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A Reference Grammar of Warao

Andrés Romero-Figueroa

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ABBREVIATIONS

1 (first)
2 (second)
3 (third)
p (person)
sg (singular)
PL (plural)
ABL (ative)
ABEN (itive)
ALL (ative)
AUGM (entative)
AUX (iliary)
BY HSY (by hearsay)
CAUS (ative)
COMP (arative)
COND (itional)
COP (uia)
DAT (ive)
DIM (nutive)
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)
NON (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)
PRD (noun)
PUNC (tual)
REF (lexive)
REL (ativizer)
S (ubject)
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 endeavored 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 *saños* 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 *wá* '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 descent. 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, Winamorena 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 Winamorena. 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 discussions 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 Yakarivene, 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 (Folto & 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 g and gu have been replaced by /k/. Similarly, the Spanish s 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 (verbs) 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
Juan run POT fall PUNC PAST
'John could fall.'

When (Objects) 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.'
- (3) (TRANSITIVE) DAT(ive) OSV
1sg.O DAT this one Diego say -a -e
'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, affected 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:

- (5) a. ine obono -ya
I want PRES
'I want'

- b. arukobo ine obono -ya
manioc I want PRES
'I want manioc'

- c. noboto -mo saba arukobo ine obono -ya
child PL DAT manioc I want PRES
'I want manioc for the children'

- 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 (Sa-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:

- (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

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

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

may be reduced as in:

- (9) 0 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 -kítane 'BE/HAVE -INFINIT.', the form denoting 'COP' may be deleted giving rise to S-COMP order. The examples below illustrate the case:

- (10) a. tai tira burebaka ha
that woman insane COP
'That woman is insane'

- b. tai tira burebaka 0
that woman insane
'That woman (is) insane'

Different from 0 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. 0: Ihi ma kaika nao -naka -ra
2sg.S 1sg.O with come NEG INTERROG
'Don't you come with me?'

- b. A: 0 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
 Ipl.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
 Ipl.O DAT Wauta goodness AUGM
 ta -n -a -e
 help sg PUNCT PAST
 'Wauta helped us'

(12a) exhibits the complex noun phrase *gracotuma tama 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 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
 Ipl.O 2sg.POS sister disdain NON-PAST
 'Your sister disdains us'
- b. 0 hi- rakoi ka- teoriasi -te
 2sg.POS sister Ipl.O disdain NON-PAST
 '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 copositional phrase introduced by *saba* 'to/for'. Examples are shown in (14) below*

- (14) a. ma -isi aru nisa -u
 1sg.O 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
 'I brought some fruits for the hunting journey.'
- d. ure yaotamo saba bare kona -n -a -e
 mainga workers to father bring sg PUNC PAST
 (priest)
 'The father brought mainga 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 averbials, 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):

- (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

- c. ine kura warao isaka ha
 I The Pleiads Warao one COP
 (annual path) (twenty)
 'I am twenty years old'
- 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

- (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
 her 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 phrasesal 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 nonexistent. 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 Caribs 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 adversiveness:

(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 topics 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' 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 repeating 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 (27a0) 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. lnebu yak -era yaot -a -e] [nobotomo
 young men bigness AUGM work PUNC FAST children

yak -era monuka yaot -a -e]
 bigness AUGM same work PUNC FAST
 '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 0] [hoseito 0 0
 you hunter goodness AUGM Joseito
 (Joe)

yahoto 0]
 less
 'You are a good hunter. Joe is a less good hunter'

b. lnebu yak -era yaot -a -e]
 young men goodness AUGM work PUNC FAST
 [nobotomo 0 monuka 0]
 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 (A=B-) (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 quality determiners, such as kuarika 'more' and sabuka or less '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 maianga dig out INFINIT come PUNC PAST
'I came to dig out maianga'

In (30), for instance, *hiaka nisa:kitane* '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 dunakitane* 'to dig out maianga' 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 with clauses, the embedded and the main ones, must share identical (temporal)ty). 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-causal 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 LDC ALL I arrive NON-FAST
 '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 *mirooi* 'roughly means' in order that':

- (37) waba -naka -mirooi kokotuka ine
 die NEG in order that everything I
 nahoro -te
 eat NON-FAST
 '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 -mirooi yak -era
 1pl.POS evil get rid of in order that goodness AUGM
 oko nona -te
 we do NON-FAST
 '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 hypothetical relation holding between the main clause and the embedded one. Both clauses are independent as far as time reference is concerned:

- (39) hokochi 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 mahoko 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. Rising 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?'

