

SIMPLE AND RELATIVE CLAUSES IN PANARE

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This thesis is a description, based on original field work, of simple and relative clauses in Panare, a Cariban language spoken by 2000-2500 people in central Venezuela. The three types of simple clauses described are past tenses, predicate nominals, and an aspect-inflected verb with an auxiliary. The set of aspect inflections in Panare is historically derived from a set of nominalizing suffixes, and in related languages, cognates to the Panare aspect suffixes are still nominalizers. The evolution from nominalizer to aspect in Panare follows a previously described pattern language of change, one which appears in studies of both language acquisition and of historical change. The two types of relative clause strategy described are finite, based on the past tense verbs and on one the auxiliaries for the aspect-inflected verb, and the less finite, based on the aspect-inflected verb itself.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION¹

This paper describes simple and relative clauses in Panare, a Cariban language spoken by 2000-2500 people in central Venezuela. Although my major focus is descriptive, a prerequisite to describing a linguistic structure is a clear definition of the structure type, preferably within a coherent linguistic theory. In §2 I discuss different theoretical treatments of the term finite as a prerequisite to defining simple clauses, and then I describe simple past tense clauses and predicate nominals. I then present a case study of one verbal suffix, the transitive imperfective aspect marker -npé' 'IMPERF.TRANS'. This suffix is a representative member of an entire set of suffixes which has evolved from nominalizing to verbal aspect morphology. Recent descriptions of other Carib languages (Hixkaryana in Derbyshire 1985 and Apalaí in Koehn and Koehn 1986) have treated cognates to this set of aspect markers as nominalizations synchronically. This paper suggests that while such forms were historically nominalizations in Panare, that label is inadequate to describe the synchronic behavior of such forms-- much as it would be inaccurate to describe the synchronic English aspect marker -ing as a nominalizer.

In §3 I present a definition and typology of relative clauses as a prerequisite to describing relative clauses in Panare. As simple past tense sentences are the most prototypical finite clauses in Panare, past

tense relative clauses are described first. The two alternate relativization strategies for -npé' phrases are described last. There is a third relativization strategy, object nominalization, but that strategy is not discussed here.²

CHAPTER 2
SIMPLE AND MAIN CLAUSES

This section addresses two issues: what is a simple clause, and what do simple clauses look like in Panare? Simple clauses are roughly defined as clauses which contain only one verb or predicate. This criterion is problematic in languages where auxiliary verbs provide tense and the main verb is inflected only for, e.g. aspect. Then sentences which semantically and pragmatically contain only one predication structurally contain two verbs. The English present progressive form provides an example of such a problematic case--the main verb carries the suffix -ing and the copula serves as an auxiliary inflected for tense. Panare has a number of verb suffixes which co-occur with auxiliaries; §2.3 is a case study of one, -npè' 'TRANSitive.IMPERfective'.

2.1 Finite Verbs and the Scale of Finiteness

The term finite has long been used as a structural label for one structural class of verb morphology in any given language. Jespersen (1924) provides an elegant discussion of the rationale for this label:

...sentence-building power is found in all those forms which are commonly called "finite" verb forms, but not in such forms as barking or eaten (participles), nor in infinitives like to bark, to eat...though syntactically participles and infinitives contain many of the characteristics of a verb. From one point of view, therefore, we should be justified in restricting the name

verb to those forms (the finite forms) that have the eminently verbal power of forming sentences, and in treating the "verbids" (participles and infinitives) as a separate class intermediate between nouns and verbs (cf the old name participium, i.e. what participates in the character of noun and verb). Still, it must be admitted that it would be somewhat unnatural to dissociate eat and eaten in such sentences as he is eating the apple, he will eat the apple, he has eaten the apple from he eats the apple, he ate the apple; and it is, therefore, preferable to recognize non-finite forms of verbs by the side of finite forms, as is done in most grammars. p. 87

This tradition is followed by Bloomfield (1933), who defines finite form classes, and continues through Timberlake (1976 cited in Joseph 1983), Comrie (1978), Huddleston (1985), and Thompson and Longacre (1985). Joseph (1983), who devotes an entire chapter to discussion of the structural term finite, offers this summary of the traditional definition:

Nonfinite verbs (or clauses) for Timberlake, and for linguists adhering to a traditional definition, would be those which cannot (easily) stand alone in (or as) a matrix clause. p. 11

After cross-linguistic comparison of the characteristics of finite verb classes, Joseph concludes that there is no one feature (e.g. tense, agreement) which could define a universal structural category of 'finite', especially in light of the fact that not all languages contain an unambiguous structural class of finite verbs. He rejects the functional characterization coupled with the traditional definition because he is seeking some one structural characteristic with which to define 'finite'. In the absence of a satisfying universal definition, he offers a two step universal discovery procedure. Step one is to

describe all of the various inflections of the verb. Joseph claims that:

...in some languages it is possible to make a distinction between two classes of verbs, with morphological criteria like person agreement or tense markings often serving as the distinguishing features. p. 15

If the verbs in a language do not demonstrate such a distinction, then there is no point in applying the labels finite and nonfinite to verbs in that language. If a language does display such a distinction, then the next step is to determine which is the finite class. For Joseph, the finite class is the one which is "variable with respect to some feature, as opposed to invariant marking in the case of the non-finite class." Thus, if one class varies for person and for time, another class varies only for person, another only for time, and another for neither, then the class which varies for both varies for the most features, and is therefore the finite class; the others are varying sub-classes within the nonfinite class.

I agree completely with Joseph's first step--if the structural term finite is to be useful at all in the description of a language, there must be some clear syntactic or morphological distinction between classes of verbs. But as Joseph himself acknowledges, his second step skirts the issue of what there is about verbs that so many languages should make the distinction between finite verbs and nonfinite verbs. The traditional definition of Jespersen and Timberlake (i.e. those verbs which have the power to form independent sentences) also seems to focus on a discovery procedure, rather than on the notion that underlies the distinction.

Givón (pc) argues strongly against the traditional structural definition of finite. He suggests that finiteness is the clause level structural correlate to a scalar functional domain of independence, which is encoded differently by various clause level phenomena within various languages. Givón rejects a dichotomy between finite and nonfinite verbs, and recommends instead that all verb classes in a given language be labeled for their degree of finiteness relative to each other, and as they appear in specific environments in discourse. Givón defines the degree of finiteness of a clause to be a function of its similarity to the prototype transitive main clause (cf Hopper and Thompson 1980). Structural parameters associated with coding finiteness are:

- 1) Verbal Tense/Aspect/Modality
- 2) Verbal Pronoun (Grammatical) Agreement
- 3) Nominal Case-marking of Subject and Object

Tense, aspect, and modality can be ranked with reference to finiteness, as can verb types and even individual clauses in a text.

| <u>most finite</u> | <u>most finite</u> | <u>more finite</u> | <u>less finite</u> |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| TENSE | INDICATIVE | ----- | ----- |
| MODALITY | SUBJUNCTIVE/MODAL | terminated | > non-terminated |
| ASPECT | PARTICIPIAL | realis | > irrealis |
| NEGATION | INFINITIVE | punctual | > durative |
| <u>least finite</u> | NOMINAL | in-sequence | > anterior |
| | <u>least finite</u> | ----- | ----- |

The first two of these scales are specific to the structure of the verb, and can more easily be associated with classes of inflections for verbs. The third is clearly context-specific, independent of properties inherent to classes of verbs. Note that Givón's first two parameters

are also those used for Joseph's discovery procedure. The difference is that Givón defines degree of finiteness as a clausal property, where Joseph defines classes of verbs as either finite or nonfinite. As my database is almost exclusively sentences elicited out of context, I am forced to rely on only the properties of tense/aspect/modality and pronoun agreement, which are used by both Joseph and Givón. However, I agree with Givón that finiteness is not an either-or property--it is more useful to look at degrees of finiteness and to define verb classes as being more or less finite relative to each other, depending on the contexts in which they appear. To the extent that the most finite verb classes appear most often in independent clauses, and the less finite verb classes appear most often in dependent clauses, we are justified in labelling verb classes more or less finite.

In summary, the necessary first step is to describe the properties of the different structural verb classes. Once the verb classes are identified, each should be analyzed in discourse with reference to Givón's parameters of finiteness. In this paper, I take only the first step. I present examples of only the first two parameters based on sentences elicited out of context--a complete treatment of the verbal system in Panare should address all parameters as identified in text.

In keeping with tradition, in this paper I reserve the structural label finite for the verb class which demonstrates the highest degree of finiteness in Panare, namely, past tense (§2.2). My completely structural use of this use of the term finite does not provide a basis for cross-linguistic comparison, nor does it imply anything about the absolute degree of finiteness of the verb class--it only indicates that

past tense verb forms code more parameters of finiteness than other verb forms in Panare. It remains to be demonstrated that this particular verb form is in fact more finite in actual use than any other. I reserve the structural term nonfinite for nominalizations, which I do not discuss in this paper. There are at least two additional levels of finiteness (and probably more) instantiated in verb forms in Panare³, but in this paper I will treat only one, those verbs inflected with the imperfective aspect suffix -npé' (§2.4). For clarity, in this paper I refer to that class with the structural term less-finite.

2.2 Past Tenses in Verbal Clauses

In Panare, the most finite verbs are those inflected with one of the three past tense suffixes; along with being tensed, these verbs agree with both subject and object. I refer to the class of verbs inflected with a past tense suffix as finite verbs. This is in keeping with the traditional use of the term finite as a label for a language-specific structural class.

The semantic difference between the three past tense suffixes is one of temporal distance. The most commonly used suffix -ya' 'PAST' means recent past, anywhere from just a moment to a couple of weeks or months ago. For events which happened a few months to a few years ago, the suffix -i/-e 'MEDIAL.PAST' is used. The third suffix, -yake 'DISTANT.PAST', is only used for things that happened many years ago. For the purposes of this paper, these semantic differences are unimportant. The key fact to note about the past tenses is that all verbs inflected for any past tense have the same syntactic and

morphological properties.⁴ For simplicity, I will use only the -ya' suffix in the examples which follow; the agreement prefixes and the syntactic facts are the same for verbs inflected with -i/-e and -yake.

2.2.1 The Past Tense Prefix Set

In order to describe the set of prefixes which appear on past tense forms, it is helpful to distinguish between intransitive subject (S), transitive subject (A), and transitive object (O). The past tense prefixes divide into two subsets, one which agrees with S and the other with various combinations of A and O. The set of prefixes which agrees with S is shown in Table 1; person and number of each subject (S) is specified above its agreement prefix:

TABLE 1. Agreement Prefixes for S in Past Tenses

| S | 1SG | 1+2±3 | 1+3-2 | 2SG/PL | 3SG/PL |
|--------|-----|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| Prefix | wî- | nî- | anânî- | mî- | nî- |

The transitive prefixes appear in Table 2, with the person and number of the subject (A) specified at the top of the chart and object (O) specified to the left. Accent shift is indicated with the character ^. Second person singular and plural (2SG/PL) objects have the same prefix pattern, as do the third person singular and plural (3SG/PL) objects. However, as seen in the first three horizontal rows, first person singular (1SG) and the two first person plurals (inclusive 1+2±3 and exclusive 1+3-2) do not. The prefix pattern for both of the 1PL objects (second and third horizontal rows) is the same as the prefix

pattern for 3SG/PL objects. I have no examples of first person inclusive (1+2±3) interacting with either first person singular (1SG) or second person (2SG/PL)--I suspect that speakers would reject such a configuration, or perhaps use a reflexive form.

TABLE 2. Agreement Prefixes for A and O in Past Tenses

| | A | 1SG | 1+2±3 | 1+3-2 | 2SG/PL | 3SG/PL |
|--------|-----|-----|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| O | | | | | | |
| 1SG | | | | | mî^- | Ø^- |
| 1+2±3 | | | | | | nî- |
| 1+3-2 | | | | | mî- | nî- |
| 2SG/PL | kî- | | | anânî- | | a- |
| 3SG/PL | tî- | nî- | anânî- | | mî- | nî- |

Generalizations which are made about 3SG/PL objects also hold for both 1PL objects, so the prefixes which are glossed as 3 Object (3O) in examples are also 1+2±3 Object and 1+3-2 Object. Thus, tî- '1A3O', mî- '2A3O', and nî- '3A3O' are to be understood as agreeing with 1PL objects as well. It is clear from the regularity in these paradigms that these are not all true portmanteau prefixes--T. Payne (pc) suggests that only kî- '1A2O' is properly understood as agreeing with both A and O. It appears that transitive verbs with 1SG, 1+3-2, or 2SG/PL A agree with A; transitive verbs with 1+2±3 or 3SG/PL A agree with O.⁵

2.2.2 Variations with Preverbal Objects

When there is an NP immediately before a transitive verb, Panare allows that NP to be either the subject or the object. If it is the subject, the verb will appear with its normal accent pattern and with

the standard prefix from Table 2 (agreeing with A and O). The prefixation facts are different when the NP immediately before the inflected verb is the object. The prefix no longer agrees with the object, but only agrees with the subject (A). In addition, there is a change in the accent pattern of the verb, with the primary stress moving to the left. The A agreement prefix pattern with a preverbal object is presented in Table 3. Notice that the only differences between A agreement with a preverbal object and the A/O agreement presented in Table 2 is that 1+2±3 and 3SG/PL prefix is Ø- (cf endnote 5) and that the 1A prefix with a preverbal object is always ti-, even when the preverbal object pronoun is second person (i.e. k- for 1A20 does not occur).

TABLE 3. Agreement Prefixes for A in Past Tenses when O Precedes the Verb

| A | 1SG | 1+2±3 | 1+3-2 | 2SG/PL | 3SG/PL |
|--------|-----|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| Prefix | ti- | Ø- | anáni- | mi- | Ø- |

The following examples illustrate these differences. In 1 the object arakon 'black monkey' appears to the right of the verb petyúma 'hit'. The accent falls on ú and the prefix is ni- '3A30'.

(1) petyúma 'hit' with object to the right of the verb.

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| nipetyúmaya' | kén | arakon |
| n -petyúma-ya' | kén | arakon |
| 3A30-hit | -PAST ANIM.INVISIB | black.monkey |

'He hit the monkey.'⁶

In 2 the same verb is in the same tense, but now the object appears immediately preceding the verb. The portmanteau prefix does not

appear and the accent is shifted to the left. The accent shift is indicated in the morphemic representation as ^_, glossed as PO for Preceding Object. The zero morpheme is indicated in the morphemic analysis, as it is a member of the set of prefixes shown in Table 3.

(2) petyúma 'hit' with a pre-verbal object (PO).

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| arakon | pétyumaya' | kén |
| arakon | <u>^</u> -Ø -petyúma-ya' | kén |
| black.monkey | PO-3A-hit | -PAST ANIM.INVISIB |

'He hit the monkey.'

For vowel initial verb stems there is one slight difference.

While consonant initial stems may appear with no prefix, vowel initial stems with no agreement prefix appear with a (semantically empty) y-.⁷ In 3 the vowel initial verb ikitē 'cut' appears with the object to the right of the verb. With this order there is no difference between vowel initial and consonant initial verb stems; ikitē takes the same agreement prefix as petyúma, ni- '3A30'. The accent in unmarked stems falls on the last syllable of the word, in this case the past tense suffix -ya'.

(3) ikitē 'cut' with object to the right of the verb.

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------|------|
| nikitiya' | kén | aire |
| n -ikitē-ya' | kén | aire |
| 3A30-cut | -PAST ANIM.INVISIB | meat |

'He cut the meat.'

The same sentence appears in 4, but the object appears preverbally. This is exactly the syntactic environment in which the consonant initial verb pétyuma 'hit' (in 2) took no prefix at all, but the vowel initial verb ikitē takes a semantically empty y-. Because the y- in this environment is phonologically predictable, I assume that it

is not a true meaning-bearing morpheme, and I thus do not represent it in the second (morphemic breakdown) and third (morphemic analysis) lines. Again, the zero morpheme is included as indicating 3A.

(4) ikitē 'cut' with a preverbal object.

aire yíkítiya' kén
 aire ^ -Ø -ikitē-ya' kén
 meat PO-3A-cut -PAST ANIM. INVISIB

'He cut the meat.'

Thus, when there are two third person NPs in a transitive clause, there is no case marking on the NPs, and the verbal prefix (if there is one) indicates only third person acting on third person (3A30); 'who did what to whom' is indicated by a combination of word order and verbal inflection. If a preverbal NP is the subject, the verb appears with its normal accent pattern and agreement prefix. If it is the object, the verbal accent shifts to the left and the verbal prefix agrees only with A (i.e. for 3A, it disappears). This second effect is somewhat less clear for vowel initial verbs because of the phonological rule that places a y_ in front of prefixless vowel initial verbs. Even so, the overall pattern is made clear by analogy to consonant initial verbs. These two phenomena allow the word orders of OVA, AOV⁸, and AVO to be interpretable even though there is no case marking on the NPs. OAV is also interpretable, but all speakers reject it as ungrammatical.

(5) O[^]VA

arakon petyumaya' apo'
 arakon ^ -Ø -petyúma-ya' apo'
 black.monkey PO-3A-hit -PAST man

'The man hit the monkey'

(6) AO[^]V

apo' arakon petyumaya'
 apo' arakon ^ -Ø -petyúma-ya'
 man black.monkey PO-3A-hit -PAST

'The man hit the monkey'

(7) AVO

apo' nipetyúmaya' arakon
 apo' n -petyúma-ya' arakon
 man 3A30-hit -PAST black.monkey

'The man hit the monkey'⁹

(8) *OAV

*arakon apo' nipetyúmaya'
 (the man hit the monkey)

When both NPs follow the verb, the verb always takes the standard agreement prefixes and there is no accent shift; there is no morphological means of disambiguating subject and object. In this case, word order is used. The NP which immediately follows the verb is the subject. Thus, VAO is allowed but VOA is not.

(9) VAO

nipetyúmaya' apo' arakon
 n -petyúma-ya' apo' arakon
 3A30-hit -PAST man black.monkey

'The man hit the monkey'

(10) *VOA

*nipetyúmaya' arakon apo'
 (the man hit the monkey)

Table 4 sums up allowable orders of subject and object in Panare. Again, ^ preceding the verb indicates the accent shift associated with preverbal object.

TABLE 4. Allowable Word Orders in Panare

| | |
|----------------|------|
| | O^VA |
| | AO^V |
| | VAO |
| | AVO |
| Ungrammatical: | *OAV |
| | *VOA |

The same facts hold for 1SG and 2SG subjects of transitives (1A and 2A), except that the agreement prefixes are not zero when the object precedes the verb. For 1A the prefix is ti-, and for 2A the prefix is mi-. These are the same as the 1A30 and 2A30 prefixes. The only morphological difference in a verb with 1A or 2A and a preverbal object is the accent shift. In 11 petyúma 'hit' appears with a 1SG subject and a post-verbal third person object. In 12 the same clause appears, except the object is pre verbal. The prefix does not change, but the verbal accent shifts to the left.

- (11) petyúma with 1SG subject and postverbal object

tipetyúmaya' chu arakon
t -petyúma-ya' yu arakon
1A30-hit -PAST 1SG black.monkey

'I hit the monkey.'

- (12) petyúma with 1SG subject and preverbal object

arakon tipetyumaya' chu
arakon ^ -t -petyúma-ya' yu
black.monkey PO-1A-hit -Past 1SG

'I hit the monkey.'

Although the 1A and 1A30 prefixes are identical, the 1A20 prefix differs. In 13 the ki- '1A20' prefix on the verb a'kapa 'call' is the only reference to the identity of the object.¹⁰ The prefix and the accent facts are the same in all clauses where the object does not

appear preverbally, so this clause is the equivalent of one with a postverbal object. In 14 the object amèn '2SG' appears preverbally. The 1A prefix ti- replaces the portmanteau prefix ki-, and the accent shifts to the left (data from Payne & Payne, pc).

- (13) ka'kapaya' chu
k -a'kapa-ya' yu
1A20-call -PAST 1SG

'I called you.'¹¹

- (14) amèn tá'kapaya' chu
amèn ^ -t -a'kapa-ya' yu
2SG PO-1A-call -PAST 1SG

'I called you.'

The accent shift associated with preverbal objects can be seen for 2A30 in 15 and 16. In 15 ikitè 'cut' appears with a 2SG subject and a postverbal third person object. In 16 the object appears preverbally and the accent shifts to the left.

- (15) ikitè with 2SG subject and postverbal object

mikitiya' amèn yawanè
m -ikitè-ya' amèn yawanè
2A30-cut -PAST 2SG iguana

'You cut the iguana.'

- (16) ikitè with 2SG subject and preverbal object

yawanè mikitiya' amèn
yawanè ^ -m -ikitè-ya' amèn
iguana PO-2A-cut -PAST 2SG

'You cut the iguana.'

2.2.3 The 1SG Proclitic

The 1SG pronoun yu behaves differently from other object NPs. The only environment where the 2A prefix is not simply m- is when the object is 1SG. However, the word order, prefixation, and accent facts are different for all subjects when the object is 1SG because the 1SG pronoun yu is becoming a clitic, and is replacing the standard Ø̂- morpheme as the first person object agreement prefix. When yu cliticizes to the front of the verb, the y vowel reduces to the more generic central vowel i.¹² Thus, the verb bears what appears to be an agreement prefix, yi-. But the verbal accent shifts to the left, indicating a preverbal object. Diachronically, this apparent prefix is clearly the object, the 1SG pronoun yu, appearing preverbally. Synchronically, these cliticized forms are far more common than the original Ø̂- prefix. Thus, the forms yî- '3A1O' and the yim̂- '2A1O' are practically prefixes, although in careful speech speakers will still separate off yu from the Ø- '3A' and the m- '2A' prefixes respectively. A syntactic difference between the 1SG object clitic and a true agreement prefix is that with a true agreement prefix, the pronoun with which the prefix agrees can appear elsewhere in the clause. In 17 the 3A1O prefix Ø̂- is used, and the object pronoun yu appears elsewhere in the clause.¹³ But in 18 when yî- appears pre-verbally, the 1SG pronoun yu is not allowed to appear elsewhere in the clause.

- (17) petyumayaayu kën
 Ø̂ -petyúma-ya' -yu kën
 3A1O-hit -PAST-1SG ANIM.DIST

'He hit me.'

- (18) *yipétyumayaayu kën
 *yu- -yu

(he hit me)

Thus, the true agreement prefix for 3A1O is still Ø̂-; yî- is syntactically a pronominal clitic, and does not 'agree' with another NP which refers to 1SG. Rather, when it appears it is the sole reference to 1SG. Further, we have seen that the primary accent always shifts when there is a preverbal object. Thus, yî- could almost be interpreted as simply a preverbal object yu '1SG' + Ø̂- 'PO'. However, this hypothesis is a little too simple in that the zero agreement for 3A1O (cf 17) still requires the accent shift. Further, zero plus accent shift seems to be 1SG agreement in the possessive prefix set (see §2.4.2), and also 1SG object agreement in the less finite object agreement prefix set (see §2.4.1). In summary, accent shift is the PO (preverbal object) morpheme, and it is also a part of the 1SG object agreement paradigm. The apparent 1SG object agreement prefix yî- '3A1O' is neither--it only refers to 1SG rather than agreeing with a separate 1SG pronoun, and it appears to be a phonologically bound pronoun (i.e. a clitic) rather than a prefix.

