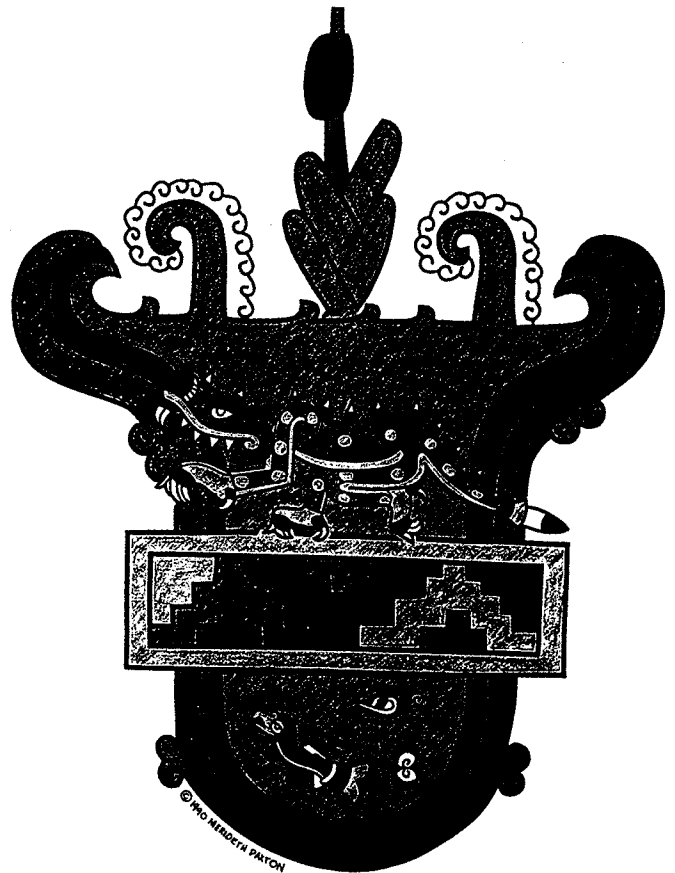


Spike Gildea

Five Hundred Years After Columbus: Proceedings of the 47th International Congress of Americanists

Compiled by E. Wyllys Andrews V
and
Elizabeth Oster Mozzillo



Middle American Research Institute

Tulane University, New Orleans

Publication 63 1994

azteca-nahuatl son un completo y complejo sistema de la escritura indígena tradicional que transcribe en diferentes y superpuestos niveles—lengua, pensamiento, y cultura de los descendientes de los antiguos tenochcas—y que sus medios "pictográficos" se siguieron utilizando hasta el siglo XVIII, supervivencia muy activa que llegó a crear nuevos estilos plásticos, como los que se han estado llamando hasta ahora "Techialoyan" y "Testeriano."

Editors' Note: No symposia were divided by the Program Committee of the 47th ICA. All of the symposia mentioned by Galarza that dealt with Mesoamerican codices were proposed and organized by other scholars, who decided upon the contents. All symposia and individual papers proposed for the Congress were accepted (with a limit of one paper per individual participant).

LIN 03. Tupi-Guarani and Cariban Linguistics

Organizers: Wolf Dietrich (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität), Spike Gildea (University of Oregon)

Report Authors: Wolf Dietrich, Spike Gildea

In the course of the symposium twenty-one papers were read and discussed, ten on Tupi-Guarani languages, nine on Cariban languages, and two on questions concerning both families. Papers were presented on phonology, morphology, grammatical categories, word formation, semantics, and especially syntax. Many of the papers were also comparative, most comparing various languages within one of the two families, but two specifically comparing the two families. All of the papers offer fascinating new data for typologists and specialists of Amazonian linguistics, and several of the papers addressed theoretical concerns in syntactic, morphological, semantic, and phonological analysis. Throughout the symposium, discussion frequently arose on two comparative subjects: (1) general linguistic connections between Cariban and Tupi-Guarani, including possible cognate morphemes; and (2) competing hypotheses about the direction of morphosyntactic change in the Cariban family, specifically whether patterns of ergativity in main clauses represent historical main clause ergativity, or whether it is a more recent innovation from historical patterns in subordinate clauses. A general

discussion of these points followed the scheduled presentations. In the present report, summaries of the papers are organized by linguistic topic rather than by language family. The two papers on phonology come first, followed by papers on the morphosyntax of noun phrases and nominalizations, papers on verbal morphosyntax, and those on the syntax of complex clauses. The report concludes with a brief summary of the general discussion. The organizers plan the full publication of the papers in one volume of the *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Etnolingüísticos* (Peru).

