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TYPOLOGICAL DISHARMONY AND ERGATIVITY IN GUAJAJARA¹

CARL H. HARRISON

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present some results of research on Guajajara (G), a Tupi-Guarani language of Northeast Brazil, with the hope of contributing some facts of interest to universal grammarians.²

Guajajara is unique in that due to its particular combination of morphological and syntactic traits, it is inconsistent in terms of commonly discussed typological parameters.

Some features of interest are:

1. Double cross-referencing of core NPs.
 - a. General accusativity in cross-referencing pronominal clitics attached to the end of clauses.
 - b. Mixed ergativity with accusativity in the cross-referencing pronominal verb prefixes.
2. Registration in the verb of topicalization of oblique nominals.
3. The division of clauses into spans for the purposes of placement of tense, and other clitics, with no regard for the particular syntactic relation that the material of a span has to the clause as a whole.
4. The ergativity-accusativity splits, none of which are unique in themselves, but whose combination in G may be unique. Those splits are on the basis of independency-dependency of the verb, volitionality of the subject, on whether or not the subject of the dependent intransitive verb is the same as the subject of the independent verb, volitionality of the subject, and whether or not the subject of the dependent intransitive verb is the same as the subject of the independent verb, and on whether or not the verb in the sentence is preceded by an oblique nominal such as locative, or by an adverb. A split also may be conditioned on the relationship of object to subject on the agency hierarchy.

1. Typological Disharmony in Guajajara

Some characteristics that make for typological disharmony are the following:

1.1 Dominant Order in Independent Clauses

Although Guajajara is verb-final in dependent clauses (with some exceptions made for heavy shift), the dominant order in independent clauses is VS0, in the rare cases where both S and O 3rd person nominals are present. Example:

- (1) u-munyk t-azyr i-petym h-eraha i-zupe a?e.
 3-1it 3-daughter 3-tobacco 3s-taking 3s-to 3

'His daughter lit his cigar (and took it) to him.'

A check of 200 pages of recorded texts of various kinds, mostly narrative, yields only the following basic types in independent transitive clauses when both S and O are present: VS0, 19 clauses; VOS, 4; SOV, 3; SOV, 2. There no recorded cases of OVS or OSV.

Sample sentences from text are given in the appendix. Further research by elicitation confirms lack of the orders OVS and OSV. When assignment of subject and object is unambiguous due to the semantics involved, a certain amount of latitude in word order is permitted.

For example, in the following sentence only the woman can be the agent and the mango the patient:

- (2) u - ?u kuzə məŋ.
 3 - eat woman mango

'The woman ate the mango.'

In examples of this sort the orders VSO, SV0, SOV, and VOS are all acceptable, but OSV and OVS remain unacceptable.

However, when assignment of subject and object is potentially ambiguous, the subject strictly precedes the object, though the verb may occur initially, medially, or finally. This phenomenon can be schematized as follows (where both nominals belong to the same selectional sub-class, i.e., animate, human):

VNN is interpreted as VSO
 NVN is interpreted as SV0
 NNV is interpreted as SOV.

That is, the first unmarked nominal in each case is interpreted as S, the second as O.

Thus sentences of the type 'John kill Bill, kill Bill John, etc.', gave, in a recent elicitation session with Floriano Gomez, a uniform interpretation. The first core nominal (N with no post-position) to occur was interpreted as subject, the second as object. Example:

- (3) u - zuka Zuəw Pet.
 3 - kill John Peter

'John killed Peter.'

As alluded to earlier, Guajajara is a language which is predominantly verbal. Nouns which are understood in the context are dropped, and are not replaced with pronouns. Nevertheless, on the rare occasions in text when the core nominals S and O both occur, two-thirds of these sentences show the order VSO, and one third combine the other three permitted orders: VOS, SV0, SOV.

The preceding discussion has shown that word order has variability of grammatical information load. When not called upon to signal grammatical function, the order does not (necessarily) do so. But when selectional ambiguity is possible, the order of the core nominals is called on to signal the grammatical function of those nominals. The position of the verb will tend toward its favorite spot before the nominals.

1.2 Guajajara is Post-Posing.

This is consistent with OV, not VO languages.

- (4) o - sok təzəz h - erah yŋu?a - pupe no.
3-pounded without.result 3 - take mortar-in again

'She pounded it (taking it) in the mortar again.'

1.3 Genitive-Nominal Order

Guajajara has the strict order Genitive-Nominal, consistent with OV.

- (5) u - hem zekaipo o - ho mykur-rekuhaw-pe.
3-arrive distant.past 3-go possum's-dwelling-at

'Going along she arrived at Possum's place.'

1.4 Yes-No Question Particle

The yes-no question particle generally comes first, more consistent with VO than OV.

- (6) u aipo ere - iko ko - rupi kyn.
oh question.marker 2s-are here-along woman.speaking.to.woman.

'Oh, you're here.'

However, the yes-no question particle can also appear in final position.

- (7) ere - ho aipo.
2s-go question.marker

'Did you go?'

1.5 Interrogative Words

Guajajara puts interrogative words first, more consistent with VO than OV.

- (8) marəzəwetuen he-rereko - pe ra'é.
 why me-treat-second.person.acting.
 on.first q.marker.for.immed.past

'Why did you treat me like that?'

- (9) Ma'e ere - zapo Ø - iko.
 What 2s-do 2s-continuative

'What are you doing?'

1.6 Volition and Purpose

Volition and purpose verbs follow main verbs. This is generally more consistent with VO than OV.

- (10) a - ha putar ihe nehe kury
 is-go future I future now.

'I'm going to go now.'

The form putar when used as a main verb means 'to want'. It has specialized as a modal meaning 'future'.

1.7 Inflected Auxiliary

The inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb, as in consistent OV languages.

- (11) ere - zewyr e - zuwə.
 2s-return 2s-coming

'You returned.'

Auxiliaries comprise a small class of verbs indicating direction, position or aspect. Verbs which can occur as auxiliaries have an auxiliary paradigm that differs in some respects from their independent, dependent, and oblique topicalization (ob.top.) paradigms. The (irregular) singular paradigm for 'come' will illustrate this.