2.2.4 Summary of §2.2

Verbs inflected with past tense in Panare form the most finite verb class in that they vary for time (recent past, medial past, and distant past) and they take prefixes which agree with intransitive S (Table 1) and both transitive A and O (Table 2). When the object NP is immediately preverbal, the verb agrees only with A (Table 3). The first

person pronoun is unlike other object NPs in that it i) may cliticize to the front of the inflected verb, yielding an apparent agreement prefix, or ii) may cliticize to the back of the inflected verb, yielding the otherwise ungrammatical word order VOA.

2.3 Predicate Nominal Constructions

In English, a verb must be inflected with tense in order to stand alone as the predicate of a main clause. Even in predicate nominal clauses the inflected verb 'be' must occur. In Panare, three types of morphemes can appear between the nouns in a predicate nominal construction: pronominal particles appear to be derived historically from demonstrative pronouns and have no verbal characteristics, but function as copulas when they occur between two nouns; the defective verb a', which I label AUX, takes agreement prefixes but no verbal suffixes;¹⁴ the standard verbal copula, e' / ichi 'be' is clearly related to the copular paradigms described for Apalaí, Hixkaryana, and Carib of Surinam. Pronominal particles might be described as predicate morphology in that they appear at the boundary of predicate nominal predicates, and also at the boundary of predicates formed with less finite verbs. Pronominal particles, AUX, and verbs inflected with finite (past) tenses (including e' / ichi) are mutually exclusive--no two of the three can co-occur in a single verb phrase. Thus, if a pronominal particle functions as the copula of a predicate nominal, no verb need appear.

Preliminary data suggests the order of predicate nominal clauses is rigidly predicate followed by subject. The predicate noun (PN) comes

first. It is then followed by either a pronominal particle (§2.3.1), by AUX (§2.3.2), or by e' / ichi 'be' inflected for finite tense (§2.3.3). This first noun plus the pronominal particle, AUX, or 'be' forms a predicate. The second noun is the subject. The pronominal particle agrees with the subject for animacy; AUX or 'be' agrees with the subject for person. This syntactic structure is schematized in 19:

| | | | |
|------|-----------|---------|---------|
| (19) | Noun | _____ | Noun |
| | [PN | ProPrt] | NP |
| | [PN | AUX] | |
| | [PN | 'be'] | |
| | Predicate | | Subject |

2.3.1 Pronominal Particles as Copula

There are three pronominal particles: kě' and měně' / mně' / ně' agree with animate (ANIM) subjects and měn / -n agrees with inanimate (INAN) subjects. The two animate pronominal particles also impart deictic interpretations to their predicates, proximal (PROX) for kě' and distal (DIST) for měně' / mně' / ně'. Thus, kě' is glossed as 'ANIM.PROX' and měně' / mně' / ně' as 'ANIM.DIST'. There is no deictic distinction connected with měn / -n 'INAN'. For 1SG and 2SG subjects, the proximal pronominal particle is a zero form (i.e. no pronominal particle appears) and the distal pronominal particle is měně' / mně' / ně'.¹⁵ Table 5 summarizes the animacy/person subject agreement for pronominal particles (above the chart), and the deictic value which the pronominal particle adds to the predicate (to the left of the chart).

TABLE 5. Pronominal Particles which Agree with S for Animacy and Person.¹⁶

| | | Subject Agreement | | |
|--------|------|-------------------|----------------|---------|
| | | INAN | ANIM | |
| | | | 3SG/PL | 1SG/2SG |
| Deixis | PROX | mën/-n | kë' | ∅ |
| | DIST | | mënë'/mnë'/në' | |

In 20 and 21 e'ñapa 'Panare' is the subject and maestro 'teacher' is the PN. In 20 the pronominal particle kë' completes the predicate, adding a proximal interpretation. There are logically two ways in which the deixis could be interpreted: one is that the subject is proximal, and the other is that the predicate (i.e. the characteristic being predicated of the subject) is proximal. In 20 both are understood to be proximal. The translation 'The Panare is a teacher' should include the understanding that 'the Panare' is here, and that he 'is a teacher' here also (as opposed to a statement like 'He is a teacher back home, but here he's only a tourist'). In 21 the pronominal particle në' completes the predicate with a distal interpretation. In 21 as in 20 both the subject and the predication are understood to have the same deixis, but in 21 both deixes are distal. 'The Panare' is understood to be somewhere distant at this moment, and he 'is a teacher' somewhere else also. In 22 the same two NPs appear without one of the animate pronominal particles; the result is ungrammatical.

- (20) maestro kë' e'ñapa
teacher ANIM.PROX Panare
'The Panare (PROX) is (PROX) a teacher.'

- (21) maestro në' e'ñapa
teacher ANIM.DIST Panare
'The Panare (DIST) is (DIST) a teacher.'
- (22) *maestro e'ñapa
(the Panare is a teacher)

As noted above, both the predicate and the subject NP can have deictic values. Two animate pronouns in Panare overtly express the deixis of the participants to which they refer: më' 'ANIM.VISIB' and kën 'ANIM.INVIS'. When one of these pronouns serves as the subject of a predicate nominal clause, the deixis of the subject is clear. The pronominal particle which is functioning as copula then determines only the deixis of the predicate. The interpretations of the clauses in 23 and 24 thus closely parallel the interpretations of 20 and 21 above. However, in 23 and 24 the deixis of the subject is explicitly stated, where in 20 and 21 it is inferred from context.

- (23) maestro kë' më'
teacher ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB
'This guy is a teacher here.'
[He (PROX) is (PROX) a teacher]
- (24) maestro në' kën
teacher ANIM.DIST ANIM.INVIS
'That guy is a teacher there.'
[He (DIST) is (DIST) a teacher.]

In 20-24 above, the deixis of subject and predicate always agree. It might be thought that the pronominal particle agrees with subject for deixis as well as animacy. However, it is possible for the deixis of subject and predicate to differ. When this happens, the deixis of the predicate may be shifted from the domain of space (here vs. there) to

the domain of time (now vs. then). In 20-24 the subject is understood to be a teacher at the moment the sentence is spoken--the time of each clause is right now, as it's being spoken. The fact of being a teacher at a particular moment in time implies that one holds the profession, so that even if one is not engaged in teaching at that moment, one could still 'be' a teacher. It may also imply the act of teaching at that moment. In English, the latter notion may be expressed with a predicate nominal He's being a teacher right now or with an active clause: He's teaching right now. In Panare, both notions may be expressed with the same structure. Thus, an alternate interpretation for all of the preceding examples could have been 'He is being a teacher/teaching right now'. For either interpretation, when the subject and the predicate agree for spatial deixis, the time is always interpreted as right now (proximate).

When the subject and the predicate disagree for deixis, it is not possible for both deictic values to be simultaneously true in the domain of space, i.e. the person doing something cannot be right here in front of the speaker and the action the person is doing be going on somewhere else without its actor (unless one assumes access to technology that the average Panare has no concept of--e.g. a televised broadcast). The two conflicting deixes can both be true simultaneously only if one of them is removed from the domain of space. This is what happens. The spatial deixis of the clause is taken from the expressed deixis of the subject. The predicate deixis expressed by the pronominal particle moves to the domain of time.

In 25 the subject is explicitly proximal and the predicate is explicitly distal; in the translation the spatial deixis is proximal (i.e. the person is right here) and the temporal deixis is distal (i.e. NOT right now). Distal temporal deixis is most commonly interpreted as past. Hence, the clause is translated 'This guy here was a teacher'.

(25) maestro nã' mē'
teacher ANIM.DIST ANIM.VISIB

'This guy here was a teacher.'
[He (PROX) is (DIST) a teacher]

In 26 the situation is reversed--the subject is spatially distal but the predicate is temporally proximal:

(26) maestro kã' kën
teacher ANIM.PROX ANIM.INVIS

'That guy is being a teacher right now'
[He (DIST) is (PROX) a teacher]

This type of construction could be used in only a few situations. For example, somebody has just arrived looking for Miguel, but he's away at school teaching right at the moment. In English, the new arrival might ask 'Where is Miguel?' The answer would be 'He's teaching right now, but he'll be along in a little bit.' The Panare equivalent to the English answer 'He's teaching right now' could be the sentence in 26.

Temporal deixis of a state is not usually stated explicitly unless the state is expected to undergo (or has just undergone) some change. When a pronominal particle specifies that the temporal deixis of a predicate differs from the spatial deixis as in 25 and 26, it implies that the predication has not held or will not hold for the subject at all times. When you say 'He's a teacher right now' this is implicitly

in contrast to the idea that he has always been a teacher and will continue to be a teacher forever. Being a teacher implies the act of teaching. Hence, it follows that saying 'He's being a teacher right now' implies also that there have been or will be times when he will NOT be teaching/a teacher.

Panare speakers do not like to express temporal deixis when a state is such that it does not change over time. In 27-30 the predication is of a semantic type that does not change--in order to be a Panare, one must be born a Panare. The condition of being a Panare does not change depending on the actions of an individual. With this type of a predicate, the deixis of the predicate and the subject must agree. In 27 and 28 the deixes agree and the clause is acceptable. Both 29 and 30 are judged incorrect even though the syntax is identical to that in 25 and 26, respectively.¹⁷

(27) e'ñapa ké' mē'
Panare ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB

'This guy is a Panare'

(28) e'ñapa nē' kēn
Panare ANIM.DIST ANIM.INVIS

'That guy is a Panare'

(29) *e'ñapa nē' mē'
Panare ANIM.DIST ANIM.VISIB

(This guy was a Panare)

(30) *e'ñapa kē' kēn
Panare ANIM.PROX ANIM.INVIS

(That guy is being a Panare)

When the subject is 1SG or 2SG, there are two important differences:

(i) The deixis of the subject can never be distal--when two people are speaking, the speakers are always proximal.¹⁸ Thus, it is never possible for the subject to disagree with a proximal predicate, nor is it possible for the subject to agree with a distal predicate.

(ii) When the subject is 1SG or 2SG, a proximal predicate takes no pronominal particle. Where kē' must appear for third person proximal subjects, 1SG and 2SG subjects have a zero morpheme. The predicates can still alternate between proximal and distal, but kē' cannot be used to mark the proximal predicate--instead, nē' 'ANIM.DIST' alternates with zero. In 31a-b the predicate NP maestro 'teacher' appears alone with the 1SG and 2SG pronouns respectively, and the clause is interpreted as if there had been a kē' between them. In 32a-b nē' appears, marking a distal predicate. Because the predicate and the subject disagree for deixis, the predicate deixis is shifted to time and the clauses are interpreted as past tense. Examples 33a-b show that kē' is not allowed to appear as a pronominal particle when the subject is 1SG or 2SG, respectively.

(31) (a) maestro yu
teacher 1SG

'I am a teacher.'

(b) maestro amēn
teacher 2SG

'You are a teacher.'

- (32) (a) maestro në' chu
teacher ANIM.DIST 1SG
'I was a teacher.'
- (b) maestro në' amën
teacher ANIM.DIST 2SG
'You were a teacher.'
- (33) (a) *maestro kë' chu
teacher ANIM.PROX 1SG
(I am being a teacher)
- (b) *maestro kë' amën
teacher ANIM.PROX 2SG
(You are being a teacher)

The final member of the set of pronominal particles, mën 'INAN', does not impart any deictic interpretation to the predicate. It simply agrees with the subject for animacy. In 34 the subject manko 'mango' is inanimate. The pronominal particle mën appears between the subject and the predicate NP e'chipen 'fruit'. In 35 the clause is unacceptable without mën.

- (34) e'chipen mën manko
fruit INAN mango
'Mango is a fruit.'
- (35) *e'chipen manko
fruit mango
(mango is a fruit)

The pronominal particle mën is indifferent to deixis. In 36 the pronoun si 'INAN.PROX' is the subject, and in 37 the homophonous pronoun mën 'INAN.DIST.INVIS' is the subject. The deixis of the subject changes but there are no semantic shifts like those described above for clauses with animate subjects. This indicates that with the pronominal particle

mën, predicate deixis is not fixed at either PROX or DIST relative to space; hence, there is never a disagreement in deixis to reconcile, and the deixis of the predicate is never shifted to the domain of time (i.e. temporal deixis is always proximal).

- (36) manko mën si
mango INAN INAN.PROX
'This is a mango.'
- (37) manko mën mën
mango INAN INAN.DIST.INVIS
'That is a mango.'

These pronominal particles are not verbs: they take no prefixes or suffixes, and they appear in a number of other environments with noncopular functions. In contrast, the verb ichi/e 'to be' is almost completely regular, inflecting as all other verbs. It can carry tense/aspect inflections in order to express the same temporal distinctions described above, in addition to others. However, the pronominal particles are much more ubiquitous in speech and are not subject to syntactic restrictions which govern the use of both ichi/e 'be' and a 'AUX', the verbal copulas (see the next two sections). As a closing note on this section, other languages with copulas which have some of the same properties as the Panare pronominal particles include Pima (cf Munro 1977) and Tibetan. Currently available descriptions of other Carib languages refer to a verbal copula (cognate to ichi/e, sometimes conflated with a), but do not describe a class of particles which behave like the pronominal particles in Panare.¹⁹

2.3.2 Finite Clauses with AUX

I refer to a second set of forms which can appear between two NPs in a predicate nominal clause as AUX. AUX is distinguished from the set of pronominal particles on both morphological and syntactic grounds. Following T. Payne (pc), I describe AUX as a defective verb which appears in the following forms:

| | |
|-----|--|
| wa' | 1SG DIST |
| ma' | 2SG DIST and 3SG DIST in statements 2SG DIST in questions |
| na' | 3SG (uncertain deixis) for questions PROX for all persons in relative clauses and cleft constructions |

AUX appears to have the same privileges of occurrence as the set of pronominal particles, but the two cannot co-occur in any one predicate. AUX has morphological, syntactic, and semantic similarities to the pronominal particles: neither takes verbal suffixes, both occur in the same position in predicate nominals and as auxiliaries for less finite verbs, and both impart deixis to the predicate. In addition, neither may co-occur with any verb inflected with a finite tense. However, several differences exist between AUX and the pronominal particles:

- (i) Although both agree with the subject, AUX agrees for person rather than for animacy--1SG begins with w- and non-1SG begins with m-. In interrogatives, T. Payne (pc) reports that 2SG begins with m- and 3SG begins with n-. The prefixes w-, m-, and n- constitute the intransitive subject agreement prefix set for verbs inflected

with past tense (see Table 1, §2.1.1). Thus, AUX takes some verbal morphology, while the pronominal particles take none.²⁰

- (ii) AUX takes the same relativizer suffixes as past tense verb forms (see §3.2 and §3.3.2). Pronominal particles do not appear in relative clauses.
- (iii) When AUX appears in a predicate nominal, the predicate NP must take the suffix -pe 'AD', an 'adjectivalizer'.²¹ When a pronominal particle appears in a predicate nominal, -pe is allowed but it is not obligatory (cf all examples in §2.3.1).
- (iv) When AUX appears as the auxiliary for a less finite verb tense, the bond between verb and AUX is weaker than the similar bond between the verb and a pronominal particle. When a pronominal particle is used as an auxiliary, no free morpheme can be inserted between the verb and the pronominal particle (§2.4.1). When AUX is the auxiliary, the subject may appear between the inflected verb and AUX (§3.3.2).

Differences one, two and four indicate that AUX is actually one inflecting verb. AUX and intransitive verbs inflected for past tense take the same agreement prefixes, but AUX does not use the n- '3' prefix in main clauses. AUX is a generally defective verb because it takes no inflectional verb suffixes and the prefix set is reduced.²²

To demonstrate the first and third differences simultaneously, consider examples 38-42. In 38 AUX takes the w- '1SG' prefix. In all the rest, AUX takes the m- prefix. Semantically, AUX works precisely like the ANIM.DIST pronominal particle ně' in that when the subject is proximal with reference to space, the predicate is distal with reference to time (38-40). When the subject is distal with reference to space the predicate is also distal with reference to space, and the time may be proximal (41). When the subject is not morphologically marked for deixis, the translation varies depending on the deixis which the subject receives from context (42).

- (38) maestrope wa' chu
maestro-pe w-a' yu
teacher-AD 1-AUX 1SG

'I was a teacher.'
- (39) maestrope ma' aměn
maestro-pe m -a' aměn
teacher-AD 2/3-AUX 2SG

'You were a teacher.'
- (40) maestrope ma' mē'
maestro-pe m -a' mē'
teacher-AD 2/3-AUX ANIM.VISIB

'This guy was a teacher.'
- (41) maestrope ma' kěn
maestro-pe m -a' kěn
teacher-AD 2/3-AUX ANIM.INVIS

'That guy is (DIST) a teacher.'
- (42) maestrope ma' e'ñapa
maestro-pe m -a' e'ñapa
teacher-AD 2/3-AUX Panare

'This Panare was a teacher.'
'That Panare is (DIST) a teacher.'

43-47 are all unacceptable to my language consultants. All are minimal pairs with examples above, so the element which makes them ungrammatical is isolated. In 43-45 the predicate NP does not bear the suffix -pe (cf 38-40 above). The clauses in 46 and 47 are representative of all attempts to force any pronominal particle to co-occur with AUX in any order.

- (43) *maestro wa' chu
maestro w-a' yu
teacher 1-AUX 1SG

(I was a teacher)
- (44) *maestro ma' aměn
maestro m -a' aměn
teacher 2/3-AUX aměn

(you were a teacher)
- (45) *maestro ma' e'ñapa
maestro m -a' e'ñapa
teacher 2/3-AUX Panare

(the Panare was/is (DIST) a teacher)
- (46) *maestro ké' ma' e'ñapa
- (47) *e'chipinpe ma' měn e'ñapa

The central facts are (i) AUX is more verb-like than the pronominal particles, taking personal agreement prefixes from the intransitive past tense set; (ii) AUX appears in predicate nominal clauses, but the predicate noun must bear the suffix -pe; and (iii) AUX cannot co-occur with pronominal particles. This characterization of AUX will be expanded in §5.1 and §6.1.

2.3.3 The Verbal Copula

The third way to form a predicate nominal is to use the copular verb ichi/e 'be' inflected for past tense. The verb ichi/e is an almost completely regular intransitive verb; it takes all of the inflectional suffixes that any other verb would take and it takes the appropriate agreement prefixes with one exception--the third person intransitive past tense agreement prefix is usually n- '3', but for the copula it is ñ-.²³ The verbal copula appears rarely, and can only complete the predicate in a predicate nominal if it is inflected with a finite tense. As is the case with AUX, the predicate NP must take the suffix -pe. In 48 the predicate NP maestro takes -pe. In 49 the NP does not take -pe and the clause is ungrammatical.

(48) maestro ñe'ya' Toman
maestro-pe ñ-e' -ya' Toman
 teacher-AD 3-COP-PAST Thomas

'Tom was a teacher (recent past).'

(49) *maestro we'ya' chu
maestro w-e' -ya' yu
 teacher 1-COP-PAST 1SG

(I was a teacher)

When COP is inflected with a less finite suffix (such as -sa 'PERF'), either a pronominal particle or AUX must appear as an auxiliary. In 50 the pronominal particle ké' appears, agreeing with the subject. In 51 the pronominal particle does not appear and the clause is ungrammatical.²⁴

(50) maestrope we'cha ké' kën
maestro-pe w-e' -sa ké' kën
 teacher-AD ?-COP-PERF ANIM.PROX ANIM.NOVIS

'He was a teacher (less recently).'

(51) *maestrope we'cha kën
maestro-pe w-e' -sa kën
 teacher-AD ?-COP-PERF ANIM.INVIS

(I was a teacher)

These last two examples demonstrate that ichi/e 'COP' does not have any special syntactic status as an auxiliary--it must be inflected with a finite tense or be followed by an auxiliary in order to stand as the only verb in a clause with a third person subject.

2.4 A Case-Study of a Less Finite Verbal Inflection: -npé'

The verbal suffix -npé' 'IMPERF' is a less finite inflection.

There are a number of less finite verb inflections, and each has its own peculiarities; the following features are common to all:

- i) The verbal prefix set does not agree with transitive subject.²⁵
- ii) They do not convey tense information about the predicate.
- iii) They cannot easily appear as stand-alone main clause verbs--they appear with either a pronominal particle, AUX, or ichi/e (inflected with finite tense) as auxiliary.

2.4.1 Functional Change and Structural Change

In recent descriptions of the Carib languages Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985) and Apalaí (Koehn & Koehn 1987), the only two morphological processes noted for verbs are finite tense inflections and

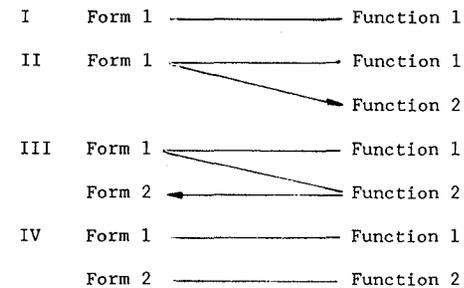
nominalizations. Koehn & Koehn (p.101) state that "the nonpast forms occur as complements of the copular verb." They don't discuss any significant difference between predicate nominals and verbs inflected with nonpast suffixes. Such an analysis could also be attempted with the less finite constructions in Panare. It is possible to translate -npë' constructions as nominalized complements of the auxiliaries, i.e. He's hitting the monkey would be translated instead as He's the monkey's hitting one. Such translations sound forced and unnatural in English because the historical nominalizer -ing has been reanalyzed synchronically as a main clause aspect marker on verbs. In Panare also, -npë' was probably a historical nominalizing suffix. Synchronically, -npë' has been reanalyzed as a main clause aspect marker.

Functional change does not predict any particular type of formal variation, but it certainly motivates formal variation, and the strong hypothesis would be that it entails formal variation at some point in time. Since functional change may precede structural change, there could easily be a time lag between functional change and the resulting structural change, and it is therefore not always possible to document formal variation corresponding to functional variation. But when formal variation occurs, and it corresponds to a pre-existing functional variation, the connection between the two should be clear.

Language acquisition can be thought of as a case of extremely rapid language change; new forms and new functions are constantly being added to the language system of the language learner. As these new forms and new functions appear in the speech of the learner, three logical patterns might appear: the learner might learn a new form and a

new function simultaneously, never expressing the function until the form is acquired (and, conversely, never using a new form before a new function is there to express with it); the learner might use pre-existing forms to express new functions, or the learner might express pre-existing functions with new forms. Slobin (1973 p. 184) found that first language learners typically follow the latter two patterns: "new functions are first expressed by old forms" and "new forms first express old functions." Wode (1976) places these two patterns into a "developmental sequence" as schematized in 52. At stage I, one form codes one function; at stage II, new functions are coded by old forms; at stage III, a new form codes one of the old functions, but not the other, while the old form may continue to code both; at stage IV, each form codes only one function.