Willem F.H. Adelaar, in *The Nasal/Oral Distinction in Paraguayan Guarani Suffixes*, discusses the suprasegmental nasality of Paraguayan Guarani vowels as described in Emma and Jorge A. Suárez (1967), *A Description of Colloquial Guarani*, Mouton, The Hague-Paris). Stressed nasal vowels act as sources of nasality, which create nasal domains covering the area to their left within the boundaries of the phonological word. Their structural description does not however, cover the phonological nature of suffixes. Most of them are analyzed as separate words on syntactic grounds, which is clearly not satisfactory in a phonological analysis. Adelaar studies suffixes that undergo (-pá/-mbá, -sé/-sē, -pe/-mē) and do not undergo phonological adjustment to the base (-rā, -vé, -ra?é; 'nē, 'mā, 'ta, 'rehe, 'ndi, 'ndive), describing their potential nasality/orality with regard to stress. Finally, he pleads for an orthographic device to indicate those spots where a nasal domain ends and a new potential nasality/orality structure begins.

Charlotte Emmerich gave a paper entitled *The Txicã Language: Fricatives or No Fricatives, That's the Question*, in which she discussed the phonology of Txicão and implications for the classification of Cariban languages. Txicão is spoken in the upper Xingu in Mato Grosso, Brazil. The name Txicão predates contact (1963); the group's self-denomination is *ikpeŋ*. Durbin 1977 ("A survey of the Carib language family," in Ellen B. Basso, *Carib Speaking Indians: Culture, Society, and Language*) classifies Txicão in the Southern Branch of Carib, in the group of Northern Brazilian Outliers, on the basis of its lacking a fricative series. Emmerich points out in this paper that a phonetic transcription of the language shows many fricatives, in alternation with both voiced and voiceless stops. In particular, the voiced stop /b/ occurs only in medial position, where

it is in free variation with a voiced fricative [ʙ]; the voiced stop /g/ occurs in medial position in free variation with [g], and in initial position in free variation with a prenasalized voiced stop [ŋg]; the voiceless stop /p/ has a fricative allophone [p̥] in the position preceding the high back rounded vowel /u/. These fricatives are very limited in distribution, and it is difficult to determine the phonemic status of such phones on the basis of simple word lists. However, a preliminary look at morphophonemic processes indicates that voiced stops and fricatives are also derived from voiceless stops: e.g., [pãã-ŋo] 'ear' plus [i-] 'first person possessive' becomes [i - bãnã-n] ~ [i - ɸãnã-n]. Emmerich is beginning further field investigation in Txicão, but based on the preliminary data, she suggests that current classifications (which are based on brief wordlists) are likely to prove unreliable. (Paper read by Marília Faco Soares.)

Silvio M. Liuzzi, in *La deixis: El sistema guarani*, describes the system of deictic elements of Paraguayan Guarani, such as demonstratives and deictic temporal markers, in well-known terms of dialogue participants. Within the dialogic zone, the main opposition refers to present objects or persons being immediately at hand or in-view versus absent objects or persons being only mediately at hand or in-view; present immediateness near to the speaker is marked by the demonstrative *ko*, present immediateness near to the hearer by *pe*. *Ku* refers to absent objects being medially far from the speakers, *upe* to those medially far from the hearer. Outside the dialogue zone, *amo* refers to a visible, definite, or well-known object or person, *aipo* to an invisible, indefinite, or unknown object or person. The particular system of deictics allows for highly differential textual reference.

In *A Semantic/Functional Account of 'Possessor Ascension' in Guarani*, Maura Velázquez-Castillo suggests that Possessor Ascension (PA) in Guarani should be explained within a semantic/functional rather than a purely syntactic perspective. The phenomenon known as PA refers to cases in which the NP-internal possessor in one structure corresponds to a clausal argument in another. In Guarani, PA always co-occurs with noun incorporation and is possible only if the possessum is a body-part term:

- 1a) Maria oi-pete la-mitã po - 'Maria slapped the kid's hand'
- 1b) Maria oi-po-pete la-mitã - 'Maria hand-slapped

the kid'.

PA requires that the possessive relation be of the type part-whole because it reflects a high degree of inalienability in the possessive relation.

Wolf Dietrich's *Word Formation, Syntax, or Noun Classification? Tupi-Guarani MBA'E 'thing' between Lexicon and Grammar* analyzes the different uses of (-)mba(')e- and other variants as a grammatical morpheme. Besides its lexical meaning "thing, possession," it operates:

1. As interrogative pronoun (e.g., Mbyá *mba'e pa ko va'é?* "what is this?");
2. As a positive or negative attributive suffix (e.g., Kayabí *i-mẽ-ma'é* "being-husband-thing, married"; Chiriguano *h-esa-mbác* "3eye-thing, eyeless, blind");
3. As an incorporated direct object in transitive verbs making them intransitive and referring to habitual actions (Tembé *ere-ãro* "you waited [for him/her/it]" - *ere-ma'e-ãro* "you-thing-waited, you just waited and saw" - *ere-puru-ãro* "you-people-waited, waited for (an indeterminate) person". The generic nonhuman/human reference is described as "anti-passive" by Carl Harrison in his paper (see below);
4. *Mba'e-* can be a nominalizing prefix (Chiriguano *i-káwi* "3-good/beautiful, it was good/beautiful"-*i-mbae-káwi* "her-being good/goodness/beauty"); and
5. The nonspecific prefix *mba'e-*, which is found in many Tupi-Guarani languages, is clearly related to all the other functions of *mbaé*. It marks the generic, nondetermined, inalienable character of the noun and is never determined by person markers or demonstratives (e.g., Guarayo *pótyr* "(determinate) flower"-*mbae-pótyr* "flower (in general)").

