

EVIDENCE OF THE STYLISTIC MOTIVATION OF SUFFIXAL PRONOUNS IN WARAO: A linguistic account

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ABSTRACT

Through a quantitative sociolinguistic analysis, the author evidences an existing correlation between some Warao structural features and at least two out of the three speech styles isolated in that language. Warao, such as several other indigenous languages of the Orinoco-Amazon basin, exhibits a high degree of freedom in syntactic arrangements. The increased variability of sentential patterns in these languages has forced the application of statistical procedures to come up with conclusions about some behaviors so that a typology of them may be attempted. In this paper, it is quantitatively proven that the positional variations of the Warao pronouns have a stylistic nature linked to social activities such as theurgic, medical and socio-political control practices. The results point out that suffixal pronouns heavily intersect with the DERI 'council' and DENOBO 'legend' styles which come into use in speech acts in which chiefs and shamans intervene. Conversely, Warao preverbal pronouns take place elsewhere, apparently lacking stylistic motivation.

RESUMEN

A través de un análisis cuantitativo de naturaleza sociolingüística, el autor demuestra la existencia de una correlación entre algunos rasgos estructurales del warao y dos de los tres estilos conversacionales detectados en dicha lengua. El warao, como otras muchas lenguas del eje Orinoco-Amazonas, exhibe gran libertad en sus ordenamientos sintácticos por lo que los investigadores han convenido en recurrir a procedimientos estadísticos para arribar a conclusiones que

permitan tipificar dichas lenguas. En este trabajo se establece numéricamente que la variabilidad posicional de los pronombres en warao tiene un origen estilístico asociado con factores de índole social. Los resultados señalan que la posición postverbal de los pronombres (sufijados al verbo) intersecta considerablemente con los estilos conversacionales DERI 'estilo de reuniones' y DENOBO 'estilo para contar historias sobre los ancestros', que son los que surgen cuando individualidades relevantes de la comunidad intervienen. Contrariamente, los pronombres preverbiales aparecen en cualquier contexto, sugiriendo no tener ninguna motivación estilística.

GENERALITIES

At least three speech styles have been isolated in Warao (See Romero-Figueroa, 1990, 1993). Although such styles have been set up on the grounds of the analysis of speech acts and participant roles, some structure-dependent features seem to correlate with them. For instance, in DIHIBU 'words for giving explanations', a speech act that often includes several participants performing one at a time or even several at the same time, the end of each interlocutor's part is marked by an acute tone concomitant with vowel lengthening. This is a systematic process that may be considered as a resource to preserve ordering in participations by individuals of similar status by making the audience aware of the fact that everyone's talk has come to an end by means of certain sound effects. Given this phonological peculiarity, DIHIBU 'words for giving explanations' as a speech act sets down a specific style. I have called it the DERI STYLE 'council style'. The passages of talk in the DERI STYLE offer very interesting sociolinguistic data for three reasons (i) participants focus on just one topic in most of the cases, providing explanations of actions that depict a problem and identify individuals taking part in it. This sort of explanation contains varied phonological, morphological and lexical forms that make it possible to compare ways of speaking and behaving. The DERI STYLE closely associates with direct speech, the manner of speech nowadays considered

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the keystone for understanding discourse sequences and their socio-cultural meaning and implications, (ii) language is used not only for transmitting expressions and discussing events, but also represents actions since every participant--using all possible results--attempts to convince the others of accepting his point of view. One of the major efforts in this respect must be made by the chiefs whose fundamental role is the finding of a solution to each problem, for instance, by persuading the protagonists of an impasse to change their attitudes, and (iii) contents reveal linguistic usages that allow us to explore degrees of proficiency and personal attitudes of the Warao people towards the Warao language. The passages of talk in the DERI STYLE offered by participants, independently of status, point out the relevance of such conceptual relations as those shown in (1) below

- (1) obonobu → dibu → yanoko → yakerata
 think say listen solve
 (Briggs, 1988)

The sequence in (1) is presented by Briggs in a preliminary sociolinguistic analysis of Warao secular forms. He bases his notes in this respect on the fact that the Warao's values are founded on interpersonal harmony, which must be preserved constantly. Any disruption of this state of agreement will bring about sessions of work intended for restoring it, which will depend upon the word power of the leaders. It seems that language proficiency and attitude toward language are two factors that must be considered in any study of social scope about the Warao people. Briggs remarks that the conceptual relations in (1) are not only a part of the ideology of the Warao language but they are also basic components of the Warao idiosyncrasy.

