The Object Nominalizing Prefix n<u>i-</u>
in Panare and Across Cariban[1]

Spike Gildea
University of Oregon and Universidad Católica de Táchira

1   Introduction

The basic purpose of this paper is to describe the morphology and syntax which is associated with a nasal prefix in Panare (Carib). In its basic syntactic role, the prefix n<u>i-</u> derives a noun from a transitive verb stem which has already been inflected with verbal suffixes. The derived nominal refers to the patient of the action denoted by the verb (i.e. what would be the direct object in an active transitive sentence). A separate NP referring to the patient may optionally occur, but does not appear to form a surface constituent with the derived nominal. The agent of the action denoted by the verb must occur as a genitive NP or prefix immediately preceding the derived nominal, possessing it and thereby forming a complex NP. A second purpose of this paper is to argue that this same prefix has been reanalyzed in some environments as a main clause verbal inflection. A third purpose of this paper is to point out that this prefix is not a recent innovation, unique to Panare, but that it is found in a number of Cariban languages; in most languages it retains its historical status as an object nominalizer, but in at least one other language, Kuikúro, it has developed into a verbal inflection.

2   Nominal morphosyntax in Panare

In order to argue that a combination of the n<u>i-</u> prefix plus a verb equals a noun in Panare, I identify some salient morphosyntactic characteristics of nouns, first the morphosyntax internal to the noun phrase, then the morphosyntax of noun phrases as they relate to the predicate in main clauses.

2.1   Morphosyntax inside the noun phrase

Inside the noun phrase the morphosyntax of the genitive is particularly salient to the later discussion, so I present it first. The genitive construction in Panare consists of the genitive NP followed immediately by the possessed NP. Most possessed NPs are modified, usually by a lexically-determined possessive suffix (such as the <u>-n</u> 'POSS' suffix in 0a-f below). If the genitive is a full NP, primary stress in the possessed noun frequently -- but not always -- shifts to the left (accent shift indicated orthographically as <u>^-</u> 'NP Genitive (NPG)'). First, second, and third person full NP genitives are illustrated in 0a-c with the lexical noun <u>mata</u> 'shoulder'. Note that the unmarked stress is always on the final syllable of the word, but that the full NP genitives pull the stress to the left. The genitive NP may be replaced by a genitive prefix on the possessed noun. First, second, and third person genitive prefixes are illustrated in 0d-f, respectively. Note that the zero prefix for first person (0d) also includes accent shift, even though there is no full NP genitive.[2]

(1) a.   y<u>Å</u>-matan   = <u>yu</u> Ø-^-mata-n   'my shoulder'
    b.   <u>amën</u> mátan   = <u>amën</u> Ø-^-mata-n   '<u>your</u> shoulder'
    c.   <u>Toman</u> mátan   = <u>Toman</u> Ø-^- máta-n   '<u>Tom's</u> shoulder'

    d.   mátan   = <u>Ø^-mata-n</u>   '<u>my</u> shoulder'
    e.   amatan   = <u>a-mata-n</u>   '<u>your</u> shoulder'
    f.   y<u>i</u>matan   = <u>yi-mata-n</u>   '<u>his</u> shoulder'

In addition to the morphology associated with the genitive construction, nouns may bear suffixes, two of which are particularly salient for this paper. The suffix <u>-pe</u> 'Adjectivalizer/adverbializer (AD)' derives a non-nominal constituent which can serve as the predicate of a copular verb. Unless it bears the <u>-pe</u> 'AD' suffix, a noun may not be the predicate of a fully finite copular verb.[3] In normal speech, the vowel of the <u>-pe</u> suffix moves to the more neutral high central unrounded vowel i and the suffix itself seems to cliticize to the first consonant of the verbal copula which follows (cf the first line in 0).

(2)   maejturu pɨwaj chu
        maejturu-pe w-aj yu
        teacher-AD 1-AUX 1SG
        'I was like (acting the part of) a teacher.'

A second set of nominal morphology is formed by two particles which appear to be derived from historical pronouns. These particles, optional in virtually all elicitation situations, agree with the noun for animacy, either -(më)n 'Inanimate (INAN)' or -(më)nëj 'Animate (ANIM)'. Nouns in Panare are modified by other nouns in apposition rather than by a separate syntactic class of adjectives. Thus, the word tosen 'big' in 0 is actually a noun and not an adjective as the English translation might suggest.[4] The nominal suffixes are exemplified in 0a-b:

(3)   a.   tosen-mën   'the big one (INAN)'
        b.   tosen-nëj   'the big one (ANIM)'

In summary, the three morphological characteristics which identify nouns in Panare are: (1) it may be possessed, (2) it may bear the denominalizing suffix -pe in a predicate nominal clause, or (3) it may bear a pronominal particle which agrees with it for animacy.

2.2   Case marking and word order of NPs in main clauses

Subject and direct object noun phrases in main clauses are unmarked morphologically, but they are subject to certain order restrictions. The possible word orders in elicitation are OVS, VSO, SOV, and SVO. In both elicitation and discourse, the subject almost always occurs postverbally; in elicitation the object is equally felicitous either before the verb or after the subject, but in discourse it is overwhelmingly after the subject.[5] In the key morphosyntactic effect of word order variation, if a transitive direct object NP directly precedes the verb, a third person subject agreement prefix will be lost and primary accent in the verb will shift to the left (^- 'NP Object (NPO)'). If a non-nominal (e.g. a noun bearing the suffix -pe) precedes the verb, the third person subject agreement prefix remains and stress does not shift in the verb. These two phenomena are illustrated in 0a-b. As seen in 0c, a non-nominal cannot trigger the loss of agreement prefix and accent shift, and as seen in 0d, a direct object NP cannot precede a verb which retains its agreement prefix and normal stress pattern.

(4)   a.   tosenmën pétyu'mayaj   tikon pelotan
                tosen-mën Ø-^-petyú'ma-yaj tikon pelotan
                large-INAN INV-NPO-hit-PAST child ball
                'The child kicked the large ball.'

        b.   tosempe nɨpetyú'mayaj tikon pelotan
                tosen-pe nɨ-petyu'ma-yaj tikon pelotan
                large-AD 3-hit-PAST   child ball
                'The child kicked the large ball.'

        c.   *tosempe pétyu'mayaj   tikon pelotan
                 tosen-pe Ø-^-petyú'ma-yaj tikon pelotan
                 large-AD INV-NPO-hit-PAST child ball
                 (the child kicked the large ball)

        d.   *tosenmën nɨpetyú'mayaj tikon pelotan
                 tosen-mën nɨ-petyu'ma-yaj tikon pelotan
                 large-INAN 3-hit-PAST   child ball
                 (the child kicked the large ball)

Nouns other than subject and direct object in main clauses bear postpositions. A representative example is the dative postposition uya 'DAT' marking the dative/recipient of the verb utu 'give' in 0:

(5)   parae yujchaj   kën   Toman úya
        parae y-utu-yaj   kën   Toman uya
        knife INV-give-PAST AN:INV Thomas DAT
        'S/he gave a knife to Tom.'

I summarize section 2 as follows: if we have a constituent in a main clause in Panare and we want to know if it is a noun, we can apply the following morphological (i-iii) and syntactic (iv-v) tests:

(i)   Can it be possessed?
(ii)   Can it bear the -pe 'AD' suffix?
(iii)   Can it bear either of the pronominal particles, -(më)n 'INAN' or -(më)nëj 'ANIM'?
(iv)   Can it be a direct object in the main clause (i.e. can it trigger loss of subject agreement prefix and accent shift in the verb)?
(v)   Can it bear postpositions?

In section 3 I demonstrate that a verb bearing the nï- prefix meets all of these criteria, and hence must be considered a noun.

3   The Object-Nominalizing Prefix nï-

The main features of the morphosyntax of the nï- nominalizer are described in this section: (1) it occurs only on transitive verbs, deriving a nominal which refers to the patient, and which is obligatorily possessed by the agent, of the action denoted by the verb;[6] (2) the derived nominal takes nominal suffixes; (3) the derived nominal functions as an object relative clause; and (4) the derived nominal may bear any grammatical relation in the main clause, including direct object and dative/recipient. In short, the verb which bears the nï- prefix meets all of the syntactic criteria which define nouns in Panare.

3.1   Obligatory possession by the AGENT

The full set of possessive prefixes appears on the front of the transitive verb inflected with nï-, agreeing with the AGENT of the action denoted by the verb. In 0a-c the genitive prefixes refer to the AGENT of the verb, first, second, and third person, respectively. In 0d-f the full NP genitive refers to the AGENT of the verb. Note that the third person genitive prefix in 0c and the first person pro-clitic in 0d are almost homophonous -- only the accent shift associated with the 1SG clitic disambiguates the two.

(6)   a.   námë
                Ø^-nï-amë
                1-O:NMLZR-buy
                'my bought one'

        b.   a-nïïpetyúmajpë
                2-O.NMLZR-hit-PERF:INF
                'your hit one'

        c.   yïnïïpetyúmajpë
                3-O.NMLZR-hit-PERF:INF
                'his/her/its hit one'

d.   yɨnɨpétyu'majpë
         yu-^-nɨ-petyú'ma-jpë
         1SG-NPG-O.NMLZR-hit-PERF:INF
         'my hit one'

e.   amën nɨpétyu'mayaanëj
         amën ^-nɨ-petyú'ma-yaj-nëj
         2SG NPG-O.NMLZR-hit-PAST-ANIM
         'your hit one'

f.   Toman nɨpétyu'majpë
         Toman ^-nɨ-petyú'ma-jpë
         Thomas NPG-O.NMLZR-hit-PERF:INF
         'Tom's hit one'

In 0 the example is not allowed when the AGENT occurs following the nominalized verb. As for all possessive constructions, if the genitive is to appear as a full NP, it must replace the agreement prefix before the possessed noun. It cannot occur elsewhere in the clause, and have the genitive prefix 'agree' with it.

(7)   *yɨnɨpetyúmajpë   Toman
         y-nɨ-petyúma-jpë   Toman
         3-O.NMLZR-hit-PERF Thomas
         (Tom's hit one)

In 0a-b nɨ- is not allowed to nominalize an intransitive verb. This is a natural restriction, since nɨ- is an object nominalizer and intransitive verbs do not have direct objects.

