

given the specific  
 bic for each of the  
 at rule (0), which  
 ch vowel to begin  
 plied.

## THE POSTPOSITIONS OF ARAWAK\*

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

DOMINICA, B.W.I.

(rule 5a)

(rule 6a)

(rule 6b)

(rule 5a)

(rule 6a)

(rule 6b)

(rule 5a)

(rule 7a)

(rule 5a)

(rule 5a)

(rule 8)

(rule 5a)

(rule 8)

(rule 5a)

(rule 7a)

(rule 5a)

(rule 6a)

(rule 6b)

(rule 8)

(rule 5a)

(rule 7a)

(rule 8)

### 0. Introduction

#### 1. List of postpositions

#### 2. Some examples of their use

#### 3. Discussion

0. The term 'postposition' is employed here to denote a small but important class of simple, complex and compound forms, for the most part translatable by our prepositions. Hickerson interpreted those she met with as suffixes; and this at least some of them most probably are when appended to nouns or to other postpositions. But they also occur quite as often with the personal prefixes (1 sg. dA-, 2 sg. b-, 3 sg. human male l-, 3 sg. female-neuter th-, 1 pl. oA-, 2 pl. h-, 3 pl. human nA-) and/or suffixes (1 sg. -de, 2 sg. -bo, 3 sg. human male -i, 3 sg. female-neuter -no ~ -n, 1 pl. -o, 2 pl. -hi, 3 pl. human -ie), which differ somewhat from the corresponding personal pronouns (dái ~ déi, bíi ~ bíi, líi, théi, oái ~ oéi, híi ~ héi, náí ~ néi). And if da- *my* is a prefix and -kona *thumb* a stem in (káríka) dakóna *my thumb (hurts)*, there is no linguistically valid reason why da- should be a stem and -khona *on; about* a suffix in (káríka) dakhóna *my body (hurts)*.

Moreover, to whatever word-class the postpositions in their morphologically free occurrences may be assigned, they enter as stems into both nouns and verbs; so, from óma *together with* come both thómathi *her male companion* and thómakaí *he is with her*.

1. The following list of postpositions contains only such as have been found in tran-

\* The field work upon which this article is based was carried out in Surinam with the support of the National Science Foundation (grant GS-1909) and of The Institute for the Study of Man, for which I here express my gratitude.

scribed texts; and is divided into four groups according to frequency of occurrence in these texts: A consists of 1 item with 247 occurrences, B of 6 items each with from 57 to 45 occurrences, C of 6 items each with from 23 to 14 occurrences, and D of 13 items each with 7 or fewer occurrences. Apart from four cases (12, 13, 21 and 23) where analysis is doubtful, compound and complex forms are not listed as such, but will be discussed in what follows.<sup>1</sup>

A. 1. omón ~ omín, -mon ~ -mín ~ -(o)n, *for; to (dative); at; etc.*

B. 2. ábo, -bo, *with; by means of; in possession, charge, support of; etc.*

3. oária, -oria ~ -aria, *from.*

4. odóma, -doma, *because, on account or by reason of*

<sup>1</sup> In A Preliminary View of Arawak Phonology (IJAL 35.234-8), I tried to show that nasalized vowels, while usually occurring in pre-consonantal and word-final positions only, were also heard, though rarely, before an oral vowel belonging to the same word, as in (kaoáka) bahí *he (is not) at home* (cf.: kaoáka bahíno *she is not at home*) and (látha) lóoa *he said to himself*—instead of equivalent and more common, látha lónoa. No such case occurs in the examples employed in this article; and since nasalization of a word-final vowel often represents the addition of a suffix (báhí *at home*, from báhi *house; home*), all nasalized vowels will be shown in this article as V + n.

While there can be no doubt as to the distinctive functions of the aspirated/unaspirated oppositions, kh ≠ k and th ≠ t (cf.: khídín *to chase away* vs. kídín *to bathe*, both transitive), some morphemes replace the unaspirated by the aspirated stop under conditions which are not yet clear to me. So, for example, when the locative suffix -di is added to a form ending in /kV/, the resulting form has the shape /khVdi/: konokhódi *in/at the forest* from kónoko *forest*, lokhódi from loko *in*. The same suffix, -di, brings about no such change when it follows upon other CV: dakósa and dakosádi *beside me*, thokhóna and thokhóni *about it; on it* (but: ánaki, anakhidi; diáko, diakhódi; diki, dikhídi; etc.).

