The Adjective Class in Tariana

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald

1. Preliminaries

Tariana is an endangered North Arawak language spoken in the linguistic area of the Vaupés river basin. This area is known for its institutionalized multilingualism based on the language group exogamy operating between speakers of Tariana and of languages belonging to the East Tucanoan sub-group (including Tucano, Piraitapuya, Wanono, and Desano). Multilingualism is maintained through a strong inhibition against 'language mixing' viewed in terms of using lexical or grammatical morphemes from another language. A long-term interaction between East Tucanoan languages and Tariana has resulted in a rampant diffusion of grammatical and semantic patterns (though not so much of forms) and calquing of categories. Comparison of Tariana with other Arawak languages (especially with the closely related Baniwa of Íçana/Kurripako and Piapoco) helps distinguish patterns inherited from the proto-language from those acquired through areal diffusion. A combination of genetically inherited features, areally acquired properties, and independent innovations accounts for the complexity of Tariana grammar.

Tariana is polysynthetic, agglutinating with some fusion. It combines head-marking morphology with elements of dependent-marking. Head-marking properties of the language are inherited from the proto-language, while dependent-marking properties have been acquired by areal diffusion from East Tucanoan languages (see the detailed discussion in Aikhenvald 2002c). For instance, unlike

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1 Tariana is currently spoken by about 100 people in two villages, Santa Rosa (also known as Jiquira-ponta, lit. 'Point of Salt') and Periquitos, on the upper Vaupés river. The two dialects are mutually intelligible (the difference is comparable to that between British English and American English; or Portuguese as spoken in Portugal and as spoken in Brazil). I have been working on Tariana since 1991, with over 98% of the speakers of Santa Rosa dialect, and with 70% of those from Periquitos. My corpus contains over 200 stories (about 1500 pages), and also conversations and wordlists. A detailed grammatical description is Aikhenvald (2003); Aikhenvald (2003b) is a dictionary. I owe a considerable debt to all my teachers of the Tariana language: the Brito family of Santa Rosa and the Muniz family of Periquitos, and to my teachers of Baniwa and Warekena. Special thanks go to R. M. W. Dixon for insightful comments, and to Elias and Lenita Coelho de Assis for invaluable support in the fieldwork situation. I am grateful to Tanis Srahan and Adam Bowles for editorial assistance. The financial assistance from the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research is gratefully acknowledged.
in most other Arawak languages, grammatical relations in Tariana are marked by cases, on a nominative–accusative basis, calquing an East Tucanoan pattern. Tariana has productive verb serialization (shared with its Arawak relatives) and limited verb compounding (resulting from areal diffusion). There is a large system of classifiers, and obligatory classifier agreement in a noun phrase. Constituent order depends on discourse; word order within some constituents is fixed, and within others depends on what is in focus.

The open classes in Tariana are nouns and verbs. Underived adjectives form a smallish closed class of about twenty-nine items. Derived adjectives are an open class. Adjectives share some features with nouns and some with stative verbs; they also have properties of their own. In §2, I discuss grammatical categories and the syntactic functions of verbs and of nouns. Then, in §3, I discuss semantic, morphological, and syntactic properties of adjectives, and also the ways in which adjectival concepts are expressed in Tariana. Semantic overlap and semantic relationships between adjectives and other word classes are discussed in §4. A summary and a historical perspective on Tariana adjectives are given in §5.

2. Properties of verbs and nouns

In this section, I consider the structure of a simple verb ($\S2.1$), grammatical relations and verb types ($\S2.2$), and the structure of a noun and the organization of a noun phrase ($\S2.3$). Nouns and verbs are contrasted in $\S2.4$.

2.1. Verb Structure

Tariana distinguishes simple predicates and serial verb constructions. Every verbal root is either ambitransitive of $\Lambda$-$S_1$ type (prefixed) or intransitive of type $S_0$ or of type $S_{in}$ (both suffixless). Person prefixes are used with transitive and active intransitive verbs—see (1) and (2).

1. kawhi  $\text{nu-ira-ka-sita}$
   manic.flour 1sgA-drink-REC.P.Vis-ALREADY
   'I have already drunk manic flour (mixed with water)'

2. $\text{nu-a}$  $\text{mu-pita-de}$
   1sgS1-go 1sgS1-wash-FUT.CERT
   'I will go and wash myself'

No person markers occur on prefixless stative verbs, in agreement with the general active-stative profile inherited from Proto-Arawak; an example is at (3).

3. harame-pu-mahka  $\text{nuha}$
   be.scared-AUG-REC.P.NONVIS I($S_0$)
   'I got very scared'

Prefixes mark possessors on inalienably possessed nouns, e.g. $\text{mu-kapi}$ (1sg-hand)
ns in Tariana are marked by 
East Tucanoan pattern. Tari-
ana (Arawak relatives) and lim-
3). There is a large system of 
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Derived adjectives form a 
itive adjectives are an open 
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matical categories and the 
ich semantic, morpho-
the ways in which adjectival 
and semantic relationships 
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rb (§2.1), grammatical rela-
and the organization of a 
§2.4.

b constructions. Every ver-
d) or intransitive of type S0 
d with transitive and active 

vate")

agreement with the general 
example is at (3).

ins, e.g. nu-kapi (1sg-hand)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A/Sg</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Free pronoun</th>
<th>A/Sg</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Free pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>nuha</td>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>waha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>piha</td>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ilya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgf</td>
<td>di-</td>
<td>diha</td>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>naha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3gfs</td>
<td>du-</td>
<td>duha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>paha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

"my hand," nu-we-ri (1sg-younger.sibling-MASC.sg) 'my younger brother.' This property 
property is shared with the majority of Arawak languages (see Aikhenvald 1999d).

Cross-referencing prefixes used with verbs and with nouns in Tariana are given in 
Table 1. All the forms are the same, except for indefinite person. This marker 
occurs with inalienably possessed nouns in possessive constructions with an over-
possessor, e.g. fiári i-kapi (man INDEF-hand) 'man's hand.' With verbs, this marker 
occurs only in archaic fixed expressions.

The structure of a verbal word is given in Fig. 2; this diagram also contains a list 
of grammatical meanings which can be expressed in a verb.

Simple predicates have one prefix position and up to nine suffix positions. A 
minimal verbal word consists of positions 1, 2, and 3. Position 1 has to be filled for 
transitive and intransitive active verbs (see (1)–(2)). Stative verbs do not take pre-
fixes; neither do they occur with aksamart enclitics (slot 17). Other positions have 
to be filled only if the corresponding meaning needs to be expressed.

2.2. GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND VERB TYPES

Grammatical relations in Tariana are marked with personal prefixes, on an active-
static basis—see (1)–(3). Unlike in most other Arawak languages, there is also a 
case system, of a nominative–accusative type. A focused subject is marked with the 
enclitic -nel-nhe; and a topical non-subject with the enclitic -nuku. This is shown 
in (4)–(6).

(4) di-a-pidana  di-pita  ñamu-ne 
3sgf-go-REM.REP 3sgf-wash evil.spirit-FOC.A/S 
'The evil spirit (not anyone else) went to bathe'

(5) kawhi-nuku  nu-ira-de  nuha 
manioc.fLOUR-TOENN.A/S 1sg-drink-FUT.CERT.I 
'I will drink the manioc flour (we were talking about)'

Not all enclitics can co-occur: for instance, imperative does not co-occur with evidentiality and 
tense (full details are found in Aikhenvald 1999b, 2002b, and 2003). Variable ordering is allowed for 
position 19; this has a pragmatic effect.
Personal pronouns form their non-subject case with the suffix *-ma*—see (6).

(6) **nu-ma** di-harameta-pu-mhana
    1sg-own 3sgf-be.scared:Caus-Aug-Rem,Pron:Vis evil,spirit-FOC.A/s
    'The evil spirit (was the one who) really scared me'

Table 2 contains a summary of grammatical relations and their marking with the core cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>1. Cross-referencing prefixes (A/S) (3 persons in singular and in plural), or negative <em>ma</em>, or relative <em>ka</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. ROOT</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Thematic syllable</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Causative -iif</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Negative -(ka)de</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Reciprocal (rarely: reflexive) -kaka</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. -(ma) almost, a little bit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes</td>
<td>8. Topic-advancing -n, or passive -kana, or purposive non-visual -hyu, or visual -karu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. Verbal classifiers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. Benefactive -pena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. Relativizers or nominalizers: -(ri, -mi) object and locative nominalization; -nipe action nominalization; -kant agent nominalization'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. Intentional =kasu 'be about to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13. Mood (several imperatives, declarative, frustrative, conditional, apprehensive, interrogative fused with evidentiality and tense)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14a. Habitual prescribed =hyun 'what you do and what you ought to do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14b. Customary =kape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14c. Habitual repetitive =nipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14d. Anterior =nhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15. Evidentiality and tense, e.g. =mhana 'nonvisual-remote.pass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. Epistemic =da 'doubt, 'panda 'isn't it true that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enclitics</td>
<td>17. Aktionsart (manner or extent of associated action, e.g. 'split open', 'step on and feel pain', 'wag one's tail', 'away')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18. Degree (augmentative =pu (also meaning 'indeed!'), diminutive =tiki/tuki), approximative (=the=why=more or less'), excessive (=ma 'too much')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19. Aspect 'zone' II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19a. Prolonged, ongoing =daka 'yet, still'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19b. Perfective =sita 'already accomplished'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19c. Repetitive =pita 'once again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19d. Completive =niki 'totally, completely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20. Switch-reference and clause-chaining markers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|        | 21. Emphatic enclitics =al=ya, =wanu, evidence =do 'isn't it so?'