(8)   a.   *yunëtëjpë
                 yu ^-nɨ-të-jpë
                 1SG NPG-O:NMLZR-go-PERF:INF
                 (my gone one/my leaving)

         b.   *yunichireemajpë
                 yu ^-nɨ-ch-ireema-jpë
                 1SG NPG-O:NMLZR-DETR-make:dance-PERF:INF
                 (my danced one/my dancing)

3.2   Nominal suffixes

In addition to being obligatory possessed by the agent, verbs inflected with the nɨ- nominalizing prefix may also bear either of the nominal suffixes -pe 'AD' or -(më)nëj 'ANIM'. In 0 the verb utu 'give' bears the nɨ- prefix and the verbal complement suffix -n 'COMP'. The derived nominal is possessed by the agent NP yu. As discussed above in §2.1, when a noun is the predicate NP of the verbal copula aj 'AUX', it must bear the denominalizing suffix -pe 'AD'; like all predicate nouns in this environment, the derived nominal yunutun 'my given (thing)' bears -pe.

(9)   yunutunpɨ   maj   parae
         yu Ø-nɨ-utu-n-pe   m-aj   parae
         1SG GEN-O.NMLZR-give-COMP-AD 2/3-AUX knife
         The knife was what I gave.
         (lit. `The knife was my given (thing).')[7]

In 0 the derived nominal nɨpétyumayaaj 'your hit (one)' bears the reduced form -nëj 'ANIM' of the animate pronominal particle -(më)nëj. The agent amën '2SG' possesses the nominalized verb. The copula in this clause, nëj 'AN:DIST', and the relativizer -nëj 'REL:ANIM' on the finite relative clause tiyaanëj 'S/he who left' have exactly the same form as the animate pronominal particle. All three instances of nëj are agreeing for animacy with the same referent, who is simultaneously the subject of the main clause predicate nominal, the subject of the relativized verb 'go', and the object of the nominalized verb 'hit'.[8]

(10)   amën nɨpétyumayaanëj   nëj   tiyaanëj
       amën ^-nɨ-petyúma-yaj-nëj   nëj   të-yaj-nëj
       2SG. PP-O.NMLZR-hit-PAST-ANIM ANIM.DIST go-PAST-REL.ANIM
       'S/he who left is the one who you hit.'
       (lit. `S/he who left is your hit (one).')

3.3   Bearing grammatical relations in main clauses

In this section I show the derived form operating in a number of syntactic environments which are reserved for nouns, namely those which bear grammatical relations in main clauses. It should be noted that the derived nominal may either stand alone as the head noun, bearing the grammatical relation directly (something like a headless relative clause in English) or it may serve as a noun which modifies another noun, in which case the grammatical relation is shared between the two.

First, consider the following examples of the nominalized verb as subject of both intransitive and transitive clauses. In 0, the main clause verb is intransitive, tɨyaj 'he left'. The subject is the complex NP Toman nɨpétyu'mayaanëj 'Tom's hit one'. The leftward shift in primary stress (from petyú'ma to pétyu'ma) indicates that the AGENT Toman is the genitive NP of the nominalized verb nɨpétyu'mayaj. The entire complex NP also bears the pronominal particle -nëj 'ANIM'.

(11)   tɨyaj   Toman   nɨpétyu'mayaanëj
       të-yaj   Toman   ^-nɨ-petyú'ma-yaj-nëj
       go-PAST Thomas NPG-O.NMLZR-hit-PAST-ANIM
       'The one who Tom hit left.'
       (lit: 'Tom's hit one left.')

In 0 the direct object Toman precedes the main clause verb e'ka 'to bite', triggering the loss of subject agreement (shown also by the y- 'Inverse (INV)' prefix, which occurs overtly only on vowel initial verbs). The subject of the main clause is the derived nominal yɨnamánëjpë 'my made one'. The verb amanë 'create' bears the -jpë 'PERF:INF' verbal suffix, the nɨ- nominalizer, and is possessed by the first person pro-clitic yu- '1SG'.

(12)   Toman ye'kayaj   yɨnamánëjpë
       Toman y-e'ka-yaj   yu   ^-nɨ-amanë-jpë
       Thomas INV-bite-PAST 1SG NPG-O.NMLZR-create-PERF:INF
       'The one I made bit Tom.'
       (lit. `My hit (one) bit Tom.')

In a more significant test for nominal status, the verb bearing nɨ- also occurs as a preverbal direct object, triggering loss of the verbal agreement prefix and leftward accent shift in the main verb.[9] In 0 the main verb ɨnɨ 'eat.meat' (the third word in the clause) bears the suffix -ñe 'Nonspecific.Transitive (NONSPEC.T)', and is followed by the subject yutakon '1+2PL'. There are two NPs preceding the verb, kuchinë 'pig' and the nominalized verb yɨnɨpu'mojpë 'my killed (one)'. The morphological alteration in the verb indicates that the NP which immediately precedes it, the derived nominal yɨnɨpu'mojpë, is the direct object rather than the lexical noun kuchinë.

(13)   kuchinë yɨnɨpu'mojpë   yÁnɨñe   yutakon
        kuchinë yu-nɨ-pu'mo-jpë   ^-y-ɨnɨ-ñe   yutakon
        pig   1SG-O.NMLZR-kill-PERF:INF NPO-TRN-eat.meat-NONSPEC.T 1+2PL
        'We're eating the pig that I killed.'
        (lit. `We're eating the pig my killed (one)'.'

        Verbs bearing the nɨ- prefix may also bear postpositions, and thus serve as oblique arguments of main clauses. In 0 both the direct and indirect objects are derived nominals. The main clause subject is Toman and the verb is uj 'give', bearing the suffix -yaj 'PAST'. The direct object is unequivocally amën namanëjpë 'your made (one)', as it occurs immediately preceding the verb and the verb loses its subject agreement prefix. The indirect object is the derived nominal yɨnamanëjpë 'my made (one)', bearing the dative/recipient postposition uya 'DAT'.

(14)   amën namánëjpë   yujchaj   Toman
        amën ^-nɨ-amanë-jpë   y-uj-yaj   Toman
        2SG NPG-O.NMLZR-create-PERF:INF INV-give-PAST Thomas

        yɨnamanëjpë   úya
        yu ^-nɨ-amanë-jpë   uya
        1SG NPG-O.NMLZR-create-PERF-INF DAT

        'Tom gave the one you made to the one I made.'[10]
        (lit. `Tom gave your made (one) to my made (one).')

        In 0 the main clause verb is wɨtën '1SG-go', the subject is yu '1SG', and the location pata 'place/house' bears the goal/locative postposition yaka 'to'. The derived nominal amën nyemeyan 'your cleaned (thing)' comes at the end of the clause. It bears the reduced allomorph -n of the pronominal particle -(më)n 'INAN', and is followed by the goal/locative postposition yaka 'to'.

(15)   wɨtën   yu pata yaka
        wɨ-të-n   yu pata yaka
        1 -go-NONSPEC.I 1SG place to

        amën nyémeyan   yaka
        amën ^-nɨ-yeme-yaj-mën   yaka
        2SG NPG-O.NMLZR-clean-PAST-INAN to

        'I'm gonna go to the house that you cleaned.'
        lit: 'I'm gonna go to the house, to your cleaned (one).'

3.4   Restrictions on verbal suffixes with the nɨ- nominalizer

The preceding three sections demonstrate in a variety of ways that a verb which bears the nɨ- prefix is completely nominalized, and is a noun according to every syntactic test in Panare. One interesting aspect of this nominalizing prefix is that it may co-occur with a variety of verbal inflectional suffixes. In this section I discuss some of the verbal suffixes which co-occur on the verb stem with the nɨ- nominalizer, as well as some which are excluded. As described in Payne, Payne, and Gildea 1990, Panare verbs may bear both derivational and inflectional prefixes and suffixes. Derivational affixes combine with the verb root to form a verb stem, which is then inflected with both a tense/aspect suffix and a personal agreement prefix. The nɨ- nominalizing prefix occurs in place of the personal agreement prefixes, but its occurrence does not prevent the verb from taking a tense/aspect suffix -- in fact one of several different tense/aspect suffixes may co-occur with nɨ-. Thus, it appears that the verb takes half of its normal inflectional morphology, the tense/aspect suffix, and then the nominalizing prefix derives a noun from

this semi-inflected verb.

The verbal suffix which most commonly co-occurs with ni- in narrative text is -jpë 'Perfect:Inferential (PERF:INF)'. Four other tense/aspect suffixes co-occur with ni-: -n 'Complement (COMP)', -Ø 'COMP' (i.e. a zero suffix, a bare stem), -yaj 'PAST', and -i 'PAST.Interrogative (PAST.INTER)'. Nominal suffixes occur following the verbal tense/aspect suffix.

In 0 the verb imi 'make' bears the ni- nominalizer and the verbal suffix -jpë 'PERF:INF'; the AGENT kën precedes the derived nominal, possessing it,n and thus forming one complex NP 'his made one'.

(16)   kën   nimijpë   peraka
        kën   ^-ni-imi-jpë   peraka
        ANIM.INV NPG-O.NMLZR-make-PERF house
        'The house is what he made.'
        (lit. 'the house is his made (thing)')

Another verbal suffix which co-occurs with the ni- nominalizer is -n 'COMP'. This suffix occurs on verbs in complement clauses, with absolutive agreement prefixes which are derived historically from the possessive prefix set. When -n appears on intransitive verbs in main clauses, it functions as the marker of nonspecific aspect. At times -n also occurs on transitive verbs in main clauses, but it is still unclear whether such clauses are fully finite. When the ni- nominalizer and the -n verbal suffix co-occur, the resulting nominal refers to the PATIENT of an action which is expected to occur in the near to immediate future. In 0 the predicate nominal is karya 'good', followed by the reduced form -m of the pronominal particle mën 'INAN', here functioning as the copula.[11] The inanimate nominal parae 'knife' is the subject of the predicate nominal and yinaamën 'my one to buy' is in apposition, modifying parae. As the translation indicates, the nominalized verb functions as an object relative clause.

(17)   karyam   parae yinaamën
        karya-mën parae yu ^-ni-amë-n
        good -INAN knife 1SG NPG-O.NMLZR-buy-COMP
        The knife that I'm gonna buy is good.
        (lit. `The knife my (FUT) bought (thing) is good.')