5. okhóna, -khona ~ -khon-, *on; about, etc.*
6. olóko, -loko ~ -lokho-, *in; during; in accordant with*
7. óma, -ma, *together with*
- C. 8. -bena (*part or portion*) of or from (selection); *subsequent to, since*
9. (-)bithi(-) *towards; for = to get or to fetch*
10. obóra, -bora, *for; before (locative or temporal)*
11. (a)diako, -diako, *upon.*
12. (-)ínabo *following; in pursuit of; cf. -ína base and 2 above*
13. mária, -(o)maria, *place; side; cause; region; direction*
- D. 14. (-)ádi *over; above; beyond; by; towards; (more) than*
15. (-)áoa *with regard to; about; (watch) over; (open/close) up*
16. (o)bána, -bana ~ -ban-, *expanse of or surrounding*
17. (a)diki, -diki(-), *footsteps or tracks; after*
18. -din *like*
19. -iábo *behind*
20. (-)ikirádi *round about (encircling).*
21. (o)kobóroko *among; inner part of (body, mind, earth, forest) cf. 25.*
22. akósa, -kosa, *side, beside*
23. -oáia *alone; -self*
24. irákho, -rakho, *in (of liquids only)*
25. -roko *inner part of (anatomy); so, from adína arm; wing, dadínaroko my armpit vs. dadínaloko (with 6) in my arms*
26. (-)seen (*there/where-*)*abouts; all around; (locality or direction)*

2. By far the most frequently employed is omón or omín (the last vowel is /o/ with some speakers, /i/ with others) and its variants, often translatable by *for* or *to* as in (thobokáka) thóio omín (*she cooked for her mother* and (látha ..) tho anoána híaro omín (*he said ..) to the vulture woman*. So also: (lidiáka tha) lóiomín (*he spoke to his mother*, dasíkifa bomínno *I'll give it to you* (b-omín-no

*you-to-it*). When prefixed by the markers of 1 sg. dA-, 1 pl. oA-, 3 pl. nA-, by attributive kA- or privative mA-, the initial vowel of this and other forms in VC is replaced by /a/. The reduced forms, dan *to/for me*, bon *to/for you*, lon *to/for him*, etc. may always replace damón, bomón, lomón, etc.; and the employment of one or the other set seems to be purely stylistic, although it was noticed that the former is usually employed in combination with the reflexive suffix -oa: (bísika tho dadináoa) dan (*give me (my wings)*), (thátha) thónoa (*she said to herself*).

The reduced form of omón, -(o)n, also occurs as a nominal and postpositional suffix with what may seem to be somewhat different function. So, compare: lisíbon *facing him, in front of him*, from lisíbo *his face*, (lándin ki théi íón) lísikoan (*when he arrived there*) *at his home*, and (losá tha) lisikoánro (*he went*) *to his home* (-ro is a directional suffix, from lísikoa *his home*, (leréitho tha ósa) lobóra (*his wife went*) *ahead of him*, but (thandá tha) lóborán (*she arrived*) *before him*. From this last example it might seem that the reference of the postposition obóra (No. 10) was changed from spatial to temporal by the addition of the suffix -n; while instances of dakhóna *about me = about/on my person* vs. dakhonán *about me = concerning me* (No. 5) suggest that this suffix indicates secondary or extended reference. But while it is true that the unsuffixed forms in my texts always have what I take to be primary reference, so also in many cases do the suffixed forms.

The reduced forms of (o)mín are not mentioned in the anonymous 18th-century Wörterbuch and Grammatik of the language where we find, for example, only ukún namün for what is now okhonán (v. supra) bahümün and bahümüniro for what now are bahín *at the house* and bahínro *to (in the direction of) the house* (from báhi *house*), and tumün for what today may be either thóm or thon *for/to her or it*.

The glosses given for postpositions are

course but a rough list of contexts in which give a more accurate range. So, for example both glossed *with*, are lent, though either may texts. But the former use as instrument or or act of supporting or tion or supply or pe something or somebody together with, in (dis) tagonism to. Thus, tl kaboíanro *he went to garden, provision grow by, for example, thál (with 7), either of wh relation, might be tra through their senses ( the case of the secon (with thóma), we m that reference is to : does not usually 'go ject), and translate he her, only general situ can tell us, in the cas (with thabo), whethe to someone or to som to a person, the o translation will be a p: the garden; for only ir vey, as does the Araw of her'.*

