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A Reference Grammar of Warao

Andrés Romero-Figeroa

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ABBREVIATIONS

1 (first)
 2 (second)
 3 (third)
 p(erson)
 sg (singular)
 PL(ural)
 ABL(ative)
 AGEN(itive)
 ALL(ative)
 AUGM(entative)
 AUX(iliary)
 BY HSY (by hearsay)
 CAUS(ative)
 COMP(arative)
 COND(itional)
 COP(ula)
 DAT(ive)
 DIM(inutive)
 FREQ(uentative)
 H.I. (high incidence)
 IMP(erative)
 INCH(oative)
 IND(ependent)
 INFINIT(ive)
 INT(entional)
 INTERROG(ative)
 ITER(ative)
 LOC(ative)
 NEG(ative)
 NEG(ative) POT(ential)
 NOM(inalizer)
 NON-PAST
 NON-PAST INCH(oative)
 O(bject)
 OBL(ique)
 OPT(ative)
 PAST
 PAST INCH(oative)
 PERF(ective)
 POS(essive)
 POT(ential)
 PRES(ent)
 PREF(ix)
 PRIV(ative)
 PRO(noun)
 PUNC(tual)
 REF(lexive)
 REL(ativizer)
 S(ubjectt)
 STAT(ivizer)
 SUF(fix)
 USIT(ative)
 V(erb)

SECTION ONE: GENERALITIES

1. AIMS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE RESEARCH

This research concerns Warao, a language isolate of Venezuela. Its goals are twofold: it offers a typologically-oriented reference grammar of the language, and it also describes, on the grounds of sociolinguistic data, the speech styles observed in Warao. I have striven to make the grammar as general as possible, covering as many topics as possible in a framework that is understandable and usable by linguists of all theoretical persuasions. Additionally, I have endeavoured to depict styles by considering language structures that correlate with spatial, temporal and referential-content factors, as well as social factors defined on the basis of relations between, or among, speakers and hearers.

The body of this work is organized into two broad parts corresponding to its two most general concerns. After SECTION ONE that provides generalities about the research and the language, in the first part, consisting of SECTIONS TWO, THREE and FOUR, I offer syntactic, morphological and phonological features of Warao. In the remaining part, consisting of SECTION FIVE, I describe speech acts, participants roles and styles detected in the language. For the purposes of handling the contents, all throughout this investigation, SECTIONS have been divided into SUB-SECTIONS numbered correlatively from 1. through 34. Further sub-divisions are included, also numbered in correspondence with that numeric entry identifying the sub-section to which they are ascribed.

2. THE WARAO PEOPLE

I will not attempt in this section to offer a deep demographic and ethnographic analysis of the Warao: only essential orienting information is provided.

The Warao currently live in the swampy areas next to the hundreds of caños through which the Orinoco river flows into the Atlantic Ocean. This is an extensive triangular-shaped deltaic zone of about 22,500 square kilometers where several Warao settlements may be found within relatively short exploring journeys. As for present day population, the Warao consist of approximately 15,000 individuals. Most of them are bilingual in Warao and Spanish to varying degrees. Rather few communities are dominantly monolingual in Warao. Usually these are the most remote and difficult to reach, located next to the Guyanese border.

The etymology of the term Warao is wa 'canoe' and arao

'people', that is, 'canoe people'. In a euphemistic sense, "sailor at heart" would be a suitable referent for a Warao. This is felt in the manner they address those who are not Warao whom they call hotarao; hota 'high land', arao 'people', i.e., 'high land people', or 'land lubbers'.

From a social-anthropological perspective, the Warao may be considered as an "aquatic" fishing, hunting and gathering society. Suárez (1971) provides ethnographical details of relevance for this study. Some aspects reported by Suárez (1971) deal with the Warao social and economic organization. Any Warao settlement is composed of an extended family that may have an average population of fifty individuals. Often a household consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried daughters and sons. The Warao practice matrilineal residence. The traditional economy is mainly based on palm tree by-products, though this system is losing importance. Recently, as a consequence of the permanent presence of missionaries and the population of Spanish descent the Warao have become corn and rice growers, undergoing a strong process of acculturation. The co-existence of the traditional and new economies has brought about the transformation of the Warao from fishermen, hunters and gatherers to wage-earning laborers still living in their primeval environment.

3. DATA BASE OF THE STUDY

Insofar as possible, all data in the research are from elicited material, though extended texts are used to fill in certain gaps and to illustrate simple, completely straight-forward forms. The field work sessions extended over an eighteen-month period starting in September 1987 and concluding by May 1989. Further data was collected in August 1993. A corpus recorded on thirty six 90-minute tapes was collected. It took about six months to transcribe phonologically those portions of the recorded material necessary for the research. The stage of data transcription and analysis was completed early in 1990 and re-started for new material in January 1995.

During the field work stage, with Lino Palomo, a community leader of Spanish descent from the State of Monagas, I visited thirteen Warao settlements along Caño Buha, including some located in the Tigre, Winamarena and Wanakawaha islands. These latter sites are all in Caño Manamo—a major waterway that marks the borderline between the states of Monagas and Delta Amacuro. I chose San José de Buha, a small town about a 90-minute drive from Maturín, as the center of my operations in the area. This was a strategic place given that San José de Buha is a location midway between Maturín (a major urban center and state capital, where the Universidad de Oriente—my employer institution—has one of its campuses) and the Warao motherland. From San José de Buha, I frequently travelled by

outboard boat to the informants' places. It must be mentioned that I visited San José de Buha eleven times during the data collection stage, my longest stay being of fourteen days during the Easter break of 1989.

An important experience relates to my work in Winamarena. On this island, I visited a settlement where the orikaika oriwarao 'community made up of by an extended family'—the Warao primal manner of social grouping—still survives. I collected there a variety of speech acts including story-telling about ancestors as well as mythical characters. Also, I recorded data about how the Warao conduct collective discussion to solve community problems, advice to reach settlements in the event of dispute and other specific social and linguistic performances. Finally, in Wanakawaha, I had the opportunity to be close to a place where a rite would be performed by the wisiratu, a religious power-endowed personage, that direct the cult of the spirits. I observed some of his actions, but I was unable to get recordings or even details of his gestures because I was not allowed inside the dwelling of the sick he was curing.

Data collection around Caño Buha and Caño Manamo revitalized the information about the language revealed by my previous material recorded in Hurupu, in the State of Sucre in 1979, and Yakariyene, State of Delta Amacuro in 1983. These two places where I collected data in 1979 and 1983 are located about 150 kilometers in a straight line from Buha, to the north and southeast respectively. I have confirmed my hypothesis that there are not dialectal variants of Warao, though I rather think that there are some lexical differences that do not considerably affect mutual intelligibility.

As for the use of extended texts, these are either from Barral (1964) or from Vaquero (1965). Textual data from these missionaries are primarily from the Central Orinoco Delta. Most of these texts comprise ancestral stories and myths, although there are some conversational samples mainly of a procedural nature. In this research, examples taken from these authors appear together with their bibliographical source.

4. METHODOLOGY FOR DATA COLLECTION

I followed the methodological procedures that search for verbal acts in natural context (Labov, 1972), one of the principles of participant observation techniques (Felto & Felto, 1983). On no occasion was the data elicited by using interview schedules or written instruments of any sort. In this type of society, such instruments might bring about inadequate responses causing in turn mistaken analysis due mainly to the fact that the social norms and values of these groups can only be understood by foreigners after very lengthy periods spent living in the community. In my case, I decided

that by the time this acquaintance with the Warao would have become a reality, I would have learned whatever I was interested in as far as my research was concerned with the help of a guide. Thus, I preferred to integrate myself into the community through a Warao that could take me to the right informant in the right place at the right time. It should be remembered that my stays in the Warao social context did not last beyond two consecutive weeks.

At the beginning, I tried to be as discreet as possible, taking great care about what I said and did. Soon, I internalize some elementary rules for group activities and the Warao started to guide me through their social life. They taught me internal aspects of their ways of living, and step by step, I could gradually discover some links between social conduct and language usage. This was the stage of my field work when the sociolinguistic framework I had set up a priori for the dissertation began to operate smoothly. Penetrating into the Warao mind was not an easy task anyway, and I am still not certain that I was able to enter such unexpected and unimaginable world. I mention this point because any time that I turned on my tape recorder, even in situations in which I had learned such an action would be permissible, the faces of my interlocutors might equally reveal consent or disapproval, often changing their attitude from one day to the next. A final remark on this point is that, in my own interpretation of the facts, my data contain language quite similar to that one that would have been spoken in my absence. I cannot discard the fact that some interference may have been brought about by the tape recorder, and even by myself, since both of these elements were completely alien in the Warao daily routines.

5. TRANSCRIPTION AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following conventions are observed in presenting my Warao examples. Three lines of information appear with most examples in the body of the paper: (i) a morphemic representation giving the underlying forms of all the morphemes and the boundaries between them, (ii) a morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss, and (iii) an appropriate, rather free, English translation. In this system of representation, common recurring morphemes are given abbreviated glosses indicated in upper-case letters. A list of these abbreviations is found in the introductory pages of this research. It must be emphasized that the morpheme glosses are intended for helping the reader to understand the structure or usage, either in isolation or contextually. It is worth mentioning as well that when examples are intended for presenting the referential content that characterizes some styles, the morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses are avoided, and an almost literal translation is included.

The transcription of the material is based upon the International Phonetic Alphabet, and in those cases in which the exemplification taken from another author appears in a Spanish-based orthographic representation, the symbols ç and qu have been replaced by /k/. Similarly, the Spanish ç has been rendered as /h/ in my study.

SECTION TWO: SYNTAX

6. ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS IN THE BASIC SIMPLEX SENTENCE (Romero-Figueroa, 1985a)

I will begin with the hypothesis of an OSV basic order in Warao. In all cases, intransitive V(erbs) in Warao are sentence final:

- INTRANSITIVE
- (1) a. ma- rahe haya -te
1pl.POS brother run NON-PAST
'My brother runs'
- b. hua haka -komo nak -a -e
Juan run PQT fall PUNC PAST
'John could fall'

When O(bjects) and non-major constituents such as interjections are present, V is overwhelmingly sentence final. Occasionally, some OBL(iques) and interjections follow V. These cases are discussed later. Some examples of sentences with O's are:

- TRANSITIVE OS(ubject)V
- (2) erike hube abu -a -e
Enrique snake bite PUNC PAST
'A snake bit Henry'
- (TRANSITIVE) DAT(ive) OSV
- (3) ma saba tamaha riekio ribu -a -e
1sg.O DAT this one Diego say PUNC PAST
'Diego said this to me'
- OBL OSV
- (4) ma hanoko -mo ine nao -te
1sg.POS house ABL I come NON-PAST
'I come from my home'

The above examples show that Warao is solidly verb final, and that the entity affected, effected or moved within the Warao sentence precedes the agent. In discussing the syntax of

the sentence in Warao, Vaquero (1965:143) presents the following 'scheme of progressive construction' in the language:

- SV
 (5) a. ine obono -ya
 I want PRES
 'I want'
- OSV
 b. arukobo ine obono -ya
 manioc I want PRES
 'I want manioc'
- OOSV
 c. noboto -mo saba arukobo ine obono -ya
 child PL DAT manioc I want PRES
 'I want manioc for the children'
- OOSV
 d. hanakosebe a noboto -mo saba arukobo ine
 village of child PL DAT manioc I
 obono -ya
 want PRES
 'I want manioc for the children of the village'

From his scheme in (5a-d), Vaquero (1965:143) concludes that: "(en Warao), el término de la acción goza de prioridad mental (...) Inmediatamente se aclara la predicación (...) que realizará el sujeto".

Further evidence for OSV order is also provided by quotatives in my own data:

- QUOTATIVE OSV
 (6) a. ine namina -naka ta -bu -te ma- rani
 I know NEG AUX ITER NON-PAST 1sg.POS mother
 ribu -n -a -e
 say sg PUNC PAST
 "I really do not know", I said to my mother'
- b. tira wab -a -e tatuma anibaka
 woman die PUNC PAST them young girl
 ribu -n -a -e
 say sg PUNC PAST
 "The woman died", the young girl said to them'

Quotative sentences such as those in (6) suggest that the order of constituents in some complex sentences is not different from that in simple sentences.

So far, basic OSV order for Warao has been exemplified in

each of the major sentence types. However, structural arrangements different from OSV are often found in the language. It is common in Warao discourse to leave out O's whose referents have been set up earlier. Since the person of the object of transitive verbs may be marked in the verb, transitive sentences occur frequently with the verb and the subject only. For example, (8) below

- TRANSITIVE OSV
 (8) ma hi rakoi ahi -a -e
 1sg.O 2sg.POS sister hit PUNC PAST
 'Your sister hit me'

may be reduced as in:

- TRANSITIVE SV
 (9) O hi rakoi m- ahi -a -e
 2sg.POS sister 1sg.O hit PUNC PAST
 'Your sister hit me'

On the other hand, copulative sentences in Warao nearly always are subject initial, showing mostly S-COMP(lement)-COP(ula) order. Further, ha -kitane 'BE/HAVE -INFINIT.', the form denoting 'COP' may be deleted giving rise to S-COMP order. The examples below illustrate the case:

- COPULATIVE S-COMP-COP
 (10) a. tai tira burebaka ha
 that woman insane COP
 'That woman is insane'
- COPULATIVE S-COMP
 b. tai tira burebaka O
 that woman insane
 'That woman (is) insane'

Different from O and COP which, as shown, may not explicitly appear in the Warao sentence, S tends to be expressed. This is so because the Warao verb is unmarked for subject agreement; hence, subjects need to be present to avoid ambiguities and misunderstandings. A subjectless sentence such as (11b) below is exclusively motivated by the discourse environment: (11b) obviously reflects a short answer to a question:

- (11) a. Q: ihi ma kaika nao -naka -ra
 2sg.S 1sg.O with come NEG INTERROG
 'Don't you come with me?'
- b. A: O nao -naka
 come NEG
 '(I) do not come'

The process illustrated by (11) above involves a principle of economy of words which operates in languages wherever the logic of conversational sequences allows no possible confusion

From the review of (1-10), the facts of importance about Warao word order are: (i) V is final, (ii) S nearly always immediately precedes V, and (iii) O mostly occurs in sentence initial position. Ahead in this Section, the rules that permit variations from the basic OSV order are discussed and explained.

7. VERBAL SENTENCES

All Warao verbs have subjects, although they may, or may not, attract other constituents, such as objects, subject complements and adjuncts.

7.1. Subject

Warao subjects range from single nouns/pronouns to long noun strings forming complex noun phrases. The pair in (12) clearly illustrates the point:

- (12) a. ka saba arao -tuma a
1pl.O DAT individual PL of
tama ho bahi yak -era
this water surroundings goodness AUGM
ta -n -a -e
help sg PUNCT PAST
'The inhabitants of this land helped us'
- b. ka saba wauta yak -era
1pl.O DAT Wauta goodness AUGM
ta -n -a -e
help sg PUNCT PAST
'Wauta helped us'

(12a) exhibits the complex noun phrase arao tuma hobahi 'The inhabitants of this land' which contrast in length with the proper noun wauta 'Wauta' seen in (12b), both filling in subject slots.

Subjects in Warao lack morphological devices that allow their identification; for instance, they are not case-marked. This feature coupled with the fact that Warao is a verb final language in which the remaining sentence constituents (both subject and objects) usually precede, make subjects very resistant to deletion. It might be expected that overt subjects contribute to preserve meaning. Subjects normally express the agent of the action, if there is one. This

property however is not used here to identify subjects of sentences in which there is no agent. Though I am aware that expressing the agent is not sufficient condition of subjecthood, in my analysis, I use 'agency' or 'agent' with reference to subjecthood in sentences other than those containing stative verbs.

7.2. Direct object

Depending on the occurrence or non-occurrence of direct objects, verbs may respectively be transitive or intransitive. Although the Warao verbs are either of one kind or the other, their inflectional behavior overrides such a distinction, so that no different sets of markers to operate in transitive or intransitive contexts exist. Warao has only one set of markers for verb aspect/tense, mood and number.

Direct objects are seen in this study as semantically patient in the sense that they mean "(a) the entities which are viewed as affected by the action of the verb; (b) the entities which are viewed as moving or as being located in (abstract or concrete) space; or (c) the entities which are viewed as existing, in a state" (Starosta, 1978:472).

Like subjects, direct objects are not identifiable from their morphology because they are not case-marked either. It is likely that because of such a trait (also found in subjects), direct objects are as deletion resistant as subjects. If deleted, that will occur where they are easily-recovered from the context.

Direct objects are obligatory in transitives, whether overtly expressed or prefixed to verbs, such as illustrated in (13)

- (13) a. ka hi- rakoi teoriasi -te
1pl.O 2sg.POS sister disdain NON-FAST
'Your sister disdains us'
- b. O hi- rakoi ka- teoriasi -te
2sg.POS sister 1pl.O disdain NON-FAST
'Your sister disdains us'

7.3. Indirect object

There is a separate category which functions as indirect object. The indirect object correlates with the dative case role, being expressed by the suffixes -(i)si/-to/-(m)a/ 'DAT'. -(i)si 'Dat' indicates beneficiary. -to 'DAT' also indicating beneficiary, is rather infrequent. -(m)a 'DAT' has benefactive meaning with 'local' overtones in some specific contexts. Furthermore, the indirect object can be defined as a postpositional phrase introduced by saba 'to/for'. Examples are shown in (14) below

- (14) a. ma -isi aru nisa -u
1sg.0 DAT cassava buy 2sg.IMP
'You, buy cassava for me!'
- b. nobotomo -to dihab -era ine kona -te
children DAT sweet AUGM I bring NON-PAST
'I bring candies for the children'
- c. harako -ma daukuaha tai kona -n -a -e
hunting DAT fruit he bring sg PUNC PAST
journey
'I brought some fruits for the hunting journey'
- d. ure yaotamo saba bare kona -n -a -e
malanga workers to father bring sg PUNC PAST
(priest)
'The father brought malanga to the workers'

7.4. Oblique object (or adjunct)

The remaining arguments taken by Warao verbs give shape to the oblique objects, also referred in this study as adjuncts. Adjuncts are integrated into the structure of the sentence being affected by such processes as negation and questioning, keeping with verbs the same kind of relationship whatever their underlying semantic roles might be. Such roles include manner, locative, time, instrumental, comitative, source, possessive, benefactive and cause. These meanings may be expressed by (i) simple and compound (derived) adverbs and adverbials, which are normally denominal, denoting manner, place and time, and (ii) postpositional phrases expressing placement and location in time, as well as possession, benefactive, origin and some other meanings. Obliques or adjuncts are exhaustively described and exemplified in 24. and 25.

8. COPULATIVE SENTENCES

ha 'COP' in Warao never functions as an existential. Thus, it may be drawn that copulatives are quite limited in their semantic scope. The copula, ha 'COP' has three well-defined predicative functions: (i) equative, expressing the identification of one entity with another, (ii) attributive, characterizing entities, and (iii) adverbial, denoting time and place. In all of these three functions, ha 'COP' is a link between the subject and the predicate. Throughout this study, predicates in copulative sentences are handled with in two ways: (i) as subject complements when employed in relation to nominal items (nouns and attribute nouns, also called here adjective-like attributives), which is the case with equative

and attributive predicates, and (ii) as adjuncts when employed in relation to time and place expressions, which is the case with adverbial predicates. Examples of the types of copulative sentences in Warao are presented in (15):

- EQUATIVE
(15) a. ine warao ha yatu hotarao 0
I Warao COP you non-warao
'I am Warao (and) you (are) non-Warao (or criollo)'

- ATTRIBUTIVE
b. tama -ha hoko ha
this NOM shade of any COP
light color
(lit.) 'This one is light-colored', or
'This one has a light color', or
'This one is white'

- ADVERBIAL
TIME
c. ine kura warao isaka ha
I The Pleiads Warao one COP
(annual path) (twenty)
'I am twenty years old'
- PLACE
d. mahoko ayakata ama -te ha
catfish school of that yonder LOC COP
fish
(lit.) 'The school of catfish is (in) over there'

The copula ha may be deleted if its coreferent is in an immediate preceding utterance, as shown in (15a). It inflects only for past tense:

- (16) a. ine ma- omu a namo ha
I 1sg.POS foot of cover COP
'I have my shoes'
- b. ine ma- omu a namo ha -e
I 1sg.POS foot of cover COP PAST
'I had my shoes'

9. STATIVE SENTENCES

The suffix -ira 'STAT' attached to attribute nouns turn them into stative verbs meaning 'be in the state of'. Sentences containing denominal stative verbs are objectless, denoting a permanent or temporary state in which the subject (animate or inanimate) is a patient-of-state, such as in the following

examples:

- (17) a. warao -tuma ta -era -ira -te
 Warao PL strength AUGM STAT NON-PAST
 'The Warao are very strong permanently'
- b. tira san -uk -ir -a -e
 woman pitiness DIM STAT PUNC PAST
 'The woman was sad temporarily'
- c. karina to -ira -te
 hen fatness STAT NON-PAST
 'The hen is fat'
- d. hiaka sara -ir -a -e
 garment rag STAT PUNC PAST
 'The garment was ragged'

10. COMPLEX STRUCTURES

10.1. Parataxis

The most common way of forming complex structures in subject, object and oblique roles appears to be by parataxis. Also, parataxis is observed in some complex sentences in which two or more clauses are simply juxtaposed, with no indication of the temporal, spatial, causal, or whatever, relationship between them.

10.1.1. Paratactical phrases

Paratactical phrases are structures containing 2 (or more) non-conjoined references to the same entity, or containing 2 (or more) references to the same entity (or to different ones), conjoined without coordinating conjunctions. Against this background, there have been specified for Warao, the following functions of phrasal parataxis: identification/modification and coordination.

As in most languages, the introduction of new characters in Warao discourse often brings about supplementary information concerning them, which serve identifying (and modifying) functions:

- (18) ama u kuabasa rarihabita ka- unukamo
 then Kuabasa enemy 1pl.POS goods
 nisa -n -a -e
 steal sg PUNC PAST
 'kuabasa, an enemy, stole our goods'

In (18), the noun phrase rarihabita 'enemy' modifies the proper noun kuabasa, enhancing the identity of the bearer of such name. The following example in (19) illustrates the coordinating function of parataxis. In (19), a series of three paratactical elements suggests conjoining in the absence of conjunctions:

- (19) oko ramiano mokomoko hi kaika
 we Damian little children 2sg.O with
 nao -kitane obono -bu -te
 come INFINIT want ITER NON-PAST
 'We, Damian (and) the kids really want to come with you'

10.1.2. Paratactical clauses

10.1.2.1. Coordination

As it was already pointed out, there is no formal means in the language for expressing coordination at the phrase level; i.e., simple equivalents of 'and', 'but', 'or', 'yet', etc., are inexistent. It also occurs thus at the clausal level.

Clausal coordination always involves 2 (or more) paratactically-related finite (or tensed) clauses. In the language, there seems to be three kinds of clausal coordination: (i) conjunction, (ii) adversative junction and (iii) disjunction (this third kind seems to frame upon the Spanish model, or it was a late development).

10.1.2.1.1. Clausal conjunction

Clausal conjunction takes place when referents in subject and/or object roles within two paratactically-related clauses do not change, making possible reduction in one of them. Even when the two clauses may keep all their constituents--in a sort of full coordinate sentence--such as

- (20) osibu hoseito yaba -n -a -e teko tai
 morokoto Joseito fish sg PUNC PAST peccary he
 (kind of (Joe)
 fish)

kub -a -e
 hunt PUNC PAST
 'Joe fished morokoto (and) he hunted peccary',

it is likely that repeated subjects and/or objects undergo ellipsis, such as illustrated in (21)

(21) osibu hoseito yaba -n -a -e teko 0
 morokoto Joseito fish sg PUNC PAST peccary
 (kind of (Joe)
 fish)

kub -a -e
 hunt PUNC PAST
 'Joe fished morokoto (and) (he) hunted peccary'

Another example of clausal conjunction is offered in (22):

(22) aru tai kona -n -a -e hisab -a -e
 manioc he bring sg PUNC PAST cook PUNC PAST
 'He brought manioc (and) (he) cooked (manioc)'

10.1.2.1.2. Clausal adversative junction

Paratactical clauses may also suggest an adversative linkage. Adversative coordination is normally encoded by negating one of the clauses within the sentence. This is often the case in Warao, as illustrated in (23)

- (23) a. tai ine hahobu -bu -a -e mi -naka
 3sg.O I search for ITER PUNC PAST see NEG
 'I searched for him repeatedly (but) (I did) not see (him)'
- b. warao ekoro -naka -te musimo ekoro
 Warao finish NEG NON-PAST Carib people finish
 (lit.) 'The Warao do not finish (but) the Caribs finish', or
 'The Carib are terminated, but the Warao are not'

There are also instances of antithetical adversative junction in which opposite lexical meaning (in the absence of the negation marker -naka 'NEG') is sufficient to express adverseness:

(24) tama -tika -mo sanuka tai mi -na -te
 this LOC ABL smallness it see sg NON-PAST

ama -tika -mo irira
 that yonder LOC ABL bigness
 'It looks small from right here, (but) (it looks) big from right over there'

10.1.2.1.3. Clause disjunction

Disjunction conveys the idea of exclusion. In Warao, the logics of discourse is the only resource to be used for determining which clause content excludes the other one. Disjunction seems not to be well integrated in the interclausal relations of the language. Warao-Spanish bilingual speakers who know the use of the Spanish disjunctive coordinates frequently express doubts about the appropriateness of examples when asked to attest them. They sometimes frame their disjunctive coordinates upon the Spanish framework incorporating o 'or' to their native utterance. The best example collected in my data is presented in (25) below

(25) yatu nao -te nao -naka ta -te -ra
 you come NON-PAST come NEG AUX NON-PAST INTERROG
 (lit.) 'Don't you come (or) you do?', or
 'Do you come (or) you do not?'