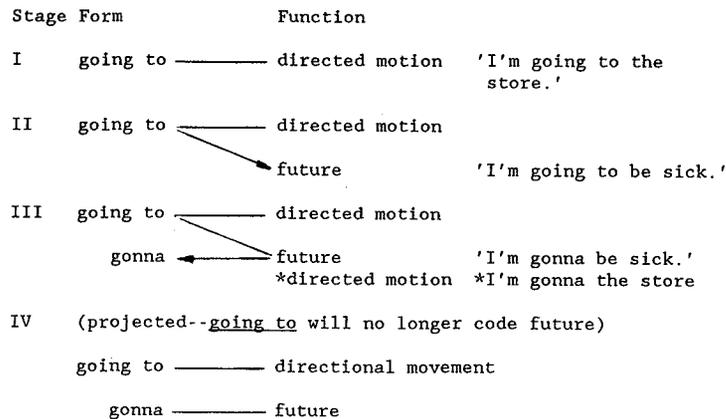
(52) Four stages in ontogenetic language development (Slobin 1973, Wode 1976):



When one form evolves into two distinct forms, what usually happens is that the original form remains relatively constant and a minimal modification of the old form develops until the two are distinct and separate. In this pattern, only one of the functions is ever coded

by the new form. In language acquisition, stage III is usually passed through rapidly en route to the "correct" form usually found at stage IV. However, in historical change, where orthographic conventions also exert an influence, the old form may continue to code both functions for a much longer period of time. An example of this is English be going to/be gonna, where be going to may be used to indicate movement towards an entity (I'm going to the store) or it may be used to indicate an expected future act (I'm going to be sick). This second function of be going to may also be expressed with the reduced form be gonna (e.g. You're gonna get sick), but the original function may not be (*I'm gonna the store). A schematic of the stages of development of English going to/gonna distinction appears in 53.

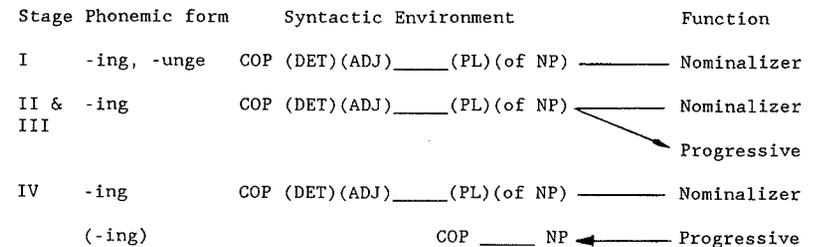
(53) going to/gonna



In the second type of formal variation, the actual form remains the same but the environments in which the form appears begin to diverge. Each of the functions expressed by the form becomes associated

with the particular environment(s) in which the form appears. This is exemplified by English -ing, which is both an aspect marker and a nominalizer. When a verb bearing -ing appears in a nominal environment, (e.g. following a quantifier and/or adjectives, taking the nominal plural suffix -s, and with a logical patient appearing in an 'of' phrase--There were three brutal killings of transients last week), the only interpretation is that -ing is a nominalizer; the verb bearing -ing is not describing ongoing actions, but is referring to events as objects. In contrast, when -ing appears on a verb following an inflected copula (e.g. I'm washing the dishes), the inflected verb may not take nominal morphology (*I'm three brutal washings of the dishes), and the interpretation is that of a present progressive action. Although the form of the suffix has not changed, the two functions now appear in distinct structural environments (as befits distinct word types). One could argue forever over whether it's really the 'same' -ing appearing in these two environments; but there is no debate about the differing functions associated with -ing in those two environments.²⁶

(54) The pattern of development of English -ing:



If one structure (or form class) begins to be used in two different ways, then if there is any reality to the concept of syntactic structure, speakers should not subconsciously begin to treat the structures associated with the two different functions as though they, too, were no longer the same. At some point in the past, the Panare suffix -npě' was undoubtedly a nominalizer. That is why lexical nouns and verbs inflected with -npě' take similar morphology and syntax. At some point in the past, speakers began to conceive of -npě' as marking a particular aspect of action--at which point presumably speakers began to distinguish lexical nouns and verbs bearing -npě' as somewhat different from each other. Hence, it follows that the synchronic syntax of Panare should show the effects of that difference, in that innovations which take place in the morphosyntax associated with one structure should not necessarily take place in the morphosyntax associated with the other. In §2.4.2 I will present some basic facts about the use of -npě' in main clauses. In §2.4.3 I will discuss the arguments for treating verbs inflected with -npě' as nominalizations. In §2.4.4 I will point out four phenomena which suggest that it is more appropriate to analyze -npě' as a less finite verb form, i.e. as a main clause aspect marker.

2.4.2 The Use of -npě' in Main Clauses

In main clauses, the suffix -npě' 'IMPERFective.TRANSitive' appears only on transitive verbs. When -npě' is used in a main clause, the verb takes either a pronominal particle, AUX, or the inflected 'be' verb as an auxiliary. The auxiliary, rather than the verb bearing

-npě', agrees with the subject. The verb bears prefixes (given in Table 6) which agree with only the object of the construction:

TABLE 6. Agreement Prefixes for O with Less Finite Verbs

| | | | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|---------|--------|--------|
| Object | 1SG | 1+2+3 | 1+3-2 | 2SG/PL | 3SG/PL |
| Prefix | Ø^(y)- | y±- | ana(y)- | a(y)- | y±- |

When a pronominal particle is used as the auxiliary, the subject agreement is the same as that observed for pronominal particles with predicate nominals. 1SG and 2SG subjects take the zero (or no) pronominal particle; 3SG animate subjects take kě' 'ANIM.PROX'; inanimate subjects take měn 'INAN' (cf §2.3.1 above). In 55-58 the pronominal particles are zero for 1SG and 2SG subjects (55 and 58 respectively) and kě' for 3SG subject (56 and 57). The agreement prefixes are yí- '3' in 55, a- '2' in 56, and Ø^- '1SG' in 57 (data from Payne & Payne pc).

- (55) yipetyúampě' chu
y-petyúma-npě' yu
3-hit -IMPERF 1SG
'I'm hitting him/her/it.'
- (56) apetyúampě' ké' mē'
a-petyúma-npě' ké' mē'
2-hit -IMPERF ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB
'He/she/it is hitting you.'
- (57) pétyumampě' kéyu mē'
Ø^ -petyúma-npě' ké' -yu mē'
1SG-hit -IMPERF ANIM.PROX-1SG.OBJ ANIM.VISIB
'He/she/it is hitting me.'²⁷

- (58) yipétyumampé' amén
 yu -^ -petyúma-npé' amén
 1SG-PO-hit -IMPERF 2SG

'You're hitting me.'

In 58 notice that the 1SG pronoun yu behaves exactly the same in less finite constructions as it does in the finite past tense constructions. The agreement prefix is zero, but the pronoun may cliticize on the front of the verb so that it resembles a prefix. In 57 yu cliticizes to the pronominal particle rather than to the verbal suffix. It is ungrammatical for the 1SG pronoun to cliticize to the -npé' suffix rather than the pronominal particle. This indicates that the pronominal particle and the verb form a tight constituent of which the object is not a part (i.e. a complex verb).

As is true in past tense, when the object immediately precedes the verb, the object agreement prefix is lost. In the case of the less finite constructions, the prefixes never vary for person or number of A; thus when the object is preverbal and the object prefix disappears, the first and second person subject agreement does not remain (cf past tense). The same Preverbal Object (PO) accent-shift phenomenon noted for past tense also happens for less finite tenses. In 59-61 the object NP appears pre-verbally and the object agreement prefixes do not appear. In 59 the object is the 2SG pronoun amén. In 60 the third person NP aire' 'meat' is the object, and the pronominal particle mén 'INAN' agrees with the inanimate subject parae 'knife'. In 61 the preverbal object is the 1SG pronoun/clitic yu.

- (59) amén pétyumampé' ké' mé'
 amén ^ -petyúma-npé' ké' mé'
 2SG PO-hit-IMPERF ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB

'He/she/it is hitting you.'

- (60) aire' chikitépé' mèn parae
 aire' ikité-npé' mèn parae
 meat cut -IMPERF INAN knife

'The knife is cutting the meat.'²⁸

- (61) yipétyumampé' ké' mé'
 yu -^ -petyúma-npé' ké' mé'
 1SG-PO-hit -IMPERF ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB

'He/she/it is hitting me.'

AUX can also be the auxiliary for a -npé' construction. When the subject is 1SG, AUX takes the w- prefix. When the subject is any other person, AUX takes the m- prefix (cf §2.3.2). In 62 the subject is 1SG and the w- prefix appears on AUX. In 63 the subject is the inanimate NP parae 'knife' and the m- prefix appears on AUX. Note that AUX takes the same agreement prefix (m- '2/3') when the subject is inanimate. Note also the two translations given for 63. In the first, the knife is treated as spatially proximal and the distal deixis of the predicate shifts into time. In the second, where the knife is treated as spatially distal, the predicate is also spatially distal and the speaker is referring to an ongoing event.

- (62) arakon pétyumampé' wa' chu
 arakon ^ -petyúma-mpé' w -a' yu
 black-monkey PO-hit -IMPERF 1A-AUX 1SG

'I was hitting the monkey.'

(63) aire' chikitēnpē' ma' parae
 aire' ^ -ikitē-npē' m -a' parae
 meat PO-cut -IMPERF 2/3-AUX knife

'The knife was cutting the meat.'

-or-

'The knife is (DIST) cutting the meat.'

(e.g. as an answer to the question "how's the knife?"--i.e. is it sharp enough?--when it's currently being used somewhere else.)

The third type of auxiliary which can be used with less finite verb forms is the inflected copular verb ichi/e' 'be'. When ichi/e' is inflected for past tense (e.g. with ya'), it takes the intransitive prefix set, agreeing with the subject of the entire construction. In 64 the agreement prefix is w-, agreeing with the 1SG subject.

(64) arakon petyumampē' we'ya' chu
 arakon ^ -petyuma-npē' w-e'-ya' yu
 black.monkey PO-hit -IMPERF 1-be-PAST 1SG

'I was hitting the monkey.'

As in other main clauses, the object may appear either before or after the verb and its subject.²⁹

2.4.3 Similarities to Lexical Nouns

The argument to be put forward in this section is that verbs inflected with -npē' are in fact synchronic, syntactic nominals. This would parallel Koehn & Koehn's treatment of nonpast tenses in Apalaí. The argument flows primarily from morphology. The steps are as follows:

(i) The agreement prefix set in Table 6 appears on possessed nouns and postpositions. The same prefix set appears as object agreement on verbs inflected with -npē'.

(ii) When the possessor NP appears immediately before the possessed NP, the accent shifts in the possessed noun, and agreement prefixes do

not appear. The same phenomenon is observed when objects appear immediately before verbs inflected with -npē'. As this phenomenon also occurs in past tenses, it is not necessarily a nominal characteristic, but were it not to occur in possessed NPs, it would be evidence against the claim that verbs inflected with -npē' are nominals.

- (iii) Possessed nouns commonly take a possessive suffix -n. The suffix -npē' can be analyzed as -n 'POSS/NMLZR' + pē' 'ITERATIVE', where pē'/pētē is a stem-building suffix in verbs. In support of this concept, -n is attested elsewhere in the grammar as a NMLZR.
- (iv) If the subject is, in fact, restricted to postverbal position (cf note 28), then the word-order facts would indicate that the clause is syntactically more like a predicate nominal than it is like a verbal finite clause.

To summarize, if this position is adopted, then the syntactic structure of an imperfective clause must be that given in 65: the suffix -npē' on the verb ikitē 'cut' derives a nominal and the logical patient of the action denoted by the verb appears as a genitive, possessing the derived nominal. This forms a complex NP, which is the predicate NP of a predicate nominal construction. The pronominal particle kē' 'ANIM.PROX' completes the predicate and the subject mē' 'ANIM.VISIB' completes the clause.

(65) aire' chikitēnpē' kē' mē'
 aire' ^ -ikitē-npē' kē' mē'
 meat PP-cut -NMLZR ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB
 [[[POSSOR POSESSED] Pro Prt] Subject]
 [[[NP] VP] S]

'He/she/it is the meat's cutting one.'

The main argument for this position rests on the similarity between genitive morphology and the morphology associated with the -npé' construction. To demonstrate this, consider the possessor agreement prefixes which appear on the possessed consonant initial noun mata 'shoulder' in 66.

(66) Possession of consonant initial noun, mata 'shoulder'

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) | mátan | ∅ [^] -mata-n | 'my shoulder' |
| (b) | amatan | a-mata-n | 'your shoulder' |
| (c) | yímatan | yí-mata-n | 'his/her/its shoulder' |

These are exactly the same as the object agreement prefixes which we saw above with -npé' constructions (examples 57, 58, and 55 respectively and cf Table 6). Furthermore, when the possessor NP appears before the possessed NP, as in 67a-c, the agreement prefix is lost and the accent shifts to the left. Here, too, the 1SG pronoun yu acts as a clitic, binding to the front of the possessed noun and reducing to yí[^]-.

(67) Possessor NP preceding possessed NP

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) | yímatan | yu [^] -mata-n | 'my shoulder' |
| (b) | amén mátan | amén [^] -mata-n | 'your shoulder' |
| (c) | mé' mátan | mé' [^] -mata-n | 'His/her/its shoulder' |

For vowel initial possessed nouns, the parallel extends still further. When the possessor appears immediately before a vowel initial possessed noun such as uwé' 'place.CL', a semantically empty y- prefix appears on the possessed noun (also described in §2.2 for vowel initial finite verbs). In 68b, the glottal stop at the end of the possessor mé' 'ANIM.INVISIB' causes the y- prefix to affricativize (i.e. y- --> ch-;

cf also 63 above: the glottal stop at the end of the object NP aire' 'meat' causes the y- prefix on the inflected verb to affricativize).

(68) Possessor NP preceding possessed vowel initial NP

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------------------------|
| (a) | Toman yuwé' | 'Tom's house/place' |
| (b) | mé' chuwé' | 'His/her/its house/place' |

In addition to the morphological similarities, -npé' constructions also appear in the syntactic slot of the predicate NP in a predicate nominal construction. These points must all be answered if -npé' is to be translated as an aspect marker. In the next section, I will present two morphological differences and two syntactic differences to demonstrate that verbs inflected with -npé' in main clauses do not belong in the same structural form class with nouns. The morphology associated with -npé' constructions is derived from its historical status as a nominalization; but synchronically, structural differences have appeared between nominals and verbs inflected with -npé'.

2.4.4 Differences from Lexical Nouns

The argument against the strict nominalization hypothesis does not deny any of the morphological and syntactic characteristics which -npé' constructions and nominals have in common--it simply suggests that the commonalities be reinterpreted as indicative of genetic unity rather than synchronic unity. Evidence for this conclusion comes from an analysis of synchronic differences in morphology and syntax. These differences are additionally convincing because each has a plausible functional motivation. These differences follow the second pattern of language development described in §4.1, where the form of the suffix

-npě' has not changed, but the morphosyntax associated with the aspect marking function is no longer identical to that associated with the genitive-possessed NP construction.

The first two differences exist between nominals and verbs bearing any of the less finite suffixes; the last two are associated with a subset of the less finite suffixes, and in this paper I only claim them specifically true of verbs bearing -npě':

- (i) The third person genitive agreement prefix for vowel initial nouns is different from that for third person object agreement for vowel initial less finite verbs.
- (ii) Genitive NPs do not have freedom to move, but objects of less finite verbs do.
- (iii) Lexical nouns which appear with AUX always take the suffix -pe. This never occurs on verbs inflected with -npě'.
- (iv) An auxiliary is not always required when a third person is subject of a verb inflected with -npě'. Frequently in discourse, and sometimes even in elicitation, some speakers will allow -npě' to appear without auxiliary support (but they add that the meaning is changed, or at least that the clause would be better with an auxiliary). Although a zero pronominal particle is allowed with 1SG and 2SG subjects, an auxiliary is grammatically required in predicate nominals with third person subjects.

Synchronically, the third person possessor agreement prefix for vowel initial nouns is t- '3'. 105a is reproduced in 69. To demonstrate that the same development has not taken place in the less

finite object agreement system, consider 70, where the verb takes the standard yi- '3' prefix agreeing with the 3SG object NP aire' 'meat'.

- (69) tyuwé'
'His/her/its house/place
- (70) yikitěnpě' kě' mē' aire'
y-ikitě-npě' kě' mē' aire'
3-cut -IMPERF ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB meat
- 'He/she/it is cutting the meat.'

The third person t- is an innovation restricted to the genitive prefix set, doubtless historically related to the Cariban reflexive/correlative genitive prefix t-/ti- (attested in Apalaí, Arekuna, Carib of Surinam, Cariña, and Hixkaryana). This innovation is functionally motivated by the clitic behavior of the 1SG pronoun yu. As can be seen in 66c and 67a above (reproduced below as 71a and b respectively), the phonetic form yi- phonologically bound to a noun could refer to either a 1SG or to 3SG genitive, with only the accent shift (associated with 1SG) to disambiguate the reference.

- (71) Potential Ambiguity between 3SG and 1SG

- (a) yímatan yi-mata-n 'his/her/its shoulder'
(b) yímatan yu-^mata-n 'my shoulder'

At one point in history, there were presumably two third person genitive prefixes, yi- for any third person genitive and ti- for when the possessor was also the subject of the clause. As the 1SG proclitic yi-^ replaced the zero prefix for 1SG, (the allomorph t- of) the correlative prefix ti- replaced the ambiguous third person agreement prefix yi- for vowel initial nouns. This development has extended to the possession of consonant initial postpositions: ti- is the third

person prefix on both vowel initial and consonant initial postpositions and yi- is recognized only as 1SG. In the same way that it has for postpositions, ti- will probably become the prefix for all (i.e. consonant initial) nouns as well.

However, the same functional pressure exists in the verbal system--why didn't the same thing happen with vowel initial verbs? There are already three t- prefixes in verbal morphology, none of which refer to third person. There is no pre-existing alternative third person form to replace yi-. Thus, while I would predict some change in the offing for the verbal system as well, it is natural that t- has not developed into a new third person verbal prefix.

The second difference between nominals and less finite verb constructions is more complex, and requires a closer look at the syntax of predicate nominal construction. In order to call less finite verbs nominalizations, it is necessary to assume a sentence structure like that shown above in 65 (repeated below in 72). The verb ikité' 'cut' is treated as a possessed noun, the object aire' 'meat' as the genitive. The genitive and possessed noun form one NP, which is the predicate NP of a predicate nominal. The pronominal particle ké' 'ANIM.PROX' completes the predicate and agrees with the subject mě' 'ANIM.VISIB'.

- (72)
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| aire' | chíkitěnpě' | kě' | mě' |
| aire' | ^ -ikité-npě' | kě' | mě' |
| meat | PP-cut -NMLZR | ANIM.PROX | ANIM.VISIB |
| [[[POSSESSOR | POSSESSED |] Pro prt] | Subject] |
| [[[| NP |] VP] | S] |
- 'He/she/it is the meat's cutting one.'

This particular structure can also be produced using exclusively nominal participants. In both 73 and 74 the predicate NP is the possessed noun o' 'meat.CL'.³⁰ In 73 the possessor NP Toman appears immediately preceding the possessed noun, which takes the semantically empty y- prefix (in other possessed nouns accent shifts, but accent has nowhere to shift to in a one syllable word).

- (73)
- | | | | |
|--------|------|-----------|--------|
| Toman | yo' | kě' | naro |
| Toman | o' | kě' | naro |
| Thomas | meat | ANIM.PROX | parrot |
- [[[POSSESSOR POSSESSED] Pro prt] Subject]
[[[NP] VP] S]

'The parrot is Tom's meat.'

In 74 the possessor NP does not appear; the possessor is referred to solely by means of the agreement prefix t- '3' on the possessed noun. This is the equivalent of the object agreement in 75 (reproduced from 55 above); the object/possessor is referred to solely by means of the agreement prefix y- '3' on the inflected/nominalized verb.

- (74)
- | | | |
|--------|-----------|--------|
| Tyo' | kě' | naro |
| t-o' | kě' | naro |
| 3-meat | ANIM.PROX | parrot |
- 'The parrot is his/her/its meat'
- (75)
- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| yipetyúmampě' | chu |
| y-petyúma-npě' | yu |
| 3-hit | -IMPERF 1SG |
- 'I'm hitting him/her/it.'

Except for the different prefixes, these constructions appear to be identical syntactically. However, in a predicate nominal construction with a possessed lexical noun for a predicate NP, the

possession prefix is not an agreement prefix--it must be the sole reference to the possessor NP. That is, either the possessor appears immediately preceding the possessed NP and the agreement prefix cannot appear (cf 73), or the agreement prefix appears immediately before the possessed NP and the possessor NP cannot appear elsewhere in the clause (cf 74). In 76 the possessor NP is added at the end of the sentence from 74 above. The new clause is ungrammatical. In order for the possessor NP to appear after the subject in a predicate nominal construction, an entire predication has to be constructed behind the possessor NP. In 77 the possessed NP o' and the pronominal particle kě' are added to the displaced possessor NP and the clause is grammatical again.

(76) *tyo' kě' naro Toman
 t-o' kě' naro Toman
 3-meat ANIM.PROX parrot Thomas

(the parrot is Tom's meat)

(77) tyo' kě' naro Toman yo' kě'
 t-o' kě' naro Toman o' kě'
 3-meat ANIM.PROX parrot Thomas meat ANIM.PROX

'The parrot is his meat, is Tom's meat.'

This repetition of the entire predicate with the possessor NP could be thought of as an afterthought or clarificatory construction, where the entire predicate is necessary to identify the NP.

In contrast, in less finite verb constructions the agreement prefix truly agrees with an NP which may appear elsewhere in the clause. Example 70 above is reproduced in 78 to illustrate. The

object/possessor NP, aire' 'meat' appears after the subject (cf Toman in 76), but the clause is still grammatical.

(78) yikitěnpě' kě' mē' aire'
 y-ikitě-npě' kě' mē' aire'
 3-cut -IMPERF ANIM.PROX ANIM.VISIB meat

'He/she/it is cutting the meat.'

If a possessor NP is repeated later in a clause, an entire possession afterthought appears containing the possessor NP and a repeat of both the possessed NP and the pronominal particle. But when the object of a less finite verb construction appears postverbally, neither the verb nor the pronominal particle needs to be repeated. As demonstrated in §2.2.2, objects of finite verbs have freedom of movement; and it is a minimal change for that pattern to be extended to objects of less finite verbs.³¹ In contrast to the first distinction, it appears that this synchronic distinction is an innovation of the less finite verb forms which has not extended to the syntax of possessed nominals.