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

(44) 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 grammatical. It is likely that the fronting of the questioned constituent inherent to question-words brings about syntactic complications that act as deterrent. 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 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).

The 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(inside)
 (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 *nome* '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 linguistic utterances than like ordinary morphemes, for instance, affirmative *uh-huh* and negative *uh-uh*, which may be furnished as answers in the language. These expressions are realized since they must flow out through the nose given nasal closure at lip level.

11.4. NEGATION

11.4.1. 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* is directly attached to the verb root, possibly followed by a mood marker if the need arises to indicate modality explicitly. It is convenient to state that all unmarked for mood markers 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
 morocoto 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 26.1.2.31.]

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 determiner 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 un courageously'

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 negatized adverb functioning as an adjunct. (57c) contains the counterpart of the adverb of manner tuatane 'thus' as an adjunct. (57d-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 essentially 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 hypothetically-related clauses are not different from those observed in simplex sentences, and complex paratactically-related ones.

Embedding in Warao implies one clause holding a hypothetical 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
 goodness AUBM 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, as shown in (60)

ta- tama -tika -mo naru -naka mirooi isiko
 that LOC ABL go NEG in order that one
 oriteri -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 -te verb dibukitane 'to say'. The Warao speaker merely inserts on the direct quote complement as a more-or-less optional quotation. Conversely, indirect-quote complements do not occur in the language. In these respects, Warao behaves as most languages, in which indirect-quote "is absent probably because it implies a certain paraphrase that leads to take special responsibilities on the part of speakers. Those responsibilities are reflected in the control of co-reference or persons. Thus, speakers of such languages take a much more restricted responsibility restricting themselves to direct-quotes, which, of course, exert less editorial "interfering" (Sivón, 1983:121).

Warao, the quote (or speech being quoted) occurs

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 -a -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 constituent against fronting more than one constituent in a WH-QUESTION regulates the operativity of the FOCUSING RULE. In fact, it may be noticed that when S, or direct O, is fronted, the movement of other constituents takes place. In my view, the constituent operativity of the FOCUS FRONTING RULE acts in the language.

Furthermore, some obliques may appear post-verbally. This is particularly true of OSV and DATIVE OSV sentences with plural constituents in which the latter may be thought to be more general constituents. It is my contention that the more general 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)
- b. 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.'
- c. 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.'

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

tabo -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 muhoko
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

uses 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 hokokosebe ekuya 'into 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. hanokosebe ekuya and warao isaka, which are now "centered on the stage" (Grimes, 1975:325). The relocation of the obliques kasiri aisiko 'with water' in (70b) and ho muhoko '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 important enough as to be side-staged or placed far from the center of the stage occupied by the new information or focus.

11. 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 for inclusion of such a reference. Ellipsis in Warao is common in the following contexts:

(1) Paratactic clauses (coordinates):

- (72) 0 hominako -te noboto -ma kotobu -te
dive NON-PAS boy PL play
'The boys play (and) (the boys) dive.'

- (73) noboto -ma 0 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.

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

- (74) sikaro dihab -era 0 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 NOM-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 -ta
 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 okoha -a -e -ta
 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 kabasekuku irida 0
 father of pair of pants big
 'The pants of my father (are) big'

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

Passive constructions:

Initiative subjects of passives may, or may not, be overtly expressed. Occurrences of elliptical passives transitive verbs usually imply identity across sentence boundaries. In such cases, their antecedents are in any preceding sentence. In other cases, passives, the agentive postposition aisia 'by' produces the underlying transitive subject, whereas the verb in the sentence (or the auxiliary if necessary) suffixes the progressive past tense marker -i 'COMP' and the perfective object marker -ha 'PERF':

- 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.

(v) Possessive phrases:

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 speaker's are and their roles in the events being narrated:

- 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, which compared, for instance, with free and bound pronouns, 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 obanobu -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. dihasse -mo 0 ine mi -te -ine
 hideout ABL I see NON-PAST I
 'I will see (him) from a hideout'

3. 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 contexts developed. In this particular narrative, the elements of sentences (81a), (81b) and (81c) clearly differentiate from those in (81c) and (81e): whereas the latter 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 *ine* '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 (81c) 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 subject pronoun, marks a highly topical character already mentioned by way of its coreferent the free pronoun *ine* 'I'. Finally, (81c) and (81e), exemplify typical cases of extra-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 preferential relationship with the sentential subjects, especially third person ones (when other singular persons appear in 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.

3. RELATIVES (Romero-Figueroa, 1994)

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

to be irrelevant.

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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.