Like omín (1), with form abómín ~ ábon *neath*, ábo (2) occurs bondage. Compare: thandáda *everything : she brings back all sor híaro abo I come a brought a woman, h híaro abo bandá d: what sort-diminutive come upon-me, H.? = this that you've brought ábo his-flute with = i but: hamáa-bo? what (cf. hamáa-khona? wh*

prefixed by the markers of A-, 3 pl. nA-, by attributive e mA-, the initial vowel of forms in VC is replaced by d forms, dan *to/for me*, bon *to/for him*, etc. may always bomón, lomón, etc.; and the one or the other set seems to be, although it was noticed is usually employed in combination with the reflexive suffix -oa: lináoa) dan (*give me* (myself)) thónoa (*she said*) to her.

form of omón, -(o)n, also initial and postpositional suffix seem to be somewhat different. So, compare: lisíbon *facing him*, from lisíbo *his face*, ón) lísikoan (*when he arrived*), and (losá tha) lisíkoánro *home* (-ro is a directional suffix *his home*, (leréitho tha ósa) *he went*) *ahead of him*, but (lorán) *she arrived*) *before him*. In example it might seem that of the postposition obón changed from spatial to temporal condition of the suffix -n; while thóna *about me* = *about/on*, dakhonán *about me* = *con-*. 5) suggest that this suffix may have an extended reference. It is true that the unsuffixed forms may have what I take to be the same, so also in many cases do so.

forms of (o)mín are not mentioned in the anonymous 18th-century Grammar of the language, for example, only ukúnt is now okhonán (v. supra), ahümüníro for what now are *rise* and bahínro *to* (*in the house* (from báhi *house*), and today may be either thómín or it.

given for postpositions are

course but a rough makeshift; only a long list of contexts in which each occurs could give a more accurate idea of its functional range. So, for example, ábo (2) and óma (7), both glossed *with*, are by no means equivalent, though either may occur in some contexts. But the former refers, inter alia, to use as instrument or means, to the position or act of supporting or sustaining, to addition or supply or possession or charge of something or somebody, whereas óma means *together with*, *in* (*dis*)*agreement with*, *in antagonism to*. Thus, the utterance: losá tha kaboiánro *he went to the garden* (káboia *garden*, *provision ground*) can be expanded by, for example, thábo (with 2) or thóma (with 7), either of which, if occurring in isolation, might be translated *with her* or *it*, though their senses differ. But whereas in the case of the second expanded utterance (with thóma), we may be reasonably sure that reference is to a girl or woman (one does not usually 'go together with' an object), and translate *he went to the garden with her*, only general situation or wider context can tell us, in the case of the first expansion (with thabo), whether the prefix th- refers to someone or to something. And if it refers to a person, the only adequate English translation will be a paraphrase, *he took her to the garden*; for only in this way can we convey, as does the Arawak, that 'he had charge of her'.

Like omín (1), with which it combines to form abómin ~ ábon and abónro *under*, *beneath*, ábo (2) occurs in different degrees of bondage. Compare: hamáron tha abóda thandáda *everything it-is with she-comes* = *she brings back all sorts of things*, dandá aba híaro abo *I come a woman with* = *I've brought a woman*, hálika móthokhan tho híaro abo bandá dadiakónda, Harioánli? *what sort-diminutive this woman with you-come upon-me, H.? = what sort of a woman is this that you've brought me, H.?* líiánkaboária ábo *his-flute with* = *with* (*playing*) *his flute*; but: hamáa-bo? *what with* (*by what means*)? (cf. hamáa-khona? *what about?*, hamáa-loko?

*what in?*, hamáa odóma? *what for* = *why?*), dandá íkikhodobo *I-come firewood-with* = *I've brought firewood*, (lósa thidéinthi thibithíro) líkásiparánbo (*he-went her-uncle towards-it*) *with-his-cutlass* = *her uncle went towards it with his cutlass*. (The -n of líkásiparán *his cutlass*, from kasipára *cutlass*, is a possessive or subordinating suffix distinct from homophonous postpositional -n and from personal -n.)

In dábothi *the man responsible for* or *in charge of me*, ábo occurs as the stem of a noun, and as that of verbs in: (híme) ábokade (*fish*) *with-am-I* = *I've brought fish* (cf. kákikade *I'm alive*, mítekade *I'm tired*, somólekade *I'm drunk*, etc.), (dáí) háboha (hoionátho) (*I*) *pl.-you-with-fut.-tense* (*pl.-your-mother*) = *I, your mother, shall take care of you*; while abókoton *to lay hold on*; *to hold*; *to bear* is recognized by native speakers as derived by the causative suffix from abo *with*.