Morphological evidence (attributive r-prefix) shows that the phenomena described under 4) and 5) belong to syntax, not to word formation. It is claimed that there is also a rudimentary kind of noun classification, distinguishing a marked "nonspecific" class from an unmarked "specific" class.

Sally Sharp Koehn, *The Use of Generic Terms in Apalaí Genitive Constructions*, explores the syntax and function of a particular alienable possession construction in Apalaí, and addresses the question of whether the construction constitutes a system of "genitive classifiers" in the sense of Carlson and Payne 1989 ("Genitive Classifiers", in Carlson et al., eds. *Proceedings of the Fourth Pacific Linguistics Conference*, Eugene: University of Oregon Department of Linguistics). After describing the various classes of unpossessable and possessable

nouns, Koehn describes the two classes of nouns in question: obligatorily possessed generic terms and the nouns which "specify" (i.e., are possessed by means of) these generic terms. The generic terms only occur with possessive morphology, and they refer to such general types of items as 'meat-type food', 'drink', 'field produce', etc. Nouns which "specify" these generic terms are grammatically unpossessable, but may be semantically possessed through the use of a generic term. Thus, the generic term is possessed, and then the specific term follows in an appositive phrase, e.g., *Sɛ a-napy-ry, paruru* "this 2-fruit/veg.type.food-GEN, banana—your banana." Although the generic term does signify a semantic class of items, and is used in a construction to allow the semantic possession of otherwise unpossessable nouns, Koehn argues that this construction does not yet represent a genitive classifier system. Syntactically, the specific term does not occur in the same noun phrase with the generic term, but rather in an appositive expansion phrase separated by phonological pause. Pragmatically, the generic terms are used in interactions to establish ambiguity, and thus engage the listener's interest or elicit questions. Koehn concludes by showing how borrowed words have entered into the Apalaí lexicon first as unpossessable, then possessible by means of a generic term, and finally directly possessible.

Nilson Gabas Júnior, with his presentation on the *Possession System in Karo Language (Ramarama Family)*, offers data of this hitherto unknown language of Rondônia (Brazil), comparing its possession (person) system with that of Gavião and Suruí (Mondé family), Mundurukú (Mundurukú family), Karitiana (Mekens family), and Xipáya (Jurúna family). All these languages show morphological distinctions between prefixes and pronouns and they distinguish either two or three classes of nouns: inalienably possessed, alienably possessed, and unpossessable. Where the distinction exists, inalienably possessed nouns bear personal possessive prefixes directly on the noun, whereas an additional morpheme intervenes between the possessive prefix and possessed noun for alienably possessed. In comparing these languages from four different families of the Tupian Stock, Gabas notes that not all mark the same number and type of personal distinction (e.g., Karo has a gender opposition 'male' vs. 'female' in 3s and 3pl, Suruí has

a separate reflexive/reciprocal prefix for each personal distinction, and Gavião and Mundurukú have special forms to mark reflexivity/reciprocity/coreferentiality only for third person singular). He also notes, however, that all the languages show the same form for first and second person singular prefixes: *o-* and *e-* respectively, and that third person *i-* also occurs frequently. It was noted in discussion that these prefixes look very similar to the Proto Cariban possessive personal prefix set (**u-* "1", **a-* "2", **y-* "3").

Spike Gildea, *The ni- Object Nominalizer in Cariban and Tupi-Guarani*, describes the system of nominalization in both the Cariban and Tupi-Guarani families, then describes one form in each language which is different from the norm. In both Cariban and Tupi-Guarani languages nominalizing morphology is virtually always in the form of a suffix. A verb which has been nominalized becomes a noun, which means that it may be possessed. A nominalized intransitive verb is always possessed by its notional subject (S). In both families, a nominalized transitive verb is possessed by its notional object (O). In other words, the notional absolutive argument of the verb (i.e., S and O) possesses the derived nominal when the verb is nominalized with a suffix. Thus, in both language families the same set of prefixes marks possessor of a noun and also absolutive of a nominalized verb. In both Cariban and Tupi-Guarani languages, there is one object nominalizer which is virtually the opposite in every way from the morphology described above: Proto Cariban **ni-* and Proto Tupi-Guarani **emi-*. These particular patient nominalizers only occur on transitive verbs, and they differ from the other nominalizers in two crucial ways. First, they are the only nominalizing prefixes in their respective families. Second, when a verb is nominalized with one of these prefixes, the derived nominal is possessed by the notional *A* of the verb rather than by the *O*. The similarity between these two nominalizers—in form, in meaning, and especially in morphosyntactic idiosyncrasy—argue that they are from a common origin, whether by genetic affiliation or by borrowing. Given the other parallels in morphosyntax between the two families, it seems more plausible that Proto Cariban and Proto Tupi-Guarani are closely related genetically.

