

Word classes and predication in Lokono Arawak

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Abstract

In this study we investigate several aspects of predication (Hengeveld 1992) in Arawak. When a set of general definitions for parts of speech, in terms of their primary function in the construction of predications, is applied, only two major parts of speech are defined: verbs and nouns. Arawak does not have a class of basic adjectives, their translational equivalents being verbs. Within the verbal class, they constitute a subclass of the so-called stative verbs, always intransitive. The other class (event verbs) includes transitives as well as intransitives. Analysing them in terms of Dik's (1989) classification of states of affairs, we find that all stative verbs designate states, and that most event verbs designate events. But some transitive event verbs designate states rather than events, making the labels "event" and "stative" verbs semantically inaccurate. The most striking point of divergence is person marking: The subject of event verbs is expressed by pronominal prefixes, while the subject of stative verbs is expressed by the same enclitics also used to express the object of transitive event verbs. In this respect, intransitive verbs show split intransitivity (Merlan 1985). In other respects the subjects of all verbal classes are treated alike. There are three sets of pronominal elements: prefixes (always attached to the verb and frequently used for cross-referencing), enclitics (usually attached to the last constituent of the clause and lacking a cross-referencing function), and free pronouns. Prefixes appear only (and obligatorily) when a subject NP or free pronoun follows the verb.

Key words: Arawakan, Lokono, predication, transitivity, stative, event.

Clases de palabras y predicación en arawak lokono

Resumen

En este trabajo investigamos varios aspectos de la predicación (Hengeveld 1992) en arawak. Cuando se aplica un conjunto de definiciones generales de clases de palabras, en términos de su función primaria en la construcción de predicaciones, sólo se definen dos clases: verbos y sustantivos. El arawak no tiene una clase de adjetivos básicos, y sus equivalentes en traducción son verbos. Dentro de la clase verbal ellos constituyen una sub-clase de los llamados verbos estativos, siempre intransitivos. La otra clase (verbos de evento) incluye tanto transitivos como intransitivos. Analizándolos en términos de la clasificación de Dik (1989) de estados de asuntos, encontramos que todos los verbos estativos designan estados y que la mayoría de los verbos de evento designan eventos. Pero algunos verbos de evento transitivos designan estados en lugar de eventos, haciendo semánticamente inexactas las etiquetas de verbos "de evento" y "estativos". El punto de divergencia más notorio es el marcado de persona: El sujeto de los verbos de evento se expresa con prefijos pronominales, mientras que el sujeto de los verbos estativos se expresa con los mismos enclíticos que son también usados para expresar el objeto de los verbos de evento transitivos. En este respecto, los verbos intransitivos muestran intransitividad escindida (Merlan 1985). En otros aspectos, los sujetos de todas las clases verbales son tratados de igual manera. Hay tres conjuntos de elementos pronominales: prefijos (siempre adosados al verbo y frecuentemente usados para referencia cruzada), enclíticos (usualmente adosados al último constituyente de la cláusula y sin función de referencia cruzada), y pronombres libres. Los prefijos aparecen sólo (y obligatoriamente) cuando un SN sujeto o pronombre libre sigue al verbo.

Palabras claves: arahuacano, lokono, predicación, transitividad, estativo, evento.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. What this article is about

One of the essential functions of natural language is *predication*, "the application of a predicate to an appropriate number of arguments, where the predicate specifies a relation or a property" (Hengeveld 1992: 25). In this article we will investigate some aspects of predication in Arawak, an Amerindian language of the Guianas. After giving some introductory information about the language and its speakers in the remainder of section 1, we will sketch the properties of the major word classes of Arawak in section 2. The main emphasis will be on the distinction between verbs, which are defined in terms of their unmarked predicative use, and other word classes. Two different types of non-verbal predicates will also be discussed. In section 3 we will focus on a subdivision of the verbal class into event and stative verbs. We will discuss differences in transitivity, types of states of affairs and person marking. Section 4 will concentrate on the three sets of pronominal elements: prefixes, enclitics and free pronouns. Some conclusions will be presented in section 5.

1.2. Lokono, Arawak, Arawakan

The Arawak (who call themselves *Lokono* 'people') inhabit an area along the coast of Guiana stretching from the mouth of the Orinoco river to the city of Cayenne. The largest populations can be found in Guyana (approximately 15,000) and Suriname (perhaps 4,000). Smaller groups (numbering not more than several hundred individuals) live in French Guiana and Venezuela. There are no reliable estimates of the number of speakers, but it is clear that nowadays only a minority of Arawaks still speak their original language.

Rather confusingly, the term *Arawak* is used in the literature not only for the particular language we are discussing here, but also for the larger linguistic family (or even cultural group) to which it belongs. Following Payne (1991) we prefer to call the larger linguistic family *Arawakan*, and its main branch (which also includes Arawak proper) *Maipuran*. To avoid confusion with Arawakan as a whole, Arawak is sometimes called *Lokono*, but we prefer to maintain the term *Arawak*,

which has been commonly used since the earliest written records, and is also accepted by the Arawaks themselves.