Several notes of morphosyntactic value about Warao presented in ethnographies, grammars and dictionaries already published have lacked an analysis of styles in that language. As a result, some arguments about the functioning of the Warao sentence fall outside the realm of existing linguistic theory. Some authors, for instance, have mentioned "occultism" and "literary camouflage" as outstanding qualities of the speech of the Warao chiefs and shamans. These authors argue that the Warao chiefs and shamans try to create a sort of mysterious environment around them in order to be able to implant any given ideas or beliefs in the Warao's minds. Thus, they use the language with uncommon arrangements and registers

of difficult interpretations. I have found that what appears to be simply "occultism" or "literary camouflage" is stylistically-motivated syntactic patterning and lexicon. For instance, suffixal pronouns are frequent in the DERI STYLE. It seems to be the case that the emphatic value of suffixal pronouns as opposed to the neutrality of the prefixed pronouns is an important tool in discourse sequences related to DIHIBU 'words for giving explanations'.

Those speech acts in Warao in which only one of the participants addresses an audience, for example, KAIRAMOTUMA A RIBU 'words for telling stories about old chiefs (or ancestors)', are propitious contexts for the use of another style, the DENOBO STYLE 'legend style'. The DENOBO STYLE is characterized by the use of certain lexical items of deictic value that make possible the placing of events in specific time frameworks. Such temporal units--mainly adverbs and postpositions--are seldom heard in everyday language, and their use is the prerogative of those who are in charge of the oral transferring of Warao traditions from generation to generation, namely airamotuma 'chiefs' and nobo 'grandfathers'. For instance, the use of atehewitu 'very long time ago' contributes--in addition to referential content--to the setting up of a distinction between such speech acts as DENOBO A RIBU 'words for telling stories about the ancestors' and ERIBU 'words to relate common events', in which the time adverb used would be ama ebe 'any time before now'.

The DERI STYLE and DENOBO STYLE perhaps contrast with the style the Warao use to communicate everyday life events. This may be hypothetically called the ARE STYLE 'the usual style' which is used for such speech acts as greetings, joking, grieving, etc.

THE DERI STYLE 'council style' AND THE WARAO PRONOUNS

The examining of the data has evidenced a particular distribution for pronominal forms in Warao, and a tendency to use independent pronouns in preverbal position in every style that I have identified. There is a tendency to suffix such pronouns to verbs when the DERI STYLE 'council style' is in use. Pronoun suffixation takes place simultaneously with the independent preverbal form, i.e., both forms may co-exist in the same sentence. Statistical information is offered in TABLE 1 below

| PRONOUNS | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----|
| STYLES | PRE VERB. IND PRO | VERB-SUF. PRO | TOT |
| ARE 'the usual style' | 273 | 0 | 273 |
| DENOBO 'legend style' | 309 | 17 | 326 |
| DERI 'council style' | 224 | 176 | 400 |
| TOTALS | 806 | 193 | 999 |

TABLE 1. Number of occurrences of pronominal forms in 1-hour long recordings in every style. The data belong to different informants, even in the same style.

TABLE 1 clearly shows that P(RE) V(ERBAL) IND(EPENDENT) PRO(NOUNS) are overwhelmingly frequent in Warao as compared with SUF(FIXAL) PRO(NOUNS). The data reveals 806 tokens of PV IND PRO out of 999 instances of PRO in the recordings. The fact that the highest number of occurrences of SUF PRO in the DERI STYLE--i.e., 176 cases--remarkably contrasts with no instances of them in the ARE STYLE leads to the conclusion that such a usage correlates with the kind of individuals that participate in DIHIBU 'words for giving explanations' speech acts on the one hand and in ERIBU 'words of telling stories about common events' speech acts on the other. It is likely that the referential content and the goals of the verbal interaction favors the use of SUF PRO's as well. In general, it might be said that SUF PRO has a restricted use in the Warao language.

The understanding of the pronoun variants that has so far presented depends on the explanation of the pronominal system in the language. Thus, in the following section, an analysis of Warao pronouns derived from this sociolinguistic research is provided.