In *Clause Subordination and Nominalization in Tupi-Guaranian and Cariban languages*, Desmond

C. Derbyshire describes the essential identity in the syntax of subordination and nominalization in the Tupi-Guaranian and Cariban families. Derbyshire asserts first that Tupi-Guaranian studies are advanced enough to do reconstruction, whereas Cariban studies still lack sufficient information. However, a comparison of Tupi-Guaranian morphosyntactic features with those of Cariban language Hixkaryana reveals many structural characteristics in common, specifically: (1) the division of main verb personal prefixes into subject/agent and object/patient sets, which occur based on a person hierarchy; (2) the fact that the object prefixes are the same as the genitive prefixes (and also the markers of objects of postpositions); and (3) the fact that the morphology and syntax of subordination is predominantly ergative. Based on the assumption that the historical system is preserved in subordinate clauses, especially nominalizations, Derbyshire concludes that the ergative/absolute systems of both families are of great antiquity. The overall similarities in morphosyntax between the two families lead him to believe that they are closely related.

Robert Hawkins, in *Evidentiality or Emotionality in Waiwai*, argues that particles and verb affixes which seem to indicate the kind of evidence available for the reliability of a statement actually go beyond the meaning to indicate also the emotional value of what is being said. The two present/future tenses differ both for evidential value and for degree of emotional involvement depending on the past of the speaker. Present/future 1 is the non-involvement form, and it thus can co-occur with the agreement/obedience particle, the hearsay particle, the uncertainty particle, in interrogatives, and in conditionals. Present/future 2 is the involvement form, expressing primarily the emotional involvement of the speaker and secondarily the evidential value of certainty. Present/future 2 verbs occur as warnings, to express wishes, to express anger, and to state a personal plan of action; they co-occur with augmentative particles and emotional interjections. Of the three past tenses in Waiwai, the Recent Past forms do not vary for either emotionality or evidentiality, but the other two show a similar alternation to that described for the present/future tenses. The Involvement Past naturally correlates with more recent events and the Non-Involvement Past with more distant events, but Hawkins shows with several examples that distance in time is not the key semantic determinant to the use

of these forms. The Involvement Past verbs co-occur with the augmentative particles and the emotional interjections, and often the hearsay particles are absent from such verbs even though the speaker did not personally witness the events described. Non-Involvement verbs are used with excuses and either informative or entertainment narrative. The clearest demonstration that time depth is not at issue comes in sequences of sentences about a series of concurrent events, where the verbs alternate between Involvement and Non-Involvement forms, even though the events being described are of exactly the same time depth.

Marie-Claude Mattei-Muller spoke on *Specific Markers for Epistemic Modality in Panare, Carib Language of Venezuela*, which documents two basic epistemic modalities in Panare. They are **direct knowledge** which underlies personal experience and particular commitment of the speaker, and **prior knowledge** which implies inference from known facts, or habitual, general "behavior patterns." This opposition is marked by alternation in the final vowel of a word, direct knowledge by *-e* and prior knowledge by *-a*. The alternation occurs in quantifiers (e.g., *kure/kura* 'many'), derivational suffixes (e.g., *pe/pa* 'Evidential'), and postpositions (e.g., *ke/ka* 'Instrumental'). The opposition is marked in some words by the absence or presence of a final *-fi*: e.g., *tēpuru'ke* 'it is black (direct knowledge)' vs. *tēpuru'kefi* 'it is black (describing a well-known physical feature of something)'. Also, the $\emptyset \sim fi$ alternation occurs with certain verbal conjugations: e.g., *t-e'yapan-se(fi)* 'be ashamed (punctual vs. habitual)'. Since certain of these markers occur on nominal arguments and others occur on the verb, sometimes more than one epistemic marker will occur in the same clause. Mattei-Muller shows that there are co-occurrence restrictions, such that all epistemic markers in one clause must agree in marking the same value.

Katherine Hall, in her paper *Degrees of Transitivity in De'kwana (Carib) Verb Forms*, shows that degrees of transitivity in De'kwana verbs are extensively specified through verbal morphology. Verbal markers of transitivity include person prefixes, stem morphology, tense/aspect/modality suffixes, and voice markers. The various markers can be arranged on a scale according to increasing degrees of transitivity (cf. Hall 1988: *The Morphosyntax of Discourse in De'kwana Carib*, Ph.D. dissertation,

Washington University in St. Louis). First, verb roots have an inherent transitivity. Then, for those roots transitivity may be either increased or decreased by the use of an optional "thematic" affix, of which two mark transitivity directly: *-t(V)* 'Intransitive, passive action' and *-k(V)* 'active, transitive action'. Similarly, alternation in the initial vowels of stems may mark increases or decreases in transitivity, e.g., *e ~ ö*: *ema* 'kill' ~ *öma* 'die'. Transitivity is also reflected in the nonfinite suffixes, with different markers for transitive and intransitive nonfinite verbs. The active-stative distinction can also be seen as representing a dimension of transitivity which is marked in De'kwana morphology. Personal prefixes in transitive verbs may index either the agent or the patient; the same opposition in intransitive verbs may be taken as a marker of transitivity, with agent prefixes more active, and hence more transitive. Reflexive, reciprocal, and causative morphology further marks transitivity in the verb, and the synthesis of all these potential markers of transitivity yields a scale, with each marker assigned a location on the scale. Hall concludes by pointing out that additional morphosyntactic constructions also either affect or are affected by transitivity, including stative constructions, noun incorporation, and various complex verb forms.

