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"A Grammar of Garifuna"

by

Steffen Haurholm-Larsen

Dissertation submitted
to the Faculty of Humanities
Department of Linguistics
University of Bern
in pursuit of the title
Doctor of Philosophy

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September 22, 2016



Fishing boat carrying the name *Ameniguini* [a'menigi-ni] 'hope'.

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Preface

The present work represents for me the culmination of a prolonged involvement in the study of the Garifuna language. I first got interested in Garifuna a decade ago in the first year of graduate studies at the University of Copenhagen. I was going to Honduras for a semester (for personal reasons involving a representative of the opposite gender) and taking this opportunity to do fieldwork on one of the pre-colonial languages spoken there seemed like an obvious and convenient thing to do. My professor at the Department of American Indian Languages and Cultures, Una Canger, had written a paper on Garifuna male and female speech and their origins, based on the work by Douglas Taylor, and she suggested that I do fieldwork and write a term paper on Garifuna. This resulted in my very first linguistics paper on lexical retention and change in Garifuna in the face of the geographic displacement that this ethnic group underwent. I wrote that paper at a time when I knew next to nothing about theoretical linguistics. At that time my theoretical knowledge of language and linguistics came from three years of classes on translation and analysis of colonial Mexican documents written in Nahuatl, the lingua franca of the Aztec Empire, i.e. my knowledge of linguistic analysis was purely language specific. I later took courses in linguistics at the State University of New York at Albany and got involved in fieldwork on a modern variety of Nahuatl spoken in Veracruz, Mexico. After finishing my Master's degree at Copenhagen, I undertook a short term documentation project of the Tol (Jicaque) language spoken in the central highlands of Honduras. When I took up PhD-studies at the University of Zurich, and later Bern, I was able to resume work on Garifuna after a five year hiatus. I carried out the research presented here as part of the morphological typological project "Islands in an ocean of (poly)synthesis and concatenative morphology. What linguistic theory and typology can learn from selected Amerindian languages" lead by Prof. Fernando Zúñiga, who was my doctoral advisor. The project attempts to deepen our knowledge of word domains in South America languages, and the present work is meant to feed data into this vast comparative endeavor.

I have no illusion that the present work be an exhaustive account of the grammatical system of Garifuna. Nor do I pretend to reach previous authors in depth of analysis in all topics. What I do intend this work to contribute are the following: Firstly, a stand-alone treatment of the principal domains of Garifuna grammar in a single volume. Secondly, a rich body of illustrative examples from natural discourse with links to audio-visual recordings. Third and lastly, a description of Garifuna grammar on its own terms without imposing pre-established grammatical categories on the data. However, analyses are informed by comparative categories developed in linguistic typology, allowing the reader to recognize phenomena of Garifuna grammar that are comparable to those of other languages. If, in addition, I manage to contribute new discoveries to the world's knowledge of this beautiful and intriguing language I will have more than reached my goal.

Acknowledgements

This document could not have come into being without the help, support and encouragement of a great number of people to whom I wish to extend my gratitude. First of all, a tremendous thank you to Don Ambrocio Martinez who was my main consultant and to his wife Doña Mari and their daughter Yorlin, both of whom also took part in the making of this grammar and without whom I might not have learned so much about the Garifuna language and the ways of the Garinagu. And to Martín “Canecho” Solís Velázquez who took precious time away from making a living as a fisherman. He, more than anyone else, has given me insights into the traditional way of life of Garifuna men, as Martín still practices line fishing from a dugout canoe, a practice which is rapidly disappearing. A special thanks to my advisor Fernando Zúñiga for enlightening comments on early drafts and datasets for this dissertation, and for taking the time to teach me the crafts of linguistic analysis and language typology. I will never reach Fernando’s level of knowledge about the world’s languages, their commonalities and differences, but he, more than anyone else has taught me the great value of taking a comparative approach to the study of language. I also wish to thank Rik van Gijn for comments on papers and drafts and especially for being such a pleasant colleague and conference companion, for his advice and academic as well as personal support. I wish to thank my other advisor Pam Munro for her comments on conference papers and dissertation drafts; she is tough but fair and refuses to let me make assertions without thorough argumentation. I also wish to thank the late Salvador Suazo for writing such a comprehensive dictionary which has served as a valuable lexical reference throughout my dissertation work. Unfortunately I never got to meet him before he recently passed away. Finally, I simply cannot thank my wife Evelin enough for putting up with my endless fieldwork trips, late night reading and writing and my enthusiastic narrations about the intricacies of Garifuna grammar and language in general, which must have felt somewhat tiresome to a layperson.

*To my grandfather **Ole Haurholm** (1930-2011) who encouraged me throughout my years at the University of Copenhagen. He was a humanist and a passionate social scientist in the broadest sense and I owe him a great debt.*

List of abbreviations in interlinear glossing

I follow the Leipzig glossing rules and glosses which do not appear therein have been added as needed.

1	first person	INX	index of comparison
2	second person	IPRF	imperfective
3	third person	IRR	irrealis
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ALL	allative	M	masculine
ATR	attributive	MP	modal particle
AUX	auxiliary	MRK	mark of comparison
CAUS	causative	NEG	negation
CLF	classifier	NEW	brand new information
CMP	comparee	NMLZ	nominalizer
COL	collective	NPOSS	non-possessive
COMPL	completive	PAR	parameter of comparison
CONN	connective	PFUT	past-future
CONT	continuative	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSN	position
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
DFUT	distant future	PRF	perfect
DI	DI-series aspectual suffix	PROG	progressive
DIM	diminutive	PST	past
DISTR	distributive	Q	question marker
DPST	distant past	REDUPL	reduplication
DUR	durative	REFL	reflexive
EMPH	emphasis	SG	singular
EPIST	epistemic modality	STD	standard of comparison
EXTR	extraction	SU	suppletive verb stem
F	feminine	TC	topic continuity
FUT	future	TI	TI-series aspectual suffix
HORT	hortative	TOP	topic
HS	hearsay	USPEC	underspecified verb
IMP	imperative	VBLZ	verbalizer
INTERJ	interjection	VOC	vocative

1 Introduction

1.1 The Garifuna people and their language

The Garifuna language is spoken by a people of African and South American indigenous descent in four Central American countries: Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua (though in Nicaragua it is close to extinction). The language has been molded in intricate ways by its long history of language contact which has resulted in its relatively large proportion of borrowed lexical items and morphosyntactic features. Also resulting from contact is a system of genderlects (see § 15), i.e. speech registers employed by men and women respectively, of which some scattered traits still survive today. Historical events have also brought the speakers of Garifuna on a long journey extending for centuries, from the mainland of South America, to the Lesser Antilles, to the Bay Islands of Honduras, to the Honduran mainland and finally scattered up and down the Caribbean coast of Central America where they settled and where the bulk of speakers still live today¹ (cf. Figure 1).

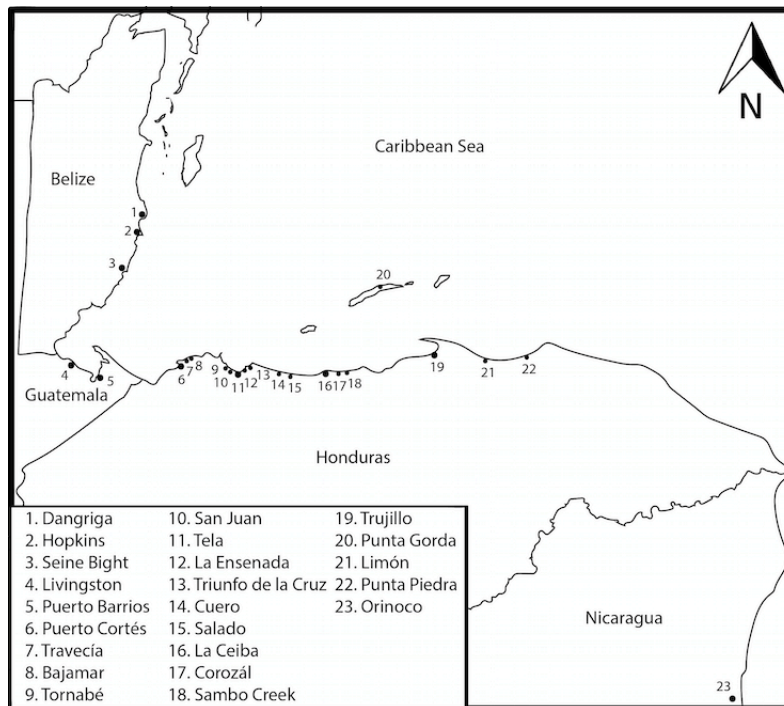


Figure 1: *Gulf of Honduras with select Garifuna speaking communities*

However, a general tendency towards more mobility in a globalized world has expanded the area where Garifuna speakers and their descendants, not necessarily

¹As I was unable to find a map of the Garifuna speaking area with sufficient detail and accuracy, I drew the one shown in Figure 1 using Adobe Illustrator based on satellite images from Google Maps.

speakers of the language, are found today. This area now includes most larger cities in Honduras, especially the northern industrial metropolis of San Pedro Sula, and most larger cities in the United States but especially the cities of the South and New York. Finally, there is also a considerable group settled in the larger cities of Spain, especially along the southeastern *Costa del sol*.

The grand total of Garifuna speakers remains unknown as well as the fate of the language as spoken by migrants in the cities and abroad. In the literature one sometimes encounters population size estimates of between 100.000 to 500.000, but only in one source that I know of has such an estimate been backed up by actual census data: Escure (2004) cites the numbers 15,685 for Belize and 250,000 for Honduras according to national censuses of the respective countries. There are no data regarding the L1 vs. L2 proportion of those numbers.

The Garifuna call their language *Garifuna* and this is also the singular expression for a Garifuna person; the plural is *Garínagu* with the collective suffix *-gu* borrowed from their male Carib (Karina) ancestors. In fact, the terms *Garifuna* and *Garínagu* are derived from the Carib endonym /karipo/ combined with a suffix of nominal association *-na* meaning ‘associated with N’ (see § 3.3.3 on nominal association). Further comparative evidence comes from the modern Carib languages: In modern Karina the grave accent represents a glottal stop which is a reflex of the syllable /po/ and in Wayana the word for ‘person’ is *karipono* (Jackson, 1972, p. 67) cited in (Courtz, 2008). In colonial times and up until the late 1970s in the writings of Douglas Taylor, among others, the *Garínagu* were known to outsiders as “Caribs”, “Black Caribs” or “Island Caribs”. From these Douglas Taylor coined the term “Central American Island Carib”, to distinguish between the modern Garifuna and their Antillean ancestors. In colloquial Honduran Spanish the *Garínagu* are called *Morenos* ‘Blacks’ including by Garifuna speakers themselves when speaking Spanish.

As for the irregularity between singular *Garifuna* and plural *Garínagu* the following explanation is possible: the singular is an older form originating before /karipona/ reduced to /kari²-na/. Loanwords in Garifuna weaken /p/ to /f/ and change final /o/ to /u/ and /k/ has historically weakened to /g/. So, /karipo-na/ became /garifu-na/ and later the morpheme boundary became bleached since there is no number distinction in nouns derived with *-na*. As for the plural form, it must be based on the later form /kari²-na/ (where /po/ had reduced to glottal stop), deleted the glottal stop and added the collective suffix *-gu* yielding *garínagu*.

1.2 Garifuna (pre-)history

More than one thorough monograph length publication (see e.g. Taylor (1951a) and González (1988)) has been dedicated to the study of the fascinating chain of events that led the Garifuna people to settle along the Caribbean coast of Central America where they live today. These events influenced the language through multiple language contact situations that gave Garifuna the large proportion of borrowed lexical as well as grammatical material that the language displays today. Even so, a grammar of Garifuna would not be complete without a minimum of historical introduction to help the reader contextualize the language and understand how its ubiquitous traces of language contact came to be.

A note of caution: the aim of this dissertation is not an historical account of the Garifuna people, and so I do not take issue with the conclusions about Garifuna history arrived at by ethnohistorians. There remains some controversy among scholars, particularly between linguists and anthropologists on the one hand (Taylor, 1951a; González, 1988), and archaeologists on the other (Davis and Goodwin (1990); Hulme and Whitehead (1992), cited by Bakker (2014)). What follows here (based mainly on González (1988)) is a brief summary of the widely accepted version of events which, in light of the linguistic facts, I find rather plausible. The parts which cannot be corroborated by historical documents are based on oral history, told to and written down by the first Europeans in contact with the Antillean Garifuna speakers.

At some unknown point in time before the arrival of Europeans in The Americas, Arawak speaking peoples from the mainland of northern South America, roughly what is now Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana (a.k.a. The Guianas), left and settled on some of the Lesser Antillean islands to the northwest of Barbados. At some time after that, also in precolonial times, a group of Karina speaking warriors arrived from the mainland to the Lesser Antilles where they conquered the Arawak speaking population, killed all the men, and settled down to live with the women. Over the years the Karina language of the men was lost but yielded a Cariban influenced male speech register based on the Arawak language infused with a large number of Karina lexical and grammatical items. The following loosely defined language stages can be hypothesized (inspired by Taylor (1954) and Bakker (2014)):

Stage 1: Arawak speakers have settled the Lesser Antilles. They speak an Arawak language as mother tongue and probably one or more contact languages for trade with the mainland.

Stage 2: Carib speakers have conquered the Lesser Antilles after killing the Arawak men and enslaving the women. The women continue in the situation of Stage 1 with the difference of having now learned the language of the Carib invaders. The men speak Carib among themselves but now also the language of the women in addition to a Carib based trade pidgin.

Stage 3: The Arawak language of the women has become the common language of the Lesser Antilles but men continue to use parallel lexical as well as grammatical items in some parts of the language. The common Arawak language has also borrowed Carib lexical and grammatical items.

After Stage 3 the male speech lexicon has slowly thinned out giving way to the common Arawak equivalents. Today the men's speech is all but extinct. It has been so bleached that even women can speak it without breaking social norms. Not all men master men's speech and those who do seldomly use it consistently.

During colonial times various colonial powers fought over the rights to the Lesser Antillean islands, especially the French and the British. Towards the end of the 18th century, there was an uprising (the last of many) by a coalition between French and Garifuna rebels against British rule. Upon victory, the British decided that in order to prevent future uprisings, they would deport the fiercest of the Garifuna (known to them as "Black Caribs" as opposed to "Red Caribs", who they considered less violent and most of whom they allowed to stay) to the island of Roatán in the Gulf of Honduras, which was under Spanish rule. Shortly after their arrival in Roatán, being unable to settle in to their new surroundings, the Garifuna left for the mainland of

Honduras, with the help of the Spanish, from whence they migrated in groups mainly towards the north towards modern day Guatemala and Belize settling along the coast. The settlements in Nicaragua are fairly recent.

1.3 Genetic classification

Garifuna belongs to the northernmost Caribbean branch of the Arawak language family; the other members are Lokono, Wayuu and Añun. The most widely accepted classification of the Arawak language family (see e.g. Michael (2014)) is that by Aikhenvald (1999). Aikhenvald's classification is also the most convenient from a Garifuna perspective since it assigns Garifuna its own sub-branch and groups the other three together based on the fact that Garifuna has *na-* for the first person singular while the other three languages have *ta-*.

I do not have much useful information about dialectal variation apart from a few scattered observations and the fact that Honduran speakers can tell that somebody is from Belize just from the way they speak - this is, however, not surprising if the basic assumption is that the two communities have developed individually for the past 200 odd years since the arrival of the Garifuna in central America in 1797.

1.4 Previous studies

This survey of literature on the Garifuna language is limited to texts, published or otherwise made available, which contribute analyses of the language in a narrow sense, i.e. excluding works dealing mainly with the social context and history of the Garifuna people.

Compared to many other Arawak languages, and even other indigenous languages of the American continent, Garifuna probably does not belong to the severely under-documented languages. This is attested by the below survey which includes some fifty books and papers (and I've probably left out one or two); about half of those were written by Douglas Taylor. A natural dividing line emerges between two types of publication defined by the time period in which they were written: 1) the early publications describing the variety spoken in the Lesser Antilles prior to the deportation to Central America; these were carried out mostly by amateurs without any formal linguistic training (as the scientific discipline of linguistics did not exist at the time) with the exception of Adam (1906). And 2) those treating the Central American varieties, mostly written by linguists in the modern era. Among the latter there is a significant asymmetry between the varieties which have been documented, as the great majority of scholars have worked on the varieties spoken in Belize, and only a handful on those spoken in mainland Honduras. Other varieties, those of Guatemala, Nicaragua and the Honduran Bay Islands, remain virtually undocumented, with the exception of Sánchez González (2012), a dictionary compiled of a variety spoken in Guatemala.

1.4.1 Antillean Garifuna

The first known documentation of Antillean Garifuna² was recorded by an anonymous pirate in 1618-1620 but was not published until 1990 after it was discovered by its publisher in a library in France (**Moreau, 1990**). It consists of a list of 200 lexical items which closely resembles the variety later described by Breton. The works of Raymond Breton, a French missionary assigned to the Lesser Antillean island of Dominica, include a dictionary and a grammar containing a short catechism (**Breton, 1666; Breton et al., 1877**). These works clearly show that in Breton's time, the men's and women's speech were much more diverse to the point where there is doubt whether these publications document a single Arawak language, the ancestor of Garifuna, or a mixture of Arawak and Carib lexical and grammatical material which Breton struggled to keep apart (**Taylor, 1977, p. 96**).

1.4.2 Modern Garifuna

The documentation of modern Central American Garifuna began with Douglas McRae Taylor's fieldwork in Belize in the 1930s and 40s. He published a long series of papers describing in structural terms most aspects of the language. His focus was on morphology almost exclusively, and he took a structural systematic approach where all affixes were assigned a number and the combination of affixes and stems were the object of description. Despite this extreme focus on form, Taylor's work is clearly informed by a profound understanding of the language in use, and the majority of his observations about meanings and functions of affixes and particles remain valid in many contexts. His most important contributions to the documentation of Garifuna include (**1952; 1956b; 1977**).

The first Garifuna dictionary was compiled by J. Stochl and was revised, enlarged and published in two volumes as **Stochl et al. (1975)**. It is an English to Garifuna dictionary which contains a short grammar sketch, examples and a great number of paradigms exemplifying various tense, aspect, modality and polarity configurations.

A short grammar textbook for learning Garifuna was published by the late Honduran scholar Salvador Suazo (**1991**). For a long time it was the only one of its kind until the publication of **Munro et al. (2013)**. Suazo later published the most comprehensive Garifuna dictionary to date and conceivably, considering the unique conditions that it was written under, that ever will exist (**2011**). On the one hand Suazo dedicated his spare time for 30 odd years to compiling the dictionary benefitting from his own native proficiency and his many contacts in Garifuna communities throughout Honduras, a substantial undertaking that could not have been carried out by just anybody. On the other hand, the Garifuna language is under severe pressure from Spanish as the national language of Honduras; although Honduras is the country where Garifuna remains most vital, even there the future of the language is uncertain. The dictionary contains ample amounts of example sentences, but a significant drawback is that glosses in Spanish are only provided for main entries and not for

²The term "Antillean Garifuna" was coined by myself as an alternative to the "Island Carib" or "Black Carib" which give one of two mistaken impressions: a) that Garifuna is a Carib language, or b) that the language spoken in the Lesser Antilles until 100 years ago was unrelated to modern Garifuna.

the example sentences. Other drawbacks include the lack of part of speech labels and lack of information about inflectional patterns.

Two attempts were made in the last decade of 20th century at a standard Garifuna orthography by **Cayetano (1992)** and **Suazo (2000)**. Of these two, Cayetano (1992) is by far the better known and without a doubt the more widely employed among scholars.

Another dictionary, which is the most widely distributed of all of the six existing dictionaries, is **Cayetano (1993)**. It contains some folkloric information at the end but unfortunately lacks example sentences and with its 82 pages is somewhat to the short side when compared to the 772 pages of Suazo (1991).

Other dictionaries are **Sabio and Ordóñez (2006)** and **Sánchez González (2012)** which both suffer from a lack of example sentences. However, Sánchez González (2012), which is more pedagogical in nature, contains a variety of information about inflection and derivation.

Apart from the above mentioned publications, which mainly represent the work of individuals without any obvious ties to other scholars working on Garifuna, a few schools of Garifuna studies have emerged and produced a number of publications. One of those schools might be named the "UCLA School" or perhaps the "Munro School" as it is led by Pamela Munro who has studied and taught Garifuna at UCLA since the early 1990s. The most important published materials from that school include three papers **Munro (1997, 2007)**; **Barchas-Lichtenstein (2012)** and a course in Garifuna **Munro et al. (2013)**. An array of unpublished papers resulting from Munro's regularly held courses in field methods include **Sands (1991)**; **Hagiwara (1993)** and **Ekulona (2000)**.

A smaller French school led by Sybille de Pury has also published a number of works, mainly in French. These are of both historical comparative and purely descriptive character (**de Pury, 1993, 2000**; **Suazo et al., 2001**; **de Pury, 2001, 2003b,a**; **Troiani, 2014**).

1.5 Cultural and sociolinguistic context and vitality

Garifuna is the principal language of communication within the Garifuna community of Triunfo de la Cruz, Tela, where most of the fieldwork for the present work was carried out. It is my impression that this is also the case in most other Garifuna communities in Honduras. People use the language at home, in the streets, when fishing out to sea and when dealing with the owners of the local community shops who are all Garinagu. There is also a radio station in Triunfo de la Cruz where the language is spoken interchangeably with Spanish. Garifuna is not spoken at school, even though many teachers are speakers of the language, nor at the local health center. Many children only understand the language but respond in Spanish - many other children only speak and understand Spanish but have a passive knowledge of Garifuna. Even many adults will sometimes code-switch into Spanish when speaking to other native speakers of Garifuna. Government officials such as representatives of the secretary of health of Honduras will generally not speak Garifuna, presumably even if they are Garinagu. I have observed educated people and people with frequent outside contact

such as school teachers and political candidates who prefer to speak Spanish even when speaking to other Garinagu inside the community.

Persons over the age of 40 generally have Garifuna as their mother tongue and have learned Spanish as a second language at school from a relatively young age. Persons between the ages of 30 and 15 do not necessarily speak the language natively but the great majority do, and the ones who speak Spanish as their native language are able to speak Garifuna as well. Young people and children under the age of 15 may or may not be able to speak Garifuna.

I have not carried out systematic sociolinguistic investigations, and the above comments are based on what I have observed in the communities and what people have told me. Based on those sources of information, it is my estimate that Garifuna is not currently a threatened language, as its use extends out into parts of the public sphere at the local level. However, it is vulnerable due to outside pressure to speak Spanish, and the tendency for children and young people to speak more Spanish than Garifuna, threatening the transmission of the language to future generations.

1.6 Fieldwork, consultants, methodology and conventions

Fieldwork for the present work was carried out during three field seasons in 2012, 2013 and 2015 lasting a total of 6 months. Data collecting activities included elicitation, narrative and conversation. Elicitation (all data files starting with “E”) include responses to visual stimuli (“Frog stories” and the “Topological Relations Picture Series”), translations of sentences constructed in Spanish by the author, free association based on a theme such as “typical foods and their preparation”, “animals”, “places and how to get there” among others, and building sentences based on words from two dictionaries Cayetano (1993) and Suazo (2011).

Narratives include personal narratives and fictional narratives. Personal narratives consist of people telling each other about significant events that took place in their lives, particularly during their youth, or in the lives of others. Fictional narratives consist of jokes and fictional stories that are told in the community on social occasions. Conversations are often intertwined with narratives as speakers switch between genres. Even elicitation files sometimes contain more naturally produced data as short conversations, greetings or short exchanges of words spontaneously occur. All of these types of data collection sessions were recorded and subsequently transcribed; elicited material was transcribed by the author without the help of speakers while recordings of more natural speech (N-files) were transcribed and analyzed together with a speaker. Some transcription and analysis sessions were also recorded but these were generally not transcribed.

1.6.1 Consultants

The selection of consultants followed a social network method where the first consultant refers the investigator to more consultants who are part of his or her own social network. My first consultant, Ambrocio, also became my main consultant with whom I worked perhaps 80 percent of the time in the field. I was referred to him by the ex-president of the community council. Ambrocio is known in Triunfo de la Cruz

as a knowledgeable person, and indeed he has proven quite the keen language analyst as well. I have also worked with Ambrocio's wife Maribel, her daughters Yorlin and Yessi, Yessi's daughter Nimsi, Ambrocio's cousin Crecensia, Crecensia's daughter Marta and a number of other people, most of whom are listed in Table 1 along with information about them, including their ID tag/initials to identify them in the database. All of the consultants speak Garifuna and Spanish and the two people living in the US also speak English.

ID	Gender	Birth year	Birth place	Residence	Profession	Education	Comments
AmMa	M	1933	Triunfo	Triunfo	Fisherman	School	
MaDi	F	1963	San Juan	Triunfo	Housewife	High School	AmMa's wife
LiGi	M	1935	Triunfo	Triunfo	Fisherman	School	
CrMa	F	1949	San Juan	Triunfo	Shop keeper	School	AmMa's cousin
YoMe	F	1993	San Juan	Triunfo	Student	High School	MaDi's daughter
SaSC	M		Iriona	Triunfo	Fisherman; artisan	School	Friend of MaSV
MaSV	M	1948	Trujillo	Triunfo	Fisherman	School	Friend of MaDi
JoMa	F	1985	Triunfo	Triunfo	Cook	High school	
ToMa	F	1947	Triunfo	Triunfo	Housewife	School	Friend of CrMa
JSGü	M	1968	Santa Fe	Bronx, NY	Technician	University	
MiNo	M	1978	Sambo Creek	Bronx, NY	Technician	High school	

Table 1: *Consultants*

My consultants have a variety of backgrounds both in terms of profession, level of education and places lived in the past, but most of them have the commonality of having been born and lived most of their lives in Triunfo de la Cruz or San Juan, a Garifuna settlement just to the West of Tela, cf. Figure 1. Standing out from the rest are especially three people. SaSC was born in Iriona, Colón, then he lived as a young man on the island of Roatán, and after having lived and worked in Colombia in the 90s he moved to Triunfo in 2007 where he has lived since then. MaSV was born in Trujillo, Colón, and lived for a long time in Salado, Atlántida, between La Ceiba and Trujillo before he came to live in Triunfo many years ago. LiGi was born in Triunfo but during his life has lived and worked for extended periods of time in different places: San Pedro Sula, Tegucigalpa, Belize and Cartagena, Colombia. These are the extreme patterns of movement but it is more the rule than the exception for my consultants to have lived at least for some period of time in other places, thus AmMa lived in San Pedro Sula and La Lima, MaDi and her daughters lived in Catacamos, Olancho, MaMa lived in Travecía and JCGü and MiNo both used to live in San Pedro Sula before they moved to The Bronx, New York.

1.6.2 Equipment

1.6.2.1 Hardware Audio files were recorded with a Zoom H4n solid state recorder using a Superlux E523D x-y external stereo microphone, in a microphone stand usually sitting table top. Default settings and a recording volume of 70 was used most of the time. Due to the strong winds on the beach where most recordings were made, the microphone was equipped with a dead cat wind screen over a standard issue foam cover.

Video files were recorded with a Sony HXR-MC53 handy camera using a preamplifier for connecting microphones: in 2012 I used a JuicedLINK (riggy-Micro series) preamplifier with the above mentioned stereo microphone. In 2013 and 2015 I used a Tascam DR60D solid state audio recorder as a preamplifier. I mostly used the above mentioned stereo microphone alone, but in a few cases I combined this with a Sennheiser lapel microphone (unknown model) so as to record various people around a table.

1.6.2.2 Software The Mac operative system was used for all computer purposes.

The audio files are WAV format which can be used directly in ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) for transcription. The AVCHD (Advanced Video Coding High Definition) files output by the Sony camera, on the other hand, had to be compressed to MP4 format using the freeware Handbrake; default settings were used except for the “Video codec” which was set to MPEG-4. Furthermore, the transcription software CLAN (Computerized Language ANalysis) was used to extract an audio track from the MP4 files and both files were used in ELAN at the same time because the MP4 files did not create a waveform in ELAN. Working with a waveform was desirable because it allowed us to visually differentiate sound from silence, helping us to quickly identify the stretches to be transcribed.

1.6.3 Database

The database is made up of media files (WAV for audio or MP4 for video) which are each tied to an EAF file containing time aligned transcription made in ELAN. Inside each EAF file there are five tiers, the most important ones of which are tx@unknown which contains the transcription in Garifuna, and ft@unknown which contains the free translation. The other tiers are: id@unknown which contains the file name of the recording session: this name consists of: 1) a letter, which can be E (elicitation), A (analysis) or N (natural discourse), the year, the date, and a lower case letter if more than one file was produced on the same day; ref@unknown was originally intended to uniquely identify each annotation but this system was abandoned as I ultimately deemed it redundant; nt@unknown contains any comments and notes regarding the annotation in question. An example of a file name is shown in (1).

(1) E20120927b

The file named in (1) represents an elicitation session which took place on the 27th of September, 2012, and there were at least two files recorded on the same day, as

indicated by the lower case letter 'b'.

In order to navigate the database, the spreadsheet "Metadata_Garifuna.xls" should be consulted. This spreadsheet contains four panes, one for each field season (2012, 2013, 2015) and one with information about participants. The first three panes are lists of each recorded session with information about: duration, topic, genre, participants and more. For a more detailed introduction to the corpus and its conventions the reader should consult the rich text format file "GarifunaCorpusREADME.rtf".

When citing stretches of speech in an annotated file as a language example in this dissertation, I will give the name of the recording session followed by the time at which the stretch of speech begins as exemplified in (2). The format for time codes is always hour:minute:second.

- (2) n-éybuga mágidu-rùgu
1.SG-go:SU1 market-LOC
'I'm going to the market' (E20120927b>00:23:01) ♪

In addition, the reader will find a hyperlink in the shape of a musical note next to the reference, as shown in (2). Pressing this hyperlink will open the relevant ELAN file, provided that: a) ELAN is installed on the computer, and b) the EAF and media files are stored in the same directory as the dissertation PDF. Once ELAN opens the EAF file it may be necessary to use the time code indicated next to the file name, in order to navigate to the right time frame. Alternatively, one may make a word/phrase search the same way as searching through a document in a word processor (ctrl+F for PC / cmd+F for Mac); a list of all annotations containing the search query will appear and clicking on the word will take the cursor directly to the annotation. Note the following special notational aspects of the database: 1) all translations (and glosses for the few files which are glossed) are in Spanish, 2) word initial stress and stress on monosyllabic words are not written, so searching for (2), one would type "neybuga magidirúgu" with only one accent, for the secondary stress - accents in the database are always acute both for primary and secondary stress. This is due to a change in notational practice between beginning the project and until finishing the dissertation, and for the same reason, there are certain other orthographic inconsistencies: e.g. I used to write *h-own* 'to them' which is closer to the surface structure. This has now been changed to *h-on*, which is a more phonemic transcription. 3) files which end in the initials YoMe were not written by the author but rather by one of the consultants and notations are somewhat irregular. However, I have tried to regularize those parts which are used as examples in the dissertation.

By the time this work is published, I hope to have found a satisfactory way of linking all data examples to sound files available either locally on a medium with the text or online, without having to download special purpose software or having to make search queries within the file.

At times, when my own data corpus is not sufficient to illustrate a point, I will make reference to example sentences from other sources. In such examples I respect the original in terms of content but I adapt the orthography to match the one employed in the present work (see § 2.1.1). Sources of language examples from outside of my corpus will be cited in the same way as all other referenced works.

2 Phonology

2.1 Orthography and writing traditions

2.1.1 Orthography

The practical orthography, which will be used in this dissertation outside of phonetic annotation, will be presented in this section followed by a discussion of the phonemes it is used to represent. This orthography does not differ dramatically from the orthographies used in previous studies (cf. § 1.4). As Cayetano (1992) rightly states, there is agreement among scholars about the majority of orthographic issues, especially concerning the consonants. The major points of contention are tied to the diphthong vs. glide distinction, indication of nasality and whether and how to write stress.³ In Table 2 is an overview of the orthography used in the present work.

Consonants	<p>	/p/	[p]
	<k>	/k/	[k]
	<t>	/t/	[t]
		/b/	[b]
	<d>	/d/	[d]
	<g>	/g/	[g]
	<n>	/n/	[n]
	<m>	/m/	[m]
	<ny>	/ny/	[ɲ]
	<r>	/r/	[r]
	<l>	/l/	[l]
	<f>	/f/	[f]
	<s>	/s/	[s]
	<h>	/h/	[h]
	<ch>	/ch/	[tʃ]
	<y>	/y/	[j]
<w>	/w/	[w]	
Vowels	<i>	/i/	[i]
	<e>	/e/	[e]
	<a>	/a/	[a]
	<o>	/o/	[o]; [ɔ]
	<u>	/u/	[u]
<ü>	/ü/	[ɨ]	
Diphthong	<eü>	/eü/	[ei]

Table 2: *Orthographic overview*

I write stress everywhere - primary stress is written with an acute accent and secondary stress is written with a grave accent. When stress falls on <ü> I write it as *ü*,

³I refer the reader to Cayetano (1992) for an overview of the more influential orthographic traditions.

following Munro (1997, 2007)⁴. This convention avoids double diacritics, which are impossible to write on a standard key board, but has the disadvantage of not allowing the distinction between primary and secondary stress on this particular vowel. The grapheme <n> indicates nasality of the preceding vowel except in syllable initial position where it indicates /n/. The two glide phonemes /w/ and /y/ are written <w> and <y> respectively.

In the below discussion of vowels and consonants I use this practical orthography whenever IPA annotation is not necessary.

2.1.2 Writing traditions

I know of at least three very different types of contexts and functions of writing the Garifuna language (presented here in order of both chronology and degree of specialization): 1) missionary linguistics, starting with Raymond Breton in the seventeenth century and continuing today with a) SIL International, b) Honduran Biblical Society and c) Jehovah's Witnesses, 2) Academic publications, beginning with Douglas Taylor in the 1930s and still continuing today, and 3) the writing of the speakers themselves, mainly on buildings and boats in the public space and in social media.

Missionaries: The early writings of Breton largely followed French spelling conventions; his publications which included dictionaries, a grammar and a catechism were mainly produced with a European clergy readership in mind. In the 1980s the Summer Institute of Linguistics translated the Bible into Garifuna, applying Spanish spelling conventions rather than devising an orthography designed for writing Garifuna. Since 2009 the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania has been publishing in Garifuna from their office in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, using an orthography very similar to that of the SIL Bible translations. The two latter types of publications have the potential to obtain a readership among the Garinagu but I have yet to meet somebody who would read these publications except when encouraged by me and then only with considerable effort.

Academics: The bulk of academic publications on Garifuna were written by Douglas Taylor from the 1930s until a final joint posthumously published paper in 1980. Taylor used the linguistic orthography of his time, which are unlikely to be decipherable to a lay person speaker of Garifuna. However, as with the great majority of the academic publications that followed, his writings were not directed at a lay person audience. A change in these practices came with Roy Cayetano's 1992 publication of his "Towards a Common Garifuna Orthography" which was followed by his 1993 "The People's Garifuna Dictionary" that used his earlier proposed spelling conventions. It is unclear to me to what extent the dictionary obtained a layman's readership but it did to some extent set a standard for subsequent academic publications, at least in the United States where especially Pamela Munro and her students have continued to use a modified version of Cayetano's spelling conventions. In Honduras, the late Salvador Suazo's 1991 grammar and conversation manual, and his 2011 dictionary, used an orthography basically identical to that proposed by Cayetano. Suazo's grammar

⁴Note that this practice clashes significantly with the convention used in Suazo (2011) to write long vowels as \tilde{V} .

and conversation manual have been used to teach Garifuna in the United States both by grassroots movements and Pamela Munro at UCLA.

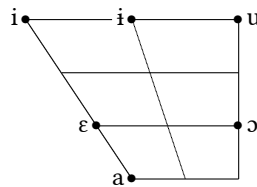
Speakers: To my knowledge, there does not exist a school in Honduras, which is the only country with children whose primary language is Garifuna, with a program that teaches to read and write in Garifuna. Speakers use Spanish spelling conventions for writing Garifuna, when Garifuna speakers write in their language through social media such as Facebook and WhatsApp, the latter an exceedingly popular social media platform in Honduras. This means that in what concerns speakers' own writing of the language, despite the efforts of Garifuna scholars in both Belize and Honduras to reach a standardized orthography (Cayetano, 1992; Suazo, 2000), the orthographic practice of using the spelling system of the local superstrate language has not changed since Breton's early publications in the 17th century.

2.2 Phoneme inventory and allophones

2.2.1 Vowels

The six vowel inventory is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: *Vowel inventory*



The majority of segments in this six vowel system have the same quality regardless of phonotactic environment. The only exception is /ɔ/:

Of the back tongue vowels /u/ and /ɔ/, the latter is by far the least frequent. There are two allophones of /ɔ/: [ɔ] and [o]. [ɔ] is the most common allophone and appears in all environments. [o] occurs in a very limited number of native words; I only know of a few: *to* the feminine demonstrative pronoun, *do*, a modal particle and a negative interjection *inó*. Apart from this [o] also occurs in Spanish loans such as *bueno* 'well' (discourse device), *o* 'or', *pero* 'but', *profeta* 'prophet' and proper names such as *José* and *Egipto* 'Egypt'. Furthermore, Spanish loans with [o] are usually borrowed with /u/ so *teléfono* 'telephone' is *télefunu*, *cuchillo* 'knife' is *gusinyu* and *Triunfo* 'triumph' (a place-name) is *Trómpu*.

The vowel phonemes are all symmetrical in their phonotactics, i.e. there are no absolute limitations on their distribution. Table 3 illustrates all occurrences of the six vowels in onset, nucleus and coda positions.

Phon.	Onset		Nucleus		Coda	
/i/	[itara]	‘thus’	[ha’liya]	‘where?’	[che’rigi]	‘grapefruit’
/i/	[ima]	‘road’	[i’giri’gi]	‘flesh’	[i’rahi]	‘child’
/ɛ/	[ɛybu]	‘on foot’	[bɛna]	‘door’	[ba’dilɛ]	‘stuck’
/a/	[arani]	‘medicine’	[ba’rawa]	‘sea’	[muna]	‘house’
/o/	[ɔnwe]	‘die’	[rɔn]	‘lying’	[to]	‘3.F:DEM’
/u/	[uderei]	‘fish’	[du’nuru]	‘bird’	[dibu]	‘rock’

Table 3: *Vowel phoneme distribution*

2.2.1.1 Vowel length Distinctive vowel length is not a pervasive feature in Garifuna as minimal pairs are rare. This is surprising considering that vowel length is a relevant feature in most Arawak languages (Aikhenvald, 1999, p. 78), and because a vowel length distinction does exist in Garifuna. It appears that long vowels in Garifuna are, on the one hand the result of diachronic reduction processes and, on the other hand, of borrowing. An interesting observation about the items in Table 4 is that *n-amúle:nu* ‘my younger brothers’ has a singular form *namúle* with a short vowel - this item appears to be the only one of the few which pluralize in *-nu* which behaves this way.

Garifuna	Gloss
<i>ára:bu</i>	‘bush’
<i>biná:fi</i>	‘morning’
<i>bá:ndi</i>	‘many’
<i>ará:nsu</i>	‘orange’
<i>dú:su</i>	‘twelve’
<i>l-í:ra</i>	‘3.M:DEM’
<i>t-ú:ra</i>	‘3.F:DEM’
<i>á:gu</i>	‘eye’
<i>hú:ya</i>	‘rain’
<i>súwa:ndàn</i>	‘always’
<i>hinyá:ru</i>	‘woman’
<i>eyé:ri</i>	‘man’
<i>n-amúle:nu</i>	‘my younger brothers’
<i>ni-búne:du</i>	‘my hat’
<i>ni-sá:ni</i>	‘my child’

Table 4: *Lexical vowel length*

The few minimal pairs that exist are found exclusively in the verbal lexicon - some examples are shown in Table 5.

The examples in Table 5 are from Suazo (2011) as I have not found any minimal pairs myself. However, note that these all involve /a/ as the long vowel and my hy-

Long vowel item	Gloss	Short vowel item	Gloss
<i>ása:ra</i>	‘toast’	<i>ásara</i>	‘cut hair’
<i>adíya:ha</i>	‘make coffee’	<i>adíyaha</i>	‘serve a lot of food’
<i>áwa:ha</i>	‘yawn’	<i>áwaha</i>	‘call’

Table 5: *Minimal pairs for vowel length contrasts*

pothesis is that these have resulted from reduction of verbal suffixes *-ha* or *-ra*.

2.2.1.2 Nasality Despite the fact that nasal vowels permeate all parts of the language, nasality is not phonemically contrastive with non-nasal vowels. Nasal vowels occur only in open CV syllables, never in onsetless syllables, but may appear in any position in a word.

Nasal segments /n/ and /m/ are never found syllable finally (heavy CVC syllables may only end in /y/ or /w/). I therefore explain the presence of nasal vowels as diachronically derived from a nasal segment */N/. I hypothesize a process where vowels preceding a nasal segment received nasal qualities, whereafter all nasal segments in syllable final position dropped.

Loanwords provide evidence that (final) nasalization originates in nasal segments as in (3).

- (3) a. furísū (Eng. prison) (E20121017a>00:17:25) ♪
‘prison’
- b. gamárū (Sp. camarón) (E20120914a>00:15:40) ♪
‘shrimp’

As far as I know there are no long nasal vowels.

2.2.2 Glides and diphthongs

The analysis of diphthongs is closely tied to that of glides as the number of diphthongs that must be recognized crucially depends upon whether a given glide segment is considered a glide phoneme or whether it is thought to form part of a diphthong. According to Munro et al. (2013, p. 10) Garifuna has more than 13 different diphthongs. In Honduran Garifuna, however, I believe that there is only basis for recognizing one diphthong /eü/ (written <aü> by Munro et al. (2013)). All other cases are probably best regarded as CV or VC syllables with a glide /w/ or /y/, or as reduced instances of CV or VC syllables with /r/ (cf. § 2.6 on common reduction processes).

Word initially /w/, is realized as [w] except before a high front vowel /i/ or a mid front vowel /e/; in this environment the realization is [β] - examples are shown in (4).

- (4) a. ['wattu]
wátu
'fire' (E20120917c>00:46:15) ♪
- b. ['würi]
wûri
'woman' (E20150805>01:09:53) ♪
- c. [βi'ya:ndu]
viyá:ndu
'beef' (E20150810>00:25:49) ♪
- d. [βidü]
vidü
'eight' (E20120913a>00:56:40) ♪
- e. [βɛlu]
vélu
'pond' (E20120926a>01:40:17) ♪

In my orthography I write the bilabial fricative [β] as <v>.

2.2.3 Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes is presented in Figure 2.2.3.

Figure 3: *Consonant inventory*

	Bilabial	Lab. dent.	Dental	Alveolar	P-alveo.	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		k g	
Nasal	m			n	ɲ		
Tap/Flap				r			
Fricative		f		s			h
Affricate				tʃ			
Approx					j	w	
Lat. appr.				l			

There is a voicing contrast in plosives but, since plosives have undergone weakening, it is not as prominent as it used to be (cf. § 2.4 on syllable structure and phonotactics) - in fact, /k/ and /p/ have extremely limited use while /t/ has been maintained in high frequency grammatical formatives and word internally; all other voiceless plosives are found in loans.

2.3 Stress

Stress falls on one of the two first syllables of the phonological word. Primary stress is lexically determined and contrastive as shown in (5).

- (5) a. fáluma m-ábürühà-ny-on
coconut NEG-fall-PROG-3.F
'the coconut is not falling' (E20131119>00:38:58) ♪
- b. l-abûrü-ha-nya máysturu
3.M-write-DISTR-PROG teacher
'the teacher is writing' (E20150728a>00:01:05) ♪

However, stress is assigned according to different rules in nouns than in verbs. The examples in (5) show lexically determined stress which does not change at affixation. Nouns, on the other hand, may undergo stress shift when taking a possessive prefix according to a rule that a possessed noun should always carry stress on the second syllable regardless of its lexical stress.

- (6) a. lasúsu
'soup' (E20120913a>00:01:50) ♪
- b. ni-lásusu-n
1.SG-soup-POSS
'my soup' (E20120913a>01:05:55) ♪
- c. muréy
'nance' (E20120913a>00:31:40) ♪
- d. nu-múrey
1.SG-nance
'my nance' (E20120913a>01:19:57) ♪
- e. gárada
'letter' (E20131122>00:14:02) ♪
- f. ni-gárada-n
1.SG-letter-POSS
'my letter' (E20131022b>00:13:47) ♪
- g. fáluma
'coconut' (A20121016b>00:21:46) ♪
- h. nu-fáluma
1.SG-coconut
'my coconut' (E20121003a>00:49:28) ♪

As for secondary stress, it is much less predictable and I have yet to figure out which generalizations can be made regarding its distribution. I may ultimately be forced to distinguish between those cases where secondary stress is systematic and those where it is subject to idiosyncratic variation.

2.4 Syllable structure and phonotactics

The present discussion assumes that the syllable is the locus of primary stress and that there are no phonologically relevant sub-syllabic domains.

As far as I know there are no syllabic consonants or glides and consequently a syllable must minimally consist of one vowel, short or long, oral or nasal; such a syllable is a light syllable. The maximal syllable is C_1VC_2 where C_1 can be any consonant, V can be any vowel, short or long, oral or nasal, while C_2 is limited to the glides /y/ and /w/; this is a heavy syllable. The syllable types are illustrated in Table 6.

V	[u.de.reü]	‘fish’
V:	[a:gu]	‘eye’
Ṽ	[ẽ]	‘penis’
CV	[fa.lu.ma]	‘coconut’
CV:	[a.ra:bu]	‘forest’
CṼ	[dã]	‘time’
CVC	[dey]	‘until’
CV:C	[ya:w]	‘uncle’
CṼC	[gãy]	‘sweet cassava’

Table 6: *Syllable types*

As already mentioned in the discussion of vowels above, vowels are symmetrically distributed at all levels. Apart from a vowel, a glide is the only possible segment syllable and word finally. Other restrictions include the following:

Plosives are asymmetrically distributed as voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/ are used both word initially and medially. Unvoiced plosives, however, are much more limited in their distribution:

/p/ is only found in loanwords from English, e.g. (*páchi* ‘patch of land’, *páyli* ‘pile’, *páysini* ‘poison’, *pádnà* ‘friend’ (*partner*), or in some loans from Spanish, e.g. *pacháru* ‘indigestion’ (*empachar*), *patíya* ‘pills’ (*pastilla*). However, many Spanish loans with /p/ get adopted with /f/, e.g. *fáluma* ‘coconut’ (*palma*), *fafúlude* ‘kite’ (*papalote*), *farúsu* ‘parasol’ (*parasol*). It is possible that this difference in the way /p/ was transferred in borrowings from Spanish is due to a difference in age of the two groups of loans.

/k/ is found in a relatively few native words; examples of high frequently items include interrogative *ka* ‘what?’ (and words derived from it: *kátey* ‘thing’, *kama* ‘it seems’ - this last word is usually unstressed), and *key* ‘like’, (and its derivatives *kéysi* ‘just like’, *kéynaba* ‘something like’). These few words account for the overwhelming

majority of native tokens with /k/, most others being from loans, e.g. *kéfu* ‘cave’, *kéke* ‘cake’ (Sp. *queque*, ultimately from Eng.), *kaléra* ‘ladder’ (Sp. *escalera*).

/t/ is much more common than the other unvoiced plosives, but its distribution is still skewed by its overrepresentation in grammatical formatives as opposed to lexical items. In fact /t/ is absent in stem initial position in the native lexicon. High frequency grammatical formatives with /t/ include *t-* ‘3.F’, *-ti-* a marker of past tense and stative verbs, *-tiya* emphatic modal marker and *=ti* which is a discourse organizing enclitic.

The asymmetrical distribution of plosives can be explained diachronically: colonial documentation of Garifuna (Black Carib/Island Carib) on the Lesser Antilles (Breton, 1666; Breton et al., 1877; Moreau, 1990) show that a large part of the voiced plosives found in Garifuna today used to be unvoiced. A few comparative example pairs with data from Moreau (1990) serves to illustrate the result of this diachronic process: *canobe:ganúwada* ‘canoe’, *tamon:idámuni* ‘captive; slave’, *papáye:abábeü* ‘papaya’.

The nasals /n/, /m/ and /ny/ are only found word initially and intervocalically; in all other contexts nasal segments have become nasality on a previous vowel.

The rest of the consonants have a relatively even distribution in all positions and domains.

2.5 Phonological rules

In this section I will present those phonological rules which apply obligatorily and are not subject to variation; those alternations which do not apply invariantly are discussed in the next section which deals with sub-allophonic variation (§ 2.6).

2.5.1 Vowel deletion

When two unstressed vowels meet at a morpheme boundary, one of them is deleted. Examples of vowel deletion are given in (7)⁵.

- (7) a. [ma'rahünyü.tina]
 ma-iráhü-nyü-tì-na
 NEG-child-PL-TI-1.SG
 ‘I didn’t have children’ (A20121024d>00:07:51) ♪
- b. [mitara.hadina]
 ma-ítara-hà-di-na
 NEG-thus-PRF-DI-1.SG
 ‘I’m no longer the same’ (N20131016f>00:01:53) ♪
- c. [he'redera]
 ha-erédera
 3.PL-stay
 ‘they’re staying’ (N20131016e>00:06:18) ♪

⁵The suffix *-ti* is a verbal aspect marker, cf. § 7.

Note that when an unstressed stem initial /i/ is preceded by an unstressed /a/, the former drops (7-a), but when the stem initial /i/ is stressed, the /a/ drops (7-b). Example (7-c) shows that when an unstressed stem initial /e/ is preceded by an unstressed /a/, it is the latter which drops.

The processes of vowel deletion can be more complex in some parts of the grammar than what is presented above; further details will follow in the relevant chapters.

2.5.2 Final vowel alternation in verb stems

When a verb stem takes an inflectional suffix, the stem final vowel may change. Suffixes that cause this change include, but are not limited to: future *-ba*, progressive *-nya* and underspecified verb suffix *-n(i)*. Some examples are given in (8).

- (8) a. [neygubey 'udereü]
n-éyga-ba-i údereü
1.SG-eat:SU1-FUT-3.M fish
'I'm going to eat the fish' (E20150804a>01:02:30) ♪
- b. [na'figirunya]
n-afigira-nya
1.SG-fart-PROG
'I'm farting' (E20150716>00:45:21) ♪
- c. [lafarun 'pita mi'geli]
l-áfara-ni Píta Migéli
3.M-kill-USPEC P. M.
'Peter killed Miguel' (E20150728b>00:27:39) ♪

As all regular verb stems end in /a/, this is usually the affected vowel. However, not all instances of stem final /a/ change when preceding the suffixes in question. The most frequent example is stems that end in the distributive *-ha*; these do not undergo any changes, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. b-agányeha-be-y sùgara
2.SG-buy-FUT-3.M sugar
'you're going to buy sugar' (A20121016a>00:34:40) ♪
- b. h-íveruha-ny-on irähü-nyü béybey
3.PL-steal-PROG-3.F child-PL grape
'the children are stealing grapes' (E20150727b>00:07:37) ♪

2.5.3 Final glide and diphthong alternation in noun stems

These two processes are particularly tied to possessive constructions where the possessive suffix is zero as in (10).

- (10) a. [ˈnabugwa]
n-ábugweü
1.SG-solitude
'I'm alone' (Lit. 'my solitude') (E20131028>00:02:28) ♪
- b. [ˈnita]
n-híteü
1.SG-blood
'my blood' (E20150708a>01:12:04) ♪
- c. [taˈgüle ˈfaluma]
t-agûley fáluma
3.F-oil coconut
'coconut oil' (N20131016d>00:00:38) ♪
- d. [nuˈgune]
n-ugúney
1.SG-vessel
'my vessel' (N20131016a>00:10:32) ♪

In (10-a-b) a final diphthong /eü/ is replaced by /a/ and such examples are rather common. Example (10-c-d) displays the less common process of glide dropping in possessive constructions. Note that, when the possessive suffix is not zero, this latter process does not take place, compare *urúwey* 'leader; government' to *l-urúwey-te Awtrália* 'the president of Australia'.

The dropping of the initial [h] in (10-b) is also a regular phonological process that applies to all /h/ initial noun stems. However, there is reason to believe that these initial [h] are not phonemic but rather a type of epenthetic segment as there is a dispreference for noun stems beginning with open syllables. I will say more about this so-called h-fluctuation in § 2.6.4 when I discuss sub-allophonic variation, as some speakers will insert an [h] before an initial open syllable, e.g. *eréba* → *heréba* 'cassava' while others will not.

2.5.4 Geminate /t/

Garifuna does not have any geminate consonant phonemes and gemination is by no means a common phonological process. However, the unvoiced plosive /t/ is realized as geminate /tt/ when appearing as the second consonant in a CVCV word, both within morphemes and across morpheme boundaries - examples are given in (11).

- (11) a. ['wattu]
wátu
'fire(wood)' (E20120917c>00:46:15) ♪
- b. ['chuttu 'law]
chú-t-u l-áw
intelligent-TI-3.F 3.M-with
'he is intelligent' (E20150708b>00:07:30) ♪
- c. ['futtibuga ga'rabali]
fú-t-i=buga garábali
blow-TI-3.M=PST wind
'the wind blew' (E20120919b>00:05:16) ♪

Geminate /tt/ occurs in very few words in my corpus and it is difficult to establish phonological conditions but it seems that in order to trigger gemination, one of the CVCV vowels must be /u/. Compare the examples in (12).

- (12) a. ['nati]
n-áti
'my older brother' (E20120920a>00:24:58) ♪
- b. ['nittu]
n-ítu
'my older sister' (E20120920a>00:24:13) ♪

Evidence that geminate /tt/ is not phonemic includes the fact that the stative third person singular feminine suffix *-tu* in (11-b) is realized with single /t/ in all other contexts. Furthermore, from the pair of examples in (13), adding a possessive prefix, making the word longer to the left of the geminated /t/ removes the gemination⁶.

- (13) a. ['wattu]
wátu
'fire; firewood' (A20121010d>00:04:46) ♪
- b. [nu'watun]
nu-wátu-n
1.SG-fire-POSS
'my fire; my firewood' (E20120926a>00:12:56) ♪

⁶Notice also that gemination is not limited to any specific part of speech as may be the case in other languages, (cf. Gijn (2006) for lexically determined gemination in Yurakaré).

2.6 Sub-allophonic variation

Variation may be of various different types depending on its conditioning factors and I will not make a systematic attempt at keeping apart dialectal, sociolectal, idiolectal and register variation as my data are inadequate for such a systematic distinction. The variation I describe below involves sub-allophonic alternation, i.e. sound alternations which do not affect the meaning and which do not apply in a predictable way. These sound alternations are conditioned by factors outside of the grammar such as register, gender, age, level of education and many factors tied to the personal background of each individual speaker.

2.6.1 /r/ reduction

In non-distinct speech, the alveolar flap /r/ causes reduction in the following way: between two homorganic vowels, /r/ drops giving way to a long vowel (14-a); between two vowels which are not homorganic, the result is usually the emergence of a glide (14-b-c) or coalescence into a single long vowel (14-d) or reduction to a single long vowel with the same quality as the pre-flap vowel (13-e). In a few resistant cases, the original /VrV/ sequence is maintained such as /ora/ which only exists in the borrowed, but highly frequent, *óra* ‘hour; time; moment’.

- (14) a. [ˈmusun ˈseynsu]
murúsun séynsu
a.bit money
‘a bit of money’ (N20131017b>00:13:19) ♪
- b. [ˈnidin ˈeyahey iˈsuru]
n-ídi-n aríyaha-i isúru
1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC look.for-3.M shrimp
‘I went to look for shrimp’ (N20131010d>00:14:02) ♪
- c. [ˈdey ˈhowga]
darí harú-ga
until bright-NEW
‘see you tomorrow’ (Lit. ‘until it dawns’) (E20150716>01:26:19) ♪
- d. [ˈleːngun ˈnun]
l-arínyaga-n n-ún
3.M-say-USPEC 1.SG-to
‘he said to me’ (N20131017b>00:04:00) ♪

- e. [na:güdün 'busu]
 n-árügüda-n búsu
 1.SG-grab-USPEC bus
 'I took the bus' (N20131010a>00:16:23) ♪

An overview of these observations is given in Table 7. The vertical row of vowels are V_1 and the horizontal row are V_2 .

V_1rV_2	i	e	a	o	u	ü
i	i:	iye	iya	iyó	iyu	iyü
e	ey	e:	era	-	ew	erü
a	ey / e:	ey / e:	a:	ow	ow	a:
o	-	-	-	o:	ow	-
u	wi	we	wa	wo	u:	wu
ü	wi	we	wa	wo	wu	ü:

Table 7: Reduction processes involving intervocalic /r/

The slots with hyphens in Table 7 indicate the absence of such a combination in my corpus and most likely in the language.

2.6.2 Intervocalic stop lenition

The alveolar plosive /t/ may be realised as glottal stop, see (15).

- (15) a. [íveru.guwa lu'mu'ina 'dā]
 íverugùwa l-umú-ti-na dán
 surprise 3.M-PST-TI-1.SG weather
 'the weather surprised me' (A20121009b>00:45:16) ♪

This process is marginal and sporadic.

2.6.3 Final vowel reduction

At the end of an utterance it is common for an unstressed vowel to become devoiced or drop altogether, and since the great majority of final vowels are unstressed this happens frequently. The consonant which is exposed after the weakening of the vowel becomes unvoiced regardless of its phonemic value. Some examples are shown in (16).⁷

⁷According to Aikhenvald (1999), this is a family wide tendency within the Arawak language family.

- (16) a. [la'deünrүн 'setü]
 ladéünrүн sédü
 o'clock seven
 'it was seven o'clock' (A20121008a>01:53:01) ♪
- b. [neybuga 'magidu,rukü]
 n-éybuga mágidu-rùgu
 1.SG-go market-LOC
 'I'm going to the market' (E20120927b>00:23:01) ♪
- c. [afuduhabey law 'grap^h]
 áfuduha-ba-i l-aw gürábu
 perforate-FUT-3.M 3.M-with nail
 'a hole is made with a nail' (E20120918a>00:30:06) ♪
- d. [mun,a:geyrukü]
 múna-à:gey-rugu
 house-container-LOC
 'in between the (group of) houses' (E20120913b>00:47:00) ♪

As mentioned by Munro et al. (2013, p. 9), final nasal vowels cannot reduce in this way. This can be explained by the diachronic origin of nasal vowels. Nasal vowels are reduced /VN/ sequences and as such did not used to be vowel final.

2.6.4 Initial /h/ fluctuation

It is common for an initial /h/ to be inserted or dropped. This is highly idiosyncratic as speakers vary in their use of initial /h/ both between speakers and within the speech of a single speaker. Examples are given in (17)⁸.

- (17) a. (h)eréba
 'cassava' (E20120918a>01:39:01) ♪
- b. (h)ów b-á-muga
 eat:SU2 2.SG-HORT-IRR
 'that you may eat' (E20150708a>00:04:03) ♪
- c. (h)inyá:ru
 'woman' (E20150708a>00:34:04) ♪

⁸References indicate examples of the least frequent type.

- d. (h)arítagwa b-á-gi:-l-i?
remember 2.SG-PRF-DUR-DI-3.M
'do you remember?' (E20150708a>00:41:39) ♪
- e. (h)í:ru-t-i
sad-TI-3.M
'he's sad' (E20150708a>01:30:32) ♪
- f. (h)íngi-t-i l-áw
stink-TI-3.M 3.M-with
'it stinks' (E20150708b>00:28:00) ♪
- g. (h)aléü
'chair' (E20150708b>01:22:55) ♪
- h. [owga]
harúga
'tomorrow' (E20150716>01:26:20) ♪

Note that, while /h/ before /i/ can fluctuate regardless of whether the initial syllable is stressed (17-e) or unstressed (17-c), /h/ will only fluctuate before unstressed /a/, not before stressed, thus *háseti láw* 'it smells of fish' will never be **áseti láw*; for this analysis to hold up, the fluctuation in (17-h) must have taken place after the /r/ reduction from /harúga/ to [howga] → [owga]. Also, initial /h/ fluctuation is less common in those nouns and verbs where an initial *h-* could be mistaken for second or third person plural marking. However, I do in fact have rare examples of even third person plural agreement *ha-* taking part in *h*-fluctuation, cf. (18)

- (18) a. h-agéyra... cómo? el de ellos agéyra
3.PL-village how that of them village
'their village... excuse me? theirs: "agéyra"' (E20120926a>00:24:33) ♪
- b. áhe-yn h-áta... áh-eyn áta iráhü-nyü há míligi
if-3.M 3.PL-drink:SU1... if-3.M drink:SU1 child-PL 3.PL:DEM milk
'if they drank ... if the children drink the milk' (E20150716>00:33:58) ♪

In (18-a) the initial /h/ of *hagéyra* 'their village' is used in the first instance but drops in the following solicited repetition. Conversely, in (18-b) there should be no initial /h/ in *ata* 'drink' because a verb following a conditional conjunction never takes prefixal person marking; first the inserted /h/ is there but is removed after self-repair - this self-repair shows that speakers are aware of the potential confusion that /h/ fluctuation can create in verb stems.

2.7 Loanword phonology

When foreign lexical items have been incorporated into Garifuna, a number of phonological adaptations take place; these are explained below.

As Garifuna does not allow consonant clusters nor consonants word finally, vowels are inserted to adapt the foreign items to the Garifuna system - the quality of the inserted vowel depends on the vowels present in the borrowed item. While I can think of no iron clad rules for these changes, some tendencies include: monosyllabic words ending in a consonant such as Sp. *sal* ‘salt’ → *sálu* and Fr. *neuf* ‘nine’ → *néfu* got a final /u/ inserted; between a plosive and a liquid such as in En. *prison* → *furísun* and Sp. *grapa* ‘staple’ → *gürábu* ‘nail’.

Devoiced plosives are weakened in the following way: /p/ → /f/, /t/ → /d/, /k/ → /g/. Further, word final /o/ → /u/. These observations are illustrated in (19).

(19)	<i>palma</i> / <i>palme</i> (SP/FR?) → <i>fáluma</i> ‘coconut’	(E20120913a>00:03:21) ♪
	<i>sal</i> / <i>sel</i> (SP/FR?) → <i>sálu</i> ‘salt’	(E20121003a>00:22:26) ♪
	<i>azúcar</i> (SP) → <i>súgara</i> ‘sugar’	(E20120918a>01:19:00) ♪
	<i>botella</i> / <i>bouteille</i> (SP/FR?) → <i>budén</i> ‘bottle’	(E20120927a>00:24:47) ♪
	<i>prison</i> (EN) → <i>furísun</i> ‘prison’	(E20121017a>00:17:25) ♪
	<i>cuchillo</i> (SP) → <i>gu’sinyu</i> ‘knife’	(E20120917e>00:00:01) ♪
	<i>aguja</i> (SP) → <i>agúsa</i> ‘needle’	(E20120926a>01:24:46) ♪
	<i>vela</i> (SP) → <i>bíra</i> ‘sail’	(E20120926a>00:58:59) ♪
	<i>grapa</i> (SP) → <i>gürábu</i> ‘iron, nail’	(E20120918a>01:36:55) ♪
	<i>vacas</i> (SP) → <i>bágasu</i> ‘cow’	(E20121003b>00:24:29) ♪
	<i>calzón</i> (SP) → <i>galásun</i> ‘pants’	(N20121002d>00:02:29) ♪
	<i>chemise</i> (FR) → <i>simísi</i> ‘shirt’	(N20121002d>00:02:29) ♪
	<i>daim</i> (SP) → <i>dáymi</i> ‘10 cents’	(N20121002d>00:01:27) ♪
	<i>neuf</i> (FR) → <i>néfu</i> ‘nine’	(A20121008a>02:04:11) ♪
	<i>tacoacín</i> (SP) → <i>dagúwasi</i> ‘possum’	(N20120924a>00:02:58) ♪
	<i>baboin</i> / <i>baboon</i> (FR/EN?) → <i>babúnu</i> ‘monkey’	(E20120914a>00:07:37) ♪
	<i>tranquilo</i> (SP) → <i>darángilu</i>	(E20150716>00:29:25) ♪

Note that in some cases of high frequency items, consonant clusters are kept; this is the case of the place name *Trómpu* from Sp. *Triunfo* and the borrowed discourse particle *bwéno* ‘well’.

3 The noun and the noun phrase

3.1 Noun inflection

Garifuna nouns display both agreement inflection, and non-agreement inflection. Plural marking is the only kind of non-agreement inflection on nouns and is restricted to nouns with human referents⁹ as shown in (20).

- (20) a. iráhü-nyü
child-PL
'children' (E20150803>01:44:52) ♪
- b. bágasu
'cow(s)' (E20150805>00:01:53) ♪
- c. fáluma
'coconut(s)' (E20150730a>00:52:34) ♪

Agreement inflection on nouns is confined to possession (21-e) (see § 3.5.1). Possessive prefixes appear on the possessed noun and inflect for person, number and gender of the possessor (gender marking being restricted to the 3rd person singular). These same agreement categories are marked on adjectives (21-b), demonstrative pronouns (21-c) and ordinal numbers (21-d). Quantifiers other than ordinal numbers are never inflected (21-a).

- (21) a. ában fáluma
one coconut
'one coconut' (E20131028>00:01:17) ♪
- b. ában fáluma bíme-t-u
one coconut sweet-TI-3.F
'one sweet coconut' (E20131130>00:28:02) ♪
- c. fáluma tó
coconut 3.F:DEM
'this coconut' (E20150716>00:53:32) ♪
- d. furúmiye-t-u fáluma
first-TI-3.F coconut
'the first coconut' (E20131029>00:59:05) ♪
- e. t-íra fáluma
3.F-juice coconut
'coconut water' (E20120924a>00:34:52) ♪

⁹The exception is the Spanish loan *ánima:lu* 'animal' which pluralizes in *ánima:lu-gu*.

Despite the use of the term “agreement”, a noun phrase may in fact consist only of a noun with agreement inflection without the noun it agrees with (22).

- (22) l-úguchu
 3.M-mother
 ‘his mother’ (N20131010b>00:15:03) ♪

In such cases the agreement triggering noun is implied. This principle also holds true for agreement marking in other parts of the grammar as when prepositions agree with their objects and verbs agree with their core arguments.

3.1.1 Number

The ability to express the distinction between singular and plural number in Garifuna creates a basic divide between nouns with animate referents, with a human (23) and a non-human sub-class (24), and nouns with inanimate referents (28). This creates an animacy hierarchy where human referents at the top are maximally able to trigger number marking, and this ability decreases downwards from animals in the middle to trees, plants, and other entities which are considered inanimate, at the bottom.

3.1.1.1 Animate referents

3.1.1.1.1 Humans Plural marking is obligatory with human referents in most parts of the noun phrase: nouns, demonstrative pronouns (23-a), adjectives (23-c), possessed nouns (23-d). One notable exception is quantifiers like those in (23-a-b) (but see § 3.5.3.2 on number, gender and person marking on ordinal numbers.)

- (23) a. sún iráhü-nyü há
 all child-PL 3.PL:DEM
 ‘all of those children’ (A20121009c>00:32:20) ♪
- b. bíyama iráhü-nyü
 two child-PL
 ‘two children’ (E20120913a>00:58:09) ♪
- c. iráhü-nyü furése-ti-nyü
 child-PL fast-TI-3.PL
 ‘fast children’ (E20121003d>00:09:28) ♪
- d. iráhü-nyü furése-ti-nyü há
 child-PL fast-TI-3.PL 3.PL:DEM
 ‘those fast children’

- e. t-iráhü-nyü wûri
 3.F-child-PL woman
 ‘the woman’s children’ (E20120914d>00:05:15) ♪

As is readily discernible from the overview of number marking in Table 8 and the example words in Table 9, there is a great deal of variation in plural marking. It is not clear what conditions this variation (see § 3.1.1.6 for possible diachronic sources of the differentiation of number marking).

	SG	PL
Animate, human	-	- <i>nya</i> / - <i>nyu</i> / - <i>nyü</i> / - <i>nu</i>
Animate, non-human	-	-
Inanimate	-	-

Table 8: *Number marking on nouns*

Plural			
<i>wügûri</i>	‘man’	<i>wügûri-nya</i>	‘men’
<i>wûri</i>	‘woman’	<i>wûri-nya</i>	‘women’
<i>arúfudahati</i>	‘teacher’ ¹⁰	<i>arúfudahati-nyu</i>	‘teachers’
<i>ídahati</i>	‘helper’	<i>ídahati-nyu</i>	‘helpers’
<i>idúhe</i>	‘kin’	<i>idúhe-nyu</i>	‘family’
<i>iráhü</i>	‘child’	<i>iráhü-nyü</i>	‘children’
<i>gürígiya</i>	‘person / people’	<i>gürígiya-nu</i>	‘people’
<i>áruguti</i>	‘grandfather’	<i>n-áruguti-nu</i>	‘my grandfathers’
<i>n-amúlen</i>	‘my brother’	<i>n-amúle-nu</i>	‘my brothers’
Collective			
<i>arûney</i>	‘captain’	<i>arûney-gu</i>	‘captains’
<i>surúsiya</i>	‘doctor’	<i>surúsiya-gu</i>	‘doctors’
<i>á:buti</i>	‘boss’	<i>á:buti-gu</i>	‘bosses’
<i>gürígiya</i>	person/ people	<i>gürígiya-gu</i>	‘people’

Table 9: *Plural and collective marking on nouns*

As mentioned, plural marking is limited to human referents. Collective marking, however, is different. Thus the item *ánima:lu* ‘animal’ can take the collective form *ánima:lu-gu* as opposed to nouns referring to various species of animals which do not take collective marking, as discussed in the next section. Also, *gürígiya* ‘people’ can occur with either plural *-nu* or collective *-gu*.

¹⁰The items ‘teacher’ and ‘helper’ are deverbal agent nouns, something which might have a bearing on the plural form that they take, as suggested by Barchas-Lichtenstein (2012, p. 170) but I have not looked more systematically into this possibility.

3.1.1.1.2 **Animals** Plural marking is not possible on nouns with animal referents (24).

- (24) a. yalífu
'pelican(s)' (E20120914a>00:10:19) ♪
- b. ównli
'dog(s)' (A20121016b>00:19:55) ♪
- c. hû:rü
'crab(s)' (E20131022b>00:53:51) ♪

Plural agreement of animal referents is obligatory in all the same parts of the noun phrase as shown for humans above; this is illustrated in (25)-(26)¹¹.

In (25-a) there is a preposition and a demonstrative pronoun both of which agree with the plural number of the wasps. The plural suffix of the relational classifier in (25-b) agrees with the plural number of the possessed iguanas.

- (25) a. aban l-áwow-ha ównli h-aw huláhünyü há
CONN 3.M-bark-DISTR dog 3.PL-with wasp 3.PL:DEM
'then the dog barked at the wasps' (E20121018a>00:05:12) ♪
- b. b-ilügü-nyu wayámaga
2.SG-CLF-PL iguana
'your iguanas' (E20120924a>00:05:54) ♪

Example (26) shows plural agreement on the adjective *harú* to indicate plural number of the cows and dogs in question. There is also another example of plural marking on a relational classifier in (26-f).

- (26) a. bágasu harú-t-u
cow white-TI-3.F
'white cow' (E20121003d>00:02:27) ♪
- b. bágasu harú-ti-nyü
cow white-TI-PL
'white cows' (E20121003d>00:02:45) ♪
- c. ównli harú-t-i
dog white-TI-3.M
'white dog' (E20121003d>00:03:28) ♪

¹¹Relational classifiers, like the one in (25-b), are discussed in § 3.5.1.1.8.

- d. ównli harú-ti-nya
dog white-TI-PL
'white dogs' (E20121003d>00:03:48) ♪
- e. ni-lûgün bágasu
1.SG-CLF cow
'my cow' (E20120924a>00:54:57) ♪
- f. ni-lûgün-nyu bágasu
1.SG-CLF-pet-PL cow
'my cows' (E20120924a>01:00:56) ♪

3.1.1.1.3 *Warúguma* 'star' Garifuna grammar does not consider stars to be inanimate, but treat them the same way as animals. This means that there is no number marking on the noun itself but 'stars' triggers plural agreement in all agreement environments, some of which are illustrated in (27).

- (27) a. ha-mída:-n warúguma
3.PL-half-POSS star
'half of the stars' (E20150810>00:30:38) ♪
- b. [har'ahünyü war'uguma]
ha-iráhü-nyü warúguma
3.PL-child-PL star
'the small stars' (E20150810>00:31:04) ♪
- c. [ha'rira:gun wa'ruguma]
ha-iríragua-ni-n warúguma
3.PL-slip-NMLZ-POSS star
'shooting stars' (E20120921a>00:09:15) ♪
- d. aban=me h-éyguadú-n=ga warúguma ha syelu-ba-nya
CONN=DFUT 3.PL-fall-USPEC=GA star 3.PL:DEM sky-EXTR-3.PL
'and the stars in the sky will fall' (Mateo 24:29)

Examples (27-a-c) illustrate plural nominal agreement in a quantifying, adjectival and deverbal environment, respectively. Verbal agreement is shown in (27-d) along with a demonstrative pronoun, both displaying plural agreement.

3.1.1.2 **Inanimate referents** The other class is made up of nouns with inanimate referents such as those in (28)-(29). These are not marked for number nor do they trigger number agreement, a state of affairs also referred to as "general number", i.e. the meaning of the noun is expressed without reference to number (Corbett, 2000).

Example (28) shows that there is no number marking on the noun, and (29) further shows that, unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns do not trigger number agreement on adjectives nor in possessive constructions.

- (28) a. barúru
'plantain(s)' (E20120913a>00:54:26) ♪
- b. gá:nyèn
'egg(s)' (E20131029>01:21:39) ♪
- c. dúbu
'stone(s)' (E20120914c>00:09:11) ♪
- (29) a. barúru würígi:-r-u
plantain unripe-DI-3.F
'unripe plantain(s)' (E20120913b>00:09:17) ♪
- b. wátu würígi:-l-i
firewood green-DI-3.M
'green (pieces of) firewood' (E20120917c>00:47:08) ♪
- c. nu-fáluma
1.SG-coconut
'my coconut(s)' (E20120913a>01:16:10) ♪

Plural marking is, however, possible for inanimate nouns periphrastically using a stative verb *íbe* 'to be numerous' with the attributive marker *gA-*, as shown in (30) (see also § 15.2.2.1 on the non-canonical use of gender marking for number distinctions of masculine inanimate verbal arguments.)

- (30) nu-fáluma g-íbe-tu
1.SG-coconut ATR-numerous-F
'my coconuts' (E20120913b>00:04:09) ♪

3.1.1.3 Mass nouns Mass nouns are quantified with *murúsun* 'a bit of' or *pórsyòn* 'a portion of' such as *pórsyòn warúguma* 'stars', *ában murúsun klówdu* 'a few clouds' (lit. 'a bit of cloud'). Mass nouns can also be quantified with borrowed standards of measurement such as *liburu* 'pound'; some examples are shown in (31).

- (31) a. átiri=mèha=ti liburu sùgara?
how.much=DPST=TOP pound sugar
'how much was the pound of sugar?' (N20121002d>00:01:13) ♪

- b. t-achága-ha murúsun éygini l-ún
 3.F-throw-DISTR a.bit food 3.M-to
 ‘she throws a bit of food to him’ (N20121002a>00:02:10) ♪
- c. pórnyòn wátu
 bunch firewood
 ‘a lot of firewood’ (E20120917c>00:46:32) ♪

3.1.1.4 **Collective -gu** The nominal suffix *-gu* is a collective marker which appears to be limited to certain lexical items with animate referents. (See § 3.5.1.1.2 for the use of *-gu* in kinship terms.). Some examples are shown in (32).

- (32) a. anya-há=ti=buga n-áni-gu pádnà
 3.PL-exist=TOP=PST 1.SG-CLF-COL friend
 ‘there they are my friends’ (N20131016b>00:01:23) ♪
- b. h-achúbara n-umáda-gu
 3.PL-jump 1.SG-friend-COL
 ‘my friends jumped’ (N20131016f>00:05:27) ♪
- c. anyá-heyn g-íbe-ti-nyu urúwey-gu
 3.PL-exist ATR-many-TI-PL leader-COL
 ‘there are several presidents’ (A20121008a>00:06:26) ♪
- d. l-ani-gu meme-gu Alán
 3.M-CLF-COL same-COL A.
 ‘they are family of the same Alan’ (N20131016h>00:09:21) ♪

Example (32) shows that *-gu* is found on both relational classifiers and nouns. More surprising perhaps is its recursive use on both a classifier and a following modifier as shown in (32-d).

Taylor says that *-gu* refers to a group as a whole rather than simply marking plurality; moreover, he holds the collective marker to be suffixable after the plural marker *-nya* (1952, p. 156). So far I have not found a productive plural vs. collective contrast in my data. Rather, there are scattered examples of *-gu* which seem to be vestiges of an earlier stage, or perhaps instances of grammatical borrowing used only with certain borrowed lexical items. Furthermore, Taylor argues that *-gu* has a derivational meaning similar to English *-ness* (1956a, pp. 13-14). I have not found evidence for this function in my data.

3.1.1.5 **Pluralia tantum *huláhünyü* ‘wasps’** At first glance, (33) appears to be a rare example of a non-human noun allowing plural marking (33) with *-nyü*.

- (33) a. *huláhünyü*
 ‘wasp(s)’ (A20121023b>00:32:30) ♪
- b. **huláhü*
 ‘wasp’

However, unlike other pluralizable nouns, *huláhünyü* lacks a singular form, as shown in (34).

- (34) a. *nu-há furúmiye-t-u huláhünyü*
 3.F-exist first-TI-3.F wasp
 ‘this is the first wasp’ (E20150810>00:39:56) ♪
- b. *anyá-ha ûrüwa huláhünyü n-uma*
 3.PL-exist three wasp 1.SG-with
 ‘I have three wasps’ (E20150810>00:41:07) ♪

As shown, *huláhünyü* ‘wasp’ can trigger singular agreement, but the form of the noun remains plural, i.e. there is no such form as (33-b). This could perhaps be explained by the nature of wasps to usually live and sometimes also travel in swarms.¹²

3.1.1.6 Diachrony To account for the relatively large number of nominal plural markers that were listed in Table 9, which apparently differ only in form and not in meaning, Suazo (1991, p 40) proposes that *-nya* was borrowed from Cariban along with a large number of nouns, while *-nyu* and *-nyü* are natively Arawak. However, according to Aikhenvald (1999) Proto-Arawak had **-na* and **-ni* plural markers. This leads me to posit *-nya* and *-nyü* as inherited, but this still leaves *-nyu* and *-nu* unaccounted for. Another problem with Suazo’s hypothesis is that Cariban languages do not have plural marking on nouns (Gildea, 1998, pp. 116-117).

As for collective *-gu*, there is compelling evidence in favor of a Cariban origin.¹³ According to Gildea (1998, pp. 116-117), the Cariban languages do not mark nouns for plural. Instead they display the collective markers *yamo* and *ko(mo)*, the latter of which is likely to be the source of Garifuna *-gu*.

