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On the category *adjective* in Southern Guaykuruan languages[1]

Abstract. The morphology of "adjectives" in Southern Guaykuruan (SG) languages (Pilagá, Toba and Mocoví) includes forms that look more like nouns (they manifest both gender and number categories) and forms that look like verbs (they inflect for number, but not for gender). Gender affixes on adjectives coincide with gender markers used for nouns. However, adjectives do not share the feature of possession with nouns. Furthermore, most adjectives, or PROPERTY CONCEPT WORDS that inflect for number and gender are in the semantic categories of color and dimension. Words denoting properties, states and qualities which have only number are more verb-like. These translate as adjectives, do not occur with a copula, and can take verbal inflection (aspect, directionality, negation). Some adjectival concepts are expressed by full-fledged verbs, with the subject pronominal prefix functioning as the sole argument of the predicate. There are also a few adjectives with unknown etymologies that cannot be synchronically derived from nouns or verbs. We conclude that in SG languages there is a class of prototypical nouns at one end of a continuum and another class of prototypical verbs at the other end of this continuum. In addition, there are two classes of property concept words within the continuum that are realized as nominal adjectives and verbal adjectives. Situated in the middle of this continuum is a small group of words that show neither derivational nor inflectional categories.

1. Introduction. Speakers of Southern Guaykuruan (SG) languages (Pilagá, Toba and Mocoví) are found primarily in northeastern and central Argentina, in the Paraguayan Chaco, and in numerous enclaves around Argentine urban centers. They number about 30,000 in all, and include monolingual Guaykuruan speakers and a larger number of bilingual Guaykuruan-Spanish speakers.

The focus of this article is the category of adjectives in SG languages, principally in Toba and Pilagá. When the Mocoví data are available, they are included. In section 2, we raise two points in connection with SG "adjectives": first, words which translate as property concepts (Thompson 1988) in SG languages split between nouns and verbs, with morphosyntactic properties from both lexical categories; secondly, data on SG languages demonstrate that tokens from a particular semantic

type (Dixon 1982) do not share the same grammatical properties. In section 3, we provide an overview of the order and function of adjectives in SG languages. The morphosyntactic groupings of property concepts is presented in section 4. Section 5 briefly addresses the derivational morphology of some SG property concept words. In that section, we also hypothesize about their diachronic route. Conclusions are presented in section 6.

2. The adjective as a borderline lexical category. As a result of Dixon's 1982 work, the existence of a class of adjectives, separate from nouns and verbs, has been extensively debated. Grammatical descriptions have shown that languages have a large, open class of adjectives (e.g. English), or a relatively small class, or simply no adjectives at all. The discussion has been oriented towards showing cross-linguistic variation and the fact that languages tend to categorize property concept words with morphosyntax of either nouns or verbs, or to provide a discourse-based (Thompson 1988) explanation for such variation.[2]

Dixon (1982) proposed seven semantic classes associated with adjectives universally. The most recurrent are DIMENSION (small, wide, big, tall, thick, fat, round), COLOR (black, white, yellow, blue, brown, grey), AGE (old, young, new) and VALUE (good, bad). However, more variability is found in property words of HUMAN PROPENSITY (jealous, angry, sad, generous, clever), PHYSICAL PROPERTY (hard, heavy, sharp, hot, sweet), and SPEED (fast, slow, quick).

Cross-linguistically, the following implications hold. According to Dixon, for those languages that have a limited, closed adjective class (separate from nouns and verbs), age, dimension, value, and color are most likely to belong to the adjective class. Human propensity is more likely to be encoded as an (abstract) noun. Physical property is more likely to be encoded as a verb. Overall, a restricted closed adjective class is more likely to include physical property adjectives than human propensity adjectives. Speed is likely to be associated with the adverb class, if the physical property items are associated with the verb class.

Utilizing the above framework, our starting point for this study was to determine how property concepts are expressed in SG languages. Interestingly, we found that some property concept words are categorized with features shared with nouns, while others are categorized with features shared with verbs. Despite the association of property concepts with these two major parts of speech, they exhibit dissimilarities with respect to nouns and verbs. Also, our data seem to confirm that not all the members of a certain semantic class exhibit the same morphological fea-

tures. This could be an important finding in that it shows that semantic types and grammatical properties do not always correlate.