**Figure 1.** Verb structure in Tariana
with the suffix -na—see (6).

*hamu-ne
ONVIS evil, spirit-POC.A/S
red me`

...sions and their marking with the

persons in singular and in plural, or

or purposeful non-visual -nyu, or

bject and locative nominalization, int nominalization`

5. frustrative, conditional, apprehensi

dity and tense)

Ot you do and what you ought to do.

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at ed action, e.g. 'split open,' step on

ing 'indeed'), diminutive (=tiki/tihi),

ess'), excessive (=me 'too much')

ill'

shed'

only'

markers

ence =so 'isn't it so'?

in Tariana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical function</th>
<th>Discourse status</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject (A/S)</td>
<td>non-focused</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focused</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ne/-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject (NonA/S)</td>
<td>non-topical</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-muku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topical</td>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two oblique cases: the instrumental -ne (-ne with personal pronouns) and the locative -se. All the case markers appear once per phrase; they go onto its last constituent.

1. A small sub-class of stative verbs referring to physical states such as 'be sleepy', 'be hungry', 'be thirsty' mark their only argument with the non-subject case, as shown in (7). These verbs are termed $S_p$ (Aikhenvald 2001).

(7) unina-mha
nu-na,
be.thirsty-PRES.NONVIS 1SG-OBJ(=S_p)
'I am thirsty' (lit. 'thirsty to-me')

The two classes of stative verbs, $S_p$ and $S_o$ differ from active intransitive verbs and between each other, in a number of ways. No stative verb can be used in a positive command — with the exception of the detrimental imperative, as in *hameti-te* (be.scared-IMPER.DETR) 'may you be scared (to your detriment)! All $S_p$ verbs can occur in prohibitive constructions, as in *mendi keku* (PROT be.afraid) 'don't be afraid', while $S_o$ verbs cannot. A serial verb construction cannot consist just of stative ($S_p$) verbs; it can consist just of $S_o$ verbs. $S_p$ verbs do not occur with apprehensive or intentional moods, while $S_o$ verbs do. And we will see in §3.2 how some adjectival roots can function as $S_o$ and $S_p$ verbs.

2.3. NOUN STRUCTURE

The structure of a nominal word and the kinds of meanings expressed are given in Fig. 2. Not all nouns can have all positions filled (e.g. 1 is only for inalienably possessed prefixed nouns and 3 is only for nouns with a human referent). A minimal nominal word can consist just of a root, or of prefix-plus-root, if it is inalienably possessed. Other markers are used if the sort of meaning they denote needs to be expressed. For instance, plural marking is obligatory just with human referents.

Tariana has a large number of classifiers. Somewhat different sets are used with numerals one to four, with demonstratives, in possessive constructions (to categorize the possessed noun), with verbs, and as derivational suffixes on nouns. Noun class markers appear on modifiers, including all adjectives, interrogatives, and a few other closed class items (see Aikhenvald 2000b, and ch. 5 of Aikhenvald 2003).

Classifiers categorize the referent in terms of animacy, humanness, shape, form, and a number of other properties. They serve to disambiguate polysemous nouns...
and focus on varying properties of a referent. For instance, heku, without a classifier, means 'wood' in general. With a classifier, heku-da (wood-classifier:round, object) refers to the fruit of a tree, and heku-ra (wood-classifier:vertical) refers to a 'tree'. Similarly, deci means 'banana' in general, while deci-pa (banana-classifier:large, long) means 'banana fruit', deci-pi (banana-classifier:long, thin) means 'banana palm', and deci-fi (banana-classifier:bunch) means 'bunch of bananas'.

A noun can occur with various classifiers depending on which property is focused on. Classifiers are not semantically redundant. For instance, if 'road' is seen as just a path, it requires the classifier -puna 'cl.road', e.g. hinipu hanu-puna (road big-cl.road) 'a big road'. When the same noun refers to a waterway, -pua 'cl.river' is used, e.g. hinipu hanu-pua 'a big road by a river' (seen just as a river, nothing else). If a road is seen as curved, it is referred to as hinipu hanu-kha (road big-cl.crv) 'a big (curved) road'; and if one wants to stress that a road covers a big open space, the classifier -ipa (cl.large.open.space) is used, as in hinipu hanipa 'a big road' (which covers a large area). This is reminiscent of how classifiers are used in numerous South-east Asian languages (see Aikhenvald 2000a: 265–7 and discussion there).

A selection of classifiers and noun class markers is given in Table 3. Noun class markers with human and general animate reference, and those referring to sub-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>1. Possessive prefix (5 persons in singular, 3 in plural), or negative ma., or relative ku-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. ROOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes</td>
<td>3. Gender-sensitive derivational suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Classifier as a derivational suffix (may be more than one)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Plural marker</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Pejorative =yana (plus plural suffix -pe)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Approximative =ika 'more or less'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Diminutive =tuki or =tiki (or diminutive plural =tupi); augmentative =posi (plus plural suffix -pe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enditics</td>
<td>9. Tense (past singular masculine =miki-i, fem. =miki-cu, pl. =miki; future =pema)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. Extralocality and restrictivity (=wya 'the one left out; extralocal participant in a place distinct from where the speech act is'; =nis 'only')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>11. Oblique -se 'locative'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12. Oblique case =ne 'comitative-instrumental'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13. Contrastive =se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enditics</td>
<td>14. Coordinative =misini, =sni 'also'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15. Focused A/S =ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. Topical Non-Subject =nuku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2.** Noun structure in Tariana
Table 3. Selection of classifiers and noun class markers in Tariana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Other classifier contexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General animate; human</td>
<td>-ita, as in (8)</td>
<td>-peni, as in (9)</td>
<td>-ita, as in (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substances ('water', 'sweat')</td>
<td>peri</td>
<td>-wani</td>
<td>used only on nouns as a derivational suffix; not used in other contexts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural phenomena, places</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round objects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Curved objects</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Long vertical objects</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Large and long objects</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leaf-like objects</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

stances and natural phenomena, are distinct from classifiers which occur in other morphosyntactic contexts. All other classifiers have the same form in all contexts. The different forms of the general animate noun class and of corresponding classifiers are illustrated below: (8) illustrates animate singular; (9) illustrates animate plural; and (10) illustrates the corresponding classifier used with a numeral.

(8) nu-kesi-ni  mat:ite
1sg-relative-SING back:ANIM
'my nasty relative'

(9) nu-kesi-pe  mat:iti
1sg-relative-PL back:ANIM
'my nasty relatives'

(10) pa:ta  nu-kesi-ni
one:ANIM 1sg-relative-SING
'my one relative'

A shape-based classifier, such as -na 'long vertical' in (11), has the same form in every environment. The head noun is in parentheses since it is likely to be omitted if recoverable from the context.

(11) pa-na  hanu-na (heku-na)
one:CL.VERB big:CL.VERB wood:CL.VERB
'one big (tree)'
Position 4 in Fig. 3 can be filled more than once. Several classifiers can be 'stacked' as derivational suffixes in one noun, as in heku-na-phe (wood-CL.VERTEX-CL.LEAFLIKE) 'one leaf of a tree', kara-ka-whya-puma (reliably-THEM-CL.CANOE-CL.ROAD) 'airstrip; road of a flying canoe', and pana-phe-dapana (leaf-CL.LEAFLIKE-CL.HAB) 'house made of leaves'.

Some positions in the noun structure cannot be filled simultaneously, e.g. a noun cannot be marked for oblique case and for the focused subject case at the same time.5 The choice of a plural marker depends on the semantic group a noun belongs to. Nouns with inanimate and human feminine referents form their plural with -pe, as in haiku-na (tree-CL.VERTEX), haiku-na-pe (tree-CL.VERTEX-PL) 'trees'. Kinship nouns and some human nouns have irregular plurals, e.g. inaru 'women', ina 'women', fāri 'man', āfa 'men'. Nouns containing the singulative -ni form their plural by subtracting -ni and adding -pe, as in (8) and (9).

Plural can also be marked recursively, that is, more than once, since enclitics in positions 6, 8, and 9 require an additional number marker each (also see Aikhenvald 2002a). In the following example, brackets show clitics which require a separate number marking: nu-daki-ru-mā-pe=[yainā-pe]=[(i)wep]=[(miki)](sg-grandchild-feminine.derivational.marker-CL.FEMININE-PL=[pe]-PL)=[DIM:PL]=[NUM.PAST:PL] 'the little dead granddaughters' (each enclitic takes a secondary stress). In addition, kinship nouns, personal names, and nouns with human and animate referents have special vocative forms (often semi-suppletive).

