NOUN CLASSIFICATION IN PILAGÁ (GUAYKURUAN)[1]

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This paper constitutes the first account of any subsystem of Pilagá grammar, and concerns nominal classification. Pilagá has several modes of classification; however, the most interesting and rich of these systems is the system of classifiers. The purpose of this study is to situate the Pilagá classifier system among the extant typologies of classification. After describing their syntactic behavior, basic semantics and functional correlates I conclude that Pilagá does not fit in any clear-cut category previously proposed. It is a hybrid system which presents prima facie semantic features and behaviors which are characteristic of at least four known types.

0. INTRODUCTION

Pilagá is an Argentinean language of the Guaykuruan family, not yet been subjected to a complete linguistic description.[2] The focus of the present study is nominal classification. Pilagá exhibits multiple forms of classification, of which the more pervasive throughout the grammar is a system of classifiers. Interestingly, these classifiers do not readily fit into any of the current classifier typologies.[3] My analysis is that this set of classifiers approximates best the noun classifier system described by Craig (1986a, 1986b), although Pilagá classifiers present marked differences from the Jakaltek system which formed the basis for Craig's model.

I will establish that the system of classifiers in the family to which Pilagá belongs is apparently a counterexample for theories of nominal classification. This uniqueness resides in the fact that (a) classifiers concentrate totally different semantic parameters in a single system to the extent that that there are two clear semantic subgroups among the classifiers; (b) a subset of what have been syntactically characterized as classifiers are deictic markers; (c) morphosyntactically, they can stand by themselves or form a constituent with demonstratives; and (d) classifiers inflect for the category of 'number'. Henceforth, the purpose of the present work is to describe the system and elucidate its peculiarities. In passim, my analysis aims to amplify the notion of noun classifiers proposed in the literature.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 1, I review the three different classificatory systems found in the language: noun classifiers, noun compounding and class markers, before turning to a detailed study of classifiers. In section 2, a description of the syntax and basic semantics of Pilagá classifiers is provided. From a syntactic viewpoint, the classifiers occur alone or with demonstratives. Semantically, they can be divided in two distinctive groups (deictic vs. positional). Deictic classifiers indicate whether the entity in question is absent, coming into or going out of the visual field. Positional classifiers assign a canonical position (vertical, horizontal, or non-extended) to most entities. Section 3 deals with the variability of the classifier system, in terms of the shape of the classifiers (morphophonemic alternations). Section 4 is concerned with pragmatic variation in terms of the speaker's choice between different classifiers in cases where the same referent admits reclassification. Section 5 considers the significance of the Pilagá classifying system from a typological point of view. In this section, I review the literature on nominal classification, paying particular attention to two typological frameworks: (a) Dixon (1982, 1986), who distinguishes among noun classes, noun classifiers and verbal classifiers, and (b)

Craig (1992, 1994), who reformulates Dixon's notion of noun classifiers and adds two more categories (genitive classifiers and numeral classifiers). The central point I raise in this section is that in Pilagá, the classifier system does not neatly fall into either Dixon's or Craig's characterization of noun classifiers. Pilagá classifiers constitute a hybrid system which has properties of at least three different types of classification (numeral classifiers, noun classifiers, genitive classifiers and verbal classifiers).

1. MODES OF CLASSIFICATION IN PILAGA

Three types of classification are encoded in the nominal system of Pilagá: noun compounding, (quasi-noun) class markers, and classifiers. In this section I provide a general description of noun compounding and class markers, and will consider classifiers in detail in the next four sections. However, I will first outline the major differences between the three modes of classification mentioned.

Pilagá classifiers are syntactically associated with noun phrases and also mark deixis. As a classificatory system, classifiers categorize referents according to their positional configuration and movement orientation [see example (1)]. Classifiers are a set of morphemes which precede the noun. They can stand alone or enter in construction with demonstratives, i.e., they can be free or affixed (For a structural analysis of demonstratives, see 2.1). Unlike class markers, classifiers are very productive. They can apply to all the nominals (both mass and count nouns). They display a variety of functions within and outside the boundaries of an NP or nominal.

(1)[4]

so7	serak	ya-cangi	ha-ñi7	kaxa
CL.going away	name	3sg-put	fem-CL.non-ext	box

di7	ganaat
CL.horiz	knife

'Seraki put the knife in the box.'

There are two additional systems in Pilagá that look like classifying systems: class markers and noun compounding.

Class markers contrast with classifiers in that the first are completely morphologized, and the relation between root and suffix is in most cases not semantically transparent. Semantically, class markers involve a variety of notions such as gender, manufacture, and place. In terms of the morphological locus, class markers are always suffixes. A set of class markers is as follows:

(2)

a.	kipae-ki	'thirsty'	(masc.)
b.	kipae-7	'thirsty'	(fem.)
c.	nkiya-la	'table'	
d.	nkiya-ki	'refectory'	

Noun compounding differs from the class markers and from classifiers in that it is realized through the concatenation of two lexical elements. This combination entails a taxonomic relation between a noun which belongs to a generic class, and another noun which is a specific member of that class (Idoyaga Molina 1992b:10):

(3)

a. potae-lamek   'anteater'
    bear-helper

b. potae-latole   'honey-bear (=type of anteater)'
    bear-little

c. katena-lalo   'type of bird' (lit. sun-helper)
    sun- helper

I will now consider noun compounding (1.1) and class markers (1.2) in more detail. These two systems are structurally and semantically reminiscent of classification sytems, as found in other languages. But I will argue that while they do have some features of categorizing systems, they do not neatly fit in the typology of 'classifying systems'.

1.1. NOUN COMPOUNDING

Noun compounding is a type of classification by which nouns appear to classify other nouns.

Compounding has been recognized as a path of development for classifier constructions (classifier + noun) and for classifier words themselves. In Thai, for instance, 'substance nouns' are a subset of nouns with a clear classificatory function, forming compound constructions. But also present in synchronic Thai are class terms and classifiers which generally derive from such 'substance nouns' (DeLancey 1986; for a similar analysis applied to Jakaltek, see Craig 1986b). These are the main reasons for considering 'nominal compounding' within the possible classificatory modes in a language.

In Pilagá, two free roots in a compound form an inseparable constituent which designates a special kind of entity, typically animals or plants.[5] Idoyaga Molina's work on Pilagá ethnozoology (1992a) suggests that out of 418 names of animals collected, 371 are monolexemic while about 40 are compound. The classification of species is based on form (e.g., shape, size, color) or function (patterns of behavior). Nevertheless, compounding is not a very widespread phenomenon in Pilagá and as a resource for either formation of new lexical items, or categorization, it is unproductive.

Three different patterns are recognizable among compounds. The first two involve nouns in either the order
(a) **specific noun + classifying noun**, or
(b) **classifying noun + specific noun**.
Idoyaga Molina (1992a:7) analyzes the classifying term of the compound as a member of a superior category, while the other one is the specific term.

The classifying noun follows the specific term in the following names of insects and worms (insect larvae), which fall all into the generic category of *lapaGat*.

(a) **specific noun + classifying noun**

(4)

    a.   pagela-lapaGat   'wasp'
          wasp- insect

    b.   piyoq-lapaGat   'flea'
          flea- insect

    c.   delak-lapaGat   'worm'
          worm- insect

As for plants, examples provided by Idoyaga Molina show that there is a construction **classifying noun + specific noun** where the second root corresponds to the specific term, and the first to the superordinate category. For example, *epaq* 'tree' (which by extension applies to 'wood' [Idoyaga Molina 1992b:5]) occurs in compound names:

(b) **classifying noun + specific noun**

(5)

    a.   epaq-lawo   flower of the tree' (Parasitic plant)

    b.   epaq-ketele a   lit.'ears of the tree'.(Epiphyte plant)

The following examples have been taken from Dell'Arciprete (1994), whose data also attest the pattern **classifying noun + specific noun** :

(6)

    a.   selkaik-letedik   'mauve'

    b.   selkaik-namaik   'meloncillo' (type of flower) = Castela coccinea

    c.   awaqapi-latolek   'turf'

    d.   awaqapi-lpolyo   lit.'grass of the water'

    e.   awaqapi-lt7a   'grass'

The third type of compounding results from the combination of (c) **noun + adjective**. The adjective specifies the size or the color of an animal, and is applicable to species belonging to different subcategories.

(c) **noun + adjective**

(7)

a.	peso-tomaGayk	'red ant'
b.	peso-lerayk	'black ant'
c.	peso-semilek	'brown headed ant'
d.	peso-kapin	'small ant'
e.	peso-lekalkay	'big ant'
f.	pachidiya-tomaGayk	'red spider':
g.	pachidiya-pagayk	'white spider'

More examples of **adjective + noun** compounding are found in the following names of animals:

(8)

a.	napam-polyo	'a big type of armadillo'
b.	waka-polyo	'the oldest/biggest cow'
c.	qaqare-laciyi	'the great carancho'

Finally, other compositions of nouns denoting a specific type of animal may fail to involve a taxonomic nexus between its members, cf. *kedok-lapya* (lit. paw of tiger) which designates a type of spider, and *petolo-kedok* (lit. butterfly-tiger), which designates a type of butterfly. Idoyaga Molina (1992a) explains that in these examples the presence of the term *kedok* (jaguar/tiger) is due to the similarity between the color of the tiger's skin and the one of the animal in question. She observes that the term *petolo* in the compound *petolo-kedok* does not occur in other combinations. In some noun-noun compounds there is no basic term involving a classificatory function relative to the second term. However, these combinations still operate as compound designations.

1.2. QUASI-NOUN CLASS MARKERS

Cross-linguistically, noun classes have an agreement function, i.e. the information about the class of the referent is morphosyntactically obligatorily marked in the noun and its modifier(s).

There is a marginal subtype of noun classes, gender systems, which are generally not taken as prototypical exemplars of classifier systems (Corbett 1991). Gender markers assign a grammatical distinction to the noun to which they are attached. These grammatical classes are commonly based on the semantic features of 'masculine', 'feminine' and/or 'neuter', with size distinctions often as an extension. Gender affixes are common in Indo-European languages. 'Gender' has been characterized as a concordial phenomenon, i.e., where gender markers are attached to agreement targets, whether NPs or VPs. Payne (1986:39) argues that the principal (but not necessarily only) function of a noun class system is to show

agreement between head and dependent elements, such as between a noun and its modifiers or between a verb and its arguments.

Noun classes may involve a variety of notions beyond the categories of 'sex', 'animacy' and 'human-ness'. Number is typically a cross-cutting feature of noun class systems, as in many African languages including Bantu languages which have classes for plants, fruits, elongated objects, small objects, masses, liquids, paired body parts, and number etc.(Denny and Creider 1986; Demuth et alt. 1986).

In Pilagá there is a set of noun suffixes with some characteristics of class markers but it is not a productive one. Only some nouns are marked for the category of 'class'. Other than these particular noun stems, the class suffixes do not co-occur with other nominals. Since each lexical item from this subset of nouns can combine with only one particular class marker, we can assume that there are lexical restrictions imposed on the combination between nominal root and class marker. The items that enter in combination with class suffixes are kinship terms, or certain designated trees, items of clothing, utensils for food/liquid preparation and consumption, and names of buildings.

'Class' involves a variety of notions in Pilagá: (a) feminine/masculine sex of human referents, and (b) type or quality of the referent. Notions such as 'masculine' and 'feminine' correspond to the grammatical category of 'gender'.

However, in Pilagá not all nominals are marked for a particular gender/noun class distinction. More-over, I will show that these affixes do not behave as agreement markers. Thus, the systems in Pilagá does not behave as a prototypical noun class system.

There are about 12 noun suffixes which have been identified as noun class markers. I provide a list of the class suffixes below. When the morphemic break is transparent and it is possible to assign a meaning to the root separate from that conveyed by the class marker, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss is given. In some cases the root and the class marker are fused as a single meaningful unit and the correlation of one meaning/one form is not feasible.[6]

1.2.1. {-wa} 'HUMAN/MASCULINE'

The suffix {-wa} optionally attaches to human referents. Apart from its occurence in a general nominal expression such as *siyawa* 'person' (and also by extension 'man', namely individual of the masculine sex) it is always related to the idea of 'companion':

(9)

a.	i-wa	'my spouse'
	POSS.1-companion	
b.	i-kya-wa	'my husband'
	POSS.1-husband-companion	
c.	y-awore-wa	'my acquaintance'
	POSS.1-friend-companion	
d.	n-ga-wa	'friend'
	inal.POSS.3-friend-companion	

e.	siya-wa	'person'
	entity-companion	
f.	i-wa-wa	'my fellow'
	POSS.1sg-companion-companion	

1.2.2. {-ki} 'MANUFACTURED OBJECTS'

Another class marker {-ki}, shown in (10), is associated with man-made objects, such as clothes, furniture, buildings (school, church), parts of a house, and containers for storage and transportation of food, e.g., bags or pots.

(10)

a.	sataa-ki	'belt '
b.	somaa-ki	'shirt'
c.	tsona-ki	'chair'
d.	taa-ki	'pot '
e.	pagenta-naa-ki	'school'
	teach-NMLZ.agent-place	
f.	taamnaa-ki	'church'
	religion-place	
g.	nwosa-ki	'kitchen'
	cook-place	
h.	nkiya-ki	'refectory (in the school)'
	eat-place	
i.	qar-oo-ki	'our bag'
	POSS1pl-bag.place	

1.2.3. {-na} 'HUMAN ASCENDANT RELATIVE'

The suffix {-na} occurs in some kinship terms which designate 'ascendent relatives':

(11)

a.	kome-na	'grandmother'
b.	ape-na	'grandfather'
c.	yaay-na	'old woman' (grandmother?)
d.	cire-na	'mother'

1.2.4. MASCULINE/FEMININE SETS

There are four sets of masculine/feminine suffixes, each set being lexically restricted to occur with certain roots.

