing that also benefactives and comitatives also trigger number agreement on the verb. But in terms of the proposed role/accesibility hierachies (Givón 1984) one should expect this to be possible.

[4] Neither in texts, nor in elicitation do sentences of the type 'he introduces me to you' or 'he gives me to you' occur. My consultants were puzzled when I proposed translating such sentences into Pilagá, since the grammar does not allow the cross-referencing of three pronominal arguments in a single clause.

CHAPTER X

OTHER CLAUSE TYPES

10.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the syntax of basic declarative clauses

containing ordinary verbs. In this chapter I will present other clause types that Pilagá

exhibits. These are locative sentences (10.1), existential sentences (10.2), interrogative

sentences (10.3), and comparative and equational sentences (10.4).

10.1 Locative Sentences

Locative sentences are characterized by the presence of a locative copula. A

copula is an element whose primary function is to link the subject to the predicate. Most

copulas although derived historically from verbs, are synchronically restrictied in their

function to the marking of 'location', 'existence' or 'possession'.

Locative copulas in Pilagá are two: neta and weta. The semantic argument structure

for locative sentences is <Theme, Location>; this structure indicates that a Theme is

predicated to be at a certain Location.

Locative copulas always carry a directional marker from the class described in

Chapter VII. Locative copulas cum-directionals look, for instance, like the following:

netaye 'to be in', netawe 'to be inside', netage' 'to be far', netasop 'to be with', netalege

'to be on'. The directional signals the Location where the Theme is to be found.

Examples are provided in (1):

(1)

(a) haso'   ad-wa   neta-ñi   henho
    dem.fem Poss.2sg-spouse be-DIR.downwards dem

'Your wife is (sitting) there'

(b) na' nkiyaɾaki neta-d(a)-ñ'a   kal'i   di' alewa
    CL   plates   be-PL-DIR.downwards before CL land

'The/these plates were down, on the floor.'

(c) na' nkiyaɾaki neta-d(a)-lege di' nkiyaɾala
    CL plates   be-PL-DIR.on CL table

'The plates are on the table.'

(d) weta-ge'   sekaet   da' Formosa   ñi Xuan
    be-DIR.thither yesterday CL Formosa city CL John

'John was in Formosa city yesterday.'

(e) ñi'm'e weta-we   hañi'   pagentanaɾaki
    dem   be-DIR.inside dem.fem church

'He is in the school.'

(f) ñi' mayo' neta-yi   hada'   epaq
     CL bird   be-DIR.in dem.fem tree

'The bird is on the tree.'

(g) hañi'   waltañi neta-yi   eme-lae't
    dem.fem fly   be-DIR.in wall

'The fly is on the wall.'

(h) ñi' ad-wa   neta-sop l-qaya
    CL Poss.2-spouse be-DIR Poss.3-brother

'My husband is with his brother.'

In (1) the locative verb with the suffix -ñi indicates that the referent (the spouse) is in a sitting position, while in (1b) the directional indicates that the plates are on the floor. Interestingly, to mark that they are on the table, the directional suffix -lege occurs (1c). While the land and the table are both locations that presuppose a plain surface, in (1b) the location is at a relative downwards orientation from the speaker. This is one reason why (1b) and (1c) signal different spatial configurations. (1d) through (1h) also constrast different locations. (1f) and (1g) show that the same form can be used to encode different semantic posssibilities within a spatial range. In the first case, the location where the Theme is to be found is the tree, and in the second case, the wall. A tree and a wall differ in many points, but so do a bird and a fly. The tree and the wall are both vertical locations and this seems to be the clue for them to be coded through the same directional suffix. A table and a wall are both plain; but their spatial configurations are different, and this is reflected in coding with –lege in (1c) versus –yi (1g).

The form (n)eta is part of a complete inflectional verb paradigm that can combine with different directional markers. (2) illustrates this, using the directional -we. The form (n)eta plus the directional means to 'to be inside', but also it can interpreted as 'to be in a meeting'.

(2)

so-neta-we
setA.1-be-DIR.inwards

'I am inside or in a meeting.'

o-neta-we
setA.2-be-DIR.inwards

'You are inside or in a meeting.'

ø-neta-we
setA.3-be-DIR.inwards

'He is inside or in a meeting.'

[sonqatawe]
so-ne-...qa...-ta-we
setA.1-be...-PL-DIR.outwards

'We are inside or in a meeting.'

oñetawe
[o-n...i...-eta-we]
setA.2- be...-PL-DIR.outwards

'You are inside or in a meeting.'

netadawe
[n-eta-d(a)-we]
setA.3-be-PL-DIR.inwards

'They are inside or in a meeting.'

Weta can also combine with a variety of directionals: wetalege 'to be on somebody, on a bed or simply lying'; wetayi 'to be possessed by some spirit or have something inside like an illness or a specific kind of knowledge', also 'to be pregnant'; wetañi 'to

be at downwards distance,'[1] wetasegem 'to be on a surface that is at a higher distance

from the speaker (e.g., on a shelf); wetot 'to be under'.

Wetot can be used as a possessive copula as well. A possessive copular form in

synchronic Pilagá, wetot is a deponent verb, semantically bleached from the locative

meaning 'under'. Wétot is used for 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular, and wetotó for 1st, 2nd and

3rd plural.[2] As a possessive, it is rarely found in texts, and I assume that it must be an old

form (it was registered in a couple of narratives from traditional speakers; many younger

Pilagá speakers could not provide a translation for this form).

Weta is also found in combination with comitative -wa, as in wetawa 'to be

accompanied by somebody'. The plural suffix may be aggregated, i.e., wetawlo 'be with

several people; with you (pl.) or with us'.

10.2 Existential and Possessive Predication

In Pilagá, existential clauses are of two kinds: those that indicate positive existence,

and those that indicate negative existence. Positive existentials are formed by w'o or w'oe

(3). Since Pilagá lacks a separate form to express 'possession' (i.e., 'X has Y') the

existential marker is also used to mark this notion. In fact, 'possession' is a derived

meaning from 'existence' in many languages of the world. In reference to Yucatec, Lehman

(1998:103) reports the existence of an existential possessive clause with the verb 'to exist'

functioning as the predicate nucleus and the possessum in subject function. In Pilagá, there

is some indication that the possessum functions as the subject of the whole clause. When

the possessum is plural, the existential form is marked plural as well; that is, the possessum triggers agreement on the verb (3b-d):

(3)

    (a) w'o   so'   yi-mek
        EXIST CL   Poss.1-house

    'There was my-house (a house for me=I had a house.)'

    (b) w'oe   na'l-ma-qa
        EXIST.PL CL Poss.3-house-PL

    'There are houses.'

    (c) w'oe   na' sawana-lo
        EXIST.PL CL possession-PL

    'There are possessions.'

