

CASE MARKING IN SURUI

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ABSTRACT

This description of the Surui case marking and pronominal systems generally follows the pattern suggested in sections 15.1. and 16. in the Handbook of Amazonian Languages. Sections 15.1. and 16. were originally written as two separate papers.

The Surui language seems to have split ergativity, i.e. there are constructions in the language which function on an ergative/absolutive basis, and others which function as a nominative/accusative basis. The Surui system is exceptional in several ways: it has ergative-type agreement and "nominative" (or possibly "extended ergative") case marking, it has "diminutive" agreement in absolutive, and three-way person marking in independent clauses. There is a split in stative verbs, but person markers in these are either object forms or subject of intransitive forms, in keeping with the overall system, which bars subject of transitive from being marked on the verb.

Section 16. is a description of the Surui pronominal system. At this point, it is of interest mainly as necessary background information for section 15.1., which describes Case Marking.

0. INTRODUCTION

The Surui language, pertaining to the Mondé family of the Tupi stock, is spoken by about 350 people in the southeastern part of Rondônia. Basic word order for transitive clauses is SOV, for intransitive clauses it is SV. Genitive precedes Noun, Adjective follows Noun, and Postpositions are used. This is in keeping with the "Basque" system, and many languages which follow this system are at least partially ergative (Harrison, 1983). Surui also shows signs of ergativity, but may be in a state of transition from ergative to accusative or to a three-way system with marked nominative, with independent clauses being least resistant to change and nominalized embedded clauses and "diminutive agreement" on the other end of the scale, together with "adjectival" verbs. This paper was written with the intent of becoming part of a general description of the Surui language to be published in a future edition of the Handbook of Amazonian languages, but can be read and understood by itself. Data for this paper were gathered at Posto Sete de Setembro, with authorization from FUNAI through the University of Campinas, in three sessions between May 1979 and December 1981, and partially confirmed with speakers of the language who have been, visiting Porto Velho in October and November 1984. I am indebted to David Fortune for his help in writing this paper; to Desmond Derbyshire for valuable comments which gave me ideas for improving it; to Robert Dooley and Willem and Carolyn Bontkes for their help in giving a better understanding of the meaning and/or function of several particles, and through these, of the whole system; to Horst Stute for ideas based on his knowledge of Gavião, a language pertaining to the same linguistic family; and to all my colleagues who have given of their time to help me in several ways. Any mistakes are, of course,

of my own responsibility. These are only preliminary findings, and much of this may change when further understanding of the language is attained.

15.1. CASE MARKING

Subjects of both intransitive and transitive clauses occur with tense-aspect markers dé/-jé 'perfective', -sádé/ládé 'imperfective', yá 'past (legendary or irrealis?)', lá 'intensive', má 'past?/?', pérédédé 'past habitual?'. In some time-frames no tense-aspect marker is used. Since these markers seem not to occur in any position other than with subject of transitive and subject of intransitive, they could be considered to have the added function of a "nominative" marker, but, since they do not seem to occur in embedded or subordinate intransitive clauses or with stative ("position") and adjectival verbs, we could think of an "extended ergative" instead.

- (1) mated óni-en dé nítí máḡa é
 yesterday 1sg-mother-emph perf basket make decl
 'Yesterday my mother made a basket.'
- (2) éykin ojé mated é
 2sg-see 1sg-perf yesterday decl
 'I saw you yesterday.'
- (3) sodíḡa ládé agota é
 thing-paint (1sg) impf tomorrow decl
 'I will be writing tomorrow.'
- (4) tóyxádé бага tér ikar ï é
 1pl.excl-impf all intens 3sg-look=for ctf decl
 'We were all looking for it in vain.'

The syntax of the language is nominative-accusative in coordinated clauses.

- (5) óy déhkah, mekó aka é
 man perf-go jaguar kill decl
 'The man went and killed the jaguar.'
- (6) óy déhkah, mekó de óy aka é
 man perf-go jaguar perf man kill decl
 'The man went and the jaguar killed him.'