PRONOUNS: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Givón (1984) thoroughly discusses pronominal systems from the rather restricted point of view of their syntactic and semantic properties. He does not treat formally the discourse function of pronouns because he considers it as part of the large functional domain of topic continuity in discourse. He goes on to argue that only when enough background has been established concerning the narrow scoped properties

can we proceed to elucidate their role within a wider function- al domain. Since sufficient background has been set up in the case of Warao, I move beyond the limits of syntax and semantics to account for Warao pronouns. Nevertheless, I must depart from theoretical considerations by Givón (1984) because I accept much of what typological linguistics proposes concerning language behaviour. Givón has developed his points from extensive data collected all over the world.

Givón (1984) adopts one fundamental assumption throughout his discussion: stressed IND PRO's, unstressed/clitic pronouns and verb agreement all constitute a functional synchronic cline. Diachronically, independent pronouns may become de-stressed and cliticize and unstressed/clitic pronouns eventually become agreement inflections on the verb. This point is clarified shortly. Eventually, it is common for grammatical agreement to become jointly-coded morphologically with other inflectional categories of the verb, in particular tense, aspect and modality. Givón (1984:354) summarizes this general diachronic process as follows

- (2) IND PRO > unstressed PRO > clitic PRO > verb agreement

Diachronic change along this cline is coupled with changes in the discourse functions of the pronouns from the more emphatic, contrastive and discontinuative function of independent PRO's toward the anaphoric continuative function of unstressed pronouns and verb agreement.

Givón (1984:354) points out that some cross-linguistically attested features to define pronominal systems are lexical or inherent noun features, or propositional-semantic features, or discourse--pragmatic features. Some of these are:

- (1) PARTICIPANT DEIXIS OR PERSON: the speaker or first person, the hearer or second person and the non-participant or third person.
- (2) NUMBER: singular, dual or plural.
- (3) INCLUSION/EXCLUSION: This feature pertains to the hearer's inclusion in, or exclusion from, the referential scope of we, either dual or plural. We-INCLUSIVE is thus we, including you, and we-EXCLUSIVE is thus we, excluding you.

(4) **CLASS/GENDER:** This is the inherent--lexical cluster of noun features, applicable most typically to third person referents; the classification here may correspond closely to semantic-lexical classes, or it may correspond only to semantic but currently, morphological classes.

(5) **CASE ROLE:** This pertains either to semantic case roles, such as agent, patient, dative, etc., or--more commonly--to pragmatic grammatical roles such as subject, direct object, indirect object, genitive, etc.

Givón (1984:355) notices that there is a strong tendency in human language to make a clear distinction between the two active participants in the communication--speaker (I, we) and hearer (you, you all), and non-participants or third persons (he, she, it, they). There are a number of reasons why this is a natural division:

(i) The speaker and hearer are presumably human and presumably in face-to-face contact, so that their spatial deixis and class gender are well established from the communicative context, and need not be overtly marked. They are themselves the point-of-reference for all spatial and temporal deixis.

(ii) On the other hand, number and inclusion/-exclusion are not directly predictable from the speaker and hearer, they are potentially ambiguous in the speech situation, and it is thus only natural that they may require overt specification or marking.

(iii) Similarly, the case-role of the speaker or hearer when they are also participants in events/states which are reported (and are not necessarily occurring at the time and place of communication) is not predictable from the communicative situation, and must be specified just as it is specified for other referents.

As already indicated in preceding paragraphs, Givón isolates two major tendencies concerning the syntactic-semantic behavior of pronominal systems: (a) independent/stressed pronouns correlate with emphatic and contrastive usages, and (b) unstressed/clitic pronouns and agreement correlate with non-emphatic, continuative and anaphoric usages. Since the first correlation involves independent or free pronouns which are primitives on the basis of (2), there is not much to discuss. The second correlation involving clitics and verb

agreement is much richer from a typological point of view. According to Givón (1984), the nouns that pronouns refer to or stand for may perform different case roles within the sentence. Case-role differences often participate in determining a number of properties of clitic pronouns. Some of these properties are:

- (a) The manner of their cliticization.
- (b) The word type on which they will cliticize.
- (c) Their morphotactic position relative to that word, i.e., where they will cliticize (as prefix or suffixes).
- (d) The likelihood that the clitic pronoun will become an obligatory component of the word on which it cliticizes.