    (d) w'oe   na' l-kokte-l
        EXIST.PL CL Poss.3-son-PL

    'There are his-sons (=He has sons.)'

In these constructions, the possessor is the locus of possession. For that reason, I argue that existential sentences, like locatives, have the basic argument structure <Theme, Location>. In reference to existential sentences, the Theme is the entity about which the existence or the property condition is predicated, and the Location is represented in the sentence by either the possessor or the actual physical location where such entity is to be found (see (7), below).

In (4), I provide a set of existential sentences that only differ in the classifier that co-occurs with the noun, i.e., 'the possessum'. Compare the semantic-pragmatic differences between all such sentences, based on the classifier's meaning:

(4)

   (a) w'o   da'   l-wa
       EXIST CL.vert.ext Poss.3-spouse

   'She has a husband (I see him standing).'

   (b) w'o   ñi'   l-wa
       EXIST CL.non-ext Poss.3-spouse

   'She has a husband (he lives with her).'

   (c) w'o   di'   l-wa
       EXIST CL.horiz.ext Poss.3-spouse

   'She had a husband (he is dead).'

   (d) w'o   na'   l-wa
       EXIST CL.prox   Poss.3-spouse

   'She has a husband (he is coming towards here).'

   (e) w'o   so'   l-wa
       EXIST CL.past   Poss.3-spouse

   'She had a husband (he left her).'

   (f) w'o   ga'   l-wa
       EXIST CL.distal Poss.3-spouse

   'She has a husband (but I never saw him).'

Thus, in Pilagá, existential markers may encode 'possession', 'existence', but also 'location'. (The connection between all such notions will be further addressed shortly, in the discussion of negative existentials.)

I will now turn to consider the expression of 'negative existence' (NEG.EXIST) in Pilagá. Different words are used to negate the existence of a particular referent. Pilagá has at least five different forms:

(5) <u>Negative Existentials</u>

  (a) qaga'   'NEG.EXIST/humans'
  (b) qaya'   'NEG.EXIST/inanimates'
  (c) qayawa 'NEG.EXIST/plural'
  (d) qaya'te 'NEG.EXIST/masc.plural'
  (e) qaga'te 'NEG.EXIST/fem.plural'

Examples are provided in (6). Notice the contrast between (6a) and (6b). While in (6a) what is negated is the presence of the husband in the house, (6b) negates the fact that the husband has a house. (6c-e) illustrates negative existence otherwise parallel to (5c-e):

(6)

  (a) qaga'   lačaqa so' yi-wa
      NEG.EXIST house CL Poss1.spouse

   'My husband is not in the house' (because he left) (Lit., 'There is not-my husband in the house'.)

(b) qaya'   lačaqa da' yi-wa
    NEG.EXIST   house   CL   Poss.1-spouse

'My husband does not have a house.'

(c) qayawa   na' sonqatadañi
    NEG.EXIST   CL hunting preys

'There is nothing-we hunt' (='There is nothing for us to hunt'.)

(d) qaya'te   y-alik
    NEG.EXIST   setA.1-eat

'There is nothing-I eat.' (=There is nothing for me to eat.)

(e) qaga'te   yawo
    NEG EXIST   woman

'There are/were no women.'

Out of the five forms, qaga' is the one used to negate human referents. Qaga' contains

ga'. This is a deictic classifier which exists as an independent grammatical operator

meaning 'distal', and which also co-occurs with demonstratives, interrogative pronouns,

nouns, and verbs (see for instance, demonstrative mačaqaega 'somebody, anybody'). Ga'

codes that some participant is outside the space of the speech scenario, and that it was distal

before the scenario was constituted (Vidal and Klein 1998). A figure marked by ga' or

referenced by a demonstrative pronoun containing ga' is neither in motion, nor in any

particular position; 'distal' also implies that the speaker ignores the motion/positional

circumstances of the figure.

In synchronic Pilagá the form qaga' may encode negative existence but also negative

possession and negative location. Without disambiguating information, the hearer can

derive any of these meanings from a single sentence containing qaga'. (Examples to illustrate this point will be presented in (7).)

Clark (1978) states that in some languages possessive and existentials are neither formally nor functionally different. Classical Latin, for instance, has a possessive construction with the verb 'be' (sum/essere). A sentence like est mihi literally means 'it is/there is for me' or 'I have.' In this type of construction the possessive reading is forwarded by the pronoun or a possessive marker, while the existential sense is backgrounded.

In Pilagá, a sentence with qaga' followed by a possessed noun i-wa 'my spouse/companion' can be translated as 'I do not have a spouse.' But even when the noun is not possessed, like nocop 'water' which is free root, a sentence like qaga' nocop may mean either that there is no water, or that the speaker does not have any for himself/herself. This example shows that negative existence and negative possession are neither formally nor functionally distinct in Pilagá.

Qaga' is part of negative locatives, just as it is of negative existentials. However, to negate location, an NP locative complement is required. Thus, 'negative existential' ('There is no X'), negative possession ('There is no X for Y'), and negative location ('X is not located at Y'), are all conventional meanings of qaga'/qaya'.

These will now be illustrated. In (7), the interpretation of the copula qaga' as a negative locative can be also obtained from the co-occurrence of a locative complement, independently of the position of the locative complement, e.g., lačaqa 'his/her house' may

occur either at the end of the sentence or after the negative existential. For (7a) the gloss is 'my spouse does not have a house,' and for (7b) 'my husband/wife is not in his/her house':

(7)

    (a) qaya'   l-ačaqa   na' i-wa
        NEG.EXIST POSS.3-house CL Poss.1-spouse

    'My spouse does not have a house.' (Lit., 'Her house does nor exist at my spouse.')

    (b) qaga'   l-ačaqa   na' i-wa
        NEG.EXIST Poss.3-house CL Poss.1-spouse

    'My spouse is not in her house.' (Lit., My spouse does not exist at her house.')

The negative existential reading does not exist for (7b). This is because the meaning of Qaga' is conventionally tied to 'negative existence' for humans. In (8) however, the locative complement is not available and thus the locative reading cannot be obtained; only the negative existential and the negative possessive readings are possible. In this example either the spouse is contingently away from the house (8a), or permanently away from it, since he/she is dead (8b). The classifier di' for horizontally extended referents in (8b) unambiguously indicates that the human referent is dead and consequently nonexistent. Conversely, in (8a) the spouse is classified by the proximal na', which typically categorizes kinship terms or people close to the domain of the speaker (i.e., 'proximal'), as a semantic extension of the motion feature 'coming towards here' (Vidal 1995 [1997]). The negative qaga' marks that the speaker lives alone, without his or her companion:

(8)

    (a) qaga'   na' i-wa
        NEG.EXIST CL Poss.1-spouse

    'I do not have a spouse.'

    (b) qaga'   di'   i-wa
        NEG.EXIST CL   Poss.1-spouse

    'I do not have a spouse' (because he/she is dead).'