	Ind	Aux	Ob.top	Dep
1s	a-zur 1s-come	tuwə my.coming.mode	---- ----	he-zur-mehe 1s-come-when
2s	ere-zur	e-zuwə	----	ne-zur-mehe
3s	ur	wə	tur	tur-mehe/ur mehe

1.8 Nominal-Adjective Order

Guajajara has the order Nominal-Adjective, generally more consistent with VO than OV. This will be discussed below as a permissible order in (OV) Basque type languages.

- (12) inamu - sin zekaipo h - eimaw romo.
 nhambu(bird)-white distant.past 3s-pet was

'His pet was a white nhambu bird.'

Adjectival ideas may also be expressed by inflected stative verbs. When these are used, they occur clause-initially following the basic VS order of the language, and cannot be considered part of the noun phrase.

- (13) h - urywete Zuəw a?e.
 3s - happy John 3

'John is happy.'

1.9 Demonstrative-Noun and Number-Noun

Guajajara has the generally more VO-consistent order Demonstrative-Noun and Number-Noun.

- (14) mukuz kwaharer wə kury.
 two boys plural now

'They now became two boys.'

- (15) ?əŋ təpuz - me h - eko - n
 that house - in 3 - be - ob.top.register

'He is in that house.'

1.10 Comparative Constructions

In comparative constructions, the order is Adjective-marker-standard.of.comparison (VO consistent).

- (16) $\frac{\emptyset - \text{uhua?u}}{3 - \text{big}} \frac{\text{wera?u}}{\text{more}} \frac{\text{i} - \text{zuwi}}{3 - \text{than}} \frac{\text{a?e}}{3}$

'He is bigger than him.'

1.11 Place Names

Guajajara has the order Proper-Common with place names.

- (17) $\frac{\text{Merez}}{\text{'Belem city.'}} \frac{\text{taw.}}{\text{'Belem city.'}}$

But, Common (title) - Proper with person names.

- (18) $\frac{\text{tuihaw}}{\text{'Chief Zekin.'}} \frac{\text{Zekin.}}{\text{'Chief Zekin.'}}$

1.12 Noun-Postposition

Guajajara has the ordering Noun-Postposition but the inflectional and derivational affixes are prefixes, consistent with Preposition-Noun and VO.

- (19) $\frac{\text{w} - \text{esak.}}{3 - \text{see}}$

'He saw it.'

- (20) $\frac{\text{u} - \text{ze} - \text{esak.}}{3 - \text{reflexive} - \text{see}}$

'He saw himself.'

- (21) $\frac{\text{he} - \text{resak.}}{1s - \text{see}}$

'(He) saw me.'

In summary, G splits the group of major typological characteristics thus:

OV characteristics: N-Postposition, Genitive-N, MainV-Aux,
Common-Prop(er)(person);
VO characteristics: QInterrog-S, MainV-Volitional, N-Adj,
N-Rel, Dem-N, Num-N, Adj-Marker-Standard.of.comparison,
Prop(er)-Common(place).

It seems reasonable to hypothesize that G is a language in transition from one major type to another. If this is not the case, then we must be prepared to accept previously unknown stable states. There aren't many languages around with this kind of disharmony, if we take previous work in the field to be representative.

2. Groups of Consistent Languages

Consistent languages of the two basic types OV and VO harmonize with the ordering features as charted below. Generally a nominal is related to Preposition (Prep) or Postposition (Pos) in the same way that the object nominal is related to V. The nominal modifiers Adjective (Adj) and Genitive (Gen) are related to N as O is to V. Thus the indicated combinations are compatible for OV and VO types respectively:

OV Type: O-V N-Pos Gen-N Adj-N

VO Type: V-O Prep-N N-Gen N-Adj

Consistent VO languages form two of the largest types (Greenberg 1963: 87,8):

Type 1, VSO, Polynesian and many others

Type 2, SOV, Romance and many others

Consistent OV languages form one of the largest type;
Type 23, SOV, Japanese and many others.

The only other type with a substantial number of languages and families is type 24, the Basque type (OV, N-Pos, Gen-N, N-Adj) with the N-Adj feature being inconsistent. A number of other language types permit Adj-N/N-Adj inconsistency. Only a few languages allow Prep-N/N-Pos and Gen-N/N-Gen inconsistency, confirming that these two features are more faithful to type.

Hawkins (1979:645) shows that the C-Adj disharmony is permissible in a large number of languages. According to his tabulation (my adaptation), of the languages studied,

consistent	OV	N-Post	Adj-N	Gen-N	has 29 languages,
slightly inconsistent	OV	N-Post	N-Adj	Gen-N	has 24,
whereas	OV	N-Post	N-Adj	N-Gen	has only 7,
and	OV	N-Post	Adj-N	N-Gen	has none.

Greenberg (1963:79) discusses the forces that make N-Adj less true to type. If we take OV/VO, N-Post/Prep-N, and Gen-N/N-Gen as the 'core', we can add to our original three completely consistent types (1, 9, 23) the core-consistent types 2 (VSO, a fair number of languages), 10 (SVO, Germanic and others), and 24, (SOV, the largest core-consistent type with almost as many languages as groups 1, 9, and 23.)

Group 24, the Basque type, has languages from various stocks and areas. The N-Adj inconsistency, therefore, appears to be quite tolerable. Kanela (Popjes, 1972) and a number of other languages of the Ge family (Brazil) appear to be of this type. Mundurukú (Crofts, 1973) a Tupian language of Central Brazil, also appears to be of this type. Besides being of the same type, these two languages have the characteristic of pure morphological ergativity in the cross-referencing of core nominals by verb prefixes (i.e., agreement with the absolutive: the subject of intransitives and the object of transitives), but no case marking.

For convenience we will refer to languages with Basque typology, ergatively organized verb prefixes, and no case marking as the Central Brazil (CB) type. We notice that many Australian languages, a number of which manifest ergativity in the morphology, belong to the core-consistent Basque type. It may turn out to be the case that there is some sort of compatibility of the Basque type with morphological ergativity.