3. NOUNS

Nouns inflect for possession, case and number. Prefixal 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'

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- d. raka --ma
younger brother DAT
'For/to (his) younger brother'
- e. ka- hanako -tuma --mo
1pl.FOS house PL ABL
'From our house'
- f. dani
father
'His/her father'
- g. tukubita -ya
Tucupita ALL
'to Tucupita'
- h. yatu wahibaka -te
2pl.FOS canoe LOC
'(With) in your canoe'
- i. h- uhu
2sg.FOS 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 realized or may occur with a loss of final vowels. The latter cases take place when prefix-final vowels and 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 restricted for a certain number of items, largely, kin-terms. As well, -ma 'PL' is used with some deverbal 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(itive), LOC(ative), ABL(ative) and ABL(ative):

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

TABLE 2: Case-markers

Warao case-marks nouns mostly functioning as peripheral constituents, let's say indirect objects and adjuncts or adjuncts, outside the subject/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, its dative marking process partly implies temporality, it might be father 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 NONN-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 NONN-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 NONN-PAST
'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 rieko naru -te
house ALL Diego go NONN-PAST
'Diego goes to his house'
- (89) dau -era -ya oko mi -a -e
tree AUG ALL we see PUNC PAST
'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
'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 Karib 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).'

5.4. Other suffixes of nouns

Start 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 derivations, expressing referential meanings. These suffixes are part of the derivational morphology of the language.

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

- (92) a. bura -baka 'craziness'
'one that is in a state of craziness'
- b. hekuhu -baka 'smoke'
'something that puffs'
- c. nibora -baka 'man'
'a woman having a husband'
- (93) -roko 'addition to, or attraction for'
- (94) 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
omu -noko
'foot',
'trail', or
'place of the feet'
- b. diara
diara -noko
'fever',
'hospital', or
'place of the fever'
- (iv) -ina 'collective location'
- (95) a. naku
naku -ina
'turtle',
'place of many turtles'
- b. muhu
muhu -ina
'kind of ant',
'place of many ants', or
'ant nest'
- (v) -sebe 'quantity, set of something'
- (96) a. hara
hara -sebe
'arm',
'centipede'
- b. hanoko
hanoko -sebe
'house',
'village'
- (vi) -witu 'high intensity or incidence'
- (97) a. naba
naba -witu
'creek',
'network of creeks'
- (vii) -wari 'length'
- (98) a. hahe
hahe -wari
'paddle',
'the long part of the paddle'
- (viii) -uka 'diminutive, decreasing amount'
- (99) a. isaka
isaka -uka
'one',
'alone'
- b. boto
boto -uka
'soft',
'thin' or 'weak'
- (ix) -ira/-era 'augmentative, increasing amount'
- (100) a. naba
naba -ira
'creek',
'river'
- b. nibora
nibora -era
'man',
'giant'

- (x) -(ro)tu 'owner'
- (101) a. ibihi
ibihi -rotu
'venom',
'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 Marao has a general nominalizing suffix which is fully productive. The V=>N derivative suffixes are:
- (i) -na/-na 'general nominalizer'
- (102) a. ena
ena -na
'to laugh',
'laugh'
- (ii) -baka 'quality, property, or characteristic'
- (103) a. sinaka
sinaka -baka
'to faint',
'one that has fainting attacks'
- (iii) -roko 'addiction to, or attraction for'
- (104) a. nahoro
nahoro -roko
'to eat',
'one who eats a lot'
- (iv) -noko 'pertinent place'
- (105) a. esihari
esihari -noko
'to pound into',
'workshop'
- (v) -(ho)tu 'doer, performer'
- (106) a. enamina
enamina -tu
'to teach',
'teacher'
- b. mi
mi -hotu
'to see',
'witness'

2.5. Attributive nouns

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

Big white herons color
 flocked.

(109) he haitha -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 Yakerá* (lit.) 'a dress to which much beauty is attributed', or 'a beautiful dress' is a noun phrase in which *yakerá* '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 *waragratuma* '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 naha 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 riará -noko -no nobara ha
 grandmother fever place LOC sickness COP
 (lit.) 'The grandmother is in a condition of sickness in the hospital.'

Further, *wará* 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 9.1).

20. DETERMINERS

20.1. Demonstrative determiners

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

1. PROXIMAL		PLURAL	
SINGULAR			
<i>tama</i>	'this'	<i>tama -tuma</i>	'these'
2. DISTAL		PLURAL	
SINGULAR			
<i>ta(i)</i>	'that'	<i>ta -tuma</i>	'those'
<i>ama</i>	'that yonder'	<i>ama -tuma</i>	'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 center of distance. Such demonstrative determiners may distinctly 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. sina	'who/some/any'
b. kasikaha	'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. These 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 ou go?'