With -oáia (23), abo forms compound or complex l-oaiábo *by himself* = *alone*; whereas lábo + -oa (reflexive) yields láboa *by himself* = *without help*, and abo + -min or -n gives abomin ~ abon, abónro *under*, *beneath* (with or without directional -ro, depending on whether direction or position is to be expressed). It is doubtful, though not improbable, that abo should be contained in ínabo *following*, *in pursuit of* (12). Cf. -ina *base*, *proximal extremity*, as in adáina *tree stump* from áda *tree*, adináina *shoulder* from adína *arm*, (thoborio másoa) onínaro (abónro) (*its kidney sank*) *to the bottom of the water* (*under*) (oni-*water* + -ina *bottom* + -ro *to*). But should -ina be regarded as a postposition or as a noun (cf. oniábo *water*)?

Except after a prefix in A-, óma (7) *together with* usually retains its /o/; but in two consecutive sentences of the same tale, I find: (tho abá bíkidoliátho) thikithíma (tho áni) (*there was a girl*) *and her grandmother* (*this way*), where -ma *and* is clearly bound, and thikithi óma *thokhán her-grandmother with this-little* = *she was spending a little time with her grandmother*, where it

seems to be morphologically free. So also it has greater freedom in (láitha thakho hálika láma dián) thora híaro óma (he didn't know how he could talk) with that woman, than in thosáda thoiomáro thabo she went with it (she took it) to her mother, where it is followed by directional -ro.

óma with combines with omón (or omín) to/for to form the compound or complex postposition omámon (or omámin) to; by; at, employed mainly after or before verbs meaning come, arrive, visit, etc., in the same way as -maro is employed after verbs meaning go, etc., with reference to persons or their homes. However, the form omámon (or omámin) is usually reduced to ámon (or ámin), which was (in the 18th-century work referred to above) and is said to be 'just the same'. Examples: aba hébetho ámin nánda an old-woman to they-came = they came to an old woman, thandáthe lámín she came to him, bobálita dámin sit down by me, lósa díkhánro lóio ámin he-went to-visit his-mother's at = he's gone to see his mother (díkhin, v.t., to see, is replaced by intransitive díkhan . . . ámin when the sense of see is visit). It should be noticed that personal forms in omón (No. 1) and those in ámon (Nos. 7 + 1) differ only in stress when prefixed by dá-, oA- or nA- (e.g., damín vs. dámin), whereas elsewhere also the first vowels differ (bomón/bomín vs. bámon/bámin).

This postposition, ámon or ámin, is of particular interest, since from it are derived kámonin to be at (the home of) or to have and mámonin not to be at or not to have. And, with person-markers, we get: fátano iréno bámonka? how many children have you?, dámonkan(o) I have it or it is 'at me' (= at my place or in my possession), lámónkan he has it, mámon lan he does not have it, thámonkabo she has you or you are at her place, bámonfao you will have us, mámon bofáio you will not have us. Or, with attributive kA-: náí híarono kámonka nakoráoa they the women have their own hammocks.

oária, odóma, okhóna and óloko occur in their simple forms as in: (dáosa-kobáa tha)

Oreála oária hamaa odóma (I went away) Oreala from what for = why I left Oreala (toponym), (nándin) kaboiária (their coming) from the garden, mékheboária from work, thidíkhándoma (lii Harioánli) her-seeing-be-cause (him H.) = because she saw H., kiadóma for which reason (wherefore), (háliman) thokonáka) thérebo-khóna (how-long she walked) along the embankment, (aba sákoantho) modekeléloko in (a clean) landing place, thokonánloko her walking in = while she was walking, thiiákhatóá lória she-hid from-him, losá-tha thória he-went-away from-her, daosáthe bória I'm about to go away from you = I'm going to leave you, dadóma because of me; on my account, lobálika lória he passed from-him = he passed (a test) successfully, daionóthi ahóda dáoria my-parents died from-me = I lost my parents, ioária from there; from then; thence (ión + 3; íón there is non-deictic and anaphoric).