A noun phrase in Tariana consists of the head plus one or more modifiers. An adjective, a noun phrase (when used as a modifier), or a member of one of the closed class modifiers (demonstratives, specifier articles, quantifiers, etc.) all agree with the head in noun class, and in number (if the head has an animate referent). Agreement is the main criterion for heads in Tariana. (Some nouns, with generic reference, can modify other nouns but do not require agreement, e.g. taria naviki (Tariana people) 'the Tariana people'.) Some modifiers always precede the head in a noun phrase (these include specifier articles and demonstratives). Others—including all adjectives, numerals, and most quantifiers—can precede or follow the head, depending on the definiteness and specificity of the head noun. Modifiers tend to be placed before a noun which is either definite, specific, or going to be topical, and after an indefinite, non-specific, or otherwise inconsequential noun. In normal speech, the nominal head is frequently omitted if recoverable from the context.

2.4. SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF NOUNS AND VERBS

Nouns and verbs differ in their structure, and in the set of grammatical categories they show. Even if the same markers are employed, as is the case with pronominal prefixes, their meanings are different: with nouns, prefixes indicate the possessor,

5 Positions 13 and 16 can be filled simultaneously, marking two syntactic functions: see Aikhenvald (1999b).
Several classifiers can be ‘stacked’
tu-na-phe (wood-CL.VERE-CL.LEAF,
(khlify-them-CL-CANOEB-CL-ROAD)
dapana (leaf-CL.LEAF-LIKE-CL-HAB)
not be filled simultaneously, e.g. a
for the focused subject case at the
ends on the semantic group a noun
feminine refers form their plural
na-pe (tree-CL.VERE-PL) ‘trees’. Kin-
near plural suffixes, e.g. inncu ‘woman’, inna-
ing the singularive -ni form their
(8) and (9).
it is, more than once, since enclitic
number marker each (also see
 brackets show clitics which require
in-pes-[yan-pes]-[nipe]-[ni](1sg-
R-CL.FEMININE-PL-[PE]-PL]-[DIM
laughters] (each enclitic takes a sec-
onal names, and nouns with human
ouns (often semi-suppletive).
add one or more modifiers. An
(difer), or a member of one of the
articles, quantifiers, etc.) all agree
the head has an animate referent).
Tariana. (Some nouns, with generic
require agreement, e.g. taria naviki
the noun phrase (these include speci-
cluding all adjectives, numerals, and
read, depending on the definiteness
be placed before a noun which
al, and after an indefinite, non-spe-
formal speech, the nominal head is

**B**
in the set of grammatical categories
nyed, as is the case with pronominal
ns, prefixes indicate the possessor,
king two syntactic functions: see Alkhem-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Word classes and functional slots in Tariana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of intransitive predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of transitive predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier in NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier of a verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula complement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* means that certain morphological or syntactic processes have to be applied for a member of the
given word class to appear in this function.

while with verbs, they mark the A/S< argument. No verbal category is marked
recursively—in contrast to the recursive marking of nominal plural. The category of
‘degree’ (diminutive, augmentative, and approximative) is shared by nouns and by
verbs; however, it is marked in different ways for these categories. The nominal
 augmentative morpheme -past is not used with verbs; -pu is used instead. The approxi-
mative enclitic -tha is used with both nouns and verbs. However, with verbs it is in
free variation with -whya (attested in the speech of older people), while nouns
uniformly use just -tha.

The relationship between the two open word classes and functional slots in Tar-
iana is summarized in Table 4. A verb of any class can be head of an intransitive
predicate (bearing in mind that just about every transitive verb in Tariana can be
used intransitively; details and discussion can be found in Alkhenvall 1999a).

A noun can be the head of an intransitive predicate; it can then combine with a
restricted set of morphological categories. A noun in the predicate slot cannot take
aktionart enclitics (slot 17 in Fig. 1); neither can it take intentional or apprehensive
moods, or be used in a positive or negative command. A noun in the predicate slot
is illustrated in (12).

(12) nuha-shi fiari-naka
    I-toO   man-PRES.VIS
    ‘I am also a man’ (said the turtle)

Nouns, but not verbs, can be used as copula complements, as shown in (13).

(13) yalana-pidana    na-dia-niki
    non.Indian-REM.BREF SPl-BECOME-COMPL
    ‘They became non-Indians’

Only a verb can be the head of a transitive predicate. To be used as such, some
nouns can be verbalized with the suffix -ita ‘causative and nominalizer’, e.g. -pitana
‘name’, -pitana ‘bestow a name; name’. Only a noun can be head of a noun phrase.
A verb has to be nominalized with one of the suffixes listed in position 11 of Fig. 1.
To be used as a modifier in a noun phrase, a noun has to be transformed into a derived adjective, with a noun class marker, e.g., \textit{fim\textsubscript{u}} (dog) \textit{awakadite} (jungle: NCL\textsubscript{ANIM}) 'dog belonging to the jungle; a jungle dog' (that is, a wolf). Only a noun with a generic human referent (e.g., 'people,' 'man,' 'woman') can be used as modifier within a noun phrase (see §2.1).

To be used as a modifier, a verb has to be relativized, using the prefix \textit{ka-} (or its negative counterpart \textit{ma-}), e.g., \textit{fim\textsubscript{u}} (dog) \textit{kawhi} (manioc flour) \textit{ka-\textit{ira} (rel-drink)} 'a manioc flour drinking dog; a dog who drinks manioc flour (mixed with water)'. A prefixless verb (which does not take the relativizer \textit{ka-}) can be made into a modifier just by attaching a noun class marker, e.g., \textit{unu hati-peri} (water be.tasty-CL\textsubscript{COLL}) 'tasty drink'.

3. Adjectives and their properties

Adjectives in Tariana share a number of features with nouns, and a number of features with stative verbs; they also have a few features of their own. Any adjective can be used without a nominal head in a noun phrase, e.g., \textit{inaru ma\textit{gite} 'bad woman', or ma\textit{gite} 'bad one'. Some bound morphemes are used with nouns and with adjectives, but they have different functions. We first discuss the semantic groups of underived adjectives in §3.1. Morphological properties of adjectives are considered in §3.2, and their syntactic functions are discussed in §3.3.

3.1. Semantic Groups of Adjectives

Adjectives in Tariana can be underived or derived. Underived adjectives form a smallish, closed class of twenty-nine items, discussed below (following the semantic groups outlined in Chapter 1). The Tariana adjectives are given below with the most frequently used noun class marker; for most adjectives this is -\textit{ite} 'generic animate'; for some it is -\textit{da} 'round object' or -\textit{peri} 'collective, uncountable referent'.

A. Dimension: \textit{hanu\textsubscript{ite}} 'big'; \textit{male\textsubscript{a}} 'thick, large'; \textit{ts\textsubscript{u}ite} 'small'; \textit{mad\textsubscript{a}ite} 'short'; \textit{medew\textsubscript{ite}} 'thin'.

Three of these adjectives are morphologically irregular, each in a different way. The adjective stem \textit{hanu-} cannot be used in a plural; the stem \textit{male-} is used instead. (The form \textit{hanu-pe} (big-pl) is a quantifier meaning 'many'.) That is, \textit{episi-kha hanu-kha} (iron-CL\textsubscript{ANIM} big-NCL\textsubscript{ANIM}) 'a long iron rope' in the singular corresponds to \textit{episi-kha-pe male-kha-pe} (iron-CL\textsubscript{ANIM}PL\textsubscript{ANIM} big-NCL\textsubscript{ANIM}PL\textsubscript{ANIM}) 'long iron ropes' in the plural. This is the only instance of fully suppletive plural marking in Tariana. (Suppletive marking of adjectival plurals is cross-linguistically rare; in Scandinavian languages it involves the adjective 'little, small'.)

The animate form of \textit{male-} in the plural has an additional complexity: \textit{male-} cannot take the animate adjectival plural marker -\textit{peri} unless it also takes the general animate classifier -\textit{hta}. As a result, the plural of \textit{\textit{f\textsubscript{i}a\textsubscript{r}}} \textit{hanu-}\textit{ite} (man big-NCL\textsubscript{ANIM}) 'a big man' is \textit{\textit{f\textsubscript{i}a\textsubscript{r}a} male\textsubscript{a}ta-peri} (man:PL large:NCL\textsubscript{ANIM}PL\textsubscript{ANIM}) 'big men'. The stem
8, a noun has to be transformed into 
ær, e.g. fimu (dog) awakadite (jungle: 
gle dog' (that is, a wolf). Only a noun 
uni, 'woman') can be used as modifier 
relativized, using the prefix ka- (or 
) kawhi (manioc flour) ka-ira (rel-
'he drinks manioc flour (mixed with 
the relativizer ka-') can be made into 
ker, e.g. uni hui-peri (water be tastv-

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orphemes are used with nouns and 
tions. We first discuss the semantic 
ological properties of adjectives are 
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irregular, each in a different way. The 
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rope in the singular corresponds to 
big-ncr-crv-plunan) long iron 
of fully suppletive plural marking 
urs is cross-linguistically rare; in 
e (little, small).

an additional complexity: male- can-
peni' unless it also takes the general 
l bu:ri hui-ite (man big-ncr-plunan) 'big men'. The stem 
male- can be used in the singular, with the meaning 'thick, large'. It is restricted to 
inanimate referents, e.g. sapatu malepa (shoe large-ncr-large-open-space) 'large 
sole'. The meanings 'big' and 'large' are expressed with two different adjectival stems 
in the singular and neutralized in the plural—this is shown in Table 5.