(12) {-lek}   'masculine'/ 'origin'
     {-lase}   'feminine'/ 'origin'

    a. qose-lek   'white man'
    b. qose-lase   'white woman'
    c. vyase-lek   'inhabitant of the forest'
    d. vyase-lase   'inhabitant of the forest'
    e. ñace-lamo-lek   'inhabitant of Vaca Perdida'
    f. qolea-lase   'inhabitant of the south'

(13) {-lek} 'masculine' / {-le7} 'feminine'

    a. ono-lek   'young man'
       young-MASC
    b. ono-le7   'young woman'
       young-FEM
    c. ya-lek   'my son'
       POSS.1-MASC
    d. ya-le7   'my daughther'
       POSS.1-FEM

(14) {-naq} 'masculine'/ {-na7} 'feminine'

    a. nolga-naq   'Toba man from Chaco'
    b. noga-na7   'Toba woman from Chaco'
    c. piyo-naq   'medicine man'
    d. piyo-na7   'medicine woman'

(15) {-nek} 'masculine'/ {-naa7} 'feminine'

    a. salea- nek   'rich' (also applied to Jesuschrist')
    b. npota- nek   'guardian'
    c. npota- naa7   'guardian'

1.2.5. {-ik} 'MASCULINE'/'TYPE OR ATTRIBUTE'

The class marker {-ik} occurs in different expressions: with a term like <u>paaik</u> 'widower,' and is obligatorily for all names of trees.

(16)

a.	paa-ik	'widower'
b.	map-ik	'carob tree'
c.	nor-ik	'hard wood tree'

The same morpheme is used with certain masculine attributes, most of which have a verbal root. (The derivational function of class markers is touched upon in 1.2.6.)

(17)

a.	colaa-ik	'lazy'
b.	tare-ik	'big'
c.	ocaa-ik sleep-MASC	'sleeper'
d.	paka-ik lie-MASC	'lier'

1.2.6. DISCUSSION OF (QUASI-NOUN) CLASS MARKERS

Pilagá noun class markers are always bound suffixes, and are obligatory for specific roots. This implies that the classification of an item is relative to a particular grammaticized class and that not all nomimals fall necessarily into a group or category.

Second, noun class markers may occur on the head noun within the NP, but not necessarily on the modifiers (demonstratives or other nouns), and viceversa. For instance, a nominal root which take {-ik} [see examples in (17) above] can be functioning as the modifier of another noun which itself is not marked for any class (as in, for example, *emek tareik* 'big house', where the head *emek* 'house' is not marked for any class).

Third, in Pilagá, all the nouns are marked for some sort of number (singular, dual, paucal or collective), and all nouns are divided into never possessed, always possessed, and sometimes possessed categories. However, the occurrence of both number and possessive markers on nouns in Pilagá has no direct relation with the noun class system. For example, names of trees (which obligatorily take a class suffix {-ik}) are never possessed, while kinship terms always take a possessive prefix, either inalienable {n-} or personal (first, second or third) and are also marked for a certain class. In sum, possession and number occur independently of class markers.

As suffixes, some class markers can play a derivational function, i.e, cause a change in word class. This property applies to {-ki} and {-ik}. In (17), for example, derived nominals *colaa-ik* 'lyer' and *ocaa-ik* 'sleeper' have verb roots in them. In (10), *nwosa-ki* 'kitchen' and *nkiya-ki* 'dining room' contain a

class suffix which indicates the physical location of the action encoded by the verbs 'cook' *nwosa* and *nkiya* 'eat'.

The number of class markers is quite small, and apart from the list of morphemes given above, I have uncovered no more than three other morphemes which look even suspiciously like noun class markers. One example is provided by {*-sek*} which is used for Toba group denominations like *tak-sek* and *lañaga-sek*, each of them designating Toba individuals from two different groups and also their dialects.

Although this system may exhibit some features of a noun class or gender system on the surface, I claim that it does not synchronically constitute a noun class system per se, according to the cross-linguistic characterization of noun class systems in the literature. The reasons behind this hypothesis are the following:

(a) If the noun word does not fall into any of the groups described in (9) through (17), it will not take a class marker. This means that only a very restricted set of nouns in Pilagá are marked for class.

(b) Semantically, the motivation for allocating a noun to a particular grammatical class in Pilagá is quite opaque. Also associated with the lack of semantic transparency are obscure motivations for the co-existence of different 'feminine' and 'masculine' suffixes. Cross-linguistically, class markers are historically derived from nouns. The use of *-wa* as a nominal root in *i-wa* '(my) spouse' and as a suffix as in *siya-wa* 'person' or *n-awore-wa* 'somebody's friend' makes it possible to think about a nominal source for this class marker. Also note the use of *-wa* in *i-wa-wa* 'my companion' as both a root and a suffix. In all the examples provided in (9), the suffix is associated to the notion of 'human'. An illustration is given by the pair *siya-q/siya-wa*, where the first expression denotes a 'domestic animal or animal from the forest', contrasting with *siya-wa* 'person, human being'. For the rest of the suffixes, however, free nominals from which they might historically derive have not yet surfaced.

The absence of semantic transparency is typical of old, eroded systems. It seems possible that the system may be the residue of an older noun class system which was already present in the protolanguage or that conceivably, it never was a noun class system. Since it is actually non-productive as a category, one can infer that it is perhaps a decaying class system. Also in Toba, a sister language, Klein assumes that what she calls "gender suffixes" used to be more productive than they are in the language as spoken today. She mentions that the suffixes appear very rarely synchronically and "are frozen to the bases" (1975:201).

To conclude, even if it may be legitimate to talk about semantic classes involved in this system (for those nouns that take class markers), synchronically the system does not correspond to a noun class system as defined by Dixon (1986). It lacks most of the features - agreement with other elements of the NP or VP; high productivity; and wide distribution, that have been proposed for noun classes in the literature (Dixon 1986:105).

1.3. THE 'FEMININE' GENDER DISTINCTION

In addition to the quasi-noun class markers given in section 1.2 above, feminine gender can be optionally indicated by {*ha-*}. This is clearly not part of the quasi-noun class markers; {*ha-*} attaches to

demonstratives, proforms and classifiers exclusively while quasi-noun classes are always suffixed to nominal roots. Nevertheless, for completeness in discussing the coding of gender in Pilagá, I briefly illustrate it here.

{ha-} is prefixed to a classifier (further discussed in the following chapters), whether the classifier is attached to a demonstrative (see 2.1.2.2) or not:

(18)

    a.   ha-ñi7-m7e   yaw7o
          FEM-CL.non ext-DEM   woman
          'that woman (sitting or non extended)'

    b.   ha-da7   yaw7o
          FEM-CL.vert   woman
          'the woman (standing)'

The notion of 'feminine' can be also extended to inanimates, as shown in (19):

(19)

    a.   ha-ñi   tamnaaki
          FEM-CL.non ext-DEM   church
          'the church (sitting or non extended)'

    b.   kaya7te   hen lapat   ha-ñi7   taaki
          NEG.EXIST CL   meat   FEM-CL.non ext   pot
          'There is no meat in the pot.'

When the feminine prefix does not surface, the referent is unmarked for the feminine gender and is understood as a masculine entity [in this respect, note the contrast between (18b) and (20a)]:

(20)

    a.   ø-da7   siyawa
          CL.vert. person (by extension, man)
          'a/the man'

    b.   ø-da7-m7e   siyawa
          CL.vert-DEM person (by extension, man)
          'that man'

    c.   w7o   ø-na7   lapat
          EXIST   CL.coming/present meat
    'There is meat.'

So far, the reason for the assignment of nouns to the feminine gender is unknown. A few disparate nouns which do take *ha-* are *pagentanaki* 'school', *mena* 'money', *epaq* 'tree', *taaki* 'pot' and *yaw7o* 'human female'.

1.4. SUMMARY

This section has discussed two different kinds of systems which bear some resemblances with the type of classifying functions commonly encountered in noun classes and noun compounding. I argued that, however, the (noun) class markers do not constitute a classifying system par excellence and henceforth, I referred to class markers as "quasi-noun class markers". As for compounding, I showed that compounding is not productive and is typically found in names of species of the flora and fauna domain.

Since the quasi-noun class system does not have any traces of concordial or agreement distribution, conceivably this system may have its origins in compounding or derivational processes.

In the next three sections, I will focus on Pilagá classifiers, demonstrating that their usage is widespread and completely productive.

2. PILAGA CLASSIFIERS

In this section, I will describe the syntax of the NP (2.1) and then analyze the basic semantics encoded in the grammatical classifier system (2.2). I argue that classifiers constitute a syntactic category by themselves, independent from other noun modifiers. Classifiers occur with both definite referents and mass nouns. Semantically, they are divided into two groups i.e, positionals and deictics.

2.1. SYNTAX OF CLASSIFIERS WITHIN THE NP

In a noun phrase, the head noun can be preceded by up to three types of modifiers i.e., NP (possessive construction), specifier, and adjective.

All the constituent patterns can be merged in a single rule represented in (21):

(21)

[NP ——>	(NP) Poss	(SPECIF) (Adj) N] head
[SPECIF ——>	CL DEM]	
[N head ——>	N PRO]	

In what follows, I discuss the nature of the head and each of its possible modifiers i.e., specifier, genitive construction and adjective.

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2.1.1. HEADS
2.1.1.1. NOUN HEAD

In an NP, a noun can occur by itself, without a specifier of any sort, including classifiers. The tendency to supress the classifier in front of nominals is typical of younger fluent speakers who demonstrate a good command of Spanish as well. In (22a) the noun *cubierta* 'tyre' is a Spanish borrowing. In (22b) *nale* 'loan' occurs without a classifier, but a few lines later in combination with a CL + demonstrative [see (22c)].

(22)

a. netay-lo   kubyerta   tareik-qa
    LOC-PL   tire   big-PAUC
    'There were big tires' (past narrative context)'

b. yi-set   da7   qomi   da-qta-ma
    3SG-be possible CL.vert   CL.vert   PRO.1PL   3PL-give-DIR

    nale
    loan
    'It was possible that they give us the/a loan.'

c. qance   mientras   da7   qo-y-wate-tak
    conj   meanwhile   CL.vert   PASS-3sg-wait for-PRG
    ha-so7   nale
    FEM-CL.going away loan
    'And while the loan was being waited for...'

2.1.1.2. PROFORMS: CLASSIFIER + DEMONSTRATIVE

Demonstratives in Pilagá may have a classifier attached to them. They are called 'demonstratives' (DEM) because they point out a specific entity, while adding information relative to its position and/or movement via a classifier.

These demonstratives can function as both proforms (PRO) (i.e., when there is no N head) and specifiers (i.e., when they accompany a noun head). However, the demonstratives have the same shape regardless of whether they function as specifiers to another noun head or as a proform (This topic will be discussed further in section 2.1.2.2).

Proforms are reference tracking elements for participants previously mentioned in the discourse. In Pilagá, demonstratives and proforms encode the following deictic meanings: *ca* 'distal DEM', *ho7* 'proximal DEM' and *m7e* 'no reference to distance DEM'. They are always used with a classifiers to convey specific reference. Note the contrast between *ca* 'distal demonstrative' in (23a) versus *ho7* 'proximal' in (23b):

(23)

a. ñi-ca7   weta di7   noik sekaet
    CL.non-ext-PRO   LOC CL.horiz.   town yesterday
    'That one (who is sitting far from me-I can
    hardly see him) was in the town yesterday.'

b. ño-ho7   weta   ñi7
    CL.non-ext-PRO LOC   CL.non-extended
    pagentanae   sekaet
    school   yesterday
    'This one (who is sitting close to me-I can touch
    him) was in school yesterday.'

The root *m7e* has the meaning of 'non-marked for distance' or 'intermediate distance', i.e., not so close but still visible. In elicitation contexts, the complex demonstrative formed by a CL and the root *m7e* serves as the prototypical form for the third person singular and plural pronouns:

(24)

da7-m7e   w7o   qa7li   so7
CL.vert-DEM   EXIST   before   CL.going away

l-mek
POSS.3-house
'He had a house.'

In contrast to third person forms which can function as either specifiers or proforms when affixed with classifiers, first and second person forms never take CLs. It seems plausible that the position or movement of speech act participants is either self-evident or irrelevant:

(25)

a. am-i   qa7li   w7o   so7   noop
    PRO.2PL   before   EXIST   CL.going away   water
    'You had water.'

b. hayim   s-onataa-n
    PRO.1SG   1SG-sing-PUNT
    'I sing.'

As a summary, Table 1 gives an overview of the demonstrative roots:

TABLE 1. DEMONSTRATIVES HO7, M7E, CA		
-ho7	**-m7e**	**-ca**
stand-alone demonstrative or can be affixed with a CL	must take a CL	must take a CL

2.1.2. SPECIFIERS

A specifier can be either a classifier or a demonstrative, or a combination of both.

2.1.2.1. CLASSIFIERS

A classifier can occur alone, as the only specifier of the head noun.

Whenever a classifier occurs, it precedes the noun. The three instances of classifiers provided in (26) show that the classifier may be affixed with {ha-} 'feminine', a fact that is governed by the gender of the referent.

(26)

so7	seraki	ya-cangi	ha-ñi7	kaxa
CL.go.away	name	3sg-put	fem-CL.non ext	box

di7	ganaat
CL. horiz	knife

'Seraki put the knife in the box'

2.1.2.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

Normally, classifier and demonstrative form a syntactic unit with specifying function. Demonstratives consistently precede the head; they are deictic markers with definite reference.

The internal structure of the demonstrative is given in (27):

(27)

DEM —> (Feminine)-(CL)-Root-(Paucal)

72

According to what has been stated in 2.1.1.2, demonstratives can behave as proforms, albeit they exhibit the same shape as when functioning as noun specifiers. Furthermore, there are no nondemonstrative third person pronouns. Example (28) illustrates the fact that, even though **m7e** can occur in pronoun function in (24) above, it still functions as a demonstrative when a noun follows.