Doris L. Payne, with *Voice: The Tupi-Guarani "Inverse" in Clauses and Noun Phrases*, describes the semantic/pragmatic hierarchy which underlies the Tupi-Guarani inverse system as (from highest to lowest): 1/2 > 3 proximate > 3 obviative. Proximate and obviative are cover terms for a combination of semantic and pragmatic factors, with proximate typically being animate, human, individuated, and/or the topic of a section and with obviative typically being inanimate, nonhuman, nonindividuated, and/or a nontopic. Action from left to right on this hierarchy (i.e., with a higher agent acting on a lower patient) is semantically direct; action from right to left (lower to higher) is semantically inverse. Direct and inverse are morphologically marked in most Tupi-Guarani languages. Of the two major sets of person prefixes/pronouns, Set I (*a-*, *oro-*, *ja-*, *ere-*, *pe-*, *o-*) are used in direct situations in transitive clauses and for agent-like subjects in active intransitive clauses; Set II prefixes/pronouns (*ce-*, *ore*, *jane*, *ne*, *pe*, *i-/c-*) are used in inverse situations in transitive clauses and for non-agentive subjects in intransitive clauses.

Evidence is taken from Kamaiurá, Wayampi, Tupinambá, Guajajara, Assurini, Tapirapé, Kayabí, and Parintintin. The *r*-marker which occurs with Set II forms on nouns originally was only a possessive marker on nouns. There may have been noun class distinctions, with *r*- occurring with only a certain class of lexical items, and *Ø* with others. Synchronically, *r*-/Set II is claimed to be a formal marker of an inverse in transitive clauses. This is also shown in Vieira's paper (see below).

Bruna Franchetto, in *A ergatividade kuikúro again: Quadro geral, hipóteses explicativas e uma visão comparativa*, reviews aspects of Kuikúro morphosyntax which pose a problem for government and binding theory formalizations of the "ergative type", proposes that Kuikúro be analyzed as underlyingly nominative-accusative, and then concludes with comparative notes on cognate forms in other Cariban languages. The border between noun and verb in Kuikúro is fluid and indefinite, as seen in the following facts: 1) tense/aspect suffixes are the same as suffixes which mark possession in lexical nouns; 2) the relationship between a verb and its direct argument (the absolutive) is identical to that between a modified noun and its modifier—the two are in a rigid sequence which cannot be broken, and which is marked by accent on the final syllable of the modifier; 3) finite verbs, with the addition of no extra nominalizing morphology, can function as nouns; and 4) in other Cariban languages, cognates to the suffix *-pârâ* are nominalizers, and in Kuikúro, a verb bearing *-pârâ* is ambiguous between nominalized and perfective aspect. It appears that there is no means to distinguish finite from nonfinite verbs in Kuikúro. In previous works, Franchetto has analyzed this ambiguity (as well as certain word order and case-marking facts) within the government and binding framework as indicating that Kuikúro has a "null-flex".

For the present paper, Franchetto explores an alternative hypothesis: that the intransitive S is a direct argument of the verb (direct object) in d-structure, and that all intransitive verbs in Kuikúro are thus "unaccusative." According to her analysis, Kuikúro is a nominative-accusative language, with the nominative only being realized in transitive clauses (as the ergative A), and the accusative being the absolutive. In support of such a notion, Franchetto cites the complete morphosyntactic identity between S and O, noting especially that O is

the only argument which can be incorporated, leading to an intransitive verb, and that a transitive clause can be made into a "middle" voice passive simply by omitting the A argument. Similarly, she notes that to form a causative from an intransitive clause, one needs simply to add an A phrase. In addition, the process by which subject adjectives are formed is different for A and S—the S parallels O in that the verb merely adds adjectivizing morphology, whereas for the A the verb must first be nominalized, and only then can take the adjectivizing morphology. In conclusion, Franchetto compares Kuikúro to other Cariban languages and notes that it is most similar to Makushi, because (as in Kuikúro) the verbal prefix *n-* derives an object relative clause, whereas in other Cariban languages the prefix *n-* is an inflectional prefix indicating third person acting on third person (paper read by Tania Clemente de Souza).

Tania Clemente de Souza spoke on *A sintaxe de uma língua ergativa: O bakairi (caribe)*, an exploration of two factors which reflect syntactic ergativity in Bakairi: person markers and coreferentiality. The syntactic status of ergativity in Bakairi is not an obvious surface fact of the language, since there is no nominal case marking to identify transitive subjects as a class separate from intransitive subjects and transitive objects. Souza shows that there are three sets of transitive person markers which occur with different tense/aspects, and that those which mark the absolutive have the syntactic status of case markers, whereas those which mark transitive subjects do not. When marking coreferentiality between conjoined clauses, or between a main clause and its following subordinate clause, markers of transitive subjects are shown to be anaphoric, whereas markers of intransitive subjects and transitive direct objects are not. In conclusion, Souza points out that these syntactic distinctions are explainable within the theory of government and binding as a function of constituency. As such, the absolutive markers reflect internal arguments of the verb phrase, whereas the ergative markers reflect anaphoric agreement with external arguments of the verb phrase.