3. Guajajara and Type 8

We now turn to G to see if we can situate its tendencies in typological space. Of the various types listed (Greenberg, 1963; Hawkins, 1979), G fits under type 8, (VSO, N-Post, Gen-N, N-Adj). In Greenberg and Hawkins there are no examples for type 8. In fact, this particular combination is excluded from the realm of possibility in the Hawkins article. G inconsistency can be seen in more detail in this table. (Items not harmonizing with the VO/OV feature are underlined in each string.):

Dependent clauses:	OV	N-Post	Gen-N	<u>N-Adj</u>
Independent clauses:	VO	<u>N-Post</u>	<u>Gen-N</u>	<u>N-Adj</u>

Of Hawkins' (1979) six implicational universals, G clearly violates number II:

$$\text{VSO} \supset (\text{N-Adj} \supset \text{N-Gen})$$

The basic order, statistically two-thirds of the cases occurring in native speaker monologues, is VSO. A word of caution is in order with respect to this problem. As mentioned above, only a very small proportion of transitive clauses actually contain both a nominal S and a nominal O. In 200 pages of text, there were less than 30 such sentences. We will say more about the predominantly verbal, verb-initial, and subject-suppressant character of G in section 16. N-Adj is the only order found inside the noun phrase. N-Gen does not occur. The possessor noun always precedes the possessed.

4. Guajajara in the Process of Changing Type

Without entering into the theoretical details, we assume as a working hypothesis, that if the basic order (OV/VO) changes, there is pressure in the system to rearrange other elements to conform to known harmonic principles. G may be in the process of such a major typological shift. The fact that G has attained such a degree of disharmony as to be considered of an impossible type should be an important datum for future studies.

If we look at the Central Brazil (CB) type mentioned earlier, we see a set of features consistent with Basque and many other languages. Our first approximation until more detailed information becomes available is that Kanela and Mundurukú are conservative CB languages that have stabilized in a consistent Basque pattern. Since Guajajara is like Basque (OV, N-Post, Gen-N, N-Adj) except in the VSO order of independent clauses, it is tempting to reconstruct an earlier stage Basque type for G. The VO innovation in G may be historically coinciding with creeping accusativity in the verb cross-referencing system. The fact that Mundurukú and Kanela (1000km apart and belonging to different linguistic stocks) have similar stable typological traits leads us to tentatively propose CB as the older areal type from which some Tupi-Guarani languages began to diverge. This assumption helps to provide at least one model for discussing G disharmony, especially since dependent clauses, nominalizations, and oblique-topicalized clauses maintain the consistent Basque OV type.

We hypothesize, then, that G was a Basque -CB language at an earlier stage (OV, N-Post, Gen-N, N-Adj), which suffered a change of basic order in independent clauses to VO. Some of the less stable non-core traits mentioned earlier are beginning to line up with the new VO order. If this very preliminary reconstruction is accepted, we find a fascinating parallel, in that accusativity based on the agency hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976) is making inroads into the very same type of clause as the OV-->VP feature, namely, the independent clause.

5. Guajajara Cross-referencing.

G syntax has been described by Bendor-Samuel (1973), where a hierarchical model is applied to the phonology and syntax. I will add some other notes to highlight the features that interest us here.

Person-number (P-N) cross-referencing of core NPs takes place in two ways. There is a prefix on verbs that cross-references the P-N of either Subject (S) or Object (O), depending on factors such as the Independent/Dependent dichotomy and the agency hierarchy. This cross-referencing is described in more detail in sections 8-15.

Cross-referencing also occurs by means of a clause level clitic pronoun. A G main clause has one or more phrases of various types (N, V, Adv, Postpositional). This series of phrases is divided into spans marked by span-final clitics. There are sentence-initial particles, clitics that come after and mark the end of the first span (the first phrase, whatever its content), and a clitic that comes after nuclear elements (N,V.) but before the oblique peripherals of time, place and other adverbials (marking the third span). There are also seven orders of sentence final clitics, marking the end of the final span. The term 'span', for this feature, is taken from Priest, Priest and Grimes (1961). The first of these clause-final clitics is the cross-referencer pronoun. Examples double underlined:

- (22) u-kwaw kakwez ze?eη-ete i-muηeta-haw a?e wə kury.
 3-know dist.pst.attested language-true 3s-read-nom 3 pl now

'They know how to read the true language (G) now.'

- (23) u-?aw u-pə kwez pe-pe.
 3-lie.down 3-prone.position immediate.past there-at

'He lay down over there just now.'

The freer sentence level pronouns, are:

- (24) ihe ne zane ure pe a?e
 is 2s 1pl.in 1pl.ex 2p 3

The (near copy) bound prefixes of set A (see section 8) are:

- (25) he- ne- zane- ure- pe- i- (with allomorphs)

i- is 3rd person singular and plural with independent descriptive verbs. In dependent verbs, nominalizations and other forms, i- is 3s and wa- is 3pl.

It may appear that the final cross-referencer clitic is simply a pronoun like any other, with an interesting distribution. However it really acts like a sentence suffix. Although it is often suppressed for discourse related reasons, it is not a pronoun like the 3rd person anaphoric pronouns he, she, and it of English. It can occur to cross-reference a full nominal that is already present in the clause. This is not a normal characteristic of anaphoric pronouns. An example given earlier bears this out.

- (26) u-munyk t-azyr i-petym h-eraha i-zupe a?e
 3-lit 3-daughter 3-tobacco 3-take 3-to 3

'His daughter lit and took his cigar to him.'

A?e, the final particle, normally cross-references the P-N of the Subject (in this case, the daughter). Since it is more affix-like in this respect, it is unusual in that one expects cross-referencing affixes to be bound to verbs, not to clauses as a whole. Clauses with the core nominals S and O have cross-referencing patterns thus: Dependent...o-V...s; Independent, higher ranked acting on lower ...s-V...s; and lower ranked acting on higher ...o-V...s. This marking, and the ergativity or accusativity associated with it will be discussed in detail in sections 7-12.