Givón (1984:361) maintains that there is no formal difference between clitics, de-stressed pronouns and grammatical agreement. Givón holds that if his statement above were not appropriate, at least, functional analysis points toward an inherent identity of clitics (and pronouns in general) and agreement. As a way of illustrating his argument, Givón presents the Spanish example in (3) below

| | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-------|--------------------|
| (3) | trabaj | -é | 'I worked' |
| | trabaj | -aste | 'you worked' |
| | trabaj | -ó | 'he/she/it worked' |
| | trabaj | -amos | 'we worked' |
| | trabaj | -aron | 'they worked' |
| | (Givón, 1984:362) | | |

Givón's point in (3) is that in Spanish -I and -é--the verb endings for first person singular in the past tense--are equivalent to I; therefore, they may be unequivocally substituted for each other.

Finally, pronouns -- specifically unstressed anaphoric ones--may be used as noun substitutes under conditions of coreference. When they cliticize, however, the probability increases that they may be interpreted by speakers as obligatory parts of the verb, not only as substitutes for the coreferent noun phrase but also when the coreferent noun phrase is present. Under such conditions, the verb is said to agree with a noun phrase, and the grammatical agreement phenomenon is then observed. Schematically, Givón describes the development from anaphoric pronouns to cliticized grammatical agreement as in (4)

- (4) a. John_i, he_j went home →
- b. → John_i he_j-went home

In both (4.a) and (4.b) (the latter is ungrammatical in English, only used hypothetically), John and he are coreferential. In (4.a), he is an anaphoric pronoun. In (4.b), he is a clitic marking grammatical agreement. This process is very common in many languages all over the world. Swahili, for instance, provides an excellent example in (5)

- (5) miti i- me- vurijika
trees they PERF break

In (5), miti 'trees' and i- 'they' are coreferential, i- representing a clitic pronoun marking on the verb the subject function of miti 'trees'.

WARAO PRONOUN SYSTEM

In Warao, parts of the sets of pronouns are independent, or free morphemes in all of their possible occurrences in sentences, whether they identify singular or plural persons. Also, parts of the sets of subject and object pronouns may be cliticized, or bound, to verbs. These sets of bound morphemes are reduced in number, and they are restricted to the first and second singular person as well as the first person for both subject and object functions.

The subjective free pronouns (hereafter IND PRO's) and the bound ones (hereafter SUF PRO's) arrange in a system as follows

| | IND PRO | SUF PRO | |
|-------------|---------|---------|-------------|
| (6) 1p. sg. | ine | -ine | 'I' |
| 2p. sg. | ihí | -ihí | 'you' |
| 3p. sg. | tai | ø | 'he/she/it' |
| 1p. pl. | oko | -oko | 'we' |
| 2p. pl. | yatu | ø | 'you all' |
| 3p. pl. | tatuma | ø | 'they' |

The use of subjective IND PRO's in context is exemplified in (7) below

- (7) a. warao ine namina -te
Warao 1p.sg.S know NON-PAST
'I know Warao'
- b. ho ihí hobi -naka -ha
water 2p.sg.S drink NEG PERF
'You had not drunk water'

- c. aruboko tai nahoro -te
manioc 3p.sg.S eat NON-PAST
'He eats manioc'
- d. osibu oko kona -te
morokoto 1p.pl.S bring NON-PAST
(kind of fish)
'He brings morokoto'
- e. oroboko yatu war -a -e
lie 3p.pl.S tell PUNC PAST
'You all told a lie'
- f. naku tatuma mi -a -e
monkey 3p.pl.S see PUNC PAST
'They saw a monkey'

From the review of (7), the facts of importance about Warao subjective IND PRO's are (i) they are placed immediately before verbs--they are P(RE)-V(ERBAL), and (ii) they do not correlate with verb morphemes for the marking of agreement.

Differently from subjective PV IND PRO's, subjective SUF PRO's appear only as closing morphemes within verb suffixal chains. The case is illustrated in (8) below

- (8) a. sina tamatika tai nabaka -te kotai
who here 3p.sg.O arrive NON-PAST REL.

mi -te -ine
see NON-PAST 1p.sg.S
'I am going to see who he is that comes here'
- b. wauta omi naru -te -ine
Wauta without go NON-PAST 1p.sg.S
'I am going without Wauta'
- c. dima nabaka kore wa eku
father arrive COND canoe inside

' naru -te -ihí
go NON-PAST 2p.sg.S
'On (your) father's arrival, you are going to go aboard the canoe'
- d. yatu a noboto mi -nak -ine
2p.pl.O of children see NEG 1p.sg.S
'I did not see the children of yours'