The second complement form of the verb which occurs with the n- nominalizer is a bare stem, which Payne, Payne, and Gildea 1990 represent as a zero suffix. In the remainder of this paper I refer to suffixless verbs as bare stem verbs. In 0 the predicate nominal is again karya 'good'. The inanimate pronominal particle mën 'INAN' functions as the copula. The noun parae 'knife' is the subject of the predicate nominal. In apposition to parae is a finite relative clause derived from a predicate nominal (cf Gildea 1989a, Payne, Payne, & Gildea 1990). The copula of this predicate nominal is the proximal auxiliary verb naj 'PROX.AUX'. The relative clause is marked by the relativizing suffix -sin 'Relativizer:Inanimate (REL.INAN)', which agrees for (in)animacy with the gapped subject of the predicate nominal, parae 'knife'. The predicate noun inside this relative clause is the nominalized verb námë 'that which I bought'. Thus, the relative clause is formed from a predicate nominal, where the predicate NP is itself a nominalized verb.

(18)   karya mën   parae námë   naasin
        karya mën   parae Ø^-ni-amë-Ø   naj-sin
        good DP.INAN knife 1-O.NMLZR-buy-COMP PROX.AUX-REL.INAN
        'The knife (that is the one) that I just bought is good.'
        (lit. `The knife that is my (just) bought (thing) is good.')

The latter two verbal suffixes which co-occur with ni- differ significantly from the previous three: -jpë, -n, and -Ø have only recently begun to be used as main clause verbal suffixes, and even still they are ubiquitous as either nominalizers or subordinating verbal morphology; -yaj and -i are members of the

historically fully finite set of verbal inflections, which cannot occur in subordinate clauses without some kind of special subordinating morphology. These suffixes are also unusual comparatively; historically finite suffixes are not attested as co-occurring with the nï- prefix in any other Cariban language I have surveyed (cf. §5)

The clearest cases of the nï- nominalizer with -yaj come with first and second person agents. In a finite clause with a first person subject where the verb is inflected with -yaj, the subject agreement prefix t- '1' is required (cf 0a).

(19)　　a.　　　　pata tyéme'yaj　　　chu
　　　　　　　　　　pata ^-t-yeme'-ya　　yu
　　　　　　　　　　house NPO-1A-clean-PAST 1SG
　　　　　　　　　　'I cleaned the place.'

In a finite relative clause in which the object is relativized (0b), the subject NP yu '1SG' precedes the relativized verb, which retains its standard agreement prefix t- '1', but which must bear the inanimate relativizing suffix -sïn 'REL.INAN'.

　　　　　　b.　　　　yu tyeme'yaasïn　　　　pata
　　　　　　　　　　　yu t-yeme'-yaj-sïn　　　pata
　　　　　　　　　　　1SG 1A-clean-PAST-REL.INAN place
　　　　　　　　　　　'the place that I cleaned ...'　(FINITE Relative Clause)

Essentially the same meaning may be expressed with a nominalized verb as in 0c: the subject NP yu '1SG' is now a genitive possessing the nominalized verb, which bears the nï- prefix and the -mën 'INAN' suffix (in contrast to the t- '1' prefix and the -sïn 'REL:INAN' suffix in 0b).[12]

　　　　　　c.　　　　yunyéme'yaamën　　　　pata
　　　　　　　　　　　yu ^-nï-yeme'-yaj-mën　　pata
　　　　　　　　　　　1SG NPG-O.NMLZR-clean-PAST-INAN place
　　　　　　　　　　　'The place that I cleaned...'　(NOMINALIZED Relative Clause)
　　　　　　　　　　　(lit. The place my cleaned (thing)...')

The two disallowed sentences (0d-e) demonstrate that the -sïn 'REL.INAN' suffix cannot be used with the nominalized verb, and that the -mën 'INAN' nominal suffix cannot relativize a finite verb with a first person subject.

　　　　　　d.　　　　*yunyéme'yaasïn pata
　　　　　　e.　　　　*yu tyeme'yaamën pata

In a finite clause where the subject is second person and the verb bears the -yaj 'PAST' suffix (0a) the obligatory agreement prefix is m- '2'.

(20)　　a.　　　　yumujchaj　　　amën apoj kúya
　　　　　　　　　　yu m-uj-yaj　　　amën apoj uya
　　　　　　　　　　1SG 2A-give-PAST 2SG man DAT
　　　　　　　　　　'You gave me to the man.'

In a finite relative clause (0b) a second person subject pronoun need not occur, such that the m- '2' prefix on the verb is the only reference to the agent. When the relativized object is animate, the animate relativizing suffix -nëj 'REL.ANIM' occurs on the verb.

b.   yu nëj   mujchaanëj   apoj kúya
           yu nëj   m-uj-yaj-nëj   apoj uya
           1SG ANIM.DIST 2A-give-PAST-REL.ANIM man DAT
           'Who you gave to the man is me.' (FINITE RC)

When the verb is nominalized (0c), the subject pronoun occurs as the genitive, possessing the derived nominal. Note that the only overt difference between the surface form of the relativized verb in 0b and the nominalized verb plus the nominal suffix in 0c is the choice of prefix: m- '2' for the finite verb and nï- 'O.NMLZR' for the nominalized verb.[13]

c.   yu nëj   amën nujchanëj   apoj kúya
           yu nëj   amën ^-nï-uj-yaj-nëj   apoj uya
           1SG ANIM.DIST 2SG NPG-O.NMLZR-give-PAST-ANIM man DAT
           'Who you gave to the man is me.' (NOMINALIZED RC)
           (lit. `Your given (one) to the man is me.')

One potential source of confusion arises from the combination of the nï- nominalizing prefix with the -yaj tense/aspect suffix: nï- is also the standard third person subject agreement prefix which occurs with -yaj. Thus, there is very little morphological information to separate a finite relative clause with a fronted subject NP from a nominalized verb preceded (possessed) by the genitive agent. The distinction between the inanimate relativizing suffix -sïn and the inanimate nominal suffix -mën (seen in both 0 and 0 above) is not available, since when the subject of a finite relative clause is third person, the inanimate relativizing prefix is also -mën 'REL:INAN'. An example of the potential confusion can be seen in the nearly identical sentences in 0a-b. In 0a the primary accent of the verb petyú'ma 'hit' shifts to the the left, indicating that a full NP genitive precedes a derived nominal. The glosses for nï- and -nëj as nominal morphology are based on this one morphological distinction.

(21)   a.   tɨyaj   Toman nɨpétyu'mayaanëj
                të-yaj   Toman ^-nɨ-petyú'ma-yaj-nëj
                go-PAST Thomas NPG-O.NMLZR-hit-PAST-ANIM
                'The one Tom hit left.' (NOMINALIZED RC)
                (lit. `Tom's hit (one) left.')

In 0b the lack of accent shift indicates that the preceding NP is not a genitive, and the analysis is hence that the preceding NP is the subject of a finite relative clause where the relativized NP is the missing object.

       b.   tɨyaj   Toman nɨpetyú'mayaanëj
                të-yaj   Toman nɨ-petyú'ma-yaj-nëj
                go-PAST Thomas 3-hit-PAST-REL:ANIM
                'The one Tom hit left.' (FINITE RC)

       The other finite tense/aspect inflection which co-occurs with nɨ- is the past interrogative suffix -i 'PAST.INTER'. This particular use of the nɨ- prefix properly belongs in the next section, on the development of nɨ- into a verbal inflectional prefix. This is because nɨ- and -i only co-occur on main clause question verbs. For now I simply illustrate a case of the combination of nɨ- and -i in 0; I postpone further discussion of the overall syntax and function of the combination to the next section.

(22)   nëj nÅnkii   katya?
       nëj ^-nɨ-ɨnkɨ-i   katya
       who NPG-O.NMLZR-put.on-PAST.INTER loincloth
       'Who put the loincloth (on the boy who was initiated)?'
       (i.e. `Who did the loincloth initiation?')

       To conclude this section, I list the verbal suffixes which are specifically disallowed with the nɨ- prefix in elicitation:

(23)   -ñe   `NONSPEC:T'
        -jpo   `PERF:AGT'
        -sejpa `FUT'
        -sa'   `PERF:VIS'
        -jtëëpe `DESID'
        -mpëj   `IMPERF:T'
        -nëpëj `IMPERF:I'

4   Use of ni- with main clause verbs

Of the 14 main clause verbal inflections listed in Payne, Payne, and Gildea 1990, 11 have been reanalyzed from historical nominalizers fairly recently. The path of grammaticalization was as follows: nominalized verbs first occurred in main clauses as complements of copulas, then the nominalized verb was reanalyzed as the main verb and the copula was reanalyzed as an auxiliary (cf Gildea 1989a-b, 1990b). When it occurs as the complement of a copula, a verb bearing the ni- nominalizer prefix also appears to have been reanalyzed synchronically as a main clause verb. However, since the morphosyntax associated with the other 11 is different from that associated with the ni- prefix, I cannot simply assert the reanalysis of ni- by analogy to them. In this section I argue for the reanalysis on both structural and functional grounds.

In predicate nominal constructions with a lexical noun as the predicate, the copula is required by virtually all consultants in elicitation, and in even in discourse there are very few examples of elided copulas. In contrast, when the copulas are reanalyzed as auxiliaries of main clause verbs, all but one consultant allowed them to be deleted in elicitation, and in discourse data many more examples occur without auxiliaries than with auxiliaries. Thus, a structural test which distinguishes between nouns in a predicate nominal construction and newly reanalyzed main verbs plus auxiliaries is whether the copula/auxiliary can be deleted. If it is difficult to delete, it is probably a copula, in which case the clause is a predicate nominal and the verbal affix is a nominalization; if the copula/auxiliary is easily deleted then it looks more like an auxiliary, in which case the clause is verbal and the verbal affix is reanalyzed as some sort of a tense/aspect/modality inflection.

The copula/auxiliary for verbs bearing the ni- prefix may be easily deleted, even by speakers who disallow copula deletion in predicate nominal clauses. In 0 the subject is cape 'coffee' and the predicate noun is yunamánëjpë 'my made (thing)'. The inanimate copula mën 'INAN' in 0 makes the sentence 'better' according to one consultant, but the same consultant continued to insist that 0 is a complete sentence, and that there is no semantic difference between the two (the active translations reflect that consultants translated both examples into active sentences in Spanish).

(24)   yunamánëjpë   cape
        yu Ø-^-n-manë-jpë   cape
        1SG GEN-NPG-O.NMLZR-make-PERF:INF coffee
        'I made coffee.'
        (lit. `Coffee my made (thing).')