6. Grammaticized Topicalization of Oblique Elements in Guajajara

Another unique feature of interest is the grammaticized topicalization of oblique elements. If an adverb or a post-positional phrase is moved (for discourse-related reasons) to the front of a clause, or at least to a position before the verb, and if the subject is third person, the verb marking is (ergative-) absolutive as in dependent clauses, and the Oblique-topicalization is registered in the verb by the suffix -n (-∅ after consonants). This phenomenon is called 'inverted sentence' by

Bendor-Samuel (1972) and 'Indicativo II' by Rodrigues (1953). It is not a true promotion, in the sense that passive promotes a direct object to subject. Although there are changes in the verb, a transitive verb remains transitive, and the oblique element that would seem to be promoted does not lose its oblique marking (postposition). If true promotion occurred, a locative nominal, for instance, would lose the postposition that marks it as a locative. Oblique-topicalization triggers registry in the verb, but not agreement. Compare the following examples for the contrast between normal and oblique-fronted sentences with otherwise the same elements.

- (27) (a) w-iko a?e-pe. (b) a?e-pe h-eko-n.
 3-b3 there-at there-at 3s-be-ob.top.register
 'He is there.' 'He is there.'
- (28) wa-zaryz ko-pe h-eko-n u-ma?ereko-pe.
 3pl-grandmother field-at 3-be-ob.top.register 3-work-ing
 'Their grandmother was at the field working.'
- (29) ka?a-pe ure-reraha-n.
 jungle-to 1pl.excl-take-ob.top.register
 '(He) took us to the jungle.'

This type of construction tends to be used in narrative to mark collateral information that is not part of the narrative line. In some dialects it is falling into disuse, occurring commonly only with the intransitive verbs go, come, and be. In the data given here the reader will notice the severe allomorphy, the historical reasons for which are outside the scope of this paper. The element r-(n-t,t-,h-) that occurs when a prefix of set A comes together with a vowel initial stem, is here written as part of the stem. This will be discussed in more detail in section 8.

- (30) (a) o-ho '3-go'; (b) i-ho-n '3s-go-ob.top.reg';
 (c) wa-no-n '3pl-go-ob.top.reg'.
- (31) (a) Ø-ur '3-come'; (b) Ø-tur-Ø '3s-come-ob.top.reg';
 (c) wa-nur-Ø '3pl-come-ob.top.reg'.
- (32) (a) Ø-heko-n '3-be-ob.top.reg';
 (b) wa-neko-n '3pl-be-ob.top.reg';
 (c) w-iko '3-be'.

7. The Accusativity-Ergativity Split in Nominal Cross-Referencing

There is no case marking of core nominals in G. The accusativity-ergativity distinction refers to the cross-referencing of the person and number of core nominals in the verb prefixes. Nominative(-accusative) cross-referencing (following Dixon, 1979) occurs when the prefix agrees with the intransitive subject (Si) and the transitive subject (St). Absolutive (-ergative) cross-referencing occurs when the prefix agrees in person and number with the Si and the O.

Nominative cross-referencing:

- (33) a-ha-putar.
1s-go-future.

'I will go.'

- (34) a-esak kakwez ka?i ihe
1s-see distant.past.attested monkey I

'I saw the monkey.'

Absolutive cross-referencing:

- (35) he-rurywete ihe.
is-happy I

'I'm happy.'

- (36) he-kisi takihe-pupe a?e.
1s-cut knife-with he

'He cut me with a knife.'

8. The Control/Non-Control Split.

G manifests a nominative-absolutive split along several axes. The first is a split of the intransitive verbs into the control (volitional) versus non-control types. This is the Guaraní system referred to in Gregores and Suarez (1967). Guaraní is a language of the Tupi-Guaraní family with which G shares, this basic trait. The control vs. non-control (volitionality) split is discussed in Dixon (1979). In G, descriptive, subject-not-in-control verbs such as -urywete 'happy' take one set of prefixes, set A:

he- '1s', ne- '2s', zane- '1pl.in', ure- '1pl.ex', pe- '2pl', i- '3pl'

Active, subject-in-control intransitive verbs like -ha 'go' take another set of prefixes, set B:

a- '1s', ere- '2s', za- intrans. '1pl.in', uru- '1pl.ex', pe- '2pl', u- '3'
si- trans

The prefix u- has the allomorphs w- before vowels and o- by umlaut with roots where all vowels are o. The prefix uru- follows the same umlaut rule, resulting in oro-. Set A prefixes are also used to cross-reference possessor (genitive), and object of a postposition. Other details do not concern us here. Several verb paradigms are given in the appendix to serve as examples of the use of these prefixes with various verbs.

Set A prefixes are followed by an allomorph (n-, ti-, h-, or Ø- of the morpheme r- which, in transitive verbs, seems to have the meaning 'anomalous Agency hierarchy relationship of S to O' or in intransitive, 'non-control of the action by the nominal cross-referenced'. The allomorph Ø occurs with consonant-initial stems (and is not written in our examples). n- occurs with (historically nasalized) forms pe- and wa-. t- occurs with certain irregular forms for the third person singular, and h- occurs with many (more regular) vowel-initial stems. r- is the norm with other set A prefixes and occasionally with nominals. Certain peculiarities of prefix use with intransitive verbs, nouns, and postpositions are outside the scope of this paper. In examples where it is not in focus we write it as part of the stem.

See the appendix for complete paradigms of various verbs.

9. The Agency Hierarchy Split.

A major point of this paper is to show how the control/non-control distinction for the S of the intransitive clause correlates with the S-O status of the higher ranked, cross-referenced core nominal of the independent transitive clause. First, recall that in dependent clauses, G maintains OV order. This is coupled with pure ergativity in the verb prefix cross-referencing system (agreement with S of intransitives and O of transitive). In independent transitive clauses, however, where the predominant order is VSO, G verbs show a marking split based on the agency hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976), simplified here to 1st > 2nd > 3rd person, where 'x > y' reads 'x outranks y'. With this hierarchy in mind (discussed in detail in Dixon (1979) in relation to ergativity), we can make the following observations:

In independent transitive clauses in G, the higher ranked core-nominal will be cross-referenced on the verb. If that nominal is S, the appropriate prefix from set B (control) is used. If that nominal is O, the appropriate prefix from set A (non-control) is used.

the appropriate prefix from set B (control) is used. If that nominal is 0, the appropriate prefix from set A (non-control) is used.

Thus, by choice of prefix, the Subject nominal is associated with the S-in-control of intransitives and the Object nominal is associated with the S-not-in-control of intransitives. In this, G shows similarity with the Wichita system. However, in Guajajara, this only happens in Independent clauses.