(With verbs like 'come' and 'go', tense-aspect markers can have their final vowel lengthened, absorbing the bound subject pronoun of the verb, and thus linking themselves to these verbs. So, instead of e.g. ojé okah, ojéhkah occurs in most cases.)

When it comes to verb agreement, though, we find that subject of intransitive is cross-referenced on the intransitive verb, and that object is cross-referenced on the transitive verb, while subject of transitive is not cross-referenced on the verb at all. This points into the direction of an "absolutive" (ergative) agreement system, or at least one in which absolutive triggers verb agreement, even though the object pronouns differ slightly from the subject of intransitive pronouns. The differences are: 1) the addition of a "sonorantizing" feature (see section 16.1.2.1)

to first and second person singular object; 2) two different forms for third person object, instead of the one for subject of intransitive, one for singular object, which bears no resemblance to the form for subject of intransitive, and one for plural object; and 3) a difference in tone only for first person plural exclusive and second person plural (low in subject of intransitive, high in object). Besides these, tone changes occur in some verb classes, according to transitivity and person. First person plural inclusive is the same for subject of intransitive and object throughout the language (see section 16.1.2.1 for a listing of person markers). The subject pronoun forms that occur with tense-aspect markers are also basically the same, but they trigger a different kind of morphophonemic change in dé/-jé 'perfective' (of the kind that occurs after i or y at word boundaries, even though there is no apparent y in most of these person markers), and they are deleted in some persons with some of the other tense-aspect markers. For this reason, and because they are "free" forms (i.e. not bound to verbs), we suspect that they may be somewhat different in deep structure.¹

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|
| (7) | ojé owágá é | (8) | oǵárměy dé aar é |
| | 1sg-perf 1sg-cry decl | | 1sg-younger=sibling perf 3-fall decl |
| | 'I cried.' | | 'My younger brother fell.' |
| (9) | bóté ojé xíkin é | (10) | eǵáne xíter |
| | already 1sg-perf 3sg-see decl | | 2sg-want intens |
| | 'I already saw him.' | | '(I) like you very much.' |

There is also agreement of diminutive in verbs, with subject of intransitive and object. That is, when subject of intransitive is small, the intransitive verb may go to diminutive, while transitive verbs may do so only when the object is small. The diminutive is marked by elevating vowels and dental consonants in the last syllable of the root and/or in a suffix (and sometimes in the next to last syllable) of verbs, nouns, adjectives, intensifier, quantifiers, numerals, demonstratives, tense-aspect and possibly other classes, or by a special suffix or particle meaning 'small'. Smallness is not necessarily explicit in subject of intransitive or object. Since o does not have a corresponding high vowel, diminutives of words which contain this vowel either take the high central vowel or retain o. I have one example of a diminutive tense-aspect marker in a transitive clause, where the object is small. So diminutive agreement functions in absolutive, which is a strong argument for a case system that is at least partially ergative. It is possible that the Surui case system is in a state of transition from ergative to accusative, with "diminutive agreement" being more highly resistant to change than most other relations in independent clauses.

- | | |
|------|---|
| (11) | été tájé walóy aka é |
| | then 1sg-perf armadillo kill decl |
| | 'Then they killed an armadillo.' |
| (12) | été tájé walóy pug aku é |
| | then 3pl-perf armadillo young kill=dim decl |
| | Then they killed an armadillo's young.' |

(u represents high central vowel)

(13) ojé ádo kāy potó maḡa é
 1sg-perf basket old sit=up make decl
 'I set down the old basket.'

(14) ojé ádo kāy pozód aḡa é
 1sg-perf basket old sit=up=dim make decl
 'I set down the old (small) basket.'

(Certain stative or "position" verbs and adjectives add a final d in diminutive when they end in a vowel; z represents voiceless alveo-palatal affricate)

(15) anótē
 3-stand-incep
 'He is standing up.'

(16) anhódī
 3-stand=dim-incep=dim
 'He (a baby) is standing up.'

(17) awérá
 3-walk
 'He walks.'

(18) ojé mūy zér aka
 1sg-perf one intens kill
 'I killed only one.'(e.g. a monkey)

(19) awírá
 3-walk=dim
 'He (a toddler) walks.'