10.3 Interrogatives and Focused Constituents

Interrogative sentences are distinguished by the following features:

(a) They have an overt expression in sentence initial position that I refer to as the "Question word" (QUEST). These are separate syntactic words that appear in information questions and yes-no questions.

(b) The question word normally attaches to classifiers, though some of them may occur with no classifier. Question words are naečaqa 'which' nae 'where' čaqa 'what' or 'who', qa 'why', and t'e 'what' for information questions; and qoli' ~ qo' ~ho' for yes-no questions.

(c) Any constituent of a clause can be questioned (i.e., verb, subject, object, locative noun phrase, instrumental noun phrase, comitative noun phrase, etc.).

The following are examples of questioned elements, either of the subject or of the predicate. Notice that the specific Instrumental (10d), Comitative (10e), and Locative (10f) are cross-referenced in the verb when questioned.

(10)

    (a) nae-ga'   n-set   da' qad-potanek
       QUEST-CL setB.3-dare   CL Poss.1-guardian

    'Who dares to be our guardian?' (SUBJ)

    (b) t'e   ø-enat
       QUEST   set A.3-say

    'What did he say?' (OBJ)

    (c) nae-ga'   awa-pyag-ek   na' lapat
       QUEST-CL   setA.2-cut-DIR.outwards CL meat

    'What do you cut meat with?' (INSTR)

    (d) naečaqa-ga'   ganaçat ga' aw-pyag-açan-na
       QUEST-CL   knife   CL setA.2-cut-Val-INSTR

    'Which knife did you cut it (e.g., the meat) with?' (INSTR)

    (e) nae-so'   so' ad-kia-wa   da' a-e-yi   ñače
       QUEST-CL   CL Poss.2sg-husband-NCl CL setA.2-go-DIR river

    'Who did you go to the river with?' (COMT)

    (f) nae   aw-čiyoço-ge'
       QUEST   setA.2-descend,come from –DIR.thither

    'Where do you come from? (LOC)

A non verbal predicate can be questioned as well:

(11)

   (a) čaqa-ga'   l-naᵛat   na' n-lo'
      QUEST-CL Poss.3-name CL Indef.Poss-day

   'What day is it today?' (Lit., what is the name of today's day?)

Peripheral, non-argument interrogatives, i.e., those where the questioned constituent

requires an answer which is the functional equivalent of a purpose clause or a time

adverbial, are done in the same way:

(12)

   (a) qa'   aw-etake   yi-mena
      QUEST setA.2-want Poss.1-money

   'Why do you want my money?' (PURPOSE)

   (b) t'e-na'   da' degesa' da' ad-onta-naᵛak
      QUEST-CL CL a lot   CL Poss.2-work-NMLZ

   'Why do you work so much?' (Lit, 'Why your work is so much?') (PURPOSE)

   (c) nae-ga'   n-obi'   so' ad-qaya
      QUEST-CL setB.3-come CL Poss.2-brother

   'When is your brother coming?' (TIME)

Simple yes-no interrogative sentences are similar to information questions in terms

of word order. The QUEST word, however, is selected from any of the following set:

qoli' ~ qo' ~ ho' . Interestingly, these question words do not have a classifier attached to

them.

(13)

  (a) qoli'   w'o   ga' ad-petanaᴄat
     QUEST EXIST   CL Poss.2-food, nourish

    'Do you have your food?' (=something for you to eat)

  (b) ho'   qaya'te' aw-la-pega
     QUEST EXIST setB.2-see-ASP

    'Did you see anything'? (Lit., 'Is there anything you see?')

  (c) qo'   na-dot'-at
     QUEST setB.3-be sincere, lack-RECP[3]

    'Do you have relatives?'

  (d) qo'   an-kod..-y-..e-l'at
     QUEST setB.2-pour-PL-REFL

    'Did you help yourselves?'

  (e) qo'   maλaᴄa sa-an-kod(i)-yi-yi
     QUEST yet   NEG-setB.3-pour-PL-ASP

    'Didn't you help yourselves yet?'

  (f) qo'   so'   aw-ke'e
     QUEST CL setA.2-eat, feed

    'Did you eat already?'

  (g) qo'   a-mačiya
     QUEST setA.2-hear

    'Do you hear?'

  (h) Qo'   keda ga' aw-čiyoᴄo-ge'
     QUEST far   CL setA.2-descend, come from-DIR.thither

    'Do you come from far away?'

10.4 Comparatives and Equational Sentences

Comparison and degree of quality are expressed by juxtaposed constructions in the following way: the first term of comparison comes first, with the adjective right following it; after these two occurs the second term of comparison. The comparative term is ena'am which means 'to be like/the same as'; the comparative of inequality is sa-ena'am which carries the negative prefix sa- and means 'not to be like/not the same as'. Comparison is, therefore, done by contrasting phrases within the same sentence.

(14)

(a) Cacho   logeda-ik   sa-ø-ena'am   Marcelo
     prop.name   tall-masc   NEG-setA.3-be.like   prop name

'Cacho is taller than Marcelo.' (Lit., 'Cacho is tall; Marcelo is not like him.')

(b) Ernesto   logeda-ik   ø-ena'am   Leo
     prop.name   tall-masc   setA.3-be.like   prop.name

'Ernesto is as tall as Leo.' (Lit. 'Ernesto is tall; Leo is like him.')

(c) Ernesto   yap'ota sa-ø-ena'am   Neike
     prop.name   thin   NEG-setA.3-be.like   prop.name

'Ernesto is thinner than Neike.' (Lit. 'Ernesto is thin; Neike is not like him.')

(d) Tito   poyolek sa-ø-ena'am   da' Ernesto
     prop.name   short   NEG-setA.3-be.like   CL   prop.name

'Tito is shorter than Ernesto.' (Tito is short; Ernesto is not like him.')

Interestingly, when the two entities under comparison are expressed by pronouns rather than by nouns, the negative sa- attaches to the second pronoun, not to the verb form ena'am. The negative prefix occurs between the adjective or the property being compared and the second term of comparison, which the negative prefix attaches to. The comparative ena'am comes at the end of the clause.

(15)

    (a) hayem   tadaik sa-am   s-ena'am
        PRO.1sg big   NEG-PRO.2sg setA.1-be like

    'I am bigger (in size) than you.' (Lit., 'I am big; You are not like me.')

    (b) ha-m'e tadai-qa sa- am'i   ø-ena'am
        CL-dem big-PL NEG-PRO.2pl setA.3-be like

    'They are bigger than you (pl.).' (Lit., 'They are big; you all are not like them.')

Comparing degrees of a quality involves an adjective that indicates 'degree of quality', modifying a noun which, in turn addresses the feature being compared (16a-b).

(16)

    (a) Julia   saleka lačañik Dominga
        Julia   small   waist   Dominga

    'Julia (has) a smaller waist than Dominga.'