3.1.2 Diminutives

Nouns may receive a diminutive meaning by adding the suffix *-reü* as in (35).

¹²In some non-Arawak languages spoken in the North Arawak area such as Hup (Epps, 2008, p. 197) and Tucano (Aikhenvald, 2007, p. 276), insects are conceptualized as a mass rather than as a group of individuals, i.e. insects such as ants and wasps are thought of as undefined for number. If the uninflected noun is used, no reference to number is made, but when reference is made to a single individual, a singulative suffix appears, e.g. Hup, *yö?* ‘wasp(s)’ *yö?-?áw* ‘single wasp’.

¹³Taylor (1954, p 30) first held that *-gu* was of Carib origin, but in Taylor (1977) he finds that there is evidence indicating that it might as well be Arawak.

- (35) vélu-reü
 pond-DIM
 ‘small pond’ (A20121004a>00:04:24) ♪

Another possible analysis would be to call this a nominal compound, since *réü* also means ‘child’, cf. § 3.5.4.2 about the nominal uses of *réü*.

3.2 Gender agreement

Gender¹⁴ is not formally a category of Garifuna noun inflection, but rather shows up along with third person singular agreement on other constituents of the noun phrase (as well as in the clause). Nevertheless, it is clearly a nominal category and as such will be treated here.

There are two grammatical genders in Garifuna, masculine and feminine. With humans and other animate beings, gender is assigned according to biological/ social gender. Gender of other entities such as trees, plants and other inanimates has historically been assigned according to certain semantic categories. However, this categorization is not synchronically regular and exceptions must be arbitrarily learned. The categorization in Table 10 was first worked out by Taylor and has proven to hold, but with certain exceptions (see Munro (1997) for more information). One important finding by Munro is that gender of animal species is assigned according to size, when the biological gender of a referent is unknown.

Masculine	Feminine
Wild plants	Domesticated plants and their fruits
Flying insect species	Crawling insect species
Piercing instruments	Cutting instruments
Sun; moon	Star
Body parts; body products	Vehicles
	Buildings
	Containers
	Cloth; garments
	Firearms
	Tree species
	Bird species
	Fish species

Table 10: *Semantic gender categories*

¹⁴Garifuna gender has been thoroughly described and analyzed by Taylor (1951b, 1959, 1977) and Munro (1997, 2013) and I refer the reader to those works for a more detailed description.

	Masc.	Fem.
Prefix	<i>l-</i>	<i>t-</i>
Suffix	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>

Table 11: *Gender agreement markers*

3.3 Noun derivation

3.3.1 Deverbal *-ni*

The most common strategy for deriving nouns from verbs involves the suffix *-ni*. In (36) are examples of verb stems contrasting verbal and nominalized environments.

- (36) a. **n-ásügürü-bà** t-urúrugunya múna
 1.SG-pass-FUT 3.F-by house
 ‘I will pass by the house’ (A20121016a>00:49:59) ♪
- b. ígira ában kátey abárase-ha l-ídan **ásügürü-ni**
 leave one thing obstruct-DISTR 3.M-in pass-NMLZ
 ‘to leave something obstructing the path’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 31)
- (37) a. **n-éybugu-nya** t-árigi rána
 1.SG-walk-PROG 3.F-after frog
 ‘I am following the frog’ (A20121023a>00:20:45) ♪
- b. ában bwí-t-i **éybugu-ni**
 one good-TI-3.M walk-NMLZ
 ‘a good walk’ (A20121016a>00:04:28) ♪
- c. ában ó:ra **éybugu-ni** yá-giyen l-un Tél-on
 one hour walk-NMLZ here-ABL 3.M-to T.-ALL
 ‘one hour of walking to Tela’ (N20121002d>00:00:30) ♪

When such deverbal nouns are possessed, assimilation occurs so that the combination of nominalizer suffix *-ni* and possessive *-n* yields *-ni-n* → *-n* as exemplified in (38).

- (38) a. [aban nadówrundi tásügürün]
 aban n-adówrú-n-i t-asügüra-**ni-n**
 then 1.SG-block-USPEC-3.M 3.F-pass-NMLZ-POSS
 ‘then I blocked her path’ (A20121004c>00:01:27) ♪

3.3.2 Deverbal *-gùlèy*

A different strategy for deriving nouns from verbs is by the instrumental suffix *-gùlèy*. In (39) are examples of verb stems in both verbal and nominalized environments.

- (39) a. aban n-anyú:ra l-un n-aríyagu
 CONN 1.SG-sit.down 3.M-to 1.SG-watch
 ‘then I sat down to watch’ (N20121026e>00:00:31) ♪
- b. anyú:ra-gùlèy
 sit.down-NMLZ
 ‘chair’ (E20120913b>00:41:22) ♪
- c. aban l-adáhiru-n-u l-ábulugu aban h-éydi-n
 CONN 3.M-hang-USPEC-3.F 3.M-head CONN 3.PL-go:SU1-USPEC
 ‘then he hung it on his head and then they left’ (N20131029a>00:07:13) ♪
- d. adáhiye-gùlèy t-ówbu-wagu múna
 hang-NMLZ 3.F-side-LOC house
 ‘(coat) hangers on the wall of the house’ (E20120926b>00:29:30) ♪
- e. l-un l-achávarù-n
 3.M-to 3.M-pull-USPEC
 ‘in order to pull on it’ (E20120927a>00:20:27) ♪
- f. acháva-ha-gùlèy l-uwágu armáριο
 pull-DISTR-NMLZ 3.M-on closet
 ‘the handle on the closet’ (E20120927a>00:22:48) ♪

When derived instrumental nouns are possessed, they drop the final /y/ (this is a regular morphophonological process, for which see § 2.5.3). Two examples of nominalized possessed forms are shown in (40).

- (40) a. l-atátira-gùle l-ubágiyen wadégumanu ítara-be-y l-ubágiyen
 3.M-begin-NMLZ 3.M-before work thus-FUT-3.M 3.M-before
 ‘the beginning of the work is thus, first of all ...’ (N20131017a>00:00:03) ♪
- b. ównli t-idan l-á:gawa-gùle
 dog 3.F-in 3.M-bathe-NMLZ
 ‘the dog in its bathing tub’ (E20120926b>00:21:20) ♪

3.3.3 Nominal association *-na*

The suffix *-na* is used to derive nouns from locative words such as place names, adverbs and nouns referring to places (school, hospital, church etc.). The derived nouns refer

to people who are associated with the location designated by the word from which it was derived. The examples in (41) derive LOCATION → OCCUPANT OF LOCATION.

- (41) a. eskwéla-na
school-NOMA
'student' (N20131010g>00:08:37) ♪
- b. ondúra-na
Honduras-NOMA
'Honduran' (A20121008a>01:02:55) ♪
- c. halíya-na=funà=tiya?
where-NOMA=EPIST=EMPH
'where might they be from?' (N20131016e>00:06:07) ♪

Such nominal associative expressions can also be derived from possessed nouns with inanimate referents as shown in (42).

- (42) a. ti-gólu-na karéta
3.F-gold-NOMA wheelbarrow
'the gold of the wheelbarrow' (E20150807a>01:07:09) ♪
- b. ti-fúla:nsu-na múna
3.F-wooden.board-NOMA house
'the wood of the house' (E20150807a>01:08:30) ♪

In such constructions as (42), *-na* indicates that the possessive relationship is not one of ownership, but rather one of 'close proximity', or even 'part-of-whole'. In (42-a), the gold is located in the wheelbarrow, while in (42-b), the boards of wood are part of the house. This type of construction will usually not have a human being as possessor.

3.3.4 Agent nouns

Agent nouns are formed by affixing *-ti* plus a third person suffix *-i* or *-u* to the verb stem as illustrated with verb/agent noun example pairs in (43).

- (43) a. n-ówcha-ha-nya
1.SG-fish-DISTR-PROG
'I am fishing' (A20121015a>00:49:00) ♪
- b. ówcha-ha-t-i
fish-DISTR-AGT-3.M
'fisherman' (E20120919a>00:37:20) ♪

- c. súwandàn n-aféyndi-ha-n-u yagána
 always 1.SG-paint-DISTR-USPEC-3.F 1.SG:canoe
 'I always paint my canoe' (E20121019a>00:28:37) ♪
- d. aféyndi-ha-t-i
 paint-DISTR-AGT-3.M
 'painter' (E20120921a>00:28:05) ♪
- e. aséni-ha
 netfish-DISTR
 'to fish with a seine net' (N20131016e>00:05:50) ♪
- f. aséni-ha-t-i
 net.fish-DISTR-AGT-3.M
 'seine net fisherman' (E20120913b>00:20:44) ♪

The examples in (44) show that, agent nouns distinguish gender with markers that are identical to agreement markers, alluding to their verbal nature. However, unlike verbal agreement, derived agent nouns may have varying plural forms between *-nya* and *-nyu*. Moreover, the examples in (44) seem to indicate that this plural variation is used to distinguish gender, a category which is otherwise not expressed in the plural. My examples are few, however, and this needs more investigation.

- (44) a. á:buwagu-t-u
 cook-AGT-3.F
 'female chef' (E20120921a>00:16:54) ♪
- b. á:buwagu-ti-nya
 cook-AGT-PL.F
 'female chefs' (E20120921a>00:17:31) ♪
- c. á:buwagu-t-i
 cook-AGT-3.M
 'male chef' (E20120921a>00:16:46) ♪
- d. á:buwagu-ti-nyu
 cook-AGT-PL.M
 'male chefs' (E20120921a>00:17:22) ♪

It appears to be the case that speakers choose to use these forms for emphatic or disambiguating purposes under specific pragmatic conditions. The default is to use the same marker irrespective of gender.

3.4 Nominal compounds

Nominal compounding does not appear to be productive in Garifuna. So far I have only come across a few examples; the first is *á:geydina* ‘container’ which forms the second part (Noun 2) of compounds meaning ‘group of (Noun 1)’ or ‘lots of (Noun 1)’ - examples are shown in (45).

- (45)
- a. *mún-à:gey*
house-container
‘group of houses’ (E20120913b>00:47:01) ♪
 - b. *údereü-à:gey*
fish-container
‘container full of fish’ (E20150724>01:39:07) ♪
 - c. *fálum-à:gey*
coconut-container
‘coconut plantation; container full of coconuts’ (E20150724>01:38:24) ♪
 - d. *wadáb-à:gey*
conch-container
‘conch shell’ (N20121026a>00:05:15) ♪
 - e. *huláhüny-à:gey*
bee-container
‘bee hive’ (E20120917c>00:11:54) ♪
 - f. *dún-à:gey*
water-container
‘pond’ (E20150805>00:43:56) ♪
 - g. *gány-à:gey*
bitter.manioc-container
‘bitter manioc plantation’ (E20120913b>00:16:15) ♪

The only other example known to me is *arígey-leü* ‘earring’ which combines *arígey* ‘ear’ and *ileü* ‘seed’.

3.5 The noun phrase

3.5.1 Possession

Garifuna distinguishes between two ways of morphosyntactically marking possession: attributive possession as illustrated in (46), and predicative possession, shown in (47).

- (46) Attributive possession
- a. n-á:gey
1.SG-container
'my vehicle' (A20121010c>00:19:32) ♪
- b. b-arí:gey
2.SG-ear
'your ear' (E20120914d>00:00:37) ♪
- (47) Predicative possession
- a. ga-báyki-ti-na
ATR-bike-TI-1.SG
'I have a bike' (E20131130>01:32:50) ♪
- b. nú-heyn ában gurúyara n-úma
3.F-exist one canoe 1.SG-with
'I have a canoe' (Lit. 'there is canoe with me') (E20131130>01:34:02) ♪
- c. ní-heyn yadúnu n-uwágu
3.M-exist influenza 1.SG-on
'I have the flu' (Lit. 'there is flu on me') (E20120917c>00:19:28) ♪

Both are expressed using a set of affixes indicating person, number and, in the 3rd person singular, gender of possessor (see Table 12). Attributive possession uses a prefix which is the same one used on prepositions most dynamic verb stems, and predicative possession uses a suffix which is the same as used on stative verbs. Furthermore, while attributive possession involves direct marking of the possessed noun, predicative possession involves either a derived nominal predicate (47-a) or an existential verb phrase which indexes the possessed (47-b-c) followed by a preposition indexing possessor.

For the examples in (47) the use of possessive constructions with adpositions does not imply a physical proximity between the owner and the owned, as shown by the acceptability of (48).

- (48) ní-heyn ában fulásu n-úma Meríga
1.SG-exist one plot 1.SG-with M.
'I have a piece of land in the United States' (E20131130>01:32:01) ♪

3.5.1.1 Attributive possession Attributive possession is encoded by a possessive marker prefixed to a noun. In the singular of inanimates, the noun takes a possessive suffix as well. In the plural, which is only expressed on animate nouns, the noun takes

	Attributive	Predicative
1.SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>-na</i>
2.SG	<i>b-</i>	<i>-bu</i>
3.M	<i>l-</i>	<i>-i</i>
3.F	<i>t-</i>	<i>-u</i>
1.PL	<i>wa-</i>	<i>-wa</i>
2.PL	<i>h-</i>	<i>-ü</i>
3.PL	<i>ha-</i>	<i>-nya</i>

Table 12: *Possessive marking*

the plural suffix; examples of possessed animate and inanimate nouns are shown in (49) and (50).

- (49) a. *n-amúle*
 1.SG-younger.brother
 ‘my younger brother’ (E20120920a>00:23:20) ♪
- b. *n-amúle:-nu*
 1.SG-younger.brother-PL
 ‘my younger brothers’ (E20120920a>00:28:01) ♪
- (50) a. *n-éyfi-te*
 1.SG-bean-POSS
 ‘my bean(s)’ (E20120913a>01:16:40) ♪
- b. *bi-dúna-ri*
 2.SG-water-POSS
 ‘your water’ (E20120924a>00:27:52) ♪

In light of the history of Garifuna, it is relevant to note that the Cariban languages have possessive constructions formally identical to those in (49) and (50) (Derbyshire, 1999, p. 41).

Note that inalienable possessed nouns in Garifuna usually do not take possessive suffixes (see § 3.5.1.1.1) something which is also true of the other members of the Arawak family (Aikhenvald, 1999, p. 82). However, there are examples of kinship terms found with a final possessive *-n*. Thus, sometimes one hears *n-úguchu-n* ‘my mother’ or *n-amúle-n* ‘my brother’, but these appear to be exceptions to the rule.

3.5.1.1.1 Inalienably possessed nouns There is a basic distinction in Garifuna between a class of nouns which are normally only used in the possessed form, called inalienable or inalienably possessed, and a class of nouns which may be freely

used either possessed or non-possessed, called alienable or alienably possessed.¹⁵ The former class is made up of nouns with referents that are inherently tied to a possessor and are exemplified in (51); these include kinship terms and body parts, and other parts of a whole, such as plant and tree parts, and they are distinguished by the lack of a possessive suffix.

(51)

úguchu-ru	‘mother’	n-úguchu	‘my mother’	♪
úguchi-li	‘father’	n-úguchi	‘my father’	♪
agûtü	‘grandmother’	n-agûtü	‘my grandmother’	♪
áruguti	‘grandfather’	n-áruguti	‘my grandfather’	♪
iyáwürite	‘uncle’	n-iyáwürite	‘my uncle’	♪
íbiri	‘brother’	n-íbiri	‘my brother’	♪
ugúdi	‘foot’	n-ugúdi	‘my foot/ feet’	♪
urágey	‘stomach’	n-urágey(-rugu)	‘my stomach’	♪
égey	‘shoulder’	n-ége(-wegu)	‘my shoulder(s)’	♪
úbareü	‘nail’	b-úbara	‘your nail(s)’	♪
urí:reü	‘breast; udder’	tu-rí:ra	‘(the cow’s) udder’	♪
igí:nèün	‘neck’	n-igí:na	‘my neck’	♪
arûneün	‘arm’	n-arûna(-rugu)	‘my arm(s)’	♪
urúneün	‘lower leg’	b-úruna	‘your lower leg(s)’	♪
inyúlu-rugu	‘back-knee’	l-inyúlu-rugu	‘his back-knee’	♪
umú-rugu-tey	‘anclé’	n-umú-rugu-te	‘my anclé(s)’	♪

Note that *úguchu-ru* ‘mother’ and *úguchi-li* ‘father’ are special in having a non-possession suffix, i.e. a suffix marking them as non-possessed; historically this seems to have been a gender marker as these are identical to feminine and masculine third person singular verbal suffixes. As shown in (51), some body part nouns are also marked by the changing of a final diphthong *-eü*, or nasalized *-eün*, to *-a*; this can be taken as evidence that in fact the inalienable possessive suffix is a \emptyset suffix and not just absence of a suffix, because final vowels and diphthongs regularly go to /a/ stem finally when a suffix is added (see § 2.5.3). Similarly, in (51) there are examples of a stem final *-y* being elided before the suffix, and this is a general phonological process (see § 2.5.3.) Additional examples of the above phenomena are given in (52) and (53).

¹⁵In the following, the distinction ‘alienable’ vs. ‘inalienable’, should not be taken to mean that inalienable nouns can never appear without a possessor. Rather, it means that speakers prefer to use their possessed form because they are conceptualized as belonging to something or someone. This preference also shows in elicitation, e.g. when asking for the word for ‘hand’ one is more likely to get *b-úhabu* ‘your hand’ rather than the bare noun *úhabu* ‘hand’.

- (52) a. iránagweü
'hip' (E20120914e>00:21:49) ♪
- b. n-irána:gwa
1.SG-hip
'my hip' (E20120914e>00:21:35) ♪
- c. úreü
'skin' (E20120914e>00:38:04) ♪
- d. n-úra
1.SG-skin
'my skin' (E20131113b>00:00:44) ♪
- e. í:reü
'soup' (E20120913a>00:02:04) ♪
- f. n-í:ra-dina
1.SG-soup-POSS
'my soup' (E20121003a>00:55:24) ♪
- (53) a. édey
'anus' (E20120914e>00:12:49) ♪
- b. n-éde
1.SG-anus
'my anus' (E20120914e>00:12:37) ♪
- c. ugúney
'canoe' (A20121010a>00:52:44) ♪
- d. wa-gúne
1.PL-canoe
'our canoe' (E20120926a>00:27:50) ♪
- e. agúley
'grease' (E20120913a>00:06:42) ♪
- f. n-agúle-dina
1.SG-grease-POSS
'my grease' (E20120913ae>01:08:40) ♪

In some of the examples in (51) there are two optional suffixes *-rugu*, *-wegu*; these suffixes are homonymous with, and probably identical to the locative suffixes meaning 'inside, upon' (see § 11.3.1 on this), and that it would appear on 'stomach' is not

unexpected because there is a well established connection between the concept of ‘stomach’ and ‘inside’ in the languages of the world (Campbell et al., 1986, p. 549). The use of *-wegu* on *arüneün* ‘arm’, however, is not transparent, because one would intuitively think of this body part as “at the side of” the human body, but this might be a western bias on my part. Perhaps *-wegu* and *-rugu* in relation to body parts may have a more general meaning of CONTACT (see also Taylor (1956a, p. 12)).

Furthermore there is an example of *-rugu* with a body part where the locative suffix has been lexicalized with a narrower meaning, as shown in (54-b).

- (54) a. n-ugúdi
1.SG-foot
‘my foot’ (E20120914d>00:09:42) ♪
- b. n-ugúdi-rugu
1.SG-foot-LOC
‘the sole of my foot’ (E20120914e>00:16:58) ♪

The expected reading of (54-b) would be ‘on my foot’ but the actual reading is ‘the sole of my foot’.

3.5.1.1.2 The irregular item *ibányani* ‘grandchildren’ This kinship term is highly irregular as illustrated in (55).

- (55) a. ibá-ri
grandchild-NPOSS
‘grandchild’
- b. n-ibá-ri
1.SG-grandchild-NPOSS
‘my grandchild’
- c. ibá-nya-ni
grandchild-PL-NI
‘grandchildren’
- d. n-ibá-nya-n
1.SG-grandchild-PL-POSS
‘my grandchildren’

Based on the contrast between singular which has *-ri* and plural forms which have *-nya*, the root must be *ibá*. The suffix *-ri* must then be analyzed as a singulative marker but this would then be the only lexical item in my corpus that has it.

Secondly, the non-possessed plural form contains both a plural marker *-nya* and an enigmatic *-ni* suffix; normally, plural suffixes are not followed by other suffixes. Also, the possessed plural form maintains the plural suffix *-nya*, and then adds a possessive

suffix *-n*, which is odd since the regular possessive plural suffix is *-nu*, and kinship terms normally do not take a possessive suffix.

It might be due to the irregularity of this lexeme that Taylor (1952, p. 156) finds that the plural suffix *-gu* is suffixable to *ibáyan*, which appears to already contain a plural suffix. Taylor gives the example *n-ibá-yan*¹⁶ ‘my grandchildren’ which, he claims, contrasts with *n-ibá-ya-gu*¹⁷ ‘my grandchildren as a collectivity’ and *n-ibá-yan-ni* ‘my progeny’. This last example is problematic on morphophonological grounds since, according to a regular rule of assimilation (see § 3.3.1) the possessed form of a derived noun like /n-ibá-nya-ni-n/ would not appear as *[ni'banyani] but rather as [ni'banyã].

3.5.1.1.3 Number of possessed There is only partial overlap between the feature of inalienability and animacy; body parts are inalienable but they must be considered inanimate because they take no plural marking, as was shown in (51). Possessed human referents, on the other hand, must distinguish number, just as in non-possessed constructions, and the same suffixes are used; examples are given in (56).

- (56) a. n-áruguti-nu
1.SG-grandfather-PL
‘my grandfathers’ (E20120924a>01:13:46) ♪
- b. n-amúle:-nu(gu)
1.SG-younger.brother-PL
‘my younger brothers’ (E20120920a>00:28:01) ♪
- c. n-ibá-ri-nu
1.SG-grandchild-NPOSS-PL
‘my grandchildren’ (E20120924a>01:15:40) ♪
- d. nú-mari-nu
1.SG-spouse-PL
‘my husbands/wives’ (N20121002e>00:01:27) ♪
- (57) a. n-íbiri-gu
1.SG-brother-COL
‘my brothers’ (E20120920a>00:28:09) ♪
- b. n-ílawa-gu
1.SG-great-grandchild-COL
‘my great grandchildren’ (E20120920a>00:34:27) ♪

¹⁶Taylor’s *-yan* is equivalent to my *-nya*. This variation is either dialectal, since Taylor worked on Belize Garifuna, or it is simply a difference in orthography / phonological analysis.

¹⁷It is clear from the context that Taylor intended *-yan* and so I interpret this *-ya* as a typo.

- c. ni-sá:ni-gu
1.SG-child-COL
'my children' (E20120920a>00:36:21) ♪
- d. ni-níbo-gu
1.SG-nephew-COL
'my nephews' (E20120920a>00:38:50) ♪
- e. nu-gúferà:n-gu
1.SG-godfather-COL
'my godfathers' (E20120921a>00:03:27) ♪
- f. n-arúne-gu
1.SG-captain-COL
'my captains' (E20120921a>00:37:43) ♪
- (58) a. n-ibíri-nya
1.SG-relative-PL
'my relatives' (E20120920a>00:29:22) ♪
- b. n-ibá-nyan
1.SG-grandchild-PL
'my grandchild' (E20120920a>00:33:32) ♪
- (59) l-iráhü-nyü
3.M-child-PL
'his children' (E20120920a>00:10:33) ♪

3.5.1.1.4 Non-possessive marking In most Arawak languages, inalienable possessed nouns have non-possessed forms which are marked by a suffix * *-tʃi* or * *-hVi* (Aikhenvald, 1999, p. 82).

Like other Arawak languages, Garifuna has a small number of non-possessive *-CV* suffixes, but they have different shapes from the Arawak ones, and thus it seems unlikely that they are cognate. In (51) I showed the non-possessed suffix *-ru* and *-li* on 'mother' and 'father' respectively. They seem vestigial of an earlier system of non-possession marking as they only appear on these two items.

A much more common non-possessive suffix is *-ni*. Examples are shown in (60).

- (60) a. ugúfe:ra-ní
godfather-NPOSS
'godfather' (E20120920a>00:39:32) ♪

- b. n-ugúfera
1.SG-godfather
'my godfather' (E20121004a>00:09:01) ♪
- c. anága-ni
back-NPOSS
'back' (E20120914e>00:22:51) ♪
- d. n-anága-n
1.SG-back-POSS
'my back' (A20121024c>00:17:41) ♪
- e. e-un
penis-NPOSS
'penis' (E20120914e>00:19:45) ♪
- f. n-e
1.SG-penis
'my penis' (E20120914e>00:19:55) ♪

According to Taylor (1956a, pp. 11-12) there exists yet another marker of non-possession, a prefix *h-*. It appears on both alienable and inalienable possessed nouns, as shown in Taylor's examples below.

- (61) a. h-in
NPOSS-fruit
'fruit'
- b. t-in
3.F-fruit
'her fruit'
- (62) a. h-ítaü
NPOSS-blood
'blood'
- b. t-íta
3.F-blood
'her blood'
- (63) a. h-aráwa
NPOSS-ax
'ax'

- b. l-aráwa-n
3.M-ax-POSS
'his ax'
- (64) a. h-aléü
NPOSS-seat
'seat'
- b. l-ála
3.M-seat
'his seat'

These examples show that there appears to be an *h*-prefix on non-possessed forms which is replaced by regular possessor indexing prefixes in possessed forms. However, they might be explained in a different way: Garifuna has a dispreference for onsetless syllables and the /h/s are epenthetically inserted to remedy the lack of an onset. However, this is not an absolute rule and as explained in § 2.6.4 there is a great deal of variation among speakers and within the speech of individuals.

3.5.1.1.5 Recursive possessive constructions Inalienable possessed nouns can only be possessed by the possessor to which they pragmatically belong. In order to express alienable possession of such an item, the construction becomes 'its Z, X's Y', as shown in (65).

- (65) a. t-íleve nu-fáluma
3.F-flower 1.SG-coconut
'the flower of my coconut' (Lit. 'its flower, my coconut')
(E20120924b>00:49:27) ♪
- b. ti-réüreü ni-bímina
3.F-small 1.SG-banana
'my small banana' (Lit. 'its child, my banana') (E20120919a>00:11:37) ♪

3.5.1.1.6 Alienable possessed nouns The alienably possessed class is made up of nouns with referents that are neither kinship terms nor body parts. These are marked by one of three distinct possessive suffixes *-n*, *-te*, *-ri*. Examples are given in (66).

(66)

barú:ru	‘plantain’	nu-báruru-n	‘my plantain’	♪
mábi	‘sweet potato’	nu-mábi-n	‘my sweet potato’	♪
wadábu	‘conch’	nu-wádabu-n	‘my conch’	♪
éyfi	‘bean’	n-éyfi-te	‘my bean’	♪
ará:nsu	‘orange’	n-ará:nsu-te	‘my orange’	♪
higágu	‘coco plum’	n-igágu-te	‘my coco plum’	¹⁸ ♪
ri	‘rice’	ni-rí:-te	‘my rice’	♪
eyéri	‘man’	n-eyéri-te	‘my man’	♪
hinyá:ru	‘woman’	n-inyá:ru-te	‘my woman’	♪
dúna	‘water’	ni-dúna-ri	‘my water’	♪
áti	‘chili’	n-áti-nye	‘my chili’	♪
agûley	‘grease’	n-agûle-dina	‘my grease’	♪
ri	‘rice’	ni-rí:-ni	‘my rice’	♪

¹⁸The initial h- is elided according to a regular rule, see § 2.2.3

As (66) shows, there are another three possible possessive suffixes *-nye*, *-dina*, *-ni* but these have only been attested on these specific lexemes.

By far the most commonly occurring possessive suffix is *-n* (nasalization of a final vowel). This is consistent with Taylor (1956a, p. 11, 31) who says that nasalisation of the final vowel is the most common variant of an underlying suffix */-ne/* which, among other things, is used as a possessive suffix. Furthermore, he gives examples of variation on the same noun: *ti-bíra-n / ti-bíra-ni* ‘her sail’, which is indicative of the connection between the two possessive suffix forms. Taylor’s examples, coupled with the regular phonological process */Vn/ → [Ṽ]* indicates that diachronically possessive *-ni* has undergone deletion of the final */i/*, a process which is almost complete. In my own data I have only found *-ni* once, and this under doubtful circumstances in that it was an instance of auto-repair on the token *ni-rí-ni* ‘my rice’ which was corrected to *ni-rí-te* ‘my rice’ (see (E20120913a>01:16:23) ♪).

From a comparative perspective of the Arawak family, Payne (1991, p. 378) gives **-ne* as the most common possessive suffix, while **-te*, **-re*, **-i* and **-∅* have more restricted uses in most Arawak languages.

Garifuna nouns that take the possessive suffix *-te* tend to belong to a semantic category “insects and vegetables” with the exception of only two tokens namely ‘woman’ and ‘man’. As shown in (66) there are a few examples of kinship terms which are marked in an unexpected way according to the above statement about alienability. Thus ‘my man’ and ‘my woman’, which should be taken to mean ‘my spouse’, are

marked as if they were alienable possessions. Furthermore, these should be compared to the equivalents *wú:ri* ‘woman’ *wúgú:ri* ‘man’ - the latter pair represents male speech while the former pair traditionally belongs to female speech. It is possible that the use of an inalienable vs. alienable possession distinction is in this case used to signal male vs. female speech.

There are some examples of alienable items taking the $-\emptyset$ suffix; examples are shown in (67).

- (67)
- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------|
| a. | bacháti
‘tea’ | (E20120924a>00:36:58) ♪ |
| b. | nu-báchati
1.SG-tea
‘my tea’ | (E20120924a>00:39:20) ♪ |
| c. | fáluma
‘coconut’ | (E20120913a>00:03:19) ♪ |
| d. | nu-fáluma
1.SG-coconut
‘my coconut’ | (E20121003a>00:49:27) ♪ |
| e. | bímína
‘banana’ | (E20120913a>00:23:38) ♪ |
| f. | ni-bímína
1.SG-banana
‘my banana’ | (E20120913a>01:12:52) ♪ |

3.5.1.1.7 Non-possessable and suppletive forms As noticed by Taylor (1956a, p. 31) there is a group of nouns which can never be possessed; these are shown in (68) and (69).

- (68)
- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------|
| a. | ubów
‘village’ | (E20120926a>00:22:32) ♪ |
| b. | *n-ubów
1.SG-village
‘my village’ | |
| c. | gurúyara
‘canoe’ | (A20121010a>00:39:54) ♪ |

- d. *nu-gúruyara
1.SG-canoe
'my canoe'
- (69) a. múna
'house' (E20120913b>00:37:36) ♪
- b. *nu-múna
1.SG-house
'my house'
- c. eréba
'cassava bread' (A20121016b>00:16:23) ♪
- d. *n-eréba
1.SG-cassava.bread
'my cassava bread'

The examples in (68), however, may take as possessed equivalents nouns which themselves have an unpossessed form, as shown in (70).

- (70) a. agéyra
'village' (E20120926a>00:24:37) ♪
- b. n-agéyra
1.SG-village
'my village' (A20121008a>00:48:54) ♪
- c. ugúney
'canoe' (A20121010a>00:52:44) ♪
- d. b-ugúne
2.SG-canoe
'your canoe' (E20120926a>00:27:36) ♪

The pairs in (69) and (71) stand out as truly suppletive, in the sense that their possessed forms do not have non-possessed equivalents.

- (71) a. *úba
'house'
- b. n-úba-n
1.SG-house-POSS
'my house' (A20121023a>01:01:41) ♪

- c. *bu
'cassava bread'
- d. nu-bú-te
1.SG-cassava.bread-POSS
'my cassava bread' (E20120913a>01:11:39) ♪

According to Taylor, the only true suppletive forms are those in (72) because he does not consider 'village' and 'canoe' (70) possessed equivalents of the examples in (68), that is, he does not hold the noun pairs in question to be synonyms.

- (72) a. múna
'house' (E20120913b>00:37:36) ♪
- b. n-úba-n
1.SG-house-POSS
'my house' (A20121023a>01:01:41) ♪
- c. eréba
'cassava bread' (A20121016b>00:16:23) ♪
- d. nu-bú-te
1.SG-cassava.bread-POSS
'my cassava bread' (E20120913a>01:11:39) ♪

3.5.1.1.8 Relational classifiers Comparative studies have found three types of nominal classification involving possessive constructions. These are used to describe some aspect or characteristic of the possessive noun phrase (Aikhenvald, 2000). There are classifiers that categorize 1) the possessed, 2) the possessor and 3) the relationship between possessed and possessor. Garifuna displays the latter exclusively and I will refer to this type of possessive classifier as 'relational' classifiers following Lichtenberk (1983) and Aikhenvald (2000, p. 125). Garifuna possessive constructions with relational classifiers take the regular set of person indexing prefixes, but instead of being prefixed to the nominal stem, the prefix appears on the classifier¹⁹. The five relational classifiers I have identified so far are exemplified in (73).

- (73) -éygan "For eating (non-flesh)"
- a. n-éygan hudútu
1.SG-CLF banana.mash
'my banana mash' (E20120913b>00:02:18) ♪

¹⁹Similar classifier systems are used in some Oceanic languages, but there is considerable variation as to the number of different classifiers each language employs to specify the nature of the possessed and its relation to the possessor. Thus, while some Oceanic languages only have classifiers for "drink", "food" and "general possession" others have additional classifiers for "valuable object" used mainly for animals and crops (Lolovoli), "plant", "location" (Lenakel), "transportation", "tools", "land", "toys" "kinship relations", "decorations" (Kosrean) and "things one sucks the juice out of, but without consuming the flesh (including some fruits and breast feeding)" (Anejoñ) (Lichtenberk, 2009, pp. 256; 268-272).

- b. n-éygan dáni
1.SG-CLF manioc.tamale
'my manioc tamale' (E20121014a>00:32:52) ♪
- c. l-éygan eyéri lé hudútu
3.M-CLF man 3.M:DEM banana.mash
'that man's banana mash' (E20121014a>00:24:12) ♪
- (74) -úyi "For eating (flesh)"
- a. n-úyi hû:rü
1.SG-CLF crab
'my crab' (E20121014b>00:03:58) ♪
- b. n-úyi údereü
1.SG-CLF fish
'my fish' (E20120913a>01:17:26) ♪
- c. n-úyi wayámaga
1.SG-CLF iguana
'my iguana' (E20120926a>00:01:13) ♪
- (75) -uníye "For drinking/ sucking/ slurping"
- a. n-uníye charígi
1.SG-CLF grapefruit
'my grapefruit' (E20120917a>00:57:19) ♪
- b. n-uníye fáluma
1.SG-CLF coconut
'my coconut' (E20120924a>00:35:13) ♪
- c. b-uníye guréntu
2.SG-CLF banana.manioc.porridge
'your banana-manioc porridge' (E20120924a>00:30:11) ♪
- (76) -áni "Neutral possession" (Plural: áni-gu)
- a. b-áni manádi
2.SG-CLF manati
'your manati' (E20120917b>00:04:59) ♪
- b. n-áni béybey
1.SG-CLF beach.grape
'my wild beach grape' (E20120913a>01:20:17) ♪

- c. n-áni-gu aféyndi-ha-ti-nyu
 1.SG-CLF-COL paint-DISTR-AGT-3.PL
 ‘my painters’ (E20120921a>00:30:18) ♪

(77) -ilûgün “Kept as domestic animal” (Plural: *ilûgün-ninyu*)

- a. n-ilûgün ównli
 1.SG-CLF dog
 ‘my dog’ (E20120924a>00:56:11) ♪

- b. b-ilûgün gabáyu
 2.SG-CLF horse
 ‘your horse’ (E20120924a>00:54:29) ♪

- c. l-ilûgün nu-vésina-n bágasu t-ú:ra
 3.M-CLF 1.SG-neighbor-POSS cow 3.F-DEM
 ‘my neighbor’s cow’ (E20121004a>00:34:44) ♪

Only animals must obligatorily appear with a classifier when possessed²⁰; all other nouns, particularly foods, fruits, vegetables and meat are more likely to appear with a classifier, if only the general *-áni*, but they need not. They may be possessed directly on the noun as well, in which case the intentions of the possessor with regards to the possessed are not specified.

3.5.1.1.9 Irregular 1.SG classifiers Possessed nouns with classifiers have alternate forms for 1.SG possessors, which are connected to the genderlect distinctions, i.e. male vs. neutral speech. These are discussed in § 15.2.1.

3.5.1.2 Predicative possession Predicative possession in Garifuna consists of at least two distinct strategies: one that derives a possessive predicate from a noun by adding verbal morphology, and one that uses an auxiliary existence verb indexing the possessed and a preposition indexing the possessor.

3.5.1.2.1 Denominal possessive predicate Example (78) shows the first predicative possession strategy employing an attributive prefix *g(a)-* or privative prefix *m(a)-* which are added to the possessed noun with a suffix indexing the possessor.

- (78) a. g-í:n-t-i véve
 ATR-fruit-TI-3.M tree
 ‘the tree has fruit’ (E20120926b>00:15:56) ♪

- b. ában véve g-í:n-t-i
 one tree ATR-fruit-TI-3.M
 ‘a tree with fruit’ (E20120926b>00:14:34) ♪

²⁰Such forms as *n-ównli* ‘my dog’ are reported to be uncommon if not unacceptable.

- c. ga-búte-ti-bu=sàn?
ATR-cassava-TI-2.SG=Q
'do you have cassava bread?' (E20121014a>00:38:18) ♪
- d. ga-búte-ti-na
ATR-cassava-TI-1.SG
'I have cassava bread' (E20121014a>00:38:18) ♪
- e. ga-báyki-ti-na
ATR-bike-TI-1.SG
'I have a bike' (E20131130>01:32:50) ♪
- f. deré-t-u ma-sáldu-ti-na
tough-TI-3.F NEG-minutes-TI-1.SG
'it's tough, I don't have any more minutes (on my cell phone)'
(N20121002e>00:00:00) ♪
- g. [ga'rahünyü,tina]
ga-iráhü-nyü-ti-na
ATR-child-PL-TI-1.SG
'I had children' (A20121024d>00:07:18) ♪
- h. [ma'rahünyü,tina]
ma-iráhü-nyü-ti-na
NEG-child-PL-TI-1.SG
'I did not have children' (A20121024d>00:07:52) ♪

A reflexive suffix *-gwa* can be added to a possessive predicate to invoke a solidary or reciprocal interpretation as shown in (79) (cf. also § 6.1.1.2 for more information about the reciprocal use of *-gwa*).

- (79) a. ga-ráhü-nyü-guà-ti-nyu
ATR-child-PL-REFL-TI-3.PL
'they have children together' (E20150716>01:52:58) ♪
- b. g-ágani-guà-ti-nyu
ATR-enemy-REFL-TI-3.PL
'they are each others enemies' (Lit. 'they have each other (as) enemies')
(Suazo, 2011, p. 451)
- c. ga-dúhe-gwa-ti-nyu
ATR-relative-REFL-TI-3.PL
'they are each others relatives' (Lit. 'they have each other (as) relatives')
(Suazo, 2011, p. 427)

Finally, there is also a marginally attested strategy involving a negative marker *ma-* and person suffix without a noun host as in (80).

- (80) má-di-na kompromíso
 NEG-DI-1.SG commitment
 ‘I’m a bachelor’ (Lit. ‘I have no commitment’) (E20131022b>00:40:10) ♪

3.5.1.2.2 Comitative possession ‘to exist with’ The second possessive strategy is exemplified in (81) and employs the existence verb *ha / heyn* (see § 4.3.1.2), the possessed noun phrase, and a preposition indexing the possessor.

- (81) a. l-idan ában dimásu ní-heyn sédü b-úma
 3.M-in one week 3.M-exist seven 2.SG-with
 ‘in one week you had seven (pesos)’ (N20121002d>00:02:23) ♪
- b. ní-heyn ában ará:nsu bíme-t-i n-úma
 3.M-exist one orange sweet-TI-3.M 1.SG-with
 ‘I have a sweet orange’ (E20131130>00:06:10) ♪

This second strategy also has a negative counterpart, which uses the negative existence verb *úwa*, as shown in (82).

- (82) úwa-t-i sáldu t-úma
 not.exist-TI-3.M minutes 3.F-with
 ‘she does not have any more minutes (on her cell phone)’
 (A20121008a>01:37:30) ♪

This type of predicative possession with obliquely marked possessor is also extended to be used for mental states in the same way as obliquely marked S on stative verbs predicating mental or physical states (cf. § 4.2.4 for a discussion of such experiencer verbs) - examples are shown in (83).

- (83) a. ní-heyn yadúnu n-uwágu
 3.M-exist flu 1.SG-on
 ‘I have a cold’ (E20120917c>00:19:28) ♪
- b. ni-héyn busíganu n-uwágu t-uwéy Mári
 3.M-exist shame 1.SG-on 3.F-from M.
 ‘I’m shy of Mari’ (E20150807a>00:49:54) ♪

3.5.2 Pronouns, emphasis and definiteness

Pronouns, defined as phonologically free words taking the place of non-focused noun phrase constituents, do not exist in Garifuna. Instead, pronominal reference is made to constituents of the clause by affixation to the verb, as illustrated in (84).

- (84) a. gurúyara súwandàn t-adíbiragù-n
canoe always 3.F-flip-USPEC
'the canoe always flips over' (E20131119>00:04:57) ♪
- b. b-ugúya m-adûgü-ba-dì-bu gíyen gurúyara
2.SG-DEM NEG-do-FUT-DI-2.SG also canoe
'you are not going to make a canoe either' (E20131022a>00:37:22) ♪
- c. chibá b-e-y údereü!
wash 2.SG-IMP-3.M fish
'rinse the fish!' (E20120917e>00:00:25) ♪
- d. n-éygi-nya údereü
1.SG-eat-PROG fish
'I'm eating fish' (E20131130>01:13:10) ♪

While subjects are by default indexed on the verb, whether definite or indefinite, only definite objects are so marked (cf. § 4.6 on differential object marking). Within a noun phrase, the marking of definiteness is not obligatory, cf. (84) where the noun phrases *gurúyara* 'canoe' and *udereü* 'fish' have the same form in both definite and indefinite use. However, there are various means for making the value of "definite" vs. "indefinite" explicit.

Indefiniteness is signalled by adding an indefinite quantifier, e.g. *aban* 'one' or *fyu* 'some', as shown in (85). (Cf. also § 3.5.3 for more information about quantifiers.)

- (85) a. ában údereü wéya:-l-i híngi-be-y
one fish old-DI-3.M stink-FUT-3.M
'an old fish stinks' (E20131109>00:02:27) ♪
- b. wûri áhürühá-r-u fyú bímina
woman grate-DI-3.F some banana
'the woman grated some bananas' (E20131029>00:34:23) ♪

Definiteness is made explicit by adding a demonstrative pronoun, as will be discussed below.

3.5.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns and definiteness Demonstrative pronouns have different degrees of deictic pointing, ranging from the short demonstrative pronouns which have a non-deictic and a deictic function, over exclusively deictic pronouns

with various distance values, to pronouns which both have a deictic and a visibility/motion connotation.

Masc.	Fem	Plural	Function
<i>le</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ha</i>	proximal
<i>líra</i>	<i>túra</i>	<i>hára</i>	intermediate
<i>ligíra</i>	<i>tugúra</i>	<i>hagúra</i>	distal; out of sight; in sight but moving away
<i>ligita</i>	<i>túguta</i>	<i>hágüta</i>	distal

Table 13: *Demonstrative pronominal paradigms*

It should also be mentioned that there is a strikingly parallel pattern between the demonstrative pronouns and the deictic adverbs as illustrated in Table 14 with masculine inflection on the pronouns.

Demonstrative pronoun		Locative adverb	
<i>le</i>	proximal/short	<i>ya</i>	coinciding
<i>líra</i>	intermediate	<i>yara</i>	intermediate
<i>ligíra</i>	long/distal	<i>yagúra</i>	distal
<i>ligita</i>	long/distal	<i>yágüta</i>	distal

Table 14: *Demonstrative pronouns and locative adverbs compared*

The short demonstrative pronoun *le/to/ha* can function as a marker of definiteness as in (86).

- (86) a. aban l-asígiru-n iráhü lé áluwahe-y húwa lé
 CONN 3.M-continue-USPEC child 3.M:DEM search-3.M frog 3.M:DEM
 l-uma l-ilügün ównli
 3.M-with 3.M-CLF dog
 ‘the child continued searching for the frog together with his dog’
 (E20121018a>00:01:56) ♪
- b. aban l-ácharu-n-i ównli lé l-ichügü l-íd-on=bugà=ti
 CONN 3.M-put-USPEC-3.M dog 3.M:DEM 3.M-head 3.M-in-ALL=PST=TOP
 á:geydinàn lé nyén t-ubé-y húwa
 container 3.M:DEM there 3.F-EXTR-3.M frog
 ‘the dog stuck its head inside the container where the frog had been’
 (E20121018a>00:02:21) ♪

Or it can function as a deictic pronoun of proximity as in (87).

- (87) a. méysturu ka=ba b-eyga espagétis o údereü lé? he
 teacher what=FUT 2.SG-eat:SU1 spaghetti or fish 3.M:DEM INTERJ
 mehór údereü lé!
 rather fish 3.M:DEM
 ‘teacher, what are you gonna eat, spaghetti or this fish? Oh! I’d rather
 (have) this fish!’ (N20131010d>00:14:09) ♪
- b. higábu b-anyúra ya Bócho t-eyba to ya-giyen
 come:IMP 2.SG-sit.down here B. 3.F-leave:HORT 3.F:DEM here-ABL
 ‘come sit here Bocho, let that (girl) leave here’ (N20131010a>00:00:40) ♪

As mentioned, the use of some quantifiers can signal indefiniteness, but quantifiers can also be used in definite contexts when combined with the short demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *le ában* ‘the one’), as shown in (88).

- (88) a. hilá-gwa-ti-nyu há h-íbirí pero lé ában l-igíya
 die:SU2-REFL-TI-3.PL 3.PL:DEM 3.PL-part but 3.M:DEM one 3.M-DEM
 vívan-t-i
 live-TI-3.M
 ‘the rest of them died, but one of them, he survived’
 (N20131010f>00:10:09) ♪
- b. dan h-arínhi-n key m-agíribudù-n-ha-l-i lán lé ában
 time 3.PL-see-USPEC like NEG-return-NEG-PRF-DI-3.M IRR 3.M:DEM one
 bulú h-amé-y
 dive 3.PL-PRF-3.M
 ‘when they saw that the other one did not return (to the surface), they
 dove (after him)’ (N20131010b>00:14:53) ♪

The short demonstrative pronoun is also used to introduce relative clauses, see § 13.2.

Another demonstrative pronoun *lí:ra/tú:ra/há:ra* can be called “intermediate”. This label refers both to the fact that it is one syllable longer than the short one and one syllable shorter than the long one, and to the fact that it points to an intermediate distance between the reference points of the short and the long demonstrative pronouns. The intermediate is illustrated in (89).

- (89) a. ni-há=ti bá:ndi garábali ariha ha-mú-t-i=tiya gürigiya
 3.M-exist=TOP a.lot wind see 3.PL-PST-TI-3.M=EMPH person
 ha garábali l-i:ra
 3.PL:DEM wind 3.M-DEM
 ‘there was a lot of wind, and those people were seeing that bad weather’
 (N20131016f>00:12:56) ♪

- b. aban=hamúga l-ayúsuru-n-i mesa l-i:ra ve!
 CONN=IMP 3.M-use-USPEC-3.M table 3.M-DEM see:IMP
 'he can use that table, see!' (N20131010d>00:03:48) ♪
- c. ká-t-on=san t-ú:ra?
 who-TI-3.F=Q 3.F-DEM
 'who is she?' (N20131116b>00:01:35) ♪

There are at least two different long demonstrative pronouns which are used to indicate a number of situations when referents are either spatially or temporally furthest removed from the speech situation, i.e. with distal reference.

The long demonstrative pronoun *ligi:ra/tugú:ra/hagú:ra* can indicate referents which are out of sight of the speech situation, as shown in (90).

- (90) a. faránsu t-ugúra arinyaga-t-u garífuna
 French 3.F-DEM say-TI-3.F Garífuna
 'that French girl, she speaks Garífuna' (N20131016d>00:01:47) ♪
- b. subúse-t-i n-ún ída l-ínya lán=meha t-adúgû-nu-wa
 know-TI-3.M 1.SG-to how 3.M-COP IRR=DPST 3.F-make-USPEC-PASS
 múna=büri t-ugúra
 house=PL 3.F-DEM
 'I know how those houses used to be built' (E20150728b>00:35:02) ♪

In (90-a) the girl in question is an anthropologist who worked in Triunfo de la Cruz a while back but had left the community at the time of speech; because she was out of sight and far away, the long form is warranted. In (90-b) the houses mentioned are a type of houses which people used to build in the old days but which no longer exist - for this reason the long form is used.

According to both AmMa and JCGü, the long demonstrative pronoun can also indicate a referent which is visible but in motion away from the speech situation. However, I do not have any good illustrative examples of this use.

Another function of the long demonstrative pronoun is a temporal one. As part of a temporal adverbial phrase it is used to indicate a considerable temporal distance between the time of reference and the time of speech. This use is illustrated in (91)

- (91) a. nedégemen-tí-wa l-aw irúmu l-igíra
 work-TI-1.PL 3.M-with year 3.M-DEM
 'we worked last year' (N20131016h>00:12:28) ♪
- b. l-aw hati l-igíra agúruha-ti-na t-uwágu bágasu
 3.M-with month 3.M-DEM touch-TI-1.SG 3.F-on cow
 'last month I touched the cow' (E20121018c>00:10:52) ♪

- c. dán=buga=mèha t-ugúra
time=PST=DPST 3.F-DEM
‘back in those days’ (E20150708b>00:47:44) ♪

There is also a temporal adverb derived from the long demonstrative pronoun together with a past tense enclitic *ligíra=buga* with the meaning ‘the other day’.

There is in fact another long demonstrative pronoun *lügûra/(tagû:ra?)/hagû:ra* but this may simply be a variant of the one mentioned above, and for the time being I will treat it as such.

Finally, there is another long pronoun *ligita/túguta/hágûta*.

- (92) a. há n-aríhi-n de ke ában l-eréru-n l-íra ában
3.PL:DEM 1.SG-see-USPEC of that one 3.M-speak-USPEC 3.M-DEM one
l-eréru-n l-ígita
3.M-speak-USPEC 3.M-DEM
‘I see one saying this, and the other saying that’
(N20131016f>00:15:10) ♪
- b. sügû-güda b-e-y káte-y l-ígita n-ún!
pass-CAUS 2.SG-IMP-3.M thing-3.M 3.M-DEM 1.SG-to
‘give me that thing!’ (E20150804b>01:02:57) ♪
- c. chubá t-úguta rédey-ha nyén múwa-rugu
jump 3.F-DEM stay-PRF there ground-LOC
‘that one jumped and she stayed on the ground’ (N20131010f>00:00:57) ♪

It would appear that the difference between the two long pronouns *ligí:ra/tugú:ra/hagûra* and *ligita/túguta/hágûta* is that the former has both spatial and temporal functions, the latter is solely spatial.

3.5.2.2 Emphatic pronouns There is a set of pronouns used for foregrounding a certain constituent for emphasis; such pronouns may be called pronouns and are shown in Table 15. The use of emphatic pronouns is discussed in § 13.2.8 on cleft constructions.

1.SG	<i>nugúya / nugíya</i>
2.SG	<i>bugúya / bugíya</i>
3.M	<i>ligíya</i>
3.F	<i>tugúya / tugíya</i>
1.PL	<i>wagíya</i>
2.PL	<i>hugúya / hugíya</i>
3.PL	<i>hagíya</i>

Table 15: *Emphatic pronouns*

3.5.3 Numbers

3.5.3.1 **Cardinal numbers** The native Garifuna number system is limited to the first three numbers: *ában*, *bíyama*, *ûrüwa* ‘one, two, three’. Numbers from ‘four’ and above were borrowed from the French colonizers; a sample of the system is shown in Table 16.

1	ában	20	véyn
2	bíyama / biyán	21	véyn ában
3	ûrüwa	22	véyn bíyama
4	gádürü	23	véyn ûrüwa
5	séyngü	30	dará:ndi
6	sísi	40	bíyan véyn
7	sédü	50	dimí sán (Lit. ‘half hundred’)
8	vidü	60	ûrüwa véyn
9	néfu	70	ûrüwa véyn dí:si
10	dí:si	71	ûrüwa véyn ú:nsu
11	ú:nsu	72	ûrüwa véyn dú:su
12	dú:su	73	ûrüwa véyn taréysi
13	taréysi	80	gádürü véyn
14	katówsu	90	gádürü véyn dí:si
15	kéynsi	91	gádürü véyn dí:si ában
16	dí:ssisi	92	gádürü véyn dí:si bíyama
17	dí:ssédü	93	gádürü véyn dí:si ûrüwa
18	dí:svidü	100	san
19	dí:snèfu	1000	mil

Table 16: *Cardinal numbers*

Something to notice in Table 16 is the different strategies shown in the 70s and 90s respectively. The former uses “three twenty eleven” for 71 while the latter uses “four twenty ten one” for 91. This does not represent an irregularity in the system; rather, it is intended to show, that both of these strategies exist and for some speakers, they are both available. This means that the same speaker may sometimes use “4+20+10+1” and sometimes “4+20+11” in order to say ‘99’.

Older speakers dominate the above described system, while speakers under the age of 60 often use a combination of this system and Spanish numerals. In addition, some of my consultants used a simplified system for all numbers above twenty or so. The simplified system consists in putting together two numbers below ten to indicate higher numbers. Thus, *sédü vídú* is used for ‘78’, *néfu néfu* for ‘99’ etc.

Note also that modern French has replaced 40, 50, 60 and 70 of the old system, so that today the French number system only has vigesimal based two digit numbers from 80 to 99, e.g. *quatre vingt dix neuf* ‘99’, while e.g. forty is today *quarante*.

It is likely that Garifuna did not have numbers higher than three before contact with Europeans. Otherwise, why would they have retained the first three while replacing all the rest without exception? Also, the three lowest native Garifuna numbers were used in conjunction with the borrowed system (e.g. *véyn bíyama* ‘22’, *gádürü véyn dí:si ában* ‘91’) suggesting a strong preference for preserving the native numbers whenever possible.

Cardinal numbers are not marked for person and gender, but ordinal ones are. However, if the adverbial suffix *-rügü* is inserted after a cardinal number, a predicate is derived and is marked for subject like any other predicate, as shown in (93); the subject marking indexes the nominal referent to which the number relates. In (93) the quantified noun *bimina* ‘banana’ is of feminine gender.

- (93) séynggü-rüg-on (bimina)
 five-only-3.F banana
 ‘there are only five’ (E20131023>00:12:08) ♪

3.5.3.2 Ordinal Numbers Ordinal numbers are used to refer to a specific place in an array of items. Garifuna ordinal numbers from ‘second’ through ‘ninth’ behave morphologically and syntactically the same way as possessed nouns with prefixes agreeing for number and gender of the array to which the referent specified by the ordinal number belongs. The suffix *-n* is always included as in alienable possession. This means, that with an array of inanimate entities, the ordinal number will always have singular agreement while with an array of animate entities it will have plural agreement.²¹

All other ordinal numbers, that is ‘first’ and from ‘tenth’ upwards, behave like stative verbs with suffixes that agree with the whole of which the ordinal number is a part. Most of these take a DI-series suffix except for ‘first’ which displays a TI-series

²¹Examples of ordinal numbers with singular agreement are found in Suazo (1991) and Barchas-Lichtenstein (2013). The fact that ordinal numbers take plural agreement when they modify nouns with animate referents indicates that ordinal numbers do not agree with the noun they precede but rather with the array of which that noun forms part.

suffix. Moreover, the numbers above ‘nine’ display the distributive aspect suffix *-ha*. Perhaps this refers to the repetitious nature of the counting activities that ordinal numbers are used for. Examples are shown in (94).

- (94) a. n-átu-ny-on t-ûrüwa-n cervéza
 1.SG-drink:SU1-PROG-3.F 3.F-three-POSS beer
 ‘I am drinking the third beer’ (E20131029>01:29:56) ♪
- b. n-éygi-nye-y l-ûrüwa-n muréy lé
 1.SG-eat:SU1-PROG-3.M 3.M-three-POSS nance 3.M.DEM
 ‘I am eating the third nance’ (E20131029>01:30:49) ♪
- c. n-ugúya=ba h-ûrüwa-n
 1.SG-DEM=FUT 3.PL-three-POSS
 ‘I will be the third (of the group)’ (E20131130>01:27:07) ♪
- d. dí:si-ha-l-i wéyasu l-adûgü-n l-aw irúmu lé
 ten-PRF-DI-3.M time 3.M-do-USPEC 3.M-with year 3.M.DEM
 ‘it is the tenth time he does it this year’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 379)

A list of ordinal numbers with singular and plural agreement is found in Table 17. Numbers higher than ‘Fifth’ are from Suazo (1991, 2011).

	3.M	3.F	PL
First	<i>furúmiye-t-i</i>	<i>furúmiye-t-u</i>	<i>furúmiye-ti-nya</i>
Second	<i>li-bíyama-n</i>	<i>ti-bíyama-n</i>	<i>ha-bíyama-n</i>
Third	<i>l-ûrüwa-n</i>	<i>t-ûrüwa-n</i>	<i>h-ûrüwa-n</i>
Fourth	<i>li-gádürü-n</i>	<i>ti-gádürü-n</i>	<i>ha-gádürü-n</i>
Fifth	<i>li-séyngü-n</i>	<i>ti-séyngü-n</i>	<i>ha-séyngü-n</i>
...			
Tenth	<i>dí:si-ha-l-i</i>	<i>dí:si-ha-r-u</i>	<i>dí:si-ha-nya</i>
Eleventh	<i>ú:nsu-ha-l-i</i>	<i>ú:nsu-ha-r-u</i>	<i>ú:nsu-ha-nya</i>
Twelfth	<i>dú:su-ha-l-i</i>	<i>dú:su-ha-r-u</i>	<i>dú:su-ha-nya</i>

Table 17: Ordinal numbers

The above description reflects what is found in Suazo (1991), Suazo (2011), Barchas-Lichtenstein (2013) and in my own data, but in Sociedad Bíblica (2001, Apocalipsis 21:20) different forms are used for the higher numbers, suggesting a regular nominal pattern throughout. This shows clearly in (95) from the description of the foundations of the holy city of Jerusalem (the first part of the translation in square brackets is not part of the example and is only there for context).

- (95) le li-séyngü-n l-aw ónise, le li-sísi-n l-aw
 3.M:DEM 3.M-five-POSS 3.M-with sardonyx 3.M:DEM 3.M-six-POSS 3.M-with
 kornalína, le li-sédü-n l-aw krisólito, le
 sardius 3.M:DEM 3.M-seven-POSS 3.M-with chrysolite 3.M:DEM
 li-vidü-n l-aw berilo, le li-néfu-n l-aw topásiyo,
 3.M-eight-POSS 3.M-with beryl 3.M:DEM 3.M-nine-POSS 3.M-with topaz
 le li-dí:si-n l-aw krisoprása, le li-ú:nsu-n
 3.M:DEM 3.M-ten-POSS 3.M-with chrysoprase 3.M:DEM 3.M-eleven-POSS
 l-aw hasínto, lé=ti li-dú:su-n l-aw amatísta
 3.M-with jacinth 3.M:DEM 3.M-twelve-POSS 3.M-with amethyst
 '[And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner
 of precious stones: the first foundation was jasper, the second sapphire, the
 third chalcedony, the fourth emerald,] the fifth sardonyx, the sixth sardius,
 the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth topaz, the tenth chryso-
 prase, the eleventh jacinth, and the twelfth amethyst'²².

It is possible that the high numbers have both nominal and verbal counterparts as suggested by (95). An example of this contrast would be between *dí:si-ha-li* 'tenth' in (94-d) where the ordinal number works predicatively and *li-dí:si-n* 'tenth' in (95) where it has a nominal shape.

3.5.3.3 Multiples The reflexive / reciprocal marker *-gwa* can be used for deriving nouns from number words as in (96).

- (96) a. bíyama-gwa
 two-REFL
 'double; pair; both; two-in-one' (Suazo, 2011, p. 330)
- b. úrúwa-gwa
 three-REFL
 'triple; triplets (children)' (Suazo, 2011, p. 750)
- c. gádürü-gwa
 four-REFL
 'four together; four at the same time; quadruple' (Suazo, 2011, p. 449)

²²Translation from Enterprises (1994).

- d. séyngü-gwa
 five-REFL
 ‘a group of five; quintuple’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 693)

I have not found this type of number derivation in my own corpus, but as indicated by the above examples from Suazo (2011) it appears to be quite productive. In fact, Suazo has examples all the way to *vidü-gwa* ‘group of eight’.

A related phenomenon in my own corpus is (97).

- (97) ûrüwa=gubèy wa-gíya
 three=COMPL 1.PL-DEM
 ‘all three of us’ (N20131016e>00:11:43) ♪

This does not, however, constitute derivation since it just involves the use of the completive enclitic =*gubéy*.

3.5.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are used to modify a noun and show number agreement with the nouns they modify; gender agreement is only present in the singular, as illustrated in (98).

- (98) a. sínduron ga:rúhü-t-i
 lemon sour-TI-3.M
 ‘sour lemon’ (E20120913b>00:28:43) ♪
- b. fulúwaru gífi-t-u
 flour bitter-TI-3.F
 ‘bitter flour’ (E20120913b>00:10:40) ♪
- c. bágasu harú-t-u
 cow white-TI-3.F
 ‘white cow’ (E20121003d>00:01:33) ♪
- d. bágasu harú-ti-nya
 cow white-TI-3.PL
 ‘white cows’ (E20121003d>00:02:45) ♪
- e. asénihati gágubu-t-i
 fisherman tall-TI-3.M
 ‘tall seine fisherman’ (E20120913b>00:22:30) ♪
- f. asénihati-nyu gágubu-ti-nyu
 fisherman-PL tall-TI-3.PL
 ‘tall seine fishermen’ (E20120913b>00:23:52) ♪

Adjectives may also function as intransitive predicates in which case they share some morphological characteristics with non-adjectival intransitive predicates: both are indexed for person, number and gender and both may be marked for tense and aspect as illustrated in (99).

- (99) a. bíme-t-u dáni
sweet-TI-3.F tamale
'the tamale is sweet' (A20121016b>00:20:41) ♪
- b. bíme-be-y dáni
sweet-FUT-3.M tamale
'the tamale will be sweet' (A20121016b>00:20:58) ♪
- c. bówguwa-t-u ni-gúne
break-TI-3.F 1.SG-canoe
'my canoe broke' (A20121015a>01:05:26) ♪
- d. la-bówchagu-be-y iráhü lé súnqubey asíyedu
3.M-break-FUT-3.M child 3.M.DEM all plate
'the boy will break all of the plates' (E20131029>00:17:18) ♪

However, comparing the examples in (99) shows that the moving of person indices from prefix position to suffix position gives a past reading in verbs (99-c) while adjectives only have the possibility of suffix position (99-a-b). I ascribe this difference to diachronic developments that may have derived adjectives from verbs in past tense or completive aspect - that is, adjectives are inherently completive with regards to aspect (similar to adjectival participles in Romance and Germanic languages).

Adjectives also differ from intransitive verbs in terms of word order. If subjects of intransitive verbs are referred to overtly by a noun phrase, the latter appears directly after the verb as illustrated in (100) (see also § 12.1 for a discussion of constituent order).

- (100) a. l-éyba:gu-n húwa lé
3.M-run-USPEC frog 3.M.DEM
'that frog ran (out)' (E20121018a>00:00:53) ♪
- b. aban l-agúwara-ha babúnu
CONN 3.M-scream-DISTR monkey
'then the monkey started screaming' (N20121017a>00:00:36) ♪

The relative position of noun and adjective, on the other hand, depends on the function of the adjective; attributive adjectives follow the noun they modify whereas predicative ones precede their subject just like with non-adjectival predicates; these differences are illustrated in (101).

- (101) a. asénihati wéya:-l-i
fisherman old-DI-3.M
'old fisherman' (E20120913b>00:22:10) ♪
- b. wéya:-l-i eréba
old-DI-3.M cassava
'the cassava is old' (A20121016b>00:16:47) ♪

An adjective may modify a verb, as shown in (102).

- (102) **hére-t-i** l-átawha-n l-iyúma iráhü lé dan
strong-TI-3.M 3.M-chew.loudly-USPEC 3.M-mouth child 3.M.DET when
l-éygi-n
3.M-eat:SU1-USPEC
'the child's mouth chewed very loudly when he ate' (Suazo, 2011, p. 271)

The adjective *reü* 'small' behaves differently from most other adjectives by taking a person indexing prefix, rather than a suffix, and by allowing reduplication of the root as shown in (103).

- (103) a. ában ti-réü gáyu
one 3.F-small chicken
'one small chicken' (E20121014a>01:02:58) ♪
- b. ti-réü-reü mábi
3.F-small-small sweet.potato
'small sweet potato' (E20120919a>00:33:36) ♪

These facts lead me to analyze (103) as possessed nouns rather than adjectives, cf. § 3.1.2 for the various uses of *réü*.

3.5.4.1 Position adjectives In (104) are examples of adjectives which are marked with position suffixes *-lu*, *-tu*, *-nyu*, *-gu*.

- (104) a. ában lámpu dibí-lu múna-da
one lamp.M hang-POSN house-LOC
'a lamp hanging in the house' (E20120927a>00:27:37) ♪
- b. ában arígey-leü dibí-lu l-uwágu ában arígey
one ear-seed.F hang-POSN 3.M-on one ear
'an earring hanging on an ear' (E20120927a>00:40:31) ♪
- c. ában ará:nsu badüle-tu l-ábugiyen dábula
one orange.M stuck-POSN 3.M-under table
'an orange stuck to the bottom of the table' (E20120927a>00:03:01) ♪

- d. *dibí-tu l-ín véve l-uwágu*
 hang-POSN 3.M-fruit.F tree 3.M-on
 ‘the fruit of the tree is hanging on it’ (E20120926b>00:17:05) ♪
- e. *ában medáya dibí-nyu l-uwágu inyá:ri*
 one medallion.F hang-POSN 3.M-on chain
 ‘a medallion hanging on the chain’ (E20120927a>00:10:50) ♪
- f. *aní-heyn hudú-gu l-igíbugien sándu*
 3.M-exist kneeling-POSN 3.M-in.front.of saint
 ‘he is on his knees in front of the saint’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 519)

Despite the resemblance of *-lu* and *-tu* to the third person singular masculine *-ti/-li* and feminine *-tu/-ru* agreement markers, the former do not serve to indicate agreement. Both (104-a) and (104-b) display *-lu* even though *lámpu* ‘lamp’ is masculine and *arígey-leü* ‘earring’ is feminine. Likewise, in (104-c) and (104-d) both subject nouns are indexed with *-tu* even though *ará:nsu* ‘orange’ is masculine and *in* ‘fruit’ is feminine (cf. E20120926b>00:15:12 ♪). In my database *-lu* is by far the most common while *-tu* is rather rare and there is no correlation with the gender of the subject, nor have I been able to identify a correlation with gendered speech.²³

With respect to the other markers, *-nyu* and *-gu*, I suspect that *-nyu* is connected to the progressive *-nya* perhaps as a contraction of *-nya-lu*. I suspect that *-gu* is connected to the valency reducing *-gwa*, (cf. § 6.1.1 which includes a discussion of the use of this suffix to express that an action takes place without external help or interference).

That the adjective class is an open word class in Garifuna is evidenced by the acceptance of loanwords such as those in (105).

- (105) a. *rosów-t-i*
 pink-TI-3.M
 ‘(it is) pink’ (Sp. *rosado*) (E20121017a>00:55:44) ♪
- b. *chugúla:di*
 brown
 ‘(it is) brown’ (Sp. *chocolate*) (E20121017a>00:54:42) ♪

Unfortunately, I do not have an example of the two items in (105) in a larger context, but it would seem that while *rosów-t-i* inflects as a stative verb just like all other color terms, the same is not true for *chugúla:di* which formally behaves as uninflected stative verbs when they indicate brand new information.

²³Regarding argument marking of *dibí* ‘hang’ I should note that in Suazo (2011) *-lu* and *-nyu* both occur 7 times, *-tu* none, but there is a single occurrence of masculine *-ti*.

3.5.4.2 **Nominal *réü* ‘small’** The adjective *réü* is atypical in that it has the form of a possessed noun, rather than the stative verb type which is typical of Garifuna adjectives; it is illustrated in (106).

- (106) a. li-réü~reü gabáyu
 3.M-DIM~DIM horse
 ‘small horse’ (A20121009b>00:06:45) ♪
- b. ában li-réü~reü wügûri
 one 3.M-DIM~DIM man
 ‘a small man’ (A20121009b>00:03:34) ♪
- c. ti-réü~reü barúru
 3.M-DIM~DIM plantain
 ‘small plantain’ (E20120919a>00:28:51) ♪

Such constructions may also be used in a more figurative way meaning, ‘part of whole’ as in (107).

- (107) a. ában li-réü~reü barána
 one 3.M-DIM~DIM sea
 ‘a wave’ (Lit. ‘a little sea’) (N20131016h>00:06:15) ♪
- b. li-réü~reü l-úhabu
 3.M-DIM~DIM 3.M-hand
 ‘finger of his hand’ (Lit. ‘the small ones of the hand’) (E20120926a>00:57:01) ♪

It is worth keeping in mind the competing expression for ‘finger’ in (108) (cf. example (107-b))

- (108) t-iráhü-nyü n-úhabu
 3.F-child-PL 1.SG-hand
 ‘the fingers of my hand’ (E20120914e>00:33:31) ♪

We also find the diminutive marker with a derivative element resulting in the adjectival predicate in (109).

- (109) nyû-reü-t-i
 VBLZ-DIM-TI-3.M
 ‘he is small’ (A20121003c>00:00:30) ♪

In other contexts it appears as an adverbial suffix, potentially followed by aspect and agreement marking, meaning ‘a little bit’ as in (110).

- (110) wéyriya-rèü-ha-l-i
 old-DIM-PRF-DI-3.M
 ‘he was a bit old’ (N20121002c>00:02:09) ♪

3.5.4.3 Obliquely marked adjectives Just like stative verbs referring to mental states are often marked for S through the use of a preposition (see § 4.2.4) their adjectival counterparts work almost the same way as shown in (111).

- (111) a. ównli buchá l-uwágu
 dog tired 3.M-on
 ‘the tired dog’ (E20121003d>00:04:21) ♪

However, the difference between (111-a) and the stative verb counterpart, is that adjectival *buchá* carries no person suffix as a stative verb does (see § 4.2 on stative verbs).

3.5.4.4 Comparison Comparative constructions consist of two noun phrases which are both qualified by an adjective, but one of them is said to possess the quality in question to a larger or lesser degree than the other. Such constructions usually consist of the elements shown in (112) (adopted from Dixon (2012, p. 344)).

- (112) Parameter Index Comparee Mark Standard of Comparison
 PAR INX CMP MRK STD

The Parameter is a stative verb which indicates the quality of the comparison. The Index is a suffix *-tumà* (with the variant *-timà*) which marks the construction as comparative - it could be translated as ‘more’. The Comparee is that which is being compared, usually the subject of the stative verb. The mark is a preposition *uwéy* ‘from’ or *úma* ‘with’ which relates the Comparee to the Standard of Comparison; the latter is the entity to which the Comparee is being compared. These elements are exemplified in (113).

- (113) gágubu-tumà-t-i li-sáni Stéffen l-uwéy
 tall:PAR-INX-TI-3.M 3.M-offspring:CMP S.:CMP 3.M-from:MRK
 ni-sáni
 1.SG-offspring:STD
 ‘Steffen’s son is taller than my son’ (E20131130>00:13:27) ♪

It is possible for the Standard of comparison to be left out, in which case it is implied by the context.

- (114) a. wéyri-tumà-t-i=ha l-úwa-ni gá?
 large-INX-TI-3.M=PRF 3.M-NEG.COP-NMLZ MP
 ‘the poverty was more common, you know?’ (back then)’ (Lit. ‘the scarcity was larger’) (N20131116b>00:16:15) ♪

- b. fásil-tumà-t-i l-aw garífuna
 easy-INX-TI-3.M 3.M-with Garifuna
 ‘it’s easier in Garifuna’ (N20131010h>00:09:13) ♪

Note that, when the Standard of comparison is left out, a Mark of comparison is not necessary. These facts attest to the relative importance of the parts of comparative constructions: the Parameter, the Index and the Comparee are vital parts which must always be present, while the Mark and the Standard of Comparison are less important and can be left out.

3.5.4.5 Superlatives Garifuna does not have proper superlative constructions. Instead, speakers will use a chained comparative construction consisting of comparative constructions like the ones we have seen above, but include an additional Comparee which is compared to the previous Comparee; examples are given below.

- (115) a. pero wùríba-tumà-t-i=ti urúwey l-uwéy súdara,
 but bad-INX-TI-3.M=TOP king 3.M-from policeman
 wùríba-tumà-t-i úfiyon
 bad-INX-TI-3.M Devil
 ‘but the king is worse than the policeman, the Devil is (even) worse’
 (E20131130>00:15:19) ♪
- b. yégü ównli bwí-t-i b-ilügün ównli bwí-tumà-t-i pero
 1.SG.CLF dog good-TI-3.M 2.SG-CLF dog good-INX-TI-3.M but
 bwí-tumà-t-i t-ilügün Yorli b-uwéy
 good-INX-TI-3.M 3.F-CLF Y. 2.SG-from
 ‘my dog is good, your dog is better, but Yorlin’s is better than yours’
 (E20131130>00:11:50) ♪

Note that (115-b) has a Mark of comparison *uwéy* ‘from’ as proform for the preceding Standard of comparison ‘your dog’. However, the Mark does not agree with the person of the dog, but rather with that of the owner; a literal translation of (115-b) then, would be ‘...Yorlin’s is better than you’. What causes this unexpected agreement pattern is most likely the animacy hierarchy which plays such a prominent role in other aspects of Garifuna morphosyntax. In this case, the second person singular *buwéy* ‘than you’ is higher on the animacy scale than the expected *luwéy bilügün ównli* ‘than your dog’.

Example (116) shows a chained comparative construction where the Standard of comparison contains a relative clause.

- (116) ní-heyn ában ará:nsu bíme-t-i n-úma ní-heyn ában
 3.M-EXIST one orange sweet-TI-3.M 1.SG-with 3.M-exist one
 bíme-tumà-t-i b-úma ní-heyn ában l-uma Kéykey
 sweet-INX-TI-3.M 2.SG-with 3.M-exist one 3.M-with K.
 bíme-tumà-t-i l-uwéy lé b-úma-be-y
 sweet-INX-TI-3.M 3.M-from 3.M:DEM 2.SG-with-EXTR-3.M
 ‘I have a sweet orange, you have a sweeter orange, but Keykey has one that
 is sweeter than yours’ (E20131130>00:07:50) ♪

It may be that the use of the oblique predicative possession construction is what creates the need for a relative clause.

3.5.4.6 *íladi* ‘like’ Another form of comparative employs a preposition *íladi* ‘like’. An example is shown in (117).

- (117) máma-rügû-ny-en Pándu ga-chápu-n súnsu-t-u l-íladi Pándu
 NEG-only-COP-3.M P. ATR-shop-POSS foolish-TI-3.F 3.M-like P.
 ‘Pando isn’t the only one who has a shop. She’s a fool like Pando’
 (N20131010g>00:08:20) ♪

3.5.5 Coordination

3.5.5.1 **Conjunctive coordination** The preposition *úma* ‘with’ is used for conjoining two noun phrases, as the examples in (118) show.

- (118) a. barúru t-uma fáluma
 plantain 3.F-with coconut
 ‘plantains and coconuts’ (E20120913b>00:30:37) ♪
- b. aban towáya fudúha-r-u l-uwágu lámbara t-uma ában
 one towel perforated-DI-3.F 3.M-on wire 3.F-with one
 bwídu-gi:-r-u
 good-DUR-DI-3.F
 ‘one towel with holes in it on the wire and one that is intact’
 (E20120926a>01:15:54) ♪

Note that when the second coordinated noun phrase is identical to the first one, as in (118-b), a quantifier such as *ában* ‘one’ is used as proform.

In other contexts, *úma* is used as comitative marker to introduce oblique arguments, as illustrated in (119).

- (119) n-abínaha t-uma María
 1.SG-dance 3.F-with M.
 ‘I am going to dance with Maria’ (E20120920b>00:13:37) ♪

3.5.5.2 **Disjunctive coordination** Disjunctive coordination of noun phrases employs the borrowed Spanish coordinator *o* ‘but’.

- (120) a. n-árüha-bà-ha tal véz hasta dísi ú:nsu ságü hûrü
 1.SG-grab-FUT-PRF may be until ten eleventh sack crab
 ‘I collect, perhaps as much as 10, 11 sacks of crab’
 (N20131016e>00:14:56) ♪
- b. méysturu! ká-ba b-éyga espagétis o údereü lé?
 teacher what-FUT 2.SG-eat:SU1 spaghetti or fish 3.M:DEM
 ‘teacher! what are you going to eat, spaghetti, or this fish?’
 (N20131010d>00:14:09) ♪

Apart from using a different coordinator, disjunctive coordination is syntactically identical to conjunctive coordination.

4 Verbs I: Verb classes

The present chapter will serve to introduce underived verbs and their classification. The classification of dynamic verbs in Garifuna depends crucially upon the semantic valency of the verb for two reasons: 1) there are very few restrictions upon the number of arguments a dynamic verb may take (cf. § 4.7 on formal ambitransitivity); this means that, formally, the great majority of dynamic verbs are labile. 2) some verbs are formally coded differently from the majority of other verbs in their semantic class. Still, there is an overwhelming tendency for verbs to divide into three classes on formal grounds, even if this classification does not always align with the semantics. In what follows I will classify verbs according to their semantics and discuss separately those verbs which I consider to be non-canonically marked with respect to the bulk of verbs in their semantic class.

Garifuna has an accusative alignment with an intransitive split. This makes for three major morphosyntactically defined verb classes: Intransitive verbs are split into stative and dynamic: **stative verbs** can be subdivided into a) suffixed stative, and b) extended stative verbs, carrying a non-referring person suffix while marking their single argument obliquely. Dynamic **intransitive verbs** mark their single argument in prefix position. Dynamic **transitive verbs** mark their A argument in prefix position and their O argument in suffix position and have two subclasses a) monotransitive and ditransitive. These facts are illustrated in Table 18. The table shows the least marked forms without taking into account the use of auxiliaries and affix movement for the expression of various tense-aspect-modality meanings.