10. The Control Vs. Non-control Theme in the Accusativity-Ergativity of the Prefixes

Where the subject of intransitive verbs (Si) and the object of transitive verbs (O) are cross-referenced by set A prefixes, the agreement is with the absolutive. To conform to common terminological practice, we will say that this sub-system manifests ergativity. Where the (Si) and the subject of transitive verbs (St) are cross-referenced by set B prefixes, the agreement is with the nominative. We will say that this sub-system manifests accusativity. In independent normal (non-oblique-topicalized) intransitives, set A prefixes occur with verbs of the non-control type (i.e. 'unaccusative' verbs in Relational Grammar terminology), that is verbs which describe color, appearance, size, emotional state, etc. In normal independent transitive verbs, set A prefixes cross-reference the O when it outranks the S. Thus we see that set A cross-references the absolutive, in a sense, the nominal not-in-control of the action.

- (37) he - rurywete.
 Is - happy

'I am happy.'

- (38) he - resak.
 Is - see

'(He) sees me.'

In independent normal intransitives, set B prefixes occur with verbs which fall into the active or control set: run, sit, sleep, etc. In independent normal transitives, set B cross-references the S when it outranks the O. Thus, set B cross-references the nominative, in a sense, the nominal in-control of the action.

- (39) a - zən.
 Is - run

'I run.'

- (40) ere - sak.
2s - see

'You see (him).'

Thus in independent normal verbs there is a definite correlation as shown in this table:

Nominal-in-control ==Nominative==Set B

Nominal-not-in-control==Absolutive==Set A

Oblique topicalization triggers a change from Nominative to Absolutive cross-referencing. In dependent intransitive verbs in 3rd person, there is also an interesting return to nominative cross-referencing if the subject is the same as the subject of the main verb. It is difficult to see what this has to do with control in the semantic sense by which it divides the class of intransitive verbs. It seems to be a case of using one morphological distinction for many semantic distinctions.

- (41) i - ho - re a - ha.
3 - go - after 1s - go

'After he went, I went.'

- (42) o - ho - re u - zai?o.
3 - go - after 3 - cry

'After he left, he (same person) cried.'

All other dependent intransitives and all dependent transitives have absolutive cross-referencing.

- (43) he - resak - pə.
1s:abs - see - in.order.to

'In order to see me '

The known universal tendency of dependent verbs to be more resistant to typological change helps us to develop our hypothesis further with respect to Guajajara. Dependent verbs manifest (almost) pure ergativity. Independent verbs manifest 'creeping' accusativity when the conditions are right, i.e., when the ranking nominal is in control.

11. The Various Splits Together

The following is a (non-unique) schematization of the choice of prefix set for each sub-group of verbs, with an indication as to which nominal (S or O) is being cross-referenced in each case.

Included are the following splits, embedded in a decision tree which represents the kinds of things a speaker must take into account when choosing a prefix set.

1. Control vs. non-control of S in intransitive independent normal (i.e. not oblique topicalization) clause
2. Agency hierarchy of transitive independent normal clause
3. Independent vs. dependent clause
4. Oblique topicalization vs. normal clause
5. Different vs. same subject of intransitive independent.

Once the prefix set is chosen, the choice of prefix in the set is determined by the person-number of the nominal to be cross-referenced.

Leaving out the question of same-different which only occurs with third person subject and leaving out oblique-topicalization which also only occurs with third person subject, we have the following simplified tree which reflects the major splits. (Because the 'same-different' and 'oblique-topicalization' are limited to third person subject they seem to be patch-on utilizations of existing distinctions).

12. Guajajara a Counter-Example to Generalizations about Ergativity

We see a split, then, which Dixon (1979: 85) would say is based on the semantic nature of NPs (agency hierarchy). The analogous split in intransitives between control and non-control is based on the semantic nature of those verbs. The system is further split on the dependent (pure ergative)–independent (mixed) axis. If we assume the pure-turning-to-mixed model of syntactic change (discussed earlier) for G, creeping accusativity mostly manifests itself in independent verbs when the S outranks the O. This combination of facts makes A a counter-example to certain generalizations about ergativity in languages studied so far.

Dixon (p.90) says that 'a language with split conditioned by the semantic nature of NPs, but realized by cross-referencing affixes is.... unlikely...' and 'can be seen, on a priori grounds, to be rather implausible.' It appears, then that it is not only in the basic typological characteristics that G is unusual. We see that the particular manifestation of ergativity-accusativity in G is also unusual.

Dixon (p.91) also says, 'I know of no examples of languages that combine a split conditioned by the semantic content of the verb with a split conditioned by the semantic content of NPs, where both splits are realized in terms of morphological marking of the same kind.' If I have understood his observation correctly, it appears that G constitutes a clear counter-example, since intransitive verbs are split on the control vs. non-control axis and transitive verbs by the semantics of nominals.

G is similar to Algonkian in that it takes the agency hierarchy into account, but different in that the ranking in Algonkian is signalled by a separate affix. In G, the ranking is signalled in the choice of the core nominal to be cross-referenced.

The crucial difference, as pointed out to me by Desmond Derbyshire (personal communication), 'is that G signals the ranking with two different sets of prefixes while Algonkian uses the same set of affixes but signals the ranking with a distinct verbal affix.'

Although the G system does not lead to the anarchy alluded to in Dixon (p.91), I can attest to the fact that indeed it does not facilitate the learning of the language as a second language by an adult whose first language is of the canonical accusative type.

Dixon (p.92) expects cross-referencing systems to be on a nominative-accusative pattern. G is therefore a partial counter example to this. The freer sentence clitics do indeed cross-reference the nominative (see section 6). However the bound verb prefixes, of which the non-control set are near copies of the clitics (see Steele, 1978 on free word-order languages), manifest the Independent vs. Dependent, control vs. non-control and Agency Hierarchy splits mentioned above, where much of the time the agreement is actually ergatively organized, that is, the absolutive is cross-referenced.

Dixon also states that if there is a bound-free split in cross-referencing affixes, the bound forms will be accusative and the free forms will be ergative (as in Murinyapata) --never the other way around. G, of course, is a clear counter-example to this. The free forms cross-reference the nominative, the bound are split, and often agree with the absolutive.