10.1.2.2. Comparison (Romero-Figueroa, 1986a)

In Warao the grammatical class involved in comparison is that of the attributive nouns. Examples are given in (26) below

- (26) a. basayanaru tobe ta -era kuarika ha
 ant-eater jaguar strength AUGM more COP
 'The jaguar is stronger than the ant-eater'
- b. ihi kubatu yak -era hoseito yahoto
 you hunter goodness AUGM Joseito less
 (Joe)
 'You are a good hunter. Joe is a less good hunter'
- c. hua ma raka irira monuka ha
 Juan 1sg.POS brother bigness same COP
 'My brother and John are the same height'
- d. nebu yak -era yaot -a -e nobotomo
 young men bigness AUGM work PUNC PAST children

monuka
 same (equal)
 'The children and the young men worked equally well', or
 'The children worked as well as the young men', or
 'The young men worked as well as the children'

(26a-c) are cases of attributive noun (adjective-like) comparison. (26d) is a case of an attribute noun functioning as an adverb.

Structurally speaking, nominal (label covering denominal adjective-like nouns and adverb-functioning nouns) comparatives in Warao consist of two sentences holding a paratactical relation, one containing the standard of comparison and the other containing the topic of comparison. Some constituents which are repeated in the standard and topic clauses, that is to say, that are common to both, are often deleted, and the remaining are joined together to give rise to an elliptical comparative sentence. Thus, at a level below the surface, for example, (26b) and (26d) would respectively have syntactic configurations as follows in (27a) and (27b):

(27) a. [lihi kubatu yak -era ha] [hoseito kubatu
 you hunter bigness AUGM COP Joseito hunter
 (Joe)

yak -era yahoto ha]
 bigness AUGM less COP
 'You are a good hunter. Joe is a less good hunter'

b. [nebu yak -era yaot -a -e] [nobotomo
 young men bigness AUGM work PUNC PAST children

yak -era monuka yaot -a -e]
 bigness AUGM same work PUNC PAST
 'The young men worked well. Children worked equally well', or
 'The children worked as well as the young men', or
 'The young men worked as well as the children'

Reduction of constituents (ellipsis) in standard and topic clauses, or in both, in (27a) and (27b), shown respectively in (28a) and (28b) below

(28) a. [lihi kubatu yak -era OI [hoseito O O
 you hunter goodness AUGM Joseito
 (Joe)
 yahoto OI
 less
 'You are a good hunter. Joe is a less good hunter'

b. [nebu yak -era yaot -a -e]
 young men goodness AUGM work PUNC PAST

[nobotomo O monuka OI
 children same
 'The young men worked well. The children worked equally well', or
 'The children worked as well as the young men', or
 'The young men worked as well as the children'

On the other hand, from the review of (26-28), some facts of importance about the Warao comparatives are: (i) the language uses analytical comparison exclusively, and (ii) it lacks an element that may be considered to have the status of a "complementizer". Related to (ii), in the absence of a "complementizer"-like element, no alternative mechanism such as case-marking of the standard of comparison is used.

It is clear from (26) that the language has asymmetrical comparison of inequality, (A>B, and A<B). Warao also has comparison of equality, (A=B). The data, by means of arrangements such as the one in (26d) demonstrates the possibility of asymmetrical equality. However, the data indicates that symmetrical equality (AB=) (similar to English 'same/equal/like/alike') is prevalent in the language. The strongest indicator of symmetrical equality is the kind of relationship holding between the topic of comparison and the standard of comparison in cases such as (29), for example:

(29) tama -ha raisa monuka ha
 this NOM other same COP
 'The other and this one are the same', or
 'This and the other are the same'

In (29), the topic of comparison and the standard of comparison keep a figure/figure relation rather than a figure/background one.

Also, from (26-29), it might be said that in Warao, comparison is expressed by postposing to attributive nouns some quantity determiners, such as *kuarika* 'more' and *sabuka* or *yaoto* 'less' in the case of inequality, and the adverb of manner, *monuka* 'same/equal', in the case of equality.

At this point of the analysis, it is worth noting that all Warao comparatives arrange the standards of comparison before the topics of comparison, and these before the marker of comparison that is part of the verbal core, which is the positional relationship to be held since the language is OSV. These comparatives prove affirmative my OSV order hypothesis for Warao.

10.2. Hypotaxis (Embedding)

In Warao, there are also hypotactical complex constructions involving verb suffixes associated with aspect/tense as markers of such hypotactical relation, which is commonplace in verb-final languages. Besides, the linkage between the higher clause and the embedded one may be expressed by means of clause-initial free items, often postpositions, in the manner of complementizers. To account for embedding, such a process in non-finite clauses is examined first; then, the one in finite clauses is examined.

10.2.1. Non-finite clauses

10.2.1.1. Nominal (infinitival) clauses

Some nominal constructions derived from underlying verbs constitute the nearest equivalent to noun clauses. In Warao, these are exclusively infinitival, and they serve as complements of verbs. When a verbal complement has the same subject as the main clause, this is nominalized with the suffix *-kitane* 'INFINIT' and placed next to the main verb thus disrupting the sequence of constituents of the main clause. Infinitival clauses tend to be rather short, mostly occurring as objects. Some examples are offered in (30-31)

(30) tukubita -ya tai hiaka
Tucupita ALL he garment

nisa -kitane naru -na -te
buy INFINIT go sg NON-PAST
'He/she goes to Tucupita to buy garments'

(31) ine ure buha -kitane nao -a -e
I malanga dig out INFINIT come PUNC PAST
'I came to dig out malanga'

In (30), for instance, *hiaka nisakitane* 'to buy garments' is

an infinitival clause in the role of object complement embedded in the main verb *narunate* 'go', thus breaking into two halves the main clause *tukubitaya tai narunate* 'He/she goes to Tucupita'. Analogous behavior is observed between the infinitival clause *ure buhakitane* 'to dig out malanga' and the main clause *ine naonae* 'I came' in (31).

10.2.2. Finite clauses

10.2.2.1. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses may be introduced by verbal markers associated with aspect/mood, frequently depending on the main clause for the expression of tense. They are often non-tensed clauses that acquire time reference from their main clauses (both clauses, the embedded and the main ones, must share identical temporality). As well, adverbial clauses may have initial free items acting as complementizers. This kind of adverbial clauses have tense of their own, that is, their temporal reference may, or may not, be identical with that of the main clauses. One more possibility as far as how the main clause and the embedded one connect is the absolute lack of indication of the hypotactical relation holding between them.

In this analysis, 6 different types of adverbial clauses are accounted for: conditional/temporal, concessive, causal, purpose and quotative.

10.2.2.1.1. Conditional/temporal clauses

Conditional/temporal clauses suffix *-kore* 'COND' to the verb of the embedded clause. *-kore* 'COND' is primary a verbal mood marker that may convey senses such as 'if/when'. Conditional clauses do not exhibit overt time reference, which is normally taken from the main clause:

(32) waniku simo naha ebo -kore ehobo -na -te
moon any shade rain fall COND show up sg NON-PAST
of a dark
color
(lit.) 'The moon shows up reddish when rain falls', or
'The moon becomes red when it rains'

(33) obono -kore nar -u
want COND go 2sg.IMP
'You, go if you want!'

(32-33) evidence that conditional/temporal clauses tend to embed directly in the main verb, splitting the main clause. However, there are instances of pre-clausal embedding, such as exemplified below:

- (34) bare inataba -kore ama hase ine naru -kuna
 father order COND right now I go INCH. PRES
 (priest)
 'If the father orders (it), I begin to go right now'

10.2.2.1.2. Concessive clauses

Another type of complex sentences refers to situations signalling the unexpected, surprising nature of what is being said in view of what was said before:

- (35) a. yak -era haka -n -a -e arone tama -ha
 goodness AUGM run sg PUNC PAST although this NOM
 kuarika ta -n -a -e
 more strengthen sg PUNC PAST
 'Although he ran well, this one (was) stronger', or
 'This one defeated him, in running'
- b. warao ekira mi -komoni ta -n -a -e arone
 Warao no see NEG. PGT AUX sg PUNC PAST although
 ama -tika -ya ine naba -te
 this LOC ALL I arrive NON-PAST
 'I arrived in right over there, although I could not see any Warao'

Concessive clauses are introduced by the complementizer arone 'although' which locates the situation referred to by the main clause as subsequent to the situation referred to by the embedded clause.

10.2.2.1.3. Causal clauses

Causal clauses are introduced by kuare 'as/since':

- (36) a. ma- rima kohota -bu -a -e kuare tane
 1sg.POS mother advise ITER PUNC PAST as thus
 ine non -a -e
 I do PUNC PAST
 'As my father advised (it), I did (it) so'

- b. ka- hobahi yak -era mi -a -e kuare
 1sg.POS land beauty AUGM see PUNC PAST as

warao -tuma kuai -mo nanaka -n -a -e
 Warao PL up there ABL come down sg PUNC PAST
 'The Warao came down from up there as (they) saw a very beautiful land'

The situation designated by kuare 'as/since' always overlaps temporally with the situation in the main clause. Nevertheless, in such cases, the embedded (or dependent) situation begins prior to the beginning of the situation of the main clause, as all the examples in (36) shows.

10.2.2.1.4. Purpose clauses

In Warao purpose clauses, the complementizer mioroi roughly means 'in order that':

- (37) waba -naka -mioroi kokotuka ine
 die NEG in order that everything I

nahoro -te
 eat NON-PAST
 'I eat everything in order that I do not die'

Further, the purpose sentence may express a putative idea, related to volitional performances:

- (38) ka- asiraha hebere -mioroi yak -era
 1pl.POS evil get rid of in order that goodness AUGM

oko nona -te
 we do NON-PAST
 'We should do well in order that we get rid of evil'

10.2.2.1.5. Quotative clauses

These are not different from main independent clauses. The embedded quotation always precedes the main clause. The main clause must contain a verb of saying. There is no indicator of the hypotactical relation holding between the main clause and the embedded one. Both clauses are independent as far as time reference is concerned:

(39) hokohi soro waniku wab -a -e warao ribu -te
 at dawn moon die PUNC PAST Warao say NON-PAST
 'The Warao say "The moon dies at dawn"'

11. QUESTIONS

Questioning in Warao involves the obligatory suffixing of the verbal interrogative marker -ra 'INTERROG'. This is a closing suffix within any chain of inflectional morphemes attached to any main verb (verbs in embedded clauses do not question mark). For example

(40) noboto yahinoto -ya tobe yawar -a -e -ra
 child burrow ALL jaguar pull PUNC PAST INTERROG
 (myth.) 'Did the jaguar pull the child to its burrow?'

However, -ra 'INTERROG' cannot be directly attached after the negation marker -naka 'NEG' as well as some mood markers that break the verbal inflection string. In those cases, -ra 'INTERROG' is added to the auxiliary -a 'AUX', which is a locus for tense, aspect and questioning, under specific conditions. An example is presented in (41) below

(41) naba muhoko tatuma waba -komoni
 river side of they die NEG.POT

 t -a -e -ra
 AUX PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'Couldn't they die on that side of the river?'

-ra 'INTERROG' must be present in those contexts corresponding to the following two types of questions: (i) yes/no questions, and (ii) question-word questions. Rising intonation is associated with questioning. This matter has not been sufficiently explored by the author though.

11.1. Yes/no questions

Warao marks yes/no questions with the sentence-final verb suffix -ra 'INTERROG' in the absence of constituent order change from declarative. Yes/no questions are normally neutral; i.e., their marker and arrangement do not lead to

negative or affirmative answers. For example:

(42) tama -te -a osibu yaba -n -a -e -ra
 this LOC LOC morokoto fish sg PUNC PAST INTERROG
 (kind of
 fish)
 'Did you fish any morocotos (in) around here?'

(42) may be equally answered negatively or affirmatively depending upon the results of the action or the judgement of the actor. However, further modification brought about by the negative marker -naka 'NEG' may signal a leading question, as shown in (43)

(43) hi- rima neo -naka ta -te -ra
 2sg.POS father come NEG AUX NON-PAST INTERROG
 (lit.) 'Doesn't your father come?', or
 'Your father doesn't come, does he?'

(43) expresses the speaker's doubt about the attendance of that particular father, which suggests that the expected answer is negative.

11.2. Question-word questions

Information questions are formed with the use of sentence-initial interrogative pronouns co-occurring with the sentence final interrogative marker -ra 'INTERROG'. Interrogative pronouns are obligatorily sentence-initial in Warao questions.

Warao has only one general question word, sina 'who', which substitutes for animates; and one, kasikaha 'what', which substitutes for inanimates. Some examples are offered in (44)

- (44) a. sina ma- yehe -bu -te -ra
 who 1sg.O call ITER NON-PAST INTERROG
 'Who calls me repeatedly?'
- b. sina saba hi- harako mo -n -a -e -ra
 who DAT 2sg.O hunt give sg PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'To whom did he give his hunt?'
- c. sina aisiko oko naru -te -ra
 who with we go NON-PAST INTERROG
 'With whom do/will we go?'

- d. kasikaha yatu ribu -ra -e -ra
 what you say PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'What did you say?'
- e. kasikaha eriha -n -a -e -ra
 what sink sg PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'What sank?'
- f. sina tai ha -ra
 who he COP INTERROG
 'Who is he?'
- g. sina -ra tai 0
 who INTERROG he

(44) reveals that in simplex sentences (or in main clauses) participants in any syntactic role can be questioned. For example, (44a) and (44e) question subjects, (44b) questions an indirect object and (44c) questions an oblique. (44d) questions a direct object, (44f) and (44g) question the complement of the copula. Even, some elements of a complex quotative sentence may be questioned. For example, (6b) cited above makes possible questions such as those in (45)

- (45) a. sina tira wab -a -e tatuma
 who woman die PUNC PAST 3pl.O
 ribu -n -a -e -ra
 say sg PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'Who said to them "the woman died"?'
 b. kasikaha tatuma anibaka
 what 3pl.O young girl
 ribu -n -a -e -ra
 say sg PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'What did the young girl say to them?'

Nevertheless, other complex sentence types, in which embedding often causes main clauses to split, for instance, the conditional sentence in (46) below

- (46) airamo hi- ribu yatu nona -naka -kore
 chief 2sg.POS word you do NEG COND
 sabahi -te
 scold NON-PAST
 'If you do not stick to his words, the chief will scold you'

tend to avoid question-word questioning within the embedded clause. In this regard, no instance of questioned embedded clause constituent by using question-words appears in the collected data. In addition to that fact, all the hypothetical examples presented to the informants were considered ungrammatical. It is likely that the fronting of the questioned constituent inherent to question-words brings about syntactic complications that act as deterrant. Quotatives seem to escape this restriction because the embedded clause, i.e. the quote, precedes the entire main clause, which makes the former behave as any initial object that needs not be further moved from its original position.

There is an alternative mechanism to question constituents within embedded clauses in complex sentences. This implies the use of sina 'who' and/or kasikaha 'what' preceding the embedded clause provided that the main clause is left out, in a treatment identical with echo questions. Such a treatment is by the way of illustration applied to (46), as shown in (47)

- 47) a. sina -ra hi ribu nona -naka -kore 0
 who INTERROG 2sg.POS say do NEG COND
 'If who do not do as he (the chief) says?'
 b. kasikaha -ra yatu nona -naka -kore
 what INTERROG you do NEG COND
 'If you do not do what?'

Since the interrogative marker -ra 'INTERROG' only attaches to main verbs, which in this particular context is absent, the question-word themselves suffix them. This is a commonplace procedure in Warao, more likely to take place in copulative sentences in which the copula may be omitted, such as exemplified in (44f).

To question constituents within postpositional phrases, the corresponding head nouns must be replaced by the proper interrogative pronoun. The following pair illustrate the case:

- 48) a. atono kaika oko naru -ki -tia
 Antonio with we go INT HAB
 (Anthony)
 'We are going with Anthony as usual'

- b. sina kaika oko naru -ki -tia -ra
 who with we go INT HAB INTERROG
 'With whom are we going as usual?'

- (49) a. tai a wahibaka wanari -a -e
 he of canoe sink PUNC PAST
 (lit.) 'The canoe of he sank'

- b. sina a wahibaka wanari -a -e -ra
 who of canoe sink PUNC PAST INTERROG
 (lit.) 'The canoe of whom sank?', or
 'Whose canoe sank?'

In the absence of interrogative pronouns to question about place, time, quantity or amount, etc., (Warao lacks interrogatives with where, when, how many connotation), the language uses sina 'who' and kasikaha 'what' as interrogative determiners which modify nouns referring to location, time, currency, price, etc., giving the idea of what place?, what day?, what quantity?, who individual?, etc. Some examples are shown in (50).

- (50) a. kasikaha ama a hokohi eku
 what moment of sun in(side)
 (to)day
 naru -te -ra
 go NON-PAST INTERROG
 (lit.) 'In what day do/will you go?', or
 'When do/will you leave?'

- b. sina warao -tuma yaota rubohi -te -ra
 who Warao PL work hurry NON-PAST INTERROG
 'What Warao do/will hurry the work?'

11.3. Echo questions

Warao echo questions require no special answer words. Simple affirmative or negative responses to questions may involve repeating the verb of the question, with or without additional material:

YES/NO ECHO QUESTION

- (51) A: ama a hokohi ata oko yaota -te
 (to)day in we work NON-PAST
 'We are work today'
 B: (ama a hokohi ata) yatu yaota -te -ra
 today in you work NON-PAST INTERROG
 'Do you work today?'

- A: (ama a hokohi ata oko) yaota -te
 today in we work NON-PAST
 '(We) work today'

QUESTION-WORD ECHO QUESTION

- (52) A: domu ine hat -a -e
 bird I spear PUNC PAST
 'I speared a bird'

- B: kasikaha -ra (yatu hat -a -e)
 what INTERROG you spear PUNC PAST
 'What (did you spear?)'

- C: domu (ine hat -a -e)
 bird I spear PUNC PAST
 '(I speared) a bird'

In Warao, the repeating of the verb in a yes/no echo question is obligatory, such as it is shown in (51). This response may be preceded by the affirmative words ome 'yes' and tuatane 'it is so', or the negative tuatane ana 'it is not so'.

For question-word echo questions, responses are usually reduced to the items that represent questioned constituents, often in the absence of verbs, as exemplified in (52).

Interestingly, short answers to yes/no questions in Warao exhibit a peculiar phonology: they are often more like paralinguistic utterances than like ordinary morphemes, for instance, affirmative uh-hunh and negative uhn-uhn, which may be furnished as answers in the language. These expressions are realized since they must flow out through the nose given total closure at lip level.

12. NEGATION

12.1. Simplex sentence negation (or main clause negation)

Negation is expressed by means of the suffix -naka 'NEG', whose scope is the entire sentence. The negative marker -naka 'NEG' is directly attached to the verb root, possibly followed by a mood marker if the need arises to indicate modality overtly. It is convenient to state that all unmarked for mood main clauses are in the indicative. Once -naka 'NEG' has been added to the verb root, the inflectional markers for number and aspect/tense appear on the auxiliary verb ta 'AUX'. For example, the negative sentence in (53)

(53) hi- rima nao -naka ta -te
 2sg.POS father come NEG AUX NON-PAST
 'Your father does not come'

would have an affirmative counterpart as in (54)

(54) hi- rima nao -te
 2sg.POS father come NON-PAST
 'Your father comes'

Other examples illustrating positional changes undergone by verb inflections in negative sentences are shown in the pairs below

(55) a. ine namina -naka ta -bu -te
 I know NEG AUX ITER NON-PAST
 'I really do not know'

b. ine namina -bu -te
 I know ITER NON-PAST
 'I really know (it)'

(56) a. osibu ine nahoro -naka -turu ta -te
 morokoto I eat NEG OPT AUX NON-PAST
 (kind of
 fish)
 'I do not want to eat fish'

b. osibu ine nahoro -turu ta -te
 morokoto I eat OPT AUX NON-PAST
 'I want to eat fish'

In (55), -naka 'NEG' breaks the verb inflectional string, inducing the presence of the auxiliary on which aspect and tense must appear. In (56) -naka 'NEG' admits a following mood marker, in this case -turu 'OPT', which in turn disrupts the verb inflectional chain, bringing about tense suffixing to the auxiliary. (In Warao mood markers as well as negative and interrogative markers are closing morphemes, so they do not allow further suffixing. Once they break the verb inflectional chain, the auxiliary becomes the locus for tense/aspect and number markers. [See 26.1.2.3. and 26.1.2.3].

12.2. Negation in some sentential constituents

Nominals, adverbials and postpositional phrases functioning as objects and subject complements may be negated by the addition of the indefinite determiners ekira 'no' and ana 'no'. ekira/ana 'no' postposed to a noun, an adverb and a postpositional phrase form a sort of lexical item expressing the antonym or the opposite. For example

(57) a. warao a tira ekira tai ha
 Warao of woman no he COP
 (lit.) 'He is a Warao without a woman', or
 'He is unmarried'

b. yarokota ekira ebe warao -tuma waba -te
 medicine no because Warao PL die NON-PAST
 'The Warao died because of the lack of medicine'

c. A: hurio tai ha -ra
 Julio he COP INTERROG
 'Is he Julio?'

B: hurio ana
 Julio no
 (lit.) 'No Julio', or
 'He is not Julio', or
 'He is other than Julio'

d. A: nahoro yatu ha -ra
 food you COP INTERROG
 'Do you have any food?'

B: nahoro ana
 food no
 (lit.) 'No food', or
 'I/We have no food'

e. tae ana wauta kuhubu -a -e
 courage no Wauta fight PUNC PAST
 'Wauta fought uncourageously'

f. tuatane ana wayaba -n -a -e
 thus no occur sg PUNC PAST
 'It occurred not in that way'

(57a) shows an instance of a negated postpositional phrase. (57b) illustrates a negativized adverb functioning as an oblique. (57c) contains the counterpart of the adverb of manner tuatane 'thus' as an adjunct. (57b-d) are examples of negated nouns. These latter examples involve items functioning as subject complements in copulative sentences and incomplete sentence responses.

Moreover, the manner postposition omi 'PRIV', which is inherently negative, is similar in function and meaning to English 'without'. For example

- (58) a. yasi omi yatu naru -naka hokohi
 hat without you go NEG sun
 ahera -te
 disturb NON-PAST
 (lit.) 'You do not go without a hat. The sun disturbs'
- b. ma- omi naru -n -a -e
 1sg.O without go sg PUNC PAST
 'He went without me', or
 'He went alone'

Finally, there is an indefinite pronoun that is inherently negative: ekira 'nothing/none'.

12.3. Complex sentence negation

For complex coordinate sentences which relate two (or more) finite (or tensed) clauses paratactically, negation operates such as in simplex sentences: -naka 'NEG' is suffixed to the verb of one or the other clause, or both, depending on whether conjointness (or disjointness), or adverseness is involved. Such an addition of the negation marker to verbs triggers the regular tense and aspect inflection movements linked to the presence of the auxiliary ta 'AUX' elsewhere.

On the other hand, although Warao employs little embedding, the data reveals that the means for negating hypotactically-related clauses are not different from those observed in simplex sentences, and complex paratactically-related ones.

Embedding in Warao implies one clause holding a hypotactical relation with another, whose linkage may be indicated either by an inflectional morpheme in association with aspect/mood, or by an independent word (a sort of complementizer), or by nothing. The possibilities of combining negative and non-negative main and embedded clauses, no matter the kind of linkage between them, are: (i) negative main clause/non-negative embedded clause, (ii) non-negative main clause/negative embedded clause, and (iii) negative main clause/negative embedded clause. In the types in (i) and (iii), negation has a broad scope covering the entire sentence. Within this context, negation, morpho-syntactically speaking, operates just as it does within the simplex sentence context. Examples of the combinations in (i) and (iii) are offered in (59)

- (59) a. yak -era haka -n -a -e arone
 goodness AUGM run sg PUNC PAST although
 tamaha era -naka ta -n -a -e
 this one defeat NEG AUX sg PUNC PAST
 'This one did not defeat (him) although he ran well'
- b. ka- moara airamo moa -naka kuare oko
 1pl.POS wage chief pay NEG as we
 yaota -naka ta -te
 work NEG AUX NON-PAST
 'As the chief does not pay (us), we do not work'

(59a) is an example of negative main clause/non-negative embedded clause. (59b) illustrates the negative main clause/negative embedded clause relationship. In both cases, the scope of negation is the entire sentence.

The type in (ii) corresponds to complex sentences in which negation has a narrower scope. In this type, negation is restricted only to the embedded portion of the whole sentence, such as shown in (60)

- (60) tama -tika -mo naru -naka microi isiko
 that LOC ABL go NEG in order that one
 criteri -bu -n -a -e
 make a deal ITER sg PUNC PAST
 (negotiate)
 (lit.) 'One made a deal (negotiated) insistently in order that they did not go from right here'

12.4. DIRECT SPEECH

Warao allows direct-quote complements only with the utterance verb dibukitane 'to say'. The Warao speaker merely treats the direct quote complement as a more-or-less verbatim quotation. Conversely, indirect-quote complements do not occur in the language. In these respects, Warao behaves as most languages, in which indirection "is absent probably because it implies a certain paraphrase that leads to take editorial responsibilities on the part of speakers. Those responsibilities are reflected in the control of co-reference pronouns. Thus, speakers of such languages take a much more limited responsibility restricting themselves to direct-quotes, which, of course, exert less editorial "padding" (Givón, 1983:121).