But oária often occurs in combination with another postposition, as in: tholokoária out of it from thólóko in it, thitelokoária out of her entrails, (lahóda deréthi) dakhonária (my husband died) from about me = I lost my husband, thidiakoária from off it from thidiáko upon it, thisidiakoária from off he head, thandá-tha báhi aboária it came from under the house, (daboroáthalibo thora hamátali) lokoária (I-must-help-you the thing) out of = I must help you out of the difficulty. Here again we find different degrees of bondage; and it is often hard to decide whether word-spacing is or is not justified.

Also (-)mária (13) appears to be a compound of óma (7) with oária (3); although the meanings and functions attached to it in my texts differ so much from those of its presumed components as to have induced me to list it apart from them. Cf. (sikínno) abmária (putting them) on one side, iahámari on this side (of the border); in this part (of the country), iarámari on that side thóiomariáro (thátha lória) (she turned from him) to her mother's side = she neglected him for her mother. Yet the Wörterbuch lists the

form as: da herun are not etymology; lomaoári thomadi 7 + 11 lokóbia) become a the person and 1st

Some are translated English may mean (thandát and (akcan have larly, dí footsteps saw only

dfkhidi (báthian wards, (after me-daiábon thandá-t pursuit (from 1) locative t they are and -bor: khonán tóro-khoi tho bóro balata (t

just sitti lobarán . lobarádi bobáda d rádi! take

Unless these sufficient way that one as conveyed from the home and

hamaa odóma (*I went away*)  
*what for = why I left Oreala*  
*náandin) kaboiária (their coming)*  
*den, mékheboária from work,*  
*ia (lii Harioánli) her-seeing-be-*  
*) = because she saw H., kiadóma*  
*reason (wherefore), (háliman*  
*thébo-khóna (how-long she*  
*the embankment, (aba sákoan-*  
*éloko in (a clean) landing place,*  
*her walking in = while she was*  
*ikhatoá lória she-hid from-him,*  
*ória he-went-away from-her,*  
*ia I'm about to go away from*  
*going to leave you, dadóma be-*  
*on my account, lobálíka lória he-*  
*ím = he passed (a test) suc-*  
*nóthi ahóda dáoria my-parents*  
*= I lost my parents, ioária*  
*om then; thence (ión + 3; ion*  
*eictic and anaphoric).*

often occurs in combination  
 postposition, as in: tholokoária  
 thólóko *in it*, thítelokoária *out*  
 s, (lahóda deréthi) dakhonária  
 died) *from about me = I lost my*  
 idiakoária *from off it from*  
 r it, thísídiakoária *from off her*  
 -tha báhi aboária *it came from*  
 ouse, (daboroáthalibo thoras  
 koária (*I-must-help-you that*  
 = *I must help you out of that*  
 re again we find different de-  
 lage; and it is often hard to de-  
 word-spacing is or is not just-

ria (13) appears to be a com-  
 a (7) with oária (3); although  
 and functions attached to it in-  
 fer so much from those of its  
 nponents as to have induced me  
 t from them. Cf. (sikínno) abo-  
 g them) *on one side*, iahámari-  
 of the border); *in this part (o-*  
 ), iarámari *on that side*  
 (thátha lória) *(she turned from*  
 other's side = *she neglected him*  
 : Yet the Wörterbuch lists this

form as: 'umária von, -wärts, in der Gegend,  
 da herum'—glosses which, taken as a whole,  
 are not incompatible with the proposed  
 etymology (7 + 3), clear in dandáthe  
 lomaoária *I come from (with) him*. Cf. also:  
 thomadiáko thana *this being the case*, with  
 7 + 11, and (thebesonoánbia kobáa-tha  
 lokóbia) oamádin *(she was metamorphosed to*  
*become a person) like us*, with 7 + 18 (and  
 the personal prefixes of 3rd sg. fem.-neuter  
 and 1st pl. respectively).

Some of the forms listed as postpositions  
 are translatable in certain contexts by  
 English nouns. So, for example, lokósa (22)  
 may mean *beside him* or *his side*, whereas  
 (thandáthe) lokosán (*she came) beside him*  
 and (akonán) lokosádi (*walking) beside him*  
 can have only the first meaning. And simi-  
 larly, díki (17) does or may mean *tracks*,  
*footsteps* (péeroron díki lidikhá báilokhódi *he*  
*saw only dog's tracks in the house*), whereas  
 díkhidi and díkin can mean only *after*;  
 (báthian kásakabo) díkhidi (*six days) after-*  
*wards*, (thandá-tha) dádiKin (*she arrived)*  
*after me*—with which contrast: thandá-tha  
 daiábon *she came behind me*, with 19, and  
 thandá-tha dáinabo *she came after me = in*  
*pursuit of me*, with 12. In such cases, -n  
 (from 1) and -di (from 14?) clearly have a  
 locative function, which is less obvious when  
 they are appended to forms like -khona (5)  
 and -bora (10). For example: dakanabósi-  
 khonán *what I've heard about*, tho bóroe-  
 tóro-khonán *at the foot of the balata (tree)*  
 tho bóroe-dáia-khondi *along the trunk of the*  
*balata (tree)*, mótho bálabalabán lóborán  
*just sitting in front of him*, thandá-tha  
 lóborán *she arrived before him*, thokonáka  
 lóborádi *she walked in front of him* (but:  
 bobáda dabóra! *wait for me!*), bínikan lóbo-  
 rádi! *take it before he does!*