(25)   yunamánëjpë   mën cape
        yu -^ -n   -manë-jpë mën cape
        1SG-PP-O.NMLZR-make-PERF COP coffee
        'I made coffee.'
        (lit. `Coffee is my made (thing).')

The functional argument begins with the active verbal translations which consultants give to such clauses as 0 and 0 above. This indicates that native speakers of Panare think of these clauses as roughly parallel to clauses with active verbs in Spanish. In addition, verbs bearing the ni- prefix occur in discourse to describe events, an eminently verbal property. These two facts argue for the probability that verbs bearing the ni- nominalizer may sometimes be best analyzed as main clause verbs. However, such

an argument begs a specific question: when and why would a Panare speaker nominalize a verb and then use the derived nominal as a verb?-- i.e. in what contexts is nï- used as verbal morphology and what is the motivation for doing so?

There are very few cases of nï- as a verbal inflection in narrative discourse, but what cases there are can all be identified with the same pragmatic context: information questions where the information in question is the identity of the agent (i.e. "whodonit?" questions) and the answers to those questions. The sentences in 0b-c are taken from a narrative text to illustrate such an information question and answer pair. In 0b the bird children ask their mother the underlined information question nëj nëtujpë mën? `Who gave (you) that?'. The only verbal element in this question clearly bears the nï- prefix with all its morphosyntax: the agent (the indefinite pronoun nëj `who') precedes the verb and the patient NP mën `INAN:INV' occurs postverbally, with no case marking or other indication that it is connected syntactically to the verb (cf 0 above). In 0c the mother's response is framed in the same morphosyntax: the only difference between 0b and 0c is that in 0c the agent NP e'ñapa `Panare' replaces the question pronoun nëj `who' used in 0b. (Since I contend that this use of nï- is no longer a nominalization, I now gloss nï- as `AGENT:FOCUS (AGT:FOC)' and the accent shift ^- now indicates `Noun Phrase Agent (NPA)'.)

(26)   a.   yajkopañe   tukonken yanë   úya
              y-ajkopa-ñe   tunko-inken y-anë   uya
              3-ask-NONSPEC:T bird-child 3-mother DAT
              `The bird children ask their mother' (MKW.61.11)

        b.   "nëj nëtujpë   mën   anë"   kañe
              nëj ^-nï-utu-jpë   mën   anë   Ø-ka-ñe
              who NPA-AGT:FOC-give-PERF:INF INAN:INV mother TRN-say-NONSPEC:T
              `"Who gave (you) that, Mother?" they say.' (MKW.61.12)

        c.   "e'ñapa nëtujpë   mën   Pekoro pe tiche'"
              e'ñapa ^-nï-utu-jpë   mën   Pekoro pe t-iche
              Panare NPA-AGT:FOC-give-PERF:INF INAN:INV Pedro AD 3-name

              kañe
              Ø-ka-ñe
              TRN-say-NONSPEC:T

              `"A Panare named Pedro gave it," she says.' (MKW.61.13)

Note the characteristics of the verb plus nï- in 0b-c: the clauses are translated as active sentences and there is no copula/auxiliary to serve as the syntactic main clause verb if we assumed the verb plus nï- were actually a nominalized complement. The same morphological behavior is associated with the verb plus nï- in its verbal use as with the nominal uses attested above, but the syntax has changed significantly: there is no longer another verbal element in the clause to serve as the "real" verb. The only reasonable conclusion is that nï- has evolved to function as a main clause verbal inflection in a certain agent-focused construction, the agent information question. I will refer to subsequent clauses in which the main verb is inflected with nï- as `nï- constructions'.

In elicitation, all agent information questions about past events follow the pattern of 0b; the same three overt suffixes which co-occur with the nominal use of nï- also occur in nï- constructions, but the bare stem (i.e. -Ø `COMP') is not attested in nï- constructions. The verbal suffix -jpë `PERF:INF' is attested in 0b above, -n `COMP' in 0a, and -i/-e `PPERF:INTER' in 0b.

(27)   a.   nëj nÅnkën   (mën) katya?
             nëj ^-nɨ-ɨnkë-n   mën katya
             who NPA-AGT:FOC-put:on-COMP SPEC loincloth
             `Who's gonna put the loincloth (on the boy to be initiated)?

       b.   nëj nÅnkii   katya
             nëj ^-nɨ-ɨnkë-i   katya
             nëj NPA-AGT:FOC-put:on-PPERF:INTER loincloth
             `Who put the loincloth (on the boy who was initiated)?'

   The only other example from narrative text comes from the same story. The husband of the
mother bird finds the man who gave the gift and asks him the question in 0. Although the identity of the
agent is expressed with the referential pronoun amën `2SG' and the translation is phrased as a yes/no
question, the speech act is actually that of an information question (i.e. English `Are you the one who
gave it?').

(28)   amën nëtujpë   ka mën   chi ñi mën   ñi?
       amën ^-nɨ-utu-jpë   ka mën   chi ñi mën   ñi
       2SG NPA-AGT:FOC-give-PERF:INF QP INAN:INV COP HES INAN:INV HES
       `Did you give it, uh, that?'

   This use of the nɨ- construction for agent information questions makes a certain post-hoc
pragmatic sense. Cross-linguistically (and in Panare) question pronouns are usually the first words in a
sentence. However, in most main clauses in Panare the agent normally occurs postverbally. Two
syntactic structures in Panare have an agent at the beginning of the clause: a predicate nominal clause
with the predicate NP an agent possessing a nɨ- nominalized verb (i.e. a nɨ- construction) and clefts. The
agent remains closely associated with the verb in a nɨ- construction, whereas clefts dislocate the agent
from the clause, isolating it in front of the copula and leaving the rest of the predication in a relative
clause after the copula. Since many historical nominalizations have already been reanalyzed as main
clause verbs, an analogous reanalysis for the nɨ- prefix carries with it the added benefit of providing a less
marked structure with a fronted agent.
   The same verbal use of nɨ- is found in a recorded conversation between four Panare men.
Speaker A has been telling a story from tribal oral tradition, in which a band of raiders attacked a Panare
village while the men were away. He has just digressed from the main story line into a description of how
the houses in the village are stuffed with kaemo, the meat eaten during initiation ceremonies. He
describes the various animals which have been killed, and how the meat is hanging from the rafters, when
speaker B interrupts with the questions in 0a-b. In 0a the agent in focus is e'ñapa `person/Panare',
followed by the verb wë `kill' bearing both the nɨ- prefix and the suffix -jpë `PERF:INF'. The patient NP
kën kaemo `that celebration meat' phonologically dislocated from the main verb, appears to be more of an
afterthought. That speaker B is really interested in verifying the identity of the agent of wë `kill' becomes
apparent when he repeats the question in 0b with a clarification of the agent referent: yamase'ña `the ones
destined to be killed'. In 0c Speaker A confirm's B's guess by simply restating B's question with statement
intonation.

(29)   a. B: E'ñapa nɨwëjë,   kën   kaimo,
               e'ñapa ^-nɨ-wë-jpë   kën   kaemo
               Panare NPG-O:NMLZR-kill-PERF:INFER AN:INVIS celebration:meat
               `Did the people (Panare) kill it, the meat,'
               (CNV.02.13a)

b.   yamase'ña   nɨwëjë?
          y-ama-se'ña   ^-nɨ-wë-jpë
          3-kill-O:NMLZR:FUT NPA-AGT:FOC-kill-PERF:INF
          `did those who were (later to be) killed kill it?'
          (CNV.02.13b)

c. A: Yamase'ña   nɨwëjë,   kaimo.
          y-ama-se'ña   ^-nɨ-wë-jpë   kaemo
          3-kill-O:NMLZR:FUT NPA-AGT:FOC-kill-PERF:INF celebration:meat
          `Those who were (later to be) killed killed it,
          the celebration meat.' (CNV.02.14)

There is no question that the main topic of this sub-section of discourse is the meat, but the immediate focus of Speaker B's question is to verify the identity of the agent who hunted the meat, and to thereby link the digression about meat back into the main story line. The nɨ- construction is thus used as a tool to focus on the agent of a verb.

Since both clefts and nɨ- constructions place the agent first in a sentence, it is a reasonable hypothesis that the functions of the two constructions overlap in more domains than just agent information questions. Cross-linguistically, another much-attested function of clefts is to place one participant in contrastive focus or to mark a particularly salient topic (cf. Givón 1990, ch. 16, 17). The Panare nɨ- construction also seems to serve such a function for agents in discourse.

In order to illustrate the difference in structure between clefts and nɨ- constructions in Panare, consider the cleft agent information question in 0, produced later in the same conversation by Speaker D. The animate question pronoun nëj `who' occurs first, as the predicate noun of the copular verb aj `AUX', here bearing the third person question prefix n- `3' and the distant past particle kë `DIST:PAST'.

(30)   D: ¿Nëj nakë,   ya'kamañeje amën wɨya?
          nëj n-aj-kë   y-a'kama-ñepe amën uya
          who 3-AUX-DIST:PAST 3-tell-LQ:SEQ 2SG DAT
          `Who was it, (the one that) told this to you?' (CNV.02.104)[14]

This question was the beginning of a challenge to the way speaker A was telling a tribal legend. Speaker A replied that his grandmother had told him the story many times, whereupon speaker D asked if he had ever heard it from any other source as well, such as a shaman (i.e. a more prestigious, reliable source). After a bit of verbal sparring, A asserted that an illustrious line of ancestors had passed the story down to his grandmother, named the particular ancestor who had taught his grandmother the story, and asserted that his source was unimpeachable. The conversation is continued from this point in 0a-h. Note the cleft used by speaker D in 0e to verify that the only person who had personally told A the legend was his grandmother, then the nɨ- construction used by speaker A in 0f to respond.