Berend Hoff's *Configurationality and Non-Configurationality in the Carib Language of Surinam*, discusses the theoretical arguments by which Carib is classified as "configurational" or "non-configurational." Hoff shows that when per-

sonal prefixes on the Carib verb clearly identify agent (A) and patient (P), Carib shows the free word order properties of non-configurational languages; however, when a third person A acts on a third person P, the verbal prefix simply identifies both A and P as third person, but does not say which referent serves which role. In this one context, the patient NP is restricted to preverbal position, forming a structural unit with the verb (i.e., a verb phrase). This one small piece of configurationality in Carib is functionally motivated in that with no nominal case-marking, the configurational properties of the verb phrase are the only way to mark who does what to whom. Hoff further explores the morphological person marking on the verb, demonstrating that although it very closely resembles an ergative/absolutive system, the syntax of main clauses does not treat either A of transitive clauses (ergatives) nor P of transitive clauses and subjects (S) of intransitive clauses (absolutives) as syntactic classes. The two relevant syntactic tests are both based on control of coreference—A and S control coreference with the third person reflexive possessive prefix *t-*, and they also control same-subject reference in coordinate clauses. Unlike other Cariban languages, Carib has a canonical passive in which the semantically transitive verb occurs as an intransitive participle with a copular auxiliary; P is the subject of the clause, and A occurs in an oblique phrase. Hoff shows that the P subject of the passive clause controls same-subject reference in coordinate clauses. Surprisingly, however, the oblique agent phrase controls coreference with the reflexive possessive prefix *t-*.

In *A Few Aspects of Comparative Tupi Syntax*, Denny Moore gives an overview of syntactical structures in the Tupian stock. Thorough published syntactic descriptions exist for only two of the ten families, Tupi-Guarani and Mundurukú. Moore provides evidence from recent studies made on five other families, Jurúna, Arikém, Ramarama, Mondé, and Tuparí. He points out that (S)OV is the basic order of constituents in Tupian languages, exceptions being explained by possible language contact. This order matches well with the occurrence of multiple verb phrases (serial verbs) in one clause. The phenomenon has been noticed in many Tupian languages, as well as "participles" derived from the verbs by the widespread suffix *-a*, reconstructed also for Proto-Tupi-Guarani. Less clear is the question of

verb classes in Tupian languages. All of the Tupian families have as distinct classes transitive and intransitive verbs. In some Tupian languages, at least, there seems to be a class of uninflected verbs. Some of the Tupian language families have a class of adjectives, in others these are stative verbs (paper not read aloud, but copies distributed).

Edward Koehn, in *Ergativity and the Split Case System of Apalaí*, argues that Apalaí presents a "mixed" system of verbal morphosyntax, split between nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive. Koehn shows that a morphological nominative-accusative system operates in finite verb main clauses, and a morphological ergative-absolutive system in nonfinite verb main clauses and nominalized clauses. Syntactically, Koehn defines nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive systems in terms of a shared argument between two clauses, in which the shared referent need not be referred to overtly in the second clause (i.e., equideletion). He labels such constructions as "pivots." When the pivot argument of the first clause is subject (A or S) and that of the second clause is A, this constitutes a nominative-accusative pivot; when the pivot argument of the second clause is O, it constitutes an ergative-absolutive pivot. In conjoined main clauses, both types of pivots are common; in subordinate clauses, the type of pivot used depends on the type of nominalizer found on the subordinate verb. Finally, Koehn examines the functions of the two types of pivots as they are used to identify characters in narrative discourse: they are used for switch reference, repetition switches, identifying alternating participants, indicating equal prominence of a number of participants in a group, and defocusing attention from one participant (i.e., a shift from prominence). In conclusion, Koehn explores the discourse basis of ergativity in Apalaí, testing the relative topic continuity and persistence of A and O arguments in the various types of constructions. He expects to report further on these tests in future works.

Marcia Dámaso Vieira, in *The Configurationality Parameter and the Argument Type Parameter in Asurini do Trocará and Tupinambá: A Comparative Approach*, analyzes Asurini and Tupinambá syntax within the framework of Jelinek 1984 ("Empty Categories, Case, and Configurationality," in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 2: 39-76). She demonstrates that Asurini do Trocará and Tupinambá