The third and fourth differences between less finite verbs and lexical nouns in predicate nominals is not necessarily true of all less finite verb forms. In this paper, I only claim them to be true of the verbs bearing -npě'. Verbs bearing -npě' appear in predicates immediately preceding AUX without taking any additional suffix (cf 62 above, given again in 79). In 80 the sentence is rejected if -pe is added to the inflected verb. Lexical nouns in the same environment must take the -pe 'AD' suffix before AUX (cf 38 and 43 above, given again in 81 and 82 below).

- (79) arakon petyumampé' wa' chu
 arakon ^ -petyúma-mpé' w -a' yu
 black-monkey PO-hit -IMPERF 1A-AUX 1SG

'I was hitting the monkey.'

- (80) *arakon petyumampé'pe wa' chu
 arakon ^ -petyúma-mpé' -pe w -a' yu
 black-monkey PO-hit -IMPERF-AD 1A-AUX 1SG

(I was hitting the monkey)

- (81) maestrope wa' chu
 maestro-pe w-a' yu
 teacher-AD 1-AUX 1SG

'I was a teacher.'

- (82) *maestro wa' chu
 (I was a teacher)

In structural terms, these examples indicate that verbs bearing -npé' behave differently from lexical nouns, providing yet one more piece of evidence that they belong to a different form-class from lexical nouns.

The fourth difference is primarily true of other less finite inflections in discourse, but appears with -npé' in elicited sentences as well: verbs bearing -npé' can appear without an auxiliary for 3SG subjects. All consultants produced sentences like 83 in isolation, where a verb inflected with -npé' appears without an auxiliary; all agreed that the sentence would "sound better" with an auxiliary of some kind, but all agreed that this sentence is complete and acceptable.

- (83) arakon petyumampé' Toman
 arakon ^ -petyúma-npé' Toman
 black.monkey PO-hit -IMPERF Thomas

'Tom is hitting the monkey.'
 'Tom is/was hitting the monkey.'

When a clause is produced in isolation with no auxiliary, different language consultants translate it differently. In the first translation, the missing auxiliary is treated as an ANIM.PROX pronominal particle (perhaps by analogy to zero for 1SG and 2SG subjects); in the second, deixis is lost, i.e. the verb still refers to a continuous action, but time and/or place of the action are no longer certain. If the time and place are pre-established in a discourse context, the lack of explicit coding would be less important.³²

2.4.5 Summary of §2.4

There are four structural characteristics which separate -npé' constructions from possessed lexical nouns. Two of these characteristics are true of all less finite verbs: the third person agreement prefix on vowel initial verbs differs from the third person possessive prefix on vowel initial consonants; and the prefixes on verbs agree with an NP which can appear elsewhere in the clause, where the prefixes on possessed nouns replace the possessor NP in the clause. The other two differences are true of a reduced set of less finite constructions, and only explicitly demonstrated for verbs bearing -npé': they do not take a -pe suffix when they precede AUX, where lexical nouns must; and they may appear as predicates of simple clauses without an auxiliary, where a lexical noun may not. These structural differences can all be motivated (though none could be predicted) with reference to functional principles of language. The cumulative effect of these differences is to demonstrate that, synchronically, these suffixes are not nominalizers but are less finite verb inflections.

CHAPTER 3
RELATIVE CLAUSES

In §2 we discussed finite and less finite verb forms in main clauses. We now turn to a description and a discussion of the morphosyntax of these same verb forms in relative clauses. However, before presenting relative clauses in Panare, it is essential to clarify what I mean by the term relative clause.

3.1 Definition and Typology of Relative Clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) have been defined as clauses which function to restrict the reference of an NP (Keenan & Comrie 1977, Andrews, 1975, Mallinson & Blake 1981, Comrie 1981). All these definitions interpret the term clause to mean any modifier which restricts reference and which could be retranslated as a relative clause in English. This includes the restrictive use of adjectives as well. For my purposes this definition is too broad, so I maintain the additional stipulation made by Andrews:

I shall sharpen this rough criterion somewhat by saying that a relative clause is a subordinate clause that modifies a constituent external to it by virtue of containing a constituent that is in some sense semantically equivalent to the modified constituent. (p.13, cited in Mallinson and Blake, p.265-6)

Thus, in this description I do not treat Panare forms comparable to the English adjective good in The good students passed the exam as

RCs even though such forms restrict the reference of NPs. In Andrews' terms, they do not 'contain a constituent that is in some sense semantically equivalent to the modified constituent'; a description of the morphosyntax of all modifiers in Panare would raise issues beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, for this paper, I define relative clauses to be modifiers which clearly contain a verb form.

Within this restricted definition of RCs, there is a scale of subtypes ranging from finite RCs through less finite (e.g. participial) phrases to nominalizations which function as RCs.

3.1.1 Finite Relative Clauses

Finite RCs (also called Srel) are those in which the properties of finiteness which are associated with the most finite clause type of a language (cf §2) are preserved: the verb continues to inflect for tense and aspect (including the use of auxiliaries, where needed), verb agreement/case marking are not lost, and grammatical relations remain as they are in main clauses. In short, finite relative clauses should retain (nearly) all of the properties of finite main clauses. An example of a finite relative clause in English would be that we caught this morning in 84:

(84) Tonight we'll eat the iguana that we caught this morning.

The verb caught is finite, inflected for past tense, and the subject we is inflected for nominative case, just as it would be in any (main) finite clause. The difference between the underlined portion of 84 and a fully finite clause are the use of the relative pronoun that and the

absence of the object (NPrel) in the clause. The past tense RCs described in §3.2 and the relativization strategy described in §3.4.2 are both types of finite RCs in Panare.

3.1.2 Nominalization Relative Clauses

If finiteness is considered a continuum, then finite RCs occupy the most verbal pole on this continuum and nominalization RCs are at the opposite pole. Nominalization RCs are those clauses where a syntactically nominal form replaces a verb in a clause--that is, the verb appears in a genuinely nominalized form and the arguments which would be grammatical relations of a verb in an active clause appear with genitive or oblique morphology in what is sometimes referred to as a nominalized clause. Givón (to appear) suggests that the morphology and syntax of RC nominalizations differ depending on whether the RC restricts the reference of (what used to be) the subject or (what used to be) the object of the (nominalized) verb. The verb usually has different nominalizer (NMLZR) morphology for subject nominalizations and for object nominalizations. For subject nominalizations, the erstwhile object usually possesses the nominalized verb, forming a complex noun phrase (NP). It is this complex NP which refers to the subject. As pseudo-example, if the English finite RC the man [who cut the meat] were to be expressed with a nominalization RC, it would be a construction like the man [the meat's cutter]. For an object nominalization, the erstwhile subject possesses the nominalized verb and the resulting complex NP refers to the object.

This pole on the scale of finiteness of RCs is presented mainly to form a background for the discussion of the middle ground between the two extremes (the less finite RCs), and secondarily to show that the less finite RCs are not, in fact, nominalizations. Panare has nominalization RCs, but they will not be discussed in this paper.³³

3.1.3 Less finite (Participial Phrase) RCs

Less finite RCs are those where the verb does not have all the properties of verbs in the most finite clauses, but it still maintains some of the properties of finiteness; a nominalization RC does not retain morphosyntactic properties of finite verbs. Participial phrase RCs are of this intermediate sort. An example of this phenomenon in English is the suffix -ing, which appears with the AUX 'to be' in main clauses (cf 85), but may also appear before nouns as a less finite, or participial phrase, RC (86):

(85) I am walking.

(86) The walking man walks on by. (Taylor 1978)

In 86 the reference of man is restricted by the verb walk plus the suffix -ing. Although this form is traditionally called a gerund, it parallels the behavior of verbs inflected with -npé' in Panare--neither is completely verbal, but neither is completely nominal either. Both are somewhere in between.

3.1.4 Relativization in Panare

Panare utilizes all of the RC types described above. Any finite verb can appear in a finite RC. Participial phrase RCs operate with less finite verbal suffixes like -npé'. This paper will describe two types of finite relative clauses, and will present a case study of one less finite relative clause type. Although nominalization RCs are also commonly used, I will not attempt to describe them here.

In most languages of the world, RCs constitute part of a complex noun phrase with an external NP which is labeled the head. The head is understood to be: (1) coreferential with the relativized NP (NPrel) in the RC, and (2) the head of a complex NP in which the RC is also contained. In Panare, an RC has not been shown to form a syntactic constituent with the external NP which is coreferential with NPrel. Even though the external NP is not demonstrably the head of a complex constituent containing the RC, for the purpose of simplicity in presentation, I will continue to call it the head.

3.2 Past Tense Relative Clauses

Past tense RCs in Panare are finite RCs as defined above: the verb continues to bear past tense inflection and agreement prefixes remain as they are in main clauses. The three differences between past tense main clauses and past tense RCs are that in the latter i) the past tense suffix is followed by a relativizing (REL) suffix, ii) the entire RC is a modifying NP in the main clause, and iii) word order within the RC is

somewhat restricted. Each of these features will be discussed in some detail in the sections below.

3.2.1 The Three Past Tense Relativizers

Panare has three relativizers: when NPrel is animate, the relativizer is -né' (RELativizer.ANIMate); when NPrel is inanimate, the relativizer is either -sin (REL.INANimate) or -n/-mën (REL.INAN).³⁴ One member from this set of relativizers appears at the end of the inflected verb in past tense RCs. These relativizers might be considered relative pronouns because they resemble pronouns in two ways:

- (i) All of them are transparently related to (perhaps derived from) pronouns: né' 'who/what' is a question pronoun, mën 'INAN.INVIS' is a deictic pronoun, and si 'PROX.INAN' is also a deictic pronoun.³⁵
- (ii) By definition, a pronoun is something which indicates a reduced set of features of full nouns, and these three relativizers do indicate the feature of animacy.

However, Comrie 1981 and Givón (to appear) define relative pronoun in terms of a strategy for recovering the grammatical relation of the NPrel in the relative clause, such as the residual distinction between English who 'REL.PRO.subject' and whom 'REL.PRO.object' (for those who still use whom). The relativizers in Panare are not a part of the strategy by which the grammatical relation of NPrel is recovered. In fact, the alternation between -sin (REL.INAN) and -n/-mën (REL.INAN) is connected to the person of the subject of Srel, regardless of the grammatical relation of the inanimate NPrel (see §3.3 below). Although

they are transparently derived from pronouns, among the reasons to treat these synchronic forms as verbal morphology (i.e. relativizers) are:

- (i) All three relativizers appear to be phonologically bound to the verb. Verb-final -ya' 'PAST' becomes -yaa, and a' 'AUX' sometimes becomes aa preceding these relativizers. The reduced form -n (which never appears as a free morpheme) is preferred over the full -mën as a relativizer by three of the four language consultants.
- (ii) All three relativizers are syntactically bound to the end of the verb: they cannot appear in front of the verb, nor can any other NP or modifier appear between them and the verb; however, NPs bearing postpositions and which are semantically part of the relativized proposition may appear to the right of the relativized verb (cf §3.2.1.2 and §3.2.2.2). Syntactically, the relativizers are not clausal clitics, or they would move from the verb to the right-most NP of the clause.
- (iii) The set of relativizers is related to the set of pronominal particles (§2.2.1). The argument is from similarity. Pronominal particles form a syntactic unit with the NPs and participials which precede them. Relativizers form syntactic units with the verbs which precede them. Pronominal particles affect interpretation of the predicate (for deixis). Relativizers affect the interpretation of the predicate (making it a RC). Pronominal particles agree for animacy with the subject, which is external to the predicate. Relativizers agree for animacy with NPrel, which is external to the RC. It is revealing that there are also

overlaps in form between the two sets, hinting at their common origin.³⁶

Thus, the examples for this paper will show the verb of Srel marked with a relativizer which agrees for animacy with NPrel. The relativizer does not help the hearer to recover the grammatical relation of NPrel (§3.2.2 and §3.2.3), nor does it mark the boundary of Srel (§3.2.2.2 and §3.2.3.2).

3.2.2 Animate NPrel: -në'

When NPrel is animate, the relativizer is always -në'. The strategy for recovering the grammatical relation of NPrel varies, however. When NPrel is either subject or object of the RC, a gapping strategy is used. When NPrel is indirect object, oblique, or genitive, a resumptive pronoun strategy is used.

3.2.2.1 Recovering Subject and Object NPrel--the Gapping Strategy

When an animate NPrel is the subject of an intransitive clause, or either subject or object of a transitive clause, the NP simply does not appear in the relativized clause. There is a 'gap' in the RC, hence the term gapping strategy. As with all gapping strategies, the case of the missing argument is recoverable by knowing how many arguments the verb requires and then seeing which of the necessary arguments is missing.

For an intransitive verb, the missing subject is recoverable by virtue of there being only one NP that could be missing. The verb with its relativizing suffix behaves syntactically as an NP in the main clause, in apposition to the head (modified) NP (cf §3.2.4). Example 87

shows a standard intransitive past tense clause. In 88-90 this clause is used as a restrictive relative clause. The head, apo' 'man', may appear to the left of the RC (88), to the right of the RC (89), or it may be deleted altogether, leaving the headless RC as the sole NP (90). The variable order of head and RC will be discussed in §3.2.4. RCs are underlined in all examples.

- (87) tiya' apo'
të-ya' apo'
go-PAST man
'The man left.'
- (88) nu'púmaya' apo' tiyaanë'
n -u'púma -ya' apo' të-ya' -në'
3 -fall.down-PAST man go-PAST-REL.ANIM
'The man who left fell down.'
- (89) nu'púmaya' tiyaanë' apo'
n -u'púma -ya' të-ya' -në' apo'
3 -fall.down-PAST go-PAST-REL.ANIM man
'The man who left fell down.'
- (90) nu'púmaya' tiyaanë'
n -u'púma -ya' të-ya' -në'
3 -fall.down-PAST go-PAST-REL.ANIM
'He/she/it who left fell down.'

In transitive clauses, the grammatical relations of subject and object are recovered by a combination of word order and verbal inflection. The gapping strategy depends on the preverbal object (PO) inflection discussed in §2.2.2. This strategy is presented again in 91 and 92 below. For both 91 and 92 Paco (man's name) is the object. In 91 the standard 3A30 agreement prefix n- appears and the verb has its normal accent pattern. This indicates that the NP in front of the verb

is not the object. Since it does not bear a postposition, we must conclude that it is the subject and that the postverbal NP Paco is the object. In 92 there is no overt agreement prefix (i.e. the prefix is 0- '3A') and the primary accent on the verb is moved to the left. This indicates that the preverbal NP Paco is the object.

- (91) kën nípetyúmaya' Paco
kën n -petyúma-ya' Paco
ANIM.INVIS 3A30-hit -PAST Paco
'He hit Paco.'
- (92) Paco pétyumaya' kën
paco ^ -0 -petyúma-ya' kën
Paco PO-3A-hit -PAST ANIM.INVISIB
'He hit Paco.'

In main clauses there can be many word orders (as seen in §2.2.2). Word order in RCs is more limited. The subject or object--whichever is left behind when the other is gapped--must appear immediately preceding the verb. The prefixation and accent of the verb in the RC then identifies the NP as either object or subject (actually 'not-object'); the gapped NPrel must perforce bear the other grammatical relation. For example, in 93 the agreement prefix n- '3A30' and the lack of accent shift indicate that the preverbal NP Paco is not the object. Therefore NPrel must be the missing object. In 94 the zero agreement prefix and the appearance of the accent-shift ^- 'PO' indicate that the preverbal NP is the object. Therefore the gapped NPrel must be the missing subject.

- (93) tiya' kën Paco nípetyúmayaanë'
të-ya' kën Paco n -petyúma-ya' -në'
go-PAST ANIM.INVISIB Paco 3A30-hit -PAST-REL.ANIM
'He whom Paco hit left.'

- (94) tiya' kën Paco petyumayaané'
 të-ya' kën Paco ^ -Ø -petyúma-ya' -né'
 go-PAST ANIM. INVISIB Paco PO-3A-hit -PAST-REL. ANIM

'He who hit Paco left.'

To summarize, the differences between 93 and 94 are the accent shift and the prefix variation in the relativized verb. This is how the grammatical relation of a subject or object NPrel is recovered in past tense transitive RCs.³⁷

3.2.2.2 Recovering Other NPrels--the Resumptive Pronoun Strategy

When an NP in Panare is neither subject nor direct object of a main clause, it appears with a postposition. When NPrel is neither the subject nor the object of a finite RC, the grammatical relation of NPrel is no longer recovered by the gapping strategy. Instead, the resumptive pronoun strategy is used. I follow Givón (to appear) and Comrie 1981 in defining the resumptive pronoun strategy as the appearance in Srel of an anaphoric device (not necessarily a free pronoun) which indicates, through word order and/or case-marking, the grammatical relation of NPrel. In Panare, this anaphoric device is not precisely a pronoun--postpositions in Panare are syntactically possessed by their objects, and the anaphoric device is simply the third-person possession prefix ty- in combination with whichever postposition expresses the semantic case of NPrel. As long as NPrel is animate, the relativizer continues to be -né'.

In 95 the verb amokayin 'to work' is intransitive. The subject Paco appears postverbally. Toman bears the associative postposition ya 'ASSOC'.

- (95) nimokayinya' Paco Toman ya
 n -amokayin-ya' Paco Toman ya
 3A30-work -PAST Paco Thomas ASSOC

'Paco worked with Tom.'

In 96 Paco remains the subject of the RC verb amokayin but now it appears preverbally. The postposition ya 'ASSOC' bears the possessive prefix ty- '3', which anaphorically refers to apo' 'man', the subject of the matrix clause predicate aripi né' 'is (DIST) bad'. Thus, the grammatical relation of NPrel is understood to be ASSOC argument of the RC. In 97 the anaphorically possessed postposition appears postverbally, but the relativizer still appears suffixed to the verb.

- (96) aripiné' apo' tya Paco namokayinyaané'
 ari -pi né' apo' t-ya Paco n-amokayin-ya' -né'
 good-NEG ANIM. DIST man 3-ASSOC Paco 3-work -PAST-REL. ANIM

'The man with whom Paco worked is bad.'
 (lit. 'The man that with him Paco worked is bad.')

- (97) tiya' apo' Paco namokayinyaané' tya
 të-ya' apo' Paco n-amokayin-ya' -né' t-ya
 go-PAST man Paco 3-work -PAST-REL. ANIM 3-ASSOC

'The man with whom Paco worked left.'
 (lit. 'The man that Paco worked with him left.')

These facts are identical for the postposition pé 'of/for/about/with reference to'. Because pé has so many potential translations, it is glossed in the examples simply as oblique (OBL). In the main clause in 98 there are two arguments which must be marked with postpositions, the one 'with whom I spoke' (ASSOC) and the one 'about

whom I spoke' (OBL). Both are allowed to appear after the verb. In 99 where the clause in 98 is now the RC, NPrel is indicated by the possessive prefix ty- '3' appearing on pē 'OBL'.

- (98) yoromaepúnya' chu Toman ya Paco pē
 y-oromaepu-n-ya' yu Toman ya Paco pē
 1-speak -?-PAST 1SG Thomas ASSOC Paco OBL

'I spoke with Tom about Paco.'³⁸

- (99) tiya' apo' yoromaepúnyaanē' tyipē Toman úya
 tē-ya' apo' y-oromaepu-n-ya' -nē' ty-pē Toman uya
 go-PAST man 1-speak -?-PAST-REL.ANIM 3 -OBL Thomas DAT

'The man that I talked to Tom about (him) left.'

For transitive RCs the picture is less clear. I was unable to elicit consistent results for pē. My four language consultants disagreed on the semantics of the examples given, and more importantly, they disagreed about whether an RC could be formed at all. To avoid an arbitrary decision about which informant's dialect is 'best', I include all of the back-translations given for each example.³⁹ The syntax should parallel that of 98 and 99 above. The syntax of the simple main clauses in 98 and 100s appear to be the same in that each NP with its postposition appears after the subject (and after the object as well in 100).

- (100) tu'cha' chu paaru arakon úya apo' pē
 t -u' -ya' yu paaru arakon uya apo' pē
 1A30-give-PAST 1SG banana black.monkey DAT man OBL

MC: 'I gave bananas to the monkey for (BEN) the man.'

RM: 'I gave bananas to the man for (BEN) the monkey.'

PS & MK: 'I gave bananas to the monkey (in trade) for the man.'

When I asked for a sentence with 100 as an RC, in which NPrel was the NP bearing pē, the consultant who treated pē as a DAT in 100 (i.e.

RM) produced the sentence in 101. None of the other language consultants accepted 101 as grammatical, nor would they produce an RC from 100 with NPrel as the NP bearing pē.

- (101) ?aripínē' apo' paaru tu'chaanē'
 ari -pi -nē' apo' paaru t -u' -ya' -nē'
 good -NEG-ANIM man banana 1A30-give-PAST-REL.ANIM

tyipē arakon úya
 ty-pē arakon uya
 3 -for black.monkey DAT

RM: 'The man for whom I gave bananas to the monkey is bad.'
 MC, PS & MK: *

Thus, I have no uncontroversial example of NPrel bearing pē in a transitive RC. In contrast, I have many examples of transitive RCs with NPrel bearing the dative postposition uya 'DAT'. In 102 uya 'DAT' is a postposition on the NP apo' 'man'. The k- on uya is a phonologically predictable result of the glottal stop at the end of apo' (cf Matei-Muller 1981). In 103 uya appears with the possessive prefix ty- '3'. Note that the resumptive anaphoric device can appear postverbally within the RC, but the relativizer remains suffixed to the verb. In 104 the anaphoric device appears immediately following the head apo', with which it is coreferential. The ty- prefix remains, indicating that the postposition and the head are in different syntactic constituents, and are merely coreferential.

- (102) arakon tu'cha' chu apo' kúya
 arakon t -u' -ya' yu apo' uya
 black.monkey 1A30-give-PAST 1SG man DAT

'I gave a monkey to the man.'

- (103) tiya' apo' arakon tu'chaanē' túya
 tē-ya' apo' arakon t -u' -ya' -nē' t-uya
 go-PAST man black.monkey 1A30-give-PAST REL.ANIM 3-DAT

'The man to whom I gave the monkey left.'
(lit. 'The man that I gave a monkey to him left.')

(104) tiya' apo' túya arakon tu'chaané'
të-ya' apo' t-uya arakon t -u' -ya' -nè'
go-PAST man 3-DAT black.monkey 1A30-give-PAST REL.ANIM

'The man to whom I gave the monkey left.'
(lit. 'The man that to him I gave the monkey left.')