(31)   a. D: ¿pakiño?
             pake-no
             before-NMLZR
             `The one before (i.e. the ancestor)?' (CNV.02.122)

      b. A: ya'kamañen   këj,   aye,
             y-a'kama-ñen   këj   aye
             3-tell-S:NMLZR AN:PROX yes
             `(he) is the teller, yes,' (CNV.02.123)

c.   'iwepëtope   tyincha,
         y-u-ej-pëtë-tópe   tyincha
         3-INTR-be-ITER-PURP known
         `so that it would be known,' (CNV.02.124a)

d.   tyincha 'wepëtope.
         tyincha y-u-ej-pëtë-tópe
         known 3-INTR-be-ITER-PURP
         `so that it would be known.' (CNV.02.124b)

e. D: ¿anoj   pïn   ka ya'kamañe,   amën wuya?
         a-noj   pï-mën ka y-a'kama-ñe amën uya
         2-grandmother dead-SPEC QP 3-tell-S:NMLZR 2SG DAT
         `Your (dead) grandmother is the one that told it, to you?'
         (CNV.02.125)

f. A: 'inoj   pï na'kamapïtïjï   mën,
         yu-noj   pï ^-nï-a'kama-pïtï-jpë   mën
         1SG-grandmother dead NPA-AGT:FOC-tell-ITER-PERF:INF INAN:INV
         `My (dead) grandmother told it over and over,' (CNV.02.126)

g.   'iwëya naasïn,
         yu-uya naj-sïn
         1SG-DAT PROX:AUX-REL:INAN
         `that which I have (i.e. is to me) right now, (CNV.02.127a)

h.   ta   naasïn.
         ta   naj-sïn
         here PROX:AUX-REL:INAN
         that which is here right now.' (CNV.02.127b)
         (i.e. what I've been telling you right now.')

     The use of the nï- construction in 0f shows that it has uses beyond asking information questions and providing repetition-type answers. The question in 0e is in the form of a cleft, with the agent to the left of a copula and the verb in a nominalized form following the copula. The repetition-type response would be virtually the same sentence, except with the personal deixes altered due to change in speaker. However, instead of a cleft, the response takes the form of a nï- construction, focusing the agent, but not isolating it from the rest of the predicate.

     As a nominalizer, nï- only occurs on transitive verbs, deriving a nominal which refers to the object of the verb. As seen above (section 3.1, example 0a-b) intransitive verbs cannot be nominalized with the nï- prefix. This is a natural restriction, since intransitive verbs have no direct object to serve as the referent of the derived nominal. However, a nï- construction as used in information questions does not create a nominal, nor does it particularly require the presence of a direct object -- the focus is on the agent NP. Thus, the natural restriction which holds for the nominalizing function of nï- does not hold for the verbal use of nï-. Although I have found no examples in discourse data, in elicitation consultants also use the nï- prefix on intransitive verbs in agent information questions. The information questions posed below in 0a and 0a are created by putting the nï- prefix and the -i `PPERF:INT' suffix on intransitive verbs, which then take the preverbal agent NP nëj `who'. The repetition-type answers in 0b and 0b simply replace the have the preverbal agent pronoun yu `1SG' followed by the same verb form.

(32)   a.   nëj nëpii
              nëj ^-nɨ-ëpɨ-i
              who NPA-AGT:FOC-come-PPERF:INT
              `Who came?

       b.   yu në'yaj
              yu ^-nɨ-ëpɨ-yaj
              1SG NPA-AGT:FOC-come-PPERF1
              `I came' (i.e. `I'm the one who came')

(33)   a.   nëj nichireemae?
              nëj ^-nɨ-ch-ireema-e
              who NPA-AGT:FOC-DETR-feed-PPERF:INT
              `Who ate?'

       b.   yu nichireemayaj
              yu ^-nɨ-ch-ireema-yaj
              1SG NPA-AGT:FOC-DETR-feed-PPERF1
              `I ate.' (i.e. `I'm the one who ate')

        In sum, the verbal use of nɨ- is clearly distinguishable from the nominalizing use in that: (i) it is the only verb in an active clause, frequently occurring even without an auxiliary; in contrast, a clause containing a derived nominal requires a predicate word (either a verb or copula). (ii) Focus is on the fronted agent in the verbal use of nɨ-, either as the information in question or as the referent in contrastive or topic focus; in contrast, the nɨ- nominalizer forms a relative clause focused on identifying the direct object of the verb. (iii) The verbal use of nɨ- may occur on intransitive verbs; in contrast, the derived nominal is restricted to transitive verb stems.
        I hypothesize that the stages of (and motivations for) the historical development of the nɨ- construction are as follows: when the nɨ- prefix occurs on a verb, the agent NP (or pro-clitic) is required to precede that verb. In agent information questions, the structure of the nɨ- construction places the agent question pronoun in front of the verb, which is also the initial position in the clause. The answer to the information question then repeats the structure of the question, but replaces the preverbal question pronoun with a referential agent NP. Once the nɨ- construction becomes established as the structure used to ask transitive agent information questions, it is a small extension to use the same structure for intransitive agent questions. When the agent of a verb is in either contrastive focus or topic focus, it can appear clause initially by inflecting the verb with nɨ-. Thus, the development of the nɨ- prefix from an object nominalizer to an agent focus construction is motivated by the syntax historically associated with the nominalizer, rather than by its inherent semantic value.

5   Cognates to the nɨ- nominalizer across Cariban languages
        I review the properties of the nɨ- nominalizer in Panare before identifying cognates in sister Cariban languages: phonologically, it is an alveolar nasal consonant plus a high central unrounded oral vowel. It may take the allomorph n- (i.e. the nasal without the vowel) when preceding a vowel-initial stem. Morphologically, it occurs as a prefix on a transitive verb stem which is inflected with one of four verbal suffixes, deriving a nominal which refers to the PATIENT of the action denoted by the verb. Syntactically, the derived nominal is obligatorily possessed by the AGENT of the action denoted by the verb, as shown by either personal prefixes or by the preceding full NP. The complex NP formed by the derived nominal and its possessor may take additional nominal morphology in the form of postpositions, the non-referential suffix -pe 'AD', and/or pronominal particles. When the derived nominal occurs as the predicate noun in a predicate nominal construction, it has evolved into a verbal construction such that the nɨ- prefix is now an inflectional morpheme in the main verb and the copula is now an auxiliary. Functionally, the nɨ- nominalizing prefix serves to form a direct object relative clause, and the new nɨ-

verbal inflection is used both to ask and respond to information questions seeking the identity of an AGENT. The new verbal use of ni- may also have other functions, but they have not been identified as yet.

Using these phonological, morphological, syntactic, and functional properties as a heuristic, cognates to the ni- prefix of Panare have been easy to find in every Cariban language I have examined so far. The nasal phoneme, the basic morpho-syntax of the construction, and the relative clause function are the same in all of the languages. Other functions associated with the construction vary, as do the suffixes which can co-occur with it. One factor which influences the functional differences is that Cariban languages vary in the degree to which a historically nominalized/subordinate verb form (a cognate set in all Cariban languages) is allowed to function as the sole predicate element in main clause syntax.

In Apalai (Koehn & Koehn 1986), Carib of Surinam (Hoff 1968), and Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985) main clauses are limited to 'finite' verbs (NOT a cognate set in all Carib languages), and constructions such as the ni- nominalizer are restricted to nominalized/subordinate clauses. In Panare, only three verb forms remain which are cognate to the 'finite' verbs of Hixkaryana, Apalaí, and Carib of Surinam; other main clause verb forms are derived from the historically 'nominalized/subordinate' verb forms. In Macuxi and Kuikúro, cognates to the 'finite' verb forms of other Cariban languages are completely lost; the only verb forms attested belong to the set of historically nominalized/subordinate verb forms. Nevertheless, in both Macuxi and Kuikúro, the ni- nominalizer still functions to form an object relative clause, deriving a nominal which functions as a noun in main clause syntax. In Kuikúro, the ni- nominalizer has also extended into main clause syntax marking 'interactive mood'.

The various stages of this development across Cariban languages are in need of further study. In a preliminary study (Gildea 1990) I characterize the direction of change as a move from an essentially nominative-accusative[15] tense-based system of verbal morphology toward an ergative-absolutive aspect-based system, where the aspect suffixes are derived from what was historically nominalizer/subordinate morphology.[16] The ni- nominalizer is an anomaly in the set of nominalizer/subordinate morphology in that the genitive prefixes which appear on the nominalized verb index the agent of transitive rather than the absolutive. At this point, I turn to a more in-depth look at the cross-Cariban data.

3.1   Carib of Surinam

Hoff 1968 describes a nasal prefix in Carib of Surinam which he labels the 'ni- category':

1)   "This [ni-] category is only found with transitive verbs"

2)   "...members of the ni- category are only found when directly connected syntactically with a word or word group preceding it (3.1.1). The difference is, however, that this word, or word group, does not refer to who or what undergoes the action, but to who or what performs it [i.e. it is preceded by the AGENT NP rather than the PATIENT NP -- SG]. The ni- formation itself can refer both to the action and to the person or thing undergoing it." (p. ##)

This 'ni- category' in Carib of Surinam is clearly cognate to the ni- nominalizer of Panare: it is a nasal prefix followed by a high, unrounded oral vowel; it has an allomorph n- which occurs preceding vowel initial verbs; it must be preceded by an NP referring to the AGENT of the action denoted by the verb; and it derives a noun which refers to -- along with the action -- the PATIENT of the action denoted by the verb. In 0b and c, the verb eeta 'hear' bears the ni- prefix. The AGENTs of the action, i'makó 'children' and paayá 'grandchildren' (bolded) precede the derived nominal. Each derived nominal bears the me 'PURPOSE' postposition (cognate to Panare -pe). These examples do not parallel the Panare examples functionally in that they appear to be action nominalizations rather than object nominalizations (i.e. it seems to stretch semantics too far to translate them into restrictive object relative clauses).[17]

(34)   Preceding nominal possessor in place of prefix:

    a.   eero waara irombo   sikaasa
             eero waara iiro-mbo   s -kaapɨ-sa
             this like this-former 1A-make -NDUR
             'and now I tell them this way (as I did).' (8.37.5)

    b.   ɨ'makó   (n)eetarî   me
             *Ø-ɨ'ma -ko n   -eeta-rɨ me
             1-child-PL   O.NMLZR-hear-POSS PURPOSE
             'For my children to hear,' (8.38.1)
             (In order to be what my children hear)(?)

    c.   paayá   (n)eetarɨ   me
             Ø-paarɨ   -ya   n   -eeta-rɨ me
             1-grandchild-PL   O.NMLZR-hear-POSS PURPOSE
             'for my grandchildren to hear,' (8.38.2)
             (In order to be what my grandchildren hear)(?)

    d.   koroopo paxpopó   ukuxtóóme   iiwaine
             koroopo Ø-paxpopo   ukutɨ-topo   -me   i-.wa-ne
             tomorrow 1-passed.away know -INST/LOC.NMLZR-PURPOSE 3-DAT-PL
             'that it may be known by them tomorrow when I am no longer here.' (8.38.3)

After examining all examples of the ni- prefix which appear in Hoff's extensive grammar and appended texts (a task made possible only by the excellent glossary/index of all Carib words which appear in the grammar), a further characterization of the 'ni- category' is possible. A restricted sub-group of verbal suffixes co-occur with the ni- prefix, all belonging to the set of nominalizing/subordinating morphology:

-Ø,
-rɨ   'POSS'
-xpo   'PERF'
-mbo   'former'
-xto   'NEG.DESID'
xpo-to 'PERF-when'

CHECK p. # WHERE HOFF STATES THE POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS -- IS LIST EXHAUSTIVE?