do not employ word order to convey grammatical relations. What was shown by Leite in her paper on Tapirapé, is confirmed here by Vieira. That is, Tapirapé, Asurini do Trocará, and Tupinambá, at least, are free word order languages, have no surface embedded sentences, and their full NPs are inert to the extent that there is no passivization process, subject raising or wh-movement rule. Empty categories are apparently nonexistent. The personal affixes attached to the verbs in the above languages have argument status, while the noun phrases function as mere adjuncts to them. Sentences with overt subject and object nominals are infrequent in Tupi-Guarani languages. Generally, the verb, carrying person marking affixes, stands by itself in the clause (e.g., Tupinambá [Pindobusu] [paraná] o-sepîak 'he saw it' instead of 'Pindobusu sea 3-see', 'Pindobusu saw the sea'). Both subject and object of transitive verbs are expressed by affixes (Tupinambá o-f-pysyk '3A-3O-grab, he grabbed him'; Asurini o-Ø-pyhyn '3A-3O-grab, he grabbed him'). Free word order, null anaphora, and discontinuous expressions, phenomena which appear in Asurini and Tupinambá, characterize Configurational languages. As the nominals are mere optional adjuncts coindexed to the verbal affixes, they do not need to have fixed order. Both Tupinambá and Asurini show non-configurational properties throughout their syntactic domains. However, some nominal orderings have to be explained by Jelinek's Argument Type Parameter, too; still other facts cannot be explained either by the Configurationality Parameter or by the Argument Type Parameter (paper read by another participant).

Carl H. Harrison, *The Interplay of Causative and Desiderative in Guajajara*, gives a data-oriented presentation of the interaction of two interesting structures involving COMP in Guajajara, Causative (-kar, -mu-) and Desiderative (-putar, -wer). After describing the basic syntactic structures of Guajajara and more complex structures such as COMP-taking predicates, he reinterprets demotion of objects as antipassive (e.g., u-puru-mu'e "3-people-teach, he teaches (people)"). Causative with transitive verbs is marked by -kar (e.g., a-esak-kar zawar ne-we "1S-see-CAUS dog 2S-I(ndirect)O.MK, I caused you to see the dog, I showed you the dog"), in intransitive verbs by -mu (e.g., a-mu-ger he-memyr "1S-CAUS-sleep 1S-child, I caused/(put) my child to sleep"). Desiderative is a combination of EQUI and ANTI in transitive structures (e.g., ne-puru-esak-wer zawar-

rehe "2S-ANTI.MK-see-want dog-OBJECT CHO-MEUR MK, you wanted to see the dog"). Harrison then shows the structural similarities between MU "causative" and ERO "causative-comitative."

Yonne Leite, in her presentation of *Tapirapé (Tupi-Guarani) Causative Constructions and the Non-Configurationality Hypothesis*, touches on the same subject as the preceding paper by Harrison, but in another scope and with reference to a different, though structurally similar language. In Tapirapé, causative constructions are derived by affixation of the same two bound morphemes as in Guajajara: the prefix *ma-* is attached to intransitive stems (e.g., *ã-wot* "I float" - *ma-wot Ko'ã* "1sg-caus-float Ko'ã, I made Ko'ã float"), and the suffix *-akāt* is attached to transitive stems (e.g., *ã-pyro Korāpā'i* "I helped Korāpā'i" - *ã-pyro-akāt Korāpā'i-we* 1sg-help-caus Korāpā'i-dat, "I made Korāpā'i help someone"). There is a detectable difference in meaning in some causative constructions with intransitive stems as to whether only *ma-* is added or both *ma-* and *-akāt* are added. When only *ma-* occurs, the meaning is one of direct causation. With both *ma-* and *-akāt*, the causation is indirect. Leite then discussed the problems which arise from the syntactic movement analysis of Tapirapé causative constructions with regard to case assignment (dative marking in the agent of transitive stems) and to reflexivization. She argues that this remains an intriguing problem to either a configurational or a linear analysis (paper read by Marilia Faco Soares).

The first discussion centered on the possibility of a close genetic affiliation between Cariban and Tupi-Guarani. The papers by Derbyshire and Gildea spoke directly to the general morphosyntactic identity of subordination and nominalization in the two families, with Gildea suggesting a possible cognate morpheme. Gabas' paper presented possessive personal prefix sets from languages in four other Tupian families, and it was noted that these forms appear more similar to the parallel Proto Cariban forms than to the Proto Tupi-Guarani forms. It was also noted at length, however, that the morphosyntactic isoglosses presented by Derbyshire and Gildea are characteristic of many other language families of lowland South America—in fact, they are areal characteristics, and as such cannot be used to argue for a closer relationship between any two of the individual families which share them. Alexandra Aikhenvald-Angenot proposed instead that such

characteristics are evidence that all of the languages in the area are genetically related. It was agreed that much more widespread lexical and morphological cognacy must be found to establish a particularly close genetic relationship between Tupi-Guarani and Cariban, and given the forms presented in Gabas' paper, that Cariban might be more closely connected to other Tupian families than it is to Tupi-Guarani.