It is also possible for an NPrel to be a genitive in the RC. In Panare there are two sets of possession prefixes, one for consonant initial NPs and one for vowel initial NPs. The third person possessive prefix for vowel initial NPs is also the prefix ty- which appears on the postpositions above. In 106a uwë' 'place.Classifier' appears with the possessive prefix. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss why ty- appears on both vowel initial and consonant initial postpositions, but only on vowel-initial nouns (but see the discussion in §2.4.3). The possessive prefix for consonant initial NPs is yi-, as seen in 105a. When the possessor NP (or pronoun) immediately precedes the possessed NP, the prefixes disappear (just as the transitive object agreement prefixes do on verbs when direct objects appear preverbally). Thus, in 105b the consonant-initial NP mata 'shoulder' appears with no agreement prefix. By phonological rule, vowel-initial possessed NPs take the semantically empty y- prefix. In 106b, uwë' takes the y- prefix, and the glottal at the end of the possessor NP winki' provides the environment for another morphophonemic rule which changes the y- to ch- (Matei-Muller 1981). As before, I do not include this y- in the morphemic analysis or gloss.

(105) Possession of mata 'shoulder'

- (a) yimatan
y-mata -n
3-shoulder-POSS

'his/her/my shoulder'
- (b) winki' matan
winki' mata -n
woman shoulder-POSS

'the woman's shoulder'

(106) Possession of uwë' 'place.CL, house'

- (a) tyuwë'
ty-uwë'
3 -place.CL

'his/her house'
- (b) winki' chuwë' (cf y-uwë')⁴⁰
winki' uwë
woman place.CL

'the woman's house'

When NPrel is a possessor, there is no special resumptive pronoun in Srel. The possessed NP simply appears with its standard third person possessor prefix. Even when the possessor appears immediately preceding the possessed NP, the possessed NP takes third person agreement prefixes (e.g. unlike 105b). This is the functional equivalent of the resumptive pronoun strategy in that an anaphoric device appears on the possessed NP, rather than the possessed NP losing its prefixes as it usually does when the possessor precedes it. This indicates that even though the possessor and possessed NPs appear in their usual sequence, they belong to different constituents. In particular, compare the semantically empty ch- in 106b above and 107 below with the ty- '3' prefix in 108 below. The third person prefix ty- on the possessed noun in 108

indicates that a clause boundary separates the possessor winki' 'woman' and the possessed uwë' 'place.CL'. Also, remember the phonological rule operating to change the y- on possessed NPs to ch- (see also note 39). In 111 below, affricativization should also occur if the possessor, winki' 'woman', and the possessed NP, yimatan 'shoulder', form a constituent. The fact that there is no such affricativization indicates that they are separated by a constituent boundary--winki' is outside of the RC and yimatan is inside.

Vowel-initial possessed noun, uwë' 'place.CL, house'

- (107) yutimiya' chu winki' chuwë' peraka
 yu -t -imi -ya' yu winki' uwë' peraka
 1SG-1A30-make -PAST 1SG woman place.CL house

'I built the woman's house.'

- (108) tiya' winki' tyuwë' peraka yutimiyaanë'
 tē-ya' winki' ty-uwë' peraka yu -t -imi -ya' -në'
 go-PAST woman 3 -place.CL house 1SG-1A30-make -PAST-REL.ANIM

'The woman whose house I built left.'
 (lit. 'The woman that I built her house left.')

- (109) *tiya' winki' chuwë' peraka yutimiyaanë'

Consonant-initial possessed noun, mata 'shoulder'.

- (110) Tamaniya' chu winki' matan
 t -amani-ya' yu winki' mata -n
 1A30-fix -PAST 1SG woman shoulder-POSS

'I fixed the woman's shoulder.'

- (111) tiya' winki' yimatan tamaniyaanë'
 tē-ya' winki' y-mata -n t -amani-ya' -në'
 go-PAST woman 3-shoulder-POSS 1A30-fix -PAST-REL.ANIM

'The woman whose shoulder I fixed left.'
 (lit. 'The woman that I fixed her shoulder left.')

- (112) *tiya' winki' @-matan tamaniyaanë'

- (113) *tiya' winki' tyimatan tamaniyaanë'

- (114) *tiya' winki' chimatan tamaniyaanë'

The term yimatan is potentially ambiguous between 1SG and 3SG possessor. Apparently the pragmatic situation of the relative clause allows only the third person reading.⁴¹ Note again that the ty- '3' which appears on all postpositions does not appear on all possessed nouns--in the latter it is phonologically indicated, appearing on only (and all) vowel-initial possessed nouns.

In summary, when NPrel is animate the verb takes the relativizer -në', regardless of the grammatical relation borne by NPrel in Srel. Subjects and/or direct objects must appear preverbally in finite relative clauses. The grammatical relations of subject and object NPrel are recovered by a gapping strategy which is made possible by accent shift and prefix deletion in the inflected transitive verb. When the grammatical relation of NPrel is marked with a postposition in a simple clause, the resumptive pronoun strategy is used; the post-position bears the third person possessive prefix. However, it appears that the postposition pé 'OBL' may not relativize as freely as other. Genitive NPrel is also recovered by use of one of the standard third person possessive prefixes on the possessed NP in the RC.

3.2.3 Inanimate NPrel: -sin and -n/-mën

When NPrel is inanimate, the basic syntax of Srel does not change from that when NPrel is animate. The difference is in the choice of relativizer. There are two relativizers used when NPrel is inanimate, -sin 'REL.INAN' and -n/-mën 'REL.INAN'.⁴² When the subject of a past

tense Srel is 1SG or 2SG, the relativizer used is -sin. When the subject of a past tense Srel is anything other than 1SG or 2SG, the relativizer used is -n/-mën. Person of subject of the RC is not obviously relevant information to mark in the relativizing suffix, making such an alternation typologically unusual. I will give a more detailed discussion of the overall distinction between the two inanimate relativizers in §3.4. For past tense RCs, the key fact is that the syntactic distinction between -n/-mën and -sin is absolute--all examples which take -n/-mën as relativizer are ungrammatical if you replace -n/-mën with -sin. All of the examples which take -sin are likewise ungrammatical with -n/-mën.

3.2.3.1 Recovering Inanimate Subject and Object NPrel--Gapping

The same strategies are used to recover inanimate NPrels as to recover animate NPrels. Thus, when an inanimate NPrel is the subject or object of an RC, the grammatical relation is recovered via the gapping strategy. When the NPrel is the inanimate subject of an intransitive clause, the subject will always be third person (none of our informants was willing to accept that real people might talk to, say, plants or tools, and thus have a 2SG.INAN subject of Srel). Thus -n/-mën appears at the end of the intransitive verb in 116.

- (115) ñaya' parae
 n-ña -ya' parae
 3-fall-PAST knife
 'The knife fell.'⁴³

- (116) tu'cha' chu parae ñayaan Toman úya
 t -u' -ya' yu parae n-ña -ya' -mën Toman uya
 1A30-give-PAST 1SG knife 3-fall-PAST-REL.INAN Thomas DAT
 'I gave the knife that fell to Tom.'

In 117-119 NPrel continues to be an inanimate (hence, third person) subject, but now it is the subject of a transitive clause. The examples show that -n/-mën 'REL.ANIM' does not alternate with -sin when the object is 1SG (117), 2SG (118), or 3SG (119).

- (117) ñaya' parae yikitiyan
 n-ña -ya' parae Ø[^] -ikiti-ya' -mën
 3-fall-PAST knife 3A10-cut -PAST-REL.INAN
 'The knife that cut me fell.'
- (118) ñaya' parae avikitiyan
 n-ña -ya' parae ay -ikiti-ya' -mën
 3-fall-PAST knife 3A20-cut -PAST-REL.INAN
 'The knife that cut you fell.'
- (119) ñaya' parae Toman yikitiyan
 n-ña -ya' parae Toman ^ -ikiti-ya' -mën
 3-fall-PAST knife Tom PO-cut -PAST-REL.INAN
 'The knife that cut Tom fell.'

(A final reminder--for at least two language consultants, each of these examples could have taken -mën as relativizer in place of -n. This is true of each example in this section of the paper.)

In 120-122 we have our first case of the alternation between -n/-mën and -sin. In 120 the subject is 3SG and the relativizer continues to be -n/-mën. The subject of Srel is 1SG in 121 and 2SG in 122. The relativizer for both of these examples is -sin. The grammatical relation of the inanimate NPrel is object for all three examples.

- (126) NPreI with the locative post-position ya 'LOC', 3SG subject in Srel: -n/-mën

nëmya' Toman tyuwë'
n -ëmi -ya' Toman ty-uwë'
3A30-make-PAST Thomas 3 -place.CL

o' chényap Paco tya
o' ^ -y-en -ya' -n Paco t-ya
manioc.beer PO- -drink-PAST-REL.INAN Paco 3-LOC

'Tom built his house in which Paco drank manioc beer.'
(lit. 'Tom built his house that Paco drank manioc beer in it.')

- (127) NPreI with the ablative/locative post-position yawo (ABL/LOC), 1SG subject in Srel: -sin

nëmya' Toman tyuwë' witiyaasin tyawo
n -ëmu -ya' Toman ty-uwë' w-të-ya' -sin t-yawo
3A30-make -PAST Thomas 3 -place.CL 1-go-PAST-REL.INAN 3-ABL

'Tom built his house from which I left.'
(lit. 'Tom built his house that I left from it.')

- (128) NPreI with the allative/locative post-position, yaka (ALL/LOC), 2SG subject in Srel: -sin

nëmya' Toman tyuwë' tyaka mityaasin
n -ëmu -ya' Toman ty-uwë' t-yaka m-të-ya' -sin
3A30-make -PAST Thomas 3 -place.CL 3-ALL 2-go-PAST-REL.INAN

'Tom built his house where you went.'
(lit. 'Tom built his house that you went to it.')

It is even the case that when the subject of the RC is yuto '1+2-3' (i.e. only 1SG plus 2SG), the REL.INAN must be -n/-mën (129). Also, when the subject of the RC is ana '1+3-2' the relativizer must be -n/-mën (130).

- (129) yuto '1+2' subject: -n/-mën

nëmya' Toman tyuwë'
n -ëmu -ya' Toman ty-uwë'
3A30-make -PAST Thomas 3 -place.CL

tyaka o' yuto nenyap
t-yaka o' yuto n -en -ya' -n
3-LOC manioc.beer 1+2 3A30-drink-PAST-REL.INAN

'Tom built his house in which we (two) drank manioc beer.'
(lit. 'Tom built his house that we (two) drank manioc beer in it.')

- (130) ana '1+3PL' subject: -n/-mën

nëmya' Toman tyuwë'
n -ëmu -ya' Toman ty-uwë'
3A30-make -PAST Thomas 3 -place.CL

tyaka o' ana nenyap
t-yaka o' ana n -en -ya' -n
3-LOC manioc.beer 1EXC 3A30-drink-PAST-REL.INAN

'Tom built the house in which we (EXCL) drank manioc beer.'
(lit. 'Tom built his house that we (EXCL) drank manioc beer in it.')

In summary, there are two relativizers which are in complementary distribution for past tense RCs with inanimate NPreIs. When the subject of the RC is 1SG or 2SG, the relativizer is -sin. When the subject of the RC is 3SG or any plural, including even 1DL (1SG plus 2SG), the relativizer is -n/-mën.

3.2.4 The Syntactic Status of NPreI in the Matrix Clause

I have stated several times that an RC is syntactically an NP in the matrix clause, i.e. it does not form a single complex NP with what I have labeled its head.⁴⁴ In this section I will explain why I take that position. I have already demonstrated that there is a constituent boundary between RCs and their heads (cf examples 107-114 above), such

that the two are independent constituents at some level. While it is possible that the two combine at some level to form a single surface syntactic constituent, the syntactic tests of movement and relative order of head and RC do not reveal a syntactic connection, i.e. The head NP and the RC may appear in various orders in the matrix clause, including head-RC, RC-head, head--Matrix Verb--RC, and even RC--Matrix Verb--head. However, the head can never appear internally in the RC. Thus, these two syntactic tests, at least, suggest that the RC and the head do not form a single (surface) syntactic constituent.

If they do not demonstrably form a single syntactic constituent, the next issue to address is whether the RC by itself seems to behave as a recognizable independent constituent. It appears that the RC has precisely the prerogatives of appearance as an independent NP, e.g. The RC itself can bear any grammatical relation in the matrix clause. This is most clearly demonstrated when the head does not appear, but it can be seen for all grammatical relations except subject even when the head also appears. This analysis does not claim that the RC and its head are semantically or pragmatically separated in any way, but the syntax suggests that the two are independent NPs.⁴⁵

Examples follow for each point, beginning with word order. In most of the preceding examples, the order has been head-RC. In 131 the order is reversed, with the head parae 'knife' coming after the RC n̄ayaan 'which fell' (for clarity, both the head and the RC are underlined in the following examples).

- (131) aripí mèn n̄ayaan parae
 ari-pi mèn n-ña -ya' -mèn parae
 good-NEG COP.INAN 3-fall-PAST-REL.INAN knife

'The knife that fell is bad.'

In 132 the head is again parae 'knife' and the RC is the one word n̄ayaan 'which fell'. The head and the RC are separated by the verb plus cliticized object yikitiyaayu 'it cut me' of the matrix clause.

- (132) parae yikitiyaayu n̄ayaan
 parae Ø^ -ikiti-ya' -yu n-ña -ya' -n
 knife 3A10-cut -PAST-1SG 3-fall-PAST-REL.INAN

'The knife that fell cut me.'

In 133 the head and the RC are again separated, this time by the verb and the subject together.⁴⁶ The verb shows accent shift, indicating that parae is the direct object.

- (133) parae tuwinkēmaya' chu n̄ayaan
 parae ^ -t -winkēma-ya' yu n-ña -ya' -n
 knife PO-1A30-lose -PAST 1SG 3-fall-PAST-REL.INAN

'I lost the knife that fell.'⁴⁷

The final configuration, that of RC preceding the main verb with the head following, appears in 134. The RC Toman nu'chaanē' yúya 'that Tom gave to me' appears preverbally. Since the grammatical relation of the head in the main clause is subject, the preverbal RC does not cause prefix-change or accent-shift in the main clause verb aye'kaya' 'he/she/it bit you'; the verb takes the standard 3A20 agreement prefix. The head arakon 'monkey' appears postverbally.

(134) Toman nu'chanē yúya
 Toman n -u' -ya' -nē yu -uya
 Thomas 3A30-give-PAST-REL.ANIM 1SG-DAT

aye'kaya' arakon
 ay -e'ka -ya' arakon
 3A20-bite -PAST black.monkey

'The monkey that Tom gave me bit you.'

At this point there is no syntactic evidence that the head and the RC form a surface syntactic constituent. Semantically and pragmatically the two must be linked, and I would like to see a reflection of this link syntactically; but until a new test for syntactic constituency demonstrates the link, I have no grounds for positing that the two form a syntactic constituent at any level of syntax.^{4b}

In the absence of evidence that an RC and its head form a single syntactic constituent, the next problem is to determine what type of syntactic constituent an independent RC might be. When the RC is headless (that is, when the head NP does not appear in the matrix clause), the RC bears the grammatical relation in place of the head. The head can simply be deleted from any of the examples given above, and the basic sense of the example will not change. Since only a nominal can bear a grammatical relation, I conclude that the RC is syntactically a nominal in main clause syntax.

When the RC bears the grammatical relation of subject, the matrix clause verb agrees with NPrel (and therefore the RC) for animacy. In 135 the RC Toman nu'kayaanē 'who Tom burned' is the sole referent to the subject of the matrix verb. It appears to the left before the matrix verb, and the matrix verb takes the 3A10 zero morpheme (cf

p.16ff). In 136 the verb appears with a less finite suffix -ñe, which does not take subject agreement prefixes (cf §2.4). The subject RC Toman nu'kwayaanē 'who Tom burned' appears after the verb plus its pronominal particle auxiliary kē 'ANIM.PROX' (cf §2.3.1, §2.4.1). The pronominal particle kē agrees only with an animate third person subject. This shows that the RC is treated as an animate third person subject for the purposes of verb agreement.

(135) Toman nu'kayaanē petyumayaayu
 Toman n -u'ka-ya' -nē' 0[^] -petyúma-ya' -yu
 Thomas 3A30-burn-PAST-REL.ANIM 3A10-hit -PAST-1SG.OBJ

'He who Tom burned hit me.'

(136) yipetyumañe kē'
 yu -[^] -petyúma-ñe kē'
 1SG-PO-hit -NONPAST.TRANS ANIM.PROX

Toman nu'kayaanē
 Toman n -u'ka-ya' -nē'
 Thomas 3A30-burn-PAST-REL.ANIM

'He who Tom burned is gonna hit me.'

RCs can also bear the postpositions associated with other grammatical relations. In 137 the RC tiyaanē 'the one who left' takes uya 'DAT'. The k- prefix on uya is a phonologically predictable consequence of the glottal stop at the end of nē'.

(137) paaru yu'cha' arakon tiyaanē kúya
 paaru y-u' -ya' arakon tē-ya' -nē' uya
 banana Y-give-PAST black.monkey go-PAST-REL.ANIM DAT

'The monkey gave bananas to the one who left.'

In some examples the RC seems to bear the GR even though the head also appears in the clause. In 138 the RC yúya arakon yu'chaanē 'who gave me the monkey' and the head apo 'man' both precede the main clause

verb. For the reasons discussed above, I do not assume that the two form a single complex NP. The RC, rather than the head, immediately precedes the verb. The verb, petyúma, does not bear an agreement prefix, and accent shifts to the left, indicating that the constituent preceding the verb is the object. The sentence is ungrammatical if the verb does not inflect for preverbal object (139).

(138) apo' yúya arakon yu'chaaně'
 apo' yu -uya arakon ^ -u' -ya' -ně'
 man 1SG-DAT black.monkey PO-give-PAST-REL.ANIM

pétyumaya' Toman
 ^ -petyúma-ya' Toman
 PO-hit -PAST Thomas

'Tom hit the man who gave me a monkey.

(139) *apo' yúya arakon yu'chaaně'
 apo' yu -uya arakon ^ -u' -ya' -ně'
 man 1SG-DAT black.monkey PO-give-PAST-REL.ANIM

nipetyúmayá' Toman
 n -petyúma-ya' Toman
 3A3Q-hit -PAST Thomas

(Tom hit the man who gave me a monkey)

I see only two interpretations for these examples: either the head and the RC do in fact form one complex surface NP, which is the preverbal object, or the RC is the preverbal object and the head simply appears in apposition at the level of surface constituency. The former interpretation would be preferable if we could find some kind of independent evidence to support it. Since we do have independent morphosyntactic evidence that an RC is an NP in main clause syntax, for now I adopt the latter interpretation.

Postpositions also may appear on RCs instead of on heads when the two are both present in the main clause.⁴⁹ In 140 the RC bears the INST postposition -kye even though the head appears, and is unmarked. This is probably possible in this case because of the pragmatic nature of the head--i.e. of the NPs in the matrix clause, only parae 'knife' could be the instrument of a verb like 'cut'.⁵⁰

(140) aire tikitiya' chu parae ñayaankye
 aire ^ -t -ikiti-ya' yu parae n-ña -ya' -mën -kye
 meat PO-1A-cut -PAST 1SG knife 3-fall-PAST-REL.INAN-INST

'I cut the meat with the knife that fell.'

In 141 both the head and the RC appear. Both are allowed to bear the postposition pě 'OBL'. This is an especially interesting fact, as the two coreferential NPs simultaneously bear one grammatical relation from the matrix clause, without both clearly belonging to a single syntactic constituent (for clarity, both the head and the RC are underlined).

(141) tu'cha' chu paaru arakon pé
 t -u' -ya' yu paaru arakon pé
 1A30-give-PAST 1SG banana black.monkey OBL

tiyaaně' pé apo' kúya
 tē-ya' -ně' pé apo' uya
 go-PAST-REL.ANIM OBL man DAT

'I gave bananas to the man (in exchange for) the monkey who left.'

In summary, the head and the RC move about independently in the matrix clause, and have not been shown to belong to single syntactic constituent. Separate from the issue of whether the two form a single constituent, the RC appears to be an NP in its own right, able to cause preverbal-object inflection in the matrix verb, and able to bear

postpositions. Pending a demonstration of syntactic connection, I consider the head NP and RC to be independent, with one bearing the grammatical relation and the other in apposition.

3.3 Relative Clauses with -npě'

The last discussion was limited to RCs formed from fully finite verbs. Finite RCs take the most verbal of all constructions in Panare and derive an NP at the level of main clause syntax. Less finite verbs are inherently somewhat less verbal than the fully finite verbs even before they are relativized; in fact, I argued in §2.4.4 that less finite verbs have only recently been reanalyzed as verbs, and that they were historically nominalized forms. Thus, it is to be expected that the less finite verbs will utilize a different relativization strategy than fully finite clauses, one which perhaps reflects their recent status as nominals. In fact, there are two relativization strategies employed with -npě' clauses: the morphosyntax of the finite relativization strategy parallels the that described above for finite RCs; in contrast, the morphosyntax of the less finite relativization strategy parallels that associated with nominal modifiers.

In the finite strategy, an auxiliary appears with the less finite verb, thus forming a fully finite clause; a relativizer then appears on the auxiliary, creating a finite RC. In the less finite strategy, no auxiliary appears; a pronominal particle is suffixed to the inflected verb, marking the less finite RC. One speaker requires an oblique postposition on the subject of a transitive RC (a reflex of the less finite verb's historical status as a nominalization), but two others

allow the subject to appear unchanged, indicating that this construction is better thought of as a less finite relativized clause than a construction based on a nominalized verb.

I describe the finite strategy in §3.3.1, the less finite strategy in §3.3.2, and I compare the two in §3.3.3. The description in this section is much less rich than that of past tense RCs for two reasons: syntactic variations do not always correspond to clear semantic variations in my elicited data, and I have many fewer examples, both in number and in range of variation. I believe that the finer semantic distinctions will have to be found in conversational discourse data rather than through consultants' introspection out of context. Therefore, in this section I will attempt to make a clear presentation of the syntax, explore the semantic distinctions associated with that syntax to the extent currently possible, and then suggest directions for future research.

3.3.1 Finite Relative Clauses with -npě'--Relativizing AUX

As seen in §2.4.1, in order to use a verb inflected with -npě' in a main clause, either a pronominal particle, a' 'AUX', or the inflected verb ichi/e' 'be' is used as an auxiliary. In such main clauses, -npě' is an aspect marker, indicating imperfective or progressive aspect. The tense, or time, distinction comes from whichever auxiliary is used. When -npě' appears in a finite RC, only AUX serves as the auxiliary in my data. I use the label finite for this type of RC because I consider AUX to be a finite verb, and it is AUX which is relativized. As in main clauses, -npě' marks imperfective or continuous aspect and AUX agrees

with the subject. However, finite RCs with -npě' are restricted in two ways which standard past tense RCs are not: first, when the distal AUX is relativized, the subject of the RC cannot be third person; second, the inanimate relativizer -mën is not attested, so that -sïn 'REL.INAN' is the only relativizer used with inanimate NPreIs. I will attempt to relate these two restrictions to each other in §3.3.3 and in §3.4, where I discuss the split between -sïn and -mën in all relative clauses.