(b) Julia   tadaĭk lačañĭk Dominga
    Julia   big   waist Dominga

'Julia (has) a bigger waist than Dominga.'

Notice that in (17) there is no adjective; just the noun denoting the feature being compared, i.e., <u>lačañĭk</u> and the verb form <u>ena'am</u> which occurs before the noun.

(17)

(a) Julia ø-ena'am   lačanĭk Dominga
    Julia setA.3-be like waist   Dominga

'Julia has the same waist as Dominga.' (Lit., 'Julia's waist is as Dominga's.')

Notes

[1] Used in the expression <u>wetaña</u> <u>t'an'o nakaega</u> "poor guy!"

[2] Apparently, the same situation is found in Toba (C. Messineo, p.c) which uses <u>weto'ot</u> to indicate either location or possession (e.g., <u>Romualdo</u> <u>weto'ot na pala</u> ('Lit., Romualdo is under the shove'= 'Romualdo has a shove'). I thank Cristina Messineo for this example.

[3] The verb form <u>dot</u> is difficult to translate here unless taken in a metphorical sense <u>ndočiñi</u> is the perfective form meaning 'lack food, clothes' and by methophorical connection 'be sincere' (to lack material objects). Apparently, in the thinking of the Pilagá, the person who lacks basic things, also lacks a family.

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CHAPTER XI

SYNTAX BEYOND THE CLAUSE

11.0 Introduction

This chapter characterizes some Pilagá complex clause types, focusing on coordination and subordination. Regarding subordination, relative clauses and complement clauses will be explored. Within the latter, I will discuss both complement-taking verbs for which the subordinate clause functions as an argument, and causative constructions built on the verb 'en 'make'. Causation is expressed by analytical means, using two paratactic clauses where the main clause is followed by the subordinate clause. Some types of subordination are not thoroughly treated in the description offered in this chapter; one case in point are adverbial clauses. For this reason, I do not consider this to be a full treatment of complex sentence formation in Pilagá, but a first approach to some major types that exist in the grammar of this language.

11.1 Subordination: General Remarks

The word order rules of Pilagá follow a Head-Dependent order for objects and for nominal modifiers, i.e., VO and Noun- Modifier. Subordination obeys the same Head-Dependent order. The subordinate clause occurs after the controlling verb of the main clause or, in the case of relative clauses, after the noun head.

In general, I divide subordinate clauses in Pilagá into two classes: subordinate clauses with a subordinate marker, and those that can occur without a subordinator.

Section 11.1.1 will deal with complement clauses, i.e., those that function as arguments of the sentence verb. Within them, I consider causative clauses whose function is essentially the same as complement clauses. Relative clauses are presented later in section 11.1.2.

11.1.1 Complement Clauses

Pilagá utilizes two syntactic strategies in complementation, and they are equally productive:

(a) The nominalization of the complement clause when the matrix and complement subjects are coreferential. This strategy is used with the modality matrix verbs such as 'finish' or 'want'.

(b) The juxtaposition of main and subordinate clause, without subordinating morphemes separating them, in both SS and DS constructions, or with a complementizer (CPTZ) da', when matrix and subordinate clauses have same-subject (SS) or different subject (DS) relationships. Subordinate verbs of non-nominalized complements carry all the verbal morphology that a matrix verb can carry.

11.1.1.1 Nominalized Complement Clauses

By nominalized complements, I refer to those predications with the internal structure of a noun phrase (Noonan 1985:60). Common features for all nominalized complements encountered in the corpus are (a) the nominalized verb is always an activity verb; and (b) the nominalized complement is always introduced by da' 'complementizer', and (c) the subject of the complement is the same as in the main clause.

Examples (1a-c) contain nominalized complements. Both setake 'want' and -emat 'finish' function as complement taking verbs in (1), and belong to the group of verbs that take set A subject prefixes only. Setake is varingly used for 1st singular and 3rd singular subjects (though this can be predicted of the singular paradigm at large). The verb 'finish' does vary according to subject inflection.[1]

(1)

    (a) se-take   da'   y-onta-nacak
        setA.1-want CPTZ   Poss.1-work-NMLZ

    'I want to work'

    (b) na' nolo' s-emat   da'   y-onta-nacak
        today   setA.1-finish CPTZ Poss.1-work-NMLZ

    'I finish my work today.'

    (c) socote y-imat   di' l-onta-nacak
        before setA.3-finish CL Poss.3-work-NMLZ

    'He finished his work.'

(d) se-take   da'   t-onta-aʔan
   setA.1/3-want   CPTZ   setA.3-work-Val1

'He wants to work.' (Lit., 'He₁ wants that he₁ works.')

(e) yi-mat   da'   t-onta-aʔan
   setA.3-finish   CPTZ   setA.3-work-Val

'He finished working.' (Lit, 'He₁ finished, he₁ works/ed.')

Observe that in (1a-b) the complement predicate must be marked by both the possessive marker and the nominalizing suffix to stand as a nominalized verb (both markers were presented and discussed in Chapter IV). In (1c), however, there is no complement "verb"; the nominalization process has proceeded to such an extent that the classifier di' 'horizontally extended' occurs in front of the noun, which conversely does not happen in (1 a-b) and (1d-e). In (1d-e) the complement clause contains full verb forms. Thus, subordinate predicates can be "desententialized" (Lehman 1988:193) to various degrees: (1a-b) is still a complement clause, though a nominalized one, while (1c) is not a clause at all. At the end of the process of nominalization, the predicate is a noun which still depends on the main verb, in fact, the only verb that is left. In reference to many different languages that exhibit this property, Lehman states that the kind of desententialization which leads to nominalization does not occur in main clauses; it presupposes subordination.

11.1.1.2 Complement Clauses with Complementizer

In this section I present embedded complement clauses with a complementizer. The complementizer da', introduced in (1), is isomorphic with the classifier da' (presented in Chapter IV) which catagorizes humans and animals (such as horses or trees) as inherently vertical, or in a "standing" position.

Da' introduces a variety of subordinate clauses, both nominalized and non-nominalized. All such modality, cognition-utterance and manipulation matrix verbs can non-nominalized complements.[2] Also, the subject of the main clause and the the subject of the subordinate clause may or may be not be coreferential; yet the complementizer occurs regardless of the grammatical subjects' identity.

(2) Modality-verbs with complements

(a) yi-yeñi'   da'   n-oʼo-segem   ñi'   emek-lae
    setA.3-plan CPTZ setB.1-build-DIR.upwards CL   house-part

'He plans to build a wall.'

(b) hadam'e   se-take   da'   ø-ek
    dem.fem   setA.1-want   CPTZ   setA.3-go

'She wanted to leave.'

(c) so' moe yi-set   da'   aw-kiyi
    CL wax setA.3-can   CPTZ   setA.2-eat/feed

'The wax can (make) that you feed yourself.'