Unless and until I can find evidence that  
 these suffixes, -n and -di, are in any consist-  
 ent way functionally distinct, I conclude  
 that one or the other or either is employed  
 as convention demands or allows. Thus,  
 from the nouns baráa *sea*, lísikoa *his house/*  
*home* and karáobana *savanna* (kárao *grass*

+ 16), come baráadi *at sea*, lísikoa *at his*  
*house*, lísikoa banáro *his homeland* and both  
 karáobanan and karáobandi *in or on the*  
*savanna*.

The reflexive suffix -oa, which may or  
 may not be contained in the postposition  
 -oáia (23), occurs not only with postposi-  
 tions, but also with nouns and with verbs;  
 so: (thátha) thomónoa ~ thónoa (*she said*)  
*to herself from thomón ~ thon to/for her or it*,  
 (thobokotá tho oniábo) tháboá (*the water*  
*held) by itself from thábo with her or it*,  
 thísáoa *her own child from thísá her child*,  
 lofároa *he killed himself from lofára he killed*.  
 But its use is often redundant from our point  
 of view, as in: (fádokodon) thóroa (*shaking*  
*it out) away from herself from thória from her*,  
 (tho lepéron lonaká) lomáoa (*this dog of his*  
*that he brought) with himself from lóma with*  
*him*, (lóthika béletho kháli) lóboránao (*he*  
*found soft cassava) ready for himself from*  
*lóborán for or before him (10 + 1)*, (látha)  
 lolóalokoa (*he said) in his own heart from*  
 lolóaloko *in his heart*, (liniká) libodéoa (*he*  
*took) his own fish-hook from libóde his fish-*  
*hook*, (lisimaká) leréithoa (*he called) his own*  
*wife from leréitho his wife*. Moreover,  
 whereas reflexive -oa follows the postposi-  
 tional stem, as in thomónoa ~ thónoa and  
 lóboránao (v. supra), it precedes the post-  
 positional suffix in such a reflexive noun as  
 leréithoámin *to/for his own wife*.

The directional suffix -ro to (*in the direction*  
 of) is usually appended to (-)bithi *towards*;  
 for = *to get/fetch* (9), and less often to óma  
 (7), mária (13), etc., as in: lósa thibithíro *he*  
*went towards her/it*, dikhákoa nátha libithíro  
*they looked in his direction*, (thosá tha)  
 thoiomáro (*she went) to her mother*, thoi-  
 máriaro *to the side (= cause) of her mother*,  
 onínaro abónro *down to the bottom of the*  
*water (oni- water, -ina base, abon under;*  
*beneath)*. As in the second word of this last  
 example, -ro often combines with -n, the  
 reduced form of omón (1) to give -nro as in  
 kaboiánro *to the garden from káboia garden*,  
 bahínro *to the house from báhi house*, etc.

Another suffix that occurs with some post-

positions is -koa, which I take to be a different morpheme from homophonous -koa still, yet, occurring with verbs. So: harán hómakoa (handáthe dabithíro) (come to me) all of you together, (nahírikidáka) nabokoáoa (they gathered together) one with another, or among themselves, (oafarábathe) oonikoáoa (we must fight) one another, where it seems to be reciprocal, and, doubtfully, (aíboa) thadikoáoa her transitory state (ended) = she attained puberty, in which it combines with óma (7), ábo (2), oni from omón (1) and, seemingly, with ádi (14), as well as, in the last three examples, with reflexive -oa. But my data concerning postpositional -koa are too few to allow of reliable analysis; and it may well be that, for example, -omakoa contains -oman quite, every, altogether rather than -oma together with.