(28)

an-toñi-igi	di7-m7e	dole
2SG-warm-MOD	CL.horiz.-DEM	fire

'Warm yourself up by the fire (pointing at it)'

The association between classifiers and demonstratives in South American Indian languages has been already pointed out by Payne (1987:28). In Bora (Huitotan), inanimate demonstrative roots may be suffixed with classifiers. In Yagua, demonstrative roots must be suffixed to stand as free words (Payne 1986:125). While it holds true for Pilagá that demonstrative roots normally require a CL, however, there is one DEM root which can stand by itself. In particular, of the three demonstrative roots *m7e, ca,* and *ho,* only *ho7* can be used in its bare form.

(29)

so:te	w7o	ho7	ley
before	EXIST	DEM	law

'There was a law.'

2.1.1.3.   SUMMARY

Five different possibilities in terms of the head and specifiers within the NP have been outlined in section 2.1.1: (a) a head noun can stand by itself, (b) it can co-occur with a bare classifier, (c) the head can be specified by a DEM, which is affixed with a CL, (d) the DEM *ho7* as a specifier may appear with no CL attached to it, and (e) a DEM can function as a proform, i.e., as a head. The set of options are listed in (30):

(30)

SPECIF	HEAD
	N
CL	N
CL-DEM	N
DEM	N
[CL-DEM (=proform)]	
	NP

2.1.3. GENITIVE OR POSSESSIVE NPS

Nouns can also be preceded by another NP in a genitive modifier construction. In (31), note the classifier before the head noun. In (31) the head noun is further possessed while in (32) it is not. (The occurrence of possessive markers like {l-} depend on the class of the head noun.)

(31)

nace	samale	so7	siyawa	da7
conj	big	CL.going away	man	CL.horiz.

l-oqolana
POSS.3-fear
'And the man's fear was big'

Genitive constructions are NPs which modify a head noun within a larger containing NP. They are not assigned a specific slot within the NP. In (31) where the order of the components is [Possessor-Possessed], both the possessor and the possessed are preceded by a classifier and the head is marked by a possessive prefix. But example (32) indicates that that it is also possible to get the reversed order, i.e., [Possessed-Possessor]. Note that in (32) there is a general classifier *hen* but no POSS prefix on the head noun, which suggests that the possessive marker on the head is optional and depends on the class of the noun:

(32)

na7	alewa	hen	qom-pi
CL.coming	land	CL	qom-COL

'the Qoms 's (= Pilagá) land'

2.1.4. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives precede the head when they function as attributes [see (33)]. In the attributive prenominal position adjectives may be preceded by a classifier like in (33a) and (33b). In both cases the noun and the adjective are within the scope of the CL, and the adjective operates as a modifier of the head.

(33)

a.

na7	saleka	noy-qa	qalas	tareik	hen
CL.prox	small	town-PAUC	conj	big	CL

siya-ri-pi
person-PAUC-COL

'(there were) small communities but lots of (lit. 'big' in terms of quantity) people'

b.

hen	tareik	ketaqayk
CL	big	hard wood.tree

'the big hard wood tree'

2.1.5. SUMMARY

In conclusion, inside an NP a noun can stand by itself or be preceded by a CL or a DEM, i.e., a specifier. When they co-occur, classifiers and demonstratives form a constituent that always specifies by pointing to a particular entity, while adding information about the position and movement of the entity. However, *ho7* as a demonstrative can stand by itself.

Other noun modifiers, such as attributive adjectives and genitive constructions are also possible. Adjective modifiers are pre-head.

2.2. SEMANTICS OF CLASSIFIERS

The previous section focussed on the morpho-syntax of classifiers. This section attends to their semantics.

There are basically six classifiers in Pilagá.(For morphological variation among CLs, see section 3) Semantically, they are organized according to the following cross-cutting parameters: a) proximity/distance of the referent from the perceptor (identified primarily with the speaker); b) position; and c) motion. The parameters of 'proximity/distance' and 'motion' of the entity are conflated in a single form: *na7* 'coming'/present'; *so7* 'going away/past' and *ga7* 'absent or far'/'not in motion'. When the entities are classified according to their position, their presence within the visual field is implied since their configuration is observable. The positional set is composed of the other three classifiers: *da7* 'standing/vertically extended'; *ñi7* 'sitting/non extended' and *di7* 'lying/horizontally extended'.

According to their internal semantics, the classifiers can be grouped in two sets, namely the **deictic classifiers** and the **positional or non-deictic classifiers** (the reason why postional are non-deictic is developped in 2.2.2.1):

TABLE 2. PILAGÁ CLASSIFIERS

Positional classifiers

da7	'vertically extended'
ñi7	'sitting/non-extended'
di7	'lying/horizontally extended'

Deictic classifiers

na7	'coming/proximal'
so7	'going away/past'
ga7	'absent/distal'

The semantic specification of classifiers given in Table 2 differs from the one presented by Klein for Toba (also Guaykuruan) noun classifiers also refered to as 'locative particles' (Klein 1973; 1979:86-87). She primarily divides noun classifiers into two categories, namely 'presence in the visual field' vs. 'absence from the visual field'. Klein's parameter 'presence in the visual field' subsumes the ideas of 'coming into view' (i.e., motion towards the point of reference) and 'in view' (i.e., where there is no sense of motion implied, only physical presence of the referent). She further subcategorizes each group

according to two more distinctions: 'anticipated presence/realized presence' (i.e., the arrival or appearance of the referenced entity is taking place while the speech act develops, or the referent was already present prior to the constitution of the setting) and 'anticipated absence/realized absence', (the same distinction given for *presence* applies to *absence*).

The three positional classifiers in Pilagá coincide with the three classifier morphemes in Klein's subcategory of 'realized presence in the visual field', while the cognate of Pilagá na7 (i.e., Toba *na*) encodes the idea of 'anticipated presence'. Toba noun classifiers *so* and *ka* (equivalent to Pilagá *so7* and *ga7*) indicate 'anticipated absence' and 'realized absence' of the referent, respectively.

In the next section, I will consider each group of Pilagá classifiers separately, starting with the positional classifiers.

2.2.1. POSITIONAL CLASSIFIERS

In Pilagá, entities are normally classified according to an inherent position. Human beings naturally appear as standing. For example, the *da7* 'vertically extended' occurs with a noun in (34a) and on a third person demonstrative in (34b):

(34)

a.

da7	siyawa	di-kiyana-a	da7	ganaat
CL.vert-DEM	person	3sg-eat-Obj.agr	CL.vert	knife

'That person (standing) is eating something with a
knife.'(He/she shows the knife which is in a vertical position)

b.

da7-m7e	d-alon-a
CL.vert-DEM	3sg-sing-Obj.agr

'He sings (something)'

The classifier *ñi7* 'sitting' or 'non extended' marks the canonical position for buildings like a house, church or school. It also extends to humans in a sitting position, and indexes the canonical position of mammals, birds and insects.

(35)

a.

ñi	siyaq	netawe	ñi7	emek
CL.non-ext.	animal	LOC	CL.non.ext	house

'The animal is inside the house.'

b.

ñi	mayo7	netaye	qa7li7	ha-da7	epaq
CL.non-ext	bird	LOC	before	FEM-CL.vert	tree

'The bird was on the tree.'

c.

ñi7	waltañi	netaye	qa7li7	ñi7
CL.non-ext	fly	LOC	before	CL.non ext

eme-lae
house-piece

'The fly was on the wall (lit. piece of the house).'

d. ñi-ca7   weta   di7   noik sekaet
    CL.non-ext-PRO   LOC   CL.horiz.   town yesterday
    'That one (who is sitting far from me-
    I can hardly see him) was in the town yesterday.'

Di7 has the basic meaning of 'lying' (as horizontally extended) and it is used with names of places, small towns (see 35d above), plain surfaces (plates, tables), and with naturally elongated animals such as fishes. Ancestors and dead people or dead animals are generally categorized by *di7*:

(36)

a. qo-y-anem   ha-da7   yawo   di7   onole siyaq
    PASS-3-give   FEM-CL.vert   woman   CL.horiz.   one animal
    'Somebody gave the woman one animal
    (to eat-the animal is dead).'

b. na7-ho7   n-qiyaki   netalege   qali7   di7
    CL.vert-DEM   inal.POSS-plate   LOC   before   CL.horiz
    n-qiyala
    inal.POSS-table
    'The plate was on the table.'

Nouns such as 'fire' and 'stones' are normally classified as spread or extended in terms of their intrinsic position. Therefore, *di7* occurs in (37):

(37)

a. di7-ca   qa7-pi   tareik-pi
    CL.horiz-DEM   stone-COL   big-COL
    'all those stones'

b. an-toñi-igi   di7-m7e   dole
    2SG-warm-MOD CL.horiz-DEM fire
    'Warm yourself up by the fire!'

The following table summarizes the semantic groupings already described for positional classifiers:

TABLE 3. Semantics of Positional Classifiers

vertically extended/long

da7   humans
trees
horses

horizontally extended/flat

di7   dead people
fishes
towns

non-extended/rounded

ñi7   mammals
snakes
insects
buildings (house, school)
fruits

Positional classifiers embody the notion of 'shape'. The the positional meanings of the Pilagá classifiers are analogous to the three basic shapes found in classifier systems around the world, i.e., flat, round and long.

2.2.2. DEICTIC CLASSIFIERS

Deictic classifiers encode the ideas of 'movement' and 'proximity' with respect to a point of reference, which generally coincides with the speaker.

As shown earlier in Table 2, deictic classifiers are constituted by three morphemes. The form *na7* has been attested carrying the meaning of 'in movement/coming into view/present'. Example (38a) involving a demonstrative, and (38b) where the figure can be moved towards the point of reference, are typical cases to illustrate 'movement into the visual field'. [Note that in (38b) what is moving is the table, as indicated by the classifier *na7*, whereas the table is by nature horizontally extended, as shown in (36b) above.] Food and utensils for cooking or eating (38c), and kinship terminolgy are also accompanied by *na7*; Parts of the body occur with *na7* as in (38c) and (38d). Other nouns which have been found in combination with *na7* are small trees. There is also some possibility that *na7* represents a general category for whatever entities are present in the visual field, i.e., 'proximal', without implying anything about their position or movement. Though I will later suggest that there is an association between *na7* and items which are closely related with a possessor. (See section 4.3)

(38)

a. na7-m7e   yawó   pitlale7
   CL.prox-DEM   woman   Pilagá
   'that Pilagá woman (who is coming).'

b. ña-wege-ge7   na7   n-qiyala
   1sg-take-Dir.towards   CL.prox   inal.POSS-table
   'I am pulling out the table.' (from the speaker's perspective, the table is coming)

c. naega7 awa-pya-gek   na7   l-apat
   INTERR 2sg-cut-DIR.outwards   CL.prox.   poss.3-meat
   'What do you cut meat with?'

d. sa-s-qon   na7   y-aqayk
   NEG-1SG-feel pain   CL.prox   poss.1SG-head
   'I feel pain in my head.' (=I have a headache)

e. w7o na7   i-liq-te
   EXIST CL.prox   poss.1SG-knee-DUAL
   'I have two knees.'

In terms of the motion rendered by the referent, the CLs *so7* and *na7* constitute a contrastive pair (38a and 39a) Unlike *na7*, *so7* indexes 'movement away from the visual field'. In (39a-c) *so7* conveys movement away from the vantage point of the speaker; (39d) contrasts with (39c) in the sense that the action of chasing the mouse can only be said from the perspective of the chaser, i.e., the mouse is going away and consequently *na7* 'coming towards' in (39d) is unacceptable:

(39)

a. so7-m7e   siyawa   i-laeke   l-alonek
   CL.going away   person   3sg-go for   POSS.3sg-wood

   qaqaeri   de-wose
   caus   3sg-cook

   'That person (going away) goes (to look) for wood for cooking.'

b. so7-ca-ge7-lo   yawo-7
   CL.going away-DEM-DIR.outwards-PAUC   women-PAUC
   'those women (going away)'

c. hayim   s-ka-tak   so7   cigonae
   1sg.PRO   1sg-follow-PRG   CL.going away   mouse
   'I am following/chasing the mouse.'

d. * hayim   skatak   na7   cigonae
   1sg.PRO   1sg-follow-PRG   CL.prox   mouse
   *I am chasing the mouse (that is coming towards me).'

The semantic values of *so7* range from an 'in sight' to an 'out of sight' notion. In principle, if the figure is going away it can still be visualized. In other words, it is mostly within the visual field, even though it is abandoning the setting.

The classifier *ga7* pairs up with the classifier *so7* according to the parameter of 'non-proximity', i.e, they both convey 'distalness'. Neither 'movement' nor 'position' are involved in *ga7*. Rather, the distinction between *so7* and *ga7* can be expressed as the difference between something 'becoming absent/ 'now absent' (*so7*) versus something that was 'absent prior to the speech event' (*ga7*) i.e. 'anticipated absence'.