None of the temporal/modal (i.e. finite verbal) suffixes appears in the list of those which co-occur with ni-, and neither does any other nominalizer (e.g. -ne 'SUBJ.NMLZR', -no 'GEN.NMLZR', etc.). These facts parallel those of Panare in two ways: first, only a restricted set of suffixes is documented as co-occurring with the ni- nominalizer, and second, the suffix which most frequently co-occurs with the ni- nominalizer in Panare, -jpë 'PERF:INF', is cognate to Carib -xpo 'PERF', which is most frequently observed co-occurring with the ni- prefix in Carib. The parallel does not hold entirely in that none of the suffixes which co-occur with the Carib ni- prefix is a member of the finite set of verbal suffixes (cf. Panare -yaj `PAST', -i `PPERF:INTER'.

A second parallel to Panare is also observed in texts, although Hoff does not describe it in the grammar: the AGENT need not be expressed as a full NP, but may simply be indexed with a genitive prefix on the derived nominal. In 0b the verb i'mo 'break' bears the prefix ni- 'O.NMLZR' and the suffix -xpo 'PERF'. When there is neither a preceding NP nor an overt personal prefix, the zero prefix indicates 1SG possessor. Thus, the ni- construction functions as a restrictive object relative clause: Ø-ni'móópo 'the one that I broke' (lit. 'the one of my breaking').

(35)   First person possessor prefix Ø-:

       a.   "ataamurú   enuuru   meneeya
               a-tamuusï -rï oonu-rï m-eene-ya -
               2-grandfather-POSS eye -POSS 2-see -NDUR-QUES
               '"Have you seen your grandfather's eye,' (6.324.1)

       b.   Ø-ni'móópo   ro   xkuru   mooro
               Ø-n -i'mo -xpo   ro   xkuru   mooro
               1-O.NMLZR-break-PERF indeed beforehand that

               ataamur(u)   enuuru"
               a-taamuusï -rï oonu-rï
               2-grandfather-POSS eye -POSS

               'your grandfather's eye that was broken by me?'" (6.324.2)
               (lit. `my broken (one) your grandfather's eye?')

       c.   kïŋgaano   moxko pïïyei
               kïŋ-wïka-:no moxko pïïyei
               3 -say -NDUR.3 3.ANIM shaman
               'the Shaman said.' (6.324.3)

In 0b the verb aaro 'take' bears the ni- prefix and the -xpo suffix, but this time the personal possessive prefix a- '2' appears. The entire construction again functions as a restrictive object relative clause anaaróópo 'who you took' (lit. 'the one of your taking').

(36)   Second person possessor prefix a-:

       a.   "(e)neekó" kïŋgano   moxko pïïyei.
               eene-ko kïŋ-wïïka-:no moxko pïïyei
               see -IMP 3 -say -NDUR.3 3.ANIM shaman
               '"Look," the shaman said,' (6.322.1)

       b.   "moosé   anaaróóp(o)   oomïyááko pooko kooro,
               moose   a-n -aaro-xpo oomïyaako pooko kooro
               this.ANIM 2-O.NMLZR-take-PERF young.woman with please
               '"having anything to do with this girl who was carried off
               by you' (6.322.2)
               (lit. `with this your carried off (one) girl...')

c.   eerom(e) eerom(e) eerom(e) eerom(e) ayaixkééko"
        eerome eerome eerome eerome ay-weei -kepï-ko
        now   now   now   now   2 -become-CESS-IMP
        'at this, this, this, this moment you must stop." '
        (6.322.3)

In 0b the verb paato 'cross' bears the ni- prefix, the -rï 'POSS' suffix, and the i- '3' personal possessive prefix. In addition, the derived nominal bears the plural suffix -ko 'PL', referring to the possessor (cf. Hoff 1968, p. 248 for discussion of combining possession and plural morphology). Again, the ni- costruction functions as a restrictive object relative clause, iniipáátoríîko 'the one that they crossed' (lit. 'the one of their crossing').

(37)   Third-person possessor prefix i-:

        a.   yaŋsíípe   waatï moor(o) ixporíírï :ne   ma ,
                yaŋsikïïrï-pe   waatï mooro ixporíírï :ne   ma
                depth   -ADJ   is.not that   creek   really 3.COP
                'It was not deep,' (7.87)

        b.   iniipáátoríîko
                i-n -paato-rï -:ko
                3-O.NMLZR-cross-POSS-PL
                'the creek that they crossed.' (7.87.1)
                (lit. `The creek was not deep, their crossed one.')

It is clear that this ni- category in Carib of Surinam corresponds almost exactly to the nï-nominalizer in Panare--they are identical in form and morphosyntax, and they are both used to form restrictive relative clauses on the object of the verb bearing the ni- prefix. However, in Panare the nï-nominalizer may appear as the sole verb in apparently indicative main clauses, while in Carib of Surinam the ni- category appears only in subordinate constructions.

3.2   Apalai

Koehn and Koehn (1987 p. 91) describe a combination of nominalizing morphology as follows: `-ny-...-ry [is] Object resulting from an action. This occurs with transitive stems only. The -ny- is preceded by possessor person markers.' They then offer 0 as an example. The stem mero 'write' is sandwiched between a ny- 'NOMLZR' prefix and a -ry 'NOMLZR' suffix[18]. The agent is expressed as the first person genitive prefix y- preceding the derived nominal.

(38)   y-ny -mero -ry
        1-NOMLZR-write-NOMLZR
        'the thing I am writing' (K&K's 309, p. 91)

Koehn & Koehn (p. 92) discuss a second suffix, -hypyry `NOMLZR+PAST', which also co-occurs with the ny- prefix, deriving an `Object resulting from a past action'. This suffix breaks down etymologically into two suffixes, -hypy 'PAST' + -ry 'NOMLZR'. Apalaí -hypy is cognate to Panare -jpë 'Perfect:Inferential' and Carib of Surinam -xpo 'PERF'; neither Panare nor Carib of Surinam add an additional nominalizer/possessive suffix to a nominal derived with the nï- object nominalizer. In 0 -hypyry co-occurs with ny- on the verb stem mero `write' and the resulting nominal is possessed by the second person genitive prefix o-.

(39)   o-ny   -mero -hpyry
        2-NOMLZR-write-NOMLZR+PAST
        'the thing you have written' (K&K's 310, p. 92)

Although Koehn & Koehn do not give any full sentence examples in the relevant section of their grammar sketch, there is one clear example elsewhere in which a -ny- prefix is mis-glossed as third-person agreement. That example is reproduced in 0, with the original gloss by Koehn and Koehn.

(40)   ku -akuoh   -ko tam,   t -yka-se
        2S1O-take across-IMP grandfather NF-say-CMPL

        mokyro, kuto n-akuoty   -hypyry
        that one frog 3-take across-NOMLZR+PAST

        '"Take me across the water, Grandfather," said the one whom the frog had taken across.'
        (K&K's 217, p. 75)

This must actually be the -ny- nominalizer, since the suffix -hpyry does not take agreement prefixes (K&K p. 91), and even if it did, n- '3' is only prefixed to finite verb forms. That this is, in fact, the -ny- nominalizer is also clear from the syntax and function of the construction: the AGENT NP precedes/possesses the nominalized verb, creating an object relative clause.

In summary, the -ny- object nominalizer in Apalai is clearly cognate to the Panare and Carib of Surinam nï- and nï- object nominalizers: the phonetic form is nearly identical, the syntax associated with the prefix is identical, and the restricted set of suffixes which co-occurs with the prefix includes -hypy, cognate to the most common suffix attested in both Panare (-ïpë) and Carib of Surinam (-xpo).

3.3   Hixkaryana
Derbyshire (1985) devotes only one sentence to a construction -nï- ... -nï- 'object resulting from action'. In this construction he states that "the direct object... is the central part of the derivation, and the possessor prefixes in this (unique transitive) case mark the subject of the action." The example he gives is reproduced below in 0.

(41)   Manawasï hona Waraka Ø-nï   -nyake-nï   -rï uhutwehe
        Manaus to Waraka 3-O.NMLZR-send -ACTION.NMLZR-POSS I-know-him
        'I know the one whom Waraka sent to Manaus.' (D's 65b, p.49)
        (lit. `I know Waraka's sent to Manaus (one).')

Although there are no further examples, in Appendix F 'Derivational morphology: noun' (pp. 232, 233) the following suffixes are listed as co-occurring with the -nï- 'object resulting from action' prefix:

-nï-rï	'PRESENT'
-hïto-rï	'NEG'
-thï-rï	'PAST'
-hïto-rï tho	'NEG PAST'

Hixkaryana is similar to Apalai in that the nï- object nominalizing prefix always co-occurs with the -rï suffix (Koehn & Koehn call it another nominalizer and Derbyshire calls it a possesseive suffix, but the form is cognate and is clearly serving the same purpose in both languages).

In sum, Hixkaryana is the fourth Cariban language which has essentially the same prefix: phonetically an alveolar nasal followed by a high, central, unrounded vowel, morphologically a verbal prefix which derives a nominal referring to the object of the verb, syntactically the derived nominal possessed by the agent of the verb, and functionally an object relative clause.

3.4   Makushi

For Makushi, Nuesa Carson (1982 p. 126) lists nï- as the object relative pronoun in a restrictive relative clause. In restrictive clauses nï- 'whom, that' indicates that the object of the embedded clause is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. Non-restrictive clauses are unmarked for object.

With no further explanation, Carson offers two examples, reproduced below as 0 and 0. In 0 the main clause verb is wutHH-pï 'went'. The main clause subject appears to be a complex NP containing both the noun pemóŋkóŋ 'man' and the relative clause uneramápï `whom I saw'. The n- prefix is underlined in the original; I have bolded the entire relative clause to highlight the perfect correspondence to the nï- nominalizers of other Cariban languages. The main clause differs in 0, but the morpho-syntax of the relative clause is identical.