There is often some latitude in the choice of a postposition referring to the indirect object of such a verb as dakobórokoatoáka I thought or laadákota he asked, in which contexts about you may be expressed, it would seem indifferently, by bokhónan (5 + 1), bámin (7 + 1) or báoa (15).

Both direct and indirect pronominal objects may be expressed as affixes in words whose stem is a postposition (as is the case also in verbs and in verbal nouns); so: damárita daonoáno I made it for myself (with 1), damárita doaiáno I made it by myself (with 23), damárita boboráno I made it for you (with 10), damárita dabóranoáno I made it to be ready for myself (with 10 + 1), in which final -no it is the direct object. On the other hand, in (iaháthe) dakosábo (come here) beside me (with 22) and (iaháthe) damábo (come here) with me (with 7), final -bo you refers to the person addressed; although we cannot call this the subject, since iaháthe is not a verb.

Not only nouns, but also demonstratives (including interrogatives) can take at least some of the postpositional suffixes. So, from iáha here come (máothi lándifa) iahámin (tomorrow he'll come) hither and (máothi lósifa) iahária (tomorrow he'll go) hence; while

from hálon where come halónro whither, haloária whence, halomária (lósá) which way (did he go)? halónseen (dasikáno)? whereabouts (did I put it)? and halónbo? where at? or just where? (which include the suffixal forms of 1, 3, 13, 26 and 2). The functions of -bo in this last word—as also in iarábo just there from iára there, thorábo that one, the other one from thóra that (fem.-neuter) and halikánbo (ósifa dama)? which one (will-go with-me)? from hálikan? which? (fem.-neuter)—seem to be very different from that which it has in hamá(a)bo? what with? (= by means of what?) from hamá(ha) what, and in other examples of its use cited above. But informants insist upon the identity of -bo in all these occurrences with the postposition (2), whose presence they also recognize in some nouns where it seems to form part of the stem, as in bánabo temporary shelter (cf. -bana leaves) and oniábo water (cf. óni rain; river), whose subordinate form is, however, -(o)nia (bónia your water, daniáoa my own water).

3. One of the difficulties of this language is the recognition of the same morpheme as it appears in different shapes (bísika/bósika damónno/damínno/danno give it to me!), coupled with the identification of homophonous morphs belonging to different morphemes. So, there can, I think, be no doubt that a suffix -n may represent any one of four morphemes: lisíbon facing him from lisíbo his face contains -n as a reduced suffixal form of the postposition omón (1); but lisíban his stone from síba stone contains the subordinating nominal suffix -n. And whereas the final -n of akánabon hearing; to hear marks the indefinite form of the verb, that of dakánaban I hear/heard it is the reduced form of the personal suffix of 3rd sg. fem.-neuter, -no ~ -n.

As for suffixal -bo, it would seem that this form may represent any one of at least three morphemes: that marking the progressive form of the verb, postpositional -bo, and the personal suffix of 2nd sg., -bo. For example:

thisimakábo (perhaps: th shouting, but thisimakabo thikisábo akósabo she-i needle (thikisábo thokósa sewing it with her own i sew, probably borrowed from akósa needle certainly from aguja).

The independence of the personal suffix -bo mentioned (cf. thisimakabóbo where the former precede that of postpositional -bc obvious. However, it is possible that progressive verb even mentioned in the 18 matik of the language; th (p. 193) what seems to be this usage, "lumalitabúl macht sein (eigen) Haus," the reflexive. (And in the 1 there is another: "hamm machst du?") Elsewhere the same author gives 'lumalit person sg. present indic. of and the two forms correspond he makes and lomaritát (lisikoáoa his own house) language. So we may perceive German 'macht' here has rather than its habitual sei 'lumalitabúka' contains a has no place in the modern construction, this -ka still occurs balizer (somóle-ka-i he is drunk) and as a verbal whose indefinite form ends bathe/bathed, from akán ba as amáritin making; to make. Now if the very common progressive forms in -bo common, older forms in -l likewise progressive, we may time function of this -ka i

where come halónro *whither*, ce, halomária (lósa) *which way* halónseen (dasikáno)? *where-out it*? and halónbo? *where at*? (which include the suffixal 13, 26 and 2). The functions of st word—as also in iarábo *just ra there*, thorábo *that one*, the n thóra *that (fem.-neuter)* and afa dama)? *which one (will-go om hálikan? which? (fem.- i to be very different from that s in hamá(a)bo? what with? of what?)* from hamá(ha) *what*, xamples of its use cited above. its insist upon the identity of se occurrences with the post- whose presence they also recog- nouns where it seems to form stem, as in bánabo *temporary ana leaves*) and oniábo *water river*), whose subordinate form - (o)nia (bónia *your water, wn water*).