1.3. The data

Thanks to the activities of the Moravian brethren in the 18th century and the Anglican missionaries in the 19th century, there is a wealth of historical documents on the Arawak language (see Benjamin 1991 for an extensive bibliography). The present article, however, is concerned with the present state of the language. My data come from the following sources:

- (i) Taylor (1977) and Pet (1987), two publications describing Arawak as it is spoken in Suriname;
- (ii) information collected since 1987 in collaboration with Surinamese Arawaks living in the Netherlands (which material has been partly published in Van Baarle et al. 1989)¹;
- (iii) data collected during a field trip to Guyana in April and May 1994².

Almost all examples presented here have been taken from (spoken or written) narrative texts. If no source is given, the example is from my own fieldnotes ("GUY" indicating material from Guyana). For examples from published sources, page number and (if possible) sentence number (marked by "#") in the original source are given.

1.4. Orthography

The orthography used here differs from the conventional IPA alphabet in the following respects: the symbol "ü" is used to represent IPA /ɥ/, the circumflex accent indicates vowel lengthening (thus "â" corresponds to IPA /aː/), "rh" represents /r̥/, "th" represents /tʰ/, "kh" represents /kʰ/, "sh" represents [ʃ] (allophone of /s/), "ch" represents [tʃ] (allophone of /s/), "tj" and "dj" represent palatalized [tʲ] and [dʲ] (allo-

- 1 The bulk of these data were provided by Mr. M.A. Sabajo and his family. I wish to express my profound gratitude for their continuing help.
- 2 I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) for this trip.

phones of /t/ and /d/, and syllable-final "n" represents /ŋ/ (which is accompanied by nasalization of the preceding vowel). The letter "j" has the same value as in the IPA alphabet, corresponding with English "y".

Examples from sources using a different orthography have been adjusted to bring them in line with the present orthography. Nevertheless, due to dialectal variation or imprecise transcriptions in the sources, the spelling of examples is not entirely consistent. I will mention two such inconsistencies here:

- (i) variation between "o", "u" and "w", which could be regarded as different realizations of a single phoneme /o/;
- (ii) the indication of vowel length. This is not represented in Pet's (1987) orthography since he does not recognize it as a distinctive phonemic feature.

1.5 Glosses

The glosses for the Arawak sample sentences follow English as closely as possible. Pronominal elements, for instance, are glossed by their English counterparts-which in fact have rather different properties-rather than by more abstract features. Further it should be noted that enclitics are preceded by the symbol "=" in order to distinguish them from ordinary affixes (marked by "-"). A list of abbreviations follows below:

ABS	abstract noun
ADV	adverbializer
AUX	auxiliary ("dummy") verb
CONT	continuative aspect
DIM	diminutive marker
EP	epenthetic particle (semantically empty)
FOC	focus particle
FUT	future
MOD	modal suffix
PERF	perfective aspect
PL	plural
POT	potential

REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
REM.PAST	remote past
REP	reportative (hearsay)
SUB	subordinate/infinitive verbal form
TOP	topic particle
VRB	verbalizer

2. WORD CLASSES AND PREDICATE TYPES

2.1. General definitions for parts of speech

As a preliminary to our discussion of different predication types, I want to make clear what I mean by such basic terms as "verb", "noun" and "adjective". Following Dik (1989: ch.8) and Hengeveld (1992: ch.4), I will define parts of speech in terms of their primary function in the construction of predications:

- a *verb* has, without further measures being taken, a predicative use only;
- a *noun* can, without further measures being taken, be used as the head of a term (noun phrase)³;
- an *adjective* can, without further measures being taken, be used as a modifier of a nominal head.

These definitions should be useful for the description of all languages, since they refer to such universal functional categories as predicate, noun phrase and modifier. Only the phrase "further measures" needs some further explication: this is intended to cover morphological derivation (for example nominalisation), as well as syntactic measures such as copula insertion. Inflection, however, is not considered to be a "further measure."

3 Dik (1989: 111) defines a term as "any expression which can be used to refer to an entity or entities in some world". Thus, the notion "term" does not only cover noun phrases, but pronouns, referential affixes, and certain adverbial expressions as well.

When we apply these definitions for parts of speech to Arawak, we find that the word classes Noun and Verb can easily be recognized. The examples below show how these parts of speech are used in their primary function:

- (1) Th-ojo nũka to hala.
 her-mother take the bench
 'Her mother took the bench'. (Taylor 1977: 104, #168)
- (2) Th-oda to firobero.
 it-die the tapir
 'The tapir died'. (Pet 1987: 263)

In the first example, the transitive verb *nũka* 'take' functions as predicate, while the nouns *ojo* 'mother' and *hala* 'bench' function as head of the subject and object term respectively. In the second example, the intransitive verb *oda* 'die' is the predicate, and the noun *firobero* 'tapir' heads the subject NP. All lexical items mentioned are basic stems, which are used without further measures being taken.