(40)

a. s-ciyo-ge7   ga7   ar-qaya
    1sg-come-DIR.towards   CL.distal   POSS.2sg-sister
    'I came from my sister's' (the referent is out view)

b. am-sa-nem   ga7   paan
    2SG-1SG-give   CL.distal   bread
    'I 'll give you bread.' (there is no bread out there but the speaker implies that
    there will be some and in that case (she/he will give it to the hearer)

c. w7o   ga7   nlo-7   qance   w7o   ga7
    EXIST   CL.distal   day-PAUC   conj   EXIST   CL.distal
    qar-maa-q
    POSS.1PL-celebration-PL
    'In a few days, we will have a celebration'

The CL *ga7* is generally linked to the speaker's intentions and beliefs about the accomplishment of the event within the world. In (40a) and (40b) the classified referent is out of sight of the speaker and hearer. In (40a) the putative sister is absent but it may also imply that the hearer does not know her. The condition of the bread in (40b) is that it will be certainly present after the utterance-time; in this sense the speaker pictures the bread as potentially present in which case it will be given to the speaker. In (40c) the celebration and the time to carry it out are, like in (40a), distant but potentially coming. On deictic classifiers, compare the following paradigm containing the three different possibilities that *na7*, *so7* and *ga7* may encode in terms of deixis:

(41)

a. nae7   ø-ciyo-ge7   ga7   ar-qaya
    INTERR   3sg-come-DIR   CL.distal   poss.2sg-sister
    'Where does your sister come from (=immediate provenance)?
     '(Neither speaker nor hearer can see her.)

b. nae7   ø-ciyo-ge7   na7   ar-qaya
    INTERR   3sg-come-DIR   CL.prox   poss.2sg-sister
    'Where does your sister come from (=immediate provenance)?'
    (Speaker sees her; she is coming.)

c. nae7   ø-ciyo-ge7   so7   ar-qaya
INTERR   3sg-come-DIR   CL.going away poss.2sg-sister
'Where does your sister come from (=immediate provenance)?'
(the one that is going away.)

2.2.2. DEIXIS VERSUS POSITION

Classification in terms of the canonical position or shape of the referent is achieved by the 'positional classifiers. The configuration is 'canonical' when the entity in question exhibits a shape that is basic for all the members of its class (see Table 3). Deictic classifiers do not categorize a particular entity according to anything 'canonical'; entities which belong to different classes in terms of their position can be equally moving within the visual field or can be potentially absent. (Variation and semantic extensions of deictic classifiers will be taken up in section 4). A very special situation is the one provided by the classifier *na7* whose semantics may imply motion (and this is the reason why it has been included in the group of deictic classifiers), but it also co-occurs with a particular set of objects, such as utensils and body parts, which may be not marked for motion.

In the examples examined in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 there are common properties which I will summarize and discuss here. The classifier precedes the nominal, either occuring alone, (34a, 35a,b,c), or attached to a demonstrative, in which case the NP refers to a definite, referential participant (27a, 28a,b,c).

By using a classifier the speaker expresses a certain condition for the denotated entity. This encoding of a movement implies a necessary relationship between the speaker and the object of reference, where the relationship expressed depends on the speaker's own point of view. In (38a,b) and (39b) - to cite a few examples - the viewpoint of the speaker is overt, expressed in the choice of the classifier. In (34) through (37), by contrast, it seems that the inherent properties of the referents are more important than any movement circumstances at the time of visualization. In other words, here the objects (the stone or the woman) are described in terms of their positional states (as sitting or non-extended, standing or vertically extended, respectively), all of which are not so clearly anchored in the speaker and hearer's perspective. In line with these two groups of examples, I distinguish between deictic [exemplified in (38) through (41)], versus non-deictic [(34) to (36)] function of these morphemes.

'Deixis' can be defined as the relationship between the participants of the speech act and the context. In contrast, non-deictic means that the interpretation of the circumstances of a particular participant does not depend on information provided by the context to be fully understood. A positional description is not usually a deictic matter.

It is obvious why the classifiers *na7, so7* and *ga7* have a deictic function; movement of the type 'coming' or 'going' can be only predicated from somebody's vantage point. Time and location markers, and demonstratives in general, are cross-linguistically deictic markers in and of themselves (Anderson and Keenan 1985). In this prima facie sense there seems to be a mapping relationship between movement and deictic function: movement classifiers are deictic markers since the information about the context is grammaticalized into this subset of CLs. In contrast, positional-type classifiers do not seem to encode deixis.

2.2.3. THE PUZZLE OF THE CLASSIFIER hen: A GENERAL CLASSIFIER?

As may have become evident in the previous sections, *hen* is a modifier which occurs before a noun. In this section, I will give examples of *hen* attached to DEM roots *m7e* and *ho7*. *Hen* only specifies by pointing out an entity. It indexes an entity which is proximate in location to the speaker:

(42)

w7o	hen	noop
EXIST	CL	water

'There is water.' (= pointing at it)

Hen enters in combination with the demonstrative roots *ho7* and *m7e* but never with *ca: *hen-ca* is ungrammatical.

However, both *henm7e* and *henho7* are full demonstratives:

(43)

a.
sa-wana	hen-m7e	siyaq-pi
1sg-see	CL-DEM	animal-COL

'I saw many animals.'

b.
henho7	qa7	tareik
CL-DEM	stone	big

'This big stone'

Thus, *hen* also can fill the slot of a classifier because it can co-ocur with two of the demonstrative roots and at the same time it is incompatible with the rest of the classifiers. However, *hen* does not semantically imply position or movement as classifiers in general do; it has been semantically bleached compared to the rest of the classifiers. In this sense, *hen* is a candidate for the category of general classifier. *Hen* bears a purely grammatical function consisting of pointing out whichever entity is close to the point of reference. But also, it is used with mass nouns with no specific reference, and with nouns which are the only member of their category (sky, land/earth, moon, or sun):

(44)

a.
qomi7	sa-liena-k	**hen**	lapat
PRO.1PL	1-eat-PL	CL	meat

'We eat meat.'

b.
ø-ciya-ta-pe-ege	**hen**	piyem
3pl-come-PRG-DIR-MOD	CL	sky

'They came from the sky'

c.
f-talaa-ta-pe	so7-m7e	yawo-ri-pi	
3sg-show-PRG-DIR	CL.going away-PRO	woman-PAUC-COL	
ho7 kaleo	ø-ciyaqa-p-ege	**hen**	piyem
before	3pl-come.own-DIR-MOD	CL	sky

'And (he was) showing the women that were coming down from the sky.'

As a deictic expression, *henho7* also behaves as a verbal modifier, indicating a specific place. *Henho7* is usually an adverbial deictic of proximity. The story in (44c) and (45a) is concerned with cutting the chain of women (who came from the sky) so that they can fall down, stay on earth and join the society which had been formed exclusively by men up to that moment. In (45a) *henho7* refers to fox, a trickster, who is speaking by himself two lines before, urging the other animals to dig a hole on the ground. In (45b), which is not sequential with (45a), the speaker is using *henho7* as a spatial deictic, pointing to the place which is near him/her:

(45)

   a.   ta-ye-pi   hen-ho7   so7-m7e   yawo-ri-pi

        LOC-in-COL   DEM   CL.going away-DEM   woman-PAUC-COL

        '...for the women to stay there'

   b.   se-take   s-ona-ya   hen-ho7

        1sg-want   1sg-remain-DIR   DEM

        'I want to stay here.'

This section has shown the syntactic distribution and basic semantics of Pilagá classifiers. In the next two, I will consider the formal and pragmatic variation encountered in this sub-system.

3. FORMAL VARIATION

In this section, I will address the topic of variation in the form and use of classifiers. Formal variation in classifiers concerns vowel alternation caused by inflection, vowel harmony and vowel lengthening.

3.1. MORPHOPHONEMIC VARIATION: THE INDICATION OF NUMBER

Three processes affect the form of classifiers: one grammatical (i.e, number inflection) and two phonological (vowel harmony and vowel lengthening). The strictly phonological processes surface only in demonstrative formation. The vowel of the classifier will alternate depending on the feature of number. This section, then, concerns the category of 'number' which may be expressed by alternation in vowel quality, vowel lenghthening or by the 'paucal' suffix {-lo}. For expository purposes, I will first review the morphological variation of CLs (3.1.1), and then consider the 'number' suffix {-lo} (3.1.2.)

3.1.1. [A] AS THE MARKER OF PAUCAL NUMBER

Classifiers carry the grammatical distinction of 'number' of the referent, which means that they may show agreement in number with the argument they modify or make reference to. The referent can be singular, paucal (from two to eight), or plural (a set of around 10 or more).

Noun classifiers present a basic CV phonological tier where the vowel slot alternates between the back mid [o] and the front high [i] to mark both 'singular' and 'collective' number, depending on the

classifier. (i.e., the CL has the same phonological shape whether the referent is singular or collective). More precise indication of the number will be marked somewhere else in the clause, i.e. in the quantifier or on the noun, as in (46a) and (46b). In (46a) the classifier does not agree with the noun. Similarly, in (46b) the noun -not the classifier- is the element that appears marked for the paucal number. In (46b) the indication of number relies principally on the quantifier and the noun, rather than on the classifier.

(46)

    a.   di7-m7e   enawaq   pitlaa-lek
          NCL.horiz-DEM   every   Pilagá-person.masc
          'All of them are Pilagá men'

    b.   di-ho7   enawaq   pitlaa-lase-l
          CL.horiz-DEM   every   Pilagá-fem-PAUC
          'All of these are pilagá men'

However, when the number of objects referenced is between 2 and 8 (i.e., 'paucal' number) classifiers may change their form: the [i] or [o] of the CV stem becomes [a]. Only the CL *ga7* does not undergo any change.

(47)   Number inflection

             [i] sg/col

                  ——>   [a] 'paucal'

             [o] sg/col

Examples of agreement between the classifier and the noun in the construction **DEM + N** indicated via vowel alternation are displayed in (48a-e). As an illustration, in (48b,d,e) paucal number is represented by the vowel of the noun classifier, a situation which can be contrasted with (48a) and (48c):

(48)

    a.   no7-ho7   qa7
          CL.prox-DEM   stone
          'this stone'

    b.   na7-ho7   qa7-ri
          CL.prox.pauc-DEM   stone-PAUC
          'these stones'

    c.   di7-m7e   qose-lek
          CL.horiz-DEM   white person-masc.
          'that white man'

    d.   dya7-m7e   qose-lase-7
          CL.horiz.pauc-PRO   white person.fem-PAUC
          'those (lying) white women'

    e.   dya7-ho7   lograe-l   yawo-7
          CL.horiz.pauc-DEM   tall-PAUC   woman-PAUC
          'these (lying) tall women'

Thus, 'number' does pattern with 'classification' in Pilagá. This situation is also common in other classification systems - such as Bantu noun classes. Table 4 summarizes the array of possibilities. All the combinations of **CL + DEM** (SG/COL vs. PAUC number) are listed there, along with certain ungrammatical starred forms.

Table 4 is built on the parameters of number ('SG'/'COL' vs 'PAUC'), and position (horiz.extended, non-extended and vert.extended) or movement (coming, going out, absent). Lines are organized per classifier, contrasting 'SG'/'COL' and `PAUC`. Dotted lines separate the 'SG/COL' form from the 'PAUC' form of the same classifier. Dashed lines divide one basic category of classifier from another. Each line has a number which will be used for further reference in 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2. Thirty-one different demonstrative forms are possible when intersecting the features of **position-and number**, or **movement-and-number** in combination with the demonstrative roots *m7e*, *ho7* and *ca*. The three possibilities per classifier plus number distinction are horizontally displayed in the table (for example, vert.ext-SG/COL + *m7e*; vert.ext-SG/COL + *ho7*; vert.ext-SG/COL + *ca*, and so on).

Table 4. Demonstratives plus classifiers

		INTERMEDIATE DISTANCE -m7e	CLOSE TO SPEECH PTCPS -ho7	FAR FROM SPEECH PTCPS -ca
1	VERT SG-COL	[da7m7e] *[do7m7e]	[doho7]	[do7ca]
2	VERT PAUC	[da:m7e]	[da7ho7]	[da7ca]
3	NON-EXT SG-COL	[ñi7m7e]	*[ñi7ho7] [ño7ho7]	[ñi7ca]
4	NON-EXT PAUC	[ña7m7e]	[ña7ho7]	[ña7ca]
5	HORIZ SG-COL	[di7m7e]	*[do7ho7] [dyo7ho7]	[di7ca]
6	HORIZ PAUC	[dya7m7e]	[dyaho]	[dya7ca]
7	PROX SG-COL	[na7m7e]	[no7ho7]	[no7ca]
8	PROX PAUC	[na:m7e]	[na7ho7]	[na7ca]
9	GO.AWAY SG-COL	[so7m7e]	[so7ho7]	[so7ca]
10	GO.AWAY PAUC	[sa7m7e]	[sa7ho7]	[sa7ca]
11	DISTAL	[ga7m7e]	*[ga7ho7] *[go7ho7]	*[ga7ca]

Certain forms in Table 4 will be explained by the phonological processes described in the next section.

3.1.2. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES: VOWEL HARMONY AND VOWEL LENGTH

The Pilagá classifiers can be divided into two groups according to the phonological shape for the singular: (a) those that have either [i] or [o] in the V slot of the CV basic form (ñi7; di7; so7) and, (b) those that have [a] in the V slot (da7 and na7).

As argued in the preceding section, there is a morpho-phonological rule which predicts stem-inflection of the classifier for 'paucal' number. By this rule, a change in the vowel of the stem occurs: [i] —> [a] and [o] —> [a]. The interaction between this morphophonemic rule for number inflection and the harmony and lenghtening principles will be discussed in the next sections.

3.1.2.1. VOWEL HARMONY

There is vowel harmony between the vowel of the classifier stem and the vowel of the DEM ho7 which the classifier attaches to. The harmony rule is given in (49):

(49)

    [i] —> [o]/ — C[o]
    [a] —> [o]/ — C[a]

There are cases where the grammatical information (i.e., number) conflicts with the surface form that would be derived by the harmony rule.

By the harmony rule, the vowel [i] of the classifiers ñi7 and di7 becomes [o] in combination with DEM ho7 (ño7ho7 and dyo7ho7). Note that *ñi7ho7 is not allowed by native speakers while ño7ho7 is [see Table 5, line 3].

However, the CL di7 in combination with ho7 takes a y to become dyo7 (line 5 of Table 5). In Table 5, lines 5 and 6 show that CL di7 has three allomorphs: according to the harmony rule, the DEM form for 'HORIZ.SG/COL' should be do7ho7, derived from the basic CL di7. However, the form *do7ho7 for the meaning of 'H0RIZ.EXT.SG/COL' is not possible. The form do7ho7, instead means 'VERT.SG/COL' (line 1).