(20) ... ojí mūy zír aka
 1sg-perf=dim one intens=dim kill
 '... I killed only one (small monkey).'

(t changes to z after y across word boundaries)

In embedded clauses, intransitive verbs take a prefix from the object series. This could be interpreted as purely absolutive, or as a nominalization of the embedded verb, which then would take a possessive marker (which are the same as used for object, unless they mark reflexive possession, in which case they are the same as used for subject of intransitive, see section 16.3), or maybe as both nominalization and absolutive marking. Subject-to-object raising could also be involved. The choice here depends on our interpretation of the change of status of the subject of the embedded clause.

(21) bóté ojé iwáḡ e pi é
 already 1sg-perf 3sg-cry inf hear decl
 'I already heard him cry.' (... his crying)

(22) bóté ládé xikoáḡmá be íkin é
 already (1sg)impf 3sg-yawn inf see decl
 'I was (/am?) already seeing him yawn.' (... his yawning)

(Object markers are usually deleted when there is a free object; since the embedded clause functions as the object of the main clause, there are no object markers on the verbs of the main clauses.)

When a transitive clause is embedded, no such changes occur. Demonstrative éwe can be used in most embedded clauses instead of be 'infinitive'. The difference seems to be that éwe signals a finite embedded (complement) clause (which is in apposition to it), while be signals a

nonfinite, nominalized clause. There is not enough of a difference of meaning between the two options for it to be easily investigated under less than ideal conditions of communicative ability.

(23) bóté ojé xosé dé walóy aka éwe íkin é
 already 1sg-perf José perf armadillo kill it see decl
 'I already saw that José killed an armadillo.'

(24) bóté ojé walóy ò dé éğay éwe íkin é
 already 1sg-perf armadillo give (3sg) perf 2sg-to it see decl
 'I already saw that he gave the armadillo to you.'

Instead of this type of construction, the embedded subject of transitive can be put into "oblique", i.e. take a postposition and so possibly function as an indirect object. It is taken out of the embedded clause and put at the end of the main clause, and this could be interpreted as a "demotion" from subject to indirect object, for, as we will see below, it can be omitted. For this reason the be clause could be considered to be a nominalized clause, and this could also be a reflex of an ergative-absolutive system. Something similar occurs in Hixkaryana, where it is also based on ergatively organized syntax (Derbyshire, personal communication, and 1979).

(25) bóté ojé mekó aka be íkin mawíra ká é
 already 1sg-perf jaguar kill inf see Mawira to decl
 'I already saw Mawira kill a jaguar.' (... the killing of a jaguar by Mawira)

According to my informants (23) can be said like (25), by substituting name for name and animal for animal without changing its meaning. In this construction the subject of the embedded transitive clause can be omitted, and the object can be represented by a prefix, independently.

(26) bóté ojé mekó aka be íkin é
 already 1sg-perf jaguar kill inf see decl
 'I already saw (him) kill a jaguar.' (... the killing of a jaguar)

(27) bóté ojé xaka be íkin é
 already 1sg-perf 3sg-kill inf see decl
 'I already saw (him) kill it.' (... the killing of it)

These examples could be considered to be derived from a construction like (23). This is unlikely, however, for be is used here, and examples (25) - (27) were elicited at the same time, while (23) was found much later.

Where a potential ambiguity could arise, in a transitive verb that can be used reflexively as an intransitive, ma- 'other' is used when they want to make clear that there is a "fourth" person involved, and oblique is used for the subject of the embedded clause. When ma- is not used, there may still be some ambiguity. This has to be investigated in more detail.

- (28) xiwexómã mé íkin ládé
 3sg-paint inf see (1sg) impf
 'I saw (him) paint himself.' or 'I saw (someone) paint him.' (... his painting or ... the painting of him (self))
- (29) mawexómã mé íkin ládé ikay é
 other-paint inf see (1sg) impf 3sg-to decl
 'I saw him paint someone else.' (...the painting of someone else by him)
- (30) awexómã yákádé
 3-paint ?-impf
 'He is painting himself.'
- (31) mawexómã yákádé
 other-paint ?-impf
 'He is painting someone else.'