2.2. The verb in Arawak

Besides being "unmarked" when used as predicates, Arawak verbs have the following morphosyntactic properties:

- (i) subject and object can be expressed by means of pronominal prefixes or enclitics;
- (ii) suffixes expressing aspect, tense and modality (ATM) can be added to the verbal stem.

These properties will be treated in more detail later on. For the time being we limit ourselves to a single example of the verb *akã* 'tell', which shows the presence of bound pronouns as well as the (perfective) aspectual suffix *-ka*⁴:

4 The gloss "perfective", which I adopted from (Pet 1987), is actually not very satisfactory, since *-ka* is often present in stative predications, where the notion "completion" does not seem to be relevant. See for instance examples (17), (21), (22) and (56).

- (3) n-ákâ-ka=da=de
they-tell-PERF=EP=me
'They told me'.

Given that verbs are defined in terms of their predicative use, it is important to note that lexical items denoting properties or qualities can also be used predicatively without special measures being taken, as is shown in the following examples:

- (4) Hadali there.
sun hot
'The sun was hot'. (Taylor 1977: 119, #55)
- (5) Sa=da=no.
good=EP=it
'That's good'. (Taylor 1977: 104, #159)
- (6) Wadji-ka l-ari bibin.
long-PERF his-teeth already
'His teeth were long already'.

Should items such as *there* 'hot', *wadji* 'long' and *sa* 'good', which can be freely used as predicates, be classified as adjectives or verbs? To answer this question we must examine their attributive use.

2.3. Attributive function marking

All words which are used in attributive function, including items which belong to the adjectival class in English and other languages, must be marked by a relativizing or nominalizing suffix. This is shown below for the items *ôda* 'die', *sa* 'good' and *wadji* 'long':

- (7) to aodo-tho arua
the die-REL jaguar
'the dead jaguar, the jaguar which had died' (GUY)
- (8) sa-tho ibihi
good-REL medicine
'good medicine'. (Pet 1987: 299)
- (9) Aba ada wadi-tho da-rhükü-fa.
one tree long-REL I-cut-FUT
'I am going to cut a long stick'. (Pet 1987: 345)

Comparing the attributive use of these items with their unmarked predicative use in (2), (5) and (6), we notice that a so-called relativizer has been added to the stem. There are three such relativizing suffixes: *-tho* (shown above) for feminine/neuter gender subjects, *-chi* for masculine gender subjects, and *-sa* (in some dialects: *-shia*) for objects. The latter two morphemes are illustrated below:

(10) *li thojo-chi wadili*
 the mature-REL man
 'the mature man'. (Taylor 1977: 19, #14)

(11) *lira wadili aka-chi-fa li Missias iri*
 that man tell-REL-FUT the Messias name
 'that man who will betray (lit. tell the name of) the Messias'
 (SIL 1977: 10, #21)

(12) *to hijaro q-anshi-sa*
 the woman I-love-REL
 'the woman I love'

The above examples show that all attributively used items receive special marking. There are no lexical items whose primary (unmarked) function is to modify a nominal head, which means that Arawak does not have a class of basic adjectives. The translational equivalents of English adjectives (such as *there* 'hot', *sa* 'good', *thojo* 'mature') should be classified as verbs, since their root forms can only be used predicatively. However, within the larger verbal class, items expressing "adjectival concepts" constitute a distinct subclass, called *stative verbs* by Pet (1987). This class differs from the other verbs (called *event verbs* by Pet) semantically as well as morphosyntactically. The most striking formal differences, involving transitivity and person marking, will be discussed in section 3.

2.4. Nominalizations

Having concluded that Arawak lacks adjectives, we can now focus our attention on the functional opposition between verbs and nouns. As we have seen in example (1) and (2), nouns can be directly used as the head of a term. Verbs, however, must be nominalized in order to fulfill this function. The relativizers discussed above are nominalizers in the sense that they allow the derived verb to be used independently, without

the presence of a true head noun. Thus, the full noun phrase *li thojo-chi wadili* 'the mature man' (example 10), can be formulated more concisely as *li thojo-chi* 'the mature [one]', in which case it can be inferred from the masculine definiteness marker and relativizer that the phrase refers to a man. Relativized event verbs can stand alone in the same way as stative verbs, as is shown in the following example (compare with (11)):

- (13) *li aka-chi toho*
the tell-REL this
'the one who told this'. (Pet 1987: 257)

Another nominalization type, that of abstract event nouns, can be derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-hV* (where the choice of vowel is dependent on the stem). In this way, the noun *thojo-ho* 'maturity' is derived from the stative verb *thojo* 'mature', and the noun *ôda-ha* 'death' from the event verb *ôda* 'die':