In Warao, the quote (or speech being quoted) occurs

sentence-initially, in the position generally taken by sentential objects and complements. Examples are shown in (6). Although indirect quotation is not found in the language, there is a verb suffix -yama 'BY HSY' (= 'by hearsaying'), that expresses the non-responsibility of the speaker for the speech he employs and which transmits almost textual information from other source. In this sense, -yama 'BY HSY' suggests indirection:

- (61) warao a wahabara nahamutu arai warao -tuma
 Warao of fore sky on Warao PL
 (Before the Warao)

haku -a -e -yama
 live PUNC PAST BY HSY
 (lit.) 'The Warao lived on the skies at the beginning of mankind, it is said', or
 'It is said that the Warao lived on the skies at the beginning of mankind'

However, -yama 'BY HSY' is used in association with the periphrastic legendary past adverbials of the language, within narratives handed down for generations. Thus, as it might be expected, -yama 'BY HSY' has a restricted usage and it is very seldom, if ever, heard in everyday speech. Independently from these last considerations, -yama 'BY HSY' is a significant indicator that the speaker is transmitting someone else's comments, which is a manifestation of indirection.

14. REFLEXIVES/RECIPROCALLS

There is no morphological distinction between reflexives and reciprocals. Reflexivity is expressed exclusively by the verbal prefix yori- 'REF' which also covers reciprocals. yori- attaches to intransitive and transitive verbs:

- (62) a. ine yori- hokara -te
 I REF wash NON-PAST
 'I wash myself'
- b. ihi a hiaka yori- aba -te
 you of garment REF put on NON-PAST
 'You yourself put on that dress of yours'
- c. ka- beroro -tuma yori- kanuy -a -e
 1pl.POS perro PL REF wound PUNC PAST
 (dog)
 'The dogs wounded each other'

The same prefix also attaches to the dative postposition to/for and the agentive postposition aisia 'by' making composites that replace respectively the indirect objects and underlying transitive subjects with which they come along. In such cases, the antecedents of these composites are either in preceding sentences:

- (63) yori- aisia ribu -i -ha
 REF by say COMP PERF
 '(I/you/he) has/have (been) said by
 (myself/yourself/himself)'

or in the same sentence:

- (64) nebu -tuma tuatane yori- saba war -a -e
 young men PL thus REF o speak PUNC PAST
 'The young men spoke each other thus (in that manner)'

yori- 'REF' also transmits an idea of uniformity in the performing of group activities. For example:

- (65) a. yori- kayuka kubaki -te
 REF all fight NON-PAST
 'All of you fight as one man'
- b. kokotuya yori- wara -ki -tia
 everybody REF sing INT HAB
 'Everybody is going to sing with one voice (in unison) as usual'

In expressing this last meaning, the reflexive may attach to verbs, nouns or pronouns.

15. FOCUS (Romero-Figueroa, 1985)

Warao permits variations from the basic OSV order. For example, S is moved to initial position in question-word questioning:

- (66) sina tama -ha ribu -te -ra
 who this NOM say NON-PAST INTERROG
 'Who says that?'

The sentence initial occurrence of S in (66) may be accounted for by an obligatory rule of WH-QUESTION MOVEMENT. In (66), the focal point has been fronted. The concept focal point or focus here is somewhat similar to that of new information: it applies to what is requested through the question rather than to what is already common knowledge or presupposed. Thus, the fronting of the focus is a dominant device for question formation in Warao. Since all major sentence constituents may be questioned in the language, when WH-movement operates upon sentences having multiple objects, i.e., sentences containing direct objects plus indirect objects with or without obliques, or sentences containing several oblique objects, such movements have the effect of reversing the position of some of them respecting the others. For instance, the questioning of the direct object of a sentence such as in (67)

(67) buare aisiko ibure hua n -ra -e
 machete with wild pig Juan kill PUNC PAST
 (big knife) (John)
 'John killed a wild pig with a machete'

implies the fronting of such a direct object which makes the oblique appear after the direct object in the interrogative form of the sentence:

(68) kasikaha buare aisiko hua
 what machete with Juan
 (big knife) (John)

 n -a -e -ra
 kill PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'What did John kill with the machete?'

S fronting and the reversing of the order of O's is common in statements as well. In such cases, variations from the basic order are conditioned by the discourse environment, marking a diversity of functions including focus--this time highlighting, and providing new information rather than requesting it as in the case of interrogatives. A FOCUS FRONTING RULE may account for orders different from OSV in statements. The operation of this rule is illustrated below:

(69) a. atono saba yasi yak -era tai nisa -te
 Antonio for hat goodness AUGM he buy NON-PAST
 (Anthony)
 'He will buy a good hat for Anthony'

b. tai atono saba yasi yak -era nisa -te
 he Antonio for hat goodness AUGM buy NON-PAST
 (Anthony)
 'It is him who will buy a hat for Anthony'

c. yasi yak -era atono saba tai nisa -te
 hat goodness AUGM Antonio for he buy NON-PAST
 (Anthony)
 'A good hat is what he will buy for Anthony'

It seems very likely that in OSV and DATIVE OSV sentences, a constraint against fronting more than one constituent in a sentence regulates the operativity of the FOCUSING RULE. In fact, it may be noticed that when S, or direct O, is fronted, no movement of other constituents takes place. In my view, the constrained operativity of the FOCUS FRONTING RULE acts in favor of my hypothesis of OSV as the basic order in the language.

Furthermore, some obliques may appear post-verbally. This is particularly true of OSV and DATIVE OSV sentences with obliques in which the latter may be thought to be more peripheral constituents. It is my contention that the more peripheral a constituent of the Warao basic simplex sentence is, the freer its placement:

a. ama ebe hanokosebe eku -ya kasiri aisiko
 moment before village in ALL kasiri with
 (time ago)

 hoho airamo -tuma aban -a -e
 feast chief PL organize PUNC PAST
 'The chiefs organized a feast with kasiri in(to) the
 village (some) time ago'

b. hanokosebe eku -ya ama ebe hoho airamo -tuma
 village in ALL moment before feast chief PL
 (time ago)

 aban -a -e kasiri aisiko
 organize PUNC PAST kasiri with
 'It was in(to) the village, (some) time ago, that
 the chiefs organized a feast with kasiri'

a. ho muhoko rau arai warao isaka
 water side of trunk on Warao one

tobo -n -a -e
 sit down sg PUNC PAST
 'One Warao sat down on a tree trunk on the side of
 the river'

- b. dau arai ho muhoko warao isaka
trunk on water side of Warao one

tobo -n -a -e
sit down sg PUNC PAST
'It was on a tree trunk on the side of the river
that one Warao sat down'

- c. warao isaka dau arai tobo -n -a -e
Warao one trunk on sit down sg PUNC PAST

ho mukoho
water side of
'It was one Warao who sat down on a tree trunk on
the side of the river'

(70-71) show that obliques may appear in several different places within sentences. But obliques often precede or follow other OSV sequences; at least this is true of sentences having direct O's such as the ones in (70), as well as sentences containing several obliques such as those in (71). (71c), which is the only sentence within (71) not exhibiting OSV order, reflects the operation of the FOCUS FRONTING RULE upon the subject of the sentence; therefore, (71c) has to be S-initial. It might be thought that the basic position of the more peripheral constituents within the Warao basic simplex sentence is final, and that they are fronted by the FOCUS FRONTING RULE in a way similar to that of moving subjects, direct objects, etc. I find such possibilities inappropriate since as (71c) shows, the FOCUS FRONTING RULE would have to front more than one sentential constituent at a time. I have pointed out earlier in this analysis that there is a constraint against a fronting movement of more than one constituent; such a constraint favors my OSV word order hypothesis and, clearly, my accepting of a multifronting operation for the FOCUSING RULE would weaken it since I would be using rules to explain free order rather than OSV order. I view the change in position of some obliques as motivated by a kind of relationship that operate in discourse called staging relationships. Grimes (1975:113) points out that "staging relationships are concerned with expressing the speaker's perspective on what is being said". Additionally, Grimes (1975:323) indicates that "every clause, sentence, paragraph, episode and discourse is organized around a particular element that is taken as its point of departure. It is as though the speaker presents what he wants to say from a particular perspective. I find it convenient to think in terms of how various units are staged for the hearer's benefit".

To explain staging in Warao, focusing must be brought again into discussion. I have already mentioned that new information in Warao tends to appear in sentence initial position, which

focuses it. Since the sentence initial positioning of new information in the language is implemented by the FOCUS FRONTING RULE, such a rule, for example, fronts the oblique hangkosebe ekuya 'in(to) the village' in (70b). In (71c), the FOCUSING RULE fronts the subject warao isaka 'one Warao' in a way similar to that in which the rule operates upon the oblique in (70b). The moving of other sentential constituents in (70b) and (71c) may be considered a consequence of the operation of the FOCUSING RULE to front those constituents representing new information, i.e. hangkosebe ekuya and warao isaka, which are now "centered on the stage" (Grimes, 1975:325). The relocation of the obliques kasiri aisiko 'with kasiri' in (70b) and ho mukoho 'on the side of the river' in (71c) --both representing packages of old information--depends upon the speaker's consideration of them as secondary or unimportant enough as to be side-staged or placed far from the center of the stage occupied by the new information or focus.

16. ELLIPSIS

Ellipsis takes place when there is absolutely no reference to the clause or fragment thereof to a clearly understood entity or action, and when the structure in question allows covert inclusion of such a reference. Ellipsis in Warao is common in the following contexts:

(1) Paratactic clauses (coordinates):

- (72) O honinako -te noboto -ma kotobu -te
dive NON-PAS boy PL play NON-PAST
'The boys play (and) (the boys) dive'

- (73) noboto -ma O anibaka rau kabata -e
boy PL young girl weed cut NON-PAST
'The boys (cut weeds) (and) and the girls cut weeds'

(72-73) shows that coordinate constituents may be omitted in a clause when identical to the constituents of the immediately preceding or following clause.

An analogous case of ellipsis in paratactic clauses occurs in comparatives, as shown in (74)

- (74) sikaro dihab -era O simo dihaba sabuka ha
sugar cane sweet AUGM honey sweet less COP
'Sugar cane (is) sweet. Honey is less sweet.'

(ii) Hypotactic (embedded) clauses:

(74) oriwaka ine burata 0 ha -kore abana -te
 dance I plata COP COND organize NON-PAST
 (money)
 'I will organize a dance if (I) have money'

(74) exemplifies the case of an elliptical subject within the embedded clause burata hakore 'If (I) have money', which keeps identity with the subject of the main clause oriwaka ine abate 'I will organize a dance'. (74) illustrates intra-sentential coreferentiality.

(iii) Short answers to questions:

(75) A: ma kaika ihi nao -naka ta -e -ra
 1sg.O with you come NEG AUX PAST INTERROG
 'Don't you come with me?'

B: 0 nao -naka
 come NEG
 '(I) don't come'

(76) A: sina okoho -a -e -ra
 who shout PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'Who shouted?'

B: hi- rani 0
 2sg.POS mother
 'Your mother'

In cases of elliptical answers to yes/no questions, such as in (75), any constituent other than the verb may be left out. For question-word questions (and echo questions as well), any constituent may be elided.

(iv) Copulative sentences:

The copula is omitted very frequently. It seems that, in Warao, the copula is the LOCUS for past tense. Non-past tense is not marked in the copula. The copula in this language is a sort of semantically-empty dummy verb. Copulative sentences, temporarily unmarked simply do not need the dummy carrier:

(77) a. dima a kabesekuhu irida 0
 father of pair of pants bigness
 'The pants of my father (are) big'

b. iboma -ma siborori ha -e
 girl PL happiness COP PAST
 'The girls were happy'

(v) Passive constructions:

Transitive subjects of passives may, or may not, be overtly expressed. Occurrences of elliptical passives transitive subjects usually imply identity across sentence boundaries, i.e., their antecedents are in any preceding sentence. In active passives, the agentive postposition aisia 'by' introduces the underlying transitive subject, whereas the verb of the sentence (or the auxiliary if necessary) suffixes the copulative past tense marker -i 'COMP' and the perfective aspect marker -ha 'PERF':

(78) a. tama -ha a namu ma aisia nona -i -ha
 this NOM of container 1sg.O by make COMP PERF
 (lit.) 'The container of this one was made by me'

b. tama -ha a namu 0 aisia nona -i -ha
 this NOM of container by make COMP PERF
 'The container of this one was made (He didn't make it, but someone else did)'

The elided transitive subject of the passive leaves the postposition aisia 'by' as a trace, which makes eminently clear that a doer exist, even when it remains unspecified.

(vi) Possessive phrases:

In Warao, a-possessive noun phrases may be reduced by eliding the possessor, with retention of the postposition a. Elliptical a-possessives take place under anaphoric correspondences, depending upon who the speakers are and their roles in the events being narrated:

(79) a. tai a nibora ribu -n -a -e
 she of man say sg PUNC PAST
 'The husband of hers said'

b. 0 a nibora ribu -n -a -e
 of man say sg PUNC PAST
 'The husband (of hers) said (the wife is speaking)'

(80) a. warao sanera a noboto -ma saba oko ka- nahoro
 Warao poverty of child PL to we 1pl.POS food

mo -a -e
 give PUNC PAST
 'We gave our food to the children of the poor people'

b. 0 a noboto -ma saba oko ka- nahoro
 of child PL to we 1pl.POS food

mo -a -e
 give PUNC PAST
 'We gave our food to the children (of the poor people)'

Such as in the case of passives, a 'of', as a trace, ensures the existence of an unmentioned possessor.

17. ANAPHORA

The presence of full noun phrases is generally interpreted as a signal of pragmatically-marked contexts. Such items often introduce new information in discourse or clarify referents when sufficient ambiguity has arisen in a piece of speech. For Warao, this assertion seems to be rather valid because full noun phrases have a low rate of occurrence in speech, as compared, for instance, with free and bound pronouns, which are primary means of referring to participants in discourse. Free and bound pronouns couple with contextual information that helps to identify participants, allowing a proper development of the speech sequences and favoring adequate interpretation of the messages:

(81) a. warao isiko nahoro -bu -n -a -e
 Warao one eat ITER sg PUNC PAST
 'A Warao ate repeatedly'

b. tai nahoro abana -kore ta -n -a -e -yama
 he food serve COND AUX sg PUNC PAST BY HSY

0 obonobu -n -a -e sina tama -tika
 think sg PUNC PAST someone this LOC

nao -te
 come NON-PAST
 'It is said that when he served food, he thought someone comes right here'

c. dihase -mo 0 ine mi -te -ine
 hideout ABL I see NON-PAST I
 'I will see (him) from a hideout'

d. aru a bahubu kabana nokaba 0
 manioc of stems slash behind

dihl -n -a -e
 hide sg PUNC PAST
 'He hid behind slashed stems of manioc'

e. tama -tika -mo tai nabaka -te kotai 0
 his LOC ABL he arrive NON-PAST REL

mi -ki -tia -ine
 see INT HAB I
 'I am going to see from right here he (the one) that arrives'

(81) represents a piece of narrative by a chief giving explanations about how some events happening in his village outskirts developed. In this particular narrative, the contents of sentences (81a), (81b) and (81d) clearly differentiate from those in (81c) and (81e): whereas the former group provides orientational information (given by the narrator), the latter presents the action as if it were spoken by the actor himself (also given by the narrator). Both groups of contents exhibit some free pronouns, such as tai 'he' and tamaba 'this one' which always need to have, either intra- or extra-sentential, coreferents. In fact, tai 'he' and warao 'one Warao' in (81a) and (81b) corefer, and tai 'he' in (81a) corefers with tamaha 'that one' in (81b). tamaha 'this one' in (81b) lacks a coreferent and rather introduces a new character. Further, ine 'I' in (81c) and (81e), as a bound subjective pronoun, marks a highly topical character already mentioned by way of its coreferent the free pronoun ine 'I'. Both (81c) and (81e), exemplify typical cases of intra-sentential coreferentiality with emphatic overtones.

Moreover, the verb number marker -na 'sg' in several of the sentences of the narrative in (81) sets up a sort of coreferential relationship with the sentential subjects (see ()]. Number keeps identity with singular subjects, mainly third person ones (when other singular persons appear as subjects, the number marker often remains unexpressed). Due to the fact that third person subjects are usually left out, the number marker in the verb acts as a meaning-preserving device.

18. RELATIVES (Romero-Figueroa, 1994)

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the distinction between restrictive (henceforth rc) and non-restrictive (henceforth nrc) clauses within relative clauses (henceforth RC) appears

to be irrelevant.

Warao relatives fit Comrie's characterization of RC as a construction consisting necessarily of a head noun and a rc which restricts such a head noun by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referent of the overall sentence (Comrie, 1981:136). In agreement with Comrie's characterization, Keenan (1985:141) points out that RC's are full noun phrases consisting of a determiner, a common noun and an rc. Keenan adds that semantically the common noun (henceforth N) determines a class of objects, called the domain of relativization and the rc identifies the sub-set of the domain, those elements which satisfy the condition given by the RC. In Warao RC's, the domain N occurs within the rc, which makes them internal (as opposed for instance to English, in which the domain N occurs outside the rc):

- (82) ima -ya domu nari -te kotai mi -kitane
 night ALL bird fly NON-PAST REL see INFINIT
- nao -kotu
 come 2pl.IMP
 'You all, come to see the bird that flies at night'

In (82), the rc imaya narite kotai 'that flies at night' is split by domu 'bird', the domain N. Thus, the RC imaya domu narite kotai 'the bird that flies at night' is clearly of the internal class. In Warao, subject and object nouns may be relativized. The relativizer item is kotai 'REL'.

SECTION THREE: MORPHOLOGY

Morphologically, Warao is a highly-inflective language that profusely uses both prefixation and suffixation. On the grounds of such a morphological trait, the first distinction that is relevant for the Warao parts-of-speech system is that between nominals and verbs. Nominals group all those speech parts that totally or partially share a common set of prefixes and/or suffixes. Verbs differentiate from nominals given their particular set of prefixes and suffixes, which do not overlap. Nominals include nouns (within which attributive nouns--or adjective-like items--are sub-classed since they are not fully differentiated from nouns), numerals, pronouns and adverbials (normally denominals attaching noun inflection markers). Verbs are represented by both finite and non-finite forms. Postposition is a closed class of syntactic relationals. Finally, determiners constitute a class of its own.

PL NOUNS

Nouns inflect for possession, case and number. Prefixal and suffixal ordering is as exemplified in (83)

- (83) a. hi- rakoi -(tu)ma -to
 2sg.POS sister PL DAT
 'For/to your sisters'
- b. ma- tira -si
 1sg.POS woman DAT
 'For/to my wife'
- c. domu -tuma
 bird PL
 'birds'

- d. raka -ma
 younger brother DAT
 'For/to (his) younger brother'
- e. ka- handko -tuma -mo
 1pl.POS house PL ABL
 'From our house'
- f. dani
 father
 'His/her father'
- g. tukubita -ya
 Tucupita ALL
 'To Tucupita'
- h. yatu wahibaka -te
 2pl.POS canoe LOC
 '(With)in your canoe'
- i. h- uhu
 2sg.POS basket
 'Your basket'

As (83) shows, the possession, number and case markers may be adjacent to roots, although if they appear sequentially, the number suffixes will precede the case ones, which will always be in a closing position.

19.1. Possession

The possession markers fall into a group distinguishing three persons in singular and plural. The possession markers are presented in TABLE 1 below:

		FULL	SHORTENED
SINGULAR	1 person	ma-	m-
	2 person	hi-	h-
	3 person	∅	∅
PLURAL	1 person	ka-	k-
	2 person	yatu	
	3 person	∅	

TABLE 1: Possessive markers

As shown in TABLE 1, the possessive markers may be fully-realized or may occur with a loss of final vowels. The latter cases take place when prefix-final vowels and root-initial ones have the same quality. Possessive markers are exemplified in (83).

19.2. Number

Warao makes a morphological distinction between singular and plural nouns. The former are unmarked, whereas the latter take the marker -(tu)ma 'PL'. The full realization -tuma 'PL' is used in most situations, being the shortened variant -ma 'PL' restricted for a certain number of items, largely, kinship terms. As well, -ma 'PL' is used with some deverbial nouns referring to individuals within the family circle. Number markers are exemplified in (83).

19.3. Case

As illustrated in TABLE 2 below, there are at least 4 distinct case markers in Warao: DAT(ive), LOC(ative), ALL(ative) and ABL(ative):

DAT	-(i)si	'to/for'
	-(m)a	'to/for'
	-to	'to/for'
LOC	-no	'in/on'
	-te	'in/on'
ALL	-ya	'to/through'
ABL	-mo	'from'

TABLE 2: Case-markers

Warao case-marks nouns mostly functioning as peripheral sentential constituents, let's say indirect objects and obliques or adjuncts, outside the subject/direct object core. Such case markers convey temporal and spatial meanings within the orientational system of the language.

Since Warao lacks markers for subjects and indirect objects, and its dative marking process partly implies temporality, it might be rather said that Warao possesses local functions expressing local oppositions.

DAT is used to express several different meanings. Animate nouns take DAT to indicate beneficiary, in particular, within the indirect object of verbs of giving, as in (84)

- (84) dima -si raukuaha tai kona -te
 father DAT fruit he bring NON-PAST
 'He brings fruit for his father'

Further, DAT can perform a temporal function adding a special time reference to nouns. For example:

- (85) hoira -ma warao -tuma yaro -te
 rainy season DAT Warao PL return NON-PAST
 'The Warao will return for the rainy season (they will spend their time in the village then)'

LOC serves as a general marker of static location, as illustrated in (86)

- (86) dima -no ha
 father LOC COP
 'He/she is at his/her father's place'

Co-occurring with telic motion verbs, it can also mark movement towards. The use of LOC in the latter sense, as opposed to ALL, carries an additional implication that the goal would be reached in the course of motion, for example:

- (87) bare a hanoko -ira -no ine naru -te
 father of house AUG LOC I go NON-PAST
 (priest)
 'I go to the mission house (the speaker is approaching the place as he speaks)'

ALL is used to denote movement towards a place in a locative sense. Additionally, verbs of perception assign ALL to the object of perception. Both cases are respectively exemplified in (88) and (89)

- (88) hanoko -ya riekeo naru -te
 house ALL Diego go NON-PAST
 'Diego goes to his house'

- (89) dau -era -ya oko mi -a -e
 tree AUG ALL we see PUNC PAST
 (jungle)
 'We turned our eyes towards (in the direction of) the jungle'

ABL is used to indicate source, in particular, the source of motion, as in (90) or the source argument co-occurring with verbs of taking, as in (91)

- (90) naba -ira -mo ururu -ira nao -n -a -e
 creek AUGM ABL noise AUGM come sg PUNC PAST
 (river)
 'A big noise came from the river'

- (91) dima ebika -no musimo -tuma auka -mo
 father front of LOC karib people PL child ABL

- nas -a -e
 take away PUNC PAST
 'The Carib people took the child away from his father (in front of his eyes)', or
 'The Karib deprived the father of his child (in front of his eyes)'

19.4. Other suffixes of nouns

Apart from possession, number and case markers considered in preceding sections, which represent a wide portion of the Warao inflectional morphology, nouns can take certain suffixes, always preceding number and case markers in morphemes, expressing referential meanings. These suffixes are part of the derivational morphology of the language.

There are 10 suffixes that fulfill N=>N derivative functions:

- (i) -baka 'quantity, property, or characteristic'
- (ii) a. bure 'craziness'
 bure -baka 'one that is in a state of craziness'
- b. hekuhu 'smoke'
 hekuho -baka 'something that puffs'
- c. nibora 'man'
 nibora -baka 'a woman having a husband'
- (iii) -roko 'addiction to, or attraction for'
- (iv) a. ahimu 'kind of ant'
 ahimu -roko 'one that is fond of ants', or
 'ant-eater'
- b. rakotu 'song'
 rakotu -roko 'one that likes music', or
 'singer'

- (iii) -noko 'pertinent place'
- (94) a. omu 'foot'
omu -noko 'trail', or
'place of the feet'
- b. diara 'fever'
diara -noko 'hospital', or
'place of the fever'
- (iv) -ina 'collective location'
- (95) a. naku 'turtle'
naku -ina 'place of many turtles'
- b. muhu 'kind of ant'
muhu -ina 'place of many ants', or
'ant nest'
- (v) -sebe 'quantity, set of something'
- (96) a. hara 'arm'
hara -sebe 'centipede'
- b. hanoko 'house'
hanoko -sebe 'village'
- (vi) -witu 'high intensity or incidence'
- (97) a. naba 'creek'
naba -witu 'network of creeks'
- (vii) -wari 'length'
- (98) a. hahe 'paddle'
hahe -wari 'the long part of the paddle'
- (viii) -uka 'diminutive, decreasing amount'
- (99) a. isaka 'one'
isaka -uka 'alone'
- b. boto 'soft'
boto -uka 'thin' or 'weak'
- (ix) -ira/-era 'augmentative, increasing amount'
- (100) a. naba 'creek'
naba -ira 'river'
- b. nibora 'man'
nibora -era 'giant'

(x) -(ro)tu 'owner'

- (101) a. ibihi 'venom'
ibihi -rotu 'owner of the venom', or
'shaman'

The above listed derivational suffixes do not attach to nouns solely, but some of them also take place with verbs turning these into nouns. In fact, verbs bring about the largest amount of derivative nouns because in addition Warao has a general nominalizing suffix which is fully productive. The V=>N derivative suffixes are:

- (i) -na/-ha 'general nominalizer'
- (102) a. ena 'to laugh'
ena -na 'laugh'
- (ii) -baka 'quality, property, or characteristic'
- (103) a. sinaka 'to faint'
sinaka -baka 'one that has fainting attacks'
- (iii) -roko 'addiction to, or attraction for'
- (104) a. nahoro 'to eat'
nahoro -roko 'one who eats a lot'
- (iv) -noko 'pertinent place'
- (105) a. esihari 'to pound into'
esihari -noko 'workshop'
- b. uba 'to sleep'
uba -noko 'bed'
- (v) -(ho)tu 'doer, performer'
- (106) a. enamina 'to teach'
enamina -tu 'teacher'
- b. mi 'to see'
mi -hotu 'witness'

13.5. Attributive nouns

In Warao, there is not clear-cut distinction between nouns and adjectives. Nevertheless, Warao nouns may function as (adjective-like) attributives modifying other nouns in larger nominal constructions, such as noun phrases, in which they

are always second members. Within this context, such attributives behave similarly to their head nouns in that they can--under agreement-- inflect for number, although they never display possession and case markers when modifying. Examples are shown in (107-109)

(107) hiaka yak -era auka saba
garment beauty AUGM daughter for

tai nisa -n -a -e
she buy sg PUNC PAST
'She bought a beautiful dress for her daughter'

(108) wara -era -tuma hoko -tuma ehobo -a -e
heron AUGM PL any shade PL flock PUNC PAST
of a light
color
'Big white herons flocked'

(109) he haiha -tuma damana nobo -tuma
crab freshness PL some grandfather PL

moa -n -a -e
give sg PUNC PAST
'The grandfather gave some fresh crabs'

In (107), hiaka yakera (lit.) 'a dress to which much beauty is attributed', or 'a beautiful dress' is a noun phrase in which yakera 'much beauty' modifies hiaka 'garment', the head noun. (108) exemplifies the attributive noun hoko 'any shade of a light color'--which under a condition of agreement with its head noun takes the plural marker--modifying waraeratuma 'big herons'. (109) contains a [(noun) + (attributive noun)] phrase in which the number marker is attached only to the second member. In modifying roles as those in (107-109), attributive nouns may attach the derivational suffixes listed in 19.4.

In addition, attributive nouns can be used as subject complements in attributive copulatives:

(110) ine noho ha
I hunger COP
(lit.) 'I am in hunger', or
'I am hungry'

In copulatives as in (110), attributives are always adjacent to copulas, both being preceded by subjects in sentence-initial position. If adverbials appear in copulatives, these must either precede or follow the [attributive noun + COP] segment. For example:

(111) natu riara -noko -no nobara ha
grandmother fever place LOC sickness COP
(lit.) 'The grandmother is in a condition of sickness in the hospital'

Further, Warao possesses the derivational suffix -ira 'STAT', which gets attached to attributive nouns, turning them into stative verbs. The general stativizer -ira 'STAT' is very productive in the language [See 9.].

20. DETERMINERS

20.1. Demonstrative determiners

This is a class of three members which shares with nouns the suffixation of the number marker -tuma 'PL'. The paradigm of Warao demonstrative determiners is presented in TABLE 3 below

1. PROXIMAL	
SINGULAR	PLURAL
<u>tama</u> 'this'	<u>tama -tuma</u> 'these'
2. DISTAL	
SINGULAR	PLURAL
<u>ta(i)</u> 'that'	<u>ta -tuma</u> 'those'
<u>ama</u> 'that yonder'	<u>ama -tuma</u> 'those yonder'
TABLE 3: Demonstrative determiners	

The items in TABLE 3 are part of a small set of definite determiners, which locate their heads with respect to the syntactic center of the speech situation in at least three degrees of distance. Such demonstrative determiners may indistinctly precede or follow head nouns within noun phrases, though postceding seems to be most widely spread:

(112) a. noboto -ma ta -tuma
child PL that PL
'Those children'

- b. ta -tuma noboto -ma
that PL child PL
'Those children'

20.2. Interrogative and indefinite determiners

As in a number of Amazonian languages, Warao has a small set of determiners which show two major uses: indefinite and interrogative. These are

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| a. <u>sina</u> | 'who/some/any' |
| b. <u>kasikaha</u> | 'what/some/any' |

TABLE 4: Interrogative and indefinite determiners

The two major senses for each determiner are linked. What the determiners indicate is that the identity of an entity is not known to the speaker. The interrogative sense may be engendered, depending on context although it may be morphologically instantiated by the verb suffix -ra 'INTERROG'. This process is exemplified in (113)

INTERROGATIVE

- (113) warao -tuma sina yaota rubuhi -te -ra
Warao PL who work hurry NON-PAST INTERROG
'Who Warao will hurry their work?'

- (114) ama a hokohi kasikaha eku yatu
(to)day what in you

naru -te -ra
go NON-PAST INTERROG
'In what day will you go?'

INDEFINITE

- (115) osibu oko yab -a -e nobo -tuma sina
morokoto we fish PUNCT PAST grandfather PL who
(kind of fish)

ribu -a -e
say PUNCT PAST
'Some grandfathers said "we fished morokoto"'

- (116) wahibaka -no kasikaha ine hokata -te
canoe LDC what I get on NON-PAST
'I will get on in any canoe'

Besides the above-mentioned indefinite determiners, Warao possesses a large number of items which lack precision for identifying or quantifying. They may be considered indefinite determiners. Modifying quantifiers and partitives seem to fit in this sub-class of determiners. They are:

- (i) isaka 'one'

- (117) nobo isaka
grandfather one
'A grandfather', or
'One grandfather'

- (ii) isaka isaka 'some'

- (118) warao isaka isaka haka -n -a -e
Warao some flee sg PUNCT PAST
'Some Warao fled'

- (iii) damana 'some, a part of'

- (119) tira ramana ribu ana ta -n -a -e
woman a part of word no remain sg PUNCT PAST
'A part of the woman remained silent'

- (iv) damana ramana 'few, little'

- (120) korobisoro ramana ramana mi -a -e
Korobisoro few see PUNCT PAST
(kind of plant)
'I saw few korobisoro plants'

- (v) daisa 'another, other'

- (121) kobenahoro raisa ahubu -n -a -e
governador another appoint sg PUNCT PAST
(governor)
'(He) appointed another governor (a new one)'

- (vi) ekira/ana 'no'

- (122) yarakota ekira ebe warao -tuma waba -te
medicine no because Warao PL die NON-PAST
'The Warao die because of the lack of medicines'

(vii) katamona 'amount or quantity of'

(123) he katamona kona -te ine namina -naka
 crab amount bring NON-PAST I know NEG
 'I do not know (the amount of crabs) (but) I bring an
 amount of crabs'

(viii) sibi 'half (part of something)'

(124) toi a botoro a sibi ine nisa -te
 oil of bottle of half I buy NON-PAST
 'I will buy half a bottle of oil'

(ix) kari 'quarter, or small fraction (of something)'

(125) dau kari ma saba warao isaka kabat -a -e
 stick quart 1sg.O for Warao one cut PUNC PAST
 'One Warao cut a quart of the stick for me'

(x) deko 'both'

(126) noboto -ma reko
 child PL both
 'Both children'

(xi) kokotuka 'every'

(127) ama a hokohi kokotuka
 (to)day every
 'every day'

(xii) kayuka 'all'

(128) ka- nahoro kayuka oko ha
 1pl.POS food all we COP
 'We have all our food'

(xiii) kuarika 'more'

(129) hobi kuarika ma saba aba -nu
 drink more 1sg.O for pour 2sg.IMF
 (lit.) 'You, pour more drink for me!'

(xiv) sabuka/yahoto 'less/little/few'

(130) dibu yahoto
 word few
 'laconic'

21. NUMERALS

Three classes of numerals can be distinguished: cardinal, ordinal and distributive.

21.1. Cardinals

Cardinals partially inflect for case and are normally used as nouns. The basic cardinal numbers are five, as shown in TABLE 5:

<u>isaka</u>	'one'
<u>mana</u> -mo pair ABL '(fingers) coming from in a pair'	'two'
<u>dihana</u> -mo bunch ABL '(fingers) coming from in a bunch'	'three'
<u>oro</u> -baka -ya unlevel property ALL '(all of the fingers) having the property of being unlevelled'	'four'
<u>moho basi</u> hand flat 'the extended hand'	'five'
TABLE 5: Basic cardinals	

Beyond mohobasi 'five', nouns are derived by compounding. To understand such a process and the resulting meanings, the morphology of the simple cardinals need to be further examined. A relevant feature of these cardinals is that their meanings correlate with the anatomical behavior observed in fingers and hands. The explanations are presented in (131)

(131) a. isaka 'one' = the forefinger

- b. manamo 'two' = the pair of fingers that naturally get together when the hand is shown, i.e., forefinger and the middle finger
- c. dihanamo 'three' = The group of fingers that gets together with ease, as opposed to the natural resistance to cluster observed in the distal units: thumb and the little finger. The group is made out of the forefinger, the middle finger and the ring finger
- d. orabakaya 'four' = the fingers that go up at different levels, i.e., the forefinger, the middle finger, the ring finger and the little finger
- e. mohobasi 'five' = The extended right hand with its five fingers (the left hand is not considered for this purposes)

It is worth noting that the first five unities refer to finger arrangements of the right hand which combine with finger arrangements of its counterpart--or the left hand--to give rise to the remaining unities up to ten. All of these compound cardinals involve the first five unities as second members, as shown in TABLE 6:

<u>moho matana isaka</u> hand counterpart one (one finger of the counterpart hand. The five fingers of the right hand are already included in the count)	'six'
<u>moho matana manamo</u>	'seven'
<u>moho matana rihanamo</u>	'eight'
<u>moho matana orabakaya</u>	'nine'
<u>moho reko</u> hand both	'ten'

TABLE 6: Compound cardinals up to ten

Above mohoreko 'ten', the names of the numerals are formed periphrastically, linking the corresponding names for 'hundreds', 'tens and unities' by means of the postposition arai 'on/over', as shown in TABLE 7:

<u>mohoreko arai isaka</u> both hands over one (one finger over the fingers of both hands)	'eleven'
<u>mohoreko arai manamo</u>	'twelve'
<u>mohoreko arai rihanamo</u>	'thirteen'
<u>mohoreko arai oribakaya</u>	'fourteen'
<u>mohoreko arai mohobasi</u> both hands over extended hand (the ten fingers of both hands over the five fingers of another hand)	'fifteen'
<u>mohoreko arai moho matana isaka</u> (one finger of the counterpart hand over the fingers of both hands, implying that the right hand is already included)	'sixteen'
<u>mohoreko arai moho matana manamo</u>	'seventeen'
<u>mohoreko arai moho matana dihanamo</u>	'eighteen'
<u>mohoreko arai moho matana orabakaya</u>	'nineteen'
<u>warao isaka</u> Warao one (one Warao with all his fingers and toes)	'twenty'
<u>warao isaka arai isaka</u> <u>warao isaka arai mohoreko</u>	'twenty one' 'thirty'
<u>warao manamo</u> Warao two	'forty'
<u>warao mohabasi</u> Warao extended hand (five Warao)	'hundred'

TABLE 7: Periphrastic cardinals

The Warao cardinals are very seldom heard beyond the tens unless the need arises given an association with the tens habits borrowed from Spanish and the Hispanic people, for instance, with plata 'money' borrowing as Warao burata. burata 'money' generally demands precision in quantity/amount for

commercial transactions in the criollo style. For the purposes of expressing large amounts and quantities, the trend in Warao is to use indefinite determiners and pronouns. Further, the language may express large amounts and quantities by suffixing -witu 'high intensity or incidence' to nouns, as exemplified in (132)

- (132) *motoro ekira kasorina ekira ka- wa ekira*
 outboard no gasoline no 1pl.POS canoe no
 motor
- nahoro -witu ha*
 food H.Inc COP
 'We have no outboard motor, gasoline (and) our canoe
 (but) we have a lot of food'

21.2. Ordinals

Ordinals group two items meaning first and last, as specified in TABLE 8:

(i) wahabara 'first'

(133) a. *warao a wahabara*
 Warao of first
 'The first of the Warao'

b. *atono wahabara nabaka -n -a -e*
 Antonio first arrive sg PUNC PAST
 (Anthony)
 'Anthony arrived first'

(ii) wahukatu 'last'

(134) *ma- rehe a wahukatu*
 1sg.FOS story of last
 'The last of my stories'

TABLE 8: Ordinals

21.3. Distributives

Distributive numerals are expressed as postpositional phrases containing cardinals marked by saba 'for/to', as shown in (135) below

(135) a. *isaka isaka saba*
 one one for
 'One for one', or
 'One for each one'

b. *manamo isaka saba*
 two one for
 'Two for each one'

c. *dihanamo isaka saba*
 three one for
 'Three for each one'

All cardinals bring about corresponding distributives of the type exemplified in (135). Further, a sub-class of distributives is exclusively expressed as a postpositional phrase containing cardinals introduced by tane, which can be roughly glossed as English 'times'. tane 'times' postposed to a figure indicates the number of times an action occurs. For example:

(136) *isaka tane hobi -nu*
 one times drink 2sg.IMP
 'Drink (it) once'

(137) *dihanamo tane yatu hobi -ki -tia*
 three time you drink INT HAB
 'You are going to drink (it) three times as usual'

Distributives as the exemplified above always have adverbial function.

In addition, tane has one more distributional connotation used to refer to groups consisting of a certain number of members. In these cases, tane means approximately 'in/by'. The intended meaning is reached by postposing tane 'in/by' to reduplicated cardinals:

(138) *orabakaya orabakaya tane kokotuka orinaria*
 four four by everyone straight line

kanama -kotu
 stand 2pl.IMP
 'You all (with no exceptions), stand lining four by four'

23. PRONOUNS

On both, derivational and functional grounds, Warao pronouns can be grouped into demonstratives, personals, interrogatives and indefinites.

23.1. Demonstrative pronouns

The set of demonstrative determiners in TABLE 3, presented now in (139)

(139) a. PROXIMAL SINGULAR

tama 'this'

b. DISTAL SINGULAR

ta(i) 'that'
ama 'that yonder'

c. PROXIMAL PLURAL

tamatuma 'these'

d. DISTAL PLURAL

tatuma 'those'
amatuma 'those yonder'

becomes nominalized by attaching the nominalizing suffix -ha 'NOM' giving rise to the set of demonstrative pronouns of the language, such as shown in TABLE 9:

a. PROXIMATE SINGULAR

tama -ha 'this one'
this NOM

b. DISTAL SINGULAR

ta(i) 'that one'
that

ama -ha 'that one yonder'
that yonder NOM

c. PROXIMATE PLURAL

tama -ha -tuma 'these'
this NOM PL

d. DISTAL PLURAL

ta -tuma 'those'
that PL

ama -ha -tuma 'those yonder'
that yonder NOM PL

TABLE 9: Demonstrative pronouns

Examples of demonstrative pronominal usage are presented in (140) below

(140) a. tama -ha hi yehebu -te
this NOM 2sg.O call NON-PAST
'This one calls you'

b. tai ama -te nabaka -n -a -e
that one that yonder LOC arrive sg PUNC PAST
(in over there)
'That one arrived (in) over there'

c. ama -ha ehobo -n -a -e
that yonder NOM leave sg PUNC PAST
'That one yonder left'

d. ta -tuma noboto -ma yewer -a -e
that one PL child PL punish PUNC PAST
'These punished the children'

e. tama -ha k- abitu raisa
this one NOM 1pl.POS of other

ta -tuma abitu
that one PL of
'This one is ours. The others belong to these'

Moreover, demonstrative pronouns inflect for case denoting DAT and ABL functions. In the case of DAT-marked demonstratives, the suffix -(i)si 'to/for' gets attached to it to signal beneficiary. The resulting demonstrative often operates as an argument within the direct object, but less frequently is found within the direct object. -(i)si 'to/for' suffixes to the singular demonstrative pronouns tamaha 'this one', ta(i) 'that one' and amaha 'that yonder' bringing about

the forms tamahaisi 'to this one', taisi 'to that one' and amahaisi 'to that yonder'. However, the plural forms tamahatuma, hamama 'these', tatuma 'those' and amahatuma 'those yonder' never take -isi 'to/for', but rather postpose saba 'to/for', as illustrated in (141)

- (141) a. ta -isi bare mo -a -e
that one to father give PUNC PAST
(priest)
'The priest gave (things) to that one'
- b. ta -isi tama -ha nab -a -e
that one to this NOM spank PUNC PAST
(this one)
'This one spanked (to) that one'
- c. ure ama -ha -tuma saba ihi
malanga that yonder NOM PL to you
(those yonder)
- kona -n -a -e
bring sg PUNC PAST
'You brought malanga to those yonder'

For ABL-marked demonstratives, the suffix -mo 'from' is added to them to express source. Such as in the case of the DAT-marked demonstratives, -mo 'from' suffixation is restricted to the singular forms; the plural ones postpose ta 'from'. The set of ABL-marked demonstrative pronouns is offered in TABLE 10:

a. PROXIMAL SINGULAR

tamaha -mo 'from this one'
this one from

b. DISTAL SINGULAR

ta(i) 'from that one'
that one

amaha -mo 'from that one yonder'
that one yonder from

c. PROXIMAL PLURAL

tamahatuma ta 'from these'
these from

d. DISTAL PLURAL

tatuma ta 'from those'
those from

amahatuma ta 'from those yonder'
those yonder from

TABLE 10: ABL-marked demonstrative pronouns

(142) exemplifies ABL-marked demonstratives, as follows

- (142) a. tamaha -mo hoyo eburu -i -ha
this one from stone throw PUNC PERF
'A stone has (been) thrown from this one (referring to the place of origin)
- b. kokotuka tatuma ta non -a -e
everything those from make PUNC PAST
'Everything (was) made by those (the make comes from those)'

ABL-demonstratives generally function as obliques or adjuncts.

Also, demonstrative pronouns are very commonly found as elements of postpositional phrases acting as adjuncts of causal, comitative and instrumental nature:

- (143) tamaha kuare ine nao -a -e
this one because of I come PUNC PAST
'I came because of this one'

- (144) warao orabakaya tamahatuma kaika ha
Warao four those yonder with COP
'Four Warao are with those yonder'

- (145) sesareo amaha omi teribu -te
Cesar that one yonder without converse NON-PAST
(Caesar)
'Caesar speaks without that one yonder (he does not need his help in order to speak Warao)'

23.2. Personal pronouns (Romero-Figueroa, 1995)

In Warao, parts of the sets of personal pronouns are independent, or free morphemes in all of their possible

occurrences in sentences, whether they identify singular or plural persons. Also, parts of the sets of subject and object personal pronouns may be affixed, or bound, to verbs. These sets of bound morphemes are reduced in number, and they are restricted to the first and second singular person as well as the first person for both subject and object functions.

The subjective free pronouns (hereafter IND PRO's) and the bound ones (hereafter SUF PRO's) arrange in a system as follows in TABLE 11:

	IND PRO	SUF PRO	
1sg	ine	-ine	'I'
2sg	ihi	-ihi	'you'
3sg	tai	∅	'he/she/it'
1pl	oko	-oko	'we'
2pl	yatu	∅	'you'
3pl	tatuma	∅	'they'

TABLE 11: Free and bound subjective personal pronouns

The use of subjective IND PRO's is exemplified in (146-151) below:

(146) warao ine namina -te
 Warao I know NON-PAST
 'I know Warao (I speak Warao)'

(147) ho ihi hobi -naka ta -n -a -e
 water you drink NEG AUX sg PUNCT PAST
 'You did not drink water'

(148) aru tai nahoro -te
 manioc he eat NON-PAST
 'He eats manioc'

(149) osibu oko kona -te
 morokoto we bring NON-PAST
 (kind of
 fish)
 'We will bring morokoto'

(150) orobaka yatu war -a -e
 lie you speak PUNCT PAST
 'You all said a lie'

(151) naku tatuma mi -a -e
 monkey they see PUNCT PAST
 'They saw a monkey'

From the review of (146-151), the facts of importance about Warao subjective IND PRO's are: (i) they--if overtly expressed--are placed immediately before verbs; i.e., they are preverbal items, and (ii) they do not correlate with verb morphemes for the marking of agreement (the verbal suffix number -na 'sg' keeps identity with singular subjects--whether pronouns or full nouns--but, its main function seems to be that of helping to recover omitted subjects, particularly those in third singular person which are seldom uttered. Plural subjects have zero marking).

Differently from subjective IND PRO's, subjective SUF PRO's appear only as closing morphemes within verbal suffixal chains. The case is illustrated in (152-154) below

(152) wauta omi naru -ki -tia -ine
 Wauta without go INT HAB I
 'I am going to see Wauta as usual'

(153) dima nabaka -kore wa eku
 father arrive COND canoe in(side)

naru -ki -tia -ihi
 go INT HAB you
 'You are going inside the canoe as you usually do if/when your father arrive'

(154) yatu a noboto -ma mi -naka ta -te -oko
 you of child PL see NEG AUX NON-PAST we
 (lit.) 'We do not see the children of you'

Subjective SUF PRO's as those in (152-154) seem to be marked structures intended for specific purposes, depending upon who is speaking, to whom the speech is addressed, the topic into consideration and the place and time of such a speech co-occurrence. SUF PRO's are typical in styles of conversation used in Warao councils. In every day life conversation, SUF PRO's are hardly heard, if ever. It is my opinion, that SUF PRO's indeed are variants of the subjective pre-verbal IND PRO's that give the message in which appear a touch of authority associated with the most elevated statuses of the adamo'tuma 'chiefs', individuals that often use this type of pronominal realizations.

The set of object pronouns in Warao also shows free and bound (prefixed) forms (hereafter PREF PRO's) as it can be

seen in TABLE 12:

	IND PRO	PREF PRO		
1sg	ma	ma-	m-	'me'
2sg	hi	hi-	h-	'you'
3sg	tai	∅		'him/her/it'
1pl	ka	ka-	k-	'us'
2pl	yatu	∅		'you'
3pl	tatuma	∅		'they'

TABLE 12: Free and bound objective personal pronouns

Objective IND PRO's in Warao may function as direct and indirect objects, as well as obliques. Some of these functions are shown in (155-157)

DIRECT OBJECT

(155) a. ma airamo deri -n -a -e
1sg.O chief advise sg PUNC PAST
(me)
'The chief advised me'

b. tai ine nahoro -naka ta -n -a -e
3sg.O I eat NEG AUX sg PUNC PAST
(it)
'I did not eat it'

c. tatuma wauta mi -n -a -e
3pl.O Wauta see sg PUNC PAST
(them)
'Wauta saw them'

INDIRECT OBJECT

(156) a. ma saba tai rakoi sanuka
1sg.O to 3sg.O sister smallness
(me) (it)

ribu -n -a -e
say sg PUNC PAST
'My little sister said it to me'

b. hi saba buratana ine kona -te
2sg.O for plantain I bring NON-PAST
(you)
'I bring plantain for you'

c. ka saba hua mi -kitane nao -te
1pl.O to Juan see INFINIT come NON-PAST
(us) (John)
'John comes to see us'

OBLIQUE

(157) a. hatabu warao -tuma hata -n -a -e
arrow Warao PL spear sg PUNC PAST

tatuma aisia domu warao -tuma n -a -e
3pl.O with bird Warao PL kill PUNC PAST
(them)
'The Warao speared arrows. The Warao killed birds with them'

b. hi omi ine yaota -ki -tia
2sg.O without I work INT HAB
(you)
'I am going to work without you as usual'

Objective IND PRO's such as exemplified in (155-157) are generally introduced by postpositions.

Moreover, objective PREF PRO's attach to verbs as the leftmost morpheme within any possible prefixal chain. PREF PRO's often undergo morphological shortening depending upon whether they are directly attached to certain vowel initial verb roots and other vowel initial verb prefixes (Warao does not permit vowels of the same quality to come into contact). The prefixation process and its implications is illustrated in (158-159) below

(158) a. ma beroro -ira abu -bu -n -a -e
1sg.O dog AUGM bite ITER sg PUNC PAST
(me)
'The big dog bit me repeatedly'

b. ∅ beroro -ira m- abu -bu -n -a -e
dog AUGM 1sg.O bite ITER sg PUNC PAST
(me)
'The big dog bit me repeatedly'

(159) a. hi ine -witu e- namina -te
2sg.O I H.I. CAUS know NON-PAST
(you)
'I (no other) will teach (cause to know) you'

b. ∅ ine -witu h- e- namina -te
I H.I. 2sg.O CAUS know NON-PAST
(you)
'I (no other) will teach (cause to know) you'

23.3. Interrogative pronouns

Such as in the case of interrogative determiners, there is also only a general question word, sina 'who', which substitutes for animate nouns; and one, kasikaha 'what', which substitutes for inanimate nouns.

Interrogative pronouns are always sentence initial and co-occur with the verb suffix -ra 'INTERROG', which is a general question marker. An example is shown in (160)

- (160) a. sina ma- yehe -bu -te -ra
 who 1sg.O shout ITER NON-PAST INTERROG
 'Who shouts at me insistently?'
 b. kasikaha ihi ribu -a -e -ra
 what you say PUNC PAST INTERROG
 'What did you say?'

In copulative sentences, very particularly in the equative sun-type, which does not often have overt copulas, the interrogative pronouns--in the absence of the verb--attach -ra 'INTERROG' directly:

- (161) sina -ra tamahatuma ta 0
 who INTERROG those from
 'From those, who is it?'
 (162) kasikaha -ra tatuma -mo 0
 what INTERROG these ABL
 'From these, what is it?'

23.4. Indefinite pronouns

Most indefinite determiners may be used as pronouns. Indefinite pronouns represent the speech part of Warao that has the highest rate of occurrence in everyday life speech. They are:

- (i) isaka 'one'
 (162) isaka haka -n -a -e
 one flee sg PUNC PAST
 'One fled'

- (ii) isaka isaka 'somebody'
 (163) isaka isaka maretane rekotu wara -te
 someone gaiety song speak NON-PAST
 'Someone sings gaily'
 (iii) damana 'somebody/something/a part (of something)'
 (164) damana obono -te damana obono -naka
 a part want NON-PAST a part want NEG
 'A part (of the group) wants (but) a part (of the group) doesn't want to'
 (iv) damana ramana 'few/little'
 (165) damana ramana naru -te
 few go NON-PAST
 (lit.) 'Few go'
 (v) daisa 'another one/other one'
 (166) daisa a tira oa -n -a -e
 other one of woman take away sg PUNC PAST
 (lit.) 'He took away the woman of other one'
 (vi) ekira 'nothing/none'
 (167) ine ekira ha
 I nothing COP
 'I have nothing'
 (vii) deko 'both'
 (168) deko a ha
 both of hammock
 (lit.) 'The hammock of both'
 (viii) kayuka 'all'
 (169) ine kayuka ka
 I all he
 'I have all (of something)'

(ix) kokotuka 'everyone/everything'

(170) kokotuka warao -tuma nahoro -te
 everything Warao PL eat NON-PAST
 'The Warao eat everthing'

24. ADVERBIALS

Adverbials is a heterogenous class comprising what might in other languages be distinguished as adverbs, and including also locative and time expressions. Adverbs are bound together into one class on the grounds of their common function as complement of copulative sentences and obliques (or adjuncts) in any other sentence types. Adverbs constitute a relatively large class covering a wide semantic range. They group (i) general verb modifiers, and (ii) manner, location, time and quantity expressions.

24.1. General modifiers

These items and attributive nouns do not differ morphologically. Their adverbial connotation is set up by the relationship they hold with the verb to which they adjoin. For example:

(172) dakobo rakobo hi- esemoi aisia asa
 brother brother 1sg.POS flute with badness
 wara -ki -tia -ine
 speak INT HAB I
 'Brother, brother, I am going to play badly as usual
 with your flute (if I play your flute)'

(173) tai hi saba yak -era ana ta -n -a -e
 it you for goodness AUGM NEG happen sg PUNC PAST
 (lit.) 'It happened not so well for you'

(174) amahatuma tae kubu -a -e
 those yonder braveness fight PUNC PAST
 'Those fought bravely'

24.2. Manner adverbs

Manner is usually expressed by the pair tuatane 'thus' and tuatane ana 'not thus' preceding verbs. This usage suggests an extra pragmatic force in the verb:

- (175) monida ebe wirinoko a iramo tuatane
 sickness because of Wirinoko of chief thus
 ekoro -n -a -e
 finish sg PUNC PAST
 'The chief of Wirinoko finished (died) thus because of
 sickness'
- (176) tuatane ana nona -naka ta -n -a -e
 thus no do NEG AUX sg PUNC PAST
 'He did not do (it) (not) thus'

Furthermore, manner may be denoted by the postposition tane 'manner/way of doing something' attached to nouns, which gives rise to postpositional phrases functioning as either complements in copulatives, or adjuncts in other types of sentences:

- (177) inare tane naru -kotu
 silence manner go 2pl.IMP
 'You all, go silently!'
- (178) ma- ha eku ine yak -era tane
 1sg.POS hammock inside I goodness AUGM manner
 uba -te
 sleep NON-PAST
 'I sleep very well (soundly) in my hammock'
- (179) ihi tobe tane oko obono -bu -a -e
 2sg.O jaguar manner we want ITER PUNC PAST
 (lit.) 'We thought you (possess) the manners of a
 jaguar', or
 'We thought (that) you were like a jaguar'

Manner is also encoded by means of the privative postposition omi 'PRIV' or 'without' which is intended for preventing the entity to which is attached from the effects of the verb of the sentence, creating an opposite meaning:

- (180) *dibu omi wara -n -te*
 word without speak sg NON-PAST
 (lit.) 'He speaks without words', or
 'He is not much of a talker', or
 'He is a laconic person'

In (100), *dibu omi* means that the speaker is deprived of an extensive vocabulary, which leads him to do things in his particular manner.

Another example is offered in (181)

- (181) *hotarao a uka ka omi namina -te*
 non-Warao of son 1pl.O without know NON-PAST
 (lit.) 'The son of the criollo knows without us', or
 'The son of the criollo already knows (by himself)
 (and he does not need us)'

In (181), *ka omi* indicates that in the manner of doing things, there is a suppression of the participation of some previous participants.

24.3. Location adverbials

Adverbial location is expressed by either a small set of deictic locatives, or a large set of postpositional phrases, or a few adverbs of place.

24.3.1. Deictic locatives

The set of deictic locatives derives from the demonstrative determiners outlined in TABLE 1. Such determiners attach the local case markers, as in TABLE 13

(I) LOCATIVE

- (i) Location in a point

tama -te 'here, in here'
 this LOC

ta -te 'there, in there'
 that LOC

ama -te 'over there,
 that yonder LOC in over there'

- (ii) Location by or near some other entity

tama -te -a 'around here'
 this LOC LOC

ta -te -a 'around there'
 that LOC LOC

ama -te -a 'around over there'
 that yonder LOC LOC

- (iii) Location in a place where it encompasses the entity or situation

tama -tika 'right here'
 this LOC

ta -tika 'right there'
 that LOC

ama -tika 'right over there'
 that yonder LOC

(II) ABLATIVE

- (i) Source from a place where it encompasses the entity or situation

tama -tika -mo 'from right here'
 this LOC ABL

ta -tika -mo 'from right there'
 that LOC ABL

ama -tika -mo 'from right over there'
 that yonder LOC ABL

- (ii) Source from any point

tama -te -mo 'from here'
 this LOC ABL

ta -te -mo 'from there'
 that LOC ABL

ama -te -mo 'from over there'
 that yonder LOC ABL

(III) ALLATIVE (directionality)

<u>tama</u> -tika -ya	'to right here'
this LOC ALL	
<u>ta</u> -tika -ya	'to right there'
that LOC ALL	
<u>ama</u> -tika -ya	'to right over there'
that yonder LOC ABL	

TABLE 13: Deictic locatives

TABLE 13 shows that local meaning is expressed by the same set of "general" local case markers of the language, with the exception of -tika and -a which seem to be pertinent to the deictic locatives. Also, TABLE 13 reveals that such local markers may co-occur to increase the level of specificity of the locatives, which makes them morphologically complex. Some examples of the usage of deictic locatives are presented in (182-184)

(182) ine ta -te -mo nabak -a -e
I that LOC ABL arrive PUNC PAST
(from there)

ama a hokohi ine naru -naka
(to)day I go NEG
'I arrived from there (and) I do not go today'

(183) tama -te nao -u
this LOC come 2sg.IMP
'You, come here!'

(184) ine ta -isi kuhu -a -e ma- hanoko
I that DAT walk up PUNC PAST 1sg.POS house
(to that one)

ta -tika aban -a -e
that LOC place PUNC PAST
(right there)
(lit.) 'I walked up to that one (any previously mentioned place) (and) I placed my house right there'

24.3.2. Locative postpositional phrases

24.3.2.1. General location

General location is expressed by ata 'in/at'. A quite general locational (at a point) sense is involved. ata 'in/at' refers to an event with no specified motion, i.e., even if a change in position is implied, this is not specified:

(185) wanu inabe ata ha
Juan dense forest in COP
(John)
'John is deep in the forest'

24.3.2.2. Superior position and surface contact location

Both, on the surface and above the surface, are expressed by arai 'on/over/top of/above':

(186) hanoko arai karina koita -te
house top of hen cackle NON-PAST
'The hen cackles on the top of the house'

(187) ma- romu sarama rauna arai
1sg.POS bird parakeet forest over
soto -n -a -e
disappear sg PUNC PAST
'My parakeet disappeared (flew) over the tree tops'

arai 'on/over' is also postposed to numerals to add them:

(188) dihanamo arai manamo arai isaka
'Three on/over two on/over one', or
'Six'

24.3.2.3. Motion past a long object (in contact with its surface and in the direction of its length)

Motion past a long object in the direction of its length is expressed by attaching the allative marker -ya 'to/through'--shortened sometimes as -(y)a 'to/through'--to

the postposition arai 'on'. The derived postposition araia 'along' denotes an entity moving along a surface in contact with its surface:

(189) hanoko a kuaikuhu araia mera naruhoa -te
house of trestle along lizzard go passing NON-PAST
'The lizzard passes along the house's trestle'

(190) hana sanuka araia nabu -ru -ki -tia
caño smallness along paddle ITER INT HAB
'He is going paddling and paddling along the little
caño as usual'

24.3.2.4. Descending motion

Motion from any upper part in any direction is meant by suffixing the ablative marker -mo 'from' to the postposition arai 'over/top of/above', giving rise to the composite araimo 'from the top/from above'. araimo 'from the top/from above' implies an explicit reference to the place of departure. The place of destination may also be alluded. For example:

(191) domu rau a waku arai -mo yahak -a -e
bird tree of branch above ABL fly down PUNC PAST
(from above)

tai atono n -a -e
3sg.O Antonio kill PUNC PAST
(Anthony)

(lit.) 'The bird flew down from above the branches of the tree (and) Anthony killed it when it was about to land'

24.3.2.5. Inferior location

Inferior location is expressed by noika 'under':

(192) yaburukoina noika mesi ha
little wooden under cat COP
bridge to have
access to a
Warao house
'The cat is under the bridge'

noika 'under' may suffix the allative marker -ya 'to/through' or the ablative marker -mo 'from' to derive noikaya 'to under' and noikamo 'from under'. Examples of each case are shown in (193-194) respectively

(193) yaroko boto noika -ya naruhoa -ine
leaf weakness under to go passing I
(falling leaves) (to under)
'I go passing under the falling leaves'

(194) ha noika -mo beroro ehobo -n -a -e
hammock under ABL dog come out sg PUNC PAST
'The dog came out from under the hammock'

24.3.2.6. Proximate location

Proximate location implies the placement of an entity or situation with reference to another near-by entity. It is expressed by awere 'near':

(195) tatika -witu ha warunamu awere
right there H.I. COP pole near
'(It) is right there, near the pole'

awere 'near' may suffix the allative suffix -ya 'to/through' to add a motion sense:

(196) tobe awere -ya naru -naka -u
jaguar near ALL go NEG 2sg.IMP
'You, don't go near the jaguar!'

24.3.2.7. Exterior location

There is a set of postpositions that places events and situations in the village surroundings, generally outside the dwellings. From all those items denoting external location in such environmental contexts, the most common ones are: yakara 'outside', yakaramo 'from the outside', yakaraya 'to the

outside', and yakarano 'in the outside'. For example:

- (197) hanoko a yakara -mo haburi wauta
house of outside ABL Haburi Wauta
- wara -n -a -e
speak sg PUNC PAST
'Wauta spoke to Haburi from outside the house'
- (198) aresatanoko a yakara -no riekko kotu -bu -te
church of outside LOC Diego dance ITER NON-PAST
'Diego dances outside the church'

24.3.2.8. Interior location

Interior location is expressed by eku 'inside/within', ekuya 'to inside/into', and ekumo 'from inside':

- (199) ma- uba eku wanu ma- anukamo
1sg.POS sleep inside Juan 1sg.POS belongings
(John)
- eris -a -e
steal PUNC PAST
'John stole my belongings. I (was) inside my sleep
(while I slept)'
- (200) naba -era eku -ya wayo obo -te
river AUGM inside ALL Wayo flow into NON-PAST
'Wayo (the name of a caño) flows into the big river
(the Orinoco river)'

24.3.2.9. Lateral location

Lateral location is usually expressed by mukoho 'edge of/side of' and mukohoya 'to the edge of/to the side of':

- (201) ma- raukaba a mukoho -ya naru -a -e
1sg.POS slashed of edge of ALL go PUNC PAST
field
- raukaba sinar -ine
slashed measure I
field
'I went to the edges of my slashed field (and) I
measured my slashed field'

24.3.2.10. Anterior location

Anterior location relating to a non-moving object is expressed by ebika 'in front of':

- (202) ma ebika hi mi -kitane obono -naka
1sg.POS in front of you see INFINIT want NEG
'I do not want to see you in front of me'

ebika 'in front of' obligatorily attaches the ablative marker -mo 'from' if the entity referred to is moving in any direction and it is not near the speaker:

- (203) masi ma ebika -mo haka -n -a -e
deer 1sg.O in front of from run sg PUNC PAST
'The deer ran passing in front of me (but, far)'

When the motion of something or somebody occurs in any direction close to the speaker, ebika 'in front of' suffixes the allative marker -ya 'to/through':

- (204) ihi ma ebika -ya ha hanoko mi -komoni
you 1sg.POS in front of ALL COP house see NEG.POT
'You are moving in front of me (and) I cannot see the house'

24.3.2.11. Remote location

Remote location is expressed by the following set of adverbs functioning as verb adjuncts: weba 'far/away', webamo 'from far/from away', emo 'beyond', emota 'from beyond', ito 'distantly', and itomo 'from distantly':

- (205) weba -mo nao -na -te
far ABL come sg NON-PAST
(from far)
'He comes from far (places)'

24.3.2.12. Posterior location

Posterior location relating to a non-moving object is expressed by the adverbs nokaba 'behind/rear/back', nokabaya 'to behind/by the rear/from the back of' and nokabamo 'from behind/from the rear/from the back of':

(206) bubu nokaba -ya kokotuka naru -n -a -e
 hill back ALL all go sg PUNC PAST
 (to the back of)
 'All went to the back of the hill'

(207) hanokosebe nokaba -mo atono naru -n -a -e
 village behind ALL Antonio go sg PUNC PAST
 (from behind) (Anthony)
 'Anthony went away from behind the village'

Posterior location relating to a moving object is expressed by emoya 'to beyond':

(208) emo -ya ka- nao -te
 beyond ALL 1pl.O come NON-PAST
 'He comes beyond us'

24.3.2.13. Transversal location

Transversal location is expressed by the adverb kakayanuka 'across/from here to the opposite side':

(209) naba kakayanuka ka- hanoko nona -kitane
 river across 1pl.POS house build INFINIT

 obono -te
 want NON-PAST
 'We want to build our house across the river'

24.4. Time adverbials

Periodization, or time division on the basis of natural periods, is the only resource used in the Warao society for expressing temporality. Of course, the Warao system is

somewhat imprecise given the absence of the physical and mathematical parameters inherent to clock and calendar time divisions. The parameters used by the Warao to measure time correlate with the movement of the sun, the moon and some stars and constellations, as well as seasonal circumstances linked to the environment, such as the Orinoco river annual flood, and the tidal fluctuations of the water levels in the Orinoco Delta.

The basic time expressions in Warao can be grouped into (i) periods of days, (ii) month and the passing of months, (iii) year and the passing of years, (iv) proximate, remote and punctual time and, (v) periphrastic legendary past adverbials.

24.4.1. Periods of day

24.4.1.1. Daylight period

The term hokohi used to refer to the period of feeling the effects of the sun: light and warm, is the basis of this system. hokohi means 'sun/day/daylight'. The combinations of hokohi 'sun/day/daylight' with some postpositions, numerals and verb roots set up stages along the daily passing of the sun above the horizon, from east to west. Such periods are shown in TABLE 14:

<u>hokohi saba</u>	(lit.) 'towards the sun', or 'the period before sunrise'
<u>hokohi ebika</u>	(lit.) 'just before sunrise'
<u>hokohi soro</u>	(lit.) 'the sun appears', or 'sunrise/dawn'
<u>hokohi kuahasika</u>	(lit.) 'sun in uppermost position', or 'noon'
<u>hokohiya</u>	(lit.) 'along the sunlight period', or 'along the day'
<u>hokohi anakuarika</u>	(lit.) 'sunlight becomes dark', or 'towards sunset', or 'at dusk'
<u>hokohi anabako</u>	(lit.) 'sun darkening is over' or 'the sunrise of the next day'
<u>hokohi manamo eku</u>	(lit.) 'in two suns', or 'in two days'

TABLE 13: Daylight period stages

Some examples of the adverbial function of time items reflecting stages or points during daylight periods are shown in (210-211) below

(210) warao -tuma hokohi manamo eku bahi -n -a -e
Warao PL day two in return sg PUNC PAST
'The Warao returned passed two days'

(211) hokohi soro tatuma masi kub -a -e
at dawn they deer hunt PUNC PAST
'They hunted the deer at dawn'

24.4.1.2. Dark period

The basis for expressing periods of the night cycle is the term ima 'darkness/night', which postposes a set of modifiers to identify specific points within the lapse of absence of sunlight. The night periods are presented in TABLE 15:

<u>ima anakuarika</u>	(lit.) 'night becomes darker', or 'the dimmed light of the sun extinguishes totally', or 'early night'
<u>ima uto</u>	(lit.) 'center of the night', or 'midnight'
<u>ima utu sabuka</u>	(lit.) 'less than the center of the night', or 'before midnight'
<u>ima utu kuarika</u>	(lit.) 'more than the center of the night', or 'after midnight'
<u>ima iriraha</u>	(lit.) 'the entire night'
<u>ima raitau</u>	(lit.) 'fresh night', or the coolest period of the night approaching dawn'
<u>ima hokohi awere</u>	(lit.) 'the sunlight is near the darkness', or 'dawn'

TABLE 15: Night period stages

Some examples of adverbs referring to night stages are shown in (212-213):

(212) ima iriraha ine uba -naka
night entire I sleep NEG
'I did not sleep all night long'

(213) ima utu kuarika tobe hobu -bu -a -e
night center more jaguar roar ITER PUNC PAST
(after midnight)
'The jaguar roared after midnight'

24.4.2. Month and the passing of months

The term used for referring to the moon, waniku [wani 'hide', eku 'inside' = the one that hides inside itself], is extended in a temporal sense to the month. The passing of the moon through its four phases, which covers a 28 day-period, represents in terms of extension the notion under consideration. As well, the occurrence of the moon phases marks time points used as reference for activities performed by the Warao. A summary of the time adverbs related to months and month divisions is offered in TABLE 16:

<u>waniku</u>	(lit.) 'moon', or 'month'
<u>waniku ahokaya</u>	(lit.) 'concentrated moon', or 'the moon gets inside itself' or 'the first quarter'
<u>waniku hido</u>	(lit.) 'tender moon', or 'new moon'
<u>waniku kasi</u>	(lit.) 'growing moon', or 'the last quarter'
<u>wanikuira</u>	(lit.) 'big moon', or 'full moon'

TABLE 16: Month and month periods

Some examples of these time expressions are presented in (214-216) below:

(214) aro saba raukaba a waniku tai ha
arroz for slashed fields of month it COP
(rice)
'It is the month of slashed-fields for growing rice'

- (215) barima -ya waniku isaka yahubu -tuma
Barima ALL month one fisherman PL

naru -a -e
go PUNC PAST
'The fishermen went to Barima for one month'
- (216) aro a mu waniku ahoka -ya namu -naka
arroz of seed moon get in ALL plant NEG
(rice) (moon get inside,
or first quarter)
'He does not plant seeds of rice until the moon first
quarter'

24.4.3. Year and the passing of years

Reference to years involves the seasonal behavior of the caños of the Orinoco Delta. The phrase ho ira literally means 'water rise', which is an adequate reference for the annual big flood of the Orinoco, an event that is crucially-important for the survival of the Warao. The dietary habits of the Warao depend of the rising of the waters, when they gather crabs, catch some nutritious seasonal fish, grow some kinds of edible roots, and so on. It is common to hear among the Warao, statements as the following one:

- (217) ho ira mi -kore motana saba naru -kotu
water AUGM see COND blue crab for go 2pl.IMP
(big flood)
'When you see the big flood, go for blue crabs'

ho ira 'big flood' is the departing point to set up one-year-long periods, which is logically the lapse stretching between two floods. Age is determined on the basis of the number of floods that have passed from the day of birth, or arrival, or making, etc. For example

- (218) ine hoira warao isaka ha
I big flood Warao one COP
'I am 20 years old'

ho ira also means 'rainy season'. It has to be taken into account that the overflow of the Orinoco river and the equatorial heavy rains coincide, reaching their peaks in August. ho ira 'rainy season' opposes to ina waha (lit.) 'soil dryness' or 'dry season'. Both seasonal terms may be used for marking points within a year period. For example:

- (219) ina waha ata ma- raukaba nona -te
dry season in 1sg.POS slashed field make NON-PAST
'I will prepare my slashed-field in the dry season'

- (220) ina waha a hotana uhu saba ini tatuma
dry season of start basket for fiber they

naho -bu -a -e
look for ITER PUNC PAST
'The looked for (palm) fiber for baskets at the start
of the dry season (or in December)'

- (221) ho ira waha -kore oko naru -te
rainy season dry COND we go NON-PAST
(lit.) 'We will go when the rainy season dries (or its
over)'

Besides counting years on the basis of succeeding floods of the Orinoco river, the Warao use the term kura 'star' to signal some year activities, specially religious feasts, many of which are no longer celebrated. Some of their ancestral rites are performed when the Pleiads rise on the horizon, around mid-June. This astronomical event is traditionally celebrated ver joyously:

- (222) kura mokomoko hido ha -kore orikuare aware
star smallness tender COP COND feast near
'When the small stars (or the Pleiads) are tender, the
feast (is) near'

The stretch of time that the Pleiads lasts in passing through the northern hemisphere skies, above the equator, is known as kura isaka (lit.) 'the Pleiads one' or 'one year' (from mid-June to mid-May). Thus, age may be also expressed as in (223) below

- (223) kura warao isaka ine ha
the Pleiads Warao one I COP
'I am 20 years old'

24.4.4. Proximate, remote and punctual time adverbials

By using combinations of the noun ama 'moment/point' with

postpositions, nouns and even other adverbs, Warao has developed a location-in-time scale expressing proximity and remoteness, which intersects with punctuality. All items within this scale function as adverbials. They are listed in TABLE 17:

(i) PROXIMITY/PUNCTUAL PROXIMITY (any time close to the present or within the present)	
<u>ama eku</u>	'in this moment/at this point'
<u>ama hase</u>	'right in this moment'
<u>ama saba</u>	'towards/for this moment'
<u>ama saba -mo</u> ABL	'from this moment on'
<u>ama ebe</u>	'before this moment'
<u>ama sabuka ta</u>	'a little after this moment'
<u>ama a hokohi ata</u>	'in this day'
<u>ama a hokohi se</u>	'right today'
<u>ama a hokohi ana</u>	'not today, but later'
(ii) REMOTENESS/PUNCTUAL REMOTENESS (any time far from the present)	
<u>ama u</u>	'then'
<u>ama u to</u>	'right then'

TABLE 17: Proximate, remote and punctual time adverbs

Some examples of proximate, remote and punctual adverbials are presented in (224-227) below

(224) ama ebe warao -tuma orikawa
moment before Warao PL feast

ab -a -e ama eku orikawa ekira
celebrate PUNC PAST moment in feast no
'The Warao celebrated feasts until not ago. (There are) no feasts now'

(225) ama u ihi ma- imasibu -a -e
then you 1sg.POS deceive PUNC PAST
'You deceived me then'

(226) ama eku raborabaka aisia mehokohi warao
moment in arrow with spirit Warao

hat -a -e
spear PUNC PAST
'The Warao speared the spirit with an arrow in this moment'

(227) ama saba -mo naru -te
moment for ABL go NON-PAST
(lit.) 'I will go for this moment, from (it) on', or
'I will go any time from now'

24.4.5. Periphrastic legendary past adverbials

Also, Warao possesses nominals and postpositional phrases functioning as adverbials which are used exclusively in pieces of mythological narratives. Such time items usually describe the state of affairs in a legend emphasizing on any particular location and any specific moment by means of adverbial periphrases. Some of them (at least, those that are recorded in my data) are listed in TABLE 18:

<u>warao a wahabara</u> Warao of start	(lit.) 'at the beginning of the Warao people', or 'at the beginning of mankind'
<u>oko ekira</u> we no	(lit.) 'we inexisted', or 'when we did not exist yet'
<u>ka- ina hido</u> 1sg.POS land tender	(lit.) 'our land (was) tender', or 'world (was) still new'

TABLE 18: Some periphrastic legendary past adverbials

Three periphrastic legendary past adverbial contexts are illustrated in (228-230) below

(228) warao a wahabara tamahatuma rauna akuahabari
Warao of start those forest tree tops

eku ub -a -e
in sleep PUNC PAST
'The Warao slept in tree tops in the forest at the beginning of mankind'

(229) namuma oko ekira ka- ina -ya buretuma
seeds we no 1pl.POS land ALL buzzards
(to our land)

inaro -a -e
send down PUNC PAST
'The buzzards (myth.) sent down seeds to our land when we did not exist yet'

(230) ka- ina hido waraotuma ahako eku
1pl.POS land tender Warao cloud in

kuhu -a -e -yama
live PUNC PAST BY HSY
'It is said (that) the Warao lived in the clouds when the world was still new'

24.5. Quantity adverbs

In some specific roles, kuarika 'more' and yahoto 'less' have been considered as quantity determiners. However, they and some other quantity items adjoin to verbs in an adverb-like manner, to express fluctuation in amount, number, degree, etc. Besides kuarika 'more' and yahoto 'less', yorikahika 'equal' and monuka 'same' fit in this group. For example:

(231) kokotuka monuka nahoro -a -e
all equal eat PUNC PAST
'All of them ate equal (quantities of food)', or
'All of them ate equally'

(232) hobi ma saba kuarika aban -u
drink 1sh.O for more serve 2sg.IMP
'You, serve more drink for me', or
'You, serve more for me'

25. POSTPOSITIONS

Warao has quite a rich set of postpositions. In this language, any syntactic relationship in which a nominal or noun is involved requires the use of a postposition with that nominal or noun. Besides the postpositions contained in manner, time and place adverbials--as they are analyzed in preceding sections--there are several other postpositions whose semantic functions express agentive, instrumental, comitative, possessive, cause and benefactive.