Example (27) looks exactly the same as the intransitive embedded clauses in (21) and (22). This, to me, seems to be another indication of a certain degree of ergativity in Surui verb agreement, even though free subjects of transitive and intransitive are marked for "nominative". Since this "nominative" has not, until now, been registered either in embedded and subordinate intransitive clause's, or in stative ("position") and adjectival verbs, tense-aspect markers may be ergative in origin, and may have been extended to cover subject of intransitive, changing the system into one of marked nominative. If this nominative does not have an ergative origin, the Surui case system may disprove Dixon's claim "Both case-marking and cross-referencing affixes can be accusative, or both can be ergative; but if there is a split, then bound forms will be accusative and free forms ergative... never the other way around." (1979, p. 92). Mallinson and Blake (1981, p. 104), also seem to imply that such systems would be unlikely to occur: "There is no analogous motivation for an ergative cross-referencing system to co-occur with accusative case marking, and it is significant that such a system has not been reported." Harrison (1983), shows that such systems do occur in several indigenous languages in Brasil. He describes the Guajajara system as one probably in transition and goes on to discuss data from Canela, Munduruku and Cinta Larga (this last one pertaining to the Mondé family as well), which show that these languages also manifest such a split. It may be significant that nominative is marked instead of accusative, in the light of the hypothesis above of "extended ergativity", and of the whole possibility of the system being in transition from ergative to accusative. So it could be that the system has developed into a three-way distinction (subject of transitive, subject of intransitive and object) with marked nominative in independent clauses, while in embedded clauses the ergative-absolutive system is still in operation.

Adjectival verbs take bound pronouns from the object series for their subject, unless followed by inceptive aspect verb suffix *-tẽ*, or by *-ki* (or *-gi*), which is probably another aspect, in which case a bound pronoun from the subject of intransitive series is used. Non-adjectival stative verbs take bound pronouns from the subject of intransitive series.

- (32) ipóy
 3sg-big
 'It is big.'
- (33) xatóg
 3sg-tall
 'He is tall.'
- (34) oḡapixaḡa
 1sg-bitter-?
 'I -have a bad taste in my mouth.' (heartburn?)
 (from *kapixag* 'bitter')

(35) atipídně
 3-fat-incep
 'He is starting to get fat.' (He's becoming fat)

(36) ositaǵi
 1sg-cold-?
 'I am cold.'
 (from litag/-sitag 'cold')

(37) aáta
 3-lie-stat?
 'He is lying down.'

(38) epotótě
 2sg-sit-incep
 'Sit down.' (become seated?)

This is also something that often occurs in split case systems, but then with object forms for some verbs, and subject of transitive forms for others. It is interesting to see subject of intransitive being used here instead, and this may be another argument for a case system in transition from ergative to accusative, or to a three way system with marked nominative.

16. SURUI PRONOUNS

16.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns in Surui are bound or free. A distinction is made between first person inclusive and exclusive in the personal and possessive pronouns. Third person singular and plural is not distinguished in subject of intransitive bound pronouns and reflexive possessives. It is distinguished, however, in the non-reflexive possessive series, the free pronouns, and the object and indirect object bound ones.

16.1.1. Free pronouns

There are two series of free pronouns. The first takes an emphatic suffix -en and can occur as subject of intransitive, subject of transitive or object. The use of these pronouns adds emphasis to the referent. Contrast may also be implied. The suffix -en can mark focus (or emphasis or contrast) on a noun phrase as well. The pronouns in this series are:

(39)	1sg	oen	1pl incl	paen
			1pl excl	tóyen
	2sg	een	2pl	méyen
	3sg	xien	3pl	táen

(40) oen
 1sg-emph
 'It's me.'

(41) oen éykin
 1sg-emph 2sg-see
 'I see you.' (It is me who sees you.)

(42) ejé oen íkin
 2sg-perf 1sg-emph see
 'You saw me.' (It was me whom you saw.)