- (14) *Thojo-ho ôchika=da=bo.*
mature-ABS find=EP=you
'Maturity has found you. (You have become mature.)'
(Van Baarle et al. 1989: 127 #5)
- (15) *W-citha-na kho oda-ha khona to wa-birabiradü-n-bo.*
we-know-MOD not die-ABS on the we-play.around-SUB-CONT
'We didn't know that we were playing around with death.'
(Pet 1987: 255)

2.5. Denominal verbs

As verbs must be nominalized to function as the head of a term, so nouns must be verbalized if they are to be used as predicates. Take, for instance, the noun *bode* 'fish hook', which is shown in its primary function as head of a term in example (16). The root *bode* can not be used predicatively, but we can derive a stative verb from it by means of the attributive prefix *ka-* (thus: *ka-bode* 'have a hook') or an event verb by means of the verbalizing suffix *-da* (thus: *bode-dâ* 'to fish with a hook'). Both of these derived verbs are shown in example (17).

- (16) *Lü-nüka lü-bode-wa.*
he-take his-hook-REFL
'He took his (own) fish hook.' (Taylor 1977: 102, #77)

- (17) De ron ka-hode-ka, ken=kho! da-hode-da-ka=da.
 I only have-book-PERF and=FOC I-book-VRB-PERF=EP
 'Only I had a book, and so I fished.' (Pet 1987: 254)

2.6. Term-predicates (non-verbal predicates)

A small number of examples have been found of nominal predicates without any marking, for example:

- (18) Marishi to.
 maize it
 'It is maize.' (Van Baarle et al. 1989: 36)

How can we explain this exception to the general rule that only verbalized nouns can fulfill a predicative function? I think that there are good reasons to assume that the noun *marishi* 'maize' still performs its primary function as head of a term, and that it is the term rather than the noun itself which is used as a predicate here.⁵ In (18) this term-predicate consists of a nominal stem only, but complex term-predicates containing possessors (example 19) or attributive phrases (20) are in fact much more common.

- (19) Da-jonochi tha hei.
 my-relatives REP you
 '(It is said that) you are my relatives.' (Taylor 1977: 119, #11)
- (20) Lihi=da aba loko-khan=da m-ansikina-chi koba.
 he=EP one person-DIM=EP not-loved-REL REM.PAST
 'He was an unloved little fellow'. (Taylor 1977: 111, #1)

Term predicates such as those shown in the three preceding examples lack some of the morphosyntactic properties which we earlier said are characteristic for verbs. Their subject can not be expressed by bound pronominal elements - instead, free pronouns must be used - and it is not (or at best marginally) possible to add ATM suffixes.

5 See Dik (1989: ch.8) for a general discussion on the distinction between nominal predicates and term-predicates.

However, there is another class of non-verbal predicates which do have the verbal properties just mentioned: locative adverbs and terms marked by a postposition. Some examples follow below:

- (21) *Jara-ka=bo?*
there-PERF=you
'Are you there?' (Pet 1987: 257)
- (22) *Aba firo-tho ada da-koban loko-ka*
one big-REL tree my-planting.ground in-PERF
There is a big tree in my planting ground (Pet 1987: 276)
- (23) *Dei h-abo-ha.*
I you-with-FUT
'I will be with you (take care of you).' (Taylor 1977: 116, #50)
- (24) *Barhâ eke bia-ka tha to lü-müküthü than-ke=da.*
see bottom into-PERF REP the his-mother.in.law drink-vessel=EP
'His mother in law's vessel of drink became the bottom of the sea.'
(Van Baarle et al. 1989: 159, #20)

Example (21) shows the predicative use of the locative adverb *jara* 'there'. The other examples contain term-predicates marked with the postpositions *loko* 'in' (22), *abo* 'with' (23) and *bia* '(changed) into' (24). Notice that a pronominal enclitic is used to express the subject in (21), and that in all sentences there is an ATM-suffix attached to predicate (future *-ha* in (23), perfective *-ka* in the other three examples).

2.7. Manner adverbs

Another interesting feature of Arawak which needs to be mentioned here is that manner adverbs can apparently also fulfill a predicative function. This is illustrated in the examples below:

- (25) *Sâ I-eichi-n jokhâ-ha.*
good he-know-SUB hunt-AES
'He knows how to hunt well'. (Van Baarle et al. 1989: 58, #7)
- (26) *Basada-ka I-osü-n ch-inabo.*
slow-PERF he-go-SUB hcr-behind
'Slowly he followed her'. (Taylor 1977: 101 #60).

The adverbs *sâ* 'good/well' and *basada* 'slow(ly)' are used in their unmarked form, whereas the verb in these clauses is marked by the

subordinating suffix *-n*. Unfortunately, limitations of space do not allow me to go deeper into this matter here. I will just say - without providing further evidence - that items such as *as basada* 'slow(ly)' and *sā* 'good/well' (which was shown in predicative and attributive function in (5) and (8) respectively) should be classified as stative verbs rather than as adverbs.