The apparent ungrammaticality of *do7ho7 in line 5 is the consequence of the inadequacy of the vowel harmony rule. If the harmony rule applied in line 5, it would result in the homophony of do7ho7 'VERT.SG/COL' and *do7ho7 'HORIZ.SG/COL', which will result in a failure to unambigously identify do7ho7 as a member of line 5 rather than as a member of line 1. Thus, I hypothesize that an alternative allomorph has developped, i.e., {dy(V)7}, where the vowel slot will be filled by [a] in cases of 'paucal' number and by [o] in the SG/COL when combined with the DEM ho7. This allomorphic variation surfaces precisely in the clash between the form that would surface from simple vocalic harmony and the need to maintain grammatical distinctions.

3.1.2.2. VOWEL LENGTH

A second complication in the interaction between number inflection and surface forms arises with the fact that there are two classifiers whose singular/collective form already contains a vowel [a] i.e, *da7* and *na7*. Thus, trying to substitute the normal paucal vowel [a] would not yield distinct SG/COL and PAUC forms. In this situation, the device of vowel lengthening serves to maintain number distinctions.

Note how in (50) there is lengthening of the vowel (CV:) a process which applies to the classifier *da7*, whose underlying representation already contains [a] for the singular form:

(50)

a. da7-ho7   siyawa
    CL.vert.sg-DEM man
    'this man'

b. daa-ho7   siyawa-7   n-cate-t-r-ein
    CL.vert.pauc-DEM   person-PAUC   3-stand/move-PRG-PL-ADJVZ
    'Those people are standing.'

In order to eliminate the competition for the same informational content caused by eventual homophony, in cases where the classifiers already contain a vowel [a] for the singular, [i.e., *da7* (line 1) and *na7* (line 7)], the system calls for lenghthening of the vowel [a:] to keep the number distinction (SG/COL versus PAUCAL).

Vowel lenghtening only applies to the combination of the two noun classifiers *na7* and *da7* with the DEM root *m7e*. When they occur bound to DEM *ca*, the form [do7] is used for 'SG/COL' even though it cannot be predicted by the harmony rule. (Note the contrast between line 1-2 or 7-8 in the second and third columns).

In sum, in terms of the different realizations of classifiers, the classifier *di7* has two allomorphs, while both {*da7*} and {*na7*} have three allomorphs, i.e., {*da7*}, {*do7*},{*da:*}; and {*na7*}, {*no7*}, {*na:*}. The alternation between the first two forms is due to the harmony process, whereas the variation between the first and the third is due to a grammatical distinction based on 'number'.

3.1.3. {-lo} 'PAUCAL'

We have now seen that agreement in number between the CL and the noun may be expressed via mechanisms such as vowel alternation and lenghthening. As I showed in (46), there are other lexical units (quantifiers) and other grammatical items (inflection on nouns and verbs), apart from the classifier, that can also indicate number.

In (51), there is also an affix {-*lo*} 'PAUCAL' which has been attested in the DEM construction, occuring exclusively in combination with the demonstrative *ca*. In (51a) a classifier formally marked for the singular (not for the paucal through vowel lengthening) occurs with a paucal suffix in the demonstrative. The demonstrative modifier agrees in number with the noun. In (51a) and (51b) the semantic interpretation of a nominal designatum as paucal depends mostly on the noun or the suffix rather than on the classifier.

(51)

   a.   da7-ca-lo   yawo-7
       CL.standing-DEM-PAUC   woman-PAUC
       'those few women (standing)'

   b.   na7-ca-lo   qa-ri
       CL.coming- DEM-PAUC   stone-PAUC
       'those stones (far from the speaker)'

In conclusion, vowel lenghtening (i.e, *daam7e* and *naam7e*) marks the category of 'paucal' number in the classifier. This same number distinction can be indicated in the demonstrative via the {*-lo*} suffix, through a quantifier, and/or on the noun as in (46b).

4. RECLASSIFICATION

This section is concerned with categorization of the same entity by different classifiers. This phenomenon of multiple classification or reclassification has several implications. The canonical classification (by which most entities are either assigned a particular position or shape, or take *na7* 'proximal') can be overidden by deictic classifiers if the referent is performing a movement towards or away from the visual field, or if the entity is completely absent from the visual field or from the speaker's consciousness. Variation also occurs among positional classifiers if the entity has experienced a change in terms of its position or shape. This implies that classified entities do not always belong to fixed classes or taxons. While the number of classificatory parameters is limited, an object can still be conceptualized as participating in more than one parameter. In terms of the pragmatics of discourse, the speaker has an array of choices out of which he or she will select what is judged to be communicatively relevant for the hearer to know at that particular point of discourse.

4.1. PRAGMATIC VARIATION OF CLASSIFIERS

Variation in choice of classifier, conditioned by the particulars of the speech situation, is common in classifier languages. In numeral classifier languages, for instance, a noun does not necessarily always occur with the same numeral classifier. There is a very famous example from Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman) which illustrates that a river does not unvaringly take a specific classifier, but that the choice depends on the universe of discourse (Becker 1975:11).

That a noun is not always categorized by the same classifier in Guaykuruan languages was first noted by Manelis Klein (1979). She argues that in Toba "a given entity is not associated with a given classifier". For instance, in Toba a fruit that is hanging on a tree would be characterized by *ra-* (equivalent to Pilagá *da7*):

(52)   Toba (Guaykurú). Manelis Klein (1979:87)

a.   7ongay   ha-ra-hala
      good   FEM-CL.vert-fruit
      'the fruit is good' (hanging)

However, a fruit is inherently non extended and therefore the noun that designates the entity 'fruit' can occur with ñi- 'non-extended/rounded' when it is not hanging from a tree:

b.   7ongay   ha-ñi-hala
      good   FEM-CL.non ext-fruit
      'the fruit is good' (non hanging i.e., extended)

In section 2, I made the distinction between deictic and non-deictic (or positional) classifiers. Even though 'position' is generally a non-deictic parameter, the assignment of an entity to a particular position categorization via CLs is not necessarily fixed. Variation among the positional and the deictic classifiers is not also allowed but highly frequent, which shows a certain fluidity of classification within the parameters involved in this closed system of classifiers.

4.1.1. VARIATION AMONG POSITIONAL CLASSIFIERS

The positional CL *da7* 'vertically extended' or 'standing' canonically specifies nouns designating human beings. The choice of *da7* for pronouns achieves obvious reference to position. But if an action, such as 'to sleep', supposes a specific position to be undertaken, then the CL that occurs as part of the third person demonstrative pronoun is not *da7* 'standing', but *di7* 'lying':

(53)

      di-m7e   d-oc7e-tak
      CL.horiz-PRO   3-sleep-PRG
      'He is sleeping.'

It is also possible to convey a marked situation where the referent is sleeping on a chair (i.e, sitting), in which case the CL *ñi7* 'non extended/sitting' occurs instead of *di7*, or where the referent is asleep in a standing position (*da7m7e* doc7etak)

Another instance of non-canonical classification in Pilagá is represented in (54). Mammals (humans excluded) are generally categorized by *ñi7*, as in (54a). In (54b), however, the classifier indicates that the referent is lying and by extension 'dead':

(54)

a.   w7o   ñi7   i-pyoq
      EXIST   CL.non ext   poss.1sg-dog
      'I have a dog.' (which is sitting)

b. w7o   di7   ilo pyoq
    EXIST   CL.horiz   own dog
    'I had a dog.'

c. w7o   na7   ilo pyoq
    EXIST   CL.prox   own dog
    'I have a dog.' (it is coming)

d. dyo-ho7   i-pyoq
    CL.horiz-DEM   poss.1sg-dog
    'This is my dog.' (lying)

Examples (54a,b and c) show that possessives (which can be used to convey either the idea of 'posses-sion' or of 'existence') are existential-types of constructions in Pilagá, where the possessor is either signaled by a prefix, a syntactically possessed noun, or by the prenominal modifier *ilo* 'own'. The inter-pretation in (54b) is not, however, 'I have a dog (which is lying)'. The canonical position for a dog is 'sitting', classified by *ñi7* (54a); a dog which is lying in an existential/possessive construction as in (54b) is necessarily a 'dead dog'. Compare (54a) which stands for the existential construction temporally located in the present, with (54b). If the speaker wanted to express 'I have a dog which is lying and not necessarily dead' he would choose an equational sort of predication, as is shown in (54d), or select a classifier which marks the object as ostensibly there, i.e., 'coming into view'/'present' and consequently alive (54c). Still, in this interaction between classifiers and the propositional meaning in existential constructions some ambiguity is involved. Native speakers have agreed that the second reading in (55) is to some extent acceptable:

(55)

    w7o   di7   l-wa
    EXIST   CL.horiz   poss.3sg-spouse
    a. 'He had a wife.'
    b. ?'His wife/husband ((s)he has one) is lying.'

The same kind of variation is observed for human referents whose inherent position is 'standing'. According to the analysis presented so far, (55) is similar to (56) except for the expression of time via the adverbial *qa7li* 'some time ago'. Here the wife/husband who is lying, indicated by *di7*, is in fact dead. The lexical expression of time reinforces the basic meaning of the classifer *di7* and the second reading ('his/her' husband was lying - sleeping- some time ago') is no longer possible.

(56)

    w7o   di7   l-wa   qa7li
    EXIST   CL.horiz.   POSS.3SG-spouse   in the past
    'She had a husband.'
    *Her husband was lying -sleeping- some time ago.'

The information about the position of a given entity can occur redundantly both in the noun phrase through the noun classifier, and on the verb. In (57) the positional CL *ñi7* 'sitting' occurs on the demon-

strative. At the same time the verbal predicate is marked with a directional suffix {-ñi} 'downwards' (DIR). In this case, the semantic information is duplicated:

(57)

ha-ñi7-ca	yawo	ni-ci-ñi
FEM-CL.non ext-DEM	woman	3sg-sit/move-DIR.down

'That woman (sitting) is sitting.'

4.1.2. VARIATION AMONG DEICTIC CLASSIFIERS

As expected, variation among the deictic classifiers also takes the point of view of the speaker. In Pilagá it is formally possible for the same noun to be classified according to different deictic values:

(58)

a.
qo-na-wagege	na7	epaq-pi
PASS-3Sg-take out	CL.prox	tree-COL

'The trees are getting cut.'

b.
qo-na-wagege	so7	epaq-pi
PAS-3sg-take out	CL.going away	tree-COL

'The trees were getting cut.'

Examples (58a) and (58b) are taken from the same narrative and are fround three lines apart. The classifier *na7*, which is unmarked in reference to position but which indexes 'coming into view', can be used for any entity which is present. In (58a) the noun *epaqpi* is introduced for the first time and at that point in the discourse the action *qonawage* was not yet completed. In (58b) the speaker conveys that the event which has taken place is finished; then the speaker immediately follows with the tale about how they processed the extracted wood and sold it.

4.1.3. VARIATION AMONG THE POSITIONAL AND THE DEICTIC CLASSIFIERS

Variation between classifers belonging to different sets is also possible. I illustrate it in (59). Note the contrast beetween (59a) and (59b), where the second is unacceptable to native speakers:

(59)

a.
so7	siyawa	y-alat	di7	pyoq
CL.going away	person	3sg-kill	CL.horiz	dog

'The man (not in the visual field) kill the dog (lying)=the man killed the dog'

b.
*so7	siyawa	y-alat	so7	pyoq
CL.going away	person	3-kill	CL.going away	dog

*'The man (not in the visual field) kill the dog (which is going away)=*the man killed the dog which is going away.

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In (59a) the man has already undertaken the action of killing the dog since the speaker recognizes that the killer is no longer within his visual field. As a result, the dog is extended on the floor, lying because it is dead. In (59b) the situation is similar except for the classifier so7 on the nominal *pyoq; so7* would imply that the dog is moving away from the visual field and this is semantically incoherent with the supposed physical state of the dog.

Finally I would like to call attention to the reclassification of the noun *emek* house' through the following paradigmatic set:

(60)

a. | ø-wentetpa | n-oo-sem | ga7 | emek |
    |------------|----------|-----|------|
    | 3sg-plan | 3sg-build-DIR.upwards | CL.distal | house |

'He plans to build a house' (he has an idea of a house in mind but he has not started building it yet).

b. | ø-wentetpa | n-oo-sem | ni7 | emek |
    |------------|----------|-----|------|
    | 3sg-plan | 3sg-build-DIR.upwards | CL.non ext | house |

'He plans to build a house'(he has started already; the house is quasi-built).

c. | ø-wentetpa | n-oo-sem | di7 | emek |
    |------------|----------|-----|------|
    | 3sg-plan | 3sg-build-DIR.upwards | CL.horiz | house |

'He plans to build a house' (the house is ruined/demolished and he has to rebuild it)

d. | * ø-wentetpa | n-oo-sem | da7 | emek |
    |--------------|----------|-----|------|
    | 3sg-plan | 3sg-build-DIR.upwards | CL.vert | house |

In (60a) the speaker conceptualizes the house as distal, potentially existent or unknown. In (60b) the construction is in progress, or semi-finished, as attested by the presence of the classifier *ni7* for houses and buildings in general. Sentence (60c) indicates that the house is torn down, via the CL *di7* 'horizontally extended'. In the last example (60d), the classifier *da7* occuring with the house is incorrect, that is, no matter what pragmatic context can be created for it, a house is never conceived of as 'vertically extended'.

4.1.4. SUMMARY

The analysis of the Pilagá classifier system given in the preceding sections of this chapter argued for the existence of two tendencies, namely classification in terms of canonical parameters, and reclassification. According to this, we can assume that each noun falls into a certain category according to its position or shape configuration but also, this same nominal referent can occur by default, with other classifiers. Among positional classifiers the reclassification of humans, animals and inanimates is very common. The CLs *so7* and *ga7* are, in a sense, always mark default values since no entity is naturally in motion (*so7*) or completely distal (*ga7*). It is true that in cases of animate and inanimate NP-arguments, animates outrank inanimates in the frequency with which they take *so7* or *na7* denoting 'movement of the entity'; but this is because inanimates do not move by themselves. However, it is possible for an inanimate entity to be moved by an external force, and thus to be categorized as in motion [recall example (38b)].