The second discussion dealt with the direction of morphosyntactic change in the Cariban family. Five of the papers addressed question. Derbyshire and Franchetto hold the position Proto-Cariban was an ergative language, and that the ergative patterns found in modern Cariban languages therefore represent a conservative morphosyntactic pattern in main clauses. Derbyshire suggests that historical ergativity was shared between the Tupi-Guarani and Cariban families. Franchetto suggests that in ergative language Kuikúro there is an emergent nominative-accusative system, which shows the diachronic source of the modern nominative-accusative system found in other modern Cariban languages. In particular, she claims that the Kuikúro de-ergative prefix *ñ-/ŋ-* is cognate to the third person prefix *n-* found in the modern nominative-accusative languages. Gildea, Hoff, and Koehn argue for the opposing position, that the nominative-accusative system is older, and that main clause ergative systems are a more recent innovation, created when nominalized subordinate clauses were brought into main clauses as complements of copulas and other modal/aspectual verbs, and then were reanalyzed as main verbs with copular or modal/aspectual auxiliaries. Hoff points out that the nominative-accusative system in Carib of Surinam has innovated a synthetic passive, in which all of the elements of emergent ergativity are seen—the agent of transitive clauses is case-marked (with the cognate to the ergative marker in Makushi and Pemóng) and the subject of intransitive and patient of transitive are treated identically in morphosyntax (i.e., as an emergent absolutive). Koehn shows that in Apalaí the cognate construction has evolved further into a truly ergative main clause construction, and he tracks the discourse factors which are pushing Apalaí further along the path of ergativity. Gildea's paper demonstrates that the Kuikúro de-ergative prefix is cognate to an idiosyncratic object nominalizer which is found in all Cariban languages; the emergent nominative-accusative system in Kuikúro is thus seen

to be a further innovation on the already innovative ergative system, rather than the source of the nominative-accusative system in other Cariban languages. Further, Gildea presented the prospectus to his dissertation, which is a reconstruction of Proto Cariban morphosyntax as nominative-accusative, and which shows the path of evolution for the innovative ergative systems, and also for the additional innovation of the new nominative-accusative system in Kuikúro.

LIN 04. Morphology in Mesoamerican Languages: Synchronic and Diachronic Problems

Organizer: Karen Dakin (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Report Author: Karen Dakin

Our symposium included six papers on Nahuatl, two on Huichol, and one each on Kanjobal, Phurhepecha (Tarascan), Otomí, and the Mixe-Zoque family. Yolanda Lastra, Una Canger, and Jane Rosenthal chaired the different sessions.

Karen Dakin presented *Long Vowels and Morpheme Boundaries in Nahuatl and Uto-Aztecan: Comments on Historical Developments/Vocales largas y fronteras morfémicas en el nahuatl y utoazteca: Comentarios sobre el desarrollo histórico*. She argued that an examination of long vowels in Nahuatl both internally and in comparison with other Uto-Aztecan languages reveals certain patterns that may reconstruct at least partially to the proto-language. There is strong evidence that long vowels may have developed historically at morpheme boundaries only, although synchronically such divisions are not now easily discernable. Processes that yield long vowels such as fusion of VC[əglide]V sequences, were apparently blocked when a root carried no derivational suffixes. Instances from Nahuatl were given, and suggestive patterns shown in other languages that may indicate shared innovations at earlier stages in the parent language.

Una Canger addressed *Morphological Problems in Connection with the Copenhagen Nahuatl Dictionary Program/Problemas morfológicos en conexión con el programa de Copenhague del diccionario nahuatl*. Canger reported on the computerized dictionary that she, Michael Thomsen, and students are developing.

The Copenhagen Nahuatl Dictionary Program commands two dictionary components: a root dictionary and a word dictionary. A given root in the root dictionary is linked to the word dictionary through the words containing that root; likewise there is an immediate connection from a word in the word dictionary through its root(s) to the root dictionary. The setting up—or identification—of roots presupposes a complete analysis of the morphology. However, the analysis does not have to be based exclusively on historical analyses—or on synchronic ones—but should be consistent, transparent, and obvious.

Canger discussed the problems and insights encountered in working with this analysis. She demonstrated the use of the dictionary developed in the Project, showing the possibilities it has of working with different orthographies and multiple texts. She emphasized two points. First, she said that the initial analysis is done by the linguist, although the program learns to analyze repeated forms. Secondly, the dictionary gives only a brief gloss and not an extensive translation; rather, by showing the multiple contexts in which a term occurs, it helps the translator to find an appropriate meaning for the specific use of a given morpheme. She also invited other scholars to participate in the dictionary by providing texts that they had translated or analyzed.

María del Carmen Herrera spoke on *Nahuatl Composition/La composición en nahuatl*. Herrera, who has been working on composition in Classical Nahuatl, reported on her findings of fieldwork with a modern Nahuatl dialect spoken in the area of Huauchinango in northern Puebla. She elicited terms in several semantic fields in order to identify compounds and analyze the productivity of the elements that formed them, and to try to measure the degree to which the speakers themselves were conscious of the semantic content of each element and possible morphological relationships between them. Her conclusions, at least for this initial stage, were that speakers on the whole do not analyze the compound forms or draw comparisons between forms that contain similar elements.

In *Aztec tl Revisited/El tl azteca revisitado*, Michel Launey suggested the possible identity of the indefinite prefix *la-* and the absolute suffix in Nahuatl. He noted that Whorf (1937) was the first to make the assumption that Nahuatl /*la*/ came from an ancient */*ta*/. Launey pointed out that in that case,