25.1. Agentive

The agentive postposition aisia 'by' introduces the agent of the passive constructions provided that the perfective aspect marker -ha 'PERF' is suffixed to the sentence main verb:

(233) hanoko ma aisia nona -i -ha
house 1sg.O by make COMP PERF
'The house (was) made by me'

(234) nobo aisia reria -i -ha
grandfather by advise COMP PERF
'(He/They) (was/were) advised by the grandfather'

25.2. Instrumental

Instrumental marks something used in performing an action, for instance, a tool, a weapon, etc., even a body part used instrumentally. It is expressed by means of the postposition aisiko, sometimes isiko, 'with/in association with':

(235) warao masi n- -a -e hataburu aisiko
Warao deer kill PUNC PAST arch and arrow with
'The Warao killed the deer with his arch and arrows'

(236) ho bia -nu anamu -ira isiko
water fetch 2sg.IMP container AUGM with
'You, fetch water with the big container!'

Negative instrumental is expressed by the postposition omi 'deprived of something, or someone' or 'without'. omi 'deprived of someone, or something' is one of the manner postpositions of the language. omi 'deprived of someone, or something' is inherently negative denoting the manner how the action has to be performed:

- (237) ho bia -nu anamu -ira omi
 water fetch 2sg.IMP container AUGM without
 'You, fetch water with something that is not the big
 container (since it is lacking)!'

25.3. Comitative

Comitative is expressed by means of the postposition kaika 'in the companion of' or 'with someone'. This postposition conveys the comitative sense by indicating someone in association with which some entity was or is, or was or is during the enactment of a situation. In the following example, the noun phrase in constituency with kaika 'with someone' represents someone the actor was in association with while enacting the situation:

- (238) atono kaika oko naru -ki -tia
 Antonio with we go INT HAB
 (Anthony)
 'We are going with Anthony as usual'

As well, the presence of kaika 'with someone' may imply that the entity which it introduces is typically of higher status than the one representing the partner, as in (239)

- (239) bare kaika warao orabakaya ha
 father with Warao four COP
 (priest)
 'Four Warao are with the priest (they are under the priest's responsibility)'

(239) reveals the kind of relationship that the Warao and the missionaries keep, which is often one in which the religious leaders are official authorities protecting the natives.

25.4. Possession

Besides the possession markers of the language that may be prefixed to any noun [See 19.1.], Warao has two postpositional mechanisms to express possession: (i) by means of the genitive postposition a 'of' following the possessor within a possessor-possessed NP, and (ii) by means of the genitive postposition abitu 'of' following any noun.

25.4.1. a 'of' possessives

Possessive noun phrases in Warao arrange their possessor constituent before the possessed one. The possessor postposes a 'of' to mark ownership. For example:

- (240) airamo a ribu aisiko nona -kunarae
 chief of word with do PAST INCH
 'He began to do in association with the word of the chief'
- (241) tai a wahibaka wanari -n -a -e
 he of canoe sink sg PUNC PAST
 'The canoe of his sank'

25.4.2. abitu 'of' possessives

abitu 'of' assigns the noun or pronoun it follows a status of owner, such as it is shown in (242-244):

- (242) tai hanoko m- abitu ha
 that house 1sg.O of COP
 (lit.) 'That house is of me', or
 'That house is mine'
- (243) hahe nisa -naka k- abitu ha
 paddle grab NEG 1pl.O of COP
 (lit.) '(You) do not grab the paddles. They are of us', or
 '(You) do not grab he paddles. They are ours'
- (244) tai noboto atono abitu ha
 that child Antonio of COP
 (Anthony)
 (lit.) 'That child is Anthony's (child)'

There is an emphatic form to express possession which implies the co-existence of the two genitive postpositions:

- (245) hanokosebe abitu a iboma -ma rakotu
 house of of girl PL song
- yak -era wara -n -a -e
 goodness AUG speak sg PUNC PAST
 'The girls of the village (no other girls) sang very well'

25.5. Cause

Cause is expressed by means of the postpositions ebe/kuare 'because of':

(246) hoa ebe muan -a -e kokotuka
 witchcraft because of die PUNC PAST all
 'All (of them) died because of witchcraft'

(246) hi- karamu kuare hi- rai
 2sg.POS stand on foot because of 2sg.POS back
 ahera
 ache
 'His back aches because of his (long periods of) standing'

25.6. Benefactive

Besides the inflectional process that adds the dative (beneficiary) case markers -ma/-i)si/-to 'to/for' to nouns [See 19.3.1], there is another way to identify the beneficiary of the verb action: this is by postposing saba 'to/for' to the beneficiary of the transitive verb action. For example:

(247) ma saba aru nisan -u
 1sg.O for manioc buy 2sg.IMP
 'You, buy manioc for me!'

(248) noboto -ma saba rihaba kona -te
 child PL for sweet bring NON-PAST
 '(He) brings candies for the children'

(249) hi- rani saba osibu hoiha moa -u
 2sg.POS mother to morokoto freshness give 2sg.IMP
 (kind of
 fish)
 'You, give fresh morokoto to his mother'

26. VERB AND VERB PHRASE

26.1. Morphological structure of verbs

The (finite) verb inflects for person, tense/aspect, mood and number. Voice is expressed by means of a postposition.

Person markers are prefixal for (objective) PREF PRO's and suffixal for (subjective) SUF PRO's. These are optional though [See 23.2.] Tense/aspect, mood and number markers are all suffixal.

26.1.1. Voice and other valency-changing categories: passives and causatives

Apart from the morphologically unmarked active voice, there is at least a voice form denoting passive which, as expected, decreases verbal valency. In passives, the verb may lose an argument: that one corresponding to any unspecified underlying transitive subject.

Warao passives use the agentive postposition aisia 'AGEN' to introduce the underlying transitive subject coupled with the suffixation of the completive past tense and the perfective aspect markers to the verb. The underlying transitive subject of passives may not be specified provided a co-referential antecedent exists. In cases of unspecified agency, the postposition aisia 'AGEN' remains. This process is shown in (250-252)

PASSIVE
 (250) ka- ina kokotuka rihawaratuma aisia
 1pl.POS land all ancestors AGEN

nona -i -ha
 make COMP PERF
 (lit.) 'All in our land was made by our ancestors'

ACTIVE
 (251) dihawaratuma ka- ina kokotuka non -a -e
 ancestors 1pl.POS land all make PUNC PAST
 'Our ancestors made all in our land'

Under co-referentiality with an antecedent in the string of discourse, dihawaratuma 'ancestors' in (250) may be left out, as shown in (252)

(252) ka- ina kokotuka aisia nona -i -ha
 1pl.POS land all AGEN make COMP PERF
 'All in our land was made by (our ancestors)'

Causative forms are derived from both intransitives and transitives with the help of the marker e- i- 'CAUS'. The prefixation process in intransitives is illustrated in (253-254) below

NON-CAUSATIVE

- (253) tira isaka wab -a -e
 woman one die PUNC PAST
 'A woman died'

CAUSATIVE

- (254) tira isaka tobe i- wab -a -e
 woman one jaguar CAUS die PUNC PAST
 'The jaguar cause the woman to die', or
 'The jaguar killed the woman'

One of the implications of the attaching of the causative prefix in (254) is an increasing of valency in the form of the causer tobe 'jaguar' which is an additional verb argument, lacking in the non-causative counterpart. In causatives from intransitives the causee always fills the direct object slot.

In the case of transitives, the causation process operates as follows

NON-CAUSATIVE

- (255) muhukarare wisiratu temoi -a -e
 group of bones shaman insufflate PUNC PAST
 (skeleton)
 'The shaman insufflated the skeleton'

CAUSATIVE

- (256) muhukarare saba wisiratu e- temoi -u
 group of bones for wisiratu CAUS insufflate 2sg.IMP
 (skeleton)
 'You, cause the shaman to insufflate the skeleton!'

In transitive causatives, the causee fills the indirect object slot introduced by either the dative postposition saba 'to/for', or the dative case marker -ma 'to/for', as shown in (257)

- (257) wahu -ma bare -tira
 venison DAT father female
 (nun)
 ka e- nahoro -a -e
 1pl.O CAUS eat PUNC PAST
 'The nuns made us eat venison'

26.1.2. tense/aspect and mood

Tense/aspect and mood intersect closely in Warao; thus, there are no independent paradigms for each of such verb categories. This matter has been approached from a semantic perspective considering the internal constituency of each situation.

26.1.2.1. Tense

To account for Warao verb tenses, a major splitting between PAST and NON-PAST suffices.

The term PAST is obvious enough since it means "anterior to the moment of speaking", or "looked back on", or "recollected", or "recalled" from the moment of speaking. The term NON-PAST makes sense in terms of the semantic potential of the tense category in Warao, a language which besides referring to past and recalled events, with equal ease refers to current or subsequent ones.

26.1.2.1.1. Past tense

Time previous to time of speaking is indicated by means of two suffixes: (i) -i which is completive and correlates with the perfective aspect, and (ii) -e which runs with the imperfective aspect, and it is inherently punctual: -e 'PAST' and -n(a) 'PUNC' always cluster. Further distinctions such as proximity and remoteness are expressed externally, i.e., outside the verb inflectional system, by means of time adverbs and constructions indicating location in time. Examples are provided all throughout this research.

26.1.2.1.2. Non-past tense

The non-past marker -te 'NON-PAST' is used with reference to present (currency) and future (subsequence) without any formal distinction between them. Also, -te 'NON-PAST' is inherently imperfective, which is inferred from its possible association with the imperfective punctuality aspect marker -a 'PUNC'. The non-past tense marker is incompatible with the completive (inherently perfective) aspect marker of the language:

- (258) hi- rahe ka nokaba -ya aru
 1sg.POS brother 1pl.O back of ALL manioc
 yahar -a -te
 carry PUNC NON-PAST
 'Your brother carries the manioc coming to the back of us'

Non-past tense adds an element of uncertainty since a distinction between "an event in progress", "a regular practice" and "an event to take place later", all encoded by -te 'NON-PAST', is not likely to be captured directly from it; the precision in meaning being determined only by contexts. For example, (259) may render three meanings:

- (259) warao isaka wiri -n -a -te
 Warao one navigates sg PUNC NON-PAST
 'A Warao navigates (in this moment)', or
 'A Warao navigates (as a regular practice)', or
 'A Warao will navigate (upon someone's request)'

26.1.2.2. Aspect

The language exhibits a broad distinction between perfective and imperfective.

26.1.2.2.1. Perfective aspect

Unlike prototypical perfectives in which actions are viewed in their entirety (including beginning and end), Warao perfective actions emphasize on their termination, or completion. The perfective aspect in Warao, for any practical purpose, may be viewed as terminative. It is used only with past time reference which is evidenced from its exclusive association with the completive past marker -i 'COMP', always preceding the perfective marker -ha 'PERF'. For example

- (260) hotarao naru -i -ha ka e- sana -ira
 non-Warao go COMP PERF 1pl.O CAUS sadness STAT
 (be sad)
 (lit.) 'The non-Warao (or criollo) already gone has caused us to be sad'

- (261) wahibaka naru -i -ha mi -kitane nao -kotu
 canoe go COMP PERF see INFINIT come 2pl.IMF
 (lit.) 'You all, come to see the canoe that has gone'

26.1.2.2.2. Imperfective aspect

The Warao imperfective aspect views actions in the course of their occurrences, somewhere between their beginning and end. Imperfectives in Warao are inherently punctual, which is supported by the fact that the aspectual punctuality marker -a 'PUNC' often follows other aspectual suffixes having imperfective implications, such as the continuative, inchoative, intentional/unintentional, momentative and iterative. All of these aspects may intersect with past and/or non-past tenses.

26.1.2.2.2.1. Continuative aspect

The imperfective continuative aspect marker -ne 'CONT' refers to actions that take place without letting up or stopping to rest. For example:

- (262) benitiko a wa so -ne
 Benito of canoe navigate CONT
 'Benito's canoe keeps on navigating'

The continuative aspect marker seldom comes along with any overt tense marker. -ne 'CONT' is often understood as being inherently non-past. If -ne 'CONT' is used with a past time reference, the punctual aspect marker -a 'PUNC' and the past tense marker -e 'PAST' are attached to the auxiliary verb ta 'AUX', as exemplified in (263)

- (263) waukutu i- nare -ira ne ta -n -a -e
 Waukutu CAUS silence STAT CONT AUX sg PUNC PAST
 (be silent)
 'Waukutu was caused to be silent'

26.1.2.2.2.2. Inchoative aspect

The inchoative aspect expresses the beginning of an action. Inchoative, punctual aspect and past tense markers overlap giving rise to the composite form -kuna(r) -a -e (INCH + PUNC + PAST) 'PAST INCH'. The non-past inchoative counterpart is -kuna 'NON-PAST INCH':

(264) naha ebo -kore ine ma- naukamo namu -kuna
 rain fall COND I 1sg.POS corn plant NON-PAST INCH
 'I begin to plant my corn if/when it rains'

(265) mokomoko kokotuka teribunoko nao -kunarae
 little children all school come FAST INCH
 'All of the little children began to come to school'

26.1.2.2.2.3. Intentional/unintentional aspect

The intentional aspect expresses the determination to act in a particular manner or with a specific purpose. The intentional aspect marker -ki 'INT' clusters with the habitual aspect suffix -tia 'HAB'. -ki 'INT' + -tia 'HAB' assigns the verb a sense of subsequency (or futurity, or reference to an event that has not taken place yet).

(266) tamatikamo bahe -ki -tia
 from here return INT HAB
 'We are going to return from here as usual'

(267) m- auka ihi ma omi
 1sg.POS child you 1sg.O without

yaburu -ki -tia ta -ra
 climb INT HAB AUX INTERROG
 'My child, are you going to climb without me?'

It is worth noting that the habitual aspect marker -tia 'HAB' never appears in association with other aspect, tense or mood markers. Also, it is not adjacent to verb roots. Its usage seems to be restricted to enhance the idea of intentionality.

On the other hand, the unintentional aspect marker -ka 'UNINT' attracts the past tense marker -e 'PAST' to mean the unintended effects (often occurred accidentally) of already passed events:

(268) wahibaka isiko wanari -ka -n -a -e
 canoe one sink UNINT sg PUNC PAST
 'The canoe sank accidentally (its turning upside down was unintended)'

26.1.2.2.2.4. Punctual/semelfactive aspect

The form for punctuality, -a 'PUNC', as a rule, denotes a short duration of an action. -a 'PUNC' has semelfactive overtones suggesting an action done in one attempt (it may also be explained as expressing lack of iteration). The punctual aspect easily occurs with motion verbs or verbs implying movement. With such verbs, -a 'PUNC' is figuratively understood as instantaneous. Punctual aspect is used with past and non-past time reference:

PUNCTUAL PAST

(269) naba -ya ine naru -n -a -e
 river ALL I go sg PUNC PAST
 'I went to the river for an instant'

PUNCTUAL NON-PAST

(270) oko tamatika -ya bahi -a -te
 we right here ALL return PUNC NON-PAST
 'We return to right here in a short while'

SEMELFACTIVE

(271) ma- rima rau kaba -n -a -e
 1sg.POS father tree cut sg PUNC PAST
 'My mother cut the bush with a single blow'

26.1.2.2.2.5. Iterative/usitative/frequentative aspects

There is a highly variable interpretation for the verb morphology which indicates iteration or 'repetition a second time or more'. Such iteration is expressed in the language by means of the aspectual suffix -bu 'ITER'. For example:

GENERIC

(272) tai boro -bu -te
 He punch holes ITER NON-PAST
 'He punches holes (to extract palm heart) repeatedly'

(272) could imply some additional information, such as the following: 'he punches many holes many times', or 'he punches just one hole many times, deepening it', or 'he punches many holes one time each', and even other interpretations. Thus, it might be said that -bu 'ITER' is a quite generic iterative marker whose meaning must be precise contextually.

To such a generic meaning, usitative and frequentative interpretations may be added. -bu 'USIT' and -bu 'FREQ' interact heavily with past and non-past time reference:

USITATIVE

(273) nohoto -kore dauina -mo tai
grow COND dense forest ABL he

noha -bu -a -e
fear USIT PUNC PAST
'He used to fear the dense forest when he was growing up'

FREQUENTATIVE

(274) nobotoma rihabera nahoro -bu -te
children sweet eat FREQ NON-PAST
'The children frequently eat candies'

26.1.2.3. Mood

There are at least five mood distinctions in the Warao verb inflectional system: the indicative--which is morphologically unmarked--conditional, imperative, potential and optative.

26.1.2.3.1. Conditional mood

Conditionality is expressed by the suffix -kore 'COND'. This introduces the embedded clause in hypotactically-related constructions conveying senses translated as 'if/when'. Distinctions between such two senses are dependent on tense/aspect features present in the main verb of the whole construction:

(275) wautakora koita -kore naha ehoru -te
pigeon chirp COND rain fall NON-PAST
(lit.) 'If pigeons chirp, it rains'

(276) danituma naoya -kore ebika -mo karikari
mothers arrive COND in front of ABL karikari
(kind of
bird)

koita -n -a -e
chirp sg PUNC PAST
'When the mothers arrived, the karikari chirped in front of her'

26.1.2.3.2. Imperative mood

The imperative mood is expressed primarily by the set of verb suffixes -(n)u '2sg.IMP' and -kotu '2pl.IMP', which have a positive command value:

(277) nabana -u
sit down 2sg.IMP
'You, sit down!'

(278) nao -kotu
come 2pl.IMP
'You all, come!'

Negative commands follow the pattern of all negative sentences, in which the negative marker -naka 'NEG' is suffixed to the verb root:

(279) nabana -naka -u
sit down NEG 2sg.IMP
'You, do not sit down!'

(280) nao -naka -kotu
come NEG 2pl.IMP
'You all, do not come!'

The above examples contain the only specifically imperative form in Warao. However, when there is a command to do something as a routine obligation or duty, the auxiliary verb ta 'AUX' postceding the main verb in the continuative aspect takes the command markers. Within this context, the imperative exhibits obligative/debitive overtones:

(281) aru namu -ne ta -u
manioc plant CONT AUX 1sg.IMP
'You had better keep planting manioc'

(282) tukubita -ya naru -ne ta -kotu
Tucupita ALL go CONT AUX 2pl.IMP
'You better go to Tucupita'

26.1.2.3.3. Potential mood

-komo 'POT' is one special form for expressing potential

mood, which is an equivalent for 'can/able to':

- (283) he nahobu -komo nebu koho -ya
 crab find POT young man river mouth ALL
 naru -a -e
 go PUNC PAST
 'The young men went to the river mouth. They can
 find crabs (there)'

The negative counterpart of the positive potential mood marker -komo 'POT' is -komoni 'NEG POT':

- (284) ine naru -komoni hue ma nati -n -a -e
 I go NEG POT ray 1sg.POS hurt sg PUNC PAST
 'I cannot work. A ray hurt me'

- (285) oko yaota -komoni
 we work NEG POT
 'We cannot work'

26.1.2.3.4. Optative mood

The optative is indicated by means of the suffix -turu 'OPT', which suggests wishes that may get fulfilled or remain unfulfilled:

- (286) kakayanuka wahibaka kona -u
 across the river canoe take 2sg.IMP
 haburi nao -turu
 Haburi come OPT
 'You, Take the canoe across the river!. Haburi wants
 to come'

The optative may imply a counterfactual situation in which -turu 'OPT' behaves as a sort of desiderative:

- (287) hanoko boroma mi -turu hanakosebe oko
 house sheet of see OPT village we
 metal
 mi -naka t -a -e
 see NEG AUX PUNC PAST
 (lit.) 'We have never see a village (we have never been
 in one). We wish to see a barrack (a house with a tin
 roof)'

26.1.2.4. Number

Number is suffixed to verbs, immediately next to the main verb root, unless an aspect marker or negation marker is present). Number markers set up an agreement with the person of the subject of the sentence. The verb number suffixes are -n(a) 'sg' and 0 'pl'. Subject number referencing on the verb operates as a meaning preserving mechanism since subjects, particularly third person ones, are often left out under co-referentiality (usually extra-sentential):

- (288) a. uku aisiko tai yaba -na -te
 angling line with he fish sg NON-PAST
 'He fishes with an angling line'
 b. uku aisiko yaba -na -te
 angling line with fish sg NON-PAST
 'He fishes with an angling line'

In (288b), which shows an elided subject, -na 'sg' signals that just one person performs the action meant by the verb. The number marked in yabanate 'he fishes' has its referent outside the sentence.

26.1.2.5. Auxiliary verb

ta 'AUX' introduces a set of modifications into the verb. It conveys primary meanings of the predication when the chain of verb inflections breaks by the attaching of some mood, aspect and negation markers. For example, the negation marker -naka 'NEG' is a closing morpheme, that is to say, no further suffixes may follow it. Then when negation is encoded in the main verb, the auxiliary verb follows it serving as a locus for the indication of tense, aspect and even interrogation.

The command markers -(n)u '2sg.IMP' and -kotu '2pl.IMP', which often suffix directly to main verbs, gain a debitive connotation when attached to the auxiliary following a main verb in the continuative aspect:

- IMPERATIVE REQUEST (sg)
 (289) a. temoyo -u
 stay 2sg.IMP
 'You, stay!'
 DEBITIVE (sg)
 b. temoyo -ne ta -u
 stay CONT AUX 2sg.IMP
 'You better keep staying'

IMPERATIVE REQUEST (p1)

- (290) a. yaru -kotu
come in 2pl.IMP
'You, come in!'

DEBITIVE (p1)

- b. yaru -ne ta -kotu
come in CONT AUX 2pl.IMP
'You all better keep coming in'

The potential mood markers -komo 'POT' and -komoni 'NEG POT' do not directly suffix tense and/or aspect morphemes, but the latter rather get attached to the auxiliary ta 'AUX', such as shown in (291)

- (291) masi hata -komoni ta -n -a -e
deer spear NEG POT AUX sg PUNC PAST
'He could not spear the deer'

- (292) iboma -ma naru -kore oko yori- moho
girl PL go COND we REC bands

oa -komoni ta -te
hold NEG POT AUX NON-PAST
'(lit.) 'If the girls go (away), we cannot hold our hands mutually', or
'If the girls go (away) we cannot marry'

- (293) ma romu i- bahu -komo ta -te
1sg.POS bird CAUS get over POT AUX NON-PAST
'He can cause our bird to get over'

For questioning in the potential mood, the interrogative marker -ra 'INTERROG' is suffixed to the auxiliary ta 'AUX' as a closing morpheme:

- (294) wiri -komoni ta -ki -tia -ra
paddle NEG POT AUX INT HAB INTERROG
'Is he going to be unable to paddle as usual'

The behavior shown by the potential mood markers as sketched in the preceding contrasts with that one of the remaining mood markers which may take inflections directly suffixing them, or suffixing them to the auxiliary, in an alternative manner.

SECTION FOUR: PHONOLOGY AND PHONOTACTICS

27. PHONOLOGY

27.1. Phoneme inventory

27.1.1. Consonants

Warao has eleven consonant phonemes, as shown in TABLE 19 below:

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p	t		k k ^w	
fricatives		s			h
flap		r			
nasals	m	n			
semi-cons.	w		y		

TABLE 19: Consonants

Consonant phonemes are shown to contrast in identical and overlapping environments by the examples in (295)

(295) a. INITIAL POSITION

STOPS	FRICATIVES
<u>p</u> ahi 'front of leg'	<u>h</u> ahi 'untie'
<u>t</u> ahi 'a step'	<u>s</u> aha 'kind of bat'
<u>k</u> ahi 'slip'	
<u>k</u> ^w ahi 'head top'	
FLAP	NASALS
<u>r</u> ahi 'kind of bee'	<u>m</u> ahi 'liver'
	<u>n</u> ahi 'kind of fish'
SEMI-CONSONANTS	
<u>w</u> ahi 'canoe'	
<u>y</u> ahi 'lie down'	

b. MEDIAL POSITION

STOPS		FRICATIVES	
<u>ebe</u>	'because'	<u>ehe</u>	'piranha'
<u>etere</u>	'bell'	<u>esi</u>	'put away'
<u>eku</u>	'in'		
<u>ek^waka</u>	'fan'		
FLAP		NASALS	
<u>ereta</u>	'fear'	<u>emi</u>	'show'
		<u>eneru</u>	'dig'
SEMI-CONSONANTS			
<u>ewehi</u>	'grate'		
<u>eyene</u>	'river fork'		

27.1.2. Vowels

Warao has five vowels, as shown in TABLE 20 below:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

TABLE 20: Vowels

The vowel phonemes contrast in identical or overlapping environments, as shown in (296)

(296) a. INITIAL AND FINAL POSITION

<u>aha</u>	'cigar'
<u>ehe</u>	'piranha'
<u>ihi</u>	'hot'
<u>oho</u>	'cough'
<u>uhu</u>	'basket'

b. MEDIAL AND FINAL POSITION

<u>haka</u>	'grass'
<u>heke</u>	'hoarse'
<u>hikiri</u>	'a fly'
<u>hoko</u>	'white'
<u>huku</u>	'bad smell'

27.2. Phonetic realizations of the phonemes

27.2.1. Consonants

Warao consonant phonemes show both voiced and voiceless allophones. The set of consonant allophones is shown in (297)

(297)	STOPS	FRICATIVES
	/p/ -----> [p][b]	/h/ -----> [h]
	/t/ -----> [t]	/s/ -----> [s]
	/k/ -----> [k]	
	/k ^w / -----> [k ^w]	
	FLAP	NASALS
	/r/ -----> [d][r]	/m/ -----> [m]
		/n/ -----> [n]
	SEMI-CONSONANTS	
	/w/ -----> [w]	
	/y/ -----> [y]	

Voiced allophones in the language are mostly found in word initial position; in other cases, they appear intervocalically. However, not all word-initial consonants are voiced and there are differences in the frequency of voiceless allophones. For example, [b][p] may be said to be almost in free variation in most word positions. It is common to hear [potopoto] or [botoboto]. But, [b] will tend to appear in Spanish loans, whether they contain /p/ or /b/ stops, for instance, Spanish pelota 'ball' borrows as Warao berota, cambiar 'change' as kabiata and barco 'ship' as baroko. Among the speakers of the area under research for this dissertation, initial [p] is found in a very reduced set of lexical items, for example, [payara] 'kind of fish' which never was heard with the voiced stop. In Warao, [p] and [b] are unaspirated as all remaining stops.