4.2. TEMPORAL EXTENSIONS

As can be expected from the use of deictic classifiers, the movement of a given entity is taken in both spatial and temporal senses. That is, a movement can go away from the location of the speech event, or by metaphorical extension a movement can go away from the time of the speech event as well.

The classifier *so7*, whose interpretation ranges from the idea of 'in view/moving away' to 'out of view' is employed with the meaning of 'out of view' (even if the entity is not moving) when the entity in question is not present anymore but the speech participants know that it once was. Hence, note the spatio-temporal contrast between *na7* 'present' in (61a), and *so7* in (61b); and between the general classifier *hen* used deictically in (61c) and *so7* in (61d):

(61)

a.

am	sa-nem	na7	paan
PRO.2SG	1sg-give	CL.prox	bread

'I give you bread'(the bread is present; speaker can point it out)

b.

am	sa-nem	so7	paan
PRO.2SG	1SG-give	CL.going away	bread

'I gave you bread (it is not in view anymore)'

c.

y-alosaa	n-oosem	hen	emek
3sg-have to	3sg-build	CL.	house

'He had to build this house' (speaker is pointing at it; probably he/she is inside the house)

d.

y-alosaa	n-oosem	so7	emek
3sg-have to	3sg-build	CL.going away	house

'He had to build a house' (the house is out of view; speaker can not point at it)

In what follows, I contrast interpretations of different "states" of a given referent when different classifiers co-occur with it in existential constructions.

I showed from (54) to (56) that, when used in their non-prototypical circumstances in existential/possessive constructions, positional classifiers may "color" the temporal interpretation of the state. The noun classifier *di7* with existentials [(55),(56)] and negative existentials (62a) usually leads to an interpretation of the state as 'past'. The classifier *so7* 'going out of view' however, presents more temporal extensions. In (62b) (which is a negative existential) the entity referred to by *so7 iwa* is out of view; but in (62c) the referent has passed away, i.e., does not exist anymore. Note that the positive existential *w7o* indicates that the item had existence sometime before; while with the negative existential *qaya7* it is ambiguous whether that object existed (62d). In (62e) the negative existential and the classifier *na7* 'present/coming' seem to address opposite notions: by using *qaya7* the speakers implies, on one hand, the non-existence of the entity; but the noun classifier *na7* indicates its actual presence (and thus, existence). So, the non-existence of the dog is interpreted as a past -not a present- circumstance.

(62)

a.

qaya7	di7	i-wa
NEG.EXIST	NCL.horiz.ext	POSS.1sg-spouse

'I had a husband.'(='I do not have a husband anymore because he is dead)'

b. so7   i-wa   qaya7

   CL.going away   POSS.1sg-spouse   NEG.EXIST

   'His(er) husband/wife is not there.' (is absent)

c. w7o   so7   i-pyoq

   EXIST   CL.going away   POSS.1sg-dog

   'I had a dog.'(=he went away)

d. qaya7te   so7   noop

   NEG.EXIST   CL.going away   water

   'There is no water'/'I have no water.' (it is ambiguous whether there was water before)

e. qaya7   na7   ilo   pyoq

   NEG.EXIST   CL.prox.   own   dog

   'I did not have this dog (coming) before.'

In the following examples, the object *noop* in (63a) and the subject *so7 yana* of an intransitive clause in (63b) are both classified by *so7*. In order to describe an event as past, the speaker intutively associates the affected object or the subject as out of of his sight, as was shown also in (61a) and (61b):

(63)

a. am   s-qore-lege   so7   noop

   PRO.2sg   1sg-pour-DIR.   CL.going away   water

   'I already poured the water on you.'

b. so7 yana   n-cik-ta-sem

   CL.going away   plant 3sg-go-DIR.-DIR.upwards

   'The plant grew up.'

To summarize, the movement-type classifiers *na7, so7* and *ga7* are deictics, while the positionals are noteworthy for their potential of contributing to the temporal interpretation of the utterance in certain contexts. The temporal notion is inferred (rather than overtly expressed) out of the configurational disposition of the figure. It is necessary to recall that Guaykuruan languages there is no tense inflection on verbs. As a consequence, the temporal location of the event is either inferred from some CLs attached to the nominal arguments or lexicalized through time expressions (adverbials) to avoid ambiguity of the sort seen in (56).

The preceding analysis has had the purpose of showing that speakers can vary in their choice of classifiers, both within and between the positional and deictic sets, and among positional and among deictic classifiers themselves. It is clear now how the position of the referent may be described either from a canonical or a circumstancial basis. The particular positional configuration expressed is determined relative to what is believed to be relevant or salient.

4.3 DEIXIS AND POSSESSION

According to the way that the system was layed out in section 2, a single classificatory morpheme encodes different semantic parameters, i.e., either 'shape'/'position' (as a single parameter), or the CL *na7* (which is not a positional classifier) for categorizing an apparently disparate set of nouns designating body parts, kinship terms, personal tools and belongings.

My analysis has shown that semantic arrangements are not arbitrary but, in a sense, they are predictable when a change in the circumstances of the classified object has taken place. There is, however, an obscure angle to this system, found in the presumably unjustified existence of a different category of entities, i.e., those classified by *na7* 'proximal'/'present'. According to Lakoff (1986) no analysis of a classifier system is complete until one can account for the independent motivations for each category. Taking Lakoff's position, I want to propose an explanation for the existence of the *na7* category by arguing that there is a non-arbitrary convention for it. My hypothesis is that the set of objects which take *na7* as their canonical classifier belong to a distinct level of grouping, which is, one related to the social sphere of the speaker, and by extension, to the speech domain. In this sense, I will consider classifier *na7* and *so7* as a contrastive pair.

The kinds of entities canonically categorized by *na7* form a particularly interesting set. Items of this group are susceptible to a speaker-referent liaison where the entities in question have a relationship to the speaker or the addressee. This type of semantic categorization is the one described for genitive classifier languages (Carlson and Payne 1989) by which alienability versus inalienability is specially marked. Genitive classifier morphemes are found in cases of 'alienable possession' in contrast with those constructions which are obligatorily possessed or 'inalienable' (cf. Carlson and Payne 1989). For this reason, they have also been referred to as 'relational classifiers' or 'possessive classifiers'. In general, the classifier attaches to the possessor.

The rationale for the alienable-inalienable distinction is a notion like 'degree of separability from the referencee'. It is significant that most of the entities found in combination with *na7* are nouns which on a pragmatic basis are most likely to be possessed in Pilagá (such as body parts, items of clothing, and kinship terms), either by a personal possessive prefix or by a prefix of 'inalienable possession' *n-*. In genitive classifier languages as Carlson and Payne described them, there are different semantic domains (edible thing, drinkable thing, child, pet, name, land, earrings, thing to cover with, pillow, relative, sibling, clan member, etc.) such that each entity or group of entities takes a different classifier marker (see, for example, Panopean genitive classifiers, 1989:93).

Unlike what happens with genitive classifiers as described by Payne and Carlson, in Pilagá the same classifier *na7* applies to all those entities as a single class. A particularly important difference for the nominals that on a canonical basis bear *na7* is that they are not specially marked in terms in possession when *na7* is attached to them, i.e., they may be either marked by the alienable or inalienable possessive prefixes or not specified for possession by any possessive prefix. In this analysis, I do not mean to imply that *na7* constitutes a genitive classifier, but that classification via *na7* is reminiscent of the semantic basis of that kind of classifier system.

Apart from its particular semantics related to human control or domain, *na7* denotes 'coming into the visual field' and occurs with any noun designating an animate entity which is capable of moving by itself or with inanimates which are displaced by an animate, generally human, entity. In that case, one

might want to argue that it is literally a deictic of motion, rather than a classifier. However, *na7* occupies the same syntactic slot in the nominal phrase as the rest of the CLs, and in this sense they clearly belong to the same syntactic class.

Let us consider the CL *na7* in its prototypical function, i.e., categorizing a noun such as *alewa* 'land' which belongs to the private human domain. I transcribe in (64) what can be interpreted as semantically dissimilar possessive constructions where possessed *alewa* 'land' is obligatorily marked by *na7*, whereas the possessor *qompi* 'Pilagá Indians' may occur with *na7* or *so7* showing that the possessor can be 'present' (64a) or 'absent' (64b). The noun *alewa* is not obligatorily marked by a possessive prefix in (64), but the possessor is expressed by a genitive NP:

(64)

a. | **na7** | alewa | na7 | qom-pi |
| CL.proximal | land | CL.proximal | name.ethnic group-COL |
| 'the Qom's land' | | | |

b. | **na7** | alewa | so7 | qom-pi |
| CL.proximal | land | CL.going away | name.ethnic group-COL |
| 'The land that does not belong to the Qom people' | | | |

The directional movement feature is central to the semantics of deictic classifiers, and it is possible to tranfer the notion of 'movement towards or away' to the possessive relationship. Note that in neither of the two realizations of *alewa* in (64a) and (64b) is there a possessive marker; rather, the construction consists of two juxtaposed NPs where the second one is a genitive construction with a modifying function. Both nouns are preceded by classifiers which are obligatory. The difference between (64a) and (64b) is not whether one indicates possession and the other not; it is a difference based on the quality of possession. The land as part of the private human domain (according to *na7*) belongs to either the Indians or to somebody else. Since the Qoms are not on the land in (64b) (they are not on the land according to *so7* 'absent'), that is enough evidence to conclude that the possessor is someone other than the participant explicited as the genitive modifier. Canonical use of the classifier *na7* with 'land' alerts us to the fact that 'land' is something 'proximal' to its owners. The owners, in turn, can be present (*na7*) or absent (*so7*) from the land (which is the location and point of reference), implying that the quality of the possessive relationship has changed.

My analysis is that if the CL *na7* which co-occurs with nouns such as *alewa* in (64) but also with kinship terms, utensils and body parts, is associated with the sense of 'possession', it is precisely because of the deixis involved in 'separability' or 'distance from the ego' that arises from it.

5. PILAGA CLASSIFIERS IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

This section is principally concerned with the analysis of the Pilagá classifier system from a typological perspective. However, there is still a major function of the Pilagá classifying morphemes which has not yet been discussed and which is important for the cross-linguistic comparison developed in this section. This is the predicate function, as found in classifier languages of North America.

5.1. PILAGÁ CLASSIFIERS AND PREDICATE CLASSIFIERS

Based on the analysis presented in the previous sections, we can argue that parameters such as 'human', 'animate' or 'masculine' do not count for the categorization of nominal referents in the system of Pilagá classifiers. Rather, it is the (dis)position of the entity that makes it possible to group men and trees in a single category because they are both canonically vertical. I have shown that in Pilagá these grammatical operators add information about the actual position and/or movement of the referent to the verbal predicate (in this respect, I provide more examples in [(65a) and (65b)]). This type of classification resembles predicate classifiers (as found in the languages of North America), which characterize the distribution of the figure in the space (Croft 1994:165). From (65a) and (65b) it seems quite clear that Pilagá classifiers are means of expressing spatial orientation:

(65)

a.   ñi-ca7   weta   di7   noik   sekaet
     CL.non ext-PRO   LOC   CL.horiz.   town   yesterday
     'That one (who is sitting far from me-I can hardly see him) was in the town yesterday.'

b.   ño-ho7   weta   ñi7   pagentanaaki
     CL.non ext-PRO   LOC   CL.non-ext   school
     'This one (who is sitting close to me-I can touch him) was in school yesterday.'

Classifiers systems of the type found in North American languages have been referred to as predicate classifiers (Allan 1977:287) or verb(al) classifiers (Craig 1992;1995). The so-called spatial predication function (Croft op.cit:156) is associated with the semantics of both verbal and predicate classifiers, but also with other classifier systems which do not co-occur with verbs, such as the Eskimo "in-view" classification paradigm.

Predicate classifiers as described by Allan (op.cit) have been primarily identified with classificatory particles in Athapaskan languages. They code classes of objects which participate in an event whether as actor or goal.[18] The classifier can be a verb prefix, immediately preceding the stem (as in Eyak and Tlingit [Krauss 1968]; Navajo [Young and Morgan 1980]; and Slave [Rice 1989], inter alia). In predicate classifier languages it might also be the case that there are no separate predicate classifier morphemes; instead, there are distinct verb roots for the motion, location and manipulation of various object classes. (Instances of this sort of classification have been described for Chiricahua Apachee (Hoijer 1945:16), and in languages of other families such as Dakota (Sapir and Deloria 1941. Quoted in Croft 1994:156) and Hokan (Southern Pomo [Moshinsky 1974] and Atsugewi [Talmy 1972]).[19]

According to Craig (1994:567), verbal classifiers are associated with those classifier systems in North American languages described by Mithun (1986), albeit verb(al) classifiers are also found in Northern Australia and New Guinea (Dixon 1982:225). They are called 'verbal' because of the fact that, even though they do classify a nominal argument, the morphological locus is the verb. They classify arguments in terms of their position or shape. Craig distinguishes two kinds of verb classifiers. A first type (which coincides with Allan's category of predicate classifiers) is constituted by complete stems, combining the verb root plus a classifying morpheme coding the position, motion or condition of the entity to which the classifier makes reference:

(66)

a. Papuan (Foley 1986:90. Quoted in Rijhkoff.1992:36)

ita	dupa	kate-nge
tree	the	stand-HAB

'There are trees.'

ita	poka-pae	si-nge
tree	cut-state	lie-HAB

'There are (felled) trees.'

b. Onandaga (Iroquoian. Woodbury 1975b:44. Quoted in Rijkoff.1992:38-39)

onu:to:ta?
it.hill.be-standing-upright.ASP
'hill'

ohwv:tsya:te?
it.earth.exist-in-a-neutral-position.ASP
'earth'

A second type of verbal classifiers are generic nouns, which originate as concrete nouns of narrow scope. They are incorporated when the nominal no longer identifies an argument, thus becoming a lexical unit with the verb which denotes a unitary concept (Mithun 1986). They look like verb-nouns compounds where the incorporated noun represents a semantically basic level category, and the external noun phrase a subordinate semantic category. Such generic incorporated nouns are found in Caddo (Caddoan), Cayuga (Iroquoian), for example, Mundurukú (Tupí), and in Ngandi and Gunwinggu (Australian). The following examples serve as illustration:

(67)

a. Cayuga (Iroquoian. Mithun 1986:386-388)

ohon'atatke:	ak-hon'at-a:k
it-potato-rotten	past/I-CL:potato-eat

'I ate a rotten potato.'

b. Ngandi (Australian. Heath 1978:215. Quoted in Mithun 1986:389)

Gu-jark-yun	ba-ga-bun-nu-ni
Gu-water-ABS	3pl-sub-CL:water-eat-pcon

'And they drank water.'