Verb class	Prefix ₁	Verb stem	Suffix	Prefix ₂	Preposition
Stative		STEM	-S		
Stative Extended		STEM	-TI	E-	PREP
Intransitive	S-	STEM			
Monotransitive	A-	STEM	-O		
Ditransitive	A-	STEM	-O	E-	PREP

Table 18: *Core argument marking patterns*

The TI-suffix of Stative Extended verbs is connected to an aspectual suffix used for a number of purposes, cf. Table 19 below. E stands for “Extended” and involves the indexation of oblique arguments: the single argument of an extended stative verb (these are described in § 4.2.4) and the indirect object of a ditransitive clause.

4.1 Argument markers

The core arguments S, A and O are indexed on the verb using the affixal paradigms shown in Table 19. Oblique constituents, including recipients, benefactors and many adverbial constituents are introduced as E-arguments using a preposition. The choice between the various distinct paradigms in Table 19 is determined by an array of factors such as tense, aspect, mood, modality, polarity and clause type. The relevant conditioning factors will be discussed and illustrated in the sections to come and in

subsequent chapters on Tense, Aspect, Modality, Illocutionary force, Negation and in the chapters on main and subordinate clauses.²⁴

Series	1.SG	2.SG	3.M	3.F	1.PL	2.PL	3.PL
Simple forms							
Prefix 1	<i>n-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>ha-</i>
Prefix 2	<i>(A)na-</i>	<i>(A)bu-</i>	<i>(A)ni-</i>	<i>(A)nu-</i>	<i>(A)wa-</i>	<i>(A)nü:-</i>	<i>(A)nya-</i>
Suffix	<i>-na</i>	<i>-bu</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ü:</i>	<i>-nya</i>
Composite forms							
TI	<i>-ti-na</i>	<i>-ti-bu</i>	<i>-t-i</i>	<i>-t-u</i>	<i>-tu-wa</i> <i>-ti-wa</i>	<i>-tiy-ü</i> <i>-t-ü:</i>	<i>-ti-nya</i>
DI	<i>-di-na</i>	<i>-di-bu</i>	<i>-l-i</i>	<i>-r-u</i>	<i>-du-wa</i> <i>-di-wa</i>	<i>-dü-rü</i> <i>-d-ü:</i>	<i>-nya</i>
NI	<i>-ni-na</i>	<i>-ni-bu</i>	<i>-n-i</i>	<i>-n-u</i>	<i>-nu-wa</i> <i>-ni-wa</i>	<i>-n-ü:</i>	<i>-ni-nya</i>

Table 19: *Argument marking series*

²⁴Note that the capital <A> in parenthesis of the Prefix 2 series represents an optional vowel that is most frequently /a/ but may vary in quality; such variation is particularly found in the third person markers where the initial vowel tends to harmonize with the following vowel creating *ini-* and *unu-* for masculine and feminine respectively. Note also that some of the plural suffix series have alternative forms with variation between /i/ and /u/.

The composite argument marking series in Table 19 are the ones found in previous literature on Garifuna (see e.g. Taylor (1956a)). These were given the labels TI, NI and DI-series by Munro (1997), named so after their forms for ease of reference. For many purposes it is convenient to maintain these labels, but in § 7 on tense and aspect I will discuss the possibility of positing only two argument marking series: prefixes and suffixes, plus the the “Prefix 2” series which is only used on a handful of verbs; I will show that *-ti*, *-di* and *-ni* can be analyzed as separate segments that function as tense-aspect markers. However, there are some irregularities in the paradigms which must be explained with reference to historical processes of reduction and vowel harmony. The combination of argument and tense-aspect markers looks relatively straight-forward in the first and second persons singular, but from third person singular and onwards, further explanation is necessary. For the sake of illustration, consider the third person singular masculine: historically, **-ti + *-i* reduced to *-ti*, **-ni + *-i* reduced to *-ni*, **-di + *-i* reduced to *-li* (note homorganic point of articulation). The 2.PL markers display a degree of assimilation which is even further progressed: **-ti + -ü* → *-tiyü (-tü)*, **-di + -ü* → *-dürü (-dü)*; the markers in parentheses represent further reduced variants which can be used interchangeably even by the same speaker.

Another diachronic observation involves the long vowel before the DI-marker, which has most likely come from a perfect aspect marker *-ha*; this shows in short verbs where the reduced form is never used, and the required sequence is *-ha + DI + person suffix*. For instance, there is no long vowel in *sû-ha-li dán* ‘the weather has warmed up’. This also shows with verbs such as *nyûdü* ‘went’ and *busúwen / busén* ‘want’ which always take *-ha* before a DI-ending.

4.2 Stative verbs

Stative verb meanings can be divided into four sub-classes on semantic grounds (following Durst-Andersen (2012)): 1) Location (e.g. stand, sit, hang, lie), 2) Quality (e.g. be red, be tall, be strong), 3) Experience (e.g. see, hear, know, like), 4) Possession. While in Garifuna all of these may be expressed by an intransitive predicate, only Quality states are expressed with a canonical stative verb, which I define as an independent word with a single person marking suffix. Experience states are mostly expressed using the separate class of experience verbs with obliquely marked S as explained in § 4.2.4; other experience verbs are dynamic transitive such as ‘hear’ and ‘see’. Location can be expressed using a location predicate derived from an adverb, or a locational adverb together with an existence verb. Possession can be expressed with a derived stative verb involving the use of the polarity prefixes; this type of stative verb is left out here since it has already been discussed as part of a general discussion of possession in § 3.5.1.2.

The S of most stative verbs is marked by a suffix regardless of other grammatical attributes present in the clause. Some stative verbs have obliquely marked S, others are marked as transitive; both of these non-canonical types are treated in § 4.4.

A sample of stative predicates from my corpus sorted according to affixal marking pattern is given in Table 22.

Each type of stative verb will be treated in turn below.

Affixal marking	Verb stem	Gloss
TI-suffix		
	<i>bíme</i>	‘be sweet’
	<i>dúdù</i>	‘be wet’
	<i>harú</i>	‘be white’
	<i>sá:ndi</i>	‘be sick’
	<i>busé:n</i>	‘want’
	<i>wéyri</i>	‘big’
	<i>sü</i>	‘be hot’
	<i>dili</i>	‘be cold’
	<i>würiba</i>	‘be bad’
	<i>bwí(du)</i>	‘be good’
DI-suffix (without <i>-ha</i>)		
	<i>wéya</i>	‘be old’
	<i>nyalá</i>	‘be rotten’
	<i>würigi</i>	‘be unripe’
Oblique 1: <i>aw</i> ‘with’		
	<i>chu</i>	‘be intelligent’
	<i>háse</i>	‘smell of fish’
	<i>hingi</i>	‘smell’
Oblique 2: <i>uwágu</i> ‘on’		
	<i>buchá</i>	‘be tired’
	<i>úwadigiya</i>	‘be well’
Oblique 3: <i>un</i> ‘to’		
	<i>subúse</i>	‘know’
	<i>abídiye</i>	‘not know’
	<i>hísinye</i>	‘like’
	<i>iyéregu</i>	‘dislike’
Positional adverbs		
Suffixed <i>-lu, -nyu, -gu, -tu</i>		
	<i>dibí</i>	‘hang’
	<i>badûle</i>	‘be stuck’
	<i>hudú</i>	‘kneeling (<i>-gu</i>); inserted (<i>-nyu</i>)’
	<i>dahí</i>	‘hang’
Unmarked		
	<i>nyu</i>	‘sit’
	<i>rára</i>	‘stand’
	<i>ron</i>	‘lie’

Table 20: Stative verb stems sorted by affixal marking pattern

4.2.1 Quality stative verbs

This type is made up of stative verbs which express a quality of their grammatical subject, the person, number and gender of which, in the great majority of verbs, is marked by a suffix from the TI-series, this is exemplified in (121).

- (121) a. bíme-t-i t-í:ra fáluma tó
 sweet-TI-3.M 3.F-juice coconut 3.F:DEM
 ‘the water of that coconut is sweet’ (E20131130>00:27:25) ♪
- b. dûdü-t-i eréba lé
 wet-TI-3.M cassava.bread 3.M:DEM
 ‘that cassava bread is wet’ (E20131130>00:53:00) ♪
- c. harú-t-i l-ídubüri
 white-TI-3.M 3.M-hair
 ‘his hair is white’ (N20131016g>00:04:29) ♪

A more limited number of verbs take a person marking suffix from the DI-series, examples of such verbs are shown in (122).

- (122) a. wéya:-l-i wügüri
 old-DI-3.M man
 ‘the man is old’ (E20121017a>00:43:58) ♪
- b. nyalá:-r-u abábeü
 rotten-DI-3.F papaya
 ‘the papaya is rotten’ (E20131023>01:45:12) ♪
- c. würigi:-r-u abábeü
 unripe-DI-3.F papaya
 ‘the papaya is unripe’ (E20131023>01:45:14) ♪

The difference between the use of TI or DI is aspectual, with TI-marking qualities without giving any information about the process by which the state came about, while DI marks the opposite, namely the result of a process such as aging, ripening, growing etc., or the lack thereof.

A striking example of the difference between TI and DI-series is the stative verb *funá* which has the meaning ‘red’ when used with TI but ‘ripe’ when used with DI. But the DI-series use may also signal that something has become red as the result of a process, as in (123-c).

- (123) a. funá-t-i l-ûgürügü bunígü
 red-TI-3.M 3.M-meat tuna
 ‘the meat of the tuna is red’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 344)

- b. dey=me le funá:-l-i aránsu
 when=FUT 3.M:DEM ripe-DI-3.M orange
 ‘when the oranges are ripe’ (E20131130>00:30:14) ♪
- c. n-aríhi-n-i lúsu lé funá:-l-i
 1.SG-see-USPEC-3.M light 3.M:DEM red-DI-3.M
 ‘I saw that the light had turned red’ (N20131016a>00:06:16) ♪

Any given stative verb stem can normally only take either a TI or a DI-series suffix and not both. Since *funá* is the only example of a stative verb that can take both TI and DI without the use of *-ha*, it is necessary to say that *funá* has two different lexicalizations, one meaning ‘red’ and another meaning ‘ripe’.

In all other cases, if a speaker wishes to use a verb taking TI-marking to express the result of a process, this is done adding the perfect suffix *-ha* and then a suffix from the DI-series, as exemplified in (124).

- (124) a. dágüda b-é-y fridé:ra wátu-rugu, dan=me sù-ha-l-i...
 place 2.SG-IMP-3.M frying.pan fire-LOC when-FUT hot-PRF-DI-3.M
 ‘put the frying pan on the fire, when it is hot ...’
 (E20120919a>00:20:23) ♪
- b. dūdū-ha-l-i eréba
 wet-PRF-DI-3.M cassava.bread
 ‘the cassava bread is wet (by sprinkling of water)’
 (E20131130>00:52:01) ♪
- c. dilí-ha-l-i éygini
 cold-PRF-DI-3.M food
 ‘the food is (has become) cold’ (A20121016b>00:14:37) ♪

More marginally, there is at least one verb with *-ha* that can take a TI-suffix.

- (125) a. dūdū-ha-t-i Bócho
 wet-PRF-TI-3.M B.
 ‘Bocho is wet’ (N20131010a>00:01:04) ♪
- b. t-aríhi-ni-na n-iyúbüdiri por dūdū-ha-ti-na
 3.F-see-USPEC-1.SG 1.SG-matron because wet-PRF-TI-1.SG
 ‘(I hope that) my supervisor sees me, because I am wet’
 (N20131016b>00:13:49) ♪

Quality verbs may appear as bare stems with an auxiliary as show in (126).

- (126) a. gwára-t-i bíme lán aránsu lé
 be.possible-TI-3.M sweet IRR orange 3.M:DEM
 ‘the orange could be sweet’ (E20131130>00:23:10) ♪

- b. véve lé bwí-t-i sinyá-t-i **würíba** lán l-ín
 tree 3.M:DEM good-TI-3.M be.impossible-TI-3.M bad IRR 3.M-fruit
 ‘the tree that is good, cannot have bad fruit’ (Mateo 7:18)
- c. ahe-yn **wéryi** l-ub-éy wa-sérividu-n l-un Búngiyu
 if-3.M big 3.M-EXTR-3.M 1.PL-serve-NMLZ:POSS 3.M-for God
 ‘if our adoration of God is great...’ (2 Coríntios 5:13)
- d. pero ítara=tiya key **würí-reü** l-ubé-y
 but thus=EMPH since black-DIM 3.M-EXTR-3.M
 ‘but that is how it was, since he was black’ (N20131016i>00:13:42) ♪

The examples (126-a) and (126-b) show the irrealis marker *lan* which is commonly used to express some level of doubt or potentiality. In the last two examples the auxiliary is *úba* which is used to mark syntactic extraction in subordinate clauses, cf. § 13.

4.2.2 Stative quality verbs without person marking

We also find some stative quality verbs without any person marking at all as shown in (127).

- (127) a. **nyalá** nú-ban fuló
 rotten 1.SG-house floor
 ‘the floor of my house is rotten’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 438)
- b. **würíba** nyén suwédi
 bad there south
 ‘the southern winds are bad’ (N20131016c>00:07:53) ♪
- c. **bíme** t-ugúru-ni
 sweet 3.F-taste-NMLZ
 ‘its taste is sweet’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 488)
- d. aban h-arihi-n-u t-ídibu ígo **séüha** l-úmagiyen
 CONN 3.PL-see-USPEC-3.F 3.F-tree fig.tree dry 3.M-along.with
 t-ílagüle
 3.F-root
 ‘and they saw the fig tree all dried along with its roots’ (Marcos 11:20)
- e. aban h-agúmeseru-n hudíyu adímure-ha **würíba** l-uwágu Jesúsu
 CONN 3.PL-begin-USPEC Jew speak-DISTR bad 3.M-on J.
 ‘then the Jews started speaking badly of Jesus’ (Juan 6:41)

In (127-a-d), the bare verb stem is similar in both form and function to a simple nominal predicate, they both function as predicates in their non-affixed form and without the use of an auxiliary (cf. § 12.5). In the last example, on the other hand, the bare verb stem functions as an adverb that modifies the preceding predicate. However, not all stative verbs can be used without a person marker - particularly unapt are monosyllabic stems such as *sü* ‘hot’ and *bwi* ‘good’, cf. *bwi-ti l-ugúru-ni* ‘its taste is good’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 615), compare this to (127-c).

4.2.3 ‘Good’ and ‘bad’

As has already been noted, stative quality verbs take either a suffix belonging to the TI-series which is associated with stable states or the DI-series which is associated with states that have resulted from a process. A “DI-verb” can be derived from a “TI-verb” using the distributive suffix *-ha*. However, there is one additional verb, *würiba* ‘bad’, which can take both kinds of suffix without the use of derivational morphology, and without a change in meaning; examples are shown in (128).

- (128) a. *würiba-t-i agába:ha-nì*
 bad-TI-3.M unfaithful-NMLZ
 ‘unfaithfulness is bad’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 115)
- b. *würiba:-r-u n-adúlu-te*
 bad-DI-3.F 1.SG-gruel-POSS
 ‘my gruel had gone bad’ (E20120917b>00:01:32) ♪

It was noted above that *bwi* ‘good’ is one of the only words which cannot appear as a bare stem like most other verbs can. Another particularity of this verb is that it does not allow derivation with *-ha*; rather it uses the special form *bwídu* as a suppletive verb stem to indicate that a state results from a process, as shown in (129).

- (129) a. *bwídu-be-y ównli*
 good-FUT-3.M dog
 ‘the dog will be good’ (A20121016b>00:20:14) ♪
- b. *dey bwídu lán b-adúgü-ba bíyama hasta ûrüwa (fiyádürü)*
 when good IRR 2.SG-make-FUT two until three (Lempira)
 ‘when (sales) were good you would make two to three (Lempiras)’
 (N20121002d>00:01:59) ♪

The suppletive *bwídu* can, in relatively rare cases take a TI-suffix, and, more commonly, a sequence *ha-DI* as shown in (130). This could be a result of reanalysis, but *bwídu* never takes a DI-suffix directly.

- (130) a. *bwídu-t-i ówchaha-ni fédu-rugu*
 good-TI-3.M to.fish-NMLZ celebration-LOC
 ‘the fishing is good at Christmas’ (E20131023>02:15:54) ♪

- b. *bwídu-t-u wûri tó*
 good-TI-3.F woman 3.F:DEM yes
 ‘that woman is beautiful’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 339)
- c. *ladûga bwídu-ha-l-i ha-dá-ni*
 because good-PRF-DI-3.M 3.PL-time-POSS
 ‘because now they’re living better’ (N20131116b>00:05:03) ♪
- d. *bwídu-ha-l-i iyúri lé*
 good-PRF-DI-3.M tobacco 3.M:DEM
 ‘that tobacco is good’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 566)

4.2.4 Stative verbs with obliquely marked S

In the stative verbs treated so far, S is marked as a suffix. However, there is a subclass of stative verbs with S marked on an oblique constituent, that is, through the use of a preposition. These verbs are typically associated with mental states and sensory perception; some examples are given in (131) where prepositions carrying S marking are in boldface.

- (131) a. *chú-t-i **b-áw***
 intelligent-TI-3.M 2.SG-with
 ‘you are intelligent’ (A20121008a>00:42:06) ♪
- b. *chú-t-i **l-áw** wügûri*
 intelligent-TI-3.M 3.M-with man
 ‘the man is intelligent’ (E20121017a>00:48:08) ♪
- c. *chú-be-y **l-áw** wügûri*
 intelligent-FUT-3.M 3.M-with man
 ‘the man will be intelligent’ (E20121017a>00:48:31) ♪
- d. *buchá:l-i **ha-wágu** óweha*
 tired-DI-3.M 3.PL-on to.faint
 ‘when they are tired from the fainting’ (N20121026e>00:01:08) ♪
- e. *abídiye-t-i **n-ún** halíy-un-bà-di-na lán*
 not.know-TI-3.M 1.SG-to where.to-ALL-FUT-DI-1.SG IRR
 ‘I don’t know where I will go’ (A20121015a>00:19:33) ♪
- f. *würínawuga híngi-t-i **b-áw***
 yesterday stink-TI-3.M 2.SG-with
 ‘you stank yesterday’ (E20131022a>01:12:23) ♪

- g. háse-t-i n-áw
smell.of.fish-TI-3.M 1.SG-with
'I smell of fish' (E20131130>01:13:39) ♪

Although S is marked as oblique, there is still a person marker in the suffix position where S is normally marked; this person marker does not index any referent, but notice that it varies according to tense and aspect just as any argument indexing affix would. This is shown in the contrast between (131-a) *-ti* which expresses a current state and (131-c) *-be-y*, indicating a future state. In (131-d) *-l-i* contains a DI-series suffix, expressing that the state of being tired was the result of a process.

4.2.5 Bivalent stative verbs

Certain stative verbs such as *hísinye* 'to please' and *iyérega* 'to displease' are semantically bivalent and encode a causer in suffix position with the causee encoded in a preposition. This is illustrated in (132). More literal translations of 'like' and 'hate' below would be 'please' and 'displease' respectively.

- (132) a. hísinye-t-u hudú-t-u n-ún
please-TI-3.F mash-TI-3.F 1.SG-to
'I like the mashed bananas' (E20120914e>00:48:03) ♪
- b. hísinye-t-i lasúsu n-ún
please-TI-3.M soup(M) 1.SG-to
'I like the soup' (E20120914e>00:48:39) ♪
- c. nú-heyn=ti ában wá-dan-giyen iyéregu-t-u=funa=ti t-ún
3.F-exist=TOP one 3.PL-in-ABL displease-TI-3.F=EPIST=TOP 3.F-to
(babúnu)
(monkey)
'there was one among us who (the monkey) hated'
(N20131010c>00:14:12) ♪
- d. iyéregu-t-i mútu g-amúrigesei-t-i n-ún
displease-TI-3.M person ATR-have.fun-TI-3.M 1.SG-to
'I hate people who have fun' (Suazo, 2011, p. 457)
- e. subúse-t-i sún kátey n-ún
know-TI-3.M all thing 1.SG-to
'I know it all' (Lit. 'everything is known to me')
(E20121001b>00:01>05) ♪

By analogy, these stative causer arguments might be taken as evidence that, even though the person suffixes in (131) cannot be said to index an argument, they are still perceived as symbolizing the semantic causer of the state, perhaps in the form of abstract concepts such as "intelligence", "tiredness", "ignorance" etc.

Other mental and physical states can be expressed using one of the strategies for predicative possession, as described in § 3.5.1.2.2.

4.2.6 Location predicates

4.2.6.1 Location adverbs with existence verb The first type of location predicate consists of a positional adverb and the existence verb *inya*. Positional adverbs are marked with one of the position marking suffixes: *-lu*, *-nyu*, *-gu*, *-tu*, in approximate order of frequency, with *-lu* as the most frequent and *-tu* rather marginal (for a discussion of positional adjectives and their suffixes in their attributive use, see § 3.5.4). Examples are given in (133).

- (133) a. hudú-gu n-inya
 kneeling-POSN 1.SG-exist
 ‘I’m on my knees’ (E20150730b>00:25:01) ♪
- b. hudú-nyu l-inya bwídagûley béya-bu
 kneeling-POSN 3.M-exist broom beach-LOC
 ‘the broom is inserted (in the sand) on the beach’ (E20150730b>00:26:27) ♪
- c. dahí-nyu t-inya gamísa
 hang-POSN 3.F-exist shirt
 ‘the shirt is hanging’ (E20150730b>00:26:47) ♪
- d. dahí-nyu n-inya t-ábulugu múna
 hang-POSN 1.SG-exist 3.F-head house
 ‘I’m hanging from the roof’ (E20150730b>00:27:32) ♪

4.2.6.2 Non-marked location verbs The second type of location predicate stands out from that described above by not taking a positional suffix; in fact, these verbs take no morphology at all. They are *nyu* ‘to sit’, *rára* ‘to stand’ and *ron* ‘to lie’. They must be used with one of the existential auxiliary verbs *inya* or *ha* as exemplified in (134).

- (134) a. anya-há iráhü-nyü nyü l-uma Canécho
 3.PL-exist child-PL sit 3.M-with C.
 ‘the children are sitting with Canecho’ (E20131022b>00:53:43) ♪
- b. pero aná-ha-gwa=mème rára
 but 1.SG-exist-still=CONT stand
 ‘but I’m still standing’ (N20131029a>00:16:09) ♪

- c. rón b-ínya=san t-idan ûgereü?
lie 2.SG-exist=Q 3.F-in hammock
'are you lying in the hammock?' (E20131022b>00:53:14) ♪
- d. rára l-ínya aságara-gwà-nya nyén-giyen
standing 3.M-exist take.out-REFL-3.PL there-ALL
'he was present when they were taken out of there'
(N20131016i>00:01:43) ♪

Notice that the order of position verb and existence verb depends on which existence verb is used; in (134-a-b) *ha* is shown to precede the position verb while in (134-c-d) it is the other way around with *ínya*.

4.2.6.3 Derived position and motion predicates Progressive *-nya* and future *-ba* can be used to derive position and motion predicates from adverbs. The progressive suffix then becomes an existence marker just like the existence verb *ínya*, from which both the progressive and existence suffix are likely derived historically. The future suffix, on the other hand, can be used for deriving both position and motion predicates as will be shown below. See § 12.5.2 for more on this type of non-verbal predication.

4.2.6.3.1 Derived position predicates with *-nya* A position predicate can be derived from a preposition (135) or a deictic adverb (136) by adding the existence derivational suffix *-nya* followed by a person maker.

- (135) a. véve l-uwágu-ny-u ában l-owbeü
tree 3.M-on-exist-3.F one 3.M-side
'the tree is standing on one side' (E20131022b>00:52:03) ♪
- b. dan l-uwágu-ny-eyn lán dábula Jesúsú
time 3.M-on-exist-3.M IRR table J.
'when Jesus was sitting at the table' (Mateo 26:7)
- c. l-uwágu-nya-di-wa ûma l-un Jerusalé-on
3.M-on-exist-DI-1.PL road 3.M-to J.-ALL
'we were on the way to Jerusalem' (Marcos 10:33)
- d. l-uwágu-nya-nu ûma l-un Jerusalé-on
3.M-on-exist-3.PL road 3.M-to J.-ALL
'they were on the way to Jerusalem' (Marcos 10:32)
- e. w-ówbaga-nya-nu sún=gubey
1.PL-next.to-exist-3.PL all=COMPL
'they were all next to us' (E20131023>01:26:19) ♪

- (136) a. aban ní-heyn l-igiya talvési nyé-**nya**-nu fyú údereü
 CONN 3.M-exist 3.M-DEM maybe there-exist-3.PL some fish
 wá-ma
 1.PL-with
 ‘there are times when we carry a bit of fish there’
 (N20131016h>00:02:41) ♪
- b. nyé-**nya**-di-nà=buga múna-da
 there-exist-DI-1.SG=PST house-LOC
 ‘I was at the house’
 (E20131023>01:15:13) ♪
- c. ni-sáni nyé-**nya**-nu=san údereü würínawuga?
 1.SG-child there-exist-3.PL=Q fish yesterday
 ‘my child, were there fish yesterday?’
 (E20131130>00:34:20) ♪

The person markers are of the DI-series but irregularities occur: the 3rd person singular suffixes interact with the verb stem resulting in the deletion of a stem final /a/, e.g. *nyén-nya-i* → *nyén-ny-en*; this change is also accompanied by final nasalization. Further, the 3rd person plural marker is not *-nya* as expected, but identical to the nominal possessive plural marker *-nu* (perhaps as a result of dissimilation from *-nya*). Table 21 shows a full paradigm for a deictic predicate derived from the adverb *nyen* ‘there’.

<i>nyén-nya-di-na</i>	‘I was there’
<i>nyén-nya-di-bu</i>	‘you were there’
<i>nyén-ny-en</i>	‘he was there’
<i>nyén-ny-un</i>	‘she was there’
<i>nyén-nya-di-wa</i>	‘we were there’
<i>nyén-nya-di-ü / -dü:</i>	‘y’all were there’
<i>nyén-nya-nu</i>	‘they were there’

Table 21: *Inflectional paradigm for a locative predicate*

4.2.6.3.2 Derived position and motion predicates with -ba The future suffix *-ba* can be used to derive either position predicates in future tense as in (137).

- (137) nyén-**be**-y ébedu-t-i wátu
 there-FUT-3.M light-TI-3.M firewood
 ‘firewood will be lit there’
 (A20121010d>00:05:50) ♪

Or it can be used to derive motion predicates which are not necessarily in the future tense but may be ongoing activities with some future end point as shown in (138).

- (138) a. halíy-on-bà-di-bu n-umá?
 where-ALL-FUT-DI-2.SG 1.SG-friend
 ‘where are you going my friend?’ (E20131130>00:40:09) ♪
- b. áye yagûr-on-be-y l-aw m-arúfudu-n
 yes over.there-ALL-FUT-3.M 3.M-with NEG-show-USPEC
 l-ubé-y=ti b-ún
 3.M-FUT-3.M=TOP 2.SG-to
 ‘yes, he’s going over there with it, he’s not going to show it to you’
 (N20131116b>00:01:18) ♪

4.3 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs mark their single argument with a prefix from the regular prefix series in Table 19. Examples are shown in (139).

- (139) a. **b-éybuga**=san alúgura-ha guguwédi?
 2.SG-go=Q sell-DISTR green.coconut
 ‘are you going to sell green coconuts?’ (N20131016i>00:06:31) ♪
- b. ságü **t-achûlürü-n** nyén t-ágawa-ha
 every.time 3.F-arrive-USPEC there 3.F-bathe-DISTR
 ‘every time she arrives there, she bathes’ (N20131010f>00:12:14) ♪
- c. aban **l-áfurida** ában búho l-ún
 CONN 3.M-exit one owl 3.M-to
 ‘and an owl came out towards him’ (E20121027a>00:05:16) ♪

A sample of intransitive verbs from my corpus sorted according to ending are given in Table 22.

Ending	Verb stem	Gloss
<i>ha</i>	<i>áfuliha</i>	‘swim’
	<i>erémuha</i>	‘sing’
	<i>awáriha</i>	‘crawl’
	<i>asísiha</i>	‘urinate’
	<i>áwowoha</i>	‘bark’
	<i>ayáhuwaha</i>	‘cry’
	<i>avéreha</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>áwaha</i>	‘yawn’
	<i>ahú:nduha</i>	‘snore’
	<i>eséyeyenha</i>	‘bleed’
	<i>ówchaha</i>	‘fish’
	<i>ga</i>	<i>éybuga</i>
<i>arúmuga</i>		‘sleep’
<i>amúraga</i>		‘defecate’
<i>ra</i>	<i>ebélura</i>	‘enter’
	<i>achúlúra</i>	‘arrive’
	<i>erédera</i>	‘stay’
	<i>asándira</i>	‘be ill’
<i>ya</i>	<i>áhuya</i>	‘rain’
<i>gwa</i>	<i>éybagwa</i>	‘run’
<i>wa</i>	<i>ágawa</i>	‘bathe’
<i>da</i>	<i>áürüda</i>	‘abate (wind, rain etc.)’
	<i>áfurida</i>	‘exit’
<i>cha</i>	<i>abúlucha</i>	‘sink’
Suppletive stems	<i>ówe / hilá</i>	‘die’
	<i>ídi / nyûdü</i>	‘go; leave’
	<i>iyábi / nyûbüri</i>	‘come’

Table 22: *Intransitive verb stems*

As this sample shows, intransitive verbs which constitute Activities, such as ‘swim’, ‘sing’, ‘cry’, have in many cases been lexicalized with the distributive suffix *-ha* while Accomplishments such as ‘enter, exit, arrive, sink’ do not contain this suffix as part of their stem. This observation, however, amounts to a mere tendency as shown by those examples of Activity verbs without lexicalized *-ha* such as ‘bathe’, ‘walk’ and ‘run’. The suppletive verbs have non-cognate stems in prefixed vs. suffixed form; there are only about a handful in the language, three of which are intransitive. A full discussion of suppletive verb stems, their occurrence and their historical origin is in § 7 as their distribution is conditioned by tense-aspect among other things²⁵.

²⁵A large number of semantically intransitive verbs have the ability to take an object suffix and as such are classified as labile verbs, see § 4.7 for a discussion of these.

4.3.1 Existence and motion verbs with extended subject prefix

The use of the extended prefix series for S argument marking is limited to the four verbs shown in Table 23.

	Exist	Exist there	Leave	Come
1.SG	<i>aná-ha</i> <i>aná-he-yn</i> <i>ana-há-n</i>		<i>aná-güra</i>	<i>aná-te</i> <i>ana-té-n^a</i>
2.SG	<i>abú-he-yn</i> <i>abu-há-n</i>		<i>abú-güra</i>	<i>abú-te</i> <i>abu-té-n^a</i>
3.M	<i>aní-he-yn</i> <i>iní-he-yn</i> <i>ni-hé-yn</i> <i>ni-há-n</i>	<i>aní-re-yn^a</i>	<i>aní-güra</i>	<i>iní-te</i> <i>ani-té-n^a</i> <i>ini-té-n^a</i>
3.F	<i>anú-he-yn</i> <i>unú-he-yn</i> <i>nu-há-n</i>	<i>anú-re-yn^a</i>	<i>anú-güra</i>	<i>unú-te</i> <i>anu-té-n^a</i> <i>unu-té-n^a</i>
1.PL	<i>awá-ha</i> <i>wá-he-yn</i> <i>awa-há-n</i>		<i>awá-güra</i>	<i>awá-te</i> <i>awan-té-n^a</i>
2.PL	<i>awú-he-yn</i> <i>hún-he-yn</i> <i>aûn-ha</i> <i>aûn-he-yn^a</i> <i>anhûn-he-yn^b</i>		<i>awú-güra</i>	<i>awú-te</i> <i>aûn-te^a</i> <i>aûn-té-n^a</i>
3.PL	<i>anyá-ha</i> <i>anyá-he-yn</i> <i>anya-há-n</i>	<i>anya-rá-ha</i> <i>anyá-re-yn^a</i>	<i>anyá-güra</i>	<i>anyá-te</i>

Table 23: *Existence and motion verbs with extended prefix*

As shown in Table 23 there is considerable variation between the forms of existence and motion verbs. Forms which I have not encountered in my own corpus are marked with raised lower case letters referring to the sources of those forms: ^a Suazo (2011), ^b Wycliff (2012). Suazo has the final vowel of the first person plural prefix as nasal, *awan-* rather than just *awa-* but I have only included his forms when they differed from mine in other respects than this.

According to Suazo (1991), the main distinction in the verbs in Table 23 is between initial stress and final stress, and he proposes that it was derived from Arawak and Carib forms, respectively. He calls these *pasivo* and *intensivo*. However, I consider it unlikely that there is a difference in lexical source because this would require a scenario where the Carib and Arawak forms coincided completely in shape and only

differed in the placement of stress. This deviates entirely from the usual case seen for instance in genderlect vocabulary which consists of items of completely different shapes because they are derived from different languages. An alternative hypothesis would posit this as an example of gendered speech, like the male vs. female use of gender markers, cf. § 15.2.2, but I have not yet been able to confirm this hypothesis. Then this stress variation would be yet another marker of social gender. In Suazo (2011) he only mentions the Arawak origin when speaking of those forms of the existence verb which have stress on the person marker (Suazo, 2011, p. 201, 208, 211, 549, 661, 742). For all of the forms with final stress he uses the term *expresión enfática* ‘emphatic expression’ or simply *enfático* ‘emphatic’.

4.3.1.1 Motion verbs The verbs of motion *güra* ‘leave’ and *te* ‘come’ compete with the two suppletive verbs *ídi* / *nyûdü* ‘go; leave’ and *iyábi* / *nyûbüri* ‘come’. Unlike the suppletive verbs, *güra* and *te* have no morphological means of marking tense-aspect, and it seems that they are preferred in situations where tense-aspect distinctions are not relevant or needed - examples are shown in (140).

- (140) a. aná-güra n-ágawa n-inyá=ti bueno aban n-ágow-n
 1.SG-go 1.SG-bathe 1.SG-say=TOP well CONN 1.SG-bathe-USPEC
 ‘“I’ll go take a shower”, I said, well, then I showered’
 (N20131016g>00:04:46) ♪
- b. t-iyábi-n=ha=me Máchangày aná-güra
 3.F-come:SU1-USPEC=DISTR=DFUT M. 1.SG-come
 ‘when the Machangey (train) used to come, I would leave (on it)’
 (N20131116b>00:16:20) ♪
- c. anyá-güra iráhü-nyü hospitáli-rugu
 3.PL-go child-PL hospital-LOC
 ‘the children went to the hospital’ (E20131023>01:16:07) ♪
- d. nú-güra=san máma ligílisi-rùgu-n?
 3.F-go=Q mother church-LOC-ALL
 ‘did mother go to the church?’ (E20131023>01:16:16) ♪

It is still unclear exactly in which contexts the two types of verbs meaning ‘leave’ and ‘come’ can substitute for each other, but there appears to be a relation to spatial deixis.

4.3.1.2 Existence verb The default existence verb is *ha*, also encountered in the shape *heyn*²⁶; examples are shown in (141).

²⁶Probably containing a 3rd person singular masculine suffix -y the function of which is unclear in this context.

- (141) a. ana-há yá múna-da
 1.SG-exist here house-LOC
 ‘I am here at the house’ (N20131016g>00:04:43) ♪
- b. anú-heyn t-úbu-nugu
 3.F-exist 3.F-house-LOC
 ‘she is at her house’ (E20120920a>00:49:55) ♪
- c. awá-heyn h-ówba-giyen
 1.PL-exist 3.PL-side-ABL
 ‘we are next to them’ (E20131023>01:27:39) ♪

This verb is also used in one of the possible strategies for predicative possession (§ 3.5.1.2) and has a negative counterpart *úwa* ‘not exist’ (§ 10).

The copula *inya* is also used in some contexts as existence verb (see § 4.3.3 below.)

4.3.2 Composite motion predicates

There is a custom among people in Triunfo de la Cruz to observe people intently as they come and go, and this custom finds linguistic expression in the use of prepositions *ubárown* ‘in front of’ and *árigiyen* ‘after’ as a type of composite motion predicates as in (142).

- (142) a. n-arihi-n b-ubár-on
 1.SG-see-USPEC 2.SG-in.front.of-ALL
 ‘I see you come’ (Lit. ‘I look in front of you’) (E20131125a>00:00:12) ♪
- b. n-arihi-n b-árigiyen
 1.SG-see-USPEC 2.SG-after
 ‘I see you go’ (Lit. ‘I look after you’) (E20131125a>00:00:28) ♪

Important to note in this context is the impossibility of non-motion equivalent uses of these prepositions like this - so e.g. one cannot say **narihin tubárown múna* ‘I see in front of the house’ because this would produce the non-sensical meaning ‘I see the house come’.

4.3.3 Copula

In most contexts Garifuna makes do without the use of an explicit copula verb, but in conjunction with the frequently occurring adverbial *ítara* ‘thus’, the copula verb *inya* is used; examples follow in (143).²⁷

²⁷See also § 4.2.6.2 for the use of *inya* as a progressive auxiliary.

- (143) a. *ítara l-ínya n-arínyagu-n l-ún*
 thus 3.M-COP 1.SG-say-USPEC 3.M-to
 ‘that’s the way it is” I said to him’ (A20121024b>00:40:44) ♪
- b. *ítara l-ínya l-agúmuchu-n istóriya lé*
 thus 3.M-COP 3.M-end-NMLZ:POSS story 3.M:DEM
 ‘thus is the ending of that story’ (N20131010b>00:16:07) ♪

Note that *ínya* does not have the ability to take tense-aspect morphology.

A homophonous predicate is used with the meaning ‘to say’, or ‘to be called’ as exemplified below.

- (144) a. *mehór údereü lé l-ínyá=ti máysturu*
 rather fish 3.M:DEM 3.M-say=TOP teacher
 ‘“rather that fish” said the teacher’ (N20131010d>00:14:13) ♪
- b. *Tiyó l-ínya*
 T. 3.M-be.called
 ‘he was called Tiyó’ (N20131010b>00:06:10) ♪

There must be an historical connection between the two uses of *ínya*.

4.4 Transitive verbs

4.4.1 Mono-transitive verbs

The vast majority of transitive verbs are mono-transitive, that is, they have only two arguments: an A argument which refers to the person primarily responsible for the action and a P argument referring to the person or entity primarily affected by the action. By default, transitive verbs mark their A argument in prefix position and their P argument in suffix position. Some examples are shown below.

- (145) a. *l-áfara:-l-i wügûri arúney*
 3.M-hit-DI-3.M man captain
 ‘the man is going to hit the captain’ (E20121017a>00:07:22) ♪
- b. *l-un wa-ríhi-n-i l-uma l-un wa-gá:mbu-n-i*
 3.M-to 1.PL-see-USPEC-3.M 3.M-with 3.M-to 1.PL-hear-USPEC-3.M
 ‘in order for us to see it and in order for us to hear it’
 (N20131116b>00:01:20) ♪
- c. *úfínye lé b-aríhu-be-y*
 devil 3.M:DEM 2.SG-see-EXTR-3.M
 ‘the devil that you saw’ (N20131016a>00:05:24) ♪

A sample of monotransitive verb stems from my corpus is given in Table 24.

Ending	Verb stem	Gloss
<i>ra</i>	<i>áfara</i>	‘kill; hit’
	<i>adívira</i>	‘grab while lifting’
	<i>ádara</i>	‘push; put in’
	<i>álura</i>	‘pull’
	<i>acháwara</i>	‘pull’
	<i>aságara</i>	‘take out’
	<i>áchara</i>	‘put in’
	<i>amáhara</i>	‘drain’
	<i>agûra</i>	‘tie’
	<i>asándira</i>	‘feel’
	<i>abúse:ra</i>	‘want’
	<i>átügûra</i>	‘pluck off tree’
	<i>aféyndira</i>	‘paint’
	<i>abástera</i>	‘baptize’
	<i>adéyra</i>	‘find’
<i>ha</i>	<i>adíyaha</i>	‘catch fish with hook’
	<i>ábunaha</i>	‘bury’
	<i>abálabaha</i>	‘roll’
	<i>aríha</i>	‘see’
	<i>abáhüdaha</i>	‘narrate’
	<i>agányeha</i>	‘buy’
	<i>alúguraha</i>	‘sell’
	<i>achíbaha</i>	‘wash’
<i>gwa</i>	<i>ídaragwa</i>	‘help’
	<i>ábunagwa</i>	‘plant; sow’
	<i>águragwa</i>	‘violate’
	<i>achúrágwa</i>	‘criticize’
<i>da</i>	<i>abúliyeyda</i>	‘forget’
	<i>abáhüda</i>	‘count’
<i>güda</i>	<i>árü(güda)</i>	‘grab’
<i>cha</i>	<i>anyúgucha</i>	‘scratch’
<i>ba</i>	<i>agá:mba</i>	‘hear’
Suppletive	<i>éyga / how</i>	‘eat’
	<i>áta / gurá</i>	‘drink’
	<i>anûga / barû</i>	‘take; bring’

Table 24: *Monotransitive verb stems*

As might be expected, those verbs which describe Activities such as ‘roll’, ‘narrate’, ‘wash’ etc. are lexicalized with the distributive *-ha*, but less frequently so among transitive verbs than was shown above for intransitive verbs. Conversely, verbs de-

scribing Accomplishments such as ‘kill’, ‘take out’, ‘put in’ or Achievements such as ‘drain’, ‘grab while lifting’ or ‘pluck off tree’ tend to end in *-ra* as do the majority of transitive verbs in Table 24. There is an apparent relation between *abúna-ha* ‘bury’ which is marked as distributive and *abúna-gwa* ‘plant; sow’ which contains the suffix *-gwa*; as will be discussed in § 6.1.1, *-gwa* is used for changing valency, or, as in the case of *abúnagwa*, to indicate that the action involves a prototypical object, in this case crops that are being put into the ground. (See § 6.1.1 for more examples of *-gwa* expressing an action with a prototypical object).

4.4.2 Ditransitive verbs

A small sub-class of transitive verbs have three arguments and are called ditransitive. In addition to A and P arguments, they include a recipient or goal argument which is marked by a preposition *un* ‘to’.

Verb stem	Gloss
<i>afúredeyra</i>	‘lend / borrow’
<i>arúfuda</i>	‘show’
<i>arúfudaha</i>	‘teach’
<i>edéregera</i>	‘relinquish’
<i>íchiga / ru</i>	‘give’ (suppletive)

Table 25: *Ditransitive verb stems*

The root *arúfuda* is found in two of the verb stems in Table 25 with the only difference that *arúfuda-ha* ‘teach’ adds the distributive *-ha* to distinguish it from *arúfuda* ‘show’, and perhaps to indicate the extended nature of the activity of teaching something to someone, as opposed to merely showing.

Some illustrative examples are given in (146).

- (146) a. aban l-afúredeyrú-n-i (li-fáyen) l-un eyéri lé
 CONN 3.M-lend-USPEC-3.M (3.M-comb) 3.M-to man 3.M:DEM
 ‘then he lent it (his comb) to the man’ (N20131010g>00:02:46) ♪
- b. rú n-umu-t-u líburu l-un máysturu
 give:SU2 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F book 3.M-to teacher
 ‘I gave the book to the teacher’ (E20131023>01:31:08) ♪
- c. dey n-arúfudu-n-i l-ówba l-un máysturu
 when 1.SG-show-USPEC-3.M 3.M-side 3.M-to teacher
 ‘when I showed the other side to the teacher’ (N20131010d>00:14:16) ♪

4.4.3 Semantically stative transitive verbs

Two verbs with a stative reading *busén* and *abúsera* which both mean ‘want’, form a special case because the former is a canonical stative verb while the latter has transitive morphology.

- (147) a. busé:n-ti-bú=san ában guguwédi?
want-TI-2.SG=Q one green.coconut
‘do you want a green coconut?’ (E20131130>00:27:04) ♪
- b. gáyu t-abúseru-b-on t-asálvaru-n
chicken 3.F-want-EXTR-3.F 3.F-rescue-USPEC
‘it is the chicken she wants to rescue’ (N20131016j>00:01:31) ♪

There is likely an historical connection between these two verbs, which formally involved adding the derivational suffix *-ra* to a stem *buse*, raising its valency.

4.5 Lack of object marking

There are a number of circumstances that license the omission of the morphological indexing of the object on a transitive verb. One is discursive underspecification and is treated along with tense-aspect contrasts in § 7.7.

Secondly, the object may not be known, be of little importance or be understood as the prototypical object of the action in question. In such cases there is neither morphological object indexing on the verb nor an object noun phrase present.

Finally, the morphological indexing of an object is always dropped when the object is indefinite. In such cases an object noun phrase must be present, often accompanied by a numeral specifier, but not necessarily - this state of affairs will be described below as differential object marking.

Both of the two latter issues will be treated below.

4.6 Differential object marking

The term “differential object marking” refers to a situation where different types of object arguments are indexed differently. In Garifuna this is relevant with regards to definiteness as only definite objects can be indexed on the verb. Examples are given in (148).

- (148) a. hów-ti-nà ûrüwa muréy
eat:SU2-TI-1.SG three nance
‘I ate three nances’ (E20131028>00:01:53) ♪
- b. hów n-umu-t-u muréy lé t-adéregera-be-y Mári n-ún
eat 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F nance 3.M:DEM 3.F-give-EXTR-3.M M. 1.SG-to
‘I ate the nances that Mari gave to me’ (E20131028>00:01:58) ♪

- c. inyúraha-ti-na biyán iráhü-nyü
lift-TI-1.SG two child-PL
'I am going to lift up two children' (A20121023a>00:46:59) ♪
- d. inyúraha n-umú-ti-nyu
lift 1.SG-PST-TI-3.PL
'I lifted them' (A20121023a>00:47:29) ♪
- e. n-éygu-ba údereü
1.SG-eat-FUT fish
'I am going to eat fish' (E20131130>01:12:57) ♪
- f. n-éyga:-r-u fáluma
1.SG-eat-DI-3.F coconut
'I am going to eat the coconut' (E20121001a>00:48:18) ♪

In some cases, even definite objects of low salience can be omitted.

- (149) a. gánye n-á gurévegi
buy 1.SG-PRF parrot
'I have bought the parrot' (E20150810>01:04:17) ♪
- b. gürúguwa n-á eyé:ri
bite 1.SG-PRF man
'I have bitten the man' (E20150731a>00:02:15) ♪

This is not to say that the objects in (149) have the inherent property of low salience, but rather that in the specific context where they are used, their explicit marking is deemed unnecessary by the speaker.

When acting as object argument, deverbal nouns such as *aliha-ni* 'reading' are treated as indefinite. This is illustrated in (150).

- (150) a. b-arúfudaha-nyà aliha-ni n-ún
2.SG-teach-PROG read-NMLZ 1.SG-to
'you are teaching me to read' (E20121018c>00:17:26) ♪
- b. b-arúfudaha-nyà abûrüha-ni n-ún
2.SG-teach-PROG write-NMLZ 1.SG-to
'you are teaching me to write' (E20121018c>00:18:53) ♪

On ditransitive verbs, the indexing of an indefinite direct object is omitted as in (151).

- (151) rú-ha-di-na údereü t-un iráhü
 give:SU2-PRF-DI-1.SG fish 3.F-to child
 ‘I gave fish to the girl’ (E20150804a>00:25:41) ♪

The shape of the verb stem in (151) is identical to that of a monotransitive verb but there is an added recipient argument indicating that the clause is ditransitive.

An indefinite recipient argument, on the other hand, is not dropped and will still be indexed with a preposition, as shown in (152).

- (152) n-íchugu-bu-n líburu l-un ában wügüri
 1.SG-give:SU1-FUT-USPEC book 3.M-to one man
 ‘I am going to give the book to a man’ (E20150807a>00:34:25) ♪

4.7 Ambitransitivity

As has been briefly hinted at in the sections above, very few dynamic verb stems in Garifuna are restricted to taking a fixed number of arguments. Here I will attempt to give the reader an overview of ambitransitivity (a.k.a. lability) of verb stems, i.e. their flexibility in valency without the use of derivational devices.

First, stative verbs can only take a single argument, so they can be left out of the present discussion, and in the following, when I talk about intransitive and transitive verbs it will be understood that I am talking about dynamic verb stems. The great majority of intransitive verbs can take either one argument, the S, or two, introducing an oblique constituent into its core as a direct object. Transitive verbs can either take two arguments, an A and an O or a single argument, either A or O. Ditransitive verbs can take either three arguments, A, O and E, two arguments, A and E, or a single argument A. These possibilities are illustrated in Table 26.

	Intransitive	Transitive	Ditransitive
1 argument	S=S	S=A S=O	S=A
2 arguments	A=S/O=E	A=A/O=O	A=A/O=E
3 arguments			A=A/O=O/E=E

Table 26: Overview of possible argument marking configurations

Note that in the present discussion I am leaving out adjuncts which are marked obliquely, but I do include adjuncts which are marked as core arguments. This choice is based partly on the fact that adjuncts can normally be dropped without the clause becoming ungrammatical, and partly on the ability for some adjuncts to be marked as a core argument and thereby demanding treatment in the core argument structure. Thus, oblique arguments of intransitive verbs can be marked as O and are therefore included here. But oblique arguments of transitive verbs, e.g. ‘lay someone down’ vs. ‘lay someone down **on** something’ or ‘lay someone down **for** someone’ are not

included since these are marked as obliques and thus behave both semantically and formally as adjuncts.

We have already seen examples of the semantically prototypical argument structures of dynamic verbs, i.e. where the number of arguments marked in the clause corresponds to the semantic valency: 1 argument for intransitive verbs, 2 for transitive verbs and 3 for ditransitive verbs. Below I will concentrate on the unexpected cases where a verb stem marks fewer or more arguments than its semantic default.

4.7.1 Intransitive with 2 arguments: A=S/O=E

The great majority of semantically intransitive verbs can in fact accommodate 2 core arguments. Examples are given in (153).

- (153) a. *éybagwa n-umú-t-i ubów*
 run 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M Earth
 ‘I ran (across) the Earth’ (E20150807a>00:18:58) ♪
- b. *hów n-umu-t-i t-íla má:ngu aban n-ámuragu-n-i*
 eat:SU2 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M 3.F-seed mango CONJ 1.SG-defecate-USPEC-3.M
 ‘I ate the mango seed and defecated it’ (E20150807a>00:15:13) ♪

In (153-a) the oblique constituent ‘Earth’ is brought into the core as a direct object marked on the past auxiliary *umu*. In (153-b) it is the result of an intransitive act, ‘defecating’, which takes the oblique constituent, ‘the mango seed’, as a direct object.

However, not all intransitive verbs are ambitransitive. Strictly intransitive verbs include, but are not necessarily restricted to, *áwowoha* ‘bark’, *áwaha* ‘yawn’ (this same verb with two arguments means ‘call somebody’), *ahúrunduha* ‘snore’, *eséyeynha* ‘bleed’ and *ówchaha* ‘fish’ (attempting to catch fish).

4.7.2 Transitive with 1 argument: S=A

All transitive verbs are able to take only one argument, the A argument. This either happens when the object is indefinite, and as such is not indexed on the verb, (cf. § 4.6 on differential object marking) or when the object is unknown or not important in the context, as illustrated with the example pairs in (154).

- (154) a. *n-éyga:-l-i údereü*
 1.SG-eat-DI-3.M fish
 ‘I’m going to eat the fish’ (E20150804a>01:02:12) ♪
- b. *bueno aban w-éyga=ti=buga t-uma iráhü tó*
 well CONN 1.PL-eat=TOP=PST 3.F-with child 3.F:DEM
 ‘well, then we ate with that girl’ (N20131016d>00:14:39) ♪

- c. aban **n-awéyru-n-i** wúbu
 CONN 1.SG-climb-USPEC-3.M mountain
 ‘then I will climb the mountain’ (A20121024a>00:15:36) ♪
- d. aban **w-awéyru-n** ínyu
 CONN 1.PL-climb-USPEC above
 ‘then we climbed up’ (N20121017a>00:01:02) ♪
- e. ában=ya lubéy **w-ásügürü-n-u** Tèlamàru
 CONN=again LUBEY 1.PL-pass-USPEC-3.F T.
 ‘then we passed by Telamar again’ (N20131016e>00:13:30) ♪
- f. aban **t-ásügürü-n** ugúney tó
 CONN 3.F-pass-USPEC boat 3.F:DEM
 ‘and then the boat passed by’ (N20131016c>00:11:53) ♪

The great majority of ambitransitive verbs in Garifuna are of this S=A type.²⁸

4.7.3 Transitive with 1 argument: S=O

The less common type of transitive verb with only one argument is of the S=O type where the single argument marked on the verb is the semantic object - this is illustrated with example pairs in (155).

- (155) a. n-abácha-güdà:-l-i n-uníye míligi
 1.SG-heat-CAUS-DI-3.M 1.SG-CLF milk
 ‘I’m going to heat my milk’ (E20150708a>00:00:17) ♪
- b. **l-abácharu-nya** lasúsu
 3.M-heat-PROG soup
 ‘the soup is heating’ (E20131122>00:06:01) ♪
- c. aban t-anûgü-n-u Léicy wa-báyki
 CONN 3.F-bring:SU1-USPEC-3.F L. 1.PL-bike
 ‘then Leicy took our bikes’ (N20131016g>00:01:42) ♪
- d. **t-anûgü-n-ba** fáluma
 3.F-bring:SU1-USPEC-FUT coconut
 ‘coconuts are brought (to them)’ (N20131116a>00:04:01) ♪

The translation in (155-d) ‘are brought’ makes it appear more as a passive clause, but there is no passive morphology on the verb and the only difference between (155-c)

²⁸A similar situation is found in Tariana, an Arawak language of Brazil, where the vast majority of labile verbs are of the S=A type, with only a handful of the S=O type (Aikhenvald, 2003).

and (155-d) is that in the former the prefixed argument is the acting entity, whereas in the latter it is the entity acted upon.

4.7.4 Ditransitive with 1 argument: S=A

Much rarer are ditransitive verbs with just one argument. These are not found in natural examples in my corpus, but through elicitation they were deemed possible in certain contexts. If someone is in a bar with friends he may say something like *n-íchugu-ba* ‘I’m buying’ (Lit. ‘I’ll give’), where both the direct object and the recipients are salient in the context and need not be expressed.

4.7.5 Ditransitive with 2 arguments: A=A/O=E

If a ditransitive verb only has two arguments, these will be the A and the E arguments. These changes occur because the direct object is indefinite as in (156).

- (156) a. *n-íchugu-nya údereü t-un iráhü*
1.SG-give:SU1-PROG fish 3.F-to child
‘I’m giving fish to the girl’ (E20150804a>00:25:31) ♪
- b. *l-íchiga ában kolásu l-uwágu wügûri lé*
3.M-give:SU1 one tail.whip 3.M-on man 3.M:DEM
‘it gave the man a whip of the tail’ (N20131010f>00:12:51) ♪

5 Verbs II: Non-valency adjusting derivation

This chapter will treat all types of verbal derivation that do not change the valency of the verb stem. This includes verbs derived from other verbs and verbs derived from nouns, ideophones and numerals. However, derivation involving the use of the polarity prefixes *ga-* ‘attributive’ and *ma-* ‘privative’ is left out here as these are dealt with separately in § 10.

5.1 The verb endings *-da*, *-ra*, *-cha*, *-ha*

Most Garifuna verb stems are made up of a root (often with the shape CVCV) followed by one of the two endings *-ra* or *-da* and preceded by a verbalizing prefix *a-* which has little synchronic function apart from identifying words as verbs. Alternatively the *a-* prefix and the verbalizing suffix might be analyzed as a verbalizing circumfix.

Examples are shown in (157).

- (157) a. a-búliyey-da
 VBLZ-forget-VBLZ
 ‘forget’
- b. a-lúgu-ra
 VLBZ-sell-VBLZ
 ‘sell’

The suffixes in (157) do not carry any obvious meaning apart from making up the default frame within which the majority of non-stative verbs are cast (see, however, § 6.2.2 about the use of *-ra* and *-da* to derive dynamic verbs from stative verbs and verbs from nouns). Evidence that serves to reveal whether a CVCV segment of the verbal stem alone contains the semantic core of the verb, or whether other morphology is part of the root, comes from an abbreviated verb stem which is used in past tense and imperative clauses - consider the example in (158).

- (158) a. n-a-búliyey-dá:-r-u Mári
 1.SG-VBLZ-forget-VBLZ-DI-3.F M.
 ‘I’m going to forget Mari’ (E20150806>00:03:51) ♪
- b. bulíyey ha-mé-y=buga hé-ydi-nya lán=buga agányenha
 forget 3.PL-PRF-3.M=PST 3.PL-go:SU1-PROG IRR=PST buy
 údereü
 fish
 ‘they forgot that they were going to buy fish’ (N20131010a>00:08:47) ♪
- c. bulíyey h-um-ón
 forget 2.PL-IMP-3.F
 ‘forget her y’all!’ (E20121001a>01:25:40) ♪

In (158-a) appears the suffix *-da* indicating that the clause is non-past indicative mood, while in (158-b-c) it is dropped.

The verb stem in (159) ends in a *ra* which is part of the lexical stem.

- (159) a. l-alúguru-b-on lán h-ón
 3.M-sell-FUT-3.F IRR 3.PL-to
 'he is going to sell it to them' (N20131016i>00:05:38) ♪
- b. alúgura l-á-nya údereü
 sell 3.M-PRF-3.PL fish
 'he sold (all) the fish' (N20131010a>00:08:52) ♪
- c. alúgura-b-a ában asíyedu éygini n-ún!
 sell-2.SG-IMP one plate food 1.SG-to
 'sell me a plate of food!' (E20131022b>00:22:05) ♪

The examples show that the verbal prefix *a-* and the ending *-ra* are part of the verb stem because they are not dropped in the abbreviated forms in (159-b-c) (the citation forms in the following discussion can be found in Suazo (2011).

It is common to see *-ra* and *-da* be replaced by *-cha* as in (160).

- (160) a. a-bála-ra
 VBLZ-lay-VBLZ
 'to lay something down'
- b. a-bála-cha
 VBLZ-lay-VBLZ
 'to lay oneself down'
- c. á-figi-ra
 VBLZ-pinch-VBLZ
 'to pinch'
- d. á-figi-cha
 VBLZ-pinch-VBLZ
 'to fart'
- e. a-búgu-ra
 VBLZ-steer-VBLZ
 'to steer (vehicle)'
- f. a-búgu-cha
 VBLZ-steer-VBLZ
 'to crash (vehicle)'

The suffix *-cha* has various different functions as illustrated in (160). Note that it is never added without replacing the existing verb endings, in other words one never encounters **-ra-cha*, **-da-cha*.

From these examples emerges no obvious unified meaning of *-cha*: in (160-b) the meaning is intransitive as opposed to the transitive meaning of (160-a); example (160-d) is of lower valency than (160-c) but the meanings are only abstractly related in the way one might imagine a pinching movement with the anus to provoke a fart. Example (160-f) appears to somehow be the opposite of (160-e) in terms of the ability to steer a vehicle. While the verb forms ending in *-cha* are formally identical they do not yield a pattern of functional identity, although it is likely that historically there was a more coherent functional load.

Another derivational suffix that can replace *-ra* and *-da* is intensifying/distributive *-ha*. Examples of its use are shown in (161). It should also be noted that *-cha* and *-ha* are never found together.

- (161)
- a. a-bálaba-da
VBLZ-roll-VBLZ
'to roll'
 - b. a-bálaba-ha
VBLZ-roll-DISTR
'to roll over and over'
 - c. a-bála-ra
VBLZ-lean-VBLZ
'to lean'
 - d. a-bála-ha
VBLZ-lean-DISTR
'to lean repeatedly'
 - e. a-chága-ra
VBLZ-throw-VBLZ
'to throw away'
 - f. a-chága-ha
VBLZ-throw-DISTR
'to throw loosely about'

Some uses of *-ha* have specialized meanings such as those in (162).

- (162)
- a. a-bácha-ra
VBLZ-heat-VBLZ
'to heat'

- b. a-bácha-ha
VBLZ-heat-DISTR
'to heat someone when healing them'
- c. a-bákü-ra
VBLZ-back-VBLZ
'to back up (e.g. to walk backwards)'
- d. a-bákü-ha
VBLZ-back-DISTR
'to defecate'
- e. a-búlu-cha
VBLZ-sink-VBLZ
'to sink'
- f. a-búlu-ha
VBLZ-sink-DISTR
'to dive for the purpose of retrieving something'

In some cases *-da* and *-ra* do not drop when intensifying *-ha* is added. Examples are shown in (163).

- (163)
- a. a-búda
VBLZ-pick.up
'to pick up'
 - b. a-búda-ha
VBLZ-pick.up-DISTR
'to pick up several things'
 - c. a-bwída
VBLZ-sweep
'to sweep'
 - d. a-bwída-ha
VBLZ-sweep-DISTR
'to sweep at length'
 - e. a-lúgura
VBLZ-sell
'sell'
 - f. a-lúgura-ha
VBLZ-sell-DISTR
'to be selling (offering for sale) continuously'

- g. inyúra
'to lift'
- h. inyúra-ha
lift-DISTR
'to lift at length; to help to lift'

An argument that these *-da* and *-ra* endings are part of the verb stem is that they never drop when *-ha* is suffixed.

5.2 Verbs derived from nouns

5.2.1 Verbalizing *a-*

The prefix *a-* can be used to derive verbs from nouns together with one of the suffixes mentioned above: *-ha*, *-da* or *-ra*.

- (164) a. séni
'seine fishing net'
- b. a-séni-ha
VBLZ-seine-DISTR
'to fish with a seine fishing net'
- c. chíncharu
'pork rind' (*Sp. chicharrón*)
- d. a-chíncharu-ha
VBLZ-pork.rind-DISTR
'to make *chicharrón*'
- e. ágani
'enemy'
- f. a-gá-gani-ra
VBLZ-REDUPL-enemy-VBLZ
'to become enemies'
- g. ibágari
life
'life'
- h. a-bágari-da
VBLZ-life-VBLZ
'to live'

The noun from which the verb is derived takes the place of the verb root. It also appears that the choice of derivative suffix depends on the lexical aspect of the derived verb. The predicates in (164-b) and (164-d) are Activities; these are atelic and therefore the durative *-ha* is used. In contrast, (164-f) is an Achievement and therefore the non-durative verbal suffix *-ra* is used. In addition, (164-f) also displays reduplication, the function of which is unclear and it is not found in the other examples above.

5.2.2 Denominal stative verbs with *-duwa*

The suffix *-duwa* (which should not be confused with first person plural argument suffix *-du-wa*) is used to turn any noun into a stative verb describing the quality of being either akin to the referent of that noun, or showing affection for it. Some examples are shown in (165).

- (165) a. eyéri-duwa-t-i bi-sá:ni lé
 man-VBLZ-TI-3.M 2.SG-offspring 3.M:DEM
 ‘that son of yours is rebellious’ (E20150716>01:17:48) ♪
- b. chumágü-duwa-t-i
 ladino-VBLZ-TI-3.M
 ‘he is obsessed with ladino culture and the Spanish language’
 (Suazo, 2011, p. 359)
- c. gürígiya-duwa-t-i
 people-VBLZ-TI-3.M
 ‘he is a humanist; he likes people’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 490)

5.3 A verb derived from a numeral

By similar derivational procedures as those seen above, verbs can also be derived from numerals as shown in (166).

- (166) a. biyama
 ‘two’
- b. a-biyama-da
 VBLZ-two-VBLZ
 ‘to join two together’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 32)
- c. l-uma yaw Menchu w-abiyama-da nyen
 3.M-with uncle M. 1.PL-two-VBLZ there
 ‘together with uncle Menchu we’re two (people) there’
 (Suazo, 2011, p. 32)

So far ‘two’ is the only numeral attested in such derivations.

5.4 Sound symbolic verbs and reduplication

Some verbs are not derived from regular word class lexical items but rather from ideophones replicating the sounds or movements produced by the corresponding event; these sounds are reduplicated. Examples of this are shown in (167).

- (167) a. a-chû~chü-ra
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-VBLZ
 ‘to kick’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 68)
- b. á-di~di-ra
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-VBLZ
 ‘to beat (heart)’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 84)
- c. a-bádi~badi-da
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-VBLZ
 ‘to become sticky’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 20)
- d. a-dúgu~dugu-da
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-VBLZ
 ‘to become loose’ (N20131016g>00:07:16) ♪
- e. á-saga~saga-da
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-VBLZ
 ‘to become crunchy’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 246)
- f. a-gúbe~gube-da
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-VBLZ
 ‘to make muddy’ (Suazo, 2011)
- g. a-búlu~bu-ha
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-DISTR
 ‘cause to bob in water; to force under water’ (E20150807a>00:45:03) ♪
- h. a-gúlü~lü-da
 VBLZ-IDEO~IDEO-VBLZ
 ‘to whisper’ (E20131130>00:55:07) ♪

It is most often the case that the entire ideophone, whether CV or CVCV, is reduplicated, but (167-g-h) provide counterexamples to this tendency showing partial reduplication.

Reduplication is also used in various other parts of the grammar, illustrated in (168) where whole words are also shown reduplicated.

- (168) a. l-abúdaha-nya iráhü lé fáluma ában ában
 3.M-pick.up-PROG child 3.M:DEM coconut one one
 ‘the boy is picking up the coconuts one by one’ (E20131023>02:06:24) ♪
- b. t-ídi-ha a-chû-ha l-ífe l-ífe rí l-idan
 3.F-go:SU1-DISTR VBLZ-throw-DISTR 3.M-piece 3.M-piece rice 3.M-in
 dúna
 water
 ‘she would go and throw little pieces of rice into the pond’
 (N20121002a>00:01:10) ♪
- c. murúsun murúsun
 bit bit
 ‘in little pieces; little by little’ (E20120918a>01:54:02) ♪
- d. aban b-éygi-n ában ti-réü-reü fáluma t-árigi t-árigi
 CONN 2.SG-eat:SU1-USPEC one 3.F-DIM~DIM coconut 3.F-after 3.F-after
 ‘then you should eat a small coconut shortly after’
 (N20131016d>00:00:51) ♪
- e. balá-bala
 turn.around~turn.around
 ‘object that swings from side to side’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 319)
- f. túku túku
 IDEO IDEO
 ‘small vessel with an external motor’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 675)
- g. t-acháwa-hò-wa=me=ti hámaru hámaru
 3.F-pull-DISTR-PASS=DFUT=TOP slow slow
 ‘it (the fishing net) is pulled very slowly’ (N20121026a>00:03:54) ♪
- h. badûle badûle
 stick stick
 ‘sticky’ (E20150810>01:17:47) ♪

In examples (168-a-c) reduplication is used to indicate pluractionality and sequentiality, whereas in (168-d) it is both the sequentiality and perhaps also the short time lapse, that are in focus. In (168-e) the reduplication expresses pluractionality. Examples (168-f-g) are sound symbolic nouns, whereas (168-h) indicates the slow speed and care with which the action is carried out. In (168-i) reduplication indicates the sticky texture of the surface.

5.5 Borrowed verbs

A large portion of verbs in Garifuna are English and Spanish loan words. It is sometimes difficult to determine the part of speech of the source words; for instance, is *a-cháti-ra* ‘to shorten’ from the English adjective ‘short’ or from the verb ‘to shorten’. A small selection of borrowed verbs is shown below.

- *a-cháyini-ra* ‘shine shoes’ (Eng. *shine*)
- *a-bákuna-ra* ‘vaccinate’ (Sp. *vacunar*)
- *a-cháti-ra* ‘to shorten’ (Eng. *short(en)*)
- *a-chíma-ra* ‘to create blisters’ (Sp. *chimar* (for shoes to chafe one’s foot))
- *a-chútey-ra* ‘to kick (a ball)’ (Sp. *chutear* from Eng. *shoot*)
- *a-fálda-ra* ‘to lack; to be absent’ (Sp. *faltar*)
- *a-fâma-ra* ‘to simulate; to pretend’ (Sp. *afamar*)
- *a-fâla-ra* ‘to follow’ (Eng. *follow*)
- *a-féridi-ra* ‘to lose’ (Sp. *perder*)

Note that loan word derivation is always carried out with *-ra*, never *-da* regardless of lexical aspect or valency. One possible conclusion to draw from this is that *-ra* is the most productive verbal ending.²⁹

²⁹This is parallel to Spanish *-ear* which is found both in such native derivations as *blanqu-ear* ‘whiten’ from *blanco* ‘white’, *manos-ear* ‘to grab’ from *mano* ‘hand’ as in loan words such as *lik-ear* ‘to like on Facebook’ from English ‘like’ and *escan-ear* ‘to scan’ from English ‘scan’. This contrasts with the regular verbal suffixes in Spanish *-ar*, *-er* and *-ir* which are not productive.

6 Verbs III: Valency adjusting derivation

Table 27 shows an overview of the main valency adjusting devices of Garifuna. There are certain other verbal suffixes (*-ra*, *-da*, *-cha*, *-ha*) which are not strictly valency changing morphemes. However, they are used to derive dynamic verbs from stative verbs and will be treated in § 6.2.2 towards the end of this chapter (see also § 5.1 for the use of these verbal suffixes as non-valency adjusting derivational affixes and § 5.2 for a their denominal verbalizing use).

Reflexive / reciprocal	<i>-gwa</i>
Passive	<i>-wa</i>
Causative	<i>-güda</i>
Benefactive / malefactive	<i>un / uwéy</i>

Table 27: Valency adjusting devices

6.1 Valency reducing derivation

6.1.1 Valency reducing *-gwa*

This suffix is used to reduce the valency of transitive verbs making them reflexive, reciprocal or anticausative. In reflexive clauses the semantic A and P are identical, while in reciprocal clauses there is partial overlap between agent and patient. In anticausative clauses there is only a P argument and the erstwhile A argument is unidentifiable.

Note that *-gwa* often appears as *-gu* as a result of morphophonological interaction with various different suffixes. Non-suffixed verb forms, such as most underspecified ones, take *-gwa* (or *-güwa* if stressed), as exemplified in (169-d) below.

6.1.1.1 Reflexive Reflexive verb forms are formed by replacing a patient indexing suffix with the reflexive marker *-gwa* and promoting the erstwhile patient to agent marked in prefix position. Furthermore, reflexive verb forms are followed by an oblique argument marker identical to the preposition *un* ‘to’, which also carries the reflexive suffix, giving the form *ún-gwa*. Illustrative examples are shown in (169) which gives pairs of transitive clauses followed by the corresponding reflexive clause.

- (169) a. w-aséfuru-b-on gurúyara
 1.PL-save-FUT-3.F canoe
 ‘we are going to save the canoe’ (A20121010b>00:16:08) ♪
- b. n-asáfura-gu-nya n-ún-gwa
 1.SG-save-REFL-PROG 1.SG-to-REFL
 ‘I am saving myself’ (A20121009b>00:34:38) ♪

- c. hów n-umu-t-u muréy lé t-adéregera-be-y Mári n-ún
eat 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F nance 3.M:DEM 3.F-give-EXTR-3.M M. 1.SG-to
'I ate the nances that Mari gave to me' (E20131028>00:01:59) ♪
- d. l-un wá-guchi n-edéregera-gùwa n-ún-gwa
3.M-to 1.PL-father 1.SG-give-REFL 1.SG-to-REFL
'to Our Father I give myself' (N20131116b>00:02:28) ♪
- e. aban=ti n-áluwaha nu-wádigumari l-úma
CONN=TOP 1.SG-look.for 1.SG-work 3.M-with
'I sought work with him' (N20131016b>00:00:58) ♪
- f. n-éybuga áluwa-gwa n-ún-gwa
1.SG-walk seek-REFL 1.SG-to-REFL
'I am going to go seek (my luck)' (Lit. 'I am going to seek myself')
(N20131029a>00:06:30) ♪

6.1.1.2 Reciprocal Reciprocal verb constructions are formally identical to the reflexive, the difference being purely semantic in that rather than the A and P arguments being identical, in the reciprocal they merely overlap.

- (170) a. chón-gwa-rügù-ti-nyu h-ón-gwa áfara-gwa
cut-REFL-just-TI-3.PL 3.PL-to-REFL hit-REFL
'they would fight with machetes' (Lit. 'they would suddenly cut each other, hitting each other') (N20131016d>00:11:31) ♪
- b. m-ísinye-gwà-tu-wa w-ón-gwa
NEG-please-REFL-TI-1.PL 1.PL-to-REFL
'we don't care for each other' (N20131116b>00:02:38) ♪

There are also examples of reciprocal constructions without the use of *ún-gwa* such as (171).

- (171) v-ícha-gwa agúfudeyn
1PL-give:SU1-REFL fist.blow
'we are going to hit each other with fists' (Lit. 'we are going to give each other fist blows') (E20131022a>01:17:29) ♪

Presumably (171) is not considered a proper reciprocal action because a third core argument is involved, i.e. 'fist blows', which function as an indirect object of 'give'.

Note that all of the reflexive examples from § 6.1.1.1 had singular subjects and one might ask what, if any, would be the difference between reflexives with plural subject and reciprocal constructions, which have plural subjects by definition. The answer is that I have not been able to get an unambiguous answer to this question. On the

one hand, speakers seem to use reflexive clauses with plural subjects and reciprocals interchangeably, so that the example in (172) has two possible readings.

- (172) aban w-áluwa-gu-n w-ón-gwa sún=gubey wagíya
 CONN 1.PL-search-REFL-USPEC 1.PL-to-REFL all=COMPL 1.PL:DEM
 ‘we all searched ourselves’; ‘we all searched each other’
 (N20131010f>00:01:31) ♪

But on the other hand, some speakers have told me that this distinction is expressed using two different prepositions, giving the distinction in (173).

- (173) a. w-asara-gwa w-on-gwa
 1.PL-shave-REFL 1.PL-to-REFL
 ‘we’re going to shave’ (E20150716>01:50:16) ♪
- b. w-asara-gwa w-uniyu-gwa
 1.PL-shave-REFL 1.PL-to-REFL
 ‘we’re going to shave each other’ (E20150716>01:50:22) ♪

Those speakers who do not have the distinction in (173) must rely on context for a disambiguation between reflexives and reciprocals.

6.1.1.3 Anticausative Another use of *-gwa* is to form anticausative clauses, which express the lack of an agent in an erstwhile transitive verb. Some examples are shown in (174).

- (174) a. a-húren-cha
 VBLZ-hole-VBLZ
 ‘make a hole in something’ (Suazo, 2011)
- b. a-húren-cha-gwa
 VBLZ-hole-VBLZ-REFL
 ‘for a hole to become bigger’ (Suazo, 2011)
- c. a-bácha-ra
 VBLZ-warm-VBLZ
 ‘to warm something’ (Suazo, 2011)
- d. a-bácha-ra-gwa
 VBLZ-warm-VBLZ-REFL
 ‘become warm’ (Suazo, 2011)

6.1.2 Valency reducing *-wa*

A second type of valency lowering construction creates an intransitive verb from a transitive one, where the erstwhile object is brought into subject function. This is formed by adding a suffix *-wa*. Such constructions are of two types: passive and impersonal. These will be discussed in turn below.

6.1.2.1 Passive A passive construction carries an S argument marker indexing and erstwhile O argument as shown in the example pairs in (175). The examples are ordered in pairs of active and passive clauses for comparison.

- (175) a. n-áfara-ha-dì-bu
1.SG-hit-DISTR-DI-2.SG
'I'm gonna hit you' (E20120928b>00:05:21) ♪
- b. uh! n-áfarù-wa l-uwágu véyu má!
INTERJ 1.SG-hit-PASS 3.M-on day girl
'oh! I got beaten that day, girl!' (N20131016e>00:15:23) ♪
- c. t-arágachu-n-i
3.F-pull.out-USPEC-3.M
'she pulled it out' (N20131016g>00:07:21) ♪
- d. l-arágachù-wa=negè=buga
3.M-pull.out-PASS=HS=PST
'(the tooth) was going to get pulled out' (N20131016g>00:05:52) ♪
- e. ságü biná:fi t-agágudaha-dì-na Évelin
every morning 3.F-wake-DI-1.SG E.
'every morning Evelin wakes me up' (E20150810>00:17:20) ♪
- f. l-igíya=buga h-agágudù-nu-wa agányeha-ti-nya údereü
3.M-DEM=PST 3.PL=wake-USPEC-PASS buy-AGT-PL fish
'then the fish buyers were woken up' (N20131010a>00:09:05) ♪

Apart from the suffix *-wa*, passives also receive secondary stress on the final syllable of the stem, that is, the syllable just before the passive suffix.

6.1.2.2 Impersonal Impersonal constructions also use the valency lowering suffix *-wa* but unlike passives, impersonals do not index any argument on the verb.

- (176) a. áfarù-wa=mèha wa-bésina
kill-IMPERS=DIST.PST 1.PL-neighbor
'our neighbour was killed' (E20150723>00:42:11) ♪
- b. aban w-áhürüha ... l-achíbù-nu-wa áhürühò-wa
CONN 1.PL-grate ... 3.M-wash-USPEC-PASS grate-IMPERS
'we grate it ... it is washed, and grated' (N20131116a>00:03:05) ♪
- c. ahe-yn=ti anyúga ha-bé-y díse-gi há-ban
if-3.M=TOP catch 3.PL-EXTR-3.M far-ABL 3.PL-house
agámbù-wa:-l-i
hear-IMPERS-DI-3.M
'if they have caught something, it is heard from far away'
(N20121026a>00:05:10) ♪
- d. éybugù-wa-t-i yá gíbe
go-IMPERS-TI-3.M here a.lot
'there's a lot of walking here' (E20150728b>00:24:45) ♪

In the first two examples, there is no argument marking at all on the impersonal verb stem. In the last two examples, the person marking is third person singular masculine and must be considered as non-referring.

6.1.2.3 Underspecified passive verb stems Finally, it should also be mentioned that in underspecified verb stems, whether in its subordinate clause or main clause use, the passive suffix is preceded by *-nu*, the marker of underspecification. It appears that *-nu-wa* is a tightly associated collocation, or perhaps even a single morpheme (*ʋ-nuwa*), because the secondary stress associated with passive marking is found, not on *-nu* but on the vowel preceding it.

- (177) a. mosu=hamuga l-agámbù-nu-wa l-eréru-n
must=HORT 3.M-listen-USPEC-PASS 3.M-speak-NMLZ:POSS
'his words had to be listened to' (A20121008a>00:14:35) ♪
- b. pero key urúwey l-ubé-y mósu t-agámbù-nu-wa
but since leader 3.M-EXTR-3.M must 3.F-listen-USPEC-PASS
l-eréru-n
3.M-speak-NMLZ:POSS
'since he was president, his words had to be listened to'
(N20121002b>00:00:22) ♪
- c. yá=ti gíyen l-adûgû-nu-wa eréba
here=TOP also 3.M-make-USPEC-PASS cassava
'it can also be made with cassava' (E20121014a>00:05:44) ♪

- d. aban t-áhüchû-nu-wa gumánana
CONN 3.F-grate-USPEC-PASS cassava
'then the cassava is grated' (E20121014a>00:49:22) ♪
- e. l-aríyahò-wa údereü l-un l-abówchawagù-nu-wa
3.M-search-PASS fish 3.M-to 3.M-cut.up-USPEC-PASS
'fish are searched for in order to be cut up' (N20131116a>00:03:36) ♪
- f. l-abówchawagù-nu-wa l-un l-asáley-hò-nu-wa
3.M-cut.up-USPEC-PASS 3.M-to 3.M-salt-DISTR-USPEC-PASS
'they are cut up in order to be salted' (N20131116a>00:03:38) ♪
- g. l-aságarù-nu-wa éygini l-igía l-íchawagù-nu-wa l-idan
3.M-take.out-USPEC-PASS food 3.M-DEM 3.M-put.in-USPEC-PASS 3.M-in
ában dabárasí
one pan
'that food is taken out and put in a pan' (N20121026e>00:04:34) ♪
- h. aban l-íveruhòw-nu-wa séynsu l-igíya wa-wéy
CONN 3.M-steal-USPEC-PASS money 3.M-DEM 1.PL-from
'that money was stolen from us' (N20131016f>00:06:20) ♪

6.2 Valency increasing derivation

6.2.1 Causative *-güda*

In most dynamic verb clause types it is possible to introduce an extra argument which is then the main causer of an action or event. This new causative argument replaces the erstwhile S or A argument which are moved into object position. Some examples are given in (178).