This marks the end of our overview of the different types of verbal and non-verbal predicates. In the following section we take a closer look at the opposition between event and stative verbs, taking into account their transitivity and the type of state of affairs they designate. We will also discuss how the various classes of predicates combine with bound pronominal elements.

3. EVENT VERBS VERSUS STATIVE VERBS

3.1. Transitivity

The class of event verbs comprises transitive as well as intransitive verbs, whereas stative verbs are always intransitive. Examples from each of these classes are listed below (between parentheses the sample sentences in which they are used):

3.2. States of affairs

Transitive Event Verbs	Intransitive Event Verbs	Intransitive Stative Verbs
<i>nāka</i> 'take' (1, 16, 40)	<i>ōda</i> 'die' (2, 7)	<i>there</i> 'hot' (4)
<i>ākā</i> 'tell' (3, 11)	<i>birabirada</i> 'play around' (15)	<i>sa</i> 'good' (5, 8, 25)
<i>rhāka</i> 'cut' (9)	<i>bodedā</i> 'fish with hook' (17)	<i>wadji</i> 'long' (6, 9)
<i>(k)anshi</i> 'love' (11)	<i>ōsa</i> 'go' (26, 59)	<i>thojo</i> 'mature' (10)
<i>ōchika</i> 'find' (13)	<i>djā</i> 'talk' (47)	<i>ka-bode</i> 'have a hook' (17)
<i>eitha</i> 'know' (15, 25)	<i>tjikida</i> 'fall'	<i>basada</i> 'slow(ly)' (26)
<i>kāra</i> 'tie' (33)	<i>darhida</i> 'run'	<i>haburika</i> 'shy' (35)
<i>dūkha</i> 'see' (29, 30)	<i>tīna</i> 'alight, perch' (31, 32)	<i>hebe</i> 'ripe, full' (27)
<i>fara</i> 'kill' (50, 41)	<i>khobawa</i> 'pray'	<i>halekhebe</i> 'happy' (28)

In order to gain more insight into the semantic opposition implied by the terms "event" and "stative" verb, I will investigate how these (morphosyntactic) verb classes fit in with the typology of states of affairs

put forward by Dik (1989: ch.5). A state of affairs (SoA) is a conceptual representation evoked by a predication. Dik presents a basic division of states of affairs into Events and Situations on the basis of the feature *dynamicity*. While a non-dynamic SoA (Situation) "does not involve any change" (Dik 1989: 91), a dynamic SoA (Event) "necessarily involves some kind of change, some kind of internal dynamism" (ibid. p.91). These two SoA-types are then subdivided on the basis of the feature control. In controlled SoAs (Actions and Positions), "the first argument has the power to determine whether or not the SoA will obtain" (ibid. p.96). The first argument of uncontrolled SoAs (Processes and States) lacks this power.

Dik's classification of SoA-types is represented schematically below⁶:

TABLE 1
Typology of States of Affairs

		dynamic	controlled
Events	Action	+	+
	Process	+	-
Situations	Position	-	+
	State	-	-

Applying this classification to Arawak, we find that all stative verbs basically designate States⁷. The qualification "basically" is needed here because the SoA-type of a predication is not exclusively determined by lexical properties of the predicate. It can be modified by the content of terms or the presence of certain grammatical elements. In example (27), for instance, marking of the stative verb *hebe* 'ripe' with the continuative suffix *-bo* results in a SoA of the dynamic type (Process). And in (28), a predication with the stative verb *halekhebe* 'happy' is interpreted as

- 6 Several SoA-types are subdivided further by Dik on the basis of such features as "telicity" and "momentaneousness" (punctuality), which do not concern us here.
- 7 Note that I use capitals for Dik's semantic categories to distinguish them from the verbal classes of Arawak, which are ultimately defined terms of their morphosyntactic properties.

controlled due to several combining factors: content of the subject (human, second person singular), intonation and context.

- (27) Hebe-bo to nana.
 ripe-CONT the pineapple
 'The pineapple is getting ripe'. (Pet 1987: 328)

- (28) Halekhebe=ho!
 happy=you
 'Be happy! / Cheer up.' (GUY)

As for event verbs, the great majority of them basically designate Events, i.e. dynamic states of affairs. Some event verbs designate controlled Events (Actions, for example *nika* 'take' and *darhida* 'run'), others uncontrolled Events (Processes, for example *ochika* 'find' and *tjikida* 'fall'). However, there is a small number of event verbs, all transitive, which basically designate States rather than Events, for example (*k*)*anshi* 'love, like, want' and *eitha* 'know'. This means that, in effect, the class of event verbs includes all transitive verbs, regardless of the type of SoA they designate. It is only the intransitive verbs that are split into separate formal classes according to their SoA type (State or Event).