In his typology, Allan (1977:287) includes another classifier's category, i.e., intralocative classifiers, owing its name to the fact they are "embedded within the locative systems" (adverbs, interrogative words and demonstrative pronouns). Three languages coming from completely different families are characterized as having intralocative classifiers. Semantically, they classify referents according to their shape. One is Toba (Guaykuruan), as described in section 2.1 of this paper. Allan states that in Toba the three 'motion-distal' morphemes are non classificatory, but for objects in view, classification follows the shape of the referent (vertical, horizontally, or saliently three-dimensional). In the Eskimo system, the

second language, there is a two-way distinction (extended vs. non-extended) encoded in (visible) demonstratives (Denny 1979:99). 'Extended' refers to expanses of land or water, and moving and long objects. 'Non-extended' denotes objects that are stationary, or moving within a confined area, relatively near and visible.[20] The third language, Dyirbal has four noun classifiers suffixes to the locative morphemes here and there (Dixon 1972; in Allan, op.cit.:288). According to Allan, Dyirbal is the only of these three languages to classify non-visible objects. The intralocative classifiers in Dyirbal occur in interrogative words and demonstrative pronouns.[21]

The recategorization of referents has been regarded as the primary obstacle for the characterization of the Pilagá type of system within the category of classifier systems, to the extent that for many authors they are "dubious" classifiers (Seiler 1986:201) or "predicate pseudoclassifiers" (Croft 1994:160). Systems such as the one described in this paper, have been characterized as non-prototypical, and henceforth, out of the scope of classifying systems.

Denny (1986:231) has suggested that out of the six classifiers described by Klein for Toba, only the positional subset are "classificatory morphemes" while the rest are "locative (i.e, non-classifying) morphemes". I want to argue that Pilagá classifiers certainly constitute a classifying system as a whole but which cannot be identified with any particular type previously proposed in the typological literature since it exhibits properties of many different types.

5.2. PILAGÁ CLASSIFIERS IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

As I have just noted, from a typological viewpoint, one question that now arises is whether the classifier morphemes we have been discussing comprise a classifier system at all. Dixon's (1986) account of classification as splitting into noun class versus noun classifier types (see footnote 3) has been an insufficient descriptive tool to explain what actually happens in South American languages. This gap has been pointed out by Payne (1986, 1987) who suggests that, on the surface, Amazonian languages have systems with a combination of properties from both noun classes and noun classifiers, as Dixon would define them.

In reviewing Dixon's typology, I found that Pilagá, like other South American languages, also shows features from both groups which I will summarize here:

a. **Obligatoriness:** Dixon suggests that noun class markers are obligatory while classifiers are optional. The obligatoriness of noun class markers depends on the fact that they are generally concordial systems. In Pilagá there are almost no cases where a nominal escapes classification, even if it is true that synchronically the younger generation is dropping the classifiers in front of the nouns (though preserving them for DEMs and pro-forms). But although the classifiers are obligatory, they do not participate in an agreement system (even though they exhibit number inflection). In some cases the classifiers are attached to demonstratives, or occur as free morphemes, independently of any lexical category. Classifiers do not appear simultaneously attached to a demonstrative and on the head noun. Simultaneous ocurrence would be typical of agreement or concordial systems.

b. **Number of members:** Noun classes form a smallish category, while noun classifiers are many in number. According to this description, Pilagá classifiers are closer to noun classes than to classifiers in the sense of Dixon. The Pilagá CLs are extremely productive and although they constitute a small closed class, they are not disappearing.

c. **Grammatical status:** In general, Dixon claims that classifiers are separate lexemes, while noun classes are affixes. Noun classes are generally fused with number, definiteness or case markers. The Pilagá classifiers are free morphemes. They are not necessarily correlated with quantification and are not fused with case. The fact that they are not associated to numerals but do show number inflection is a grammatical feature that the Pilagá system shares with Bantu noun class systems which include number distinctions.

In terms of Craig's typology (Craig 1992), the Pilagá system presents prima facie semantic features and behaviors which are characteristic of at least four classification types:

(a) Semantically, Pilagá classifiers exhibit some common properties with Southeast Asian classifier languages like Chinese or Burmese, which are classical examples of *numeral classifiers systems*. Numeral classifier systems are called 'numeral' because the classifiers appear in the context of quantification, i.e., they are syntactically linked to a number word or a quantifier. In this type of classification, categorization of entities is achieved with reference to a 'shape' or 'position'. In cross-linguistic comparison, the three shapes 'round', 'flat' and 'long', have been characterized as semantic primitives (Adams and Conklin 1973). Numeral classifiers carrying different kinds of semantic information come in large sets (from dozens to hundreds). They are typical of Southeast Asian languages, although they are also widespread in the Americas and Oceania. They may occur secondarily with demonstratives.

Pilagá positional classifiers (which do not necessary co-occur with numerals) also classify according to shape, if we accept that shape and position are analogous parameters or metaphoric extensions, at least in this language. The examples seen in (68) show that classifiers do not necessarily occur with numerals in the same NP. (The numerals have been borrowed from Spanish.) Furthermore, in (68c) where the host is an individual noun, the classifier is the quantifier indicating 'a number between 2 and 10'. As we saw in section 3, classifiers are themselves marked for SG/COL or PAUC number:

(68)

    a.   tres   takae-7
          three   chañar (type of tree)-PAUC
          'three chañares (type of tree)'

    b.   koce   ono-lek
          pig   one/only-MASC
          'one pig'

    c.   ña7   koce
          CL.prox.PAUC pig
          'three pigs'

Nevertheless, a classifier marked for number can co-occur with a numeral if the information about the quantity is crucial for the story. In (69), for instance the speaker is narrating a passage where an armadillo saves the life of other animals which were threatened by a snake. The armadillo sets a trap by allowing the snake to bite him in his shell, and the snake's only two teeth got caught in the shell:

(69)

qance	ɸ-kapira-wo	sa7-m7e
conj	3sg-stay-DIR	CL.going away.PAUC-DEM
doos	l-oraete-l	
two	POSS.3sg-tooth -PAUC	

'And his teeth stayed (there)'

(b) The set of objects classified by *na7* is semantically associated with the domain of valuable or personal possessions, which is typical of *genitive classifier languages* (e.g. Tucanoan, Tupian and Cariban in South America; Uto-Aztecan, Yuman in North America, and Panopean in Oceania).

(c) Morphosyntactically, Pilagá classifiers are more like Jakaltek Mayan *noun classifiers*. As defined by Craig (op.cit), noun classifiers do not syntactically depend on any other element of the noun phrase such as a numeral or a demonstrative. As noted in (68a) above, Pilagá classifiers likewise are not necessarily found in the context of quantification.

Craig further shows that noun classifiers in Jakaltek have been syntacticized as referential markers i.e. as determiners of nouns and as anaphoric pronouns (Craig op.cit:292). In Pilagá classifiers do play a role in discourse, though discussion of their discourse function is outside the scope of these pages. In other words, they have additional functions that exceed the scope of nominal classification.

Also, another major function of noun classifiers in discourse is individuation of nouns. In Jakaltek, a number of concrete words referring to objects in the world, such as locative nouns (road, church, school, village), body parts and generic words for food (including fruit, corn, meat, etc.) are not classified (Craig 1986b:273). In Pilagá, however, body parts usually take *na7* and the noun for road may take *di7* as in *di7 na7aik*, or *so7* as in *so7 na7aik*. In the first case, the speaker encodes the shape of the road; in the second the fact that from the speaker's vantage point the road is ahead, 'goes away'. Classification in Pilagá applies to nearly any nominal, from those that exist in nature as the only member of their category (sun, moon, for example) to mass nouns (water, flour, meat).

(d) The Pilagá system is semantically close to Athapaskan *verb classifiers*, which describe objects at rest, in motion or being handled. But unlike Pilagá classifiers, in Athapaskan languages classifiers occur on verbs rather than in the noun phrase. Another difference with some languages of the Athapaskan family is that in Pilagá, classifiers are present with any nominal phrase or pronominal form no matter what syntactic relation to the verb they bear (i.e., classification in Pilagá is not restricted to absolutes).

Finally, the Pilagá system has apparently common properties with Eskimo 'in-view' classification and the Siuoan shape-based system, which qualify for the category of predicate classifiers. In both cases, the categorization of nominal participants is obligatory for demonstratives.[23]

On predicate classifiers, Croft claims that classification in these cases always distinguishes animate from inanimate things rather, than distinguishing 'human' vs. 'non-human'(some of the examples pro-

vided by Croft come from Navajo, Hokan, Southern Pomo and Russian).

Croft's assertion is interesting and requires further analysis. Nevertheless in Pilagá, animate things are susceptible to classification by all the parameters; however, multiple classification is seriously constrained for certain inanimate objects, such as 'fire' or 'house'. I am not entirely clear on whether multiple classification via all the possible Pilagá classifiers is acceptable in the case of animates. I lack information regarding many animals having different shapes and sizes. On the other hand, as to the status of 'animacy', it seems possible that not all the animals are considered as members of the same class due to strong historical, sociological and mythological reasons which I have been able to deduce from some of the texts.[24]

5.3. PILAGÁ CLASSIFIERS IN THE CONTEXT OF LOWLAND SOUTH AMERICAN CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS

As suggested in the previous section, Pilagá classifiers present semantic features and behaviors said to be characteristic of different types of classifier systems. Hence, I characterized it as an hybrid system. The mixture of properties within the same system seems to be an areal phenomenon, i.e, it is recurrently found in many classifier languages of Lowland South America.

The existence of several types of classifying systems within the same language does not constitute an exceptional situation. Amazonian languages often have at least two of the following systems: numeral classifiers, concordial and verb incorporation. Moreover, Derbyshire and Payne argue that the systems can interact with each other, sometimes to the point of constituting an integrated single system (1990:264).

As a particular example of a mixed system, consider the case of Tariana. Aikhenvald (1994) describes a very complex system of classification in Tariana (North Arawak, Brazil) which combines noun, verbal and genitive classifiers into one system of noun classification systems. The language also has two separate systems of numeral and demonstrative classifiers.

In Tariana, three semantic systems operate within the noun phrase: (a) feminine vs. non feminine gender for personal pronouns used attributively, (b) animate vs. inanimate gender used for demonstratives and numerals, and (c) an open system of specific classifiers, used with numbers, demonstratives and when the modifier is an adjective or a genitive possessive construction (1994:449). The class she refers to as 'specific classifiers' is composed of forty morphemes which are added to the numeral stem, in case the referent is inanimate or feminine animate. They are also used with demonstratives, in which case, the classifier signals a referent under special emphasis (1994:426). There are also many classifying morphemes with derivational and nominalizing functions. From a semantic viewpoint, Aikhenvald sets up two major groups: (a) generic classifiers (involving agreement in number and gender, i.e., animate vs. inanimate) and specific classifiers, which cover a range of different semantic notions: gender ('feminine'), shape and form ('plain', 'flat and round', 'curvilinear', 'long, thin vertical', 'leaf-like', 'holes' etc.), semantically unique ('island', 'lake', 'time'), function ('instrument', 'habitation'), and quantification ('pair of', 'group', piece', bundle, etc.) (1994:453-455). The Tariana system is quite intricate and I have noted here a few of its complications. All the classifying sets found in Tariana also bear the functions of a participant-tracking device and an agreement system.

Although the Pilagá systems is not as semantically complex as the Tariana system, it too, stands as a "mixed system" in terms of previous typologies.

5.4. SUMMARY

None of the classifying systems which have been typologically proposed or described for other languages attest altogether the syntactic, semantic and functional properties that I have described for Pilagá. I have throughout noticed that Pilagá classifiers display some similarities with the Jakaltek system of noun classifiers described by Craig, in terms of both their morphosyntax and their use in definite constructions. But I have also shown how the system differs from Jakaltek.

Instead of refering to Pilagá classifier as a subtype of noun classifiers, I have adopted the denominations 'positional classifiers' and 'deictic classifiers' for each subset of classifying morphemes.

It is important to underscore that the deictic functions embodied in the Pilagá classifiers along with the grammatical properties regarding number inflection are, as far as I know, atypical. It seems possible that the Guaykuruan and Amazonian classificatory systems insinuate that typologies of classificatory systems based on the synchronic morphosyntax of the categories are incomplete or misleading if we intend to account for hybrid classifier systems like the one described in this paper. Future comparative research will allow me on more substantial grounds to find a place for this system within the extant taxonomic categories, i.e., either as a subtype of noun classifiers, or of predicate classifiers. If it were not possible for the Pilagá classifiers to be characterized as a subtype of either noun classifiers or predicate classifiers, taxonomies would have to include Pilagá classifiers as a new typological category.

CONCLUSION

This article has had a double purpose. First, I have aimed to document a classification system which has not been accounted for in the previous literature, except for a semantic characterization of the cognate subsystem in a sister language, i.e. Toba.