There are two forms of AUX used with -npě' in finite RCs. The form of AUX described earlier in section 2.3.2 imparts distal deixis to the predicate. I call this form distal AUX (AUX). Another form, only attested in cleft constructions and relative clauses in my data, imparts a proximal deixis to the predicate. I call this form proximal AUX (AUX.PROX). I describe finite -npě' RCs with a distal AUX auxiliary in §3.3.1.1 and finite -npě' RCs with a proximal AUX auxiliary in §3.3.1.2.

3.3.1.1 The Distal AUX

In main clauses distal AUX takes the agreement prefixes w- '1' and m- '2/3' which agree with the subject for person. However in RCs formed with this distal AUX, only 1SG and 2SG are attested as subjects, and 3SG subjects are explicitly disallowed. Thus, the m- '2/3' prefix actually only agrees with 2SG subjects in relative clauses. In past tense finite RCs, the inanimate relativizer -sïn must appear whenever the subject of the RC is 1SG or 2SG, and the inanimate relativizer -mën appears with other subjects. Since there are only 1SG and 2SG subjects attested for finite -npě' RCs with distal AUX, it is not surprising then that the

only inanimate relativizer attested in these RCs is -sïn. As is true for past tense RCs, the animate relativizer is -në' 'REL.ANIM'.

In 142 the RC is yipetyúmpě' yuwa'ně' 'that I'm gonna be hitting'. Note that the 1SG pronoun yu may appear between the inflected verb and AUX. In past tense finite RCs, the subject of the RC was forced to appear pre-verbally. Either that constraint does not hold for finite -npě' RCs, or AUX counts as the finite verb for determining placement of subject. In 143 the RC is amën yipetyúmpě' ma'ně' 'that you were hitting'. In past tense finite RCs, a glottal stop went to vowel length before the relativizer; in all examples where AUX bears the animate relativizer -në', the glottal stop remains.

(142) arípí mëně' arakon
arí -pí mëně' arakon
good -NEG ANIM.DIST black.monkey

yipetyúmpě' yuwa'ně'
y -petyuma-mpě' yu -w-a' -ně'
3TNP-hit -IMPERF.TRANS 1SG-1-AUX-REL.ANIM

'The monkey that I'm (gonna be) hitting is bad.'⁵¹

(143) arípí në' arakon
arí -pí në' arakon
good -NEG ANIM.PROX black.monkey

amën yipetyúmpě' ma'ně'
amën y -petyuma-mpě' m -a' -ně'
2SG 3TNP-hit -IMPERF.TRANS 2/3-AUX-REL.ANIM

'The monkey that you were hitting is bad.'

In both examples, the temporal deixis of the RC is distal (future for 142 and past for 143). This is expected: since 1SG (142) and 2SG (143) subjects are spatially proximal, the distal spatial deixis of AUX is shifted to temporal deixis (cf the discussion in §2.3.1 and §2.3.2).

I have no structural explanation why the distal deixis is interpreted as future in one example and as past in the other.

When NPrel is inanimate and the subject of the RC is 1SG or 2SG, -sin is the relativizer. In 144 and 145 NPrel is inanimate and the subjects of the RCs are 1SG and 2SG respectively. In both clauses, NPrel is instrumental; the case role of NPrel is recovered via the resumptive anaphoric device tyikye '3.INST'. Although the glottal stop at the end of AUX does not go to vowel length before ná' 'REL.ANIM', it does go to vowel length before -sin.

(144) aripí mën parae
ari -pí mën parae
good -NEG INAN knife

tyikye aire' chikitënpé' waasin
t-kye aire' ^ -ikita-mpé' w-a' -sin
3 -INST meat PO-cut -IMPERF.TRANS 1-AUX-REL.INAN

'The knife with which I'm cutting the meat is bad.'
(lit. 'The knife that with it I'm cutting the meat is bad.')

(145) aripí mën parae
ari -pí mën parae
good -NEG INAN knife

tyikye aire' chikitënpé' maasin
ty-kye aire' ^ -ikita-mpé' m-a' -sin
3 -INST meat PO-cut -IMPERF.TRANS 2-AUX-REL.INAN

'The knife with which you're cutting the meat is bad.'
(lit. 'The knife that with it you're cutting the meat is bad.')

The syntax of finite -npé' RCs seems to be parallel to that of the past tense RCs described above. However, the semantic interpretation of AUX is not consistent. In main clauses, AUX always adds a distal reading to the predicate; thus for 1SG and 2SG (inherently proximal) subjects, the predicate is interpreted as temporally distal. This is

also true for the finite RCs in 142 and 143. However, it is not true for the finite RCs in 144 and 145--these RCs are translated as though they are taking place at this very moment (i.e. temporally proximal).

I suspect that my translations for the distal AUX in RCs are ambiguous: for my Panare language consultants, it might be that the Spanish phrase La carne que estoy cortando es malo 'The meat that I'm cutting is bad' may have two interpretations. In the first interpretation, the RC is a present progressive clause, and the event is happening at the same time the sentence is spoken--i.e. 'The meat that I'm cutting (right now) is bad.' The discussion of examples 144 and 145 is in accord with this interpretation. In the second interpretation, the present progressive syntax of the RC is used to indicate a future event--i.e. 'The meat that I'm cutting (tomorrow) is bad.' This is not a possible interpretation for a native speaker of Standard Spanish; a native speaker would only use the present progressive to indicate an event which is happening at the same time the sentence is spoken. However, Spanish is not the native language of my Panare language consultants, and while they are all communicatively fluent in Spanish, they make many systematic errors in speaking Spanish (as opposed to the random mistakes, or performance slips of a native speaker). One particular error which I marked in my notes is the use of Spanish present progressive construction to describe events which take place más luego 'later' (cf note 52 for one example).

If my language consultants intended the Spanish present progressive translation to be interpreted as indicating a future event, then the distal AUX is used consistently in 144 and 145. Pending

further investigation, I hypothesize that what I am calling distal AUX always expresses distal (past/future) time in contrast to the proximal AUX (discussed in 3.3.1.2). In this case, the distal AUX in 144 and 145 has put the RC into the future (i.e. non-proximal time) and the present progressive translation is meant to express a future event.

In contrast to the co-occurrence of -sin with 1SG and 2SG subjects of the RC, when the subject of a past tense RC is 3SG, the relativizer -n/-mën appears on the RC verb (cf §3.2.3). However, the expected parallel in finite -npé' RCs does not occur. Language consultants refused to create or accept any RCs in which the subject is 3SG and the distal AUX ma' occurs. In all such cases, the less finite RC strategy was used. I constructed examples 146 and 147, then asked my consultants what they would mean; both were rejected. In 146 ma'né' 'AUX-REL.ANIM' is not allowed, and in 147 maamën 'AUX-REL.INAN' is not allowed.

(146) *aripí nē' arakon kën
ari-pí nē' arakon kën
good-NEG ANIM.DIST black.monkey ANIM.INVIS

yipetyúmpé' ma'né'
y -petyúma-npé' m -a' -nē'
3TNP-hit -IMPERF.TRANS 2/3-AUX-REL.ANIM

(147) *aripimën parae tyikye aire Toman
ari -pí -mē -n parae ty-kye aire Toman
good -NEG-NMLZR-INAN knife 3 -INST meat Toman

yikitēnpé' maamën
y -ikita -mpé' ma' -mën
3TNP-cut -IMPERF.TRANS AUX.DIST-REL.INAN

(the knife that he's cutting the meat with is bad)

In sum, it appears that finite RCs with distal AUX are restricted to RCs with 1SG and 2SG subjects. All 3SG subjects with distal RCs are

expressed via less finite RCs. Potential structural implications and functional motivations for this split will be discussed in §3.4 below.

3.3.1.2 Relativizing All Persons with the Proximal AUX

In this section I will describe the proximal AUX form na' 'PROX.AUX' and its behavior in finite -npé' RCs. AUX arguably imparts distal deixis to the predicate in all examples seen so far, and yet the proximal AUX is clearly derived from the same verb stem, a'. This reversal of deixis is a dramatic enough change in meaning that I feel compelled to demonstrate its necessity before expecting the reader to accept that it occurs. Thus, as I describe proximal AUX in finite -npé' RCs, I will also point out how examples seem to exclude a distal interpretation, and briefly develop the arguments for this position.

All examples of AUX given previously (§2.3.2, §2.4.1, and §3.3.1.1) show only the distal AUX bearing the agreement prefixes w- '1' or m- '2/3'. In main clause statements, second person and third person agreement have coalesced in what must have formerly been the second person agreement form m-. In questions, the standard third person agreement prefix n- '3' may appear as the prefix on AUX, but it is never allowed in main clause statements. In relative clauses, the prefix n- on AUX may co-occur with any subject, regardless of person, number, or animacy. Further, I will suggest that in RCs the prefix n- on AUX imparts a proximal deixis to the predicate, regardless of subject (though further research is warranted on this issue). This proximal deixis should behave much like that of pronominal particle ké' 'ANIM.PROX', such that when the spatial deixis of the predicate is made

distal by a distal subject, the proximal deixis of the predicate should be shifted to the temporal domain (cf the discussion in §2.3.1). The relativizers used with proximal AUX in finite -npě' RCs are again ně' 'REL.ANIM' and -sín 'REL.INAN'; -měn 'REL.INAN' is again excluded.

In 148 and 149 the proximal AUX na' appears in an RC with the relativizer ně'. In both cases, NPrel is the object of the RC. Also in both cases, the head is the subject of a predicate nominal with the pronominal particle kě' 'ANIM.PROX' as copula. In 148 the subject of the RC is the third person pronoun kěn 'ANIM.INVISIB'; in 149 the subject of the RC is yu '1SG'. In both the prefix on AUX is n- 'PROX'. Thus, n- cannot be understood as agreeing with the subject for person.

(148) karya kě' arakon
 karya kě' arakon
 good ANIM.PROX black.monkey

kěn yutunpě' na'ně' yúya
 kěn y -utu -npě' n -a' -ně' yu -uya
 ANIM.INVISIB 3TNP-give-IMPERF.TRANS PROX-AUX-REL.ANIM 1SG-DAT

'The monkey that he's giving to me is good/pretty.'

(149) aripí kě' apo'
 ari -pi kě' apo'
 good-NEG ANIM.PROX man

yu yipetyúmpě' na'ně'
 yu y -petyúma-npě' n -a' -ně'
 1SG 3TNP-hit -IMPERF.TRANS PROX-AUX-REL.ANIM

'The man who I'm hitting is bad'

In both 148 and 149 the RC could be understood as referring to an event which is proximal in space and time; however, I argued above that the use of Spanish present progressive by my consultants might also be interpreted as having a future interpretation. If that argument is

permissible in the case of distal AUX, then it ought to be equally permissible here. However, when the main clause copula kě' 'PROX.ANIM' is replaced with ně' 'DIST.ANIM', the RC with proximal AUX is no longer allowed. In 150 the RC is parallel to those above, taking na'ně' 'PROX-AUX-REL.ANIM' in the RC. NPrel is the object of the RC and the head arakon 'black.monkey' is the subject of a main clause predicate nominal. The difference is that with the distal main clause copula, the pronominal particle ně' 'ANIM.DIST', the sentence is rejected.

(150) *aripí ně' arakon
 ari -pi ně' arakon
 good -NEG ANIM.DIST black.monkey

kěn yipetyúmpě' na'ně'
 kěn y -petyúma-npě' n -a' -ně'
 ANIM.INVIS 3TNP-hit -IMPERF.TRANS PROX-AUX-REL.ANIM

(the monkey that he [DIST] is [PROX] hitting is [DIST] bad)

This example shows that the NPrel which comes from an RC with na' 'PROX-AUX' cannot be the subject of a state which is distal. I suggest, therefore, that na' is correctly glossed as 'PROX-AUX', and that the example is rejected because of conflict between the deixis of the distal main clause predicate and the proximal RC predicate. However, it does not demonstrate this conclusively. In particular, in §2.3.1 I showed that pronominal particles and their subjects were not required to agree for deixis. Thus, the clause need not be rejected because main clause pronominal particle is distal and the subject arakon is modified by an event taking place in proximal time (i.e. the proximal RC). So the unacceptability of 150 cannot be understood as uncontrovertible proof

either that the deixis of na' is proximal or that disagreement between deixis of main clause and RC is the reason the example is rejected.

However, pending further investigation, I submit that this is the most likely interpretation. If a speaker wants to say that a distal entity is bad, that means that he and the hearer cannot see the entity in question. If the speaker wishes to identify the specific entity in question by means of a relative clause, then this requires that both the speaker and the hearer be familiar with the event described in the relative clause. Yet the subject of the event described in the RC in 150 is distal (even invisible). Thus, in order to be familiar with the event, both speakers must have seen the event taking place, and have then left the scene of the event, so that the subject can be spatially distal (out of sight) at the time they speak about it. If the speakers are no longer able to see the event in question, then they have no direct proof that the event is still going on. If a restrictive relative clause contains new information or assertions, this defeats the very purpose of the RC, to identify an entity via shared knowledge about the entity. I suspect that the use of proximal AUX in the RC in 150 would constitute an assertion by the speaker that the event which speaker and hearer had witnessed earlier was still going on; this assertion would then cloud the issue of identification of the entity in question. In sum, while this line of reasoning does not prove that na' imparts proximal deixis to the RC predicate, it does provide an explanation for the rejection of 150 if na' imparts proximal deixis to the predicate. Further research is indicated to resolve this question.⁵²

When NPrel is inanimate, the relativizer is always -sin 'REL.INAN'. In 151 NPrel is the direct object of the RC. In 152 NPrel is the instrument in the RC, as indicated by the anaphoric device tyikye '3-INST'. In 151 the subject of the RC is yu '1SG' and in 152 the subject of the RC is amèn '2SG'. As was true in finite -npé' RCs with distal AUX, the subject may appear between the main verb and AUX. In 152 amèn appears after the main verb chikitènpé' 'cutting', but before naasin 'PROX-AUX-REL.INAN'.

(151) karyam kamicha yu yukokampé' naasin
 karya-mèn camicha yu y -uko'ka-npé' n -a' -sin
 good -INAN shirt 1SG 3TNP-wash -IMPERF.TRANS PROX-AUX-REL.INAN

'The shirt that I'm washing (right now) is good.'

(152) aripí mèn parae
 ari -pí mèn parae
 good -NEG INAN knife

tyikye aire' chikitènpé' amèn naasin
 ty-kye aire' ^ -ikita-mpé' amèn n -a' -sin
 3 -INST meat PO-cut -IMPERF.TRANS 2SG PROX-AUX-REL.INAN

'The knife that you're cutting the meat with (right now) is bad.'

By analogy to the patterns in past tense finite RCs, -sin is the expected relativizer when the subject of the RC is 1SG or 2SG. This is true in finite -npé' RCs with distal AUX, and also with proximal AUX as seen in the examples above. For 3SG subjects, past tense RC patterns would lead us to expect the relativizer -mèn. However, 3SG subjects are not allowed in finite -npé' RCs with distal AUX, so the analogy cannot be tested. Third person subjects are allowed for finite -npé' RC with the proximal AUX, but the analogy to past tense finite RCs does not hold; I have no examples of -mèn appearing in a finite RC with the

proximal AUX na'.⁵³ Instead of -mēn, the inanimate relativizer -sin continues to appear on proximal AUX even when the subject of the RC is third person. In 153 the subject of the RC is toman, the prefix on AUX is n- 'PROX', and the relativizer is -sin 'REL.INAN'.

(153) aripí mēn parae
ari -pí mēn parae
good -NEG INAN knife

tyikye aire Toman yikitēnpé' naasin
ty-kye aire Toman y -ikita-mpé' n -a' -sin
3 -INST meat Thomas 3TNP-cut -IMPERF.TRANS PROX-AUX-REL.INAN

'The knife with which Tom is cutting the meat is bad.'

In summary, the finite -npé' RCs all contain AUX and take either -né' 'REL.ANIM' or -sin 'REL.INAN' as relativizers. They never take -mēn as a relativizer--3SG subjects are not allowed to form finite RCs with distal AUX (cf §3.3.1.1), and with the proximal AUX, all persons take -sin as the relativizer. In finite RCs with distal AUX there are potentially two different interpretations of the temporal deixis of the clause; I prefer the distal interpretation, but this must be confirmed by further research. With the proximal AUX, I would like to suggest that a distal interpretation is never allowed.

3.3.2 Less finite Relative Clauses

It is the appearance of AUX which makes possible a finite npé' RC, and the relativizers appear on AUX in place of the verb bearing -npé'. In less finite -npé' RCs no auxiliary appears to form a finite clause. Instead, a pronominal particle binds to the end of the verb bearing -npé', agreeing for animacy with NPrel rather than with the subject of

the RC. The entire less finite phrase (including the NP arguments of the less finite verb) is treated as an NP in apposition to the head in the main clause. Only two of the three overt pronominal particles appear on less finite verbs, mēné'/mné'/né' 'ANIM' and -n/mēn 'INAN'. These same pronominal particles may also appear on an NP which modifies another NP in a main clause. The forms mēné'/mné'/né' 'ANIM' and -n/mēn 'INAN' both appear in the sets of (past tense RC) relativizers, pronominal particles functioning as copulas, and also as independent pronouns elsewhere in Panare grammar.⁵⁴ Although mēné'/mné'/né' 'ANIM' and -n/mēn 'INAN' are homophonous with two of the three relativizers, the set of relativizers and pronominal particles are not co-extensive:

- (i) the suffix/clitic mēné' 'ANIM' and its reduced form mné' 'ANIM' do not appear as relativizers on past tense verbs;
- (ii) the relativizer -sin 'REL.INAN' is not a member of the set of pronominal particles which can function as copula, nor can it appear bound to modifying NPs or in less finite RCs.

Both mēné'/mné'/né' 'ANIM' and mēn/-n 'INAN' may function as copula in a predicate nominal clause, but the sets of pronominal particles used for the two different functions are not identical:

- (i) the pronominal particle ké' 'ANIM.PROX' cannot appear bound to NPs, nor in less finite RCs;
- (ii) the pronominal particle mēné'/mné'/né' 'ANIM.DIST' imparts distal deixis to the predicate when it functions as a copula in a predicate nominal clause; when it appears bound to an NP or in a less finite RC, mēné'/mné'/né' 'ANIM' does not impart deixis to the NP or the less finite RC;

(iii) pronominal particles functioning as copulas agree with the subject of a predicate nominal clause for animacy; when they appear in less finite RCs they do not agree with the subject of the RC, but rather they agree with NPrel for animacy.

Pronominal particles in less finite RCs do not impart deixis.

Also, since -sín is not a pronominal particle, the alternation between -n/-mèn and -sín (demonstrated for past tense RCs in §3.3) cannot occur in less finite RCs. By analogy, I consider less finite RCs to be NPs in apposition to the head NPs, but I do not have examples of a head and an RC changing position vis-a-vis each other (as for past tense RCs, §3.4).

Semantically, a less finite -npě' RC (i.e. in the absence of AUX) no longer refers to an imperfective, or progressive, activity--the activity is put off into the indeterminate future, something like an irrealis mood. Thus, the -npě' suffix imparts a different semantic value to the predication in less finite RCs than it does in main clauses with an auxiliary. Perhaps as a correlate to this, I have one example which indicates that in less finite RCs a verb inflected with -npě' may retain more of the trappings of its historical nominal syntax than it does in a main clause with an auxiliary.

3.3.2.1 With Animate NPrel

Although I have listed several reasons for treating less finite -npě' RCs differently from both past tense finite RCs and from finite -npě' RCs, when NPrel is animate, the differences are not readily apparent. When NPrel is animate the pronominal particle which binds to the verb is always mèně'/mně'/ně' 'ANIM'. The same gapping strategy is

used to recover the grammatical relations of subject and direct object in less finite -npě' clauses as in other finite RCs. One NP precedes the verb; if the object prefix appears on the verb, then the preceding NP is the subject and NPrel is the missing object; if the object agreement prefix does not appear and accent shifts to the left in the verb, then the preceding NP is the object and NPrel is the missing subject. In 154 the verb takes the object agreement prefix yi- '3', and there is no accent shift. This indicates that the NP directly in front of the verb, kěn 'ANIM.INVIS', is not the object. Hence, kěn is the subject and the missing NPrel is the object of the RC. In 155 the agreement prefix does not appear and accent in the verb shifts left, indicating that kěn is the direct object. NPrel is therefore the missing subject.

(154) aripí ně' arakon
ari -pi ně' arakon
good-NEG ANIM.DIST black.monkey

kěn yipetyúmampě'ně'
kěn y -petyúma-npě' -ně'
ANIM.INVIS 3TNP-hit -IMPERF.TRANS-ANIM

'The monkey that he's gonna hit is bad.'

(155) aripí ně' arakon
ari -pi ně' arakon
good -NEG ANIM.DIST black.monkey

kěn petyúmampě'ně'
kěn ^ -petyúma-npě' -ně'
ANIM.INVISIB PO-hit -IMPERF.TRANS-ANIM

'The monkey that's gonna hit him is bad.'

In these examples, deixis is difficult to determine from syntax alone--the pronominal particle ně' 'ANIM.DIST' (the second word in each

example) imparts distal deixis to the predicate of the predicate nominal and the subject arakon receives no explicit deixis. When the deixis of the subject and the deixis of the pronominal particle in a predicate nominal clause disagree, the predicate deixis shifts to time. In both of the examples above, ně' imparts a distal deixis to the main clause predicate; if the subject of the main clause were proximal, the distal deixis of the predicate would have shifted to time, yielding a past tense main clause translation. Since the interpretation of time is proximal (present tense in the translation) the subject of the main clause, arakon, must be spatially distal.

It could be argued that the distal time of these less finite -npě' RCs is imparted by the pronominal particle ně' 'ANIM'. But remember that pronominal particles only impart temporal deixis to the predicate when the spatial deixis of the subject disagrees with the deixis of the pronominal particle. If the ně' imparts distal spatial deixis to the RC predicate, then when the subject is also spatially distal, the spatial deixis of the entire RC ought to be spatially distal--in which case the temporal deixis of RC should be the default proximal. In 154 the subject of the RC kěn 'ANIM.INVISIB' is explicitly distal, yet the time of the RC is also distal (future). Thus, it appears that the distal interpretation of the less finite -npě' RC must come from something other than the pronominal particle. The only alternative candidate is the -npě' suffix itself.

In 156 the main clause subject is arakon 'black.monkey' and the main clause copula is the distal pronominal particle měně' 'ANIM.DIST'. In this instance the subject of the RC yu '1SG' is inherently proximal,

again the RC is irrealis, and again the pronominal particle ně' 'ANIM' appears on the end of the RC verb.