Finally, we have assumed Dixon's universal types, and for SG languages, that "adjective" stands as a label for the class of words that express properties or qualities. We have adopted Thompson's term, PROPERTY CONCEPT WORD, throughout this presentation. We do not aim to confirm or to refute Dixon's and Thompson's works, or to argue here for the existence of the adjective as a separate lexical category in SG languages. Our intention is to contribute to the general discussion, providing data from little known languages. For this reason, we have used "adjective" and "property concept word" as synonyms.

3. Constituency and morphology of SG adjectives. Guaykuruan languages exhibit agglutinative morphology. The internal structure of verbs is considerably more complex than that of nouns. The predicate can be verbal or nominal. The head of a nominal predicate can be either a noun or an adjective. Adjectives can also function as noun modifiers in nominal phrases.

Nominal phrases may have several constituents, although only the head and, at least in Toba and Pilagá, the noun classifier (i.e., the specifier) are obligatory.

The examples in (1) represent the internal structure of a noun phrase in Pilagá, Toba and Mocoví. Constituents in parentheses are not required for the minimal NP. Repetition of the quantifier constituent for Pilagá indicates that it can be found either before or after the head (1a) and repetition of the adjective constituent indicates that it can be found either before or after the head in Toba (1b). (Please see Appendix 1 for abbreviations used throughout this article.)

(1)(a) Pilagá (from Vidal 2001)
[Specf (Q) N (Q) (Adj) (NP Poss)]$_{NP}$

(1)(b) Toba (from Klein 1978, 2000)
[Specf (Q) (Adj) N (Q) (Adj) (NP Poss)]$_{NP}$

(1)(c) Mocoví (from Grondona 1998)
[Q (Deic) (Adj) N (Adj)]$_{NP}$

According to (1), the head noun can be preceded by up to two types of modifiers in Pilagá, i.e., a specifier and a quantifier; and three types in Toba, i.e., a specifier, a quantifier, and an adjective. The specifier cate-

gory can be filled by either a demonstrative, or a bare classifier, as in (2), below. In Mocoví, deictic modifiers are basically demonstratives which function as specifiers and precede the head. The head can be also followed by a possessive noun phrase. It is however unusual in natural discourse to find one noun phrase exhibiting all of these constituents. The head noun itself can be possessed or unpossessed, and further categorized for a particular semantic class or gender.

In each of the three languages, some adjectives inflect for gender, but unlike nouns, they are never possessed. This is one crucial difference between nouns and adjectives, and is one reason to propose the hypothesis that nouns and adjectives belong to two separate word classes. Also, property concept words which morphologically pattern with verbs differ from prototypical (stative) verbs. The discussion on the morphological distinctions between these groups and their differences with respect to nouns and verbs will be discussed in detail in section 4. We will now consider sentential and phrasal order, and the function of adjectives.

3.1. Order, function, and grammatical agreement: An overview. The ordered placement of an adjective proves to be relevant to its function in several SG languages. Furthermore, the position of the adjective with respect to the head differs from one SG language to another. The general rule for all three languages is that adjectives functioning as attributes are contiguous to the nouns they are modifying.[3]

In Pilagá, for instance, the adjective follows the noun head when used as a noun modifier, and the preferred order appears to be head-dependent (2a–c). (Please see Appendix 2 for the transcriptional symbols used throughout this article.)

(2)(a) naʔ le-nache-ʔ seleka-i
(Cl Poss3-nails-Pl short-Pl)
'short nails'

(2)(b) naʔ alewa ledaik
(Cl land black)
'black land'

(2)(c) naʔ layoqte dadala-i
(Cl leaves green-Pl)
'green leaves'

Attributive adjectives in Toba, on the other hand, can also precede nouns (i.e., the order followed is head-dependent or dependent-head);

thus, while in Pilagá the order of the attribute is quite fixed, this does not hold true for Toba.