The second series is attached to tense-aspect markers -dé alternating with -jé 'perfective' and others, and occurs only as subject of transitive or subject of intransitive. This marker (and the others, cited below) are also used on NP's in the position of subject of transitive or subject of

intransitive. It may, thus, also have the added implication of a "nominative" marker (see the section on case marking), as may also happen with -sádé alternating with ládé 'imperfective', lá 'intensive', and some other tense-aspect markers which to this date are not fully understood, (yá 'past (legendary or irrealis?)', má 'past?/?', péredé 'past habitual?') but which invariably mark subject of transitive or subject of intransitive. So far, only the paradigm of dé-jé can be given. The pronouns (with tense-aspect markers included) are:

(43)	1sg	ojé	1pl incl	pajé
			1pl excl	tóyjé
	2sg	ejé	2pl	méyjé
	3sg	dé	3pl	tájé

(3sg. has zero variant of third person marker. See bound object pronouns. In some cases ajé can be used for third person, which would correspond to intransitive subject or reflexive possessive; this seems to occur mainly in subordinate clauses, when it's subject is co-referent with the subject of the main clause (so reflexivity is probably implied), first and second person singular and first plural inclusive would suffer no change in this case, and first plural exclusive and second plural would just change from high to low tone, while third plural would be the same as singular in this case, so it is no surprise that so far only ajé has been found, since it is easy to miss the tone distinction.)

(44)	owérkár	ojé	(45)	ojé	walóy	aka	é
	1sg-walk-look+for	1sg-perf		1sg-perf	armadillo	kill	decl
	'I went for a walk.'			'I killed an armadillo.'			

Pronouns of the two series can be combined to emphasis a subject of transitive or intransitive in perfective (possibly also with other tense-aspect markers). In this case we have:

(46)	1sg	oendé	1pl incl	paendé
			1pl excl	tóyendé
	2sg	eendé	2pl	méyendé
	3sg	xiendé	3pl	táendé

(47)	oendé	mérewa
	1sg-emph-perf	sing
	'I sang.'	

(48)	xiendé	watákoma	mayzē	óğay	é
	1sg-emph-perf	rock	throw	1sg-to	decl
	'He threw the rock to me.'				

(-endé also occurs on NP's, under the same conditions.)

Free forms are optional when used for emphasis, or possibly for contrast, in clauses without tense-aspect markers. All -en forms are optional, since the context usually makes clear who (or what) is being referred to as subject of transitive, and subject of intransitive or object is cross-referenced on the verb, not needing to occur as a free form.

16.1.2. Bound Pronouns

16.1.2.1. Bound pronouns as verb prefixes

There is agreement of intransitive verbs with subject of intransitive, and of transitive verbs with object, while subject of transitive is not cross referenced at all on the verb. This points in the direction of an absolutive cross-referencing system, which is discussed in section 15.1. on case marking. The bound pronouns for subject of intransitive are similar but not identical, to the ones for object, except for first person plural inclusive (identical) and third person singular (not similar). The object forms are the same as for indirect object, which is linked to postpositionals (see 16.1.2.2) and for non-reflexive possessive, while the subject of intransitive forms are the same as for reflexive possessive (see 16.3). Adjectives also take the object form when they function as predicate in verb-less clauses, except when used with inceptive enclitic tē or with ki/ji, in which case they take the intransitive subject form.

(49) Subject of intransitive				Object			
1sg	o-	1pl incl	pa (N)	1sg	o (N)	1pl incl	pa (N)
		1pl excl	toy			1pl excl	tóy
2sg	e-	2pl	mey	2sg	e (N)	2pl	méy
3	a-			3sg	xi-/i-/x-/∅	3pl	tá (')

(1sg., 2sg. and 3 subject and 3sg. object pronouns of the bound series are considered to be prefixes, because any phonological changes that occur are the same as occur within words. The others are considered to be clitics, because they trigger morphophonemic changes which are the same as occur at word boundaries throughout the language. N is a "sonorantizing" feature, which triggers the change of following voiceless stops into nasals and L (orthographic s) to l and ś (orthographic x) to y, just as any word final consonants do to following voiceless consonants. Where no voiceless consonants are present, only certain tone changes occur, depending on the tone class of each verb. Tone changes also occur in the presence of voiceless consonants. ' prevents absorption of following (low tone) a and assilabation of following i. (See Van der Meer 1982 for a complete description of morphophonemic changes.)'