(42)   pemóŋkóŋ u -n -eramá-pï   wutHH-pH   wHt -tá
        man   1S-REL-see -PERF go   -PERF home-DIR
        'The man whom I saw went home.' (NC p. 126)

(43)   sení aponó i -n_-kunéékáá-pï   morï
        DEM seat 3S-REL-make   -PERF good
        'This seat that he made is good.'

Although Carson describes the nasal prefix as an object relative pronoun, it is certainly identical in form and morphosyntax to the object nominalizers seen above. The perfective suffix -pï which co-occurs with the prefix in these examples is cognate with Panare -ïpë 'PERF', Carib of Surinam -xpo 'PERF', and Apalaí -hypy 'PAST'. The personal prefix refers to the AGENT where in all other constructions in Makushi it refers to either the absolutive or the possessor (verb agreement and possessive prefixes are homophonous in Makushi).

3.5   Kuikúro

Kuikúro and Makushi are unlike the first four Cariban languages discussed here in that they have no cognates to the finite verbal inflections; finite verbs in Makushi and Kuikúro are cognate to nominalized/subordinate verbs in Carib, Apalai, and Hixkaryana, and to the mixed main clause/subordinate verbs in Panare. Most historically nominalized verb forms occur as main clause verbs in Makushi and Kuikúro; the Kuikúro cognate to the nï- nominalizer is no exception. Franchetto (to appear) describes a nasal 'de-ergative' prefix:

> ...de-ergativization applies to inherently transitive verbs and results in the verb agreeing with the actor or agent of the event described by the verb. De-ergativization is formally marked by the verbal prefix ñ- or g- [g = ŋ. SG]; the prefixed verb occurs immediately after the unmarked subject. The [de-ergative--SG] prefix can be considered a general object marker or an object agreement marker... the PATIENT associated with a de-ergativized verb does not appear in an oblique case, and retains all other syntactic properties of transitive PATIENTs.

Among the less important functions which Franchetto lists for the de-ergative prefix is that of forming object relative clauses. She gives one example, reproduced here as 0. The relative clause appears at the end of the main clause, with all the rest of the clause between it and the noun it modifies. The verb of the relative clause is ame 'take'. It bears the perfective nominalizer suffix -pârâ 'PERF', followed by the plural suffix -ko 'PL'. The g- 'DERG' prefix comes between the verb stem and the second person possessive prefix e- '2', which agrees with the agent. Franchetto points out that 0 "could be translated literally as 'you will bring your taken water'."

(44)   tugá   igi -nâm -ígo e-heke-ni a-g̲ -ame -pârâ-ko
       water bring-PUNC-FUT 2-ERG -PL 2-DERG-take-PERF-PL
       'You will bring the water that you will take.

The morphosyntax is unmistakable: the nasal prefix corresponds to the nï-/ni-/n- found in other Cariban languages; the suffix -pârâ is etymologically -pâ 'PERF' + -râ 'POSS' cf. Apalaí hypy-ry 'PAST+NOMLZR', Makushi -pï 'PAST', Panare -jpë 'PERF:INF', and Carib -xpo 'PERF'); the possessive prefix refers to the AGENT.

Franchetto describes how the DERG prefix is required in all pragmatically marked constructions in which the direct object is questioned, and also how it functions as a main clause 'interactive mood' marker. Theories of historical change will have to account for the extension of the relatively simple nï- object nominalizer into all of these functional areas.

4   Discussion

The object nominalizing prefix in Panare has many properties which make it unique in the language: it is a nominalizing prefix where all others are suffixes, it replaces the verb agreement prefixes, it is the only nominalized/subordinate construction in Panare which is possessed by the AGENT. Across Carib, a cognate prefix exists which is unique in each language because of exactly these properties. Franchetto 1989 speculates that the g- `DERG' prefix arose from the Proto Cariban third person agreement prefix for finite verbs. D. Payne (pc) speculates that it may be derived from an indefinite pronoun. Either way, the form and function of the nï- prefix goes back at least to Proto Cariban and perhaps is even older.

The Panare nï- is not only unique among Panare affixes, but it is also unique among the other Cariban nï- object nominalizers: it may co-occur with two members of the set of finite verbal suffixes, -yaj 'PAST' and -i `PPERF:INTER' and it may occur on intransitive verbs. In other Cariban languages, all suffixes which co-occur with nï- are taken from the set of historically nominalizing/subordinating suffixes and nï- only occurs on transitive stems.

NOTES

2.   This description lack a great deal of richness, both in prefix variation for vowel initial possessed noun and in suffix variation for different lexical items. Since all verbs bearing the nï- prefix become consonant initial nouns of the same lexical class, such variation does not concern us here. See Payne, Payne, and Gildea 1990 chapters 3 and 4c for a fuller description of possession.

3.   Note that unmarked NPs may be the predicate noun when the copula is nonverbal or inflected with a less than fully finite suffix, cf Gildea 1989a,c.

4.   In addition to marking nouns which modify other nouns, it is possible that these suffixes also create predicate nominal relative clauses (i.e. 'the one who/which is big'), and perhaps they function in discourse to mark focused constituents. Although a full analysis of the semantic and pragmatic functions of these particles has not yet been done, for some further detail see Payne, Payne, and Gildea, 1990.

5.   cf Payne, Payne, & Gildea 1990, chapter 4

6.   I do not ascribe to theories of language which derive nominalizations from active main clauses by movement rules, etc. However, I label nï- an object nominalizer rather than a patient nominalizer. I do this for two reasons: first, the nï- prefix only forms nominalizations on patients which are objects of transitive verbs, but not on patients which are subjects of (unaccusative) intransitive verbs. Second, some theories of semantic case consider the syntactic subject of a verb like English `see' to be a semantic patient.  In Panare, like English, the experiencer/patient of `see' is a syntactic subject. When the nï- prefix occurs on the verb `see' in Panare, the resultant NP is possessed by the experiencer/patient and refers to the thing seen, what would be the syntactic direct object in a main clause. Hence, the label which most economically describes the function of the nï- prefix is one which identifies the referent of the derived nominal with the direct object of an active clause.

7.   In this example and those which follow, the primary translation I give is that of an English finite relative clause. I do this is because (i) the construction is consistently translated by language consultants into a Spanish finite relative clause, (ii) in these examples it always seems to function as a restrictive relative clause, and (iii) since English lacks a true object nominalizer, literal translations sound stilted and unnatural.

8.   It was only with great reluctance that I finally separated out these three uses of nëj (as well as a fourth, the animate information question pronoun) from each other into separate syntactic categories. They are transparently all derived from the same historical pronoun, and even now their similarity is far greater than the distinctions between them. However, the classes of constructions with which they occur are synchronically different, and the function of each one within its own construction is different enough that I felt compelled to treat each as a separate morpheme. cf Payne, Payne, & Gildea 1990 for some further discussion of this homophony, and cf Gildea 1990 linking the copular use of nëj to a historical demonstrative pronoun.

9.   The morphosyntax of main clause verbs which bear non-past-perfective suffixes such as -ñe is not exactly the same as that of the main clause verbs described above. However, for the purposes of defining whether a preverbal NP is the direct object or not, the facts are virtually identical and this same syntactic test holds. The only differences are that the prefix which is replaced is an object agreement prefix rather than a subject agreement prefix, and the y- which occurs on vowel initial verbs can no longer be labeled an inverse, hence it now bears the relatively empty label 'Transitive (TRN)', as a marker of transitive verb stems. cf Payne, Payne and Gildea for extensive discussion.

10.   This somewhat unnatural sentence was elicited only to test the syntax associated with these nominalizations. My consultant took a moment to inform me that neither he nor I were capable of creating anything animate before he produced this example.

11.   Marie-Claude Matei-Müller (pc) suggests that the variation between the two reduced forms of mën 'INAN', -n and -m, is meaningful. She has not yet elaborated on what the difference is, and as I have no data which reflect on the question, I gloss them identically in this paper.

12.   My language consultants were uncertain about a semantic distinction between finite relative clauses and nominalizations if the same verbal suffix -yaj 'PAST' appears in both. Miguel Castillo suggested that the nominalization was more in the past ('más pasado') and the finite relative clause was more recent ('ahorita'). Further study, probably of conversational discourse, is needed to distinguish the context in which one strategy would be preferred over the other.

13.   Two more differences would arise with a slightly different combination of morphosyntactic operators: if the relativized direct object were inanimate, the relativizing suffix would no longer be homophonous with the nominal suffix (cf 0b), and if the verb were longer than one syllable, accent shift would mark that the AGENT NP was a full NP genitive rather than a preverbal subject.

14.   T. Payne 1989 describes a verb suffix -ñépe which functions in narrative discourse to form a medial clause, usually indicating an action which immediately follows the main clause action, but which is carried out by a different subject than the main clause action. Payne treats -ñépe as a single suffix, an unanalyzable whole. While that may be the best synchronic analysis, the etymology of -ñépe is transparently from the combination of the subject nominalizer -ñe `S:NMLZR' and the adverbializer -pe `AD'. The use of -ñepe in 0 seems to be a rare synchronic combination of the two separate suffixes.

15.   Also containing elements of an inverse system, cf. D. Payne 1989 describing similar facts for Tupí-Guaranían languages and cf. Payne, Payne, and Gildea 1990 for Panare.

16.   cf. Gildea 1989a-b, 1990 for two case studies and cross-linguistic comparison of this historical change in the Cariban language family.

17.   The following examples are taken from Hoff's texts, 1SG (0b) and 2SG (0b) from The Abducted Girl, p. 324; 3SG (0b) from Chicken Father, p. 328; and preceding possessor NP (0b,c) from The Descent at Iracoubo, p. 335.

18.   The Apalaí phoneme /y/ is a high, central, unrounded vowel, corresponding to Panare /ï/. The Apalaí suffix -ry is cognate to the Carib of Surinam -rï and Hixkaryana -rɨ. This suffix marks the possessed form of most nouns and is also the most common nominalizer, creating nominalizations which are then possessed by the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb (i.e. the absolutive). In Panare the -rï possessive and nominaliozing suffix has been lost. The suffix which has taken over both the syntactic slot and the function of Proto Cariban -rï in Panare is -n (seen earlier as the verbal suffix `COMP').