(3) Cognition-utterance verbs with complements

    (a) se-peta-pega   da'   sa-sa-wana
        setA.1-think-ASP.hab CPTZ NEG-setA.1-find

        ga'   tadeik noik
        CL   big   town

        'And I thought I would not find a big town.'

    (b) sorote n-oma   sorote da'   ø-ek
        before setB.3-know before CPTZ setA.3-go

        'He$_i$ knew that he$_{ij}$ had gone'

    (c) nač'e y-awat-iyi   da'   y-alik   haso'   onole'
        conj setA.3-see-DIR CPTZ setA.3-eat dem.fem one

        'And he (the man) saw that she (the woman) ate one (bird).'

    (d) qo-y-na(t)-pega   da'   ø-kaedi
        IS-setA.3-say-ASP CPTZ   setA.3-leave

        'They say/said that he should leave.'

(4) Manipulation verbs with complements

    (a) hayem   se-na(t)-pega   da'   t'-ont-aran
        PRO.1sg setA.1-say-ASP CPTZ setA.3-work-Val

        'I asked (him) to work.'

    (b) hadam'e s-etake   da'   ø-ek
        dem.fem setA.1?-want CPTZ setA.3-go

        'She wanted him to leave.'

11.1.1.3 Complement Clauses without a Complementizer

The same type of complement-taking verbs that occur with da' plus a complement

clause may also occur without da', in both SS and DS situations. This implies that no

marker of subordination links the two verbs. Reasons why this happens are unknown for

the moment, but they do not appear to be syntactic. (The absence of the complementizer

is marked as ø_ in the examples (5)-(7)).

Even without a complementizer, the subordinate verb bears finite morphology. The

subject pronominal prefix occurs, as do aspect and directionality markers, if required.

(5) Modality verbs with complements

(a) da'm'e s-etake   ø y-e'et   di' l-ona-naɾak
    dem   setA.1?-want   setA.3-do CL Poss.3sg-work

'Heᵢ wanted/s to do hisᵢ work.' (Lit., 'He wanted/s he does/did his job.')

(b) hayem   s-etake   ø s-ek
    PRO.1sg setA.1-want setA.1-go

'I want to go' (Lit., 'I want I go.')

(c) y-aloɾosa   ø n-oɾo-segem   so' emek
    setA.3-have to   setB.3-build-DIR.upwards CL house

'He had to build a house' (Lit, 'Heᵢ had heᵢ built a house.')

(6) Manipulation verbs with complements

(a) qo-y-'en   ø ne-petege-l'at
    IS-setA.3-make setA.3-shave-REFL

'They make/made him shave.' (Lit., 'They made he shaves.')

(7) Cognition-utterance verbs in complementation

(a) s-awa(t)-n-iyi   ø ñi'm'e di-ke'e-tak
    setA.1-observe-DIR   dem   setA.3-feed/eat-ASP

    'I saw that he was eating'

(b) dam'e yi-ya-nat-ek   ø   gam'e se-nat
    dem   1O-setA.3-ask,say-DIR   dem   setA.1-ask,say

    'He asked (me) what I said.'

(c) hayem   d-aqta-n-em   ø ga' t-ae-yi
    PRO.1sg   setA.3-tell-ASP-DAT   CL setA.3-go-DIR

    'He₁ told me he₁ was going away.'

Causative constructions have been included in the group of manipulation verbs, as in

(6a) with the factitive verb 'en 'make'. Causativization in Pilagá consists of a

periphrastic construction. The verb 'en 'make' is always inflected with a subject prefix

from set A, indicating the person and number of the causer. On the other hand, the

causee is marked as the subject of the dependent verb, in the subordinate clause. As

noticed, there is no complementizer or linkage marker of any kind between the matrix

clause and the subordinate. The verb embedded in a dependent clause has the same

morphological shape as if it were unembbeded, with no change in its inflection (see (8)

and (9)). Causativization applies to all verbs in the same way, intransitive (8) and

transitive (9), alike.

(8)

(a) ø-do'e
setA.3-to be scared

'He got scared.'

(b) s-'en   ø-do'e
setA.1-make setA.3-to scare

'I made him to be scared'

(c) p'e na' noᶜop
hot CL water

'The water is hot.'

(d) María ø-'en   p'e na' noᶜop
Mary setA.3-make hot CL water

'María made the water hot.' (=María boiled the water.)

(e) sa-saᶜan
setA1-laugh

'I laugh.'

(f) s-'en   la-saᶜan
setA.1-make set C.3-laugh

'I made him laugh'

(g) ma'   n-a(e)-ta-segem
yet   setB3-go-ASP-DIR.upwards

'It is germinating.' (Lit, 'going up')

(h) s-'en   n-a(e)-ta-segem   ha'n   nañise
setA1-make setB.3-go-ASP-DIR dem.fem   plant

'I made the plant grow.'

(i) se-w'aqae-yi
   setA.1-fall-ASP

   'I fell.'

(j) s-'en   ø-w'aqae-ñi
   setA.1-make   setA.3-fall-DIR.downwards

   'I made somebody fall'

The following set contains one example of a verb that can be alternatively used as an

intransitive (9a) and as a transitive (9b). In (9b) transitivity is indicated by the addition of

a second participant (the Causer). In (9c-d) we know the verb is transitive because there

is a NP object that triggers agreement in number on the verb (9d). Notice, that there are

no substantive changes in verb morphology between the non-causative (9c) and the

causative construction (9d):

(9)

   (a) di'   lapat de-k'oyi
      CL.horiz meat setA.3-rotten

      'The meat got rotten.'

   (b) na'   waltaçañi ø-'en   de-k'oyi   di'   lapat
      CL.prox fleas   setA.3-make setA.3-rot CL.horiz meat

      'The fleas rot the meat.'

   (c) awa-lema-tay-a   so' ad-wa
      setA.3-get angry-ASP-Obj.sg   CL Poss.2-fellow, spouse

      'You got angry at your fellow (or spouse).'

(d) s-'en   awa-lema-tay-a   so' ad-wa
   setA.1-make   setA.2-get angry-ASP-Obj.sg CL Poss.2-fellow, spouse

'I made you get angry at your fellow (or spouse).'

11.1.2 Discussion

From the examples presented in the two preceding sections, the following

observations can be drawn:

(10)

(a) The distinction 'same subject' vs. 'different subject', between matrix and

complement clauses, does not have any syntactic consequences. In particular, the

presence of the complementizer is not sensitive to the identity or the distinctiveness of the

grammatical subjects.

(b) The use of da' 'CPTZ' does not depend on the class of the matrix verb, or on the

nature of the subordinate verb which may be equally transitive (occur with an explicit NP

object) or intransitive.