Subjective SUF PRO's as those in (8) seems to be marked structures intended for specific purposes, depending upon who is speaking, to whom the speech is addressed, the topic under consideration and the place and time of such a speech occurrence. TABLE 1 at the beginning of this CHAPTER reveals that subjective SUF PRO's predominantly occur in the

DERI STYLE 'council style', a style with very particular characteristics. In every day life conversation, SUF PRO's are hardly heard-if so. It is my opinion, that SUF PRO's indeed are variants of the subjective PV IND PRO's--commonly used by any Warao speaker--that gives the message in which they appear a touch of distinction associated with the most elevated status of the airamotuma 'chiefs', individuals that often use the structure. Besides this external-to-language-motivation of the structure, which obviously determines its social distribution according to TABLE 1, SUF PRO's may be thought to have an intra-language motivation. In Warao, as in most languages, the structuring of discursive sequences involves a principle of economy which leads to some contextual omissions of linguistic units containing already known information wherever the logic of conversation allows no possible confusion. A very probable implication of contextual omissions in Warao is the relocation of units that re-introduce information previously left out when need arises to prevent misunderstanding as speech acts progresses. Thus, it may appear that in the language, in sentential sequences where subjects--either proper nouns, full phrases, or free pronouns--identifying highly topical characters have already been expressed, such characters are periodically brought out the scenery by means of anaphoric clitics, and SUF PRO's might be considered as such. Then, it may be said that subjective IND PRO's cliticize directly to verbs, turning themselves into SUF PRO's. However, the fact that SUF PRO's are not used by most of the Warao works against an analysis of them as clitics of the PV IND PRO's. I would rather propose, on the grounds of sociolinguistic data, the existence of two sets of subjective PRO's: PV IND PRO's used in informal contexts in which the ARE STYLE 'the usual style' dominates, and SUF PRO's used in some situations by some individuals to assign a certain degree of formality to the discourse. SUF PRO's appear in the DERI STYLE 'council style' mainly.

The use of (subjective) SUF PRO's is shown in a string of speech by an airamo 'chief' during a DIHIBU 'words for giving explanations' session:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|------------------|----------------|------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|--|--|
| (9) a. | atae again | nahoro eat | -a PUNC | -e PAST | | | | | |
| b | nahoro eat | abana serve | ta past | -ta AUX | -yama by HSY | ha COP | kore COND | | |
| | Warao | kotai | obono | -bu | -e | sina | tai | | |
| | Warao | REL | think | ITER | PAST | who | 3p.sg.O | | |
| | tamatika here | kotai REL | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| c. | dihisane hiding | mi see | -te NON-PAST | ine 1p.sg.S | | |
| d. | ha be | -e PAST | -yama by HSY | ta AUX | -kore COND | warao Warao |
| | kotai REL | rihis hide | -a PUNC | -e PAST | | |
| e. | aru manioc | bahubu stems | kabana slashed | rihis hide | -a PUNC | -e PAST |
| f. | sina who | tamatika here | tai 3p.sg.O | nabaka arrive | -te NON-PAST | hakotai that |
| | m see | -ine 1p.sg.S | | | | |

(Vaquero, 1965:276)

- (lit.) a. A Warao ate again.
- b. When he was serving, (the one) that was a warao was thinking: who is he (the one) that (comes) here?
- c. I am going to see (by) hiding (somewhere).
- d. When being (there) (the one) that was a Warao hid.
- e. (He) hid in slashed manioc stems.
- f. I am going to see who is he (the one) that comes here.

In analyzing (9), it must be firstly pointed out that in that particular piece of narrative the contents of sentences (9.a), (9.b), (9.d) and (9.e) are clearly differentiated from those in (9.c) and (9.f): whereas the former group provides orientational information (given by the narrator), the latter presents the action as if it were spoken by the actor himself (given by the narrator.) It should not be a coincidence that sentences (9.c) and (9.f) both contain the SUF PRO -ine 'I' that corresponds with the character whose identity has been assumed by the airamo. In both instances, the airamo is suggesting a procedure to be followed by using a character's words.