(3)(a) ʔonGay hara-hala
(good Cl-fruit)
'good fruit'

(3)(b) ñi-qaʔaGoyk qo Lichigi
(Cl-moon round)
'round moon' (but also 'the moon is round')

When more than one adjective occurs in Toba, word order becomes increasingly significant. Thus, an adjective of quality precedes the noun, while an adjective of color follows it.

(4) ʔonGay na-lwe yapagaq
(lovely, nice Cl-tooth white)
'That is a nice white tooth'

Variation in terms of order arises in Pilagá when a noun takes more than one adjective modifier. Thus, two adjectives in attributive function may follow the head, or occur on both sides of the head under the scope of a single nominal classifier, indicating that the noun plus the adjective belong to the same noun phrase. Note that the meaning of both (5a) and (5b) are the same.

(5)(a) ñiʔ emek tʔadeik toysiyak
(Cl house big old)

(5)(b) ñi toysiyak emek tʔadeik
(Cl old house big)
'the big old house'

(6)(a) qomi wʔo ñiʔ noʃota-m dalayk qan-pagen-qoʔt
(we Exist Cl good-Aug new Poss.1Pl-teach-Agt)

(6)(b) qomi wʔo ñiʔ dalaik noʃotam qanpagenqoʔt

(6)(c) qomi wʔo ñiʔ dalaik qanpagenqoʔt noʃotam

(6)(d) qomi wʔo ñiʔ qanpagenqoʔt dalayk noʃotam
'We have a good new teacher.'

In Pilagá, when the adjective precedes the noun, and it is out of the scope of the classifier (i.e., the specifier), it functions as the sentence predicate. In (7) the leftmost adjective is not part of a single noun phrase with the noun. Compare the following Pilagá phrases vs. sentences where in (7a) and (7c) the adjectives have an attributive function:

(7)(a) naʔ emek tadaik
(Cl house big)
'the big house'

(7)(b) tadaik naʔ emek
(big Cl house)
'the house is big'

(7)(c) henhoʔ noʕop yechi omyi
(Dem water very cold)
'this very cold water'

(7)(d) yechi omyi henhoʔ noʕop
(very cold Dem water)
'this water is very cold'

In (7b) the adjective is not in the attributive position, and is not under the scope of the classifier *naʔ* 'proximal'. Similarly, in (7d), the whole adjective phrase is out of the scope of the specifier.

Further examples are given in (8). The Pilagá consultant who provided the data in (8) explained that (8a) constitutes the answer to a question such as "Where is there more fish?" or "In which river is it better to go fishing?". The scenario in (8b) is quite different because the speaker is either giving new information or advising other people, who do not know what the river is like, that the river is deep.

(8)(a) diʔ ñache qayañi
(Cl river deep)
'The deep river'

(8)(b) qayañi diʔ ñache
(deep Cl river)
'The river is deep'

We would like to stress that the predicate vs. attributive function of adjectives in Pilagá is not prompted by Spanish translation. We make

this claim on the basis of examples taken from 1500 lines of elicited text. The distinction is in fact prompted by the position of the classifier in a language where only nouns, never adjectives, can occur with positional and deictic classifiers.

The following excerpt also confirms the function of adjectives as predicates when they are out of the noun phrase or out of the scope of the classifier in Pilagá. This text was written by a young Pilagá native speaker, Alejandro Rodas. (Please note that the adjective functioning as the predicate is underlined):

(9) daʔ l-asoʕok layoqte yataqta chimqachiñi
(Cl Poss.3-form carandillo very firm)
'The form of the carandillo (palm, sp.) is very firm'

qataʕa yolel hen l-oʕok
(and furry Dem Poss.3-peel, skin)
'and its skin, furry'

setetʔa naʔ leh
(sharp Cl thorn)
'sharp, its thorn'

qanche han leh daʔ y-asoq
(and Dem thorn Conj SetA.3-mature)
'and when the thorn matures'

nache t-aya layoʕot naʔ 1-ayoqte-1
(then SetA.3-change hair Cl Poss.3-leaf-Pl)
'its leaves change into a hairy thing'

Within a noun phrase, adjectives may agree in gender and number with the noun they modify. Feminine and masculine affixes on adjectives coincide with gender markers used for nouns. Note the suffixes *-e* 'feminine' in (10) and *-k* 'masculine' in (11). In (10) the head noun *hala* 'fruit' is inherently feminine, and therefore, the gender is overtly expressed in the nominal modifiers.