On the other hand, the /r/ allophones [d][r] occur in quite specific phonological environments: (i) [d] always appears initially, and (ii) [r] is always intervocalic. In Warao, the [r] variant has the highest frequency of occurrence given the fact that to the extensive native lexicon containing such allophonic realization, Spanish loans including initial or medial /r//l/ and /d/, medial /r/ and medial clusters such as /dr/ must also be incorporated. Some examples are presented in (298)

(298)	SPANISH	WARAO
	<u>deber</u>	<u>erebe</u> 'owe'
	<u>barril</u>	<u>bariri</u> 'vat'
	<u>limón</u>	<u>arimona</u> 'lemon'
	<u>fiscal</u>	<u>bisikari</u> 'fiscal'
	<u>bala</u>	<u>bara</u> 'pellet'
	<u>pólvora</u>	<u>borobora</u> 'gun powder'
	<u>Pedro</u>	<u>bero</u> 'Peter'

Warao semi-consonants /w/ and /y/, given their inherent non-syllabic feature, are always initial segments of diphthongs and triphthongs. These phonemes contrast with syllabic /u/ and /i/, as shown in the pairs in (299-301)

(299)	a. <u>iabu</u>	'abandon'
	b. <u>yabu</u>	'chase'
(300)	a. <u>iasi</u>	'smash'
	b. <u>yasi</u>	'hat'
(301)	a. <u>ua</u>	'kind of fish'
	b. <u>wa</u>	'cance'

The rest of the Warao consonant phonemes and their allophones exhibit a quite predictable behavior from the universal existing phonological theory.

27.2.2. Vowels

The set of vowel allophones in Warao is as follows in (302) below

(302)	/i/	---->	[i]
	/e/	---->	[e]
	/a/	---->	[a]
	/o/	---->	[o]
	/u/	---->	[u]

These vowels are all oral, being [i][e][a] unrounded and [o][u] rounded.

Nasalization in the vowels and the semi-consonants [w][y], as well as the glottal fricative [h], is a phonologically-conditioned process, depending upon the presence of a preceding nasal consonant, as illustrated in (303)

(303)	[m ^h báú]	'You, give (it)'
	[náú]	'come'
	[m ^h yó]	'kind of bird'
	[ināwáhã]	'dry season'

A nasalized string in Warao is interrupted by any non-nasal consonant. For example:

(304)	[m ^h éñkohl]	'shadow'
	[náótel]	'come/will come'

2B. PHONOTACTICS

Roots in Warao almost always begin with a consonant and end with a vowel. The first tendency is the strongest, and indeed, the number of vowel initial roots, by dictionary count, is reduced as compared with those of consonant initial ones. Consonants never cluster in Warao and are forbidden in syllable final position, a trait that is evidenced also in Spanish loans containing syllables ending in a consonant, which in Warao undergo deletion or rising of an epenthetical subsequent vowel, as (305) exemplifies:

(305)	SPANISH	WARAO
	<u>arróz</u>	<u>aro</u> 'rice'
	<u>carta</u>	<u>karata</u> 'letter'
	<u>gobernador</u>	<u>kobenahoro</u> 'governor'

Conversely, vowels can cluster forming roots of up to four segments, provided that not two of the same quality get into direct contact.

The behavior of consonants and vowels as far as the possibilities of their combination is concerned leads to conclude that the basic syllable types in Warao are (C)V, in which the vowel is a nucleus which a consonant may, or may not, precede, either root initially, medially or finally. The possible CV combinations in Warao are presented in TABLE 21

	i	e	a	o	u
p	---	pe	pa	po	---
b	bi	be	ba	bo	bu
t	ti	te	ta	to	tu
k	ki	ke	ka	ko	ku
k ^w	k ^w i	k ^w e	k ^w a	k ^w o	---
s	si	se	sa	so	su*
h	hi	he	ha	ho	hu
d	di**	de**	da**	do**	du**
r	ri***	re***	ra***	ro***	ru***
m	mi	me	ma	mo	mu
u	ni	ne	na	no	nu
w	wi	we	wa	---	---
y	---	ye	ya	yo	yu

TABLE 21: root-initial, root-medial and root-final CV combinations
 =====> KEY: * not observed root-finally
 ** only root-initially
 *** only root-medially and root-finally

Additionally, the possible V-syllable sequences in Warao are summarized in TABLE 22 below:

	i	e	a	o	u
---	ei	ai	oi	ui	
ie	---	ae	oe	ue	
ia	ea	---	oa	ua	
io	eo	ao	---	---	
iu	eu	au	ou	---	
iai	eai	---	oai	uai	
iae	eae	---	oae	uae	
iao	---	---	---	---	
iau	---	---	oau	---	
---	---	---	oiai	---	
---	---	---	oiae	---	
---	---	---	---	ueai	
---	---	---	---	ueae	
---	euai	---	---	---	
---	euae	---	---	---	

TABLE 21: Possible V-syllables and V-syllable sequences

The presence of V-syllable sequences in Warao closely correlates with the chain-suffixing of person, aspect, mood and tense markers to verbs:

(306) tue -a -e -ine
 burp PUNC PAST 1sg.S
 'I burped'

Also, some V sequences are inherent to the root own shape, as evidenced by

(307) huai 'come out'

(308) aua 'kind of fish'

The most frequent (C)V groups to build monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms are V, CV, VV, CVV, CVCV, CVVV, CVCVVV and CVVVCV. All of these arrangements may reduplicate to give rise to many language onomatopoeic items, such as seisei [CVV+CVV] 'something fading away', sasasasa [CV+CV+CV+CV] 'sound of a rattling instrument'.

maremare [CVCV+CVCV] `sound for referring to music`, kuaikua
`bouncing up and down`, etc.

The predominant pattern of heavy stress is on the penultimate vowel, antepenultimate heavy stress remaining confined to some onomatopoeic words and ultimate heavy stress to Spanish loans which are heavily stressed in the ultimate syllable in that language. Heavy stress almost without exception falls on the second syllable from the end in disyllables, trisyllables and polysyllables. Monosyllables generally bear heavy stress if the syllable pattern in CV, and weak stress if the syllable pattern is V (Romero Figueroa, 1986b). In some cases, monosyllables are completely unstressed. Further, heavy stress in Warao often shifts to the right in search for penultimate syllables once roots take inflections. This displacement obviously occurs across morphemic boundaries. An example of Warao stress shift is provided in (309)

(309) nahóro

nàhoró -te `You eat`
nahòro -náka `You do not eat`
nàhorò -naká -ra `Don't you eat?`

The marking of weak stress in (309) agrees with a rule by which alternate syllables are stressed with weak secondary stress, counting back from the heavily stressed syllable, and syllables not stressed with heavy stress are unstressed.

In Warao, no two words are distinguished by placement of the stress. Root boundaries are purely delimitative in the language. Root boundaries may be set departing from the syllables bearing heavy stress which will always be penultimate, alternating with unstressed and weak syllables either to the right or to the left. This behavior implies that the next heavily-stressed syllables necessarily belong to other roots. Root boundary setting also demand an analysis of allophone distribution, specially that of those solely appearing word-initially.

SECTION FIVE: STYLE (Romero-Figueroa, 1993)

29. SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Speech in sociolinguistics stretches along a wide range from formal to casual, accomodating in between a number of

intermediate possibilities linked at different degrees to two such poles. There is a tendency to choose pieces of casual speech to look into usages of language in environments in which the presence of an alien--the researcher--is felt as undisturbing. Once, casual speech and social context have been correlated and results of that correlation have been understood, the remaining varieties up to the most formal one can be grasped. This approach strongly favors sociolinguistic studies concerning societies different from those most linguists belong to, and languages quite distinct from the one, or ones they speak. This is so because we would be unable to comprehend language performances if the social setting where they occur is unknown to us. Of course, the linguistic interpretation of any language is successful when the researcher is perceived by natives as a part of the group and they start to act as if the linguist were not present.

To obtain casual speech in context implies the sharing of experiences with the social group or groups under investigation. This also means an extensive involvement with the members of the group(s). A fundamental achievement in sociolinguistic research is the obtaining of speech in which experiences and involvement conflate.

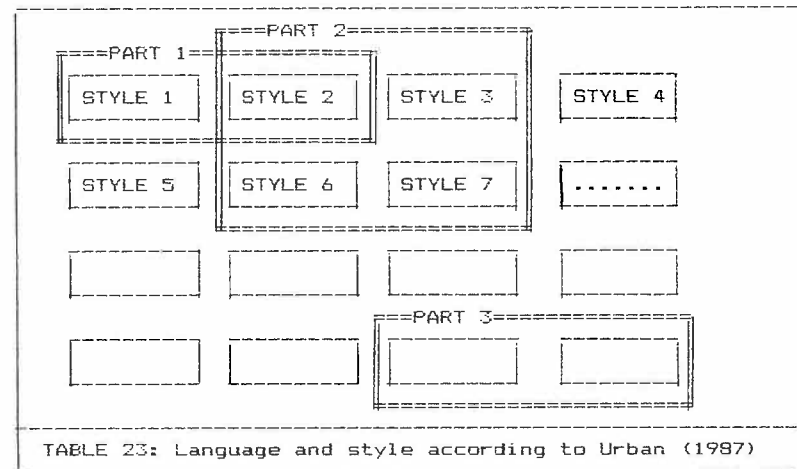
In most societies, perhaps all, contexts of speech interaction set up such dimensions as sacred-secular, serious-trivial, open network-closed network, and several other value scales (Brown & Fraser, 1979), which ultimately lead to the use of particular styles. Speech styles vary with participants in diverse manners. According to Brown & Fraser (1979), we may distinguish between speech styles as markers of various characteristics of the individual speakers and speech styles as markers of relationships among participants. What is most distinctive about many of these styles is the nature of the lexicon. Brown & Fraser (1979) mention that doctors, stockbrokers and gamblers use different words while performing their respective roles. Since the topics of their talk are quite different this is hardly surprising, and if all, what was claimed was that different activities require different vocabularies. But of course, even as far as vocabulary is concerned, there is more to it than that. For professional groups are likely to be using technical terms for activities which would be discussed in different terms by layman.

Styles can also contain phonological markers. In this respect, Brown & Fraser (1979) indicate that radio commentators, for instance, make use of extra stress for loudness contrasts, and use intonation both to connect segments into lengthy, apparently coherent, sentences, and also to give clear indications of finality. This kind of phonological features that may be associated to particular styles are widely spread over languages of the world.

As for morphology and syntax, the speakers of any language may accomplish a great many communicative tasks with the sentences of their language. In this regard, Sadock & Zwicky (1979) note that speakers' conventional conversational uses let narrate a tale, report what someone knows or has heard, suggest a joint action, give permission to do something, and so on. For some of these uses, a language will have specific syntactic constructions, or even specific forms, reserved just for these uses--special particles, affixes, word order, elliptical arrangements, etc.--that will keep a connection with the roles of the participants and that ultimately will depend upon particular styles. All of the above lead to conclude that style heavily conditions the lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax of a language. Under such circumstances, styles are code variants of language used in specific ways and with particular purposes.

In most of the investigations conducted on Warao--and this is perhaps true of many studies on South American native languages--emphasis is assigned to structure and little has been said about style as a conditioning factor of structure.

In native languages of South America, the linguistic area in which Warao belongs, there are styles which may be distinguished without any knowledge of the code as structure. Such is the case in Shokleng (Urban; 1985, 1986a, 1986b), a language in which some ceremonial dialogues characterize by formal features such as the level of pitch, the metered syllabification, the explosive pharyngealized and laryngealized articulation, and so forth. Thus, any listener--even without knowing how to speak Shokleng--will accept that a specific style is in use. Style and structure in this sense are opposed concepts. Nevertheless, there are other instances in which the distinctiveness of structure and style is a limiting factor. One such case is Xavante (Graham, 1986), a language in which the discursive sequences of the ritual specialist known as the 'a'ama involves large stylistic lexical substitutions using the basic morphology and syntax of Xavante. This style of the 'a'ama is not marked by distinctive intonation, metering or voice quality. As a result, listeners cannot distinguish this style of use from ordinary Xavante language just by listening to it. In this sense, Xavante behaves differently from Shokleng in which the different style of the ceremonial dialogue given its special phonological characteristics may be identified with no knowledge of the structure. Urban (1987) points out that the 'a'ama style is a structure-dependent code variant. Insofar as it is structure-dependent, the features that allow one to pick out the style are also features employed in building the code as structure. Based upon the Xavante experience, Urban (1987) suggests a view of the relationship between language and style as in TABLE 23 below



According to Urban (1987), the small boxes in the diagram represent distinct styles. Each of these styles may involve a distinctive distributional structure. Some aspects or parts of a structure may be shared between different styles. These shared aspects of structure are indicated by Urban using larger boxes--labelled PART 1, PART 2, etc.--that encompass more than one style. Thus, Urban (1987) notes, lexical items may be found in certain styles but not in others, a particular morphological rule may characterize only some styles, a specific syntactic phenomenon may be relatively localized, and so on.

Urban (1987) groups the basic parameter of stylistic variation in South America under the general headings of SPACE, TIME, PERSON and REFERENTIAL CONTENT.

(i) SPACE. With regard to the spatial parameters of style, linguistic work draws close to social anthropology. Anthropologists working on South America have drawn attention to the notion of "social space", that is SPACE conceived as relevant to society. Graham (1986) studied the usage of three styles: ritual wailing, communal singing and political oratory. She observed that the styles tends to be associated exclusively with distinct parts of the Xavante social space. Xavante villages are organized into a semicircle of houses around a central plaza. Graham (1986) noted that ritual wailing occurred almost exclusively around the hut, whereas political oratory was associated with the plaza, the area where the meetings of the men's council occurred. Communal singing was in this regard intermediate, taking place in the plaza, but also between the plaza and the hut as groups of men marched around the village singing.

(ii) TIME. Time is a very frequent co-determinant of usage. One example of this is discussed by Urban (1987) along the following lines: in Shokleng, the origin of myth-telling, or ceremonial dialogue style, known as the *waneklen*, and the dyadic chanting style known as the *ahan* are closely related in structure-independent forms, differing markedly in structure-dependent aspects. The former style is associated with these rituals for the dead, and it is in this measure temporally-bound. The latter style occurs at the lip-plug giving and thigh-tattooing ceremony for 1- to 3-year-old children. It only takes place in the latter temporally-bound context.

(iii) PERSON. A basic distinction, Urban (1987) notices, among personal determinants of style has to do with their relational as opposed to non-relational character. The style may be determined more in terms of the person who is speaking, regardless of the interlocutor or other aspects of the context, or more in terms of the relationship between speaker(s) and hearer(s). Among the non-relational determinants are such basic oppositions as that between male and female. In some cases, there may be full of structural differences between men's and women's speech. Another non-relational contrast involves age, especially, differences between elder and younger speech.

A relational determinant is style variation depending upon the kinship relation between speaker and hearer. In some Central Brazil languages, affinal relationships demand a formality in interaction which includes linguistic styles.

(iv) REFERENTIAL CONTENT. This refers to the content or subject matter of the discourse which may be associated with stylistic distinctiveness. In general, style determined by content is usually referred to as "genre". Urban (1987) notes that there are many formal features that differentiate myth-telling from other instances of language use, and that differentiate one type of myth-telling, that dealing with traditional stories, from another, that dealing with the origin myth. In the case of Shokleng, Urban points out, these are mainly lexical and syntactic; however, in other Amazonian languages they may be basically phonological.

30. WARAO SPEECH ACTS AND ASSOCIATED DISCOURSE FEATURES

To accomplish the goal of describing different speech styles which characterize by particular morpho-syntactic and lexical usages determined--on a spatial-temporal framework--by the person who is speaking, kinship ties or social relationships between speakers and hearers and referential contents or subject matters into consideration, it is necessary to typify speech acts and classify the discourse features prevailing in such types. Only after this step has been completed, styles or

code variants of a language may be distinguished and accounted for.

In Warao society, the most elementary contact between two individuals, for example, a case in which one of them runs into the other, implies a verbal exchange, very often structures as follows

(310) A: ihi kasikaha -ra
 you what INTERROG
 'How are you?'

B: bahuka -te ihi bahuka -te -ra
 be good NON-PAST you be good NON-PAST INTERROG
 'I am good. Are you good?'

A: bahuka -te
 be good NON-PAST
 'I am good'

B: yak -era
 goodness AUGM
 'Fine'

The speech act quoted above, called BAHUKA A RIBU 'words of saying to be good' or 'words of greeting', may vary according to circumstances such as kinship, degree of intimacy, frequency of meeting, purpose of the encounter if it is intentional, and others. This particular speech act tends to be rather formal particularly because among the Warao, personal relations are plentiful of respect and consideration for the elderly and for the masculine members of the nuclear and extended families. Thus, this greeting formula is almost compulsory. It is quite likely that individuals who are closely acquainted will use jargon of over sexually-oriented content in their greeting. These interlocutors will incorporate such sexual remarks into BAHUKA A RIBU bringing about a different type of speech act known as ENQYABA A RIBU 'words of making fun'. The resultant speech act, an informal variant of BAHUKA A RIBU, often involves two males, or females, of similar age, usually youngsters, that may belong to the same family or to different ones. The discursive sequence in ENQYABA A RIBU may develop along the following lines

(311) A: kasikaha ihi wata -hoto -ira -ra
 what you intercourse doer AUG INTERROG
 (lit.) 'How are you, the one one that gets engaged in frequent coition', or
 'How are you, big dick?'

B: kasikaha ma yaba
 what my friend
 'How are you, my friend?'

A: bahuka -te
 be good NON-PAS
 'I am good'

B: yak -era
 goodness AUGM
 'Fine'

These speech acts and their verbalizations are free from spatial, temporal and contextual constraints in BAHUKAYĀ A RIBU and ENOYABA A RIBU, personal is determinant for the occurrence of either one code or the other. If the encounter of the interlocutors--or participants--in these speech acts lasts enough as to consider that it fits into the category of a visit, the interplay of space, time and person contributes to define a new different speech act called DEHEWARA A RIBU 'words of saying stories'. The latter often proceeds indoors, once greeting has finished and participants have taken seats on the floor, or in any available piece of furniture including hammocks. The act in most cases begins by questioning the visitor as exemplified in (312) below

(312) kasikaha deh -ekira -ra
 what story no INTERROG
 'What's up? Any story?'

As a response, the one inquired might choose to narrate any of his/her most recent experiences. This choice implies the development of a speech act that may be considered a sub-type within DEHEWARA A RIBU 'words of saying stories'. The telling of stories about personal affairs already past or in progress is known as ERIBU 'words of saying about common events'. These stories may deal with topics as diverse as family news, episodic or health problems, communal routines or travelling episodes. A fragment of a conversation on a journey is offered in (313)

(313) a. wahukatu -ya oko nabaka -n -a -e
 last ALL we arrive sg PUNC PAST
 'Finally, we arrived'

b. anaka ta -era -witu naba sibi
 storm strength AUGM H.I. river half

namoni -n -a -e
 strike sg PUNC PAST
 'A big storm struck us in the middle of the river'

c. oko wanari -bu -a -e
 we sink ITER PUNC PAST
 'We almost sunk'

'Finally, we arrived. A big storm struck us when we were in the middle of the river. Our canoe was close to sink'

Other topics can be selected in answering the question in (312), all depending upon the roles of the interlocutors. If they happen to be practitioners of medical and religious activities among the Warao, their stories would mainly concern sickness, labelled NOBARA A RIBU 'words of saying stories about sickness', or they might be about sorrow and regret, called SANA A RIBU 'words of saying stories about distress'. A NOBARA A RIBU text is presented in (314) below

(314) oko kuana yaota -te arone
 we hardness work NON-PAST although

yak -era nahoro -te osibu
 goodness AUGM eat NON-PAST morokoto
 (kind of fish)

masi a toma noboto -ma saba baka a mi ho
 deer of meat child PL for vaca of breast fluid
 (venison) (cow)
 (caw milk)

moa -te
 give NON-PAST

ta -te -mo a noboto -ma wab -a -e kuare
 that LOC ABL of child PL die PUNC PAST since
 (from there)

oko reha -te
 we fear NON-PAST

tama -tika hebu nao -kuna
 this LOC bad spirit here INCH PRES
 (right here)

'Although we work hard and eat well, morokoto, venison and cow milk (is) given to the children, we are afraid because the children die. A bad spirit begins to come right here'

A SANA A RIBU 'words of saying stories about distress' text is shown in (315)

(315) m- auka wab -a -e kuare ine arao ana ha
 1sg.POS son die PUNC PAST as I people no COP
 (without
 family)

sina wab -a -e m- auka sanuka
 one die PUNC PAST 1sg.POS son smallness

yak -era tai ha ona -naka
 goodness AUGM he COP cry NEG
 (lit.) 'I am without a family as my son died. The dead
 one was my little kid. He was a good boy. (You) do
 not cry'

A speech act of the kind exemplified in (315) would likely include as well the description of some shamanistic procedures used to cure the sick. In this case, the participating shamans to make their points as clearly as possible will explain their performances quoting pieces of their curing invocations. This is observed in (316)

(316) dubuhu nebu waba -te
 quick man die NON-PAST

maraka aisia waba -naka ta -te
 maraka with die NEG AUX NON-PAST

kareko ma- auka -ma ma- ribu noko -kotu
 kareko 1sg.POS son PL 1sg.POS word obey 2pl.IMP

yatu ine inataba -te
 2pl.O I master NON-PAST

yatu aisia ine -isi ta -i -ha
 you AGEN I DAT strength COMP PERF
 'This man will die quickly. (But) he will not die by
 virtue of this maraka. Karekos, my sons, you all,
 obey me. I master you: give me your power'

The text in (316) shows some stereotypical terms as well as some particular meanings in euphemistic senses, in accord with the interacting dyad, since it must be remembered that the speaker and the hearer share a religious status. In (316), maraka 'a rattle' and kareko 'pebbles of a rattle' are fundamental instruments to be used and invoked in shamanistic curing rituals. This is so in the case of the pebbles of the rattle because stones are very uncommon in the territories

occupied by the Warao. Rather, this land has alluvial terrains made out of clay and sand that the Orinoco River has gradually deposited in the banks of the many mouths of its Delta. Therefore, occasional stones or fragments of ancient rocks that have been uncovered by the waters are perceived by the Warao as signalling magical and sacred places considered habitats of spirits. Small pieces of these stones in the hands of a shaman means that he is in possession of the power and wisdom of the inhabiting spirits. The kareko 'pebbles of a rattle' are tutelary spirits in Warao religious beliefs which are kept prisoners in the maraka 'a rattle' by shamans.

A visit to a Warao household may also turn around the telling of stories about ancestry. This kind of speech act is called DENOBO A RIBU 'words of saying stories about ancestors'. DENOBO A RIBU is generally induced by initial statements such as those in (317-318) below

(317) dehe wara -u
 story speak 2sg.IMP
 'You, tell a story!'

(318) dehe wara -kotu
 story speak 2pl.IMP
 'You all, tell a story!'

Such as indicated by the statements in (317-318), DENOBO A RIBU 'words of saying stories about ancestors' is highly dependent upon the person parameter. In this respect, person appears to take precedence over the two other important parameters for the defining of this speech act, namely time and space. (317-318) suggest a story-telling session in which there is one or several story-teller(s) addressing a group or auditorium. (317-319) represent an unidirectional system. Unidirectional telling of ancestral tales involves the presence of one, or more individuals of social relevance, as a story-teller or story-tellers. Hence, it may be expected formality, or at least, a semi-formal treatment. As well, story-telling sessions conducted by such characters appear to be highly-bound to space. They preferably occur in the place or the addresser, who would probably be the kobenahoro 'governor' or any aidamo 'chief'. A further aspect to be considered about the unidirectional situation relates to the behavior of the listeners which is almost totally passive, remaining in silence all over the delivering. In this case, listeners' participations--if any--generally confine themselves to collective laughing as a response to stimuli of comic nature.

Another speech act that has been detected--called DIHIBU 'words of giving explanations'--covers discussions intended for solving communal problems, particularly those which have caused physical and verbal violence or any other kind of disagreement among the Warao of a village. The contextual situation for DIHIBU is somewhat defined by the time, space, person and referential content parameters. A DIHIBU session meets at night in the place of any community leader, whether this is the home of the kobenahoro 'governor', or any airamo 'chief'--the bisikari 'fiscal', kabitano 'captain' or borisia 'policeman'. The confronting parties together with relatives and friends show up at the meeting place where the kobenahoro and other chiefs might have convened, and one by one expresses points of view about the matter. They may be questioned to clarify doubts. Once argumentations have been evaluated, one of the chiefs interprets what has happened and makes a point on what the consequences of such deeds may be or might have been. Finally, he encourages the ceasing of hostilities and the restoration of harmony between the upset men, groups or families. The chief emphasizes in the need of sticking to peaceful solutions such as the ancestors always did. The chiefs' pieces of advice seldom generate reactions other than those leading to a settlement; nonetheless, the participants in DIHIBU meetings may go on in the discussion of the problem for several hours to adjust the terms of the arrangement. My data suggests that consensus is obtained very quickly when the chief is a skillful orator. In egalitarian societies like the Warao, leading statuses correlate with ability to preserve good interpersonal relations in groups and communities. The opposite condition--current alteration of social order and delay to bring it back--means leadership weakening, and often this triggers the renewal of community heads.