(50)	tóyjé	toyérá	é	(51)	iwa	be	lī
	1pl.excl-perf	1pl.excl-walk	decl		3sg-eat	hort?	?
	'We walked.'				'Eat it! (help yourself!)		
(52)	eġane	xíter	(53)	ipóy	íter	(54)	atipídnē
	2sg-want	intens		3sg-big	intens		3-fat-incep
	'(I) like you very much.'			'It is very big.'			"He's started to grow fat.'

Bound object forms are optional in third person, when the object NP is present, with a preference for their non-occurrence. They seem to occur most often when the free object ends in a vowel and the verb has initial i without underlying glottal, and only in environments where the form x occurs.

(55)	Mawira	dé	walóy	aka	é
	Mawira	perf	armadillo	kill	decl
	'Mawira killed an armadillo.'				

(xaka (3sg. kill) can be used here, but aka is preferred)

- (56) ojé arime xíkin é
 1sg-perf spidermonkey 3sg-see decl
 'I saw a spidermonkey.'

There is a definite or indefinite pronoun ma 'other', which is sometimes used to mean a "fourth" person object, i.e. to distinguish between third person acting reflexively from third person acting on another, when a transitive verb can be used reflexively. This is especially important in embedded clauses, where it would otherwise be impossible, as far as can be seen now, to make this distinction, because object markers are used on all verbs in such clauses, whether transitive or intransitive.

- (57) mawexómã yákádé
 other-paint ?-impf
 'He is painting someone else.'

- (58) mawexómã me íkin ládé ikay
 other-paint inf see (1sg) impf 3sg-to
 'I saw him paint someone else.' (... the painting of someone else by him)

- (59) xiwexómã me íkin ládé
 3sg-paint inf see (1sg)impf
 'I saw (him) paint himself.' or 'I saw (someone) paint him.' (... his painting, or ... the painting of him(self))

16.1.2.2. Bound pronouns as postposition prefixes.

The indirect object is marked by postpositions ka alternating with kay 'to' and kabi 'for, towards'. Bound pronouns can be used instead of full noun phrases, and they are the same as used for object (see 1.2.1). Free pronouns from the time-independent series may also be used, as may NPs, to form indirect object with these postpositions. With ideophones, which are uninflected, direct objects take postposition ka/kay, and follow the ideophone.

- (60) nán átiná eǵabi
 who Q?ver 2sg-for
 'What (relative) is he to you?'

- (61) ãsáo pi óǵay mã
 fishhook give 1sg-to imp
 'Give me a (some) fishhook(s).'

- (62) "iwa be lĩ" ojé tákay é
 3sg-eat hort ? 1sg-perf 3pl-to decl
 "'Eat it" I (said) to them.'

- (63) líglígá óǵay
 pulling 1sg-to
 '(It is) pulling me.'

- (64) été soemã lígá ómnér oenǵa
 then bait pull neg-intens 1sg-emph-to
 'Then (the fish) didn't nibble my line.'

16.2. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

So far, I do not have a good understanding of indefinite pronouns in Surui. Therefore, a description of them has to be delayed for a while.

16.3. POSSESSIVES

Possessives can be bound or free. Bound forms signal optional possession when -ma- is attached to them; without -ma- they signal obligatory possession. Free forms are anaphoric to possessed item, which must be omitted.

16.3.1. Bound possessives

A distinction is made between reflexive and non-reflexive possession. The reflexive possessives have the same forms as the intransitive subject pronouns, while the non-reflexive series are the same as for object and indirect object (see 1.2.1). By reflexive possession we mean that the possessor is co-referential with the subject of the clause in which the possessed item is a constituent.