Pilagá exhibits several modes of classification-
noun-compounding, class markers and classifiers-. However, the most interesting of these systems is the classifier system.

A second purpose of this study has been to situate the Pilagá system in terms of the previously proposed typologies of classification. After describing their syntactic behavior, basic semantics and functional correlates I have concluded that Pilagá classifiers do not fit in any clear-cut category previously proposed. The system primarily shares syntactic and discourse functions with noun classifier and numeral classifier systems, but it is semantically close to genitive, verbal classifier, and numeral classifier sytems as well, even though Pilagá classifiers are not necessarily motivated by the presence of numeral expressions in the discourse.

The fact that the Pilagá classifiers are semantically similar to four different types of classifying systems is due to the fact that Pilagá classifiers are divided into two semantically distinct subsets: positionals and deictics.

Positional parameters are associated with three basic shapes, which are cross-linguistically found at the basis of numeral classifiers: 'horizontally extended' (or flat); 'vertically extended' (or longitudinal); and 'non-extended' (rounded). Properly speaking, they describe positional arrangements because they may encode that, for instance, a human referent is canonically 'standing', or circumstancially 'sitting' or

'lying'. Positional classifiers bear semantic similarities with verbal classifiers as described for Athapaskan and Siouan languages. In Siouan languages, verbs like 'sit', 'stand' and 'lie' have evolved into noun classifiers and definite articles. The common semantic parallels between these North American verbal classifier systems and Pilagá classifiers might suggest that positional, and probably deictic classifiers too, could have a verbal origin.

The second subset of deictic classifiers marks 'motion' and/or 'distance' of the referent from the locative-temporal point of reference given by the speech scenario and participants, specifically the speaker himself/herself. The Pilagá deictic classifiers do not constitute a prototypical classifier system by themselves, but these deictic morphemes clearly belong to the same syntactic category as the positional classifiers do.

The classifier *na7* (i.e., motion towards the ego or away from it) which is semantically similar to a very reduced genitive classifier system has been paralleled to the notion of 'non separability' or 'inalienability'.

The mixture of properties seen in the Pilagá system offers new questions for typologies and typologists. In particular, this language reinforces the idea that the South American area brings some innovations to the field of classification systems, and also to the study of syntax in grammaticalization processes.

NOTES:

2   The rest of the languages of this family are Toba, Mocoví, Kadiwéu and Abipón. The first two languages are spoken in the Argentinean Chaco and Paraguay. Kadiwéu speakers are found in the south of Brazil (Mato Grosso do Sul). The Abipón language, however, has become extinct.

Pilagá is the language of approximately 3,000 people living in 13 communities in Formosa (north-eastern Argentina). It is the first language acquired and the only one spoken by children up to the age of four, when they start the schooling process. Pilagá is under intense sociolinguistic pressure from Spanish. The language of the youngest generations shows a high level of borrowings and switching between Spanish and Pilagá during particular linguistic exchanges is evident.

3   Differences among classifying systems range from (a) the kind of semantic parameters employed in the categorization of a nominal (type of measure, shape, social rank, place ([Dixon 1982:211]; location, position, consistency, material [Allan 1977]), to (b) their morphosyntactic status (affixes or free morphemes), and (c) their sources (historically derived from verbs or from nouns). Authors who have made attempts to systematize these differences, are for instance, Greenberg (1972), with special emphasis on numeral classifiers; Allan (op.cit.) who presented the first typological account of classifiers based on a wider variety of languages, stressing the existence of four types of systems (concordial, numeral, predicate, and intralocative); Dixon (op.cit; 1986) who argues for two basic types i.e., noun classes and noun classifiers. Later studies in nominal classification in Meso- and South America show that there are more subtypes than the simple typology proposed by Dixon (Craig 1986b, 1986c, 1992, 1994, and Payne 1986, 1987; also Derbyshire and Payne 1990, inter alia). Payne's work on Amazonian linguistics demonstrates that nominal classification systems of that region present unique characteristics, with the languages of the Western Amazon falling into four types in terms of Dixon's typology: (a) one system of classification showing a mixture of properties from both noun classes and noun classifiers; (b) no noun classification features; (c) a mixture from both nominal classification and verbal incorporation, and (d) no classification of any previously proposed type (Payne 1987:20ff). Furthermore, Craig has proposed a typology of five major morphosyntactic classificatory systems: (a) gender and noun class systems (gender has in fact been subsumed in the category 'noun class' by some authors [Corbett 1991]), (b) numeral classifier systems, (c) noun classifiers, (d) genitive classifiers, and (e) verbal classifiers (Craig 1994:565-69).

4 The system of transcription has been somewhat adapted to the keyboard: morphemes with no phonetic realization is marked by a crossed-zero; p= voiceless bilabial stop /p/; t= voiceless alveolar stop /t/; d= voiced alveolar stop /d/; k= voiceless velar stop /k/; q= voiceless postvelar or uvular stop /q/; 7= glottal stop /ʔ/; /g/= voiced velar stop /g/; G= voiced fricative postvelar or uvular /G/; /h/=voiceless glottal aproximant /h/; c= voiceless palatal affricate /c/; s= voiceless alveolar fricative /s/; r= voiced alveolar flap /r/ occurs V-V, V-C; /l/= voiced alveolar lateral approximant; m= bilabial nasal /m/; n= alveolar nasal /n/; ñ= palatal nasal /ñ/, w= voiced rounded labiovelar approximant /w/; y= voiced unrounded palatal central approximant /y/, and VOWELS a, e, i, o. Vowel length for classifier stems is indicated by orthographic doubling. Double vowels in Pilagá native words can be the result of the loss of a glottal stop or a voiced postvelar fricative in intervocalic position, (at least among the Pilagá speakers of Pozo del Tigre who provided the data for this paper.) Thus, words such as *noGop* 'water' or *lapaGat* 'applicable to insects and insects larvae' generally surface as *noop* and *lapaat*, respectively.

Vowel length caused by stress is a phonetic feature observed in some lexical items borrowed from Spanish. Also, with bisyllabic loanwords, stress is displaced to the last syllable. Spanish word for 'cow' [báka] is pronounced [waká]. Most of more recently loaned words, did not undergone phonological adaptation (see [kubyérta] 'tyre' in example 22, section 2.1).

Syllables in Pilagá are either vowel or consonant initial. Pre-glottal stop in vowel initial syllables is optional (i.e., the pronounciation of the word without the pre-glottal stop is fully acceptable by native speakers).

Pilagá marks a non-contrastive utimate or penultimate stress. A secondary shifting phonetic accent intervenes when words are composed of three or more syllables. Also, when a syllable contains a final glottal stop (as it is the case of demonstratives and proforms), two phonetic stresses are perceptible. However, it is highly likely that one of these is conditioned by the presence of the glottal closure. Certain grammatical morphemes such as the negative marker and the subject prefixes on verbs are never stressed. Insofar, since I have no clear evidence as to whether the stress is phonetic, grammatical or lexical in every case, for convenience I leave words unaccented.

The abreviations used here are as follows: ADJTVZ = adjetivizer; CL = classifier; conj= conjunction ; caus=causal connector DEM = demonstrative; DIR = directional suffix; INTERR= interrogative word; inal.POSS= inalienable possessive prefix, LOC = locative copula; MASC = masculine; MOD = modal verb suffix; EXIST = existential; FEM = feminine; NEG= negative marker; NEG.EXIST = negative existential; Obj.agr = object agreement; PASS = impersonal passive; PAUC = paucal (plural) number; PL = plural; POSS = possessive prefix; PRG = progressive; PUNT = punctual; PRO = 1/2/3 person proform, SPECIF = specifier.

5 Here, I am establishing that compounds can be further analyzed into Root + Root. Stress patterns and morphophonological processes involved in compounds are currently being studied.

6 The term 'fused' here refers to the degree of bondedness between a root and a suffix (Bybee 1985:4ff). As a synthetic language, in Pilagá each of these roots must be affixed to a class marker, or to a suffix of another kind (i.e., number suffixes) to stand as free words.

7 Possession is another category that usually hangs upon nouns whether a classifier or demonstrative is present. However, I am not including this category within the class of specifiers.

8 The rule provides a very general phrase structure schema, which does not impose a strict ordering of the constituents of the noun phrase. So far, I do not have evidence to argue for the existence of a layered structure of the NP in Pilagá.

9 Along with Payne (op.cit.), Craig (1986a, 1986b, 1992) states that noun classifiers can be affixed to various determiners, among them to demonstratives, which are deictics, as a way of setting up discourse coherence (functioning either as anaphoras, [see for instance, Japanese (Downing 1986)], or cataphorically, as in Malay [Hopper 1986:314-316] where the classifier indicates that the referenced participant is a potential topic of discourse and will persist.) The anaphoric discourse function of classifiers is also prominent in some Amazonian languages, especially as these languages may be characterized by a scarcity of fully identifying nominal expressions in natural discourse (Derbyshire and Payne 1990:243).

10 In non-attributive predicate usage adjectives seem to follow the head noun, as in for instance, *hen noik tareik* 'the community is big'. Here, however, I am considering the order of attributive adjectives within the noun phrase exclusively.

11 In Table 2, I am not presenting a compositional analysis of Pilagá classifiers into semantic features. This is one difference between this presentation and Klein's, on Toba noun classifiers.

12 As advanced at the beginning of this section, this distinction between anticipated vs. non anticipated absence in the visual field is originally found in Klein (1979).

13 From the stance of both the speaker and the hearer, the forms *ga7* and and its Toba cognate *ka* may pragmatically code that the event in question has not been realized, is hypothetical or of future projection. Since the participant referred to by the nominal expression is conceptualized as 'distal', the hearer understands that the nominal participant is out of sight, and by inference, that event in which it is embedded is an expression of the ignorance, the desires or intentions of the speaker, rather than a realized event (see Vidal and Klein, To appear).

14 The number system differs from one lexical category to another. Nouns can be inflected for singular, dual, paucal and collective and it is the only part-of-speech which can convey all these four distinctions. There is a historical relation between number affixes on verbs and on nouns. In general the category 'number' (of the subject and of the object) on the verb is expressed by a set of forms that are the same as the nominal suffixes. For example, there is a suffix *-l* 'paucal' which occurs on nouns while the form *-lo* on verbs indicates 'object/subject agreement.plural'; similarly, another morpheme **-r-** 'subject agreement.plural' occurs on verbs and *-ri* 'paucal.pl' on nouns.

15 It seems possible that the semantic shift of "lying" —> "past" necessarily goes through an intermediate stage of "dead" i.e., lying—> dead —>past. (See section 4.1.3)

16 The historical relation between the classifier and the directional morpheme was advanced in Vidal (1994).

17 The temporal extensions involved in deictic classifier will be considered in 4.3.

18 For a syntactic account of alienable /inalienable constructions in a number of genitive classifier languages around the world, see Carlson and Payne 1989.

19 Hoijer (1945:13) states that in several Athapaskan languages only those arguments playing the function of either the subject of an intransitive verb, or the object of a transitive verb can be classified.

20 In Hokan, posture and motion verbs are used to describe the location and movement of objects. Talmy (1972) characterizes Atsugewi system as "composed of a fairly closed set of classifying spatial verb forms ('figure-classifying' motion verb type). In Talmy (1986:129), he mentions that the figure in a motion event is systematically incorporated in Atsugewi verb roots. Thus, figure-classifying morphemes indicate size and shape properties of subject and object-grammatical roles in which the Figure often occurs. For Southern Pomo, Moshinsky (1974:80-1) states that carrying verbs distinguish between animate and inanimate. In general all these classifiers indicate the shape of the figure (long vs. non-long); its orientation (whether horizontal or vertical), its position with respect to the medium (on a surface or within a fluid), motion of the figure (at rest, in translatory motion, in rotation around an axis, or passing from an in-motion state to an at-rest state).

21 The Eskimo demonstrative system has several locations: 'here' (*manna* 'extended, *una* 'non.extended'), 'there' (*amna* 'extended', *inja* 'non.extended') 'up there' (*panna* 'extended', *pinna* 'non.extended'), 'down there' (*unna* 'extended', *kanna* 'non.extended', 'out there' (*qanna* 'extended', *kinna* 'non.extended'). The classificatory demonstratives are only used if the object is at least partially, or very recently in view. If it is not in view, another demonstrative form is substituted for the classificatory one, and noun classification does not occur. (Gagné 1966. Quoted in Denny 1979:104).

22 A linguistic family which has not been included in any typological study on classification until Croft (1994) is the Siouan. Siouan languages exhibit a shape-based system which derived from positional verbs. Rankin (1976:274-5) reconstructs a set of Proto-Siouan classifying verbs of position *te/a 'stand', *ra-ke/a 'sit', and *wake/a 'lie'. These classifying verbs are used, like in Eskimo, with demonstratives, and in the Dhegiha branch, these forms appear to have further evolved into classificatory articles (for example, *d-mak* 'this one, lying'; *d-hak* 'this one, standing'; *óti-hak* 'this (standing) lodge', and *máta-mak* 'this (lying) river'.)

23 Not only had the existence of this type not been acknowledged previously to Craig (1986b) as a separate type, but numeral classifiers were sometimes referred to by the term 'noun classifiers' creating conceptual confusion. The coexistence of numeral and noun classifiers in languages such as Jakaltek argues strongly for recognizing them as distinct types of classifier systems (Craig 1995:566).

24 Croft (op.cit:150) includes the system of classifiers described for the Siouan family (see footnote 21) within the category of noun classes, and the Eskimo shape-based system of classifiers with demonstratives in the group of predicate classifiers or classifiers with spatial predication function.

25 In passing, Croft suggests that the Toba system is probably another instance of the grammaticalization of posture verbs as demonstratives (not unlike the Siouan languages mentioned in footnote 21). As far as Pilagá goes, I think that Croft is correct (see Vidal 1994), but for reasons of length I will not discuss it here.

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