(156) aripí mēně' arakon yu yipetyúmpě'ně'
 ari -pi mēně' arakon yu y -petyúma-npě' -ně'
 good -NEG ANIM.DIST black.monkey 1SG 3TNP-hit -IMPRF.TRANS-ANIM

'The monkey that I'm gonna hit is bad.'

In 157 the exact same RC modifies the exact same NPrel, which is again the subject of the matrix clause predicate nominal. However, the copula in 157 is the pronominal particle kě' 'ANIM.PROX'. MC says explicitly that the monkey is present here and now and is bad here and now, but that 'I'm gonna hit him a little later'. The time of the RC is irrealis (temporally distal).

(157) aripí kě' arakon yu yipetyúmpě'ně'
 ari -pi kě' arakon yu y -petyúma-npě' -ně'
 good -NEG ANIM.PROX black.monkey 1SG 3TNP-hit -IMPRF.TRANS-ANIM

The monkey that I'm hitting (a little later) is bad.

I hypothesize that the structure of the matrix clauses in 154-157 above is that of a predicate nominal, with aripí 'bad (one)' as the predicate NP, either měně'/ně' 'ANIM.DIST' or kě' 'ANIM.PROX' as the copula, arakon 'monkey' as the subject, and the RC as a modifying NP in apposition to the head. Unlike the past tense RCs, I have no examples of the head appearing separated from the RC, although there are many examples of a less finite RC appearing without the head.

The same resumptive pronoun strategy described above for past tenses (§3.2.2 & §3.2.3) also operates in less finite -npě' RCs. Examples of this strategy with the instrumental postposition in -npě'

clauses appear in the next section as part of the discussion of inanimate NPrel.

3.3.2.2 With Inanimate NPrel

When NPrel is inanimate, the pronominal particle which appears on the verb is always mën/-n 'INAN'. The suffix does not vary for the person of the subject; it appears for 1SG, 2SG and 3SG subjects alike. In 158 the subject of the RC is yu '1SG' and in 159 the subject is amën '2SG'.

(158) tinya' chu parae yu yamënpë'mën
t -in -ya' yu parae yu y -amë-npë' -mën
1A30-see-PAST 1SG knife 1SG 3TNP-buy-IMPERF.TRANS-INAN

'I saw the knife that I'm gonna buy.'

(159) tinya' chu parae amën yamënpë'mën
t -in -ya' yu parae amën y -amë-npë' -mën
1A30-see-PAST 1SG knife 2SG 3TNP-buy-IMPERF.TRANS-INAN

'I saw the knife that you're gonna buy.'

In 160 the subject of the RC is Toman and the pronominal particle continues to be mën 'INAN'. However, in 160 the direct object of the RC is aire 'meat'. NPrel is indicated by the instrumental postposition kye 'INST' appearing possessed by t- '3'. The head, parae 'knife', and the anaphoric device, tyikye '3-INST', are separated by the RC clause boundary, and thus the anaphoric device appears.

(160) aripimën parae
ari -pi -mën parae
good -NEG-INAN knife

tyikye aire yikitënpë'mën Toman
ty-kye aire ^ -ikita -mpë' -mën Toman
3 -INST meat PO-cut -IMPERF.TRANS-INAN Thomas

'The knife with which Tom is gonna cut the meat is bad.'

It is impossible for the underlined portions in 158-160 to be considered main clauses where the verb is inflected with the less finite suffix -npë' and mën 'INAN' is a pronominal particle auxiliary--i.e. 160 could not be translated as simply 'Tom is gonna cut the meat with a/the bad knife'. When it functions as a main clause copula, mën 'INAN' must agree with the subject of its (main) clause for animacy--yet all of the subjects of the less finite verbs in these examples are animate.

Note also that the word order facts for less finite RCs are different from those for past tense RCs. In past tense RCs, most speakers did not allow the subject to appear after the verb. In 160 however, the subject of the RC Toman appears after the RC verb. In fact, yikitënpë' in 160 resembles an NP here in that the two pronominal particles also appear on modifier NPs; that is, if mën were a clausal or phrasal clitic, it should have moved to the right-most member of the phrase, the post-posed subject. It did not move, hence the suffix appears to be treating the verb as the NP rather than the entire phrase. However, the evidence is not sufficient to argue that yikitënpë' is a nominal. If it were an NP, then what would be the syntactic status of the unmarked NP Toman? In Panare an NP has a syntactic valence of one (the genitive). If yikitënpë' is a nominal, then the object aire already occupies the genitive slot, and the NP Toman therefore cannot

engage in a syntactic relationship with the erstwhile possessed noun. Further, Toman is not coreferential with any other NP in the example, so it cannot be considered simply in apposition to an NP (which could then relate Toman to the rest of the clause). If yikitēnpē' were a true nominal, the subject would be forced into an oblique case in order to relate to the rest of the clause. Since it is not marked as an oblique by a postposition, the only syntactic explanation is that yikitēnpē' is a transitive verb (i.e. with a valence of two), and Toman is the subject. Thus, we confirm again that synchronically yikitēnpē' is essentially verbal--the head of a participial phrase.

However another language consultant, MK, disallows 160. He insists that the subject of such a less finite -npē' RC must be marked with the postposition uya. This is precisely the predicted behavior if yikitēnpē' is treated as a derived nominal (i.e. with a valence of one). PS agreed that such sentences were also acceptable. Both PS and MC preferred the examples in §3.3.1.2, but MK insisted on examples like 161:

(161) karya mēn kamicha yūva yuko'kampē'mēn
 karya mēn kamicha yu -uya y -uko'ka-npē' -mēn
 good INAN shirt 1SG-DAT 3TNP-wash -IMPERF.TRANS-INAN

'The shirt that I'm gonna wash is good.'

That the syntax in 161 demonstrates yet another relic of the historical status of -npē' as a nominalizer. The possessive/object prefix appears on the nominalized verb, referring to the missing genitive/object. With the valence of the derived nominal already filled, there is no structural slot for another NP, the agent yū, to

occupy; hence it appears as an oblique, bearing the postposition uya. I suggest that the syntactic re-analysis of the -npē' suffix has progressed farther in PS and MC's dialects than it has in MK's more conservative dialect. Thus, the valence of the verb bearing -npē' is two (i.e. subject and object) for PS and MC, but for MK the valence remains at one (i.e. the historical genitive, the synchronic object) and the subject must appear as an oblique.

In sum, the less finite relativization strategy resembles the past tense relativization strategy in two ways: the grammatical relation of NPrel is recovered via gapping for subject and object, and via a resumptive pronoun strategy for others; and both of the pronominal particles which appear on the verb in the RC are homophonous with relativizers. The differences are that there is no alternation between -sin and -mēn (because pronominal particles appear on the verb rather than relativizers, and -sin is a relativizer), word order is more free in less finite RCs, and the imperfective/progressive aspect expressed by -npē' in main clauses is replaced with an irrealis mood distinction in RCs.

3.3.3 Comparing the Finite and Less Finite -npē' RCs

Finite -npē' RCs and less-finite -npē' RCs appear to have arrived at very similar interpretations via different routes. I have suggested that -npē' is an aspect marker in a finite RC, and that the finite verb, AUX, is what allows the clause to be treated as a finite RC. In a less finite RC, the verb inflected with -npē' seems to be much closer to its roots as a nominalization. The basis of this claim is my assertion that

the less finite RC pronominal particles mën/-n 'INAN' and mënë'/më'/në' 'ANIM' are nominal morphology, while the relativizer -sîn 'REL.INAN' appears exclusively on verbs. This may be refuted at any time by the appearance of -sîn on anything other than a finite verb, but as yet I have no such examples.

One semantic distinction seems clear at this point: finite RCs with the proximal AUX na' must have a present progressive reading, while finite RCs with the distal AUX and less finite RCs need not (and potentially never do). When the AUX is distal (wa' 1-AUX or ma' 2/3-AUX) the interpretation of non-present progressive is attested, and potentially ambiguous translations indicate that a PRESENT progressive interpretation cannot be ruled out. For less finite RCs the interpretation of irrealis future is well attested, but ambiguity exists in translations of some less finite RCs, too. The conclusions I have drawn about the semantics of the predicates for each of the three types of -npë' RCs are summarized below.

Finite -npë' RC w/ AUX: Distal (Past or Future) Progressive
 Finite -npë' RC w/ PROX-AUX: Proximal (Present) Progressive
 Less Finite -npë' RC: Future (not Progressive)

The potential ambiguity comes from the possibility that my consultants translated present progressive, future progressive, and irrealis future clauses from Panare with the same present progressive syntax in the Spanish translation. Hence, the data do not allow a firm conclusion at this time.

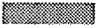
One issue which this analysis does not address is why the finite RC cannot be formed with distal AUX when the subject of the RC is third person. I will discuss this issue briefly in the next section.

3.4 On the Split Between -sîn and -n/-mën in all RCs

We have seen four types of Panare RC in §3, the past tense finite RC, finite -npë' RCs with both distal and proximal AUX, and less finite -npë' RCs which do not take relativizers at all. When NPrel is animate, the form në' appears following the verb in all four of these RC types; I have argued that the -në' 'REL.ANIM' (relativizer) which appears in the three finite RC types should be considered different from the në' 'ANIM' (pronominal particle) which appears in the less finite RC type. When NPrel is inanimate, the apparent homogeneity of the four RC types breaks down. All four of the RC types have a different pattern of distribution involving the two forms -sîn 'REL.INAN' and the homophonous pair -mën 'REL.INAN' for the past tense finite RCs and mën 'INAN' for the less finite RCs. These patterns of distribution are summarized below in

Table 7:

TABLE 7. Alternation Between -sîn and -mën in Various RC Types

| RC Type | Subject of RC | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---|
| | 1SG/2SG | other |
| Past Tense Finite | <u>-sîn</u> | <u>-n/-mën</u> |
| Finite <u>-npë'</u> , DIST-AUX | <u>-sîn</u> |  |
| Finite <u>-npë'</u> , PROX-AUX | <u>-sîn</u> | <u>-sîn</u> |
| Less Finite <u>-npë'</u> | <u>mën</u> | <u>mën</u> |

The only part of the split which is relatively easy to explain synchronically is the exclusive use of mên for less finite RCs. This is because less finite verbs are still linked to the syntax of their historical status as derived nominals. As a relativizer, -sîn never appears on lexical nouns; the less finite verbs are evidently not far enough removed from their historical nominal status for -sîn to appear. The rest of the split does not transparently correlate with any synchronic functional distinction. Thus, I will conjecture about possible historical functional patterns and about language specific pressures which might have led these patterns to grammaticalize as they have.

I hypothesize that the current alternation between the relativizers -sîn and -mên can be motivated with reference to the proximal deixis of the form from which each is derived. The relativizer -mên is completely homophonous with the distal deictic pronoun mên 'INAN.INVIS'. Looking at Panare alone, the most likely antecedent of the relativizer -sîn is the proximal deictic pronoun sî 'INAN.VISIB': the pronoun refers to inanimate entities and the relativizer agrees with an inanimate NPrel, the sî element is transparently homophonous, and since the other relativizers are homophonous with--and probably historically derived from--pronouns, the argument from analogy also applies. The particular opposition between the pronouns sî and mên is actually as much visual as deictic, and there is an intermediate pronoun mu 'INAN.DIST.VISIB' which is both distal and visible. Thus, the pronouns sî and mên could be thought of as coding an evidential (visible versus invisible) rather than a deictic distinction.

The deictic sense of the relativizer -sîn is most readily used to explain its exclusive use in finite -npě' RCs with the proximal AUX na'. That is, visible equals proximal and invisible equals distal, and since all clauses with the proximal AUX are proximal in both time and space, only the relativizer derived from the proximal pronoun, -sîn, appears. It appears regardless of the person of the subject, and regardless of the grammatical relation of NPrel.

In past tense, the alternation between -sîn and -mên is not so clearly related to the deixis of the action, or of NPrel. Instead, the alternation is strictly grammatical: -sîn appears with 1SG and 2SG subjects, and -mên appears with all other subjects. But a closer look reveals that this dichotomy is not entirely arbitrary. Consider:

- 1) There is a grammatical split all through the grammar of Panare with 1SG and 2SG arrayed against all other persons and numbers: the proximal pronominal particle is a zero-morpheme for 1SG and 2SG and it is kě' 'ANIM.PROX' for all other animate persons; finite verbs agree with 1SG and 2SG agents even with a preceding object, but with other subjects this is not the case; and finite -npě' clauses with proximal AUX may have a 1SG or 2SG subject, but 3SG subjects are not allowed. The pattern is clear in a number of constructions in the grammar that 1SG and 2SG subjects are different than other subjects.
- 2) 1SG and 2SG subjects are inherently here and now (i.e. proximal). I hypothesize that clauses which involve 1SG and 2SG entities are more likely to involve here-and-now events as well. By extension,

if an event takes place here and now, then all participants in the event are also likely to be here and now. If the relativizer -sin was originally used as a relative pronoun for proximal NPrels, then it likely appeared most frequently when the subjects of the RC were first and second persons. Givón (pc) is fond of saying that if a form A co-occurs a high enough percentage of the time with a function B, then the form B associated with function B may be reanalyzed as being required whenever form A occurs. If NPrels are proximal a high percentage of the time that 1SG and 2SG are the subjects of finite RCs, or if 1SG and 2SG are the subjects of finite RCs a high percentage of the time that NPrels are proximal, then the form associated with the inanimate proximal NPrels might have been reanalyzed as being required with 1SG and 2SG subjects regardless of the deixis of NPrel. Thus, the Panare split between 1SG/2SG and everyone else could be easily re-created in the syntax of relativization.

Even if this hypothesis works for past tense finite RCs, it is no help in explaining why the relativizer -mën is not allowed to appear with finite -npë' RCs with distal AUX (wa' '1-AUX; ma' '2/3-AUX'). But actually, this is part of a larger question than simply distribution of the inanimate relativizers. I have no examples of a finite verb in an RC with a 1SG or 2SG subject taking -mën. For a reason I cannot explain, third person subjects seem to be excluded entirely from finite -npë' RCs with distal AUX; rather the less finite RC strategy is used cf §3.3.1.1). Thus, the fact that -mën cannot occur in finite -npë' RCs with distal AUX is actually a side-effect of a more important exclusion:

third person subjects cannot appear at all in these constructions. Again, 1SG and 2SG subjects are syntactically set apart.

T. Payne (pc) has suggested that the notion of Speech Act Participant (SAP) is critical in Panare, and might provide insight into the motivation behind these grammatical patterns. This notion separates the world into two groups--those who are participating the ongoing speech acts at the time of speaking, and those who are not. This is certainly consistent with the systematic division in Panare, since 1SG and 2SG are the only persons who are guaranteed to be participating in every speech act--that is, 1SG and 2SG, the speaker and the hearer, are inherently proximal in a way that no other entities in the world of discourse can be. Perhaps further research will connect the evidential distinctions inherent in the notion of speech act participant to the alternation between -sin and -n/-mën.

CHAPTER 4
CONCLUSION

The biggest issue addressed in this thesis is central to any description of any language: what is a verb, what is not, and how can we tell the difference? It is clear that Panare has different levels of finiteness in main clause verbal inflections, levels which can be characterized both structurally and formally. One extreme in characterizing these levels would be that adopted by Derbyshire and Koehn & Koehn: there are only finite verbs and non-finite (nominalized) verbs. This extreme is inappropriate for a description of Panare. Another view might suggest that all verbs are equally finite except (maybe) a very few nominalizations. This view, too, seems to miss some of the richness of Panare syntax. The finite verbs (past tenses and AUX) have one set of agreement prefixes, one set of inflectional suffixes, and one type of relativization. Lexical nouns have a different type of agreement prefixes, a different type of possession (inflectional) suffixes, and predicate nominals have a different kind of syntax than finite main clauses. In the middle, in the classic sense of the term participium 'partaking of both' (Jespersen 1924), we have the less-finite verbs. They have nominal agreement prefixes (with one verbal difference), a more nominal relativization morphology, and predicate nominal auxiliaries, but they have verbal word order freedom, and verbal meanings. The participium analysis treats finite verbs as

finite, nominals as nouns, and points out the appropriate middle treatment for those forms which belong fully to neither.

ENDNOTES

- All examples in this thesis were gathered in Caicara de Orinoco, Estado Bolívar, in elicitation sessions with Pragedes Salas (PS), Miguel Castillo (MC), Manuel Castro (MK), and Rafael Moncala (RM). None of the examples in this thesis are from natural text, although I have consulted some texts while formulating hypotheses.
- See Gildea 1989ms for a syntactic description of object nominalization in Panare and a discussion of cognate constructions in five other Cariban languages.
- Intransitive verbs inflected with *-sa*, *-pë*, or *-n* agree with S, while those inflected with *-ñe* or *-ñepë* do not take agreement prefixes. See Payne & Payne (to appear) for details.
- They do not, however, have identical morphophonemic characteristics. Some verb stems have two forms, a long form and a short form, which alternate depending on the phonemic structure of the suffix which appears on the verb (Matei-Muller 1981, T. Payne, pc). The short forms of the verb stems appear with the suffixes *-ya'* and *-yake*, and the long forms appear with *-i/-e*. Below, the verb *u'/utu* 'to give' appears with each of the three, taking the truncated form *u'* with *-ya'* and *-yake* and the long form *utu* with *-i/-e*:

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------|
| <i>-ya'</i> | <i>tu'ya' chu</i> | 'I gave' |
| | <i>mu'ya' amën</i> | 'you gave' |
| | <i>nu'ya' kën</i> | 's/he gave' |
| <i>-i/-e</i> | <i>tutui yu</i> | 'I gave' |
| | <i>mutui amën</i> | 'you gave' |
| | <i>nutui kën</i> | 's/he gave' |
| <i>-yake</i> | <i>tu'yake yu</i> | 'I gave' |
| | <i>mu'yake amën</i> | 'you gave' |
| | <i>nu'yake kën</i> | 's/he gave' |

- When this analysis is extended to the intransitive prefix set, the result is a split system, where 1SG agreement is unique (i.e. S, A, and O agreement are all different), 2SG/PL and 1+3-2 agreement follow a nominative/accusative pattern (S and A take the same prefix, O is different) and 3SG/PL and 1+2±3 follow an ergative/absolute pattern (S and O take the same prefix, A is different). This is schematized below:

1SG: S = wi-
A = ti- O = Ø^(y)-

Nominative/Accusative Pattern

2SG/PL: S = mi-
A = mi- O = a(y)-

1+3-2: S = anáni-
A = anáni- O = ni-

Ergative/Absolute Pattern

3SG/PL; 1+2±3: S = ni-
A = Ø- O = ni-

Conversely, T. Payne (pc) has suggested that we treat the transitive agreement prefixes as an inverse system, where, regardless of who did what to whom, the verb agrees with the argument which is highest on the following hierarchy: 2 > 1 > NP.O > 3 (where NP.O = a preverbal object noun phrase in place of an agreement prefix). In the cases where the patient is higher on the hierarchy than the agent, the prefix *y-* appears (but note the allomorph: *y-* --> Ø/ +C) and the agreement prefix is homophonous with the genitive prefix. Under this analysis, the *y-* would be marking the 'inverse' agreement of the verb (i.e. object agreement instead of subject agreement). The pattern would then be:

1A --> 3O = Direct = ti- 1S = wi-
2A --> 3O = Direct = mi- 2S = mi-
3A --> 3O = Direct = ni- 3S = ni-
1+2A-> 3O = Direct = ni- 1+2S = ni-
1+3A-> 3O = Direct = anáni- 1+3S = anáni-
1A --> NP.O = Direct = NP ^-ti-
2A --> NP.O = Direct = NP ^-mi-
1+3A-> NP.O = Direct = NP anáni-

2A --> 1O = Direct? = mi^- (this could be 1O+2A: Ø^+mi-)
1A --> 2O = Direct = ki- (this form appears in a few dialects)
1A --> 2O = Inverse = a-y- (this form is more common)

1+2A or 3A --> 1O = Inverse = Ø^-y- 1GEN = Ø^-y-
1+2A or 3A --> 2O = Inverse = a-y- 2GEN = a-y-
1+2A or 3A --> 1+3O = Inverse = ana^-y- 1+3GEN = ana^-y-
(NP^-y-?)
1+2A or 3A --> NP.O = Inverse = NP ^-y- NP.GEN = NP ^-y-
1+2GEN = NP ^-y-
3GEN = yi-

6. In the examples, the // glottal stop phoneme may be pronounced either as [h] or as [ʔ]; Matei-Muller (1981) and Price (pc) mark // and /j/ as separate phonemes. Price makes an additional distinction between // and /c/ for word final glottal stops. I subsume all of these distinctions under the one phoneme. The sequence of characters /ch/ represents a single palatal affricate [c]. The aim of this paper is a description of syntax--I have not done a thorough phonological analysis. My current choice of phonemic system reflects an earlier period in the work of Payne and Payne, and I continue to use it here because it depicts the phonology as simply as possible. I expect to use different orthography in future work, as I come to understand the phonological system better.
7. But see the preceding note.
8. D. Payne (pc) wonders whether there might not be a pause separating A off from the OV unit when AOV order appears in examples like 6. I did not record a pause, but I was also not paying a great deal of attention to pause phenomena at the time I transcribed these examples.
9. Price (pc) reports that AVO is an impossible order in the dialect of Panare which she studies. For Price's dialect, this clause would be OVA with an 'out of focus object'.
10. Some speakers of Panare have lost the k- prefix for 1A20, but it is attested in many other Cariban languages--Carib of Surinam (Hoff 1968), Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985), Apalaí (Koehn & Koehn 1986), Cariña (Mosonyi 1982), Kuikúro (Franchetto to appear), De'kwana (Hall 1989)--showing that it is not an innovation in Panare.
11. Price (pc) reports that in the dialect she works with, the agreement prefix ay- '20' is also acceptable with 1SG subjects: ava'kapoya' chu 'I hit you.'
12. I call i more generic because it is the vowel which most frequently appears epenthetically when consonant prefixes appear on consonant initial verbs.
13. These examples show a second peculiarity of the 1SG pronoun--it is the only object which is allowed to come between the verb and the postverbal subject. Again, it appears that yu cliticizes to the verb, as the glottal stop on the suffix ya' becomes a long vowel. Postverbal 1SG object is never ambiguous with postverbal 1SG subject because the initial y- of the subject pronoun affricativizes to ch- following the glottal. The alternation is demonstrated below:

1SG Object:

pétyumayaayu kën
 ^ -petyúma-ya' -yu kën
 10-hit -PAST-1SG ANIM.DIST

'He hit me'

1SG Subject:

típetyúmaya' chu kën
 t -petyúma-ya' yu kën
 1A30-hit -PAST 1SG ANIM.DIST

'I hit him.'