(10) Pilagá
han hala donatana-e
(Dem.fem fruit poisonous-fem)
'the poisonous fruit'

(11) Toba
na-ʔar-ma ʔonGay-k

(Cl.masc-Poss.2Sg-house pretty-masc)
'a nice house'

Number agreement for adjectives is not necessary if number is marked on the head noun or on another modifier. In (12) 'plural' is marked on the head, and optionally on the other constituents:

(12)(a) Pilagá
[naʔ emaqa tadayaqa]
naʔ emek-qa tadaik-qa
(Cl house-Pl big-Pl)
'the big houses'

(12)(b) Pilagá
ñi noʕoto-l-qa onaik-haloyk
(Cl child-NC1-Pl good)
'the good children'

(12)(c) Toba
šiGawa-pi yaqay (k) qa
(person-Pl mischievous-Pl)
'mischievous people'

(12)(d) Toba
na-l-yale (k)-qa yaqaʔa
(Cl-Poss.3Sg-child-Pl peculiar, strange)
'his peculiar children'

4. Morphysyntactic classification of property concept words in Southern Guaykuruan. In SG languages there are three classes of property concept words:

a. Those that resemble nouns (i.e., nominal adjectives) because they manifest gender and number categories, or only number (recall that gender is not obligatory for nouns either.) We assume that nouns and adjectives are treated in a similar way, with common morphosyntactic properties.

b. Those that resemble verbs (i.e., verbal adjectives) since they share with verbs important morphological commonalities such as aspect, negation, and possibly directionality (provided that

directional suffixes have an aspectual overtone, e.g. red-up, meaning 'to blush'). The assumption is that a different group of property concept words patterns with verbs.

c. Property words that exhibit no inflectional or derivational categories whatsoever belong to the third group. We refer to this group as uninflected/underived adjectives.

4.1. Nominal adjectives. Utilizing Dixon's (1982) terminology on semantic types, most adjectives that inflect for gender and number designate 'color' and 'dimension'. There are six basic monolexemic color terms in Pilagá and Toba, but only four of these present gender and number inflection in Pilagá and three in Toba. Gender and number suffixes are *-ik, -e, -qa,* and *-iʔ* in Pilagá, and *-k, -qa* and *-iʔ* in Toba. See Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Pilagá basic colors

Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl	Gloss
paga-ik	paga-e	paga-ik-qa	pagaʃa-e-qa	'white'
ledaʃa-ik	ledaʃa-e	ledaʃaik-qa	ledaʃay-qa	'black'
tomaʃade-ik	tomaʃada-e	tomaʃade-ik-qa	tomaʃade-ik-qa	'red'
malade-ik	malad-ae	malad-eyk-qa	malad-ae-qa	'blue'
dadala	dadala	dadal-iʔ	dadal-iʔ	'green'
yoqoBi	yoqoBi	yoqoB-iʔ	yoqoB-iʔ	'yellow'

Table 2. Toba basic colors

Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.	Gloss
yapagaq	yapagaq	yapagaq	yapagaq	'white'
malGay-k	malGay	malGayk-qa	malGayk-qa	'blue'
layraGay-k	layraGay	layraGayk-qa	layraGayk-qa	'black'
togaGay-k	togaGay	togaGayk-qa	togaGayk-qa	'red'
ralala	ralala	ralala-iʔ	ralala-iʔ	'green'
yoqowi	yoqowi	yoqow-iʔ	yoqow-iʔ	'yellow'