The set of object pronouns in Warao also shows free and bound forms as can be seen in (10) below

| | IND PRO | | PRE PRO | |
|------|---------|--------|----------|--------------|
| (10) | 1p. sg. | ma | ma- ~ m- | 'me' |
| | 2p. sg. | hi | hi- ~ h- | 'you' |
| | 3p. sg. | tai | ø | 'him/her/it' |
| | 1p. pl. | ka | ka- ~ k- | 'us' |
| | 2p. pl. | yatu | ø | 'you all' |
| | 3p. pl. | tatuma | ø | 'them' |

Objective IND PRO's in Warao may function as direct, indirect and oblique objects. Some of these functions are shown in (11-13) below

DIRECT OBJECT

- (11) a. ma moa -u
1p.sg.O give 2p.sg. IMP
'You, give me!'
- b. ma airamo reri -a -e
1p.sg.O chief advise PUNC PAST
'The chief advised me'
- c. tai inc nahoro -naka -a -e
3p.pl.O 1p.sg.S eat NEG PUNC PAST
'I did not eat it'
- d. tatuma wauta mi -a -e
3p.pl.O Wauta see PUNC PAST
'Wauta saw them'

INDIRECT OBJECT

- (12) a. ma saba tai rakoi sanuka ribu -a -e
1p.sg.O to 3p.sg.O sister little say PUNC PAST
'(lit.) My little sister told that to me'
'My little sister told me that'
- b. hi saba buratana inc kona -te
2p.sg.O to plantain 1p.sg.S bring NON-PAST
'I bring plantain to you'
- c. ka saba hua mi -kitane nao -ta
1p.pl.O to Juan see INFINIT. come NON-PAST
'John comes to see us'

OBLIQUE OBJECT

- (13) a. hatabu warao -tuma hatan -e tatuma noika
arrow Warao PL shoot PAST 1p.sg.O with
romu warao -tuma n -a -e
bird Warao PL kill PUNC PAST
'The Warao shot arrows. The Warao killed birds with them'

- b. tai ebe noboto naru -a -e
3p.pl.O before child go PUNC PAST
'The boy was going ahead of him'
- c. hi omi inc yaota -te
2p.pl.O without 1p.sg.S work NON-PAST
'I will do the job without you'

Objective IND PRO's such as exemplified in (11-13) are generally introduced by postpositions. Indeed, if the pronoun sets in (6) and (10) are compared, we realize that only subject and object morphemes for first and second singular and first plural persons are morphologically differentiated in this language. Therefore, IND PRO's functioning as indirect objects and obliques are ordinarily identified on the basis of their accompanying introductory postpositions. When functioning as direct objects, a case in which no postpositions are available, the identification of IND PRO's--particularly of the morphologically-undifferentiated ones as compared with the subjective IND PRO's, for example, *tai*, *yatu* and *tatuma*--is exclusively context dependent.

Furthermore, objective bound PRO's commonly cliticize directly to verbs as prefixes--the leftmost morpheme within any possible prefixal chain. These (objective) PREF(IXAL) PRO's (hereafter PREF PRO's) often undergo morphological shortening depending upon whether they are directly attached to certain vowel initial verb roots or other vowel initial verb prefixes. Morphological shortening of PREF PRO's will always take place when the element to which they are attached contains an initial vowel of the same quality as that of the bound pronouns, whether this is *ma-* 'me', *hi-* 'you, sg.' or *ka-* 'us'. The cliticization process and its morphological implications is illustrated in (14-16) below

- (14) a. ma ihi na -kitane ha
1p.sg.O 2p.sg.S kill INFINIT. COP
'You are about to kill me'
- b. ø ihi ma- na -kitane ha
2p.sg.S 1p.sg.O kill INFINIT. COP
'You are about to kill me'
- (15) a. ma beoro -ira abu -bu -a -e
1p.sg.O dog AUGM. bite ITER PUNC PAST
'The big dog bit me repeatedly'
- b. ø beoro -ira ma- abu -bu -a -e
dog AUGM. 1p.sg.O bite ITER PUNC PAST
'The big dog bit me repeatedly'

- (16) a. hi ine e- namina -te
 2p.sg.O 1p.sg.S CAUS. know NON-PAST
 '(lit.) I (no other) will cause you to know'
 'I (no other) will teach you'

- b. ø ine h- e- namina -te
 1p.sg.S 2p.sg.O CAUS. know NON-PAST
 '(lit.) I (no other) will cause you to know'
 'I (no other) will teach you'

In (14.a), for instance, it may be noticed that the IND PRO ma 'me' appears in sentence initial position; whereas, in (14.b), the PREF PRO ma- 'me' in its full morphological realization has been prefixed to the verb na 'kill'. Conversely, in (15.b) and (16.b), the PREF PRO's ma- 'me' and hi- 'you' show the morphologically-shortened forms m- and h- due to the fact that the verb stems to which they have been respectively attached, abubu 'bite repeatedly' and enamina 'cause to know' contain initial vowels of the same quality as the ones in ma- and hi-.