The adjective 'small', tsu:te, is irregular in the way it marks animate plurals: the 
animate adjectival plural marker cannot attach directly to the stem tsu:; it has 
to be preceded by the general animate classifier -ita. The plural of 
fi:ri tsu:ite (man small-ncr-plunan) 'a small man' is 
fi:ri tsu:ita-peri (manpl small-ncr-plunan-plunan) 'small men'. This is reminiscent of how the animate plural is formed on 
mai- 'big, large'. (This irregularity is also found with the interrogative kui- when 
used as a modifier, e.g. kili: peri (which:crv-plunan) 'which one?') All 
other adjectives attach the animate adjectival pluralizer to the root, e.g. 
fi:ri walite (man young-ncr-plunan) 'a young man' vs. 
fi:ra walli-peri (manpl young-plunan) 'young men'; and 
fi:ri ma:ayite (man bad-ncr-plunan) 'a bad man' vs. 
fi:ra ma:yiti-peri (manpl bad-plunan) 'bad men'.

Two other dimension adjectives are synchronically monomorphic, but histori-
ically derived. The adjective makite 'whole, extended' is derived from the root 
maka- which is not used on its own (its function in the modern language is that of 
a 'dummy' root used to form lexical items by attaching classifiers, e.g. maka-
dawa (something-crv-room) 'a room; something room-like'; maka-nai (some-
thing-crv-lake) 'a lake; something lake-like'). The adjective withe 'long; far away' 
has a cognate root in the stative verbs wya-ka 'be far away' (w-ka is a semi-fossilized 
themetic marker) (also see §4).

B. Age: wali:te new, young'; emite 'young, unripe'; upite 'old, worn out' (inanimate 
referrers only).

The term wali:te 'new, young' is unusual in that it can be nominalized with the idio-
syncratic suffixes -ki:i (masculine), -ki:u (feminine), to yield wali-ki:i 'young 
man' and wali-ki:u 'young woman'. The term emite is also used in the meaning of 
'ineexperienced' (that is, relating to human propensity); when used heedlessly, it 
means 'young one; child'.

The term upite is used with inanimate referents only, e.g. yarumakasi upite (clothing 
old-ncr-plunan) 'old clothing', ha-phe upi-phe (this-crv-leaf like old-crv-leaf 
like) 'this old (book)'. This root also occurs in two adverbs: upi-tha (old-er) 'in the 
old days' and upi-mia (old-only) 'the same place; the same way'; and in two 
referrers: upeho (underlying form: upi-ha:do) (old/late-parent-pem) 'widow' and upehiri
(underlying form: upi-ha-niri) (old/late-parent-MASC) ‘widower.’ (Its Baniwa cognate root upi is an adverb.) The noun pedaria (a variant: pedare) is used with human referents to mean ‘old; adult’ (it also means ‘ripe’, with reference to fruit which falls on the ground when ready to consume).

These terms have different combinatorial possibilities. The adjective ‘bad’ can be verbalized with the thematic suffix -ka yielding an intransitive copula verb -masfika ‘turn into something else’ (The semantics of this verb has to do with the pervasive association of ‘otherness’ and ‘adversity’ in Tariana language and culture.) The adjective masfa means primarily ‘proper, appropriate’ and can be extended to mean ‘good.’ The value adjectives can also be used both as $X_n$ verbs and as $S_n$ verbs. When used as $S_n$ verbs (see §3.2), they can form compounds with other static (S$_n$) verbs (see §3.2).

D. COLOUR: evite ‘yellow’; harite ‘white; light; transparent’; hiporite ‘green; blue; unripe’; trite ‘red, orange, very dark yellow; ripe’; kadite ‘black’; hamarite ‘purple, bluish violet’.
The basic colour adjectives in Tariana present an apparent anomaly, in terms of the hierarchy of colour terms in human languages. According to Berlin and Kay (1969), if a language distinguishes colours such as purple, it ought also to have distinct terms for ‘blue’ and ‘green.’ Tariana appears to go against this universal statement: there is just one term covering both ‘blue’ and ‘green’, and a separate term for ‘bluish purple.’ This ‘anomaly’ is, however, absent from Baniwa of Içana, a language spoken outside the multilingual linguistic area of the Vaupés. Baniwa uses hipore—a cognate to the Tariana root hipore— as in hiporite—in the meaning of ‘green’, and amura—a cognate of Tariana hamarë—as in hamarite—in the meaning of ‘blue’. We can recall that Tariana has been drastically restructured under the influence of East Tacanaan languages. In these languages, there is just one term for ‘green’ and ‘blue’; Tucano ya’ta, Desano yahta, Wanano ja’ta, and no special term for ‘purple’, as expected. It seems very likely that the extension of the erstwhile term for ‘green’ hipore, to cover ‘blue’ in Tariana is due to language contact, and so is the extension of the erstwhile ‘blue’ to ‘purple’ and to ‘violet’.

An additional colour adjective, kesorite ‘muddy, dirty, brownish’, appears to be derived from an unknown root *-iso*- with a prefix ka- ‘relativizer’. Another adjective, kapunite ‘striped’, is highly unusual in that it appears to be derived from a combination of the prefix ka- ‘relativizer’ with the classifier -puna ‘road; stripe’.

E. PHYSICAL PROPERTIES: hamia-peri ‘heavy’; hedi-peri ‘thick’ (e.g. manioc mash); hipisi-peri ‘bitter’; heteni-peri ‘bitter and tart; kama-peri ‘sour’; piwa-peri ‘salty’; pumeni-peri ‘sweet’; tara-peri ‘hard’. These adjectives have no morphological irregularities.
F. Other. One further adjective does not appear to belong to any of the semantic groups outlined in Chapter 1: keniîte 'loved (by women)' (consisting of the relative-attributive ka- plus synchronically unattested root *-ini plus -ite NCL ANIM) and its negative counterpart mënitite 'not loved (by women)' (with the prefix ma- which is the counterpart of ka-). Semantically, it describes a kind of inherent physical property. This adjective occurs only with the animate noun class marker, and is used to refer to a man who is lucky enough to get a woman, e.g. ýiari knya keniîite (man woman:PL REL:NCL ANIM) 'a man loved by women; a man who can get a wife.' In actual texts, the negative counterpart mënitite is much more frequent than the positive one; numerous Tariana stories relate the misfortunes of a man who cannot get himself a wife, e.g. wall-ki knya mënitite (young-NR:MASC SG woman:PL NEG:REL:NCL ANIM) 'a man not loved by women; a man who cannot get a wife.'

Table 6 is for Tariana, of the semantic types typically associated with the adjective class.

Tariana has no lexemes referring to form, such as round, hollow, or curved. The corresponding meanings are expressed with classifiers which combine reference to shape, form, and sometimes dimension, e.g. kana kuyu-kwema (mirror big:CL FLAT:ROUND) 'big, round mirror.'

The age term pedarin, pedare 'old; adult (human referents only); ripe' is a noun. Etymologically, it consists of the root pe 'old, belonging to old times' (also in Tariana upi, Baniwa upi, Piapoco pe; cognate with upi- in upite) plus the generic noun class marker -dari (lost from Tariana; cognate with Baniwa -dari NCL ANIMATE).

The physical property terms ka-wenti (REL-T) 'expensive' and ma-wenti (NEG-T) 'cheap' are relativized forms of a root otherwise absent from the language; this root is likely to be a borrowing from Portuguese vend- as in vender 'sell' (see Aiikhenvald 2002c).

Some concepts to do with HUMAN PROPENSITY are expressed through serial verb constructions, e.g. ka-yena kama (REL PASS REL STAND) 'arrogant'; ka-kalite kapala (REL-TELL REL-PUT) 'complainer; prone to boasting'; idiosyncratic collocations involving a verb and an adjective, e.g. kada-li ka-ka (black-NN REL-SEE) 'envious'; or an adjective-ized noun phrase, e.g. di-kerya-nipe hamipti (s3gnf-bc:jealous-NN much NCL ANIM) 'jealous; the one whose jealousy is plentiful.' The concept of 'able, knowledgeable' is expressed with a relativized form of the verb -yeka 'be able to, know how to do things.'

Of the three S0 verbs expressing DIFFICULTY, only the verb mahyuna can be occasionally used as a modifier; e.g. mahyuna-peri (be difficult-CL COLL) 'difficult (referring to a set of something),' while the other two verbs are not employed this way.

1 The verbal root *miuna was used only once by José Manchel Brito, one of the oldest speakers of the language, in the story about the Tariana ancestors, kana menina-de-kuna-ka dibha (woman:PL NEG:beloved-NEG PASS/IMPERSON-SUB) since he was not loved by women. No other Tariana speaker appears to know this root let alone use it.