INDEFINITE
(115) osibu oko yab -a -e nobo
morokoto we fish PUNCT PAST grandfather PL who
(kind of fish)
ribu -a -e
say PUNC 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 in 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 partitionives 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 few sg PUNC 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 PUNC PAST
'A part of the woman remained silent.'

(iv) damana ramana 'few, little'
(120) korobisoro ramana ramana mi -a -e
Korobisoro few see PUNC PAST
(kind of plant)
'I saw few korobisoro plants.'

(v) daisa 'another, other'
(121) gobenadoro raisa ahubu -n -a -e
(governor) another appoint sg PUNC PAST
'(He) appointed another governor (a new one)'

(vi) ekirana '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'
- (122) 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 1sq.0 for Warao one cut PUNC PAST
 'One Warao cut a quart of the stick for me'
- (x) doko '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 1sq.0 for pour 2sq.1MP
 (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'
mana -mo		'two'
pair ABL		
(fingers) coming		
from in a pair'		
dihana -mo		'three'
bunch ABL		
(fingers) coming		
from in a bunch		
oro	-baka	'four'
unevel	property ALL	
(all of the fingers) having		
the property of being		
unevelled'		
moho basi		'five'
hand flat		
'the extended hand'		

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

TABLE 6: Compound cardinals up to ten

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

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

TABLE 7: Periphrastic cardinals

The Warao cardinals are very seldom heard beyond the tens unless the need arises given an association with terms and units 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 CRIOLO 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) matoro 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)	<u>wahabara</u> '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 FAST (Anthony) 'Anthony arrived first'		
(ii)	<u>wahukatu</u> 'last'		
(134)	ma- rehe a wahukatu 1sg.POS 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

- 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'

cardinals bring about corresponding distributives of the exemplified in (135). Further, a subclass of distributives is exclusively expressed as a postpositional phrase containing cardinals introduced by tane, which can be 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 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 unclassified cardinals:

- (138) or-abakaya or-abakaya tane kokotuka orinarra
 four four by everyone straight line
 kanama -katu
 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, personalis, interrogatives and indefinites.

23.1. Demonstrative pronouns

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

(139)

a. PROXIMATE SINGULAR	<u>tama</u>	'this'
b. DISTAL SINGULAR	<u>ta(i)</u>	'that'
	<u>ama</u>	'that yonder'
c. PROXIMAL PLURAL	<u>tamatuma</u>	'these'
d. DISTAL PLURAL	<u>tatuma</u>	'those'
	<u>amatuma</u>	'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	<u>tama</u> -ha this NOM	'this one'
b. DISTAL SINGULAR	<u>ta(i)</u> that	'that one'
	<u>ama</u> -ha that yonder NOM	'that one yonder'

c. PROXIMATE PLURAL

tama-ha -tuma
this NOM PL 'these'

d. DISTAL PLURAL

ta -tuma
that PL 'those'

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

TABLE 9: Demonstrative pronouns

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

(140)

a.	tama	-ha	hi	yehebu	-te
	this	NOM	2sg.	0	call
	This	one	calls	you	NON-PAST
b.	tai	ama	-te	nabaka	-n -a -e
	that	one	that	yonder	LOC
				arrived	sg
				(in over	PUNIC
				there)	PAST
				That	one
				arrived	(in)
				over	there'
c.	ama	-ha	ehobo	-n -a -e	
	that	yonder	NOM	leave	sg
	That	one	yonder	left,	PUNIC
				leave	PAST
d.	ta	-tuma	noboto	-ma	yewer -a -e
	that	one	PL	child	PL
				punish	PUNIC
				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 ABL functions. In the case of DAT-marked demonstratives, the suffix -(i)si 'to/for' gets attached to it as an argument within the direct object, but less frequently is found within the indirect object. -(i)si 'to/for' affixes to the singular demonstrative pronouns tamaha 'this one', ta(i) 'that one' and amaha 'that yonder' bringing about

the forms tamahaisi 'to this one', faisi '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
'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 spanked (to) that one'
- c. ure ama -ha -tuma saba ihi
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	
<u>tamaha</u> -mo	'from this one'
this one from	
b. DISTAL SINGULAR	
<u>ta(i)</u>	'from that one'
that one	
<u>amaha</u> -mo	'from that one yonder'
that one yonder from	
c. PROXIMAL PLURAL	
<u>tamahatuma</u> ta	'from these'
these from	

d. DISTAL PLURAL

<u>tatuma</u> ta	'from those'
those from	
<u>amahatuma</u> 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
Caesar that one yonder without converse NON-PAST
'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 SUFF PRO's) arrange in a system as follows in TABLE 11:

	IND PRO	SUFF PRO	
1sg	ine	-ine	'I'
2sg	ihi	-ihi	'you'
3sg	tai	∅	'he/she/it'
1pl	oko	-oko	'we'
2pl	yatu	∅	'you'
3pl	tatuna	∅	'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 tatuna 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 SUFF 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 SUFF 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 occurrence. SUFF PRO's are typical in styles of conversation used in Warao councils. In every day life conversation, SUFF PRO's are hardly heard, if ever. It is my opinion, that SUFF 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 aitamoto 'chiefs', individuals that often use this type of onominal realizations.

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

	IND PRO	PREF PRO	
1sg	ma	ma-	'me'
2sg	hi	hi-	'you'
3sg	tai	∅	'him/her/it'
1pl	ka	ka-	'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 ini 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 maretanane rekotu wara -te*
 someone gaily 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'

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

24. ADVERBIALS

Adverbials is a heterogeneous 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

warā -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 construction 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:

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- (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 Ipl.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
	<i>tama -te</i> this LOC
	<i>ta -te</i> that LOC
	<i>ama -te</i> that yonder LOC
	'here, in here'
	'there, in there'
	'over there, in over there'

- (ii) Location by or near some other entity

tama -te -a
this LOC LOC

ta -te -a
that LOC LOC

ama -te -a
that yonder LOC LOC

'around here'

'around there'

'around over there'

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

tama -tika
this LOC

ta -tika
that LOC

ama -tika
that yonder LOC

'right here'

'right there'

'right over there'

(II) ABLATIVE

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

tama -tika -mo
this LOC ABL

ta -tika -mo
that LOC ABL

ama -tika -mo
that yonder LOC ABL

'from right here'

'from right there'

'from right over there'

- (ii) Source from any point

tama -te -mo
this LOC ABL

ta -te -mo
that LOC ABL

ama -te -mo
that yonder LOC ABL

'from here'

'from there'

'from over there'

(III) ALLATIVE (directionality)

tama -tika -ya	'to right here'
this LOC ALL	
ta -tika -ya	'to right there'
that LOC ALL	
ama -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 *araija* 'along' denotes an entity moving along a surface in contact with its surface:

- (189) *hanoko a kuaikuhu araija mera naruhua -te*
house of trestle along lizard go passing NON-PAST
'The lizard passes along the house's trestle'

- (190) *hana sanuka araija 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. Interior location

Interior location is expressed by *noika* 'under':

- (192) *yaburukoia 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 *-ikaya* 'to under' and *noikamo* 'from under'. Examples of each case are shown in (193-194) respectively

- (193) *yaroko boto noika -ya naruhua -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 Yakara 'in the outside'. For example:

- (177) 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 riekoko 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
(white 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.0 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 :
junctioning as verb adjuncts: weba 'far/away', webamo 'from far/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).'

Posterior location relating to a non-moving object is expressed by the adverbs *nokaba* 'behind/rear/back', *nokabayaya* 'to behind/to the rear/to 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 *emoxa* 'to beyond':

- (208) *emo -ya ka- nao -te*
 beyond ALL Ipi.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 Ipi.FOS house build IMPFINIT

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

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slightly 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:

<i>hokohi saba</i>	(lit.) 'towards the sun', or 'the period before sunrise'
<i>hokohi ebika</i>	(lit.) 'just before sunrise'
<i>hokohi soro</i>	(lit.) 'the sun appears', or 'sunrise/dawn'
<i>hokohi kuhasika</i>	(lit.) 'sun in uppermost position', or 'noon'
<i>hokohiya</i>	(lit.) 'along the sunlight period', or 'along the day'
<i>hokohi anakuarika</i>	(lit.) 'sunlight becomes dark', or 'towards sunset', or 'at dusk'
<i>hokohi anabako</i>	(lit.) 'sun darkening is over' or 'the sunrise of the next day'
<i>hokohi manamo eku</i>	(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 utu</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 awera</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* [wan'i:de], *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>waniku ira</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) arzo 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) aru 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
'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 ubu saba ini tatuma
dry season of start basket for fiber they

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

Warao a wahabara	(lit.)	'at the beginning of the Warao people', or 'at the beginning of mankind'
oko ekira	(lit.)	'we inexisted', or 'when we did not exist yet'
ka- ina hido	(lit.)	'our land (was) tender', or
1sg.POS land tender		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 ree 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 Ipi.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
 Ipi.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', *Yarikahika* '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 1sg.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 a 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:

