The Interplay of Causative and Desiderative in Guajajara*

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1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to give a data-oriented presentation of the interaction of two interesting structures involving COMP in Guajajara. Causative (CAUS) and Equi-subject clause reorganization (EQUI) as well as the antipassive (ANTI) that obligatorily occurs in DESIDERATIVE - EQUI, are identifiable morpho - syntactically distinct structures. COMP is defined as the presence of a semantic clause functioning as a nominal in a matrix clause.

he wants COMP[he go]. = He wants to go.
he caused COMP[it happen]. = He caused it to happen.
COMP[he happy] is good. = It's good that he's happy.

2 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

A transitive clause has two core nominals, one carrying the Subject(S) and the other carrying the Direct Object (O) relation or function. Intransitives have only S. Though the same sets of prefixes occur in both, the transitive verb paradigm is quite different from the Intransitive Verb paradigm.

2.1 EXAMPLES OF TRANSITIVE [1]

(DPU = Distant Past Unattested)

w- esak zekaipo ma'e   -putyr   o- ho
3S-see DPU   thing   -flower   3- go
She went to see some kind of flower.

u- haw   zekaipo i- hy   amo wàràmà -putyr o- ho
3- break DPU   3- mother some guaruma -flower 3- go
His mother went and broke off some guaruma flowers.

u- mur   zekaipo i- hy   i- zupe
3- give DPU   3- mother 3- to
His mother gave it to him.

2.2 EXAMPLES OF INTRANSITIVE

n-   u- ze'eg -kwaw i- memyr i- zupe
NEG- 3- speak -NEG   3- child   3- to
Her child did not speak to her.

o- ho -e   i- hy   0- iko kury
3- go -W/O.DESTIN 3- mother 3- be now
His mother wandered on. (He was in her womb.)

u- hem   zekaipo o- ho mykur   -reku -haw -pe kury
3- arrive DPU   3- go possum -live -place -at   now
She arrived now at Possum's place.

3 CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF INDEPENDENT VERBAL CLAUSES

A predicate with S or with S and O is the CORE. The CORE plus AUX and Indirect Object (IO) is the NUCLEUS. These distinctions, though not normal in syntactic analysis, are useful for describing certain phenomena in G. CORE nominals are unmarked (no case marking or postpositions). IO is always marked with some allomorph of the ostposition PE "to". Peripheral (ADJUNCT) elements such as time, place, or manner cannot come between elements of the nucleus. Thus a normal transitive clause might consist of these elements: (T = time; L= locative/place)

```
T nucleus [ core[   V S O   ] IO ] L
T       V       S   O
pyhewe   w- exak-putar   0   ne- r- emi-   apo   -kwer
tomorrow   3- see- FUT   0   2S-R- NOMZR- make/do-past
```

```
L                   CL CL
ne- r- eko -haw   =pe a'e nehe
2S- R- live- place =at   he FUT
```

'Tomorrow (someone known from the context) will see what you have made/done at your living place.'

A fuller discussion of the typological traits of Guajajara is found in Harrison 1986.

G tends toward VSO as the preferred order when both S and O are present.[2]

Certain generalizations can be made about independent clauses. Under certain discourse- pragmatic conditions one or more clause level constituents may be unrepresented. G would be classified as a PRO-drop language. There are a

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number of verbless clause types that do not concern us here. After the surface order of clause elements has been determined, one or more of a series of clitics may occur after the first element, whatever it may be. (RP = RECENT PAST)

```
            CL                    CL  CL
karu    -mehe  rakwez o- ho taw -pe a'e ri'i
afternoon-during RP      3- go town -to  3-  yest.or.earlier
Yesterday afternoon he went to town.
```

There is another clitic, kwez, that occurs after the core but before the IO. There are also seven orders of clause-final clitics (see Harrison(1986) and Bendor-Samuel(1972)). Some appear in this sentence. (MTM = man-to-man).

```
          CL          CL CL CL  CL  CL
u- mur temetarer kwez      ihe- we a'e wà  kury, ty    wà
3- gave money      IMMED.PST 1S- to 3   PL  now , M.T.M
PL
They gave me money just now, guys.
```

4 AGREEMENT PREFIX SYSTEM

There are two main sets of prefixes, one agreeing with the nominative and the other, when on a verb, with the absolutive.

		independent	dependent
transitive	O outranks	1////ABS////\	5///ABS////
	S outranks	2 NOM |	6///ABS////
intransitive	active	3 NOM |	7///ABS////
	stative	4////ABS////\	8///ABS////

BASE FORMS FOR THE PREFIXES

	1S	2S	3S	1PI	1PE	2P	3P
NOM:	a	ere	u	si/za	uru	pe	u
ABS:	he	ne	i	zane	ure	pe	i/wa

In this (to Tupinologists) well known typological feature, creeping "accusativity" (Harrison 1986) occurs where the S outranks the O in independent transitive verbs and where the intransitive independent verb is of the active volitional type. 1 > 2 > 3 is the normal ranking of persons in the hierarchy of topicality. Agreement in transitive independent is always with the ranking nominal. If that nominal is the subject, the agreement is marked with the prefix set agrees with NOMinative. If the ranking nominal is O, the prefix set that agrees with ABSolutive is chosen. Active independent triggers NOM and stative independent triggers ABS agreement. (See section 4 for further discussion.) Many details are beyond the scope of this paper.

NOM -agreement

```
a- ker(INTR)     1S.NOM-sleep    I sleep
a- esak(TR)      1S.NOM-see      I see him/her/them
w-esak           3. NOM- see     he sees him/her/them
```

ABS-agreement [3]

```
he- r- urywete(INTR) 1S.ABS- R- happy I am happy
he- r- esak           1S.ABS- R- see   he/she/they see me
hesakmehe
0- h- esak -mehe     3S.ABS- R- see   -when when someone sees
                                           him/her/them
```

1.1 COMP-TAKING PREDICATES

In order to better prepare for the presentation of causative and desiderative- equi- antipassive, we give a quick description of various COMP-like phenomena. There are the following basic types:

1.1.1 COMP-taking predicates that form a lexical union with the COMPverb.

```
pyhewe    a-  ha -PUTAR  ko  -pe nehe
tomorrow 1S- go -FUT        field-to FUT
I'll go to the field tomorrow.
```

PUTAR is derived from the lexical verb meaning 'want'.

```
a-  putar ne- ho -àw          -àm
1S- want 2S- go -ACT.NOMZ -FUT.NOM
I want your future going. = I want you to go.
```

```
a-  esak -KAR     he- po  i-  zupe
1S- see   -CAUSE  1S- hand 3S- to
I caused him to see my hand. = I showed him my hand.
```

KAR is possibly derived from an old lexical verb meaning 'seek','make', or 'cause'. Such causatives and the desiderative that follows are the subjects of this paper.

```
he- ho -WER   zepe            ne- r- upi
1S- go -WANT W/O.SUCCESS 2S- R- with
I wanted to go with you.
```

My impression is that WER has had a long history as a suffix. However, the following seems to be an innovation in G: the formation of ANTIpassive by the combined use of PURU "INCORPORATED- PEOPLE-OBJECT" to mark the intransitivization of the verb, plus WER used as the representative of 'WANT' in the verb, plus the postposition R-EHE marking demoted direct object.

1.1.2 COMP-taking auxiliary (AUX) modal verbs that follow the COMPverb and appear to be losing their position of dominance.

```
a-  esak -putar i-          ma'eahy -ma'e A- HA ihe nehe
1S- see   -FUT   DUMMY3-sick      -one  1S- GO 1S FUT
I am going over to see the sick person.
```

```
u- zewyr 0-  wà      xe
3- return 3S- COME here
He returned here.
```

One hypothesis, based on the impression that G is in the process of changing from a SOV to a VSO type of language, is that the AUX verb, which may have been the typologically consistent higher predicate in the earlier construction

s o V AUX

was left stranded when the lexical verb shifted to initial position.

V s o aux

The position to the left of the V can now be occupied by another set of COMP-taking verbs (that will conform to the new type). In such cases the COMP verb is marked in a number of ways (see below). The AUX seems to be relegated to the position of a mere appendage to indicate direction, position, or continuous action.

1.1.3 COMP-taking verbs that take a nominalized or nominal-like COMP.(ECZR = EQUI-COMPLEMENTIZER)

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
U- ZYPYROG i- apo -Pà
3- begin 3S- make -ECZR
He began to make it.

NOMINALIZATION = O
U- MU- MAW i- apo -HAW
3- CAUSE- FINISH 3S- make -ACT.NOM
He finished doing it.

SUBORD. CL.   NOMINALIZATION = OBLIQUE
U- ZE- AGAW i- apo -Pà / i- apo -HAW   -REHE
3- REFL- TRY 3S- make -ECZR/ 3S- make -ACT.NOM -
W.RESP.TO
He tried to make/do it.

NOMINALIZATION = O
U- MUME'U i- apo -àW   -àm
3- TELL 3S- make -ACT.NOM -FUT
He promised to do it.

NOMINALIZATION = O
A- KWAW i- apo -HAW
1S- KNOW 3S- make -ACT.NOM
I know how to do it.

NOMINALIZATION = O
A- PUTAR ne- ho -AW   -er
1S-WANT 2S- go -ACT.NOM -PAST
I wanted your going. I wanted you to go.

1.1.4 Nominalized COMP acting as subject or oblique.

NOMINALIZATION = S
i- katu ZANE-   ATA   -HAW/ zane-ata-haw i-katu
3- good 1P.INCL- walk -ACT.NOM
Our trip/travel was good.

2 ANTIPASSIVE

Antipassive(ANTI) is a process that in some way demotes the direct object (O) (rather than promoting it, as does passive). I present here by way of explanation of the terminology as I use it, three general types of ANTI (1, 2, and 3). Such demotion seems to be associated with a lower degree of transitivity.

2.1.1 ANTI1 is the SUPRESSION OF O, often for rhetorical effect, to foreground S or emphasize V.

Speed kills!

This is not to be confused with common zero anaphora as, for instance, in English.

He wants [he go]. He wants 0 tto go

2.1.2 ANTI2 is the INCORPORATION OF GENEREC O (or a representative of O) onto the V (rare in English).

?He deer-hunts a lot in the fall.
He went bass-fishing.
She baby-sits every evening.

2.1.3 ANTI3 is the DEMOTION OF O TO OBLIQUE STATUS (O put "en chomage", in relational grammar terms). This seems to be connected to the LOWERED AFFECTEDNESS of the O.

He shot me. He shot at me.

2.2 ANTI IN GUAJAJARA

Guajajara has types ANTI2 and ANTI3.

2.2.1 ANTI2: INCORPORATION OF GENERIC O (or a representative of O).

```
uma'ereko
u-    MA'E- ero-              eko
3-    thing- COMMITATIVE- be
```
He is with things/ has things/ treats things. = He works.

```
u- PURU-  mu'e
3- people- teach
```
He teaches people.

In each of these examples, a morphological element attaches to the front of the stem to represent the demoted generic object. The resultant verb then conjugates in the intransitive paradigm. Reflexive is also an antipassive looking structure since the reflexive pronoun incorporates to the V. The difference is that the O is both fully affected and specific.

```
a- ZE-   kisi
1S- REFL- cut
```
I cut myself.

2.2.2 ANTI3: DEMOTION OF O TO OBLIQUE STATUS.

```
he- PURU-    zuka -WER zepe          arapuha -REHE.
1S- ANTI.MK- kill -want w/o.success deer   - O.CHO.MK.
```
I wanted to kill a deer.

O.CHO.MK = Object Chomeur Marker, i.e. the post position that marks the demoted Object in the same way that "by" marks the demoted Subject in the English sentence "He was seen BY four policemen". In this case the deer may be definite, one that got away. This particular type of antipassive is used to emphasize the desire (usually frustrated) to affect the O. In ANTI2 with MA'E and PURU the O is definitely affected. In those cases it is LOWERED SPECIFITY OF REFERENCE that is reflected.

Desiderative with the INTR shows some similarity to that with TR. The agreement on the verb in both cases is done with prefixes from the set that agrees with the absolutive.

Analogous to the English passive making the verb seem like a linking verb plus adjective, antipassive verbs in G seem to become intransitive descriptive verbs as though in the non-volitional class such as big, green, and happy.

```
a- ha          1S.NOM- go          'I go.'
he- ho -WER  1S.ABS- go -WANT   'I am in the state of
                                  wanting to go.'
he-      PURU-    esak -WER  h- EHE
1S.ABS- ANTI.MK see   -WANT 3S- O.CHO.MK
```
I want to see it.

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2.3 LACK OF ANTI IN OTHER IRREALIS FORMS

A major question that remains is why there is no such antipassive change with other types of irrealis structures, some of them in equi-chains.

```
a-  kwaw pira- pyhyk -aw
1S- know fish- catch -ACT.NOM
I know how to catch fish.
```

```
aze mo                    ere- pyhyk  pira, ...
if  CONTRARY.TO.FACT 2S-  catch fish, ...
If you had caught fish, ...
```

```
n-   a-  pyhyk -kwaw pira.
NEG- 1S- catch -NEG  fish
I did not catch fish.
```

```
n-   a-  pira- pyhyk -kwaw.
NEG- 1S- fish- catch -NEG
I didn't fish.
```

```
a-  pyhyk -putar pira.
1S- catch -FUT  fish
I'm going to catch fish.
```

```
a-  pira- pyhyk -putar.
1S- fish- catch -FUT
I'm going fishing.
```

Since G is innovating here, one might expect ANTI (a recent development) to spread to other irrealis structures, if the language survives.

In a sentence where CAUSE is the higher process over EQUI, a structure much like the third type of COMP-taking clause above is formed.

3.0 THE INTERPLAY OF CAUS AND EQUI

3.1 CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE.

```
CAUS - EQUI
I made him want to see the dog.
```

Such forms are semantically and pragmatically rare, but possible.

```
he-  puru-    putar -KAR   -WER
1S-  ANTI.MK- want  -CAUSE -WANT
```

```
zawar- r- esak -AW         -REHE        i- ZUPE
dog    R- see  -ACT.NOM -O.CHO.MK 3S- IO.MK
```

This, however, does not mean "I made him want to see the dog" but rather "I want to make him want the seeing of the dog." ANTI is not possible on an embedded clause like "him want to see the dog". Perhaps there is no serious pragmatic need for such a form.

EQUI-ANTI over CAUS is another matter. Pragmatically, it is quite reasonable to expect ways to express someone wanting to cause an event.

3.1 CAUS WITH TRANSITIVE

CAUS in G follows the beaten trail of orthodox causative union in French, Turkish, Mangyan, Japanese, and other languages, with initial COMP-ABSOLUTIVE being coded as final O, i.e., initial transitive COMP object and intransitive COMP subject become union object. Initial COMP-ERGATIVE (embedded S of TR-COMP) is coded as final indirect object. The S of the dominating predicate becomes union S. In the following chart symbols standing for the

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grammatical relations of nominals from the initial COMP clause are enclosed in parentheses.

```
              INTR     TR
              ----     -----
INITIAL     S (S)    S (S  O)
UNION       S O      S  IO O
```

3.1.1 TRANS

```
ere- esak zawar
2S-  see  dog
You saw the dog.
```

3.1.2 CAUS(TRANS)

```
a-  esak -KAR   zawar ne- WE
1S- see  -CAUSE dog   2S- IO.MK
I caused you to see the dog. I showed you the dog.
```

3.1.3 EQUI-ANTI-DESIDERATIVE

DESIDERATIVE is a combination of EQUI and ANTI.

```
              INTR     TR
              ------   ----
INITIAL       S (S)    S (S O)
EQUI          S        S  O
ANTI          S        S  O.CHO
```

(ANTI.MK = MARKER OF ANTIPASSIVE; O.CHO.MK = O-CHOMEUR MARKER)

EQUI.ANTI.DESIDERATIVE (TRANS)
```
ne- PURU-   esak -WER  zawar -REHE
2S- ANTI.MK see  -want dog   -O.CHO.MK
You wanted to see the dog.
```

Sometimes it is revealing to present the application of structures such as CAUS, EQUI, and ANTI as processes. In the following example a simplified stratal diagram traces the progress of each element from the initial stratum to the final. We will separate the two occurrences of EQUI from ANTIPASSIVE (ANTI), though the intermediate strata would never be represented by a spoken sentence in the language. This sentence represents

3.1.4 EQUI.ANTI.DESIDERATIVE - CAUS(TRANS)

```
he- PURU-     esak -KAR -WER    zawar -REHE     ne -
WE
1S- ANTI.MK- see  -CAUSE-WANT dog    -O.CHO.MK 2S -
IO.MK
I want to make you see the dog.
I want to show you the dog.
```

```
           P     S   S  P      P        S   O
           want  I [ I  cause  [see     you dog ] ]
                         |          |        |
CAUSE                    lexical-union       |
                                   |         |
           P     S        S  P     |    IO O
           want  I [       I  see-cause you dog    ]
                 |         |
EQUI            ----EQUI------
                 |_____
           P     P          S     IO   O
           want  see-cause  I     you  dog
           |                |
EQUI       ---lexical-union--
                 |
           P     |          S     IO   O
           see-cause-want   I     you  dog
ANTI
                                        |
           P                S     IO   O.CHO
           see-cause-want   I     you  dog
```
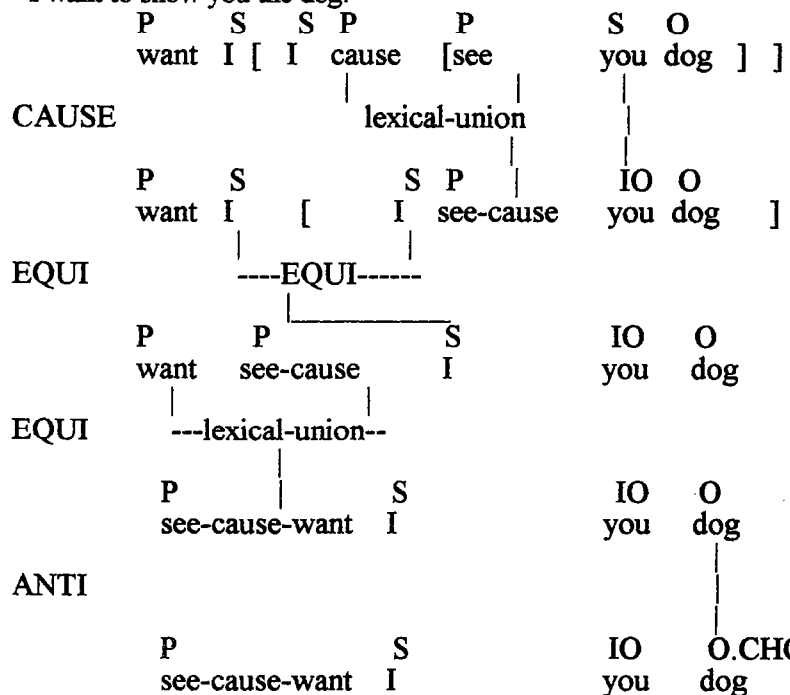
3.2 CAUS WITH INTRANSITIVE

3.2.1 INTR

a- ker
1S- sleep "I slept."

3.2.2 CAUS(INTR)

a- MU-   ger   he- memyr
1S- CAUSE- sleep 1S- child
I caused/(put) my child to sleep.

3.2.3 EQUI.ANTI.DESIDERATIVE(INTR)

he- ker -WER

1S- sleep -WANT "

I want to sleep."

3.2.4 EQUI.ANTI.DESIDERATIVE - CAUS(INTR)

he- PURU-   MU-   ger   -WER he- memyr -REHE
1S- ANTI.MK- CAUS- sleep -want 1S- child   -O.CHO.MK
I wanted to put my child to sleep.

3.3 THE ORDER OF HIGHER PREDICATE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE V

In lexical predicate union with TRANSITIVE lexical predicates in G, the order of occurrence of the morphological representation of the predicates reflects their embedding relationship, the left-most being the most deeply embedded.

[[[lexical] CAUSE] EQUI-ANTI]

Lexical predicate union with an INTRANSITIVE lexical predicate does NOT follow this rule.

[[CAUSE [lexical]] EQUI-ANTI]

It may be that MU and KAR were lexicalized at different typological periods, or MU may simply have been incorporated in the fashion of ERO, 'comitative' the other valence-incrementer (transitivizer). It is possible to visualize a situation where a commitative marking postposition on a nominal is incorporated and the nominal is left standing as the O instead of object of a postposition. Although there is no morphological evidence for this, the forms have strong semantic equivalence.

(a)3-go him-WITH   ==> (b)3-WITH-go him
   He went with him. ==>   He took him.

In form (b), although there is a possibility of dominance of one nominal over another, it is often difficult to determine which is the S and which is the O. They seem interchangeable.

By analogy:

3-go him-CAUSE   ==> 3-CAUSE-go him
He sent him.

The equivalent modern G forms are:

oho Inaz-RUPI
U- ho Inaz -R -UPI
3- go Inacio -R -WITH
He went with Inacio.

wERAha Inaz
U- ERO- ho Inaz
3- COM- go Inacio
He took Inacio.

MU may have shifted to the incorporated position by structural analogy with ERO.

umuapyk Inaz
U- MU- apyk Inaz
3- CAUSE- sit Inacio
He caused Inacio to sit.

4.0 BI-STRATAL SIGNALLING[4]

One point of possible importance to relational grammar is the bi-stratal marking of the O.CHOMEUR nominal. Normal signalling of grammatical relations in a clause is said to be done in three ways.

1. The signal attached to the nominal, sometimes called CASE.

2. The sequential order of the nominals, or Linear Precedence, called here WO (word order) for convenience.

3. The signalling attached to the verb, or AGReement.

Normal marking for G:

1. CASE: no mark on S or O; postposition "PE" on IO; other characteristic postpositions on OBLiques.

2. WO: nucleus[core[V S O] AUX IO] OBL, with OBL possible before the nucleus, allowance for 0-anaphoric representation of nominals, and some freedom of order within the core and among obliques.