(c) Nominalized clauses are only possible with a complementizer or a classifier; non-

nominalized complement clauses show more variation. One crucial question is whether

in those cases where the complement clause is not introduced by da', the complement

represents a separate assertion, rather than a facet of the same assertion as the apparent

matrix clause, and as such does not form a constituent with the verb. This topic deserves

further study involving intonation patterns and junctures.

(d) In some subordinate clauses which are not introduced by da' (7a-c), a

demonstrative pronoun occurs at the beginning of the clause, functioning as the subject of

the subordinate (transitive) verb. This is not, however, a regular pattern for modality

verbs, as demonstrated by (3b-c).

Therefore, if da' can occur with the same type of verbs in both SS and DS

constructions, the basic question arises as to whether da' may serve as a discourse marker

for tracking reference. In order to check if da' performs an anaphoric function, I

examined examples where da' does occur, but no NP subject after the complementizer is

made explicit in the subordinate clause. I applied the simple test of inserting an NP

subject after da' and before the subordinate verb. See (3c), now repeated under (11).

The result is a perfectly acceptable sentence:

(11)

        nač'e y-awat-iyi   da'   haso' yawo   y-alik   haso'   onole'
        conj setA.3-see-DIR CPTZ the woman   setA.3-eat dem.fem one

        'And he (the man) saw that the woman ate a one (bird)'

If (11) is grammatically correct, da' has become completely grammaticized as a

complementizer. The reason why the noun phrase does not occur in (3c) is because in the

text where this sentence comes from, haso' yawo 'the woman' was established as the

topic in the previous paragraph. One could argue that under such conditions, in (3c) da'

is in effect a resource to maintain topic continuity, i.e., an anaphoric marker. While this

is not impossible in synchronic Pilagá, in my opinion anaphoric reference could have

been the original motivation behind the grammaticalization of da' as a complementizer.

I would like to elaborate more on this issue in the next section.

11.1.2.1 The Story of da' and Its Distribution in Non-Complement Clauses

Recall that da' is itself a classifier and that the six classifiers in Pilagá can combine

with demonstrative roots to form demonstratives. Also recall that there is no separate set

of independent pronominal forms for third person; demonstratives take up this function.

Universally, demonstratives have been the source of many different function words,

such as pronouns (Givón 1984), sentence connectives, complementizers and relativizers.

This is so, because demonstratives more than any other word class serve a variety of

pragmatic functions, pointing out entities in discourse, as deictic, anaphoric and

cataphoric reference markers. The development of complementizers out of

demonstratives is certainly an outcome attested in, for instance, West Germanic

languages (Diessel 1999:123). In such cases, the demonstrative pronoun anticipates the

information of the following clause, and thus, it becomes associated with the following

subordinate clause. The same process is observed for English that (Hopper and Traugott

1993:185). These authors prove that the complementizer that started out as a copy of the

object pronoun in the matrix clause, within the subordinate clause. Thus, it was

reanalyzed from a pronoun to a complementizer which had a clause in its scope. The

complement clause started as an apposition of the object pronoun, rather than as an

argument to the main verb. When the pronominal demonstrative became no longer used as a resumptive pronoun, the appositive clause became a complement clause.

Pilagá da' may have followed a development similar to English that; synchronically, the evolution of da' into a sentence complementizer is completed. But traces of its possible path of evolution can be seen in some actual anaphoric and cataphoric usages of da'.

Because of its demonstrative function, at the discourse level da' may serve to track participants. In fact, this seems to be its role in (12). In (12) da' is not a complementizer; the two clauses are coordinated by qalaɾasa 'but', and the role of da' is to maintain the reference of ile'em 'man' as the subject topic of the second clause:

(12)

> nač'e ile'em w'o   da' lo-qolana   qalaɾasa
> conj   man   EXIST CL Poss.3-fear   conj
>
> da' n-eta-yi   haso   epaq.
> setB.3-be-DIR   dem.fem   tree
>
> 'And the man had fear but he was up in the tree.'

But also, da' occurs when the subject topic of the matrix clause is different from the subject topic of the subordinate clause.

Far from being contradictory with its anaphoric function, da' can also serve to reference new participants, or participants who are not completely activated in the hearer's memory. Let's examine this possibility. Diessel (1999:99), in his cross-

linguistic study of demonstratives, states that anaphoric demonstratives have in common the fact that "they do not just continue the focus of attention; rather they may indicate that the antecedent is not the referent that the hearer would expect in this context". This explanation might fit well for Pilagá da', which also occurs when the subject of the subordinate clause is different from the subject of the matrix clause. The fact that this occurs in many other languages allows us to postulate that this single form may be, therefore, functioning anaphorically and cataphorically in different contexts.

In view of this contention, I would like to discuss a few more examples with da' where, as in (12), the subordinate clause is not functioning as an argument to the verb, nor does it depend on any complement-taking verb. Examples are given in (13). (13a) corresponds to the initial clause of a text on Wosak, the rainbow person. The complementizer da' in (13a) introduces a parenthetic clause (i.e., a comment by the speaker). (13b), from a different text, also contains a clause initiated by da' but here the da' clause adds a comment regarding Pidgeon's eyes, mentioned immediately before.

(13)

(a) so' Wosak   da'   qa-y-aɾat-tak   mako'   ena'am na' naneik
    CL Wosak   CPTZ   IS-setA.2-tell-ASP long ago be like CL snake

'Wosak (the rainbow person), according to what was told long time ago,
(is) like a snake.'

(b) w'o so' nlo'   so' waɾayaqalačiyi yi-pitet-pega-lo
    once upon a time   CL Fox   setA.3'like-ASP-Obj.pl

sa' laete so' doqoto   da'   tomaɾa-yi-lo
CL eyes CL pidgeon   CPTZ   red-ASP-Obj.pl

'Once upon a time, Fox liked (to have) Pidgeon's eyes, which/because they are red.'

In (13), da' introduces clauses which, despite not being arguments to the verb, contain information related to what it is said in the subsequent or preceding context.

In (14a-b) the action denoted by the verb in the da'-clause is associated with a participant who was mentioned before (underlined). In (14c), taken from the same text as (14a), there is no explicit antecedent; but like in (14a) the discourse topic is haso' yaçayna 'the old woman.' In (14d), however, technically, there is no clause antecedent since this sentence is the first sentence of a text about how to prepare the stew.

(14)

(a) haso'   yaçayna   da'   da-pagen-t-açan
dem.fem old woman CPTZ setA.3-teach-ASP-Val

y-akon-a   so' wenaça
setA.3-pick up-Obj.sg CL bag for recollection

'The old woman, (when) she teaches, picks up her bag for recollection.'

(b) so' nsoq   yi-lo-lege   so' yakačiyi da' di-y'ako
CL young man setA.3-look-DIR CL old man CPTZ setA.3-fish

'The young man watches the old man₁ (when) he₁ fishes.'