It seems that Arawak does not have verbs basically designating Positions (non-dynamic, controlled states of affairs). Positions are expressed by means of modified event verbs in a special construction. The verbal stem is suffixed with *-kwa* (also realized as *-ko*), an element which can often be translated by 'still'⁸, after which the auxiliary verb *ma* (or one of its allomorphs *-a* and *-o-*) is inserted. In this way, from the event verb *dukha* 'see', which basically designates a Process (as exemplified in 29), we can derive the form *dukha-kwa* 'be watching' (30), which designates a Position. Similarly, from the verb *tina* 'alight, perch', which in its basic form (example 31) designates an Action, we derive *tina-kwa* 'be perching' (Position).

8 Pet (1987: 273, 315) glosses *kwa* as "adverbializer" (ADV), because it can also be used to derive Manner adverbs.

- (29) Lü-dúkha=no.
he-see=her
'He saw her'. (Taylor 1977:
- (30) Kien tha lira thú-deinchi dúkha-koa-ma-bo=da=no.
and REP that her-uncle see-ADV-AUX-CONT=EP=her
'And that uncle of hers was still watching her'.
(Taylor 1977: 115, #13)
- (31) Thú-túna=tha l-amún.
it-alight=REP he-nearby
'It alighted nearby him'. (Taylor 1977: 100, #14)
- (32) To sarhi thú=da túna-kwa-ma jon.
the hawk.sp REP=EP alight-ADV-AUX there
'The hawk was perching there'.

3.3. Person marking

The subject of event verbs (transitive and intransitive alike) is expressed by pronominal prefixes, while the subject of stative verbs is expressed by the same enclitics which are also used to express the object of transitive event verbs. This is schematically represented in Table 2 and illustrated in examples (33)-(35):

TABLE 2
Person Marking

		Subject	Object
event verbs	transitive	Prefix	Enclitic
	intransitive	Prefix	
stative verbs	intransitive	Enclitic	

- (33) thú-kúrá=da=no
she-tie-EP-it
'She tied it'. (tr3, #57)

- (34) th-osa
it-go
'It went'. (Pet 1987: 260)

- (35) haburi-ka=da=no
shy-PERF=EP=she
'She was shy.'

In these examples, the prefix *th(ü)-* 'she, it' expresses the subject of the event verbs *küra* 'put' (transitive) and *ösa* 'go' (intransitive), while the enclitic *-no* 'she, it' expresses the object of the event verb *küra* 'put' and the subject of the stative verb *sa* 'good'.

Turning now to non-verbal predicates, we find that enclitics also express the subject of predicatively used postpositional terms:

- (36) *Bahü shibon-ka=je.*
 house front-PERF=they
 'They are in front of the house'. (Van Baarle et al. 1989: 35, #4)

- (37) *Karhau bia-ka=da=no.*
 savana into-PERF=EP=it
 'It changed into the savana'. (Van Baarle et al. 1989: 160, #30)

As was already pointed out in section 2.6, the subject of "bare" term-predicates can not be expressed by bound pronominal elements. Instead, free pronouns must be used, as is illustrated in examples (18), (19) and (20) in section 2, and in (38) below:

- (38) *Jarhiwanli ron lira*
 J. only he
 'He is only Jarhiwanli.'

4. A CLOSER LOOK AT PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

In the preceding section we indicated how the various classes of predicates select different pronominal elements for the expression of their first argument. Examples were given of the use of prefixes (33-34), enclitics (33, 35-37) and free pronouns (38). In this section the properties of these three sets will be discussed in greater detail. All pronominal elements are listed for comparison in Table 3:

TABLE 3
 Pronominal Elements

	Prefixes	Enclitics	Free Pronouns
1.SG	d(a)-	=de	dei, dai
1.PL	w(a)-	=we, =u	wei, wai
2.SG	b(ü)-	=bo	bi
2.PL	h(ü)-	=hü	hi
3.SG.masculine	k(ü)-	=i, =dei	li, libi, lira, likita
3.(SG).fem./neuter	th(ü)-, ch-(i)	=no, =n, =na	to, toho, tora, tokota, kia
3.PL.human	n(a)-	=je, =ej	na, nei, nai, naha, nara, naküta

The contents of this table will be explained in the following subsections. First some remarks will be made concerning gender, next more information will be given about the formal and functional properties of each of the three pronominal sets, and finally the cross-referencing function of the bound pronouns will be discussed.

4.1. Gender

Third person pronouns are divided into three classes which reflect gender as well as number. The masculine singular forms are used to refer to male Arawaks only, the human plural forms apply to both male and female Arawaks, and the feminine/neuter forms are used for all other referents: (singular) female Arawaks, and (singular as well as plural) non-Arawak human beings, animals and inanimates. As we saw in section 2.3, the distinction between masculine and feminine/neuter gender is also made in relativizing suffixes.