- (65) māmug ádé ati káne é
child impf 3-mother want decl
'The child wants his own mother.'
- (66) agota xiti íkin okah
tomorrow 3sg-mother see 1sg-go
'Tomorrow I'm going to see his mother.'
- (67) oti íkin é káne
1sg-mother see inf want
'I want to see my own mother.'
- (68) mated óniendé nití máğa é
yesterday 1sg-mother-emph-perf basket make decl
'Yesterday my mother made a basket.'
- (69) asáno izá ládé ġakoy akah é
3-cousin with (3sg)impf garden-to 3-go decl
'He is going to the garden with his own cousin.'
- (70) xixáno dé xosî koy akah é
3sg-cousin perf Riozinho to 3-go decl
'His cousin went to Riozinho.'
- (71) Xosé dé amáwuru makah é
José perf 3-opt.poss-dog caus-go decl
'José sent his dog away.'
- (72) omakásár
1sg-opt.poss-macaw
'my macaw'

An obligatorily possessed item which belongs to an unidentified possessor takes a prefix ma- to substitute for the possessor.

(73) mapábe
 indef.poss-hand
 'a hand'

(74) mámug
 indef.poss-child
 'a child'

16.3.2. Free possessives

In the free possessives the bound forms are attached to a particle -id. Here also a distinction can be made between reflexive and non-reflexive possession.

(75) xiid aḡa mã
 3sg-fr.poss make imp
 'Make his! (make one for him!)

(76) aíd ewa bé káne
 3-fr.poss sing inf want
 'She wants to sing her own (song).'

16.4 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There is a set of three distance-related demonstratives, and two for contextual reference, with variations, which can be attached to postpositions and other particles, and which can also occur as free forms.

16.4.1. Distance-related demonstratives

The demonstratives of this kind signal distance in relation to speaker and to hearer:

(77) āh- 'this' (within speaker's reach, or in his hand)
 yé- 'that' (close to hearer, or just out of easy reach of both speaker and hearer)
 anó-/anhó- 'that' (away from both speaker and hearer)

(nh represents the palatal nasal)

These can be attached to directional postpositions koy 'to', pábi 'from (or side)', time/space particles tígá 'at (location or time)', tér 'at' (time), quantitative nam (or its diminutive nhum), size particles nán 'big', nhún 'small', manner na, mi 'with (instrumental postposition)', to make up locationals, directionals, time/space adverbials, quantifiers, qualifiers and instrumentals.

(78)	āhtígá	'here'		anhótígá	'there'	
	āhkoy	'here to'	yékoy	'there to'	anhókoy	'there to'
	āhpábi	'this side'		anópábi	'that side'	
	āhtér	'now'				
	ānhún	'this small'		anhónán	'that big'	
	āhna	'this way'	yéna	'that way'		
	āhnam	'this many'	yénam	'that many'		
	āhnhum	'this many' (small things)	yémi	'with that'		

(There may also be a diminutive relationship between ano- and anho-; anokoy has been registered, and may signal a longer distance to go than anhokoy. The postposition pabi translates 'side' in these derivations, but means 'from' when it occurs with place names and proper nouns)

The forms ãh, ye and anó have been attested as free forms, in examples such as:

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| (79) | ãh sodiǵáb
this thing-paint-handle?
'this pen' | (80) | ye mekózid
that jaguar-domesticated?
'that cat' |
| (81) | anó áwuru
that dog
'that dog' | | |

There is a word ãhwa which is used to call someone's attention to something the speaker wants to say, and could possibly be glossed 'this-vocative', meaning 'listen to this'.