2 Etymologically, mahyuna probably consists of ma- 'negative' plus -a 'go, say' plus -hyuna 'habitual'; while masaina probably consists of ma- 'negative' plus -ani 'feel, know by feeling' plus -ia 'remote past visual,' and kashiina is the positive counterpart of masaina with the relative-attributive prefix ka-.
Similarity is expressed with the postposition kayu; a postpositional noun phrase can be transformed into a modifier—see the discussion of fìnu kayu-peni 'the ones who are like dogs' in §3.3. An alternative to this is the use of the static verb hiku 'be/look like, appear' as a modifier, e.g. nawağı fìnu hiku-ite (person dog be.like-NCL.ANIM) 'a person who looks like a dog'.

Terms for 'right' and 'left' are compounds, each with a different structure. The term for 'left' is a nominalization of the verb 'carry', pa-sole-kama (IMPWR-carry-THEM-CL SIDE), lit. 'side for carrying'; while the term for 'right' is a nominalization.

**Table 6. Coding of adjectival concepts in Tariana**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic category</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Stative verbs</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimension</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>kîlua 'be thin', pharida 'be thick, broad', khesu 'be wide', mhesa 'be narrow', khewaka 'be deep', wyaka 'be far', yena 'be tall, high, etc.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>pedaria, pedare 'old, adult (of humans); ripe'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Value</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>from an adverb mèda 'in vain'; mèdite 'useless'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colour</strong></td>
<td>7–8</td>
<td>mala 'be soft (e.g. banana, avocado, mud)', kai 'be spicy, hot; be sore, hiwiri 'be cool', sakamu 'be lukewarm', hamu 'be hot', hape 'be cold', haliapiri 'be ripe (e.g. a garden); etc.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ka-weni (REL-?) 'expensive'; ma-weni 'cheap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical property</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ma-weni 'cheap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human propensity</strong></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>inasa 'be lazy', harame 'be scared, khesarakana 'be naughty', kapemani 'be ashamed, kawalikupeda 'be sorry, upset', etc.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of a stative verb 'be straight', *mayakani-kema* (be.straight-them.cl-side) 'right', lit. 'straight side' (this is a calque of Tucano *dikshi* 'straight, right').

**Cardinal Numerals** are a special word class (numerals one to three are underlined, while number 'four' is a deverbal nominalization). There are no ordinal numbers. The lexeme 'first' is an active (*S*) verb *-peya*; to be used as a modifier it has to be relativized (*ka-peya* (res.-be.first) 'first (one)'). The lexeme 'last' is a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>id̓a</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ar</em></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pedacria, pedae</em></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'old, adult (of humans); ripe'</em></td>
<td>—</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Speed** — *kenani* 'be quick, adept at something', *menani* 'be slow', *sewi* 'be quick (at moving)'.

**Difficulty** — *makyuna* (Santa Rosa arti Periquitos) 'be difficult', *manhina* 'be difficult' (Periquitos), *kanhina* 'be easy, be possible'.

**Similarity** — *hika* 'be/look like, appear' as a modifier.

**Qualification** — *pawali* 'be true, correct', *mayakani* 'be right, straight', *pama* 'be just right (with respect to measure), *pathida* 'be equal, etc.'

**Quantification** — *—* — —

**Position** — *yen* 'be high', *wyaka* 'be far', etc.

**Numbers** — — —

**Other** — — —

---

**Postpositional phrase with *kayu* 'like'**

**Manner adverbs, e.g. hapas*be true, ka: pu* 'be in vain', and *pape* 'be probable'.

**Quantifiers are a closed class: hana-pe (big.pl) 'many', *hapa* (big.cl.larg. open.space) 'much; a lot', *mahida* 'little, few'.

**Postpositions, e.g. dalipa* 'near', yeda* 'downstream', and serial verb constructions involving motion verbs (Aikhenvald 1999c).**

**Special word class**
stative verb *whyume* which can be turned into a modifier with the help of a noun
class marker, e.g. *whyumite* (be, last: NCL, ANIM) 'last (one)'.

### 3.2. Morphological Properties of Adjectives

#### 3.2.1. Morphological properties of adjectives compared with nouns

All adjectives in Tariana share a number of morphological properties with nouns.
The morphological properties of all adjectives compared to nouns are summarized
in Table 7. This shows that adjectives have certain superficial similarities with nouns;
however, there are considerable differences. Below, we discuss them one by one.

**A. Number as agreement category**

Similarly to nouns, adjectives distinguish singular and plural. In contrast to nouns,
number with adjectives is an agreement category which depends on the number
choice made for the noun.

**B. Number marking**

The choice of a number morpheme for an adjective is mostly regular: *-pe* for
human feminine and inanimate referents, and *-peni* for animate referents; number
marking with nouns can be irregular—see §2.1. We have seen that just some dimen-
sion adjectives have idiosyncratic plurals: the adjective 'big' has a fully supplemen-
tive plural, and the adjective 'small' attaches the plural marker to an additional clas-
sifier rather than to the root. This is not found with nouns.

**Table 7. Morphological properties of adjectives compared to nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Number as agreement category</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Number marking</td>
<td>Marking different from that on nouns</td>
<td>Marking different from that on adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Co-occurrence with noun classes or classifiers</td>
<td>Noun class agreement marking</td>
<td>Classifiers as derivational morphemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Several noun class or classifier morphemes in one word</td>
<td>Stacking of several noun class markers in one adjective signals inflectional complexity: agreement with different embedded heads</td>
<td>Stacking of several classifiers in one noun signals derivational complexity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Diminutive marker</td>
<td><em>sg</em> = <em>tiki</em>; plural = <em>tupe</em> all adjectives: <em>-iha</em> (cf. Table 9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Approximative marker</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>sg</em> = <em>tiki</em> or <em>ruki</em>; pl = <em>tupe</em> = <em>iha</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Co-occurrence with noun classes or classifiers

We have seen above that every noun is associated with one or more classifiers. One or more classifiers may appear on the noun as derivational affixes (see §2.1 above). In a noun phrase, adjectives and other modifiers agree with the head noun in noun class (agreement is marked with a noun class marker). The differences between noun class markers and classifiers were shown in Table 3. Agreement in noun class with a human referent is illustrated in (8); (14) shows noun class agreement with an inanimate referent. Here, the same morpheme appears on the noun itself, as a derivational marker, and on the adjective, to mark agreement.

(14) hēku-na mata-na
wood-CL.VERT proper/good-CL.VERT
'a right, appropriate or good tree'

If a derived adjective, or a noun phrase, is used as a modifier to a noun, a noun class marker is attached to the last word of the noun phrase to mark agreement with the head noun. In (15), the clause containing the stative verb kewi (ATTR:flower) 'have flowers, be in flower' modifies the noun 'curved vine'; the noun class marker -kha at the end of the clause marks agreement with the head, 'curved vine':

(15) dapī-kha [hane-se kewi]-kha
vine-CL.CRV there-LOC ATTR:flower-CL.CRV
'a curved vine which is flowering there'

D. Several noun class or classifier morphemes in one word

Adjectives in Tariana can be inflexionally complex. Agreement can be marked more than once in a noun phrase containing several 'heads' embedded one within the other. If the last noun of a modifying noun phrase already contains a noun class marker to agree with its own head, then the noun class marker which marks agreement with the head of the embedding noun phrase will simply follow it. In (16), the modifier within the modifying noun phrase, 'flowering like a curved vine', contains the noun class agreement marker -kha 'CL.CRV'. This modifier also takes the noun class agreement marker -na 'CL.VERTICAL', to agree with the head of the embedding noun phrase, hēku-na (tree-CL.VERTICAL) 'tree'. The modifying noun phrase is in square brackets. An arrow indicates the direction of agreement.

(16) hēku-na [dapī-kha kayu kewi-kha]-na
tree-CL.VERT [vine-CL.CRV like ATTR:flower-CL.CRV]-CL.VERT
'a tree flowering like a curved vine'

This 'stacking' of noun class agreement markers most often involves only two levels, as in (16). More complicated structures, such as (17), are rare. In (17), the noun phrase of (16) is the modifier to the head, 'leaf'; and it takes the appropriate noun class agreement marker -phe 'CL.LEAFLIKE'. Agreement in noun class is marked...
twice in (16), and three times in (17). In each case, agreement is with different 'heads': with the head of embedded noun phrase(s), and with the head of the 'embedding' noun phrase of a higher level.

(17) *p*-a-n-a | *a leaf of a tree flowering like a curved vine*

In contrast to adjectives and other modifiers, nouns can only be derivationally but not inflectionally complex (see §2.3 for some examples of several classifiers as derivational affixes in one noun).

E. Diminutive marker

Similarly to nouns and verbs, adjectives can take diminutive and approximative markers. But the morphological marking differs. The two allomorphs of the diminutive enclitic, =tiki and =tuki (slot 18 in Fig. 1 and slot 8 in Fig. 2), are in free variation for nouns and for verbs. The nominal enclitic has a semisuppletive plural, =tupe, while the verbal enclitic does not have a plural, e.g. inaru-tuki, inaru-tiki (woman-DIM) 'little woman', plural ina=taupe (woman-PL=DIM.PL) 'little women'; nu-tutu-tuki-na, nu-tutu-tiki-na (1sg-tie-DIM-REM,VIS) 'I tied it a little bit'. In contrast, adjectives can occur only with the singular =tiki, plural =tupe, e.g. tsu-te-tiki (small-NCL_ANIM-DIM), tsu-te-tuki 'teeny-weeny (one)'; plural tsu-te-peni-tupe (small-CL_ANIM-PL_ANIM-DIM.PL) 'teeny-weeny (ones)'.