- (178) a. h-ebéla:-güdû-nya-nu wügûri-nya bágasu
3.PL-enter-CAUS-PROG-3.PL man-PL cow
'the men are bringing in the cows' (E20150730a>00:52:34) ♪
- b. l-abúrucha-güdû-ba-di-na éygini lé
3.M-purge-CAUS-FUT-DI-1.SG food 3.M:DEM
'that food is going to give me diarrhea' (E20150727a>00:27:29) ♪
- c. aban h-achúbara-güdû-n-i wügûri lé w-ún-be-y
CONN 3.PL-jump-CAUS-USPEC-3.M man 3.M:DEM 1.PL-to-EXTR-3.M
ha-rínyaga dayágan
3.PL-say dayágan
'then they throw that man who is with us who they call the dayágan'
(N20121026a>00:01:21) ♪

- d. l-abúreme wadégumanu l-awádegumaridü-güda-ny-e
 3.M-owner work 3.M-work-CAUS-PROG-3.M
 nedégemeyn-t-i
 work-AGT-3.M
 ‘the owner of the work (place) is making the worker work’
 (E20131119>00:17:49) ♪
- e. wéya-güda l-umú-t-i dán wügûri
 old-CAUS 3.M-PST-TI-3.M time man
 ‘time is aging the man’ (E20150730b>00:17:32) ♪

6.2.2 Valency increasing use of *-ra* and *-da*

Most stative verbs can be derived into dynamic ones with a change-of-state meaning.

- (179) a. ítaga-rèü-yebe n-a-dûdü-rü-n dúna-rugu
 thus-DIM-PFUT 1.SG-VBLZ-wet-VBLZ-USPEC water-LOC
 ‘I almost got wet in the water’ (E20150810>01:02:38) ♪
- b. aban l-a-búcha-ru-n l-uwágun
 CONN 3.M-VBLZ-tired-VBLZ-USPEC 3.M-on
 ‘he became tired’ (N20131016a>00:10:20) ♪
- c. kéynaba l-a-nyûreü-dü-n nyén-giyen aban
 like 3.M-VBLZ-small-VBLZ-USPEC there-ABL CONN
 l-a-wéyri-du-n
 3.M-VBLZ-large-VBLZ-USPEC
 ‘it’s like it becomes small and then it becomes big’
 (N20131016c>00:14:09) ♪

The examples in last show that the stative verb stem receives the verbalizing prefix *a-* and one of the derivational suffixes, either *-ra* or *-da*. For instance, *n-adûdü-rü-n* ‘I got wet’ in (179-a) is derived from the corresponding stative verb *dûdü-ti-na* ‘I’m wet’ and *l-a-wéyri-du-n* ‘it becomes big’ in (179-c) is derived from *wéyri-ti* ‘it is big’.

Note that even stative verbs with obliquely marked S have derived dynamic counterparts as in (179-b) which is derived from *buchá l-uwágu* ‘he is tired’.

7 Tense and aspect

Compared to many other grammatical categories, there is a rather abstract relationship between tense-aspect markers and the facts of the real world which they are used to refer to. Thus, it is relatively straight-forward to say that *-nya* in *würi-nya* ‘women’ is what signals that there is more than one woman and it is safe to say that this *-nya* will have this meaning in all contexts. Similarly, it is relatively uncontroversial to say that *n-* refers to the speaker in *n-éybuga* ‘I will walk’ and this will always be the meaning of *n-*. It is not at all trivial, however, to say that the use of a person marking suffix, as opposed to a prefix, places a Garifuna sentence in the past tense, even though this is very often true. This is because tense and aspect categories are highly context dependent, in Garifuna as well as cross-linguistically. For this reason I will follow Dahl (1985, p. 14) in preferring to speak of the “use” of tense-aspect markers rather than their “meaning”. For the same reason, I will begin the present chapter with a structural overview of the core tense-aspect marking system of Garifuna, then moving on to account for their most frequent functions, i.e. their functional nucleus, and lastly showing how they are used in natural discourse. By speaking of the “core” of the tense-aspect marking system, I refer to the obligatory tense-aspect marking within the verb phrase. If I talk about “primary” vs. “secondary” uses of tense-aspect markers, this should be interpreted as expressing my evaluation of the relative frequency of use in my corpus.

As mentioned in § 4, there is a split between dynamic intransitive and stative intransitive verbs, according to which the latter mark their single argument differently from the former. For this reason, the tense-aspect system of stative verbs will be treated separately towards the end of this chapter.

The most frequent verb form in Garifuna is unmarked for tense-aspect; I call this the Underspecified verb form because it can be used when reference to time would be redundant. I take the underspecified verb form to lie outside of the tense-aspect marking system. Within the system of tense-aspect marking, there is an obligatory affixal distinction between past (argument suffix) and non-past (argument prefix). Within the past there is an aspectual distinction between past tense (*-ti-*) and perfect aspect (*-di-*). In non-past marking there is a distinction between present and future. In the future a distinction can be made between the near future which is unmarked, the intermediate future marked by *-ba* and the distant future marked by the enclitic *=me*. In the present, there is a choice between durative (*-gi / gi*) and progressive (*-nya*) aspect. All of the above have the potential, depending on lexical aspect, to take the iterative suffix *-ha* which indicates that an action or event took place several times regardless of whether in the same place or several places or during a short time or over a longer period of time.

Outside of the obligatory core, there are enclitics which can be used to mark distant past (*=meha*), past (*=buga*), perfect (*=ha*) and past-future (*=yebe*) of a verb phrase, a noun phrase or a clause as a whole, depending on the scopal configuration. The distribution of these enclitics would appear to be highly dependent on information structure, an issue about which I still understand relatively little.

A comment is in order regarding the (diachronic) relatedness of certain homophonous formatives: The future suffix, *-ba*, enclitic *=ba* and auxiliary *uba* must of

course be cognate but belong in different morphosyntactic domains. Likewise, the progressive suffix *-nya*, enclitic *=nya* and existence verb *inya* are cognate, and durative suffix *-gi* which is limited to stative verbs and durative auxiliary *gi* I suspect are connected to the ablative suffix *-giyen*, the topic continuity enclitic *=giyen* and the adverb *gíyen* ‘also’. In Table 7 is an inventory of the most important tense-aspect marking devices.

Label	Form	Subject marking
<i>-ti-</i>	past	suffix
<i>-di-</i>	perfect	suffix
UNMARKED	near future	prefix
<i>-ba, uba</i>	future	prefix
<i>=me</i>	future	
<i>-gi</i>	durative	
<i>-nya</i>	progressive	
<i>=meha</i>	distant past	
<i>=buga</i>	past	
<i>=yebe</i>	past-future	

Table 28: *Overview of tense-aspect marking*

In § 7.1, when I say that “a choice must be made between X and Y” where X and Y represent formal means of marking, I mean to say that no verb form will be well formed without making this choice. All tense-aspect markers which do not constitute alternatives in such an obligatory choice are optional, in the sense that if they are left out, the clause will still be well formed. These facts do not, however, predict anything about their pragmatic optionality or obligatoriness which will be discussed in § 7.7 at the end of this chapter.

7.1 Structural overview of obligatory verbal tense-aspect marking

7.1.1 Specified vs. underspecified verb forms

A choice must be made between a specified (180-a) and an underspecified (180-b) verb form.

- (180) a. *l-éybuga*
 3.M-walk
 ‘he will walk’ (E20120924b>00:13:55) ♪
- b. *l-éybugu-n*
 3.M-walk-USPEC
 ‘he walks’ (N20131116a>00:16:12) ♪

That the verb form in (180-a) is specified means that it is part of a system of tense-aspect marking; this system includes an unmarked choice which is the near future as

exemplified in (180-a). This system is the object of study in the remainder of § 7.1. Underspecified verb forms like the one in (180-b), on the other hand, leave out any overt marking of tense and aspect. This leaves only marking of the A / S argument, a suffix *-n(i)* marking the verb as underspecified, and, optionally, an object marker. Note that the translation is set in the present tense which is the unmarked choice in English, to reflect the tenselessness of underspecified verbs. The conditions of use of underspecified verb forms in discourse are discussed in some detail in § 7.7.

Underspecified verb forms can be viewed as lying outside of the tense-aspect marking system as they offer an alternative to overt marking.

Note that negation interacts with tense-aspect marking on verbs and will be dealt with in a separate chapter on negation in § 10.

7.1.2 Choice of argument markers

A choice must be made between marking the primary argument (S / A) in prefix position or elsewhere (i.e. either in suffix position or on a postverbal auxiliary). The transitivity of the verb influences the argument marking configuration and for this reason I will treat intransitive and transitive verbs separately below.

7.1.2.1 Intransitive verbs The single argument of an intransitive verb is marked in prefix or suffix position (181). In suffix position a further choice must be made between an aspect marker TI (181-b) or DI (181-c).

- (181) a. n-arúmuga
1.SG-sleep
'I am going to sleep' (E20120928a>00:05:06) ♪
- b. arúmuga-ti-na
sleep-TI-1.SG
'I slept' (E20120928a>00:08:29) ♪
- c. arúmuga:-di-na
sleep-DI-1.SG
'I have slept' (E20120920a>01:10:58) ♪

7.1.2.2 Transitive verbs The definiteness of the O argument of a transitive verb influences the argument marking configuration and for this reason I will treat verbs with definite and indefinite objects separately.

7.1.2.2.1 Transitive verbs with indefinite objects Transitive verbs with indefinite objects look like intransitive verbs because indefinite objects are not marked on the verb. The agent suffix in (182-c) displays an allomorph *-l-* of the DI-aspect marker.

- (182) a. l-agányeha surúsiya fyú fáluma
 3.M-buy doctor some coconut
 ‘the doctor will buy some coconuts’ (E20131029>01:12:37) ♪
- b. agányeha-t-i surúsiya fyú fáluma
 buy-TI-3.M doctor some coconut
 ‘the doctor bought some coconuts’ (E20131029>01:11:52) ♪
- c. barûna:-l-i wügûri lé ában muréy
 bring-DI-3.M man 3.M:DEM one nance
 ‘that man has brought a nance’ (E20131029>00:09:43) ♪

7.1.2.2.2 Transitive verbs with definite objects Definite objects are marked in suffix position when the A argument is marked in prefix position (183-a). When the A argument is no longer marked in prefix position, both argument markers move to a postverbal auxiliary element. The shape of the auxiliary element depends on whether it carries TI (183-b) or DI (183-c) aspect. Note that the O suffix in (183-a) is preceded by a progressive aspect marker *-nya* which will be discussed below; the O suffix in (183-c) displays an allomorph *-r* of the DI-marker.

- (183) a. l-agányeha-ny-on surúsiya fáluma tó
 3.M-buy-PROG-3.F doctor coconut 3.F:DEM
 ‘the doctor is buying that coconut’ (E20131029>01:14:27) ♪
- b. agányeha l-umú-t-u surúsiya fáluma
 buy 3.M-PST-TI-3.F doctor coconut
 ‘the doctor bought the coconuts’ (E20131029>01:15:25) ♪
- c. bürû l-á-r-u wügûri lé isúbara
 dullify 3.M-PRF-DI-3.F man 3.M:DEM machete
 ‘the man has made the machete dull’ (E20150727a>00:29:14) ♪

Note that the A and O arguments maintain their positions with respect to their host after moving to the auxiliary.

We have now seen the core of the tense-aspect marking system with all of the possibilities within the obligatory system. This information is summed up in Table 29 where the subscript numbers refer to prefix and suffix positions on main verb and auxiliary respectively. Note that TI is only combined with A/S marking on main verbs while DI combines with A, S and O marking on main verbs. Both TI and DI are used together with object marking on auxiliaries.

	prefix ₁ -	Verb	-suffix ₁	prefix ₂ -	AUX	-suffix ₂
Non-past	PREF-	Verb				
	PREF-	Verb	-DI-SUFF			
Past		Verb	-TI-SUFF			
		Verb	-DI-SUFF			
		Verb		PREF-	<i>umu</i>	-TI-SUFF
		Verb		PREF-	<i>a(ma)</i>	-DI-SUFF

Table 29: Core of tense-aspect marking system

I will soon move on to the functions of the various verb stem types and morphosyntactic tense-aspect marking strategies. Before this, however, in § 7.2 I will take a brief look at the lexical aspect classes, i.e. the inherent aspectual / viewpoint qualities of verbs. This is necessary as lexical aspect interacts with grammatical aspect, influencing the resulting reading and limiting the possible combinations. For instance, Activity verbs such as ‘swim’, ‘run’ or ‘urinate’, are more likely to be marked by the present progressive *-nya* than Achievement verbs such as ‘close’, ‘break’ or ‘find’ since the latter are punctual and as such lack, or have only a very slight, duration.

7.2 Lexical aspect

The verbs in Table 30 have been divided into the classic Vendlerian lexical aspect classes (aktionsarten) according to semantic criteria (Vendler (1957) treated in Sasse (2002)).

State	Activity	Accomplishment	Achievement				
<i>dibí</i>	‘hang’	<i>áfuliha</i>	‘swim’	<i>abúlucha</i>	‘sink’	<i>ebélura</i>	‘enter’
<i>bíme</i>	‘be sweet’	<i>á:gawa</i>	‘bathe’	<i>agûra</i>	‘tie’	<i>áfurida</i>	‘exit’
<i>chu</i>	‘be smart’	<i>awáriha</i>	‘crawl’	<i>abástera</i>	‘baptize’	<i>achûlûra</i>	‘arrive’
<i>wéya</i>	‘be old’	<i>arúmuga</i>	‘sleep’	<i>aféyndira</i>	‘paint’	<i>idi / nyûdü</i>	‘leave’
<i>rára</i>	‘stand’	<i>amúraga</i>	‘defecate’	<i>ábunaha</i>	‘bury’	<i>ówe /hilá</i>	‘die’
<i>bwi</i>	‘be good’	<i>erémuha</i>	‘sing’	<i>achíhaha</i>	‘wash’	<i>átügûra</i>	‘cut’
<i>sándi</i>	‘be sick’	<i>awówoha</i>	‘bark’	<i>amáhara</i>	‘drain’	<i>adéyra</i>	‘find’
<i>busén</i>	‘want’	<i>ayáhuwaha</i>	‘cry’	<i>ábunagwa</i>	‘plant’	<i>áfara</i>	‘hit; kill’
<i>agá:mba</i>	‘hear’	<i>avéreha</i>	‘vomit’	<i>arífuda</i>	‘show’	<i>aságara</i>	‘take out’
<i>badûle</i>	‘stick’	<i>áwaha</i>	‘yawn’	<i>águragwa</i>	‘violate’	<i>áchara</i>	‘put (in); hide’
<i>wéyri</i>	‘big’	<i>ádara</i>	‘push’	<i>abáhüda</i>	‘count’	<i>agányeha</i>	‘buy’
<i>harú</i>	‘white’	<i>álura</i>	‘pull’	<i>éyga / how</i>	‘eat’	<i>alúguraha</i>	‘sell’
<i>würí</i>	‘black’	<i>áluwaha</i>	‘look for’	<i>áta / gurá</i>	‘drink’	<i>abúliyeyda</i>	‘forget’
<i>dûdü</i>	‘wet’	<i>abálabaha</i>	‘roll’	<i>ówchaha</i>	‘fish’	<i>árügüda</i>	‘grab’
		<i>ídaragwa</i>	‘help’	<i>afúredeyra</i>	‘borrow’	<i>íchiga / ru</i>	‘give’

Table 30: Verbs sorted according to lexical aspect class

In the following sections I will show how each of these classes behave in relation to grammatical tense-aspect marking. In § 7.3 I will present the ways in which the verb stem types from Table 29 and the lexical aspect classes from Table 30 can be further combined with non-obligatory tense-aspect marking affixes, enclitics and auxiliaries. I will label the various types of markers according to what I have found to be at their functional nucleus. In § 7.7 there will be a discussion of tense-aspect in use and thereby the supporting argumentation for the labels presented in §§ 7.3-7.6 and the myriad of deviations and exceptions that permeate natural language usage.

7.3 Tense-aspect of dynamic verbs

As already stated above, the definiteness of O arguments affects the shape of verb forms. In order to focus only on tense-aspect marking, when discussing transitive

verbs, I will only give examples with definite objects.

7.3.1 Near/immediate future

Within the tense-aspect marking system, the near future is the unmarked choice because this verb form only carries person marking without the use of any additional formatives.

- (184) a. m-achíbu-n n-ubé-y n-úhabu **n-arúmuga** ítara
NEG-wash-NEG 1.SG-FUT-3.M 1.SG-hand 1.SG-sleep thus
'I'm not going to wash my hands, I'll go to sleep like this'
(N20131016d>00:14:50) ♪
- b. pero l-áfara:-r-u gurévegi
but 3.M-kill-DI-3.F parrot
'but he's going to kill the parrot'
(N20131016i>00:11:01) ♪

Note that objects in near future clauses are preceded by a DI-marker. In past clauses DI signals perfect aspect, but in the near future, DI does not appear to add any meaning, and simply functions as a ligature between the object suffix and the stem. Diachronically these two uses of DI may be connected but synchronically they have completely separate functions and distributions.

7.3.2 Future *-ba*

Contrasting with the near future is the regular future marked by the suffix *-ba*. This is used to refer to a future which is further removed from the time of speech than the near future. Note that a verb stem final *a* changes to *u* before the future suffix.

- (185) a. uwá n-amúle **h-arúmugu-ba** yágüta ínyu!
NEG 1.SG-brother 2.PL-sleep-FUT there up
'no brother! Y'all are going to sleep up there!'
(N20131029a>00:09:36) ♪
- b. l-áfaru-be-y iráhü wayúmu
3.M-kill-FUT-3.M child crab
'the boy is going to kill the crab'
(E20131122>00:05:19) ♪

7.3.3 Distant future =*me*

The distant future enclitic =*me* points to a future reference point which is further removed from the present than what is expressed using *-ba*. This means that the event marked by =*me* is removed from the present either by a prolonged period of time or often also by an intervening event.

- (186) a. so l-igíya=ba=ti=me l-achúlürü-n ában óra l-un
 so 3.M-DEM=FUT=TOP=DFUT 3.M-arrive-USPEC one time 3.M-to
 n-iyábi=me ariyahe-y há-ma n-ibá-nya
 1.SG-come:SU1=DFUT look.for-3.M 3.PL-with 1.SG-grandchild-PL
 ‘so, there will come a time when I’ll come and look for (what I need)
 from my grandchildren’ (N20131116a>00:12:40) ♪
- b. asta=me l-un l-edéweynha-n w-ón yá w-agéyra
 until=DFUT 3.M-to 3.M-give-USPEC 1.PL-to here 1.PL-village
 ‘so that he may give something to us here in the village’
 (N20131116a>00:15:52) ♪
- c. b-éyba=gubèy=tiya anûga-nya b-iráhü-nyü aban=me
 2.SG-go:IMP=COMPL=EMPH bring:SU1-3.PL 2.SG-child-PL CONN=DFUT
 b-iyábi-n nyáh-on wá-m-on l-inyá=ti n-ún
 2.SG-come-USPEC here-ALL 1.PL-with-ALL 3.M-say=TOP 1.SG-to
 ‘“go get your children and then you come here to our place”, he said to
 me’ (N20131016b>00:14:55) ♪
- d. ká=me mási?
 what=DFUT more
 ‘what else?’ (N20131116b>00:12:01) ♪

In (186-a-b) there is expected to pass a substantial amount of time before the anticipated future event takes place, while in (186-c) another event must take place before that marked by *=me* can happen. In (186-d) the future projected event is unknown and perhaps for this reason *=me* is used as an indicator of uncertainty.

I have also heard *=me* used as an indicator of obligation as in the two interrogative clauses in (187) (unfortunately I was unable to record this usage).

- (187) a. n-ídi-ba=san?
 1.SG-go:SU1-FUT=Q
 ‘will I go (too)?’ (field notes)
- b. n-ídi=me=san?
 1.SG-go:SU1=DFUT=Q
 ‘should I go (too)?’ (field notes)

In (187), *-ba* indicates a non-modal future use, contrasting with the example with *=me* which indicates a sense of necessity or obligation on the part of the speaker.

The use of *=me* can also be used in contexts where a past reading is intended, in which case it indicates that some time has passed or that some condition has changed

since the previous utterance.³⁰

- (188) a. ában=ti=me n-achûlürü-n Limún
 CONN=TOP=DFUT 1.SG-arrive-USPEC L.
 ‘then I arrived at Limón’ (N20131010d>00:05:36) ♪
- b. t-iyábi-n-ha=me Máchangày aná-güra
 3.F-come:SU1-USPEC-DISTR=DFUT M. 1.SG-go
 ‘when the Machangey (train) would come, I would run off (to catch it)’
 (N20131116b>00:16:20) ♪
- c. n-amísurahà-r-u=me fulúwaru tó
 1.SG-measure-DI-3.F=DFUT flour 3.F:DEM
 ‘I started to measure that flour’ (N20131016b>00:01:37) ♪

In (188-a) the arriving is preceded by the long process of sailing towards the community of Limón, the destination. In (188-b) it is the arriving of the train that prompts the movement of the protagonist, while in (188-c) the protagonist is having doubts for a long while about how to proceed and then finally begins the task marked by *=me*.

7.3.4 Progressive *-nya*

A progressive suffix *-nya* is used to signal that an action or event coincides with the time of speech and is of a significant duration. The progressive suffix is only used in clauses with a present tense time of reference, and it is the only tense-aspect type which exclusively refers directly to the present time. (The near future has the ability to refer to the present time, but this is a secondary or peripheral use.)

- (189) a. n-arúmugu-nya yá abún-ha-gwa yágüta vé
 1.SG-sleep-PROG here 2.SG-exist-REFL there see
 ‘I’m sleeping here and you’re (sitting) over there by yourself, see’
 (N20131016e>00:09:03) ♪
- b. n-aránse-ha-ny-en haléü
 1.SG-repair-DISTR-PROG-3.M chair
 ‘I’m repairing the chair’ (E20121027b>00:21:08) ♪

Like in the future, the verb stem final /a/ changes to [u] before the progressive suffix. However, when the distributive suffix *-ha* is used, the stem final vowel does not change, as shown in (189-b).

The progressive suffix most likely has its historical origin in the free copula *inya* (on which see § 4.3.3). Also connected to the progressive is a derivative suffix *-nya*

³⁰This is related, if not directly tied to, Taylor’s analysis of *=meha* (1956b, p. 145) which he calls the perfective counterpart of *=me*. I do not share this analysis of *=meha* but agree that the use of *=me* in a past context may indicate that conditions have changed.

which can derive stative predicates from most other word classes and which takes a stative S suffix along with a DI or NI aspect marker (see § 4.2.6.3).

7.3.5 Past TI and perfect DI

The TI-marker signals that an action or event took place in the past i.e. at some time before the time of speech. In a clause without an object or with an indefinite object the verb form has the shape as in (190).

- (190) a. chülû-ti-na nyén
arrive-TI-1.SG there
'I arrived there' (A20121008a>00:39:34) ♪
- b. sagá-t-i=tiya bisilédu!
take.out-TI-3.M=EMPH gun
'he took out a gun!' (N20131016i>00:00:27) ♪

In a clause with a definite object the auxiliary *umu* is used for argument marking as in (191)

- (191) áfara n-umú-t-u bágasu
kill 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F cow
'I killed the cow' (E20131028>00:02:48) ♪

No information is provided as to the current relevance at the time of speech nor regarding the internal structure of a state-of-affairs.

The DI-aspect marker, on the other hand, signals the current relevance of an event, i.e. that it has been brought to completion at the time of speech. In a clause without an object or with an indefinite object the verb form has the shape as in (192).

- (192) a. éybuga:-l-i iráhü lé
walk-DI-3.M child 3.M:DEM
'that boy can walk already' (E20121001c>00:00:29) ♪
- b. íveruha-du-wa má:ngu sún wagíya
steal-DI-1.PL mango all 1.PL:DEM
'we have all stolen mangos' (N20131010c>00:13:26) ♪

In a clause with a definite object the auxiliary *a(ma)* is used for argument marking as in (193).

- (193) a. alúgura l-á-nya údereü
 sell 3.M-PRF-3.PL fish
 ‘he has sold (all) the fish’ (N20131010a>00:08:52) ♪
- b. n-íchugu-n ában káda ában porque agúraba h-amá-di-na
 1.SG-give:SU1-USPEC one each one because wait 3.PL-PRF-DI-1.SG
 ‘I gave a fish to each of them because they had waited for me’
 (N20131016c>00:09:06) ♪

7.3.6 Habitual

There is no dedicated marker of habitual aspect in Garifuna. In § 7.7.3 I will show that habitual is one of the most frequent readings of underspecified verb forms; one example is given in (194-a). However, past tense verb forms are also frequently used to express habitual meanings as in (194-b).

- (194) a. súwandán=tiya mósu b-agúrabaha-n
 always=EMPH have.to 2.SG-wait-USPEC
 ‘you always have to wait’ (N20131016h>00:10:15) ♪
- b. súwandán alídiha l-umú-tu-wa lé gayára-be-y
 always advise 3.M-PST-TI-1.PL 3.M:DEM be.able-EXTR-3.M
 ‘(God) advises us (in) what he can’ (N20131017a>00:14:15) ♪

Habitual has been considered to be a subcategory of imperfectivity (Comrie, 1976). This notion is in fact compatible with the Garifuna past which is void of aspectual distinctions and therefore lends itself to be used as an habitual marker just like the English “present”, the unmarked form, is used for a number of different purposes, including habitual. Most often, however, an habitual meaning in Garifuna will be expressed using an underspecified verb.

7.3.7 Distributive *-ha*

The suffix *-ha* marks a number of related verbal aspectual distinctions which I subsume under the umbrella term Distributive. The meanings encoded by it may include both temporal and geographic distribution of an event, often expressed as the repetition of an action, sometimes in one place, sometimes in several places. The distributive aspect combines well with Activities and Accomplishments but not with Achievements, due to the durative nature of the former two and the punctual nature of the latter. In fact, activity and accomplishment verbs have in many cases lexicalized *-ha* as part of the verb stem as has already been shown in Table 30.

A revealing contrast is shown in the two purpose clauses in (195).

- (195) l-íchawagù-nu-wa l-idan ában dabárasí l-ubá ha-yábi l-aw
 3.M-put-USPEC-PASS 3.M-in one pan 3.M-after 3.PL-come:SU1 3.M-with
 l-un l-achága-rù-nu-wa t-id-on gurúyara l-un
 3.M-to 3.M-throw-VBLZ-USPEC-PASS 3.F-in-ALL canoe 3.M-to
 l-achága-hò-nu-wa barána sún éyini ligíya
 3.M-throw-DISTR-USPEC-PASS ocean all food 3.M:DEM
 ‘the food is put into a pan, afterward they come with it in order for it to be
 put into the canoe, in order for it to be thrown into the ocean, all of that
 food’ (N20121026e>00:04:34) ♪

The two purpose clauses, which are in the passive voice, are identical in structure with the significant difference that the first displays the verbal suffix *-ru* (*-ra* with vowel shift due to suffixation) but in the second this is replaced by distributive *-ho* (*-ha* with vowel change) - this difference correlates with the pragmatics of the grammatical objects of the two clauses; in the first it is the whole pan of food while in the second the object is the individual pieces of food; a pan can be put into a canoe in one movement, while the mass of food must be thrown into the water little by little, at least to some extent, hence the distributive suffix.

An example of a lexicalized contrast with *-ha* is the difference between *agá:mba* ‘hear’ and *agá:mba-ha* ‘listen’ (196).

- (196) a. n-agámba-ha-be-y l-eréru-n
 1.SG-hear-DISTR-FUT-3.M 3.M-say-USPEC
 ‘I will listen to what he says’ (A20121008a>00:15:53) ♪
- b. n-agámbu-bè-y
 1.SG-hear-FUT-3.M
 ‘I will hear him’ (E20120928a>00:57:15) ♪

In this case *-ha* works as an intensifier and at the same time signals added duration of the event of auditive perception.

7.3.8 Durative *-gi*

The durative marker *-gi* indicates that a state-of-affairs holds true at the time of reference and underscores the fact that it also held true for some time before that. In this way it is similar to the function of the English adverb ‘still’.

- (197) a. m-amúrigu-n-gì:-di-na
 NEG-comb-NEG-DUR-DI-1.SG
 ‘I still haven’t combed myself’ (E20131022a>01:43:08) ♪
- b. harítakwa-gì:-di-na t-uwágun
 remember-DUR-DI-1.SG 3.F-on
 ‘I still remember it’ (E20121001a>01:09:29) ♪

- c. harítagwa n-á-gi:-r-u iráhü t-ugúya
remember 1.SG-PRF-DUR-DI-3.F child 3.F-DEM
'I am still remembering the girl' (E20121001a>01:06:22) ♪
- d. dís-sìsi gumádi l-á-gi-di-na=bùga
ten-six dominate 3.M-PRF-DUR-DI-1.SG=PST
'at 16 he still dominated me' (N20131016c>00:02:34) ♪
- e. máma-gi:-l-i l-ufériya-n San Juán
NEG-DUR-DI-3.M 3.M-fair-POSS S. J.
'the San Juan fair has still not arrived' (E20131023>00:07:29) ♪
- f. eskwéla-gi-di-na gíyen
school-DUR-DI-1.SG also
'I was also still in school' (N20131016f>00:03:07) ♪

As shown in (197), the suffix *-gi* can be used on a main verb as in (197-a-b), on an auxiliary as in (197-c-d), on a nominal negator *máma* as in (197-e) or on a nominal predicate as in (197-f).

7.3.9 Aspectual uses of *-gwa*

As I have shown in § 6.1.1 the suffix *-gwa* is used to lower the valency of a transitive verb. However, this suffix also finds other uses which are not valency lowering but rather may be considered aspectual.

7.3.9.1 'To do alone' Intransitive verbs can take *-gwa* with no change in valency but with an added meaning of an event happening without any outside intervention or help such as in (198).

- (198) a. n-úguchu w-ówe-gwà=tiya!
1.SG-mother 1.PL-die:SU1-GWA=EMPH
'mother, we're going to die!' (N20131116b>00:13:59) ♪
- b. chülû-gwa-rügû-tu-wa
arrive-GWA-just-TI-1.PL
'we just arrived' (N20131029a>00:08:48) ♪
- c. t-achûla:-gwa réyti l-uwágu-n béna
3.F-arrive-GWA straight 3.M-on-ALL door
'he arrived straight at the door' (N20131029a>00:12:42) ♪

- d. nyén-nya ában bacháruwahey-t-i nyú nyén l-igíya
 there-exist one drunk-TI-3.M sitting there 3.M-DEM
 ha-yábi-gwa=ti porsyón mútu
 3.PL-come:SU1-GWA=TOP bit.of person
 ‘a drunk was sitting there when a group of people came’
 (N20121026b>00:01:45) ♪
- e. n-ugúya mé-ydi-n-ha-dì-na ábangu hé-ydin-gwa
 1.SG-DEM NEG-go:SU1-NEG-DISTR-DI-1.SG because 3.PL-go:SU1-GWA
 Meríg-on há n-áni-gu padná
 M.-ALL 3.PL:DEM 1.SG-CLF-COL friend
 ‘I don’t go anymore because my friends moved to the States’
 (N20131016e>00:12:00) ♪

Most of the examples in last involve movement verbs, i.e. ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘arrive’ etc. and this might reflect a tendency for *-gwa* to be used in this way in movement verbs more often than in other types of verbs. The use of *-gwa* with movement verbs appears to add a meaning of ‘unaccompanied’ movement³¹.

What makes this use of *-gwa* aspectual, rather than valency lowering, is the fact that the examples in (198) have the same valency without the use of *-gwa*. Even so, there is a clear connection to valency. Recalling that the great majority of intransitive verbs in Garifuna can take two core arguments by incorporating an oblique constituent into the core argument structure, perhaps it is better to view this use of *-gwa* as in between valency adjusting and aspectual.

7.3.9.2 ‘To do in passing’ Another aspectual use of *-gwa* is illustrated in (199).

- (199) a. n-éybuga gámbusànd-un aban n-achûla:-gu-n
 1.SG-go cemetery-ALL CONN 1.SG-arrive-GWA-USPEC
 l-úbi-yen-giyen máysturu
 3.M-house:POSS-LOC-ABL teacher
 ‘I’m going to the cemetery and I’ll stop by the teacher’s house’
 (E20150728a>00:17:36) ♪
- b. chûlû-gwa-rügû-t-i Stéffen yá-giyen ... nyûdü-ha
 arrive-GWA-just-TI-3.M S. here-ABL ... go:SU2-PRF
 ‘Steffen stopped by here ... but left’ (E20150728a>00:18:54) ♪

³¹This use of a valency lowering device is parallel to Spanish reflexive pronouns, e.g. *te* in *te fuiste* ‘you left’. Whether such usage in Garifuna has emerged under the influence of Spanish is unknown to me.

7.3.9.3 **Prototypical object** The use of *-gwa* can also indicate that an action involves a prototypical object as illustrated in the example pairs in (200).

- (200) a. abáru^{cha}
 ‘to fold’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 28)
- b. abáru^{cha-gwa}
 ‘to bend ones limbs; to fold clothes’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 28)
- c. abéü^{da}
 ‘to count; to tell; to value’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 30)
- d. abéü^{da-gwa}
 ‘to tell fantastic stories’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 30)

This use of *-gwa* does not appear to be widespread as I have only found the dictionary examples in (200), none in my own corpus.

7.3.9.4 **Existence verb *ha* with *-gwa*** When *-gwa* is used with the existence predicate *ha/heyn*, it adds the durative meaning glossed with ‘still’ in (201).

- (201) a. anyá-heyn fyú údereü n-úma anyá-ha-gwa yára, würínowga
 3.PL-COP few fish 1.SG-with 3.PL-COP-still there yesterday
 m-alúguru-n-ti-na ní ában líburu
 NEG-sell-NEG-TI-1.SG NEG one pound
 ‘I have a few fish, they are still there, yesterday I didn’t sell a single pound’ (N20131016e>00:04:59) ♪
- b. San Juan ní-heyn fulásu nú-heyn fáluma nyén, há-bi-nya
 S. J. 3.M-COP place 3.F-COP coconut there 3.PL-house-LOC
 gürígiya. Nú-ha-gwa?
 people 3.F-COP-still
 ‘in San Juan there are places where there are coconuts, at people’s houses. Are there still?’ (N20131016e>00:13:06) ♪
- c. nú-heyn-gwà=meha Machá:nga
 3.F-COP-still=DPST M.
 ‘the Machangey still existed’ (N20131016a>00:12:15) ♪

7.3.9.5 **Stative verb with *-gwa*** Stative verbs with *-gwa* carry the added meaning of turning into a state without any apparent cause. An example of this is shown in (202-c). This contrasts with (202-b) where the cause is normally known.

- (202) a. gibínadu würi-t-i
paca black-TI-3.M
‘the black paca’ (E20121003b>00:00:46) ♪
- b. á-würi-da
VBLZ-black-DA
‘to become black’ (Suazo, 2011, p. 27)
- c. dan t-áfuridùn-be-y anímalu tó würi-gwa t-igíbu
time 3.F-exit-EXTR-3.M animal 3.F:DEM black-GWA 3.F-face
‘when that animal came out, its face was all black’
(N20131016b>00:03:51) ♪

This analysis is still tentative as the example in (202) is the only one in my corpus.

7.3.10 Suppletive verb stems

A small number of verbs are in complementary distribution. This means that their meanings are expressed by two different verb stems which have forms that are completely dissimilar and which are historically unrelated (in fact, it appears that the SU 1 verbs are from Arawak and the SU 2 verbs are from Carib). One member of these suppletive pairs has the ability to take a prefix, while the latter does not. Due to this asymmetry, the former is much more frequently used than the latter which are only used in past clauses with positive polarity and in constructions with abbreviated verb stems particularly imperative or hortative clauses.

The verbs in question are listed in Table 31. In the following discussion I am going to refer to each member of the suppletive verb stem pairs as ‘SU 1’ and ‘SU 2’ respectively.

Prefix-SU1	SU2-suffix	Gloss
<i>ídi</i>	<i>nyûdü</i>	‘go; leave’
<i>iyábi</i>	<i>nyûbüri</i>	‘come’
<i>áta</i>	<i>gurá</i>	‘drink’
<i>éyga</i>	<i>how</i>	‘eat’
<i>anûga</i>	<i>barû</i>	‘bring’
<i>íchiga</i>	<i>ru</i>	‘give’
<i>ónwe</i>	<i>hilá</i>	‘die’

Table 31: *Suppletive verb stems*

As mentioned above, SU 2s are limited to contexts that do not require a prefix and SU 1s are used in all contexts which do require a prefix. In what concerns tense-aspect, this then becomes a past vs. non-past distinction (the present discussion will be limited to the implications of suppletive verb stems for tense and aspect, cf. § 9.2 for discussions of their relevance for imperative/hortative and § 10 for polarity.)

7.3.10.1 SU 1 The suppletive verb stems of the SU 1 type are used in the great majority of contexts. Some representative examples are shown in (203) with an underspecified, a progressive and a future clause.

- (203) a. móste n-ídi-n eskwéla ladéünrün ában
 have.to 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC school o'clock one
 'I had to go to school at one' (N20131116b>00:13:36) ♪
- b. n-átu-ny-on t-igádürü-n servésa
 1.SG-drink:SU1-PROG-3.F 3.F-four-POSS beer
 'I'm drinking the fourth beer' (E20131029>01:30:04) ♪
- c. h-íchugu-ba ában t-amída-n bolétu b-ún
 3.PL-give:SU1-FUT one 3.F-half-POSS ticket 2.SG-to
 'they're gonna give you one half of the ticket' (N20131010a>00:13:26) ♪

7.3.10.2 SU 2 The suppletive verb stems of the SU 2 type are the marked members as their use is restricted to past and perfect clauses - examples are shown in (204).

- (204) a. ní-heyn=ha w-agíya nyûdü-tu-wa éyguwada dagá Céib-on
 1.SG-COP=DISTR 1.PL-DEM go:SU2-TI-1.PL fall until C.-ALL
 'sometimes we would go land as far as La Ceiba'
 (N20131016h>00:02:29) ♪
- b. barû t-umú-t-u irähü tó gá:nyèn tó
 bring:SU2 3.F-PST-TI-3.F child 3.F:DEM egg 3.F:DEM
 'the girl brought that egg' (E20131029>01:24:16) ♪
- c. nó b-avísara-nya sún=gubey l-uwágu hilá:-di-na lán
 NEG 2.SG-notify-3.PL all=COMPL 3.M-on die:SU2-DI-1.SG IRR
 'no, go tell everybody that I've died' (N20131029a>00:12:24) ♪
- d. hów l-a-l-i garádun n-úhabu hów n-erébe
 eat:SU2 3.M-PRF-DI-3.M mouse 1.SG-hand eat:SU2 1.SG-forehead
 'the mouse had bitten my hand and bitten my forehead'
 (N20131016d>00:14:56) ♪

The examples in (204) are no different from past and perfect non-suppletive verb stems. However, one peculiarity worth mentioning is the fact that in the third person, the suppletive verb stems of the SU 2 type tend to drop their person marking, though this is not obligatory as shown in (205) where each example pair has one example marked for person and one which is not.

- (205) a. *bueno hél! hilá=tiya kómpa má burúguwa=tiya!*
 well INTERJ die:SU2=EMPH buddy girl disseminate=EMPH
 ‘well, damn! our buddy is dead girl, everybody knows!’
 (N20131029a>00:12:48) ♪
- b. *sún h-arínya-gu hilá:-l-i lán*
 all 3.PL-say-GWA die:SU2-DI-3.M IRR
 ‘everybody whispered that he had died’ (N20131016i>00:01:39) ♪
- c. *ah nyûbüri dagá yá San Juán*
 INTERJ come:SU2 until here S. J.
 ‘he used to come as far as here to San Juan’ (N20131016e>00:14:49) ♪
- d. *lé=ti=buga íveruha-bà-li-nyu údereü nyûbüri-ha-l-i*
 3.M:DEM=TOP=PST steal-EXTR-DI-3.PL fish come:SU2-PRF-DI-3.M
gíyen
 also
 ‘the one who had stolen our fish had come as well’
 (N20121002c>00:02:48) ♪
- e. *nyûdü-ha=negè=buga w-águchi-gu ... anûga údereü*
 go:SU2-DISTR=HS=PST 1.PL-father-COL ... bring:SU1 fish
 ‘they say that our forefathers used to go ... and get fish’
 (N20131029a>00:14:31) ♪
- f. *nyûdü-ha-l-i máma l-úhabu-rugù-ny-en*
 go:SU2-PRF-DI-3.M NEG 3.M-hand-LOC-COP-3.M
 ‘he had already left, he did not have him in his power’ (Lit. ‘... have him in his hand’)
 (N20131016i>00:00:49) ♪

This ability of third person marking to drop is only one of the traits that suppletive verb stems of the SU 2 type share with stative verbs. As has been shown in a previous chapter, stative verbs always mark their S argument by a suffix, have the ability to drop person marking altogether, signalling a high degree of current relevance, and some stative verbs need to add the perfect suffix *-ha* in order to take perfect marking of the DI-series. This last characteristic also shows on some SU 2 verb stems; compare (205-b) *hilá* ‘die’ which does not need the perfect suffix, to (205-d-f) which do. Just like with stative verbs, it is the lexical aspect of the verb that determines whether perfectivity must be explicitly marked or not.

Some particularities regarding *ídi* / *nyûdü* ‘go’: In the first and third persons plural, *ídi* has two alternate forms: *wé=ydi-n* / *wó-wdi-n* ‘we go’ and *hé-ydi-n* / *hó-wdi-n* ‘they go’. The irregular forms are the ones where the /a/ of the prefix turns to [o] and the initial /i/ of the stem becomes [w] rather than the expected [y]. This irregularity appears to be due to the interaction of person markers *wa-* ‘1.PL’ and *ha-* ‘3.PL’ with the initial [i]. However, this type of vowel coalescence is not regular. The regular pattern is for initial [i] to elide after [a]; e.g. *ídan* ‘inside’: *n-ídan*, *b-ídan*, *l-ídan*, *t-ídan*, *wá-dan*, *h-ídan*, *há-dan*. One explanation is that due to the shortness of the stem, the initial vowel is reluctant to elide as this would make the stem less recognizable.

7.4 Tense-aspect of stative verbs

Some discussion of tense-aspect distinctions in stative verbs was included in § 4.2 as part of the discussion of argument marking. In what follows I will add more detail to the discussion of tense and aspect marking in stative verbs.

Based on morphological criteria, stative verbs can be divided into two classes: 1) TI or DI-suffix verbs and 2) verbs taking other suffixes or non-suffixing stative verbs. Class 1 consists of the bulk of stative verbs while class 2 consists solely of position verbs. The position verbs in my database tend not to make tense-aspect distinctions. However, since this type of stative verb is relatively underrepresented, it is entirely possible that tense-aspect distinctions are regularly available for stative position verbs, but that I have so far not encountered them. The majority of stative verbs take a TI or DI-suffix and are able to make a range of other tense-aspect distinctions as described in what follows.

7.4.1 Core distinctions

Each stative verb takes one of either past TI or perfect DI, the former expressing the state without aspectual focus, and the latter expressing the result of a process³².

- (206) a. *dûdü-t-i* *eréba*
 wet-TI-3.M *cassava*
 ‘the cassava is wet’ (A20121016b>00:19:02) ♪
- b. *würigi:-r-u* *abábeü*
 unripe-DI-3.F *papaya*
 ‘the papaya is unripe’ (E20131023>01:45:15) ♪

Note that the result does not need to be the natural end result, as in (206-b) where the papaya is unripe at the time of speech but is still undergoing the process of ripening.

Verbs which take TI can take durative past DI when adding the distributive suffix *-ha* to the stem, cf. (206-a).

³²The vowel preceding a DI-suffix is always lengthened, and in my analysis this vowel length belongs to the DI-suffix, not the verb stem. However, I write the lengthening together with the vowel even though strictly speaking (206-b) should be written *würigi:-r-u*.

- (207) dūdū-ha-l-i eréba
 wet-PRF-DI-3.M cassava
 ‘the cassava has become wet’ (E20131130>00:52:01) ♪

The resulting form expresses the effect of a process that has some duration.

7.4.2 Future *-ba*

Stative verbs can appear with future marking.

- (208) a. bíme-b-on fáluma
 sweet-FUT-3.F coconut
 ‘the coconut will be sweet’ (A20121016b>00:21:46) ♪
- b. sū-be-y ni-chûgü
 hot-FUT-3.M 1.SG-head
 ‘my head will be hot’ (A20121016b>00:24:50) ♪

This signals a future state as the result of an ongoing process.

Additional distinctions can be made with the use of enclitics and auxiliaries as will be discussed in § 7.6 below.

7.4.3 Durative *-gi*

When the durative aspect marker *-gi* is used on stative verbs it is always followed by the DI aspect marker, which in this context is not a perfect marker, but rather a marker of change of state.

- (209) a. dan le nyû:-gi:-di-na l-ubé-y
 time 3.M:DEM small-DUR-DI-1.SG 3.M-EXTR-3.M
 ‘when I was still little’ (N20121026a>00:00:27) ♪
- b. hóven-gi:-di-na l-uwéy l-ubá
 young-DUR-DI-1.SG 3.M-than 3.M-EXTR
 ‘I was younger than today’ (N20131016f>00:03:05) ♪
- c. bwídu-gi-dì-bu bwídu-gi-dì-na bwídu-gi:-l-i Sántos
 good-DUR-DI-2.SG good-DUR-DI-1.SG good-DUR-DI-3.M S.
 ‘you’re still useful, I’m still useful, Santos is still useful’
 (E20131022a>01:02:38) ♪

- d. ladûga ahe-yn adûga-ha-ba:-l-i sún lé l-aw t-ídibu
 because if-3.M do-DISTR-EXTR-DI-3.M all 3.M:DEM 3.M-with 3.F-trunk
 véve lé dûdü-gi:-l-i ká-ba-gi m-adûgü-n h-amá
 tree 3.M:DEM wet-DUR-DI-3.M what-FUT-DUR NEG-do-NEG 3.PL-AUX
 l-aw lé mábey-ha-l-i?
 3.M-with 3.M:DEM dry-PRF-DI-3.M
 ‘because if they would do all that with a fresh tree trunk, what wouldn’t
 they do with a dry one?’ (Lucas 23:31)

There is a homophonous auxiliary counterpart *gi* for use with dynamic verbs as discussed in § 7.3.8.

7.5 New information *-ga*

We find the use of a suffix *-ga* with stative quality verbs. It adds a meaning of immediate present relevance as in (210-a) or an attitude of admiration or excitement as in (210-b).

- (210) a. dingu-ga wûbu l-igiya!
 blue-NEW mountain 3.M-DEM
 ‘those mountains are (have just turned) blue!’
 (N20131016a>00:15:24) ♪
- b. key=ti dilí-ga l-ubé-y fúguwa-ti-nya murúsun h-áma
 as=TOP cold-NEW 3.M-EXTR-3.M to.light-TI-3.PL a.bit 3.PL-among
 polisíya wátu
 police firewood
 ‘since it was extremely cold some of the policemen lit a fire’ (Juan 18:18)

I suspect that *-ga* is cognate with the modal particle *ga* which has an overlapping function (cf. § 9.3.3 on this).

There are other examples of what look like more lexicalized uses of *-ga* shown in (211)³³ and (212).

- (211) a. harú-t-i
 white-TI-3.M
 ‘(it is) white; (it is) light’ (E20150805>00:12:15) ♪
- b. harú-ga
 white-NEW
 ‘tomorrow’ (E20150716>01:15:29) ♪

³³I have not been able to analyze *=bari* in (211-e). I only have this one instance of it in my corpus, but it may be the same as what (Sánchez González, 2012) has as *baré* and translates as ‘entonces’ [then].

- c. l-arú-ga-n
3.M-white-NEW-POSS
'dawn' (E20120927b>00:20:17) ♪
- d. dey harú-ga:-l-i
when white-NEW-DI-3.M
'when it dawned' (N20131010c>00:13:47) ♪
- e. n-arú-ga-dù-n=bari
1.SG-white-NEW-VBLZ-USPEC=BARI
'I woke up' (N20131016a>00:07:27) ♪

Another lexical item that seems relevant to the present discussion is *würí-nawu-ga* 'yesterday' with the root *würí* 'black', alluding perhaps to the night, but I am unable to further analyze it.

In (212) the possessive prefix replaces the initial /h/ by a regular process (see § 2.2.1) but there is an unexplained deletion of the root-final /li/³⁴.

- (212) a. hulíli-t-i fulásu ligíya nyén
deep-TI-3.M place 3.M:DEM there
'it's deep that spot out there (at see)' (N20131017b>00:04:58) ♪
- b. lu-lúli-ga-n
3.M-deep-NEW-POSS
'Honduras' (Lit. 'its depths') (A20121008a>00:07:02) ♪

There also seem to be lexicalizations with *-ga* on nouns and intransitive verbs such as those illustrated in (213) and (214). The latter are names of Garifuna communities in Honduras and Guatemala.

- (213) a. éybu
'on foot' (E20150803>01:15:51) ♪
- b. b-éyba!
2.SG-go:IMP
'go!' (E20150716>00:23:49) ♪
- c. éyba-gwa
walk-GWA
'run' (E20150807a>00:18:58) ♪

³⁴The name of the country Honduras is derived in Spanish from *hondo* 'deep' and the Garifuna word in (212-b) is probably a neologism created as a translation of the Spanish.

- d. éybu-ga
walk-NEW
'walk' (E20150727a>00:16:42) ♪
- (214) a. Dûbu-ga-t-i
stone-NEW-TI-3.M
'Punta Piedra' (E20150811>00:37:16) ♪
- b. Badáyaw-ga-t-i
trough-NEW-TI-3.M
'Bataya' (Suazo, 2011, p. 314)
- c. Gumá-ga
wound-NEW
'La Ceiba; ceiba tree' (E20121025b>01:47:13) ♪
- d. Lábu-ga
seed-NEW
'Livingston' (Suazo, 2011, p. 314)

7.6 Clausal tense-aspect marking

So far I have mostly discussed tense-aspect marking within the verb or the verb phrase. Enclitics, which are the main topic of the this section, are not confined to the verb phrase and will be treated here as part of the clausal tense-aspect marking.

A clitic is a grammatical element that has characteristics in common with both words and affixes. Clitics in Garifuna are like affixes in that they never have primary stress, though they may have secondary stress. Secondary stress is not distinctive in the grammar but rather assigned according to regular metric rules (Taylor, 1955; Cayetano, 1992). Like affixes, clitics cannot appear alone; they are bound to a host. However, clitics are unlike affixes in that they can take any part of speech as their host - in this way they are more like words which also have some freedom of movement. Like words, clitics do not interact morphophonologically with adjacent elements.

7.6.1 Past =*buga*

The enclitic =*buga* marks past tense and corresponds to the verbal suffix TI and the auxiliary *umu* with the difference that the enclitic has more flexibility in terms of the host it selects while the verbal marking is confined to appearing on verbs acting as heads of clauses.

- (215) a. l-ubá=ti=**buga** n-agíribudu-n ma-séynsu-ha-di-na
3.M-before=TOP=PST 1.SG-return-USPEC NEG-money-DISTR-DI-1.SG
'when it was time for me to return, I had no money'
(N20131010b>00:00:03) ♪

- b. aban l-ácharu-n-i ównli lé l-ichûgü l-íd-on=**bugà**=ti
 CONN 3.F-put-USPEC-3.M dog 3.M.DEM 3.M-head 3.M-in-ALL=PST=TOP
 á:gey-dina lé nyén t-ubé-y húwa
 container-LOC 3.M.DEM there 3.F-EXTR-3.M frog
 ‘then the dog put his head into the container where the frog had been’
 (E20121018a>00:02:16) ♪
- c. rú-ti-bu=tiya ában número de teléfono
 give:SU2-TI-2.SG=EMPH one number of phone
 bu-búsedù-n-rugù=**buga** bináfi
 2.SG-pocket-POSS-LOC=PST morning
 ‘you put a telephone number into your pocket in the morning’
 (N20131016g>00:04:02) ♪

In (215-a), =*buga* appears on a preposition acting as the head of a subordinate clause, in (215-b) it appears on a preposition that is the head of an adverbial prepositional phrase and in (215-c) it is on a noun which acts as a locative adverbial phrase. In general there does not appear to be any strict morphosyntactic limits to the placement of this type of enclitic, except the pragmatics. This means that the enclitic appears on whichever part of the sentence that the speaker wishes to emphasize as past.

7.6.2 Distant past =*meha*

The enclitic =*meha* is used to indicate that a past event or action is further removed from the time of speech than those marked by the regular past.

- (216) a. átiri=**mèha**=ti líbu súgara ?
 how.much=DPST=TOP pound sugar
 ‘how much did the pound of sugar cost back then?’
 (N20121002d>00:01:13) ♪
- b. aná-te=**meha**=tì=**buga** t-uma ában ni-tínya
 1.SG-come=DPST=TOP=PST 3.F-with one 1.SG-aunt
 ‘(then) I came along with an aunt of mine’ (N20131010c>00:05:59) ♪

Historically, remote past =*meha* may have been a combination of future =*me* and perfect -*ha*. Note also that =*buga* and =*meha* can be combined as in (216-b).

7.6.3 Distributive =*ha*

The distributive enclitic =*ha* is the clause level counterpart of the verbal suffix with the same shape. However, while -*ha* allows an habitual reading only as one out of various possible readings, the enclitic counterpart seems to have the main function of adding an habitual reading, as indicated in (217).

- (217) a. *hé-ydi-ba=ti=ha* *gürígiya mw-éygi:n-ga=bùri h-aw*
 3.PL-go:SU1-FUT=TOP=DISTR people NEG-eat-GA=PL 3.PL-with
ha-ráhü-nyü
 3.PL-child-PL
 ‘(back then) people would have to go without eating with their children
 and everything’ (N20131010c>00:05:01) ♪
- b. *ha-chûlü=bürì=ba=ti=ha* *sún hówyeri gürígiya nyén aríyagwa*
 3.PL-arrive=PL=FUT=TOP=DISTR all kind people there watch
 ‘all kinds of people would arrive there to watch’
 (N20131016b>00:08:33) ♪
- c. *ságü=nege=ha l-éygi-n wügûri lé l-adówru-n-i*
 every=HS=DISTR 3.M-eat-USPEC man 3.M:DEM 3.M-close-USPEC-3.M
l-águ
 3.M-eye
 ‘every time that man ate he would close his eyes’
 (N20131016c>00:10:58) ♪

7.6.4 Clitic combination

Clitics can be combined into chains. In some cases such chains are just formally associated with each other but each have a separate function. In other cases, the clitics seem to combine into new composite tense-aspect markers with a separate meaning of their own.

Note in (216-b) that *=meha* and *=buga* are not mutually exclusive. The intricate combinatorics of these and other enclitics will be discussed in § 7.7.

7.7 Tense and aspect contrasts in larger contexts

In this chapter so far I have shown that Garifuna has a rich system of tense-aspect marking. However, in most contexts speakers make no use of this system, as tense-aspect marking would be redundant. In the following I will show the wide ranging applicability of underspecified verb forms. I will then contrast underspecified verb forms with those which are marked for tense-aspect and their uses in different discursive contexts.

An underspecified verb form is characterized by an argument prefix indexing the S or A and an underspecification marker *-ni*, which reduces to nasalization in word final position; this is illustrated in (218-b) (contrast this with the near future form in (218-a)). Note that the nasalized vowel changes to [u] except when the distributive suffix *-ha* appears, as illustrated in (218-c).

- (218) a. key ladéünrün néfu **l-atátira** koronasyón
 as o'clock nine 3.M-begin coronation
 'about nine o'clock the coronation will begin' (N20131016g>00:01:17) ♪
- b. l-árigiyen=buga **h-eméragu-n** aban=ya **l-atátiru-n**
 3.M-after=PST 3.PL-rest-USPEC CONN=again 3.M-begin-USPEC
 'after resting, they begin again' (N20121026e>00:03:56) ♪
- c. aban **n-arúmada-ha-n** pátiyo-rugu
 CONN 1.SG-clean-DISTR-USPEC patio-LOC
 'then I clean the patio' (E20120927b>00:07:43) ♪

Objects may be marked on underspecified verbs, usually when they are first introduced, but are often left unmarked; contrast the two underspecified verbs in (219).

- (219) l-áfaru-n-i wügüri dagúwasi aban **l-adíbiru-n**
 3.M-kill-USPEC-3.M man opossum CONN 3.M-hang-USPEC
 'the man killed the opossum, and then he hung it up' (field notes)

In the first clause in (219) the object is marked because the opossum is introduced into discourse, but in the second it is old information and there is no need for marking it.

Note that *-ni* interacts with object suffixes as shown in (220).

- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------------|---|---------|
| | 1.SG | -ni + -na | → | -ni-na |
| | 2.SG | -ni + -bu | → | -ni-bu |
| | 3.M | -ni + -i | → | -n-i |
| (220) | 3.F | -ni + -u | → | -n-u |
| | 1.PL | -ni + -wa | → | -ni-wa |
| | 2.PL | -ni + -rü | → | -nü-ü |
| | 3.PL | -ni + -nya | → | -ni-nya |

7.7.1 Range of meanings of underspecified verbs

A sample of the range of functions and contexts in which underspecified verb forms appear are given in (221); they include habitual (221-a), future (221-b), perfect (221-c), past imperfective (221-d), past perfect (221-e) and non-finite verb forms (221-f), as some of the most commonly attested.

- (221) a. pero aban=ti=ha **n-áluwa-ha-n** ában ti-réüreü
 but CONN=TOP=DISTR 1.SG-look.for-DISTR-USPEC one 3.F-small
fáluma aban **l-agídaru-n**
 coconut then 3.M-remove-USPEC
 'but then I look for an unripe coconut and that takes care of it'
 (N20131016d>00:01:05) ♪

- b. **dey=me h-achûlürü-n** Tornabé gumú=ha=me
 when=DFUT 2.PL-arrive-USPEC T. finish=PRF=DFUT
 ‘“when you get to Tornabé, it will be over”’ (N20131016g>00:01:12) ♪
- c. **w-abéüda-ha-n** b-ún
 1.PL-tell-DISTR-USPEC 2.SG-to
 ‘we have told it to you’ (N20131016f>00:16:18) ♪
- d. aban **n-eréderu-n** orár w-áw súngebey
 CONN 1.SG-stay-USPEC pray 1.PL-with everybody
 ‘and then I sat praying for all of us’ (N20121002e>00:01:34) ♪
- e. l-idan **l-asánsirangu-n** l-igáburi dán
 3.M-in 3.M-change-USPEC 3.M-kind weather
 ‘then the weather changed’ (N20121002c>00:00:36) ♪
- f. mósti **t-agúwaru-n** l-un údereü lé
 have.to 3.F-call-USPEC 3.M-to fish 3.M:DEM
 ‘she had to call to the fish’ (N20121002a>00:03:16) ♪

Notably, clauses with a near future or present progressive meaning are rarely expressed with underspecified verb forms; this is likely because events coinciding or overlapping temporally with the time of speech are poorly suited for clause chains which describe a sequence of events. Habituals, by contrast, are often cast in underspecified verb forms as they lend themselves well to chaining and are tenseless (221-a).

7.7.2 Narrative uses

The examples (222)-(236) constitute the beginning of a narrative told by a woman who was going to a town fair together with a friend of hers. The example illustrates the use of underspecified verbs in a narrative context. After each underspecified verb I suggest in square brackets, for comparison, an alternative verb which explicitly expresses the intended meaning³⁵. Note that stative verbs and verbs of existence do not have underspecified counterparts. Non-finite complement clauses, such as example (224), have no alternative form that would be more explicit; in fact, underspecified verb stems are the most commonly occurring type of non-finite subordinate clause.

All verbs which are not underspecified, that is, which are not of the type “argument prefix + verb stem + *-ni* (+ object suffix)” are underlined. In the analysis that follows I look for the motivation for the choice between a specified versus an underspecified verb form.

³⁵While these alternate verb forms in square brackets are unlikely to be used in the given contexts, the point is that they are more explicit and that their use would be grammatical.

- (222) ában véyu, féria Tornabé aban **n-ídi-n** [nyûdü-ti-na]
 one day, town.fair T. CONN 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC [go.PST-TI-1.SG]
 éybuganyahädügü Tornabé t-uma Léicy
 hang.out T. 3.M-with L.
 ‘one day, when there was a town fair in Tornabé, I **went** to hang out together
 with Leicy’ (N20131016g>00:00:39) ♪

The narrative begins with *ában véyu* ‘one day’ which anchors the discourse to the past tense and at the same time indicates that what is to come can most likely be characterized as a narrative of some sort - thus *n-ídi-n* ‘I went’ needs no tense marking.

- (223) *héren-t-i=yebè=tiya* n-ún, hél!
 hard-TI-3.M=PFUT=EMPH 1.SG-to, INTERJ
 ‘I didn’t feel like going, man!’ (N20131016g>00:00:47) ♪

In (223), *héren-ti* is a stative verb and these have no underspecified forms. Notice, however, that this verb is marked with a past-future enclitic =*yebé*, normally signaling the planning of an action that never took place. Perhaps this serves to express the narrator’s lack of desire for going.

- (224) éy kéymon hará, kéymon, kéymon, kéymon *busúwen-ti-na*
 INTERJ let’s.go INTERJ, let’s.go let’s.go let’s.go want-TI-1.SG
n-ariyagu-n [ariyagwa] koronasyón
 1.SG-watch-USPEC [watch] coronation
 ‘ “hey!, let’s go dammit! let’s go, let’s go, let’s go! I want to **watch** the
 coronation!” ‘ (N20131016g>00:00:50) ♪

In (224), *busúwen-ti-na* is a stative verb and as such has no underspecified form. Conversely, *n-ariyagu-n* is in a complement clause, and underspecified verb forms are the most common verb form used in complement clauses.

- (225) bueno kéymon dén, key=ti *nu-há* l-ubé-y báyki wá-ma
 all.right let’s.go then, as=TOP 3.F-COP 3.M-EXTR-3.M bike 1.PL-with
 múna-da
 house-LOC
 ‘ “all right, let’s go then” and since we had our bikes in the house...’
 (N20131016g>00:00:56) ♪

In (225), *nu-há* is an existence verb and these do not have underspecified forms, but the quoted speech is finished and the text has returned to the narrative context as shown by the underspecified verbs used in the three following examples.

- (226) bueno aban **w-árügüdü-n** [árügüdə wa-mú-t-u] báyki aban
 well CONN 1.PL-grab-USPEC [grab 1.PL-PST-TI-3.F] bike then
wé-ydi-n [nyûdü-tu-wa]
 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC [go:SU2-TI-1.PL]
 ‘well, then we **grabbed** our bikes and we **left**’ (N20131016g>00:00:59) ♪
- (227) aban **l-arínyagu-n** [arínyaga l-umú-tu-wa] tícha w-ón dey
 CONN 3.M-say-USPEC [say 3.M-PST-TI-1.PL] teacher 1.PL-to when
w-achûlürü-n [chûlû-tu-wa] San Juán
 1.PL-arrive-USPEC [arrive-TI-1.PL] S. J.
 ‘then the teacher **said** to us, when we **arrived** in San Juan ...’
 (N20131016g>00:01:04) ♪
- (228) **l-arínyagu-n** [arínyaga l-umú-t-i] tícha n-ún:
 3.M-say-USPEC [say 3.M-PST-TI-3.M] teacher 1.SG-to
 “halíy-un-bà-di-bu=san gúnyon lé Mari?”
 where-ALL-FUT-DI-2.SG=Q night 3.M:DEM M.
 ‘the teacher **said** to me: “where are you going this evening Mari?”’
 (N20131016g>00:01:06) ♪

In (228) there is a switch into directly quoted speech, but with a non-verbal predicate *halíy-un* ‘where to’. Non-verbal predicates do not have a specified/non-specified distinction (however see § 4.2.6.3) and for this reason, the switch does not become visible until in (229).

- (229) “n-éybuga=nege t-uma mútu tó Tornabé aríyagwa koronasyón”
 1.SG-go=HS 3.F-with person 3.F:DEM T. watch coronation
 ‘I’m going with this woman to Tornabé to watch the coronation’
 (N20131016g>00:01:06) ♪

In example (229), *n-éybuga* ‘I’m going’ is in directly quoted speech and the time of speech approximately coincides with the event time. This change from the past narrative frame is indicated by the use of the near future. Note that the verb of the subordinate purpose clause does not use an underspecified form as expected but rather a bare verb stem.

The quoted speech continues in (230).

- (230) “bueno dey=me **h-achûlürü-n** [h-achûlürü-ba] Tornabé
 well when=FUT 2.PL-arrive-USPEC [2.PL-arrive-FUT] T.
gumú-ha=me koronasyón tárüduwà-d-û:=gu l-igíya”
 finish-DISTR=FUT coronation delay-DI-2.PL=GU 3.M-DEM
 ‘“well, when y’all **arrive** in Tornabé the coronation will be over because you took so long” he said’
 (N20131016g>00:01:13) ♪

Two things are happening in the subordinate clause *dey=me h-achûlürün Tornabé* ‘when y’all arrive in Tornabé’; first, being a continued quote, the temporal frame is already set removing the need for tense marking. However *dey* ‘when’ is marked as distant future by the enclitic *=me*, further eliminating any need of future tense marking on the verb. The second verb *gumú-ha=me* ‘it will have ended’ is a stative verb with a perfect suffix³⁶, but combined with a distant future enclitic, resulting in a future perfect reading.

Quoted speech continues in (231).

- (231) “key ladéürün lán néfu l-atátira koronasyón nyén bwídu-gi:l-i óra”
 as o'clock IRR nine 3.M-begin coronation there good-DUR-DI-3.M time
 n-ugúya=ti l-ún
 1.SG-DEM=TOP 3.M-to
 ‘the coronation begins like at nine o’clock, so there’s still time” I said to
 him’ (N20131016g>00:01:17) ♪

The first verb in (231) *l-atátira* ‘it begins’ is marked in the present/near future and the adverbial *ladéürün lán néfu* ‘at nine o’clock’ contains a potential marker *lan*³⁷ that indicates that the event has yet to take place. It could have been expressed by an underspecified *l-atátiru-n* but perhaps, by using the near future, the narrator is wishing to make explicit that they plan to arrive before the coronation begins, not missing it as the teacher is predicting that they will. The second verb is stative, allowing no underspecified form.

- (232) bueno aban **wé-ydi-n** [nyûdü-tu-wa], ariya-hè-yna
 well CONN 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC [go:SU2-TI-1.PL] look.for-DISTR-ANDA
 wa-gíya padná
 1.PL-DEM companion
 ‘well, then we left, looking for company on our way’
 (N20131016g>00:01:21) ♪

W-éydi-n ‘we left’ brings the narrative forward again, while *ariya-h-èyna* ‘looking for’ is non-finite with a continuative suffix.

- (233) m-adéyha-du-wa padná sún mútu nyûdü-ha-nya Tornabé-on
 NEG-find-DI-1.PL companion all people go:SU2-DISTR-3.PL T.-ALL
 ‘we didn’t find any company, everybody had gone to Tornabé’
 (N20131016g>00:01:23) ♪

Negative verb forms like *m-adéyha-du-wa* in (233) push person marking prefixes to

³⁶Stative verbs can drop their argument marking when serving as the host of one of more tense-aspect enclitics, cf. § 7.6 for more details on this.

³⁷In reality, the potential marker is *an* and inflects for gender by a third person prefix *l-* or *t-*. This person marking does not seem to index any argument but rather some abstract idea. The choice of gender inflection on *an* is subject to genderlectal variation.

suffix position and thus blocks the creation of negative underspecified verb forms, as the suffix position will always be occupied. The use of the past perfect form *nyûdü-ha-nya* ‘they had left’ indicates the shift from past to past perfect.

- (234) wa-gíya-rügà:-l-i t-uma Léicy, bueno w-éyg-ey carretera aban
 1.PL-DEM-just-DI-3.M 3.F-with L. well 1.PL-eat-3.M road CONN
 wé-ydi-n [nyûdü-tu-wa]
 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC [go:su2-TI-1.PL]
 ‘it was just Leicy and me, well then we “ate the road” and left’
 (N20131016g>00:01:27) ♪

W-éyg-ey carretera ‘we ate the road’ is an idiomatic expression and likely is required to be in the near future form that it appears here. The second verb in (234) *w-éydi-n* ‘we left’ brings the narrative forward.

- (235) a míl t-uwágu báyki
 at thousand 3.F-on bike
 ‘at a thousand kilometers (per hour) on bike’ (N20131016g>00:01:33) ♪

- (236) w-achûlürü-n-be-y Tornabé táti-ha-l-i koronasyón
 1.PL-arrive-USPEC-EXTR-3.M T. begin-PRF-DI-3.M coronation
 ‘when we arrived in Tornabé the coronation had begun’
 (N20131016g>00:01:36) ♪

W-achûlürü-n-be-y is a relative clause acting as a temporal adverbial clause. It is marked with the extraction suffix *-ba* but the noun that it relativizes has been removed by ellipsis.³⁸ The second verb *t-áti-ha-li* is marked as perfect because it shifts the aspect from past to past perfect.

The main tendency in the stretch of narrative above is that verbs which serve to bring to story forward, within the narrative frame anchored in the past tense, are cast in the underspecified verb frame. However, a narrator can freely choose to add more specific, often redundant, information for effect, as e.g. in (231).

7.7.3 Non-narrative uses

Underspecified verb forms are not limited to the narrative context but may be used in any kind of discourse with a known temporal anchoring. The examples below represent a stretch of dialogue between a housewife and a fisherman who is a friend of the house.

Each numbered example corresponds to a speech turn with letters marking off intonational units.

³⁸The full relative clause would have been *dan le wa-chûlürün-be-y* ‘the time when we arrived’.

- (237) a. *harúga n-adügü-n* [n-adügü-b-on] *n-éygan*
 tomorrow 1.SG-make-USPEC [1.SG-make-FUT-3.F] 1.SG-CLF
hudútu
 mashed.bananas
 ‘tomorrow I’ll **make** some of my mashed bananas’
 (N20131016d>00:00:22) ♪
- b. *l-éyga* [l-éyga-b-on] *Stéffen hudútu*
 3.M-eat.FUT [3.M-eat-FUT-3.F] S. *mashed.bananas*
 ‘Steffen is going to eat mashed bananas’ (N20131016d>00:00:24) ♪

In (237) the adverb *harúga* ‘tomorrow’ serves as a temporal anchor making further reference to tense redundant. In (237-a) an underspecified verb form is used while in (237-b) the present/near future is chosen, possibly motivated by a wish to mark the proposition as an offer, since Steffen (the author) was present at the table.

Below the conversation about the planned cooking continues. In (239) there is code-switching into Spanish with the sentence *no puedo comer machuca* ‘I can’t eat mashed bananas’. This sets an habitual frame and the three underspecified verb forms in (241) get an habitual reading.

- (238) *fálum-òw=ti?*
 coconut-INSTR=TOP
 ‘will it be with coconut?’ (N20131016d>00:00:26) ♪
- (239) a. *es que l-igiya ... no puedo comer machuca*
 it’s that 3.M-DEM ... NEG be.able eat *mashed.bananas*
 ‘the thing is ... I can’t eat mashed bananas’ (N20131016d>00:00:30) ♪
- b. *xx xx acidez*
 ‘xx xx heartburn’ (N20131016d>00:00:35) ♪
- (240) *xx ladúga=gu=san agúley mán? t-agúle fáluma?*
 xx because=EMPH=Q oil INTERJ 3.F-oil coconut
 ‘isn’t it because of the oil, man? the coconut oil?’
 (N20131016d>00:00:38) ♪
- (241) a. *hasta dey n-adügü-n-u tikíni!*
 even when 1.SG-make-USPEC-3.F soup
 ‘even when I **make** roasted wheat flour soup!’ (N20131016d>00:00:41) ♪
- b. *dan n-arínyagu-n* [n-arínyaga] *barúru lán ... sún*
 when 1.SG-say-USPEC [1.SG-say] *plantain IRR ... everything*
 ‘I would even **say** that it’s the plantains as well ... all of it’
 (N20131016d>00:00:43) ♪

- c. würi:-r-u
green-DI-3.F
'green ones' (N20131016d>00:00:46) ♪
- d. hasta dan n-adüğü-n-u tikini
even when 1.SG-make-USPEC-3.F soup
'even when I **make** roasted wheat flour soup' (N20131016d>00:00:48) ♪

What follows in (242) is a continuation of the habitual frame.

- (242) a. aban b-éygi-n [b-éygu-b-on / hów b-ámuga]
CONN 2.SG-eat:SU1-USPEC [2.SG-eat:SU1-FUT-3.F / eat:SU2 2.SG-HORT]
ában ti-réüreü fáluma t-árigi t-árigi
one 3.F-small coconut 3.F-after 3.F-after
'**you should eat** a green coconut just afterwards'
(N20131016d>00:00:51) ♪
- b. l-árigi b-éygi-n [hów-ti-bu]
3.M-after 2.SG-eat-USPEC [eat-TI-2.SG]
'after **you have eaten**...'
(N20131016d>00:00:54) ♪
- c. bueno ni-héyn l-adágaru-n [l-adágara] lí-süsü hamúga
well 3.M-COP 3.M-touch-USPEC [3.M-touch] 3.M-pain IRR
l-árigiyen
3.M-after
'well, there are (times) when I **get** heartburn after ...'
(N20131016d>00:00:56) ♪
- d. sómu nu-há pán de m... pán de máysi
some 3.F-COP bread of c... bread of corn
'something ... like bread of... corn bread' (N20131016d>00:00:59) ♪
- e. pán de yúka t-úra rú=büri t-umú-t-i [t-íchiga:-l-i]
bread of manioc 3.F-DEM give:SU2=PL 3.F-PST-TI-3.M [3.F-give-DI-3.M]
n-ún
1.SG-to
'manioc bread ... those give me (heartburn)' (N20131016d>00:01:02) ♪
- f. pero aban=ti=ha n-áluwa-ha-n [n-áluwaha] ában
but CONN=TOP=DISTR 1.SG-look.for-DISTR-USPEC [1.SG-look.for] one
ti-réüreü fáluma
3.F-small coconut
'but then I **look for** a green coconut' (N20131016d>00:01:05) ♪

- g. l-un n-éygi-n-i lé hürû-hürû-be-y t-uwágu
 3.M-to 1.SG-eat-USPEC-3.M 3.M:DEM soft~soft-EXTR-3.M 3.F-on
 ‘in order to eat the soft part of it’ (Lit. ‘that which is soft on it’)
 (N20131016d>00:01:07) ♪
- h. aban l-agídaru-n [l-agídara:-l-i]
 CONN 3.M-remove-USPEC [3.M-remove-DI-3.M]
 ‘that removes it (the pain)’ (N20131016d>00:01:10) ♪

What unfolds is a recipe or pieces of advice on how to remedy heartburn ((242-a)-(242-b). Still within the habitual frame (242-c) goes on to explain more about the symptoms experienced. In (242-e) a past form is used to express past habitual, perhaps with the purpose of focusing attention of the experiences of heartburn in the past; (the alternative verb form *íchiga* ‘give’ is in suppletive distribution with *ru* ‘give’ in non-past contexts). The remainder is a continuation of the advice on curing heartburn, set in the habitual with underspecified verbs.

The above presentations of narrative and non-narrative contexts have demonstrated a small part of the wide range of possible uses of underspecified verbs. In accordance with the nature of these genres, the most frequent reading in a narrative context is past tense, while in a non-narrative context it is habitual aspect or future tense.

7.7.4 Diachrony of underspecified verb forms

Underspecified verbs look like possessed deverbal nouns with their *-ni* suffix and person prefix and the fact that they are common in subordinate clauses. Nominalization is a common subordination strategy cross-linguistically, and the closely related languages of the Caribbean branch of the Arawak family all have verb suffixes that are cognate with Garifuna *-ni*. These are used both in main clauses and subordinate clauses and have the same shape as possessed nouns. This relates to what Gildea has posited for Cariban and other South American languages. According to Gildea, many SA languages have main clauses that look very much like deverbal nouns (Gildea, 2008). Gildea holds that the source of these main clauses is subordinate clauses that formed part of complex clauses in which the main verb grammaticalized into an auxiliary, yielding new tense-aspect distinctions, and went on to become inflectional morphology. In Garifuna, instead of yielding new tense-aspect distinctions, the resulting construction became a special kind of underspecified verb stem used to avoid redundant information³⁹.

³⁹From a much farther removed comparative perspective, Bantu languages use an infinitive verb form in 50 percent of clauses in narrative contexts.

8 Modality

There are a number of clause types which can be said to be included within the realm of irrealis, i.e. which “are portrayed as still within the realm of thought” (Bhat (1999, p. 65) quoting Mithun (1995)). These would certainly include future, and negative clauses, both of which cannot be said to have been realized and they might include the habitual aspect which is instantiated both in the past and the future. But these above mentioned examples of irrealis do not belong to the category of modality as I understand it, because they do not involve the attitude or judgement of the speaker as do the modality categories which I will explore in the present chapter. Rather, future tense, negation and habitual modality are conceptualized in Garifuna as representing the real world despite their failure to be realized. Also, modality markers in Garifuna appear as auxiliaries or enclitics setting them apart from the bound morphology which makes up the core of the tense-aspect system.

Some of the grammatical devices discussed in the present chapter deal with meanings that lie at the intersection between modality and evidentiality, i.e. between the speaker’s attitude towards the contents of the utterance, on the one hand, and what he holds to be relevant regarding the source of information of the contents, on the other. Evidentiality is particularly relevant in the use of the enclitics =*funa* (§ 8.3) which expresses doubt, but can often be interpreted as dealing with inferred information, and =*nege* (§ 8.4) which expresses that information constitutes hearsay. However, the Garifuna language does not contain a system of evidentiality marking as defined for instance by Aikhenvald (2004, p. 6) as a system of obligatory marking of source of information. While Garifuna markers of information source and inference clearly have an important function judging from their frequent use, they are not obligatory in the sense that their removal from a clause would result in ungrammaticality.