4.2. Free pronouns

In contradistinction to the bound pronominal elements, free pronouns can be used to express terms with any semantic or syntactic role. This is illustrated by the following examples, which show how the free pronoun *tora* 'she, her, that' can be used as subject (39), object (40) or postpositional object (41):

(39) *Tora boka-i-bo to tho-bana hibin.*
she cook-??-CONT the its-liver already
'She was cooking its liver already'. (Van Baarle et al. 1989: 164 #45)

(40) *Tora kho bü-nükâ-ma.*
she not you-take-POI
'You should not take her'.

(41) *Tora dja d-a dci.*
that like I-AUX I
'I have done like that'. (Van Baarle et al. 1989: 161, #16)

The large number of free pronouns can be explained as follows. First, there is dialectal variation between the diphthongs /ai/ and /ei/, which accounts for the doublets *dei-dai* (1.SG), *wei-wai* (2.PL) and *nei-nai* (3.PL). More importantly, the free third person forms are specialized to fulfill different referential functions. The basic forms *li* (3.SG.masc), *to*

(3.fem/neut) and *na* (3.PL) are primarily used as definiteness markers, as in the following examples:

(42) *li* *lù-sa*
 'his (male) child' (cf. example 52)

(43) *to* *hala*
 'the bench' (cf. example 1)

(44) *na* *saban-chi-no* *hiaro-no*
 the pretty-REL-PL woman-PL
 'the pretty women' (GUY)

Morphologically complex forms are used to indicate the relative distance of the referent. Compare proximate *lihi* 'this (man)', slightly distant *lira* 'that (man)' and far distant *likita* 'yonder (man)'. These demonstratives can be used independently (example 45), but also as determiner of a nominal head (46):

(45) *Lira=kho* *ôsa* *đ-einabo*.
 he=FOC go me-behind
 'He followed me'.

(46) *lira* *thü-deinchi*
 that her-uncle
 'that uncle of hers' (cf. example 30)

4.3. Pronominal prefixes

First it should be noted that prefixes not only express the subject of event verbs (see section 3.3), but also the possessor of nouns and the object of postpositions:

(47) *Tho-thojora-non* *djä-ka* *th-oma*.
 her-parent-PL talk-PERF her-with
 'Her parents talked with her'.

As for the morphophonological properties of the prefixes, we note that their underlying vowels (placed between parentheses in Table 3) are sometimes replaced by the first vowel of the following stem or a vowel which is in harmony with the stem. The variant 3.SG prefix *ch-* is only used if the stem starts in *hi/*. Compare:

- (48) th-ojo
her-mother
'her mother' (cf. example 1)

- (49) ch-iri
her-name
'her name'

4.4. Pronominal enclitics

As can be seen from Table 3, most enclitics can be realized in various forms. This variation is probably related to differences in dialect and speech style. An important phenomenon not displayed in the table is that pronominal enclitics are very frequently affixed to the epenthetic particle *da*⁹, as in *sa=da=no* 'that's good' (example 5) and *thü-kürâ=da=no* 'she tied it' (33). Contraction of *da* and the 3.SG.masculine enclitic =*i* have resulted in a new variant form =*dei*. Compare:

- (50) Bo-fara=i.
you-kill=him
'You killed him'.
- (51) Lü-sâ=da farü-fâ=dei.
his-child=EP kill-FUT=him
'His child will kill him.'

It is important to note that pronominal enclitics are usually attached to the last constituent of the clause, which is often the verb, as in the examples above, but may also be a subject noun phrase (example 52) or an adverbial phrase (53):

- (52) Lo-farâ-na li l-üsâ=dei.
he-kill-MOD the his-child=him
'His child killed him'.

9 The epenthetic particle *da* can be added to all sorts of constituents including other particles. It does not have any semantic content, but it has an important prosodic function, causing stress to fall on the syllable which precedes it.

- (53) *Thü-welada bodali kosa=da=no.*
she-hang baking.plate side=EP=it
 'She hung it next to the baking plate'. (Pet 1987: 267)

4.5. Cross-referencing on the verb

Generally speaking, enclitics do not have a cross-referencing function. When an object noun phrase or free pronoun is present, either before or after the verb, no enclitic is used:

- (54) *Kodibio lo-fara.*
bird be-kill
 'He killed birds'. (Taylor 1977: 119, #13)

- (55) *Lo-farâ=tha aba kambana.*
he-kill=REP one butterfly
 'He killed a butterfly'.