F. Approximative marker

The approximative marker *-ha is an enclitic with nouns, e.g., inaru=*ha=tiki (woman =APPR=DIM) 'a little one who is almost a woman' and with verbs, as in ne-ma-kade=*ha=mha=niki (NEG-NEGGO-NEG=APPR=PRES.NON.VIS=COMPL) 'it is just about not coming out'. The approximative marker behaves differently depending on the semantic group of adjectives. Some adjectives combine with a suffix -*ha or an enclitic *=*ha with a meaning difference, while others do not.

(a) Adjectives which combine with the approximative suffix -*ha and with the enclitic *=*ha.

All underrived adjectives of dimension, colour adjectives, one adjective referring to age (wali - 'new'), and one from the physical properties group (hipisi - 'bitter') combine with -*ha as a suffix, and as an enclitic. When the approximative morpheme is a suffix, no comparison is implied, as in (18)—this simply refers to a more or less big animal.

\[4\] Baniwa of Ipana, an Arawak language closely related to Tariana, has just the approximative suffix -*ha used mostly with colour adjectives.
ach case, agreement is with different case, and with the head of the 'em-

-\(kha\) kayu kewi-\(kha\)-\(nal\)-\(phe\)
-\(CL\_<CRV\) like \(ATTR\_<FLOWER\_<CL\_<CRV\)
-\(CL\_<VERT\)\(\_<CL\_<LEAF\_<LIKE\)

nouns can only be derivationally but examples of several classifiers as der-

-take diminutive and approximative fier. The two allomorphs of the di-

\(\text{ig}1\) and slot 8 in Fig. 2), are in free l enclitics have a semisuppletive plural, 

\(\text{a plural, e.g. inaru-tuki, inaru-tiki (woman:pl=dim.pl) 'little women';}

\(\underline{\text{um,}RVIS\text{IS}}\) 'I tied it a little bit'. In con-

\(\text{it=tiki}, \text{plural =tupe, e.g. tsu-ite-tiki}

\(\text{eny (one&); plural tsu-ita-peni-tupe}

\(\text{(ones').}

\(\text{nouns, e.g. inaru=}=\(i\)ha=tiki (woman}

\(\text{ian', and with verbs, as in ne-ma-}

\(\text{=pres.novis=comp}) \text{it is just}

\(\text{a behaves differently depending on}

\text{'es combine with a suffix -\(i\)ha or an}

\(\text{hers do not.}

\text{itive suffix -\(i\)ha and with the enclit-

\text{jectives, one adjective referring to}

\text{vertices group (hipisi -bitter') com-

\text{m,n the approximative morpheme is}

\text{ks simply refers to a more or less

\text{Tariana, has just the approximative suf-

\(\text{i}\)sha\ hanu\text{hite}

\(\text{game big:APPR.NCL.ANIM}

\text{'a biggish animal'}

In (18), -\(i\)ha is a typical suffix: it does not get a secondary stress, boundary fusion

\text{processes apply (underlying haniu\text{hite becomes hanu\text{hite}), and \(i\)ha is followed by}

\text{the animate noun class marker, -\(i\)te.}

\text{When the approximative morpheme surfaces as an enclitic, it implies compar-

\text{ison with some other object. An example is under (19). Here, the approximative}

\text{=i\text{ha} behaves as a typical enclitic: it follows the agreement marker on the adjective,}

\text{acquires a secondary stress, and vowel fusion processes do not apply.}

\(\text{i\text{fi\_}hanu-ite-}\(i\)ha

\(\text{game big:NCL.ANIM:APPR}

\text{'a biggish animal' (bigger than another one) }

\text{To explain the difference between dimension adjective plus classifier =\(i\)ha and ad-

\text{jective plus \(i\)ha plus classifier, Josè Luis Brito drew the illustration in Fig. 4, show-

\text{ing three circles: one big, one small, and one 'smallish' relative to the big one:}

\text{hanu-kwema big:CL.ROUND

\text{'big circle'}

\text{tsu-kwema=}\(i\)ha small:CL.ROUND=APPR

\text{'smallish circle as com-

\text{pared to a bigger circle'}

\text{tsu-kwema small:CL.ROUND

\text{'small circle'}

\text{Figure 3.}

\text{Then he drew another small circle on a separate sheet of paper and indicated}

\text{that it could be called tsu-}\(i\)ha-kwema 'a smallish or not so big (round) one'. The suf-

\text{fix -\(i\)ha indicates that the circle is not being compared to anything else.}

\text{The form \(i\)ha is used in a similar way with undervived colour adjectives (under}

\text{\(E\) in $§\text{3.4}$). To describe a shade of colour blacker than another one on a drawing

\text{made during the literacy workshop conducted among the Tariana in 2000, (20)}

\text{was used; the approximative marker is an enclitic.}

\(\text{kadite=}\(i\)ha

\text{black:NCL.ANIM=APPR

\text{'one that is blacker (than another one)'}
And (21), with -iha as a suffix, was used to refer to a blackish animal not compared to anything else.

(21) kadihite
   (kada-iha-ite—underlying form)
   black-APPR-NCL-ANIM
   'a blackish one'

As just mentioned, the enclitic -iha implies a comparison; the other comparative structure in Tariana which involves the verb -yena 'exceed' is discussed by Haeck (Chapter 13). Neither of these allow the inclusion of an overt parameter of comparison. That is, dimension and colour adjectives are somewhat similar to adjectives in Papantla Totonac (Chapter 6) in that they can take part in a construction with comparative meaning.

(b) Adjectives which combine just with the approximative suffix -iha.

Adjectives of all the other semantic groups take just the approximative suffix, e.g. píwa-iha-peri (salty-APPR-CL.COL) 'not very salty, salty-ish'. And the two historically derived colour terms mentioned at the end of E in §3.1, kesolite 'brown' and kapunite 'striped', can only occur with the suffix -iha (cf. kesolhite (BROWN-APPR-NCL-ANIM) 'brownish').

Why are walite 'new' (from the 'age group' and hipisite 'bitter' (from the physical properties group) the only adjectives in their semantic groups to allow variable behaviour for the approximative -i/-iha? The likely reason lies in the semantics of these adjectives, and of other members of their groups. 'New', or 'young', is viewed as a changeable or gradable property; something may be more or less young or new. In contrast, upite 'old, worn out' is viewed as a terminal and unchangeable state of affairs which does not imply any degree. Along similar lines, my Tariana consultants stated that all the terms for tastes and physical properties, except for hipisite, describe time-stable properties. Along similar lines, the Tariana verbs which refer to an inherently unchangeable state cannot form a morphological causative, and thus, no morphological causative can be formed on verbs describing physical properties such as hamu 'hot', hape 'cold', or kasiitana 'annoyed'. Stative verbs which denote such concepts as 'cool' and 'lukewarm' describe inherently changeable states, and can form morphological causatives; that is, they belong to a different system from 'cold' and 'hot'. See Aikhenvald (2000c).

Adjectives do not have any other nominal grammatical categories. An underived adjective cannot be head of a possessive noun phrase (see §3.3); and it cannot take possessive prefixes.

3.2.2. Morphological properties of adjectives compared with verbs

The adjectival roots of groups A, B, D, and E (§3.1) never occur on their own; they always have to take a noun class marker. Unlike these semantic types, the roots of underived adjectives of value and of physical property can occur on their own, as
a blackish animal not compared

parison; the other comparative na 'exceed' is discussed by Hajek 
un of an overt parameter of com-
s are somewhat similar to adjec-
y can take part in a construction

\textit{ الماضي): bitter} (from the physico-
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along similar lines, my Tarjana 
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similar lines, the Tarjana verbs 
 cannot form a morphological 
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l ' lukewarm' describe inherently 
atives; that is, they belong to a 
ical categories. An underived 
ase (see §3.3); and it cannot take

\textit{pared with verbs} 
never occur on their own; they 
ese semantic types, the roots of 
ery can occur on their own, as

stative verbs. They do not then take any noun class marker, as in (22) and (23). Ad-
jectives used as stative verbs are underlined in the following examples.

(22) \textit{mata-nha phia} 
good-INTER.PRES.VIS you 
'Are you fine?' (a greeting)

(23) \textit{yawiri hihi-ka-naka nuha} 
type.of.jaguar be.bitter-DECL-PRES.VIS I 
'(Being) Yawiari (mythical jaguar), I am bitter' (so don't bite me) (from 
The Origin myth)

These adjectival roots can be used as components of adverbial serial verbs, as in 
(24) and (25).

(24) \textit{mata pi-ri} 
be.proper 2sg-do 
'Be careful, obey the rules, behave properly'

(25) \textit{mata nu-ren-mha nuha} 
bad-ADV 1sg-feel(physically)-PRES.NONVIS I 
'I feel physically bad, I am in a bad way'

These constructions can be analysed as manner serial verbs, where the stative verb 
(which contains the same root as the adjective) modifies the main verb. This is 
shown in (26); here the adjectival root \textit{hamia} 'be heavy' is used as a stative verb.