8.1 Irrealis *lan*

The irrealis marker *lan* always carries separate word stress and as such can be considered a separate phonological word. Historically it may have been analyzable as an auxiliary **l-a-ni*, possibly from the same source as the perfect *á(ma)*, with third person A prefix *l-* and O suffix *-n-i* markers (recall that certain *-ni* suffixes have historically been reduced to final nasalization, cf. § 3.5.1.1.6 on the possessive suffix *-ni*). Supporting this idea is the male speech feminine form *tan* - an expected variation in non-referring person markers (see § 15 for more on genderlectal variation).

8.1.1 Possibility *gawára lan*

The most common occurrence of *lan* is in a fixed collocation with the stative modal verb *gawára/gayára* ‘be possible/able’ whose most frequent manifestation in my corpus is *gwára*. When the modal verb *gwára* appears together with *lan* it is usually uninflected and takes an underspecified verb form in its complement clause as in (243).

- (243) a. m-arihi-ha-dù-wa ní káta fúwagwa-rügü-t-i wátu
 NEG-see-DISTR-DI-1.PL NEG thing make.bonfire-just-TI-3.M fire
 l-un gwára lán w-asúbudirù-n-i halíy-un-ba-du-wa lán
 3.M-to be.able IRR 1.PL-know-USPEC-3.M where-ALL-FUT-DI-1.PL IRR
 ‘we couldn’t see anything, but a bonfire was made so that we would
 know where we were supposed to go’ (N20121002c>00:03:21) ♪
- b. pero aban=ti l-éybaha-nì-nyu bágasu l-un gwára lán
 but CONN=TOP 3.M-hunt-USPEC-3.PL cow 3.M-to be.able IRR
 l-éygi-ni-nyu
 3.M-eat-USPEC-3.PL
 ‘but then it hunts the cows in order to eat them’
 (N20121017a>00:03:26) ♪

In (243) *gwara lan* is underspecified for tense, the temporal frame being already know, as shown by the use of the underspecified verb forms in the complement clause.

Alternatively, *gwára* can be inflected as in (244). As a stative verb, *gwára* invariably takes suffixal person marking.

- (244) a. aban=ti w-ówfudahà-n=yebe l-un gwára-be-y lán
 CONN=TOP 1.PL-hurry-USPEC=PFUT 3.M-to be.able-FUT-3.M IRR
 w-aséfuru-n l-un wa-yábi-n
 1.PL-save-USPEC 3.M-to 1.PL-come:SU1-USPEC
 ‘then we hurried in order to be able to make sure that we could save
 ourselves and come back’ (N20121002c>00:00:41) ♪
- b. ti-yábi-ha féru-bùsu aná-güra ... bueno wé-ydi-ba
 3.F-come:SU1-DISTR iron-bus 1.SG-go ... well 1.PL-go:SU1-FUT
 agányenya w-amárasu-n l-un gwára-be-y lán
 buy 1.PL-merchandise-POSS 3.M-to be.able-FUT-3.M IRR
 wé-ydi-ba=bûri=ha íveruha fáluma
 1.PL-go:SU1-FUT=PL=DISTR steal coconuts
 ‘when the railbus would come, I would get on ... well, we went to buy
 our merchandise, and to go and steal coconuts’
 (N20131116b>00:16:26) ♪
- c. áfara-rügû-ba-di-bu gáyu há b-agûriyaha-n l-un
 kill-just-FUT-DI-2.SG chicken 3.PL:DEM 2.SG-raise-USPEC 3.M-to
 gwára-be-y lán h-éygi-n
 be.able-FUT-3.M IRR 3.PL-eat:SU1-USPEC
 ‘you would kill chickens, that you raised, in order for them (people) to
 eat’ (N20131116b>00:06:38) ♪

The examples in (244) all have the modal verb with a future suffix and a non-referring third singular masculine person suffix *-be-y*. This use of the future tense does not actually indicate future time reference. All of these examples are set in past tense and the use of the future combined with the past creates a future-in-the-past where a future action was planned and subsequently carried out. Notice that, had the context warranted uncertainty about whether or not the future event ended up being realized, the past hypothetical *=yebé* would have been used instead; cf. § 8.2 for a discussion of *=yebé*.

In some uses of *gwára lán* the modal verb can be inflected with the past tense TI-marker as in (245).

- (245) a. ariha-ti-na ában aníma:lu gwára-t-i bwíruhu lán o
 see-TI-1.SG one animal be.possible-TI-3.M pig IRR or
 gwára-t-i gábara lán
 be.possible-TI-3.M goat IRR
 ‘I saw an animal, it may have been a pig or it may have been a goat’
 (E20150810>00:23:17) ♪
- b. gwára-t-i b-úguchi lán wügùri lé
 be.possible-TI-3.M 2.SG-father IRR man 3.M:DEM
 ‘the man could be your father’ (E20131023>01:41:58) ♪
- c. gwára-t-i ní-heyn lán ábuti nyén
 be.possible-TI-3.M 3.M-exist IRR boss there
 ‘it is possible that the boss is there’ (E20131023>01:41:43) ♪
- d. gwára-t-i l-igíya lán=giyen arámudu-ba:l-i
 be.possible-TI-3.M 3.M-DEM IRR=TC hide-EXTR-DI-3.M
 ‘it is possible that he is the one who hid it’ (N20131016f>00:08:01) ♪
- e. gwára-t-i bíme lán aránsu lé
 be.possible-TI-3.M sweet IRR orange 3.M:DEM
 ‘the orange could be sweet’ (E20131130>00:23:10) ♪

It appears that it is only when the following complement clause is headed by a non-dynamic predicate that TI-inflection of *gwára* is licensed. In (245) are examples of a nominal predicate (245-a-b), an existence verb (245-c), a demonstrative pronoun as a result of focus clefting (245-d) and a stative quality verb (245-e).

8.1.2 Other uses of *lan*

Outside collocations with *gwára*, *lan* is used to express varying degrees of uncertainty. In the examples in (246), the use of *lan* indicates a high degree of uncertainty.

- (246) a. l-un gawára lán l-un w-aríhi-n-i ká-ba lán w-adúga
 3.M-to be.able IRR 3.M-to 1.PL-see-USPEC-3.M what-FUT IRR 1.PL-do
 l-idan l-achûlürü-n ó:ra l-igíya
 3.M-in 3.M-arrive-USPEC time 3.M-DEM
 ‘so that we may see, what to do when that time comes’
 (N20131116a>00:14:23) ♪
- b. ában=mè=ti=buga l-abídiyadu-n w-ón ká-ba lán
 CONN=DFUT=TOP=PST 3.M-be.unknown-USPEC 1.PL-to what-FUT IRR
 w-adúga
 1.PL-do
 ‘and we didn’t know what to do anymore’ (N20121002c>00:01:08) ♪
- c. mósu g-ála-b-on lán wa-sóbre w-agíya
 must ATR-have.contents-FUT-3.F IRR 1.PL-envelope 1.PL-DEM
 agányeyru-bè-y
 win=EXTR-3.M
 ‘our envelope must be full because we were the ones who won’
 (N20131016f>00:07:12) ♪

Examples (246-a-b) are characterized by complete uncertainty as indicated both by interrogative words and by the use of *lán*. In (246-c) the main clause ‘must be full’ is inferred from the evidence at hand, and adding to the high degree of uncertainty is the fact that the narrator has already stated clearly earlier in the story that the envelope turned out to be empty.

Another context in which *lán* is often used is in complement clauses which quote an utterance periphrastically, i.e. ‘say that’, ‘tell that’ etc. Examples are given in (247) (see also example (448) and surrounding discussion for more on of this type of complement clause).

- (247) a. arínyaga-t-i ówchaha-t-i n-ún gíbe-ti-nya lán údereü
 say-TI-3.M fish-AGT-M 1.SG-to many-TI-3.PL IRR fish
 ‘the fisherman told me that there was plenty of fish’
 (E20150708b>01:11:27) ♪
- b. aban l-igíya l-arínyagu-n mútu lé n-ún Bób lán=nege
 CONN 3.M-DEM 3.M-say-USPEC person 3.M:DEM 1.SG-to B. IRR=HS
 l-íri-be-y
 3.M-name-EXTR-3.M
 ‘then that man said to me that Bob was his name’
 (N20131016g>00:03:17) ♪

- c. aban n-arínyagu-n h-ón de ke n-ugúya lán=ti=bùga ...
 CONN 1.SG-say-USPEC 3.PL-to of that 1.SG-DEM IRR=TOP=PST ...
 n-alíha-nya lán=ti=buga ... l-úma-nya-di-na lán=ti=buga
 1.SG-read-PROG IRR=TOP=PST ... 3.M-with-exist-DI-1.SG IRR=TOP=PST
 Búngiyu
 God
 ‘and then I said to them that I was ... that I was reading (the Bible) ...
 that I was with God’ (N20121002e>00:01:31) ♪

In (247) *lan* is used as an indicator of hearsay information. In this respect it competes with the evidential clitic =*nege* which is strictly used to indicate that a proposition is second hand information which was transmitted orally to the speaker. In fact, (247-b) displays a combination of these two devices with similar function, perhaps rendering an extra reinforced low degree of truth commitment on the part of the speaker.

It is also possible to use *lan* as an indicator of low personal truth commitment outside of a periphrastic quotes, as exemplified in (248).

- (248) durante furisun-rugu lán aban g-amáda-gwa lán t-uma ában
 while prison-LOC IRR CONN ATR-friend-REFL IRR 3.F-with one
 fúdi aban l-árügüdü-n ában fúdi aban l-arúfuda-ha
 cockroach CONN 3.M-grab-USPEC one cockroach CONN 3.M-teach-DISTR
 t-ún l-un g-agámbadi tán l-ún
 3.F-to 3.M-to ATR-understand IRR 3.M-to
 ‘while he was in jail, he became friends with a cockroach, and he took a
 cockroach and taught it to understand him’ (N20121026b>00:00:32) ♪

The story in last is a fictional narrative that involves a person communicating with an insect, much in the same way as the well known flee circus tales in western lore. It would appear that *lan* is used by the speaker as a way of distancing himself from the truth value of the narration. Again, =*nege* could alternatively have been used here.

8.2 Past hypothetical =*yebe*

The past hypothetical enclitic =*yebe* is usually used to indicate that an event was anticipated at a time prior to the time of speech. In addition, there is a connotation of desire either to assure or prevent the realization of the event. The examples in (249) represent the most common use where an event whose realization is desired is planned but fails to be completed, either temporarily or permanently.

- (249) a. dí:si irúmu ugúnye tó n-ebéluru-ba=yèbe universidá-rugu
 ten year today 3.F:DEM 1.SG-enter-FUT=PFUT university-LOC
 pero aban t-asándiru-n n-úguchu sinyá
 but CONN 3.F-get.sick-USPEC 1.SG-mother be.impossible
 n-umú-t-i=ti adûga
 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M=TOP do
 ‘ten years ago I was gonna go to university, but then my mother got
 sick and I was unable to’ (E20150803>01:42:30) ♪
- b. n-adûgü-ba=yebè=buga hudútu pero úwa-t-u bímina
 1.SG-make-FUT=PFUT=PST banana.mash but NEG:exist-TI-3.F banana
 ‘I was going to make mashed bananas but there are no bananas’
 (E20150803>01:41:06) ♪
- c. ni-há=ti l-agúwaha-nya=yebè=buga Márvin n-ún l-un
 1.SG-COP=TOP 3.M-call-PROG=PFUT=PST M. 1.SG-to 3.M-to
 n-ídi-n ówchaha
 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC fish
 ‘Marvin was calling me in order to go fishing’ (N20131016c>00:07:42) ♪
- d. l-ídan-be-y=yebé=tiya dimásu lé l-ównahò-wa biyán
 3.M-in-FUT-3.M=PFUT=EMPH week 3.M:DEM 3.M-send-PASS two
 gáwana n-ún yéte-giyen
 coin 1.SG-to there-ABL
 ‘it was going to be this week that a few cents would be sent to me from
 up there (from family in the United States)’ (N20131016e>00:08:41) ♪

In examples (249-a-b) there is a planned event which is permanently cancelled with the reason being explicitly stated. The event was planned to have taken place before the time of speech and was cancelled before the time of speech. In (249-c-d) the desired event is still being planned and whether or not it will be successful has yet to be determined. The use of =*buga* in (249-c) indicates that at least one phone call was made in the past, but at the time of speech the speaker is still waiting for Marvin to call so the planning of the event is in the present while the anticipated realization of the event is in the future. The situation in (249-d) is similar but notice that =*yebé* is placed on the focused time adverbial *ídan* which functions as an adverbial predicate in a cleft clause.

=*Yebé* may also indicate the anticipation of an event which is not desirable, such as in (250).

- (250) a. dan=ti le n-iyábi-be-y Mári ában=yebè=tiya
time=TOP 3.M:DEM 1.SG-come:SU1-EXTR-3.M M. CONN=PFUT=EMPH
n-éyguwadu-n l-un n-anyúru-n
1.SG-fall-USPEC 3.M-to 1.SG-sit.down-USPEC
‘when I came up there, Mari, I almost fell and I sat down’
(N20131016b>00:00:27) ♪
- b. l-inárü-n=yebè=tiya l-uwéy wa-féridiru-n-ì=yebe
3.M-truth-POSS=PFUT=EMPH 3.M-from 1.PL-lose-USPEC-3.M=PFUT
wa-násiyu-n
1.PL-culture-POSS
‘he is right. So that we don’t lose our culture’ (N20131016c>00:05:06) ♪
- c. áha porque t-ágürü-bà-du-wa safáguwa:-r-ù=yebe=giyen
yes because 3.F-bite-FUT-DI-1.PL furious-DI-3.F=PFUT=TC
‘yes, because it was going to bite us, it was already furious’
(N20131116b>00:15:25) ♪

Notice that, as opposed to desired or planned events which take =*yebé* on the predicate, in unwanted or feared anticipated events it is not necessarily located close to the main predicate indicating the unwanted event. In (250-a) =*yebé* is on the discursive connective, in (250-b) it appears twice, one of which is on the previous predicate *l-inárü-n* ‘he’s right’ (lit. ‘it is his truth’) which is not morphosyntactically related to the subsequent unwanted event *wa-féydiru-n-i* ‘that we lose it’, and in (250-c) the sole occurrence of =*yebe* appears on the subsequent juxtaposed main clause *safáguwa:-r-u* ‘it was already furious’ which is a state and not related to the unwanted event to which =*yebe* is pointing.

Related to the above discussion, =*yebe* forms part of the fixed collocation *ítağa=rèü =yebe* ‘almost’ as exemplified in (251).

- (251) a. ítağa=rèü=yebe l-ówe urúwey
thus=a.bit=PFUT 3.M-die:SU1 leader
‘the president almost died’ (E20150810>01:02:21) ♪
- b. ítağa=rèü=yebe l-asándiru-n mósu h-adügü-n
thus=a.bit=PFUT 3.M-become.sick-USPEC must 3.PL-make-USPEC
árani l-ún
medicine 3.M-to
‘he almost got sick, they had to make medicine for him’
(N20131016c>00:10:52) ♪

Apart from =*yebe*, this collocation consist of *ítağa* ‘thus’ which acts as phonological word host, and =*rèü* which means ‘small’ or ‘a bit’. This last clitic is also found in other fixed collocations such as *yagûron=mème=reü* ‘a bit up ahead’.

Finally, =*yebe* can be used didactically in certain specific situations. In elicitation sessions, one of my consultants would say sentences like those in (252).

- (252) a. ábuwagwà-di-na só:pa ... lasúsu=yebe só:pa=yebe
 cook-DI-1.SG soup ... soup=PFUT soup=PFUT
 ‘I cooked soup ... (you can say) *lasúsu* or (you can say) *só:pa*’
 (E20121025b>00:37:43) ♪
- b. yú:ga ... malánga=yebè
 cassava ... malanga=PFUT
 ‘(it’s made with) cassava ... (or it can be with) malanga’
 (E20121014a>00:46:03) ♪
- c. furésigu ... húgo=yebè=giyen l-arínyagu-n t-ún húgo húgo o
 lemonade ... juice=PFUT=also 3.M-say-USPEC 3.F-to juice juice or
 frésko
 lemonade
 ‘lemonade ... (it could be) juice as well, it is called juice, juice or lemon-
 ade’
 (E20121014b>00:13:54) ♪

The speaker uses =*yebe* to indicate an alternative option which would also have been possible to say, but which was not chosen the first time around.

8.3 Epistemic =*funa*

With the use of the enclitic =*funa* the speaker expresses some degree of doubt as to the accuracy or reality of the proposition. Some examples are given in (253).

- (253) a. b-anûgü-n-i=funà=san h-ebéluru-ba lán gulilawaü
 2.SG-bring:SU1-USPEC-3.M=EPIST=Q 3.PL-enter-FUT IRR jack
 há Mári?
 3.PL:DEM M.
 ‘do you suppose that those bluntnose jacks will come back in, Mari?’
 (N20131016f>00:11:03) ♪
- b. l-idan=meha ában dán dan le nyû-gi:-di-na
 3.M-in=DPST one time when 3.M:DEM small-DUR-DI-1.SG
 l-ubé-y [kéy=büri=funa ában sísi sédü irúmu n-áw ...]
 3.M-EXTR-3.M as=PL=EPIST one six seven year 1.SG-with
 ‘when I was still young, like six or seven years old ...’
 (N20121026a>00:00:21) ♪
- c. anya-há=tiya yunúgu há yá [halíya-na=funà=tiya]?
 3.PL-exist=EMPH Ladino 3.PL:DEM here where-NOMA=EPIST=EMPH
 ‘there are those Ladinos, where might they be from?’
 (N20131016e>00:06:07) ♪

As is the case with most clitics in Garifuna, =*funà* tends to appear in the second position, i.e. on the right edge of the first phonological word in a clause. Notice that, despite the inherent lack of certainty entailed in an interrogative clause such as those in (253-a) and (253-c), the use of =*funà* is used. Indeed there is some overlap between interrogative =*san* and epistemic =*funà*, but none of them is obligatory, i.e. a clause with the exact same shape as a declarative can be used to express doubt, and even be used to express a question; in the case of the latter, however, a change in intonation is often required.

Epistemic =*funà* can also be used to indicate that an assertion was arrived at by inference, as shown in (254).

- (254) a. ni-há=funà=ti=buga kisu lé nyén m-arihi-n
 3.M-exist=EPIST=TOP=PST oddball 3.M:DEM there NEG-see-NEG
 n-umú-t-i
 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M
 ‘that oddball was there, (but) I hadn’t seen him’
 (N20131016g>00:02:03) ♪
- b. úh! hilá:-l-i=funà=buga l-úma-giyen yéte-giyen áye
 oh die:SU2-DI-3.M=EPIST=PST 3.M-with-ABL there-ABL yes
 ‘oh! he was already dead all the way from out there’
 (N20131016h>00:06:48) ♪
- c. l-ihûrû=funà=tiya=buga dúna l-igíya=funà=tiya=buga
 3.M-devil=EPIST=EMPH=PST water 3.M-DEM=EPIST=EMPH=PST
 ‘it was an evil spirit of the river, that’s what it was’
 (N20131016c>00:09:32) ♪

The examples of inference in (254) are different from the doubt examples (253) only in the degree of certainty that speakers express. Those in (254) are declarative clauses which do not appear to express any degree of doubt apart from the fact that their source of information is not directly observable to them. In (254-a) a woman is explaining that the first time she met her future husband, he saw her but she had not seen him at the time (she lovingly calls him an ‘oddball’). But she’s inferring that he was there, based on what she was later told. Example (254-b) is from a personal narrative about an old man who goes fishing and after his canoe sails back to shore, him still paddling, he is found dead in it, his body already cold. Based on this last piece of information, the narrator infers that he must have been dead already as the canoe was sailing back; strange, given that he was the only person in the vessel. In (254-c), a fisherman observed a strange red light on the shore and it was following him as he sailed along - he surmised that it must have been an evil spirit.

8.4 Hearsay =*nege*

With the use of the enclitic =*nege* the speaker indicates that the source of the uttered information is not first hand but rather that someone else told it to him. One of the frequent contexts of use is the personal narrative when relating events that happened either before the narrator was born, happened without his knowledge or represents events in which he was not directly involved; examples of this are given in (255).

- (255) a. aban l-ígiru-n-u aban=*nege* hé-ydi-n
 CONN 3.M-leave-USPEC-3.F CONN=HS 3.PL-go:SU2-USPEC
 ariha-rügà:-l-i=*nege* h-árigi anyá-güra lán
 see-just-DI-3.M=HS 3.PL-after 3.PL-go IRR
 ‘then he let her go and they went while he watched them go’
 (N20131016j>00:01:42) ♪
- b. l-úguchi Bogóne:ro l-uma Wáyu aban=*giyen*=buga
 3.M-father B. 3.M-with W. CONN=TC=PST
 l-aféydiru-n Pápa aban l-ídi-n l-igiya Nuévo
 3.M-lose-USPEC P. CONN 3.M-go:SU1-USPEC 3.M-DEM N.
 Yóri-ny-ey=*nege*
 Y.-COP-3.M=HS
 ‘he is the father of Bogonero and Wayu. Papa went missing, they say
 he went to New York’ (N20131016h>00:08:29) ♪
- c. pero nyén-be-y aban l-amúlen=*negè*=buga l-un
 but there-FUT-3.M one 3.M-younger.brother=HS=PST 3.M-to
 l-ídi-n anûge-y
 3.M-go:SU1-USPEC bring:SU1-3.M
 ‘but there’ll be a younger brother of his to pick him up’
 (N20131116a>00:01:17) ♪

Example (255-a) is from a story which was told to the narrator by her cousin. When the hurricane *Fifi* hit Honduras there was terrible destruction of people’s homes and flooding, soldiers were sent out to rescue people, most of whom were Ladinos. One of the soldiers, the protagonist of the story, a Garifuna, was told by an elderly lady that she did not want to be rescued by him but that he could rescue her rooster. He tried to convince her to let him rescue her but she refused and finally he had to let both her and her rooster be carried away through the flooded streets. Since the narrator was not there to verify the validity of the information she occasionally uses =*nege* to remind the hearers that this is second hand information.

The information in (255-b) that Papa went to live in New York also represents second hand information and thus is marked by =*nege*; but in this case the information was not necessarily delivered by someone who knew for a fact that Papa lives in New York - rather, this was a rumor that was going around. In (255-c) a grandmother is talking on the phone to her daughter about her grandson who is supposed to arrive

by bus later in the day. She is reassuring the mother of the boy that someone will be there to pick him up at the bus stop. But since she will not go personally, but was told that someone else will, she uses =nege to indicate that she is unable to vouch one hundred percent for the information.

The hearsay marker is also frequently found in fictional narratives as in (256-a) about a cat and a goat who are tired of their boring lives and go out on adventures and (256-b) about a parrot that gets punished for talking too much to the wrong people⁴⁰.

- (256) a. l-uwágu ában véyu sún-guwa véyu aban l-adúnragu mésu l-uma
 3.M-on one day all-COMPL day CONN 3.M-meet cat 3.M-with
 gábara ... éy kéymon=gubèy=tiya kómpa bueno aban
 goat ... INTERJ let's.go=COMPL=EMPH buddy well CONN
 h-éydi-n wügûri-nya ... aban h-arihi-n=ti l-uwágu
 3.PL=go:SU1-USPEC man-PL ... CONN 3.PL-see-USPEC=TOP 3.M-on
 ában lóma amíriha=nege ában kátey nyén
 one hill shine=HS one thing there
 'one day, like all other days, a cat met a goat ... "hey let's go man!" and
 the two guys went ... then they saw something shiny on a hilltop ...'
 (N20131029a>00:06:01) ♪
- b. ítara l-inyá=nege=ti ában dán h-ayánuha=nège t-igíbugiyen ában
 thus 3.M-COP=HS=TOP one time 3.PL-speak=HS 3.F-in.front.of one
 gurévegi sún=nege=ti lé l-ún-be-y
 parrot all=HS=TOP 3.M:DEM 3.M-to-EXTR-3.M
 h-arínyagu-be-y lán t-igíbugiyen
 3.PL-whisper-EXTR-3.M IRR 3.F-in.front.of
 h-achúraha-nyà=yebe=nege=tiya gürígiya h-ára pero sún=ti
 3.PL-critisize-3.PL=PFUT=HS=EMPH person 3.PL-DEM but all=TOP
 lé h-arínyagu-be-y aban=ya repetír
 3.M:DEM 3.PL-whisper-EXTR-3.M CONN=again repeat
 t-á-n-i ha-gíbugiyen há
 3.F-PRF-USPEC-3.M 3.PL-in.front.of 3.PL:DEM
 achúra-wa-gù-ba-nya
 critisize-PASS-COMPL-EXTR-3.PL
 'the same thing happened one time when some people spoke in front
 of a parrot and everything that they would say in front of it ... those
 people were criticizing others in secret ... but everything that they said,
 the parrot would repeat in front of those people that they had been crit-
 icizing'
 (N20131016i>00:14:28) ♪

⁴⁰Among some of my language consultants there is a tradition for telling stories about parrots. Usually the key tenet of this type of story is that parrots can speak and therefore must be intelligent. As a result, parrots get into trouble with wrongdoers who are not fond of the idea of their actions or utterances being retold to the wrong people. The example in (256-b) is an excerpt from such a story.

Like other TAME enclitics, the use of *=nege* is not obligatory, i.e. the grammar does not require that it be used for every single assertion which the speaker has not witnessed first hand. Rather, the frequency of *=nege* varies throughout each text. There is a general tendency in both personal and fictional narratives for the use of *=nege* to be especially frequent when a story reaches its climax or an exciting or important part of the narration. This is illustrated in (256-a) where the first use of *=nege* occurs at the first high point of suspense when the protagonists observe some mysterious shiny object which turns out to be central to subsequent events.

Example (256-b) is from the beginning of a relatively short story which only has two main points of suspense: one in the beginning where a parrot is talking in front of the wrong people and the owner becomes tired of it and decides to put it in the hen house, and another at the end of the story when the rooster tries to mate with the parrot thinking it is a chicken. But there is a short stretch of low suspense in between these two high points at which the use of *=nege* is less frequent.

Generally speaking, the use of the hearsay marker in fictional narratives is warranted by the very nature of this genre.

9 Illocutionary force

9.1 Interrogative

Garifuna has two types of interrogative clauses which can be told apart both on formal and functional grounds: polarity questions and content questions. Formally, polarity questions are almost identical to declarative main clauses with the only difference that the interrogative enclitic =*san* is usually added in second position, i.e. attached to the right edge of the first phonological word. Content questions bring the questioned element to the front of the clause in focus position and drop verbal marking of the questioned argument. Functionally, polarity questions are used for confirming or rejecting a proposition, while content questions elicit information, i.e. content question clauses are made up of known parts and unknown parts about which the asker elicits information. Most parts of a clause may be questioned: predicate, arguments, adjuncts, nominal modifiers and specifiers.

9.1.1 Polarity questions

Polarity questions are basically like declarative clauses but with an interrogative enclitic =*san* added. There is sometimes no audible difference in intonational pattern between declarative and interrogative clauses, while at other times there is a clear rise in intonation on the stressed syllable of the last phonological word of the interrogative construction. Examples of polarity questions with =*san* are shown in (257).

- (257) a. beré-t-i=san=bùga l-ubá l-ónwe?
fart-TI-3.M=Q=PST 3.M-before 3.M-die:SU1
'did he fart before he died?' (N20131029a>00:13:32) ♪
- b. Tútiya! b-éybuga=san alúguraha guguwédi?
T. 2.SG-go:SU1=Q sell green.coconut
'Tutiya! Are you going to sell green coconuts?' (N20131016i>00:06:31) ♪
- c. gurásuwe=mèha=san?
nightingale=DPST=Q
'was it a nightingale?' (N20131016i>00:04:22) ♪

As shown in (257), both clauses with verbal predicates and ones with nominal predicates can serve as polarity questions with an added interrogative =*san*. However, there are plenty of examples where polarity questions do not contain =*san* and the difference in intonational pattern may still be extremely slight or inaudible.

- (258) a. sún-ha-d-ü?
all-PRF-DI-2.PL
'are y'all finished?' (N20131016j>00:02:28) ♪

- b. b-áfara-di-na?
2.SG-kill-DI-1.SG
'are you going to kill me?' (N20131016i>00:11:32) ♪
- c. l-áni=meha wéyriya:-r-u
3.M-CLF=DPST old-DI-3.F
'was she his wife?' (Lit. 'was she his old lady?')
(N20131016g>00:15:51) ♪

Given that =*san* is not an obligatory component of interrogative clauses, and that polarity questions may appear to have the same intonational pattern as declarative clauses, speakers often rely on the discursive context for distinguishing between declarative and interrogative clauses.

Negative polarity questions are also very common, and, as is the case with declarative clauses, these can be formed using either prefixal negation *ma-* or the preposed negation word *máma*.

- (259) a. máma t-ugúya?
NEG 3.F-DEM
'isn't it her?' (N20131016h>00:13:33) ♪
- b. máma h-áfaru-ny-on b-ibári nyén-giyen?
NEG 3.PL-hit-PROG-3.F 2.SG-grandchild there-ABL
'isn't someone hitting you granddaughter there?'
(N20131016h>00:13:14) ♪
- c. digí w-agiya n-arínyagu-n t-ún
turn.around 1.PL-DEM 1.Sg-say-USPEC 3.F-to
m-agíribudu-n-ha-du-wa dó?
NEG-return-NEG-DISTR-DI-1.PL MP
'we turned around and I said to her "we're not going back, are we?"'
(N20131016b>00:10:19) ♪
- d. m-aríhi-n b-umú-ti-na=ha l-úma ówchaha-ni?
NEG-see-NEG 2.SG-PST-TI-1.SG=DISTR 3.M-with fish-NMLZ
'didn't you see the way I was in the fishing?' (N20131016f>00:00:12) ♪

Negative polarity questions exist both with and without =*san* but the latter, illustrated in (259), appears to be the preferred option. A few examples of the former are given in (260).

- (260) a. éy kéymon m-agá:mbu-ti-bù=san?
INTERJ let's.go NEG-hear-TI-2.SG=Q
'hey, let's go, can't you hear!?' (N20131029a>00:05:23) ♪

- b. máma=san l-áwaha-nya dúna lé b-ún?
 NEG=Q 3.M-call-PROG water 3.M:DEM 2.SG-to
 ‘isn’t that water calling for you?’ (N20131010e>00:00:47) ♪

There are two competing strategies for answering a polarity question: one consists of a positive or negative declarative equivalent of the interrogative clause, while the other is a single word answer: *ayé/áye*; *áha* for ‘yes’ and *inó*; *uwá* for ‘no’.

9.1.2 Content questions

Content questions are used to elicit missing information about a state of affairs. Any argument, adjunct or predicate can be questioned. Content questions are formed by bringing the questioned element to the front of the clause in focus position, dropping verbal marking corresponding to the questioned argument, and by a suffix *-ba*. This process, known as argument extraction, is used for a number of syntactic operations and involves focus and a change of the default constituent order (cf. § 13.1). As will be shown in the examples to come, the interrogative enclitic =*san* may also be used in content questions. The analysis of extracted constituents has benefitted greatly from a study by Ekulona (2000).

9.1.2.1 Question words

9.1.2.1.1 Simple question words There are four morphosyntactically simple question words: *ka* ‘who, what, which’, *ída* ‘how’, *átiri* ‘how much’ and *halíya* ‘where’; examples of their use are shown in (261).

- (261) a. *ká*=san b-adágu-be-y sún dán lé kómpa?
 what=Q 2.SG-do-EXTR-3.M all time 3.M:DEM buddy
 ‘what were you doing all this time buddy?’ (N20131029a>00:06:19) ♪
- b. *ída* l-úba n-arínyagu-n b-ún? w-awéynamuda
 how 3.M-EXTR 1.SG-say-USPEC 2.SG-to 1.PL-grow.up
 ‘how can I explain this to you? (it’s how) we grew up’
 (N20131116b>00:05:43) ♪
- c. *átiri* b-agúbüraha-n l-uwágu véyu?
 how.much 2.SG-charge-USPEC 3.M-on day
 ‘how much do you charge per day?’ (N20131017a>00:01:30) ♪
- d. *ká*-te-y *ká* Bóbu lé n-amú? *halíya* n-adéyre-y
 who-TA-3.M who B. 3.M:DEM 1.SG-friend where 1.SG-find-3.M
 lé?
 3.M:DEM
 ‘who is this Bob, sister? where did I find him?’ (N20131016g>00:04:13) ♪

By “morphosyntactically simple” I am referring to the fact that these four question words can be used in their simple form, and they are not further divisible into smaller units. However, most of them can take inflectional formatives marking person, number, gender and even tense-aspect. For instance, *ka* ‘what; who’ takes person marking if there is something in the context to indicate the gender or the number of the questioned argument. Examples of both simple and inflected *ka* are given in (262).

- (262) a. *ká=funa=giyen=tiya agámbu-ba-n-i n-amú?*
 who=EPIST=TC=EMPH hear-EXTR-USPEC-3.M 1.SG-friend
 ‘(I wonder) who was listening, my friend?’ (N20131016i>00:07:03) ♪
- b. *ká-te-y ká Bóbu lé n-amú? halíya n-adéyre-y*
 who-TA-3.M who B. 3.M:DEM 1.SG-friend where 1.SG-find-3.M
 lé?
 3.M:DEM
 ‘who is this Bob, sister? where did I find him?’ (N20131016g>00:04:13) ♪
- c. *ká-t-on l-apíkuru-b-on Sántosu?*
 who-TA-3.F 3.M-kiss-EXTR-3.F S.
 ‘who did Santos kiss?’ (E20131029>00:52:59) ♪
- d. *ká-ta-nya má-mari-ba-nya h-ídan-giyen?*
 who-TA-PL NEG-spouse-EXTR-3.PL 3.PL-in-ABL
 ‘which ones of y’ all are single?’ (E20131022b>00:42:31) ♪

In (262-a) there is no person marking because there is no evidence as to the possible gender or number of the one who listened. In (262-b), on the other hand, the questioned argument is known to be male and this is marked in *ká-t-ey*. In the same way, (262-c) indicates feminine gender on the assumption that Santos, a male person known to the speaker, would not let himself be kissed by any man, only a woman. In (262-d) the questioned argument is marked as plural because it involves several people within a larger group.

The question word *kátey* can also be used as a noun meaning ‘thing’ as shown in (263).

- (263) a. *sügû-güda b-é-y ká-te-y l-ígita n-ún!*
 pass-CAUS 2.SG-IMP-3.M what-TA-3.M 3.M-DEM 1.SG-to
 ‘pass me that thing(M)!’ (E20150804b>01:02:57) ♪
- b. *sügû-güda b-ón ká-t-on t-ú:ra n-ún!*
 pass-CAUS 2.SG-IMP:3.F what-TA-3.F 3.F-DEM 1.SG-to
 ‘pass me that thing(F)!’ (E20150804b>01:04:01) ♪

Átiri ‘how much; how many’ can be inflected for tense-aspect as shown in (264).

- (264) a. átiri-ha-l-i? diyesiséys ányos n-áw h-adan mútu
 how.much-PRF-DI-3.M sixteen years 1.SG-with 3.PL-in person
 há
 3.PL:DEM
 ‘how long has it been? I’ve been with those people for sixteen years’
 (N20131116a>00:14:39) ♪
- b. átiri-gu-bà-nya l-uwágu wéyasu?
 how.much-COMPL-EXTR-3.PL 3.M-on occasion
 ‘how many are they going to be this time?’ (Suazo (2011, p. 273))
- c. átiri t-uwágu repóyo?
 how.much 3.F-on cabbage
 ‘how much for the cabbage?’ (E20120927b>00:27:40) ♪

The example in (264-a) shows that *átiri*? ‘how much; how many?’ can be marked for perfect aspect rendering a temporal reading that quantifies time. In (264-b) the suffix *-gwa* adds a completive aspect rendering the reading ‘how many in all’, and in that same example *átiri* is further marked for future tense and plural number. Example (264-c) shows that *átiri* can take an oblique object in the specific context of pricing where *uwágu* refers to the item to which the price applies.

From *halíya* can be derived an existential predicate using *-nya* as in (265).

- (265) a. Mări haliya-nya-di-bu? ana-há yá múna-da
 M. where-exist-DI-2.SG 1.SG-exist here house-LOC
 ‘Mari, where are you? I’m here at the house’ (N20131016g>00:04:43) ♪
- b. haliya-ny-on wúri tó alúguru-b-on fáluma n-ún
 where-exist-3.F woman 3.F:DEM sell-EXTR-3.F coconut 1.SG-to
 ‘where is the woman who sold me all the coconuts’
 (E20150805>00:19:47) ♪

Two of the simple forms can be used for eliciting repetition when interlocutors fail to hear each other.

- (266) a. ída?
 how
 ‘excuse me?’ (N20131121-1b>00:00:52) ♪
- b. ká?
 what
 ‘excuse me?’ (N20131121-1a>00:00:18) ♪

9.1.2.1.2 Complex question words There are also complex question words or phrases which are derived from the simple ones by adding various types of formatives pertaining to the following categories: locative, person, tense-aspect. Note that the complex question words differ from the simple inflected ones above in that the derived complex ones are used with new and novel meanings, rather than adding inflectional categories without changing the core meaning of the question word.

- (267) a. *ída=buga t-alúgur-on Mári sún fáluma h-ón merígeyn*
 how=PST 3.F-sell-3.F M. all coconut 3.PL-to American
 ‘when did Mari sell all of the coconuts to the Americans?’
 (E20150810>00:48:23) ♪
- b. *ída=me=ti b-ídi-n San Juan Mári?*
 how=DFUT=TOP 2.SG-go:SU1-USPEC S. J. M.
 ‘when are you going to San Juan, Mari?’ (N20131016e>00:08:19) ♪
- c. *ká uwéy-giyen m-achûlürù-ba würínawuga?*
 what from-ABL NEG-arrive-EXTR yesterday
 ‘why did you not come yesterday?’ (E20150724>00:05:46) ♪
- d. *ká uwágu m-ála tu-bé-y wa-sóbre?*
 what on NEG-have.contents 3.F-EXTR-3.M 1.PL-envelope
 ‘why is our envelope empty?’ (N20131016f>00:07:01) ♪
- e. *ká=san ún-be-y lé?*
 what=Q to-EXTR-3.M 3.M:DEM
 ‘what is this for?’ (N20131029a>00:02:57) ♪
- f. *aban=ti l-arínyagu-n=ti h-ón ká=ba lán áw*
 CONN=TOP 3.M-say-USPEC=TOP 3.PL-to what=FUT IRR with
 h-afáye-y?
 3.PL-pay-3.M
 ‘then he said “what are they going to pay with?”’
 (N20131016e>00:11:01) ♪

In the examples (267-a-b) the simple question word *ída* ‘how’ combines with tense-aspect enclitics, past =*buga* and distant future =*me*, to form temporal question words meaning ‘when.past’ and ‘when.future’ respectively. The other examples are combinations of *ka* ‘what; which; who’ with novel meanings. In (267-c) is *ká uwéy-giyen* ‘why’ with the source preposition *uwéy* ‘(away) from’ and the ablative suffix *-giyen* (literally ‘from what?’). In (267-d) *ká uwágu* ‘why’, the simple question word *ka* is used together with the preposition *uwágu* ‘on; about’ (literally ‘on what?’). In (267-e-f) prepositions are used in the same way forming the purposive *ká ún-be-y* ‘what for’ and the instrumental *ká áw* ‘with what’. Note that the prepositions used in (267) are uninflected for person since the entity with which they would agree is the questioned

entity and thereby unknown.

Movement predicates with future *-ba* and predicates of nominal association with *-na* (cf. § 3.3.3 on the nominal associative *-na*) can be derived from *halíya*.

- (268) a. Cáne halíy-on-bà-di-bu?
 C. where-ALL-FUT-DI-2.SG
 ‘Cane, where are you going?’ (E20131130>00:41:37) ♪
- b. halíy-on-b-òn ugúney tó?
 where-ALL-FUT-3.F vessel 3.F:DEM
 ‘where is that vessel going?’ (E20150803>00:41:01) ♪
- c. aban=ti l-arínyagu-n n-ún halíya-na b-ugúya? San Juan
 CONN=TOP 3.M-say-USPEC 1.SG-to where-NOMA 2.SG-DEM S. J.
 ‘and he said to me “where are you from?” “San Juan” ’
 (N20131016g>00:02:27) ♪
- d. pero abídiye-t-i n-ún halíya-na-ba l-igíya=ti
 but be.unknown-TI-3.M 1.SG-to where-NOMA-EXTR 3.M-DEM=TOP
 ‘“but I didn’t know where you were from”, he (said)’
 (N20131016g>00:02:37) ♪

9.1.2.2 **Question predicate *hagá*** There is a verbal question predicate which differs from those described above in that it must be inflected, i.e. it does not have a simple form like those in § 9.1.2.1.1, nor is it derived from simple forms.

- (269) a. hagá-bu=ti Gawára-t-i?
 where-2.SG=TOP be.able-AGT-3.M
 ‘where are you, Almighty?’ (N20131116a>00:07:17) ♪
- b. hag-ón Nímsi?
 where-3.F N.
 ‘where is Nímsi?’ (N20131010e>00:07:40) ♪
- c. hagá-nya=ti? anyá-gütàn!
 where-3.PL=TOP 3.PL-exist
 ‘where are they? There they are!’ (Suazo (2011, p. 211))

9.1.2.3 **Interrogative particle *a*** A number of combinations with an interrogative particle *a* are found as shown in (270).

- (270) a. ída b-ínya? ában lé á=giya b-ugúya?
 how 2.SG-exist CONN 3.M:DEM Q=TC 2.SG-DEM
 ‘how are you? well, thank you, and you?’ (E20131029>00:23:17) ♪

- b. á=tiya b-ugúya n-umá?
 Q=EMPH 2.SG-DEM 1.SG-friend
 ‘what about you, my friend?’ (N20131116b>00:08:08) ♪

This interrogative particle is used for eliciting more information about an argument, without encoding any aspect of the semantics of the elicited information (place? ‘where’, identity? ‘what/who’, time? ‘when’, reason ‘why’ etc.) This type of construction can be used when the context provides sufficient information that a lexical question word is not necessary. Another illustrative example is given in (271) with the most frequent combination, i.e. with the topic marker =giya.

- (271) a. m-atélefunu-ti-na aban=ti l-aríhi-n-i ni-télefunu
 NEG-phone-TI-1.SG CONN=TOP 3.M-see-USPEC-3.M 1.SG-phone
 l-arínyaga n-ún á=giya lé? áh n-itélefunu
 3.M-say 1.SG-to Q-TC 3.M:DEM INTERJ 1.SG-phone
 ‘I don’t have a phone’ and then he saw my phone. Then he said to me
 ‘what about this one?’, “ah! that’s my phone” (N20131016g>00:02:43) ♪

- b. á=giya b-úguchu?
 Q=TC 2.SG-mother
 ‘and your mother (how is she)?’ (E20131130>00:37:15) ♪

There is evidence that in some varieties of Garifuna this interrogative particle is not *a* but *an*. In Belize, Taylor (1955, p. 234) found the example *án=sa[n]*? ‘what about ...?’ and from the Guatemalan variety of Livingston, Sánchez González (2012) has both *án=ti* and *án=san* and *á=gia* which he analyzes as interrogative particles with different politeness levels.

9.1.3 Interrogative clause structure

The syntactic configuration of content question clauses depends on what is questioned. Interrogative clauses that question non-argument constituents such as time (when?), location (where?), manner (how?) and motivation (why?) do not differ morphosyntactically from declarative clauses, apart from the preposed question word, as illustrated by the examples in (272) (note also that the explicitly past verb form is only used in the declarative clause in (272-a); the rest use either near future or underspecified).

- (272) a. afárenha l-umú-t-i ówchaha-t-i l-adígi-n l-uma Bócho
 share 3.M-PST-TI-3.M fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-catch-POSS 3.M-with B.
 ‘the fisherman shared his catch with Bocho’ (E20150810>00:43:51) ♪

- b. ída=buga l-afárenha-nya ówchaha-t-i l-adígi-n l-uma
 how=PST 3.M-share-3.PL fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-catch-POSS 3.M-with
 Bócho?
 B.
 ‘when did the fisherman share his catch with Bocho?’
 (E20150810>00:46:22) ♪
- c. ída l-ínya l-afárenha-n-ì ówchaha-t-i l-adígi-n
 how 3.M-COP 3.M-share-USPEC-3.M fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-catch-POSS
 l-uma Bócho?
 3.M-with B.
 ‘how did the fisherman share his catch with Bocho?’
 (E20150810>00:45:49) ♪
- d. ka uwéy-giyen l-afárenha-nya ówchaha-t-i l-adígi-n
 what from-ABL 3.M-share-3.PL fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-catch-POSS
 l-uma Bócho?
 3.M-with B.
 ‘why did the fisherman share his catch with Bocho?’
 (E20150810>00:46:31) ♪

In contrast, interrogative clauses which question arguments of the clause will drop the marking corresponding to the questioned argument which is brought to preverbal focus position.

- (273) a. afárenha l-umú-t-i ówchaha-t-i l-adígi-n l-uma Bócho
 share 3.M-PST-TI-3.M fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-catch-POSS 3.M-with B.
 l-aw l-ugú:nda-n
 3.M-with 3.M-happy-NMLZ:POSS
 ‘the fisherman happily shared his catch with Bocho’
 (E20150810>00:44:21) ♪
- b. ka edéreha-bà-li-nyu l-adígi-n l-uma Bócho l-aw
 who share-EXTR-DI-PL 3.M-catch-POSS 3.M-with B. 3.M-with
 l-ugú:nda-n?
 3.M-happy-NMLZ:POSS
 ‘who happily shared his catch with Bocho?’ (E20150810>00:45:18) ♪
- c. ka l-afárenha-ba ówchaha-t-i l-uma Bócho?
 what 3.M-share-EXTR fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-with B.
 ‘what did the fisherman share with Bocho?’ (E20150810>00:46:04) ♪

- d. ká úma l-afárenha-nya ówchaha-t-i l-adigi-n l-aw
 who with 3.M-share-3.PL fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-catch-POSS 3.M-with
 l-ugú:nda-n?
 3.M-happy-NMLZ:POSS
 ‘with whom did the fisherman happily share his catch?’
 (E20150810>00:45:35) ♪

Since the questioned argument in (273-d) is oblique, and thus not in the core, the verbal marking structure stays the same, there is no extraction marker, but the person marking on the preposition *úma* ‘with’ is dropped.

9.1.4 Tag questions

Tag questions are discursive devices which serve to encourage further communication, without necessarily expecting an answer to the tag question itself. Tag questions consist of a single word, *adíya* (variant *idíya*), which is attached to the right edge of a declarative clause, whether complex or simple, without changing its internal structure.

- (274) a. ibídiye-t-i w-ón ída wá-nya lán yagû:r-on adíya?
 not.know-TI-3.M 1.PL-to how 1.PL-COP IRR over.there-ALL right
 ‘we don’t know what we’ll be like in old age, right?’ (Lit. ‘over there’)
 (N20131116a>00:12:47) ♪
- b. lé eréderu-ba-dì-na yagûr-on l-igíbugiyen Tíbiniriba
 3.M:DEM stay-EXTR-DI-1.SG over.there-ALL 3.M-in.front.of T.
 adíya?
 right
 ‘the one who held me up over there at Río Esteban, right?’
 (N20131016c>00:12:19) ♪

A tag question will often be followed by a proper name.

- (275) a. t-un=tiya líburu lé adíya Bócho?
 3.F-to=EMPH book 3.M:DEM right B.
 ‘it’s for a book, right Bocho?’
 (N20131016h>00:10:26) ♪
- b. awádeüha-t-i l-igiya ówchaha-t-i adíya Cáne?
 hunt-AGT-3.M 3.M-DEM fish-AGT-3.M right C.
 ‘he’s a hunter and also a fisherman, right Cane?’
 (N20131016a>00:00:47) ♪

Tag questions followed by a proper name are more likely to prompt an answer or some reaction than a tag question on its own.

Another discursive device similar to tag questions is the modal particle *hígan* ‘you hear?’, on which see § 9.3.5 below.

9.2 Imperative and hortative

There is a high degree of similarity between perfect verb forms on the one hand, and imperative and hortative ones on the other. They all use a reduced form of the verb stem and keep the prefix position empty, and in addition, when a definite object of a transitive verb needs formal marking, all argument marking is moved to a post-verbal auxiliary, and the auxiliaries used are similar.

However, unlike the perfect, imperative and hortative verb phrases always take an auxiliary, even in intransitive clauses, and the perfect marks its S and O arguments with a suffix from the DI-suffix series, whereas the imperative and hortative use a prefix for S and a suffix from the short suffix series for O. These facts are illustrated in the below examples with both an intransitive and a transitive verb stem of both an imperative/hortative (276) and a perfect (277) clause.

- (276) a. *hilá b-a!*
 die:SU2 2.SG-IMP
 ‘die!’ (E20150804a>01:20:31) ♪
- b. *hilá-guwa h-umá!*
 die:SU2-REFL 2.PL-IMP
 ‘die y’all!’ (E20121001b>00:05:00) ♪
- c. *rú b-on gusínyu l-un iráhü!*
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP:3.F knife 3.M-to child
 ‘give the knife to the boy!’ (E20150804a>01:16:39) ♪
- d. *rú h-um-on gusínyu l-un iráhü!*
 give:SU2 2.PL-IMP-3.F knife 3.M-to child
 ‘y’all give the knife to the boy!’ (E20150804a>01:16:45) ♪
- (277) a. *hilá:-di-bu*
 die:SU2-DI-2.SG
 ‘you have died’ (E20150724>00:30:11) ♪
- b. *ahe-yn hilá:-di-wa l-ubé-y l-uma Krístu ...*
 if-3.M die:SU2-DI-1.PL 3.M-EXTR-3.M 3.M-with C.
 ‘if we have died with Christ ...’ (Romanos 6:8)
- c. *rú n-a:-r-u gusínyu l-un iráhü*
 give:SU2 1.SG-PRF-DI-3.F knife 3.M-to child
 ‘I have given the knife to the boy’ (E20150804a>01:14:10) ♪

- d. gürúguwa h-umá:-du-wa
 bite 2.PL-PRF-DI-1.PL
 ‘y’all have bitten us’ (E20150731a>00:27:46) ♪

Note that the final /a/ of the imperative auxiliaries in (276-c-d) assimilates to the vowel of the object suffix *-on*; in the singular this results in the deletion of the auxiliary *a* in the surface form. As is always the case in Garifuna argument marking, a transitive imperative clause with an indefinite object will be marked in the same way as its intransitive counterpart; thus (278-a) has the same argument marking structure as (276-a). Below I will give more details about imperative and hortative forms and uses and also the subtle ways in which the two differ from each other.

9.2.1 Imperative

There is quite a bit of variation in stress on the auxiliary. In (278-a-b) the auxiliary is unstressed whereas in (278-c-d) there are two examples of stressed auxiliaries; in the overall stress pattern in imperatives it would appear that it is the length of the verb phrase that determines whether an auxiliary is stressed or not.

- (278) a. rú b-a murúsun fitaru n-ún!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP a.bit fishing.line 1.SG-to
 ‘give me a bit of fishing line!’ (E20150810>00:36:48) ♪
- b. bürú b-e-y yá!
 write 2.SG-IMP-3.M here
 ‘write it down here!’ (E20131130>00:08:07) ♪
- c. Mări vegéguwa b-é-y l-úhabu iráhü lé n-ún!
 M. open 2.SG-IMP-3.M 3.M-hand child 3.M:DEM 1.SG-to
 ‘Mari, open the boy’s hands for me!’ (E20150727b>00:04:16) ♪
- d. m-alúgura b-á-na hará barû b-a-na
 NEG-sell 2.SG-IMP-1.SG INTERJ bring:SU2 2.SG-IMP-1.SG
 b-úma-gwa!
 2.SG-with-REFL
 ‘don’t sell me dammit, take me with you!’ (N20131016i>00:06:03) ♪

In imperative clauses with suppletive verb stems, the choice of form depends not on the mood but on polarity as shown in (279). This observation supports the notion that the length of the stem has a bearing on stress placement.

- (279) a. hów b-e-y údereü!
 eat:SU2 2.SG-IMP-3.M fish
 ‘eat the fish!’ (E20150804a>01:05:58) ♪

- b. ównli m-éyga b-é-y yúdi!
 dog NEG-eat:SU1 2.SG-IMP-3.M 1.SG:meat
 ‘dog, don’t eat my meat!’ (E20150806>00:30:21) ♪
- c. barû b-on fáluma chápu-rugù-n!
 bring:SU2 2.SG-IMP:3.F coconut shop-LOC-ALL
 ‘bring the coconut to the shop!’ (E20150804a>01:10:55) ♪
- d. m-anûga b-ón fáluma chápu-rugù-n!
 NEG-bring:SU1 2.SG-IMP:3.F coconut shop-LOC-ALL
 ‘don’t bring the coconut to the shop!’ (E20150804a>01:11:11) ♪

Positive imperative clauses such as the ones in (279-a) and (279-c) always display the SU 2 suppletive stem whereas in the negative counterparts it is always the SU 1 stem that is used. This can be explained by the rule that SU 1 stems can take a prefix, SU 2 cannot. For this reason SU 2 will be used in all contexts where prefixation never occurs, such as imperatives and past and perfect verb stems, while SU 1 is used whenever prefixation is needed, such as in near future, progressive, future and morphologically negated verb stems.

There are at least two inherently imperative predicates; these are the most frequently used in imperative clauses in my corpus - examples are shown in (280).

- (280) a. **b-éyba** yá-giyen gabáyu!
 2.SG-go:IMP here-ABL horse
 ‘get out of here, horse!’ (E20120924b>00:15:07) ♪
- b. **h-éyba** adûga ában gurúyara!
 2.PL-go:IMP make one canoe
 ‘go make a canoe, y’all!’ (E20131022a>00:36:58) ♪
- c. éy Santos **hagábu** n-ún-òw!
 INTERJ S. come:IMP 1.SG-to-VOC
 ‘hey, Santos, come here!’ (E20150804b>00:47:32) ♪
- d. **higábu** n-ún nyáh-on!
 come:IMP 1.SG-to here-ALL
 ‘come here!’ (E20150803>00:15:52) ♪

The verb stem *éyba* in (280-a-b) has regular person marking prefixes for second person singular and plural respectively. Even though *éyba* is not used outside of the imperative mood, it is not difficult to see its historical affinity to the regular verb stems *éybuga* ‘walk’ and *éybagwa* ‘run’ and to the adverb *éybu* ‘on foot’. The verb stem *higábu*, which has the less frequent variant *hagábu*, unlike *éyba*, lacks synchronically transparent morphology; however, seeing as it is only used for second person singular,

there are no paradigmatic means of comparison. One can only suspect that the final /bu/ of the verb stem might be historically related to the second person singular suffix. It should also be mentioned that *hagábu!* ‘come here!’ happens to be homophonous with the second person form of the interrogative predicate *hagá-bu* ‘where are you?’, however, the latter has a regular inflectional paradigm (cf. § 9.1.2.2).

As in the indicative mood, it is possible to form imperative predicates from adverbs. I only have a single example of this: *nyáh-on bá* ‘come here!’.

Another, more frequently used imperative predicate is *han* ‘here you go!; take this!’. Examples are given in (281).

- (281) a. **hán** b-e-y Nímsi barû b-e-y váso n-ún!
 take.this! 2.SG-IMP-3.M N. bring:SU2 2.SG-IMP-3.M glass 1.SG-to
 ‘here you go Nimsi, bring me the glass!’ (E20131130>01:01:59) ♪
- b. **hán** b-e-y ni-há b-éygi-n!
 take.this! 2.SG-IMP-3.M 3.M-exist 2.SG-food-NMLZ:POSS
 ‘here you go, here’s your food!’ (E20150804a>01:39:50) ♪

In the situation in example (281-a) the grandmother is about to pour a glass of soda for her grandchild who forgot to bring her glass to the table.

It is unclear whether the third person masculine suffix has any reference as I have only been able to record or observe few instances of *han* and have not been able to successfully elicit it.

Diachronically, there are two likely sources of *han*; on the one hand it could be derived from a second person plural classifier *h-áni* used for marking general possession with no specific purpose of the possessed item. The other possible source is interrogative =*san* which is often realized as variant =*han*.

A polite imperative can be formed using =*san*; I only have a single example of this, given in (282).

- (282) Títa! higábu=*san* n-ún murúsun?!
 T. come:IMP=Q 1.SG-to a.bit
 ‘Tita! could you come here for a bit?!’ (E20131130>00:37:55) ♪

9.2.2 Alternative means of expressing imperative

When an imperative mood frame has been established within a discursive context, the less marked forms, such as the near future and the underspecified verb stems can be used instead of the imperative proper. This becomes especially clear in those contexts where a number of instructions or orders are given in a unilateral manner, i.e. from a teacher to a student or an instructor to an apprentice. A few good examples come from food recipes such as the ones in (283) and (284).

- (283) a. lé b-on barúru!
 peel 2.SG-IMP:3.F plantain
 ‘peel the plantains!’ (E20120918a>00:07:11) ♪
- b. rú b-on l-id-on sówduweru!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP:3.F 3.M-in-ALL pot
 ‘put them in a pot!’ (E20120918a>00:07:53) ♪
- c. rú b-a dúna t-íd-on!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP water 3.F-in-ALL
 ‘poor in water!’ (E20120918a>00:08:54) ♪
- d. rú b-on wátu-rugu!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP:3.F fire-LOC
 ‘put it on the fire!’ (E20120918a>00:09:49) ♪
- e. rú b-a sálu t-ído-n!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP salt 3.F-in-ALL
 ‘put salt in it!’ (E20120918a>00:10:29) ♪
- f. áhura-güda b-on!
 boil-CAUS 2.SG-IMP:3.F
 ‘boil it!’ (E20120918a>00:11:19) ♪
- g. b-áhudu-ha
 2.SG-mash-DISTR
 ‘(then) you mash it’ (E20120918a>00:17:40) ♪
- h. sagá b-on l-ídan-giyen hána!
 take.out 2.SG-IMP:3.F 3.M-in-ABL masher
 ‘take it out of the masher!’ (E20120918a>00:18:17) ♪

Imperatives are used for the instructions in every example with the exception of (283-g) where an immediate future is used but still with an intended imperative meaning.

In (284-c-d) the speaker switches to underspecified verb forms for two turns after which he switches back into the imperative.

- (284) a. rú b-a fáluma t-íd-on fulúwaru!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP coconut 3.F-in-ALL flour
 ‘put coconut into the flour!’ (E20120918a>01:51:01) ♪
- b. nyónguwa b-on l-aw sálu!
 knead 2.SG-IMP:3.F 3.M-with salt
 ‘knead it with salt!’ (E20120918a>01:51:31) ♪

- c. b-anyú:ra-gwà-güdü-n-u
2.SG-sit-REFL-CAUS-USPEC-3.F
'you let it sit' (E20120918a>01:52:25) ♪
- d. nyén-giyen aban b-íbiyaha-n-ù
there-ABL CONN 2.SG-cut-USPEC-3.F
'and then you cut it' (E20120918a>01:53:37) ♪
- e. ibiyaha b-on murúsun murúsun!
cut 2.SG-IMP:3.F a.bit a.bit
'cut it into small pieces!' (E20120918a>01:54:02) ♪
- f. adáguwa b-on durúdiya!
make 2.SG-IMP:3.F tortilla
'make the tortillas!' (E20120918a>01:54:48) ♪
- g. ásüraha b-ón!
bake 2.SG-IMP:3.F
'bake them!' (E20120918a>01:55:17) ♪

There are also many examples where speakers start out offering a non-imperative form but then, through self-repair, switch to an imperative, as illustrated in (285).

- (285) a. b-áhü... t-áhürüchû-n fáluma... hürû b-on fáluma!
2.SG-sha... 3.F-grate-USPEC coconut grate 2.SG-IMP:3.F coconut
'you gra... the coconut is grated ... grate the coconut!'
(E20120918a>00:21:05) ♪
- b. b-áfu... áfuduha b-e-y l-aw gürábu!
2.SG-mak... make.hole 2.SG-IMP-3.M 3.M-with nail
'you make a ... make a hole with the nail!' (E20120918a>00:30:06) ♪
- c. b-agáraraha-n-i... b-a... agáraraha b-e-y!
2.SG-shake-USPEC-3.M 2.SG-sh... shake 2.SG-IMP-3.M
'you shake it ... you sh... shake it!' (E20120918a>00:54:29) ♪

Such self-repair can be interpreted as expressing a high degree of consciousness on part of speakers that, while non-imperative forms are perfectly adequate for conveying the desired message, their functional core does not match the pragmatics of a situation of instruction.

9.2.3 Hortative

The difference between imperative and hortative is that the former is only used in the second person singular and plural to give instructions to other speech act participants, whereas the latter is used for all persons in both singular and plural to express an immediate desire on part of the speaker for one or more people to act in a certain way.

I have said that imperative and hortative verb phrases are the same in form. It is true that there are hortative verb phrases, such as the ones in (286) which have the same form as imperatives,

- (286) a. hilá n-a!
die:SU2 2.SG-HORT
'may I die!' (E20150804a>01:20:42) ♪
- b. gürúguwa l-á-wa!
bite 3.M-HORT-1.PL
'may he bite us!' (E20150731a>01:10:52) ♪
- c. hilá-guwa ha-má nyén!
die:SU2-REFL 3.PL-HORT there
'may they die there!' (E20121001b>00:18:31) ♪

However, there are other examples which display one important difference, an extended hortative auxiliary *á-muga* for singular and *umá-muga* for plural, as illustrated in (287).

- (287) a. dibúne ha-má-muga!
fat 3.PL-HORT-HORT
'may they become fat!' (E20121001b>00:22:55) ♪
- b. avéreha-gwa n-á-muga!
vomit-REFL 1.SG-HORT-HORT
'may I vomit!' (E20121001b>00:14:17) ♪
- c. gurá wa-má-muge-y
drink:SU2 1.PL-HORT-HORT-3.M
'so that we may drink it' (E20150708a>01:19:32) ♪
- d. aní-heyn b-éygi-n nyén gusína-rugu bachá-güda
3.M-exist 2.SG-eat-NMLZ:POSS there kitchen-LOC hot-CAUS
b-e-y hów b-á-muga!
2.SG-IMP-3.M eat:SU2 2.SG-HORT-HORT
'your food is in the kitchen, heat it up so that you may eat!'
(E20150708a>00:03:08) ♪

- e. aban amúriga n-á-muge-y ídubüri lé n-uwáriuwa
 CONN comb 1.SG-HORT-HORT-3.M hair 3.M:DEM 1.SG-away.from
 baráse:-l-i=tiya n-ún
 bother-DI-3.M=EMPH 1.SG-to
 ‘so that I may comb that hair which bothers me’
 (N20131010g>00:02:27) ♪
- f. gumése-gubey b-á-giya agá:mba n-á-muge-y
 begin-COMPL 2.SG-IMP-TC hear 1.SG-HORT-HORT-3.M
 b-agúmeseru-n
 2.SG-begin-NMLZ:POSS
 ‘begin so that I may hear how you begin’ (N20131016a>00:04:06) ♪

Note the complementarity between the hortative suffix *-muga* and the enclitic =*hamúga* with the same function. The reason why *-muga* must be considered a suffix rather than an enclitic is its ability to be followed by person marking suffixes as shown in half of the examples in (287).

There are also hortative constructions which have the modal verb *gwára/gayára* ‘be able; be possible’ as their main verb followed by the hortative auxiliary, optionally followed by the hortative suffix *-muga*. The hortative construction with *gwára* competes with the irrealis modal construction *gwára lán* (as discussed in § 8.1.1) which can also from time to time be used hortatively. This three-way distinction is illustrated in (288).

- (288) a. gwára l-a n-avéreha !
 be.possible 3.M-HORT 1.SG-vomit
 ‘may I vomit!’ (E20121001b>00:11:51) ♪
- b. gwára l-á-muga n-avéreha!
 be.possible 3.M-HORT-IRR 1.SG-vomit
 ‘may I vomit!’ (E20121001b>00:11:13) ♪
- c. gwára lán n-ámuru-n!
 be.possible IRR 1.SG-defecate-USPEC
 ‘may I defecate!’ (E20121001b>00:15:42) ♪

Notice that (288-c) has an underspecified verb form, while the other two do not. This is because verb stems ending in the distributive suffix *-ha* are unable to form underspecified verb forms.

Finally, there is one inherently hortative predicate *kéymon* ‘let’s go!’. This is not analyzable synchronically, but according to Taylor (1954, p. 31) contains the Carib first person plural prefix *k-*.

9.3 Modal particles

There are a number of elements which serve to express the attitude of the speaker towards a state of affairs to which an utterance refers. I analyze these modal elements as particles for the following reasons: 1) they are always stressed, unlike affixes and enclitics, 2) they are confined to utterance final position and thus more bound than words. Note that although modal particles are formally similar to vocative enclitics, in that they both appear in the utterance final position, they differ in that the former never interact with their host, while the latter do.

9.3.1 Contrary *do*

The particle *do* is used to signal that an utterance runs counter to the speaker's perception of the world, or subtracts force from earlier utterances, much like 'but', 'however' or 'though'. It is possible that *do* was borrowed from English 'though' given the similarities both in form and function.

- (289) a. pero mósu ma-díse lán yá h-erédera há **dó**
but must NEG-far IRR here 3.PL-live 3.PL:DEM MP
'but those guys probably don't live far from here'
(N20131016e>00:06:18) ♪
- b. hé! pero busé:n-ti-na n-éygi-n úvi **dó!**
damn! but want-TI-1.SG 1.SG-eat-USPEC meat MP
'damn! but I want to eat meat!'
(N20131029a>00:12:13) ♪
- c. pero m-íchulu-bè-y=büri yá Trómpu **dó**
but NEG-show-FUT-3.M=PL here T. MP
'but he's not going to show it here in Triunfo' (N20131116b>00:01:16) ♪

In (289-a) the discussion has been about a group of people on the beach. They are unknown to the interlocutors but the use of *do* signals that, even though they are unknown, they probably don't live far away, because they came on foot, not by car. In (289-b) a lion failed to kill an animal that he wanted to eat, and by failing missed his opportunity to eat meat. The use of *do* supports his assertion that, in spite of the unfortunate loss of his prey, he still wants to eat meat. In example (289-c) the two speakers participating in a recording are discussing what is later going to happen to the footage; one was assuming that it would at least be shown locally by the person responsible (the author) but the other informs her that this is not the case.

9.3.2 Consequence *den*

This particle works in much the same way as 'then' in English from which it also seems to have been borrowed.

- (290) a. kéymon! busúwen-ti-na n-aríyagu-n koronasyón
 let's.go want-TI-1.SG 1.SG-see-USPEC coronation
 'let's go! I want to go see the coronation' (N20131016g>00:00:50) ♪
- b. kéymon **dén**
 let's.go then
 'let's go then' (N20131016g>00:00:56) ♪

9.3.3 Result *ga*

The particle *ga* signals that a proposition is an explanation for a previous utterance, i.e. according to the speaker the proposition marked with *ga* follows from the previous one, and as such can be translated 'given that' or 'since'.

- (291) a. adúmureha-t-i=giyen gá
 speak-TI-3.M=also MP
 'it speaks as well (you know)' (N20131010e>00:00:21) ♪
- b. óh ókey n-agányeha bíme-t-i gá
 oh okay 1.SG-buy sweet-TI-3.M MP
 'oh okay, I'll buy the sweet one then' (E20131130>00:25:04) ♪
- c. l-ásarùn-ye=nege=tiya=buga l-ídibüri l-uwéy l-ónwe! "kon ése
 3.M-shave-3.M=HS=EMPH=PST 3.M-hair 3.M-from 3.M-die:SU1 with that
 pelón me konfórmó", l-inyá=nege gû!
 bald.one I settle 3.M-say=HS then
 'he had shaved his hair to avoid dying! "I'll settle for that bald one" he said!'

Variant forms of *ga* include *gu* or *gü* one example of which is shown in (291-c).

The example in (291-a) was uttered after a short exchange about what a boiling kettle says. The speaker must have felt that others might find it strange to think of a speaking kettle, but to the speaker this personification of a dead thing is not odd, leading to the use of *ga*. The example in (291-b) comes after a shopper was asking about the sweetness of oranges. After identifying the sweeter of two options she decides to buy the sweeter one.

In addition, there is an enclitic =*ga* homophonous with this particle and very similar in meaning as shown in (292). This enclitic is always stressed and in second position.

- (292) a. áye aban=**ga** b-ídi-n l-áw Késsel!
 yes CONN=**GA** 2.SG-go:SU1-USPEC 3.M-with K.
 'yes, because you went with Kessel!' (N20131010b>00:16:14) ♪

- b. alúguraha-t-ù=ga hasta topoíyo nyén
 sell-TI-3.F=GA even popsicle there
 ‘there are even popsicles being sold there’ (N20131016i>00:02:13) ♪

This contrast can also be found in Taylor (1956b, p. 143) who calls *ga* a particle but sometimes connects it to the preceding word with a hyphen. I take this to mean that Taylor was aware that *ga* sometimes appears stressed in utterance final position, as a particle, and sometimes unstressed, as an enclitic. Some of his examples are shown in (293).

- (293) a. sinyá lán sán ha-ríhi-n mútu m-agúru=ga
 impossible IRR Q 3.PL-see-USPEC people NEG-touch=GA
 ‘it seems that people can’t see without touching’
 (Taylor, 1956b, p. 143)
- b. sándi-t-i animálu lé peru l-éyga gá
 sick-TI-3.M animal 3.M:DEM but 3.M-eat:SU1 MP
 ‘the beast was sick, but he ate it nevertheless’ (Taylor, 1956b, p. 143)
- c. máma=ga l-úguchu wél
 NEG=ga 3.M-mother well
 ‘it was not his mother anyway’ (Taylor, 1956b, p. 143)

9.3.4 Exclamatory *gayéü*

This particle is used at the end of an utterance with the function of expressing the agitated state of mind of the speaker and catch the attention of interlocutors.

- (294) a. pero núnka=tiya ga-réü lán=buga Brúnu t-aw... t-aw...
 but never=EMPH ATR-child IRR=PST B. 3.F-with 3.F-with
 ká=san t-íri gürígiya t-ugúya gayéü?!
 what=Q 3.F-name person 3.F-DEM MP
 ‘but Bruno never had any children with ... with ... what was the name
 of that lady, man?’ (N20131016g>00:15:57) ♪
- b. hé! n-arínyaga=ti ída l-ubá=funa n-adúga gayéü?!
 INTERJ 1.SG-say=TOP how 3.M-EXTR=EPIST 1.SG-do MP
 ‘“oh!” I said, “what am I going to do, man?”’ (N20131016b>00:02:55) ♪
- c. n-arínyaga n-ún-gwa ítaga l-ínya=me=mème=funa=guba
 1.SG-say 1.SG-to-REFL thus 3.M-COP=DFUT=still=EPIST=COMPL
 n-ibágari n-ubára-gwa n-ún-gwa gayéü?!
 1.SG-life 1.SG-before-REFL 1.SG-to-REFL MP
 ‘I said to myself “what is my life going to be like from now on, man?”’
 (N20131017a>00:05:15) ♪

- d. lanárime afúruduni múna-da gayéü!
 tremendous racket house-LOC MP
 ‘what a racket (going on) at the house!’ Suazo (2011, p. 114)

In my corpus it is found exclusively at the end of interrogative clauses, but the use of *gayéü* is not limited to interrogatives, as shown in (294-d).

9.3.5 Emphatic *hígan*

This particle serves a function similar to tag-questions and is often used after direct orders in the imperative mood as in (295-a-b). Its function is to underscore the order and remind the interlocutor of its importance. Like with tag-questions, speakers usually do not expect a direct answer when using *hígan*.

- (295) a. b-anûga=me ában topóiyo n-ún hígan?
 2.SG-bring:SU1=DFUT one popsicle 1.SG-to MP
 ‘bring me a popsicle, you hear?’ (N20131010f>00:06:15) ♪
- b. áh pero nyén b-á=tiya hígan?
 INTERJ but there 2.SG-IMP=EMPH MP
 ‘ah, but stay there, you hear?’ (N20131116a>00:01:21) ♪
- c. sún=ti=buga lé anúfudey l-uwéy ábulugu lé hígan?
 all=TOP=PST 3.M:DEM fear 3.M-from head 3.M:DEM MP
 ‘all of that was because of fear of that head, you follow?’
 (N20131029a>00:09:38) ♪

In narratives *hígan* can be used, as in (295-c), at regular intervals in order to maintain the attention of the audience and check if they follow the storyline.

9.4 Interjections

A general definition of interjections states that they “are words that conventionally constitute utterances by themselves and express a speaker’s current mental state or reaction toward an element in the linguistic or extralinguistic context [... s]ome English interjections are words such as *yuk!* ‘I feel disgusted’, *ow!* ‘I feel sudden pain’, *wow!* ‘I feel surprised and I am impressed...’ (Ameka, 2006, p. 743). A list of some commonly used interjections is shown in Table 32.

Interjections are phonologically and morphosyntactically deviant. Phonologically, interjections display features which are not observed in other parts of the phonological system such as extra long vowels as in some of the items shown above. The following items display deviant phonotactics: *ûyaakh* has a final aspirated velar plosive but normally only vowels and glides are allowed in final position, and there are no aspirated plosives in the regular phonological inventory; interjections are often

Item	Gloss	Use
<i>che</i>	♪ ‘stop!’	said to children to make them stop doing whatever it is they are doing
<i>he</i>	♪ ‘man!’	emphatically underscores the severity or degree of something bad or good
<i>hé::là:</i>	♪ ‘dammit!’; ‘wow!’	negativity or admiration
<i>he::l</i>	♪ ‘wow!’	a sense of being overwhelmed or surprised
<i>hé:sús</i>	♪ ‘Jesus!’	surprise or admiration
<i>hé:e:e:y</i>	♪ ‘woow!’	interested or positive surprise
<i>üh</i>	♪ ‘yuk!’	disgust or fright
<i>ûyaakh</i>	♪ ‘hey!’	indignation; irritation
<i>uh</i>	♪ ‘oh!’	surprise or fright
<i>namú</i>	♪ ‘yeah, friend!’	agreement or solidarity

Table 32: *Interjections*

pronounced with much higher levels of intensity and may display dramatic intonational contours such as *hé:e:e:y* which begins on a super high tone and has a falling contour throughout, while also falling in intensity. Morphosyntactically the peculiarities of interjections in Garifuna are as follows: interjections are unable to take any kind of bound formatives, whether they be affixes or clitics, and in this way they differ from regular words which usually take some affixation or at least are able to take most types of clitics (even some proclitics may themselves take enclitics making up clitic-only words). Unlike words, which have a relatively fixed position in the clause, interjections can appear at either edge of the clause, and even when appearing on the left edge still do not take second position enclitics, the only exception being *che!* ‘stop!’, which can take the emphatic enclitic =*tiya* or the imperative enclitic =*han*.

Some interjections are mostly used by women while others are neutral. Those which are mostly used by women include: *che!*, *hé::la:*, *hé:sús*, *hé:e:e:y*, and *namú*.

Interjections are used both in direct speech and quoted speech as illustrated in (296).

- (296) a. dan le t-ebéluru-n wéya:-r-u **hélà!** ní-heyn=tiya
time 3.M:DEM 3.F-enter-USPEC old-DI-3.F INTERJ 3.M-exist=EMPH
mégey-t-i n-ún yá ká=san=ti íveruha-bè-y yá?
missing-TI-3.M 1.SG-to here what=Q=TOP steal-EXTR-3.M here
‘when the old woman entered (she said) ‘hey! something is missing
here! who might be stealing here?’ (N20131016i>00:10:33) ♪
- b. **hélà!** h-íbe alúguraha-tì-nyu
INTERJ 3.PL-numerous sell-AGT-3.PL
‘wow! there were lots of vendors’ (N20131016e>00:09:42) ♪

10 Negation

Garifuna makes use of two major morphosyntactic negation strategies: the prefix *ma-* and the prosodically independent negator *máma* which always precedes the word it negates. Both of these strategies are historically derived from the Proto-Arawak negator **ma-* which also preceded the word it negated (cf. for instance Michael and Granadillo (2014a)). However, based on the rarity of modern Arawak languages using *ma-* for standard negation, Michael (2014, p. 285) proposes that Proto-Arawak **ma* was not used for standard negation but only as a privative formative deriving denominal stative verbs. In Garifuna *ma-* is also used denominally, in addition to its function as standard negator, as I will show in what follows.

The below discussion of negation will be organized according to type of negator, in order to emphasize the intricate morphosyntactic interplay between negation and most other grammatical categories of the predicate, including person, number, gender, tense, and aspect.

10.1 Negation with *ma-*

10.1.1 Formal manifestations

The negative prefix *ma-* is actually the most salient feature of a circumfix *ma- -un* the use of which is illustrated in (297).⁴¹

- (297) a. w-agíya m-adügü-n-tu-wa guríyara würínawuga
1.PL-DEM NEG-do-NEG-TI-1.PL canoe yesterday
'we didn't make a canoe yesterday' (E20131022a>00:40:36) ♪
- b. sún=buga lé m-adügü-n wa-má-l-i
all=PST 3.M:DEM NEG-do-NEG 1.PL-PRF-DI-3.M
'all those things, we don't do them anymore' (N20131116b>00:12:14) ♪

However, it appears in many cases as though the marker of negation were only a prefix *ma-* as in (298-a-b), or in some cases the prefix accompanied by a stem final vowel change /a/ →/u/ (298-c) (or /a/ →/ü/ if the preceding vowel is /ü/ (298-d)).

⁴¹An interesting dialectal variation has developed between Honduran Garifuna where standard negation is expressed with the circumfix as described here, and Belizean Garifuna which, as described in Munro et al. (2013), has the prefix accompanied by final vowel lengthening, and also, in some cases the change in vowel quality as in Honduran Garifuna. This correlation between nasality in Belize Garifuna and vowel length in Honduras Garifuna is also found before DI-suffixes. According to Munro et al. (2013, p. 145) the nasality is due to a future auxiliary *an*. In Honduras Garifuna, however, I have not found such a future auxiliary. Rather, the vowel lengthening before DI-suffixes should be explained historically as a reflex of perfect *-ha* which has later been weakened to just /a/ resulting in a long vowel. In fact, there is synchronic variation between *-ha-di* and *a-di*.