3. AGR: with S or O reflecting a sensitivity to surface NOM/ACC versus ERG/ABS, as explained in 0.4.

Another way to think of the choice of prefix set is as a 4-place function. Each core nominal (S,O) has two CASES.

TRANS-S	INTR-S	TRANS-O
NOM	NOM	ACC
ERG	ABS	ABS

The CASE that eventually triggers agreement will be the one that is allowed to dominate through this function. Agreement (fifth column) will either be with the NOMinative(+NOM) or the ABSolutive(-NOM). Here is a representation of the decision procedure:

```
IND  TR   S-HIGH ACTIVE  |  NOM
-----------------------------------------------
  +    +    +                |  +
  +    +    -                |  -

-----------------------------------------------
  +    -         +           |  +
  +    -         -           |  -

-----------------------------------------------
  -                          |  -
-----------------------------------------------
```

IND =   independent (vs. dependent) clause
TR=   transitive (vs. intransitive) clause/verb
S-HIGH= subject (vs. object) highest ranked
ACTIVE= active (vs. non-active) intransitive verb
NOM=   nominative (vs. absolutive) dominates and
         therefore triggers agreement.

Thus, for instance, an INDependent, TRansitive verb with the Object ranking higher than the Subject (second line of chart) allows the ABSolutive case of TRANS-O to be cross-referenced on the verb rather than the NOMinative case of TRANS-S.

In 3.1.4 the O.CHO (dog) occurs before the IO (2S). The CASE mark for O.CHO is a postposition that normally marks obliques "on surface of", "with reference to". However the normal order of

V-S-IO-OBL

for this combination is not followed. The decision to call the structure ANTIpassive is based on the CASE marking of the O.CHO and the clear detransitivization of the verb which takes the valence diminisher "PURU" and the intransitive paradigm in this construction.

To save space I use simplified stratal diagrams. Thus, for instance, English passive "I was seen by John" is represented by

```
P    S    O
P    S.CHO  S
------------------
see   John   I
```

In 0.2.1, the second sentence would be represented thus:

```
P    S    O    AUX
------------------------------
broke  mother  flower  going
```

Sentence 3.2.2 looks like this:

```
P1      S  [P2   S]
CAUS    P1-2     S      O
----------------------------------
CAUSE-sleep  I        child
```

The third sentence from 1.1.1 would look thus:

```
P1      S  [P2  S     O]
CAUS    P2-1    S     IO    O
------------------------------------------
see-CAUSE I     he    hand
```

In 3.1.4 this sort of diagram was modified for EQUI - ANTI -DESIDERATIVE (short form repeated here).

	P1	S1	[S2	P2	[P3	S3	O]]
CAUS	P1	S1	[S2	P3-2		IO	O]
EQUI	P3-2-1	S1-2				IO	O
ANTI	P	S				IO	O.CHO

```
see-cause-want I            you    dog
```

It is quite common for languages to have their signalling devices sensitive to the final stratum. This is generally true for English, where the signalling (for pragmatically unmarked clauses) is

CASE: S: nom on pronouns, 0 on other nominals
            O: acc on pronouns, 0 on other nominals
            IO: dat ("to" plus acc on pronouns, "to"
                 on other nominals)
            OBL: various other characteristic prepositions
                 plus acc on pronouns, prepositions on
                 other nominals

AGR: with S

WO: S-V-O-IO etc., (well studied)

the grammatical relations referred to in the rules are final relations. In passive

        S   P   S-CHO
        I   was revered   BY everyone.
        YOU were revered   BY ME.
        HE   was revered   BY US.

the signals of English are sensitive to final Rgs.

This is also true of IO to O advance except that CASE is sensitive to BOTH INITIAL AND FINAL STRATA.

        S   O   IO
        S   O-CHO   O

        I   book   you

        S   O   IO
I gave the book(acc) to you(dat)

        S   O   O-CHO
I gave you(acc) the book(acc)

Here both O and O-CHO receive ACC case marking, though AGR and WO seem to be organized around the final stratum. In cases like this, relational grammarians say that the term "ACTING-O" is a useful addition to their toolkit. ACTING-O (ACTING-2 in their terminology) is a nominal that is an O on any stratum. Thus "I gave you the book" has two ACTING-Os, 'book' and 'you'. Some languages organize some grammatical signalling around ACTING-O. In the English IO-to-O construction, CASE marking is sensitive to ACTING-O.

In Guajajara CAUSative:

         transitive comp   intransitive comp
S   [S   O   ]   S   [S]
S   IO   O   S   O

CASE, AGR, and WO all refer to final grammatical relations.