A fragment of DIHIBU 'words of giving explanations' involving three participants in an exchange of doubts and derogatory phrases is shown in (319)

(319) A: tai nibora as -ira ine tai mi -komoni
that man badness AUGM I 3sg.0 see NEG POT

ine tai obono -naka tai tomana ekira
I 3sg.0 want NEG he shame no
'That man is very bad. I cannot see (stand) him. I do not want (dislike) him. He is shameless'

B: ihi as -ira tomana ekira
you badness AUGM shame no
'You are bad. You are shameless (in defensive reply)'

A: ma -mo ihi naru -te
1sg.0 ABL you go NON-PAST

kasikaha ihi non -a -e
what you do PUNC PAST

ihi as -ira non -a -e tai nona -naka
you badness AUGM do PUNC PAST 3sg.0 do NEG
'You go (away) from me. What you did!. You did wrong. You do not do it (again)'

B: inare ta -u naru
shut up AUX 2sg.IMP go

hi mi -kitane obono -naka ihi ma
2sg.0 see INFINIT want NEG you 1sg.0

ekutu -bu -naka
make fun ITER NEG
'Shut up. Go (away). I do not want to see you. You do not make fun of me'

A: kasikaha tai ihi non -a -e -ra
what 3sg.0 you do PUNC PAST INTERROG

ihi nona -te -kore ine hi yewere -te
I do NON-PAST COND I 2sg.0 reject NON-PAST

nona -naka
do NEG
'How could you do it?. If you do it I will reject you. You do not do it (anymore)'

According to the data analyzed in (310-319) in the preceding, Warao relevant speech acts may be summarized as follows

1. BAHUKA A RIBU
'words of expressing well-being'
2. ENOYABA A RIBU
'words of making fun'
3. DEHEWARA A RIBU
'words of telling stories'
- 3.1. ERIBU
'Words of talking about common events'
- 3.1.1. NOBARA A RIBU
'Words of telling stories about sickness'

3.1.2. SANA A RIBU

'Words of telling stories about distress'

3.2. DENOBO A RIBU

'Words of telling stories about ancestry'

4. DIHIBU

'Words of giving explanations'

TABLE 24: Relevant speech acts in Warao

The four major types accounted for and their sub-types rank from the least bound to the parameters considered for studying style in this research--BAHUKA A RIBU 'words of expressing well-being'--to the most bound to such parameters--DIHIBU 'words of giving explanations'. On the one hand, the discursive characteristics of BAHUKA A RIBU are heavily dependent upon person, they are not determined by either time or space though. On the other hand, DIHIBU 'words of giving explanations' shows a strong interaction of time, space and person. In the intermediate positions, in DEHEWARA A RIBU 'words of telling stories', for instance, space and person are quite relevant. In this type, time is important to a lesser degree.

It is convenient to state that speech acts in Warao do not presuppose rigidity in verbal sequences. In fact, verbal sequences generally vary, but they essentially structure in the manner the examples show. I have used some portions of my collected recordings that may be thought as being representative of the Warao way of thinking and acting.

Finally, I have not offered an exhaustive inventory of speech acts because the process of acculturation of the Warao has made increasingly remote the possibilities to celebrate traditional religious rituals such as nahanamu or the presenting of palm tree flour offerings to kanobq 'our grandfather'. I never had the chance to attend this ceremony because it is no longer seasonally observed. Another speech act that I was unable to witness was the one associated with burials, events that have quite distinctive discursive features according to data by Barral (1964).

31. SOCIAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WARAO

Linguistic usages correlate strongly with social and anthropological features. Thus, I must provide some details about the religious beliefs and order-preserving mechanisms among the Warao which are necessary for the understanding of some of the findings. Although I shared with the Warao enough time for drawing my own conclusions, further information in this dissertation has been taken from Barral (1964) and Suárez (1971).

With regard to religious life, Suárez (1971) points out that the control of the supernatural forces lies in the hands of the wisiratu '(lit.) the owner of the poison'--a medicine practitioner that has the power to nullify evilness inflicted by someone else, the hoarotu '(lit. the owner of the evil spirits'--one that has the power to inflict evilness to someone else and the bahanarotu '(lit.) the owner of the magical arrow'. Respectively, these Warao religious guides master three supernatural forces which enter the human body and cause three sorts of very different diseases, namely hebu 'a spirit of nature', hoa 'an evil spirit' and hatabu 'an enchantment'. Suárez (1971) adds that each one of these diseases has specific symptoms and the therapy carried out varies in each instance. An individual ill with hebu suffers from digestive disorders, fever and flu. The wisiratu's cure consists of invocations to helping spirits--by using his maraka 'a rattle' together with tobacco smoke blowing and massages--to evict the unhealthy possession from the victim's body. According to Suárez' interpretation of the facts, hebu can be identified as spirits of trees, rain, water, shadows, etc. The wisiratu is a person who himself possesses hebu, an attribute obtained from the time of his initiation, and that it is the one that enables him to control its diverse detrimental manifestations. The wisiratu also protects his community of the dangers of natural phenomema. I never had the chances to witness a curing ritual, but I indeed watched a wisiratu sending away a storm just in front of his home entrance. His verbal performance appears in (320)

(320) sssu sssu naha naru naha naru naha eko -nu
 sssu sssu rain go rain go rain move 2sg.IMP

naha eko -nu
 rain move 2sg.IMP
 'Shoo shoo, rain goes away, rain goes away. You
 rain, go away!. Go away!'

In contrast, hoa is an oral witchcraft sent by the hoarotu like an arrow against someone chosen as his prey. A Warao attacked by hoa feels terrible pains elsewhere and recognizes himself to have been a victim of a wicked hoarotu

living in the same settlement or in its surroundings. hoa also designates an oral formula used by the hoarotu for curing hoa disease. Hence, the hoarotu performs both actions: he can cause illness and he is also able to restore health by tobacco smoke blowing and massages. I could never record a hoa; however, Barral (1945: 170) reports one of them such as is shown in (321) below

(321) ayawaka ayawaka wisiratu
 hi wisitane ninisibuae hi a obone
 hi rokoitane ninisibuae hi a obone
 hi meho noika sabuka
 hi matarukaneninae
 sau ana tekore sau bakanae
 sau bakanae tekore
 sau uanaru
 sau oreturanu
 ine hi temonate
 ine hi temoikore
 oreraitanu
 (Barral, 1964:170)

'Scorpion, scorpion, owner of the poison
 so your poison inoculate
 so your mouth sent it as well as your body
 below your chest
 your poison sack got up side down
 you brought soreness where it did not exist before
 soreness alleviate
 soreness alleviate
 I will nullify you
 when I finish to do this
 you disappear'
 (approximate translation of my own)

hatabu is produced by the bahanarotu. Like hoa, hatabu is also an arrow directed against a victim; however, hatabu differs from hoa in that it is invested with a corporal appearance (Suárez, 1971:62). hatabu has a materialistic configuration in the form of strings, fish-hooks, hair, etc., which have pathogenic action ascribed to them. The treatment of hatabu consists of suction, tobacco smoke blowing and massages intended to extract the arrow embedded in the sick Warao. Although I never attended a bahanarotu act; I have chosen to exemplify a piece of discourse of this type by quoting Olson (1973) in (322) below

(322) ine yemawarine ine
 ine hiahoko amaware yehebatu
 ine etuwaratu ine
 ine sabasabamo
 taimonuka ine
 ine mawae karamuna ine
 'I am the master
 I am the caller of the hebu
 I am your greater
 I am the same as him
 my beginning is together with him
 this is my name....'
 (Olson, 1973:57)

hoa and hatabu are the most fatal causes of death. When the hoarotu and the bahanarotu are unable to extract them and fail in their curative functions then the patient inevitably dies. hebu is a less serious health problem being milder than the others.

Suárez (1971) proposes that the basic belief in the Warao theory of disease causation is that the human body is attacked by the incorporation of supernatural forces which are conceptualized in three different ways: hebu as a natural spirit which possesses the individual and hoa and hatabu as two maleficent arrows which enter the body of a victim. The former is abstract, the latter is concrete. Both are produced by practitioners who assume dual roles: one aggressive and harmful; the other beneficent and curative. Warao society makes the malevolent aspect of the hoarotu and the bahanarotu dominant, and the wickedness of both is socially recognized and inspires fear, whereas the wisiratu, master of hebu, is well known for his goodness and benevolence.

Coming into political organization, the Warao society is egalitarian, although social order is controlled by individuals who exercise leadership on the grounds of their mastery of supernatural and natural forces as well as their control of oratory and their language proficiency. Any Warao, as he grows older and his success in solving community problems has been tested in practical situations, would have access to leadership in his family group and by extension to his neighbors and even his settlement as a whole. Thus, as Suárez (1971) notes, two sorts of jural statuses can be distinguished: one for the kobenahoro 'governor', kabitano 'captain', bisikari 'fiscal' and borisia 'governor', who are the leaders; the other belonging to the nebu 'young men' or 'workers'. The former set groups under the generic denomination airamotuma 'chiefs'. They are usually the oldest men in the village. Within the airamotuma 'chiefs', the kobenahoro takes the supremacy on the grounds of extensive accumulated experience over the longest time period as compared with the others. The remainder--kabitano, bisikari and borisia--become the kobenahoro's assistants. The

kobenahoro's assistants are younger people and are related to him by kinship ties in most cases. The need of assistants will straight-forwardly depend upon the size of the communities and even their distribution in the area. Given that the terms kobenahoro, kabitano, bisikari and borisia are Warao adaptations of Spanish 'gobernador', 'capitán', 'fiscal' and 'policia', it is likely that the original system--prior to the presence of Spanish-descent settlers in the Warao homeland--was simply called airamotuma 'chiefs', under the supreme leadership of a nobo 'grandfather' of widely-accepted respectability. At least, the DENOBO A RIBU 'words of telling stories about ancestry' does not report instances of any of the Spanish-based terms. Rather, such stories often report ancestral granfathers' physical dexterities and mental capabilities.

32. RELEVANT WARAO LINGUISTIC PATTERNS IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

An important linguistic aspect linked to religious and political leaders is in passing viewed by Wilbert (1975) when analyzing a Warao folktale. Wilbert (1975) notices that "the use of metaphoric language among the Warao is largely related to the social and religious elite of the tribe. They either choose archaic words, no longer in common use, or modify the current lexicon "by adding, suppressing or substituting letters, syllables and even words with or without semantic meaning" (Barral, 1958:30). Independently from his use of such terms as tribe and elite which are incompatible with the Warao organizational and social systems (Warao society is egalitarian), Wilbert (1975) offers adequate observations about language use. He points out that "on special occasions priest-shamans, in trance or not, chant texts that are totally unintelligible...and chiefs are prone to use connotative language when each morning before sunrise they chant their work orders." Barral (1945:157) also provides information of linguistic value as follows: The hoarotu when chanting his hoa artificially modulates his voice in rhythmic and varied tones, intensifying and diminishing volume, always keeping a pace with his sacred rattle, wisthing like birds, buzzing and chirping like insects, hissing like snakes and so forth.

Language codes, or styles, of the kind reported by Barral (1945) may of course be distinguished apart from a knowledge of structure. In such cases, in the absence of previous contact with Warao, any hearer can nevertheless detect that a particular style of language is in use, because it will develop in a specific phonological framework. These code variants are in some measure structure-independent; therefore, they fall outside the scope of this work. In accord with the theoretical background on style offered in (See 30.), distinctive intonation, metering and voice quality say little about language structure. I will exclusively focus on lexical factors such as the ones mentioned by Wilbert (1975) in the preceding, as well as in morpho-syntactic patterns operating in association with certain styles that I have identified in

my recordings. In summary, attention will be centered on code variants that may not be distinguished just by listening to them and whose analysis, on the contrary, demands extensive mastery of language structure.

33. PARTICIPANTS IN WARAO SPEECH ACTS

Some of the relevant speech acts accounted for in 31., are highly motivated by social circumstances of social and political nature. At this stage of this investigation--once Warao religion and order have also been overviewed--the possibilities of interlocution may be characterized. It must be accepted that an explanation of styles in any language depends upon an adequate interpretation of the roles of the participants in every possible speech act.

The speech act ranking in terms of strong binding on person at the BAHUKA A RIBU 'words of expressing well-being' and mild binding on person at the DIHIEU 'words of giving explanations' end suggests a correlation with a range of participation from duads to meetings. BAHUKA A RIBU on the one hand presupposes two participants in the absence (or in the presence) of an audience. DIHIEU on the other includes several participants performing one at a time, or even at the same time. The intermediate ranking position--DENOBO A RIBU 'words of telling stories about ancestry'--turns around only one individual addressing to an audience.

33.1. Two participants in the absence (or in the presence) of an audience

Two participants tend to hold their verbal exchange privately, although others can be around listening to them. They both alternate their passages of talk in a dialogistic fashion. This sort of exchange is mainly carried out by individuals of analogous statuses, from workers to chiefs. On the grounds of such statuses and their associated discourse contents is that distinctions have been possible to be set up, for instance, between BAHUKA A RIBU 'words of expressing well-being' and ENDYABA A RIBU 'words of making fun', as well as between the two speech acts above mentioned and ERIBU 'words of talking about common events', and within this latter type, between NOBARA A RIBU 'words of telling stories about sickness' and SANA A RIBU 'words of telling stories about distress'. All of the five speech acts so far alluded involve two participants in action.

33.2. Several participants performing one at a time, or even several at the same time

They interact in public sessions in which talks order succeedingly according to requested rights to take part in the discussion. The right to take part arises from the need of rejecting or accepting the debated matters. Since this situation is mainly found in DIHIEU 'words of giving

explanations', a speech act in which the airamotuma 'chiefs'--individuals sharing leading status--play primary roles, speech interferences may arise among them which are socially acceptable. For this reason, in occasions, two or more of them may talk simultaneously to suggest, calm down, disagree, etc. Conversely, nebu 'workers' are not allowed to upset participating order and they never interrupt when someone else is talking.

33.3. Only an individual addressing an audience

This is in most cases a situation observed in DENOBO A RIBU 'words of telling stories about ancestry'. The leading participant narrates a story about which he must show total mastery because any slip of memory would trigger complaints and inattention. As well, the leading participant without any interruptions must take to its end the story that he has begun to tell as an evidence of his abilities. Any one in the audience is allowed to comment about one or more aspects of the story, or may correct the story-teller if a deviation of the actual facts is noticed. In those cases in which the story is delivered uneventfully the audience usually remains silent and attentive.

34. WARAO SPEECH STYLES

All of the data on Warao speech acts and participant roles in discourse offered in the preceding sections has enabled me to isolate some speech styles in the language. Although the kind of style I have centered my attention on is the structure-dependent one, it is very likely that in such isolated styles morpho-syntactic and phonological features intersect. For instance, DIHIBU 'words of giving explanations', a speech act which often includes several participants performing one at a time or even several at the same time, the end of the part of each interlocutor is marked by an acute tone concomitant with vowel lengthening. This is a systematic procedure that may be thought to be a resource to preserve ordering in participations on the part of individuals of similar statuses by making the audience--by using sound effects--aware of the end of everyone's talk. This phonological device is observed even in variants of sentential arrangements that are often found in DIHIBU. I have chosen in these cases to make considerations about the morpho-syntactic aspects only, disregarding sound patterning and suprasegmentals.

Given its peculiarities, DIHIBU 'words of giving explanations' as a speech act sets down a specific style. I have called it the DERI STYLE 'council style'. The passages of talk in the DERI STYLE offer very interesting sociolinguistic data for the three following reasons: (i) participants focus on just one topic in most of the cases offering explanations of actions that depict a problem and identify individuals playing parts in it. This sort of explanations contain varied

phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical forms that make possible to compare manners of saying and behaving. The DERI STYLE closely associates with direct speech, the manner of speech nowadays considered the keystone for understanding discursive sequences and their socio-cultural meaning and implications, (ii) language is used not only for transmitting expressions and discussing actions, but it itself represents actions since every participant--using all possible resources--attempts to convince the others of accepting his point of view. One of the major efforts in this respect should be made by the airamotuma 'chiefs' whose fundamental role is the finding of a solution to each problem, for instance, persuading the protagonists of an impasse to change the attitude of one towards the other and viceversa. In this sense, the DERI STYLE is a source of data for studying performativity (Grimes, 1975), and (iii) contents reveal linguistic usages that allows to explore degrees of proficiency and personal attitudes of the Warao towards the Warao language. The passages of talk in the DERI STYLE offered by participants, independently from statuses, point out the relevance of such conceptual relations as those shown in (323) below

(36) obonobo ===> dibu ===> yanoko ===> yakerata
 think say listen solve
 (Briggs, 1988)

Several notes of morpho-syntactic value about Warao by Barral (1958) have been included in ethnographies, grammars and dictionaries in the absence of an analysis of styles in this language. As a result, some of the remarks by Barral lack justifications, and in the case of other authors their appreciations are not convincent. For instance, Barral (1958) mentions that "occultism"--or what he personally calls "literary camouflage"--is an outstanding quality of the speech of the airamotuma 'chiefs' and wisiratu 'shamans'. Barral adds that the airamotuma and wisiratu try to create a sort of mysterious environment around them to reach the goal to put intentionally a belief into any Warao's mind, and since the Warao are candid, as he says, the use of language showing uncommon arrangements and realizations of difficult interpretation becomes an instrument for such a purpose. Socially, Barral's judgement may be true, but from a linguistic perspective, his explanation is insufficient. I have found that what seems to be simply "literary camouflage" represents indeed manifestations of stylistically-motivated syntactic patterns and lexicon. For instance, suffixal pronouns, and morphological causatives of di-transitive verbs are typical in the DERI STYLE, and some of these structures are variants of other structures commonly used in everyday language. It appears to be that the emphatic value of suffixal pronouns as opposed to the semantic effect of prefixal ones and the possibilities of language enrichment that morphological di-transitive causatives bring about as compared with other causatives are important tools in discursive

sequences related to DIHIBU.

DENOBO A RIBU 'words of telling stories about ancestry', a speech act in which only one of the participants addresses an audience, is a propitious context for the use of another style in Warao. I have called it the DENOBO STYLE 'legend style'. The DENOBO STYLE characterizes by the use of certain lexical items of deictic value that make possible to place events in specific time frameworks. Such temporal units--mainly periphrastic past adverbs--are seldom heard in everyday language, and their use seems to be a prerogative of those who are in charge of the oral transferring of Warao traditions from generation to generation, namely airamotuma 'chiefs' and nobotuma 'grandfathers'. For instance, the use of yama 'BY HSY', atehewitu 'at the very beginning', and so forth, contribute--in addition to referential contents--to set up a distinction between DENOBO A RIBU 'words of telling stories about ancestries' and ERIBU 'words of talking about common events'. The latter, as opposed to the former, mostly includes deictic adverbs and postpositional locatives, which obviously lack the connotative remoteness of such time expressions as 'BY HSY (as my elders told long time ago)' or 'at the very beginning', and others.

To sum up, styles in Warao correlate with speech acts and participant roles as shown in TABLE 25:

- (i) DERI STYLE 'council style'
- Speech act type: DIHIBU 'words of giving explanations'
 - Participant roles: Several participants performing one at a time, or even several at the same time
 - Linguistic features: Morpho-syntactic variants plus phonological traits
- (ii) DENOBO STYLE 'legend style'
- Speech act type: DENOBO A RIBU 'words for telling stories about ancestry'
 - Participant roles: Only one of the participants addressing an audience
 - Linguistic features: Lexical variants mainly

TABLE 25: Inter-relationship among styles, speech acts, and participant roles

The DERI STYLE and DENOBO STYLE perhaps contrast with the manners that the Warao use for communicating every-day life events. This may be called the ARE STYLE 'the usual style'. This style correlates with some speech acts and participating roles as shown in TABLE 26:

(iii) ARE STYLE 'the usual style'

- Speech act types: BAHUKA A RIBU 'words of expressing well-being', ENOYABA A RIBU 'words of making fun', ERIBU 'words of talking about common events', NOBARA A RIBU 'words of telling stories about sickness', and SANA A RIBU 'words of telling stories about distress'
- Participant roles: Two participants with or without an audience
- Linguistic features: Predominance of unmarked phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical patterns

TABLE 26: Inter-relationship among styles, speech act types, and participant roles

CONCLUSIONS

(1) The data provided by Warao and the descriptive analysis here offered is expected to have broadened the data base available to linguistic science for purposes of formulating substantive and formal universals on human language, particularly in areas of current theoretical interest such as the determination of basic constituent order. Warao has proven to be a predominantly object initial language within a very steady verb final sentential pattern, which favors OSV arrangement in simplex sentences. Although subjects in Warao appear to be erratic constituents often, fronted for highlighting purposes, they may be adjacent to verbs, behavior which works in support of its classification as a prototypical OSV language.

(2) Warao has evidenced that styles are not separable or differentiable solely on the basis of structural or other linguistic dissimilarities. Although, I have demonstrated the existence of a style--the DERI 'council' STYLE--which is structurally-dependent, I would have not been able to isolate it in the absence of "specific meaning determined by the contextual situation". Indeed, in Warao, there are styles which are very much alike from a syntactic point of view, and they differentiate just because they have an inherent social significance. Thus, any researcher interested in style must endeavour to discover such specific meanings by penetrating the social setting so as to be able to conceive SPEECH ACTS and PARTICIPANT ROLES. In some cases, the decisive factors in defining styles which are very much alike in their syntax is the content of the speaker's discourse. In some other instances it is the purpose of his/her verbal performance, and even in other instances it is the kind of audience they have.

(3) This sociolinguistic sketch of Warao incorporates this language to the very reduced set of Amazonian languages that have been looked into upon an adequate theoretical framework. Many existing analyses written at the turn of the century have described native languages against a Latin-based grammatical background. Despite increased contributions about the functioning of native languages developed during the past twenty years, the Amazon-Orinoco axis still remains a linguistic reservoir about which very little has been investigated. In this particular linguistic context, some studies of strict phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical scope have been completed. Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to language and society interaction. Native South American languages very often offer different patterns and alternative forms rooted in societal traits. In these languages, perhaps more than in any others, the property of variation in languages becomes remarkably significant. I have found for Warao oral performances that the diverse forms of stylistic differentiation are intimately linked to social organization--interacting actively and each one supporting the

other. In the Warao case, the study of stylistic differentiation demands considerations about customs, beliefs, political order, kinship, alliance, etc., as well as about more restricted social circles within society.

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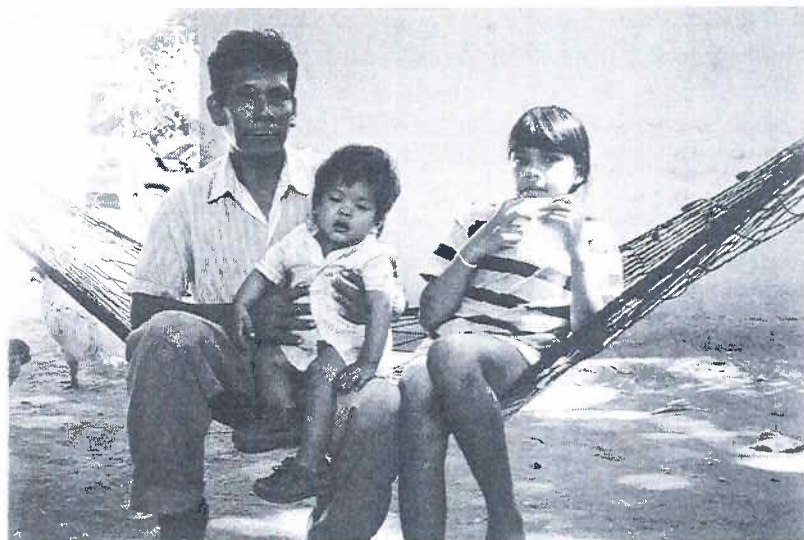
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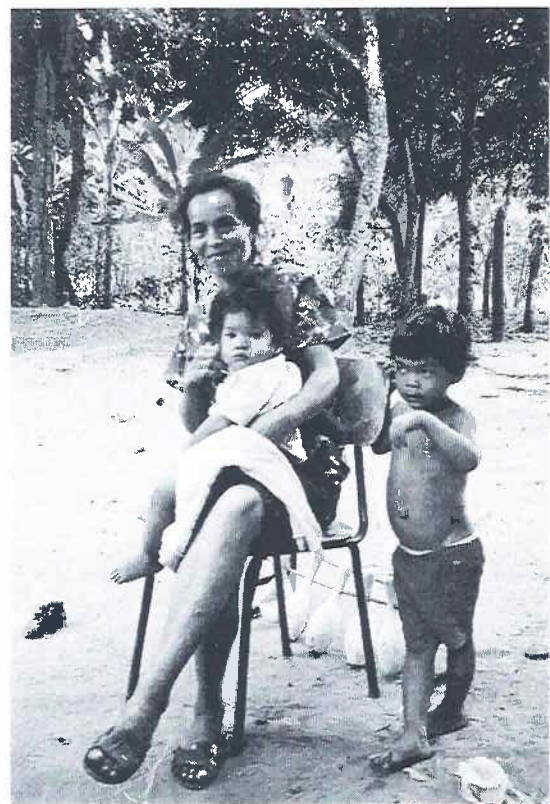
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(1) The author's Warao informant with his two children (picture taken in San José de Buha, State of Monagas in 1996)



(3) The informant's wife and children in Buha



(2) The author's Warao informant with assistant María Fernanda Pelayo and the author during a recording session



(4) The informant's family and the author's assistant in Buha



(5) The road to Cachama (Kashaama in Kari'ña). This is the site of fieldworking for the author's research. It's a semidesertic plain in the center of the State of Anzoátegui.



(6) WELCOME TO TASCABAÑA, the sign reads. Tascabaña (Takkabaña in Kari'ña) is another village, 20 kilometers east of Cachama



(7) Pablo Elías Carreño, the author's main Kari'ña informant, during a work session in Cachama Public Library (a community reading room).

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