- (298) a. **m-agámbadi-ha-nya iráhü-nyü ugúnye lé**
 NEG-obey-PRF-3.PL child-PL today 3.M:DEM
m-ítara-hà-nya=buga... key=buga binádü gürígiya
 NEG-thus-PRF-3.PL=PST... as=PST old person
 ‘the kids today don’t obey anymore, they’re not the same as before... as
 the old folks’ (N20131016c>00:02:07) ♪
- b. **m-eréde-ti-nyu há abéüda-ha úraga sún áriyebu**
 NEG-stay-TI-3.PL 3.PL:DEM tell-DISTR story all at.night
 ‘they didn’t stay and tell stories all night’ (N20131016b>00:11:35) ♪
- c. **m-agámbu b-umú-t-i=buga lé n-abéüdagu-be-y**
 NEG-hear 2.SG-PST-TI-3.M=PST 3.M:DEM 1.SG-tell.stories-EXTR-3.M
 b-ún
 2.SG-to
 ‘you didn’t hear what I was telling you’ (N20131016c>00:12:17) ♪
- d. **m-achûlü-gi-nya ówchaha-ti-nyu úwa-gi-nya údereü**
 NEG-arrive-DUR-3.PL fish-AGT-PL not.exist-DUR-DI:3.PL fish
 ‘the fishermen haven’t arrived, there still aren’t any fish’
 (E20150803>00:22:05) ♪
- e. **agányeha-ti-na gíbe-t-u fáluma pero m-agányeha-ti-na ará:nsu**
 buy-TI-1.SG many-TI-3.F coconut but NEG-buy-TI-1.SG organge
 ‘I bought a lot of coconuts, but I didn’t buy oranges’
 (E20150810>00:24:12) ♪

A few general observations can be made regarding this variation:

1) when a verb ends in one of the verbal suffixes *-ra*, *-da* or *-cha*, the negated stems will end in *-r-un*, *-d-un* and *-ch-un* respectively. But when these verbal suffixes drop, as in the short stems employed in past (298-b) (*eréde-ra* ‘stay’) and perfect (298-d) (*achûlü-ra* ‘arrive’) clauses, the *-un* of the negative circumfix drops as well.

2) verb stems ending in *-ha* also tend to drop *-un* (298-e).

10.1.2 Usage

The range of verbal tense-aspect distinctions that can be expressed is restricted in negated clauses as compared to non-negated ones. The pragmatic reasons for this might be that past propositions are the only ones which can be negated beyond doubt, in so far as the speaker knows all the facts, because ongoing and future events are to some extent uncertain. From a formal perspective, the restriction of tense-aspect distinctions in negated clauses can simply be explained by the fact that the prefix slot is occupied by *ma-*, leaving less means for expressing non-past tense-aspect meanings. Thus negated clauses are either marked as past, perfect or future, even if the intended meaning is non-past and non-future.

In the following I will discuss each tense-aspect category in turn and show how the limited formal options are used in dynamic and stative verbs. I will also discuss negative imperative and hortative clauses and show how negation is expressed in other parts of speech than verbs.

10.1.2.1 Dynamic verbs When an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb with an indefinite object, is negated with the negative circumfix *ma-* *-un* the S/A prefix moves to suffix position word finally, after *-un*. When a transitive verb with a definite object is negated in the same way, both A and O person markers move to a post-verbal auxiliary leaving the lexical verb stem only marked for negation. How these facts about negation interact with different tense-aspect categories is discussed below.

A template for possible negated verb stems is shown in (299).

- (299) a. 1 argument
NEG-VERB-DERIV-NEG-ASPECT-TENSE-PERS
- b. 2 arguments
NEG-VERB-DERIV-NEG PERS-AUX-ASPECT-TENSE-PERS

10.1.2.1.1 Past In negated clauses, the verb phrase structure which has been described in § 7.3.5 as expressing past tense, is used for expressing a large variety of tense-aspect configurations. In a sample of about 100 negated clauses, 66 were past forms. Of the 66 past forms, only 30 were used to express past tense:

- (300) a. **m-alúguru-n-tu-wà=tiya ní=tiya ában bólsa féyn!**
NEG-sell-NEG-TI-1.PL=EMPH NEG=EMPH one bag bread
'we didn't sell a single bag of bread!' (N20131016e>00:13:28) ♪
- b. **m-adéy l-umú-t-i lé b-uwágu-be-y**
NEG-find 3.M-PST-TI-3.M 3.M:DEM 2.SG-on-EXTR-3.M
'he didn't find out what's wrong with you' (N20131116a>00:09:11) ♪

Twelve were used habitually:

- (301) a. **m-alúguru-n-t-i=tiya má m-alúguru-n-t-i!**
NEG-sell-NEG-TI-3.M=EMPH sister NEG-sell-NEG-TI-3.M
'it doesn't sell sister, it doesn't sell!' (N20131016e>00:04:56) ♪
- b. **m-adíbiragwà-güda l-umú-t-u baráwa gurúyara**
NEG-sink-CAUS 3.M-PST-TI-3.F sea canoe
'the sea doesn't make the canoe sink' (E20131119>00:25:16) ♪

- c. h-ugúya m-ídaragu-n h-umú-ti-nyu=san gürígiya?
 2.PL-DEM NEG-help-NEG 2.PL-PST-TI-3.PL=Q person
 ‘don’t y’all help people?’ (E20131023>00:50:18) ♪

Eight were used to express a present state:

- (302) a. anyá-heyn ában m-arínyagadi-ti-nyu anyá-heyn há
 3.PL-COP one NEG-able.to.speak-TI-3.PL 3.PL-COP 3.PL:DEM
 g-arínyagadi-ba-nya
 ATR-able.to.speak-EXTR-3.PL
 ‘there are some who can’t speak it, and some who can speak it’
 (N20131016i>00:07:33) ♪
- b. m-abúseru-n-ti-nyu ní h-adéveyha-n-u
 NEG-want-NEG-TI-3.PL NEG 3.PL-give.away-USPEC-3.F
 ‘they don’t even want to give it away (for free)’
 (N20131016e>00:14:33) ♪

The above examples are not surprising as they do not differ from the way the TI-aspect marker and *umu* auxiliary are used in positive clauses. The exceptions are negated verb stems expressing present states which include some verbs with stative meanings which are marked as dynamic verbs when positive - these become more like proper stative verbs when negated; they include *abúsera* ‘want’, *arínyagadi* ‘be able to speak’, *asándira* ‘feel; be sick’, *agá:mba* ‘hear; understand’. In (303) are examples showing the positive counterparts of (302).

- (303) a. halíya-na h-ugúya h-arínyagadi-bè-y l-un
 where-NOMA 3.PL-DEM 3.PL-able.to.speak-EXTR-3.M 3.M-to
 n-eréru-n?
 1.SG-speak-NMLZ:POSS
 ‘where are y’ll from that you speak so well my language?’
 (N20131016e>00:10:22) ♪
- b. b-iyábi-n=meha anûge-y lé b-abúseru-n
 2.SG-come:SU1-USPEC=DPST bring:SU1-3.M 3.M:DEM 2.SG-want-USPEC
 ‘you come and take what you want’ (N20131016c>00:00:57) ♪

Apart from the expected uses in (300)-(302), past verb forms are also used to express past imperfective, and this function is shared with the perfect DI-marker as discussed below. Examples of the past imperfective use of TI/*umu* are given in (304).

- (304) a. **m-adûgü-n-ti-na** ní káta l-uwéy-dügü aban=ya
 NEG-do-NEG-TI-1.SG NEG thing 3.M-from-only CONN=again
 n-iyábi
 1.SG-come:SU1
 ‘I wasn’t doing anything (at home) so instead I just came’
 (N20131016h>00:05:32) ♪
- b. **ahe-yn=ti** eskwéla-rugu **m-áha-ti-nyu** l-ún key
 whereas-3.M=TOP school-LOC NEG-allow-TI-3.PL 3.M-to as
m-arínyaga-t-i tán arúfudaha-t-u garífuna
 NEG-speak-TI-3.M IRR teach-AGT-3.F Garífuna
 ‘whereas at school they didn’t allow it since the teacher didn’t speak
 Garífuna’
 (N20131016c>00:07:09) ♪
- c. **w-agíya=ti** **m-aríhi-n** wa-mú-t-i ibídiye-t-i w-ón
 1.PL-DEM=TOP NEG-see-NEG 1.PL-PST-TI-3.M not.know-TI-3.M 1.PL-to
 ‘we weren’t watching it, we didn’t know anything’
 (N20131010g>00:09:42) ♪

The most unexpected finding was five examples of *TI/umu* used to express present progressive. This observation is further supported by a sample of 118 elicited negated progressive examples of which 55 used *TI/umu*, (cf. Haurholm-Larsen (2014)). Some examples are given in (305).

- (305) a. **m-éle-ha-t-u** hinyáru t-ugúya t-idan-giyen barúru
 NEG-peel-DISTR-TI-3.F woman 3.F-DEM 3.F-in-ABL plantain
 ‘the woman is not peeling some plantains’ (E20131029>01:08:24) ♪
- b. **m-anûgü-n** t-umú-t-u iráhü tó sún gá:nyèn
 NEG-bring:SU1-NEG 3.F-PST-TI-3.F child 3.F:DEM all egg
 ‘the girl is not bringing all the eggs’ (E20131029>01:20:59) ♪
- c. **m-abów-ha** l-umú-t-i iráhü lé sún asíyedu
 NEG-break-DISTR 3.M-PST-TI-3.M child 3.M:DEM all plate
 ‘the boy is not breaking all the plates’ (E20131029>01:16:58) ♪

The explanation for why a past form can be used to express present progressive might lie, on the one hand in the incompatibility of the negative circumfix *ma- -un* with the progressive suffix *-nya* (cf. § 10.2.2) and on the other hand in the unnaturalness of negating an otherwise real and presumably observable situation with a known subject, and particularly if containing a known definite object. By employing a past verb form, speakers remove the conflict between negation and progressive aspect.

10.1.2.1.2 Perfect Of the sample of 100 negated clauses, 24 carried perfect marking with the DI-aspect marker, and in transitive clauses combined with the *ama* auxiliary. The uses of DI were much less consistent than the use of TI; six of the examples were used with perfect meaning, some combined with the continuous aspect marker *-gi*:

- (306) a. *hél! lûha m-aríhi-n n-á-di-bu kómpa-wû:!*
 INTERJ long.ago NEG-see-NEG 1.SG-PRF-DI-2.SG buddy-VOC
 ‘hey! it’s been such a long time that I haven’t seen you, buddy!’
 (N20131029a>00:06:17) ♪
- b. *ahé-yn=ti m-achibagu-n-gì-di-bu lubéy n-abúncha-di-bu=tiya!*
 if-3.M=TOP NEG-wash-NEG-DUR-DI-2.SG EXTR 1.SG-beat-DI-2.SG=EMPH
 ‘if you haven’t washed yet, I will beat you!’ (N20131010h>00:11:00) ♪
- c. *m-achíbu-n n-á-gi:-l-i n-ídubüri*
 NEG-wash-NEG 1.SG-PRF-DUR-DI-3.M 1.SG-hair
 ‘I still haven’t washed my hair’ (E20131022a>01:37:06) ♪

Six were used habitually:

- (307) a. *ahe-yn ugúnye lé m-adúgü-n-wa:-l-i komédiya*
 whereas-3.M today 3.M:DEM NEG-do-NEG-PASS-DI-3.M comedy
kámbiya-gwa lán ubów
 change-REFL IRR world
 ‘whereas today comedies are not done anymore, the world is changing’
 (N20131116b>00:12:19) ♪
- b. *ahe-yn ugúnye lé m-alúgurahà-n-ha-di-bu*
 whereas-3.M today 3.M:DEM NEG-sell-NEG-PRF-DI-2.SG
 ‘today you don’t sell anything’ (N20131016e>00:11:59) ♪
- c. *pero l-amída-n=ha ûma sódni m-agámbù-ha-nya*
 but 3.M-half-POSS=DISTR way suddenly NEG-hear-PRF-3.PL
l-agúwaragu ámu
 3.M-scream other
 ‘but half way suddenly they don’t hear the screams of the other one’
 (N20131016d>00:09:43) ♪

This use of DI-marking for expressing habitual meanings is not surprising given the contexts. All of the examples in (307) describe general practices without referring to any particular instantiation of these practices, the definition of habitual, but they contrast this with an earlier situation, indicating that the current practices have changed. For instance (307-a) where a lady who used to act in the theater is saying that nowadays people do not make comedies any more, using the perfect aspect to indicate this

change. Example (307-c) describes the past practice of workers who would get paid, get drunk and then go home by canoe, some of them drowning on the way.

Three of the perfect forms were used for expressing a change-of-state meaning:

- (308) a. dan le m-abúse:ru-n-ha-nyà enyéri-nyu=buga gán
 time 3.M:DEM NEG-want-NEG-PRF-3.PL man-PL=PST own
 h-amá respónsabilidad h-áw
 3.PL-HORT responsibility 3.PL-with
 ‘today, the men don’t want any responsibilities with them anymore’
 (N20131029a>00:15:25) ♪
- b. m-agámbadi-ha-nya iráhü-nyü ugúnye lé
 NEG-obey-PRF-3.PL child-PL today 3.M:DEM
 m-ítara-hà-nya=buga key=buga binádü gürígiya
 NEG-thus-PRF-3.PL=PST as=PST old person
 ‘the kids nowadays don’t obey anymore, they’re not like the old folks’
 (N20131016c>00:02:07) ♪

There were also three past uses, three imperfective past uses, and some rarer uses with present irrealis and future. Examples of all of these latter uses are given in (309).

- (309) a. m-alúguru-n-hà-du-wa=tì=buga
 NEG-sell-NEG-PRF-DI-1.PL=TOP=PST
 ‘we couldn’t sell anything’ (N20131016e>00:13:52) ♪
- b. m-adéy-ha-du-wa pádnà
 NEG-find-PRF-DI-1.PL friend
 ‘we didn’t find company’ (N20131016g>00:01:23) ♪
- c. ítara=meha Yórli m-arínyagu-n-hà-r-u=meha gíyen Yorli
 thus=DPST Y. NEG-speak-NEG-PRF-DI-3.F=DPST also Y.
 garífuna dan w-ayábi-n-be-y Oláncho-giyen
 Garifuna when 1.PL-come:SU1-USPEC-EXTR-3.M O.-ABL
 ‘Yorli used to be like that. Yorli also didn’t speak Garifuna when we
 came back from Olancho’ (N20131016c>00:05:43) ♪
- d. key m-eréderù-n-ha-l-i lán=buga t-idan múna t-ugúya
 as NEG-stay-NEG-PRF-DI-3.M IRR=PST 3.F-in house 3.F-DEM
 ‘and since nobody was living in that house anymore ...’
 (N20131016i>00:02:50) ♪

- e. *ahe-yn adágara l-arúgaunga n-uwágu*
 if-3.M hit 3.M-brightness 1.SG-on
m-aríhi-n-ha-dì-na=me
 NEG-see-NEG-PRF-DI-1.SG=DFUT
 ‘if the brightness hits me (in the eyes) I won’t be able to see’
 (E20150810>00:07:18) ♪
- f. *m-éle-ha-n-hà:-dì-na*
 NEG-peel-DISTR-NEG-PRF-DI-1.SG
 ‘I’m not going to peel anymore (plantains)’
 (E20150810>01:18:26) ♪

The past uses in (309-a-b) should probably be viewed as indicating the current relevance at the past reference time, rather than current relevance at the time of speech as normally indicated by the perfect. The past imperfective uses can be interpreted as indicating a change from one situation to another before the past reference time. In (309-c) the change happened when the family moved from the mountainous region of Olancho back to the coast, where most Garifuna families traditionally live, and the young girl in the family didn’t want to speak Garifuna. In (309-d) the change happened when the house in question stopped being occupied. In both these cases the use of the perfect aspect indicates that at the past reference time there was a prolonged situation that resulted from a prior change of conditions. In (309-e) and (309-f) the use of the perfect to indicate irrealis or future should be viewed as a way of indicating a contrast between a projected possible or future situation and the current or past or normal situation which is different; in (309-e) the normal situation is for the speaker to be able to see, but if he gets to sun into his eyes, he will be blinded and temporarily unable to see. In (309-f) the speaker has been peeling a lot of plantains but alleges that he is not going to peel anymore, changing the situation.

10.1.2.1.3 Future Future negated clauses show stringent regularity in sharp contrast to the non-future negated counterparts. With almost no exceptions, a future form is used to convey future meaning. Unlike positive future clauses, the negated counterparts use a future auxiliary *uba* which is only used for negating transitive future clauses, and objects are marked with the DI-series. Intransitive future negated clauses employ the future suffix *-ba* with a DI-suffix marking the S argument. Examples are shown in (310).

- (310) a. *n-ugúya m-adûgü-ba-di-na ában gurúyara*
 1.SG-DEM NEG-do-FUT-DI-1.SG one canoe
 ‘I’m not going to make a canoe’ (E20131022a>00:37:17) ♪
- b. *m-aríhi-n b-ubá-di-na=tiya ówchaha yára!*
 NEG-see-NEG 2.SG-FUT-DI-1.SG=EMPH fish there
 ‘you’re not going to see me fishing out there!’
 (N20131016c>00:14:31) ♪

- c. **m-ównabu** n-ubá-di-bu
 NEG-answer 1.SG-FUT-DI-2.SG
 ‘I’m not going to answer you’ (E20150806>00:21:59) ♪

But there are also a few future examples used to express an irrealis meaning as in (311).

- (311) a. **ni-heyn** lán h-abúse:ru-n **m-áfaru** ha-bá-di-na **gíyen**
 3.M-COP IRR 3.PL-want-USPEC NEG-kill 3.PL-FUT-DI-1.SG also
 ‘if there is something they want, they wouldn’t kill me (over it)’
 (N20131116a>00:13:47) ♪
- b. **ahe-yn=hamúga=buga lé** **m-agúdeme-t-u** n-úguchu
 if-3.M=IRR=PST 3.M:DEM NEG-poor-TI-3.F 1.SG-mother
n-ábu **m-adéy-ba-du-wà=yebe** **héve** **ára:bu**
 1.SG-with NEG-meet-FUT-DI-1.PL=PFUT snake bush
 ‘if my mother hadn’t been so lousy to me, we wouldn’t have met that
 snake out in the bush’ (N20131116b>00:15:04) ♪

10.1.2.2 Stative verbs Stative verbs do not undergo changes to their argument marking structure when negated with the circumfix *ma-* *-un* since they are already limited by their inability to take prefixes for argument marking. As is the case in positive stative clauses, the aspect markers TI and DI are used to distinguish between states which are inherent or have not changed and states that have resulted from a change or are inherently ever changing, i.e. concepts related to time such as the age of a person or the ripeness of a fruit.

- (312) a. **m-áharu:-n-t-i** ównli
 NEG-white-NEG-TI-3.M dog
 ‘the dog is not white’ (E20150806>00:34:53) ♪
- b. **dilí-ha-l-i** **sopa...** **m-ára:-l-i...** **m-ásü-ha-l-i** **sópa**
 cold-PRF-DI-3.M soup NEG-warm-DI-3.M NEG-hot-PRF-DI-3.M soup
 ‘the soup is cold... it’s not warm... it’s not hot’ (E20150804a>00:18:19) ♪
- c. **iráhü lé** **m-águbu-gì:-l-i**
 child 3.M:DEM NEG-tall-DUR-DI-3.M
 ‘the boy still isn’t tall’ (E20150804a>00:11:54) ♪
- d. **iráhü lé** **m-abúcha-gi:-r-u** l-uwágu
 child 3.M:DEM NEG-tired-DUR-DI-3.F 3.M-on
 ‘the boy still isn’t tired’ (E20150804a>00:12:28) ♪

sessive predicates are negated using this strategy - this is illustrated in (314) and contrasted with positive possessive predicates.

- (314) a. nú-heyn ámun má-guchi-t-i ti-réü
 3.F-COP other NEG-father-TI-3.M 3.F-child
 ‘there are some whose children don’t have a father’
 (N20131016c>00:02:58) ♪
- b. nú-heyn ámun gá-guchi-t-i t-iréü
 3.F-COP other ATR-father-TI-3.M 3.F-child
 ‘there are some whose children have a father’ (N20131016c>00:02:57) ♪
- c. buséyn-ti-nà=yebe n-ídi-n pero ma-séynsu-hà-di-na
 want-TI-1.SG=PFUT 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC but NEG-money-PRF-DI-1.SG
 ‘I would like to go, but I don’t have any money’
 (N20131016e>00:08:31) ♪
- d. áhe-yn=hamùga lé ga-séynsu-tì-na adùga-ti-na ában múna
 if-3.M=IRR 3.M:DEM ATR-money-TI-1.SG do-TI-1.SG one house
 ‘if I had money I would have built a house’ (E20150803>01:39:03) ♪
- e. áw ma-ráhü-nyü-tì-na
 1.SG:DEM NEG-child-PL-TI-1.SG
 ‘I didn’t have any kids’ (A20121024d>00:07:51) ♪
- f. húwa há ga-ráhü-nyü-gwà-ti-nyu=tì=buga
 frog 3.PL:DEM ATR-child-PL-REFL-TI-PL=TOP=PST
 ‘those frogs had offspring together’ (E20121018a>00:12:59) ♪

10.1.2.5 Other parts of speech The circumfixal negation strategy is virtually reserved for verbal and nominal negation and is restricted within those parts of speech: the circumfix is only applied to lexical verbs, never auxiliaries (in fact the auxiliaries are often used for carrying all types of grammatical marking *except* for negation). Nor can it be applied to the copula *inya*, or the modal verbs *mósu* ‘must’, *háfu* ‘have to’, *gawára* ‘be able’ etc. (cf. § 10.4 for the lexical negation strategy used for negating existence and modal verbs). As for nouns, the circumfix is limited to possessive predicates. Adverbial predicates, derived from adverbs (*nyen* ‘there’, *inyu* ‘up; high’) or from prepositions (e.g. *ídan* ‘in’, *uwágu* ‘on’ *ówbaga* ‘next to’) (cf. § 4.2.6.3) is another type of predicate to which the circumfixal negation strategy does not apply.

The exception to these general restrictions is the manner adverb *ítara* ‘thus’ from which can be derived a negative adverbial manner predicate *m-ítara* with the meaning ‘to not be the same’ as illustrated in (315).

- (315) a. ugúnye lé m-ítara-hà-nya=buga key=buga binádü gürigiya
 today 3.M:DEM NEG-thus-PRF-3.PL=PST as=PST old person
 ‘now they’re not like the old folks anymore’ (N20131016c>00:02:08) ♪
- b. m-ítara-hà-dí-na l-un n-ídi-n (ówchaha)
 NEG-thus-PRF-DI-1.SG 3.M-to 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC fish
 ‘I’m not the same anymore for going (fishing)’
 (N20131016f>00:00:50) ♪
- c. m-ítara:-n-ti-na gíyen key agúburaha-t-i li-séynsu-na
 NEG-thus-NEG-TI-1.SG also as collect-AGT-3.M 3.M-money-NOMA
 gumádi lé
 government 3.M:DEM
 ‘I’m not like the tax collectors’ (Lucas 18:11)

10.2 Negation with *máma*

The default negation strategy for nominal predicates employs a preposed negator *máma*. Apart from its nominal use, *máma* also applies to certain verb stems as discussed in § 10.2.2 below. It is probably best to view *máma* as the alternative negation strategy which developed historically out of a necessity to negate construction types to which the standard affixal negation strategy did not readily lend itself.

10.2.1 *máma* + noun

Different types of negated nominal predicates are shown in (316).

- (316) a. pero l-ídan máma dán sinó ke l-ídan li-dá-ni Núru
 but 3.M-in NEG storm rather that 3.M-in 3.M-weather-POSS N.
 ‘but that wasn’t a storm, it was the North-eastern wind’
 (N20131016g>00:13:09) ♪
- b. b-éyba t-úbi-yen Jóselin máma=rügû=ny-en Pándu
 2.SG-go:IMP 3.F-house-LOC J. NEG=only-COP-3.M P.
 ga-chápu-n!
 ATR-shop-USPEC
 ‘go to Joselin’s house, Pando is not the only one who has a shop!’
 (N20131010g>00:08:20) ♪
- c. porke máma murúsun údereü ha-nyá-ba-nya t-ugúra=buga
 because NEG a.bit fish 3.PL-exist-EXTR-3.PL 3.F-DEM=PST
 ‘because the fish were not few the other day’ (N20131016e>00:05:23) ♪

- d. nó **máma** n-ugúya Bóbu l-inyá=ti n-ún
 no NEG 1.SG-DEM B. 3.M-say=TOP 1.SG-to
 ‘no, I’m not Bob’ he said’ (N20131016g>00:05:13) ♪

The examples in (316) show that a negated nominal predicate can consist of either a noun, a proper name, a noun phrase with a quantifier or a personal pronoun.

10.2.2 Present progressive and *máma*

Garifuna seems to have a strong dispreference for morphologically negating progressive verb forms. Instead, the preverbal negator *máma* is used as illustrated in (317)⁴².

- (317) a. l-iyábi-nya **máma** l-íveruha-ny-òn
 3.M-come:SU1-PROG NEG 3.M-steal-PROG-3.F
 ‘he’s coming, but he’s not stealing her’ (N20131016g>00:15:41) ♪
- b. nedégemeyn-t-i **máma** l-uwádegemaridu-nya
 work-AGT-3.M NEG 3.M-work-PROG
 ‘the worker is not working’ (E20131119>00:38:13) ♪
- c. **máma** t-abúreüdi-nya hinyá:ru
 NEG 3.F-become.slim-PROG woman
 ‘the woman is not becoming slim’ (E20131119>00:38:45) ♪

10.2.3 Inflected *máma*

It is possible for *máma* to take person and tense-aspect marking of the predicate when the noun phrase itself is unable to.

- (318) a. **máma**:-l-i l-igíya méme
 NEG-DI-3.M 3.M-DEM same
 ‘he is not the same anymore’ (N20131016f>00:00:47) ♪
- b. **máma**:-di-na iráhü
 NEG-DI-1.SG child
 ‘I’m not a child anymore’ (A20121023b>01:05:28) ♪

In (318-a) the collocation *ligíya méme* ‘the same’ are not able to take person marking morphology, and if the noun *iráhü* ‘child’ in (318-b) were to take the negative circumfix and person marking the meaning would change to ‘I don’t have a child’.

⁴²Sentences such as *fáluma m-áburuhá-ny-on* ‘the coconut is not falling’ are rarely produced, and outside of elicitation I have found none.

10.3 Negative question marker *ma*

According to Munro and Gallagher (2014, p. 40) and Taylor (1956b, p. 144) Garifuna has a negative question marker *ma* which appears clause initially and may be followed by the interrogative enclitic =*san* (*sa* according to the two cited sources). According to Munro and Gallagher (2014), *máma* is never used in negative questions.

However, in my corpus I have found both *máma* and *ma* in negative interrogative clauses.

- (319) a. **má**=san gwára-ha-l-i l-ítagadù-nu-wa?
 NEG=Q be.possible-PRF-DI-3.M 3.M-handle-USPEC-PASS
 ‘can’t it be handled now?’ (N20131116b>00:12:58) ♪
- b. **má** l-igíya méme chugú?
 NEG 3.M-DEM same Chugú.ceremony
 ‘isn’t the *chugú* the same?’ (N20131116b>00:01:01) ♪
- c. **máma**=san l-áwaha-nya dúna lé b-ún?
 NEG=Q 3.M-call-PROG water 3.M:DEM 2.SG-to
 ‘isn’t that water (kettle) calling for you?’ (N20131010e>00:00:47) ♪
- d. **máma**=san l-agányeha-ny-en b-íbuganya údereü lé?
 NEG=Q 3.M-buy-PROG-3.M 2.SG-brother fish 3.M:DEM
 ‘isn’t your brother buying that fish?’ (E20131029>00:47:41) ♪

I have found no difference in function between *máma* and *ma*, and I therefore hold *ma* to be a reduced form of *máma*, but the reduction is optional. As in positive interrogative clauses, the enclitic =*san* is not obligatory, and in my corpus I have found interrogative clauses with either the long or the reduced negator with and without =*san*. When the reduced negator acts as a host for the interrogative enclitic =*san* the reduction occurs frequently, but not always. It would seem that the presence of =*san* encourages the reduction of *máma*, perhaps because the use of a negator is redundant in a clause marked as interrogative with =*san*.

10.4 Lexical negation

Lexical negation constitutes negative predicates which are not derived from a positive counterpart i.e. which do not involve a regular negator but rather carry a negative meaning with no transparent morpheme boundary to indicate which part of the lexeme indicates negation. In Garifuna these include, but may not be limited to (positive counterparts are included in parentheses): *ibídiye ún* ‘not know’ (*subúsi ún* ‘know’), *úwa* ‘not exist’ (*ha/heyn* ‘exist’), *úwa úma* ‘not have’ (*ha/heyn úma* ‘have’), *sinyá* ‘not possible’ (*gawára* ‘possible’).

- (320) a. *ibídiye-t-i=yebè=buga n-ún n-águyu-ba lán erédera yá*
 not.know-TI-3.M=PFUT=PST 1.SG-to 1.SG-move-FUT IRR stay here
Trómpu
 T.
 ‘I didn’t know that I was going to move here to live in Triunfo’
 (N20131016g>00:00:31) ♪
- b. *úwa:-r-u nyén w-ebéluru-n-be-y nyén-hin*
 not.exist-DI-3.F there 1.PL-enter-USPEC-EXTR-3.M there-ALL
yá-ha-r-u
 here-PRF-DI-3.F
 ‘she wasn’t there anymore when we entered, she was already here’
 (N20131016h>00:14:51) ♪
- c. *úwa-t-i ámu kátey l-úma t-uwéy digiya fúdi tó*
 not.exist-TI-3.M other think 3.M-with 3.F-except cockroach 3.F:DEM
 ‘he didn’t have anything else except that cockroach’
 (N20121026b>00:00:58) ♪
- d. *hélà! h-íbe alúgura-ha-ti-nyu*
 INTERJ 3.PL-numerous sell-AGT-3.PL
sinyá-t-i=tì=me w-alúguru-n
 be.impossible-TI-3.M=TOP=DFUT 1.PL-sell-USPEC
 ‘wow! there were so many vendors, we couldn’t sell (anything)’
 (N20131016e>00:09:42) ♪

In most cases, negative lexemes correspond to positive counterparts which do not have any negation strategies available of their own; this is why the negative lexeme is needed in the first place. However, a marginal exception to this rule is the existence predicate *ha/heyn* which is almost always negated with *úwa*. But in my corpus there are a few examples with the affixal negator as illustrated in (321).

- (321) a. *ma-ní-heyn w-áma yá Bócho*
 NEG-3.M-exist 1.PL-with here B.
 ‘we don’t have those here Bocho’ (E20121014a>00:58:31) ♪
- b. *ma-nyá-heyn aséniha-ti-nyu nyén?*
 NEG-3.PL-exist net.fish-AGT-3.PL there
 ‘aren’t the seine net fishermen there?’ (E20120917c>00:55:51) ♪

However, considering the marginal occurrence of this phenomenon in my corpus, the two elicited examples in (321) are the only ones I know of, I hesitate to call this a productive alternative.

10.5 Double negatives

Under certain circumstances double negation constructions are used. This may involve both prefixal negation or lexical negation in conjunction with the negator *ni* that is frequently used in constructions such as *ni káta* ‘nothing’, *ni ában* ‘not one’.

In (322) is an example with the negative existential predicate *úwa*.

- (322) ní ában w-ádan-giyen úwa-t-i fáyeyn l-úma
NEG one 1-pl-among-ABL not.exist-TI-3.M comb 3.M-with
‘not one of us doesn’t have a comb’ (E20131022a>01:28:42) ♪

11 Position and motion

11.1 Prepositions

Prepositions are inflected for person, number and gender of the prepositional object, and among the constituents introduced through prepositional phrases are: locatives, instrumentals, comitatives, coordinating conjunctions, standard of comparison, goal subordinate clause, possessor of predicative possession and oblique arguments. In Table 33 is a list of prepositions, with their prototypical uses and alternate functions.

Most prepositions are able to take the ablative *-giyen* and allative *-un* suffixes, and some of them have been lexicalized with one of these, as evident from Table 33. A number of the prepositions in Table 33 are morphologically complex, but some forms are more transparent than others.

A fairly large number of prepositions contain the ablative suffix *-giyen*. This is discussed in § 11.3.2 and analyzed as indicating ‘motion of a figure away from, or out of, a ground’. However, such an interpretation is not appropriate for all of the prepositions where *-giyen* is present; in most prepositions this suffix has been reanalyzed as part of the prepositional root. That this is indeed the case is evidenced by the obligatoriness of the suffix and the lack of motion related meaning encoded in most complex prepositions containing *-giyen* as in *ów-giyen* ‘above’, *ubá-giyen* ‘before’ etc.

A smaller number of prepositions contain what appears to be a suffix *-wagu*. This is reminiscent of locative suffixes *-rugu*, *-lugu*, *-wagu*, *-nugu* (discussed in § 11.3.1) but, like *-giyen*, this *-wagu* does not appear to add any additional information and is not optional. A connection has been proposed by Drom (2004, p. 15) between the suffix *-wagu* appearing on complex prepositions, and the monomorphemic preposition *uwágu* based on supposed similarity in function. However, these two spatial expressions differ greatly in the way they behave both syntactically and semantically and, in my view, any relationship between them must be viewed as diachronic (cf. § 11.5 on the diachrony of position and motion formatives).

While some prepositions are specialized in their locative use and only express one spatial concept in all contexts, other prepositions can be used to express spatial concepts along a number of parameters of Topological Relations (attachment, adhesion, contact, containment, support, vertical, horizontal etc.), or Frames of Reference (behind, above, besides, between, under, in front of etc.) depending on the context⁴³. For that reason I subcategorize the prepositions according to their prototypical function followed by an account of their more specialized uses. In my subcategorization of the Locative I apply the terminology for Topological Relations and Frames of Reference as used by Levinson and Wilkins (2006, p. 9-10).

⁴³Munro (2007) also notes alternative uses for various prepositions.

Preposition	Prototypical usage	Other uses
Unanalyzable Prepositions		
<i>un</i>	Oblique argument	Purpose / Goal
<i>uwágu</i>	Contact/ Support / Attachment	Oblique argument; Possessor
<i>ídan</i>	Containment	
<i>aw</i>	Instrumental	Coordinator; Comitative; Oblique argument
<i>úma</i>	Comitative	Coordinator; Comparison; Possessor
<i>uwéy</i>	Ablative	Mark of comparison
<i>ábu</i>	Comitative	Used with motion verbs
<i>ubá</i>	Forward	‘before’, ‘when’, ‘because’
Complex Prepositions		
<i>ári-gi(yen)</i>	After	
<i>ów-giyen</i>	Above	
<i>áwbu-giyen</i>	Above	
<i>agánagwa</i>	Between	
<i>ábu-giyen</i>	Under	
<i>ábu-gwa</i>	Alone	
<i>ubádu(-giyen)</i>	Close to	
<i>urúgabu-giyen</i>	Close to	
<i>uwé(y)-gi(yen)</i>	Vertical support (hanging)	Interrogative ‘why?’
<i>uwówgwa</i> (<i>uwógu</i>)	Horizontal support (animate ground)	
<i>ubá(-giyen)</i>	Before	
<i>ubá-ra</i>	Until	
<i>ubá-r-on</i>	Towards and until	
<i>ubá-ru-wagu-own</i>	Forward	
Nominal Prepositions		
Preposition	Usage	Source noun
<i>anága-giyen</i>	At the back of (Behind)	<i>anágani</i> ‘back’ (of human body)
<i>ábu-lugu</i>	On the head/ top of (Horizontal Support)	<i>ábulugu</i> ‘head’
<i>igíbu-wagu</i>	On the face of (Horizontal Support)	<i>igíbu</i> ‘face’
<i>igíbu-giyen</i>	In front of (‘at the face of’)	<i>igíbu</i> ‘face’
<i>urágey-rugu</i>	Inside (‘in the stomach of’)	<i>urágey</i> ‘stomach’
<i>ugúdi-na</i>	At the foot of	<i>ugúdi</i> ‘foot’
<i>ówba-giyen</i>	At the side of	<i>ówbaü</i> ‘side (of human body)’
<i>ówbu-wagu</i>	Vertical surface (attachment) / besides ₂₁₁	<i>ówbaü</i> ‘side (of human body)’
<i>áru</i>	Edge, boundary, shore	<i>áru</i> ‘edge; periphery’
<i>iyúm-on</i>	Towards the river bar	<i>iyúmu</i> ‘mouth’

Table 33: *Prepositions and their uses*

11.1.1 *un* ‘to’

The prototypical function of *un* is the introduction of oblique arguments into discourse, usually indirect objects of verbs with more than 2 arguments, as shown in (323) (but see § 4.2.4 for a discussion of certain intransitive verbs with a semantic subject marked grammatically as an oblique argument.)

- (323) a. *chagá-ti-na éygini l-ún*
 throw-TI-1.SG food 3.M-to
 ‘I throw food to him’ (A20121004b>00:04:55) ♪
- b. *busúwen-ha-di-na n-agúwaru-n l-ún*
 need-DISTR-DI-1.SG 1SG-call-USPEC 3.M-to
 ‘I need to call him’ (A20121004c>00:09:06) ♪
- c. *ní-di-n hürí:-di-na l-ún*
 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC graze-DI-1.SG 3.M-to
 ‘I walked close to him’ (Lit. ‘I walked, I grazed to him’)
 (A20121024a>00:53:58) ♪
- d. *t-un t-abínaha h-ón*
 3.F-to 3.F-dance 3.PL-to
 ‘so that it (the cockroach) would dance for them’
 (N20121026b>00:01:37) ♪

Additionally, *un* is used to head subordinate clauses that express the purpose or goal of the main clause predicate; this is illustrated in (324).

- (324) a. *n-achúlürü-nya l-un n-á:go-n*
 1.SG-arrive-PROG 3.M-to 1.SG-bathe-USPEC
 ‘I arrive (there) in order to swim’ (A20121004b>00:03:03) ♪
- b. *l-ígiru-nya-di-na=yebe l-un n-ówe*
 3.M-leave-PROG-DI-1.SG=PFUT 3.M-to 1.SG-die:SU2
 ‘he was leaving me to die’ (Lit. ‘... in order for me to die’)
 (A20121010c>00:00:35) ♪
- c. *nyùdü-ti-bù l-un b-agáno-n yágüta*
 go:SU2-TI-2.SG 3.M-to 2.SG-live-USPEC there
 ‘you went to live over there’ (A20121016b>00:34:00) ♪

In (324) the person prefix on *un* that indexes the dependent of the subordinate clause is third person singular masculine in each case. This indicates that masculine gender is the unmarked choice in cases where no gender distinction can be made (see also

§ 3.2 and Munro (1997, p. 453-454) on underspecified gender, § 13.3 on subordinate clauses and § 15 on genderlects and the non-canonical use of gender markers).

11.1.2 *uwágu* ‘on’

The prototypical uses listed for *uwágu* (‘Contact; Support; Attachment’) in Table 33 are broadly defined because this preposition encodes a broad range of topological relations, more so than any other preposition; the examples in (325) illustrate this⁴⁴.

- (325) a. ní-heyn kópu l-uwágu dábula
 3.M-exist cup 3.M-on table
 ‘the cup is on the table’ (E20120926a>00:33:39) ♪
- b. nú-heyn estampíya t-uwágu gárada
 3.F-exist stamp 3.F-on letter
 ‘the stamp is on the letter’ (E20120926a>00:36:24) ♪
- c. aní-heyn bunídi l-uwágu ában ichûgü
 3.M-exist hat 3.M-on one head
 ‘the hat is on a head’ (E20120926a>00:40:32) ♪
- d. ában ti-sábadu-n wû:ri l-uwágu ában ugúdi
 one 3.F-shoe-poss woman 3.M-on one foot
 ‘a woman’s shoe on a foot’ (E20120926a>01:23:09) ♪
- e. bíra l-uwágu birébu
 sail 3.M-on mast
 ‘the sail in the mast’ (E20120926a>00:59:39) ♪
- f. ában galéra l-uwágu t-ówba múna
 one ladder 3.M-on 3.F-side house
 ‘a ladder against the wall of the house’ (E20120927a>00:12:06) ♪

In (325-a) the Figure is movable, inanimate and supported by a horizontal, stationary Ground. In (325-b) the Figure is glued to the Ground which is itself movable and inanimate. In (325-c) and (325-d) the Figure is a movable piece of adornment and the Ground is animate. In (325-e) the Figure is attached hanging from the Ground while in (325-f) the Figure is leaning at an angle against the Ground which is stationary. This illustrates only part of the range of meanings that *uwágu* can be used to encode.

⁴⁴As show in (325) and some of the following examples, the Topological Relations Picture Series has been used for eliciting an overview of spatial distinctions.

However, certain topological relations cannot be expressed by *uwágu* without the presence of a positional verb expressing certain aspects of the Figure and its relation to the Ground (see § 4.2.6.1 for a discussion of positional verbs).

- (326) a. ában mansána dibí-lu l-uwágu ában véve
 one apple hang-POSN 3.M-on one tree
 ‘an apple hanging from a tree’ (E20120927a>00:42:21) ♪
- b. dibí-tu l-ín véve l-uwágu
 hang-POSN 3.M-fruit tree 3.M-on
 ‘the fruit of the tree is hanging on it’ (E20120926b>00:17:05) ♪
- c. ában flécha charú-nyu t-uwágu mansána
 one arrow stuck.through-POSN 3.F-on apple
 ‘an arrow stuck through an apple’ (E20120926a>01:37:37) ♪
- d. l-ubána véve badúle-nyu l-uwágu l-ilímu-n
 3.M-leaf tree hang-POSN 3.M-on 3.M-branch-POSS
 ‘the leaves of the tree are hanging on their branches’
 (E20120926b>00:04:26) ♪

There are two additional functions involving *uwágu*: 1) it introduces oblique subjects of certain predicates as discussed in § 4.2.4 and 2) it marks possessor in predicative possessive constructions as discussed in § 3.5.1.2.

11.1.3 *ídan* ‘inside’

The preposition *ídan* is used to express the concept of Containment, partial (327) or complete (328).

- (327) a. ma-nú-heyn mansána t-ídan á:geydinan
 NEG-3.F-exist apple 3.F-inside bowl
 ‘there isn’t an apple inside the bowl’ (E20120926a>00:34:40) ♪
- b. ában iyáwü l-ídan kwádro
 one photograph 3.M-inside frame
 ‘a photograph in a frame’ (E20120926a>01:34:32) ♪
- c. ában múna l-ídan ában fulásu ayáragùwa-t-i
 one house 3.M-inside one place enclose-TI-3.M
 ‘a house inside a fenced place’ (E20120927a>00:16:40) ♪
- d. aban ní-di ówchaha t-idan ában ti-reùreü gurúyara
 then 1.SG-go:SU1 fish 3.F-in one 3.F-small canoe
 ‘then I went fishing in a small canoe’ (N20121002c>00:00:18) ♪

- (328) a. ában másaraga t-ídan ában háwla
 one rabbit 3.F-inside one cage
 ‘a rabbit inside a cage’ (E20120927a>00:04:08) ♪
- b. rú b-a fáluma t-ídan fulúwaru!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP coconut 3.F-inside flour
 ‘put coconut in the flour!’ (E20120918a>01:51:01) ♪

The main difference between (327) and (328) is that in the former there is an opening in the containment, whereas in the latter there is none. However, even among the examples in (327) there are varying degrees of partial Containment, ranging from (327-a-b) where the Figure is either horizontally or vertically contained by the Ground but where the Ground has an open side, to (327-c-d) where the Figure is only partially contained by the ground. The examples in (328) cover both the loose Containment of the cage in (328-a) and the tight Containment of the water (328-b); however, it seems that the concept of Complete Containment is more frequently expressed using the Locative suffix *-rugu* as discussed in § 11.3.1.

11.1.4 *aw* ‘with’

The most frequent function of *aw* is Instrumental; this function is illustrated in (329).

- (329) a. n-abúrechagu-ny-ey láy t-aw gusínyu
 1.SG-crush-PROG-3.M garlic 3.F-with knife
 ‘I am crushing the garlic with the knife’ (E20121027b>00:29:25) ♪
- b. b-áfuduha-be-y véve l-aw gürábu
 2.SG-make.hole-FUT-3.M wood 3.M-with nail
 ‘you make a hole in the wood with a nail’ (E20120918a>00:30:33) ♪
- c. ában iráhü álugura l-aw wátu
 one boy warm.oneself 3.M-with fire
 ‘a boy warming himself at the fire’ (E20120926a>01:51:38) ♪
- d. wa-gíya=ti l-aw garífuna béybey
 1.PL-DEM=TOP 3.M-with Garífuna wild.grape
 ‘we, in Garífuna (say) “wild grape”’ (E20121014a>00:15:42) ♪

The instrumental meanings range from the direct use of tools in (329-a-b) to the indirect use of the fire as a source of heat in (329-c) to the abstract use of language to convey meaning in (329-d).

While (329-d) is the most commonly used construction for indicating that one is ‘speaking in X language’ one piece of evidence might suggest that this metaphorical

use of prepositions is not as rule bound as the more concrete ones; consider (330).

- (330) chupéte wá-nya gíyen t-úma ... l-ídan garifuna i espanyól
 chupete 1.PL-say also 3.F-with ... 3.M-in Garifuna and Spanish
 ‘“chupete” we also say in ... in (both) Garifuna and Spanish’
 (E20121014b>00:19:14) ♪

In (330) is an example of self-repair; first the speaker uses *úma* but changes this to *ídan*; both of the prepositions *úma* and *ídan* used in (330) are not very commonly used in my data for saying ‘IN a language’, the default item being *aw* as in (329-d).

Another common use of *aw* is as a coordinator of noun phrases, as discussed in § 3.5.5.

Yet another possible function of *aw*, though less frequent, is expressing Comitative, that is, Accompaniment as illustrated in (331).

- (331) a. l-aw kárga n-agíribuda
 3.M-with merchandise 1.SG-come.back
 ‘I come back with merchandise’ (A20121016a>00:13:13) ♪
- b. sanúdelu l-aw luwénde
 candle 3.M-with tie
 ‘a candle with a tie on it’ (E20120926a>00:37:44) ♪
- c. ában gusínyu l-aw mantekiya
 one knife 3.M-with butter
 ‘a knife with butter on it’ (E20120926a>01:01:43) ♪
- d. ában ayárara-t-i t-aw ában múna
 one enclose-NMLZ-3.M 3.F-with one house
 ‘an enclosure with a house’ (E20120926a>01:07:50) ♪

As (331) shows, the use of *aw* to express Accompaniment is characterized by an asymmetric relation with identifiable Figure and Ground. The difference between using *aw* and *uwágu* is that the latter more explicitly expresses the relationship of contact or adhesion that holds between Figure and Ground, whereas the use of *aw* leaves the question open as to the spatial relationship between Figure and Ground; there may be contact or adhesion as in (331-a-c) or the Figure may be placed at an angle from the Ground as is the case with the house encircled by an enclosure in (331-d).

There are also borderline cases where either an Instrumental or a Containment reading of *aw* may be justified as illustrated in (332).

- (332) a. féyn t-aw tu-wéyama
bread 3.F-with 3.F-pumpkin
'bread with pumpkin' (E20120917a>00:12:40) ♪
- b. dédegu-t-i l-aw würi-t-i
to.dot-TI-3.M 3.M-with black-TI-3.M
'it (the cow) is dotted with black' (E20120914b>00:21:02) ♪

In (332-a) the bread may be said to either 'have been made **with**' (Instrumental) the pumpkin, or, alternatively, the pumpkin is 'located **inside**' (containment) the bread and thus the bread has pumpkin 'in it'.

11.1.5 *úma* 'together with'

The default preposition for expressing symmetrical Accompaniment is *úma*, i.e. when the relationship between the two entities is symmetric; this is illustrated in (333).

- (333) a. b-ugúya n-úma-nya-di-bu
2.SG-DEM 1.SG-with-exist-DI-2.SG
'you are with me' (A20121009a>00:35:57) ♪
- b. n-abínaha t-uma María
1.SG-dance 3.F-with M.
'I am going to dance with Maria' (E20120920b>00:13:38) ♪

An additional function of *úma*, one which is somewhat related to accompaniment, is the coordination of two noun phrases as illustrated in (334).

- (334) a. dúna l-uma wátu
water 3.M-with fire
'water and fire' (E20120913b>00:33:14) ♪
- b. rí l-aw éyfi
rice 3.M-with bean
'rice and beans' (E20121014a>00:02:35) ♪

An additional function is marking comparison, as shown in (335).

- (335) ában n-ábu l-úma
one 1.SG-alike 3.M-with
'I am like him' (A20121008a>01:29:32) ♪

11.1.6 *uwéy* ‘from’

This preposition expresses Ablative, that is, it indicates that the Ground is the source from which the Figure has its origin. This relationship, like many of those discussed above, may be physical and concrete like in (336), or more metaphorical as in (337).

- (336) a. aban h-abáyuru-n-i b-uwéy
 then 3.PL-rob-USPEC-3.M 2.SG-from
 ‘then they robbed it from you’ (A20121009a>00:13:46) ♪
- b. sún fáluma tó achágaru-b-un n-uwéy
 all coconut 3.F:DEM through-EXTR-3.F 1.SG-from
 ‘all of the coconuts which I dropped’ (A20121009c>00:31:35) ♪
- c. sún-ha n-áturu-n dúna t-uwéy gurúyara
 finish-PRF 1.SG-empty.out.liquid-USPEC water 3.F-from canoe
 ‘I finished emptying water out of the canoe’ (A20121010a>00:42:21) ♪
- (337) a. hanúfudey-ti-na t-uwéy wùri tó
 to.fear-TI-1.SG 3.F-from woman 3.F:DEM
 ‘I am afraid of that woman’ (A20121023c>00:32:26) ♪
- b. bulíyey-gwà-di-na=yèbe l-uwéy yégü mésu
 forget-REFL-DI-1.SG=PFUT 3.M-from 1.SG-CLF.ANIMAL cat
 ‘I have forgotten my cat’ (E20121025b>00:50:15) ♪

With the examples in (336) there is no trouble sensing the notion of Source: a Figure is being removed from a Ground where it was located. The examples in (337) show a more abstract relation: in (337-a), ‘that woman’ constitutes the source of the fear that the speaker feels and the fear is transferred from ‘that woman’ to the speaker; in (337-b) it is perhaps less clear that there is a transferral of anything away from a source, unless one imagines that the speaker is in a mental state of forgetting and ‘my cat’ is the source of this mental state. This use of prepositions with a verb meaning ‘forget’ is parallel to Spanish *olvidarse de* and the English equivalent ‘forget about’.

11.2 Prepositions with *-gwa*

There are various prepositions which contain the valency lowering suffix *-gwa*. Some of these are not etymologically transparent, e.g. *agána-gwa* ‘between’ does not have corresponding preposition **agána*; instead, there is *l-agána* ‘its ingredient; its mix’. Other prepositions with *-gwa* are more straightforwardly analyzable as valency lowering, such as *ábu-gwa* ‘alone’ with corresponding *ábu* ‘with’. Also, the reflexive argument marker *ún-gwa* ‘to oneself’ corresponds to *un* ‘to’. There is also *uwáriyuwa-gwa* ‘completely away from’, which corresponds to *uwáriyuwa* ‘away from’.

- (338) a. n-éybuga=gùbey ádaru-n bichi tó n-uwáryiwa
 1.SG-go=COMPL push-USPEC bitch 3.F:DEM 1.SG-away.from
 h-ád-on gáyu
 3.PL-in-ALL chicken
 ‘I’m going to put that whore away among the chickens’
 (N20131016i>00:15:14) ♪
- b. n-éybuga n-uwáryiwa-gwa
 1.SG-go 1.SG-away.from-REFL
 ‘I am going to leave my (old life) behind’ (Lit. ‘I am going completely
 away from myself’) (N20131029a>00:06:32) ♪
- c. b-alúgura-di-nà=san b-uwáryiwa-gwa?
 2.SG-sell-DI-1.SG=Q 2.SG-away.from-REFL
 ‘are you going to sell me, to be rid of me?’ (Lit. ‘sell me away from
 yourself’) (N20131016i>00:06:02) ♪

See also § 7.3.9 for aspectual uses of *-gwa*.

11.3 Location and motion suffixes

As discussed in § 11.1, much Garifuna spatial information is contained within prepositions. However, there are alternative means for expressing spatial relations, namely by various types of suffixation: 1) A locative suffix *-rugu* expressing location, typically vertical support or containment, 2) an ablative suffix *-giyen* expressing motion away from a ground, or an allative suffix *-un* expressing motion towards a ground. Furthermore, these suffixes can be combined in various ways in order to add further detail about spatial relations.

11.3.1 Locative

The locative suffixes seem to be less specialized than the prepositions in their use in that a single suffix *-rugu* (and its lexeme specific variants, cf. below) may be used to cover a wide range of meanings as shown in the examples that follow. Unlike prepositions, locative suffixes cannot be used to introduce oblique arguments and this is the reason why I do not find reason to speak, even marginally, of ‘case’ in Garifuna.

First, in (339) *-rugu* expresses complete Containment. Notice that the function of *-rugu* appears to be identical to that of various locative pronouns and in many cases consultants gave parallel expressions as equivalents such as *lidan búsu / búsu-rugu* ‘inside/on the bus’.

- (339) a. dúna-rugu-nyà-di-na
 water-LOC-exist-DI-1.SG
 ‘I am in the water’ (A20121004b>00:25:19) ♪

- b. búsu-rugu-n
 bus-LOC-ALL
 ‘(to) inside the bus’ (A20121008a>01:46:19) ♪
- c. víve húyu-rugu nyén
 live:3.SG cave-LOC there
 ‘it lives in a cave there’ (E20120914b>00:27:28) ♪
- d. ában údereü vélu-rugu
 one fish pond-LOC
 ‘a fish in the pond’ (E20120926a>01:39:54) ♪

As exemplified in (340), *-rugu* may also express partial Containment.

- (340) a. ównli mún-àgey-rugu
 dog house-container-LOC
 ‘the dog inside the hamlet’ (E20120913b>00:47:00) ♪
- b. l-urágey-rugu ubúru
 3.M-stomach-LOC city
 ‘inside the city’ (E20120926a>00:21:58) ♪
- c. ában múna l-urágey-rugu ában yárarati
 one house 3.M-stomach-LOC one barnyard
 ‘one house inside a barnyard’ (E20120927a>00:16:07) ♪

There are also examples where *-rugu* expresses a notion only peripherally related to Containment as in (341) where one might either argue that an object is ‘inside’ the fire or ‘on’ the fire, and similarly an object might be ‘on’ the porch or ‘inside’ the confinement of the porch, but these are borderline cases.

- (341) a. rú b-on wátu-rugu!
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP:3.F fire-LOC
 ‘put it on the fire!’ (E20120918a>00:09:49) ♪
- b. pátiyu-rugu
 porch-LOC
 ‘on the porch’ (E20120927b>00:07:54) ♪

There are also examples of *-rugu* expressing Contact as in (342).

- (342) m-agámbu l-umú-ti-bu=tiyà=buga Stéffen Yórlin l-aw aparátu
 NEG-hear 3.M-PST-TI-2.SG=EMPH=PST S. Y. 3.M-with device
 l-arígey-**rugu**
 3.M-ear-LOC
 ‘Steffen can’t hear you, Yorlin, with that device on his ears’
 (N20120926b>00:00:05) ♪

Example (342) describes the contact of headphones with the ears of the wearer.

There are cases of a locative suffix that is very similar to *-rugu* and might be an assimilated version of it, as shown in (343).

- (343) a. iní-heyn sígaru l-iyúmu-lugu
 3.M-exist cigarette 3.M-mouth-LOC
 ‘the cigarette is in his mouth’ (E20120926a>01:53:50) ♪
- b. barû l-a-l-i li-réü l-égi-wagu
 bring:SU2 3.M-PRF-DI-3.M 3.M-little.one 3.M-shoulder-LOC
 ‘(the monkey) put his child on his shoulders’ (N20121017a>00:00:51) ♪
- c. wûbu-wogu-n
 mountain-LOC-ALL
 ‘up on the mountain’ (A20121024a>00:40:28) ♪
- d. aná-heyn n-úbu-nugu
 1.SG-exist 1.SG-house-LOC
 ‘I am in my house’ (E20120920a>00:46:36) ♪

I analyze (343) as assimilation of /r/ in *-rugu* to the noun; this assimilation only occurs with some specific lexemes. Alternatively, one might follow Taylor (1956a, p. 12) and analyze these various locative suffixes as distinct formatives with approximately the same meaning as *-rugu*.

Other locative suffixes are more limited in distribution in that they are only used with one or two lexemes, as exemplified in (344). (Note that *agánagwa* ‘live’ is optional in sentences such as (344-b-c).)

- (344) -*ha*
- a. bíra barána-ha
 sail sea-LOC
 ‘a sail on the sea’ (E20120926a>00:58:59) ♪
- b. yalífu barána-ha
 pelican sea-LOC
 ‘the pelican lives in the sea’ (E20120914c>00:03:39) ♪

- c. údereü barána-ha l-agánawa
fish sea-LOC 3.M-live
'the fish lives in the sea' (E20120914c>00:04:21) ♪
- d. ágawaha-tì-na barána-ha
bathe-TI-1.SG sea-LOC
'I bathe in the sea' (E20120920b>00:03:22) ♪
- (345) *-bu*
- a. ana-há béya-bu
1.SG-exist beach-LOC
'I am on the beach' (E20120919a>00:45:46) ♪
- b. n-éybuga béya-bu
1.SG-go beach-LOC
'I am going to the beach' (E20121017a>00:15:05) ♪
- c. wa-yábi l-un béya-bu-n
1.PL-come:SU1 3.M-to beach-LOC-ALL
'we came down to the beach' (N20121017a>00:01:02) ♪
- d. áüdü-bü
village-LOC
'in the village' (Cayetano1993:26)
- e. béna-bu
door-LOC
'in the doorway' (Cayetano 1993:26)
- (346) *-da*
- a. ana-há yá múna-da
1.SG-exist here house-LOC
'I am here at the house' (A20121004a>00:09:18) ♪
- b. dábula múna-da
table house-LOC
'the table in the house' (E20120913b>00:38:03) ♪
- c. ában abí dibí-nyu múna-da
one jacket hanging-POSN house-LOC
'a jacket hanging inside the house' (E20120926a>00:52:20) ♪
- d. ûma-da Nuwéva Yóru
street-LOC N. Y.
'on a street of New York' (N20121026b>00:01:07) ♪

With these lexemes, the interpretation of the locative suffix becomes more context dependent and the limits lie in the nature of the lexeme that acts as Ground. This is particularly clear in (344) for *barána* ‘sea’ where meanings range from complete Containment, through Contact, to Proximity. For *béya* ‘beach’, on the other hand, the concept of, say, Containment is perhaps not as straight forwardly applicable.

11.3.2 Ablative

There is an ablative suffix *-giyen* which is used mostly on prepositions, locative adverbs and place names as illustrated in (347).

- (347) a. furí h-uma=tiya t-ídan-giyen n-úban l-inyá=ga
 exit 2.PL-IMP=EMPH 3.F-in-ABL 1.SG-house 3.M-say=GA
 ‘“get out of my house!” he said’ (N20131016i>00:01:20) ♪
- b. yá-giyen bürû ha-mu-t-u há-bulugu
 here-ABL carry:SU2 3.PL-PST-TI-3.F 3.PL-head
 ‘they would carry it from here on their head’ (N20131016e>00:12:16) ♪
- c. Téla-giyen l-un Béydi-rugu-n éybu
 T-ABL 3.M-to B.-LOC-ALL on.foot
 ‘from Tela to La Ensenada on foot’ (N20131016d>00:06:48) ♪

In addition, *-giyen* is found in constructions that express motion out of, or away from, a Ground which is expressed by the noun to which *-giyen* is suffixed. It always appears after the suffix *-rugu*, but *-giyen* is clearly what adds the meaning of movement; examples are given in (348).

- (348) a. aban t-áfuridu dúna-rugu-giyen
 then 3.F-exit water-LOC-ABL
 ‘she came out of the water’ (A20121004c>00:04:24) ♪
- b. n-átürü-nya dúna-rugu-giyen
 1.SG-descend-PROG water-LOC-ABL
 ‘I am getting out of the water’ (A20121024b>00:27:58) ♪
- c. l-áfuridu-n furisun-rugù-giyen
 3.M-exit-USPEC prison-LOC-ABL
 ‘he would get out of prison’ (N20121026b>00:00:53) ♪
- d. nyúbüri-ti-na fédu-rugu-giyen
 come:SU2-TI-1.SG party-LOC-ABL
 ‘I came back from the party’ (E20121018b>00:45:48) ♪

The ablative suffix can also be used on possessed nouns which serve as prepositions such as in (349).

- (349) l-igíya l-arínyagu álgiyen t-anága-giyen búsu ...
 3.M-DEM 3.M-say somebody 3.F-back-ABL bus
 ‘then somebody said, from the back of the bus ...’ (N20121002e>00:01:09) ♪

11.3.3 Allative

The allative suffix *-un* indicates the motion of a Figure towards a Ground which is its destination. It occurs directly on nouns and place names and very often also after the locative suffix *-rugu* → *-rugu-n*.

- (350) a. n-éybuga Pó:tu-n
 1.SG-go P.-ALL
 ‘I am going to Puerto Cortes’ (E201201017a>00:12:53) ♪
- b. [la'weyra la'nagon]
 la-wéyra l-anága-un
 3.M-lift 3.M-back-ALL
 ‘he lifted him up unto his back’ (A20121024c>00:17:15) ♪
- c. [na'chü:rali 'dübu ba'ranahon]
 n-achû:ra:-l-i dübu barána-ha-un
 1.SG-throw-DI-3.SG stone sea-LOC-ALL
 ‘I am going to throw the stone into the sea’ (E20121018b>00:36:16) ♪

Note that the allative suffix *-un* assimilates to the preceding vowel; if the latter is a back tongue vowel, the /u/ of the suffix drops, as in (350-a); if it is /a/, the /u/ of the suffix lowers to [o], as in (350-b-c).

11.4 Andative *-yna*

There is a verbal andative suffix *-yna* which indicates that an action is carried out progressively in physical motion. However, when stative verbs are involved the andative should be seen as an indicator of figurative progress; both of these types are illustrated in (351).

- (351) a. *bueno aban wé-ydi-n ariya-hè-yna wa-gíya*
 well CONN 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC look.for-DISTR-ANDA 1.PL-DEM
pádnà
 companion
 ‘well, then we left, looking for company on our way’
 (N20131016g>00:01:20) ♪
- b. *áhurerè-yna wa-gíya=meha l-áru béya béya dey*
 play-ANDA 1.PL-DEM=DPST 3.M-edge beach beach until
wa-chúlürü-n Béydi-rugu
 1.PL-arrive-USPEC B.-LOC
 ‘we would go playing along the way all along the beach until we arrived
 to La Ensenada’
 (N20131016d>00:07:00) ♪
- c. *a-wéyri-dè-yna gíyen údereü*
 VBLZ-large-VBLZ-ANDA also fish
 ‘the fish also went growing’
 (N20131010f>00:10:26) ♪
- d. *a-gíbe-dè-yna wá-nya*
 VBLZ-numerous-VBLZ-ANDA 1.PL-exist
 ‘we are multiplying’
 (E20121018b>00:20:13) ♪

11.5 Diachrony of position and motion formatives

A very general definition of grammaticalization is given in Kurylowicz (1965, p. 52) (cited in Lehmann (2015, p. 7)) who says that “Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one”. In the below discussion I will argue that certain prepositions have grammaticalized from nouns and that certain position and motion suffixes have (further) grammaticalized from prepositions.

11.5.1 Suffixes derived from prepositions

There are a few suffixes which express position and motion in Garifuna that appear to have grammaticalized from prepositions. In these few instances, the preposition persists alongside the suffix, and in some cases, the suffix is the more marginal one in terms of productivity.⁴⁵ The items in question are shown in Table 34.

Based on the above analysis, I speculate that the source of all position and motion suffixes in Garifuna is to be found in prepositions, some of which have not survived to the present, but this remains speculation.

⁴⁵Some of the ideas presented here were indirectly hinted at by Drom (2004).

Preposition	Function	Suffix	Function
<i>uwágu</i>	‘on’	<i>-rugu / -wagu</i>	‘on’
<i>un</i>	‘to; for; in order to’	<i>-(u)n</i>	‘ALLATIVE’
<i>ídan</i>	‘in’	<i>-da</i>	‘in’

Table 34: *Position and motion suffixes derived from prepositions*

11.5.2 Prepositions derived from nouns

It has been noted by Blake (2001, p. 98) that adpositions frequently derive diachronically from verbs, thus the English *concerning the students* contains a preposition derived from a verb and the word order reflects this origin. On the other hand, according to Dryer (2007, p. 85), prepositions often derive diachronically from nouns; the latter appears to be the case in Garifuna, although the etymological source of the respective prepositions appears opaque. Evidence of a nominal source lies not in the use of person indexing prefixes, because these are the same as those used to index S or A of verbs, but in the possibility to add one of the position and motion suffixes: locative *-rugu*, ablative *-giyen*, and allative *-n* to prepositions as well as nouns - examples are given in (352).

- (352) a. *n-átürü-nya dúna-rugu-giyen o l-ídan-giyen dúna*
 1.SG-descend-PROG water-LOC-ABL or 3.M-in-ABL water
 ‘I’m getting out of the water’ (A20121024b>00:27:58) ♪
- b. *n-éybuga límpiya t-ábu-giyen ni-gáyn*
 1.SG-go clean 3.F-with-ABL 1.SG-cassava
 ‘I am going to weed underneath my cassava (plants)’
 (E20150723>01:03:51) ♪

As far as I am aware, it is not possible to add more than one positional suffix to a preposition, contrary to nouns which do have the ability to take two, as in *dúna-rugu-giyen* ‘from within the water’ in (352-a).

If one then assumes that the person prefixes on prepositions are derived from possessive prefixes indexing possessor on nouns, this in turn may explain why Garifuna has **prepositions** rather than **postpositions**, because the possessed always precedes the possessor as the inflected head of the phrase.

In fact, in some contexts, possessed nouns may act as prepositions; the nouns in question refer to intrinsic properties of the prepositional object such as the ones in (353). These examples could serve as additional evidence that Garifuna prepositions originated in nouns.

- (353) a. ában l-ídibu pínu l-ábulugu wúbu
 one 3.M-tree pine 3.M-head mountain
 ‘a pine tree on top of the mountain’ (E20120927a>00:31:31) ♪
- b. ában múna l-urágey-rugu ában fulásu ayárara-t-i
 one house 3.M-stomach-LOC one place encircled-TI-3.M
 ‘a house inside a fenced place’ (E20120927a>00:16:53) ♪
- c. nú-heyn fáha t-iránagwa hinyá:ru
 3.F-exist belt 3.F-waist woman
 ‘the belt is around the waist of the woman’ (E20120926b>00:07:18) ♪
- d. éybuga-ti-nà ában ó:ra dimí l-áru béya
 talk-TI-1.SG one hour half 3.M-edge beach
 ‘I walk for an hour and a half at the edge of the beach’
 (E20120927b>00:06:04) ♪
- e. aná-ha béya-bu l-áru barána
 1.SG-exist beach-LOC 3.M-edge sea
 ‘I am on the beach at the seashore’ (E20120926a>00:19:15) ♪

Note that with respect to the division between sea and beach the preposition *áru* lacks an inherent orientation; it just delimits the edge where something stops, be it sand or water, or something third.

phrases once they have been introduced into discourse and may be presupposed as common ground between interlocutors:

- (356) a. aban li-yábi-n lé ában sipóte lé
 then 3.M-come:SU1-USPEC 3.M:DEM other child 3.M:DEM
 g-áfuli-be-y aban l-álugu-n l-asáfura:-l-i lán
 ATR-swim-EXTR-3.M then 3.M-look.for-USPEC 3.M-rescue-DI-3.M IRR
 lé m-áfuli-be-y
 3.M:DEM NEG-swim-EXTR-3.M
 ‘then came the boy who could swim and tried to rescue the one who
 couldn’t swim’ (N20131010b>00:14:30) ♪
- b. aban n-afáragadu-n-i t-uwéy gurúyara aban=ti...
 then 1.SG-loosen-USPEC-3.M 3.F-from canoe then=TOP...
 ma-díse-t-i l-uwéy l-áru aban n-íchugu-n fitaru l-uwágu
 NEG-far-TI-3.M 3.M-from 3.M-edge then 1.SG-put-USPEC hook 3.M-on
 ában n-iríragu-n béya-bu-n
 then 1.SG-land-USPEC beach-LOC-ALL
 ‘then I loosened it from the canoe and ... it wasn’t so far from the shore
 so I put the line on it again and landed it onto the beach’
 (N20131016a>00:11:13) ♪

In (356-a) the subject of the first predicate *liyábin* ‘he came’ is represented as the overt noun phrase *sipóte* ‘boy’ (Sp.) which is followed by a relative clause. But the object noun phrase of the complement predicate *lasáfura:li* ‘to rescue’ is only represented by the demonstrative pronoun and relative clause *lé máfulibey* ‘the one who couldn’t swim’. In (356-b) the subject is the first person singular throughout, and the object is only referred to by third person singular masculine agreement; the object agreement indices refer to a very large fish which acts as the main topic of the narrative in question.

12.2 Focus

S or A argument noun phrases may be fronted for focus. When this happens, the main clause verb drops the S/A argument marking⁴⁶. This is illustrated in (357).

- (357) a. wügûri aríha l-uwág-un arúney
 man look 3.M-on-ALL captain
 ‘the *man* is looking at the captain’ (E20121017a>00:02:56) ♪
- b. arúfudaha-t-i adíraha-nya iráhü-nyü
 teach-AGT-3.M photograph-3.PL child-PL
 ‘the *teacher* is taking pictures of the children’
 (E20150728a>00:47:26) ♪

⁴⁶According to Aikhenvald (1995, p. 152) in the Arawak languages Warekena and Bare S/A marking may be dropped if the noun phrase is fronted for focus.

Example (357) shows that focus fronting only affects S/A marking, which drops, but object marking remains the same. The clause in (357-a) has oblique object marking while (357-b) marks the object on the verb.

Object arguments are not usually fronted for focus; instead these can be made more salient through relativization as explained in § 13.2.

12.3 Non-declarative clauses

As already shown in earlier chapters, there is no difference between declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses with respect to constituent order; this is illustrated in (358).

- (358) a. l-abúrachagu-ny-on surúsiya ára:ni t-id-on gáfu
 3.M-put.in-PROG-3.F doctor medicine 3.F-in-ALL box
 ‘the doctor is putting the medicine into the box’
 (E20150727b>00:20:31) ♪
- b. l-abúrachagu-ny-on=san surúsiya ára:ni t-id-on gáfu?
 3.M-put.in-PROG-3.F=Q doctor medicine 3.F-in-ALL box
 ‘is the doctor putting the medicine into the box?’
 (E20150727b>00:20:31) ♪
- c. dagágüda b-e-y sówduweru wátu-rugu!
 put.on.top.of 2.SG-IMP-3.M pot fire-LOC
 ‘put the pot on the fire!’
 (E20120918a>01:42:45) ♪

The exception to the above generalization is content questions; a questioned constituent is represented by a question word that is fronted and if its declarative equivalent has marking on the verb, such marking is omitted.

and the result is a complex clause of the same structure as those shown above.

- (359) ká íchugu-ba:-r-u alíha-güley b-un?
 who give:SU1-EXTR-DI-3.F read-NMLZ 2.SG-to
 ‘who gave the book to you?’
 (E20150805>00:30:21) ♪

12.4 Serial verb constructions

There is no generally agreed upon unified definition of serial verb constructions (SVC). However, Haspelmath (2015, p. 16) has recently set up a relatively narrow definition, in order to “make falsifiable cross-linguistic claims about SVCs”. Haspelmath’s definition is given in (360).

- (360) A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs.

This definition works nicely in Garifuna to exclude other complex clause constructions such as coordinated main clauses, subordinate clauses and auxiliary constructions. Coordinated and subordinated clauses are excluded because they are not monoclausal; by my definition, a Garifuna clause is marked for at least one core argument, typically the most affected or most responsible (very few exceptions to this exist: focused A/S arguments cf. § 12.2 and high current relevance stative verb arguments cf. § 4.2.2). Auxiliary constructions are excluded because auxiliary verbs are not independent.

Serial verb constructions in Garifuna describe two (or more?) subsequent actions or events in a single clause; pragmatically, the two events naturally follow from each other (361).

- (361) a. aban **b-ídi-n** **chülú** Guchína m-anûgü-ti-bu ní
 then 2.SG-go:SU1-USPEC arrive G. NEG-take:SU1-TI-2.SG NEG
 ában údereü
 one fish
 ‘you went to Cayos Cochinos and you didn’t bring home a single fish’
 (N20131010d>00:03:19) ♪
- b. aban l-áfaru-n-i hów
 then 3.M-kill-USPEC-3.M eat:SU2
 ‘and he killed it (and he) ate (it)’ (N20131010f>00:12:57) ♪
- c. ságü véyu h-éybugu-n gürígiya l-áru béya nyúdün
 every day 3.PL-walk-USPEC people 3.M-edge beach go:SU2
giríbu=ya
 return=again
 ‘every day people walk on the beach, (they) go (and they) come back again’
 (E20150803>01:07:31) ♪
- d. áhe-yn=tì=ha kámpu-rugu **chónguwa-rügû-ti-nyu**
 but-3.M=TOP=PRF field-LOC cut.with.machete-just-TI-3.PL
h-ón-gwa **áfara-gwa**
 3.PL-to-REFL kill-REFL
 ‘but in the fields they would get into machete fights with each other,
 and kill (each other)’ (N20131016d>00:11:30) ♪

The SVCs in (361) consist of two adjacent verbs where the first one indexes the arguments involved, and the second one is not marked for any argument.

These short verb forms are only used as V2 in SVCs, in past tense verb constructions like the ones in (362), which shows the V2 components from the SVCs in (361)

((361-d) is a special case as it is a reflexive verb form, and is excluded in the example below) and in imperative-hortative constructions. Outside of these contexts, full verb stems such as *achûlûra* ‘arrive’ and *agîribuda* ‘come back’ are used.

- (362) a. chûlû-ha-di-na n-ûbi-y-on
arrive-PRF-DI-1.SG 1.SG-house-LOC-ALL
‘I arrived home’ (E20121018b>00:44:32) ♪
- b. hów l-umu-t-u Canécho fáluma
eat.PST 3.M-PST-TI-3.F C. coconut
‘Canecho ate the coconut’ (E20131028>00:01:25) ♪
- c. sún nu-féyn=tiya giribu-t-u
all 1.SG-bread=EMPH come.back-TI-3.F
‘all of my bread came back’ (N20131016e>00:14:05) ♪

In order to get an overview of the unique properties of SVCs, I compare them to other complex constructions as in (363) which shows a SVC, two coordinated main clauses and a subordinate clause construction.

- (363) a. aban l-áfaru-n-i hów
then 3.M-kill-USPEC-3.M eat:SU2
‘and he killed it (and he) ate (it)’ (N20131010f>00:12:57) ♪
- b. aban n-áfaru-n-u aban n-éygi-n-u
then 1.SG-kill-USPEC-3.F then 1.SG-eat:SU1-USPEC-3.F
‘I killed it and ate it’ (E20150805>00:52:53) ♪
- c. pero aban=ti l-éybaha-ni-nyu bágasu l-un gawára lán
but then=TOP 3.M-hunt-USPEC-3.PL cow 3.M-to be.possible IRR
l-éygi-ni-nyu
3.M-eat:SU1-USPEC-3.PL
‘it hunts the cows in order to eat them’ (N20121017a>00:03:26) ♪

The suppletive verb pair *éyga/how* ‘eat’ is particularly well suited for this comparison as their distribution gives away their function: the *how* variant is only used when the shortened stem is required and thus are never used in underspecified verb forms such as those in (363-b-c).

Finally, the SVC with 4 verbs in (364) was elicited and deemed acceptable, but in the naturally occurring texts I have only found constructions with 2 verbs.

- (364) n-áfaru-n-u alimpiya-ha ábunagwa hów
1.SG-kill-USPEC-3.F clean-DISTR cook eat::SU2
‘I killed it, cleaned, cooked (and) ate (it)’ (Lit. ‘I killed it, clean, cook, eat’)
(E20150805>00:54:09) ♪

The chain of conjoined main clauses with underspecified verb forms in (365) might have been the preferred way of expressing (364).

- (365) aban n-áfaru-n-u wayámaga aban n-alímpiyadu-n-ù aban
 then 1.SG-kill-USPEC-3.F iguana then 1.SG-clean-USPEC-3.F then
 n-ábuwagu-n-ù aban n-éygi-n-u
 1.SG-cook-USPEC-3.F then 1.SG-eat-USPEC-3.F
 ‘I killed the iguana and cleaned it and cooked it and ate it’
 (E20150805>00:52:01) ♪

12.5 Non-verbal predication

12.5.1 Copular-less non-verbal predication

All nouns and pronouns can function as predicates by juxtaposition as illustrated in (366).

- (366) a. surúsiya b-ugúya
 doctor 2.SG-DEM
 ‘you are a doctor’ (E20131130>01:09:23) ♪
- b. wá-guchu=tiya t-ú:ra érmanu!
 1.PL-mother=EMPH 3.F-DEM brother
 ‘she’s our mother, bro!’ (N20131017d>00:15:13) ♪
- c. máma surúsiya wügûri lé
 NEG doctor man 3.M:DEM
 ‘that man is not a doctor’ (E20150806>00:58:09) ♪
- d. wügûri lé máma=meha urúwey
 man 3.M:DEM NEG=DPST government
 ‘that man was not president’ (E20150806>01:05:24) ♪

In the first two examples in (366-a-b), the nominal predicate comes first followed by an emphatic or a demonstrative pronoun corresponding to the S argument. In (366-c), there are two juxtaposed nouns. In (366-d), the S argument noun phrase *wügûri lé* ‘that man’ is in fronted focus position. Unlike verbal clauses, fronting can be carried out without changes to the morphology or to the independent status of the clause.

While the copular-less non-verbal predication strategy is the morphosyntactically simplest one, it is not the most frequently occurring.

The existence marker (*i*)*nya* is used in a number of ways to express especially location but also equation. The distinct uses of *nya* presented below were probably all derived diachronically from an existence verb *inya but synchronically they vary

as to their degree of phonological boundness and their function in the grammar.

12.5.2 Location predicate derivation with *-nya*

Any word which can be used to refer to a location may be used to derive location predicates like the ones in (367).

- (367) a. véve tó l-uwágu-ny-u ában úbeü
tree 3.F:DEM 3.M-on-exist-3.F one side
'that tree is on one side (of the mountain)' (E20131022b>00:52:06) ♪
- b. haliya-nye-y arúney?
where-exist-3.M captain
'where is the captain?' (E20150803>00:40:47) ♪
- c. nyén-nya-nu=san údereü würínawuga?
there-exist-3.PL=Q fish yesterday
'were there any fish yesterday?' (E20131130>00:34:20) ♪
- d. Trómpu-nya-di-na
T-exist-DI-1.SG
'I'm in Triunfo de la Cruz' (E20131130>01:04:27) ♪
- e. Nuéva Yórin-nye-y=nege
N. Y.-exist-3.M=HS
'they say he's in New York' (N20131016h>00:08:44) ♪
- f. dúna-rugu-nyà:-di-na
water-LOC-exist-DI-1.SG
'I'm in the water' (E20150723>01:14:24) ♪

In (367), location predicates are shown derived from a preposition (367-a), adverbs (367-b), (367-c), toponyms (367-d), (367-e) and a noun with locative marking (367-f). Note that special person suffixes are used with the existence clitic *-nya*, an overview Table 21 and discussion of which can be found in § 4.2.6.3.