(c) qanč'e da'   s-aqa-t-iyi   so' biaçase-lo'ok   qanč'e
conj CPTZ setA.3-fill-ASP-DIR CL brown deer-skin conj

qo-yi-yamaçat   qataça qo-y-aw'o   ke'ena
IS-setA.3-get together conj IS-setA.3-make añapa

'And when she fills the leather bag, then they get together (the women) and prepare ke'ena (=sp. of sweet drink "añapa").'

(d) da'   qo-y-aw'o   ne-wosek   qo-y-wetake   lapat tara l-alege
    CPTZ IS-setA.3-make Indef.Poss-stew IS-setA.3-need meat and Poss.3-ingredients

'When one makes the stew, meat and ingredients are needed.'

In (14), the da'-clauses are not complement clauses but have more adverbial functions. Interestingly, under some conditions, a da'-clause bears a temporal overtone, in the view of my consultants. I assume that the temporal overtone suggested by the Pilagá speakers for sentences (14c-d) is sound, based on further supporting evidence. In Pilagá, there is an expression da' yim 'when this finishes/after this finishes' that frequently occurs in narratives as a transitional sentence. This expression occurs when the speaker starts talking about a different action that the character will perform or a different segment of the story.

In (14a-b), the da'-clause is preceded by a noun phrase, and if one compares these two examples with relatives clauses below (see 11.1.4), one notices that, except for the shape of the connector, (14a-b) have the same syntactic structure as a relative clause introduced by a relativizer. I am not implying that (14a-b) are relative clauses with a NP as antecedent. Crucially, I have not checked whether the entire da'-clause can be moved to a different place in the sentence, without consequences, which we might expect to be possible for an adverbial clause. Since da'-clauses do not function as arguments to the predicate in (14a-b), it is possible that the da'-clause is assuming the function of an adverbial complement.

11.1.2.2 Interim Summary of da'

I would like to recapitulate the discussion so far and offer some partial conclusions:

(a) Da' can function as an object complementizer for complement-taking verbs. As a complementizer, it likely arose from a demonstrative pronoun functioning as an anaphoric marker.

(b) Since Pilagá uses parataxis in coordination as a resource for stringing finite verb forms together (see 11.2), subordination could have started as juxtaposed structures with a resumptive pronominal demonstrative, where the clause introduced by it was later reanalyzed as more syntactically integrated to the preceding main clause.

But synchronically, da' does not always occur suggesting that either subordination via complementizers is not completely established yet, or under certain pragmatic conditions the same type of verbs may not take an object clause preceded by a complementizer. In the section on relative clauses I will show that, as with complement clauses, relatives may or may not be introduced by a subordinator.

(c) Finally, da' appears to introduce constituents with a temporal sense, though they need not form a syntactic constituent with any matrix clause.

11.2 Relative Clauses

In Pilagá, relative clauses are embedded within an NP and the relativized argument is expressed as the head N, externally to the relative clause itself.

There are clearly two ways by which a dependent clause is marked as modifier to a noun: either it is adjoined to the antecedent (relativized noun), or it is introduced by a relative marker m'e , which I analyzed as a free demonstrative form in Chapter IV.

I use the word "gap", as in the "gap strategy" (Keenan 1976, 1985; Givón 1995, inter alia), to refer to the absence of any element to represent the relatived NP within the relative clause (e.g., The man I saw Ø , where Ø =gap). In (15), the gap left by the 'missing argument' is coreferential with the head noun. All sorts of arguments can be relativized in Pilagá by this same strategy, as examples in (15) demonstrate (the antecedent is underlined, and the gap left by the omitted NP under coreferentiality is marked by ø):

(15)

    (a) [so' siyawa [ø y-e'et-e-tak   so' emek]] neta-we di' noik
        CL person   setA.3-fix-ep.vow-PRG CL house   be-DIR CL town

    'The person who fixed the house is in town.'

    (b) ø-y-an-em   [so' emek [ø yi-matewo so' lmena]]
        3O-setA-give-DAT CL house setA.3-cost CL money

    'He gave or sold somebody a house that cost money.'

(c) sorote s-piyen   [so' siyarawa [kidi   aw-taqa-t-pege   ø]]
before setA.-wave   CL person   a while ago setA.2-talk-ASP-DIR

'I waved the man you were talking to a while ago.'

(d) ñi-do-get   [so' l-ganarat   ø   neta-lege   di' nkiyara-la]]
setA.3-bring-DIR   CL Poss.3-knife   be-DIR.on/over   CL table

'I cut/hurt myself with a knife that is on the table.'

The second relativization choice, is done through the demonstrative form m'e

which links the subordinate modifying clause with its antecedent.

(16)

(a) wač'e w'o   so' lek   m'e   n-a-nyi   haso'   pedona
and   EXIST CL whale REL   setB.3-stay-DIR dem.fem lagoon

'And there was a   big fish (in the Pilagá mythology like a whale) that lived in that lagoon.'

(b) w'o   so' onolek so' nsoq   m'e n'-epe-tak
EXIST   CL one   CL young REL setB.3-hunt-ASP

m'e   ø-ke-ta-lege   na' nonara
REL   setA.3-go-ASP-DIR   CL field

'There was one, a young man who was hunting [and] who had left for the forest.'

(c) Qanč'e de-mače-tapiñ'-a   so' l-ayi-pi
and   setA.3-hear-ASP-Obj.sg   CL Poss.3-fellow-COL

m'e   ø-pañe   na' alewa
REL   setA.3-bury   CL land

'And he heard his fellows who were buried in the land.'

The following example looks like a "fake" relative clause. In the first part of the sentence (everything before the coordinator qanč'e) we find just one verb, i.e., yit'aget 'he smelled', followed by the coordinated clause that starts in qanač'e 'and'. However, the clause that starts in qanač'e describes the consequence of the action of the whale, described in the first part, up to the conjunction.[3] As a conjunction qanač'e means 'and' or 'and then', and for the sake of clarity a paraphrasis like "long ago the whale that smelled the girl's blood, then attacked (the people)" seems appropriate to the story. According to my consultant's version of this mythical tale, the whale in revenge swallows the people living around the lagoon. A young man called *Asien* later kills the whale, and rescues them.

(17)

hokali'o	so' lek	m'e yi-t'a-get	so' añole	na' le-tawo
long ago	CL whale	REL setA.3-smell-DIR	CL young woman	CL Poss.3-blood

qanč'e da'	de-woyak
conj CPTZ?	setA.3-attack

'At that time the big fish that smelled the girl's blood (=menstruation); then he attacked [the people]'

The possible relativization seen in (17) is slightly different from that in (16). (17) looks like a comment by the speaker, akin to (12a) introduced by da'. This fact suggests that subordinate clauses with m'e and with da' could have similarly arisen by reanalysis of demonstrative pronominal anaphora, and reanalysis of the clause introduced by the demonstrative, as part of the main clause, rather than as an independent constituent.