13. Some Data from Other Brazilian Languages

Kanela and Mundurukú, two CB languages, provide additional evidence against the universality of a bound-free split of the form predicted by Dixon. In the following examples I have assumed that the subject is cross-referenced in intransitive verbs. Only examples of the transitive are given. Kanela is SOV (Popjes, 1972). In a typical paradigm the person and number for both core participants in a transitive sentence are cross-referenced: A free pronoun comes first, cross-referencing the nominative and a bound verb prefix cross-references the absolutive. (If two free third person nominals occur, the order is strictly SOV and no phonological prefix occurs.) Thus, the free pronouns are on the nominative-accusative pattern and the bound are ergative-absolutive, a clear counter-example to Dixon's generalization.

Mundurukú (Crofts, 1973) has what appears to be a control vs. non-control split in intransitives, with prefixes indexing person and number of Si. Available evidence points to a preferred SOV order for core nominals.

- (44) apat poy oñiĩ.
alligator turtle caused.to.enter

'The alligator made the turtle enter the hole.'

(Crofts, 1973: 114).

In an (unmarked) transitive paradigm where both S and O are cross-referenced as to person-number, the free pronoun indexes the S and the bound pronoun indexes the O, (p.180-182). It may be, then, that there exists a basic CB type whose further characteristics also are counter-examples to previously attested morphological structures.

- (45) $\frac{\tilde{on}}{1s} \frac{ey}{2p} - \frac{mip\tilde{a}ip\tilde{a}m}{hit}$.

'I hit you.'

- (46) $\frac{\tilde{en}}{2s} \frac{o}{1s} - \frac{mip\tilde{a}ip\tilde{a}m}{hit}$.

'You hit me.'

Once again, free forms are nominative-accusative and bound, ergative-absolutive. Further investigation needs to be made as to the frequency of these characteristics (Basque type, free-nominative, bound-absolutive) in Brazilian languages.

Cinta Larga (Tupi stock, Sandberg, 1976) manifests an interesting variation. Main clauses have an auxiliary (translated here 'do') which cross-references the person-number of the subject of transitive verbs. Main verb prefixes cross-reference 0. (Length and tone are left out of the transcription.)

- (47) $\frac{nike}{fly} - \frac{ey}{p1} \frac{\tilde{aga}}{do(3p1)} \frac{pa}{1p1} - \frac{wa}{bite}$.

'The flies are biting us.'

- (48) $\frac{ikon\tilde{o}}{eagle} \frac{ma}{do(3s)} \frac{motop}{rat} \frac{\emptyset}{3} - \frac{wa}{eat}$.

'The eagle is eating the rat.' (The auxiliary is highly irregular.)

The pattern in graphic form is:

st-AUX	o-TrV
si-AUX	si-IntrV,

Where st indicates a prefix cross-referencing the subject of a transitive verb, si the subject of an intransitive verb, and o the object of a transitive verb. The auxiliary affix cross-references the nominative (-accusative), while the main verb prefix cross-references the absolutive (-ergative). This may be a development of basic CB cross-referencing where the auxiliary became obligatory to serve as a place to attach the nominative cross-reference affix.

CB:	st	o-TrV
	si	si-IntrV

Guajajara, which is somewhat representative of the Tupi-Guarani family, maintains this classical CB marking in dependent clauses, but evidences a split in independent clauses. It also varies from the classic CB pattern in that the freer clitic comes after all major clause elements.

Dependent	...s-IV...s	or	...o-TV...s
Independent	...s-IV...s	or	...s-TV...s
	...s-IV...s, if 0 outranks S, ...o-TV...s if S outranks 0.		

14. On the Possible Genesis of the Present State of Affairs

Our present (but by no means demonstrated) working hypothesis is that at various stages in the past Guajajara had the following characteristics:

1. It was an OV language. Evidence for this is the rigid OV ordering in dependent clauses and the ordering of the conservative core traits Noun-postposition and Genitive-Noun.
2. There was a set of free pronouns which cross-referenced person and number. The free pronoun may have been used equally to mark the S or the O core-participant as needed. Further evidence for this comes from genetically and areally related languages with this stable structure.
3. The order at stage 2 was SOV in transitive clauses.
4. At some point O became more attached to V. Nouns (O) were loosely attached (still seen in incorporation in dependent verbs and nominalizations); pronouns (o) were more firmly attached. At this point there was CB marking (s...s-IV; s...o-TV).
5. Subsequently the s pronoun shifted to the end of the sentence, and began to act like a (sentence) suffix in its rigidity of ordering with respect to other suffix-like sentence-ending clitics, and with respect to the possibility of its co-occurrence in the same clause with the nominal it was cross-referencing (s-IV...s; o-TV...s).
6. At some point the verb moved to initial position in most types of independent clauses.
7. Accusativity began to creep into the independent clauses when agentivity of S was higher than that of O, that is, when the normal agentivity relationship of S and O occurred in a clause.

One cannot help but feel, if these hypotheses are correct, that the present core typological disharmony (VO, N-Post, Gen-N) of G is related

to some of its other unique features which we have described (double cross-referencing, variously motivated splits, and oblique topicalization registration).

Passive as a source for morphological ergativity has been discussed by various investigators, and arguments from Indo-European and other situations are convincing for the genesis of ergativity when it is expressed by case marking. In Guajajara, as in CB, there is no case marking of core nominals (S,O). Ergativity is of the pure cross-referencing type. I suspect there are fundamental differences between these types which reflect different sources for ergativity.

G has no canonical passive, that is, there is no promotion of O to S with detransitivization of the verb and suppression of demotion of S to Oblique. Canonical passive puts an oblique case marker on demoted S. In Relational Grammar terms, as ergativity develops out of passive, one would expect the oblique (chômeur) marker to become an ergative case marker. The O, having been promoted to S, has the same marker as S. Active transitive sentences may disappear and passives become the only transitive-looking structures. Verb changes may make them look active again. Ergativity would then be present at the morphological level, since Si and O would be marked the same way, St differently.