Differently from subjective IND PRO's and SUF PRO's which show a distributional usage in terms of social factors, the data reveal total uniformity in the use of the objective IND PRO's and PREF PRO's. The latter structures and styles do not intersect at all. The use of Objective IND PRO's and PREF PRO's spread all over the ARE STYLE 'the usual style', DENOBO STYLE 'legend style' and DERI STYLE 'council style'. Statistical information is provided in TABLE 2 below

| PRONOUNS | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|----------|-----|
| STYLES | PRE VERB. IND PRO | PREF PRO | TOT |
| ARE 'the usual style' | 123 | 99 | 222 |
| DENOBO 'legend style' | 144 | 143 | 287 |
| DERI 'council style' | 127 | 101 | 228 |
| TOTALS | 394 | 343 | 737 |

TABLE 2. Number of occurrences of pronominal forms in 1-hour long recordings in every style. The data belongs to different informants, even in the same style.

TABLE 2 makes evident that the IND PRO and PREF PRO tokens are quantitatively similar; hence, they may be thought not to be stylistically motivated.

Returning to the SUF PRO matter, they may have an antecedent, or coreferent, either a noun as a sentential subject or a subjective IND PRO, in the same sentence. In such cases, the Warao sentence will show a pre-verbal and a post-verbal subject. This reduplication of the subject has a definitive emphatic value associated with instances of very long sentences.

Warao is no a rigid OSV order language, but rather one in which a certain range of freedom for arranging such basic sentential constituents is allowed. It must be remembered that subject fronting, as well as the front-ing of other constituents in Warao, has two basic motivations: a structural one in the case of yes/no and wh- questions, and a stylistic one for focusing. Structural subject fronting needs no further consideration here since it is unrelated to subject reduplication. The discussion henceforth turns around subject reduplication as an implication of stylistic sentence re-arrangement. Some instances of subject reduplication are presented in (17-19) below

- (17) inei ama ebe hi saba karata
 1p.sg.S moment before 2p.sg.O to note

ahabata -n -a -e -inei
 write SG PUNC PAST 1p.sg.S
 'It was I (who) did not write a note for you the day before yesterday'

- (18) ma warotu domu ma saba hata -ihii
 my friend bird 1p.sg.O for hunt 2p.sg.O
 'My friend, it is you (who) is going to hunt a bird for me'

- (19) inei hi saba hata -ki tia -inei
 1p.sg.S 2p.sg.O for hunt INT HAB 1p.sg.S
 'It is I (who) is going to hunt for you'

Sentences(17-19) show SOV order, a pattern mostly dependent upon subject fronting for effects of stylistic nature. This type of structure is exclusively found in the language of the aidamotuma 'chiefs' during the DIHIBU 'words for giving explanations' sessions, context in which they use to show off, particularly in the quality of their talks, a trait of the DERI STYLE 'council style'. In each of these

particular examples, variation from the basic OSV order pursues the accomplishment of a semantic need. In constructions such as (17-19), subjects and other constituents are commonly fronted to create an effect of re-affirmation of a need for events to develop under very specific directions. These situations of course are socially-motivated. In (18), for example, the speaker instructs the interlocutor that the latter--and no other--must hunt the bird for the former to meet ritual requirements.

The analysis of (17-19) shows that all of these sentences contain preverbal subjects which do not immediately precede their verbs, as would be the case in OSV-patterned sentences. It seems that sentences showing SOV order--particularly when containing one or several objects between the preverbal subject and the verb--include also a *SUF PRO* which corefers to the preverbal subject, whether this is an *IND PRO* or a NP. Thus, it is likely that postverbal subjects in Warao are intended for the ease of recovery of contextual information that may otherwise be lost, given that fronted preverbal subjects become far positioned from their basic immediately-verb preceding slot. It should be remembered that Warao subjects and direct objects tend to keep a close bond with their verbs; hence, it is to be expected that the language develop mechanisms to compensate disruptions of the basic OSV pattern, so preventing ambiguities and avoiding misunderstandings. A final remark on this point refers to the fact that all of these mechanisms are frequently observed in the speech of the religious and socio-political leaders since they use them to demonstrate their wisdom and their high levels of knowledge.

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