12.5.3 Negator *máma* as predicate

We also find the derivation of location predicates from the negative particle *máma*. This is done either with a *=nya* copula clitic as in (368) or without it as in (369).

- (368) a. máma-nya-di-na lán l-ábugiyen lúruđu l-igíya
NEG-COP-DI-1.SG IRR 3.M-under law 3.M-DEM
'I was not under those laws' (1 Corintios 9:20)

- b. l-un=hamuga yá-ny-en lán Jesucrísto ubów-wagu
 3.M-to=IRR here-exist-3.M IRR J. Earth-LOC
 máma=ny-en=hamuga fádiri
 NEG-COP-3.M=IRR priest
 ‘if Jesus were here on Earth, he would not be a priest’ (Hebreos 8:4)

In the examples in (369), the negative particle *máma* is used as a negative copula using only argument and aspectual suffixation.

- (369) a. máma:-di-na iráhü
 NEG-DI-1.SG child
 ‘I’m no longer a child’ (A20121023b>01:05:28) ♪
- b. wügûri l-í:ra máma-be-y urúwey
 man 3.M-DEM NEG-FUT-3.M government
 ‘that man will not become president’ (E20150806>01:02:21) ♪
- c. údereü lé máma-ha dú:bu
 fish 3.M:DEM NEG-PRF hogfish
 ‘that fish was not a copetona’ (E20150806>01:07:40) ♪

Notice that (369-c) shows the perfective *-ha* because it points to a situation of high current relevance. In the situation, a man just walked by on the beach with a fish in his hand and (369-c) is a comment on that situation by an observer.

12.5.4 Copula word *inya*

The independent copula and existence verb *inya* is less frequently used than the derived existence predicates that have been discussed above; it only appears in a limited number of constructions which may be considered fixed expressions - these are shown in (370).

- (370) a. ída b-inya?
 how 2.SG-COP
 ‘how are you?’ (N20131016g>00:04:52) ♪
- b. ítara l-inya
 thus 3.M-COP
 ‘that’s the way it is’ (Lit. ‘it is thus’) (N20131116a>00:15:23) ♪

It is also used in certain stative verb constructions as shown in (371).

- (371) a. nyú n-ínya
sit 1.SG-exist
'I'm sitting down' (E20150805>01:23:32) ♪
- b. rára n-ínya
stand 1.SG-exist
'I'm standing' (E20150805>01:24:05) ♪
- c. rón n-ínya
lie 1.SG-exist
'I lying down' (E20150805>01:24:24) ♪
- d. maní n-ínya
still 1.SG-exist
'I'm silent' (A20121024b>00:34:35) ♪
- e. safágu n-ínya
angry 1.SG-exist
'I'm angry' (E20131022b>00:43:22) ♪
- f. famúnyu l-ínya bacháruwa-t-i
lie.face.down 3.M-exist drunk-AGT-3.M
'the drunk is lying face down' (E20150727a>00:36:01) ♪

It can also be used as an alternative to the progressive aspect construction in non-stative verbs as in (372).

- (372) a. a-wéyri-dè-yna l-ínya
VBLZ-large-VBLZ-ANDA 3.M-COP
'it is growing' (E20121018b>00:13:40) ♪
- b. achùlùre-yna n-ínya n-úbi-y-on
arrive-ANDA 1.SG-COP 1.SG-house-LOC-ALL
'I'm arriving at my house' (E20121018b>00:43:30) ♪
- c. éybuge-yna l-ínya Aléru aban l-achúgera-gu-n yára
walk-ANDA 3.M-COP A. then 3.M-stumble-REFL-USPEC there
'Alero is walking down the road and then stumbles there'
(E20150728a>00:22:12) ♪

Based on the examples in (372), it seems that *ínya* is used after verb stems with the andative suffix *-yna* which gives the lexical verb a participial function, warranting the use of a copula.

The existence verb *inya* is also used in clauses such as (373).

- (373) a. sún l-inya l-achûlürü-n
 all 3.M-COP 3.M-arrive-USPEC
 'he just arrived' (E20150708a>01:28:42) ♪
- b. gurá n-inya gáfe
 drink:SU2 1.SG-COP coffee
 'I just drank coffee' (E20150723>00:07:39) ♪

In such examples, the existence verb indicates the immediate recency of the event as if it is almost still occurring. In (373-a), *inya* is used in conjunction with the quantifier *sun* 'all' which indicates completion.

The existence verb is also used to introduce direct speech as in the examples in (374).⁴⁷

- (374) a. nó máma n-ugúya Bóbu l-inyá=ti n-ún
 NEG NEG 1.SG-DEM B. 3.M-say=TOP 1.SG-to
 '“no, I'm not Bob”, he said to me' (N20131016g>00:05:12) ♪
- b. l-inya n-ún magádiye-ti-na n-éybuga=yebè=tiya múna-da
 3.M-say 1.SG-to be.fine-TI-1.SG 1.SG-go=PFUT=EMPH house-LOC
 'he says to me “I'm fine, I was just going home”' (E20131130>00:41:42) ♪

In (374) the existence verb is used to mean 'said/says' as a way of introducing direct speech, which is quite frequent in discourse.

12.5.5 Polarity derivation

A nominal predicate can be derived from any noun by the use of polarity prefixes *ga-* 'attributive' and *ma-* 'privative'. This is illustrated in (375-b-c) with an agent noun predicate derived from (375-a).

- (375) a. ówchaha-t-i
 fish-AGT-M
 'fisherman' (E20150708a>00:48:32) ♪
- b. g-ówchahà-ti-na
 ATR-fish-TI-1.SG
 'I'm a fisherman' (E20120919a>00:37:20) ♪

⁴⁷For a comparative perspective, it may be useful to compare this use of a copula to mean 'to say' to young speakers of American English who will often say something like "and she was like 'what's the matter?'" to mean "and then she said 'what's the matter?'".

- c. ugúnye lé m-ówcha:-hà:-l-i
 today 3.M:DEM PRIV-fish-PRF-DI-3.M
 ‘today he’s no longer a fisherman’ (E20131130>01:07:11) ♪

Note that this construction is similar to that for deriving possessive predicates from nouns, cf. (376).

- (376) a. ga-ráhü-nyü-ti-na
 ATR-child-PL-TI-1.SG
 ‘I have children; I had children’ (A20121024d>00:07:18) ♪
- b. ma-ráhü-nyü-ti-na
 NEG-child-PL-TI-1.SG
 ‘I don’t have children; I didn’t have children’ (A20121024d>00:07:51) ♪

It is important to note that constructions like (376) are potentially ambiguous between ‘to have X’ and ‘to be X’ and context must be relied on for disambiguation.

12.6 Adverbs, adverbial expressions and adverbial predicates

I define (true) ‘adverbs’ as underived phonological words which function as adverbial adjuncts adding information about where, when and how an event takes place. I define ‘adverbials’ as derived or otherwise complex phonological words or phrases with the same function as adverbs. Adverbial predicates are adverbs and adverbials which can function as a main clause without a copula.

The present section will deal with adverbs and adverbial expressions which either function as adjuncts, or serve as predicates by themselves. I will leave the discussion of adverbial subordinate clauses to § 13 which treats subordination in general.

Adverbial adjuncts have a somewhat less restricted distribution than do predicates and arguments. The former can appear in a few different locations, but typically appear at the right edge of the main clause as I will discuss below.

Formally, there are two kinds of adverbial expressions referring to time and location: 1) true adverbs: these can never appear as the object of a prepositional phrase or with the locative *-rugu*; examples are *würínawuga* ‘yesterday’ and *áriyebu* ‘last night’, and 2) noun phrase adverbs: these often appear alone but may appear as the object of a prepositional phrase or with *-rugu*; examples include (*l-idan*) *sísi háti* ‘in June’ and (*lurágey-rugu*) *ára:bu* ‘in the forest’ (lit. ‘in the stomach of the forest’). Some instances of the latter category more often than not appear inside locative expressions, such as *luwagu ában dán* ‘once upon a time’ while others more often appear alone such as *áriyebu* ‘at (mid)night’.

Other types of adverbial expressions, i.e. the ones referring to manner, quality and value judgements are typically expressed as stative verbs, such as *here-t-i* ‘strong’: in *hére-t-i l-éyba:wagu-n yá* ‘there’s a lot of running here’ (lit. ‘the running is strong here’) or aspectual suffixes such as *-rügü* ‘just (like that)’: *éyga-ha-rügü-ti* ‘he ate

without permission'. As these are verbal they do not combine with any of the locative constructions used in time and location adverbials.

12.6.1 Locative adverbials

12.6.1.1 **Locative adverbs** The most commonly used locative adverbs include the deictic adverbs shown in Table 35 where allative and ablative forms are also given.

Adverb	+ Ablative	+ Allative	Gloss	Relative to speaker
<i>ya</i>	<i>yá-giyen</i>	<i>nyá-h-on</i>	'here'	Coinciding
<i>nyen</i>	<i>nyén-giyen</i>	<i>nyí-h-i</i>	'there'	In sight
<i>yára</i>	<i>yára-giyen</i>	<i>yár-on</i>	'there'	Out of sight
<i>yagûra</i>	* <i>yagûra-giyen</i>	<i>yagûr-on</i>	'there'	Out of sight
<i>yágûta</i>	<i>yágûta-giyen</i>	<i>yágût-on</i>	'there'	Out of sight
<i>yéte</i>	<i>yéte-giyen</i>	* <i>yét-on</i>	'there'	Out of sight
<i>ûnabu</i>	<i>ûnabu-giyen</i>	<i>ûnabu-n</i>	'down'	

Table 35: *Locative adverbs*

From Table 35 it shows that *yét-on* 'towards there' and *yagûra-giyen* 'from there' are not attested. Notice also that there are two special allative forms: *ya* 'here' > *nyá-h-on* 'towards here' and *nyen* 'just there' > *nyén-h-i* 'towards just there'. These two irregularities are most likely motivated by the fact that the host adverbs consist of only one syllable and since the final vowel assimilates to the allative suffix *-on*, a *-ha* had to be added. With *nyen* the allative suffix meeting *-ha* has produced *-hi*. Furthermore, *ya* 'here' assimilated to the final nasal segment, rendering *nyá-h-on* rather than **yá-h-on*.

The use of locative adverbs is illustrated in (377).

- (377) a. aban wó-wdi-n ówchaha yá Würi-t-i T-á:gu
 then 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC fish here black-TI-3.M 3.F-eye
 'we would go fishing here at Laguna Negra' (N20131010g>00:07:41) ♪
- b. aban l-adûgürü-n t-uwágu fúdi tó nyén
 then 3.M-step.on-USPEC 3.F-on cockroach 3.F:DEM there
 'then he stepped on the cockroach there' (N20121026b>00:02:09) ♪
- c. aní-heyn ában dügû t-úbi-nyen n-igúnyon aban n-ídi
 3.M-exist one dügû 3.F-house-LOC 1.SG-sister then 1.SG-go:SU1
 aríyagwa nyén
 observe there
 'there was a dügû ceremony at my sister-in-law's house, and then I
 went to watch there' (N20121026e>00:00:08) ♪

- d. n-ídi-ba ebéluha yágüta t-úbi-nya Títa
 1.SG-go:SU1-FUT visit there 3.F-house-LOC T.
 ‘I’m gonna go visit over there at Tita’s house’ (E20131130>01:47:58) ♪
- e. yágüta San Juan t-avíva:nda ni-sá:ni
 there S. J. 3.F-live 1.SG-offspring
 ‘my daughter lives over there in San Juan’ (E20131130>01:46:48) ♪
- f. n-achúlürü-be-y l-ábu múna-da... nyén n-ará:nsehe-y
 1.SG-arrive-EXTR-3.M 3.M-with house-LOC... there 1.SG-prepare-3.M
 sún kátey
 all thing
 ‘when I arrived with it (the fish) at the house, and there I cleaned it and everything’ (N20131016a>00:11:43) ♪

The first four examples of (377) illustrate what is the preferred configuration with adverbs at the end of the clause. However, the last two examples show that it is also possible to have adverbs come before the predicate and argument(s). This variation should most likely be attributed to information structure. To my knowledge it is not possible for adverbs to appear in between the predicate and argument(s).

Other commonly used locative adverbials include *bówgudi* ‘outside’, *díse* ‘far away’, *madíse* ‘not far away; soon’, *ínyu* ‘up’, *yaráfa* ‘close’. These behave more like stative verbs as they have the ability to take person, number and gender inflection and the marking of tense and aspect, as illustrated in (378).

- (378) a. múna-da l-uma bówgudi ní-heyn gumúla:l-i l-aw
 house-LOC 3.M-with outside 1.SG-exist smoke-DI-3.M 3.M-with
 sawmériyo t-aw sún dabúyabu
 incense 3.F-with all ceremonial.hut
 ‘inside and outside there’s smoking incense around the ceremonial hut’
 (N20121026e>00:01:20) ♪
- b. t-íchugu-n-be-y dá:ndey fé t-áw-gwa
 3.F-give:SU1-USPEC-EXTR-3.M tapir faith 3.F-with-REFL
bówgudi-hà-r-u
 outside-PRF-DI-3.F
 ‘when it dawned on the tapir, she was already outside’
 (N20131029a>00:11:30) ♪
- c. l-úma-giyen=buga dán l-igíya héren-ha-r-u n-ún l-un
 3.M-with-ABL=PST time 3.M-DEM hard-PRF-DI-3.F 1.SG-to 3.M-to
 b-aríhi-ni-na nyúdün díse t-idan gurúyara
 2.SG-see-USPEC-1.SG go:PST far.away 3.F-in canoe
 ‘ever since that time you won’t easily see me going that far away in a canoe’
 (N20131016a>00:08:12) ♪

- d. **dise:-du-wa** l-uwéy sénturu San Juán
 far.away-DI-1.PL 3.M-from center S. J.
 ‘we were far away from the center of San Juan’ (N20131010f>00:00:46) ♪
- e. bueno aban n-arínyagu t-uma ná-padná warí wa-má ínnyu
 well then 1.SG-say 3.F-with 1.SG-friend climb.up 1.PL-HORT up
 l-uwagu ában árbol aban wa-wéyru ínnyu
 3.M-in one tree then 1.PL-climb.up up
 ‘then I said to my friend “let’s climb up into a tree” and then we climbed
 up’ (N20121017a>00:00:40) ♪
- f. aríha n-umú-t-i ínnyu-ha-l-i lán barána
 see 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M high-PREF-DI-3.M IRR sea
 ‘I saw that the sea had risen’ (E20150724>00:49:46) ♪

The examples in (378) are pairs of adverbials functioning as adjuncts and adverbial predicates, respectively. For instance in (378-a) *bówgudi* ‘outside’ has no verbal morphology and acts as an adverbial adjunct - the sentence would still be grammatical in its absence. In (378-b), on the other hand, *bówgudi-hà-r-u* ‘she was already outside’ makes up an entire main clause.

From (378-f) it shows that, when *ínnyu* ‘up’ gets stative verbal morphology and functions as a predicate, it changes its meaning to ‘be high up’ rather than simply ‘be up’.

It is also possible to add aspectual morphology to adverbs as in (379).

- (379) a. bueno **yágüta-gwà-rügü** aban=ya n-aríhi-n-i lúsu
 well there-still-just then=again 1.SG-see-USPEC-3.M light
 lé n-ówbu-wagu
 3.M:DEM 1.SG-side-LOC
 ‘well, just up ahead I saw that light next to me’ (N20131016a>00:07:02) ♪
- b. sústa-gwà-ti-nyu=yebè=nege pero **yágüta-gwà-rügü**=negè aríha
 scare-REFL-TI-3.PL=PFUT=HS but there-still-just=HS see
 ha-mé-y gürígiya
 3.PL-PREF-3.M person
 ‘they were scared but farther up ahead they saw that it was human’
 (N20131016g>00:14:01) ♪

In (380) *-gwa*, which is otherwise a valency lowering suffix, is used to mean ‘still’, in the same way as when used on existence verbs, e.g. *aná-heyn-gwa múna-da* ‘I’m still in the house’. In the locative use, *-gwa* adds the meaning ‘farther’ to indicate that the same direction is maintained. The aspectual suffix *-rügü* ‘only, just’ signals that the distance to the reference point is not great.

Locative adverbs with aspect markers can also be used with temporal reference.

- (380) a. bueno l-idan yágüra-gwà-rügü l-igíya ha-dúnragu l-uma ában
 well 3.M-in there-still-just 3.M-DEM 3.PL-meet 3.M-with one
 ábulugu
 head
 ‘well, a bit later they found a head’ (N20131029a>00:07:16) ♪
- b. ní-heyn b-aríhi-n-i sódni aban l-abáharu-n
 3.M-COP 2.SG-see-USPEC-3.M suddenly then 3.M-dim-USPEC
 yágüta-gwá-rügü b-aríha=ya l-ún aban l-adúnragu-n
 there-still-just 2.SG-see=again 3.M-to then 3.M-light.up-USPEC
 ‘sometimes you suddenly see it and then it dims, and a bit later you see
 again that it’s lighting up’ (N20131016c>00:14:15) ♪

This temporal function probably only works in contexts that also involve spatial motion such as the story in (380-a) about a cat and a goat who are walking down the road, and the one in (380-b) about a fisherman out to sea observing things on the shore. The temporal meaning seems to be derived by analogy.

12.6.1.2 Locative noun phrase adverbs Noun phrases such as nouns referring to locations or place names often serve as locative adverbs. There are two ways for this to be done: 1) as the object of a prepositional phrase or with the locative suffix *-rugu* as in (381), or 2) as a bare definite noun as in (382).

- (381) a. bueno eskwéla-rugu m-áha-ti-nyu=buga w-adúmureha-n
 well school-LOC NEG-allow-TI-3.PL=PST 1.PL-speak-USPEC
 garífuna
 Garifuna
 ‘well, in school they did not permit that we spoke in Garifuna’
 (N20131016c>00:06:58) ♪
- b. pero súnwandàn=ti=ha wá-bi-nyen garífuna lán arínyagu-be-y
 but always=TOP=PRF 1.SG-house-LOC Garifuna IRR speak-EXTR-3.M
 w-ón
 1.PL-to
 ‘but at home it was always Garifuna that they would speak to us’
 (N20131016c>00:07:06) ♪
- c. pero súwandàn=ti anyá-ha-gwa lán áhurera l-idan fulánsu l-igíya
 but always=TOP 3.PL-exist-still IRR play 3.M-in place 3.M-DEM
 nyén
 there
 ‘but they’re still playing in that place there’ (N20131016f>00:15:27) ♪

- d. nyén=tiya n-asúbudir-on Káta **t-idan múná** t-ugúya
 there=EMPH 1.SG-get.to.know-3.F K. 3.F-in house 3.F-DEM
 ‘that’s where I got to know Káta, inside that house’
 (N20131016i>00:03:20) ♪
- (382) a. t-ídi-ba=yebè=buga Nímsi **eskwéla** pero aban t-arúmugu-n
 3.F-go:SU1-FUT=PFUT=PST N. school but then 3.F-sleep-USPEC
 ‘Nímsi was going to go to school, but she overslept’
 (E20150803>01:41:52) ♪
- b. dan le t-ídi-n wéya:-r-u **ára:bu** l-igíya
 time 3.M:DEM 3.F-go:SU1-USPEC old-DI-3.F forest 3.M-DEM
 l-achûla:gu-n
 3.M-appear-USPEC
 ‘when the old lady is going to the forest, that’s when he appears’
 (N20131016i>00:09:06) ♪
- c. l-uwágu ában véyu aban n-áfulidu-n ówchaha **Sambúco** aban
 3.M-on one day then 1.SG-go.out-USPEC fish S. then
 n-ídi-n n-achûlürün-be-y anágü hél!
 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC 1.SG-arrive-EXTR-3.M out.to.sea INTERJ
 ‘one day I went to fish at Sambuco. I went, and when I was far out to
 sea, wow! (a terrible storm hit)’
 (N20131016a>00:09:45) ♪
- d. ní-heyn n-íbuganya **Meríga**
 1.SG-COP 1.SG-brother M.
 ‘my brother lives in the United States’
 (E20131130>00:58:31) ♪

There is an overall tendency in my corpus for the bare nouns in (382) to be used more often with allative meaning (*eskwéla* ‘to school’, *ára:bu* ‘to the forest’) although, as shown by the last two examples (‘at Sambuco’, ‘out at sea’, ‘in the US’), this is not always the case.

As discussed in § 11 on position and motion, and which will be further exemplified in § 12.6.1.3, Garifuna has dedicated ablative and allative constructions. However, while the allative is not obligatory, as shown in (382), the ablative is. That is, it is not possible to say ‘he came from N’ without an ablative suffix on N, but it is possible to say ‘he went to N’ without any locative morphosyntactic devices at work.

12.6.1.3 Allative and ablative All locative adverbials can take ablative *-giyen* or allative *-un* regardless of whether they are true adverbs (383) or nominal adverbials (384).

- (383) a. m-amúfugi-du-wa **nyén-giyen** l-igíya w-adíbiragu
 NEG-move-DI-1.PL there-ABL 3.M-DEM 1.PL-sink
 ‘we hadn’t moved from there when we sank (with our canoe)’
 (N20121002c>00:00:57) ♪

- b. ragû=gubey wa-má táksi yá-giyen
take=COMPL 1.PL-HORT taxi here-ABL
'let's take a taxi out of here' (N20121002e>00:00:50) ♪
- c. yágüt-on l-anûg-on hanítiga lé=meha tú-mari
there-ALL 3.M-take:SU1-3.F that.one 3.M:DEM=DPST 3.F-spouse
'over there he took her, that one who was her husband'
(N20131016h>00:16:16) ♪
- (384) a. aban wa-yábi-n velúriya-rugù-giyen
then 1.PL-come:SU1-USPEC wake-LOC-ABL
'then we came back from the funeral wake' (N20131010f>00:00:06) ♪
- b. furíha-di-na dúna-rugu-giyen
exit-DI-1.SG water-LOC-ABL
'I came out of the water' (A20121024b>00:28:55) ♪
- c. aban n-achûrü-n-i l-árig-on dúna-rugù-n
then 1.SG-throw-USPEC-3.M 3.M-after-ALL water-LOC-ALL
'then I threw it back into the water' (N20131010d>00:14:21) ♪
- d. aban n-agíribudu-n n-árig-òn múna-d-òn
then 1.SG-return-USPEC 1.SG-after-ALL house-LOC-ALL
'then I returned to the house' (N20131016c>00:00:31) ♪
- e. sún-ha n-éybugu-n San Pédro-giyen l-un Sigál-on
all-PRF 1.SG-walk-USPEC S. P.-ABL 3.M-to S.-ALL
'I finished walking from San Pedro to Tegucigalpa'
(E20150803>01:27:00) ♪

Notice, however, that while ablative and allative suffixes go directly onto adverbs and prepositions, bare nouns must first take a locative suffix (*-rugu*, *-da*, *-bu* etc.) which is then followed by the ablative or allative suffix as shown in (384-a-c). An apparent exception to this rule is place names as shown in (384-e).

12.6.2 Temporal adverbials

12.6.2.1 Temporal adverbs The most commonly used temporal adverbs are exemplified in (385).

- (385) a. novénta würínawuga séro nuéve=buga bináfi
ninety yesterday zero nine=PST morning
'yesterday it was ninety, this morning it was zero-nine'
(N20131016d>00:03:14) ♪

- b. nú-heyn=negè=tiya biyán trámo eféydiru-t-u yá **gúnya-rü**
 3.F-exist=HS=EMPH two net lose-TI-3.F here yesterday
 ‘they say that there are two fishing nets that have been lost here since
 yesterday’ (N20131016f>00:11:44) ♪
- c. **harúga** n-adûgü-n n-éygan hudútu
 tomorrow 1.SG-make-USPEC 1.SG-CLF.FOOD mashed.bananas
 ‘tomorrow I’m gonna make some of my mashed bananas’
 (N20131016d>00:00:22) ♪
- d. pero m-ídi-n wa-má ámu-t-i l-igáburi dán
 but NEG-go:SU1-USPEC 1.PL-HORT other-TI-3.M 3.M-nature weather
 lé **áriyebu**
 3.M:DEM at.night
 ‘but we’d better not go because the weather changes at night’
 (N20131016c>00:07:51) ♪
- e. **súwandân=ti=ha** n-arénseha-ni-nyu n-áni-gu
 always=TOP=PRF 1.SG-prepare-USPEC-3.PL 1.SG-CLF-PL
 ‘I would always work things out with my (friends)’
 (N20131016f>00:15:03) ♪
- f. afínya-ti-na **binárü** lán=buga l-ónwe wéyri-ey lé
 think-TI-1.SG long.ago IRR=PST 3.M-die:SU1 old-3.M 3.M:DEM
 ‘I think that that man had already died a while ago’
 (N20131016h>00:06:28) ♪

The two different words for ‘yesterday’ in (385-a) and (385-b) belong to neutral and male speech register respectively (see § 15 for a full treatment of gendered speech registers). The placement of temporal adverbials in the beginning or at the end of the clause seems less restricted than the locative ones discussed in past sections.

12.6.2.2 Temporal noun phrase adverbials Noun phrases and temporal expressions can serve as adverbs in two ways: as the object of a prepositional phrase or with a locative suffix (386) or by themselves as bare noun phrase adverbials (387).

- (386) a. rára l-ínya aságara-gwà-nya nyén-giyen l-uwágu véyu l-igíya
 stand 3.M-exist take.out-REFL-3.PL there-ABL 3.M-on day 3.M-DEM
 ‘he was present there to kick them out of there that day’
 (N20131016i>00:01:42) ♪
- b. l-aw **gúnyon l-ügûra**
 3.M-with night 3.M-DEM
 ‘on that night’ (E20121025b>01:48:06) ♪

- c. *halíya-nya-di-bu l-ídan bíyan háti?*
 where-exist-DI-2.SG 3.M-in two month
 ‘where were you in February?’ (E20150803>01:31:34) ♪
- (387) a. *bulésey ha-má-na bulésey ha-m-ón tó kácherü véyu*
 hurt 3.PL-PRF-1.SG hurt 3.PL-PRF-3.F 3.F:DEM catcher day
l-igíya
 3.M-DEM
 ‘they hurt me and they hurt the catcher that day’
 (N20131016f>00:06:03) ♪
- b. *hmm n-ínya l-ún l-erédera lán áhuya gúnyon*
 hmm 1.SG-say 3.M-to 3.M-stay IRR rain at.night
 ‘“hmm” I said to him “it tends to rain at night”’ (N20131016c>00:07:56) ♪
- c. *sísi háti féria l-áni Téla pero máma=gi:-l-i l-uféria-n San*
 six month fair 3.M-CLF T. but NEG=DUR-DI-3.M 3.M-fair-POSS S.
 Juán
 J.
 ‘in June is the Tela town fair, but the San Juan town fair still hasn’t
 taken place’
 (N20131010f>00:00:23) ♪

The most commonly occurring temporal noun phrase adverbials are shown in Table 36.

Adverb	Gloss
<i>ugúnye lé</i>	‘today’
<i>gwén lé</i>	‘now’
<i>ó:ra lé</i>	‘now’
<i>ligíra=buga</i>	‘the other day’
<i>biná:fi</i>	‘in the morning’
<i>l-uwagu ában dán</i>	‘once upon a time’
<i>l-idan</i> NUMBER <i>háti</i>	‘in x month’
<i>l-uwagu</i> NUMBER	‘on x WEEKDAY’

Table 36: *Temporal adverbial noun phrases*

Three of the adverbials in Table 36 contain a masculine demonstrative pronoun *le* which is obligatory in this particular context. Another one, *ligíra=buga* is itself a demonstrative pronoun with past reference to which a past enclitic is added. Others are prepositional phrases with an idiomatic function such as *luwagu úrúwa* ‘Wednesday’ which can literally be translated as ‘on three’ and *lidan sísi háti* ‘June’ literally translates as ‘in six month’ (note that these are cardinal numbers and not ordinal

numbers; ‘on the third’ would be *l-uwagu l-ûrüwa-n* and ‘in the sixth’ would be *l-idan l-isísi-n háti*, cf. § 3.5.3.2 on ordinal numbers.)

12.6.3 Manner and degree adverbials

Garifuna displays quite a bit of variation in terms of the formal means of expressing adverbial meanings pertaining to the manner in which an action or event took place, or the degree to which it unfolded successfully.

12.6.3.1 Adjectives as adverbs Adjectives in Garifuna are closely related to stative verbs and when they are used as adverbials it can be difficult to tell them apart. However, in their function as adverbials they occur clause finally, i.e. the default position for adverbs and take no person marking morphology.

- (388) a. [t-acháwa-ho-wa=me=ti **hámaru hámaru**
3.F-pull-DISTR-PASS=DFUT=TOP slow slow
‘it is pulled on again very slowly’ (N20121026a>00:03:54) ♪
- b. h-ígira-güdà-ny-u l-un h-ówarataguwà-güdü-n-u [l-un
3.PL-leave-CAUS-PROG-3.F 3.M-to 3.PL-unload-CAUS-USPEC-3.F 3.M-to
h-ádina-güdü-n-u **bwídu**]
3.PL-go.aboard-CAUS-USPEC-3.F good
‘they’re dropping it in order to unload it so that they can bring it aboard
well’ (N20121026a>00:03:05) ♪
- c. [mósti h-éhun-ha **furése**] l-un gwára lán
have.to 3.PL-paddle-DISTR quick 3.M-to be.able IRR
h-adówrü-n-i h-émeri údereü l-ubáragiyen h-asügürü-n
3.PL-close-USPEC-3.M 3.PL-path fish 3.M-front.of 3.PL-pass-USPEC
‘they have to paddle quickly in order to close the path before the fish
escape’ (N20121026a>00:01:40) ♪

The examples in (388) are from a description of traditional Garifuna seine net fishing. The manner adverbs *hámaru* ‘slowly’, *bwídu* ‘well’ and *furése* ‘quickly’ can all be used as stative verbs, in which case they change their order as illustrated for *bwídu* in (389).

- (389) key ladéürün lán néfu l-atátira koronasyon nyén [**bwídu-gi:-l-i** óra]
like o’clock IRR nine 3.M-begin coronation there good-DUR-DI-3.M time
n-ugúya=ti l-ún
1.SG-DEM=TOP 3.M-to
‘“at around nine the coronation begins, so there is still enough time”, I said
to him’ (N20131016g>00:01:17) ♪

Note also in (388-a) that the repetition of the adverb contributes to the expression of slowness. In the same way the main verb can be repeated for this effect as in (390).

- (390) hé! aban l-atántiya-ha-n-u l-atántiya-ha-n-u
 INTERJ then 3.M-close.in-DISTR-USPEC-3.F 3.M-close.in-DISTR-USPEC-3.F
 ‘wow! and closes in on her slowly’ (from Sp. *tantear* ‘approximate’)
 (N20131016i>00:13:18) ♪

12.6.3.2 **íta* ‘thus’ It seems likely that there is a diachronic relationship between the adverbs *íta-ra* ‘thus’, *íta-ga* ‘thus’, *íta-ga-rèü-yebe* ‘almost’ and perhaps also interrogative *ída* ‘how?’. Their uses are illustrated in (391) and discussed below.

- (391) a. m-achíbu n-ubé-y n-úhabu n-arúmuga ítara
 NEG-wash 1.SG-FUT-3.M 1.SG-hand 1.SG-sleep thus
 ‘I’m not going to wash my hands, I’m gonna go to sleep like this’
 (N20131016d>00:14:50) ♪
- b. l-aríhi-n-i l-águ gusúna lé ítaga...
 3.M-see-USPEC-3.M 3.M-eye pacific.sleeper(fish) 3.M:DEM thus
 ‘he looked into the eyes of that pacific sleeper, like that’
 (N20131016c>00:10:48) ♪
- c. dan n-ídi-n-be-y Oláncho ítaga-rèü-yebe
 when 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC-EXTR-3.M O. thus=a.bit=PFUT
 gíyen=tiya n-aféydiru-n-i n-eréru-n
 also=EMPH 1.SG-lose-USPEC-3.M 1.SG-speak-NMLZ:POSS
 ‘when I went to Olancho I also almost lost my language’
 (N20131016c>00:05:29) ♪

The manner adverb *ítara* is far more frequent than *ítaga*. Unlike *ítara*, *ítaga* takes the aspectual markers *-reü* ‘a bit; slightly’ and *-yebe* ‘past future’ to form *ítaga-rèü-yebe* ‘almost’. Both *ítara* and *ítaga* seem to have been derived from **íta* with the suffixes *-ra* and *-ga* respectively, but this analysis is probably not valid for the synchronic situation. As I showed in § 6.2.2, *-ra* is a valency increasing suffix which can derive various different types of verbs from stative verbs, e.g. *dilí-ti* ‘it is cold’ > *a-díle-ra* ‘to become cold’; *bwídu-ti* ‘it is good’ > *a-bwídu-ra* ‘to reconcile’. What role *-ra* plays in *íta-ra* is unclear but it is interesting that *ítara* can serve as a predicate by itself: *ítara* ‘it is thus; that is true’, something which is not possible for *ítaga*. In the case of *ítaga*, the suffix *-ga* is a stative verb suffix indicating a high degree of current relevance or admiration, cf. § 7.5.

12.6.3.3 **Prepositional manner adverbials** Some prepositions can be used by analogical extension as manner adverbials, as illustrated in (392).

- (392) a. áw n-ábugwa adügü-b-on gurúyara tó
 1.SG:DEM 1.SG-alone make-EXTR-3.F canoe 3.F:DEM
 ‘it was me alone who built that canoe’ (E20131028>00:02:28) ♪

- b. afárenha l-umú-t-i ówchaha-t-i l-adígi-n l-uma
share 3.M-PST-TI-3.M fish-AGT-3.M 3.M-catch-NMLZ:POSS 3.M-with
Bócho l-aw l-ugú:nda-n
B. 3.M-with 3.M-happy-NMLZ:POSS
‘the fisherman shared his catch generously with Bocho’ (Lit. ‘with its
happiness’) (E20150810>00:44:21) ♪
- c. ában=ti=giyen h-ownabu=reü l-igíya l-aw
then=TOP=TC 3.PL-respond=just 3.M-DEM 3.M-with
l-ówfudagu-n
3.M-quick-NMLZ:POSS
‘and they responded quickly’ (Lit. ‘with its quickness’)
(N20131017b>00:10:00) ♪
- d. t-aféyindirù-nu-wa gurúyara tó l-aw m-abárase-ni
3.F-paint-USPEC-PASS canoe 3.F:DEM 3.M-with NEG-care-NMLZ
‘this canoe was painted sloppily’ (Lit. ‘with a lack of carefulness’)
(E20150810>00:58:16) ♪
- e. l-aw=ti ámu n-agá:mbe-y
3.M-with=TOP other 1.SG-hear-3.M
‘I’ve heard it (that story) in a different way’ (Lit. ‘with another one’)
(N20131016i>00:16:00) ♪

The preposition *ábugwa* in (392-a) can also be used as a locative adverb as in *awa-há yá w-ábugwa* ‘we’re here alone’.

Examples (392-b-d) are of a different type using the comitative preposition *aw* and a possessed deverbal noun, e.g. *l-aw l-ówfudagu-n* ‘quickly’ (392-c) (lit. ‘with its quickness’) from *ówfudaha* ‘to hurry’. Note that the possessor in these possessive constructions is not the A/S of the main clause but rather some abstract entity, perhaps the action itself - this is shown e.g. in (392-c) where the S argument of the main clause *h-ównabu* is plural but the possessor of the adverbial construction *l-ówfudagu-n* is third person singular masculine. Also, when the object of the preposition is negated with the privative prefix *ma-* it lacks possessive marking as in (392-d) as show by the use of the non-possessed nominalizer *-ni* rather than the possessive marker *-n*. The reason for this difference is that attributive possessive constructions like the ones in question cannot be negated with the privative prefix but must be negated using the independent negator *máma* which is used for negating noun phrases, as in *máma ní-káru-n tó* ‘that’s not my car’. In other words, the phonologically independent negator *máma* appears to be incompatible with the fixed manner adverbial with the preposition *l-aw* plus deverbal noun.

In example (392-e) the comitative preposition is used with the object *ámu* ‘other’ which should probably be seen as a nominal proform - it is often used as such as in *nihéyn ámu, máma Salów lagánagwa* ‘there’s another (guy), he doesn’t live in Salado’

where *ámu* should be seen as a proform for *ámu wügûri* ‘another man’.

12.6.3.4 Participial manner adverbials Manner adverbials can be derived from verb stems with the andative suffix *-yna* which gives the lexical verb a participial function.

- (393) a. *aban=meha n-iyábi-n t-uma ában muchácha*
 then=DPST 1.SG-come:SU1-USPEC 3.F-with one girl
áhurerè-yna wa-gíya=meha
 play-ANDA 1.PL-DEM=DPST
 ‘then I would walk home together with another girl, playing we (would go)’
 (N20131016d>00:06:58) ♪
- b. *áw l-uma Lúka yá-giyen wá-furida aban wa-wéydi-n*
 1.SG:DEM 3.M-with L. here-ABL 1.PL-exit then 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC
awéyragwè-yna wa-má yá-giyen
 ascend-ANDA 1.PL-PRF here-ABL
 ‘Lucas and I took off from here and we went ascending from here’
 (N20131016h>00:03:38) ♪
- c. *l-igíya wa-ríhi-n-i t-ásügürû-n ánima:lu tó*
 3.M-DEM 1.PL-see-USPEC-3.M 3.F-pass-USPEC animal 3.F:DEM
atélen-hè-yna
 sound-DISTR-ANDA
 ‘then we saw that animal pass, sounding (its bell)’
 (N20131116b>00:14:57) ♪
- d. *sún kátey ubów-wagu akámbiyada-gwè-yna kámbiyada-gwè-yna*
 all thing Earth-LOC change-REFL-ANDA change-REFL-ANDA
 ‘everything in the world (is) changing, changing’
 (N20131116b>00:06:49) ♪

In examples (393)a-c there is a main verb which takes person and tense-aspect marking, followed by a verb stem that takes no morphology except for the participial suffix *-éyna*. However, example (393-b) is an exception to this general pattern as it shows the perfect auxiliary *ama*, the use of which is confined to certain verb forms. This seems to be evidence that, while the preferred configuration for participial forms is a stem without person and tense-aspect inflection, it is possible to circumvent this, at speakers’ discretion, by the use of an auxiliary.

Example (393-d) shows a noun phrase which is functioning as the main predicate followed by a participial form of the verb stem *akámbiya-da-gwa* ‘change’ from Spanish *cambiar*.

It is also possible to use a participial form as a main predicate in which case the use of an auxiliary is obligatory, as in (394) derived from the stative verb *gibe* ‘to be many’.

- (394) a. a-gíbed-èyna há-nya
 VBLZ-many-ANDA 3.PL-exist
 ‘they are becoming many’ (A20121004a>00:12:37) ♪
- b. a-gíbed-èyna ha-má
 VBLZ-many-ANDA 3.PL-PRF
 ‘they were becoming many’ (N20121002a>00:06:58) ♪

12.7 Main clause coordination

The present section will deal with the available mechanisms for coordinating multiple main clauses. Following Haspelmath (2004), three semantic types of coordination will be distinguished: conjunction (‘and’), disjunction (‘if’) and adversative coordination (‘but’). Unlike in other languages which use the same strategy for coordinating two noun phrases as for coordinating two main clauses (cf. ‘salt and pepper’ vs. ‘you are a woman and I am a man’) Garifuna uses completely different strategies for these two syntactic operations. As was shown in § 3.5.5 noun phrases are coordinated using the preposition *úma* (*barúru t-uma fáluma* ‘plantains and coconuts’). As I will show below, main clause coordination does not involve the use of prepositions.

It should be mentioned that all of the three semantic types of coordination are syntactically the same: they coordinate two declarative main clauses using a monosyndetic, prepositive coordinator procliticized to the second coordinand.

12.7.0.5 Conjunction Main clauses are conjoined by the unstressed clause initial proclitic *aban*⁴⁸. Garifuna coordination is monosyndetic i.e. there is always one less coordinator than the number of main clauses conjoined. Note that *aban*= only appears in declarative independent clauses.

- (395) a. nyén-giyen b-éybuga aban=n-adúnragu-n l-uma Bócho
 there-ABL 2.SG-walk CONN=1.SG-meet-USPEC 3.M-with B.
 ‘I left from there and met with Bocho’ (N20131016g>00:05:38) ♪
- b. ní-heyn l-igíya dan le ítaga lán bárü n-ugúya ában filu
 3.M-COP 3.M-DEM time 3.M:DEM thus IRR take 1.SG-DEM one thread
 aban=n-agûrü-n-i aban=n-acháwaru-n-i nyén-giyen
 CONN=1.SG-tie-USPEC-3.M CONN=1.SG-pull-USPEC-3.M there-ABL
 ‘there are times when I take a piece of thread, I tie it and I pull it (out)
 from there’ (N20131016g>00:08:22) ♪

This main clause coordinator is also used for the marking of topic - in this function it competes with the second position enclitic =*ti* and this system also involves an enclitic marker of topic continuity =*giyen*. An example is shown in (396).

⁴⁸This main clause proclitic *aban*= should not be confused with the quantifier *ában* ‘one’ which is an independent phonological word.

- (396) a. **aban**=n-ádaru-n-i n-úhabu nyén-heyn
TOP=1.SG-put-USPEC-3.M 1.SG-hand there-ALL
aban=n-aságaru-n-i **aban**=n-aríhi-n-i
CONN=1.SG-take.out-USPEC-3.M CONN=1.SG-see-USPEC-3.M
‘I put my hand in my pocket and took it out and looked at it’
(N20131016g>00:04:11) ♪
- b. **aban**=ti t-arínyagu-n n-ún chóro b-umú-t-i
TOP=TOP 3.F-say-USPEC 1.SG-to sure 2.SG-PST-TI-3.M
aban=n-arínyagu-n t-ún áha chóro n-umú-t-i
CONN=1.SG-say-USPEC 3.F-to INTERJ sure 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M
aban=t-arágachu-n-i
CONN=3.F-take.out-USPEC-3.M
‘then she said to me “are you shure?” and I said to her “uhu, I’m sure”
and then she pulled it out’ (N20131016g>00:07:04) ♪

The two topic markers *aban*= and =*ti* often co-occur as in (396-b). The topic function of *aban*= is particularly salient in narratives as these usually consist of a series of chronological events about the same topic in the same tense, chained together.

The topic marker also sometimes appears in elicitation where one finds *aban*= or =*ti* with the first word of a clause as host if the speaker views an elicited item as a continuation of a previous topic.

- (397) a. dí:si irúmu ugúnye tó n-ebéluru-ba=yèbe universidád-rugu
ten year today 3.F:DEM 1.SG-enter-FUT=PFUT university-LOC
pero=**aban**=t-asándiru-n n-úguchu sinyá
CONN=CONN=3.F-become.sick-USPEC 1.SG-mother be.impossible
n-umú-t-i=ti adûga
1.SG-PST-TI-3.M=TOP do
‘ten years ago I was gonna go to university but then my mother got sick
and I was unable to’
(E20150803>01:42:30) ♪
- b. **aban** l-áfugüchû-n
TOP 3.M-slip.away-USPEC
‘(the fish moved a lot) and fell (into the sea)’ (E20150727a>00:34:51) ♪

In (397) is shown that discourse markers are exceedingly rare in elicited sentences because they are used to organize utterances within a common ground between interlocutors within a communicative situation. When isolated phrases and sentences are elicited, discourse marking will usually be missing or minimal because there is no (natural) communicative context. In (397-b) the speaker was asked to say the complex clause given in the gloss but ended up only saying the part outside of parenthesis ‘and fell’ which, due to the context of the elicitation input carries a topic marker.

There is thus no formal way to tell the difference between the topic marker and main clause coordinator. One way of dealing with this situation would be to take into account the length of pauses between two utterances: if there is no significant pause as in (395-a), then it is coordination, and if there is a pause, as before the utterance of the examples in (396), it is topic marking. Unfortunately I have so far not been able to further unravel the mysteries of information structure.

While the use of *aban=* is the preferred strategy for conjoining main clauses, its use is not strictly obligatory, i.e. main clauses can also be conjoined by juxtaposition as in (398).

- (398) h-anûga gurúyara h-áfayara h-éybuga há-bi-ny-on
 3.PL-take:SU1 canoe 3.PL-embark 3.PL-go 3.PL-house-LOC-ALL
 ‘they grab canoes, get into the water and go home’
 (N20131016d>00:09:38) ♪

12.7.0.6 Disjunction Disjunction of main clauses involves the use of the borrowed Spanish coordinator *o* ‘or’, which attaches as a proclitic to the second co-ordinand.

- (399) a. l-idan ában dimásu ní-heyn sédü b-úma ní-heyn dí:si
 3.M-in one Sunday 3.M-COP seven 2.SG-with 3.M-COP ten
 o=ní-heyn kéynsi
 CONN=3.M-COP fifteen
 ‘in one Sunday you make seven, you make 10 or you make 15’
 (N20121002d>00:02:24) ♪
- b. aha-bu m-ównigi l-uwéy géygusi aban=l-achúbaru ínyu-giyen
 if-2.SG NEG-be.careful 3.M-from tiger CONN=3.M-jump up-ABL
 aban=l-éygi-ni-bu géygusi o=aban=l-arámudagu
 CONN=3.M-eat-USPEC-2.SG tiger CONN=CONN=3.M-hide
 ‘if you’re not careful of the tiger, it jumps from above and eats you, the tiger (does), or it hides’
 (N20121017a>00:03:13) ♪
- c. sódni n-aríhi-n-i lúsu l-igíya iní-güra ítara
 suddenly 1.SG-see-USPEC-3.M light 3.M-DEM 3.M-come thus
 o=sinó sódni n-aríhi-n-i ni-há chülû-guwa
 CONN=CONN suddenly 1.SG-see-USPEC-3.M 3.M-exist arrive-REFL
 n-ún ítara l-iyábi-nya n-uwágu-n
 1.SG-to thus 3.M-come:SU1-PROG 1.SG-on-ALL
 ‘suddenly I see the light that it’s coming there, or suddenly I see that it’s coming towards me’
 (N20131016c>00:11:31) ♪

Note that (399-c) displays the stylistic variant *o sinó* ‘or else’ also borrowed from Spanish.

12.7.0.7 Adversative coordination In adversative coordination the second coordinand somehow contradicts either the content of the first coordinand clause or the expectation that might have been invoked by it. In Garifuna, adversative coordination either involves the coordinator *ahe-yn* (400) or the use of borrowed *pero* ‘but’ from Spanish (401).

- (400) a. ha-máلكriòwn (iráhü-nyü ugúnye lé) **áhe-yn**=tì=buga dán
 3.PL-ill.behaved child-PL today 3.M:DEM CONN-3.M=TOP=PST time
 l-igíya nó
 3.M-DEM NEG
 ‘(children today) are ill behaved, whereas back in those days (they were)
 not’ (N20131116b>00:12:24) ♪
- b. l-aw murúsun b-átu-n bacháruwa:-di-bu
 3.M-with a.bit 2.SG-drink:SU1-USPEC drunk-DI-2.SG
ah-on=ti t-ugúya nó
 CONN-3.F=TOP 3.F-DEM NEG
 ‘after just drinking a bit you’re drunk, but not her’
 (N20131010h>00:07:37) ♪

The coordinator *aha* is formally identical to the conditional subordinating connective (cf. § 13.3.4 about conditional subordination).

Examples of borrowed connective *pero* ‘but’ are given in (401).

- (401) a. aban=l-agáraragu-n **pero**=g-abúnurun-t-i
 TOP=3.M-turn.around-USPEC CONN=ATR-luck-TI-3.M
 aban=l-áfaru-n dûbu lé l-uwágu=ya ában dûbu
 CONN=3.M-hit-USPEC stone 3.M:DEM 3.M-in=again one stone
 l-ásügüra l-ówgiyen
 3.M-pass 3.M-over
 ‘then he turned around, but he was lucky that the stone hit another
 stone and went over his head’ (N20131010b>00:07:25) ♪
- b. anyá-heyn=büri gürigiya nyén máma=yebe l-un h-óweha
 3.PL-exist=PL people there NEG=PFUT 3.M-to 3.PL-faint
pero=óweha-ti-nyu
 CONN=faint-TI-3.PL
 ‘there are people there who you wouldn’t think would faint but they
 fainted’ (N20121026e>00:02:45) ♪
- c. aban=l-ónwe Píve **pero**=reskatárü wa-mú-t-i Píve última
 TOP=3.M-die:SU2 P. CONN=save 1.PL-PST-TI-3.M P. last
 óra **pero**=hilá:-l-i-ti Píve óra l-igíya
 hour CONN=die:SU2-DI-3.M=TOP P. hour 3.M-DEM
 ‘then Pive died, we saved Pive, but Pive was already dead at that time’
 (N20121017a>00:01:15) ♪

13 Subordinate clauses

13.1 Argument extraction

The extraction of an argument brings it into preverbal focus position. When an S/A argument is fronted its marking on the verb drops. This syntactic operation is used for a number of purposes in Garifuna, especially subordination, but not exclusively. It was shown above that extraction is found in content questions where it is the questioned argument which is extracted into preverbal position. In subordination, extraction is used for relativized arguments (§ 13.2), clefted clauses (§ 13.2.8) and in conditional clauses (§ 13.3.4).

The present chapter is organized according to the commonly recognized syntactic types of subordination: relative, adverbial, and complement clauses. In each subsection I will draw on the typological insights of Cristofaro (2003) to set up the semantic parameters that one may expect to be linked to the relevant type of subordination. This does not mean that I will allow this typology to dictate which kinds of subordinate constructions I describe while ignoring others, but simply that the chapter will be organized according to those semantic/functional parameters.

13.2 Relative clauses

A useful definition of the function of relative clauses from Cristofaro (2003, p. 195) is given in (402).

- (402) “Relative relations involve two SoAs [State of Affairs], one of which (the dependent one) provides some kind of specification about a participant of the other (the main one). That is, a participant of the main SoA is identified within a set of possible referents by mentioning some other SoA in which he or she takes part.”

Relativized constituents are fronted and followed by a short demonstrative pronoun *le/to/ha* (3.M/3.F/3.PL), and the verb stem takes the suffix *-ba*. In addition, various changes are made to the argument marking structure, depending on which constituent is relativized, and conditioned by lexical aspect class, transitivity, tense and polarity. In the following sections I will show how relativization interacts with these grammatical categories and will also touch upon the link between relativization and clefting. Note that, because future relative clauses are marked as compared to non-future ones, the following discussion will exclude future relative clauses, which will be treated in a separate section below⁴⁹.

⁴⁹There is likely an historical connection to be found between the future *-ba* and the relative *-ba*, but the exact path of grammaticalization remains obscure. The present discussion of relative clauses and their interaction with other grammatical categories has been substantially inspired by an unpublished MA-thesis by Ekulona (2000).

13.2.1 Relativized S of stative clauses

When the subject of a stative clause is relativized, its indexing on the verb is maintained and follows the relative marker *-ba*.

- (403) a. ádüga-tu-wa ában húgo l-aw [ará:nsu lé **bíme-be-y**
 make-TI-1.PL one juice 3.M-with orange 3.M:DEM sweet-EXTR-3.M
 ‘we made a juice with those oranges, which are sweet’
 (E20150804b>00:29:29) ♪
- b. yará b-umu-t-u sún=gubey [gusínyu tó
 sharpen 2.SG-PST-TI-3.F all=COMPL knife 3.F:DEM
wéya:-r-ù-b-on]
 old-DI-3.F-EXTR-3.F
 ‘you sharpened all those knives which are old’ (E20150723>01:42:44) ♪
- c. key=ti=buga g-áfayahadi l-ubé-y [pádnà lé
 since=TOP=PST ATR-navigate 3.M-EXTR-3.M friend 3.M:DEM
sinyá-be-y l-achúbaru-n] aban
 not.possible-EXTR-3.M 3.M-jump-USPEC then
 l-ádina-güdü-n-i l-ugúne-rugu-n
 3.M-mount-CAUS-USPEC-3.M 3.M-vessel-LOC-ALL
 ‘since he could navigate, the friend who couldn’t jump in (the water),
 mounted him into his canoe’ (N20121002c>00:02:24) ♪

As mentioned, the default constituent order is Verb-Subject and when this order is reversed, the stative verb converts to an adjective. Something similar is happening in stative relative clauses, since these serve as specifiers to the head noun of a noun phrase, just like adjectives serve as modifiers in noun phrases.

13.2.2 Relativized S of intransitive clauses

Relativized subjects of dynamic intransitive clauses also maintain their verbal indexing following the *-ba* relative marker.

- (404) a. subúsi n-umú-t-u [wûri tó **éybugu-b-on** Sigála-giyen
 know 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F woman 3.F:DEM walk-EXTR-3.F T-ABL
 ‘I know the woman who walked from Tegucigalpa’
 (E20150803>01:29:49) ♪
- b. aban n-anyúnru-n aríyagwe-y [sún lé **éybugu-be-y**
 then 1.SG-sit.down-USPEC watch-3.M all 3.M:DEM walk-EXTR-3.M
 nyén]
 there
 ‘I sat down to watch everything that happens there’ (Lit. ‘... that walks there’)
 (N20121026e>00:00:49) ♪

- c. agúrabaha-tì-na l-ásügürü-n [lé alúguraha-be-y fagúdiya]
 wait-TI-1.SG 3.M-pass-USPEC 3.M:DEM sell-EXTR-3.M vegetable
 ‘I’m waiting for him to stop by, the one who sells vegetables’
 (E20150708b>01:14:06) ♪

Note that the verb in (404-c) is actually transitive, but, as I have shown in previous chapters, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with indefinite objects behave the same.

Another thing to notice here is that tense-aspect distinctions are eliminated in relative clauses; for instance, in (404-a) there is no indication of the tense of *éybugu-b-on* ‘who walked’. In a main clause this would have been *éybuga-t-u* ‘she walked’ or *éybuga:-r-u* ‘she has walked’ as contrasted with immediate future *t-éybuga* ‘she will walk’.

13.2.3 Relativized S of transitive clauses

In transitive clauses with definite objects, it is the verbal indexing of the object that is maintained in a relative clause, not the relativized subject.

- (405) a. murúsun ó:ra l-árigiyen l-áchülagu-n [lé ában l-igíya
 a.bit time 3.M-after 3.M-arrive-USPEC 3.M:DEM one 3.M-DEM
 ídaragu-bà-di-na aséfur-on gurúyara tó]
 help-EXTR-DI-1.SG save-3.F canoe 3.F:DEM
 ‘a bit later arrived the one who had helped me save the canoe’
 (N20121002c>00:01:50) ♪
- b. [lé=ti=buga íveruha-bà-ni-nyu údereü] nyûbüri-ha-l-i
 3.M:DEM=TOP=PST steal-EXTR-USPEC-PL fish come:SU2-PRF-DI-3.M
 gíyen
 also
 ‘the one who had stolen the fish, had already come back as well’
 (N20121002c>00:02:48) ♪

The two examples in (405) are from the same narrative about a fishing trip where a group of four fishermen went out to sea to fish in canoes. The narrator uses relativization in order to keep apart the different involved parties, i.e. the three other fishermen who went apart from himself.

In (405) there is only limited means of making tense-aspect distinctions; a choice must be made between an underspecified object marker as in (405-b) or a DI-series object marker as in (405-a).

13.2.4 Relativized O of transitive clauses

When a definite direct object of a transitive clause is relativized, both subject and object indexing are maintained.

- (406) a. h-íridu-be-y éygini lé ha-búserù-be-y ha-rínyagu
 3.PL-mention-FUT-3.M food 3.M:DEM 3.PL-want-EXTR-3.M 3.PL-say
 ‘they’ll mention the food that they want (to eat), they say (it)’
 (N20121026e>00:02:57) ♪
- b. l-un n-ariha-n-i sún lé aktivadá lé
 3.M-to 1.SG-see-USPEC-3.M all 3.M:DEM activity 3.M:DEM
 ha-dá:gu-be-y nyén
 3.PL-do-EXTR-3.M there
 ‘to see all of the activities that they realize there’
 (N20121026e>00:03:23) ♪
- c. sún hitaü lé áwiyuru-be-y há-dan-giyen [sún wügûri-nya
 all blood 3.M:DEM spill-EXTR-3.M 3.PL-in-ABL all man-PL
 bwí-ti-nya há há-farawagù-ba-nya]
 good-TI-3.PL 3.PL:DEM 3.PL-kill-EXTR-PL
 ‘all the blood that spilled from all the good men that you killed’
 (Mateo 23:35)
- d. l-un t-adügü-n-i sún órden lé l-íchugu-be-y
 3.M-to 3.F-do-USPEC-3.M all order 3.M:DEM 3.M-give:SU1-EXTR-3.M
 t-ún
 3.F-to
 ‘so that it (the cockroach) would carry out every command that he
 would give it’
 (N20121026b>00:01:33) ♪

13.2.5 Relativized oblique constituents

When a locative adjunct is relativized, a similar strategy is used as those for core arguments that were discussed above. However, instead of the relative marking appearing on the verb of the relative clause, the deictic adverb *nyen* is used in conjunction with the demonstrative pronoun producing *lé nyén/tó nyén* ‘(there) where’ as illustrated in (407).

- (407) a. l-ídi l-uwágu ában véyu [l-ídan ában adámuridagù-ni lé
 3.M-go:SU1 3.M-one one day 3.M-in one meet-NMLZ 3.M:DEM
 nyén ha-bé-y wügûri-nya há nyúbûri-ti-nyu há
 there 3.PL-EXTR-3.M man-PL 3.PL:DEM come:SU2-TI-3.PL 3.PL:DEM
 chú t-áw] l-ídan-giyen sún fulásu
 intelligent 3.F-with 3.M-in-ABL all place
 ‘he went one day to a meeting where there had come smart men from
 all over’
 (N20121002b>00:00:30) ♪

- b. nu-há [múna tó nyén t-ubé-y m-ónwe lán senyór]
 3.F-exist house 3.F:DEM there 3.F-EXTR-3.M NEG-die:SU1 IRR man
 ‘there is the house where the man did not die’ (E20150806>01:11:31) ♪
- c. máma nu-há [múna tó nyén l-ubé-y l-ónwe
 NEG 3.F-exist house 3.F:DEM there 3.M-EXTR-3.M 3.M-die:SU1
 senyór]
 man
 ‘that is not the house where the man died’ (E20150806>01:11:38) ♪

Notice that the shape of the relative marker is not *-ba* but the auxiliary equivalent *uba* (*ha-* + *uba* + *-i* = *habéy*). Furthermore, it appears that the prefix slot of the relative auxiliary can be used to mark either the location as in (407-b) (*muna* ‘house’ is feminine), or the subject of the following verb as in (407-a,c), possibly conditioned by polarity. The suffix slot of the auxiliary is invariably third person singular masculine.

It is also possible to relativize an instrumental oblique constituent. This is done by adding the relative suffix *-ba* to the instrumental preposition as in (408).

- (408) a. gólu lé áw-be-y t-adùgù-wa altárü
 gold 3.M:DEM with-EXTR-3.M 3.F-make-PASS altar
 ‘the gold with which the altar was made’ (E20150807a>01:04:59) ♪
- b. wa-nûga=ya=tiya kárga ítara key áw-be-y
 1.PL-bring:SU1=again=EMPH load thus as with-EXTR-3.M
 wé-ydi-n
 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC
 ‘we’re going to carry a load just like that with which we came’
 (N20131016a>00:13:39) ♪

Note that (408-b) shows that it is possible to use *key* ‘like’ instead of a demonstrative for initializing a relative clause.

It is also possible to relativize the subject of an adverbial predicate such as the ones that were introduced in § 4.2.6.3 where it was shown how a predicate is derived from an adverb. In (409) it is the subject of the adverbial predicate *nyén-nya* ‘to be there’ which is relativized.

- (409) a. pero sún há nyén-ba-nya áfaragwa ha-mú-ti-nya
 but all 3.PL:DEM there-EXTR-3.PL beat 3.PL-PST-TI-3.PL
 ‘but all who were there, they beat them’ (N20121002e>00:01:39) ♪
- b. bweno nyén-giyen aban ha-tátiru-n abínaha sún mútu
 well there-ABL CONN 3.PL-begin-USPEC dance all people
 há nyén-be-y
 3.PL:DEM there-EXTR-3.M
 ‘well, then all the people who were there started dancing’
 (N20121026e>00:00:36) ♪

13.2.6 Relativization in future clauses

Relative clauses and main clauses marked for future tense share the same form when it comes to the suffix *-ba* or auxiliary *uba* and the way they interact with person affixation, and I have hinted at the possible diachronic connection between the two. An important question then becomes: what happens when a relative clause is set in the future tense?⁵⁰

Examples of future relative clauses are given in (410).

- (410) a. *bueno aríyagwa n-á-l-i=tì=buga ída l-ínya lán*
 well watch 1.SG-PRF-DI-3.M=TOP=PST how 3.M-COP IRR
h-adágu-n t-ún [tó l-ún-b-on ha-dügü-n-u]
 3.PL-do-USPEC 3.F-to 3.F:DEM 3.M-to-EXTR-3.F 3.PL-make-USPEC-3.F
 ‘well, I had already seen how they did in order to make what they are
 going to make’ (N20131016b>00:01:43) ♪
- b. *rú b-e-y [lé l-ún-be-y*
 give:SU2 2.SG-IMP-3.M 3.M:DEM 3.M-to-EXTR-3.M
b-íchugu-n-i!]
 2.SG-give:SU1-USPEC-3.M
 ‘give (us now) what you are going to give!’ (N20131116a>00:10:15) ♪
- c. *máma tó bisikléta funá-b-on [l-ún-b-on*
 NEG 3.F:DEM bike red-EXTR-3.F 3.M-to-EXTR-3.F
n-agányeha-n-ù]
 1.SG-buy-USPEC-3.F
 ‘it is not the red bike which I’m going to buy’ (E20150805>00:22:03) ♪
- d. *[tó l-ún-b-on=hamùga l-árügüdü-n diréktu] pero*
 3.F:DEM 3.M-to-FUT-3.F=IRR 3.M-take-USPEC direct but
nyén-be-y aban l-amúlen=negè=buga l-un l-ídi-n
 there-EXTR-3.M one 3.M-brother=HS=PST 3.M-to 3.M-go:SU1-USPEC
anùge-y
 bring:SU1-3.M
 ‘it’s a direct one that he’s going to take, but there’ll be one of this broth-
 ers to pick him up’ (N20131116a>00:01:15) ♪

⁵⁰My attention was drawn to the interaction between relativization and future tense by Ekulona (2000).

- e. l-un=ti gwára-be-y lán l-erésibirù-nu-wa
 3.M-to=TOP be.possible-FUT-3.M IRR 3.M-receive-USPEC-PASS
 ágawe-yna mútu [tó l-ún-b-on l-íchugu-n
 bathe-ANDA person 3.F:DEM 3.M-to-EXTR-3.F 3.M-give:SU1-USPEC
 lemési t-ún]
 mass 3.F-to
 ‘so that she can be received and bathed, the woman to whom the mass
 is going to be given’ (N20131116a>00:08:14) ♪
- f. ah-on ásügüra [tó l-ún-b-on b-ídi-n t-ídan]
 if-3.F pass 3.F:DEM 3.M-to-EXTR-3.F 2.SG-go:SU1-USPEC 3.F-in
 mósu b-afáyeyha
 must 2.SG-pay
 ‘if the one that you are going to take passes you by, you have to pay’
 (N20131010a>00:13:35) ♪
- g. ladüga iráhü [lé l-ún-be-y t-agáreüdu-n-i]
 because child 3.M:DEM 3.M-to-EXTR-3.M 3.F-give.birth-USPEC-3.M
 l-úma-giyen Sífri Sándu l-iyábi-n
 3.M-with-ABL S. S. 3.M-come:SU1-USPEC
 ‘because the baby boy which she is going to have, will come by way of
 the Holy Spirit’ (Mateo 1:20)
- h. wéyri-b-on líburu [tó t-ún-b-on l-adügü-n-u]
 big-FUT-3.F book 3.F:DEM 3.F-to-EXTR-3.F 3.M-make-USPEC-3.F
 l-áw
 3.M-with
 ‘it will be a big book that he’s going to make with it’
 (N20131016h>00:11:52) ♪

As shown in (410), Garifuna does not allow the homophonous future and relative markers to appear together. Instead, the complementizer *un* carries the relative marker *-ba* preceded by the demonstrative pronoun as was used above in non-future relative clauses as well. Note that, while the demonstrative pronoun and the suffix after the relative marker *-ba* both refer to the relativized constituent, the person indexing on the complementizer *un* is non-referring, and the default third person marker is used. However, as everywhere else in Garifuna grammar, the default gender differs between the neutral and male speech registers. While most of (410) is set in neutral speech, using *lun*, (410-h) is male speech as shown by the use of a feminine non-referring marker *tun* (see § 15 on speech registers).

13.2.7 Relativization in negated clauses

At a first glance there does not seem to be any difference between non-negated relative clauses like the ones I have examined so far and negated relative clauses such as the

ones in (411), apart from the fact that they receive negative morphology as discussed in § 10.

- (411) a. ni-hán ówchaha-ti [lé m-agéyndagù-n-be-y] t-uma
 3.M-exist fish-AGT 3.M:DEM NEG-fight-NEG-EXTR-3.M 3.F-with
 l-úmari
 3.M-spouse
 ‘there is the fisherman who did not fight with his wife’
 (E20150806>01:10:45) ♪
- b. gürígiya [há m-erésibirù-ba:-l-i-n sirkunsisyón] aban
 person 3.PL:DEM NEG-receive-EXTR-DI-3.M-NEG circumcision CONN
 ha-gúnfuliru-n l-uma li-lúrudu-n Búngiyu
 3.PL-fulfill-USPEC 3.M-with 3.M-law-POSS God
 ‘those people who have not received the circumcision, but who live by
 the laws of God ...’ (Romanos 2:27)
- c. ni-hán ówchaha-ti [lé m-áfaru-bà:-r-u-n lán
 3.M-exist fish-AGT 3.M:DEM NEG-hit-EXTR-DI-3.F-NEG IRR
 wéyriya:-r-u]
 old-DI-3.F
 ‘there is the fisherman whose wife did not hit him’
 (E20150806>01:11:06) ♪

Examples (411-a-b) are intransitive, (411-a) is in the past tense marked with negative *-n* followed by relativizer *-ba* and 3.M *-i*. Examples (411-b-c) are in the perfect past, also 3.M, but here the negative *-n* comes after the person maker as it usually does in main clause negation.

Negative stative relative clauses display less regular behavior than the dynamic ones that I have discussed above. Some examples are given in (412); note that I consider possessive nominal predicates to be stative predicates.

- (412) a. ní-heyn ámu máma salów l-agánagwa
 3.M-COP other NEG S. 3.M-live
 ‘there is another one who did not live in Salado’
 (N20131016d>00:08:28) ♪
- b. nú-heyn ámu gá-guchi-t-i ti-réü nú-heyn ámu
 3.F-COP other ATR-father-TI-3.M 3.F-child 3.F-COP other
 má-guchi-t-i ti-réü
 NEG-father-TI-3.M 3.F-child
 ‘there are some whose child has a father, and there are others whose
 child does not have a father’ (N20131016c>00:02:57) ♪

- c. anyá-heyn ában ma-rínyagadi-tì-nyu anyá-heyn há
 3.PL-COP one NEG-speak-TI-3.PL 3.PL-COP 3.PL:DEM
 ga-rínyagadi-bà-nya
 ATR-speak-EXTR-3.PL
 ‘there are some who can’t speak and some who can speak’
 (N20131016i>00:07:33) ♪
- d. aban l-álugu-n l-asáfura:-l-i lán lé
 CONN 3.M-try-USPEC 3.M-rescue-DI-3.M IRR 3.M:DEM
 má-fuli-be-y
 NEG-swim-EXTR-3.M
 ‘then he tried to save the one who couldn’t swim’
 (N20131010b>00:14:33) ♪

In (412-a) there is no relativization of the subordinated predicate *agánagwa* ‘to live’. However, from the intonational contour and the lack of pause between the two clauses, there can be little doubt that *máma salów lagánagwa* is a relative clause and not a coordinated main clause. Examples (412-b) and (412-c) are analogous to the first, but whereas the former lacks relative marking altogether, the latter is interesting in that the non-negated relative clause has relative marking while the negated one lacks such marking.

The examples in (412) indicate a dispreference for relative morphology in negated stative verb relative clauses, as opposed to dynamic verb relative clauses where relative morphology is obligatory.

13.2.8 Relativization vs. clefting

Relative clauses and cleft clauses are very similar in Garifuna, as illustrated in (413).

- (413) a. l-áchülagu-n [lé ában l-igíya ídaragu-bà-di-na aséfuron
 3.M-arrive-USPEC [3.M:DEM one 3.M-DEM help-EXTR-DI-1.SG save
 gurúyara tó]
 canoe 3.F:DEM
 ‘a bit later arrived the one who had helped me save that canoe’
 (N20121002c>00:01:50) ♪
- b. ówchaha-t-i [adügü-ba:-r-u múna]
 fish-AGT-3.M make-EXTR-DI-3.F house
 ‘it was the fisherman who built the house’ (E20150728b>00:32:50) ♪
- c. ságü=nege=ti ában=nège=ti ában gáyu l-igíya achúbaru-be-y
 every=HS=TOP TOP=HS=TOP one rooster 3.M-DEM jump-EXTR-3.M
 furúmiye
 first
 ‘it’s always a rooster that jumps (down) first’ (N20131016i>00:16:12) ♪

The two examples in (413) are identical with regards to the marking on the verb, carrying *-ba* followed by a marker of the object of the relative clause; subject marking is dropped. The main fact setting them apart is that the main clause preceding a relative clause is headed by a verbal predicate (413-a) whereas that of a cleft construction is headed by a nominal predicate (413-b).

It does not appear to be possible to say something like ‘I saw a fisherman who had built a house’, because a relativized argument must be definite.

Another difference between relative clauses and cleft constructions is that, in the latter, the fronted argument can be a speech act participant as shown in (414).

- (414) a. áw **achúbaru-be-y** furúmiye
 1.SG jump-EXTR-3.M first
 ‘it was me who jumped first’ (E20131023>00:19:24) ♪
- b. áw **achíbu-ba:-r-un** karu
 1.SG wash-EXTR-DI-3.F car
 ‘it was me who washed the car’ (E20150805>00:22:55) ♪
- c. b-ugúya **n-aríhu-be-y** béya-bu
 2.SG-DEM 1.SG-see-EXTR-3.M beach-LOC
 ‘you were the one I saw on the beach’ (E20150805>00:26:46) ♪

When the fronted argument is a speech act participant, the argument structure will depend upon the transitivity as illustrated in (414): A fronted intransitive subject will trigger dropping of subject marking which is replaced by a non-referring default third person singular masculine marker (414-a); a fronted transitive subject argument will also trigger dropping of the subject marking but is replaced by object marking (414-b); a fronted object, on the other hand, will cause dropping of the object marking which is replaced by a non-referring default third person singular masculine marker.

In an adverbial cleft clause the person marking depends on whether the fronted constituent is the figure or the ground.

- (415) a. **lé t-ídan-be-y** gurúyara t-ú:ra gwára-t-i Cáne
 3.M:DEM 3.F-in-EXTR-3.M canoe 3.F-DEM be.possible-TI-3.M C.
 lán o gwára-t-i gíyen=ti Rásta lán
 IRR or be.possible-TI-3.M also=TOP R. IRR
 ‘the one who is (sailing) in that canoe could be Cane or maybe Rasta’
 (E20150810>00:23:46) ♪

- b. máma=buga véve **uwágu-be-y** l-awéyra sino que l-igánchu-n
 NEG=PST tree on-EXTR-3.M 3.M-climb but that 3.M-antler-POSS
 ában usári
 one deer
 ‘it was not a tree where he had climbed up, it was the antlers of a deer’
 (E20121018a>00:09:25) ♪

When the figure is fronted, the ground is still marked on the preposition and *-ba* is followed by a default non-referring suffix; no other person marking is dropped. When the ground is fronted, its marking on the preposition is dropped and a non-referring suffix is added.

Finally, it is possible to have a cleft construction with two nominal predicates as in (416).

- (416) máma áw **l-urúwey-te-be-y** Awstrália
 NEG 1.SG:DEM 3.M-government-POSS-EXTR-3.M A.
 ‘I’m not the president of Australia’ (E20150806>00:57:53) ♪

Here is a non-referring person marker suffixed to a possessed noun after a possessive suffix.

13.3 Adverbial clauses

Cristofaro provides a convenient typology of adverbial clauses that I will use as a starting point for describing adverbial clauses in Garifuna - her definition is in (417).

- (417) “Adverbial relations link two SoAs [State of Affairs] such that one of them (the dependent SoA) corresponds to the circumstances under which the other one (the main SoA) takes place. The dependent SoA may represent the goal”, the temporal setting, the condition of, the reason why, the manner, or the outcomes of the main SoA. (Cristofaro, 2003, p. 155)

In Garifuna, adverbial clauses usually open with a connective serving as subordinator - this may be a conditional, temporal or causal connective: *ahéyn* ‘if’, *dan* ‘when’ *dey* ‘when’, or *key* ‘since’. Often prepositions are used as temporal adverbs such as *l-árigiyen* ‘afterwards’, and *l-ubá* ‘when’. Below I will look at various types of adverbial clause types in turn.

13.3.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

In this treatment of temporal adverbial clauses I will use the tripartite division given by Cristofaro (2003, p. 159): posteriority (‘before’ relations), anteriority (‘after’ relations), and temporal overlap (‘when’ relations). As I will show, the last of these is much more formally varied than the first two.

I showed in the previous chapter that main clauses are coordinated with a connective *aban* which is homophonous with a discursive topic marker. Likewise, in tempo-

ral adverbial subordination, main clauses often begin with *aban*, especially when the adverbial clause is preposed as in some of the examples in §§ 13.3.1.2-13.3.1.3 below.

13.3.1.1 Posterior time reference ‘before’ Adverbial clauses that refer to events taking place after the main clause event are headed by the preposition *ubá* ‘before’. In the spatial use of this preposition it serves to place an entity ahead of another in a sequence or trajectory such as in a line of people or a path to walk. If time is a straight line pointing into the past, then the temporal use of *ubá* is inverted as compared to the spatial, because, from the point of view of the speech time, the main clause reference time is situated in front of the adverbial clause reference time. Some examples are shown in (418).

- (418) a. l-ariwachagwà=me=ti l-ítagadu-n l-ubá
 3.M-lay.out.on.coffin=DFUT=TOP 3.M-embalm-USPEC 3.M-before
 l-ábunú-nu-wa
 3.M-bury-USPEC-PASS
 ‘(the body) is laid out and embalmed before it is buried’
 (N20131016d>00:11:07) ♪
- b. beré-t-i=san=buga l-ubá l-ónwe?
 fart-TI-3.M=Q=PST 3.M-before 3.M-die:SU1
 ‘did he fart before he died?’
 (N20131029a>00:13:32) ♪

There are various derivations from *ubá* in both spatial and temporal use: *ubá-ra* ‘place’, *ubá-r-on* (allative) ‘towards, against’, and *ubá-ra-giyen* ‘before’. The last one of these is used interchangeably with *ubá* for posterior time reference; some example are shown in (419).

- (419) a. mósti h-éhunha furése l-un gwára lán h-adówru-n-i
 must 3.PL-paddle fast 3.M-to be.possible IRR 3.PL-close-USPEC-3.M
 h-émeri údereü l-ubáragiyen h-ásügürü-n
 3.PL-path fish 3.M-before 3.PL-pass-USPEC
 ‘they had to paddle fast in order to close the path of the fish before they
 get out’
 (N20121026a>00:01:40) ♪
- b. aban w-ówdi-n ówchaha yá Würít-i Tágu biná:fi
 TOP 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC fish here W. T. morning
 l-ubáragiyen wó-wdi-n eskwéla
 3.M-before 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC school
 ‘we would go fishing here at Laguna Negra, in the morning before go-
 ing to school’
 (N20131010g>00:07:41) ♪

13.3.1.2 Anterior time reference ‘after’ Adverbial clauses that refer to events taking place before the main clause event are headed by the preposition *árigiyen* ‘af-

ter’, with a short alternative form *árigi* which is also used with a spatial meaning, as opposed to the long form which appears only to have the temporal meaning illustrated in (420).

- (420) a. l-árigiyen w-ásügürü-n-ì Bichóbu w-achûlürü-n Trómpu
 3.M-after 1.PL-pass-USPEC-3.M B. 1.PL-arrive-USPEC T.
 ‘after we pass Punto Izopo, we arrive at Triunfo’
 (E20150804b>00:08:41) ♪
- b. l-arigiyen aséfura w-amá-r-u sún kátey amáhara aban
 3.M-after rescue 1.PL-PRF-DI-3.F all thing empty.out.water then
 l-ádi-n-u n-úma
 3.M-board-USPEC-3.F 1.SG-with
 ‘after we salvaged all the things and emptied (the canoe of water), he
 mounted with me’ (N20121002c>00:02:35) ♪

13.3.1.3 Overlapping time reference ‘when’ Contrary to posterior and anterior time reference adverbial clauses, overlapping time adverbial subordination can be expressed using a broad range of strategies. In what follows I will treat each strategy in order of frequency. Note that for most adverbial clauses with overlapping time reference there is also an habitual reading available (‘when’ vs. ‘whenever’).

The most frequently used temporal subordinators with overlapping time reference are *dan*, *dan le*, and *dey* examples of which are given in (421).