15. On the Possible Source of CB Type Cross-referencing

Guajajara does not put case markers on the core nominals S and O. It is likely that the ergativity in CB type cross-referencing has another source. The possible source outlined earlier can help us begin to see the fundamental differences. Given free pronouns with the possibility of cross-referencing either S or O, the o pronouns which are closer to the verb in SoV, tend to attach to the verb and at some point become obligatory, they thus occur even when the full nominal also occurs. In intransitive sentences there is only S, hence SV or sV. S pronouns attach to the verb (by analogy of proximity). At this point Si and O are cross-referenced on the verbs, manifesting ergativity of the CB type.

It seems a reasonable hypothesis that the ergativity in G grew out of such a scenario. I know of no Tupi or Ge language with passive. The splits that have grown up come from the known natural tendency of languages to have at least partial accusativity in the morphology. To be noticed now, and hopefully someday explained, are the facts: that creeping accusativity occurs in G, in the same clause types as verb-initialness, and that the possibly older ergativity occurs with the final clause types. This combination of features may turn out not to be an isolated phenomenon.

Rodrigues (1953: 127) cites Tupinambã (an extinct coastal Brazilian Tupi-Guarani language) as having both s and o bound (s-o-V) when the o is third person, that is, if the S-O relationship on the AH is normal.

(49) a - i - nupã.
1s - 3 - hit

'I hit him.'

This fits in as another possible historical path from our CB model: SOV and pronouns, s o V, with subsequent attachment of both: s-o-V. Other features of Tupinamba morphology may eventually be crucial in deciding questions of this sort.

16. The Predominantly Verbal Character of Guajajara

Lehmann's (1978:173) observation that passives are especially characteristic of SVO and VSO further supports the idea that G is a late-comer to the VSO ranks. In OV languages, according to Lehmann, the subject is not mandatory. Although G is verb-initial in the majority of narrative-line independent clauses, its basic OV characteristic of subject suppression is a major feature. We give here statistics on a 69 sentence passage from the middle of a long culture-hero narrative. Quote tags of the type "he said to his mother" are counted as independent clauses. The directly quoted material is not used in the statistics. Several sentences from this sample are given in the appendix.

Of the portion sampled, 4 main clauses are non-verbal. Of the verbal main clauses, 28 contain transitive verbs, 16 contain intransitive (active) verbs, 2 contain descriptive verbs, and the remaining 19 are quotation sentences of the form "...". Vq (S) (IO) where "..." is the quoted material, Vq is the quotative verb, S is the subject, and IO is the person addressed (indirect object). Two of the tabulated clauses also contain a dependent clause. Other abbreviations are: Aux (auxiliary), L (locative phrase formed with a postposition), Adv (adverb occupying a clause level major position). Tense markers and other clitics have been left out of the tabulation as have certain hesitation words and certain introductory exclamation words.

Transitive clauses were of the following types (the number of each type in the sample is also given. See the appendix for examples of various types):

Vt (Aux) L (8)	Vt (Aux) (5)
Vt O (Aux) L (4)	Vt O (Aux) IO (4)
Vt S O (Aux) IO (1)	O Vt IO (1)

We see immediately that in narrative transitive independent clauses Guajajara is overwhelmingly verb-initial (27 to 1), overwhelmingly subject-suppressing (27 to 1), uses a locative in about half of the clauses, and suppresses the object in about half of the clauses.

Intransitive active verbs show some similar traits:

Vi (3)	S Vi (1)
Vi L (6)	S Vi L (1)
Vi Aux L (1)	L S Vi (1)
Vi Aux L T (1)	T Vi L (1)
Vi L [Purpose] (1)	

We notice that with Vi, S tends to come first in the few examples in the text.

The two descriptive verb clauses had the form Vd, and Vd Aux.

The tags on the quote sentences were of four types:

Vq IO (11), Vq S IO (4), Vq (3), no tag (1).

The quote tag immediately follows the quote in all cases in our sample.

Combining the various clause types, we notice the following:

1. The overwhelming majority are verb initial (about 90%).
2. The overwhelming majority have no nominal subject (about 90%).
3. A majority have neither O nor S.
4. Where O is possible, about half are suppressed.
5. Over half have locative expressions.

Guajajara is also verb-prominent in another way. In 65 clauses sampled, 64 had verbs, 24 had a locative, 17 had an indirect object,, only 15 had an object, 12 had an auxiliary and the lowest on the list was subject with only 8. There is only one subject for every eight verbs. If verb-prominence ever becomes accepted as an authentic typological trait, Guajajara will certainly qualify as a verb-prominent language. In summary, Guajajara is verb-prominent, overwhelmingly verb-initial, and core-nominal-suppressant, while tending to overtly express locatives even where they could be understood from the context. It is especially noteworthy for its verb-initialness and for its subject suppression.

As more material is gathered on Brazilian Indian languages, we hope to discover more about the genesis of the typological disharmony in Guajajara and of the various apparent anomalies present in the system it uses for cross-referencing core nominals.

Appendix

Symbols used: 1s=1st singular, 2s=2nd singular, 1pi=1st plural inclusive of addressee, 1pe=1st plural exclusive of addressee, 2p=2nd plural, 3s.p=3rd singular or plural, 3s=3rd singular, 3p=3rd plural. X-Y: X=person and number of Subject. Y=person and number of Object. Note that wə will always be present if 3rd person S, O or both are plural.

Independent normal transitive: -esak 'see':

aesak...(ihe)	1s-3s
aesak...(ihe) wə	1s-3p
eresak...(ne) (wə)	2s-3s.p
sisak...(zane)(wə)	1pi-3s.p and animate
uruesak...(ure)(wə)	1pe-3s.p
pesak...(pe)(wə)	2p-3s.p
wesak...(a?e)	3s-3s
wesak...(a?e) wə	3s-3p, 3p-3s, 3p-3p

Nominative

heresak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-1s
neresak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-2s
zaneresak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-1pi
ureresak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-1pe
penesak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-2p

Absolutive

uruesak...(ihe)	1s-2s (from *a-ru-esak?)
uruesak...(ure)	1pe-2s
apuesak...(ihe)	1s-2p
*urupuesak...(ure)	1pe-2p *not acceptable in all dialects

Nominative

heresak pe...(ne)	2s-1s
heresak pe...(pe)	2p-1p
ureresak pe...(ne)	2s-1pe
ureresak pe...(pe)	2p-2pe