The same rule applies to the subject of stative verbs, as can be seen in the following examples, where enclitics are absent:

- (56) *Konokhodo khareme-ka, ken thü-barha sikürhürhi-ka.*
maroon black-PERF and its-hair kinky-PERF
 'Maroons are black, and their hair is kinky'. (Pet 1987: 318)
- (57) *Hebe-ka to bü-kanan?*
full-PERF the your-boat
 'Is your boat full? (Pet 1987: 297)

Although my Surinamese informants never use enclitics for cross-referencing, I have found a small number of examples of this usage in other sources, for instance:

- (58) *Lo-bokota=no thü-düna th-oria.*
he-take=it her-wing her-from
 'He took her wings away from her'. (Taylor 1977: 101 #32)

In this example, the enclitic =no, which is attached to the verb, is co-referential with the following object NP *thü-düna* 'her wings'.

Contrary to enclitics, prefixes are very frequently used for cross-referencing on the verb. A prefix is obligatory when a subject NP or free pronoun follows the verb. This is illustrated for intransitive verbs (*äsa* 'go') in example (59) and for transitive verbs (*fara* 'kill') in (52) and

(60). However, if a free subject term precedes the verb, pronominal prefixes are never used, as shown in (39), (45), (47) and (51) above and (61) below.

(59) Ken l-ôsa=tha li Jarhiwanli.
and he-go=rep the J.
'And Jarhiwanli went.'

(60) Arhwa khüda lü-farabü-sa?
jaguar perhaps he-kill your-child
'Did your child perhaps kill a jaguar?'
(Van Baarle et al. 1989: 164, #41)

(61) Li dokochi farü-ra-ha=da=de
the grandfather kill-MOD-FUT=EP=me
'The old man will kill me'. (Van Baarle et al. 1989: 162, #38)

In sentences with an auxiliary ("dummy") verb, subject prefixes are not attached to the lexical verb but to the auxiliary. Thus, in example (62), the prefix is not on *dükha* 'see' but on the auxiliary *-a*. When a free subject term precedes the auxiliary, as in (30) (repeated below for convenience as 63), the prefix is omitted and the auxiliary takes the form *ma*. (It should be noted that predicate and auxiliary combine into a single prosodic and syntactic unit. It is only for reasons of exposition that they are represented as separate words in the examples below.)

(62) Dükha-koa th-a=tha li-bichiro.
see-still she-aux=rep him-towards
'She was looking in his direction'. (Taylor 1977: 116 #43)

(63) Kien tha lira thü-deinchi dükha-koa ma-bo=da=no.
and REP that her-uncle see-ADV AUX-CONT=EP=her
'And that uncle of hers was still watching her'.
(Taylor 1977: 115, #13)

5. CONCLUSION

In this article we have investigated several aspects of predication in Arawak. To start with, a set of general definitions was presented, defining parts of speech in terms of their primary function in the construction of predications. Applying these definitions to Arawak, we found that it only has two major parts of speech: verbs (unmarked when

used as predicate) and nouns (unmarked when used as the head of a term). There are no lexical items whose primary (unmarked) function is to modify a nominal head, which means that Arawak does not have a class of basic adjectives. The translational equivalents of English adjectives should be classified as verbs, since their root forms can only be used predicatively. However, within the larger verbal class, such items expressing "adjectival concepts" constitute a distinct subclass of so-called *stative verbs*.

The most important differences between these stative verbs and the rest of the verbs (called *event verbs*) were discussed in section 3. First we noted that the class of event verbs includes transitives as well as intransitives, whereas stative verbs are always intransitive. Then we tried to analyse the Arawak verb classes in terms of Dik's (1989) classification of states of affairs. We found that all stative verbs designate States in the sense of Dik, and that the great majority of event verbs designate Events, but that there is also a small number of event verbs, all transitive, which designate States rather than Events. Thus, the labels "event" and "stative" verbs are not entirely accurate from a semantic viewpoint.

Next we investigated person marking, which proved to be the most striking point of divergence between event and stative verbs. The subject of (transitive as well as intransitive) event verbs is expressed by pronominal prefixes, while the subject of stative verbs is expressed by the same enclitics which are also used to express the object of transitive event verbs. Thus, as far as pronominal subject marking is concerned, intransitive verbs in Arawak are split into two different classes, a phenomenon called *split intransitivity* by Merlan (1985). In other respects, however, the subjects of all verbal classes are treated in the same way. For attributive function marking (or relative clause formation), for instance, which was discussed in section 2.4, all verbs use the same subject-relativizers *-chi* (masculine) and *-tho* (fem/neut).

Arawak has three sets of pronominal elements (prefixes, enclitics and free pronouns), which were subjected to closer scrutiny in section 4. Concerning the positional properties of bound elements, we found that prefixes are always attached to the verb, but that pronominal enclitics are usually attached to the last constituent of the clause, which may or may not coincide with the verb.

As a general rule, enclitics do not have a cross-referencing function. Prefixes, on the other hand, are very frequently used for cross-referencing on the verb. A prefix is obligatory when a subject NP or free pronoun follows the verb. However, if a free subject term precedes the verb, a pronominal prefix is never used.

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