- (421) a. [dey gumúha-l-i údereü] l-erénsera wéyriey lé l-éybuga
 when finish-DI-3.M fish 3.M-prepare guy 3.M:DEM 3.M-walk
 l-ún-gwa
 3.M-to-REFL
 ‘when the fish were all gone the guy packed up and left’
 (N20131010a>00:09:00) ♪
- b. [dey n-achûlürü-be-y Róblesin] aban l-arínyagu-n n-ún
 when 1.SG-arrive-EXTR-3.M R. CONN 3.M-say-USPEC 1.SG-to
 “b-afáye-y!”
 2.SG-pay-3.M
 ‘when I arrived at Robles, he said to me “pay!” (N20131010b>00:00:05) ♪
- (422) a. [dan w-achûlürü-n-be-y t-upúntu-rugu-n búsu] aban
 when 1.PL-arrive-USPEC-EXTR-3.M 3.F-stop-LOC-ALL bus then
 w-ádi-n-u
 1.PL-board-USPEC-3.F
 ‘when we arrived at the bus stop, we got on it’ (E20150724>00:16:49) ♪

- b. [dan n-ádi-n-u-be-y t-id-on to ában] mósu
 when 1.SG-board-USPEC-3.F-EXTR-3.M 3.F-on-ALL 3.F:DEM one must
 n-afáyeyha-n
 1.SG-pay-USPEC
 ‘when I got on the other one, I had to pay’ (N20131010a>00:13:58) ♪
- c. súwandàn [dan n-adéyru-n údereü] afárenhà-ti-na t-uma
 always when 1.SG-catch-USPEC fish share-TI-1.SG 3.F-with
 n-ítu
 1.SG-sister
 ‘when I catch fish, I always share with my sister’
 (E20150724>00:19:17) ♪
- d. [dan=ti l-inyábi dûbu l-igíya] aban l-agáragu-n
 when=TOP 3.M-come:SU1 rock 3.M-DEM CONN 3.M-turn.around-USPEC
 ‘when the stone came (rolling), he turned around’
 (N20131010b>00:07:18) ♪
- (423) a. dán=mèha lé iráhü-gì:-di-na béy l-umu-ti-ná=ha
 when=DPST 3.M:DEM child-DUR-DI-1.SG hit 3.M-PST-TI-1.SG=DISTR
 n-úguchi
 1.SG-father
 ‘when I was a child, my father would hit me’ (E20150803>00:03:14) ♪
- b. dan le hi... h-agábuliha údereü h-aríhi-ni-nyu
 when 3.M:DEM 3.PL... 3.PL-stir fish 3.PL-see-USPEC-3.PL
 aséniha-ti-nyu
 net.fish-AGT-PL
 ‘when the fish stir, the netfishermen see them’ (N20121026a>00:01:14) ♪
- c. dan le l-achûlûru-n-be-y véyu l-un l-áfuridu-n
 when 3.M:DEM 3.M-arrive-USPEC-EXTR-3.M day 3.M-to 3.M-exit-USPEC
 furísun-rugù-giyen
 prison-LOC-ABL
 ‘when the day arrived when he would get out of jail’
 (N20121026b>00:00:53) ♪

It is also possible, though marginally, to use the demonstrative pronoun *le* alone as subordinator, as show in (424).

- (424) le b-aríhi-n iséri gürigiya aban b-acháfiru-n
 3.M:DEM 2.SG-see-USPEC new person then 2.SG-become.agitated-USPEC
 ‘when you see the new people, you get agitated’ (E20150716>00:33:01) ♪

As shown in the examples in (424), temporal subordinate clauses very often carry the extraction marker *-ba* on the verb in the same way as relative clauses and clefts. However, unlike relative clauses and clefts where *-ba* can never be left out, temporal subordinate clauses only add it optionally. A likely explanation is the lexical origin of the default temporal subordinator *dan* ‘when’ which comes from a masculine noun phrase *dan* ‘time’ or *dan le* ‘that time’. This means that temporal adverbial clauses with overlapping reference are conceptualized by speakers as relative clauses or cleft constructions meaning ‘it was at the time when X’. Note that the person marker following *-ba* in such temporal subordinate clauses is always the non-referring default third person singular masculine.

Even though the use of a temporal subordinator as in the examples above is the most frequent strategy, it is not uncommon to find subordination without it as in (425).

- (425) a. [t-achûlürü-n l-un t-ágawa] t-achágaha músun éygini l-ún
 3.F-arrive-USPEC 3.M-to 3.F-bathe 3.F-throw a.bit food 3.M-to
 ‘when she arrives to bathe, she throws a bit of food to him’
 (N20121002a>00:02:11) ♪
- b. [wa-chûlürü-be-y lándini] l-igíya w-arínhi-n biyán héve
 1.PL-arrive-EXTR-3.M landing 3.M-DEM 1.PL-see-USPEC two snake
 ‘when we arrived at the landing, we saw two snakes’
 (N20131010g>00:15:30) ♪
- c. [n-achûlürü-be-y nyén-heyn] táti-ha-nya áfara
 1.SG-arrive-EXTR-3.M there-ALL begin-PRF-3.PL play
 ‘when I arrived there, they had already begun to play’
 (N20121026e>00:00:16) ♪

The first thing to notice about these subordinate clauses is that they all contain the verb *achûlûra* ‘arrive’ and it would seem that the frequent use of this verb in this type of subordination makes the use of an explicit temporal subordinator unnecessary. Secondly, examples (425-b) and (425-c) show the use of the extraction marker *-ba*, while in (425-a) it is lacking. Instead *-n* marks the underspecified verb form which is characteristic of subordination. Note also the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ligíya* at the beginning of the main clause in (425-b). Its function in complex clauses is to indicate simultaneity and it can appear in a main clause as well as in a subordinate clause as in (426), which shows examples of juxtaposition with *ligíya* in the subordinate clause.

- (426) a. nyú nyén [l-igíya ha-yábi-gwa=ti porsyón mútu l-un
 sit there 3.M-DEM 3.PL-come:SU1-REFL=TOP a.lot person 3.M-to
 h-ariyagu-n-i chów lé]
 3.PL-see-USPEC-3.M show 3.M:DEM
 ‘they were sitting there when a lot of people arrived to see the show’
 (N20121026b>00:01:54) ♪

- b. *dise:-du-wa l-uwéy sénturu San Juan [l-igíya l-arínyagu-n*
far.away-DI-1.PL 3.M-from center S. J. 3.M-DEM 3.M-say-USPEC
n-anûga:-d-ü]
 1.SG-bring:SU1-DI-2.PL
 ‘we were far from the center of San Juan when he said “I’ll take y’all”
 (N20131010f>00:00:46) ♪

Some of the more marginal adverbial clause types with overlapping time reference are shown in (427).

- (427) a. *l-uwágu w-anûgü-n key ában ó:ra key=büri ó:ra dimí*
3.M-on 1.PL-bring:SU1-USPEC like one hour like=PL hour half
éybuga l-igíya t-arínyagu-n n-ún
walk 3.M-DEM 3.F-say-USPEC 1.SG-to
 ‘when we had walked about an hour, an hour and a half, then she said
 to me...’
 (N20131010d>00:06:47) ♪
- b. *t-idan w-agáraragu-n w-árig-òn aban=ti*
3.F-in 1.PL-turn.around-USPEC 1.PL-back-ALL then=TOP
wé-ydi-n arihe-y ká lán=buga súsede-be-y
1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC see-3.M what IRR=PST happen-EXTR-3.M
 ‘when we came back, we went to see what had happened’
 (N20131010g>00:14:15) ♪
- c. *[l-ubá=ti=buga n-agíribudu-n] ma-séynsu-ha-dí-na*
3.M-before=TOP=PST 1.SG-return-USPEC NEG-money-PRF-DI-1.SG
l-un n-afáyeru-n-ù búsu
3.M-to 1.SG-pay-USPEC-3.F bus
 ‘when I was going to return, I had no money to pay for the bus’
 (N20131010b>00:00:02) ♪
- d. *porke [l-ubá t-ídi-n mútu t-ichári-rugu] biyán*
because 3.M-before 3.F-go:SU1-USPEC person 3.F-field-LOC two
nyén ó:ra
there hour
 ‘because when people go to their fields, (it takes) two hours (to get)
 there’
 (N20131010d>00:08:21) ♪

The use of the preposition for vertical support *uwágu* ‘on’ in (427-a) as a temporal subordinator can most likely be explained by the semantic content of the clause; in the context of walking a long distance, reference to both time and place becomes relevant when describing the progression of this act. The use of the preposition for containment *ídan* ‘in’ in (427-b) is less straightforwardly explained but is probably

analogous to (427-a). The use of *ubá* ‘before’ in (427-c) and (427-d), which I have shown above is used for posterior time subordination, can be explained in the following way: at the moment in time referenced by these subordinate clauses, an extensive journey is about to begin, and the use of *ubá* indicates that, only the beginning of the prolonged actions ‘return’ and ‘go’ overlaps with the main clause state of affairs, but the bulk of the journey has yet to come. Still, these must have overlapping time reference ‘when’, because a reading with posterior time reference ‘before’ would give entirely different meanings, i.e. ‘before I returned home, I had no money to pay for the bus’ and ‘before people go to their fields, it takes a long time to get there’, which do not make any sense in the context.

13.3.2 Purpose clauses

A purpose clause is headed by the preposition *un* ‘to’ and the main predicate is an underspecified verb form, as illustrated in (428).

- (428) a. *aban=yebe l-abúseru-n l-agáhabudu-n t-un iráhù tó*
 then=PFUT 3.M-want-USPEC 3.M-grab-USPEC 3.F-to child 3.F:DEM
l-un l-anyáweyha-n-u dúna-rugu
 3.M-to 3.M-abuse-USPEC-3.F water-LOC
 ‘he wanted to grab the girl in order to abuse her in the water’
 (N20121002a>00:02:38) ♪
- b. *ában=ti=me l-adágaru-n l-idan le wa-rénsehàn-be-y*
 then=TOP=DFUT 3.M-try-USPEC 3.M-in 3.M:DEM 1.PL-prepare-EXTR-3.M
l-un wa-yábi-n l-idan l-asánsiragu-n l-igáburi
 3.M-to 1.PL-come:SU1-USPEC 3.M-in 3.M-change-USPEC 3.M-nature
dán
 weather
 ‘when we were getting ready to go back, the weather changed’
 (N20121002c>00:00:31) ♪
- c. *ígira l-á-wa=yebe t-un w-ówe:-gu-n*
 leave 3.M-PRF-1.PL=PFUT 3.M-to 1.PL-die:SU2-REFL-USPEC
 ‘he left us there to die’
 (N20121002c>00:02:53) ♪

Negative purpose clauses are headed by *uwéy* ‘from’ and express ‘in order to avoid’, as illustrated in (429).

- (429) a. *aban l-adówru-n-i wügùri lé l-áru=ti=buga dúna*
 then 3.M-block-USPEC-3.M man 3.M:DEM 3.M-path=TOP=PST water
lé t-uwéy irahù tó [l-uwéy t-ábürügù-n]
 3.M:DEM 3.F-from child 3.F:DEM 3.M-from 3.F-land-USPEC
 ‘the man blocked the girl’s way out of the water so that she wouldn’t
 escape’
 (N20121002a>00:03:11) ♪

- b. l-áasarun-ye=nege=tiyà=buga l-ídibüri [l-uwéy l-ónwe]
 3.M-shave-3.M=HS=EMPH=PST 3.M-hair 3.M-from 3.M-die:SU2
 ‘he shaved his hair to avoid dying’ (N20131010b>00:02:51) ♪
- c. anyá-ha giyén=tiya ównigiyu-ti-nya nyén l-igíya sawmériyu nyén
 3.PL-COP also=EMPH protect-AGT-PL there 3.M-DEM incense there
 l-uwéy l-abéluru-n máfiya h-ón
 3.M-from 3.M-enter-USPEC devil 3.PL-to
 ‘there are shamans and incense there to keep the devil from coming in’
 (N20121026e>00:01:55) ♪

Like positive purpose clauses, the main predicate of negative purpose clauses is an underspecified verb form.

Note that *ónwe* ‘die:SU1’ in (429-b) is a suppletive verb stem which does not have an underspecified verb form, but in (428-c) it gets the reflexive *-gwa* after which an underspecified verb form becomes possible.

Example (429-a) shows that *uwéy* is used both as negative subordinator and to introduce the oblique argument ‘the girl’. Oblique arguments are otherwise introduced by *un* ‘to’, but *uwéy* is used when the main clause action happens to the detriment of the oblique argument.

Purpose clause meanings may also be expressed using a participial clause, but these are not preceded by a subordinating adverb.

- (430) a. fériya Tornabé aban n-ídi-n [éybuga-nya-hà=dügü
 fair T. then 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC walk-PROG-DISTR=just
 Tornabé] t-uma Léicy
 T. 3.F-with L.
 ‘(there was a) town fair in Tornabé and I went to hang out with Leicy’
 (N20131016g>00:00:43) ♪
- b. t-arítagu-n iráhü tó t-iyábi-n [éheregwa
 3.F-remember-USPEC child 3.F:DEM 3.F-come:SU1-USPEC feed
 h-on údereü há] nyén
 3.PL-to fish 3.PL:DEM there
 ‘the girl remembered to come in order to feed the fish there’
 (N20131010f>00:10:00) ♪
- c. h-achúlü=bürì=ba=ti=ha sún h-ówyeri gürigiya nyén aríyagwa
 3.PL-arrive=PL=FUT=TOP=PRF all 3.PL-kind person there watch
 ‘all sorts of people arrived there in order to see’
 (N20131016b>00:08:33) ♪

Note that the main clause verbs in (430) are motion verbs: ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘arrive’. Cristofaro (2003, p. 176) says that there is reason to believe that motion purpose clauses are

the prototypical purpose clauses, and that in a number of languages, as is the case in Garifuna, purposive markers are the same as directional markers. Perhaps this is the reason why the purpose subordinator *un* ‘to’ can be left out in (430), since the motion predicates already imply that there is a target to be reached.

13.3.3 Causational clauses

Subordinate clauses expressing the cause of which the main clause is the effect take a subordinator meaning ‘because’ or ‘since’. The most common of these, *key* ‘since’, is illustrated in (431).

- (431) a. [key garába h-amá lán gurúyara tó] aban
 since turn 3.PL-PRF IRR canoe 3.F:DEM TOP
 h-agáraba-gu-n-ù gurúyara tó aban há-di-n-u
 3.PL-turn-REFL-USPEC-3.F canoe 3.F:DEM then 3.PL-board-USPEC-3.F
 há
 3.PL:DEM
 ‘since they had turned the canoe over, they turned over the canoe (again)
 and boarded it’ (N20131010b>00:14:24) ♪
- b. [key ní-heyn lán póste lúsu nyén] aban w-eméragu-n nyén
 since 3.M-exist IRR post light there TOP 1.PL-rest-USPEC there
 ‘since there was a street lamp there, we rested there’
 (N20131016b>00:10:09) ♪
- c. [key lúha l-ubé-y=nege m-achûlü lán l-id-on dán
 since long.ago 3.M-EXTR-3.M=HS NEG-arrive IRR 3.M-in-ALL time
 l-igíya] sún h-arínyagu hilá:-l-i lán
 3.M-DEM all 3.PL-say die:SU2-DI-3.M IRR
 ‘since it was a long time since he had been there, everybody was saying
 that he had died’ (N20131016i>00:01:36) ♪

Another common causal subordinator is *ubá* ‘because’ which I have shown above is also used to mean ‘before’ and ‘when’.

- (432) a. [l-ubá=ti lé safáguwagu t-abúre:me] aban h-éyba:gu-n
 3.M-since=TOP 3.M:DEM angry 3.F-owner TOP 3.PL-run-USPEC
 l-uwéy
 3.M-from
 ‘because the owner was already angry, they ran away from him’
 (N20131010c>00:05:52) ♪
- b. híru-ti-na [l-ubá busúwen-ti-na n-ídi-n ówchaha]
 sad-TI-1.SG 3.M-since want-TI-1.SG 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC fish
 ‘I’m sad because I want to go fishing’ (E20150805>00:58:40) ♪

It is also common to hear *porke* ‘because’ borrowed from Spanish, used as cause subordinator.

- (433) a. *pero m-abárasen-t-i ównli l-áw porke anyá-ha huláhinyü*
 but NEG-bother-TI-3.M dog 3.M-with because 3.PL-COP bee
árigiyen
 after
 ‘but the dog paid no attention to it because the bees were after him’
 (E20121018a>00:07:17) ♪
- b. *mósti t-agúwaru-n l-un údereü lé porke l-adábura*
 must 3.F-call-USPEC 3.M-to fish 3.M:DEM because 3.M-enter.water
wügûri lé t-árigi
 man 3.M:DEM 3.F-after
 ‘the girl had to call out to the fish, because the man was going into the
 water after her’
 (N20121002a>00:03:16) ♪

13.3.4 Conditional clauses

There are two types of conditional clauses, which are distinguished on both formal and semantic grounds: 1) hypothetical conditionals used for indicating states of affairs which are considered unlikely to happen, and 2) non-hypothetical conditionals, which are usually in the future tense and used to indicate a high probability of realization. Both types of conditional construction consists of a subordinate clause serving as the protasis (condition) and a main clause serving as the apodosis (result). The subordinate clause is made up of a) the conditional proclitic subordinator *aha* ‘if’, which takes a person marking suffix, and b) a verb inflected for person and tense-aspect⁵¹.

In hypothetical conditional clauses, such as those in (434), the conditional marker is always *ahē-yn* with a non-referring third person masculine suffix. The verb of the subordinate clause is inflected for the relevant core arguments.

- (434) a. *ahē-yn ígira=rügü b-ub-ón l-ubé-y nyén ítara ...*
 if-3.M leave=just 2.SG-FUT-3.F 3.M-EXTR-3.M there thus ...
m-adúmurehà-n-b-on
 NEG-speak-NEG-FUT-3.F
 ‘if you just leave it (parrot) like that ... it’s not gonna talk’
 (N20131016i>00:07:44) ♪
- b. *ahē-yn sándi b-a-l-i l-ubé-y burúguwa l-á-l-i*
 if-3.M feel 2.SG-PRF-DI-3.M 3.M-EXTR-3.M infect 3.M-PRF-DI-3.M
b-ûgürügü
 2.SG-flesh
 ‘if you can feel it, it’s because it’s already infected your flesh’
 (N20131016d>00:15:19) ♪

⁵¹The conditional subordinator is homophonous with the coordinator *ahēyn* ‘but’, ‘by contrast’, ‘whereas’.

- c. ahe-yn=hamúga subúse-y n-umú-t-i nyúbüri-ha-ti-na=hamùga
 if-3.M=IRR know-3.M 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M come:SU2-PRF-TI-1.SG=IRR
 ‘if I had known, I would have come’ (E20150810>01:16:19) ♪

In non-hypothetical conditionals, the conditional subordinator *aha* is marked for the person of one of the core arguments of the following predicate which then drops the marking of that argument. In intransitive clauses (435), and transitive clauses with an indefinite object (436) it is the subject that is indexed on the conditional subordinator and the verbal indexing drops on the following verb.

- (435) a. ah-ü: achûlûra w-abínaha-ba
 if-2.PL arrive 1.PL-dance-FUT
 ‘if y’all arrive, we’ll dance’ (E20150805>00:41:46) ♪
- b. aha-bu nyúbüri léte eskwéla-rugù-n m-ebéleru-ba-di-bu
 if-2.SG come:SU2 late school-LOC-ALL NEG-enter-FUT-DI-2.SG
 ‘if you arrive late to school, you will not enter’ (E20150805>00:39:06) ♪
- (436) a. aha-na anyúga mási aban=me n-adéwenha h-ún
 if-1.SG catch more CONN=DFUT 1.SG-give 2.PL-to
 ‘if I catch more, I’ll give (some) to y’all’ (N20131016c>00:08:43) ♪
- b. aha-na agúnucha l-ábu údereü gwára-be-y
 if-1.SG swallow 3.M-bone fish be.possible-FUT-3.M
 n-asáandi-n-u n-agûle-rugu
 1.SG-sick-USPEC-3.F 1.SG-throat-LOC
 ‘if I swallow a fishbone, I can get a throat pain’ (E20150810>00:10:40) ♪
- c. aha-bu agányeha servésa n-átu-b-on
 if-2.SG buy beer 1.SG-drink:SU1-FUT-3.F
 ‘if you buy beer, I’ll drink it’ (E20150804b>01:02:34) ♪

In transitive clauses with definite objects (437) it is the object which is indexed on the conditional subordinator and the marking of which drops on the following verb.

- (437) a. aha-na t-áfara máma n-ayáhuwaha-ba
 if-1.SG 3.F-hit mother 1.SG-cry-FUT
 ‘if mother hits me, I’ll cry’ (E20150810>00:54:25) ♪
- b. ahe-ü n-áfara t-edéyha-ba máma
 if-2.PL 1.SG-hit 3.F-scold-FUT mother
 ‘if I hit y’all, mother will scold (me)’ (E20150810>00:52:04) ♪

- c. aha-na=hamúga b-ariha subúsi b-á:-l-i=hamùga
 if-1.SG=IRR 2.SG-see know 2.SG-PRF-DI-3.M=IRR
 ‘if you looked at me, you’d know’ (E20150810>01:15:19) ♪
- d. aha-bu=hamúga n-agá:mba ni-yábi-ba gíyen
 if-2.SG=IRR 1.SG-hear 1.SG-come:SU1-FUT also
 ‘if I heard you, I would come as well’ (E20150810>01:15:38) ♪

Non-core constituents cannot be indexed on the subordinator as exemplified in (438).

- (438) a. ahe-yn éyguwada ában labírihaniga n-uwág-un barána-ha aban
 if-3.M fall one lightning,bolt 1.SG-on-ALL sea-LOC then
 n-ówe
 1.SG-die:SU1
 ‘if a lightning bolt falls on me out at sea I will die’
 (E20150810>00:12:17) ♪
- b. ahe-yn adágara larúgaunga n-uwágu m-aríhi-n-ha-dì-na=me
 if-3.M touch light 1.SG-on NEG-see-NEG-PRF-DI-1.SG=DFUT
 ‘if the light touches me, I won’t be able to see anything’
 (E20150810>00:07:18) ♪

In (438), the first person is a grammatical object and should be marked on the subordinator, but this does not happen because the predicates ‘fall on’ and ‘touch’ mark their objects obliquely.

There appear to be certain restrictions on which S/A and O arguments can be marked on the subordinator as illustrated in (439).

- (439) aha-na l-abádüle-ha n-úhabu t-árigiyen barúru
 if-1.SG 3.M-become.sticky-PRF 1.SG-hand 3.F-after plantain
 m-éleha:hà:-di-na
 NEG-peel-DI-1.SG
 ‘if my hand becomes sticky (on me) from the plantains, I’m not gonna peel
 (more)’ (E20150810>01:18:04) ♪

The verb *labádüleha* ‘it becomes sticky’ is intransitive and its subject *n-úhabu* ‘my hand’ ought to have been marked on the subordinator. Instead, it is the owner of the hand who is marked, perhaps because of the difference in salience and animacy of the first person singular as opposed to his hand.

13.4 Complement clauses

Cristofaro asserts (quoting Givón (1990, p. 516-17) that “the semantics of complement relations may generally be expressed in terms of the semantics of the predicate coding the main” state of affairs (Cristofaro, 2003, p. 99). In the following discussion I will show that in Garifuna the semantics of the main clause predicate also predicts a divide in the formal marking of complementation. I begin this discussion of complement clauses with the general definition in (440) from Cristofaro (2003, p. 95).

- (440) Complement relations link two SoAs [State of Affairs] such that one of them (the main one) entails that another one (the dependent one) is referred to.

By functioning as arguments of the main verb, complement clauses differ from all other subordinate clause types which function as clausal adjuncts (adverbial clause) or phrasal adjuncts (relative clause).

I will use the list of common complement-taking predicates in (441) as a point of departure for the following discussion. (The list follows the example in Cristofaro (2003, p. 99).)

- (441)
- i modals (*mósu* ‘must’, *gawára* ‘can’, *sinyá* ‘impossible/unable’)
 - ii phasals (*atátira* ‘start’, *agúmesera* ‘begin’, *súnha* ‘finish’)
 - iii manipulatives (CAUSATIVE)
 - iv desideratives (*abúsera* ‘want’)
 - v perception (*ariha* ‘see’, *agá:mba* ‘hear’)
 - vi knowledge (*asúbudira* ‘know’, *ibídiye* ‘not know’, *agá:mba* ‘understand’)
 - vii propositional attitude (*afíya* ‘think’, *agúraba* ‘hope’)
 - viii utterance (*arínyaga* ‘say’, *abéüdaha* ‘tell’)

Complement clauses in Garifuna usually do not contain a complementizer but are simply juxtaposed with the main clause that they complement. The shape of the verb in a complement clause depends on the type of complement-taking verb in the main clause. Four parameters are relevant for the shape of a complement clause, and these are all tied to the semantics and argument structure of the main predicate - the parameters are shown in (442).

- (442)
1. is the main predicate subject an identifiable argument?
 2. is the use of the main predicate restricted to complement constructions?
 3. is the subordinated verb form marked for its subject?
 4. does the subject of the complement clause have to be the same as that of the main clause?

The first parameter in (442) separates modals from all other complement constructions since the former do not have an identifiable subject; modal verbs have the formal characteristics of stative verbs but their subject marking, if any, is non-referring as illustrated in (443).

- (443) a. **sinyá-t-i=ti** b-adígiragu-n l-igíya **mósu**
 unable-TI-3.M=TOP 2.SG-turn.around-USPEC 3.M-DEM must
 l-ubé-y=negè b-afinyaru-n l-uwágu
 3.M-FUT-3.M=HS 2.SG-believe-USPEC 3.M-on
 ‘you can’t turn around, you have to believe in it’
 (N20121026e>00:05:20) ♪
- b. pero aban=ti l-éybaha-nì-nyu bágasu l-un **gawára lán**
 but TOP=TOP 3.M-hunt-USPEC-3.PL cow 3.M-to be.able IRR
 l-éygi-ni-nyu
 3.M-eat-USPEC-3.PL
 ‘but it hunts the cows in order to be able to eat them’
 (N20121017a>00:03:26) ♪
- c. **sinyá** h-agányeha údereü porke úwa-nya údereü
 be.impossible 3.PL-buy fish because not.exist-3.PL fish
 ‘they couldn’t buy fish anymore because there were no more fish’
 (N20131010a>00:09:10) ♪
- d. **mósu lán** w-áfa:gu-n l-uwágu lé w-áma-be-y
 must IRR 1.PL-fight-USPEC 3.M-on 3.M:DEM 1.PL-with-EXTR-3.M
 ‘we have to fight for what is ours’ (N20131116a>00:14:06) ♪

As is often the case in subordinate clauses, the verb forms in (443) are underspecified; when some subordinated verb forms appear not to be underspecified such as *h-agányeha* in (443-c), this is due to the presence of the distributive suffix *-ha* as explained in § 7.7.

Of the three modal verbs exemplified here, *sinyá* ‘impossible/unable’ and *gawára* ‘possible/able’ carry a non-referring stative suffix *-ti* in realis constructions like that in (443-a). In potential modality the person marking on the verb drops and the postverbal auxiliary *lan* is used instead as in (443-b). *Mósu* stands out by not carrying any person marking in realis contexts, but in potential constructions it too takes *lan*. Suffixing modal stative verbs can appear without suffixation in contexts of high current relevance such as (443-c) where *sinyá* refers to a very recently and suddenly arisen situation.

Among the modal verbs ‘possible/able’ and ‘impossible/unable’ stand out by being able to take the past auxiliary *umu* or the perfect *a(mu)* for introducing an extra argument as in (444). (*Mósu* does not seem able to do this).

- (444) n-arínyagu-n-be-y b-ún de ke gwára n-á-n-u
 1.SG-say-USPEC-EXTR-3.M 2.SG-to of that be.possible 1.SG-PRF-USPEC-3.F
 pero sinyá n-umu-t-u
 but be.impossible 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F
 ‘that is why I have told you that I could do it (bake bread), but I couldn’t’
 (N20131016b>00:05:00) ♪

The feminine object agreement on the auxiliaries would appear to refer back to the activity of baking which might be conceived of as feminine, rather than the default masculine gender of deverbal nouns, because *feyn* ‘bread’ is feminine. An alternative explanation would be that (444) is set in male speech where feminine gender is the default.

The second parameter in (442) (“Is the use of the main predicate restricted to complement constructions?”) groups modals and predicates of propositional attitude together because their use is restricted to complement constructions, i.e. they are unable to take a noun phrase argument. For example, it is not possible to say **mósu ában umádeü* ‘a friend is needed’ or **afíyen-ti-na ában umádeü* ‘I think a friend’, as opposed to *busén-ti-na ában umádeü* ‘I want a friend’, *l-agúmucha úraga* ‘the story will begin’, *agá:mba-ti-na ában úraga* ‘I heard a story’ or *n-abéüdaha-ti l-un ában umádeü* ‘I will tell it to a friend’.

The third parameter in (442) (“Is the subordinated verb form marked for its subject?”) separates phasals from all the rest; in phasal constructions the subordinated verb form does not index its subject, as shown in (445).

- (445) a. l-igíya h-atátiru-n n-umáda-gu achúbaha t-ídan-giyen káru
 3.M-DEM 3.PL-begin-USPEC 1.SG-fiend-COL jump 3.F-in-ABL car
 ‘then my friends started jumping from the car’ (N20131010f>00:00:55) ♪
- b. dan le n-agúmeserù-n-be-y ówchaha yá yára
 time 3.M:DEM 1.SG-begin-USPEC-EXTR-3.M fish here there
 Bichóbu-n n-abási-ha ságü-ha rábon véyu
 B.-ALL 1.SG-visit-PRF every-DISTR afternoon day
 ‘when I started fishing here, I would travel to Punto Izopo every afternoon’
 (N20131016g>00:09:22) ♪

In phasal constructions the person and tense-aspect marking of the main verb extends its scope to the complement clause which gets the same values as the main clause; the verb form of the complement clause is a bare stem.

The exception to the above generalization is the ‘finish’ phasals exemplified in (446)

- (446) a. murúsun ó:ra bweno sún-ha w-amáharu-n
 a.bit time well all-PRF 1.PL-empty.out.water-USPEC
 ‘a bit later we finished emptying out water’ (N20121002c>00:02:15) ♪

- b. l-arigiye**n** w-**ásuru-n** w-**alúguraha** wa-má:ngu-n aban
 3.M-after 1.PL-finish-USPEC 1.PL-sell 1.PL-mango-POSS CONN
 wé-ydi-n chülû sénturu-rugú
 1.PL-go:SU1-USPEC arrive center-LOC
 ‘after we finished selling our mangos, we went downtown’
 (N20131010c>00:13:52) ♪

The phasal verb *sún-ha* ‘finish’ is derived from *sun* ‘all’ with the perfect suffix *-ha*. The phasal constructions in (446) are different from the other phasals in that the subordinated verb form can be fully marked for person and tense-aspect. In the case of *sún-ha* the explanation might be that it is unable to carry person marking and thus recourse is made to the other possible locus for person marking which is the subordinated verb. But for *ásura* in (446-b) this explanation does not necessarily apply.

One type of phasal construction involving *ásura* ‘finish’ shows an atypical syntactic behavior as illustrated in (447).

- (447) m-**ásu** n-**ub-on** múna tó adúga
 NEG-finish 1.SG-FUT-3.F house 3.F:DEM make
 ‘I am not going to finish building the house’ (E20150806>00:12:44) ♪

As shown, the phasal verb takes a noun phrase argument but adds a bare verb *adúga* ‘make’ in peripheral position as a sort of modifier.

The fourth parameter in (442) (“Does the subject of the complement clause have to be the same as that of the main clause?”) separates modals and phasals in which the subject of the main and the subordinate clause always have the same referent, from all the rest where the subject of the two classes can be different. Examples are shown in (448) for each of the complementation categories where the subject of a complement clause can be different from that of the main clause.

- (448) a. busúwen-ti-na b-ídi-n ospitálu-rugù chékeyarüwa
 want-TI-1.SG 2.SG-go:SU1-USPEC hospital-LOC check
 ‘I want you to go to the hospital for a check-up’
 (E20150805>01:01:32) ♪
- b. ariha n-umú-t-i l-áhuya lán hú:ya l-uma garábali bwíng-ha
 see 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M 3.M-rain IRR rain 3.M-with wind full-PRF
 gíyen San Juán
 also S. J.
 ‘I saw that it was raining and wind was blowing and San Juan was also flooded’
 (E20150723>00:54:30) ♪

- c. *ibídiye-t-i n-ún h-ínchuwaha-nya lán o h-agéyndagu-nya*
 not.know-TI-3.M 1.SG-to 3.PL-kiss-PROG IRR or 3.PL-fight-PROG
lán
 IRR
 ‘I don’t know if they’re having a romance or fighting’
 (N20131010g>00:15:37) ♪
- d. *afíyen-ti-na=hamùga=tiya áfara ha-má-n-u*
 think-TI-1.SG=IRR=EMPH kill 3.PL-PRF-USPEC-3.F
hilá-gu-be-y
 die:SU2-REFL-EXTR-3.M
 ‘I think that they would have killed her (to death)’
 (N20131016f>00:04:18) ♪
- e. *arínyaga-t-u Mári n-ún nyûdü-ha lán tú-mari*
 say-TI-3.F M. 1.SG-to go:SU2-PRF IRR 3.F-spouse
 ‘Mari told me that her husband had left’ (E20150708b>01:10:54) ♪

The examples in (448) all have the same structure in terms of the subordinated verb form which takes subject marking, either directly or through a tense-aspect auxiliary, and it can take both object marking and tense-aspect marking as in (448-c) or be underspecified as in (448-a). However, a desiderative main verb as in (448-a) is more likely to yield an underspecified verb form in the complement clause because the semantics restricts the tense to the future leaving no need for further tense-aspect specification. The other complement-taking verbs such as ‘see’, ‘know’, ‘think’ etc. are much more open to different tense-aspect configurations. Also, *lan* is often used in these types of complement clauses, as in (448-b,c, and e); normally *lan* is used to express irrealis, but in complement clauses such as (448-b) ‘that it was raining’ and (448-e) ‘that her husband had left’, it appears to indicate that the content is second hand information, i.e. that the speaker did not directly witness what he is asserting.

So far I have shown that complement clauses do not require a complementizer, however, there are in fact complementizers; these are the prepositions *un* ‘to’ and *aw* ‘with’. Some examples of their use are given in (449) and (450) respectively.

- (449) a. *l-un gwára lán l-un n-ayúraha-ni-nyu*
 3.M-to be.possible IRR 3.M-to 1.SG-help-USPEC-3.PL
 ‘so that I can help them’ (N20131116a>00:13:20) ♪
- b. *busíyen-ti-na=tiya l-un n-arúmugu-n*
 want-TI-1.SG=EMPH 3.M-to 1.SG-sleep-USPEC
 ‘I want to sleep’ (N20131029a>00:08:21) ♪
- c. *busínya-t-i=ti l-ún l-águragu-b-on tán*
 want-TI-3.M=TOP 3.M-to 3.M-abuse-FUT-3.F IRR
 ‘then he wanted to abuse her’ (N20131010f>00:12:00) ♪

- d. le w-abúse:rù-be-y l-un h-íchugu-n salud w-ón
 3.M:DEM 1.PL-want-EXTR-3.M 3.M-to 3.PL-give:SU1-USPEC health 1.PL-to
 ságü véyu
 every day
 ‘what we want is that they give us health every day’
 (N20131116a>00:14:18) ♪
- e. yágüta-gwá-rügü b-ariha=ya l-ún aban l-adúnragu-n
 up.ahead-REFL-just 2.SG-see=again 3.M-to then 3.M-turn.on-USPEC
 ‘further up ahead you see that it turns on again’
 (N20131016c>00:14:17) ♪
- (450) a. ariha n-umú-t-i l-aw gúnya:-l-i lán
 see 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M 3.M-with night-DI-3.M IRR
 ‘I saw that it was night’ (E20150724>00:49:31) ♪
- b. l-ayéha-nya wügüri lé l-aw l-ówchaha-nya lán
 3.M-pretend-PROG man 3.M:DEM 3.M-with 3.M-fish-PROG IRR
 ‘that man is pretending to be fishing’ (E20150724>01:16:13) ♪
- c. agá:mba-ti-na l-aw hilá lán b-úguchi
 hear-TI-1.SG 3.M-with die:SU2:3.M IRR 2.SG-father
 ‘I heard that your father had died’ (E20150805>01:02:21) ♪
- d. aban l-arínyawa-gú-nu-wa h-ón l-aw arihú-wa lán=buga
 CONN 3.M-say-REFL-USPEC-PASS 3.PL-to 3.M-with see-PASS IRR=PST
 h-ádan
 3.PL-in
 ‘and it was said to them that he had been seen among them’
 (N20131010b>00:15:41) ♪
- e. ladüga gurévegi tán kreér-ti-bu l-aw t-adúmureha-ba lán
 because parrot IRR think-TI-2.SG 3.M-with 3.F-speak-FUT IRR
 m-adúmurehá-n-b-on
 NEG-speak-NEG-FUT-3.F
 ‘because it’s a parrot. If you think that it’s (just) gonna talk, it won’t
 talk’ (N20131016i>00:07:46) ♪
- f. t-arínyaga b-ún l-aw lemési lán
 3.F-say 2.SG-to 3.M-with mass IRR
 ‘she’ll tell you if it has to be a mass’ (N20131116a>00:08:02) ♪

There seems to be a certain division of labor between *un*, which is used in propositions of some certainty, and *aw*, which is used when the speaker is reluctant to vouch for the truth of the proposition. In this respect, the choice of complementizer overlaps with the modal auxiliary *lan* in their marking of degree of certainty. Notice that the choice of complementizer is not lexical since in (449-e) and (450-a) the same main verb *ariha* 'see' is used with different complementizers.

14 Quoting, speaking and listening

The present chapter will deal with a few aspects of the Garifuna language which are mainly motivated by attempts to draw and maintain the attention of listeners, and heighten their interest in the communicated message.

14.1 Quoted speech

When speakers quote a stretch of speech that has been uttered in the past, they use various verbs to introduce these, most frequently *inya* 'X said' or *arínyaga* 'say'. This type of quotational verb is located either just before or just after the quoted speech, or sometimes, for narrative effect, on both sides as in (451-b).

- (451) a. aban n-agúwaragun “dios mio!” **n-ínya**=ti ó:ra l-igíya
 then 1.SG-shout God my 1.SG-say=TOP time 3.M-DEM
 ‘then I shouted “oh my God!” I said, at that moment’
 (N20121017a>00:09:54) ♪
- b. bweno l-**arínyaga** l-un chofér “éy vós paráte ayí!”
 well 3.M-say 3.M-to driver hey you stand.yourself there
 l-inyá=me=tì=buga l-un chuférü
 3.M-say=DFUT=TOP=PST 3.M-to driver
 ‘well, he said to the driver “hey you, stand over there!” he said to the driver’
 (N20121002e>00:01:19) ♪
- c. **n-arínyaga** “n-achúbara gíyen”
 1.SG-say 1.SG-jump also
 ‘I said “I’ll jump as well” ’
 (N20131010f>00:01:04) ♪

In order to indicate the person and number of the intended recipient of the quoted speech, the latter can be followed by the oblique argument marker *un*.

- (452) a. “buchá n-uwágu n-amú” **n-inyá**=ti t-ún
 tired 1.SG-on 1.SG-little.sister 1.SG-say=TOP 3.F-to
 ‘“I’m tired little sister” I said to her’ (N20131016a>00:12:54) ♪
- b. “maní b-á!” l-**inyá**=nege=ti t-ún
 silent 2.SG-IMP 3.M-say=HS=TOP 3.F-to
 ‘“shut up!” he said to her’ (N20131016i>00:06:07) ♪
- c. aban **wa-rínyagu-n** l-ún “t-ábowagwà b-úma”
 then 1.PL-say-USPEC 3.M-to 3.F-cook 2.SG-with
 ‘then we said to him “she will cook with you” (N20131010d>00:13:27) ♪

The ‘X said’ verb can also be removed by ellipsis and replaced by a demonstrative pronoun.

- (453) a. “b-ugúya key n-idúhe b-án b-iyábi-n=meha
 2.SG-DEM since 1.SG-relative 2.SG-AUX 2.SG-come:SU1-USPEC=DPST
 anúge-y lé b-abúserun” l-igíya n-ún
 take:SU1-USPEC 3.M:DEM 2SG-want 3.M-DEM 1.SG-to
 ‘since you are family you can come and take what you want’ he (said)
 to me’ (N20131016c>00:00:56) ♪
- b. “bwídu-gi:-l-i ó:ra” n-ugúya=ti l-ún
 good-DUR-DI-3.M time 1.SG-DEM=TOP 3.M-to
 ‘“there is still time” I (said) to him’ (N20131016g>00:01:18) ♪

In my corpus I only find the combinations 1ST PERSON > 3RD PERSON or 3RD PERSON > 1ST PERSON like the ones in (453). However, it does not necessarily follow that the grammar disallows combinations with 2nd person arguments; it is perhaps more likely that my corpus contains an overweight of personal narratives told from the 1.SG perspective, and involving mainly third persons, i.e. persons which are not present at the time of narration.

Speech can also be quoted indirectly by paraphrase, and such cases work in a similar manner as has been shown above.

- (454) aban wa-rínyagu-n l-ún m-ídi-n-ba-dù-wa
 then 1.PL-say-USPEC 3.M-to NEG-go:SU1-NEG-FUT-DI-1.PL
 ‘we said to him that we were not going to go’ (N20131016f>00:08:55) ♪

Example (454) shows that indirectly quoted speech is also accompanied by one of the verbs meaning ‘X said’ and this verb form may be underspecified. Underspecified verb forms are not found with directly quoted speech. Another difference is that while indirectly quoted speech can be set in a future or past frame, with directly quoted speech the ‘X said’ verb is usually set in a non-past frame.

14.2 Emphatic enclitic

The enclitic =*tiya* marks emphasis on a proposition and may appear at various places in a clause as shown in (455).

- (455) a. lamá-di-na=**tiya**!
 hungry-DI-1.SG=EMPH
 ‘I’m hungry, man!’ (E20121025b>02:24:52) ♪
- b. t-éygu-ba-du-wà=yebe=**tiya** héve!
 3.F-eat:SU1-FUT-DI-1.PL=PFUT=EMPH snake
 ‘the snake was going to eat us!’ (N20131116b>00:15:29) ♪

- c. kéymon=**tiya** yá-giyen n-úguchu porke ánima:lu=**tiya** tó
 let's.go=EMPH here-ABL 1.SG-mother because animal=EMPH 3.F:DEM
 yaráfa-mème-r-ù=**tiya**!
 close.in-still-DI-3.F=EMPH
 'let's get out of here mom, because that animal is closing in!'
 (N20131116b>00:14:51) ♪
- d. pero abálabaha l-umú-ti-na=**tiya** (garábali)!
 but turn 3.M-PST-TI-1.SG=EMPH (wind)
 'but (the wind) tipped me over!' (N20131016g>00:10:37) ♪

Note that the emphatic enclitic seems to favor the verb phrase as its host as e.g. (455-b), even though the semantic scope is the entire clause. However, (455-c) further shows that a focused noun phrase such as *ánima:lu tó* 'that animal' can also serve as host in addition to the stative verb *yaráfa-mème-r-ù* 'get still closer'. Example (455-d) shows that if the verb phrase contains an auxiliary, the emphatic enclitic comes after the auxiliary taking the entire verb phrase as its host.

14.3 Vocative enclitic

The function of vocative markers was explained to me quite to the point by one of my consultants (MaSV):

'ese "-ów", eso es una bulla para que oiga ... "rástè:ü" (digo) si está largo'
 [that "-ów", that's a noise so that he'll hear ... "rástèü" (I say) if he's far
 away] (E20150804b>00:47:14) ♪

Vocative markers in Garifuna serve to attract extra attention to an utterance from interlocutors who are nearby but outside of normal hearing range. Unlike other kinds of clitics in Garifuna which take a word, a phrase or a clause as their scope, vocative enclitics do not have morphosyntactic scope. Instead they function outside of the grammatical system as purely pragmatic markers in the same way as *hello* and *thanks*. One might place vocative markers on a par with the non-linguistic means of calling at a distance such as whistling and waving.

The vocative is expressed by a stressed enclitic always found at the right edge of the utterance. The motivation for analyzing vocative markers as enclitics, rather than particles or words, is that they interact with the previous word ending and thus do not have the autonomy of words or particles; but since they can attach to words of any word class, they are not as bound as suffixes.

Table 37 shows the three shapes of the vocative enclitic, the distribution of which is conditioned by the last vowel of the word to which it attaches.

What follows in (456) represents an exchange of greetings and information taking place with a considerable distance between interlocutors; note that all three vocative forms are represented in the examples.

Utterance final vowel		Enclitic
Front vowels:	-i, -e	=(we)y
Back low vowel:	-a	=(e)ü
Back non-low vowels:	-o, -u	=(o)w

Table 37: *Vocative enclitics*

- (456) a. kátey-bè-y=ey?
 what-EXTR-3.M=VOC
 ‘what’s up?’ (N20131010e>00:06:58) ♪
- b. [ida 'bin,yeü]
 ída b-ínya=û
 how 2.SG-COP=VOC
 ‘how are you doing?’ (N20131010e>00:07:00) ♪
- c. murúsun-reü yá l-áfara-di-na tós=òw
 a.bit-DIM here 3.M-kill-DI-1.SG cough=VOC
 ‘the cough is killing me a bit here’ (N20131010e>00:07:01) ♪
- d. ó:h!
 INTERJ
 ‘oh!’ (N20131010e>00:07:04) ♪

While native Garifuna words can only end in a glide, a nasal vowel or an oral vowel, phonologically unadjusted loan words may end in a consonant; in such cases it is still the last vowel that determines the shape of the vocative suffix, regardless of whether that vowel is followed by a consonant or not; this is shown in (456-c) and Table 38 the latter of which is a sample list of words with vocative endings.

Word	Vocative	Translation
<i>wûri</i>	<i>wûri=wèy</i>	'woman'
<i>Nímsi</i>	<i>Nímsi=èy</i>	PROP
<i>Stéffen</i>	<i>Stéffen=èy</i>	PROP
<i>Mári</i>	<i>Mári=èy</i>	'PROP'
<i>Cáne</i>	<i>Cán=èy</i>	'PROP'
<i>pa</i>	<i>pá=wèy</i>	'bro; man'
<i>wügûri</i>	<i>wügûri=wèy</i>	'man'
<i>eyéri</i>	<i>eyér=èy</i>	'man'
<i>ównli</i>	<i>ównl=èy</i>	'dog'
<i>tos</i>	<i>tós=òw</i>	'cough'
<i>Bócho</i>	<i>Bóch=òw</i>	'PROP'
<i>Sántos</i>	<i>Sántos=òw</i>	'PROP'
<i>Pándo</i>	<i>Pánd=òw</i>	'PROP'
<i>hinyáru</i>	<i>hinyár=òw</i>	'woman'
<i>higábu nún</i>	<i>higábu nún=òw</i>	'come here!'
<i>viéjo</i>	<i>viéj=û</i>	'oldtimer; man'
<i>ída binya</i>	<i>ída binyè=ü</i>	'how are you?'
<i>bra</i>	<i>brá=wû</i>	'bro; man'
<i>ma</i>	<i>má=û</i>	'sis; girl'
<i>pa</i>	<i>pá=û</i>	'bro; man'
<i>ya</i>	<i>yá=û</i>	'here'

Table 38: Words with vocative enclitics

There are a few inconsistencies with regards to the general pattern as outlined in Table 37: *pa*→*pá=wèy* 'bro; man' and *viéjo*→*viéj=û* 'old-timer; man' both have unexpected vocative endings given their final vowels; however, *pa* is also given in Table 38 in the expected shape *pá=û*.

15 Male speech: the marked register

Garifuna is one of the relatively few languages of the world which have speech registers which correlate with indexical gender⁵² (a.k.a. “biological”, “cultural” or “real-world” gender) and which consist of lexical and grammatical elements which are historically unrelated, also known as genderlects. This fact has so far only been noted in passing where relevant. The two registers have been called “men’s” or “male speech” and “women’s” or “female speech” by most authors (cf. for instance Taylor (1951b, 1954); Munro (1997); Sabio and Ordóñez (2006)) but Munro et al. (2013) recently introduced the label “neutral” speech contrasting with “male” speech, hereby pointing to the fact that in modern Garifuna there is no speech register which is only used by women; instead, there is a male speech register the use of which is marked even when used by men, against a backdrop which is the default speech register that everybody uses most of the time, men and women alike. In this section I am going to outline the ways in which male speech differs from neutral speech in both morphosyntax and lexicon.

There is an historical correlation between male speech and the Carib influences in Garifuna on the one hand and neutral speech and the Arawak language base on the other. This means that male speech lexemes as well as some grammatical items of lexical origin are etymologically Carib while neutral speech items are of Arawak origin.

15.1 Lexicon

A large part of the lexical differences between male and female speech lie in the kinship terminology. In Table 39 is a representative, if not entirely exhaustive, list of lexical items with relevance for the genderlect distinction. The list shows that kinship terms outnumber other kinds of lexemes⁵³.

⁵²I follow Rose (2015) in using the term “indexical gender” as contrasting with “grammatical gender”.

⁵³The letters F and M in parentheses after certain kinship terms indicates the gender of an intervening relative between speaker and referent, i.e. the daughter of a sister will be indicated as “niece (F)” while the daughter of a brother will be written “niece (M)” etc.

Gloss	Male speech	Neutral speech
man	<i>wügûri</i>	<i>eyé:ri</i>
woman	<i>wûri</i>	<i>hinyá:ru</i>
yesterday	<i>gúnya:rü</i>	<i>würínawuga</i>
paddle	<i>inéheney</i>	<i>fága:yu</i>
storm	<i>gunúbu</i>	<i>lérowga</i>
land crab	<i>wayúmu</i>	<i>hürü</i>
Kinship terms		
older brother	<i>ayn</i>	
niece (F)	<i>ibádun</i>	
niece (F)	<i>ibásey</i>	
niece (M)		<i>ibásey</i>
nephew (F)	<i>inándaganu</i>	<i>ibádimu</i>
nephew (F)	<i>iníbu</i>	
nephew (M)		<i>iníbu</i>
mother-in-law	<i>ímedi</i>	
daughter-in-law		<i>ígeru</i>
brother-in-law	<i>ibámu</i>	
older sister	<i>ítu</i>	
older brother	<i>íbu</i>	
older brother	<i>íbuganya</i>	
older sister		<i>íbuganya</i>

Table 39: *Lexical genderlect distinctions*

Note how some of the male speech kinship terms are used in neutral speech with an opposite gender referent, e.g. *íbuganya* in male speech means ‘older brother’ while in neutral speech it means ‘older sister’ - the information about kinship term usage is from Suazo (2011) if no other information is given. An empty slot means that no corresponding item could be found in the opposite genderlect, e.g. *iníbu* is used in male speech to refer to the son of one’s sister, and in neutral speech to the son of one’s brother, but in male speech there does not appear to be a word to refer to the son of one’s brother. This means that, for all purposes, besides the ones specified by the explicit terminology in Table 39, more general terms are used such as *iréühanya* ‘nephew; niece’ or *yúnde:ru* ‘nephew’.

15.2 Morphosyntax

In the morphosyntax, the two main male speech strategies involve, 1) person marking morphology of Carib origin, especially in the first person, and 2) the non-canonical use of grammatical gender agreement markers of Arawak origin; these will be treated in turn below.

15.2.1 Carib material

As has been shown in previous chapters, the borrowing of Carib formatives into Garifuna is not uncommon, as is the case of the collective suffix *-gu* which is used in both neutral and male speech. Different, however, is the exclusive male speech use of certain inflectional affixes which are no longer analyzable, i.e. they represent defective paradigms. One example of this is found in the emphatic pronouns, in the first and second person singular as illustrated in Table 40.

Gloss	Male speech	Neutral speech
1.SG	<i>aw</i>	<i>n-ugúya</i>
2.SG	<i>amûrü</i>	<i>b-ugúya</i>

Table 40: *Pronominal genderlect distinctions*

The male speech pronouns are unanalyzable vestiges from Carib, while the Arawak forms from neutral speech enter into the regular person marking paradigm.

Another example involves the possessive classifiers which are used to indicate the intended use of a possessed item on the part of the possessor. As shown in Table 41 there are parallel male and neutral speech items for four possessive classifiers. (cf. § 3.5.1.1.9 for more details and examples.)

Gloss	Male speech	Neutral speech
‘my drink’	<i>yágu</i>	<i>n-uníye</i>
‘my meat’	<i>yúdi</i>	<i>n-úyi</i>
‘my domestic animal’	<i>yégü</i>	<i>n-ilûgün</i>
‘my vessel’	<i>yagáne</i>	<i>n-ugúne</i>

Table 41: *Genderlectal noun classifier distinctions*

In this case it is actually possible to identify the first person singular possessive prefix *y-* which was borrowed from Cariban as part of the classifiers, but it is unanalyzable since the only items that were borrowed are the first person singular ones. From an historical perspective, it seems likely, as I have discussed elsewhere (Haurholm-Larsen 2013), that Garifuna has adopted the idea of possessive classifiers from their Karina forefathers. This is supported by the fact that possessive classifiers are almost non-existent in the Arawak language family whereas they are commonly found in Carib languages. This means that, apart from borrowing the Carib items for male speech purposes, Garifuna adapted Arawak lexical items in possessed form for use as the neutral speech equivalents - in fact, neutral speech has one more classifier *éygan* that male speech lacks, used to classify an item as intended for consumption generally (food item) (cf. § 3.5.1.1.8 for a full discussion of possessive classifiers).

Although these 1.SG possessive forms are irregular with respect to the other person indices, they are highly regular among themselves as they all conform to the pattern /yVCV(CV)/.

One other item is of interest in the present context: *áhü yé!* ‘come to me!’ is the male speech equivalent of neutral speech *higábu n-ún*. In the male speech preposition *ye* ‘to me’, the first person singular prefix can again be identified. The verb *áhü* may be the only Carib verb that has survived as confined to male speech. Verbs borrowed from Carib are rare as the only other ones are members of suppletive verb pairs, but these are used in both speech registers (cf. § 7.3.10 for a discussion of suppletive verb stems).

15.2.2 Arawak material

The male speech features which employ Arawak material involve the non-canonical use of Arawak gender agreement markers. The strategy is basically to use the opposite gender marker than the one expected, and this single strategy is employed for two entirely different purposes, as explained below.

15.2.2.1 Inanimate number marking As was shown in § 3 on the noun and the noun phrase, lexical items referring to inanimate entities generally do not trigger number agreement. However, in the male speech register, inanimate nouns of masculine gender consistently trigger feminine agreement when the referent is plural; feminine gender inanimate nouns never allow number marking, not in neutral nor in male speech, as illustrated in (457).

- (457) a. *alúgura n-umú-t-u fáluma tó*
 sell 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F coconut 3.F:DEM
 ‘I sold that coconut / those coconuts’ (E20150810>01:06:45) ♪
- b. *t-áhürüha-ny-on wûri tó bímína tó*
 1.SG-grate-PROG-3.F woman 3.F:DEM banana 3.F:DEM
 ‘the woman is grating that banana / those bananas’
 (E20131029>00:35:02) ♪

Masculine gender inanimates in male speech have developed a strategy for marking number which involves using the opposite gender agreement marker, as illustrated in (458).

- (458) a. *agányeha n-á-l-i muréy*
 buy 1.SG-PRF-DI-3.M nance
 ‘I bought the nance’ (E20121001a>00:39:55) ♪
- b. *agányeha n-á-r-u muréy*
 buy 1.SG-PRF-DI-3.F nance
 ‘I bought the nances’ (E20121001a>00:40:17) ♪

- c. inyúra n-umú-t-i
lift 1.SG-PST-TI-3.M
'I lifted it (the boot)' (A20121023a>00:44:48) ♪
- d. inyúra n-umú-t-u
lift 1.SG-PST-TI-3.F
'I lift them (the boots)' (A20121023a>00:44:48) ♪
- e. gáy-t-i ában n-á:ri
hurt-TI-3.M one 1.SG-tooth
'one of my teeth hurts' (E20131024>00:16:01) ♪
- f. gáy-t-u n-á:ri
hurt-TI-3.F 1.SG-tooth
'my teeth hurt' (E20131024>00:31:30) ♪

This non-canonical gender marking and its connection to number of inanimate referents was discovered by Barchas-Lichtenstein (2012) but the connection to genderlects was made by Munro et al. (2013). However, this issue was indirectly hinted at by Taylor (1951b, p. 103) who even points to examples of this phenomenon from Breton (1666, pp. 129-30, 243, 263). Both Taylor and Breton noted that, in the words of Taylor, “body parts are nearly always treated as masculine, although I was told that some men treat some others, such as *á:gu* *eye(s)*, as feminine.” The reason for this confusion or apparent random variation, is most likely that ‘eyes’ belong to the kind of body part that speakers tend to conceptualize as a pair, and thereby inherently as plural. In male speech, then, *á:gu* ‘eye’ can both take masculine and feminine agreement depending on whether a singular or plural reading is desired.

15.2.2.2 Non-referring argument markers The other area of male speech grammar where the gender switching strategy is used involves non-referring argument markers. Non-referring argument markers are found in a variety of contexts including: 1) time adverbials, 2) stative verbs with obliquely marked S, and 3) modal verbs. These are illustrated in turn below.

15.2.2.2.1 Time adverbials A common type of time adverbial in Garifuna are derived noun phrases consisting of a noun and a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun with a tense enclitic. These adverbial expressions take masculine gender in neutral speech and feminine gender in male speech, as illustrated in the overview in Table 42 and exemplified in (459).

- (459) a. würi-nya há gwén tó
woman-PL 3.PL:DEM now 3.F:DEM
'those women of today' (N20131016c>00:01:32) ♪

Gloss	Male speech	Neutral speech
'today'	<i>gwén tó</i>	<i>gwén lé</i>
'today'	<i>ugúnye tó</i>	<i>ugúnye lé</i>
'now'	<i>óra tó</i>	<i>óra lé</i>
'the other day'	<i>tugúra=buga</i>	<i>ligíra=buga</i>
'at that time'	<i>dán tó</i>	<i>dán lé</i>

Table 42: Genderlectal time adverbial distinctions

- b. m-ówchaha-nyà-nunyon ubówhu-na **ugúnye tó**
 NEG-fish-PROG-? island-NOMA today 3.F:DEM
 'the islanders are not fishing today' (N20131016d>00:00:02) ♪
- c. máma murúsun údereü ha-nyá-ba-nya **t-ugúra=buga**
 NEG a.bit fish 3.PL-exist-EXTR-3.PL 3.F-DEM=PST
 'there was no small amount of fish the other day'
 (N20131016e>00:05:23) ♪

15.2.2.2.2 **Stative verbs with obliquely marked S** As discussed in § 4.2.4, there are a number of stative verbs related to physical experience and cognition which take a non-referring argument suffix while marking their S obliquely through the use of a preposition. Such non-referring argument suffixes are also switched to feminine gender in male speech as illustrated by contrast between neutral speech examples in (460) and male speech examples in (461).

- (460) Neutral speech
- a. chù-t-i t-áw
 intelligent-TI-3.M 3.F-with
 'she's intelligent' (E20150804b>00:35:07) ♪
- b. chù-be-y t-áw
 intelligent-FUT-3.M 3.F-with
 'she'll be intelligent' (E20150804b>00:35:51) ♪
- c. chù l-án n-áw
 intelligent 3.M-IRR 1.SG-with
 'I would be intelligent' (E20131109>00:08:34) ♪
- (461) Male speech
- a. chù-t-u b-áw
 intelligent-TI-3.F 2.SG-with
 'you're intelligent' (E20150724>00:09:10) ♪

Note that the expressions in (463) are interjection-like, all informal and closely tied to discourse structure serving in much the same way as tag questions to maintain attention and discourse flow. Furthermore, gendered expressions, similar to the kinship terms discussed above, do not necessarily have both male and female counterparts.

15.4 Unconfirmed distinctions

According to a number of sources (Suazo, 2011; Sabio and Ordóñez, 2006; Munro et al., 2013; de Pury, 2003b) the positive interjections *ayé* and *ayí* belong to male and neutral speech respectively but I have been unsuccessful in my attempts to confirm this as I have only ever encountered *ayé*, the alleged male counterpart, with a common reduced variant *a:y*. I deduce from this state of affairs that this distinction probably does exist in Garifuna of Honduras, especially given that Sabio and Ordóñez (2006) which was compiled in Honduras, does have it, but that it belongs to the type of genderlect trait that is opaque to speakers and possibly going into disuse.

15.5 Genderlect practices

Male speech is today severely deteriorated in both the size of the system and the extent of its use. In fact, no individual has been reported to always use male speech forms, consistently avoiding the use of neutral speech items when a male equivalent exists. Even those male speakers who frequently use male speech items will be just as likely to use neutral speech items. However, not all parts of the male speech system are equally deteriorated. This difference shows both in the frequency of male speech items and in the degree of speaker awareness of them. In general, lexical items are more resistant to deterioration than morphosyntactical traits. High frequency items such as ‘man’, ‘woman’ and ‘yesterday’ (cf. Table 39) are particularly frequent and salient in speaker awareness. Among the grammatical items, pronouns and classifiers belong to the more salient ones whereas non-canonical gender marking is much more opaque to speakers and belongs to the least frequently used male speech features.

In this discussion of language change it is interesting to take a look at the statistics published by Taylor (1954) regarding the etymology of male speech and neutral speech items, as illustrated in Table 43 (Taylor’s labels are maintained in the table; m.s. and w.s. stand for men’s and women’s speech respectively).

Etymology	Dominica 1650		Central American 1950	
	m.s.	w.s.	m.s.	w.s.
Arawak	56	137	122	130
Carib	100	26	36	28

Table 43: *Diachronic comparison of genderlect etymology*

Table 43 compares Belize Garifuna of the 1950s to the ancestor language Island Carib as spoken on the island of Dominica in 1650, looking at a cross-section of what is taken to be 197 “non-cultural” lexical items. As the table shows, neutral speech (women’s speech) had largely maintained its proportion of Arawak and Carib lexical items, while in male speech a massive shift had taken place, replacing somewhere between 60 and 80 Carib lexical items with ones of Arawak origin. This shift represents a weakening of the male speech genderlect which has continued and is still ongoing.

It probably used to be socially unacceptable for women to use male speech, and the other way around, but in the state of bleaching / deterioration that the system is found now, either register can today be used by either gender without anybody reacting to, or opposing, such practices. It does, however, continue to be somewhat marked for women to use male speech, but not particularly rare.

A Texts

A.1 My dear brother

In this personal narrative MaDi tells about her older brother and the close relationship that they used to have before he tragically died by drowning.

(N20131016d>00:06:22) ♪

- (464) a. ában dán l-uwéy sún dán
one time 3.M-from all time
'one time before all times'
- b. ní-heyn=meha ában n-íbuganya Béydi-rugu l-erédera
3.M-COP=DPST one 1.SG-brother B.-LOC 3.M-stay
'I had an older brother. He lived in La Ensenada'
- c. l-áfaya-ha-nyà=meha
3.M-float-DISTR-PROG=DPST
'he worked as a sailor'
- d. ságü=me=ti=ha l-áni vakasyónesi l-igíya=büri=ha
every=DFUT=TOP=DISTR 3.M-CLF vacation 3.M-DEM=PL=DISTR
l-achûla:-gu-n l-úbiy-on
3.M-come-REFL-USPEC 3.M-house-ALL
'every time he was on vacation, he would come home'
- e. l-igíya=büri=ha l-ównaha rasón n-ún chülû-ha-l-i lán
3.M-DEM=PL=DISTR 3.M-send message 1.SG-to arrive-DISTR-DI-3.M IRR
'then he would send to tell me that he had come home'
- f. ni-há=me=ti=ha n-iyábi-n San Juan-giyen
3.M-exist=DFUT=TOP=DISTR 1.SG-come:SU1-USPEC S. J.-ABL
l-un Tél-on t-idan búsu Téla-giyen l-un Béydi-rugu-n éybu
3.M-to T.-ALL 3.F-on bus T.-ABL 3.M-to B.-LOC-ALL on.foot
'then I would come from San Juan to Tela by bus, (and then) from Tela to La Ensenada on foot'
- g. éybu-gwa-gi-l-ì=meha, Téla-giyen l-un Béydi-rugu-n éybu
walk-REFL-DUR-DI-3.M=DPST T.-ABL 3.M-to B.-LOC-ALL on.foot
dán l-igíya
time 3.M-DEM
'one used to walk a lot, from Tela to La Ensenada in those days'
- h. aban=meha n-iyábi-n t-uma ában muchácha
CONN=DPST 1.SG-come:SU1-USPEC 3.F-with one young.girl
'so I would come together with a young girl'

- i. áhurerè-yna wa-gíya=meha l-áru béya béya dey
 play-ANDA 1.PL-DEM=DPST 3.M-edge beach beach until
 wa-chûlürü-n Béydi-rugu
 1.PL-arrive-USPEC B.-LOC
 ‘we would go playing along the way all along the beach until we arrived
 to La Ensenada’
- j. l-idan le wa-chûlürü-n Béydi-rugu aban
 3.M-in 3.M:DEM 1.PL-arrive-USPEC B.-LOC then
 n-arágachu-n l-úbiy-on n-áti
 1.SG-descend-USPEC 3.M-house-ALL 1.SG-brother
 ‘when we arrived to La Ensenada, I would go down to my brother’s
 house’
- k. t-ugúya t-eréderu-n há-bi-nye aban n-eréderu-n nyén
 3.F-DEM 3.F-stay-USPEC 3.PL-house-LOC then 1.SG-stay-USPEC there
 porke l-arúgan-ba=büri=ha n-ídi-n l-un
 because 3.M-dawn-FUT=PL=DISTR 1.SG-go:SU1-USPEC 3.M-to
 n-árig-òn l-ún San Juá-wn
 1.SG-back-ALL 3.M-to S. J.-ALL
 ‘she (the girl) would stay at their house, and I stayed there (too), be-
 cause I was going back to San Juan in the morning’
- l. bueno aban n-eréderu-n nyén ayánuha wa-gíya
 well then 1.SG-stay-USPEC there chat 1.PL-DEM
 ‘well, so I stayed there and we would chat’
- m. aban adáguwa wa-gíya plánesi würi-ba-t-i=yebe=tiya!
 CONN make 1.PL-DEM plans bad-TI-3.M=PFUT=EMPH
 ‘we would make plans, lots of them!’
- n. ásüraha l-igíya ni-féyn-te l-un n-anûgü-n
 bake 3.M-DEM 1.SG-bread-POSS 3.M-to 1.SG-bring:SU1-USPEC
 n-áni tórta l-un n-anûgü-n wá-bi-ny-on
 1.SG-CLF pie 1.SG-to 1.SG-bring:SU1-USPEC 1.PL-house-LOC-ALL
 ‘he would bake bread for me, for me to bring home some pies’
- o. l-ídi-ba=ti íchiga-na chûlú wá-bi-ny-on
 3.M-go:SU1-EXTR=TOP give:SU1-1.SG arrive 1.PL-house-LOC-ALL
 l-ubá l-agíribudu-n
 3.M-after 3.M-return-USPEC
 ‘he would go and drop me off at our house and then go back afterwards’

- p. bwí-t-i=meha l-arúseru-ni-nà=yebe n-áti l-igíya
 good-TI-3.M=DPST 3.M-treat-USPEC-1.SG=PFUT 1.SG-brother 3.M-DEM
 'he treated me very well, that brother of mine'
- q. pero aban l-ónwe figiyábu nyaráguwa=rügû=ti
 but CONN 3.M-die:SU1 poor.guy drown=just=TOP
 'but then the poor guy died, he drowned'

A.2 When Death comes knocking

The below fictional narrative was told by MaDi and is a story which is known among many people in the community. It tells about a man who had been chosen by Death to die and was going to be picked up. In advance, Death had said that he would not take bald people, and as a consequence, the man shaved his head in order to fool Death. In the end Death decided to “settle for a bald guy”. (N20131010b>00:01:36) ♪

- (465) a. l-idan=nege ában bwídu aban=nege l-iyábi-n ában ...
 3.M-in=HS one party CONN=HS 3.M-come:SU1-USPEC one ...
 t-iyábi-n=ya lán=nege ában ... ónwe-ni aríyaha ában
 3.F-come-USPEC=again IRR=HS one ... die:SU1-NMLZ search one
 l-un=ti l-ónwe
 3.M-to=TOP 3.M-die:SU1
 ‘there was a party and then came a ... they say that there came a ...
 death looking for someone who was going to die’
- b. aban=nege=ti l-avisahòw-ni-wa de ke ... l-achùlürü-ba lán
 CONN=HS=TOP 3.M-notify-USPEC-PASS of that ... 3.M-arrive-FUT IRR
 ában ó:ra l-un lán=buga l-iyábi-n ónwe-ni lé
 one time 3.M-to IRR=PST 3.M-come:SU1-USPEC die:SU1-NMLZ 3.M:DEM
 aríyahe-y gürigiya lé l-un-be-y l-anûgü-be-y
 search-3.M person 3.M:DEM 3.M-to-EXTR-3.M 3.M-bring:SU1-EXTR-3.M
 lán
 IRR
 ‘and then it was announced that ... there came a time when Death was
 coming to look for the person who he was going to take away’
- c. aban=nege=ti l-arínyagu-n “pero l-aw ában lé helú
 CONN=HS=TOP 3.M-say-USPEC but 3.M-with one 3.M:DEM bald
 t-ábulugu” ... le m-ádubürì-t-i pwes ... m-anûgü
 3.F-head ... 3.M:DEM NEG-hair-TI-3.M well ... NEG-bring:SU1
 n-ubé-y l-inyá=nege=ti
 1.SG-FUT-3.M 3.M-say=HS=TOP
 ‘and then he said “but someone with a bald head ... who has no hair ...
 him I won’t take”, he said’
- d. anúfurede-t-ì=nege=ti eyéri lé l-uwéy l-ónwe
 afraid-TI-3.M=HS=TOP man 3.M:DEM 3.M-from 3.M-die:SU1
 ‘(there was a man there) he’s afraid of dying’
- e. key=ti anyá-ha lán nyén sún mútu l-idan pádi
 since=TOP 3.PL-exist IRR there all person 3.M-in party
 m-ádubürì-ti-nya lé há h-íbiri h-íbiri
 NEG-hair-TI-3.PL 3.M:DEM 3.PL:DEM 3.PL-rest, 3.PL-rest

- h-ádubüri-ti-nya
 3.PL-hair-TI-3.PL
 ‘and since all the people are there at the party, some without hair and some with hair’
- f. pero eyéri=tì=buga lé l-uwéy l-ónwe-ba lán ... subúsi
 but man=TOP=PST 3.M:DEM 3.M-from 3.M-die:SU1-FUT IRR ... know
 l-á-l-i l-igíya-ba lán=buga ... adúnrù-wa l-un
 3.M-PRF-DI-3.M 3.M-DEM-EXTR IRR=PST ... choose-PASS 3.M-to
 l-ónwe ... aban l-ásaru-n-i l-ubé-y=buga l-ídubüri
 3.M-die:SU1 ... CONN 3.M-shave-USPEC-3.M 3.M-FUT-3.M=PST 3.M-hair
 ‘but that man, in order to avoid dying ... because he knows that he’s
 the one ... chosen to die ... so he shaved off his hair’
- g. bueno ni-há eyéri lé l-ún-gwa awíwando-n
 well 3.M-exist man 3.M:DEM 3.M-to-REFL live-USPEC
 h-ádan=meme sún há nyén-ba-nya
 3.PL-in=CONT all 3.PL:DEM there-EXTR-3.PL
 ‘well, that man is living it up among all the people who are there’
- h. bueno l-aríyahò-w-nya=negè=ti=buga eyéri lé
 well 3.M-search-PASS-PROG=HS=TOP=PST man 3.M:DEM
 l-aríyahò-w-nya l-aríyahò-w-nya h-agárara-ha
 3.M-search-PASS-PROG 3.M-search-PASS-PROG 3.PL-turn.around-DISTR
 arí:yahe-y
 search-3.M
 ‘well, the man is searched for, and searched for, and searched for, they’re
 spinning around (themselves) searching for him’
- i. l-agúmuho-n ó:ra aban lan h-adúnragu-n ...
 3.M-end-POSS:NMLZ time CONN IRR 3.PL-meet-USPEC ...
 l-adúnragu-n l-uma l-igíya l-arínyagu-n l-ún “l-aw helú
 3.M-meet-USPEC 3.M-with 3.M-DEM 3.M-say-USPEC 3.M-to 3.M-with bald
 t-ábulugu lé konfórma-ti-nà ... l-igíya-ba n-anûga”
 3.F-head 3.M:DEM settle-TI-1.SG ... 3.M-DEM-FUT 1.SG-bring:SU1
 ‘at last they found ... he found him and he said to him “I’ll settle for this
 bald one - he’s the one I’ll take” ’
- j. l-ásarùn-ye=nege=tiya=buga l-ídibüri l-uwéy l-ónwe! “kon ése
 3.M-shave-3.M=HS=EMPH=PST 3.M-hair 3.M-from 3.M-die:SU1 with that
 pelón me konfórmo” l-inyá=nege gû
 bald.one myself settle 3.M-say=HS MP
 ‘he had shaved his hair to avoid dying! “I’ll settle for that bald one” he
 said!’

A.3 Making a living is hard work

The below text is a dialogue between a fisherman (MaSV) and his female friend (MaDi) while sitting at the house by the beach. They talk about economic difficulties and especially about the ups and downs of the fishing business. Each example represents a turn by one of the two interlocutors. (N20131016e>00:04:36) ♪

- (466) a. awan-há yá mégey-tu-wa séynsu
1.SG-exist here not.have-TI-1.PL money
'here we are, we don't have any money'
- b. ní wadégumanu úwa-t-i
NEG work NEG.COP-TI-3.M
'and there's no work either'
- (467) ibídiye-t-i ní w-ón ká-ba lán w-alúguraha
be.unknown-TI-3.M NEG 1.PL-to what-FUT IRR 1.PL-sell
'we don't even know what to sell'
- (468) abídiye-t-i=tiya?!
be.unknown-TI-3.M=EMPH
'who knows?!' (Lit. 'it is unknown!')
- (469) lé b-adúgü-n óra lé m-alúguru-n=gubèy
3.M:DEM 2.SG-make-USPEC time 3.M:DEM NEG-sell-NEG=COMPL
'what you produce today, you're not gonna sell it'
- (470) a. m-alúgurù-n-t-i=tiya má! m-alúgurù-n-t-i!
NEG-sell-NEG-TI-3.M=EMPH sister NEG-sell-NEG-TI-3.M
'it doesn't sell sister! It doesn't sell!'
- b. ana-há yára ugúnye lé anyá-heyn fyú údereü n-úma
1.SG-exist there today 3.M:DEM 3.PL-exist few fish 1.SG-with
'there I am right now, I have a few fish'
- c. anyá-ha-gwa yára úh! áh!
3.PL-exist-still there INTERJ INTERJ
'they're still there, oh! ah!'
- d. ugúnye ma ... würínowga m-alúguru-n-ti-na ní ában líburu
today NEG ... yesterday NEG-sell-NEG-TI-1.SG NEG one pound
'today I didn't ... yesterday I didn't sell a single pound'

- e. ugúnye m-alúguru-n-tì-na áye
today NEG-sell-NEG-TI-1.SG yes
'today I haven't sold anything either, right'
- (471) peór nyén-nya-nu=buga údereü há-ma Tórna-bè-na
worse there-COP-3.PL=PST fish 3.PL-with T.-NOMA
'what's worse, there was fish from the people from Tornabé'
- (472) l-igíya=tiya
3.M-DEM=EMPH
'that's why!'
- (473) bürû t-ówba
write.PST 3.F-side
'snook fish'
- (474) a. aban ha-yábi Tórna-bè-na h-aw údereü
CONN 3.PL-come:SU1 T.-NOMA 3.PL-with fish
'the people from Tornabé came with fish'
- b. dan=ti le ha-yábi-n Tórna-bè-na h-aw
when=TOP 3.M:DEM 3.PL-come:SU1-USPEC T.-NOMA 3.PL-with
údereü
fish
'when the people from Tornabé come with fish'
- c. entónces barátu-timà-t-i h-íchugu-ni-nyu l-uwéy yá
then cheap-INV-TI-3.M 3.PL-give:SU1-USPEC-3.PL 3.M-from here
'they sell it cheaper than here'
- d. ókey súwandàn=ti ha-nyá-ba-nya
okay always=TOP 3.PL-COP-EXTR-3.PL
'okay, those (people) here always ...'
- e. l-adágaru-n murúsun (l-uríba-n dán)
3.M-approach-USPEC a.bit 3.M-bad-USPEC weather
'a bit of bad weather is coming'
- (475) úh!
'oh! (right)'
- (476) a. porque máma murúsun údereü ha-nyá-ba-nya t-ugúra=buga
because NEG a.bit fish 3.PL-COP-EXTR-3.PL 3.F-DEM=PST
'because there wasn't just a few fish the other day'

- b. gíbe-ti-nyu=tiya údereü há-ra!
 a.lot-TI-3.PL=EMPH fish 3.PL-DEM
 ‘there was a lot!’
- (477) gíbe-ti-nyu=ti údereü há-ra b-abéüdaha n-ún ugúnye
 a.lot-TI-3.PL=TOP fish 3.PL-DEM 2.SG-tell 1.SG-to day
 ‘there was a lot of fish, you told me, that day’
- (478) a. ugúnye tó úwa-nya údereü yára
 today 3.F:DEM NEG.COP-3.PL fish there
 ‘right now there’s no fish’
- b. úwa-nya
 NEG.COP-3.PL
 ‘there’s none’
- c. anyá-ha yá más bién ... quién sábe ... áh-on=me ...
 3.PL-exist here more well ... who knows ... if-3.F=DFUT
 ‘and now here’s these ... who knows ... if they’ll ...’
- d. l-aránseha Rásta áhe-yn chülû-ha-l-i l-ubé-y=me
 3.M-fix R. if-3.M arrive-PRF-DI-3.M 3.M-EXTR-3.M=DFUT
 haníha-giyen
 there-ABL
 ‘Rasta will fix it if he has come back from over there’
- e. áh-on=me l-arénsera ugúnye má=funa h-áfuridu-ba harúga
 if-3.F=DFUT 3.F-fix today NEG=EPIST 3.PL-exit-FUT tomorrow
 áluwaha údereü
 look.for fish
 ‘if he fixes it (the seine) today, they might go out tomorrow to look for fish’
- f. h-áluwaha h-áfuridu-n aséniha harúga
 3.PL-look.for 3.PL-exit-USPEC fish.with.seine tomorrow
 ‘they’re trying to go out and fish tomorrow’
- g. anya-há=tiya yunúgu há yá halíya-na=funà=tiya!
 3.PL-exist=EMPH Ladino 3.PL here where-NOMA=EPIST=EMPH
 ‘here are those Ladinos, where are they from (I wonder)!’
- h. sódni=tiyà=buga...
 suddenly=EMPH=PST
 ‘suddenly...’

- (479) anyá-ha namú!
 3.PL=exist INTERJ
 ‘...they turned up there right!’
- (480) a. sódni=buga n-aríhi-n h-achûla-gu-n yára-giyen
 suddenly=PST 1.SG-see-USPEC 3.PL-arrive-REFL-USPEC there-ABL
 ‘suddenly I saw them come out from over here’
- b. aban h-eréderu-n yá
 CONN 3.PL-stay-USPEC here
 ‘and they stayed here’
- c. pero mósu ma-díse lán yá h-erédera há dó
 but must NEG-far IRR here 3.PL-live 3.PL:DEM MP
 ‘but they can’t live far away’
- d. l-ubá l-ún=hamùga díse-na lán ga-kárun-ti-nya=hamùga
 3.M-before 3.M-to=HORT far-NOMA IRR ATR-car-TI-3.PL=HORT
 ‘because if they were from far away, they would have to have a car’
- e. má=funa yá-na há Véynbiyama-giyen
 NEG=EPIST here-NOMA 3.PL:DEM V.-ABL
 ha-yábi-n
 3.PL-come:SU1-USPEC
 ‘I don’t think that they’re from here, they come from “The 22”’

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