REFERENCES

Carson, Nuesa. 1982. Phonology and Moorphosyntax of Makushi. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Kansas

DeLancey, Scott. 1989 ms. Relativization as nominalization in Tibetan and Newari.

Derbyshire, Desmond. 1985. Hixkaryana and Linguistic Typology. Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas

Franchetto, Bruna. 1989. Ergativity and nominativity in Kuikúro and other Carib languages. Studies in Lowland South American Linguistics. Ed. by D. Payne. Austin: University of Texas Press

Gildea, Spike. 1989a. Simple and Relative Clauses in Panare. Master's Thesis, University of Oregon.

----- 1989b. From nominalizer to aspect: syntactic reflections of functional change in Panare. Proceedings of the Fourth Pacific Linguistics Conference. Ed. by R. Carlson, et al. Eugene: University of Oregon

----- 1990. An explanation for ergative case marking in Cariban languges. ms University of Oregon

Givón, T. In Press. Introduction to Functional Syntax, v. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Hoff, Berend J. 1968. The Carib Language. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Koehn, Edward and Sally Koehn. 1986. Apalai. Handbook of Amazonian Languages. Ed. by D. Derbyshire and G. Pullum. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Payne, Thomas. 1989. Transitivity and ergativity in Panare (Carib). Studies in Lowland South American Linguistics. Ed. by D. Payne. Austin: University of Texas Press

Payne, Thomas, Doris Payne, and Spike Gildea. 1990. Panare Reference Grammar. Report submitted to the National Science Foundation.

Price, Jana. 1989. Panare - English Dictionary. ms.

The development of a subject focus construction
from an object nominalizer in Panare (Cariban)

Spike Gildea
University of Oregon and Universidad Católica de Táchira

(1)   Panare Main Clauses: the prototype

a.   Verbal prefixes agree with the absolutive for person

        Ø-/Ø^- 1
        a-   2
        y-   3

        wïtën   yu   `I'm gonna go'
        Ø-u-të-n   yu
        1-INTR-go-T/A

        otën   amën   `You're gonna go.'
        a-u-të-n
        2-

        yutën   këj kën   `S/He is gonna go.'
        y-u-të-n
        3-

        pétyumañe   këëyu kën   `S/He is gonna hit me'
        Ø^-petyúma-ñe
        1-hit-T/A

        apetyúmañe   këj kën amän   `S/He is gonna hit you'
        a-petyúma-ñe
        2-hit-T/A

        yɨpetyúmañe këj kën apoj   `S/He is gonna hit the man.'
        y-petyúma-ñe
        3-hit-T/A

b.   Absolutive prefixes alternate with a preverbal NP

        kën   wïtëjpë   `S/He left / has gone.'
        kën   u-të-jpë
        3.ANIM.INV INTR-go-T/A

        amën pétyumañe   këj kën   'S/He is gonna hit you.'
        amën ^ -petyúma-ñe
        2SG PO-hit-T/A

        arakon pétyumañe   yu   'I'm gonna hit the monkey.'
        arakon ^ -petyúma-ñe
        monkey PO-hit-T/A

c. The verb may be followed by an optional auxiliary which agrees with nominative for animacy and person

yïkïtïñe **män** parae   `The knife is gonna cut it.'
            3.INAN

ayïkïtïñe **näj** apoj   `The man cut you.'
            3.ANIM

yuñasa' **mën** parae   `The knife has fallen.'
            3.INAN

yuwïñan **këj** apoj   `The man dives in.'
            3.ANIM

d. Word Order:

Intransitive: AGR-V (AUX) S   (1a)   vastly preferred
                   S-V   (1b)   almost unattested

Transitive: AGR-V (AUX) A O (1a) preferred
                 O-V (AUX) A   (1b) easily elicited

(2) The Subject focus clause:

a. The absolutive verbal prefixes described above now agree with the transitive **agent** for person

anïpetyúmajpë   `you hit (it)'
a-nï-petyúma-jpë
2-SUBJ.FOC-hit-T/A

yïnïpetyúmajpë   `S/He hit (it)'
3-

b. The prefix may be replaced by the agent/subject noun phrase

kën   nïmïjpë   peraka   'S/He made the house.'
kën   n-ïmï-jpë   peraka
3.ANIM.INV SUBJ.FOC-make-PERF house

nëj nëpii?   `Who came?'
nëj n-ëpï-i
who SUBJ.FOC-come-T/A

yu në'yaj   `I came'
yu n-ëpï-yaj
1SG SUBJ.FOC-come-T/A

c. Optional auxiliary agrees with the patient

yunamánëjpë **mën** cape   'I made coffee.'
              3.INAN

d. Word Order

Intransitive: S-V   (2b)   Extremely rare
                 *AGR-V (AUX) (S)   Not attested

Transitive: AGR-V (AUX) (P)   (2a)   Rare
                 A-V (AUX) (P)   (2b/c) Fairly common

(3)   Problems with possible synchronic analyses of the Subject Focus clause:

      a. Passive: (1) Agent is demoted to Direct Object?
                      (2) Agent is obligatory
                      (3) Patient is optional
                      (4) Focus is on agent -- opposite function from passive

      b. Cleft: (1) Clefts isolate one NP from a sentence, this does not
                    (2) True clefts are attested in Panare:

¿anoj   pïn   ka ya'kamañe,   amën wuya?
a-noj   pï-**mën**   ka y-a'kama-ñe amën uya
2-grandmother dead-**3.INAN** QP 3-tell-S:NMLZR 2SG DAT
`Your (dead) grandmother is the one that told it, to you?'(CNV.02.125)
(lit. `It's teller, to you, was your dead grandmother?')

      c. Inverse: (1) Not obligatory with 1st & 2nd person -- not related to
                      person at all.

(4)   Interlude: A case study of a Nominalization developing into a verb: *-ing*

      a.   Early uses of -ing/-unge: only as an action nominalizer
             (Visser 1966)

             'false scheauwunges and **dredfule** offerunges**'** (1225)
             'a great coming **of** angels' (1350)

      b.   In the midst of the change to a main clause verb (Visser 1966)

             'He wæs in the forest **an** huntunge' (1470)
             '...whyle the turnement was adoynge' (1470)
             'He is building **of** a house' (1414)
             'I am doynge **of** my nedynges' (1475)

      c.   Modern English: either noun or verb, sometimes both

             'At the end, there was **a final** balancing **of** accounts.'
             'I was balancing accounts yesterday when the IRS called.
             'Her balancing my account helped me get through the audit.'

Main point: since the predicate nominal construction allows a "slot" for a predicate noun, a nominalized verb can
                   be placed in that slot. The nominalized verb is thus in position to be reanalyzed as the main verb of
                   a sentence, with the copula (`to be') reanalyzed as the less central auxiliary.

(5)   Modern Panare clauses: subject and object nominalizations become verbs

      a.   Subject and Object nominalizers in English:

I am **his employer**　　　　　　(i.e. I employ him -- GEN = PAT)

I am **his employee**.　　　(i.e. He employs me -- GEN = AGT)

b.　　The Panare subject nominalizer -*ñe* becomes a verb

　　(i)　　-*ñe* as subject nominalizer

yutën　　oj　chamañe
y-u-të-n　　oj　y-ama-**ñe**
3-INTR-go-T/A beer GEN-make-**SUBJ.NMLZR**
`**The beer makers** left.'

　　(ii)　　-*ñe* as main clause verbal aspect

yajkopañe tukonken yanë　　úya
y-ajkopa-ñe tunko-inken y-anë　uya
3-ask-T/A　bird-child　3-mother DAT
`The bird children ask their mother' (MKW.61.11)

Salient Points:
　　　　-Genitive prefix becomes object (absolutive)
　　　　-Copula (to be) becomes auxiliary (agreeing with subject)
　　　　-Subject of predicate nominal becomes subject of new main clause
　　　　-Action nominalizer followed this same path

c.　　The Panare object nominalizer *nï*- becomes a verb

　　(i)　　As object nominalizer

wïtën　　　yu　pata yaka
Ø-u-të-n　　yu　pata yaka
1-INTR-go-T/A 1SG place to

<u>amën nyémeyan</u>　　　　　yaka
amën ^-**n**-yeme-yaj-mën　　　　yaka
2SG NPG-**OBJ.NMLZR**-clean-PAST-INAN to

`I'm gonna go to the house <u>that you cleaned</u>.'
(lit. `I'm gonna go to the house, <u>your cleanee</u>'

　　(ii)　　As main clause verb:

"nëj nëtujpë　　　　　mën　anë" kañe
nëj ^-nï-utu-jpë　　　　mën　anë　Ø-ka-ñe
who NPA-AGT:FOC-give-PERF:INF 3.INAN mother TRN-say-T/A

`"Who gave (you) (that), Mother?" they say.' (MKW.61.12)

"e'ñapa nëtujpë　　　　　mën　Pekoro pe tiche'"
e'ñapa ^-nï-utu-jpë　　　　mën　Pekoro pe t-iche
Panare NPA-AGT:FOC-give-PERF:INF 3.INAN Pedro AD 3-name

`'"A Panare named Pedro gave (it)," (MKW.61.13)

Salient Points:

-Genitive prefixes become AGENT agreement
-Copula agrees with PATIENT of verb for person/animacy

(6) Word order as the motivation for evolution.

a. First word in a sentence is the cross-linguistic focus position

When the agent is the referent in focus, speakers will use available mechanisms to utter the agent NP first.

b. The predicate nominal clause places the predicate noun first

[Pred NP] [COP] [Subject NP]

katya   mën   mu   `It is a/the loincloth'
loincloth 3.INAN 3.INAN.DIST.VIS

c. The predicate nominal clause is the frame for grammaticalization, where possessed nominalized verbs occur in the predicate noun slot and are reanalyzed as main clause verbs.

d. The object nominalizing prefix *n-* derives a noun which refers to the PATIENT of the original verb, and which is preceded (possessed) by the AGENT of the original verb.

e. When the derived nominal and its agent possessor occur in the predicate noun slot, the agent becomes the first word in the sentence.

[[AGT] OBJECT.NMLZTN]   [COP] [Subject NP]

AGT   Verb   (AUX)

nëj nÅnkën   (mën) katya?
nëj ^-nï-ïnkë-n   mën   katya
who NPA-AGT:FOC-put:on-T/A 3.INAN loincloth

`Who's gonna put on the loincloth (on the boy to be initiated)?

f. After the construction is completely grammaticalized for questions (and answers), it extends from transitive to intransitive verbs.