One of the more interesting facts about this distinction is that other postverbal subjects do not affricativize; even the 1+2-3 pronoun yuto, which clearly contains the formative yu, does not:

nípetyúmaya' yuto kën
 n -petyúma-ya' yuto kën
 3A30-hit -PAST 1+2-3 ANIM.INVIS

'We hit him.'

*nípetyúmaya' chuto kën
 (we hit him)

14. I use AUX as a label for the defective verb a'; in §2.4 I will use the term auxiliary as a more inclusive label for the set of forms which act as auxiliaries for less finite verbs: pronominal particles, AUX, and the inflected verb ichi/e' 'be'. The term 'defective verb' is borrowed from the label Hoff (1968) applies to the cognate form wa in Carib of Surinam.
15. Hereafter, when I refer to properties of mën in my exposition, I will be subsuming the short form n as well; when I refer to në', I will be subsuming the two long forms mnë' and mëné' as well. Different speakers treat different forms as more basic, but all speakers recognize all of these forms as being in free variation, and as I am most familiar with the forms mën and në', those are the forms I use in my description.
16. Jana Price (pc) suggests that the pronominal particle mën also co-occurs with 1+3-2 and with 2SG/PL subjects, the form we'nëkon occurs with 1+2+3 subjects, and there is an explicitly past tense pronominal particle, nëjkánë' which appears at least with 3SG subjects. In the dialect of Panare which I studied, I have examples of mën occurring with 2SG subjects in questions, but none in standard predicate nominal clauses. I hope to elicit examples of the other forms in future field work.
17. Of course, this is too simplistic a statement to be true in the real world--it holds only when the speakers are operating in a strict structural semantic paradigm. In real use of the language, when a

Panare is living in a Spanish-speaking (SP. criollo) town and he no longer observes traditional ways, Panare speakers can say of him:

Tato kē' kēn 'He's being a criollo'.

And if that same Panare visits home regularly, and resumes traditional ways while at home, his Panare friends in the city can say of him:

E'ñapa kē' kēn 'He's being a Panare'.

It is only when the richness of metaphor in language (cf Lakoff 1987) is artificially restricted (e.g. in an elicitation session with a linguist) that these possibilities are discounted and examples such as 29 and 30 are not accepted.

18. A fascinating area of future investigation will be to see how the system adapts when this is no longer the case. Two of our language consultants were familiar with telephones and had spoken on them, but only in Spanish. When a telephone conversation is held in Panare, the inherent proximity of the 2SG interlocutor will be lost. It will be interesting to see whether speakers will treat the current distinctions as grammatical rules even when the pragmatic conditions that are currently associated with the rules change, or if the constructions will change to mirror the new pragmatic conditions.
19. It is interesting to note, however, that in Hoff's description of the defective verb wa, there are two anomalous forms in the present tense portion of the paradigm, man '3.be' and mana '2.be'. These two forms do not take tense suffixes or person prefixes, so they are restricted to the present tense and to their respective persons. If these two forms are extracted from the paradigm, the other forms are fall into a regular inflectional pattern for the verb wa (cognate to Panare a'). It might be that these two irregular forms in Carib of Surinam derive historically from the same source as the pronominal particles in Panare, namely pronouns.
20. My data concerning AUX seem to be conclusive for singular subjects, but further research is needed to clarify plurals. I have no examples of yuto '1+2-3' or yutakon '1+2+3' with AUX; I predict that both take the m- prefix in statements, and n- for questions. In my one example of ana '1+3-2', the AUX form is anama', which could be either the subject pronoun ana preceding the inflected verb, or it could be that the prefix for 1+3-2 is anam-.
21. Both Price (pc) and Matei-Muller (pc) report that the -pa suffix alternates with -pa. Price suggests that the alternation is conditioned by a specific syntactic environment: "pe always becomes pa before we'cha [we'cha in the body of the thesis--SG] or any other -sa suffix". Matei-muller suggests that there is an evidential distinction between the two: "-pe is used when the speaker doesn't

refer to a previous knowledge or a generalization". Both report that in a predicate nominal clause where the predicate noun bears -pe, the meaning must be interpreted as 'X has the qualities of Y', 'X is like, or as a Y' rather than 'X is a Y'. Both Price and Matei-Muller have vastly more experience with the Panare language than I, and although my current data do not reflect on any of the points they make, I expect that in further field work I will encounter the phenomena they describe.

22. AUX is clearly a verb with the base form a', which takes agreement prefixes for person of the subject when it appears as a free form. T. Payne (pc) has also suggested that the past tense suffix -ya' might be historically derived from the (synchronically) semantically empty y- prefix plus a' AUX. This hypothesis is supported by other facts in Panare grammar--all vowel-initial verbs take the y- when their object precedes them, and a' 'AUX' is a vowel initial verb; also, verbs without suffixes can be analyzed as NPs, so it is possible to view a bare stem as an object NP. Hence, the 'object' (verb with no suffix) preceding the vowel initial verb a' 'AUX' causes the phonological rule to insert a y- prefix, and we have the synchronic suffix -ya'.
23. Paul Witte (pc with Payne & Payne) notes that ñ is a phonologically predictable allomorph of n. Thus, this prefix is not truly irregular. Also, when ichi/e' 'be' takes the -sa 'PERF' suffix, the resulting form is invariant: we'cha (w-e'-sa). Usually when intransitive verbs bear -sa, personal prefixes also appear, agreeing with 1SG, 2SG and 3SG subjects. However, this is not truly irregular, because whenever the subject of any verb inflected with -sa appears preverbally, the agreement prefix drops off, leaving behind a non-agreeing w- prefix. In a copular clause, both nominals refer to the same entity, so in some sense both nominals are the subject. Thus, the preverbal NP is always the subject and hence the non-agreeing w- prefix.
24. Price (pc) notes that in the dialect of Panare which she studies, the suffix -pe is obligatorily expressed as -pa when it precedes a verb inflected with -sa (cf also note 20).
25. The basic facts of A and O agreement are the same for verbs bearing a number of other less finite suffixes: -ñe, -sa, -pē, -se'pe, -se'pa, -tēpi, and t-...-sen. S agreement for intransitives falls into two groups: verbs bearing -nēpē' and -ñe have only pronominal particle/AUX/COP agreement with subject--the verb takes no agreement prefixes. Verbs bearing -n, -sa, and -pē have double subject agreement, once via pronominal particle/AUX/COP, and again via agreement prefixes on the verb.
26. Examples of the stages from Vesser 1966: the strong nominal syntax demonstrated in stage one (13th century) continues even when the verb bearing -ing begins to function with verbal meaning in stage II/III (15th century). Note the use of determiners and the placing

of the 'object' of the verb in an 'of' phrase. By stage IV (modern English) these nominal trappings are no longer allowed with the verbal use of -ing.

- I 'false scheauwunges and dredful offerunges' (1225)
 'a great coming of angels' (1350)
- II & III 'He was in the forest an huntunge' (1470)
 '...whyle the turnement was adovnge' (1470)
 'He is building of a house' (1414)
 'I am doynge of my nedynge' (1475)
- IV 'There was a balancing of accounts at the end of the day.'
 'I was balancing accounts.'
 *I was a balancing of accounts
27. Price (pc) notes that this construction is not possible in the dialect of Panare which she studies. The only way to interpret this example would be by assuming that këyu 'ANIM.PROX-1SG' was actually nkë-yu 'also-1SG, and the translation would then change to 'I am also hitting him.'
28. PS says aire 'meat' with no glottal stop (cf example 4 above). MC frequently says aire' 'meat' with a glottal stop, which causes the affricativization in this example; however, he is not consistent.
29. I do not have the data to address the question of whether all orders of A and O that appear with finite verbs can also appear with less finite verbs. Specifically, I have no examples of the orders AOV or AVO in main clauses with less finite verbs. It is possible that the constraint that subjects always follow predicate nominals is maintained for less finite constructions in main clauses. That is, the subject does not (cannot?) precede the predicate in any of the predicate nominal constructions, and when less finite verbs appear in main clauses, it is always in the frame of a predicate nominal clause; thus I would expect the subject to follow the predicate of a main clause with a less finite verb as well. This is an area that would benefit from further investigation.
30. The use of yo' 'meat.CL' as a genitive classifier is originally reported in Matei-Muller (1973); Payne and Carlson (to appear) include this form in a typological discussion of genitive classifiers. I record the underlying form as o' 'meat.CL' because the t- '3' possessive prefix is attested in my data only on vowel-initial nouns. However, Matei-Muller (1973) claims that t- also appears on nouns which begin with the semi-vowel y-. All possessed vowel initial nouns all appear with a y- prefix (which does not appear on consonant initial nouns), and thus the possessed form of a vowel initial noun and a y- initial noun would be identical. The only test I could imagine to ascertain whether a noun is vowel initial rather than y- initial would be to elicit the unpossessed form. In all cases where I have done this, the unpossessed form is

vowel initial--I have yet to encounter a noun which begins with y- except when possessed. Matei-Muller's examples of y- initial forms are all genitive classifiers, which perhaps do not have unpossessed forms. I do not know by what means she disambiguates vowel initial from y- initial classifiers, so I am maintaining the vowel initial spelling pending clarification. It is true that o' is prominently used as the word for manioc beer, and it would be nice to treat this classifier as a different form so as to avoid ambiguity.

31. The syntax of true nominalizations needs to be explored with reference to this question. I have no data which parallel the examples of possessed lexical nouns in predicate nominal clauses, but I was unsuccessful in attempts to get the possessor of a nominalized verb to appear anywhere except preceding the derived nominal.
32. For the dialect of Panare she is familiar with Price (pc) reports that, except in direct quotes of conversation, auxiliaries are never used in discourse. In contrast, she reports that any complete sentence requires an auxiliary in dialogue.
33. See Gildea 1989ms for a description of the object nominalizing prefix ni- in Panare, and for a comparison to cognate constructions in Apalai, Carib of Surinam, Hixkaryana, Makuxi, and Kuikuro.
34. I give these two the same gloss because I have not discovered a consistent semantic feature which distinguishes the two. This section, §3.3.2, and §3.4 present the distinguishing environment.
35. I'm not prepared to argue this now, but I suspect that -sin 'REL.INAN' can be analyzed as si 'PROX.INAN' plus -n (mën) 'NMLZR?/COP?'. The -mën 'REL.INAN' in alternation with -sin might then be analyzed as mu 'DIST.INAN' plus -n (mën). I don't know yet what the syntactic implications of this claim would be, and it would certainly cloud the already murky analysis of the various mëns. For now it is better to keep -sin and -mën as unanalyzed units.
36. The parallel also seems to hold with the suffixes that appear on modifier NPs. The following shows all of the sets of forms to which në' and mën belong:

COPULAR PRONOMINAL PARTICLES:

NP PRONOMINAL PARTICLES:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Ø | 1SG/2SG.PROX | | |
| kë' | 3/PL.PROX | | |
| <u>mënë'/mnë'/në'</u> | <u>ANIM.DIST</u> | <u>mënë'/mnë'/në'</u> | <u>ANIM</u> |
| <u>mën/-n/-m</u> | <u>INAN</u> | <u>mën/-n/-m</u> | <u>INAN</u> |

PRONOUNS:

RELATIVIZERS:

| | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-------------|--|-------------|
| mě' | ANIM.PROX | | | |
| muku | ANIM.DIST.VISIB | | | |
| kěn | ANIM.NOVIS | | | |
| <u>ně'</u> | <u>ANIM.OPRO</u> | <u>-ně'</u> | | <u>ANIM</u> |
| si | INAN.PROX | -sin | | INAN |
| mu | INAN.DIST.VISIB | | | |
| <u>měn</u> | <u>INAN.NOVIS</u> | <u>-měn</u> | | <u>INAN</u> |

37. One consultant (RM) allowed relative clauses without a gap--i.e. with no missing argument. He also allowed various orders of subject and object within an RC. When I constructed the examples below, this consultant accepted and interpreted them. None of our other consultants would either accept or interpret them.

- (a) ?tiya' kěn nipetyúmayaaně' Paco
 të-ya' kěn n -petyúma-ya' -ně' Paco
 go-PAST ANIM.INVISIB 3A30-hit -PAST-REL.ANIM Paco
 ?'He who hit Paco left.'
- (b) ?tiya' kěn petyumayaaně' Paco
 të-ya' kěn Ø^ -petyúma-ya' -ně' Paco
 go-PAST ANIM.INVISIB 1SG-hit -past-REL.ANIM Paco
 ?'Paco who hit me left (Paco hit me and left).'
- (c) ?tiya' kěn nipetyúmayaaně' Toman Paco
 të-ya' kěn n -petyúma-ya' -ně' Toman Paco
 go-PAST ANIM.INVISIB 3A30-hit -PAST-REL.ANIM Tom Paco
 ?'Tom hit paco and (Paco) left.'

I have only two possible interpretations of this data: one is to believe that although the consultant would never say these sentences, he was willing to humor the silly linguist by trying to figure out what they might mean, since the silly linguist did say them. The other is that this one consultant speaks a very different dialect from the other three consultants, and that there is an alternate strategy for forming RCs in his dialect. This alternate strategy could be characterized in a more complete treatment of various dialects of Panare, but in this paper I will focus on only the syntactic features of RCs which are shared by all of our consultants.

38. The -n '?' suffix on the verb oromaepu 'speak' is common to several verbs of sound. It is seems to function as a verbalizer in the pair waare 'song' / waaren 'sing', and may be duplicating that function here.

39. In 100 the story was told of a man who owned a monkey and then went away for a few days. While he was gone, "I" did the man the favor of feeding his monkey. Thus, the original sentence with which this example was elicited was 'I gave bananas to the monkey for the man.' Subsequently, when the other three consultants were asked to translate the example back into Spanish, they gave the alternate translations. Three of the four treated uya as DATIVE, while the other (RM) treated it as BENefactive. Two agreed that pě meant 'in trade for', while the other two considered it BEN (MC) or DAT (RM).

40. y --> ch / ' + ____

The only morphosyntactic environments where this rule holds are:

- 1) word-internal
- 2) In the configuration GEN-NP, vowel initial NPs take a y- prefix when they are immediately preceded by a genitive NP. In this environment, when the genitive NP ends in a glottal, the y- prefix on the vowel initial possessed NP affricativizes.
- 3) When the direct object of a verb immediately precedes that verb (and the subject is third person for past tense verbs), a vowel initial verb takes a y- prefix. If the object NP ends in a glottal, the y- prefix on the vowel initial verb affricativizes.
- 4) When a glottal appears at the end of an inflected verb, the subject is 1SG, and the 1SG pronoun yu appears immediately following the verb, then the form of the 1SG pronoun is chu (cf also note 12).

41. It might be suggested that these examples do not demonstrate to what extent the prefix allows recovery of the grammatical relation, since they all have 1SG subject in the RC, rather than the potentially more ambiguous 3SG subject. However, I believe that the efficacy of the resumptive pronoun strategy has already been demonstrated for NPrel's which are not subject or object. By analogy, if the subject (and object) of NPrel are already present, and the only anaphoric device in the RC is the anaphoric reference made with a possessor prefix (cf possessor prefixes on postpositions earlier in this section), then the logical conclusion will be that NPrel is the possessor.

42. Language consultants do not agree on the preferred form for -n/-mën. MC suggests that -mën is more correct and -n is a lazy, shortened version. PS allows -mën, although he prefers -n in most environments. MK does not allow -mën at all, only -n. RM gave me all of the original examples with -n, and I was unable to check whether he also allows -mën. Because all four allow -n as the relativizer, my conclusion is that -n is more basic now, but since

it is probably historically a reduction of -mën, I still show -mën as the underlying form. This is not meant to be a firm, principled conclusion, but only an arbitrary choice made to facilitate presentation.

43. ñá 'fall' is an unusual verb. It either does not take the 3SG agreement prefix n-, or the prefix assimilates to the initial ñ of the verb stem. Thus, the paradigm for ñá in past tense is

| | |
|---------|------------------|
| wiñaya' | 'I fell' |
| miñaya' | 'you fell' |
| ñaya' | 'he/she/it fell' |

I am glossing the examples as though the n- prefix occurs, but is assimilated. This is an arbitrary decision on my part, and I await a more thorough phonological analysis of Panare to make such decisions consistent within the entire system.

44. This is not to claim that an RC is in fact a nominalization--I define nominalizations to be cases where a noun is derived from a verb. In Panare, the morphosyntactic implications of a nominalization are that the derived nominal now has a valence of only one (the genitive), which is filled by one of the core participants in the action schema denoted by the original verb. Other participants must be expressed in oblique phrases if they are to be expressed at all. In RCs, the syntactic relationship between the participants and the verb do not change, as the transitive verb retains a valence of 2, but the entire clause becomes a nominal for the purposes of main clause syntax.

45. D. Payne notes that if the two are independent NPs in a main clause, then two questions will eventually have to be addressed:
- 1) What, if any, syntactic connection is there between the two NPs such that we know that they (as opposed to some third NP) are coreferential?
 - 2) How can one grammatical relation be expressed twice in one clause by syntactically independent constituents? Since both NPs surely share one grammatical relation (GR), what in the structure of Panare clauses allows speakers to recognize which two NPs share a given GR if they are not somehow subsumed within one superordinate NP?

The word order facts for RCs and their heads are precisely parallel to the facts for modifiers and their heads. It may be premature to conclude that an NP and its modifier (or its RC) never form a complex syntactic constituent in Panare. The question should probably remain open pending development of a new syntactic test which might cast light on these troublesome data.

46. It is not always possible to separate the head from the RC. In 132 and 133, the RC takes the inanimate relativizer -n/-mën, and the only inanimate NP in the matrix clause is paraë; so there is no chance of confusion. In 132.a, the RC takes the animate relativizer në', and there are two animate NPs in the matrix clause which could be modified by the RC. When the RC immediately follows its head, the sentence is allowed. When the head apo' is placed preverbally (132.b), the sentence is disallowed.

- (a) nipetyúmaya' Toman 'apo'
n -petyúma-ya' Toman apo'
3A30-hit -PAST Thomas man

arakon yu'chaané' yúya
arakon u' -ya' -në' yu-uya
black.monkey give-past-REL.ANIM 1SG-DAT

'Tom hit the man who gave me a monkey.'

- (b) *apo' petyumaya' Toman
apo' ^ -petyúma-ya' Toman
man PO-hit -PAST Thomas

arakon yu'chaané' yúya
arakon u' -ya' -në' yu-uya
black.monkey give-past-REL.ANIM 1SG-DAT

(Tom hit the man who gave me a monkey)

I speculate that it is ambiguous which of the main clause NPs the RC in 132.b is coreferential with, i.e. perhaps the clause could be translated as nonrestrictive, like 'Tom, who gave me a monkey, hit the man'.

47. The NP paraë 'knife' need not appear in this clause, but if it is removed, the verb will no longer take the accent for Preceding Object (^- PO).
48. One additional test which might bear on this question is the replacement test, i.e. a single pronoun should be able to replace a single complex NP. Both the head and the RC may be replaced by a single pronoun (which may appear in the original location of either the head or the RC). This test thus confirms that head and NP are conceptually linked; but what sort of connection this implies at the level of surface syntax must be left to future investigation.
49. My consultants disagree over whether an RC can take a postposition if the head also appears. MC says that the RC should not take the postposition if the head is also present. PS and RM allow either the head or the RC or both to carry the postposition. This also parallels their treatment of modifying NPs, in that MC prefers that only the head bear the postposition, and PS and RM allow either or

both NPs to bear it, e.g. MC allows only the first example below, where PS and RM allow all three.

aire yíkítiya' chu parae kye aripí
 aire ^ -ikitë-ya' yu parae kye ari-pí
 meat PO-cut -PAST 1SG knife INST good-NEG

'I cut the meat with a bad knife.'

aire yíkítiya' chu parae kye aripí kye
 'I cut the meat with a bad knife.'

aire yíkítiya' chu parae aripí kye
 'I cut the meat with a bad knife.'

All three will allow the modifier to bear the postposition if the head does not appear:

aire yíkítiya' chu aripí kye
 aire ^ -ikitë-ya' yu ari-pí kye
 meat PO-cut -PAST 1SG good-NEG INST

'I cut the meat with a bad one.'

50. Also, the relativizer on the RC is -n, which means that NPrel must be inanimate. The NP aire 'meat' is treated as animate in Panare syntax. Thus parae is doubly sure to be the head, because it is also the only inanimate NP to which the RC might refer.
51. As described in note 39, one of the environments where y --> ch is when the 1SG subject pronoun yu follows an inflected verb which ends in a glottal stop. In 142 yu is the subject of the RC and it follows the inflected verb yipetyúampé 'hitting it'. If this were a main clause, and if there were no AUX (as there need not be in a main clause), the pronoun yu would have been realized as chu. I can only hypothesize that the affricativization of the 1SG pronoun in these environments requires both syntactic and phonological conditions to be met, and in this case, although the phonological conditions are met, the syntactic conditions are not. In Relational Grammar terms, perhaps yu must be the final 1 of the preceding verb in order for the affricativization to take place; if this is true, then we might argue that in this finite -npé' RC, yu is the final 1 of AUX rather than of the preceding verb yipetyúampé'. Since yu precedes the verb of which it is the final 1, the syntactic conditioning factor for affricativization is not met.
52. Once MC translated a less finite -npé' RC into a present progressive RC in Spanish. Then he translated an otherwise identical finite -npé' RC with proximal AUX with the same present progressive RC. When I asked what the difference was, he described the finite -npé' RC with proximal AUX as 'ahora mismo' (right now) and the less

finite -npé' RC as 'un poco más luego' (a little later). All uses of na' by all speakers are consistent with this pattern.

I suggest a somewhat complex test for future research: let's make the hypothesis that na' is always proximal. If na' appears in an RC, then the action must be going on right here and right now. Further, if an action is going on right here and now, then the patient of that action (the object of the RC) must also be right here right now undergoing the action, i.e. it must be proximal. If NPrel is the direct object of such an RC, then the external head (i.e. the NP which is coreferential with NPrel) must also be proximal. The distal pronouns kën 'ANIM.INVIS' or mën 'INAN.INVIS' should be disallowed for the external head of such an RC.

53. I have numerous examples of -n/-mën occurring with na' in cleft constructions, but none in RCs. In cleft constructions, naan or naamën seem to function as adverbs with a meaning of 'still', or 'continues to be'. Thus, consider

karya naan mën parae yinaamën
 karya n -a' -n mën parae yu ^ -n -amë-n
 good PROX-AUX-REL.INAN INAN knife 1SG PP-O.NMLZR-buy-COMP

The knife is still one that's good, that I'm gonna buy.

The sense of 'still' always appears with naan or naamën, although in other ways they appear to be straightforward cases of relativized proximal AUX. For a detailed explanation of the nominalization RC at the end of the clause, see Gildea 1989ms.

54. See footnote 35 for a list of all four of the sets in which mënë'/mnë'/në' and -n/mën appear.

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