See 3.1.2 for an example of this.

In ANTIpassive this is not the case.

        S   O
      (O   O-CHO)
        S   O-CHO

I will not discuss the second stratum since it does not appear to bear on the ANTI in G. It does seem to be of some importance to relational grammarians for preserving certain universal laws of syntax, and evidence for its existence is given in Davies (1984). The analysis originated, I believe, with Postal (1977).

Of some possible importance for the theory of grammatical relations in universal grammar is the fact that in this particular structure G divides the signalling such that

CASE and AGR are sensitive to final GRs, and
WO is sensitive to initial Grs.

We repeat 3.1.4 here with tags for reference:

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P                      O-CHO     IO
he- puru-    esak -kar -wer  zawar -rehe      ne -we
1S- ANTI.MK- see -cause-want dog    -O.CHO.MK 2S -
IO.MK
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If G were responding to final GRs for WO, the order would be

P IO O-CHO

Since the order is

P O-CHO IO

analogous to

P O IO

WO seems to be sensitive to the initial stratum, rather than the final. In CAUS it was sensitive to the final O. It does appear that G WO is sensitive to ACTING-O rather than final O.

One way to perceive this is to realize that the clause has been safely detransitivized, therefore there is no possibility of there being an O to usurp any part of the signalling system. Since the O-CHO-hood of the initial O is securely signalled by AGR and CASE, the residual power of the original O-hood is allowed to leak through and hold on to the WO signalling device for O, its occurrence in the core.

In English IO to O advance, AGR is triggered by ACTING-O.

signal system		triggering stratum
case	=	ACTING
agr	=	final
wo	=	final

In English O to S advance (passive) the ordering of non-terms is relaxed.

signal system		triggering stratum
case	=	final
agr	=	final
wo	=	final but non-terms relaxed

In Guajajara CAUSative

signal system		triggering stratum
case	=	final
agr	=	final
wo	=	final

but in Guajajara ANTIpassive

signal system		triggering stratum
case	=	final
agr	=	final
wo	=	ACTING

Although the general idea of broadening the allowable triggering mechanism for a certain signal system is somewhat parallel in the two languges, there is an important difference which may weigh in the final analysis. In English passive, a case (acc) can occur with more than one nominal. It is somehow non-exclusive. In Guajajara antipassive the signal in focus is WO, where each element can have only one ordering relation with each other element. Only one of each pair of elements can be first, or last. WO is more exclusive. This gives us something to think about.

The question of "acting-IO" never seems to come up. Predicates of transference seem to dump all reference to the initial COMP-S that becomes union IO.

a- mono -kar   -putar he- pape ne- we nehe
1S- give -CAUSE -FUT   1S- paper 2S- to FUT
I'm going to send a letter to you.

If it becomes necessary to mention the person who is going to carry the letter (the COMP-S), it is put in a second clause, i.e.,

he- r- a'yr w- eraha -putar ne- we nehe
1S- R- son 3- take -FUT   2S- to FUT
My son will take it to you.

The occurrence of an oblique with the same postposition as O-CHO in ANTI together with O-CHO does not seem to be any more of a problem than S-CHO together with a "by"-locative in English.

Guajajara
he- puru-   esak -wer   zawar -r -ehe   ne- we
1S-ANTI.MK-see -want dog   -R -O.CHO.MK 2S- IO.MK

he- r- emi-   mume'u -kwer -r - ehe.
1S- R- NOMZR- declare -PAST -R - W.RESP.TO
I want to show you the dog the way I promised.

English
He was strangled by the stream by a mugger.
He was strangled by a mugger by the stream.

Case marked Obliques seem to dispense with strong word order precedence as long as they are all safely out to the right of the business end of the clause (not the case with the following):

?By the stream he by the mugger was strangled.
?By the mugger he was strangled by the stream.
?By the mugger he was by the stream strangled.
etc.

NOTES

* Guajajara (G) is the most common name given by (neo-) Brazilians to the loosely knit indigenous group of Northeastern Brazil whose members often refer to themselves as Tenetehara. Present guesses as to the total number of Guajajaras usually fall between eight and ten thousand.

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

The orthographic symbols used in examples have approximately the phonetic equivalents expected except where noted here. p, t, k, ' (glottal stop), s (c contiguous to i; dialectal variants s and ts elsewhere), z (semivowel allophone y in syllable final position; dialectal variants z and dj contiguous to i; dialectal variants z, retroflexed z, and d(Temb/e dialect) elsewhere), m, n, g (velar nasal), r (flap), w, h, i, e, a, o, u, y (i through + to i depending on dialect), and à (schwa). kw and gw are used for voiceless labialized velar stop and voiced labialized velar nasal.