Absolutive

Independent oblique topicalized:

heresak...(a?e)	3s-1s
heresak...(a?e) wə	3p-1s
neresak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-2s
zaneresak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-1pi
ureresak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-1pe
penesak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-2p
hesak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-3s
wanesak...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p-3p

Absolutive

Dependent: mehe 'when'

heresak mehe	any-1s
neresak mehe	any-2s
zaneresak mehe	any-1pi
ureresak mehe	any-1pe
penesak mehe	any-2p
hesak mehe	any-3s
wanesak mehe	any-3p

Absolutive

Intransitive active independent normal -ker 'sleep'

aker...(ihe)	1s
ereker...(ne)	2s
zaker...(zane)	1pi
uruker...(ure)	1pe
peker...(pe)	2p
uker...(a?e)	3s
uker...(a?e) wə	3p

Nominative

Intransitive active independent oblique-topicalized

iker...(a?e) 3s

waker...(a?e) wə 3p

Absolutive

Intransitive active dependent

heker mehe...(ihe) 1s

neker mehe...(ne) 2s

zaneke mehe...(zane) 1pi

ureker mehe...(ure) 1pe

peker mehe...(pe) 2p

iker mehe...(a?e) 3s different subject

waker mehe...(a?e) wə 3p different subject

Absolutive

uker mehe...(a?e)(wə) 3s.p same subject

Nominative

Intransitive descriptive independent normal: -urywete 'happy'

herurywete...(ihe) 1s

nerurywete...(ne) 2s

zanerurywete...(zane) 1pi

urerurywete...(ure) 1pe

penurywete...(pe) 2p

hurywete...(a?e) 3s

hurywete...(a?e) wə 3p

Absolutive

Intransitive descriptive independent oblique topicalization (rare):

hurywetan...(a?e) 3s

wanurywetan...(a?e) wə 3p

Absolutive

Intransitive descriptive dependent

herurywete mehe...(ihe)	1s
nerurywete mehe...(ne)	2s
zanerurywete mehe...(zane)	1pi
urerurywete mehe...(ure)	1pe
penurywete mehe...(pe)	2p
hurywete mehe...(a?e)	3s different Subject
wanurywete mehe...(a?e) wə	3p different Subject

Absolutive

urywete mehe...(a?e)(wə)	3s.p same Subject
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Nominative

Sample sentences of the various types listed in section 16.

Transitive independent clauses:

Vt Aux L

<u>u-pyupyk</u>	<u>Ø-heraha</u>	<u>pe-iwyr.</u>
3-covered	3-taking	road-beside

'He took her and covered her (with leaves) by the side of the road.'

Vt L

<u>w-eraha</u>	<u>zəpehekwar</u>	<u>rupi</u>	<u>a?e</u>	<u>no.</u>
3-took	oven.mouth	into	3	again

'She took him into the oven.mouth again.'

Vt Aux

<u>o-momor</u>	<u>təzəz</u>	<u>wa-mono</u>	<u>wə</u>	<u>no.</u>
3-threw	without.result	3p-sending	pl	again

'They threw them again unsuccessfully.'

Vt

<u>o-mono</u>	<u>wi</u>	<u>təzəz</u>	<u>a?e</u>	<u>no.</u>
3-put	again	without.result	3	again

'She put them (there) again unsuccessfully.'

Vt 0

u-muwew tata.
 3-put.out fire

'He put out the fire.'

Vt 0 Aux L

u-munehew o-po zote i-mono zəpehekwar-rupi no.
 3-put her.own-hand but 3-putting oven.mouth-into again

'She put her own hand into the oven mouth again.'

Vt 0 L

w-asaasaw w-əpuz i-kyhaw-?aromo kury.
 3-poked.holes.in his.own-house 3-hammock-above now

'He poked holes in his roof above her hammock.'

Vt 0 Aux IO

u-munyrkar əməŋ i-muwə i-zupe a?e kury.
 3-caused.to.rain rain 3-bringing 3-to 3 now

'He now caused it to rain on her.'

Vt 0 IO

u-zapo ma?e u-ze-upe wə.
 3-did thing 3-reflexive-to pl

'They did things to each other.'

Vt S 0 Aux IO

u-munyk t-azyr i-petym Ø-heraha i-zupe a?e no.
 3-light 3-daughter 3-cigar 3-take 3-to 3 also

'His daughter lit and took his cigar to him.'

O Vt IO

əmən u-muŋyrkar i-zupe.
rain 3-cause.to.rain 3-on

'He made it rain on her.'

Vt Dependent clauses:

Vt Ø-hesak-pə
3-see-purpose

'In order to see him '

Intransitive clauses:

Vi L

o-ho zawar-zemuəwə wa-nape-rupi.
3-go jaguar-made.into.wild.Indians 3p-path-along

'She went along the path of the jaguar Indians.'

S Vi L

wa-paze n-u-iko-kwaw a?e-pe.
3p-shaman neg-3-be-neg that.place-at

'Their shaman was not there.'

T Vi L

iku?egwepe o-ho e a?e-wi kury.
next.day 3-go without.destination there-from now

'Next day she wandered on from there.'

Descriptive clause:

te i-əkym.
so 3-wet

'So she got wet.'

Quotation clause:

"...", i-?i wa-zaryz wa-nupe
 3-say 3p-grandmother 3p-to

"...", 'Their grandmother said to them '

i-?i i-zupe.
 3-say 3-to

'He said to him.'

Footnotes

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² The semi-accultured Guajajara, speaking at least five distinct dialects, live in the interior of the State of Maranhão, principally on the Zutiua, Mearim and Pindaré rivers. Phonemes are p,t,k,ʔ (glottal stop),s,z,m,n,ŋ,r (flap), w,h,i,e (ɛ),a,o (ɔ),u,y (from i through ɨ to ʔ, depending on dialect), and ə (schwa). /s/ has the variant /ç/ contiguous to /i/, and [ts] in some dialects. /z/ has the variant [y] in syllable-final position and [dʒ] in some dialects contiguous to /i/. The clusters kw and nw are single unit phonemes, written as two separate letters for convenience. In Bendor-Samuel (1972) c is used for /s/.

Rodrigues (1958) classifies Guajajara (Gwaʒaʒara) as a dialect of Tenetehara, a language of the Tupi-Guarani family, of the Tupi Stock.

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