11.3   Coordination

Coordination in Pilagá is done in two ways. First, when several verbs or verb

phrases are strung together, each of them may carry a fully inflected verb (i.e., parataxis).

Second, the clauses may carry grammaticalized markers of syntactic coordination.

The first of these two is illustrated in (18).

(18)

(a) w'o   so' nolo' haso'   añole   ne-ta-ge'
    EXIST CL day   dem.fem young woman setB.3-go-DIR.

wana   ni-čoɤo-ta-lo   sa' l-at'e-l
NEG   setB.3-tell-ASP-Obj.pl CL Poss.3-parents-PL

'Once upon a time, a young woman went far; she did not tell her parents.'

(b) Qanč'e ø-ek   qo-y-iƀid-eg'a   so' mapisat
    conj   setA.3-go 1S-setA.3-go-DIR   CL mezquite plantation

'And she leaves; she arrives at the mezquite plantation.'

In (18) we see the combination of clauses. Syntactically, the coordinated structures

in (18a-b) consist of the concatentation of verbal phrases which share the same subject.

All the verbs carry finite morphology, and the subject is marked obligatorily in all of

them.

In (19), conversely, we see the second strategy: conjoined clauses using syntactic

conjunctions. The most common coordinating conjunctions are qanač'e

(qanč'e ~ nač'e), 'and'; qataᵣa 'and' (also used to link minor constituents within a

sentence) and qalaᵣasa 'but'.[4]

(19)

    (a) qa-y-amaq   da' setake d-op'i
       IS-set A.3-send CL want setA.3-carry water

       qanč'e ø-ek   haso' añole
       conj setA.3-go dem.fem young

       'She was sent because they wanted her to carry water [for them], and the girl went.'

    (b) so' siyaᵣawa   yi-kiyaᵣan so' l-awal-pi qataᵣa
       CL man, person setA.3-eat CL Poss.3-descendent-COL

       qo-da-tana-y-a   na' l-ayi
       IS-setA.3-offer-ep.vow-DIR-Obj.sg   CL Poss.3-fellow

       'The man feeds his grandchildren and offers (food) to his mates.'

Further illustration can be found in (20). The excerpt comes from Wole, on the

origin of women, told by an older traditional speaker, Julio Suárez, from the community

of Campo del Cielo. The conjuntions are underlined throughout the passage:

(20)

    (a) Qanač'e hokal'i wana dam'e yi-yala-pe-ge'
         long ago   NEG dem setA.3-rush-DIR.along with-DIR.thither

       č'e yi-kat(e)-tak na-loqte-tak.   Qanač'e yače na-kat   da' eta
       setA-observe-ASP setB.3-look-ASP   well setA.3-observe CL way

       ho' so' yawo-di-pi   de-ke'e   noqo'.
       dem CL woman-PL-COL setA.3-eat, feed   it is said/they said

'And (he) did not rush, and was observing, looking. And saw the way the women ate, they said.'

(b) Qalaᵓasa wana   naqaena na' n-degaᵓat   naĉ'ena na' l-qawak
          NEG   dem CL Indef.Poss-mouth dem   CL Poss.3-vagina

yi-kiy'aᵓa-tak.   Qanaĉ'e hokal'i y-im   da'   qo-y-aw
setA.3-eat, feed-ASP   long ago setA.3-finish CPTZ IS-setA.3-finish

so' nadtakpi qataᵓa yitaᵓa ɬ-'iyelaq.
CL food   again setA.3-go away

'But they were not eating (using) the mouth, but (using) their vagina. And after they finished to eat the food completely, then they left once again.

11.4 Conclusion

Subordination and coordination seem to be part and parcel of the same phenomenon in Pilagá. In this language, clauses and constituents are normally combined by sentence juxtaposition and we see this in both subordinate and coordinate constructions. (I assume that a study of pauses will finally determine to what extent subordinate clauses are syntactically embedded in the matrix clause or just adjoined as a paratactic structure.)

Several Guaykuruan languages have syntactic coordinators and many of them appear to be cognates across these languages, suggesting that conjunctions are reasonably old within the family.

The introduction of complementizers and relativizers in the grammar of Pilagá derived from demonstrative pronouns. This seems to be a quite new strategy; at least newer than the existence and usage of conjunctions in coordination.

In Toba (Klein 1988:207), relative clauses are not marked by relative pronouns. This seems to points out that Pilagá da' and probably m'e constitute an innovation in subordination with respect to other languages of the Southern Guaykuruan branch. The fact that use of subordinate markers m'e and da' co-exists with non-use of any subordinators under the same syntactic conditions, and that in both cases, main and subordinate verbs stand as full-fledged finite forms, feeds the hypothesis that subordination via subordinators is relatively new.

Notes

[1] There is a possibility that _setake_ is in the process of becoming an incipient auxiliary form, since the semantics of person is clearly fading away; notice that the subject prefix does not seem to convey the inflectional contrast that it does with the majority of verbs. However, _setake_ lacks the phonological reduction pointed out in the case of, for instance, English auxiliary verbs _wana_ and _gonna_.

[2] The distintion between modality, manipulation and cognition-utterance verbs is taken from Givón (1990).

[3] Apparently, this story narrates why it is a prohibition for girls to be close to water sources while they have their first menstruation.

[4] In Toba there exists a form _qaq_ 'and', while Mocoví has _ka'_ 'and' (Grondona 1999:170). In Toba, Klein (1988:206) reports the existence of the conjunction _qalqa'a_ 'but', which appears to be cognate to Pilagá _qalaçasa_ 'but.'

APPENDIX

ABBREVIATIONS

APPL	Applicative marker
ASP	aspect
AUG	Augmentative
Benef	benefactive applicative
CL	positional/deictic classifier
Col	collective number inflection
COM	comitative applicative
Conj	conjunction
Cptv	completive aspect
CPTZ	complementizer
DAT	dative applicative
Dem/dem	demonstrative
DIR	directional suffix
Dur	durative aspect
Ep	epenthetic glide
Ep.vow	epenthetic vowel
EXIST	existential copula
Fem/fem	feminine gender
Hab	habitual aspect
INSTR	instrumental applicative (verbal) or instrumental suffix (nominal)
IS	impersonal subject (agent-defocusing)
LOC	locative copula
Masc/masc	masculine
NCl	noun class marker
NEG	negative marker
NEG.EXIST	negative existential copula
NMLZ	nominalizer
Non.progr	non-progressive aspect
O	object prefix
Obj	object number agreement
Pauc/pauc	paucal number
PL/pl	plural number
Poss	possessor marker

PRO	pronoun
Progr	progressive aspect
Q	quantifier
QUEST	question word
RECP	reciprocal suffix
REFL	reflexive suffix
REL	relativizer
Rslt	resultative aspect
SG/sg	singular number
Sp. loanw.	Spanish loanword
Val1	valency-derivation1
Val2	valency-increasing derivation 2
Vft	verbal formative -ta

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