Table 3. Dimensional adjectives in Pilagá

Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.	Gloss
tada-ik	tada-e	taday(a)-qa	taday(a)-qa	'big'
poyo-lek	poyo-le	poyo-l-qa	poyo-l-qa	'short'
logeda-ik	legeda-e	logeda-y(a)-qa	logeday(a)qa	'tall'
loka-ik	loka-e	lok-(a)qa	lok-(a)qa	'long'
piyode-ik	piyoda-e	piyodaqa	piyodaqa	'fat'
y?ade-ik	y?ada-e	y?ad(a)-qa	y?ad(a)-qa	'fat'
saleka	saleka	saleka-i?	saleka-i?	'small, thin'

Table 4. Dimensional adjectives in Toba

Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.	Gloss
lta?aray-k	late?eray	lta?aray(k)-qa	lta?aray(k)-qa	'big, large'
loqay-k	loqay	loqay(k)-qa	loqay(k)-qa	'long'
po?oGoy-k	po?oGoy	po?oGoy(k)-qa	po?oGoy(k)-qa	'thin'
Lal-ek	Lal-e	Lal-qa	Lal-qa	'small'
kocho?ol-ek	kocho?ol-e	kocho?ol-qa	kocho?ol-qa	'small'
kocho?oñi-k	kocho?oñi	koch?oñi-k	koch?oñi	'small'
halok	halok	halok	halok	'long'
qalotege	qalotege	qalotege	qalotege	'wide'
qayangi	qayangi	qayangi	qayangi	'deep'

The absence of gender marking for 'green' and 'yellow' enables them to pattern more with verbs than with nouns. The word for 'green' in Pilagá can take verbal affixes, as for instance, the aspectual *-tak* 'progressive' on *dalala-tak* 'it is getting green'. But this is not a rationale for separating color terms into two different classes, since 'red' which inflects for both gender and number, also has some verbal behavior. In Pilagá, the finite form *n-tomaʔa-segem* means 'he/she blushed' (lit. 'the

red came up'). A verb connection for the word for 'yellow' is possible as well. In Pilagá, *yoqoBi-ta* with the aspectual *-ta* serves to indicate a state or a resultative state. Thus, *yoqoBita* should be translated as denoting a completed condition, i.e., 'it became yellow' (but also possible is, 'I became yellow' or 'you became yellow', when the verb form is preceded by the independent pronouns *hayem* 'I' and *am* 'you', respectively). For Toba, the same general characteristics hold true as well. Thus, *yoqowi?aqchit* means 'yellowed' or 'it was made yellow' and *yoqowi-ta* means 'clean'. *naralaGat* deriving from *ralala* 'green, new' means 'it was renewed'.

Some adjectives denoting 'dimension' inflect for gender and number; others inflect only for number (i.e., plural), the masculine and the feminine having exactly the same form. Gender suffixes are *-ik, -lek, -e* and *-le* in Pilagá and *-k, -ek* and *-e* in Toba, whereas number distinctions are indicated by *-qa* or *-i?* in Pilagá, and by *-qa* in Toba and Mocoví.

Age, value, human propensity, physical property, and speed, as defined by Dixon (1982), complete the array of semantic types. Again, in SG languages these have to be distinguished according to the grammatical categories they inflect for, i.e., either for gender and number, or only for number. Note that despite being in a semantic category, they do not display the same morphological behavior. Some words denoting 'physical and human propensity' inflect for gender and number (e.g. the Pilagá word for 'sharp') while some others inflect for number only (e.g. the Pilagá word for 'hot'). Further examples of gender and number inflection vs. number inflection only can be seen in Table 5 and Table 6.

Dixon noted that certain morphosyntactic properties can be predicted on the basis of semantic type. However, in SG languages, morphological and syntactic properties are not semantic type-dependent, as shown in Tables 3–6, and as will be confirmed by the examples in the next section.

4.2. Verbal adjectives The second group to be examined are verbal adjectives.[4] In SG languages, some adjectival senses (in particular, of the physical property and dimension types) are coded by a subclass that exhibits three morphological characteristics typical of verbs: person, aspect and negation. In most cases, person and aspect morphology have co-lexicalized with the roots and do not convey grammatical distinctions any longer. Let us consider the indication of person on so-called verbal adjectives first. Most seem to carry the trace of what used to be a productive subject pronominal prefix (3rd person). These are *t-*, *y-*, *d-*, *r-*, *h-* , *n-* and Ø-; cf. (13) and (14):

Table 5. Pilagá

Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.	Gloss
ya-ik	ya-e	yayk-qa	yae-qa	'sharp'
halaʃa-ik	halaʃa-e	halaʃay-qa	halaʃay-qa	'crazy'
yaʃakachiyi	yaʃae-na	yaʃakachi-lo	yaʃaena-di	'old'
qalqaʃa-ik	qalqaʃa-e	qalqay-(a)qa	qalqaʃai-(a)qa	'bad'
pʔe	pʔe	pʔi	pʔi	'hot'

Table 6. Toba

Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.	Gloss
lteGay-k	lteGay	lteGay(k)-qa	lteGay(k)-qa	'old'
jilGoy-k	jilGoy	jilGoy(k)-qa	jilGoy(k)-qa	'bad'
walay-k	walay	walay(k)-qa	walay(k)-qa	'proud'
chaGale-l	chaGa-le	chaGal-qa	chaGal-qa	'quick'

(13) Pilagá

tawoʃoyi	'broken'
tʔ-añe	'strong'
t-ontaq	'sad'
ni-liñi	'tired'
yi-lowak	'sick'
qaqata	'dry'
y-aBiyi	'burned'
omyi	'cold'
h-ama	'sweet'
qawon	'fast'

(14) Toba

y-aqayk	'light'
r-apapita	'wet'
y-asaʔachigiñi	'open'
tokchigi	'raw'
r-alola, r-alolayk	'sick'
r-qaqta, r-qaqtage	'dry'

n-amaqtapigi	'bent'
ha-tom, tom	'cold'
kiʔita	'clean'
n-apelaʔage	'dark'
koLichigi	'round'

Unlike common verbs, however, in verbal adjectives person distinction is synchronically lost in Pilagá. This is shown by the fact that the same form is used for 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular and another form for 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural. See (15) for an illustration.

(15) Pilagá
(a) Singular
hayem/am/damʔe MATAK (QAWOM) (OMYI)
'I/you/he is happy (fast) (cold)'
(b) Plural
qom'i/am'i/daamʔe MADETAPE (QAWOʔM) (OMYIYI)
'we/you(pl)/they are happy (fast)(cold)'

A further indication that these adjectives are verb-like shows up in the presence of aspectual markers expressing states, or the entering into a state. This is suggested by examples (16)–(19).

(16)(a) papi-ta
(wet-Rslt)
'to be wet'

(16)(b) am sa-papi-aʕat
(Pro.2sg SetA.1-wet-val2)
'I am about to make you wet'

(17)(a) Ø-wayo
(SetA.3-fly)
'It flies/flew'

(17)(b) Ø-wayo-ta
(fly-Rslt)
'It is light'

(18)(a) Ø-omyi
(SetA.3-be cold)
'It is cold'

(18)(b) Ø-om-ta
(setA. 3-be cold-Rslt)
'It is lowered (e.g. fever or temperature)'

(19)(a) yoqoBi
'to be yellow'

(19)(b) yoqoBi-ta
'to have or to become yellow (ed)'

In Toba, the same suffix *-ta* (plural-*te*) has similar meaning and basically the same distribution (Klein 2000):

(20) Toba

rapapi-ta	'to be wet'
kiʔi-ta	'to be clean'
rqaq-ta	'to be dry'
tom-ta	'to be cold'

Since these verbal adjectives do not accept any other aspectual suffixes (progressive, durative, habitual), this suggests that *-ta* was reanalyzed as part of the stem in all such cases.

For many property concept words in Pilagá, the coming into a state or the change of state is not indicated in the morphology of the property word, but separately as a combination of the property concept word plus an adverbial form:

(21) Pilagá

yakachiyi	'old'	maʔ yakachiyi	'it became old'
onaik haloik	'good'	matʔe onaik haloik	'it became good'
piyo	'fat'	matʔe piyo	'it became fat'

Negation shows up in the formation of several verbal adjectives. Some of these are derived from others by opposition. The negative member of the pair is marked by an affix, the prefix *sa-* 'negative' in both Pilagá and Toba. See (22).

(22) Negation

Pilagá	Toba	
dato	rato	'raw'
sa-dato	sa-rato	'cooked'

halok	halok	'long'
sa-halok	saq-haloq	'short'
lekaʔage	lkaʔage	'wide'
sa-lkaʔage	sa-lkaʔage	'narrow'
pʔatta	paʔata	'light'
san-pʔatta	sa-paʔata	'heavy'
qayañi	qayangi	'deep'
sa-qayañi	sa-qayangi	'shallow'

Additional evidence in support of the verbal nature of these forms can be seen in the treatment of causative constructions where verbal adjectives participate as subordinate forms. In Pilagá, causatives are periphrastic constructions. The verb *ʔen* 'make' is always inflected with a subject prefix from Set A (i.e., labelled 'agentive'), indicating the person and number of the causer. On the other hand, the causee is marked as the subject of the dependent verb, in the subordinate clause.

(23)(a) se-wʔaqae-yi
(SetA. 1-fall-Asp)
'I fell'

(23)(b) s-ʔen Ø-wʔaqae-ñi
(SetA. 1-make SetA. 3-fall-Dir. downwards)
'I made somebody fall'

Verbal adjectives can be causativized as in (24) and (25).

(24)(a) pʔe naʔ noʕop
(hot Cl water)
'The water is hot'

(24)(b) María Ø-ʔen pʔe naʔ noʕop
(Mary SetA. 3-make hot Cl water)
'María made the water hot (= María boiled the water)'

(25)(a) s-ʔen piyo
(SetA. 1-make fat)
'I made him/her fat'

(25)(b) aw-ʔen dadala
(SetA. 2-make green)
'You make/made it green'

(25)(c) Ø-en matak
(SetA. 3-make happy)
'Somebody makes/made him or her happy'

(25)(d) sʔen sa-lkaʔage
(SetA. 1-make Neg-wide)
'I made it narrow(er)'

Two highly frequent dimension adjectives, i.e., *saleka* 'small' and *tʔadaik* 'big', do not, however, follow this pattern. For 'shrink' or 'enlarge' the language provides separate verbal forms, i.e., not derived from the adjective by aspectual morphology or by causativization:

(26)(a) *s'en saleka
'I made it small(er)'

(26)(b) ñi-chigad-aʔt
(SetB. 1-change, move-Reflex)
'I shrank something'

(27)(a) *sʔen tʔadaik
'I made it big(ger)'

(27)(b) ñi-chig-ege
(SetB.1.-change, move-Dir. forward)
'I enlarged something'

4.3. Underived/uninflected adjectives. The third group of property words consists of underived or uninflected forms, although they can occur in the same position in the noun phrase or the sentence as the rest of the property concept words. This group is certainly very restricted, compared with the previous ones. It includes, for example, the word for 'bitter' in both Pilagá and Toba: Pilagá *chem,* Toba *chim* 'bitter'; Toba *lavel*[5] 'nervous'; Toba *nʔasa* 'younger'.

5. Sources of property concept words in Southern Guaykuruan languages. Property concept words derive from two sources, as may be seen in the following Toba data:

i. From nouns:

lta?a	'father'	>	lta?arayk	'big (m)'
late?e	'mother'	>	late?eray	'big (f)'
ra?am	'belly'	>	?amrayk	'big-bellied'
halap	'mouth'	>	laperayk	'large-mouthed'

ii. From verbs:

ro-?onataGan	'work'	>	?onataGanaGayk	'hard-working'
n-apaGagen	'study'	>	napaGagenaGayk	'studious'
n-ki?aqchen	'overeat'	>	ki?aqchaqayk	'gluttonous'
ro-?ochi	'sleep'	>	ro?ochaGayk	'always sleepy'

However, for many forms, including color terms, the evolutional development is uncertain; they could equally well come from either nouns or verbs. Some forms are apparently very old, and their etymologies remain obscure; conceivably, they could be part of the original class to which new members were added over time, through different derivational paths.

6. Conclusion. This article has discussed property concept words in Southern Guaykuruan languages. In the course of the presentation, an array of lexical forms was found that falls between the classification of nouns and verbs. These property concept words are distinguished by their relative degree of nominality or verbality, since they share with nouns one or two nominal features (number and/or gender inflection), and with verbs, up to three (or four) verbal properties.

While many properties and states are associated with verbal adjectives, these adjectives differ from normal verbs by their inability to display full-fledged verbal morphology. We also stated that nominal-adjectives are distinguished from nouns in that they are never possessed, whereas 'possession' for nouns is a crucial feature in all languages of the Gran Chaco. In capturing all of these characteristics, we conclude that in SG languages there is a class of prototypical nouns at one end of a continuum and a class of prototypical verbs at the other end of the continuum. In addition, there are two classes of property concept words within the continuum that are realized as nominal adjectives and verbal adjectives, based on their similarities with respect to the major word classes, namely nouns and verbs. Situated in the middle of this continuum is a small group of words that show neither derivational nor inflectional categories. Both nouns and verbs serve as sources for the formation of this interesting group of words.

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APPENDIX 1: Abbreviations

Adj	Adjective
Agt	Agent
Asp	Aspect
Aug	Augmentative
Cl	Classifier
Conj	Conjunction
Deic	Deictic
Dem	Demonstrative
Dir	Direction
Exist	Existential copula
fem	feminine
masc	masculine
N	Noun
NC	Noun Class
Neg	Negative
NP	Noun Phrase
Pl	Plural
Poss	Possessive marker
Pro	Pronominal
Q	Quantifier
Reflex	Reflexive
Rslt	Resultative
Sg	Singular
Specf	Specifier

APPENDIX 2: Transcription

The symbols in square brackets conform to the IPA, except when noted otherwise.

Transcription	IPA
B	[β]
p	[p]
t	[t]
d	[d]
k	[k]
g	[g]
q	*velar* [k]

ʕ	*post-velar* [g]
G	*post-velar* [g]
ʔ	[ʔ]
s	[s]
š	[ʃ]
h	[h]
ch	[tʃ]
j	[dʒ]
l	[l]
r	*alveolar tap* or *(borrowed) retroflex tap*
L	*alveopalatal lateral*
m	[m]
n	[n]
ñ	*palatal* [n]
w	*bilabial glide*
y	[j]
a	[a]
e	[e]
i	[i]
o	[o]

Notes:

1. Long vowels are indicated by gemination, e.g., *aa.*

2. Stress is not marked in the transcribed material. However, Pilagá exhibits a non-contrastive ultimate stress, and a secondary shifting phonetic accent with polysyllabic words; Toba exhibits a non-contrastive ultimate stress.

ENDNOTES

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[2]Thompson supplements Dixon's semantic explanation with a discourse explanation. She states that for those languages where "property concept words" are not morphologically independent of nouns or verbs, they share the predicating function with verbs and the referent-introducing function with nouns.

[3]Unlike the situation in numerous other native American languages (e.g. Cora, a Uto-Aztecan language, described in Vázquez 1992), the attributive function of adjectives in SG languages does not involve relative clause formation.

[4]The existence of "adjectival verbs" as a category was pointed out for other unrelated languages; e.g. Yimas, a Papuan language (Foley 1991), and Chinese (Li and Thompson 1981). For

Chinese, it was argued that adjectives are not different from verbs grammatically. In Yimas, according to Foley (1991:93), the class of true adjectives is closed and very restricted; many Yimas words denoting qualities are morphologically verbs.

[5] *Lavel* in Toba and la*wel* in Pilagá literally mean 'his or her stomach or liver'. It is not uncommon for body parts to become associated with the psychological qualities or tendencies of an individual. In Boumaa Fidjian (Dixon 1988:230), for example, there are compound adjectives for referring to human propensities based on *yate* 'liver', the second element being a verb, an adjective, or a noun. Thus, *yate-dei* 'determined', (*-dei* 'fixed') and *yate-vaʔ a-laione* 'lion-hearted'.

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