16.4.2. Context-related demonstratives

The context related demonstratives are the following:

- | | | |
|------|----------------|--|
| (82) | é- / éé-
i- | 'it, this/that' (reference to immediate context)
'it' (reference to wider context, which can be non-linguistic) |
|------|----------------|--|

These can be attached to the first three of the particles mentioned for distance-related demonstratives above, and to ná 'verification particle' and we, which seems to make them into free, anaphoric demonstratives.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (83) | étigá / éétigá
ékoy / éékoy
éná
iná
ewe
iwe | 'then (at that time)'
'to that place'
'verification of immediate context, related to past events'
'verification of present events, or present relevance of past events'
'it' (anaphoric of immediate context)
'it' (anaphoric of wider context, which can be non-linguistic) |
|------|--|---|

The form éé also has been attested as a free form:

- | | |
|------|--|
| (84) | éé waled
that woman
'that woman' (which has just been referred to) |
|------|--|

Some examples of context-related demonstratives follow:

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|--|
| (85) | dáǵdáǵa tér ojé iwe ka é
thump-thump intens 1sg-perf it to decl
'I (my heart) went "thump-thump" because of it.' | (86) | Bíog iwe izá
Bill it with
'Bill knows it.' |
|------|--|------|--|

- (87) été ojé mēbe dé awágtē éwe íbeb aâ
 then 1sg-perf pig perf 3-run-incep it trail take
 'Then I took the trail where the pigs had started to run.'
- (88) été ãhnam nér éwe dé nhaḡor xatí dé aweíga
 then this-many day it perf ant hurt perf 3-refl-take=off
 óm i é
 neg ? decl
 'Even after two days it, the ant's hurt, didn't take itself away.'
 (see next section for another use of -we)

16.5. REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

Since the same morphemes are used for reciprocals as are for reflexives, they will be described together. There are two morphemes, -wá- and -we-, which indicate either reflexivity or reciprocity in verbs and, in the case of -we-, with postpositions.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (89) owáaka
1sg-refl-hit/kill
'I cut myself.' | (90) aweíga
3-refl-take=out
'It takes itself away.' |
| (91) owekay
1sg-refl-to
'I (thought) to myself.' | (92) oweizá té
1sg-refl-with be?
'I'm feeling well (I'm with myself).' |
| (93) aweizá om
3-refl-with neg
'He is sick (He's not with himself).' | (94) awáabi
3-rec-kill=pl.obj
'They fought each other.' |
| (95) tájé aweka
3pl-perf 3-rec-to
'They (said) to each other.' | |

16.6. INTEROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Interrogative pronouns parallel personal pronouns, possessives and deonstratives: nán 'who'(or 'what') can occur as a free form; when preposed to possessive -id, it means 'whose'; preposed to ka (nán ḡa) it means 'to whom', and with kabi (nán ḡabi) it means 'for whom', ká/kána occurs with the same postpositions as do demonstratives, and with other particles to make up question words such as káḡoy 'where to', kátigá or kánigá 'where at', kánanér 'when', kánam 'how many', kána kazér 'how much/many', kánatér 'how much', kádéná 'why', kána 'what (how?)', kápabi 'where from', kádeka 'why', and possibly others. Such words occur in clause-initial position. (Polar questions employ a clause-initial particle áté 'question word(?)' or bóté 'already' combined with clause final í.)

(96) nán átiná
who Q?-ver
'Who is it?'

(97) káǵoy éǵa ekah
where-to 2sg-? 2sg-go
'Where are you going?'

(98) kánatér éǵa etágõ
how-much 2sg-? 2sq-tired
'How tired are you?'

NOTAS

1 Subject of intransitive bound forms are the same as are used for reflexive possession, where possessor is co-referential with subject of the clause in which possessed item is a constituent, and these forms are also used to signal co-referentiality of subordinate subject with main subject. Based on this, subject of intransitive could possibly be analysed as a manifestation of co-referentiality with the free subject, whether this free subject occurs or is omitted. I do not know of any language that would have a similar system of co-referentiality; neither do I know if this would be a plausible idea.

ABBREVIATIONS

caus	causative	intens	intensifier
ctf	contrafactive	neg	negative
decl	declarative	opt.poss	optional possessive
dim	diminutive	perf	perfective
emph	emphatic	pl	plural
excl	exclusive	pl.obj	plural object
fr.poss	free possessive	Q?	question word?
hort?	hortative?	rec	reciprocal
imp	imperative	refl	reflexive
impf	imperfective	sg	singular
incep	inceptive	stat?	stative?
incl	inclusive	ver	verification
indef.poss	indefinite possessive	?	not known
inf	infinitive		

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