(26) \textit{dihi awiki-ne hamia-kha di-ruk di-a-pidana} 
ART man-FOC.1/s be.heavy-AWAY 3sgf-go.down 3sgf-go-REM.REP 
'The man went down heavily (as a heavy object) (into a trap pre-arranged 
by the beetle)'

Adjectival roots denoting value and physical properties can thus be considered a 
sub-type of stative verbs. However, they take less verbal morphology than stative 
verbs of other kinds. Properties for which they differ from other stative verbs are 
summarized in Table 8; these, and additional properties are discussed below.

\textbf{A-B. Combining with habitual-impersonal -kana and with causative -ita} 
Stative verbs without a corresponding adjectival root can combine with the mark-
er -kana (see Aikhenvald 2000c) 'habitual-impersonal', e.g. \textit{leka-kana} (break-HAB/
IMPERSON) 'be breakable'. Most of them can form a morphological causative marked with -ita, e.g. makara 'be dry', -makareta 'make dry, dry (something)'. Stative verbs with adjectival roots do not combine with either of these morphemes (e.g. *hamakana, *hamieta?). This is somewhat similar to Qiang (Chapter 13) and to numerous other languages mentioned in §6.1 of Chapter 1 in that adjectives have fewer derivational possibilities than verbs.

C. Use in prohibitive constructions
Unlike other stative verbs, stative verbs with adjectival roots cannot be used in prohibitive constructions, e.g. mhai da leka (prosh break) 'do not break', but not *mhai da mafa 'do not be good'.

D. Additional properties
The two value adjectives have additional properties. Unlike other adjectives or stative verbs, they can also function as S\(n\) verbs. When used this way, they describe the physical condition of a participant, as in (27). The only argument of the S\(n\) verb is marked with the object case (note that it requires a different subject switch-reference marker on a preceding subordinate clause—see Aikhenvald 2001). Here, the subordinate clause takes the non-subject topical case marker since it is topical.

(27) nu-mu-kayami-muku nu-na mafa-mhade
    1sg-kill-afterds-tornon,subject 1sg-obj=S\(n\) be.proper/good-fut
    'After I kill (my prey), it will be good for me (I will be in a good way')
    (from a shamanic song)

While in (27) maf=a is a S\(n\) verb—which is shown by the object marker -na on its only argument—in (28) it is used as an S\(o\) verb. Here, it describes participant's property:

(28) maf=a-mhade diha
    be.proper/good-fut he/it(S\(o\))
    'He/it will be fine'

When used as S\(n\) verbs, the value adjectives can form just two (of the eight) kinds of imperatives: the detrimental imperative, as in (29), and the imperative by proxy, as in (30). They cannot occur in prohibitive constructions.

(29) maf=a-tupe di-na di-pa-tupe
    be.bad-imper,deitr 3sgnf-obj 3sgnf-rot-imper,deitr
    'Let him be in a bad way (to his detriment), may he rot (to his detriment)'

(30) maf=a-pida na-na
    be.proper/good-imper,by,proxy 3pl-obj
    'Let them be good (on someone else’s order)' (also used in the meaning:
    'say hello to them on my behalf; say hi to them from me')
The value adjectives mafa 'proper, good' and, to a lesser extent, mafi 'bad, adverse' can form compounds with other stative verbs (see Aikhenvald 1999c). No enclitics or suffixes can go between the parts of the compound verb; the sequence [value adjective root] plus stative verb behaves as a single root; the compound verb has a single stress. Examples are mafa-makara (be.proper-be.dry) 'be really dry' (cf. English 'good and dry'), mafa-hui (be.proper.be.tasty) 'be really tasty', mafa-
neseri (be.proper-like) 'really like', mafa-kesani (be.proper-smell) 'have a good smell', mafa-kesani (be.bad-smell) 'have a bad smell', and mafa-hape (be.proper-
be.cold) 'be really cold', as in (31).

(31) mafa-hape-ri dihmeta-pidana diha navi
be.proper/good-be.cold-nr 3sgsm.feel-remp.rep ant man
'The man felt really cold'

The adjectival root mafi 'bad, adverse' appears in two idiosyncratic derivation-al structures (not attested for any other word in the language): mafi-masiki (be.
bad-?) 'be naughty, misbehave' and mafi-mariki (be.bad-?) 'be lame, crippled'.

3.2.3. Additional morphological properties of adjectives

Besides the properties mentioned in §3.1 above, adjectives in some semantic groups display additional idiosyncrasies. The size adjectives hanu- 'big' and tsu- 'small' are unusual in yet another way. If a size adjective contains the clitic =iha 'approximative' and comparison is implied, the approximative follows the agreement marker on an adjective, as in ifiri hanu-ite=iha (game big-ncl.anim-appr) 'a biggish animal' (bigger relatively to another one). When used as a modifier, such an adjective may take another noun class marker, to agree with the same head, as shown in (32). The underlying form for hanu-ite=hite is hanu-ite=iha-ite (big-ncl.anim-appr
ncl.anim).

(32) nhaa paita ifiri hanu-itehite 1sg-tru-ka diha hema-ka
big-ncl.anim game big-ncl.anim-appr:ncl.anim
1sg-kill-rec.bvis he tapir-rec.bvis
'I have killed an even bigger animal (than that), he is a tapir' (said the man, boasting)

Various types of edible flying ants are enumerated in (33); 'black ants' are bigger compared with the rest, and so iha is an enclitic. The agreement with the head is marked twice.

(33) na maka kasitera pisi kada-dali
3pl:go 3pl:arrive leaf-cutting.ant ant ant black-appr
hanu-itehite
big-ncl.anim-appr:ncl.anim
'Leaf-cutting ants, small ants, black ants who are even bigger are going to come.'
This 'double noun class agreement' is attested only with the singular animate noun class.

Undervided adjectives of some semantic groups do have specific derivational suffixes. We mentioned under B in §3.1 that the adjective 'new, young' can be nominalized with the derivational affixes -\( \text{ki-}\)'masculine, -\( \text{ki-ro}\)'feminine' not found anywhere else in the language. Underived adjectives which refer to primary colours take a derivational affix -\( \text{whare}\)'not quite the shade of colour; \( \text{colour-}\)ish', e.g. \( \text{ewa-whare}\)'yellow-ish', \( \text{hare-whare}\)'white-ish'. The adjective 'bad, adverse' combines with the verbalizer -\( \text{ka}\) not used with any other adjective. Unlike nouns, adjectives cannot be verbalized with the causativizing-verbalingizing suffix -\( \text{ita}\).

The properties of the different semantic groups of underived adjectives are summarized in Table 9.

Semantic types of adjectives show different morphosyntactic behaviour in other languages discussed in this volume. Dimension adjectives in Semelai have a number of unusual morphological properties (Kruspe, Chapter 12). Along similar lines, different semantic groups of adjectives in Papanul Totonac display slightly different properties; one salient feature of dimension adjectives being the way in which they form plural (Levy, Chapter 6).

3.3. SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF ADJECTIVES

The relationship between the two open word classes and functional slots in Tariana was summarized in Table 4. Table 10 extends this to also include adjectives.

Similarly to nouns, any adjective can be the head of an intransitive predicate, as illustrated in (34). Any adjective can be used as a head of an NP, as shown in (35), a continuation of (34) in the text.

| Table 9. Morphological properties of semantic groups of underived adjectives |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| **Property**                    | **Semantic group**               |
| 1. Irregular plural forms       | Dimension: 'big', 'large', 'small' |
| 2. Specific derivational suffix | Colour                           |
| 3. Specific nominalizer         | Age: young                       |
| 4. Used as \( S_\text{a} \) verbs| Value; physical property         |
| 5. Used as verbal modifiers     | Value; physical property         |
| 6. Used as \( S_\text{a} \) and as \( S_\text{a} \) verbs | Value |
| 7. Used in verbal compounding with stative verbs | Value: 'proper, good'; 'bad, adverse' |
| 8. Specific verbalizer          | Value: 'bad, adverse'            |
| 9. Used with the suffix -\( \text{ita}\) and the clitic =\( \text{ita}\) 'approximative' with a meaning difference | Dimension: colour; age ('new'); physical property ('bitter') |
| 10. Marking agreement with the same head twice | Dimension: 'big' and 'small' |
nly with the singular animate noun

do have specific derivational
adjective 'new, young' can be nom-
culine, -ki-ru 'feminine' not found
tives which refer to primary col-
shade of colour; colour-ish, e.g.
jective 'bad, adverse' combines
adjective. Unlike nouns, adjectives
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(spee, Chapter 12). Along similar
Papanta Totomac display slightly
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head of an NP, as shown in (35), a

groups of un derived adjectives

Semantic group

Dimension: 'big', 'large', 'small'
Colour
Age: young
Value: physical property
Value: physical property
Value: 'proper, good'; 'bad, adverse'
Value: 'bad, adverse'
Dimension: colour; age ('new');
 physical property ('bitter')
Dimension: 'big' and 'small'

Table 10: Syntactic properties of adjectives compared with nouns and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of intransitive predicate</td>
<td>Yes: $A=S_{1}$; $S_{2}$; $S_{3}$; $S_{4}$</td>
<td>Yes: restricted categories</td>
<td>No*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of transitive predicate</td>
<td>Yes (some)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of NP</td>
<td>No*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier in NP</td>
<td>No*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier of a verb</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes: some</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula complement</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* means that certain morphological or syntactic processes have to be applied for a member of the
given word class to appear in this function.