he difficulties of this language tion of the same morpheme as different shapes (bísika/bósika nínno/danno *give it to me!*), the identification of homoph- hs belonging to different So, there can, I think, be no suffix -n may represent any one emes: lisbon *facing him* from contains -n as a reduced suffixal stposition omón (1); but lisban a síba *stone* contains the sub- minal suffix -n. And whereas of akánabon *hearing; to hear* definite form of the verb, that I hear/heard it is the reduced personal suffix of 3rd sg. fem. -n.

al -bo, it would seem that this resent any one of at least three that marking the progressive erb, postpositional -bo, and the x of 2nd sg., -bo. For example:

thisimakábo (perhaps: thisimakáabo) *she is shouting*, but thisímakabo *she called you*, and thikisábo akósabo *she-is-sewing with-(a)-needle* (thikisábo thokósathe-oábono *she is sewing it with her own needle*), with kisa- sew, probably borrowed from Sp. coser, and akósa *needle* certainly borrowed from Sp. aguja).

The independence of progressive -bo from the personal suffix -bo could hardly be questioned (cf. thisímakabóbo *she is calling you*, where the former precedes the latter); and that of postpositional -bo seems almost as obvious. However, it is perhaps worth noting that progressive verbs in -bo are not even mentioned in the 18th-century Gram- matik of the language; though I find there (p. 193) what seems to be one instance of this usage, "lumalitabúka lüssikoawa er macht sein (eigen) Haus," in a discussion of the reflexive. (And in the Wörterbuch, p. 92, there is another: "hamma bánibuka? was machst du?") Elsewhere in this work, the same author gives 'lumalita' as the male 3rd person sg. present indic. of 'amalitin machen'; and the two forms correspond to lomárita *he makes* and lomaritábo *he is making* (lisikoáoa *his own house*) of the modern language. So we may perhaps assume that German 'macht' here has its progressive rather than its habitual sense. And although 'lumalitabúka' contains a suffix, -ka, which has no place in the modern progressive con- struction, this -ka still occurs both as ver- balizer (somóle-ka-i *he is drunk*, from somóle *drunk*) and as a verbal suffix with verbs whose indefinite form ends in -an (dakáka *I bathe/bathed*, from akán *bathing; to bathe*),— as amáritin *making; to make* does not.

Now if the very common, modern pro- gressive forms in -bo come from rather un- common, older forms in -boka, which were likewise progressive, we must seek the one- time function of this -ka in such a form as

'lumalitabúka'. I can only suggest that it was verbalizing; and that, as lomaritábo is a reduction of lomáritabóka, so the latter is a reduction of \*lomaritin-abo-ka *he is with making* (lomaritin *his making* being a verbal noun),—something after the style of Dutch aan het maken, German beim Machen or older English on making. But even should I be right, this does not, of course, mean that the progressive and postpositional mor- phemes should be identified today; although the latter still has some strange bedfellows: (tánohoária) ábo (*from now*) *on*, and dahébe ábo *I've grown old* (dahébe *my old age*)—as well as hebénbode *I'm getting old*.

Finally, when we compare two such forms as lósa dakásiparánbo *he went off with my cutlass* (kasipára *cutlass*) and lósa dabáron ábo *he went off with my ax* (báro *ax*), we may well ask why -bo should be written as a suffix, but ábo as a word, when both belong to the same morpheme and have, except stylistically, the same function. In this article, preconsonantal and word-final n represents what I hear, with the great majority of speakers, as nasalization of the preceding vowel; although with some old people one hears the nasal consonant as well. But when a suffix beginning in a vowel, such as reflexive -oa, is added to a word ending in a nasalized vowel, such as dabáro *my ax*, the vowel is usually denasalized and consonantal n added, as in dabarónoa *my own ax*. Were this the general rule, it would suffice to say that I never heard \*dábaronábo (though dabarónbo is common). However, prevocalic nasalized vowels do occur, though quite rarely, with some speakers; so that one hears lomóoa and lóoa, as well as lomónoa and lónoa, for the same word meaning *to or for himself* (v. postposition 1). And this being so, my only justification for writing dabáron ábo as two words is the retention of the /a/ of abo, and the accentuation which does not resemble that of a single word.