Bendor-Samuel (1972) uses c for s. Stress accent occurs generally on the last syllable of major words. The practical orthography uses |a| with grave(`) for /à/ and |x| for /s/.

1 - In G, what are commonly thought of as three-place predicates are often derived from two place predicates plus causative. Thus a common verb such as give, shows evidence of coming from a verb of motion say, away from the speaker) and causative. (MA = MOTION AWAY FROM SPEAKER)

a - mo - no temetarer i- zupe
1S- CAUS- MA money   3- to
I gave money to him.

2 - a'e =mehe [o-momor zàwàruhu kuzer] i-mono   a'e.
then   [3-threw jaguar   spoon] 3-moving 3.
   'Then the jaguar threw the spoon.'

The above sentence was taken from a recorded text. The following variant orders are also permitted:

VOS o-momor kuzer   zàwàruhu 'threw jaguar spoon'
SVO zàwàruhu o-momor kuzer   'jaguar threw spoon'
SOV zàwàruhu kuzer   o-momor 'jaguar spoon threw'

but not

*OSV kuzer zàwàruhu o-momor
*OVS kuzer o-momor zàwàruhu

A clause like

u-pytywà Zuàw Mari
3-help   John   Mary

can only mean that John helped Mary (VSO) and not vice-versa (VOS).
The tendencies, then, are for V TO COME EARLY AND FOR S TO PRECEDE O.

3 - The R- "EPENTHETIC" that crops up with vowel-initial verb stems when occurring with ABSolutive-agreement prefixes is the subject of some current discussion. It may be the phonologically realized allomorph of a morpheme that marks inversion, that is, agreement with the O instead of the S. The same set of prefixes also occurs with postpositions and nouns, and, if with the R-class, the R- appears. Since all of the stems with which R- occurs are vowel-initial, there is some motivation for believing that it reflects an old epenthetic process which is no longer operational in the phonology of G. Almost all i-class stems are consonant-initial.

Inverse is also marked by the choice of the ABS-agreement prefixes contrary to Algonquian languages where it is signalled by a separate affix. The R no doubt contributes to the signalling of inverse. Some questions remaining are: What, then, is the function of R on nouns and postpositions? Did R start on verbs and spread? Is it a former epenthetic which is now carrying a signalling load? What is the status of the 0 allomorph of R which presumably occurs with all of the "i-class" verbs? Was there something with "i" verbs that disappeared through sound change?

In G, R has the allomorphs n- after formerly nasalized pe- '2P.ABS' and wa- '3P.ABS', and t- on occasions when the form occurs with no prefix. In forms such as h-upi '3S-with/through', since h- only occurs with the class of stems that take R-, for symmetry I have syncronically analyzed the h- as being a combination of 0- '3' plus h- 'R', though I recognize that others have analyzed *s-, the historical precursor of h- as being a third-person prefix in its own right.Under eithr analysis, the effect of h- is to mark 3rd person singular or third person.

he-r- upi   ne-r-upi 0-h-upi zane-r-upi ure-r-upi pe- n-upi wa-n-upi *
1S-R-with 2S-   3S-   1PINCL- 1PEXCL- 2P-   3P- 0-

he- r-eha nereha heha zanereha urereha peneha waneha teha
1S-R-eye 2S   3S   1PI   1PE   2P   3P   0

he- r- esak neresak hesak-mehe zaneresak
1S-R-see   when

    ureresak penesak wanesak-mehe ?t-esak-aw
        0-appearance?

4 - For the idea of bi(multi)-stratal signalling (though they do not call it exactly that), I am indebted to Perlmutter and Rosen (1984), especially the papers by Perlmutter and Postal, "Impersonal passives and some relational laws"; Marlett, "Personal and impersonal passives in Seri"; and Davies, "Antipassive: Choctaw evidence for a universal characterization".

The volume has papers on "referencing initial grammatical relations" (using data from Achenese, Udi, and Georgian); "referencing the notion 'nominal heading an n-arc'" (using data from Russian, Udi and Choctaw); and "referencing the notion 'acting-2'"(using data from Seri and Welsh)(p.xv). There are some languages where "signalling" (my terminology) must reference three strata. Their treatment of these phenomena seems to simplify our understanding of what are otherwise complex phenomena and I will borrow heavily from them but in no way cast on them any responsibility for misapplication of their ideas.

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