(34) inari ma:fi-te-pu-na -
mucura.rat bad:NCL-ANIM-AUG-REM.PVS
'The mucura rat was nasty (he bit me)'.

(35) diha ma:fi-te-ruku

nhupa-na...

ART bad:NCL-ANIM-TO-NON.SUBJECT 1SG-GRAB-REM.PVS
'I grabbed the bad one...'

Similarly to nouns, adjectives can be used as copula complements:

(36) diha ma:fi-te-pu
di-dia-pidana
he bad:NCL-ANIM-AUG 3SGM-BECOME-REM.PREP
'He became bad'

A member of any word class, a noun phrase, or a clause can be employed as a
modifier. To be used this way, it has to take a noun class marker. These derived modifiers
have all the properties of the derived adjectives listed in Table 7 (except
that they cannot take the approximative morpheme at all). For instance, if a noun
phrase is used as a modifier of a noun, a noun class marker is attached to the last
word of the noun phrase to mark agreement with the head noun, as in (35) above.
An example of a possessive construction employed as a modifier, with a noun class
suffix marking agreement with the head, is in (37).

(37) heku-na
[wesi i-tape]-na
chestnut.tree-CL-VERT [flu INDFIN-Medicine]-NCL-VERT
'tree which is a medicine against flu'

Other examples of noun phrases or even clauses used as modifiers ('adjectivized'
with a noun class suffix as an agreement marker) include firi wesi hanupite (man
[mucus much]::NCL-ANIM) 'a man who has much mucus' (or 'a man with a runny
nose'), firi ka-kana-hanupite (man [REL-drink much]-NCL-ANIM) 'a much-drinking
man, a drunkard', hawiki [fiiu-kayu]-peni (person [dog like]-PL-ANIM) 'people
(who are) like dogs' (used to describe those who marry people from the same language group as themselves). Any such modifier can be used as a head of a noun phrase; for instance, wesi hanupite (mucus much:nclananim) is typically used to refer to a person with a running nose, and ka-kama hanupite (nel-drink much: nclananim) to refer to a drunkard. The expression fiwu kavu-poni 'the ones who are like dogs' is a conventionalized way of referring to those who break the Vaupeš marriage customs.

4. Semantic overlap

Tariana shows hardly any semantic overlap between adjectives and other word classes. The only clear case of a semantic overlap between an adjective and a stative verb involves the dimension adjective wite 'long, far' and the verb wyaka 'be far' (the two are cognate). An adjective derived from the verb wyaka, wyakite 'long, far' is almost synonymous with wite. However, in texts, wite is more frequently used in the meaning of 'long; as in fiši di-fiša wite (man 3sgm-hair long:nclananim) 'man with long hair', while wyakite usually means 'far'; as in fiši wyakite (man far: nclananim) 'a man from far away'. The adjective kenite 'a man loved by women' (see F in §3.1) can be replaced with a stative verb huisi 'be good at hunting'; as in fiši ina huisite (man woman:pl be.good.at.hunting:nclananim) 'man lucky at getting women'. Its negative counterpart, meninite 'a man not loved by women', can be replaced with a stative verb husa 'be bad at hunting'; as in fiši ina husaithe (man woman:pl be.bad.at.hunting:nclananim) 'man unlucky at getting women'. In most other cases, even synonyms tend to belong to the same word class. For instance, both kau 'be afraid, fear' and harama 'be scared' are stative verbs. So are kenani 'be quick, adept at something' and sewi 'be quick (speed of motion)'.

An additional point concerns the semantic relationship between adjectives and stative verbs which cover comparable semantic fields. Dimension and Value adjectives have more generic semantics than stative verbs. For instance, something can be characterized as hanu- 'big'. This characterization would subsume other, more specific properties which could be expressed with a stative verb if necessary, such as phanita 'thick', khésa 'wide', or yenu 'tall'. Along similar lines, maši means 'bad' in general. By using a stative verb, one can further specify the ways in which a person, or an object, is bad—a person could be bad at hunting (husaite), or lazy (inasuite), or arrogant (kayena kama). One can apply maša 'proper, good' to someone, and then specify, again with a stative verb, whether the person is huisite 'good at hunting'; wayerite 'smart at doing things'; a good handymen, or maša-pwóti (proper/good-be-happy) 'really happy'; to describe an even-tempered person easy to get on with, one would use the compound maša ka-kale (proper/good attr-heart, lit. good-hearted). In a comparable way, a similarity construction can disambiguate the reference of Colour adjectives. We have seen above that hipérite refers to both 'green' and 'blue'. When Tariana speakers needed to make the distinction between these two shades of colour in clothing, they used hipérite kanapiri
o marry people from the same lan-
ter can be used as a head of a noun
in Tariana) is typically used to
kayute (green/blue: enclitic grass like: enclitic) ‘blue/green like grass’ to refer
to ‘green’, and hiporite enkwa kayute (green/blue: enclitic sky like: enclitic)
‘blue/green like sky’, to refer to ‘blue’. Different shades of reddish, blond, dark yellow,
orange, all covered by irte, can be disambiguated by a whole array of compar-
isons with the relevant objects. This fairly general semantics of various adjectives
allows a speaker considerable freedom of choice—one may remain vague, limiting
oneself to the members of a closed class; or one may choose to be more elaborate,
resorting to semantically more detailed descriptions and using a member of an
open class.

5. Summary

The adjective class in Tariana has twenty-nine members, seven in the di-
men-
sion semantic type, three in age type, two in value, eight in colour, and eight
in physical property. An additional group comprises the adjective ‘loved (by
women)’ and its negative counterpart; this does not appear to belong to any of
the semantic groups in Chapter 1. Similarly to nouns, all adjectives can occur as heads
of noun phrases and as copula complements. Adjectives can be used as modifiers
in noun phrases; while nouns and verbs have to be adjectivized to be used this way.
All the adjectives of the dimension, age, and colour semantic types are non-
verb-like (they cannot be head of an intransitive predicate without having a noun
class agreement marker). In contrast, adjectives of value and physical proper-
ty types can function as heads of intransitive predicates as bare roots, and thus
are similar to stative verbs. However, they have fewer morphological possibilities
than stative verbs. All adjectives have certain superficial similarities with nouns.
The choice of number and noun class for an adjective depends on that made for
a noun, and their marking is quite distinct. Adjectives are inflectionally complex—
they can agree with several different ‘heads’ of embedding and of embedded noun
phrases. Such inflectional complexity of adjectives is very different from how one,
derivationally complex; noun can occur with several classifiers. Nouns and adject-
ives make different choices of the diminutive morpheme, and of the approxima-
tive morpheme. In addition, different semantic groups of adjectives have distinct,
somewhat idiosyncratic, grammatical properties (summarized in Table 8).

We conclude that adjectives in Tariana form an independent grammatical class,
distinct from nouns and from verbs. Tariana has two distinct sub-groups of ad-
jectives, one of which is non-verb-like and the other one very similar (but not identical)
to stative verbs. Modern Tariana combines elements of head-marking, inherited
from Proto Arawak, with dependent-marking acquired through areal diffusion
from unrelated East Tucanoan languages. In the vast majority of Arawak languages,
adjectives are verb-like (see Aikhenvald 2008, on Warekena; Aikhenvald and Green
1998, on Palkur; and a general discussion in Aikhenvald 1999d). We hypothesize
that the noun-like properties of the Tariana adjectives may be the consequence of
the spread of areally diffused dependent-marking properties in the language.
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Adjective Classes

A Cross-Linguistic Typology

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Preface

This volume includes a typological introduction, plus revised versions of fourteen of the sixteen presentations at the International Workshop on 'Adjective Classes', held at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT), La Trobe University, 12-17 August 2002. An earlier version of Chapter 1 had been circulated to contributors, to ensure that the detailed studies of 'adjective classes' in individual languages were cast in terms of the same typological parameters. This is the first monograph in the series Explorations in linguistic typology, which will be devoted to volumes from the annual workshops sponsored by RCLT.

The week of the workshop was an intellectually stimulating and exciting time, full of exchange and cross-fertilization of ideas. All of the authors have pursued intensive investigations of languages, some of them little-known in the literature. They were asked to write in terms of basic linguistic theory—the cumulative framework in which most descriptive grammars are cast—and to avoid formalisms (which come and go with such frequency that any statement made in terms of them will soon become dated and inaccessible).

We owe a special debt of gratitude to Siew Peng Condon and Abby Chin, Executive Officers of RCLT, for organizing the workshop in a most efficient and caring manner, and to Adam Bowles for assisting with the preparation of the volume and for compiling the indices in his normal professional manner.

This volume owes its existence to the vision and care of Professor Michael Osborne, Vice-Chancellor and President of La Trobe University. He sponsored the establishment of RCLT within La Trobe's Institute for Advanced Study, and specified that its activities should include an annual International Workshop with stringent quality control. Professor Osborne opens each workshop, launches our volumes, and every year hosts a convivial dinner for the participants.